

Muhammad

صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ

THE MESSENGER OF ALLAH

AND HIS RIGHTLY-GUIDED CALIPHS



عزاد الدين

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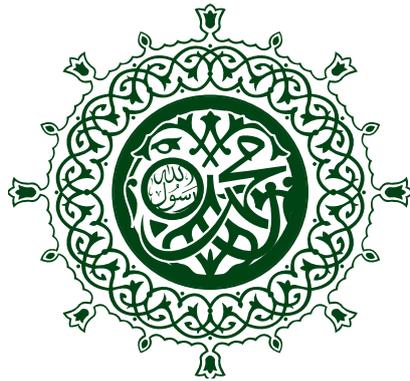
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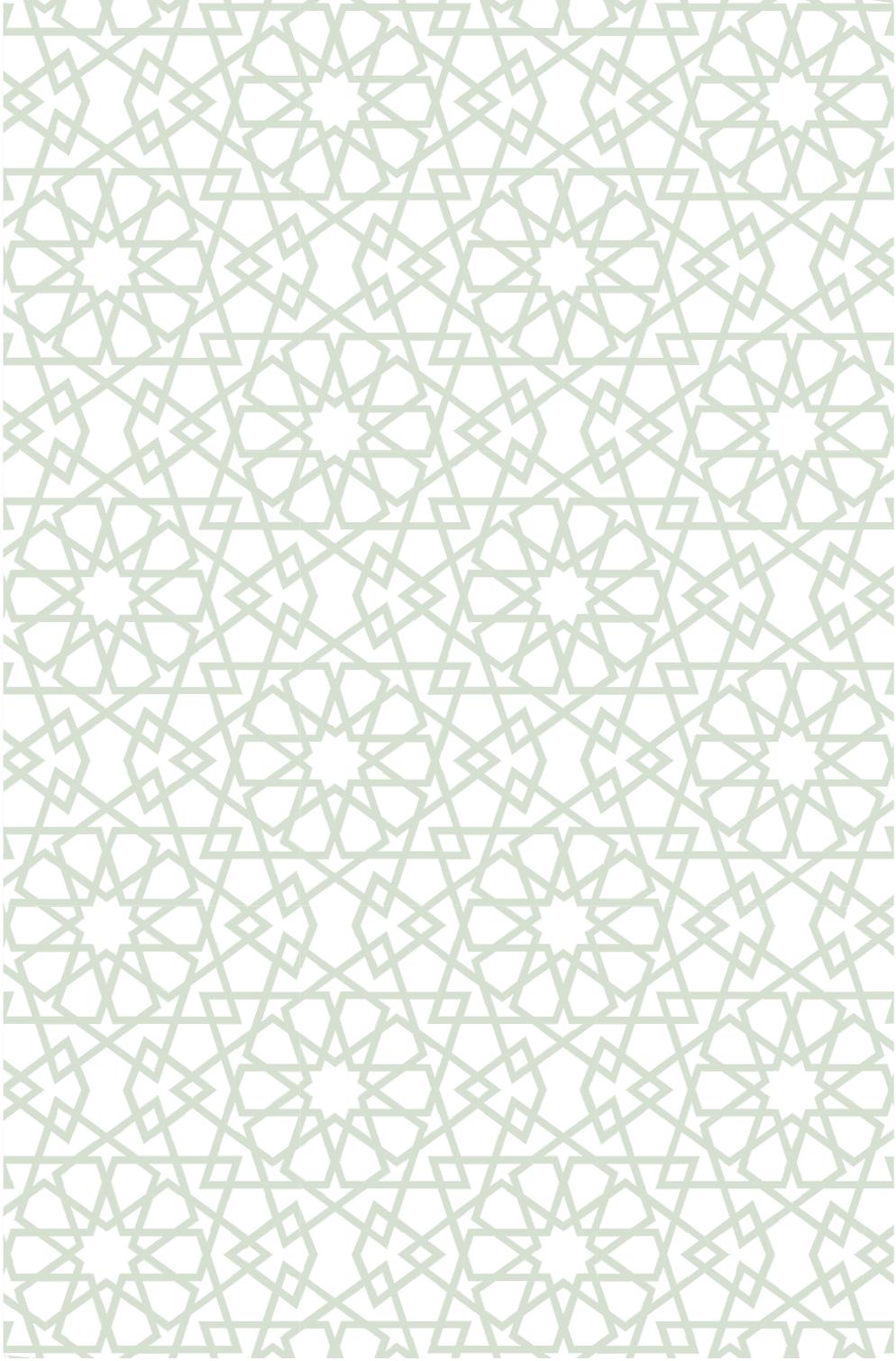
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The Importance of the Prophetic Biography



The honorable biography of Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) provides us with abundant knowledge, deep understanding of the juristic implications and impassionedness. The study of his biography nourishes the souls, enlightens the minds, animates the hearts, and refines the manners.

The Prophetic biography explains the life of Allah's Messenger in its minute and meticulous details starting from his birth and ending to his death. It sheds light on his childhood, youth, calling for Islam, *Jihād* (fighting in the cause of Allah), patience, and victory over enemies. It also reveals his honorable life as a husband, father, commander, ruler, politician, judge, teacher, preacher, and an ascetic.

The honorable biography of Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) represents the source of inspiration and the fountain of hope and guidance for every Muslim:

Through studying this biography, the **preacher** can learn the strategies and manners necessary for *Da`wah* (Islamic call). He will be acquainted with its sequential stages, and the appropriate methods suited for each stage and for communicating properly with other people. Also, the preacher can perceive the great effort exerted by the Prophet (peace be upon him) in order to uphold the Word of Allah. He can also learn the patience and proper conduct necessary for overcoming barriers, obstacles and difficulties blocking his way to propagate *Da`wah*.

The **teacher** can understand the Prophetic lessons about upbringing. That is, how the Prophet (peace be upon him) could strongly influence the people.

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How he could impress his Companions whom he brought up and prepared at his own hands. How he could unite those different people and made them a unique Quranic generation who laid down the foundation of the best nation ever raised up for mankind. The Nation which enjoins what is good, forbids what is evil, and believes in Allah. With those great Companions, the Prophet managed to establish a State which spread justice and mercy to the East and the West.

The **commander** can find a solid discipline and an accurate approach to the art of leading armies, tribes and peoples. Also, the commander will perceive obvious examples of planning, accurate implementation, and eagerness to maintain the principles of justice, and establish the rules of *Ash-Shûrâ* (i.e. consultation) between soldiers and commanders, rulers and peoples.

The **politician** will grasp the way of the Prophet in dealing with the most tough and devious political adversaries such as the chief of the hypocrites `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy Ibn Salûl who showed Islam and hid disbelief and hatred towards the Prophet (peace be upon him). He can also realize how a hypocrite like Ibn Ibn Salûl hatched and stirred up plots, and spread rumors that were offensive to Allah's Messenger in order to weaken his authority and alienate people from him. Finally, he can learn useful lessons from the patience of the Messenger with the hypocrites' offensiveness and hatred until the truth was revealed to the people, to the degree that Ibn Salûl's own tribesmen ostracized and detested him, and reproved his actions choosing to unite with all Muslims under the leadership of the Prophet (peace be upon him).

The **scholars** can find the help necessary to understand the Book of Allah, in view of the fact that this honorable biography interprets and explains the Glorious Qur'ân , as it includes the reasons for the revelation and the interpretation of many Verses. Moreover, this biography helps the scholars to apprehend and live with the events surrounded the revelation of these Verses, deduce the rulings and the principles of Islamic politics, get the correct knowledge in various Islamic sciences, and identify the abrogating and the abrogated Verses in the Qur'ân . Thus, they can comprehend the spirit of Islam and realize its sublime purposes.

The **ascetics** can find the true meanings of asceticism as well as its essence and purpose in the Prophetic biography.

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The **traders** can deduce the purposes of trade, in addition to its systems and methods.

The **people suffering afflictions of this life** can learn the highest degrees of patience and fortitude, as this biography strengthens their determinations to walk in the path of Islamic *Da`wah*, boosts their trust in Allah, the Almighty. It also gives them the certainty that the pious among them will attain the good end.

Finally, the **Nation** can follow the example of its great Prophet and learn the high moral standards, good manners, sound beliefs and acts of worship, purity of heart, love of *Jihâd* for the sake of Allah and sincerely seeking martyrdom in His cause.

As a result, a special care and attention must be paid to the study of the Prophetic biography. It was narrated that `Alî Ibn Al-Ḥusayn said; “We were learning (about) the Conquests of the Prophet (peace be upon him), just like we learn a Surah (chapter) from the Qur`ân.”

Also, it was narrated that Muḥammad Ibn `Abdullâh heard his uncle Az-Zuhrî saying; “In the science of Prophetic Conquests, lies both the sciences related to this life and the Hereafter.”

Ismâ`îl Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs said; “My father used to teach us the Conquests of Allah’s Messenger (peace be upon him) and repeat them to us saying; “These are the glorious deeds of your fathers so do not waste them.”

Surely, knowing the Prophetic guidance on upbringing the Nation and establishing the Islamic State helps the scholars, leaders, jurists and rulers to identify the path to the glory of Islam and the Muslims through defining the factors behind the rises and the falls of the Nation.

Through the Prophetic approach, the Muslim can learn the arts of managing conflicts, and attain proficiency in managing its stages. Also, he can learn how the Messenger of Allah faced the counter-forces of infidels and their likes, and how he (peace be upon him) had overcome them all.

Actually, the empowerment of this Nation, the restoration of its glory and prestige, and the enforcement of *Shari`ah* (Islamic law) are conditional on observing the Prophetic guidance, as Allah, the Almighty, says:

{“Say: ‘Obey Allah and obey the Messenger, but if you turn away, he (Messenger Muhammad) is only responsible for the duty placed on him (i.e. to convey Allah’s Message) and you for that placed on you. If you obey him, you shall be on the right guidance. The Messenger’s duty is only to convey (the message) in a clear way (i.e. to preach in a plain way).”}

[An-Nûr: 54]

Then the following Verses spoke about the empowerment and described its conditions, as Allah, the Almighty, says:

{“Allah has promised those among you who believe, and do righteous good deeds, that He will certainly grant them succession to the earth, as He granted it to those before them, and that He will grant them the authority to practice their religion, that which He has chosen for them (i.e. Islam). And He will surely give them in exchange a safe security after their fear, (provided) they worship Me and do not associate anything with Me. But whoever disbelieved after this, they are the Fâsiqûn (rebellious, disobedient to Allah). And perform As-Salât (prayer), and give Az-Zakât (alms-giving) and obey the Messenger (Muhammad) that you may receive mercy (from Allah).”}

[An-Nûr: 55-56]

The Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Companions had fulfilled the conditions of empowerment. They applied the belief in all of its senses and pillars to their lives. They also did all sorts of good acts, and were keen on enjoining all kinds of goodness and righteousness. They worshiped Allah through all their affairs, fought against all forms and types of polytheism. Further, they took all necessary steps, materially and morally, individually and collectively, to consolidate the reasons for empowerment until they had established their State in Medina, and then spread the religion of Allah among other peoples and nations.

The Muslims’ inability to assume the global leadership today is a logical consequence for a nation that has forgotten its mission, discredited its importance, and neglected the Divine Rules, thinking that empowerment can be achieved through hopes and dreams.

The Importance of the Prophetic Biography

The weakness of faith, spiritual dryness (deadness), intellectual confusion, and defeatism, which the Nation suffers, are results of the large gap existing between this Nation on one hand and the Qur'ân , the honorable Prophetic *Sunnah* (traditions), the era of the rightly-guided Caliphs, and the glorious phases of our bright history, concerning applying the rules and lessons derived from them to our real life, on the other hand.

Those who deny the Divine Approach, neglect the historical memory of the Nation filled with lessons and examples. They want to lead the Muslims through their own desires and opinions which are far from the directions of the Glorious Qur'ân and the guidance of the Prophet (peace be upon him), and thus they will never achieve success.

There is a great need for recognizing the Prophetic approach of upbringing the Nation, establishing the State, comprehending the Divine Rules which govern the peoples, nations and states, and understanding the ways of the Prophet in dealing with these rules at the commencement of *Da`wah*. By doing so, we will benefit of the Prophetic guidance to find the right path to perform *Da`wah*, empower our religion, establish our State on a sound approach which derives its principles and basics from the Book of Allah and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (peace be upon him). In this regard, Allah, the Almighty, says:

“Indeed in the Messenger of Allah (Muhammad) you have a good example to follow for him who hopes in (the meeting with) Allah and the Last Day and remembers Allah much.”

[Al-Ahzâb: 21]

The Prophet's juristic approach to upbringing the Nation and establishing the state was comprehensive, integrated, balanced, and in compliance with the Divine Rules which govern the societies, revive the peoples and build the states. His dealing with these rules was so wise and intelligent as it took into considerations the rules of graduation, conflicts among people, and afflictions incurred upon them. It also paid attention to the principles of seeking the means of achieving goals, and the change of human souls.

The Messenger of Allah instilled this Divine Approach, including its concepts, values, beliefs and true perceptions about Allah, humans, universe,

Muhammad: The Messenger of Allah and His Rightly-Guided Caliphs

life, Paradise, Hell and Destiny, into the hearts of his Companions. Actually, they were strongly influenced by his approach of upbringing and they abided strictly by his directives. Whenever the one among them who was absent comes back, he would ask the Companions about what they had seen from the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his teachings and guidance, and inquire about what had been revealed during his absence. They followed the Prophet (peace be upon him) in every single step, and they transmitted this knowledge to their children and to other people.

Whosoever studies the Prophetic biography knows well the philosophy of the Prophet (peace be upon him) in administrating the society, making treaties with the People of the Book, planning for the Conquests, managing economy, and uplifting the Muslims to the concepts of the Islamic religion, which came to save mankind from indulging in deep darkness, worshipping idols, and deviating from the great *Shari`ah*. Thus, one can identify the good qualities and morals of the Prophet (peace be upon him) with which he lived among the people. Through the Prophetic biography, one can see a confirmation of the poetry of Hassân Ibn Thâbit saying:

*And more beautiful than you my eyes have never seen (a person),
and better than you women never gave birth to;
You have been created without the slightest defect,
as if you have been created the way you wished to.*

O Allah! Glory and praise be to You. I bear witness that there is none worthy of worship but You. I seek Your forgiveness and turn to You in repentance.

Prof. Elsayed Abdelhalim Muhammed Hussein

AMJA Secretary General Assistant



Introduction



Praise be to Allah, and peace and blessings be upon the savior of humanity, Muhammad Ibn `Abdullâh, whose perfect Message and great *Shari`ah* (the Islamic Law) had illuminated the east and the west and the entire universe.

Many writers and biographers of different religions and tendencies have intensively addressed the biography of the Messenger of Allah. Muslims and non-Muslims still further make the biography of this honorable Messenger an area of research and analysis, hoping to discover the secrets of the endless grandeur of this great personality, and to know the reason for this success and wisdom, and why Muhammad (peace be upon him) had emerged in this Arab environment at this moment when it did not come to man's mind that the Arab nation will have, in the future, this prestige and esteem.

The honorable, unique and unmatched personality of the Prophet (peace be upon him) cannot be measured by the achievements accomplished in his era only, but it shall also be measured by the outcomes of these achievements during his era and the era of the rightly-guided Caliphs; including the great Conquests and the establishment of the great Islamic State which extended east to the border of China, and west to the mountains of France.

These outcomes had and still have very great impacts on the human beings, their civilizations, their cultures, and upon their social, religious, political and military status.

Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) had established a new Nation which clearly represents his mastership at upbringing. He could bring the torn Arabs out from the darkness of ignorance and associating other deities with Allah into the light of *Tawhîd* (monotheism) which gathered them after being torn out, and united them after being divided. Further, he (peace be

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upon him) made great leaders from amongst this nation, and made from the Muslim a civilized example with regard to his mentality, faith, good morals, ideals and honesty.

Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) had patiently brought up his Companions until he made of them a group of people who had the ability to lead the great State which will be established after his death.

This book is a humble attempt to delve into the Prophet's life, which was full of struggle for the sake of Allah, sacrifice, wisdom, faith and activity, and extract the good examples from it so that all humanity may follow, learn and make use of it. It is also an attempt to take lessons from his Companions, those men who sacrificed everything and dedicated their lives to save the entire humanity.

How did these nonpareil persons spend their lives in drawing up the plans aiming at creating a generation to whom the whole world had submitted, and who gained success and happiness in the Hereafter?

Whoever considers and studies the history of Islam and its civilization in a scholarly balanced and unbiased way will notice, with all due respect and admiration, the big influence of Muhammad (peace be upon him) on every step and movement recorded in the history of Muslims. He will also intuitively realize that the prime motive for all events occurred in this history was the religion of Islam, and that everything established after the advent of Islam was found because of Islam and under its banner.

It is really worthwhile to introduce the biography of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) in its brightest and most beautiful image in a time during which the darkness had intensified, the falsehood temporarily displaced the truth, and the materialism seized control over the human changing many of his values and leading him to confusion and disturbance. Human beings will find in this honorable biography the ideal behavior that brings the biased and false calls down. They will also find in it the living example of the true humanity, and the bright image of the true human who exercises his humanity in all its aspects and interacts with the reality in all its variables. Studying the Prophet's biography will help realize that Muhammad (peace be upon him), who reached the utmost of human perfection, was not far from humanity in

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all of his conditions. He lived the feelings of this humanity as an orphan, an upright young man, a caller for Allah with wisdom and good exhortation, a kind-hearted father, a perfect husband, a military commander, a poor and a rich man, and a Muslim ruler combining worship and devotion to his Lord on the one hand and good companionship to his family and his Companions on the other hand.

This study is essential for the tormented humanity straying into deep darkness, so that it may find in it a safe refuge which guides it to the port of deliverance. In the same manner, it is essential for the tormented Muslim wavering between the non-Muslim values which invade his mind, thought, society on the one hand and the values of Islam on the other hand.

Actually, this honorable biography is a living embodiment of the teachings of Islam as prescribed by Allah, the Almighty, to be applied in the real life of human and in his society. In the light of these teachings the human can raise up in the lap of luxury and in full recognition of his humanity, as these teachings direct the human in all aspects of his life, and guide him to what is good for him. Muhammad (peace be upon him) himself is an embodiment of these teachings in each situation and circumstance; he was a good example for his Companions and for all humanity. In this regard Allah, Exalted be He, says:

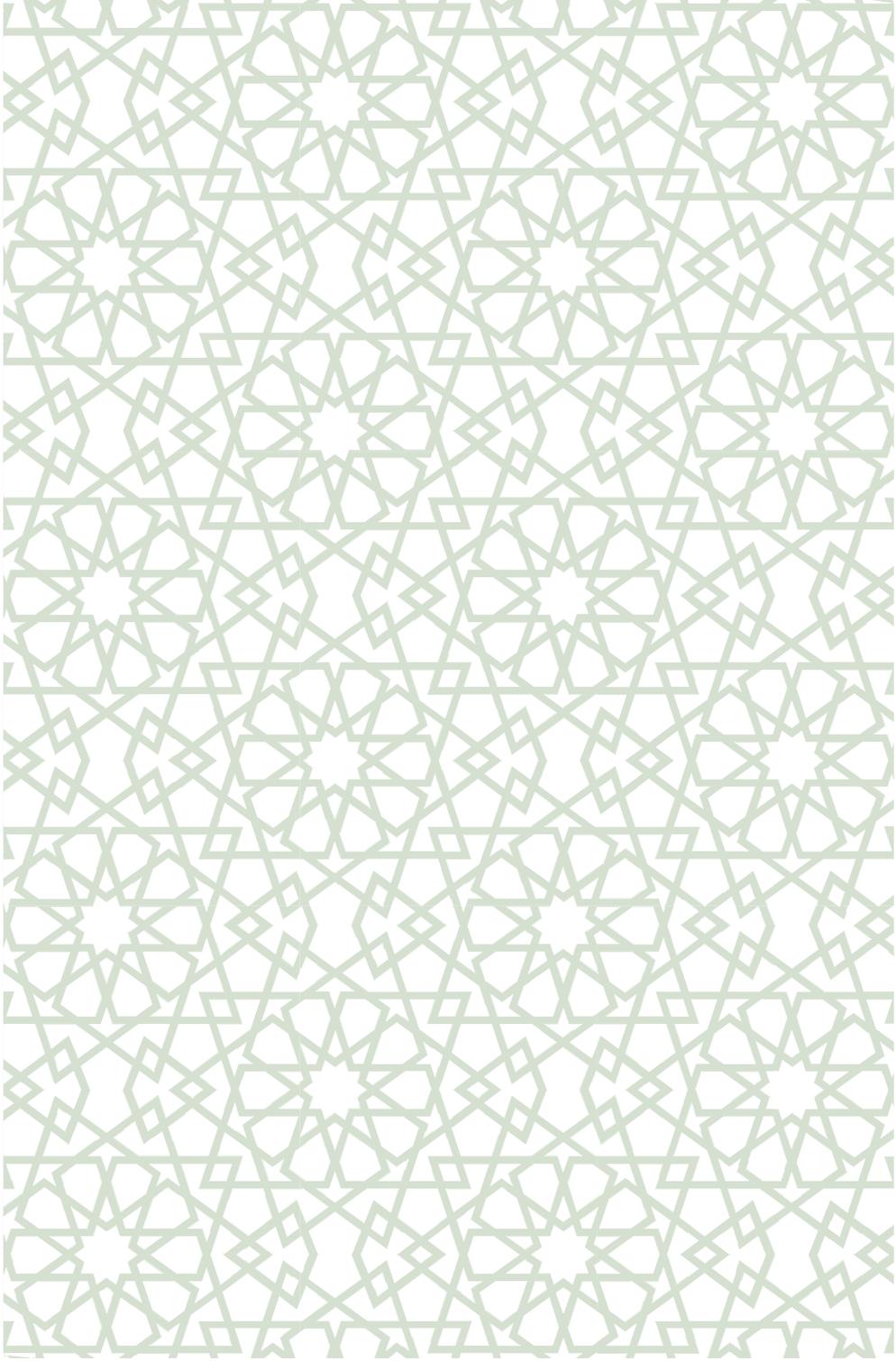
{“Indeed in the Messenger of Allah (Muhammad) you have a good example to follow for him who hopes in (the meeting with) Allah and the Last Day and remembers Allah much...”}

[Al-Ahzâb: 21]

May Allah guide us to the right path, sound thought, good intention, and our last prayer is that all praise is due to Allah, the Lord of all that exists.

Prof. Elsayed Abdelhalim Muhammed Hussein

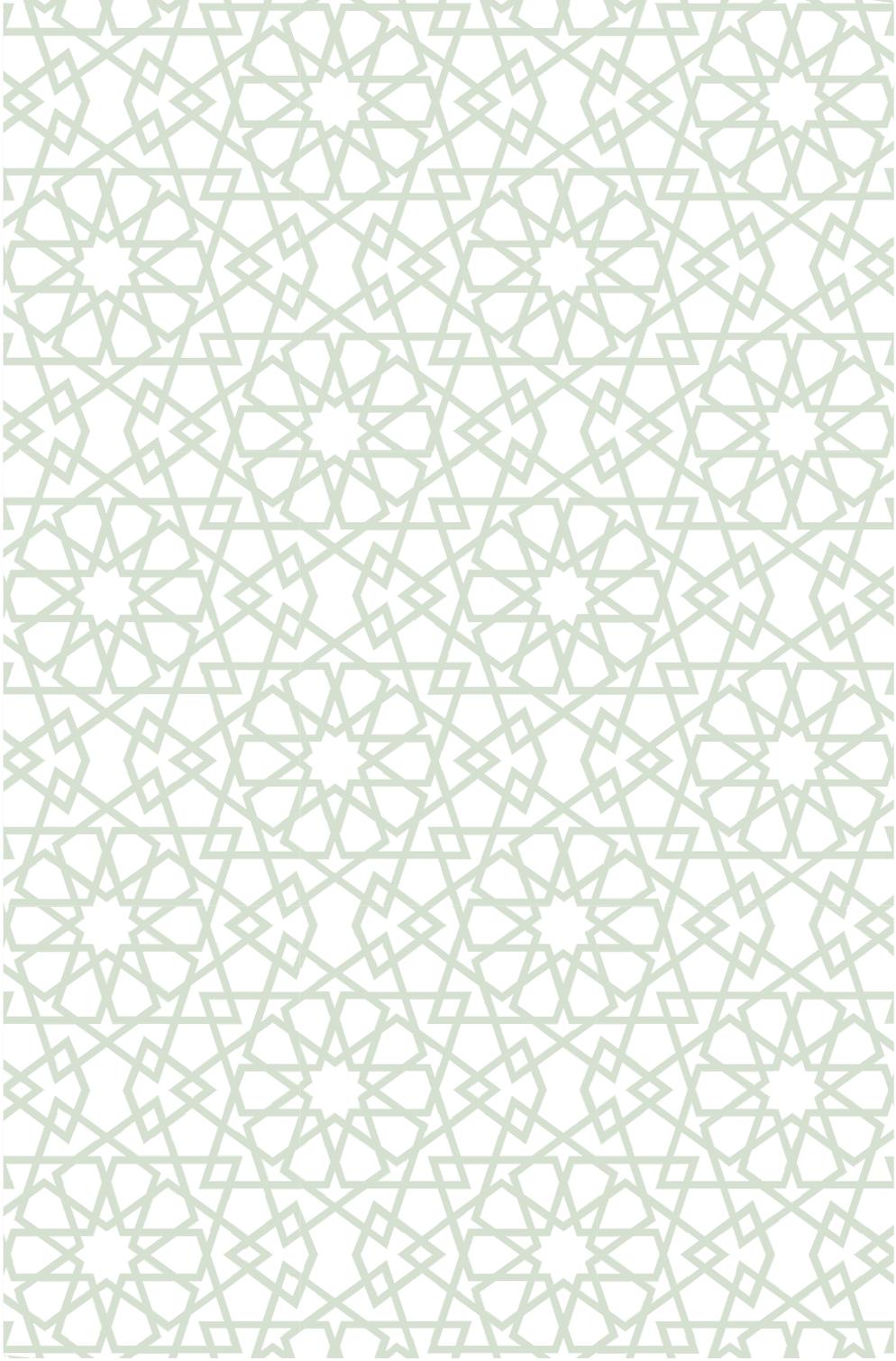
AMJA Secretary General Assistant



Section

1

The Honorable Biography





The Honorable Biography



Surely, studying the genealogy of the Prophetic family will help revealing various aspects of the Prophet's greatness and clarifying the causes behind the success of his *Da`wah* (Islamic Call).

► Qusayy

Speaking about the ancestry of the Prophet (peace be upon him), we will commence from his fifth grandfather, i.e. Qusayy Ibn Kilâb. As reported in history, Qusayy managed to expel the tribe of *Khuzâ`ah*, rulers of Mecca at this time, taking over their position of authority along with his clan of *Kananites*. Making use of his charismatic personality and sharpness of mind, Qusayy also managed to promote the prestige of the *Quraishites* giving them a spiritual dominance over other Arab tribes. He tried to take all powers for himself as being the principal of the Sacred House revered by all Arabs, and thus he had the offices of *Siqâyah* (providing pilgrims with drinking water), *Rifâdah* (providing pilgrims with food), *Hijâbah* (maintenance of the *Ka`bah* and guardianship over its keys) and *Liwâ`* (the flag of war). Then, he decided to establish the *Dârun-Nadwah* (house of Council) to consult with the notables of his people in all matters that concern the people of Mecca. As a result, he got all positions of power and sovereignty so that no matter inside or outside Mecca could be carried out without direction from Qusayy.

► `Abd Manâf

He was the most eminent among the sons of Qusayy; however, he had not got any position of authority. This is because his father, Qusayy, found that his social status will be sufficient for him. As a result, all positions of authority had been transferred to his brother `Abdud-Dâr. On his part, `Abd Manâf kept supporting and helping his brother fulfilling the duties of his office until his brother died.

► **Hâshim**

As the sons of `Abd Manâf were superior to the sons of `Abdud-Dâr, the elder son of `Abd Manâf, Hâshim, the third grandfather of the Prophet (peace be upon him), succeeded to lead the *Quraishites* and take control over Mecca. He gained the love and respect of everybody getting close to him or knowing any of his characteristics.

Just like Qusayy had established the *Dârun-Nadwah* (house of Council), Hâshim was the first one to organize the trade journeys to Yemen in winter and to Syria in summer. He also encouraged the small trade caravans to pass through Mecca and secured the routes of trade through concluding treaties and agreements with the Romans, Persians and Abyssinians. He guaranteed the security of the Pilgrims who felt safe for their possessions and for themselves and thus they used to visit Mecca. As a result, the trade of Mecca flourished and prosperity spread.

► **`Abdul-Muttalib**

After the death of his father, `Abdul-Muttalib Ibn Hâshim maintained his family prestige and Arabs kept on believing in his efficiency all the time. His smartness and good ability to deal with many incidents that occurred during his leadership were reasons behind Arabs holding him in high esteem. Also, his success to find the well of *Zamzam* was another factor that supported his esteem and gave him a great reputation all over Arabia. Moreover, Arabs never forget `Abdul-Muttalib's stance against Abrahah Al-Habashî, the Abyssinian viceroy who wanted to demolish the *Ka`bah*, when `Abdul-Muttalib had earnestly supplicated his Lord to protect His House (i.e. *Ka`bah*) and defeat His enemy, and finally Abrahah's Army was destroyed.

Since then, Arabs, in Mecca and territories around, realized that `Abdul-Muttalib has some sort of relation with Heaven to which his success and sound reason are attributed, and thus they submitted to him willingly.

► **`Abdullâh**

The father of the Prophet (peace be upon him) who died while he (peace be upon him) was a fetus in his mother's womb. As a result, `Abdul-Muttalib, his grandfather, looked after him.

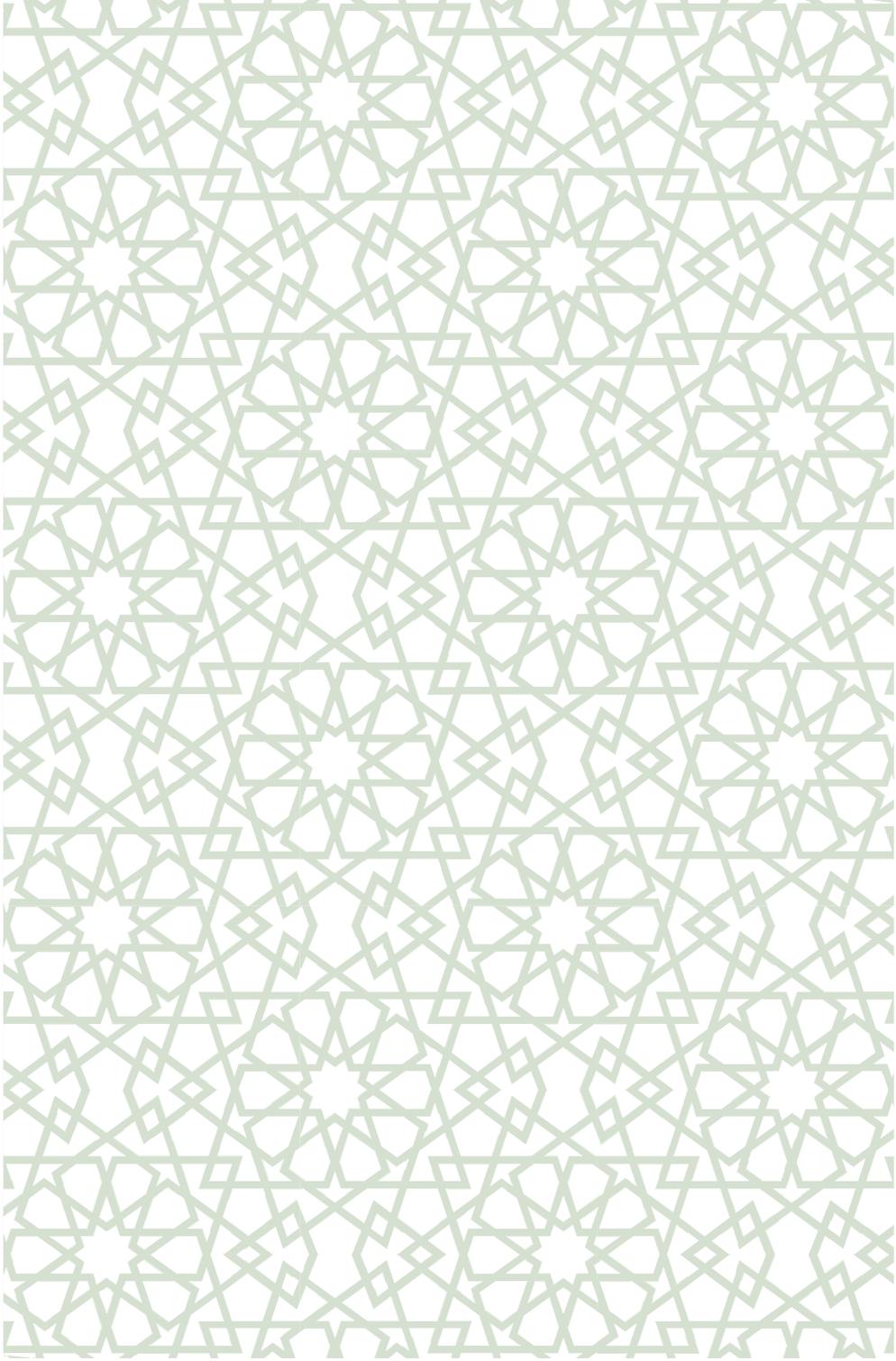
First Section: The Honorable Biography

► **Muhammad**

Abovementioned are the grandfathers of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), who was brought up in the shadows of their glory and great reputation. This is the noblest lineage of all human beings and the greatest in purity, chastity, loftiness, and perfection. Being of such eminence in respect of nobility of position and descent, this ancestral lineage stood as a stumbling block in the face of *Quraysh* attempts to degrade the Prophet (peace be upon him) or belittle his status.

When such a noble lineage of the Prophet (peace be upon him) is crowned by generosity, exalted standards of character, truthfulness and honesty, then, his Message shall prevail and his Call shall be answered except by those who are stubborn and ill-hearted.



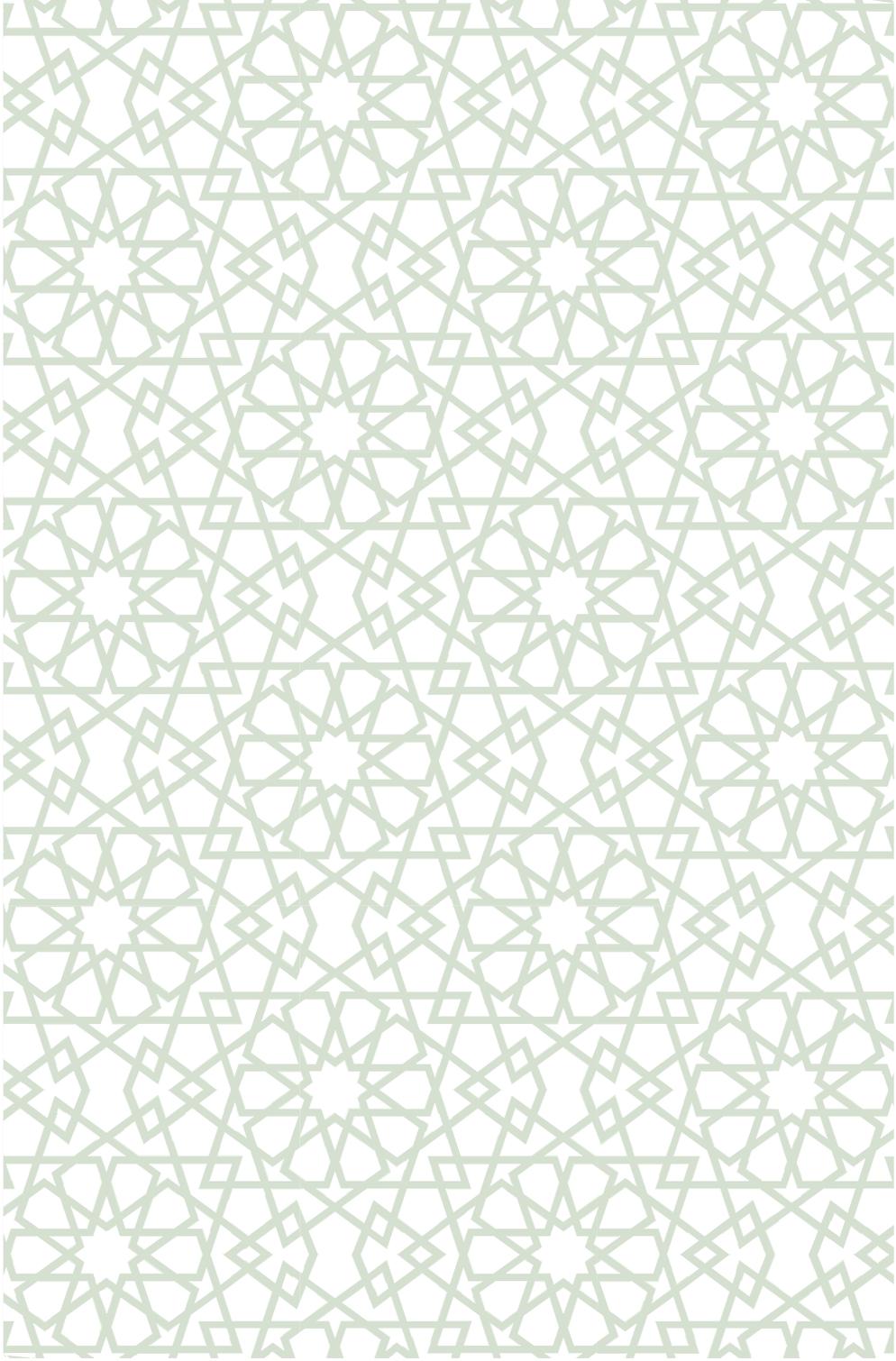


Phases of the Prophetic Biography

Phase (I) : From Birth to Prophethood.

Phase (II) : From Prophethood to Immigration.

Phase (III) : From Immigration to Death.





Phase (I) From Birth to Prophethood



► His Lineage

Since the event of the Elephant (570 A.D.), people had raised the mention of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and had clearly cited his lineage as being Muḥammad Ibn `Abdullāh Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib Ibn Hāshim, Ibn `Abd Manāf Ibn Quṣayy Ibn Kilāb Ibn Murrah Ibn Ka`b Ibn Lu`ayy Ibn Ghālib Ibn Fahr Ibn Mālik Ibnun-Naḍr Ibn Kinānah Ibn Mudrikah Ibn Ilyās Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma`add Ibn `Adnān.

Muslim genealogists refrain from tracing the genealogy of the Prophet (peace be upon him) back after `Adnān, because of the length of the prophet's lineage tree, and the uncertainty about the grandfathers after `Adnān. Moreover, it is narrated that the Prophet (peace be upon him) was abstaining from tracing his lineage back after `Adnān. In this regard, Ibn `Abbās Narrated that the Prophet (peace be upon him) was refraining from continuing his lineage after `Adnān, and says:

“The genealogists (in this regard) are liars. Allah, Exalted be He, says: ‘...and many generations in between.’ [Al-Furqān: 38]”⁽¹⁾

Also, `Ā'ishah (may Allah be pleased with her) said:

“We do not recognize anyone who knows (the Prophet's lineage) after Ma`add Ibn `Adnān or after Qaḥtān, but guessing”⁽²⁾

As for his maternal lineage, his mother is Āminah Bint Wahb Ibn `Abd Manāf Ibn Zuhrah Ibn Kilāb, the sixth paternal grandfather of the Prophet. So,

(1) “Al-Qaṣd Wa Al-Umam” (P. 50).

(2) Ibid. (P. 48).

First Section: The Honorable Biography

the Prophet's paternal and maternal lineages unite in his sixth grandfather, Kilâb.

➤ His Birth

Historians differ regarding the exact date of the Prophet's birth. They mention different years, months, days and even hours for his birth.

However, the most preponderant opinion concerning this issue is that the Prophet (peace be upon him) was born on the 12th of Rabi' I, corresponding to the 20th of August, 570 A.D.⁽¹⁾ The people of Mecca used to visit the place where the Prophet (peace be upon him) was born on this day every year.

➤ Place of His Birth

The Prophet (peace be upon him) was born in a room in a house that is located in *Zuqâq Ad-Dâr*, in *Banû Hâshim* lane. The house was owned by the Prophet (peace be upon him), then he granted it to `Aqîl Ibn Abû Tâlib. After the death of `Aqîl, his heirs sold it to Muḥammad Ibn Yûsuf, the brother of Al-Hajjâj. When Al-Khayzurân, the mother of Caliph Hârûn Ar-Rashîd performed *Hajj*, she made it a place of worship.

A library was built in the place of this house, which is visited by the seekers of knowledge. The place of the Prophet's birth is found in a known room inside this library building.

➤ His Parents

`Abdul-Muttalib Ibn Hâshim was the chief of his tribe, he reached 70 years old, and he had most of his sons at the second half of his life. His sons got the honor and esteem they deserve as being the sons of `Abdul-Muttalib. Among `Abdul-Muttalib's sons, `Abdullâh, father of the Prophet, was the youngest and the dearest to his father. When `Abdullâh reached 24 years old, his father chose Âminah Bint Wahb from the clan of *Zuhrah Ibn Kilâb*, one

(1) In his "*At-Taqwîm Al-'Arabî Qabla Al-Islâm*" (Cairo, 1969), Maḥamûd Pâshâ Al-Falakî says that the Prophet (peace be upon him) was born in Rabi' I, 9 (corresponding to April 20, 571 A.D.). See also "*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*" by Sheikh Muḥammad Al-Khudârî.

Phase (I): From Birth to Prophethood

of *Quraysh's* most honorable and prestigious clans, to be his wife. `Abdullâh married Âminah in Mecca, and soon after he went in a trade journey to the Levant. But, on his way back from Gaza, he went to his father's maternal uncles, *Banû An-Najjâr*, in Medina to recover from a disease, but he died and was buried there.

At this time, Âminah was two months pregnant. When she gave birth to the Prophet (peace be upon him), he was put under the guardianship of his grandfather, `Abdul-Muttalib. *Quraysh* was very happy with the birth of the Prophet (peace be upon him). It is reported that Abû Lahab, the Prophet's uncle, freed his own bondmaid Thuwaybah when she brought him the good news of the Prophet's birth.

► The Name Is Muḥammad

It is known that a child's name is usually determined in accordance with some factors related to the environment in which he was born. For example, a father may tend to memorialize a family member who has a special status in the hearts of all the family. A father also may name his child after the name of a glorious national leader or hero, hoping that the child may share some of his glorious characteristics.

Here, when we contemplate the naming of the Prophet (peace be upon him) as Muḥammad, we find no reason for such a name. However, history tells us that `Abdul-Muttalib mentioned that he named him Muḥammad so that he should be praised on earth and in the heavens. Such a reason is not satisfying for someone who is looking for knowledge and truth. That is, as the factors urged `Abdul-Muttalib to choose this name, which was not known or, at least, common among the Arabs, are still unknown, so what was the sound reason that made `Abdul-Muttalib choose such name for his grandson?

Unless `Abdul-Muttalib had heard from the rabbis that a Prophet whose name Muḥammad will be sent soon, we cannot ignore the Divine Direction towards this name. Also, we cannot overlook the spiritual tendency and the divinely-granted success and inspiration for which `Abdul-Muttalib was known among his people, and which helped him greatly to hold his great esteem among the Arabs. That is, it was known among the Arabs that `Abdul-Muttalib had been divinely inspired to find the place of the Well of *Zamzam*

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which was plugged by the tribe of *Khuzâ`ah*, and then forgotten. Also, his stance against Abrahah Al-*Habashî* roused the amazement and admiration of his people after Abrahah's army was defeated.

Accordingly, we can say that `Abdul-Muttalib was foretelling the future when he named his grandson. Moreover, such a name was a first step in the creation and perfect upbringing of the awaited Prophet (peace be upon him) since his first day in this world.

► His Breastfeeding

It was a custom of the *Quraishite* notables to send their children away to Bedouin wet nurses because their women were considering breastfeeding as being shameful because doing so was regarded as one sign of poverty by the Arabs. Women of *Quraysh* were preferring to dedicate themselves to their husbands hoping for producing multiple offspring which was a great source of pride among women of Arabia. Moreover, Arabs believed that the environment of towns results in poor minds and weak personalities, and that Bedouin surroundings are much healthier so that their children might grow up in free and healthy surroundings of the desert whereby they would develop sharp-wittedness, and acquire eloquence and beauty of speech.

It is not known whether Âminah, the mother of the Prophet (peace be upon him), had breastfed her son for more than two days or not. Some historians state that her breast milk had dried up because of her great sorrow over the death of her husband whose memory was recalled by the birth of the Prophet (peace be upon him). This is why Âminah entrusted the breastfeeding of her child to Thuwaybah, the ex-bondmaid of Abû Lahab, until the Bedouin wet nurses arrive. It was the custom of Bedouin wet nurses who find themselves healthy and strong enough, to come to Mecca two times a year to offer their services to wealthy mothers at first, and then reluctantly to poor ones, lest they turn back empty-handed.

Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) was entrusted to *Halimah* Bint Abû Dhu'ayb from *Banû Sa`d* (one of Arabia's most highborn tribes). Her husband was called Abû Kabshah. He is the one with whom *Quraysh* was jeering at the Prophet (peace be upon him) saying; "This is the son of Abû Kabshah who is addressed from the sky".

► **The Story of Splitting His Chest**

Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) stayed with *Banû Sa`d* for five years. However, many historians state that Halimah returned him back to his mother when he (peace be upon him) was three years old out of fear that something bad may happen to him, after the incident of splitting his chest. Some others believe that the cause of returning the Prophet (peace be upon him) to his mother is Halimah's fear of the Christians of Abyssinia who knew the signs of the Prophet's future and may think of hurting him.

The incident of splitting the Prophet's chest is proved through many narrations. Some scholars maintain that such split was physical and had been witnessed by eyes. They affirm that some parts were taken out from the prophet's chest so as to purify him from Satanic whispers. Nevertheless, other scholars do not believe that such split was physical. They state that since the aim of the split was to purify the Prophet (peace be upon him), then such split is not necessarily physical; rather, it was moral or spiritual, as it is the case in Allah's saying:

{“Did We not expand for you, [O Muḥammad], your breast?”}

[Ash-Sharḥ: 1]

Moreover, the narration of the physical splitting depends mainly on a three-years-old child. In addition, the different narrations concerning the reason of giving the Prophet (peace be upon him) back to his mother do not affirm the occurrence of physical splitting that is widely mentioned in the books of Prophetic biography. Also, the black lump mentioned in these narrations as being the part removed from the Prophet's heart is not anatomically existent; rather, it is a symbol for showing the way in which Satan whispers to humans. Accordingly, removing it does not necessitate a surgery as it is the case in physical splitting.

► **The Death of His Mother**

After Halimah took the Prophet (peace be upon him) back to Mecca, he lived with his mother under the care of his grandfather `Abdul-Muttalib. Aminah used to accompany `Abdul-Muttalib to visit her husband's grave

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every year.⁽¹⁾ When her son was six years old, Âminah went to this visit taking the child with her to visit his grandfather's maternal uncles of *Banû `Adiyy Ibnun-Najjâr* in Medina. They stayed there for a month, where she introduced the child to his grandfather's maternal uncles, accompanied him to his father's grave and told him about the place where his father died and the disease which resulted in his death. These matters had a sad effect on Muḥammad, the child, (peace be upon him) as he began thinking about his father whom he did not see or enjoy living in his shades of love and care like other children.

In their way back to Mecca, Âminah fell ill near *Al-Abwâ'*, a village located twenty-three miles away from Medina. She died and was buried there. `Abdul-Muttalib and Umm Ayman returned to Mecca with Muḥammad (peace be upon him), where he felt the bitterness of orphanhood. Feeling the pain and grief of the child, `Abdul-Muttalib tried to relieve his sadness through encompassing him with his great love and compassion. As a result, Muḥammad (peace be upon him) enjoyed a special position in the heart of his grandfather, which no one else, even his sons, had enjoyed.

► The Death of His Grandfather

Considering his grandfather's love and compassion as his only consolation and comfort, Muḥammad (peace be upon him) lost `Abdul-Muttalib when he was eight years old. Before his death, the grandfather entrusted Muḥammad (peace be upon him) to his uncle Abû Tâlib. Muḥammad grieved for the death of his grandfather as he grieved over his mother. He wept him bitterly and continuously all the way to his grave. He also kept in mentioning and remembering him despite the affection, kindness, love and care of his uncle.

► His Work During Childhood

Muḥammad (peace be upon him) realized that his uncle is not wealthy and has many children for whom he struggles to feed. Muḥammad (peace be upon him) himself had not a lot of money to be considered among the wealthy minors of *Quraysh*. All he had possessed were five camels, a herd of

(1) "*Muḥâdarât Fî Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*" by Sheikh Muḥammad Al-Khudârî (P. 94).

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cattle and a bondmaid called Umm Ayman, his nursemaid who took care of him after the death of his mother.

Refusing to be a burden on his uncle, Muḥammad (peace be upon him) felt obliged to work so as to gain his own livelihood. But, what could he do in his early age except pasturing people's cattle on the hills of Mecca? In fact, this job had greatly influenced him since his youngness, as it filled his heart with kindness, mercy and leniency and provided him with wisdom, energy and wakefulness.

► His First Journey to the Levant

When the Prophet (peace be upon him) was twelve, his uncle wanted to travel to the Levant in a trade journey. Muḥammad (peace be upon him) insisted on going with him in this trade caravan. When they reached Buṣrâ, at the southern borders of the Levant, they met a Christian monk called Bahîrâ who saw the signs of Prophethood in Muḥammad (peace be upon him) as mentioned in the Christians books. Bahîrâ advised Abû Tâlib to take his nephew back to his homeland to protect him against an enemy who was waiting for him. He also told him that a great future is in store for the nephew. However, Abû Tâlib did not care about these words and continued his journey until he finished his trade deals and then returned to Mecca with his nephew.

On his part, Muḥammad benefited greatly from this journey, as it increased his knowledge and expanded his perception.



The Emergence of Muḥammad's Character Among His People

There are many stances that drew the attention of *Quraysh* to the Prophet (peace be upon him), among these stances are:

► His Stance on *Al-Fijâr* (Sacrilegious) War

Among the benefits Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) gained from his first journey to the Levant were his acquaintance with the way of caravans in the desert, expansion of vision, sensitivity of feelings, and strong perception and insight. He (peace be upon him) learnt in this early age how to listen to poets and orators in literary and trade markets around Mecca. He (peace be upon him) also learnt how to carry weapons and use bows as was the custom of his tribe. When *Al-Fijâr* (Sacrilegious) War⁽¹⁾ took place between *Quraysh* and *Kinânah* on one side and *Hawâzin* on the other side, he (peace be upon him) took part in this war. Historians differ regarding the role of the Prophet (peace be upon him) in this war. Some state that he (peace be upon him) was gathering *Hawâzin*'s arrows which had missed his uncles and handing these arrows to his uncles so that they could shoot them back at the enemy. Others affirm that he (peace be upon him) himself shot arrows as a bowman in this war. Yet, taking into consideration that this war dragged on for four years, then we can see no contradiction between the two narrations of historians.⁽²⁾

► *Hilf Al-Fudûl* (Pact of the Virtuous)

Quraysh felt that *Al-Fijâr* (Sacrilegious) War was a result of separation and power struggles after the death of Hâshim and `Abdul-Muttalib. So, they

(1) It was called so because it had begun in one of the Sacred Months. The reason behind its outbreak was that a man from *Kinânah* called Al-Barrâd killed a man from *Hawâzin* called `Urwah Ibn `Utbah because he took a caravan of An-Nu`mân Ibnul-Mundhir under his protection while Al-Barrâd wanted to be the one who protects it. *Kinânah* were the allies of *Quraysh*, and so *Hawâzin* wanted to take revenge from *Quraysh* because of this alliance. The war continued for four years.

(2) Some Prophetic *hadîths* indicate that the Prophet (peace be upon him) took part in this war as a bowman. See: "*Ṭabaqât Ibn Sa`d*" [1: 110].

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gathered in the house of `Abdullâh Ibn Jud`ân and they vowed that they will stand on the side of the oppressed against the oppressor until justice is done. Muḥammad (peace be upon him) took part in this pact.⁽¹⁾ After Prophethood, he (peace be upon him) said:

“I witnessed, in the house of `Abdullâh Ibn Jud`ân, a pact that I would not exchange for a herd of red camels; and if, in Islam, I were summoned unto it, I would respond.”

[Related by Al-Bayhaqî]

► His Personal Biography

The personal attitude and characteristics were more important factors that participated in the emergence of Muḥammad’s character among his people. The Prophet (peace be upon him) grew up in a very unique way. That is, he had not been passively influenced by his surroundings, nor did he indulge in tribal habits and customs. He had never glorified the idols of *Al-Lât* and *Al-`Uzzâ* like his guardians, nor did he venerate *Hubal* as all *Quraysh* did. History had never told us that Muḥammad (peace be upon him) had ever been present in the season of *Hajj*⁽²⁾ since he knew that his people used to worship idols and offer sacrifices for them in this season every year. Rather, it is known that he (peace be upon him) refused to eat from such sacrifices that were slaughtered on the *Nusub* (stone altars), and refused to worship or honor them.⁽³⁾ His body as well as his belief remained sound and pure.

He had never drunk alcohol, whether alone or with friends in the places of amusement which were common in Mecca at this time. Even more, Muḥammad (peace be upon him) had not enjoyed pure types of amusement.

(1) Ibnul-Athîr stated that the reason for naming it as *Hilf Al-Fudûl* (Pact of the Virtuous) is that a group from *Jurhum* and *Qutûrâ* consisting of Al-Fudayl Ibn Hâriṯh, Al-Fudayl Ibn Wadâ`ah and Al-Mufdil Ibn Faḍâlah gave their oaths that they would never support any oppressor in Mecca. When Az-Zubayr Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib summoned for this pact, *Quraysh* called it *Hilf Al-Fudûl* because its principles resembled those of the first pact. See: “*Al-Kâmil*” by Ibnu-Athîr [2: 26].

(2) “*Târîkh Al-Islâm As-Siyâsi*” by Dr. Ḥasan Ibrâhîm (P. 93).

(3) The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: “*I have never worshipped an idol nor did I drink wine, and I had always been certain that what they were doing (i.e. their acts of worship) was (kind of) disbelief*”. See: “*Tahdhîb Al-Asmâ’ Wa As-Sifât*” by An-Nawawî (P. 24).

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The is because his youth was full of thoughts and doubts. If he aimed at play and amusement as his counterparts did, many thoughts and contemplations would storm his mind, take over his feelings and disturb his inner tranquility. At such a moment, he would see the Sacred House overcrowded with 360 idols which were worshipped and venerated.

His pure heart and mind realized the foolishness of such a matter. So he found it impossible to compromise between his thoughts and worshipping these idols. He earnestly sought an answer or a solution for this dilemma overtaking his mind, but he only got more confusion and doubts.⁽¹⁾

The clear signs in the universe urged him to continuously ask the same question; if this is the creation, then where is the creator? Finding no satisfying answer, his confusion increases, and his contemplations arise more and more seeking the light of the truth.

These were his own inner characteristics. As for his characteristics with people, he was the best of them regarding honor, morals, generosity, neighborhood, truthfulness, chastity, tolerance, patience and honesty. His people used to call him *Al-Amīn*, the Reliable, the Trustworthy, the Honest, and they entrusted him with their trusts and sought his judgment whenever any dispute arouses among them.

► The Year of Trade and Marriage

Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him) was pasturing sheep in the valleys of Mecca. He was contented with his work despite being hard. Now, he is twenty-five years old. His uncle Abū Tālib wanted to find him a job better than pasturing sheep so that he may earn better livelihood. Abū Tālib heard that Khadījah Bint Khuwaylid from *Banū Asad* was hiring men from *Quraysh* to trade for her. Khadījah was a wealthy woman who gained her money from trade and from inheriting two husbands from *Banū Makhzûm* whom she married one after the other.⁽²⁾

Many of *Quraysh*'s notables and leaders wanted to marry Khadījah but she kept on refusing them because she knew that they were seeking her

(1) "The Messenger: The Life of Mohammed" by R.V.C. Bodley (P. 66 Arabic edition).

(2) "*Hayât Muhammad*" by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (P. 118).

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wealth until she became forty years old. Abû Tâlib said to his nephew; “O my nephew! Time has become hard, and crushing years tend to overcome us. Yet, we possess no means nor do we have any trade. The time has come for the caravans of your people to travel to the Levant for trade. Khadijah used to send men from amongst your people to trade for her. So, if you ask her to send you, she will prefer you over the others.” “She may send to me to trade for her” the Prophet (peace be upon him) replied. The dialogue between Muḥammad (peace be upon him) and his uncle Abû Tâlib reached Khadijah, so she sent to him and promised to give him a payment which would be the double of the highest she had ever paid to any other man because of what she heard about his truthfulness, trustworthiness, and honorable character.⁽¹⁾

She sent with him her bondman Maysarah. Passing by Wâdî Al-Qurâ, Madyan, the land of Thamûd and many other places by which he passed on his first journey to the Levant with his uncle Abû Tâlib, he was deeply affected by the memories of this journey. When he reached Busrâ, he saw the Christians of the Levant. He spoke with their monks and priests and noticed in their words the signs of religious disputes and sectarianism. He did not like that, so that he engaged himself in trade. Due to his honest and commercial abilities, he managed to achieve profits that reached the double of what anyone else would achieve. Also, he managed to win the respect and admiration of Maysarah through his great morals and ethics and through his noble feelings and emotions.

► **The Connection Between Muḥammad’s Past and his Marriage from Khadijah**

The great profit which Khadijah gained from trade and the success that accompanied Muḥammad (peace be upon him) during his journey to the Levant were sufficient reasons for Khadijah to believe in all what she heard about his truthfulness, honesty, loyalty, nobility and generosity. As a result, she held him in a high esteem. Magically, this esteem turned into love after her bondman Maysarah told her about the journey and what he had noticed about Muḥammad’s character, manners and behavior. She wished

(1) “*Al-Fath Al-Islâmi*” by Sheikh Fakhrud-Dîn Bey (P. 25).

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to develop their trade relation into a more permanent one after she felt for the first time of her life that she loves him and wants him to be her husband.

But, how can she do so while she had refused many of *Quraysh*'s notables and leaders? How can she marry *Muhammad* (peace be upon him) who is twenty-five years old while she is forty? *Khadījah* was an intelligent woman, she felt the need for an honest and sincere man who can take care of her business and interests and dispose of her wealth and caravan in a way that differs from that of a hired man.

Finally, *Khadījah* had found the man she longed for to be her husband. But she is not certain about his acceptance. So she sent someone to offer him marriage and he gladly accepted.

The marriage had been completed in the presence of *Khadījah*'s uncle, `Amr Ibn Asad, and some of the Prophet's uncles headed by *Abū Tālib* who gave his famous sermon stating:

“All praises and thanks be to Allah who made us the descendants of *Ibrāhīm* (Abraham) through his son *Ismā`il* (Ismael). He gave us a House to which people come for pilgrimage, and a safe Sanctuary. He also gave us the authority over the people, and blessed our town in which we live. My brother's son, *Muhammad* Ibn `Abdullāh, outweighs any man of *Quraysh*, and is superior to him. If he does not own much wealth, then wealth is nothing but a vanishing shadow and a fickle thing. He desires *Khadījah* Bint *Khuwaylid* for marriage, and she desires him too.”⁽¹⁾

Muhammad (peace be upon him) paid *Khadījah* 20 she-camels as her dowry and they both consummated their marriage in her house as was the custom of the Arabs.

By this marriage, *Muhammad* (peace be upon him) opened new pages of life namely, the page of happy marriage and then the page of gracious fatherhood. *Khadījah* gave birth to all the Prophet's children except his son *Ibrāhīm*, who was born by *Māriyah Al-Qibtiyyah*.

(1) *“Nabīyy Al-Birr Muhammad: Al-Mukhtār Min Sīrat Ibn Hishām”*.

► His Stance on Positioning the Black Stone

In spite of being earnestly concerned in searching for the truth and guidance, the Prophet (peace be upon him) had never isolated himself from the people of Mecca and or stopped sharing them their social life.

In 606 A.D., when he was thirty-five years old, a great fire broke out in the *Ka`bah* and weakened its structure. Shortly after the fire, a great flood swept through Mecca hitting the *Ka`bah* and cackling its walls. *Quraysh* wanted to demolish it in order to rebuild it from scratch. They removed the Black Stone from its place and started rising the walls. When the structure reached the height suitable for placing the Black Stone, a violent disagreement broke out amongst them, for each clan wanted the honor of lifting it into its place. The contest among them almost turned into a bloody war. The deadlock lasted for four successive days until Abû Umayyah Ibnul-Mughîrah, the uncle of Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd, who was the oldest one of them proposed to seek an arbiter among them. They agreed saying; “The first man who enters in through the gate of Shaybah, known now as “*Bâb As-Salâm*” (the gate of peace) shall be the arbiter”. The first one to enter in was Muḥammad (peace be upon him).

When they saw the Prophet (peace be upon him), they said; “Here is the trustworthy. We accept his judgement.” They explained the matter to him. He thought a little and took off his garment and spread it on the ground. Then, he took the Black Stone and laid it on the middle of the garment. “Let each clan take hold of one edge of the garment” the Prophet (peace be upon him) said. Then they lift it up together. When they raised it to the place of the Stone, he took the stone with his own hands and put it in its proper place. Hence, the dispute was settled, and the roots of evil were eradicated.

There is no doubt that settling such a dispute raised the esteem, and status of Muḥammad among his people.

► Burdens of Life from Marriage to Prophethood

Before approaching the Prophethood of Muḥammad (peace be upon him), we need to know about the matters which occupied his mind besides his greatest purpose namely, searching for the truth and guidance to save himself from doubts and confusion.

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History tells us that after rebuilding the *Ka`bah*, the Prophet's son, Al-Qâsim, died. The Prophet (peace be upon him) felt great sorrow at his death, and this left a great impact on his soul. It is also narrated that *Quraysh* was struck by drought shortly after that. During this drought Abû Tâlib suffered great financial difficulties because of his little wealth and many children. As a result, the Prophet (peace be upon him) said to his uncles Hamzah and Al-`Abbâs; *"Shall we relieve the burden of Abû Tâlib in this severe drought?"*, and his uncles admired and approved this saying.

They came to Abû Tâlib and asked for his children to be under their care and attention. At their insistence, Abû Tâlib agreed, but he asked them to leave his son `Aqîl whom he loved so much. Accordingly, Al-`Abbâs took charge of Tâlib, Hamzah took charge of Ja`far, and Muḥammad (peace be upon him) took charge of `Alî who was, at this time, six years old. `Ali was a solace to the Prophet (peace be upon him) after the death of his son, Al-Qâsim. He considered the compassion, kindness, and good upbringing he was giving `Alî as a reward for his uncle's kind guardianship and care of him after the death of his grandfather, `Abdul-Muttalib.

The Prophet's heart was longing for a son. He was full of sorrow at losing his son. So, he wanted to adopt Zayd Ibn Hâarithah as a son, so as to relieve his own sadness. Before the Black Stone, the Prophet (peace be upon him) announced that he adopted Zayd and that they inherit each other. The boy, thereafter, was called Zayd Ibn Muḥammad. Moreover, the Prophet (peace be upon him) married Zayd to Umm Ayman, his nursemaid, who was older than him. She gave birth to Usâmah Ibn Zayd, the leader of Muslim expedition to the Levant at the last days of the Prophet's life.

► His Religion Before Prophethood

The Prophet (peace be upon him) did not tell us about this period of his life. This is why scholars differ regarding the religion according to which the Prophet (peace be upon him) was worshipping God. Some of them stated that he was not required to adopt any of the previous Messages. Other scholars, such as the Imam of the Two Holy Mosques, Al-Ghazâlî and Al-Âmidî refrained from such a matter because they deemed themselves unqualified to give an opinion regarding it.

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Meanwhile, some scholars stated that he was worshipping Allah in accordance with a certain religion but they differ regarding whether it was the religion of Âdam (Adam), Ibrâhîm (Abraham), Mûsâ (Moses), or `Îsâ (Jesus), peace and blessings of Allah be upon them all. However, their disagreement shows that they did not have a considerable proof to pull them out the circle of guessing.

On his part, Al-Kamâl Ibnul-Humam viewed that the Prophet (peace be upon him) worshipped Allah in accordance with the religion he thought to be sound at that time. If there was any contradiction between two religions, he would act according to the later. However, if he could not determine which is the later of them, he would act according to the one he believed to be the soundest of them.

In fact, scholars cannot settle this issue through citing weak proofs or adopting unscientific approaches and methodologies. Only history can confirm or deny such an issue. Yet, history tells us nothing about the religion according to which our beloved Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) was worshipping Allah, the Exalted. Rather, history tells us that the Arabs were not acquainted with the religion of Ibrâhîm (Abraham), so that the Prophet (peace be upon him) could adopt its teachings as a way of worship.

Moreover, the Prophet (peace be upon him) was worshipping God in the Cave of *Hirâ'* in solitude. His only aim was to detach himself from the world and stay alone to meditate and think about the matter troubling his heart, to seek the truth.

This is why we do not know anything about his way of worship, his thoughts during worship, or even the words he used in such a worship. Accordingly, we shall believe in the Prophet's worship before prophethood in accordance with history. According to our history, Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) rejected the worship of idols. He (peace be upon him) was circumambulating the *Ka`bah* and adopting good morals. He had never drunk intoxicants or committed a sin. We have no evidence proving that he was following the teachings of a certain religion to worship God. In addition, he had not reached the truth about the Creator, Exalted be He, until he became a Prophet, as indicated by Allah's Saying:

{“Did He not find you an orphan and give [you] refuge? And He found you lost and guided [you]. And He found you poor, and made you rich (self-sufficient with self-contentment, etc.)?”}

[Ad-Duhâ: 6-8]

The Prophet (peace be upon him) was nearing his forties while he was clearly keeping on solitude, contemplation and deep thinking. He might have retreated from public life to think mostly about his people who were indulging in idolatry and detaching themselves from every spiritual value, and about the contradictions and complications he experienced about Christianity and Judaism.

► **Retreat to the Cave**

Mecca is a city located in the middle between two places that have a great value and consideration in the history of Islam. The first place is the Cave of *Hirâ'*, located 6 miles to the north of Mecca. The other is the Cave of *Thawr*, located 6 miles to the south of Mecca.

Thawr and *Hirâ'* are two significant caves in the History of Islam. In the Cave of *Hirâ'*, the Revelation came to the Prophet (peace be upon him). In the Cave of *Thawr*, Islam commenced the new era of universality and spread. Hence, we can say that thanks to these two Caves, the Islamic Call commenced and spread.

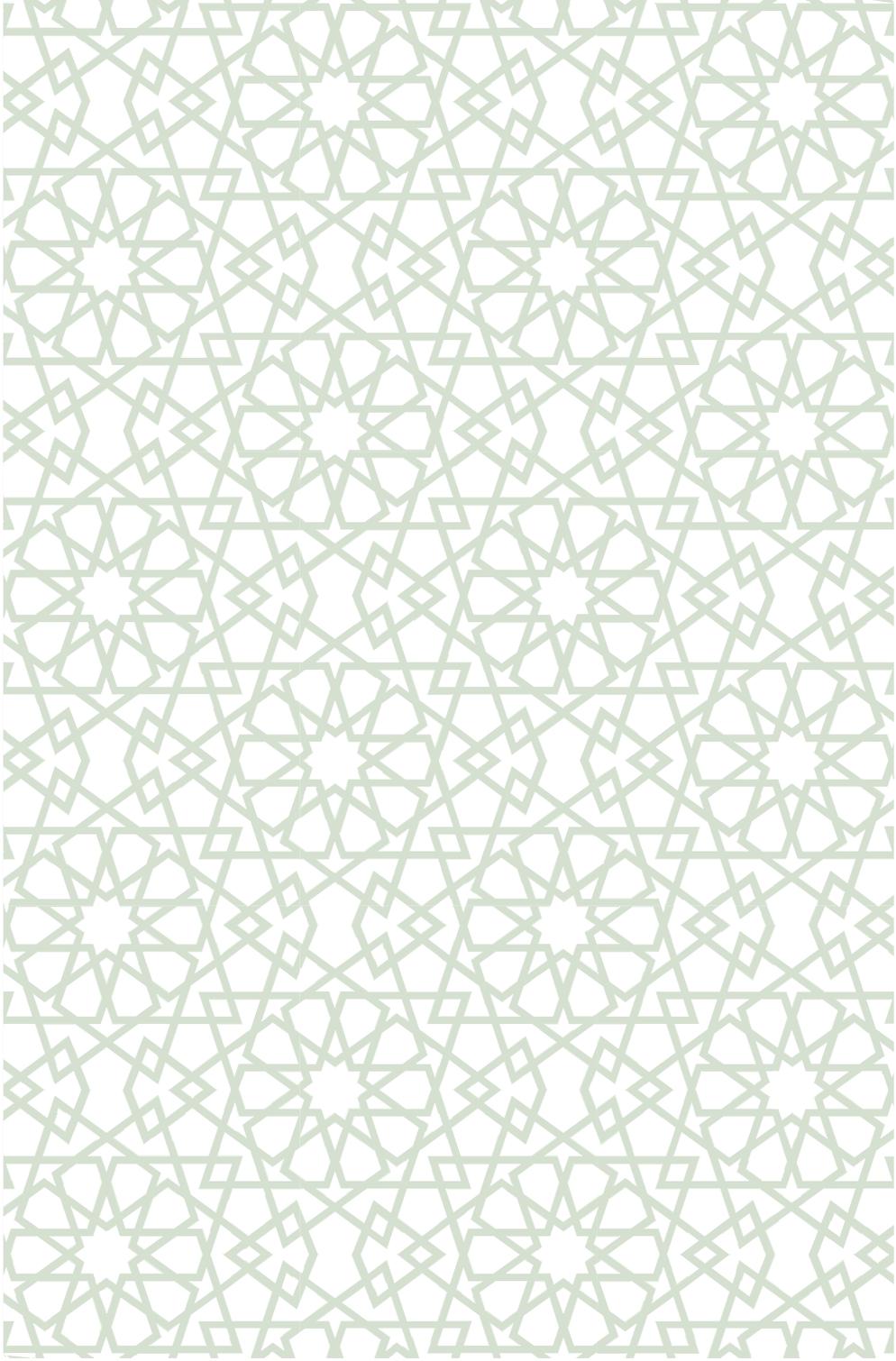
It was known to the Arabs that The *Hunafâ'* (Monotheists), before Islam used to withdraw themselves every year to a solitary place so as to have periods of worship and contemplation. When Muḥammad (peace be upon him) began to search for the truth and guidance, he withdrew himself to the Cave of *Hirâ'*, retreating from his people's turmoil and misguidance. He used to go there every year in Ramadan, taking provisions necessary for spending nights in worship and contemplation.

History did not tell us precisely about the time in which Muḥammad (peace be upon him) began retreating to the Cave. It also did not mention anything about the number of times he secluded there until Jibrîl (Gabriel) was sent down to him.

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All we know about this history is that the Prophet (peace be upon him) used to go to the Cave of *Hirâ'* every Ramadan thinking about creation and the Creator until some sort of relation had developed between him and his Lord. As a result of this relation, he (peace be upon him) was bestowed the first sign of knowledge and Divine Revelation namely, true visions. That is, every single dream he saw will exactly occur in reality like the breaking of the light of dawn. Yet, the more he knew about Allah, the Most High, the more he detested his people's habits and religions, and became very doubtful and confused concerning saving them from their misguidance.







Phase (II)

From Prophethood to Immigration



► Revelation (*Wahy*)

Linguistically, the Arabic word “*Wahy*” means indication, writing, message, inspiration, and revelation.

Technically, “*Wahy*” refers to the Divine Knowledge, which cannot be usually realized without prior indications, conveyed to Allah’s Prophets and Messengers.

The word “*Wahy*” may be used in accordance with its linguistic meaning denoting inspiration which is generally used with all creatures.

There are many Verses in the Glorious Qur’ân which clarify the meaning of “*Wahy*” as being revelation or inspiration. In this regard, Allah, Exalted be He, says:

{“And your Lord inspired the Bees...”}

[An-Nahl: 68]

And:

{“And We inspired the mother of Mûsâ (Moses): (telling): ‘Suckle him’...”}

[Al-Qasas: 7]

Also, telling about Yûsuf (Joseph) before his Prophethood, Allah, the Most Great, says:

{“...And We revealed to him: ‘Indeed, you shall (one day) inform them of this affair of theirs, while they know (you) not’.”}

[Yûsuf: 15]

► **Types of Revelation**

As we hinted above, there are some indications which precede revelation. revelation entails a state of contemplation in the universe, a deep thinking about the Creator, and a strong belief in His existence, a belief that fills one's heart and soul.

Revelation is of four types as follows:

First: the true vision, as in the vision of Prophet Ibrâhîm (peace be upon him) indicated in Allah's Saying:

{“O my son! I have seen in a dream that I am slaughtering you (offering you in sacrifice to Allah). So look what you think...”}

[As-Sâffât: 102]

Also, the Prophet (peace be upon him) indicated true vision in his saying:

“The dreams of Prophets are true, and, we, prophets, our eyes sleep, but our hearts do not sleep”

[Related by Ibn Sa`d]

Second: The matter to be revealed is inspired directly to the heart of the chosen one. He strongly feels, while awake, the matters inspired to him, and then these matters become true as inspired to his heart.

Third: The revelation is conveyed by the Angel of Revelation mentioned in Allah's Saying:

{“[That] indeed, it [i.e. the Qur`ân] is a word [conveyed by] a noble messenger [i.e. Gabriel]. [Who is] possessed of power and with the Owner of the Throne, secure [in position]}”}

[At-Takwîr: 19-20]

Fourth: The revelation is heard directly from Allah, the Exalted, as in stated in Allah's Saying:

{“And when he came to it, he was called, “O Moses, Indeed, I am your Lord, so remove your sandals. Indeed, you are in the Sacred Valley of Tuwâ. And I have chosen you, so listen to what is revealed [to you].”}

[Tâ-Hâ: 11-13]

Phase (II): From Prophethood to Immigration

These are the types of revelation occurred to Allah's Prophets and Messengers.

How was Allah's Messenger sent?

The Prophet (peace be upon him) kept on going to the Cave of *Hirâ'* where he used to stay a month every year. It was the 6th of August 610 A.D. corresponding to 17th of Ramadan, when an unusual event occurred. The Prophet (peace be upon him) described such an event saying:

*"While I was asleep, Jibrîl (Gabriel) came to me with a coverlet of brocade whereon was some writing. He said; 'Read!', I said; 'What shall I read?' He pressed me with it so tightly that I thought it was death. Then, he let me go and said; 'Read!', I said, 'What shall I read?' He pressed me with it (again) so that I thought it was death. Then, he let me go and said; 'Read!', I said; 'What shall I read?', I said this only to deliver myself from him, lest he should do the same to me again. He said; **"Read in the name of your Lord who created. Created man from a clinging substance. Recite, and your Lord is the most Generous. Who taught by the pen. Taught man that which he knew not."**⁽¹⁾ So I read it. Then, he finished and departed from me. I awoke from my sleep, and it was as though these (words) were written on my heart. So I went out, and then when I was on the mountain, I heard a voice from heaven saying; 'O Muḥammad! you are the Messenger of Allah and I am Jibrîl (Gabriel)...'⁽²⁾*

This is the summary of Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him) to the event he had seen during his seclusion in the Cave. This event terrified the Prophet (peace be upon him) and put him in confusion. He (peace be upon him) left the Cave and wandered all the night lonely in the desert, until the dawn broke. He finally found himself walking in Mecca streets, so he went home and told Khadijah about what he had seen.

When Khadijah saw how her husband was very afraid and disturbed, she tried earnestly to soothe him saying in a believing voice; "God protects us O Abû Al-Qâsim! Have the glad tidings O my cousin and be firm. By Him

(1) [Al-'Alaq (The Clot): 1-5].

(2) See: "Nabiyy Al-Birr Muḥammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sîrat Ibn Hishâm"

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in whose hand is the soul of Khadijah, I hope that you will be the Prophet of this nation. God will never disgrace you. You keep good relations with your kinship; always say the truth, honor and entertain the guest and help the distressed.” Then, she asked him to have rest to recover his activity and strength.

Khadijah left her husband to sleep and went immediately to ask her cousin Waraqah Ibn Nawfal, who was well-versed in the Torah and the Gospel⁽¹⁾ and knew about their glad tidings of a coming Prophet. Waraqah told her; “By Him in whose hand is the soul of Waraqah, he is the Prophet of this nation. Tell him to be firm”. Hence, Khadijah got free of worry. She went home and repeated the words of Waraqah to the Prophet (peace be upon him), whose fears were then relieved.

► Cessation of Revelation

The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) awoke from his sleep after he got reassured. He believed that the truth had become very clear and relieved his worries and confusion, and that this Heavenly Support would never stop until he (peace be upon him) fulfills his mission with the aid of the successive revelation.

The Prophet (peace be upon him) had to prepare himself for the second meeting with Jibril so as to be confident of what was revealed to him in the first time. But the revelation did not come as soon as the Prophet (peace be upon him) wished. The Revelation ceased for a period of time without any contact with the Prophet (peace be upon him). This period is known as the cessation of Revelation. Historians differ in determining this period. Some of them hold that it was two or more years. But, the preponderant opinion according to historical resources states that this period was short and reaches no more than forty days, as confirmed by Ibn `Abbâs.

It is for the Prophet’s eagerness and worries for the silence of the Heavenly Light, for which he looked earnestly, after finally visiting him that some historians estimated this period as being very long so that it may conform

(1) The first Arabic translation of both the old and the New Testaments are attributed to Waraqah. See: “*The Messenger: The Life of Mohammed*” by R.V.C. Bodley (P. 65 Arabic edition).

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with the Prophet's great longing for Revelation. The longing which urged him (peace be upon him) to wander in the desert and go to the top of mountains that anyone saw him would think that he was going to throw himself. This pushed some historian to claim that the Prophet (peace be upon him) thought to commit suicide because of this long period.

Historically speaking, the truth is that the Prophet (peace be upon him) could not stand the pause of Revelation, so he went to the top of mountains to look for Jibril. Since he saw Jibril coming from Heaven, he kept looking to the sky while wandering paying no attention to his way. It is very known that any period of time, regardless of its length, during which a human being is deprived of anything he loves is considered to be so long and unendurable one.

► Resumption of Revelation

The period of cessation was very long to the Prophet (peace be upon him) because it kept him away from realizing the wish of his life, but finally it came to an end. One day, while the Prophet (peace be upon him) was wandering, he heard a voice from the sky. He looked up, and it was the same angel who came to him at the first time in the form of a man. He was sitting between the earth and the sky saying; "O Muhammad! you are the Messenger of Allah and I am Jibril (Gabriel)". He began to shiver as he did in the first time the Angel visited him. He returned to Khadijah saying; "*Cover me*". Khadijah wrapped him in his cloak and sat to take care of him. While she was sitting beside him, the Prophet (peace be upon him) began to shake, his breath became heavy and his forehead sweated. He awoke from his sleep while reciting the Verses with which Jibril had been sent down to him:

{“O you who covers himself [with a garment]. Arise and warn. And your Lord glorify. And your clothing purify. And uncleanness avoid. And do not confer favor to acquire more. But for your Lord be patient.”}

[Al-Muddaththir: 1-6]

When Khadijah saw his worries and exhaustion, she asked him to have some rest. But, the Prophet (peace be upon him) turned to her saying; "*O Khadijah! the time of rest and sleep has gone. Jibril ordered me to warn the people and call them to worship Allah*".

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Since then, Muḥammad Ibn `Abdullâh had a new title namely, the Messenger of Allah. This title was the cause of a long argument and dispute between him and his people of *Quraysh*. The dispute intensified and became greater when he declared that the basis for his Call is the two testimonies of faith “*Lâ Ilâha Illâ Allah, Muḥammadun Rasûlu Allah*” (i.e. there is no God but Allah, and Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah). Out of envy, *Quraysh* refused to accept this Call on the pretext that Muḥammad, the poor orphan, is the Messenger.

On his part, Muḥammad (peace be upon him) knew all of these matters and realized the hardships he will face because of the new Call.

► **Calling Individuals or Conveying the Message**

When the Prophet (peace be upon him) was ordered to convey the Message, the Divine Command did not include a clarification of the ways he (peace be upon him) should use to deliver the Message. So, he hesitated regarding the first step to take on the way of Call. He decided to speak of the Message to the close members of his family. Khadijah was the first to believe and embrace Islam. Then, `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib saw the Prophet (peace be upon him) and Khadijah performing prayer, which touched his heart, and so he embraced Islam. The Prophet (peace be upon him) wanted to consult `Alî's father, Abû Tâlib, concerning the belief of his son, but `Alî said to him; “Allah has created me without consulting Abû Tâlib, so how can I consult him in believing in Allah?”. Afterwards, all the household of the Prophet (peace be upon him) embraced Islam, including Zayd Ibn Hârithah and Umm Ayman who were among the first to accept Islam.

After that, the Prophet (peace be upon him) began to call his close friends whom he could trust. So, he called his friend Abû Bakr who responded to him immediately and adopted Islam.

► **The Youth Are the Equipment of Muḥammad**

Abû Bakr was a man of a strong personality and a high social figure among his people. He began to call for his new belief. Some young men of *Quraysh* answered Abû Bakr and believed in Muḥammad (peace be upon him) as being the Messenger of Allah. Those young men were `Uthmân Ibn `Affân, who was 20 years old at this time, Az-Zubayr Ibnul-`Awwâm, who had then reached

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puberty, `Abdur-Rahmân Ibn `Awf, Talhah Ibn `Ubaydullâh and Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs. All of them had believed in an early age. The cause behind the rush of young people to adopt and support new calls is very clear. Their pure and free-of-selfish-purpose souls as well as their freedom of unpleasant habits and customs always stirred their feelings and kept them motivated.

► The House of Al-Arqam...Center of Secret *Da`wah*

Not only the relatives of Muḥammad (peace be upon him), his freed slaves and those who believed in him with Abû baker had embraced Islam but also there were many other people of *Quraysh* who followed the Prophet. Among these persons were Abû `Ubaydah `Âmir Ibnul-Jarrâh, Abû Salamah `Abdullâh Ibn `Abdul-Asad, Al-Arqam Ibn Abû Al-Arqam, `Uthmân Ibn Maz`ûn and his brother Qudâmah, Sa`id Ibn Zayd Ibn `Amr Ibn Nufayl and his wife Fâtimah Bint Al-Khattâb and many other youth of Mecca who admired this religion and adopted it sincerely.

When the followers of the Messenger of Allah increased in number, he wanted to find them a place in which they can gather to learn about the new religion. The Muslims chose the House of Al-Arqam Ibn Abû Al-Arqam located near the Mount *As-Safâ*.

The characteristics that distinguished the House of Al-Arqam from all other houses of Muslims at that time are not known until now. Nevertheless, it became a center for the Islamic Call in which the Prophet (peace be upon him) met his followers to strengthen their hearts and fortify their belief so that they could be firm, confident and devoted.

The enemies of Muḥammad (peace be upon him) tried hard to find the meeting place of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his followers so as to prevent them from meeting. So, the Prophet (peace be upon him) told the youth to guard the house, and watch the roads leading to it in order to provide safety and protection to the meeting parties and to safeguard the Islamic Call against elimination in the cradle.

The period which the Prophet (peace be upon him) spent in calling people to Islam in the House of Al-Arqam is a very important one in the Islamic history. It helps us know the order of the first persons to enter Islam, who enjoy a great status and love in the heart of all Muslims. Likewise, the House

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of Al-Arqam enjoys a great status in the hearts of Muslims and is called “The House of Islam”. The House remained in the ownership of Al-Arqam’s grandsons until the time of Calif Al-Mansûr who forcibly bought it from them to use it as a dwelling for his family. Al-Khayzurân, the mother of Caliph Hârûn Ar-Rashîd lived in this House for a period of time until it was known as “the House of Al-Khayzurân”. The ruins of the House are still found in Mecca.⁽¹⁾

► The Period of Secret *Da`wah*

Muslims called for their religion secretly. They spoke only with those whom they trusted. However, Islam found its way to the tongues of *Quraysh* as well as the hearts of some of them. Many men and women rushed to follow the Prophet (peace be upon him), a matter that provoked public controversy among the people of Mecca. Out of caution against the pagans of Mecca, Muslims kept on concealing their religion. If they wanted to perform prayer, they would sneak out to any hidden place of Mecca. If they wanted to meet, they would go to the House of Al-Arqam so that no pagan can know anything about them.

For three years, the Islamic Call continued to spread slowly until it reached everybody in Mecca who had a relation with any Muslim who could, due to this relation, call him secretly to adopt Islam. Hence, it became urgent to announce the Call to the people of *Quraysh*, especially that a group of the Muslim youth began to express their refusal to the secrecy of the Call. They asked the Prophet (peace be upon him) to declare the Call but he was waiting for the Divine Command.

► Declaration of *Da`wah*

{“Then declare what you are commanded and turn away from the polytheists. Indeed, We are sufficient for you against the mockers”}

[Al-Hijr: 94-95]

{“And warn, [O Muhammad], your closest kindred. And lower your wing [i.e. show kindness] to those who follow you of the believers.”}

[Ash-Shu`arâ: 114-115]

(1) “Encyclopedia of Islam”.

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These Verses represent the document under which Allah, the Most High, gave His Messenger the permission to call for Islam openly, in response to the longing of Muslims for declaring their faith. Hence, Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him) gathered the youth who dedicated themselves to *Da`wah* and went out from the House of Al-Arqam to walk in the streets of Mecca announcing the new religion and declaring their willingness to give their souls for its sake. As soon as they reached the *Ka`bah*, they performed prayer and circumambulated around it, and then they returned to their meeting place at Al-Arqam's House. *Quraysh* was very distressed because of the open proclamation of Muhammad's *Da`wah*.

The Prophet (peace be upon him) began to think about the approach he would use to call *Quraysh* for Islam after announcing the new religion. He consulted his followers about this matter, and finally decided to call his clan to the new religion. When his clan gathered, the Prophet (peace be upon him) said:

"O Sons of `Abdul-Muttalib! I know of no Arab who has come to his people with a nobler message than mine. I have brought you the best of this world and the hereafter. My Lord has ordered me to call you to Him. Who among you will support me in this matter? So, they turned away mocking him."

Their response, however, did not undermine the Prophet's will. Rather, it urged him to call all the people of Mecca. So, he climbed the Mount of *As-Safâ* and shouted:

"O People! So, Quraysh gathered around him asking: 'O Muhammad! What happened? He (peace be upon him) said; "What would you say if I told you that there was an enemy who would attack in the morning or in the evening, would you believe me?" They said; 'Yes, we have never heard you tell a lie.' He (peace be upon him) then said; 'Well, I am warning you of terrible punishment. O Sons of `Abdul-Muttalib, O Sons of `Abd Manâf, O Sons of Banû Zuhrah, O Sons of Tamîm, O Sons of Makhzûm, O Sons of Asad! Allah ordered me to warn the closest relatives of my clan'.

Hence, Abû Lahab, who was fat and short-tempered, stood up saying; 'May you perish all day long! Have you summoned us for such a thing?'

The crowd dismissed leaving Muḥammad (peace be upon him) alone, but Jibrīl was sent down with Allah's Saying:

{“Perish the two hands of Abū Lahab (an uncle of the Prophet), and perish he!...”}

[Al-Masad: 1]

➤ **Stages of Enmity Between Quraysh and Muḥammad (peace be upon him)**

The opposition of Quraysh to the Prophet (peace be upon him) passed through various stages of intensity; it was weak at first and then turned into a fierce and violent one at its end. As the Prophet (peace be upon him) persevered with his *Da`wah*, and Quraysh continued with their opposition, it was natural to settle such a dispute by the sword.

Books of Prophetic biography tell us that the notables of Quraysh viewed this new *Da`wah* (Call) as a great threat. Hence, they began to belittle and ridicule the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his *Da`wah* so that he might frustrate and stop his approach. In this regard, Allah, Exalted be He, says:

{“Verily! (During the worldly life) those who committed crimes used to laugh at those who believed; And whenever they passed by them, used to wink one to another (in mockery); And when they returned to their own people, they would return jesting; And when they saw them, they said; ‘Verily! These have indeed gone astray!’”}

[Al-Mutaffifin: 29-32]

Then they stirred up against him their gifted poets to mock him and discredit his sayings, but Muslim poets stood against them and reciprocated their evil attacks bravely.

As a result, Quraysh sought another way to mock the Prophet (peace be upon him) and insult him in order to eliminate the new *Da`wah* (Call). They asked the Prophet (peace be upon him) to bring signs (miracles) proving his Prophethood, giving themselves the right to suggest these signs. In this regard Allah, the Most High, says:

{“And they say; ‘We shall not believe in you (O Muḥammad), until you cause a spring to gush forth from the earth for us; Or you have

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a garden of date-palms and grapes, and cause rivers to gush forth in their midst abundantly; Or you cause the heaven to fall upon us in pieces, as you have pretended, or you bring Allah and the angels before (us) face to face; Or you have a house of adorable materials (like silver and pure gold, etc.), or you ascend up into the sky, and even then we will put no faith in your ascension until you bring down for us a Book that we would read'. Say (O Muhammad): 'Glorified (and Exalted) be my Lord (Allah) above all that evil they (polytheists) associate with Him! Am I anything but a man, sent as a Messenger?'"}]

[Al-Isrâ': 90-93]

In response to their mockery and abusiveness, the Prophet (peace be upon him) decided to remove the reverence they were holding for their idols, so he defamed and cursed them. It was then that *Quraysh* was stirred up and felt the danger of the new *Da`wah* (Call), so they began to think of a way to deter Muhammad (peace be upon him) who mocked and defamed their idols which should not be mocked or cursed.

Accordingly, the notables of *Quraysh* went to Abû Tâlib, the Prophet's uncle, asking him to either stop the Prophet (peace be upon him) from cursing their gods and mocking their minds or let them deal with him.

Abû Tâlib gave them a conciliatory soft answer, but Muhammad (peace be upon him) continued on his way to call people to Allah. Meanwhile, *Quraysh* continued to plot and conspire against the Prophet; then, they went to Abû Tâlib a second time and said in a threatening language; "We have asked you to stop your nephew's actions but you have not done so. By God, we cannot endure that our fathers be cursed, our minds mocked and our gods insulted. Either make him cease, or we will fight you both until one party perishes"

Abû Tâlib was deeply distressed as he had fallen into a very perplexing situation; either to fight his people, or desert his nephew. Abû Tâlib slightly inclined to his people as indicated by his words to his nephew; "O my nephew! Your people spoke with me about the matter you knew. Spare yourself and do not put on me a burden greater than I can bear." The Prophet (peace be upon him) kept silent for moments during which history waited for his eternal answer; "O my uncle! by God, if they were to put the sun in my right

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hand and the moon in my left on condition that I abandon this course, until Allah has made it victorious or I perish therein, I would not abandon it.”

Then the Prophet (peace be upon him) broke into tears, because he felt the perplexing situation of his uncle. Touched by the feelings of compassion and love towards his nephew, Abû Tâlib said: “Go and say what you like, for by God I will never give you up on any account.”

Quraysh was amazed when they knew that Abû Tâlib declared his support and protection to the Prophet (peace be upon him) under any costs or circumstances. Civil war among the Arabs showed on the horizon, but *Quraysh* felt its danger upon their influence on Arabia. So, they decided to make a reconciliation with Abû Tâlib. They went to him with `Imârah Ibnul-Walîd, who was one of *Quraysh*'s most honorable and handsome young men, and offered him to Abû Tâlib to adopt him as a son and give up his nephew to them. Condemning their attempt, Abû Tâlib answered them; ‘By God, this is an evil thing that you would put upon me. Would you give me your son that I should feed him for you, and want me to give you my son that you should kill him? By God, this shall never be.’

Quraysh made another attempt, but with the Prophet (peace be upon him) himself this time. They offered him whatever he wants of wealth, prestige and power, but again, their attempt failed and they lost all hopes of peaceful reconciliation.

As a result, every clan dealt with its members who adopted Islam, torturing and persecuting them. The people who suffered torture most were the poor who were not of high lineage or social class among *Quraysh*, particularly women and slaves. Those people suffered the cruelest and most painful kinds of torture. Among those people was Bilâl Ibn Rabâh, the muezzin (caller for prayer) of the Prophet (peace be upon him) who was savagely tortured.

`Ammâr Ibn Yâsir, his father and his mother were also among the tortured. Each of Yâsir's legs was tied to a different camel and then the camels were made to run in opposing directions, so that Yâsir's body was savagely wrenched apart and split asunder into two halves.

Even the wealthy and notable Muslims of *Quraysh* were not spared. Their relatives undertook the process of torturing and ill-treating them. Thus,

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‘Uthmân Ibn ‘Affân, Fâtimah Bint Al-Khattâb, the sister of ‘Umar, and Az-Zubayr Ibnul-‘Awwâm were tortured. All Muslims were fallen into a state of great distress. Describing one side of this torture, Ibn ‘Abbâs said; “By God, they used to beat one of them, depriving him of food and drink so that he could hardly sit upright because of the great harm they inflicted upon him, until in the end he would do whatever they said in order to escape from the suffering he was enduring”.

The Prophet (peace be upon him) himself was greatly harmed by *Quraysh*, particularly Abû Lahab and his wife who were annoying and afflicting him with all kinds of harm.

► The Role of Abû Tâlib in Protecting *Da`wah*

The groans of tortured Muslims kept on reaching the ears of Abû Tâlib and breaking his heart. Moreover, the Prophet’s devotion to his *Da`wah* (Call) and his patience with the people who harmed him aroused the compassion and sympathy of Abû Tâlib. Accordingly, when he saw the actions of *Quraysh* against the followers of Muḥammad (peace be upon him), he called upon *Banû Hâshim* and *Banû ‘Abdul-Muttalib* to protect Allah’s Messenger (peace be upon him). They agreed to do what Abû Tâlib called them for, except Abû Lahab who was influenced by the emotions of his wife, Umm Jamîl of *Banû Umayyah*, who hated the success of the Prophet’s *Da`wah* (Call) lest *Banû Hâshim* should feel pride and glory over *Banû Umayyah*. Abû Tâlib then began to arouse the spirit of tribalism within his clan members saying a long poem:

*If one day Quraysh gathered together to boast,
‘Abd Manâf would be their heart and the best;
And if the nobles of ‘Abd Manâf were reckoned,
amongst them Hâshim would be the noblest and chief;
If they boast one day, then Muḥammad,
would be the chosen noble and honorable one.
Quraysh summoned everyone against us;
they were not successful and they were beside themselves.*

► **The Opposition of *Quraysh* Leads to the Spread of the Islamic *Da`wah***

While *Banû Hâshim* and *Banû `Abdul-Muttalib* were giving their pledges to protect Muhammad against any harm, *Quraysh* was stumbling in a great confusion because of the new *Da`wah* (Call). The situation was exceedingly grave: the time of the pilgrimage would soon be upon them and they were afraid that Muhammad (peace be upon him) might attract the pilgrims to his religion and thus his *Da`wah* would spread.

When the time of pilgrimage became due, they began to warn people against Muhammad's *Da`wah*. However, such a warning aroused the curiosity of people about hearing the Prophet's speech and seeing him. Satisfying their curiosity, people admired the speech of the Prophet (peace be upon him), thus they returned to their homelands and told their people about him until his fame blazed abroad throughout Arabia.

► **The First Migration in Islam: The Migration to Abyssinia**

The more *Quraysh* failed to suppress *Da`wah* and deter the Prophet from disseminating it, the more it went so far in torturing the Muslims. When the Prophet (peace be upon him) saw the affliction of his followers, and became certain of his inability to protect them, he consulted with them about a solution. They all shared the same idea of leaving Mecca to escape from the torture and protect their lives and religion, but they could not decide where to go. The Prophet (peace be upon him) thought long and deeply about this matter. He found that his Companions cannot migrate to the homelands of Arab tribes as most of them were rejecting his *Da`wah* during the season of pilgrimage, either to flatter *Quraysh* or to keep their idolatrous religion. Also, the Prophet (peace be upon him) found that Muslims cannot go to the homelands of the Jews in Yathrib and the Christians in Najrân, as they both were competing to gain the moral and religious influence over Arabia. As it is the case, the two teams would not accept a third party who has new principles and beliefs for which he will sacrifice his soul.

The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) did not feel reassured concerning Yemen as it was, at this time, a colony of the Persians who were not adopting a heavenly religion. Further, the Prophet (peace be upon him)

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did not order his Companions to go to the Levant or to Al-Hîrah in Iraq for two reasons; (I) these places were so far from Mecca, and (II) these places were markets for *Quraysh* where they had relations and mutual interests with their native people. So, if *Quraysh* knew about the existence of the Prophet's Companions in any of those places, they would easily ask its people to drive them out as they tried with An-Najâshî (Negus).

After thinking about all nearby lands, the Prophet (peace be upon him) finally found that Abyssinia is the most appropriate place for his Companions to migrate to, where they will be safe and protected, so he (peace be upon him) said to them; *"If you went to the country of Abyssinia, you would find there a king under whom none suffers wrong. It is a land of sincerity (in religion), until such time as Allah shall make for you a means of relief from what you are suffering."* So, this Prophetic statement was a permission to his Companion to leave Mecca. The first group of migrants left in Rajab of the fifth year of *Da`wah* (Islamic Call) to Abyssinia through the Red Sea, under the leadership of `Uthmân Ibn `Affân accompanied by his wife, Ruqayyah Bint Muḥammad, Hudhayfah Ibnul-Yamân, `Utbah Ibn Rabî`h and his wife, Az-Zubayr Ibnul-`Awwâm and others.

The number of migrants in this journey was ten men and four women and it was the first Hegira (Immigration) in Islam.

► The Second Migration to Abyssinia

This few number of migrants stayed in Abyssinia for three months during which `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb embraced Islam. They returned back in Shawwal urged by their longing for the homeland, and their hope of better stance and treatment after `Umar adopted Islam. But, as they arrived they were faced by all kinds of torture and violence. So, they decided to go back again to Abyssinia.

The first one to migrate this time was Ja`far Ibn Abû Tâlib, then many Muslims followed him until they reached eighty-two men and seventeen women. The Negus had shown them every kind of hospitality. He protected them and they felt security and freedom of worship. However, *Quraysh* got angry and worried by the protection of the Negus to the Muslim migrants, so

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they decided among themselves to send two determined men to the Negus to persuade him to send the Muslims back. For this mission *Quraysh* chose `Abdullâh Ibn Abû Rabî`ah and `Amr Ibnul-`Âs, and sent with them some presents to the Negus.

The Negus call some of the Muslim migrants and asked them about the cause behind fleeing their homeland to Abyssinia. When the Muslim migrants told him the story and explained the teachings of their religion, the Negus found a great similarity between *Da`wah* of Muḥammad (peace be upon him) and *Da`wah* of Jesus Christ (peace be upon him). Hence, The Negus said; “Verily, this and what Jesus brought have come from the same niche.” Then he turned to the envoys of *Quraysh* and said; “You two may go, for by God, I will never give them up to you and they shall not be betrayed.” So, `Amr Ibnul-`Âs and `Abdullâh Ibn Abû Rabî`ah left Abyssinia disappointed and crestfallen, while Muslims lived there freely and comfortably in security for a long time. Some Muslim migrants returned back to Mecca before the Prophet immigration to Medina, while some others stayed in Abyssinia until the seventh year of Hegira (Immigration).

► The Document of Boycott

Quraysh perceived that the Muslims were determined to succeed in their aim and that they were ready to endure all kinds of torture and humiliation for the sake of *Da`wah*. *Quraysh* also realized that Muslim migrants to Abyssinia had found peace and safety under the protection of the Negus and that Muslims in Mecca were protected by *Banû Hâshim* and *Banû `Abdul-Muttalib*. As a result, it was natural for *Quraysh* to come together before *Banû Hâshim* and *Banû `Abdul-Muttalib*. In the seventh year of *Da`wah* (Islamic Call), *Quraysh* seriously decided to boycott the Muslims and their supporters of *Banû Hâshim* and *Banû `Abdul-Muttalib*. Accordingly, a document was drawn up according to which it was undertaken that no one would marry any of their women or give his daughter in marriage to any of their men; and no one was to sell anything to them, or buy anything from them.

This document was hung inside the *Ka`bah* to gain the respect and glorification of every person of *Quraysh*. The clans of *Banû Hâshim* and *Banû `Abdul-Muttalib* and the Muslims under their protection left their houses to

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live in a narrow valley of the Mount of Abû Qays, where Abû Tâlib used to live, to face together the oppression of *Quraysh*. *Quraysh* put the valley under blockade preventing the people therein from going out and forbidding others from going in.

The boycott continued for three years during which Muḥammad (peace be upon him) and his Companions remained strong and steadfast in the face of persecution. The Prophet (peace be upon him) could only get out of the valley during the Sacred Months to maintain his activities of calling the pilgrims of various tribes to accept Islam, but the warning of Abû Lahab to the pilgrims against *Da`wah* of Muḥammad (peace be upon him) would prevent many of them from accepting Islam on the pretext that if Muḥammad was a true Prophet, then his people would be the first to follow him.

In brief, those three years were very harsh on Muḥammad and *Banû Hâshim*. They were about to die of hunger had it not for some kind people like Hishâm Ibn `Amr Ibnul-Hârith Ibn `Amr Ibn Lu`ayy who used to bring a camel loaded with food or wheat by night and then when he had got it to the mouth of the valley, he took off its halter, gave it a whack on the side, and sent it into the valley to them.

► How Was the Document of Boycott Annulled?

Many kind-hearted people of *Quraysh* complained against the oppression and long boycott directed towards the clans of *Banû Hâshim* and *Banû `Abdul-Muttalib*. They felt sorry for the two clans and denounced the cruelty of such a boycott. As a result, Hishâm Ibn `Amr went to Zuhayr Ibn Abû Umayyah, whose mother was `Âtikah Bint `Abdul-Muttalib, and said; "O Zuhayr! Are you content that we eat food and wear clothes and marry women while you know of the conditions of your maternal uncles? They can neither buy nor sell, neither marry nor give in marriage. I swear by God that if they were the maternal uncles of Abû Al-Hakam Ibn Hishâm and you asked him to do what he had asked you to do he would never respond to it."

The two men undertook the pledges of each other to annul the document of boycott seeking the help of others whom they could convince secretly. So, they sought the help of Al-Mut`im Ibn `Adiyy, Abû Al-Bakhtarî Ibn Hishâm and Zam`ah Ibnul-Aswad. They bound themselves not to let the matter

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of the document until they had it annulled. After a prolonged argument around the *Ka`bah*, Al-Muṭ`im Ibn `Adiyy went up to the document to tear it in pieces, but he found that worms had already eaten it except the words “*Bismika Allahumma*” (i.e. In Your Name, O Allah!). then, *Banû Hâshim* and *Banû `Abdul-Muttalib* returned to their homes in Mecca where they could buy and sell, but the hearts of the *Qurayshites* remained full of hatred and harm.

► The Year of Grief and Its Subsequent Events

After more than two years, the clans of *Banû Hâshim* and *Banû `Abdul-Muttalib* could leave their narrow valley trustfully and comfortably. But the Prophet’s delight with such an event was struck by the death of his uncle Abû Tâlib and his wife Khadîjah on the month of Shawwal during the tenth year of Prophethood. By their death, the Prophet (peace be upon him) lost two strong supporters and true sources of consolation.

After their death, troubles followed fast on each other’s heels, and the immunity he got from their status in *Quraysh* was removed. It was then that polytheists began to treat him and his followers in an offensive way. The Prophet (peace be upon him) was ill-treated as never before, to the degree that the harm that was inflicted upon him before the death of Abû Tâlib was nothing comparing to their ill-treatment to him after his death. In this regard, the Prophet (peace be upon him) said; “*Quraysh was unable to afflict on me a matter which I hated until Abû Tâlib died.*” Their ill-treatment towards the Prophet (peace be upon him) reached a degree that they would throw dust on him when he passed by any of them. Further, they went beyond that to a more despicable behavior when a foolish man of them threw over the Prophet (peace be upon him) a sheep’s uterus filthy with blood and excrement. Fâtimah, the Prophet’s daughter, wept bitterly for the distress of her father and the ill-treatment he suffered from *Quraysh*. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said to her; “*Do not weep, O Fâtimah, for God will protect your father.*” The Prophet (peace be upon him) would remove the dirt from his body and house and threw it out into the street saying; “*O sons of `Abd Manâf! What protection is this?*”⁽¹⁾

(1) “*Al-Kâmil*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 62].

► **The Rejection of *Da`wah* in *Thaqîf***

In consequence of the growing hostility and ill-treatment of *Quraysh*, the Prophet (peace be upon him) decided to seek another place where his *Da`wah* could be accepted. Thus, he (peace be upon him), accompanied by Zayd Ibn Hârithah, went to *At-Tâ'if* aiming at the leaders of *Thaqîf* to offer them Islam, but they reject his *Da`wah*. Further, they mocked him, and some of them said; "Could God found none but you to send". Another one of them said; "By God, I shall never speak to you, for if you are a Messenger from God as you say, then you are far too important for me to reply to, and if you are lying against God, then it is not fitting that I should address you".

The Prophet (peace be upon him) tried to persuade them, but his efforts were in vain. Finally, he asked them to keep secret the matter of their rejection of *Da`wah* lest his people would gloat over him, but they did not respond. They even stirred up their louts and slaves to insult him and shout at him. In his way back, they gathered on the sides of the road throwing him with stones until he suffered serious injuries in his heels that blood flowed from them. Feeling exhaustion and great pain, he (peace be upon him) supplicated his Lord saying; *"O Allah! I complain to You of the feebleness of my strength, of my helplessness, and of my lowliness before people. O Most Merciful One of all showing mercy! You are the Lord of the weak, and You are my Lord. To whom do you entrust me? To a far stranger who will ill-treat me? Or to an enemy whom you have given control over my affairs? If You are not angry with me, then I do not care, except that Your forgiveness is more wide for me. I seek refuge in the Light of Your Countenance whereby all darkness was illuminated, and the matters of this world and the hereafter were rightly ordered lest Your anger befalls me, or Your Wrath afflicts me. It is Your right to be satisfied until You are well pleased. There is no power and no might except through You."*

Feeling the bitterness of the maltreatment of *Thaqîf*, the Prophet (peace be upon him) aimed at returning to Mecca. His situation then was very lamentable, especially after he knew that *Quraysh* will never allow him to enter Mecca preventing him from reaching his house and family.

It was very hard on the Prophet (peace be upon him) to ask for the protection of anybody to enter his own homeland. But, he found it necessary

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to ask the protection of Al-Mut`im Ibn `Adiyy who were it not for him, the Prophet (peace be upon him) could not reside in Mecca.

The Prophet offers his *Da`wah* to the tribes

The Prophet (peace be upon him) doubled his activity and directed his attention towards calling the tribes whom *Quraysh* did not incite against him to Islam. Thus, he (peace be upon him) visited their homes and tents but he was rejected by the tribes of *Kindah*, and *`Âmir Ibn Sa`sa`ah* and also by *Banû Hanîfah* who had rudely rejected him. Wherever the Prophet (peace be upon him) went, Abû Lahab was following him inciting people against him saying; “O Arabs! Do not believe him. He is my nephew and he is a liar”. Abû Lahab’s words were believed by the Arabs, but the Prophet (peace be upon him) was determined to deliver it to all people entering Mecca as visitors or pilgrims.

While the Prophet (peace be upon him) was trying to avail himself of any inattention or preoccupation of Abû Lahab with any other matter, he met with a group of the Arabs of *Yathrib* (Medina). They were from *Al-Khazraj* (Khazrajites); a powerful tribe in Medina who came to Mecca to seek the help of *Quraysh* to wage war on *Al-Aws* (Awsites), another powerful tribe of Medina, who had defeated them in the Battle of *Bu`âth*. When the Prophet (peace be upon him) spoke with them and knew that they were the allies of the Jews in *Yathrib*, he offered Islam to them. They accepted his Call feeling no strangeness in it as they used to hear from the Jews about the awaited Prophet. They became certain that this is the Prophet about whom the Jews were talking, so they believed in him.

This event occurred in the eleventh year of *Da`wah*. When the group of *Al-Khazraj* returned to Medina, they offered this new belief to their people who gladly accepted it. Islam spread rapidly in Medina, the Prophet’s name became widely known there, and people accepted Islam in multitudes.



Al-'Aqabah

If The Cave of *Hirâ'* is the place in which Allah has guided His confused servant (peace be upon him), and if the Cave of *Thawr* is the place in which Allah has surrounded His escaping servant with Divine Care, then there is another blessed place to Muslims in which the principles of the Islamic belief were laid down. This place is *Al-'Aqabah*, a place near Minâ in the way of the descending from the Mount 'Arafât to Mecca.

In this place, two important meetings in the history of Islam were held, during two successive seasons of Pilgrimage. These two meetings opened the gates of hope for the Prophet (peace be upon him), from which he could see the glad tidings of victory coming from Medina whose people's hearts were full of faith or were guided to it. The treaties and agreements held in this place are known as "The First Pledge of *Al-'Aqabah*" and "The Second Pledge of *Al-'Aqabah*".

► *The First Pledge of Al-'Aqabah*

The group of *Al-Khazraj* who had believed in the Prophet (peace be upon him) returned to their people in Medina telling them about the awaited Prophet by whom the Jews used to threaten them that they will join him upon his appearance to kill and destroy the Arabs of Medina. They also told them about what they had seen of the Prophet's logic and persuasiveness, honesty and truthfulness. Many of the people of Medina responded positively and embraced Islam. Their hearts were full of longing to see the Prophet (peace be upon him), so as soon as the year ended and the next season of Pilgrimage began, twelve of the Muslims in Medina went to Mecca. They met with the Prophet (peace be upon him) in *Al-'Aqabah* and gave him their pledges in an event known as "The Pledge of Women"⁽¹⁾ or "The

(1) It was called by this name because it was concluded after the matters mentioned in Surah *Al-Mumtahinah* (The Woman Tested) concerning the Pledge of Women. In this regard Allah, The Exalted, says: ***{“O Prophet, when the believing women come to you pledging to you that they will not associate anything with Allah, nor will they steal, nor will they commit unlawful sexual intercourse, nor will they kill their children, nor will they bring forth a slander they have invented between their arms and legs, nor will they disobey you in what is right – then accept their pledge and ask forgiveness for them of Allah. Indeed, Allah is Forgiving and Merciful.”}*** [Al-Mumtahinah: 12].

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First Pledge of *Al-`Aqabah*". Describing this event, `Ubâdah Ibnuṣ-Ṣâmit said; "I was present at the first pledge of *Al-`Aqabah*. There were twelve of us and we gave our pledges to the Prophet in accordance with the terms of "the Pledge of Women" and that was before war was enjoined. We gave our pledges that we will not associate anything with Allah; we will not steal; we will not commit fornication nor will we kill our offspring; we will not utter slander which we invent between our arms and legs; and we will not disobey him (the Prophet) in anything that is good. Hence, the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) said; *"If you fulfill (this), paradise will be yours; and whoever commits any of these (sins), it will be for Allah to punish or forgive him as He pleases."*⁽¹⁾

After they finished giving their pledges, they asked the Prophet (peace be upon him) to send with them someone to show them how to recite the Qur`ân and teach them Islam. The Prophet (peace be upon him) sent with them Mus`ab Ibn `Umayr Ibn Hâshim Ibn `Abd Manâf Ibn `Abdud-Dâr who, due to his strong character and firm belief, played a great role in spreading Islam in Medina, particularly among the tribes of *Al-Aws* and *Al-Khazraj*.

► The Second Pledge of *Al-`Aqabah*

The rush of the people of Medina to embrace Islam became very clear in the next season of pilgrimage (the thirteenth year of *Da`wah*). In this year, a Muslim group of seventy-three men and two women along with Mus`ab Ibn `Umayr came to Mecca with the pilgrims of Medina who were polytheists. Secretly, the Muslims sent to the Prophet (peace be upon him) asking for a meeting with him at *Al-`Aqabah* in the Middle of *Tashrîq* Days (11th, 12th and 13th of Dhul-Hajjah). After finishing their rituals of *Hajj* (pilgrimage), they sneaked out after one third of the night had elapsed, while people were asleep, to their meeting with the Prophet (peace be upon him). When they reached *Al-`Aqabah*, where their number was complete, they waited for the Prophet (peace be upon him) who came shortly with his uncle *Al-`Abbâs* Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib, who was not yet a Muslim. Urged by his love for his nephew, *Al-`Abbâs* insisted on accompanying the Prophet (peace be upon him) to this meeting so as to be sure that the pledges made to him were firm and reliable.

(1) "*Tabaqât Ibn Sa`d*" [1: 204].

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Al-'Abbâs was the first one to speak with the *Ansâr* (the Supporters) saying; "O People of *Al-Khazraj*!⁽¹⁾ You know the esteem which we hold for Muḥammad. We have protected him from our own people who respect who have the same religious views as ourselves. So, he is honored in his clan and safe in his country. Yet, he has decided to turn unto you and join you. So if you think that you will fulfill what you have promised him, and that you will protect him against all that shall oppose him, then yours is that burden which you have taken upon yourselves. But if you think that you will betray him and fail him after he has gone out unto you, then leave him now." They said; "We have heard what you have said, but you speak O Allah's Messenger, and choose for yourself and for your Lord what you wish." The Prophet (peace be upon him) recited some Verses from the Qur'ân, urged them to adhere to Islam and called them to Allah, and then said; "*I take your pledges that you protect me as you protect your women and children.*" Hence, Al-Barâ' rose and stretched his hand forth to the Prophet (peace be upon him) and said: "Take the pledge of our allegiance, O Allah's Messenger, for, by Allah, we are men of war, possessed of arms that have been handed down from father to son." Then, the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) ordered them to bring out to him twelve of their men to take charge of the affairs of their people. He called them *An-Nuqabâ'* (the leaders). When they returned to Medina Islam spread there widely and the Muslims there waited longingly for the coming of the Prophet (peace be upon him).

As for *Quraysh*, they were not aware that this Pledge held in *Al-'Aqabah* would be the hammer demolishing idolatry, and that the sun of Islam rose from Medina to spread its light all over the universe. Hence, it is no wonder to hear that Satan cried out loudly from the top of *Al-'Aqabah*, according to the narration of Ibnul-Athîr, saying; "O people of *Al-Jabâjib*!⁽²⁾ Do you want this Muḥammad and the renegades who are with him? They have come together to wage war against you." The Prophet (peace be upon him) answered him, saying: "*O enemy of God! I swear by Allah that I will deal with you.*"⁽³⁾

(1) Despite the fact that the people were from *Al-Aws* and *Al-Khazraj*, Al-'Abbâs called them people of *Al-Khazraj* because there was a small number of the Awsites comparing to the number of the Khazrajites.

(2) "*Al-Jabâjib*" means the mountains of Mecca or its markets.

(3) "*Al-Kâmil*" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 69].

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The ritual of throwing Pebbles at *Al-`Aqabah* (stoning of the Devil) may be a symbol for such a great event which reflects the success of Islamic *Da`wah* (Call to Allah) by means of the pledge of *Al-`Aqabah*, against the will of the Satan. Hence, every *Hâjj* (pilgrim) shall stone the devil during the rituals of *Hajj* (Pilgrimage) as an act of worship and as a reference to this event of great effect on Islam.

But: What is the secret behind taking the pledges of the people of Medina, while Arabs take for granted the fact that when a stranger seek refuge with any tribe, they shall protect him as he has become a neighbor whose protection is a characteristic of the Arabs?

There is no doubt that the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his uncle *Al-`Abbâs* realized that *Quraysh* would not let *Muhammad* be safe there, and that the task of protecting him is very difficult. This because involving in a dispute with *Quraysh* is a matter which the people of Medina may not be able to afford. Thus, it was necessary to take the pledges of the *Ansâr* to protect the Prophet (peace be upon him) from *Quraysh* which began the aggression by following the Muslims to Abyssinia in order to force them to forsake their religion or to eliminate them and their Call.

► Historical Stages Between the Two Pledges

The thirteenth year of *Da`wah* is a fast historical stage in which *Da`wah* (Islamic Call) turned from being a mere individual advice that regulates the relation between the human being and his Lord through forbidding him from stealing, committing adultery, killing his offspring, uttering slander which he invented between his arms and legs and all other points of the First Pledge of *Al-`Aqabah*, into a defensive military alliance which advocates the Prophet's confidence in the spread of Islam in Medina and that his followers there were so many that he could rely on them to protect *Da`wah* and oppose *Quraysh*. Hence, it was very natural that the Muslims in *Al-`Aqabah* had a strong feeling that the Prophet (peace be upon him) took a serious decision when he took their hands saying; *"I take your pledges that you protect me as you protect your women and children."*

This fast conversion of the Call during a short period of one year, the twelfth year of *Da`wah*, resulted in the fact that the people who adopted

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Islam in Medina during this year were many times as many as those who adopted Islam in Mecca during the whole thirteen years of *Da`wah*.

Glad tidings of victory appeared from Medina and the hearts of its people became attached to the Prophet (peace be upon him). They hopefully waited for him to come and live among them, to enjoy their protection and care and to spread guidance in their community. Meanwhile, *Quraysh* and its allies had closed all the doors of hope in the Prophet's face.

The Prophet (peace be upon him) knew the wishes of the people of Medina to host him. They invited him repeatedly to live among them, but he waited for the permission of his Lord to immigrate to Medina, the new homeland where his great number of followers were longing to see him.

Here, we have to ask ourselves a question:

Why did the People of Medina accept the Islamic *Da`wah* much faster than the people of Mecca?

1. The existence of Heavenly Religions for which there were Heavenly Books tackling the issues of Revelation, Prophethood, Monotheism, Resurrection and Reckoning had greatly contributed to the decline in the sanctity and importance of idolatry to the Arabs of Medina. Although such an existence did not urge the people of Medina to adopt any of the Heavenly Religions, it undoubtedly created some kind of flexibility in their attitudes so that they were ready to discuss religious matters openly. As a result, they became very convinced of the Islamic Principles as they reached them.
2. The Jews used to threaten the tribes of *Al-Aws* and *Al-Khazraj* when an argument was arising among them saying; "A Prophet is now about to be sent. We will follow him and with his help we will kill you as *`Ad* and *Thamud* were killed." This statement remained stuck in the memories of the people of Medina. So, when the Prophet (peace be upon him) spoke with them in the eleventh year of *Da`wah*, they looked at each other and said; "By God, this is the Prophet that the Jews promised us that he would come. Let no one else be the first to reach him!" and they responded and believed.
3. The fierce wars between *Al-Aws* and *Al-Khazraj*, particularly the war of *Bu`ath*, left a very bad impact on the two sides. This urged them to find

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a way to eliminate such a trial through uniting themselves and choosing a chief to judge among them regarding the issues which may result in separations and wars. But from which tribe shall the chief be chosen?

4. This was the gravest trouble to face them. They tried hard to find a solution, and finally, under the pressure of necessity, the Awsites accepted a chief from *Al-Khazraj*. A crown of beads was made for `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy Ibn Salûl *Al-Khazrajî* who was about to be the chief of the two tribes. But, when the Prophet (peace be upon him) was sent, the Arabs in Medina found that submitting themselves to him and believing in his Prophethood would help eliminating any dispute between the two tribes forever, and so they hastened to believe in the Prophet (peace be upon him).⁽¹⁾
5. The Prophet's kinship with *Banû An-Najjâr* urged them to believe in him, the matter which prompt other tribes to adopt Islam lest *Banû An-Najjâr* take an exclusive possession of this honor.
6. The excellent character of Mus`ab Ibn `Umayr, and his ability to call people to Allah, in addition to his superior and sweet recitation of the Qur`ân which captured people who believed in the divinity and integrity of the Islamic *Da`wah*.



(1) This is the secret behind the enmity of `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy towards Allah's Messenger, who, in his opinion, prevented him from being a chief or a king.



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► Immigration

The Second Pledge of *Al-'Aqabah* opened again the doors of hope for all Muslims. It also represented a sign of the close departure to the new homeland whose people were longing for the coming of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his oppressed followers. Thus, Muslims rushed to Medina fleeing from the torture and oppression of *Quraysh* and seeking security and freedom of religion. Meanwhile, the Prophet along with a small number of his Companions remained in Mecca, among his many enemies who swore to kill him, unflappable, trusting in Allah and believing in His Support. He (peace be upon him) did not care for his life but for the lives of his followers.

► Unsuccessful Conspiracy

The efforts of *Quraysh* to get rid of Muḥammad (peace be upon him) and his Companions were in vain and they became furious because of that. Knowing that many of Muḥammad's followers had already left Mecca except for a small number of them, they could not be patient with such a matter. So, they assembled in *Dârun-Nadwah* (house of Council) to discuss what they should do in regard to the Prophet (peace be upon him). They discussed with each other saying; "This man had gained adherents outside the tribe, and we are no longer safe that he and his followers may suddenly attack us. So, we have to agree on a decision regarding him." Some of them said; "Put him in irons behind bars and then wait until the same fate overtook him as that befell his likes of the poets." But this opinion did not please one of them, so he objected saying; "This is not a sound opinion. If you imprisoned him, the news would leak out to his followers, and they would immediately attack you and snatch him away from his prison." Another man suggested that they

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should drive him out of Mecca caring not for the place where he would go as long as he was out of sight.

Those of sound opinion among them felt the danger of driving the Prophet (peace be upon him) away, so they objected again saying; “Did not you experienced his fine speech and beautiful diction and logic?! If you drove him out Mecca, he would settle with some Bedouin tribe and he would win them over so that they would follow him and come and attack your land and take over your position and authority.” They were very confused until Abû Jahl finally proposed that each clan should provide a young, powerful and well-born man who should be handed a sharp sword. Then, these men should simultaneously strike a blow at the Prophet (peace be upon him) and kill him. By doing so, the responsibility for the Prophet’s blood would lie upon all the clans, and *Banû `Abd Manâf*, the Prophet’s clan, would not be able to fight them all and would have to accept the blood-money. Hence, *Quraysh* would be relieved of the man whom they think that he separated the tribe and made it into factions. They unanimously agreed on this opinion.

While *Quraysh* was plotting against the Prophet (peace be upon him) to assassinate him, Jibrîl (Gabriel) came down to him with the discussions they had and the matters they plotted against him. in this regard Allah, the Exalted, says:

{“And [remember, O Muhammad], when those who disbelieved plotted against you to restrain you or kill you or evict you [from Mecca]. But they plan, and Allah plans. And Allah is the best of planners.”}

[Al-Anfâl: 30]

Then, Allah, the Most High, ordered him not to sleep this night in his usual bed. Accordingly, the Prophet (peace be upon him) sent to `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib (may Allah be pleased with him) and asked him to sleep in his bed and to wrap himself in his green cloak until the morning. He also asked `Ali to give the trusts which people kept with the Prophet back to their owners and follow him to Medina.

The chosen men of *Quraysh*’s assembled and surrounded the Prophet’s house. It was not the custom of the Arabs to kill a person in his own house so they waited for the Prophet (peace be upon him) to go out so that they

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might kill him. In every time they peered through the cracks of the door, they saw `Alî sleeping in the Prophet's bed and covered with his cloak, so they thought him Muḥammad (peace be upon him) and believed that he still within their grasp. The Prophet (peace be upon him) left his house under the protection of Allah reciting Verses from Surah Yâ-Sîn, and picked a handful of dust whom he scattered over their heads saying; "*May these faces be repulsive*". Immediately, the Prophet went to the house of Abû Bakr who was longing to be the Prophet's Companion in the Hegira (Immigration). He told Abû Bakr that Allah has permitted him to depart. Hereupon, Abû Bakr wept out of joy that he would be the Prophet's Companion during such journey.

At morning, the assassins were alarmed by the sound of the door opening, so they got ready to strike their blow at the Prophet (peace be upon him) but they found `Alî at the door carrying the Prophet's cloak in his hands.

► **Good Planning**

The Prophet (peace be upon him) shrouded his intention to leave Mecca with secrecy. Entrusted with the great role of misleading *Quraysh* and revealing the nobility and great morals of Muḥammad who was keen on giving the deposits (trusts) back to their owners even though they had driven him out of his own land, `Alî was one of two to know about the Prophet's intention. The second one was Abû Bakr who had already prepared two camels and waited for the Prophet's command to seek the destination he wanted. When the Prophet (peace be upon him) left his house and went to Abû Bakr, he informed him about their journey. The two of them left by a window in the back of Abû Bakr's house and made their way south towards Yemen aiming at a cave in the Mount of *Thawr*, as this was not the usual route for travelling to Medina, and thus *Quraysh* would not expect that they took such a direction.

The Prophet (peace be upon him) chose some loyal and faithful people to help him escape the polytheists and reach Medina safely. He charged every one of them with a certain task in his plan to be achieved carefully so as to guarantee their safety. For example, `Abdullâh Ibn Abû Bakr was charged with the task of listening to what the people of *Quraysh* were saying and planning for Muḥammad (peace be upon him) and his Companion, and then coming back to them by night with the day's news. Asmâ' Bint Abû Bakr

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had the burden of coming at night with the food necessary for sustaining the Prophet (peace be upon him) and Abû Bakr. `Âmir Ibn Fuhayrah, the shepherd of Abû Bakr, was assigned the task of feeding the flock by day away from the Cave and then bringing them in the evening to the Cave, so that they could milk and slaughter some of them for provision, and then waiting for `Abdullâh and Asmâ' to go to let the flock moves over their traces to cover them. Finally, `Abdullâh Ibn Urayqit was charged with the task of guiding the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Companion Abû Bakr through an unused route so as to avoid their seekers. `Abdullâh Ibn Urayqit was an expert in desert routes, he was a disbeliever who achieved his task in return for a wage paid by the Prophet (peace be upon him).

The Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Companion stayed in the Cave for three days during which *Quraysh* spared no effort to find them. In the fourth day, when the people became quiet and the routes were free of spies, they assigned `Abdullâh Ibn Urayqit the task to guide them to Medina. He took the western route along the shore of the Red Sea. He did not take the usual route; rather, he remained off this beaten track, sometimes on its right and some others on its left, to avoid their seekers who aimed at the reward of one hundred she-camels set by *Quraysh* for that who would bring Muḥammad (peace be upon him) back, dead or alive.

► **Surâqah Seeks Wealth**

Surâqah Ibn Mâlik, from *Banû Mudlij*, was tempted by the reward of *Quraysh*, so he took his weapon and rode his horse in pursuit of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and Abû Bakr. His horse was running swiftly so as to catch them, but it stumbled and Surâqah fell to the ground. Despite the fact that the Arabs were regarding the stumble of the horse as a bad omen suggesting failure, Surâqah, influenced by temptation of wealth, did not care for the repeated stumbling of his horse until it fell down throwing him fiercely off its back. He could not get it up again as its forelegs delved into the ground.

Thereupon, Surâqah knew that his life would be in great danger if he tried again to catch Muḥammad (peace be upon him) and Abû Bakr, who were very close to him. So, he called them and promised that no harm would come to them from him and that he would mislead the people

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of *Quraysh* seeking them. Then, he asked them to give him a document which will be an agreement between him and the Prophet (peace be upon him). The Prophet gave him the document and said; “O *Surâqah!* How will you feel with the gold bangles of *Kisrâ* (*Khosrow*) on your wrists? *Surâqah* asked; “*Kisrâ Ibn Hurmuz?*” The Prophet (peace be upon him) answered; ‘Yes’.” *Surâqah* returned and worked on misleading the chasers of the great Prophet (peace be upon him). The Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Companion travelled through *Tihâmah* in the intense heat of the desert where there was no tree to rest in its shadow nor a lake to relieve the intensity of heat or the cruelty of the surrounding environment. The journey continued for seven harsh days during which they would have stopped for rest until the great heat of the day had passed, and would have ridden their camels all night long. When they became close to Medina, the Prophet (peace be upon him) ordered the guide to take them straight to *Banû `Amr Ibn `Awf at Qibâ’*. They reached *Qibâ’* on Monday Rabi’ I 12, 1 A.H.⁽¹⁾

The Prophet (peace be upon him) remained in *Qibâ’* for three days during which he laid the foundations of *Qibâ’s* Mosque and became sure of the warm welcome of the people of Medina. He left *Qibâ’* on Friday heading to Medina surrounded by men from *Banû An-Najjâr*, as guards of honor.

We will not speak about the warm reception of the People of Medina to the Prophet (peace be upon him), as it was thoroughly discussed by many books of *Sîrah* (Prophetic Biography) and Islamic history. These books had already described the longing of the people of Medina to meet the Prophet (peace be upon him) to the extent that they kept on coming out every morning waiting for his arrival until the sun became too hot. The books had also mentioned their great and warm reception of the Prophet (peace be upon him) as well as their great and pure joy.

(1) *Maḥamûd Pâshâ Al-Falakî* verified that the date of arrival was Rabi’ I, 8, corresponding to September 22, 622 A.D. During the Caliphate of `Umar, Muslims set the Islamic calendar to be started from the first year of Hegira (Prophetic Immigration). For the purpose of conformity between the beginning of the Hijrî year and the Lunar year, the Hijrî calendar was set two months and few days in advance, deeming the Hijrî year to be begun from the month of Muḥarram. See: “*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*” by Sheikh Muḥammad Al-Khudârî (P. 87).

The Prophet in Medina and the Establishment of the Islamic State

When the Prophet (peace be upon him) reached Medina, it was inhabited by many parties from whom the Prophet (peace be upon him) had to form a sound community and lay down its rules and regulations which would govern its actions and transactions and rectify its moral and spiritual aspects. The noble aim of the Prophet (peace be upon him) was to form the main foundation of the Muslim Community namely, to form one united family that would replace *Al-Aws* and *Al-Khazraj*, *Banû Umayyah* and *Banû `Abd Manâf*, as well as other clans and tribes. It is the Islamic family, the Muslim Nation, that would combine all Muslims regardless of their tribes and homelands. To achieve this, the Prophet (peace be upon him) did the following steps:

1. Construction of the Mosque in Medina

The purpose behind building this mosque was deeper than being a mere place of worship, as Islam deems the earth as a mosque for all Muslims.

The Prophet (peace be upon him) wanted to build the mosque to be a house for worshipping Allah, and a house for all Muslims where they could gather for worship, consultation, litigation, discussing commercial affairs, and learning from the Prophet (peace be upon him) the principles of religion and regulations of community. Accordingly, the mosque would act as a school where Muslims' souls, minds and hearts would be brought together, unite and agree with each other due to companionship and social interaction. The mosque then would help eliminate the detestable weak bond of tribalism and replace it with a broad Islamic bond that ties all human beings. From this mosque, the *Adhân* (Call to prayer) would be released five times a day announcing that the Word of Allah is the highest above all.

2. Establishing brotherhood between the *Muhâjirûn* (the Immigrants) and the *Ansar* (the Supporters)

The next step was to establish mutual brotherhood between the *Muhâjirûn* (the Immigrants) and the *Ansar* (the Supporters). The brotherhood was not

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limited to the *Muhâjirûn* and the *Ansâr* only. Brotherhood was established between a *Muhâjir* (Emigrant) and another, and between an *Ansârî* (Supporter) and another. By doing so, the Prophet (peace be upon him) was aiming at reconciling among some of the *Muhâjirûn* tribes. He (peace be upon him) also aimed at reconciling between *Al-Aws* and *Al-Khazraj*, as there were many wars among them. Moreover, the Prophet (peace be upon him) established brotherhood between individuals of the highest lineage among the Arabian tribes and some slaves and servants. For example, he declared the brotherhood between Hamzah Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib and Zayd Ibn Hârithah, and between Abû Ad-Dardâ' and Salmân Al-Fârisî. This resulted in the formation of a united Islamic family composed of the numerous Arabian tribes who forgot their lineages and their origins and recognized the bond of Islam by which Allah, the Almighty, brought them together. After this, the people of Medina became of two groups; Muslims, and non-Muslims who were for the most part Jews. Hence, the Prophet (peace be upon him) took crucial steps to achieve unity and alliance among all the people of Medina and give a great example of cooperation and co-existence among the followers of different religions on the basis of freedom of religion. These steps were;

3. The pact between Muslims and Jews

The Prophet (peace be upon him) held a pact with the Jews to achieve the aforementioned purposes, to establish peace and security in Medina, and to defend Medina against any attack, and to contribute financially in case of any financial crisis.⁽¹⁾

4. Laying the foundations for Islamic economy

The Prophet (peace be upon him) laid the foundations of Islamic economy that aims at spreading social justice among the members of the society. This is because the sound society is the one that is void of the dominance of the rich. So, the Prophet (peace be upon him) reconciled between the rich and the poor, prescribing a share in the rich's wealth as a right of the poor. He also set a share in the rich's wealth for the sake of public interest, in addition to other

(1) To see the full text of the Pact, please refer to “*Muhâdarât Fî Târîkh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*” by Sheikh Muḥammad Al-Khudarî [1: 149-150]

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regulations which achieved cooperation among Muslims and established the fair Islamic principles stating that no excessiveness nor negligence, and no Capitalism nor Communism.

Accordingly, we can see that the Prophet (peace be upon him) put the core of the Islamic State on the basis of faith, brotherhood and love. He also enacted the Islamic Law (*Shari'ah*) for the next generations. When the first Muslims complied with this law, and acted in accordance with it, they gained victory over the greatest nations of their time. But when Muslims after them left it, they were totally dispersed and occupied. However, the revival of the Nation has begun, and the hopes to restore ties between our glorious past and our present have been renovated, and tomorrow is another day.



Jihâd and the Legitimacy of Fighting

We knew that the Prophet (peace be upon him) had established a government in Medina on the basis of *Wahy* (Revelation), *Shûrâ* (Consultation) and brotherhood in religion, thought, principles, and purposes. We knew also, that he (peace be upon him) declared Medina as sacred as Mecca, so it is inviolate and its animals and birds cannot be hunted. This resulted in spreading the feelings of safety and tranquility among Muslims who began to perform their religious obligations individually and congregationally without fear of being harmed or oppressed. Moreover, the Prophet (peace be upon him) began to spread his teachings giving the greatest example through his own self and actions, while laying down the foundations of the Islamic Civilization.

Impressed by the Prophet's teachings and good example, many people embraced Islam adding more strength to the Muslims in Medina. As a result, the Jews began to reconsider their position towards the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Companions. The pact they held with the Prophet (peace be upon him) was in reality aimed at attracting him to their lines so as to gain superiority over the Christians, as he was more powerful than them both. The Prophet's teachings and principles were growing firm every day. Meanwhile, he was thinking about *Quraysh* who drove him and his Companions out of Mecca and took over their wealth.

So, should they leave his Call to spread and gain more followers, keeping content with the security they would enjoy under his protection, the security which would result in a more prosperous trade and greater wealth? They might have agreed if they were certain that such a Call would never affect the Jews and spread among their common people. Their teachings ordain them to reject any Prophet who is not from *Banû Isrâ'îl* (the children of Israel).

Their grudge against Muhammad had increased, and their anger reached its utmost when `Abdullâh Ibn Salâm, one of their greatest rabbis, adopted Islam. Hence, an argument, which was more violent than the argument with *Quraysh* in Mecca, had occurred between the Prophet (peace be upon him) and the Jews. They used intrigue, hypocrisy, and their knowledge about the stories of the previous Prophets as weapons by which they tried to resist the

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Islamic Call, denying the ordinances of *Tawrâh* (Torah). They also tried to stir up enmity between *Al-Aws* and *Al-Khazraj*.⁽¹⁾

When these weapons failed, they thought to deceive the Prophet (peace be upon him) and persuade him of leaving Medina, as he was forced to leave Mecca, telling him that all the Prophets before him left their lands to Jerusalem where they lived, so that he should act like them if he was a true Messenger. But Allah, the Almighty, told him about their plan ordering him to turn his way towards *Al-Masjid Al-Harâm* (the Sacred Mosque) as the new *Qiblah* (Prayer direction). The Prophet (peace be upon him) did as Allah, Exalted be He, ordered him, and the Jews denounced his act, claiming that they would follow him if he returned to face their *Qiblah*. In this regard Allah, the Almighty, says:

{“The foolish among the people will say; ‘What has turned them away from their Qiblah, which they used to face?’ Say; ‘To Allah belongs the east and the west. He guides whom He wills to a straight path.’”}

[Al-Baqarah: 142]⁽²⁾

Muhammad and his Companions had to defend themselves and their existence. They had to exert their best to create a state of lasting peace that paves the way for establishing a virtuous society within which people live in harmony, peace and security. This could be achieved only through spreading the Islamic Call, as being the Call of reform, peace, and civilization whom the Prophet (peace be upon him) laid down its foundation through his teachings and good example.

But how could this be achieved while the Arab pagans continued to indulge in their misguidance and oppression of Muslims, and the Jews were waiting for an opportunity to eliminate Islam?

The fate of those among the early nations who were opposing their Prophets was destruction and elimination. That is, some of them were drowned in the sea, some others were destructed by a screaming, violent wind, and

(1) *“Al-Kâmil”* by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 77-78]; *“Hayât Muhammad”* by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (pp. 226-232); *“Mirât Al-Islâm”* by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn (P. 65).

(2) [Al-Baqarah (The Cow): 142-144].

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a third group were destroyed by one awful cry which made them like the dry twig fragments of an animal pen, the cry which leaves nothing, just like the destructive atomic bombs. Muḥammad (peace be upon him) was feeling pity for them to have the same destiny. So, he acted with them like the clever doctor who tries every possible kind of medicine before using the scalpel. He warned them and gave them the glad tidings of their reward if they followed him, but they inflicted harm upon him, drove him out of his homeland after plotting to kill him and evicted his Companions from their home country for no reason but saying; “Allah is our Lord”. After Hegira (Immigration), Allah, the Almighty, gave the Immigrants the permission to fight the pagans of *Quraysh*. In this regard Allah, the Most Great, says:

{“Permission [to fight] has been given to those who are being fought, because they were wronged. And indeed, Allah is competent to give them victory. [They are] those who have been evicted from their homes without right – only because they say; “Our Lord is Allah”...”}

[Al-Ḥajj: 39-40]

It is the first Verse to be revealed concerning *Jihād* (fighting for the sake of Allah). After the permission to fighting had been given to Muslims, the Prophet (peace be upon him) informed them that fighting has been legislated for defending themselves only, as Allah, the Most High, says:

{“Fight in the way of Allah those who fight you but do not transgress. Indeed, Allah does not like transgressors.”}

[Al-Baqarah: 190]

Accordingly, the Prophet (peace be upon him) only attacked *Quraysh* at first. But when pagans of Arabia cooperated with *Quraysh* to fight Muslims, Allah, the Exalted, ordered Muslims to fight all the disbelievers saying:

{“...And fight against the disbelievers collectively as they fight against you collectively...”}

[At-Tawbah: 36]

As a result, *Jihād* has become a general ruling including all pagans who have no Heavenly Book. In this regard, the Prophet (peace be upon him) said:

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"I have been ordered to fight the people until they say; 'Lâ Ilâha Illâ Allâh' (there is no god but Allah). So, if they say it, they protect their blood and their wealth from me, except for a right, and their reckoning is for Allah."

[Related by At-Tirmidhî]

When Muslims experienced the treachery of the Jews, who helped the disbelievers in their wars against Muslims, Allah, Exalted be He, ordered to fight them saying:

{“If you [have reason to] fear from a people betrayal, throw [their treaty] back to them, [putting you] on equal terms. Indeed, Allah does not like traitors.”}

[Al-Anfâl: 58]

Hence, fighting the traitors is obligatory for all Muslims, until they believe or give the *Jizyah* (Tribute) with willing submission while feeling themselves subdued, so that Muslims may feel safety and security.⁽¹⁾

When contemplating the Verses concerning fighting, we find that *Jihâd* has been legislated for two reasons namely, self-defense and protecting *Da`wah* as well as maintaining the stability of the Islamic State. We can also find that these Verses have been revealed concerning:

- (I) Fighting the disbelievers who were already fighting the Muslims, the oppressed ones. This is clear in Allah's Saying regarding the Battle of *Uhud*:

{“And (remember) when you (Muhammad) left your household in the morning to post the believers at their stations for the battle (of Uhud). And Allah is All-Hearer, All-Knower.”}

[Âl `Imrân: 121]

- (II) The rebels who unjustly rise against the state in which they live aiming at developing a state of unrest where they violate the other's freedom of religion and belief. This is clear in Allah's Saying:

{“Fight them until there is no [more] Fitnah (disbelief, discord, dissension, civil strife, persecution, oppression, injustice, seduction,

(1) See: “*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*” by Sheikh Muhammad Al-Khudari (pp. 102-104).

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trial and torment) and [until] religion [i.e. worship] is [acknowledged to be] for Allah...”}

[Al-Baqarah: 193]

And:

”{“And fight them until there is no Fitnah (disbelief, discord, dissension, civil strife, persecution, oppression, injustice, seduction, trial and torment) and [until] the religion [i.e. worship], all of it, is for Allah...”}

[Al-Anfâl: 39]

(III) Those who violate their pledges among the disbelievers. There is no doubt that the one cannot avoid the evils of those who violate their pledges through covenants and peace treaties. This can be concluded from Allah’s Saying:

”{“And if they break their oaths after their treaty and defame your religion, then fight the leaders of disbelief, for indeed, there are no oaths [sacred] to them; [fight them that] they might cease. Would you not fight a people who broke their oaths and determined to expel the Messenger, and they had begun [the attack upon] you the first time?...”}

[At-Tawbah: 12-13]

(IV) The Jews who helped Quraysh and the Hypocrites (*Munâfiqûn*) against Muslims in the Battle of *Al-Ahzâb* (the Confederates) where they violated the Pact between them and the Prophet (peace be upon him). In this regard, Allah, the Exalted, says:

”{“Fight those who do not believe in Allah or in the Last Day and who do not consider unlawful what Allah and His Messenger have made unlawful and who do not adopt the religion of truth [i.e. Islam] from those who were given the Scripture – [fight] until they give the Jizyah (Tribute) willingly while they are humbled.”}⁽¹⁾

[At-Tawbah: 29]

(1) “*Muhâdarât Fî Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*” by Sheikh Muhammad Al-Khudârî [1: 141-146]; and “*As-Sîrah An-Nabawiyyah*” by Dr. Muhammad Mustafâ An-Najjâr (pp. 57-59).

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This brief review clarifies that Muḥammad (peace be upon him) did not like fighting and did not seek it. He was forced to fight, after losing all means of mutual understanding with the enemy, for the matters of self-defense, defending the religion and defending the freedom of belief and *Da`wah*. He resorted to war in the narrowest and most crucial limits, taking into consideration human rights and sanctity of life, as we shall see in his battles and expeditions.⁽¹⁾



(1) Expedition (Arabic: *Sariyyah*, plural *Sarâyâ*) is a part of the army. In Islam, *Sariyyah* (expedition) is a small group of soldiers whose commander is not the Prophet (peace be upon him) but someone else appointed by him. Meanwhile, *Ghazwah* (Battle) is a military action including the whole army under the command of the Prophet (peace be upon him) himself, whether the army had involved in a war or not.

Battles and Expeditions

Among the methods used by the Prophet (peace be upon him) to avoid fighting with *Quraysh* was sending small groups of soldiers known as “*Sarâyâ*” (Expeditions) to threaten their routes of trade, to whose safety they were paying much attention and care, so that they might feel the power of Muslims and try to reach a mutual understanding with the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Companions, an understanding that should guarantee the freedom of *Da`wah* and the freedom of entering Mecca to perform *Hajj* (Pilgrimage).

The first expedition was sent in Ramadan of the first year of Hegira under the command of *Hamzah Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib* to intercept a caravan of *Quraysh* coming from the Levant under the leadership of *Abû Jahl Ibn Hishâm*. The expedition reached the seashore in the neighborhood of *Al-`Îs* -in the territory of Medina- and met with the caravan but they did not involve in fighting because *Majdî Ibn `Amr Al-Juhanî* intervened between them (he was at peace with both parties).⁽¹⁾

The second expedition was dispatched in Shawwal of the first year of Hegira with *`Ubaydah Ibnul-Hârith Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib* leading eighty men of the Immigrants to meet *Abû Sufyân* at the head of two hundred men of *Quraysh*. The two parties threw arrows at each other, but there was no actual fighting.

Being the first man in Islam to throw an arrow for the sake of Allah, the Prophet (peace be upon him) dispatched *Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs* as the commander of an expedition to *Al-Abwâ`*, a village between Mecca and Medina, but he did not involve in fighting.

► The Battle of *Waddân*⁽²⁾

The Prophet (peace be upon him) saw that *Quraysh* was still following their course of oppression and that they did not try to reach a mutual understanding with the Muslims, so he set out himself in Rabi` I 12, 2 A.H. on a mission

(1) In this expedition, the number of Muslims was 30 riders, while the number of *Quraysh* was 300 riders.

(2) *Waddân* is a village between Mecca and Medina. It is located six miles from *Al-Abwâ`*.

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to intercept a caravan belonging to *Quraysh*, and conclude an alliance with *Banû Damrah* who were residing near the route of trade. The Prophet (peace be upon him) moved until he reached *Waddân*, but he did not involve in fighting because the caravan had left. The Prophet (peace be upon him) held an agreement with *Banû Damrah* stating that they are safe and secure in their wealth and lives, that they shall be supported by the Muslims against any aggression, and that they shall support Muslims when they ask for their help.

► The Battle of *Buwât*⁽¹⁾

One month after the Battle of *Waddân*, the Prophet (peace be upon him) knew that a caravan of *Quraysh* consisting of 2500 camels and 100 men led by Umayyah Ibn Khalaf was coming from the Levant. The Prophet (Peace be upon him), at the head of 200 Immigrants, marched for *Buwât* to intercept this caravan. When he reached *Buwât*, he found that the caravan had left, so he returned without fighting.

► The Battle of *Al- 'Ushayrah*⁽²⁾

In Jumada I of the same year, the Prophet (peace be upon him) set out on a mission to intercept a caravan led by Abû Sufyân aiming at the Levant. When he reached *Al- 'Ushayrah*, he found that the caravan had left. He concluded an alliance with *Banû Mudlij* and their allies, and then returned to Medina waiting for the caravan to return.⁽³⁾

► The Battle of *Safwân* (Battle of *Badr* the First)

Shortly after the Prophet (peace be upon him) had returned from *Al- 'Ushayrah*, Kurz Ibn Jâbir Al-Fihri attacked the pasturing camels of Medina. The Prophet (peace be upon him) went out in pursuit of him, until he reached a valley called *Safwân*, in the neighborhood of *Badr*. The Prophet (peace be

(1) One of the Mounts of *Juhaynah*, located towards *Yanbu`*.

(2) A village near the Mount of *Radwâ*.

(3) While in *Al- 'Ushayrah*, the Prophet (peace be upon him) sent Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs with a few number of the Immigrants towards Mecca. They marched until they reached *Al-Kharrâr*, a valley near Mecca and *Qadîd*, and then returned without fighting. By doing that, the Prophet (peace be upon him) was aiming at showing the Muslims strength, and seeking the news of Mecca.

upon him) could not overtake Kurz who escaped from him so he returned to Medina. This battle is called *Badr* the First.⁽¹⁾

➤ The Expedition of `Abdullâh Ibn Jahsh

In Rajab of the second year of Hegira, the Prophet (peace be upon him) dispatched `Abdullâh Ibn Jahsh with a small group of 8 or 12 Immigrants. He handed him a message, and ordered him not to open it until he had journeyed for two days, and to proceed with what he was ordered to do in it without forcing any of his companions to join him. When `Abdullâh had travelled for two days he opened the message and looked into it, and this is what it said; "When you have read this message of mine proceed until you reach *Nakhlah* 'between Mecca and *At-Tâ'if*. Wait there for *Quraysh* and find out for us what they are doing". He informed his companions with the matter telling them that he had been forbidden to force any of them to join him. All his companions went with him, but Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs and `Utbah Ibn Ghazwân lost their camel so they stayed behind to look for it, and *Quraysh* captured them. `Abdullâh and his companions marched until they reached *Nakhlah* where a caravan of *Quraysh* carrying items of trade and headed by `Amr Ibnul-*Hadrâmî* passed by them. It was the last day of Rajab and `Abdullâh and his companions remembered the oppression of *Quraysh* against them and the wealth they took from them. So, they took council among themselves, and they said to each other; "If you leave them tonight they will get into the sacred area and will be safe from you and if you kill them, you will kill them in the Sacred Month." So, they were hesitant and feared to attack them. Then they encouraged each other, and agreed to kill as many as they could of them and take what they had. One of them shot `Amr Ibnul-*Hadrâmî* with an arrow and killed him, and two men of *Quraysh*, `Uthmân Ibn `Abdullâh Ibnul-Mughîrah and Al-*Hakam* Ibn Kaysân, were captured by Muslims.

`Abdullâh Ibn Jahsh said to his companions; "The fifth of what you have taken belongs to the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him)." This was

(1) See: "*Al-Kâmil*" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 77-79]; "*Muhâdarât Fî Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*" by Sheikh Muḥammad Al-Khudarî [1: 151-153]; "*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sirat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*" by Sheikh Muḥammad Al-Khudarî (pp. 106, 108 and 109); "*Hayât Muḥammad*" by Muḥammad Husayn Haykal (pp. 236-241).

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before Allah, the Almighty, had prescribed the *Khumus* (one fifth of the booty) to the Prophet. It was the first booty for Muslims and the first *Khumus* in Islam.⁽¹⁾ ` Abdullâh and his companions came to Medina with the booty and the two prisoners. when the Prophet (peace be upon him) saw them, he said; *“I did not order you to fight in the Sacred Month”*, and he held the caravan and the two prisoners in suspense and refused to take anything from them. As a result, ` Abdullâh and his companions were in despair and thought that they were doomed. Their Muslim brothers reproached them for their action, and *Quraysh* found it an opportunity to propagate against Muslims saying that Muḥammad and his Companions had violated the Sacred Month, shed blood therein, taken booty, and captured men. Muslims in Mecca opposed them saying that their Muslim brothers of Immigrants had done it in Sha`ban.⁽²⁾ The Jews involved the controversy provoking turmoil and war.

Then, Allah, Exalted be He, revealed to his Prophet (peace be upon him) saying:

{“They ask you about the Sacred Month (i.e. 1st, 7th, 11th and 12th months of the Islamic calendar) – about fighting therein. Say; ‘Fighting therein is great [sin], but averting [people] from the way of Allah and disbelief in Him and [preventing access to] Al-Masjid Al-Ḥarâm and the expulsion of its people therefrom are greater [evil] in the sight of Allah. And Fitnah (disbelief, discord, dissension, civil strife, persecution, oppression, injustice, seduction, trial and torment) is greater than killing.’ And they will continue to fight you until they turn you back from your religion if they are able...”}

[Al-Baqarah: 217]

The Muslims were relieved of their anxiety by the revelation of the Qur`ân concerning this matter and Allah’s Messenger (peace be upon him) took the caravan and the two prisoners. *Quraysh* sent to him to redeem the two prisoners, but the Prophet (peace be upon him) said; *“We will not let you redeem*

(1) *“Al-Kâmil”* by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 79].

(2) Another narration states that the blood shedding took place in the last day of Jumada II and the first night of Rajab.

them until our two companions come back (meaning Sa`d and `Utbah) for we fear for them on your account. If you kill them, we will kill your two companions.” Sa`d and `Utbah turned up at Medina and the Prophet (peace be upon him) allowed *Quraysh* to redeem their two companions. Al-Hakam embraced Islam and stayed in Medina with Allah’s Messenger until he was killed as a martyr in the expedition of *Bi`r Ma`ûnah*. As for `Uthmân, he went back to Mecca and died there as a disbeliever.

➤ Consequences of the Expedition

There is no doubt that the expedition of `Abdullâh Ibn Jahsh and the Verses revealed concerning it represents, as Dr. Muhammad Husayn Haykal (may Allah confer mercy upon him)⁽¹⁾ says, a crossroad in the Islamic politics. It is a new event that indicates the strong spirits of Muslims, reflects the human aspect of their life and affirms the lofty regulations controlling both their material and spiritual lives perfectly. In this expedition, the Qur`ân answered the disbelievers concerning fighting during the Sacred Months stating that it is a great sin but affirming in the same time that there is a sin greater than it which is averting people from the way of Allah, disbelieving in Allah, preventing people from entering *Al-Masjid Al-Harâm* (the Sacred Mosque) and expelling its people therefrom. The Qur`ân also affirms that spreading *Fitnah* aiming at seducing people into abandoning their religion is a sin greater than killing during the Sacred Months or during other months. Moreover, they were still committing another great sin represented in fighting Muslims so as to turn them back from their religion if they were able to do so.

The Verse also ended their objections as the one committing many evils has no right to criticize the others for committing an evil lesser than his evils. So, they were tongue-tied, and the Prophet (peace be upon him) realized that all hopes to reach a mutual understanding with *Quraysh* had vanished, and that the Jews would never respond to him and that they cannot be trusted as they never adhere to their covenants and always seek *Fitnah*.

(1) “*Hayât Muhammad*” by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (P. 245).

► Events After the Expedition

In the middle of Sha`ban of the second year of Hegira, Allah has commanded the Prophet (peace be upon him) to face the *Ka`bah* during Prayer after eighteen or sixteen years of praying towards Jerusalem. This was in response to the Prophet's extreme care to face the *Ka`bah* (the Sacred House) as the prayer direction, the hope for which he (peace be upon him) earnestly supplicated Allah. The Jews condemned the Muslims hardly for changing the *Qiblah* (prayer direction), unaware that the East and the West as well as all directions belong to Allah.⁽¹⁾

During the same month of the same year, Allah has prescribed the fasting of Ramadan for Muslims. Before this, the Prophet (peace be upon him) used to fast three days a month. When he came to Medina, he found that the Jews were fasting the day of '*Āshûrâ*' so he fasted it and ordered Muslims to fast it too. But when Fasting was prescribed, he (peace be upon him) did not order Muslims to fast this day, nor did he forbid them from fasting it. Since feeling the needs of the poor, and showing kindness to them are among the wisdoms behind fasting, the Prophet (peace be upon him) ordered Muslims to pay *Zakâtul-Fitr* (fast breaking alms) during the first day of '*Īd* (Feast) or before it as stated in the books of *Fiqh*. The Prophet (peace be upon him) went to the feast's place of prayer for the first time. He led the Muslims in the feast prayer and a short stick known as *Al-'Anzah*⁽²⁾ was put in front of him.

Moreover, Allah, Exalted be He, has prescribed *Zakâtul-Mâl* (alms on wealth), making it obligatory for every Muslim possessing the *Nisâb* (the minimum amount of wealth necessary for paying *Zakâh*) to pay a known due money for the poor, the needy and the other categories mentioned in the Verse of *Zakâh* (alms-giving) stating:

{“Zakâh expenditures are only for the poor and for the needy and for those employed for (collecting) it and for bringing hearts together [for

(1) I have already mentioned some of the Jews' actions concerning this topic when I tackled their attempt to drive the Prophet (peace be upon him) out of Medina in (pp. 61-66) of this book.

(2) A short stick with a spearhead, installed in front of the one performing prayer in open places so as to prevent others from passing before him.

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Islam] and for freeing captives [or slaves] and for those in debt and for the cause of Allah and for the [stranded] traveler – an obligation [imposed] by Allah. And Allah is Knowing and Wise.”}

[At-Tawbah: 60]⁽¹⁾

The reader is kindly invited to contemplate these Divine Legislations as well as the great meanings and lessons they provide. Now I will tackle a very great event which had major impacts on the Islamic history namely, the Great Battle of *Badr*.



(1) See: “*Al-Kâmil*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 80]; and “*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*” by Sheikh Muḥammad Al-Khudarî (pp. 111-113).

The Great Battle of *Badr*

We have mentioned that the Prophet (peace be upon him) set out on a mission to intercept the largest caravan of *Quraysh*, but the caravan left to the Levant and the Prophet (peace be upon him) returned to Medina waiting for the caravan to return from the Levant. During this period of waiting, the Prophet (peace be upon him) dispatched the expedition of `Abdullâh Ibn Jahsh, which was a crossroads in Muslims' politics towards the people of *Quraysh*. The *Wahy* (Revelation) was sent down to settle the controversy occurred and to be a guidance and a mercy for the Muslims who were relieved from their trial and realized that there was no hope to reach an agreement with the people of *Quraysh*.

At this time, the news reached Muslims that the caravan they were waiting for had returned from the Levant, so the Prophet (peace be upon him) summoned the Muslims to intercept it saying; *"(This is) the caravan of Quraysh, go out to attack it; perhaps Allah will give it to you as booty."* The Muslims answered the Prophet's summons, some eagerly, others reluctantly because they had not thought that the Prophet (peace be upon him) would go to war. The Prophet (peace be upon him) did not order any of them to go intercept the caravan, but rather, he said; *"Whoever has a mount shall accompany us"*. Accordingly, 313 men set out for the battle, 83 immigrants, 61 *Awsites* and 109 *Khazrajites*.⁽¹⁾ They had only two horses and 70 camels on each of them two to three men were riding by turn. The Prophet (peace be upon him) himself shared a camel with `Ali Ibn Abû Tâlib, and Marthad Al-Ghanawî.

Here, we shall express our great admiration, respect and appreciation of the Prophet for this noble attitude. He (peace be upon him) used to share the times of distress and prosperity with his Companions, refusing to be favored over them, even in the simplest matters such as having a camel of his own.

(1) Other opinions stated that they were 314 and some others affirmed that they were 318. They also were said to be 305. See: *"Al-Kâmil"* by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 82]; and *"Hayât Muhammad"* by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (pp. 252-253).

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The Prophet (peace be upon him) left Medina, with the army, on Monday 8 or 9 Ramadan, according to the chronology of Muḥammad Mukhtâr Pâshâ Al-Misrî, corresponding to 5 March 624 A.D. The news of the army setting out reached Abû Sufyân, so he sent a messenger to *Quraysh* asking them to rush to protect the caravan. They answered his call and every man of them either went himself or sent someone in his place, as every one of them was possessing a share in the caravan whose total value reached 50000 *Dinâr*. On the way, *Quraysh* was informed that the caravan had escaped the Muslims, since Abû Sufyân, knowing that Muslims had set out for attacking the caravan, led the caravan off the main route, and inclined it towards the seashore managing to slip past the Muslim army and be out of their reach. Hence, he sent to his people informing them with the matter and asking them to go back. But Abû Jahl said; “We shall not go back until we reach *Badr* and spend three days there, slaughtering camels, feasting and drinking wine, so that the Arabs hear of us and keep respecting us forever.”

Despite the saying of Abû Jahl, the clans of *Banû Zuhrah* and *Banû 'Adiyy* returned to Mecca. Many of the *Quraishites* wanted to go back, but they feared Abû Jahl for his impudent threats. The rest of the *Quraishites*, whose number ranged between 900 and 1000 including 100 horses and 700 camels, went on until they reached *Al-'Udwatul-Quswâ*⁽¹⁾ (the farthest bank of the Valley) of Medina and camped behind a sand dune for the purpose of protection.

► The Way to the Battle

While in the Valley of *Dhafirân*, the Prophet (peace be upon him) was informed that *Quraysh* had set out to protect their caravan, that the caravan had escaped and that *Quraysh* challenged the Muslims.

It was very clear that the situation had become very dangerous since the confrontation had turned from being a battle against a caravan consisting of 40 men with heavy cargo preventing them from fighting well to be a battle against a strong army surpassing them in number and military equipment, an army whose confrontation might have led to a decisive

(1) *Al-'Udwah* is an Arabic word which stands for the bank of a river. Meanwhile, the Arabic *Al-Quswâ* means the farthest.

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defeat that would tempt the *Quraishites* to pursue them to Medina, where the Jews who cannot be trusted might lead a rebellion putting the Muslims in a great danger. So, should the Prophet (peace be upon him) retreat from confronting *Quraysh* and return to Medina? This alternative would seriously tempt *Quraysh* as well as the Jews to get rid of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Companions, or at least putting them under torment and oppression as that they suffered in Mecca. In addition, resorting to this alternative would badly affect *Da`wah*, the truth, which would diminish as a result. Hence, the only alternative standing was to involve in fighting with *Quraysh*. Some Muslims were aiming at the caravan but not the war, so they said to the Prophet (peace be upon him): “Would not you tell us that we will fight so that we might have made our preparations? This is clear in Allah’s Saying:

{“[Remember, O believers], when Allah promised you one of the two groups (either the caravan of Quraysh or their army) – that it would be yours – and you wished that the unarmed one would be yours. But Allah intended to establish the truth by His words and to eliminate the disbelievers”}

[Al-Anfâl: 7]

In this critical situation, the Prophet (peace be upon him) gave a great example and proof of his wise leadership. The Prophet (peace be upon him) spoke to his army of the *Muhâjirûn* (the Immigrants) and the *Ansâr* (the Supporters) explaining all the aspects of the situation and asking for their consultation. Abû Bakr and `Umar voted for advancing to the battle. Al-Miqdâd Ibn `Amr supported the opinion of Abû Bakr and `Umar saying: “Proceed to wherever Allah ordered you. By Allah, we will not say to you as *Banû Isrâ’îl* (the children of Israel) said to Mûsâ (Moses); ***{‘Go, you and your Lord, and fight. Indeed, we are remaining right here’}***. But go, you and your Lord, and fight. Indeed, we will fight with you. By Him Who sent you with the truth, if you were to take us to *Bark Al-Ghimâd*,⁽¹⁾ we would fight resolutely with you against them until you gain the war.” The Prophet (peace be upon him) said; ***“May it be good”***.

(1) A place in the farthest point *Hajar* lands.

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Then, he (peace be upon him) said; *“O men! Give me your advice.”* The Prophet (Peace be upon him) meant the *Anṣār* as they were the majority of the army and because the Pledge of *Al-`Aqabah* stipulated that they shall protect the Prophet (peace be upon him) only within their territory. So, the Prophet (peace be upon him) was afraid that they would not support him unless he was attacked in Medina, and that they would not find it obligatory upon them to go with him against an enemy outside their territory. Upon this, Sa`d Ibn Mu`adh, the leader of the *Anṣār*, stood up saying; *“O Messenger of Allah! It seems as if you mean us?”* The Prophet (peace be upon him) answered; *“Yes”*. Then Sa`d said; *“We have believed in you, witnessed that what you have brought is the truth, and we have given you our pledges. So, proceed, O Allah’s Messenger, to whatever you have been ordered, as we are with you. By Him Who sent you with the truth, if you were to ask us to cross this sea, and he pointed at the Red Sea, and you plunged into it, we would plunge into it with you; not a man would stay behind. We are steadfast in war, trustworthy in combat. So, take us along with Allah’s blessing.”*

When Sa`d had finished speaking, the Prophet’s face brightened and he said; *“Go forward and be of cheer, for Allah has promised me one of the two groups (either the caravan of Quraysh or their army) and the caravan had escaped. By Allah it is as if I am seeing the (enemy) people lying prostrate.”* Then, he ordered the army to move, and when they became near *Badr*, the Prophet (peace be upon him) began to gather necessary information about the enemy number, strength and leaders. He knew that the *Quraishite* army ranged between 900 and 1000 fighters and that all the notables of *Quraysh* set out to protect the caravan.

Hence, the Prophet (peace be upon him) said to his people; *“Here is Mecca throwing to you the pieces of its liver (i.e. its choicest sons).”* Then, he journeyed with the Muslim army until he camped at the nearest water of *Badr*. Upon this, Al-*Hubâb* Ibnul-Mundhir, who was well-acquainted with this place, asked the Prophet (peace be upon him) saying; *“Is this a place which Allah has revealed to you, so that we can neither advance nor withdraw from it, or is it a matter of opinion, stratagem, and military tactics?”* The Prophet (peace be upon him) answered; *“It is a matter of opinion, stratagem, and*

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military tactics.” Al-Ḥubâb said; “O Allah’s Messenger! This is not a good place to camp in. So, take the people on until we reach the nearest water to the enemy, as I know its ample water, and camp there. Then, let us fill up all the wells that lie behind it, and build a cistern and fill it with water, so that we can drink while our enemy cannot drink. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said; “*You have indeed given us a good advice*”. Then he took the people on to the nearest water to the enemy located at *Al-`Udwatud-Dunyâ* (the nearest bank of the Valley) to the east of the pagan army.

He ordered that the wells lying behind it be filled up to prevent the pagans from drinking, and that a cistern on the well near which he camped be built. It was a great plan indeed, because the outcome of any battle, regardless of the tactics, strategies and weapons used in, depends mainly on the location which the army uses to camp. The strategy of location plays an important role in winning a victory and having accurate information regarding the enemy numbers and equipment allows good preparation and help standing firm and steadfast. Also, knowing the leaders of the enemy help using the right military tactics since every leader has his own experiences, his own talents and approach which identify his personality and methods. This undoubtedly enables the army to predict the enemy tactics and estimate the losses that the enemy might incur in case of killing such leaders.

Accordingly, we can see that the Prophet (peace be upon him) was a great military leader who was not self-opinionated, despite enjoying the good mentality and ability to strategic planning. Rather, he used to seek the advice and opinion of his Companions, and he used to appreciate the sound opinion even if it contradicted his own one. The Prophet (peace be upon him) shall be an example to the leaders who stubbornly stick to their opinions and lead their peoples to destruction.

Those leaders are war merchants and seekers of fame. They are the likes of Hitler, Churchill, Truman, Eden, Mollet and Tshombe. So, will the West and the advocates of war make use of the great lessons and examples provided by the teacher of humanity, Muḥammad (peace be upon him)? In fact, the history would have changed, and peace would have spread all over the world if these lessons were properly recognized and understood.

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After building the cistern, Sa`d Ibn Mu`âdh gave another suggestion saying; “O Prophet of Allah, let us make a hut (of palm-branches) for you to stay in and have your riding camel standing by; then we will meet our enemy and if Allah grants us victory over them that is what we fervently desire; but if the worst occurs you can mount your camel and join our people that we left behind. Indeed, some of those who did not come out with you, O Prophet of Allah, love you as great as we do. They would not have remained behind, if they had known that you would be fighting. Allah will protect you by them, and they will give you good counsel and fight at your side.” The Prophet (peace be upon him) praised him and invoked blessings upon him. Then, a booth was built for the Prophet (peace be upon him) on a hill over the battle field.

► When and How Did the Battle Begin?

The battle of *Badr*⁽¹⁾ broke out on the morning of Friday, the 17th of Ramadan, 2 A.H.⁽²⁾ corresponding to March 16th, 624 A.D. At first, the Prophet (peace be upon him) arranged the lines of Muslims urging them to stand shoulder to shoulder.

Then, he looked at *Quraysh* and said; “O Allah! Here is *Quraysh* coming in their vanity and pride, opposing You and belying Your Messenger. O Allah! Grant the victory which you have promised me.”⁽³⁾ Then, he looked at his Companions and urged them to stay firm and steadfast.

While Muslims were firm, solid, consistent, and full of faith, the disbelievers were dissentient and in controversy. `Utbah Ibn Rabî`ah wanted to deter

- (1) *Badr* is a sandy plain surrounded by steep hills from the east and the north, sand dunes from the west, and a low cliff from the south. There is a brook that flows across the valley ending to form wells. Muslims surrounded these wells by dams turning them into cisterns. *Badr* is located 146 km from Medina.
- (2) It is narrated that it was on Tuesday 13th of March. It is also narrated that it corresponds to the month of July during which heat intensifies in *Hijâz*. See: “*Muhâdarât Fi Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*” by Sheikh Muḥammad Al-Khudarî [1: 157]; “*Hayât Muḥammad*” by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (P. 258); and “*As-Sîrah An-Nabawiyyah*” by Dr. Muḥammad Mustafâ An-Najjâr (P. 66).
- (3) He (peace be upon him) was referring to Allah’s Saying: {“*And Our word [i.e. decree] has already preceded for Our servants, the messengers, [That] indeed, they would be those given victory*”} [As-Sâffât: 171-172].

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people from fighting and lead them back to Mecca by taking upon himself the responsibility for the blood and caravan of his ally `Amr Ibnul-Hadramî, who was killed in the expedition of `Abdullâh Ibn Jahsh, telling people that he would pay his blood money and that they should turn back to Mecca.

When the news reached Abû Jahl, he accused `Utbah of cowardice and said; "No, by God, we will not turn back until God decide between us and Muhammad." Then, he sent to `Âmir Al-Hadramî saying; "This is your ally wants to turn back with the people at the time when you see your blood-revenge before your eyes. Arise, therefore, and seek the revenge for the murder of your brother." `Âmir arose and cried; "Alas for `Amr!...", And the war became inevitable. The first attack was executed by Al-Aswad Ibn `Abdul-Asad Al-Makhzûmî who dashed from amongst the disbelievers aiming at destroying the cistern which the Muslims had built but Hamzah Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib struck him a blow which severed one of his legs below the knee, so he fell on his back with blood streaming from his severed leg. Then Hamzah struck him a second blow which killed him in the cistern. At this point, `Utbah Ibn Rabî`ah stepped forth between his brother Shaybah and his son Al-Walîd giving the challenge for single combat, as it was the custom of the Arabs. Three men of the *Anṣâr* (the Supporters) came out against them but they said; "We have nothing to do with you, we want our peers of our cousins." So, the Prophet (peace be upon him) sent them `Ubaydah Ibnul-Hârith Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib, Hamzah and `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib. It was not long before Hamzah killed Shaybah and `Alî killed Al-Walîd.

`Ubaydah and `Utbah wounded each other. Then Hamzah and `Alî turned on `Utbah with their swords and killed him. Then `Ubaydah was carried back to the camp with his leg cut off and the marrow oozing from the stump of it. He was laid at the feet of the Prophet (peace be upon him) who spread his leg so that `Ubaydah put his cheek against it. The Prophet brought him the glad tidings of being a martyr so he said; *"By Allah, I wish that Abû Tâlib were alive to know that we are more worthy than him of his statement: 'We will not give him up till we lie dead around him, and be unmindful of our women and children.'"*

Then, he died and the two armies advanced and drew near to one another while Abû Jahl was crying; "O God, whichever of us has severed the ties of

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kinship more, and has brought to us what we do not know, destroy him this morning.” Thus, he condemned himself to death.⁽¹⁾

The Prophet (peace be upon him) began to straighten the ranks of the Muslims and give them his precious advices. When he saw that the disbelievers outnumber the Muslims and that their equipment is stronger than that of the Muslims, he returned to the hut with Abû Bakr. He was very afraid of the outcomes of this day, and he worried about the destiny of Islam in case Muslims were defeated.

So he faced the *Qiblah* and beseeched his Lord for the help which He had promised him. According to *“Ṣaḥîḥ Al-Bukhârî”*, the Prophet’s supplications (peace be upon him) include; *“O Allah! I appeal to You (to fulfill) Your Covenant and Promise. O Allah! If Your Will is that the believers be defeated, then, You will never be worshipped henceforth.”* And; *“O Allah! Here is Quraysh coming in their pride, opposing You and belying Your Messenger. O Allah! Grant the victory which you have promised me. O Allah! Should this group of Muslims be destroyed, You will no longer be worshipped on earth.”* The Prophet (peace be upon him) continued to call out to his Lord, stretching forth his hands, until his cloak fell off his shoulders. Then Abû Bakr put it back on his shoulders and said: “You have cried out enough to your Lord. He will surely fulfill what He has promised you.”

After that, the Prophet (peace be upon him) dozed off, then he awoke and said to Abû Bakr; *“O Abû Bakr! Allah’s victory has come to you. This is Jibrîl (Gabriel) holding the rein of his horse leading it. The dust is upon his front teeth.”* Allah has revealed His saying:

{“[Remember] when you asked help of your Lord, and He answered you, ‘Indeed, I will reinforce you with a thousand from the angels, following one another.’”}

[Al-Anfâl: 9]

(1) In this regard, Allah, Exalted be He, says: *“If you [disbelievers] seek the decision [i.e. victory] – the decision [i.e. defeat] has come to you. And if you desist [from hostilities], it is best for you; but if you return [to war], We will return, and never will you be availed by your [large] company at all, even if it should increase; and [that is] because Allah is with the believers.”* [Al-Anfâl: 19]. See: *“Al-Kâmil”* by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 87]; and *“Nabiyy Al-Birr Muḥammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sîrat Ibn Hishâm”* (P. 94).

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The Prophet (peace be upon him) then came out reciting;

{“[Their] assembly will be defeated, and they will turn their backs [in retreat]}”}

[Al-Qamar: 45]

He incited the Muslims saying; *“By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad, no man will fight against them this day and then be killed, showing steadfast, hoping for reward, advancing and not retreating, but Allah shall straightway enter him into Paradise.”*

As a result, Muslims became very determined, and the spirit infused into them by their great leader made every one of them to be equal to ten men. In this regard, Allah, the Most Great, has revealed two Verses saying:

{“O Prophet, urge the believers to battle. If there are among you twenty [who are] steadfast, they will overcome two hundred. And if there are among you one hundred [who are] steadfast, they will overcome a thousand of those who have disbelieved because they are a people who do not understand. Now, Allah has lightened [the hardship] for you, and He knows that among you is weakness. So if there are from you one hundred [who are] steadfast, they will overcome two hundred. And if there are among you a thousand, they will overcome two thousand by permission of Allah. And Allah is with the steadfast.”}

[Al-Anfāl: 65-66]

The battle intensified, the swords clashed and the war cry released saying; *“Yâ Mansûr, Amit, Amit (O victorious! Kill the enemy, kill the enemy)”*. Muslims shouted; *“Ahadun Ahad (Allah is One, Allah is One)”* while the veils of time and place were removed for them and Allah supported them by Angles to fill their hearts with faith and certainty and urge them be firm and steadfast, so that whenever a Muslim raised his hand to struck any disbeliever a blow, his hand was aided by Allah’s Force and Mightiness.⁽¹⁾

(1) This reveals that the Angles’ participation in the Battle of *Badr* was a kind of moral support and strengthening for Muslims. This is the opinions of many researchers and =

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The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) picked up a handful of pebbles and threw it at *Quraysh* saying; *“May their faces be deformed!”* Then he said to his Companions; *“Attack.”* They attacked and it was only one hour until the multitude of *Quraysh* was put to flight, showing their backs and escaping. The battle finished with a crushing defeat of the disbelievers. About 70 of *Quraysh* including Abû Jahl, the head of disbelief, Umayyah Ibn Khalaf, `Utbah Ibn Rabî`ah, Shaybah Ibn Rabî`ah, and Al-Walîd Ibn `Utbah were killed in the battle and 70 others were taken as captives while the rest of their army escaped. Meanwhile, Muslims lost only 14 men as martyrs and gained many booty. Then, the Messenger (peace be upon him) ordered that the wounded be treated, and that the killed disbelievers be buried in the well at *Badr*. He then stood over the well and said; *“O people of the well, have you found what your Lord promised you is true? For I have found what my lord promised me is true.”*

= Qur`ân interpreters regarding Allah’s Saying:

“...so strengthen those who have believed. I will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieved, so strike [them] upon the necks and strike from them every fingertip.”

[Al-Anfâl: 12]

And His Saying:

“And [remember] when He showed them to you, when you met, as few in your eyes, and He made you [appear] as few in their eyes so that Allah might accomplish a matter already destined. And to Allah are [all] matters returned”

[Al-Anfâl: 44]

Other researchers and interpreters maintain that Angles took part in the fighting indeed as confirmed by many *hadiths* and that Allah’s Saying; *“...so strike [them] upon the necks...”* is aimed at Angles as indicated by Allah’s Saying:

“And you did not kill them, but it was Allah who killed them. And you threw not, [O Muhammad], when you threw, but it was Allah who threw...”

[Al-Anfâl: 17]

They state that the participation of the Angles in this battle was a characteristic and an attribute to the Battle of *Badr*.

However, a third group view that strengthening the Muslims was a kind of revelation. This is an awkward explanation which does not conform to the Qur`ân and the *Sunnah* which affirm the actual participation of the Angles in the Battle. For more information about this topic refer to the Books of *Tafsîr* and *Hadîth*.

► **Between Two Returns**

The people of Mecca retreated, full of grief and humiliation. None of them could look at the other out of shame.

In his book “*Mir’ât Al-Islâm*”,⁽¹⁾ Dr. Tâhâ Husayn says; “The defeated army returned to Mecca, having saved their caravan with which Abû Sufyân could barely escape from the Muslims, but suffering shame, humiliating defeat and heavy casualties of their notables, brothers, fathers, sons and friends. The news of defeat and heavy casualties reached Mecca, so it was overcome with grief to the degree that fever attacked Abû Lahab and he died few days later.”

The Messenger (peace be upon him) and his Companions stayed at *Badr* until the end of the day to treat the wounded, bury the dead and collect the booty. Then, the Messenger (peace be upon him) sent two men to Medina with the good news of victory to its people. The two men were `Abdullâh Ibn Rawâhah who was sent to the upper Medina and Zayd Ibn Hârithah to the lower Medina, mounting the camel of Allah’s Messenger. At this time, the Jews and the hypocrites were spreading false news about the Messenger and his Companions in Medina, as it is the custom of all enemies, so as to cause turmoil and disturbance among Muslims. But the arrival of the two bearers of glad tidings silenced them and brought joy to Medina. The good news reached Medina when its people had buried Ruqayyah, the daughter of Allah’s Messenger and the wife of `Uthmân Ibn `Affân.⁽²⁾ So, their grief over Ruqayyah turned to joy and peace.

After the Messenger (peace be upon him) had finished, he ordered to travel back to Medina. Some Muslim began to ask about the booty: how would it be distributed? and to whom would it be given? The youth said; “It is ours because we are the ones who fought.” The elders said; “We were supporting you so we shall share it with you.” Those who were guarding the Prophet (peace be upon him) lest the enemy should attack him said;

(1) “*Mir’ât Al-Islâm*” (P. 66).

(2) “*Al-Kâmil*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 90]; “*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*” by Sheikh Muḥammad Al-Khudârî (P. 123). In his “*Hayât Muḥammad*” (P. 265), Dr. Muḥammad Husayn Haykal state that Ruqayyah died after the arrival of the two messengers.

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“Neither you nor them have better right to get it than we have. We wanted to take the property when there was no one to protect it; but we were afraid that the enemy might wheel round and attack Allah’s Messenger, so we remained standing before him.”

To settle this dispute, Allah revealed Qur’ân saying:

{“They ask you, [O Muhammad], about the booty [of war]. Say; ‘The [decision concerning] booty is for Allah and the Messenger.’ So fear Allah and amend that which is between you and obey Allah and His Messenger, if you should be believers.”}

[Al-Anfâl: 1]

As a result, the light of belief filled their hearts bringing them together after they were about to disagree. They responded and left the booty to Allah’s Messenger to decide how to divide it in accordance with the Qur’ân. He (peace be upon him) divided it equally among the Muslims;⁽¹⁾ the infantryman with his equal and cavalryman with his equal. The Prophet (peace be upon him) also gave shares of the booty to some people who did not participate in the battle because they were given certain assignments such as Abû Lubâbah Al-Ansârî whom the Prophet put in charge of Medina, `Uthmân Ibn `Affân whom the Prophet ordered to stay behind so as to nurse his wife Ruqayyah, the Prophet’s daughter, `Âsim Ibn `Adiyy whom the Prophet put in charge of the people of *Qibâ’* and upper Medina, Talhah Ibn `Ubaydullâh and Sa`îd Ibn Zayd who were sent to bring the news of the enemy but they did not return until the battle finished, Al-Hâriṭh Ibnus-Summah and Khawwât Ibn Jubayr whom legs were broken at *Ar-Rawhâ’* so they could not walk, and others. He also gave shares of the booty to the heirs of the fourteen martyrs of *Badr*. The

(1) Most of the Prophetic biographers maintain that the Messenger (peace be upon him) did not take the *Khumus* (one fifth of the booty) because the Verse stating; ***{“And know that anything you obtain of war booty – then indeed, for Allah is one fifth of it and for the Messenger and for [his] near relatives and the orphans, the needy, and the [stranded] traveler, if you have believed in Allah and in that which We sent down to Our Servant on the day of criterion [i.e. decisive encounter] – the day when the two armies met [at Badr]. And Allah, over all things, is competent.”}*** [Al-Anfâl: 41] had been revealed after the battle of *Badr*. However, some other biographer hold that the Messenger (peace be upon him) divided the booty after he had taken the *Khumus* and that this Verse had been revealed in *Badr*.

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division of the booty took place on the way back to Medina, after passing through *As-Safrâ'* at a large sand hill there.⁽¹⁾

There is no doubt that such a division is an act that deserves every human appreciation and admiration, as it reflects a pure genius. The Messenger (peace be upon him) had dedicated a share for everybody participated in the battle and the victory, be such a participation in the battlefield or away from it. On the way back to Medina, the Messenger (peace be upon him) ordered that two men of the captives be killed namely, An-Nadr Ibnul-Hârith and `Uqbah Ibn Abû Mu`ayt for both of them had persecuted the Muslims in Mecca, harbored deep hatred towards them, and used to teach the female-slaves songs which they used to lampoon the Muslims. Accordingly, they were killed for a good reason, as no other captives were killed. When he reached Medina, he divided the captives among his companions and ordered them saying; *"Treat them well."*

► The Captives and the Ransom

The Messenger (peace be upon him) began to think about the captives, what should he do regarding them? Should he kill them? or accept ransom from them. Both of the two ideas had advantages, so the Messenger (peace be upon him), as it was his custom, consulted his Companions regarding this issue. `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb, Sa`d Ibn Mu`âdh and `Abdullâh Ibn Rawâhah advised killing them. But Abû Bakr and most of the Prophet's Companions viewed that they should keep them and accept ransom paid for them. Both of the two groups had their point of view. `Umar and his group maintained that the captives were disbelievers who belied the Messenger, drove him out of his homeland and fought him. Meanwhile, Abû Bakr and his group held that Allah may guide the captives to Islam and that the ransom taken from them may strengthen the Muslims against the disbelievers. The Messenger (peace be upon him) praised the two views as they both were aiming at strengthening the religion and forsaking and denying the disbelievers, but he preferred the

(1) In his *"Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn"*, Sheikh Muhammad Al-Khudârî narrated that `Ubaydah Ibnul-Hârith was buried in *As-Safrâ'* as he died there because of his wounds. The aforementioned narration concerning his death in (P. 80) belongs to Ibnul-Athîr in his *"Al-Kâmil"* [2: 87].

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view of Abû Bakr. As a result, many captives ransomed themselves for money. Those who could not pay the ransom and were literate were entrusted with ten Muslim children to instruct them the art of writing and reading. The Messenger (peace be upon him) also released some captives unransomed, such as Abû `Azzah `Amr Al-Jumahî, the poet.

After the Prophet (peace be upon him) accepted ransoms for the captives, a Quranic Verse had been revealed rebuking the Muslims, not for releasing the captives for ransom as some people wrongly assumed but for capturing them during the battle. This is very clear in Allah's Saying:

{“It is not for a Prophet to have captives [of war] until he inflicts a great slaughter [upon Allah’s enemies] in the land. You [i.e. some Muslims] desire the commodities of this world, but Allah desires [for you] the Hereafter. And Allah is Exalted in Might and Wise.”}

[Al-Anfâl: 67]

Allah, Exalted be He, forbade taking captives before inflicting great killing upon the disbelievers who prevent people from following the way of Allah, and oppose His religion. Allah also blamed some Muslims for desiring the good of this world represented in the ransom money telling them that were it not for a previous decree from Allah that He shall not punish the *Mujtahid* (one performing *Ijtihâd*) for the mistake resulting from his *Ijtihâd* (legal reasoning and discretion), He would have inflicted torment upon them. Allah, the Almighty, then made it lawful for them to enjoy what they have taken of the ransom based on sound discretion saying:

{“So consume what you have taken of war booty [as being] lawful and good, and fear Allah. Indeed, Allah is Forgiving and Merciful.”}

[Al-Anfâl: 69]

Moreover, Allah, the Exalted, promised the captives whom He knew any good in their hearts that He would give them something better than that which had been taken from them, and that He would forgive them saying:

{“O Prophet, say to whoever is in your hands of the captives, ‘If Allah knows [any] good in your hearts, He will give you [something] better

than what was taken from you, and He will forgive you; and Allah is Forgiving and Merciful.”}

[Al-Anfâl: 70]

► **Reasons Behind the Muslims’ Victory at Badr**

There is no doubt that Muslims exerted their best efforts in the Battle. The disbelievers outnumbered the Muslims who saw their enemies when the two armies met with each other as twice as their own number and with better equipment than theirs. However, the small group won a fast and decisive victory over the large group; the victory which made this battle an extraordinary one in the history of all battles and raised questions concerning the reasons behind such a victory. So, what are these reasons?

1. **Strong belief and fighting spirits:** There is a great difference between the people who fight to defend their religion and their beliefs confident that if they win the battle they will enjoy their victory in this life and the reward for their *Jihâd* (fighting for the sake of Allah) in the hereafter, and that if they are killed, they will be martyrs for whom Allah guarantees eternal delight in Paradise and the people who fight to defend their wealth, their pride and their vanity. There is also a great difference between those who fight for the truth, justice, freedom and noble human values and those who fight for falsehood and evils.

Hence, there is no wonder that Allah grants the band of truth a victory over the band of falsehood. In this regard Allah, the Almighty, says:

{“...How many a small company has overcome a large company by permission of Allah. And Allah is with the patient.”}

[Al-Baqarah: 249]

Allah supported the band of truth with His Soldiers (Angles) so as to be the higher band and win victory, and there is no victory except from Allah, the All-Mighty, the All-Wise.

2. **The leadership of the Messenger (peace be upon him) and his military genius:** This became very clear during the events of the battle, such as his eagerness to know the news of the enemy and their leaders, his straightening of the army lines, his respect and appreciation for his Companions’ views,

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his excellent instructions and advices, and all other characteristics which have been indicated above.

- 3. Sleeping during the night of battle and the fall of rain:** The sleep they enjoyed during the night of the battle left them relaxed and refreshed. Moreover, Allah had sent rain, so they drank, filled cisterns on the bank of the Valley, and washed themselves. The rain also turned the soft sand of the valley into a compact surface which made their feet firm on the sand. Meanwhile, the rain was disastrous for the disbelievers as it gravely hindered their advance and restricted their movements. This is clear in Allah's Saying:

{“[Remember] when He overwhelmed you with slumbers [giving] security from Him and sent down upon you from the sky, rain by which to purify you and remove from you the evil [suggestions] of Satan and to make steadfast your hearts and plant firmly thereby your feet.”}

[Al-Anfâl: 11]

- 4. Securing the water:** The aforementioned plan of the Muslims regarding the wells of *Badr* represented a great factor in the victory. They imposed a blockade on the wells preventing *Quraysh* from making use of them. Water is crucial in the lives of people and animals, particularly in hot and dry places such as the Arabian Peninsula.
- 5. The disposition of the two armies:** The disposition of the Muslims gave them an advantage over their enemies that they engaged with the sun behind them and in the faces of their enemies dazzling and scattering them.
- 6. The escape of the caravan:** We mentioned before that the escape of the caravan was a reason for some clans to go back to Mecca leaving the disbelievers army, and pushed those who stayed with the army to feel that fighting is useless and unnecessary so they were not zealous in fighting. If the caravan had not escaped, the army would have been zealous in fighting, but Allah, the Exalted, wanted otherwise to make his religion victorious, establish the truth, and defeat the falsehood, even if the criminals disliked it.



The Outcomes of the Battle of *Badr*

The victory of Muslims at *Badr* resulted in great outcomes, the following are the most important of them:

- 1. Destroying the vanity and strength of *Quraysh*:** This battle demolished polytheism, and put the Jews and the hypocrites of Medina into humiliation, ignominy and disgrace. This is very clear in the saying of Ka`b Ibnul-Ashraf, a Jewish chieftain; “The inside of the earth is better today than its outside (i.e. death is better than life) after the nobles of the Arabs, their kingly men and the people in charge of the Sacred House had been killed.”⁽¹⁾
- 2. Paving the way for Muslims’ victories:** This battle raised the Muslims’ spirits, and established their power and reverence among the Arabs who heard about the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Companions, and felt their strength and determination, and as a result they feared their strength greatly.
- 3. Laying down the foundation of Islam and Islamic Civilization:** We can imagine what would have happened if Muslims had been defeated. Undoubtedly, the growing Islam would have been eliminated or at least crippled so that it would have spread slowly. This is because Medina and the new Muslims of the *Anṣār* (the Supporters) would not have been able to confront with the disbelievers and pagans from outside Medina as well as the Jews from inside it.
- 4. Extending Muslims’ sovereignty over Arabia and other territories:** The victory of Muslims at *Badr* led to the unification of Arabia under the banner of Islam. It also paved the way for the establishment of the great Islamic State which extended over vast territories and provided a great civilization which enriched, and will continue to enrich, the world.
- 5. Demonstrating Allah’s protection for Islam and Muslims:** The victory in the battle of *Badr* by which Allah strengthened Islam, honored Muslims, and humiliated disbelievers who surpassed Muslims in number and military equipment, indicated Allah’s protection for Islam and Muslims. In

(1) “*Ḥayāt Muḥammad*” by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (P. 272).

this regard, Allah reminds Muslims of the grace He bestowed upon them saying:

{“And already had Allah given you victory at [the battle of] Badr while you were weak [i.e. few in number]...”}

[Âl `Imrân: 123]

6. **Proving the truthfulness of the Prophet regarding his Message:** Accepting ransom, and being rebuked for that by Allah is a strong proof that the Prophet’s Call is true. This is because if it had been untrue, he (peace be upon him) would not have blamed himself for an act he had done after consulting his Companions.
7. **Revelation of Surah Al-Anfâl (The Spoils):** It is the eighth Surah of the Glorious Qur’ân. Allah, Exalted be He, revealed it during the time of the battle of *Badr* and in this Surah He named the battle “the Day of Criterion”.
8. **Honoring the Muslims who witnessed the Battle of *Badr*:** The Prophet (peace be upon him) promised those who witnessed the Battle of *Badr* the Paradise. He (peace be upon him) used to honor them and give them priority over other Companions. Also, whenever he (peace be upon him) prays funeral prayers over any of the Companions who participated in this battle, he would increase the number of *Takbîr* (saying *Allâhu Akbar*; Allah is the greatest) more than four *Takbîrs*. Moreover, when ‘*Atâ*’ (pay system) was introduced, those who witnessed *Badr* were allotted shares higher than other Muslims.
9. **Lauding this Battle and holding it in a great status comparing to other battles:** Muslims paid much attention to immortalizing this battle to the degree that they recorded the names of those who witnessed it, and composed poems describing its events.
10. **Making use of booty:** The booty of weapons and equipment which Muslims took at *Badr* was of great importance and effect for them, as it helped them build a stronger army and get ready for the next battles.



Between *Badr* and *Uhud*

The victory of Muslims at *Badr* had great impacts on the Jews, the hypocrites, and the polytheists at Medina, on *Quraysh* at Mecca, on the tribes around Medina, on the trade route between Mecca and Medina, and even on the tribes away from Medina. Some of these groups had already tried to expel the Muslims from Medina or at least weaken them, while others tried to oppress them and make it hard for them to live there, but they failed. It is crucial to highlight the most important of these attempts so that the reader may be acquainted with the dangers and difficulties that surrounded the Muslims and understand how the Muslims managed to overcome them. Indeed, Allah will perfect His light, although the disbelievers dislike it. The following are the most important of these attempts:

First: Expelling the Jews of *Banû Qaynuqâ'* from Medina

We said that the victory of Muslims at *Badr* had great impacts on the Jews, the hypocrites, and the polytheists at Medina, as they realized the growing power of Muslims and saw the man who came to Medina two years ago as an immigrant gaining more power. As I mentioned earlier, the Jews had already begun to express their rancor towards the Muslims before the Battle of *Badr*.⁽¹⁾ They got into fierce arguments with the Muslims which sometimes ended with hand-to-hand fighting, despite the pact they held with the Muslims. So, how would they react after the Muslims had returned from *Badr* victorious and gaining booty?

There is no doubt that their rancor had increased and their irritation aggravated as indicated by the aforementioned statement of Ka`b Ibnul-Ashraf. Their rancor was very clear in their attempts to stir people up against the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Companions, composing amatory and offensive poems against Muslim women,⁽²⁾ and plotting against the Prophet (peace be upon him) and trying to assassinate him. The news of the Jewish traitorous attempts reached the Prophet and the Muslims and

(1) Refer to (pp. 61-66) of this book.

(2) These are the same reasons for which Abû `Afak, and Ka`b Ibnul-Ashraf were killed.

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so they took precautions against them and showed patience. the Jews kept on their attempts and the Muslims kept on their patience until the incident of committing transgression against a woman from the *Anṣâr*. In brief, a Muslim woman from the *Anṣâr* went to the market of *Banû Qaynuqâ`* with her jewelry and sat down in the goldsmith's shop. While she was unaware, a Jewish man pinned the hem of her garment to her back with a thorn. When the woman stood up, the lower part of her body was exposed and the Jews burst out in laughter at her. As a result, a Muslim man who was present nearby reached the Jewish man and killed him. The Jews fell upon the Muslim man and killed him in retaliation. Upon this, the man's family called the Muslims to support them against the Jews and the matters got complicated between the Muslims and *Banû Qaynuqâ`*. The Prophet (peace be upon him) asked the Jews to refrain from committing mischief and transgression against the Muslims, and to keep their covenant with the Muslims or otherwise they would face the same retribution of *Quraysh*.⁽¹⁾ They disparaged his threats saying; "Do not be deluded, O Muḥammad, by the fact that you met a people with no knowledge of war and that you made good use of this opportunity. By God, if you fight us you will know that we are real men!"⁽²⁾

We think that this left no chance for Muslims but fighting, or otherwise their sovereignty would be badly challenged and people would speak about their weakness. So, it was a wise decision of the Prophet (peace be upon

(1) In this regard, Allah, the Almighty, has revealed His Saying:

{“If you [have reason to] fear from a people betrayal, throw [their treaty] back to them, [putting you] on equal terms. Indeed, Allah does not like traitors.”}

[Al-Anfâl: 58]

(2) In this regard, Allah, the Almighty, has revealed His Saying:

{“Say to those who disbelieve, ‘You will be overcome and gathered together to Hell, and wretched is the resting place.’ Already there has been for you a sign in the two armies which met [in combat at Badr] – one fighting in the cause of Allah and another of disbelievers. They saw them [to be] twice their [own] number by [their] eyesight. But Allah supports with His victory whom He wills. Indeed in that is a lesson for those of vision.”}

[Âl `Imrân: 12-13]

See: “*Nabiyy Al-Birr Muḥammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sîrat Ibn Hishâm*” (P. 75), Ash-Sha`b edition; and “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 96].

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him) to declare that the Jews of *Banû Qaynuqâ`* should either embrace Islam or leave Medina for good.

The Jews did not respond to this declaration and took to their fortresses. The Muslims set out towards the fortresses of *Banû Qaynuqâ`* and besieged them for 15 days during which nobody dared to leave his house until they surrendered and left Medina to *Adhra`ât*, a place located on the borders of the Levant. The Muslims took their wealth, homes, and the fortresses as booty without any blood shedding. This battle was in the middle of Shawwal during the second year of Hegira.

Second: The battle of *As-Sawîq*

After banishing *Banû Qaynuqâ`* from Medina, the authority of the Jews was undermined since most of the Jews of Medina were living away from it in the areas of *Khaybar* and *Wâdî Al-Qurâ*. The polytheists and hypocrites cringed and so the matters in Medina were pacified, but only for a month. Abû Sufyân Ibn Harb could not stay in Mecca without seeking revenge for *Quraysh* defeat at *Badr*, saving the face of his people, and impressing on Arabia that *Quraysh* was still a military power. After *Badr*, Abû Sufyân vowed that until he raids Muḥammad, his head would never touch water (i.e. he would not have intercourse with his wife). To fulfill his vow, he set out from Mecca with two hundred men of *Quraysh* aiming at Medina. When he got nearer to Medina, he wanted to meet the Jews of *Banû An-Nadîr* to consult them and seek their help to fight the Muslims. So, he went to their chieftain Huyay Ibn Akḥṭab but he refused to meet him. Then he went to Sallâm Ibn Mishkam, a Jewish leader, who accepted to meet him and gave him some confidential information about the Muslims. Towards the end of the night, Abû Sufyân left, and then he sent some men of *Quraysh* into Medina. They went to a district called *Al-`Urayd*, where they found a man of the *Anṣâr* called Ma`bad Ibn `Amr and another man who was his ally in an arable land belonging to them. They killed them both, and burnt two houses there and some palm trees then turned back. By doing so, Abû Sufyân considered that his vow to raid Muḥammad had been fulfilled and that he had removed the shame of his defeat. So he escaped before the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Companions pursued him. Thus his raid was like that of highway robbers.

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When the Prophet (peace be upon him) was informed about Abû Sufyân's raid, he set out at their heels in two hundred men of his Companions. They went as far as *Qarqarat Al-Kudr*⁽¹⁾ but they could not catch them because Abû Sufyân and his companions had escaped swiftly due to their fear of the Muslims. We can imagine their horror when we know that they had discarded their only provision, *As-Sawîq* (the Barley Meal) in order to lighten their load and escape. This is why this battle was called *As-Sawîq*. By this battle, an important year in the history of Islam was ended, namely the second year of Hegira, the year in which `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib married Fâtimah, the daughter of the Prophet (peace be upon him).

Third: The battles of *Al-Kudr*, *Dhû Amarr*, *Buhrân*, and the expedition of *Al-Qaradah*

The third year commenced with some battles against some tribes who resided in eastern Medina. These battles illustrate the strength of Islam and its ability to resist these tribes. They also show the policy adopted by the people of Mecca after the battle of *As-Sawîq*. This is because the Prophet (peace be upon him) held treaties with many of the tribes located between Medina and the Seashore such as *Juhaynah*, *Banû Damrah*, and others. Accordingly, the route of trade had become closed before the people of Mecca because it was passing through the lands of these tribes.

However, there was another route starting from Mecca, passing through Najd and Iraq, and ending to the Levant or the Arabian Gulf. This route was passing through the lands of two tribes, namely *Banû Sulaym* and *Ghatafân*. Their pastures were in Najd and they were the allies of *Quraysh* who used to hire them to escort their merchandise to Iraq. After the route of trade through Medina had become unsafe, *Quraysh* sought this route and worked on strengthening their alliances with the two tribes and urged them to let slip no opportunity of harrying the borders of Medina. The two tribes gathered in a place called *Qarqarat Al-Kudr*, a watering place belonging to *Banû Sulaym*. The Prophet (peace be upon him) was informed about their gathering and their intentions, so he decided to set out for them at the head of 200 men aiming at taking them by surprise. When he (peace be upon him) reached

(1) A watering place belonging to the tribe of *Banû Sulaym*.

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Qarqarat Al-Kudr, he found that the disbelievers had gone but he took over a herd of 500 camels he found there. This battle was in Safar.

In the next month the Prophet (peace be upon him) was informed that *Banû Tha`labah* and *Banû Muhârib* of *Ghatafân* had gathered in *Dhû Amarr* under the leadership of one of their chieftains called *Da`thûr* aiming at raiding Medina. The Prophet (peace be upon him) set out for them at the head of 450 Muslims. when he reached *Dhû Al-Qassah*, he met a man from *Tha`labah* and called him to embrace Islam. The man accepted Islam and told the Prophet (peace be upon him) that the disbelievers heard that he had set out for them and so they escaped to mountains. The Prophet (peace be upon him) marched until he reached a water called *Dhû Amarr* and camped there to show his enemy the strength of the Muslim forces. During this time, the Prophet (peace be upon him) took off his shirt to dry it from rain and sat under a tree while the Muslims were away from him. At this moment, *Da`thûr* saw him and came to him carrying his sword and threatened him saying; "Who will protect you from me, O Muḥammad?" The Prophet answered; "Allah". The man shook in fear and dropped the sword. So, the Prophet (peace be upon him) took it and said to *Da`thûr*; "*Who will protect you from me?*" The man answered; "No one". The Prophet (peace be upon him) forgave him. He embraced Islam and called his people to Islam and Allah turned his enmity towards Allah's Messenger into love, and dismissed him from gathering people against him to gathering them in his cause.

Then, the Prophet (peace be upon him) returned to Medina and stayed there for the rest of Rabi` I, and the whole month of Rabi` II. In Jumada I, the Prophet (peace be upon him) was informed that *Banû Sulaym* were once again regrouping in a very large number at *Buhrân*, with the intention of launching a sudden attack upon Medina. So, the Prophet (peace be upon him) set out from Medina to surprise them with a group of 300 Muslims. One night before they reached *Buhrân*, they met a man from *Banû Sulaym*. The Prophet (peace be upon him) asked him about his people and the man told him that they dispersed and returned to their homes.

In fact, those Arabs were frightened of the Prophet (peace be upon him). Once they heard the news that the Prophet (peace be upon him) set out for them, they fell into a state of horror and abandoned the idea of attacking him.

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The result of this was the failure of *Quraysh* to incite the Arabian tribes to fight the Muslims, and their suffering from the unsafety of the route of trade which threatened their trade, the main source of their livelihood. Hence, *Quraysh* began to think about using another route. They found a rough dangerous route which had few watering places, and they were forced to use it because they thought that Muslims had no knowledge about this route. Hiring Furât Ibn Ḥayyân of *Banû Bakr Ibn Wâ'il* as their guide throughout this route, *Quraysh* sent a caravan among which were Abû Sufyân, Safwân Ibn Umayyah, and Huwaytib Ibn `Abdul-`Uzzâ.

The news of the caravan and the details of the new route reached the Prophet (peace be upon him) through a man from Mecca who came to Medina as a visitor. So, the Prophet (peace be upon him) dispatched Zayd Ibn Ḥârithah in a group of 100 horsemen to intercept the caravan. In Jumada II, Zayd set out until he intercepted the caravan near *Qaradah*, a watering place in Najd. Flustered by this surprising attack, many of the *Quraishites* escaped and the Muslims could easily overcome those who remained. Zayd and his men returned to Medina with the captured caravan and two captives, one of them was the guide of the caravan who had promised *Quraysh* to take them through a route which Muslims had not ever known. The Messenger (peace be upon him) called him to embrace Islam to save himself, and he accepted it, and was allowed to go free. The booty was estimated to be one hundred thousand dirhams, which made it one of the greatest booty Muslims ever gained.⁽¹⁾

This reveals that the Arabian tribes stood in awe of the Muslims, and that *Quraysh* exerted every possible effort to establish a trade route to the Levant. It also reveals that the caravan of Safwân Ibn Umayyah which was intercepted by the Muslims had added to the humiliation and shame of *Quraysh*, and urged them to seek revenge. There is no doubt that the Prophet was aware of this fact, and thus he began to strengthen the ties among the Muslims and affirm the Islamic relation which made them like the strong wall. To do this, the Prophet used good methods that would arouse the Muslims' eagerness and

(1) "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 97-98]; "Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn" by sheikh Muḥammad Al-Khudarî (pp. 138-139); "Ḥayât Muḥammad" by Muḥammad Husayn Haykal (pp. 277-278); "Nabyy Al-Birr Muḥammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sîrat Ibn Hishâm" (P. 76).

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determination, and urge them into more cooperation and solidarity. Thus, the Prophet involved into direct relations with the strongest four among the Companions namely, Abû Bakr, whom the Prophet married his daughter `Âishah, `Umar, whom the Prophet married his daughter Hafsah, `Uthman, whom the Prophet married to his daughters Ruqayyah and then Umm Kulthûm, and `Alî, whom the Prophet married to his daughter Fâtimah.

This was how the Prophet guaranteed more power and strength for the Muslims. He also stimulated their courage through booty and thus they were keen on involving in *Jihâd* (fighting in the cause of Allah) to have both the reward of this world and the reward of the hereafter. Meanwhile, the Prophet kept an eye on *Quraysh*, receiving full and accurate news about them and following up their preparations for taking revenge against the Muslims, and for restoring the trade route to the Levant so as to maintain *Quraysh's* commercial and religious positions among the Arabs.⁽¹⁾



(1) "*Hayât Muhammad*" by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (P. 279).

The Battle of Uhud

We mentioned before that *Quraysh* could not find any peace of mind after their defeat at *Badr*. They exerted feverish attempts to revenge against Muslims, but they failed. The raid of Abû Sufyân on Medina was almost a defeat, and the attempts of *Quraysh* to incite the Arabian tribes against the Muslims resulted in a major failure. Furthermore, the success of Zayd Ibn Hârithah to take possession of Safwân Ibn Umayyah's caravan made things even worse for *Quraysh*. So, they met with Abû Sufyân, the leader of the caravan which brought down the disastrous defeat of *Badr* on them. The caravan was still kept secure in *Dârun-Nadwah* (house of council) without being delivered to its owners. When they met with Abû Sufyân, they said; "Muhammad has bereaved us and killed our best, and we agree that our profits in the caravan be assigned to prepare an army for fighting Muhammad and his Companions. Whoever among us possesses a share in the caravan accepts to waive it."

Accordingly, *Quraysh* began to get ready, and sent to their allies of Bedouin tribes seeking their help to wage war against Muslims. They prepared an army of three thousand warriors, of whom there were seven hundred infantry soldiers and two hundred knights, and the rest were camel riders.

Many of *Quraysh's* allies⁽¹⁾ participated in this army. Women also participated as they insisted on accompanying the army to encourage the men, and after a lot of controversy, they were allowed to accompany them. Among these women was Hind Bint `Utbah, the wife of Abû Sufyân. She was very keen on seeking revenge since her father and her brother were killed at *Badr*. Thus, she hired an Abyssinian slave called Wahshî, who was very clever at throwing spear and rarely misses his target, to kill Hamzah. It is also narrated that Wahshî was a slave of Jubayr Ibn Mut`im who asked him to go with

(1) Like *Thaqîf*, and the subtribes of *Kinânah*, *Tihâmah*, *Banû Al-Mustaliq*, and *Banû Khu-zaymah*. Also, Abû `Âmir, a hypocrite monk of Al-Aws, who left Medina to distant himself from Allah's Messenger out of hate, and Abû `Azzah, the Poet whom the Messenger of Allah released for no ransom after being captured during the Battle of *Badr* participated in the pagan army. *Banû Zuhrah* refused to participate in this battle as they did in the battle of *Badr*.

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the army, promising him that if he killed Hamzah in retaliation for his uncle Tu`aymah, he would be free. In fact, there is no contradiction between the two narrations as Jubayr, Wahshî's master, asked him to go forth with the pagan army to kill Hamzah and Hind gave him money for the same purpose.

The Prophet (peace be upon him) was informed about the military actions of *Quraysh* through an urgent message sent to him by his uncle Al-`Abbâs Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib who did not set out with the pagan army on the pretext that he was heavily inflicted on the day of *Badr*.⁽¹⁾

➤ On the Way to Battle

The army of *Quraysh* went forward through the route of trade alongside the seashore until they reached the hill located five kilometers from Medina near the mountain of *Uhud* and camped there.⁽²⁾ They let their horses and camels loose to graze in the fields of Medina extending all around. The Prophet (peace be upon him) sent his scouts to bring the news of the pagan army. Al-Hubâb Ibnul-Mundhir scouted the camp of the pagan army and informed the Prophet about their large number, and the Prophet (peace be upon him) asked him to keep this matter secret lest the people of Medina be disheartened.

On the next day, the Messenger (peace be upon him) gathered his Companions and told them about the pagan army suggesting that they should not go out of Medina and that they should encamp themselves within it, so if the pagans tried to attack Medina, the Muslims would shower them with arrows and stones from the walls of the city and if they stayed in their camp they would leave sooner or later. He (peace be upon him) also said; *"If you see fit to remain in Medina and to leave them encamped where they are, (well and good); so, if they remain there, they will be in the worst possible place, and if they enter Medina to fight us, we will fight them (here)."*

The *Muhâjirûn* and the *Ansâr* agreed, except the youth, agreed with the Prophet. Also, `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy, a non-Muslim chieftain of Medina,

(1) As he and his nephew, `Aqîl Ibn Abû Tâlib, were captured. He had to ransom himself and his nephew, paying all his wealth for that and becoming a poor man as a result.

(2) Despite the fact that Mount *Uhud* is located to the northeast of Medina while *Quraysh* was coming from the south, the Muslims took this Mount to fortify in because it would give a defensive advantage over their enemy who were outnumbering them.

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adopted the same opinion of the prophet. the involvement of Ibn Ubayy in the discussion proves that the Prophet (peace be upon him) had become the master of Medina who was to be obeyed by everybody of its people including the Jews and the hypocrites. But, the youth of the *Muhâjirûn* and the *Ansâr*, particularly those who did not witness the Battle of *Badr*, suggested to set out for the disbelievers and attack them, the opinion that was adopted also by Hamzah Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib. It seems that the motive behind their desire to attack the army of *Quraysh* was that it trespassed on their fields and farms. Moreover, the youth who did not witness the Battle of *Badr* had the eagerness to have the same honor as the people of *Badr*. Some of those youths considered that martyring while attacking the pagan army is better than defending Medina from behind its walls in a war which might end with the victory of the pagans. They kept on putting pressure on the Prophet to attack the pagans until he followed their opinion, as they were the majority and the strongest members of the army. In Shawwal 10th, 3 A.H., the Prophet (peace be upon him) performed the Friday Prayer with the Muslims and urged them in its sermon to keep steadfast and patient during the battle. Then, he entered his house after the *`Asr* (afternoon) prayer with Abû Bakr and `Umar who both helped him wear his turban and armor, and gird himself with his sword. While the Prophet was preparing himself, the people discussed the attitude of the youth and blamed them saying; "Let Allah's Messenger decide, and whatever he orders you, you shall comply."

When the Prophet (peace be upon him) went out, the people said; "O Messenger of Allah! We shall follow your opinion." The Prophet then said; "*It is not befitting for a Prophet to take up his arms and lay it down again until Allah decides between him and his enemies.*" Then, the Prophet divided the army into three battalions. He marched from Medina in 1000 soldiers. When he became out of Medina, he noticed a large phalanx among the army, so he asked about them. The people told him that those were the allies of `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy of the Jews. The Prophet then said; "*We do not seek the help of a disbeliever against a polytheist.*" He ordered that they be dismissed. They were 300 soldiers. The Prophet marched with the remaining 700 soldiers to a place located in the middle between Medina and

Uhud where he reviewed the army, sending back those whom he considered too young to fight, and spent the night there.⁽¹⁾

► Preparations for the Battle

On Saturday morning, the Prophet (peace be upon him) advanced with his army until he reached the versant of *Uhud*. The Muslims occupied the slope of the mountain and camped with their backs to the mountain of *Uhud* and their faces to Medina. On the other side, the pagan army camped in the valley near to the versant of *Uhud* with Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd in command of the right flank, `Ikrimah Ibn Abû Jahl in command of the left flank, Safwân Ibn Umayyah in command of the infantry, and `Amr Ibnul-`Âs in command of the cavalry. Upon seeing their positions, the Prophet (peace be upon him) ordered Az-Zubayr Ibnul-`Awwâm to confront Khâlid, and ordered others to confront the other commanders of the pagan army. He (peace be upon him) also put the archers, who were fifty archers commanded by `Abdullâh Ibn Jubayr Al-Ansârî, behind the army on the slope of the Mountain and ordered them to hold their positions regardless of the outcome of the battle, be it victory or defeat. The Prophet explained that their task was to prevent any of the enemy flanks from encircling the Muslims.

Then, the Prophet (peace be upon him) arranged the lines of the army. Accordingly, Mus`ab Ibn `Umayr was put in command of the *Muhâjirûn* battalion in the heart of the army, and the *Awsites* and the *Khazrajites* formed the two flanks. The Prophet ordered his army that no one should engage in fighting until he commanded him to do so. This is because the Prophet, as a strict commander, knew the fact that since the pagan army outmatched the Muslims, then the only possible way to defeat them would be through controlling the army movements.

► The Battle

As it was the custom of the Arabs in their wars, the battle began with single combat. The first man of the disbelievers who came out to meet the Muslims was Abû `Âmir, the *Awsite* monk, who was thinking that as soon

(1) “*Nabyy Al-Birr Muhammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sirat Ibn Hishâm*” (pp. 78-79), Ash-Sha`b edition; and “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 103-105].

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as he would appear before the people of Medina, they would join the side of the polytheists. When he called out saying; "I am Abû `Âmir." The *Awsites* answered; "May Allah curse you, O evildoer!" *Talhah* Ibn `Abdul-`Uzzâ, the bearer of the polytheists' banner, ordered him to return to their lines, and he came out to the Muslims. `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib faced him and killed him. then, `Uthmân, the brother of *Talhâh*, held the banner and advanced to single combat, *Hamzah* rose up and killed him. after `Utmân had been killed, two or three of *Talhâh*'s brothers took hold of the banner successively, but all of them were killed one after another. Soon after, the polytheist's cavalry attacked the left flank of the Muslims three times. In each time their units were retreating under the heavy shots of the Muslim archers until their horses weakened. Hence, the Muslims attacked them while shouting; "Kill! Kill!". *Hamzah*, `Alî, Az-Zubayr and Abû Dujânah attacked the pagan army fiercely until they managed to penetrate their formation lines which began to collapse. Meanwhile, the polytheists' women were beating their tambourines and chanting to stir the men's enthusiasm and urge them to fight saying;

*"O Banû `Abdud-Dâr! O protectors of our rear!
Strike with every sharp -edged sword!"*

And:

*"If you advance, we will press you to our bosoms;
And we will spread cushions;
But If you turn your backs we will leave you;
And show you no love emotions."*

When the Prophet (peace be upon him) heard the chanting of women, he said; *"O Allah! With Your help, I get strength, and with Your help I bounce upon the enemy and defeat it, and for Your sake I fight. Allah is sufficient for me, and He is the Best Disposer of affairs."* Allah, Glory be to Him, answered the supplication of His Prophet, and the Muslims gained victory. Some troops of the pagan army were put to flight, and their women were about to be captivated. They left many booty behind them, and some of the Muslim troops began to collect this booty.

The archers who were entrusted with protecting the rear of the Muslims from above the slope of the mountain thought that there was no need for

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holding their positions after the enemy had fled. So, they left the slope and rushed to the field to collect the booty neglecting the Prophet's order to hold their position regardless to the result of the battle, although their commander reminded them with that order and refused to go with them.⁽¹⁾

When Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd, the commander of the pagan army's flank, saw the few number of the archers left on the slope, he attacked them with some of his cavalry units and killed them all, including their commander, and occupied the slope. Then, he took the Muslims by surprise from the rear. It was just few minutes before the victory became in the side of the polytheists. The Muslim lines were scattered and they fell into a state of confusion striking each other. A woman from amongst the polytheists took hold of their banner and they gathered around it. A polytheist shouted declaring that Ibn Qami'ah killed Mus`ab Ibn `Umayr, the bearer of the Muslims' banner, and rumored that Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) was killed in the battle. Hearing the rumors, the Muslims got disheartened and began to flee to the slopes of *Uhud* in a miserable state of disorder. The Prophet himself was in great danger, were it not for some of the *Muhâjirûn* and the *Ansâr* who defended him bravely warding off the polytheists' arrows and stones aimed at him. However, the Prophet's head and face were wounded, and the two rings of his iron-ringed helmet penetrated into his two cheeks due to a blow on it.

Exhausted by his wounds, the Prophet (peace be upon him) fainted. Meanwhile, *Ḥamzah*, the Master of Martyrs, was assassinated by *Wahshî*, who stealthily hit him by spear in his stomach. Also, Abû Bakr and `Umar were wounded. At this time, some of the Muslims began to ask each other; "For what reason should we fight if Muḥammad has been killed! Let us return to our people." But, another group of the Muslims said; "If Muḥammad has been killed, then fight in defense of your religion."

The rumor, which was not denied as soon as it began to spread, that the Prophet was killed during the battle helped relieve the attack of *Quraysh* on

(1) Regarding those who left the slope of the mountain and those who hold their positions, Allah, the Almighty, has revealed:

{ "...Among you are some who desire this world, and among you are some who desire the Hereafter..." }

[Âl `Imrân: 152]

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the Muslims as they thought that they had achieved the purpose of their battle. Moreover, there was no enmity between *Quraysh* and Medina to fuel the continuity of the battle. But, few minutes after the rumors spread, Ka`b Ibn Mâlik moved towards Abû Dujânah and his companions where he recognized Prophet Muḥammad. So, he shouted as loudly as he could; “O Muslims! Rejoice! This is the Messenger of Allah”, but the Prophet (peace be upon him) signed to him to keep silent. However, the news spread but most of the polytheists did not believe it and thought that it was aimed at raising the morale of the Muslims. The shout of Ka`b urged the Prophet to direct that he and his Companions should go to a nearby slope to find out whether *Quraysh* would head for Medina, or would they return to Mecca.

Quraysh believed that they had avenged their shameful defeat in the Battle of *Badr*, so they felt satisfied and decided to return to Mecca. Hence, Abû Sufyân climbed a hill and shouted as loudly as he could so that everyone on the slope to which the Prophet (peace be upon him) had gone could hear him saying; “A day for the day of *Badr*. War has its ups and downs. Your rendezvous is *Badr*, next year. You will find that some of your dead have been mutilated, which, by God, I neither approved nor did I command or forbid.”⁽¹⁾ The Prophet ordered a Companion to answer Abû Sufyân saying; “Say, yes, it is a rendezvous between us.” Then, *Quraysh* left after burying the corpses of their twenty killed persons.

After *Quraysh* had left, the Muslims returned to the battlefield to search for the dead. There were 74 martyrs including four of the *Muhâjirûn* and the rest were from the *Anṣâr*. The Prophet (peace be upon him) had been very grieved at all the martyrs in general and at *Ḥamzah* in particular because of the mutilation inflicted upon his body, the Prophet then ordered that the martyrs be buried in the area of *Uhud*, each in the clothes in which he had martyred. After they had finished, the Muslims returned to Medina. The

(1) The victory and the assassination of *Ḥamzah* were not sufficient for Hind Bint `Utbah. So, she, and the women who were with her, mutilated the dead Muslims, cutting off their ears and noses. Hind made anklets and necklaces of these cut parts of Muslims bodies. Then, she ripped open *Ḥamzah*'s belly for his liver and chewed it, but she was not able to swallow it, so she spat it out. The abominable acts of Hind and the women with her, in addition to the evil acts of the *Qurayshite* men, pushed Abû Sufyân to deny his responsibility for this mutilation declaring that it did not please him.

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Prophet entered his home and began to ponder over the entire situation. On the one hand, the Jews, the hypocrites, and the polytheists of Medina were very happy because of the Muslims' defeat. On the other hand, the Muslims authority in Medina, which had been firmly and undisputedly established, was about to be threatened. Thus, it was necessary to restore the awe of the Muslims through a brave swift strike that would relieve the consequences of the defeat in *Uhud*, raise the morale of the Muslims, throw terror in the hearts of the Jews and hypocrites, and maintain the Muslims authority in Medina unthreatened.

On the next day, Sunday, morning, Shawwal 16th, the Prophet (peace be upon him) ordered Bilâl, his muezzin, to announce that he decided to go in pursuit of *Quraysh*, and that nobody would be allowed to set out with him except those who had been present at the battle the day before. The Muslims responded to the Prophet's call despite their painful pains and deep anxiety. The Prophet marched with them until they reached *Hamrâ' Al-Asad*, a place located 8 miles from Medina, on the way to Mecca. On the other side, the news reached Abû Sufyân and his pagan army, while they were at *Ar-Rawhâ'*, that the Prophet (peace be upon him) set out in their pursuit. They thought that the Muslims who did not take part in the yesterday battle had set out with the Prophet. Their thoughts turned into certainty after Ma`bad Al-Khuzâ`î, who was still a polytheist, met with them and said; "Muhammad has set out with his Companions in pursuit of you, leading a large army the like of which I have never seen before. Their hearts are burning with anger and resentment against you, and they surely seek revenge."⁽¹⁾ Before meeting Ma`bad, the polytheists were blaming each other for leaving the Muslims without attacking Medina until gaining decisive victory, and they were about to return to the Muslims. but after meeting Ma`bad, their determination weakened, and they preferred to return homes as victorious. Meanwhile, the Prophet (peace be upon him) remained in *Hamrâ' Al-Asad* for three days to give *Quraysh* the impression that the Muslims were determined to fight, and that they were waiting for them to return, and that they were ready for fight. Then, the Prophet (peace be

(1) "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 114]; and "Nabyy Al-Birr Muhammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sîrat Ibn Hishâm" (P. 85), Ash-Sha`b edition.

upon him) returned to Medina after restoring the Muslims awe and authority which were threatened by the defeat in *Uhud*, and after insuring that *Quraysh* would not return to attack Medina. The Battle of *Hamrā' Al-Asad* was the last event occurred in the 3rd year of Hegira.

► **Reasons Behind Initial Victory, and Subsequent Defeat in *Uhud***

First: Reasons behind initial victory

1. **Faith and strong belief:** the victory of the Muslims at the beginning of the battle of *Uhud* is attributed to Muslims' sincere trust that they were following the truth. Actually, those who follow the truth cannot be disturbed by any material power, nor can they be undetermined by the forces of falsehood. This is why *Quraysh's* army, consisting of 3000 warriors, was dispersed due to the strikes of 600 to 700 Muslims to the extent that their women were about to be captivated.
2. **The skillful military planning of the Prophet:** When he put the archers on the slope of the mountain to prevent the advance of *Quraysh's* cavalry so that they could not attack the rear of the Muslim army. There is no doubt that the first reason is superior as the victory of Muslims at the very beginning of this battle was by all means a miracle.

Second: Reason for subsequent defeat in *Uhud*

1. **The disobedience of the archers to the Prophet's orders:** The Muslims were defeated after gaining initial victory because of the disobedience of the archers to the Prophet who ordered them to hold their positions regardless to the results of the battle. However, they were concerned with collecting the booty.

► **Results of the Battle of *Uhud***

Just like the victory in the battle of *Badr* was very important for the Muslims, their defeat in the Battle of *Uhud* was a great lesson for them concerning obeying the Prophet, adopting the means necessary for maintaining caution and steadfastness, and keeping one's acts and deeds sincere for the sake of Allah and void of any worldly purpose.

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The day of *Uhud* was a day of distress, affliction, and trial. In this day, Allah tested both the Muslims and the hypocrites. It was also a day in which Allah honored those whom He chose of his allies with martyrdom, as a number of 74 or 75 Muslims martyred. In this day, Allah informed the Muslims that if they had been wounded, then the *Quraishites* had been similarly wounded. In this regard, Allah, the Almighty, says:

{“If a wound should touch you - there has already touched the [opposing] people a wound similar to it. And these days [of varying conditions] We alternate among the people...”}

[Âl `Imrân: 140]

Also, in the day of *Uhud* Abû `Azzah Al-Jumahî was killed. This man was among the captives of *Badr*. The Prophet (peace be upon him) released him on the condition that he would not involve in war against the Muslims again, but he violated the condition and involved in the battle of *Uhud*.⁽¹⁾ Moreover, this day proved the submission of the tribes near Medina to the Prophet. The battle of *Uhud* is described in the second half of Surah Âl `Imrân.



(1) *“Nabyy Al-Birr Muḥammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sîrat Ibn Hishâm”* (P. 85-86), Ash-Sha`b edition.

Between *Uhud* and Second (Last) *Badr*

► Expeditions of *Banû Asad*, *Ar-Rajî`*, *Bi`r Ma`ûnah*, and Expulsion of *Banû An-Nadîr* from Medina

As mentioned before, Abû Sufyân promised the Muslims to meet again next year. As a result, no fight took place between Medina and Mecca during the fourth year of Hegira. However, *Quraysh* used to entice the Arabian tribes into confronting the Muslims. The Messenger's scouts kept vigilant and brought the news of all intended hostile actions towards the Prophet, so that the Prophet could send forces to suppress these actions before they occurred. The first of these actions was the preparations of *Banû Asad*, the allies of *Quraysh*, to Attack Medina. Once this news reached the Prophet (peace be upon him), he dispatched an expedition led by Abû Salamah Al-Makhzûmî, and ordered him to set off for *Banû Asad*. In Muharram 1st, Abû Salamah marched until he reached *Qatan*, a mountain near *Banû Asad* located to the east of Medina. Abû Salamah took *Banû Asad* by surprise in their homeland, so they dispersed and escaped from their houses. He took their cattle as booty, and then left to Medina which he reached eleven days after he firstly left it.

In the same month, the news reached the Prophet (peace be upon him) that Sufyân Ibn Khâlid Al-Hudhalî, a resident of *'Uranah* located near to Mount *'Arafât*, was gathering men to raid Medina. The Prophet then sent a person who managed kill him using stratagem,⁽¹⁾ and then returned to Medina untouched. Seeking revenge for the killing of their chieftain, the tribe of *Hudhayl* asked their ally, the tribe of *'Adal*, to ask the Prophet to send a group of men to instruct them the religion, claiming that they were ready to embrace Islam. Welcoming their request, the Prophet sent six Muslims with them. When they reached *Ar-Rajî`*, a watering place belonging to the tribe of *Hudhayl* located between Mecca and *'Usfân*, *'Adal* and *'Usfân* betrayed the Muslims and called *Hudhayl* to attack them. Four of the Muslims were killed, while the other two were sold in Mecca to some people who killed them in revenge for killing their

(1) See: "*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*" by Sheikh Muhammad Al-Khudarî (P. 153).

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relatives at *Badr*. When they wanted to kill one of those two Muslims namely, Khubayb Ibn `Adiyy, he said:

*“I do not care, when I am killed as a Muslim,
From which side will my death for Allah’s sake come,
This is for God himself, and if he wills,
he will bless a mangled corpse’s limbs.”*

This tragedy took place in the month of Safar, during which a calamity bigger than that of *Ar-Raji`* occurred to the Muslims. The Prophet (Peace be upon him) called Abû Barâ` `Âmir Ibn Mâlik, who was known as the Spear Player, one of *Banû `Âmir*’s chieftains, to embrace Islam but he neither agreed nor refused. Rather, he said; “O Muḥammad, I see that this matter of yours is good and honorable. If you were to send with me some of your Companions to the people of *Najd* to call them to your matter, I would hope that they would respond to you.” The Prophet said; “I fear that the people of *Najd* may hurt them.” Abû Barâ` replied; “I am responsible for their protection.” Thereupon, the Prophet sent with him Al-Mundhir Ibn `Amr at the head of seventy, or forty according to some narrations, of his Companions who were known as *Al-Qurrâ`* (i.e. the memorizers of the Qur`ân) because they memorized many parts of the Qur`ân. They went on until they reached *Bi`r Ma`ûnah*, located to the east of Medina between the territory of *Banû `Âmir* and the *Harrah* of the *Banû Sulaym*. Hence, they sent *Harâm Ibn Milhân* with a message to `Âmir Ibn At-Tufayl, the chieftain of *Banû `Âmir*. When *Harâm* arrived, `Âmir did not pay any attention to the message; rather, he killed *Harâm*. Then, he called upon *Banû `Âmir* to support him but they refused saying; “We will not betray Abû Barâ` as he has promised to protect them.” `Âmir then called on *Banû Sulaym*, *Uṣayyah*, *Ri`l*, and *Dhakwân*, to support him and they responded to him. They set out and surrounded the Muslims who fought them until they were killed to the last man, except for Ka`b Ibn Zayd Al-Ansârî who was left at the point of death, but he survived, until he was killed at the battle of *Al-Khandaq* (Trench).

The Prophet (Peace be upon him) was informed about this calamity the same day in which the news of *Ar-Raji`* tragedy reached him. So, he was deeply grieved that he used to invoke Allah’s wrath against those traitors

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after every prayer for a whole month.⁽¹⁾ The Muslims were deeply moved by this calamity inflicted upon the brothers whom they believed to be martyrs and won the Paradise. Meanwhile, the Jews and the hypocrites of Medina recalled the victory of *Quraysh* at *Uhud* feeling pleased for the affliction of the Muslims at *Ar-Raji`* and *Bi`r Ma`ûnah*. This affliction removed the burning of their hearts at the Muslims victory over *Banû Asad*, and urged them to feel that the authority and awe of Muhammad (peace be upon him) and his Companions had been undermined. The Prophet understood the danger of losing the Muslims awe and authority in Medina. He also realized the fact that the atmosphere of internal dispute evoking a probable civil war would incite the neighboring Arabian tribes to attack Medina. Thus, the Prophet put an insightful plan aimed at revealing the intentions of the Jews and the hypocrites who kept on waiting the opportunity to put the Muslims into grief and distress.

Since the Jews of *Banû An-Nadîr* were the allies of *Banû `Âmir*, the Prophet (Peace be upon him) went to their homelands near *Qibâ`* with ten of his Companions including Abû Bakr, `Umar, and `Alî. He asked for their help in the payment of the *Diyyah* (blood-money) of the two men whom `Amr Ibn Umayyah had killed by mistake.⁽²⁾ They pretended that they had agreed but in fact they were plotting to kill the Prophet. Their plan was that one of them would climb up a wall and drop a large stone on his head. But, Jibrîl (Gabriel) came down to inform the Prophet about the intention of the Jews. So, he got up and said to his Companions; “Do not leave your places until I come to you”, and then returned to Medina. When

(1) For more details about these two tragedies refer to: “*Nabyy Al-Birr Muhammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sîrat Ibn Hishâm*” (pp. 86-87), Ash-Sha`b edition; “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 115-118]; “*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*” by Sheikh Muhammad Al-Khudarî (pp. 153-155); and “*Hayât Muhammad*” by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (pp. 296-300). It is worth mentioning that the Prophet (peace be upon him) took revenge for the Muslims killed at *Ar-Raji`* in the Battle of *Banû Lihyân*, which took place in the 6th year of Hegira.

(2) In brief, `Amr was on his way to Medina when he met two men of *Banû `Âmir*. He waited for them until they were asleep and then killed them in revenge for the tragedy of *Bi`r Ma`ûnah*. *Banû `Âmir* had a pledge of protection with the Prophet which `Amr did not know about. When he came to Medina and told the Prophet what had happened, the Prophet hastened to pay their *Diyyah* as it was the custom of the Arabs.

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they had waited long for his return, they went to him and he told them about the treachery which the Jews plotted against him, and ordered them to get ready to fight them. Before marching to them, the Prophet (peace be upon him) sent Muḥammad Ibn Maslamah Al-Awsî to them saying; “Leave my country because you have intended treachery.” The Prophet gave them ten days as a respite. So, they began to prepare for leaving. While they were preparing themselves, two messengers came to them with a message from `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy saying; “Do not leave your homes and properties.” So, they relied on his promise to support them and refused to leave. The period of respite came to end, so the Prophet (peace be upon him) marched to them and besieged them for six days during which they resisted fiercely. Hence, the Prophet ordered that their palm-trees be cut down and set fire to so that they might be forced to surrender. Actually, Allah cast fear into their hearts, and `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy did not provide any support for them; rather, he forsook them as he did with *Banû Qaynuqâ`* before. Accordingly, they accepted expulsion on the condition that the Prophet should spare their lives and allow them to carry as much of their property as their camels could carry except their arms. The Prophet (peace be upon him) agreed to this, and so the Jews were destroying their houses so that the Muslims might not be able to dwell in them. Finally, *Banû An-Nadîr* were banished from Medina. Some of them went to *Khaybar*, while others went to the Levant.

➤ **Consequences of Banishing *Banû An-Nadîr***

It is very easy to evaluate the victory of the Muslims and the expulsion of *Banû An-Nadîr* from Medina. By such an expulsion, the Prophet managed to get rid of the second Jewish tribe in Medina and thus the Jews were weakened. No doubt that the weakness of the Jews would lead to the weakness of the hypocrites, the second enemy of the Prophet. The importance of banishing *Banû An-Nadîr* from Medina is confirmed by the revelation of Surah Al-Hashr concerning their treachery and punishment, and the reaction of the hypocrites who urged them to fight and resist the Muslims. By banishing an entire tribe of the Jews from Medina, their territories became exclusive possessions of the *Muhâjirûn* and some poor persons of the *Anṣâr*. So, the *Muhâjirûn* became happy because of the properties they gained, and the

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Anṣâr became happy because their brothers, the *Muhâjirûn*, had become self-sufficient and in no need of their aid. Moreover, the Muslims were pleased with the booty of arms they gained from *Banû An-Nadîr*⁽¹⁾ in accordance with the terms of the Expulsion.



(1) This booty was exclusive for the Prophet because it was gained without fighting. The Prophet divided the booty at his own discretion among the early *Muhâjirûn* excluding the *Anṣâr*, but when Sahl Ibn Hunayf and Abû Dujânah spoke of their poverty, the Prophet gave them some of it.

From the Second (Last) Battle of *Badr* to the Battle of *Al-Khandaq* (Trench)

After the expulsion of *Banû An-Nadîr*, a state of peace and tranquility spread throughout Medina and lasted for one year after the Battle of *Uhud*. Hence, the Prophet (peace be upon him) remembered the statement of Abû Sufyân; “A day for the day of *Badr*. Your rendezvous is *Badr*, next year”, so he began to prepare for the promised battle. But, *Quraysh* was suffering drought this year, so Abû Sufyân could not find the means necessary for carrying out his threat, and thus decided to delay his campaign to the next year. Afraid of being accused of breaking his promise, Abû Sufyân aimed at preventing the Muslims from setting out through sending a message to Medina saying that *Quraysh* had prepared a huge army, that no other army in Arabia would be able to confront, to fight the Muslims and eliminate them to the degree that what happened at *Uhud* would not be compared to.⁽¹⁾

However, the Prophet paid no attention to the rumors spreading in Medina and set out at the head of 1500 soldiers, carrying a lot of goods to trade in. They marched until they reached *Badr* where they found no one. The Prophet remained there for eight days during which Muslims involved in trade transactions and made profits. After that, the Muslims returned to Medina rejoicing in Allah’s favor and grace. This was in Sha`ban of the fourth year of Hegira.

On the other side, the disbelievers of Mecca had already set out according to the advice of Abû Sufyân. However, they returned, according to the advice of the same man, Abû Sufyân, upon reaching *Murr Al-Zahrân* or *’Usfân* after marching for two days due to lacking provisions and forage. Thus, the people of Mecca called them the army of *As-Sawîq*⁽²⁾ and said to them; “You only went out to drink *As-Sawîq*.” The battle, called *As-Sawîq* and second (last) *Badr*, had completely erased the impacts of *Uhud*, and *Quraysh* had to wait another

(1) The messenger sent by Abû Sufyân was Nu`aym Ibn Mas`ûd Al-Ashja`î, who was not yet a Muslim. After being a Muslim, he played a great role for the Muslims in the battle of *Al-Ahzâb* (the confederates).

(2) *As-Sawîq* is a name for a meal made of barley. It is also a name for wine.

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year suffering the shame of their cowardice which added to their bitter defeat in the greater battle of *Badr*. Concerning second (last) *Badr*, Allah says:

{“Those who said about their brothers while sitting [at home], ‘If they had obeyed us, they would not have been killed.’ Say; ‘Then prevent death from yourselves, if you should be truthful.’”}

To His saying:

{“That is only Satan who frightens [you] of his supporters. So, fear them not, but fear Me, if you are [indeed] believers.”}

[Âl `Imrân: 168-175]

After restoring the awe and authority of the Muslims, the Prophet remained in Medina for some time paying due caution to his enemies and sending his scouts to various territories. One day, the news reached the Prophet that some people of *Ghatafân* at *Najd* were gathering for attacking him. The Prophet’s plan was to take them by surprise before they could attack him. So, he set out with 400 of his men until he reached *Dhât Ar-Riqâ`*⁽¹⁾ where *Banû Muhârib* and *Banû Tha`labah* of *Ghatafân* were gathering. Upon seeing them, the Prophet attacked them, and they dispersed leaving their women and properties behind them. The Muslims took whatever they could carry of these properties and then returned to Medina after fifteen days of their marching.

The Battle of *Dûmat Al-Jandal*⁽²⁾ took place shortly after *Dhât Ar-Riqâ`*. The reason for it was that the news reached the Prophet that a group of raiders had assembled there preparing for attacking Medina. So, the Prophet made a rapid march to them with 1000 Muslims. When they knew about the marching of the Prophet, they dispersed and left the spoils they carried behind them. The Prophet sent his scouts to search for them, but they found no one. On his way back to Medina, the Prophet held a truce with `Uyaynah Ibn *Hisn*

(1) It was called *Dhât Ar-Riqâ`* (the patchwork mountain) because the mountain after which it was named had black, white, and red patches on it. *Salâtul-Khawf* (i.e. Prayer of Fear) had been ordained in this battle.

(2) *Dûmat Al-Jandal* is located on borders between Hejaz and the Levant, in the midway between the Red Sea and the Arabian Gulf. It is five days far from Damascus, and fifteen days far from Medina.

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Al-Fazârî whom the Prophet was calling *Al-Aḥmaq Al-Mutâ'* (i.e. the obeyed fool) because he was commanding 1000 warriors. The Prophet dedicated him a land located 36 miles from Medina to pasture his herds in, because his homeland became affected by drought.

The historians did not pay due attention to this battle despite the fact that it was a great step in the spread of Islam. The Muslim army consisted of 1000 soldiers, the number that was huge enough to leave the effect of impressing the tribes located between Medina and Southern borders of the Levant. These tribes realized the presence of a new and rapidly increasing power in Arabia represented in Islam. Moreover, the long marching of the army was a good training on battles in remote areas. That is, the Prophet's army remained out of Medina for nearly a month, challenging drought, extremely hot weather, lack of water, and even death itself. No doubt that such a high morale of the Muslims was attributed to their strong faith and belief in Allah alone.



The Battle of *Al-Ahzâb* (Also *Al-Khandaq*)

The tribes of *Quraysh*, *Banû Qaynuqâ`*, *Banû An-Nadîr*, *Ghatafân*, and *Hudhayl*, in addition to the Arabian tribes located on the borders of the Levant were waiting for a chance to attack Muḥammad (peace be upon him) and his Companions. They wanted to revenge against the man who divided the Arabs concerning their religion. This man had emigrated from Mecca searching for support fortified only with his faith. But after only five years, he gained the strength, power and authority that made people hold him in esteem. He defeated many of the opposing Arabian tribes, and banished *Banû Qaynuqâ`* and *Banû An-Nadîr* from Medina which many of them left to the Levant, where they began to incite the Arabs against him.

To put their evil plans into effect, a group of Jews, including Huyayy Ibn Akhtab, Salâm Ibn Abû Al-Huqayq, and Kinânah Ibn Abû Al-Huqayq, besides Hawdhah Ibn Qays of *Banû Wâ'il* went to Mecca. When they met with the people of Mecca, they asked Huyayy about his people, and he answered; "I left them camping between *Khaybar* and Medina waiting for you to join them and march together to attack Muḥammad and his Companions." Then, they asked him about *Banû Qurayzah*, and he answered; "They remained in Medina plotting against Muḥammad until you go to attack him and thus they will attack him with you." However, *Quraysh* was hesitant concerning this attack, whether to launch it or forsake such an idea. After all, the enmity between them and Muḥammad (peace be upon him) was based on their refusal of his *Da`wah* (Islamic Call). So, doubts that Muḥammad's *Da`wah* might be the truth aroused inside themselves on the basis of his growing success and eminence. To repress their doubts, they asked the Jews saying; "O Jews! You are the people of the first scripture, and you have knowledge about the subject on which we and Muḥammad have come to differ. Is our religion better or his?" The Jews replied; "Your religion is better than his, and you are closer to the truth than he is." Referring to this statement, the Qur'ân says:

{“Have you not seen those who were given a portion of the Scripture, who believe in superstition and false objects of worship and say

about the disbelievers, 'These are better guided than the believers as to the way'?"}

[An-Nisâ': 51]

This statement of the Jews was a reason that they embarked enthusiastically on accepting the alliance with the Jews against the Muslims. Achieving their desired goal, the Jewish delegation left Mecca to the homelands of *Ghatafân*, which was a strong tribe that had its esteem in Arabia, located 120 kilometers to the northwest of Medina. Moreover, other Arabian tribes, such as *Banû Murah*, *Banû Asad*, *Ashja`*, *Sulaym*, and *Fazârah* under the leadership of `Uyaynah Ibn *Hishn*, whom the Prophet allowed to pasture his herds around Medina when his homeland became affected by drought, joined this alliance. Hence, ten thousand warriors representing *Quraysh* and their allies marched to Medina under the command of Abû Sufyân.

The news of the confederates advance reached the Prophet (peace be upon him) in Shawwal of the 5th year of Hegira. So, as usual, he consulted his Companions regarding whether to fortify in Medina or set out to confront this huge army. The final decision was to fortify themselves in Medina. The reason behind such a decision was that the disbelievers gained victory at *Uhud* while their number was less than the half of this army marching towards Medina. Accordingly, it would be very difficult to confront them outside Medina. Rather, it was reasonable to fortify in Medina letting *Quraysh* to launch their attack until they get exhausted.

► Digging the Trench

Yet, some Muslims began to ask themselves whether fortifying in Medina would be sufficient to confront these forces that greatly outnumber them. Hence, Salmân Al-Fârisî, the Companion who knows new war techniques which the Arabs had never used before, suggested that the Prophet (peace be upon him) should order the digging of a trench around the unprotected side of Medina. The Prophet approved the suggestion, and the Muslims began to dig the trench from the east of Medina to its northwest. It was the side through which all routes leading to the date palm orchards of Medina passes, and thus it was the weakest point from which Medina could be

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attacked.⁽¹⁾ The Muslims faced great difficulties while digging the trench. That is, while they were poor and had to work most of the day to gain their livelihood, they toiled at digging the trench out of faith and sincerity to their religion. Meanwhile, the hypocrites were slipping away without the permission of the Prophet. So, Allah revealed his Saying:

{“...Already Allah knows those of you who slip away, concealed by others...”}

[An-Nûr: 63]

The Prophet (peace be upon him) participated in digging the trench, as he did before in building the Mosque. He patiently worked with his own hands as his Companions did, and suffered the same difficulties and toil they suffered, urging and inspiring them while chanting the poetry composed by `Abdullâh Ibn Rawâḥah:

*“O Allah! Without You we would not have been well-guided;
Neither would we have given in charity, nor would we have prayed.
So do send tranquility upon us;
And make us stand firm when we meet the enemy.
They have wronged us;
If they want to fight us, we’ll fight them back!”*

This poetry, along with other poetry the Muslims were chanting, was enthusing the Muslims, and thus the trench was finished in six days. The Muslims built a wall of stones on their side of the trench in order to shelter themselves behind, to shoot at the enemy cavalry in case they tried to pass the trench. Moreover, the Muslims secured the walls of the houses located two leagues far from the trench on the direction of the enemy. Accordingly, all the houses located nearby the trench were evacuated and their residents had been moved to the secured houses.

As soon as the Muslims had finished their military preparations, the news reached them that the disbelievers had reached *Uḥud* where they

(1) Medina was fortified from other directions. That is, it was surrounded by hills from the northwest, and by the houses of its inhabitants, which were tightly packed in long rows constituting an impenetrable wall, from the south and the west.

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found no one and thus left it to Medina. Thereupon, the Muslims lined up behind the trench, and a group of cavalry was situated in the heart of the army. Before the enemy appeared in sight, the Muslims, who were 3000 soldiers, were well-prepared and ready for the fight. They made their front to the trench and set their rear to *Sal'*, a hill located to the center of Medina, to secure their backs.

► The Battle

Quraysh came to Medina in a huge number of their allies. They were stunned and confused as they saw the trench since they had never seen such a defensive technique and had no idea about the methods of confronting it. Feeling helpless rage, they accused the Muslims of cowardice as they hid behind the trench.

The Muslim archers began to shoot the pagan army from behind the trench, so they retreated quickly to a safe distance where they could organize their lines. The two armies continued watching each other for few days until Abû Sufyân lost his patience. He was thinking that victory would be achieved as soon as they face the Muslims. Thus, he promised his allies that they would easily gain the booty and return to their homelands chanting the songs of victory. But he found that reality was different, and that he needed a long time to secure victory, which would surely push his allies to abandon the battle and return to their homes, especially that winter was so cold this year. Moreover, the people of Medina had the ability to resist the siege for long months as long as *Banû Qurayzah* continued to provide the supplies and the food they needed. With this in mind, Abû Sufyân thought that it would be better for the confederates to return homes and delay their attack for a better opportunity.

However, he was considering the idea that it would not be easy to gather these parties again to attack the Muslims. Actually, this opportunity provided by the Jews and their leader Huyayy Ibn Akhtab, who managed to gather these parties to avenge themselves against Muḥammad, would never be given again if lost this time. Also, the retreat of these allied parties would surely be a victory for Muḥammad, and hence the Jews would face a severe punishment for their actions against the Muslims. Yet, if *Banû Qurayzah* renounced their

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treaty with the Muslims, the trench would be of no value, and the supplies provided for the Muslims would be suspended.

The same idea flashed through the mind of Huyayy Ibn Akhtab. So, he told the confederates that he could persuade *Banû Qurayzah* to break their treaty with the Muslims and join the side of the confederates who were pleased upon hearing his promise. Secretly, Huyayy Ibn Akhtab contacted Ka`b Ibn Asad the leader of *Banû Qurayzah* who accepted, after a long dialogue, to join the confederates and break the treaty with the Muslims.⁽¹⁾ Ka`b stipulated that the confederates should give *Banû Qurayzah* a respite of ten days to prepare themselves and fortify against the Muslims, and that the confederates should fight the Muslims as fiercely as they could during these ten days.

The news of this evil agreement reached the Prophet (peace be upon him). So, he sent Sa`d Ibn Mu`âdh, the leader of *Al-Aws*, and Sa`d Ibn `Ubâdah, the leader of *Al-Khazraj*, along with `Abdullâh Ibn Rawâhah and Khawwât Ibn Jubayr to investigate whether the news was true or not. He ordered them that if they found the news true, they should tell him the result of their investigation in words which he could understand but the others could not so that the morale and strength of the people would not be broken. When these messengers of the Prophet reached *Banû Qurayzah*, they found them engaged in the worst of what had been reported about them. Ka`b slandered the Prophet and said; "Who is the Messenger of Allah! There is neither a treaty nor a covenant between us and Muḥammad."

Hence, a heated argument took place between *Banû Qurayzah* and Sa`d Ibn Mu`âdh. After that, the messengers returned to the Prophet and said; "*Adal* and *Al-Qârah*" meaning that the Jews had betrayed us as did the tribes of *Adal* and *Al-Qârah* who betrayed the Muslims at *Ar-Rajî`*. The matter became more difficult for the Prophet, and the fear of the Muslims intensified. They were strongly shaken as their enemy came at them from above them and from below them, so their eyes shifted, and their hearts reached their throats out of fear.

(1) Refer to this dialogue in "*Nabyy Al-Birr Muḥammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sîrat Ibn Hishâm*" (P. 79); and "*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 123 and its footnotes], *Munîr* edition.

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It is not strange that the Muslims were beset with fears of all kinds since the siege laid to them was very strong. The poor of Medina suffered shortage of provisions, as *Banû Qurayzah* suspended the supplies provided for the Muslims after they broke the treaty with them. The confederates began to prepare for launching fierce attacks on Muslims in accordance with their agreement with *Banû Qurayzah*. The back of the Muslims became vulnerable to the attacks of *Banû Qurayzah* who were preparing for involving in the battle. Moreover, the hypocrites began to express their inner feelings saying; “Muhammad was promising us that we should attain the treasures of Khosrow and Caesar,⁽¹⁾ and today none of us feel safe to go out to relieve himself!” some of them also said to the Prophet; “Our houses are exposed to the attacks of the enemy; so, allow us to return to our dwellings, for they are located outside Medina.”

In addition to the abovementioned trials, the Muslims were not safe from the dangers of `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy, the hypocrite whom the Prophet ordered his dismissal from the army during the day of *Uhud*. He had prepared for sparking off a full-scale riot in Medina with the help of other hypocrites. Hence, it was necessary for the Muslims to secure the center of Medina and protect the women and children. So, the Prophet sent 300 fighters from the army to Medina where they kept on patrolling its streets day and night.

(1) In reference to the story narrated by historians that while Salmân Al-Fârisî and a group of Muslims were working on digging the trench, he found a hard rock which broke his iron axe. So, they told the Prophet about it. He (peace be upon him) went down into the trench and struck the rock a blow that cracked it, and a flash of lightning shot out, illuminating everything between the two tracts of black stones at both ends of Medina. So, the Prophet said; “*Allâhu Akbar (i.e. Allah is greatest!*” and the Muslims, too, said; “*Allâhu Akbar.*” Then, the Prophet struck it a second and a third time, and in every time a flash of lightning shot out, illuminating everything between the two tracts of black stones at both ends of Medina. The Prophet then climbed out and Salmân asked him about what he did see, hence; the Prophet said; “*Al-Hîrah and the palaces of Kisrâ flashed out at my first blow, and Jibrîl (Gabriel) informed me that my nation would be victorious over them. Then, the second blow flashed out the red palaces of the Levant and the land of the Romans, and Jibrîl informed me that my nation would be victorious over them. The third blow then flashed out the palaces of San`â` (at Yemen), and he (Jibrîl) informed me that my nation would be victorious over them. So, Rejoice!*”. See: “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 122-123].

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On the other side, Abû Sufyân, the general commander of the pagan army, had decided to break through the trench and fight the Muslims to put the agreement with *Banû Qurayzah* into effect, and to rise the morale of the allies' soldiers. Accordingly, some cavalry of *Quraysh* including `Ikrimah Ibn Abû Jahl, `Amr Ibn `Abd Wudd, Nawfal Ibn `Abdullâh, and Dirâr Ibnul-Khattâb headed towards the trench aiming at a narrow point. When they found this narrow point, they struck their horses, so that they rushed through it and carried them round onto the marshy ground between the trench and Mount *Sal`*. It was a critical moment during which the Muslims' zeal aroused, and thus `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib went out quickly with a group of Muslims to block the gap through which *Quraysh's* cavalry had driven their horses, and prevent them from turning back.

`Amr Ibn `Abd Wudd began to challenge the Muslims, and summon them to single combat with him. So, `Alî accepted his challenge and engaged with him in single combat which ended for the benefit of `Alî. When his horsemen saw him killed, they rushed through the trench in flight. All of them managed to cross the trench except Nawfal Ibn `Abdullâh whose horse slipped and plunged into the trench with his rider where they died there. The first day of the battle ended, and the allies made many fires to frighten the Muslims, and decided to focus their attack on the edge of the trench so that they might be able to break through in the morning. They tried to carry out their plan, but they returned unsuccessful, and the second day ended. The Muslim casualties in this day were five dead and one wounded man who was Sa`d Ibn Mu`âdh,⁽¹⁾ meanwhile, the disbelievers' casualties were three men.

The few number of casualties does not reflect the reality of the battle, or the great distress inflicted on the Muslims. They were very exhausted as they continued to guard the trench every day and night. Meanwhile, Abû Sufyân continued to launch his attacks on the trench day and night until 10 days had passed. Inside Medina, the treachery of *Banû Qurayzah* became very clear, as the some of them began to get out of their forts heading towards the houses of Medina to terrify its people. At this time, the Prophet was very worried that *Banû Qurayzah* might hasten to attack Medina and thus the Muslims would be entrapped between two enemies.

(1) He was shot by an arrow which hit his arm and cut his median cubital vein. He died after he gave his judgment regarding the punishment of *Banû Qurayzah*.

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To avoid this scenario, the Prophet (peace be upon him) decided to use the same tactics that *Quraysh* used to draw *Banû Qurayzah* to their side. Thus, he sent to `Uyaynah Ibn Hisn Al-Fazârî and Al-Hârith Ibn `Awf Al-Murrî the leaders of *Ghatafân* and offered to give them one third of the fruit harvest of Medina on condition that they retreat with the army of *Ghatafân* and they accepted.

However, before concluding the deal with them, the Prophet sent for Sa`d Ibn Mu`âdh and Sa`d Ibn `Ubâdah to consult them about the deal. They said; "O Messenger of Allah! Is it something you would like us to do, or is it something that Allah has commanded you to do, so that we must do, or is it something you are doing for us? He answered; *"It is something I am doing for you. By Allah, I am doing it only because I saw that the Arabs had shot at you from a single bow (i.e. gathered against you) and had surrounded you from every side; so I wanted to relieve their furor against you for some time."*

Sa`d Ibn Mu`âdh said; "O Messenger of Allah! We and these people were polytheists worshiping idols, and we neither worshiped Allah nor did we know him. Yet, they had no hope to eat a single date of ours except through our hospitality or by purchasing it. So, now that Allah has honored us by Islam, guided us to it, and strengthened us with you, shall we give them our wealth? By Allah, we have no need for this! By Allah, we will offer them only the sword, until Allah judges between us..." The Prophet then said; *"As you like."*⁽¹⁾ The Prophet admired the eagerness and enthusiasm of the *Ansâr* and rejected the deal, entrusting the whole matter to Allah.

In this time, Nu`aym Ibn Mas`ûd Al-Ashja`î, the man from *Ghatafân* who was a friend of *Quraysh* and the Jews, came to the Prophet and said; "I have embraced Islam, but my people do not know about my Islam; so, give me your orders so that I can help you." The Prophet said; *"You are only one man. What can you do alone? But, try to make them despair of being able to attack us as far as you can, for war is deception."* Therefore, Nu`aym headed towards *Banû Qurayzah*, who were not aware of his Islam. He had been their close friend during the *Jâhilyyah* (pre-Islamic period), so he

(1) "Nabyy Al-Birr Muhammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sîrat Ibn Hishâm" (P. 90); and "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 124].

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reminded them of the affection between them and warned them against keeping their alliance with *Quraysh* saying; “You have seen what happened to *Banû Qaynuqâ`* and *Banû An-Nadîr* who were expelled from Medina and whose homes and properties were captured. *Quraysh* and *Ghatafân* are not like you. If they see an opportunity, they will take it; otherwise, they will return to their homelands. But you are living with the man (i.e. the Prophet), and you have no power to fight him if he is left to fight you alone. So, do not fight on the side of the people of *Quraysh* and *Ghatafân*, until you take hostages from amongst their notables, to be in your hands as surety for you.” They liked his opinion and approved him. he asked them to keep what he had told them secret. Then, Nu`aym went to *Quraysh* and met with its leaders. He said to them; “You know my affection for you and my separation from Muḥammad. I have been informed about a matter which I viewed that I must tell you about as a matter of sincere advice; but you should keep it secret.” They said; “We will do so.” Then, he said; “The Jews have regretted what they did regarding the relation between them and Muḥammad. They have sent to him, saying; ‘We regret what we have done. So, will you be satisfied with us if we take some of the notables of the tribes of *Quraysh* and *Ghatafân* and give them to you, so that you can cut off their heads and then we join you against those among them who remain. He sent to them saying; “Yes.” So, if the Jews ask you for hostages from your notables, do not give them any single man.”

Then Nu`aym went to *Ghatafân* and deceived them using the same trick. Actually, this maneuver achieved a great success, as Abû Sufyân wanted to investigate the truth regarding the news which Nu`aym brought to them. So, he sent a delegation to *Banû Qurayzah* calling them to prepare for fighting Muḥammad the next day. It was Saturday, so they replied saying that they do not involve in battles during this day, and that they were afflicted because of their transgression in this day. They also added that they would not involve in the fight except after taking some notables of *Quraysh* as hostages to be in their hands as surety for them. Hence, *Quraysh* and *Ghatafân* became sure that what Nu`aym Ibn Mas`ûd had told them was true. Their hearts became separated, and the allies became afraid that *Banû Qurayzah* might attack their backs when they engaged in fighting the Muslims. Thus, Abû Sufyân ordered that the general attack which he

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decided to launch be suspended. Meanwhile, the Prophet (peace be upon him) had supplicated Allah saying; “O Allah! Revealer of the Book, defeat the Allies. O Allah! Defeat them, and grant us victory over them.” Allah answered the supplication of His Prophet and sent against the enemy, in a dark night, a very strong, cold and rainy wind that extinguished their fires, overturned their cooking pots, blew away their tents, spoiled their food, frightened their riding animals, and made them shiver with cold and fear. They thought that the Muslims seized the opportunity and crossed the trench to attack them. Tulayhah Ibn Khuwaylid Al-Asadî summoned the people saying; “Muhammad has commenced something terrible against you, so save your lives! Save your lives!” Therefore, Abû Sufyân decided to leave, and so the people took as much properties as they could and fled to their homelands while the wind was striking them. Finally, the Allies had left their camp, `Amr Ibnul-`Âs and Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd took the responsibility of securing the rear of the disbelievers’ army in 200 cavalrymen. In this regard, Allah, the Almighty, says:

{“And Allah repelled those who disbelieved, in their rage, not having obtained any good. And sufficient was Allah for the believers in battle, and ever is Allah Powerful and Exalted in Might.”}

[Al-Ahzâb: 25]

In the morning, the sky became clear, and the sun sent its worm rays. The Muslims looked at the other side of the trench, where they found none of the Confederates, and thus returned homes praising and thanking Allah, Who removed the affliction and distress they were suffering. This was in Dhul-Qa`dah, 5 A.H.

Allah mentioned the story of the Allies in Surah number 33, *Al-Ahzâb* (the Allies), where He, the Almighty, described the position of the Muslims reminding them of their suffering, during the battle, to remind them of His grace, saying:

{“O you who have believed! Remember the favor of Allah upon you when armies came to [attack] you and We sent upon them a wind and armies [of angels] you did not see. And ever is Allah, of what you do, Seeing...”}

Until He says:

{“...They but wished to flee.”}

[Al-Ahzâb: 9-13]

Also, in His saying:

{“And when the believers saw the Allies... “}

Until He says:

{“... And sufficient was Allah for the believers in battle, and ever is Allah Powerful and Exalted in Might.”}

[Al-Ahzâb: 22-25]

► **The Battle of Banû Qurayzah**

After the prophet (peace be upon him) and his Companions returned to Medina and wanted to lay down his arms, Angel Jibrîl (Gabriel) came to him conveying the Divine Order to eliminate *Banû Qurayzah*⁽¹⁾, so as to purify the lands of the Muslims from their treason and unfaithfulness. Thus, the Prophet ordered that people be announced that whoever would heed and obey should not pray the 'Asr (afternoon) prayer until they were in homelands of *Banû Qurayzah*. Despite being tired and exhausted, the Muslims responded to the Prophet's order, and 3000 Muslim soldiers marched to *Banû Qurayzah*. When they saw the Muslim army, *Banû Qurayzah* were terrified and tried to deny their treason, but they could not because their treason became very clear to the Muslims, and so they rushed to their forts. The Muslims besieged them for a month or for twenty-five days during which they could not get out their forts even for one time. They became certain that they would perish of hunger if the siege continued, and that their forts would not prevent them from the Muslims. Hence, they sent to the Prophet offering to accept expulsion on the same conditions as *Banû An-Nadîr*, i.e. their lives be spared and their properties be allowed for them to take except their arms. The Prophet did not accept, so that they offered to leave Medina provided that their lives be spared. The Prophet rejected their offer and insisted that they should accept his judgment be it good or bad for them.

(1) “Nabyy Al-Birr Muhammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sîrat Ibn Hishâm” (P. 92); and “Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 126-127].

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Accordingly, they asked the Prophet saying; “Send us Abû Lubâbah to consult him regarding this matter.” Abû Lubâbah was from the tribe of *Al-Aws*, the allies of *Banû Qurayzah* before Islam, so the Prophet sent him to them. When they saw him, the men rose to meet him, and the women and children began to weep before him, and thus he felt pity for them. They said to him; “O Abû Lubâbah! Do you think that we should accept the judgment of Muḥammad?” He said; “Yes” and pointed with his hand to his throat meaning that the judgment would be slaughter.⁽¹⁾ After he left, they sent to *Al-Aws* saying; “Will you not secure for you brothers the same destiny as did *Al-Khazraj* for their brothers *Banû Qaynuqâ`*?” Therefore, a group of *Al-Aws* went to the Prophet and asked him to treat *Banû Qurayzah*, their allies, as he treated *Banû Qaynuqâ`*, the allies of their brothers of *Al-Khazraj*. The Prophet then said; “Will you be satisfied if a man from you passes judgment regarding them?” They said; “Yes.” Hence, the Prophet said; “*This (man) is Sa`d Ibn Mu`âdh.*”⁽²⁾

(1) “*Nabyy Al-Birr Muḥammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sîrat Ibn Hishâm*” (P. 93); and “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 127]. Dr. Haykal explains this sign as meaning that you would be slaughtered if you did not accept the judgment of the Prophet. This explanation contradicts the historical references which mentioned that Abû Lubâbah pointed with his hand to his throat meaning that the judgment would be slaughter. This can be clearly understood from the narrations stated that Abû Lubâbah knew that he had betrayed Allah and the Prophet. In this regard Abû Lubâbah said; “As soon as my feet moved, I knew that I had betrayed Allah and His Messenger.” So. When he left his allies, he headed to Medina because he could not meet the Prophet out of shame. He then tied himself to one of the pillars in the mosque until Allah would decide to punish or to forgive him. Allah then forgave Abû Lubâbah, and revealed the following Verses concerning him:

{“O you who have believed, do not betray Allah and the Messenger or betray your trusts while you know [the consequence].”}

[Al-Anfâl: 27]

And:

{“And [there are] others who have acknowledged their sins. They had mixed [i.e. polluted] a righteous deed with another that was bad. Perhaps Allah will turn to them in forgiveness. Indeed, Allah is Forgiving and Merciful.”}

[At-Tawbah: 102]

See: “*Hayât Muḥammad*” by Muḥammad Husayn Haykal (P. 329).

(2) “*Nabyy Al-Birr Muḥammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sîrat Ibn Hishâm*” (P. 93). The narration of Ibnul-Athîr stated that the Prophet said; “Will you be satisfied if Sa`d Ibn Mu`âdh passes his judgment regarding them?” They said; “Yes.”

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Dr. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal reported that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said to the delegation of *Al-Aws*; *“Tell them (i.e. Banû Qurayzah) to choose whoever they want”* and thus they chose Sa`d Ibn Mu`âdh. Whatever the situation was, the Jews of *Banû Qurayzah* were brought with their hands tied behind their backs, and Sa`d Ibn Mu`âdh, who was then wounded, was carried to the Prophet. Then, Sa`d looked at *Banû Qurayzah* and said; *“Do you swear by Allah and His Covenant that the judgment on them will be what I judge?”* They said; *“Yes.”* Then, he went towards the Prophet while lowering his gaze out of respect saying; *“Will those over there comply to this covenant?”* they said; *“Yes.”* Hence, Sa`d said; *“I pass judgment on them that their warriors be killed, their children and women be taken as captives, and their property be divided.”* Upon this, the Prophet said; *“You have judged them with the judgment of Allah from above seven heavens.”* The Prophet then went to the marketplace of Medina and ordered that trenches be dug there. Then, the men of *Banû Qurayzah* were brought in groups and killed in those trenches. Ḥuyayy Ibn Akḥṭab of *Banû An-Nadîr* was included in them because he was with them during the battle. The number of those who were killed among them was between 400 and 600 according to the soundest narrations.⁽¹⁾

Banû Qurayzah did not expect this judgment from their ally, Sa`d Ibn Mu`âdh. Rather, they expected that he would treat them, as did `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy with *Banû Qaynuqâ`*. But there was a big difference between the two men and the two situations. That is, Sa`d went to *Banû Qurayzah* to deter them from violating their covenant with the Prophet during the Battle of *Al-Aḥzâb*, as mentioned above, but they slandered the Prophet (peace be upon him) before him. After that, when Sa`d was shot with an arrow in his

(1) Some narrations give a higher number stating that they were between 800 and 900. It seems that the first narration mentioned those who had been killed while the second narration stated their total number since the execution did not include all of them, as understood from Allah’s saying:

“And He brought down those who supported them among the People of the Scripture from their fortresses and cast terror into their hearts [so that] a party [i.e. their men] you killed, and you took captive a party [i.e. the women and children].”

[*Al-Aḥzâb*: 26]

Moreover, few of them embraced Islam. See: *“Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târîkh”* by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 128].

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median cubital vein, he invoked Allah to spare him until he sees his desire on *Banû Qurayzah* (i.e. until Allah settles them for him). At the time of pronouncing his judgment, he mentioned what would have happened if *Al-Ahzâb* (the Allies) managed to achieve victory because of the treachery of *Banû Qurayzah*. He expected that they would have eliminated the Muslims. Being their ally, Sa`d was well acquainted with the treacherous nature of the Jews. He believed that if he spared their lives, they would have incited the confederate again against the Muslims whom they would never spare if they gained victory over them. Thus, the judgment of Sa`d, despite being severe, was based on the principle of self-defense, as he considered that the matter of sparing or killing the Jews was crucial for the peace and tranquility of the Muslim Community in Medina.

It was then a fair judgment, no wonder, as it was the judgment of Allah inspired to Sa`d. The Prophet put this judgment into effect killing the warriors, taking children and women as captives and dividing the properties. *Banû Qurayzah* faced the same punishment as their brothers in the Levant who were severely humiliated by Heraclius in return for their treacherous acts against the Christians when the Persians were in control.

► **The Outcomes of the Battles of *Al-Ahzâb* and *Banû Qurayzah***

1. ***Quraysh* did not attempt to attack Medina again:** After their failure at the battle of *Al-Ahzâb*, *Quraysh* and their allies did not dare to attack Medina again, despite they continued to incite the disbelievers of *Najd* and Hejaz against the Prophet and his Companions. This is why the Prophet and his Companions were not able to take rest between the various battles. That is, as soon as they end a battle, the news was reaching them that a certain near or far Arabian tribe was preparing to attack the Muslims. Thus, the Prophet was either marching to them by himself or sending an army to attack them. Actually, *Quraysh* was spreading sedition while the Prophet and his Companions were confirming their reverence and awe. In the 6th year of Hegira, the Prophet and some of his Companions set out to Mecca aiming at performing *'Umrah* (Lesser Pilgrimage), not intending to fight, as it was the custom of the Arabs when heading to Mecca to perform *Hajj* (Pilgrimage) or *'Umrah*. In this year, the treaty of *Al-Hudaybiyah* took place. Then the Great Conquest of Mecca occurred.

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2. **The Authority of the Muslims in Medina was firmly established:** As the power of the hypocrites was diminished, and the Muslims became the only controlling power in Medina. Moreover, the Arabs recognized the power, and authority of the Prophet and the Muslims holding them in awe.
3. **The Jews were expelled from Medina:** Due to their continuous treachery the Jews were banished from Medina. Few of their leaders moved to *Khaybar* and remained with the Jews there. Later, they had been punished for their treachery too.
4. **`Amr Ibnul-`Âs and Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd embraced Islam:** After the battle of *Al-Ahzâb*, to great military leaders of *Quraysh* embraced Islam and joined the Muslims. This was a sign that the conflict between the two sides was about to be settled for the benefit of the Muslims. Since then, no significant clashes occurred between the two sides.⁽¹⁾



(1) See: "*Hayât Muhammad*" by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (P. 332); "*Mir'ât Al-Islâm*" by Tâhâ Husayn (P. 72); "*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sirat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*" by Sheikh Muhammad Al-Khudarî (P. 177); "*Muḥâḍarât Fî Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*" by Sheikh Al-Khudarî [1: 185]; and "*Nabyy Al-Birr Muhammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sirat Ibn Hishâm*" (P. 96). Ibn Hishâm stated that `Amr Ibnul-`Âs and Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd embraced Islam in the 5th year of Hegira after the battle of *Al-Ahzâb*. Yet, other historians maintained that they became Muslims in the 6th year of Hegira. Ibn Hishâm narrated the story of their adoption Islam in page (96). In brief, after the battle of *Al-Khandaq*, `Amr travelled to Abyssinia along with some people from *Quraysh*, where An-Nagâshî (Negus) persuaded him to follow Muhammad and accept Islam. Then, he returned and went to Medina to meet the Prophet and declare his Islam. On the way to Medina, he met Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd who told him that Islam had touched his heart and that he was going to Medina to accept Islam. Hence `Amr said; "By Allah, I have only come to accept Islam." Khâlid went first before the Prophet and accepted Islam giving the pledge of allegiance. The Prophet was absolutely delighted and said to Khâlid; "All praise be to Allah Who has guided you (to Islam). I have (always) seen that you have a reason which I hoped that it will only guide you to good (matters)." Khâlid then said; "O Messenger of Allah! Supplicate Allah for me to forgive those situations in which I stood against you." The Prophet said; "*(Accepting) Islam entirely cuts off what went before it.*" `Uthmân Ibn Abû Talḥah also accepted Islam on the same day.

Events Between *Al-Ahzâb* and *Al-Hudaybiyah* Position of Islamic *Da'wah* during Sixth Year of Hegira

The battles of *Al-Ahzâb* and *Banû Qurayzah* occurred near the end of the fifth year of Hegira. Thus, the sixth year commenced while the Muslims were enjoying a great state of might and confidence. They became ambitious concerning the day in which they would conquer Mecca. But they were aware of the fact that such a step would require thorough preparations. This is why the Prophet (peace be upon him) spent most of this year preparing for the Conquest of Mecca. He launched three battles namely, *Banû Lihyân*, *Al-Ghâbah*, and *Banû Al-Mustaliq* in order. He also sent about fifteen expeditions to punish some of the neighboring tribes for certain crimes they committed and to show the might and strength of the Muslims. Here, we will not discuss these expeditions in detail because they are similar concerning many of their details and reasons. Thus, we will only mention the most important ones among these expeditions as examples revealing the might and strength the Muslims reached and the position of the Islamic *Da'wah* at that time.

The first of these expeditions was when the Prophet dispatched Muḥammad Ibn Maslamah at the head of 30 Muslims to attack *Banû Bakr Ibn Hilâl* who were camping in *Dariyyah*, located 7 days far from Medina on the route to *Al-Basrah*. Muḥammad Ibn Maslamah marched until he reached them. The Muslims killed 10 of *Banû Bakr Ibn Hilâl* and the rest of them fled. The Muslims then took their cattle as booty and returned to Medina. On their way back, they found Thumâmah Ibn Athâl, the chief of *Banû Hanîfah*, and captured him without recognizing him. They brought him before the Prophet who treated him kindly and thus he embraced Islam. The Prophet was absolutely delighted that he became a Muslim because he was the chief of his tribe. Thumâmah was a great Muslim who adopted great stances to support Islam.⁽¹⁾

(1) For example, after the death of the Prophet, when many people of his country apostatized, he forbade his people from following Musaylimah, and so many of them remained Muslims.

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In the month of Rabi` I, the Prophet was informed that *Banû Tha`labah* at *Dhul-Qassah*⁽¹⁾ were preparing to raid the Muslims' cattle pasturing on *Al-Hayfâ'*, located near Medina. So, he dispatched Muḥammad Ibn Maslamah with ten Muslims to punish them. They reached them at night, and thus they slept. They awoke to the enemy's arrows hitting them and rushed to their weapons. The enemy killed them all except Muḥammad Ibn Maslamah who was severely wounded and thus they left him thinking that he had died. Muḥammad returned to Medina and informed the Prophet about the matter. The Prophet dispatched Abû `Ubaydah Ibnul-Jarrâh to take revenge against the enemy. But when he reached their habitations, he found that they had fled, and thus he captured their cattle and returned to Medina. The Prophet then dispatched Zayd Ibn Hârithah at the head of 15 men in pursuit of them. When *Banû Tha`labah* saw them, they thought that they were the vanguard of the Muslim army, and thus they took flight leaving their cattle behind them. The Muslims captured the cattle and returned to Medina.

In the meanwhile, the news reached the Prophet (peace be upon him) that a caravan belonging to *Quraysh* was heading from the Levant to Mecca. The Prophet dispatched Zayd Ibn Hârithah at the head of 170 men to intercept the caravan. Zayd looted the caravan and captured its men including Abû Al-`Âs, husband of the Prophet's daughter Zaynab. He was known among the people of Mecca for his trade, wealth, and honesty. He sought the protection of his wife, and she announced to the Muslims that he had become under her protection. The Prophet then said; *"Muslims are (like) one hand (i.e. they are united). The lowest of them is entitled to give protection on behalf of them. We have given protection to whom you given it."* Actually, this is the greatest statement concerning equality among the Muslims. The Prophet returned to Abû Al-`Âs his money showing the tolerance of the Muslims. As a result, Abû Al-`Âs returned to Mecca and gave over the trusts to those entitled to them, and then returned to Medina as a Muslim. The Prophet reunited him with his wife, Zaynab. She died the next year.

(1) Located 24 miles to Medina on the way to *Ar-Rabadhah*.

► **The Battle of *Banû Lihyân***

Then, the Prophet invaded *Banû Lihyân* who treacherously killed the Prophet's Companions, `Âsim Ibn Thâbit and his Muslim brothers, in *Ar-Rajî`*. The Prophet set out in 200 soldiers including 20 knights without announcing his destination so that the news might not reach the enemy. As a precautionary measure, he marched north pretending to be heading to the Levant, but then, he headed south after marching for half a day. However, *Banû Lihyân* realized that they were his target and fled to the mountains nearby. When the Prophet reached their territories, he found none to fight. So, he remained there for two days during which he kept sending expeditions in search of them. Finding none of them, the Prophet marched with his Companions until he camped in *`Usfân*, a location near to Mecca, in order to frighten the people of Mecca and show them his military power. From *`Usfân*, he (peace be upon him) sent out Abû Bakr at the head of 10 knights. They reached *Kurâ` Al-Ghamîm*, a mountain located eight miles to *`Usfân*, and then returned. The Prophet then returned to Medina in a very hot day that the Prophet was saying; *"(We are) returning, repentant, and praising our Lord. O Allah! I seek refuge in You from the hardships of travelling, unhappiness related to ghastly scenes and evil turns in family and property."*

► **The Battle of *Al-Ghâbah* (also *Dhû Qarad*)**

Soon after the Prophet returned to Medina, `Uyaynah Ibn *Hiṣn Al-Fazârî* raided its outskirts and drove away some camels that were pasturing nearby. The camels were guarded by a man and a woman, so `Uyaynah killed the man and captured the woman and then left thinking that nobody would pursue him. But, Salamah Ibnul-Akwa`, who was setting out in the morning aiming at *Al-Ghâbah*, a place located 8 miles north of Medina to the direction of *Ghatâfân*, carrying his bow and arrows on his shoulder, saw them and shouted; *"Wâ Sabâhâh* (i.e. what a morning)."⁽¹⁾ He hurried to pursuit the raiders, until when he caught up with them; he began shooting them with arrows saying;

*"Take that! I am the son of Al-Akwa`
Today is the day for the mean (to die)"*

(1) It is a cry for seeking help.

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The Prophet was informed about Salamah's call for help,⁽¹⁾ so he called out in the People of Medina; "Alarm! Alarm!" so that the cavalry hurried to the Prophet. He ordered them to set out in pursuit of the enemy, and then he prepared the army and led them following his cavalry until he reached the mountain in *Dhû Qarad*. Meanwhile, 'Uyaynah Ibn Hisn and his warriors hasten their march aiming at *Ghatafân* to escape from the Muslims. However, the cavalry of Medina caught up with their rear and recovered most of the camels from them and rescued the woman whom the enemy captured.

The bravery of the Muslims, and their eagerness to perform *Jihâd* for the sake of protecting and promoting their religion was represented in the request made by Salamah Ibnul-Akwa` to the Prophet. Salamah asked the Prophet to send him with some of the Muslims in pursuit of the enemy so that they might take them by surprise while they were drinking from one of their watering places. The Prophet then said; "*You have taken enough and so now you have to show magnanimity.*"

It seems that the Prophet aimed at avoiding war in that time, particularly that the Muslims lost only one man, in return for two men from the enemy. The Prophet hence returned to Medina and remained there for two months. The Muslims spent five days pursuing their enemies striving for the sake of Allah and the glory of their religion.

► **The Battle of *Banû Al-Mustaliq***

The battle of *Banû Al-Mustaliq*⁽²⁾ occurred after the news reached the Prophet that Al-Hârith Ibn Dirâr, the chief of *Banû Al-Mustaliq*, the tribe who supported *Quraysh* in the battle of *Uhud*, was gathering people to attack the

(1) It is narrated that Salamah Ibnul-Akwa` was accompanied by Rabâh, the slave of the Prophet, and so he sent him to inform the Prophet. It is also narrated that this battle occurred after the treaty of *Al-Hudaybiyah*. Here, we have mentioned the narration of Abû Ga`far from Ibn Ishâq who stated that the battle of *Al-Ghâbah* or *Dhû Qarad* occurred after the battle of *Banû Lihyân*. See: "*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 128-129]. Sheikh Al-Khudârî stated that the one who informed the Prophet about the raid was Salamah himself. He was a racer, so the Prophet ordered him to set in pursuit of the enemy and slow their marching through shooting them with arrows until the Muslims caught up with them. See: "*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sirat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*" by Sheikh Muḥammad Al-Khudârî (P. 186).

(2) They were from *Khuzâ`ah*.

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Muslims. The Prophet quickly set out to take them by surprise, as it was his custom. The hypocrites, led by `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy set out with the Muslims in a great number the like of which had never set out with the Muslims before.

The Prophet met *Banû Al-Mustaliq* at one of their watering places called *Al-Muraysî`*, near *Qudayd*. He offered that they embrace Islam but they refused. The two sides began to shoot each other with arrows for an hour during which the Muslims managed to surround them tightly so that no one of them could escape. Ten of their men were killed and the rest were captured along with their women and children. Their cattle estimated as 2000 camels and their sheep estimated as 5000 were taken as booty. Among the women captured was Burrah Bint Al-*Hârith*, daughter of the chief of *Banû Al-Mustaliq*. The booty and the captives were distributed in accordance with the *Sharî`ah*.

Here, the good policy and generosity of the Prophet was shown. The members of *Banû Al-Mustaliq* were very honored and powerful among the Arabs, and thus it was very difficult for them that their women be captured. The Prophet then wanted to urge the Muslims to release the women by their own free will, so he married Burrah Bint Al-*Hârith* and gave her the name Juwayriyyah.⁽¹⁾ The news of the Prophet's marriage reached the Muslims, and so they said; "The relatives of the Prophet (by marriage) cannot be our captives." So, they released the captives in their possession who were a hundred families. This good treatment and generosity of the Muslims urged *Banû Al-Mustaliq* to embrace Islam after they were the enemies of the Muslims. Hence, Juwayriyyah was the greater woman who brought blessings to her people as `Âishah, the Mother of the Believers, said. The battle of *Banû Al-Mustaliq* occurred in the 6th year of Hegira according to the sounder of the two narrations concerning its date.⁽²⁾

(1) When the booty was distributed, Burrah fell to the share of Thâbit Ibn Qays or to the share of one of his cousins. So, she concluded a contract with him for her freedom. Then she came to the Prophet seeking his help regarding her contract. The Prophet said to her; "Would you like something better than that?" She said; "What is it, O Messenger of Allah?" He said; "I will pay your contract and marry you." She said; "Yes, O Messenger of Allah." Hence, the Prophet did so.

(2) Al-Wâqidî narrated that it occurred in Sha`ban of the 5th year of Hegira. See: "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 130-131]; and "Nabyy Al-Birr Muhammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sîrat Ibn Hishâm" (P. 197).

► **Trials of `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy**

The Muslims were enjoying a state of happiness and rejoice because of Allah's favor upon them. However, a bad incident occurred that was about to arouse conflict and discord among the Muslims were it not for the wisdom and firmness of the Prophet. Some of the people brought their cattle and horses down to drink from the watering place of *Al-Muraysi`*. A man from the *Muhâjirûn*, who was a hired man of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb, and a man from the *Anṣâr*, who was a hired man of `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy, crowded and thrust each other away from the watering place and then involved in a fight. The man from the *Anṣâr* shouted; "O People of the *Anṣâr*!" and the man from the *Muhâjirûn* shouted; "O People of the *Muhâjirûn*!" Hence, turmoil began to break out were it not for the Prophet who came out saying; "*What are these proclamations of Jâhiliyyah (the pre-Islamic period)?*" The people informed him about the incident, and so he said; "*Abandon this proclamation for it is something disgusting.*" Then, the Prophet spoke with the one wronged until he waived his right. But, `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy was outraged and wanted to make use of this opportunity to stir enmity between the *Muhâjirûn* and the *Anṣâr*. Therefore, he said, while having with him a group of *Al-Khazraj*; "I have never felt humiliation as I did today. Have they really done it?! They have outranked us in our homelands. By Allah, the old proverb saying 'Fatten your dog and it will eat you' applies to the *Muhâjirûn* and us. By Allah, when we return to Medina, the stronger will drive out the weaker from it." Then he turned to the people with him and said; "This is what you have done to yourselves! You allowed them to settle in your homelands and shared your wealth with them. Had you, by Allah, kept from them what you had, they would have moved to another land. Moreover, you have not been satisfied with your actions until you set yourselves as targets for death instead of Muḥammad. Thus, you orphaned your children, and your number decreased while theirs (i.e. the *Muhâjirûn*) increased. So, do not spend on them until they abandon him (Muḥammad)."

Zayd Ibn Arqam, a young boy but a true believer, was among the people. He raged at Ibn Ubayy saying; "You are the weak, the worthless and the despised one while Muḥammad is the strong by the help of the Merciful

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Allah.” Zayd then informed the Prophet about the statement of Ibn Ubayy while he (peace be upon him) was setting with some of his Companions including `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb. Anger appeared on the face of the Prophet, and `Umar suggested killing Ibn Ubayy. Again, the wisdom and insight of the Prophet as a great leader appeared. He turned to `Umar and said; *“O `Umar! How will it be if people start saying that Muhammad kills his Companions?”* However, he estimated that he should act strictly so that this matter might not be exaggerated. Thus, he gave orders to departure at a time of the day when the Prophet was not accustomed to begin a journey because of the hot weather. The aim of the Prophet was to distract the people from talking about the matter of Ibn Ubayy. Hearing that the Prophet was informed about his statement, Ibn Ubayy hastened to the Prophet to deny the news. He swore by Allah that he had never said such a statement; however, the decision of departure had not been affected, and the Muslims departed before sunset.

The Prophet kept prompting his camel to move faster. None of the Muslims rested his camel except for performing Prayer. So, they traveled all that day until evening, all that night until dawn, and the first part of the second day until the sun hurt them.

Then, the Prophet camped at a watering place called *Naq `â`*, located one day away from Medina, where the people fell asleep as soon as they lay down on the ground out of fatigue. However, their sleep did not last so long as they were summoned to march to Medina. As soon as the Prophet reached Medina, Surah *Al-Munâfiqûn* (the Hypocrites) was revealed. In this Surah, Allah, the Almighty, says:

{“They are the ones who say, ‘Do not spend on those who are with the Messenger of Allah until they disband.’ And to Allah belongs the depositories of the heavens and the earth, but the hypocrites do not understand. They say, ‘If we return to Medina, the more honored [for power] will surely expel therefrom the more humble.’ And to Allah belongs [all] honor, and to His Messenger, and to the believers, but the hypocrites do not know.”}

[Al-Munâfiqûn: 7-8]

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When the Prophet recited the Surah revealing the statement of Ibn Ubayy and affirming the truthfulness of Zayd before the Muslims, they expected that he would order the killing of Ibn Ubayy. The peoples' expectation reached his son, `Abdullâh Ibn `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy, who was a sincere Muslim. So, he went to the Prophet and said; "O Messenger of Allah! I have been informed that you want to kill `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy. If you are going to do so, command me to kill him, and I will bring you his head. By Allah, *Al-Khazraj* knows that there has never been among them a man who is more dutiful to his father than I. Yet, I am afraid that you may order someone else to kill him. Hence, my soul will not accept to see the killer of `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy walking alive among the people, so I will kill him. I, therefore, will kill a believer to avenge an unbeliever, and thereby I will enter the Hellfire." The Prophet then said; "*No, we will not kill him; rather, we will be gentle with him and associate with him friendly as long as he remains with us.*" The Prophet ordered `Abdullâh to treat his father kindly, and pardoned `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy.

This pardon of the Prophet resulted in the diminish of Ibn Ubayy's authority and respect among his own people, *Al-Khazraj*, who reproved him for his actions. Concerning this matter, the Prophet said to `Umar, who suggested that Ibn Ubayy be killed; "*What do you think (now) `Umar? By Allah, had I killed him the day you suggested his kill, prominent figures (of his tribe) would have been upset, (but) if I ordered them today to kill him, they would do so.*" `Umar said; "Now, by Allah, I know that the orders of the Messenger of Allah are more blessed than mine."

► **Story of *Al-Ifk* (Falsehood)**

Medina was full of tension and anger between the Muslims and the hypocrites. The people had just returned to Medina and tended to take some rest after a long and exhausting journey in *Banû Al-Mustaliq*. Meanwhile, the Mother of the Believers, `Â'ishah, arrived to Medina on a camel led by Safwân Ibnul-Mu`attal in broad daylight where all people could see them. But, the head of the hypocrites, `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy, found it a chance to satisfy his rancor towards the Prophet, and to distract the people from talking about his acts. So, he said to a group of people who were sitting

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with him; “Who is she? And who is he?” The people answered; “`Ā'ishah and Ṣafwān.” He then said; “The wife of your Prophet spent the night with a man until the morning! By Allah, she has not been safe from him nor has he been safe from her.” He then began to spread this falsehood in Medina until conflict was about to arise. We will not elaborate on this matter in a lengthy detail as the books of *Tafsīr* and *Hadīth* discussed it. However, we will tackle the story in brief to inform the reader about the plot.

It was the custom of the Prophet (peace be upon him) to draw lots among his wives whenever he wanted to go on a journey. Whoever among his wives was chosen by lot, he would take her with him. `Ā'ishah was chosen by lot in the battle of *Banū Al-Mustaliq*, so the Prophet took her with him. As we have mentioned earlier, the Muslims had a rapid and exhausting journey during their return from *Al-Muraysī`*. They camped in *Naq `ā`* for a short time and then departed in a hurry. Before departing, `Ā'ishah went out to relieve herself. When she had finished, she returned to the camp where she discovered that a necklace of her with onyx beads from *Zafār*⁽¹⁾ slipped from her neck without her noticing. Hence, she retraced her steps to the place where she had been to look for it and thus she was late. Meanwhile, the men who were responsible for saddling the camel for her came and lifted up her *Hawdaj* (a cabinet that is usually placed on the back of the camel to carry women), thinking that she was in it because `Ā'ishah was not heavy.

It was usual that once the men brought her *Hawdaj* in front of her door, she would sit in it; then the men would carry it with her inside and then tie it with ropes to the back of the camel. They would not doubt her presence inside the *Hawdaj* because she was not heavy, particularly that they were in a hurry.

`Ā'ishah returned after she had found her necklace, but she found that the people departed and there was no one in the camp. She was not afraid because she knew that the people would return to find her, once they discovered that she was missed. Hence, she preferred to remain in her place instead of going after them, lest she might get lost in the desert. So, she wrapped herself

(1) *Zafār*: A city in Yemen that was famous for its onyx.

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in her *Jilbâb* (i.e. garment) and lay down in her place waiting for them, trusting that Allah would protect her. Then, her eyes dropped and she fell asleep.

Safwân Ibnul-Mu`attâ As-Sulamî was the man responsible for following the army to find and restore any missing items. He passed by her place, and he recognized her, because he saw her before *Hijâb* (veil) was ordained. When he saw her, he uttered *Istirjâ`* saying; “*Innâ Lil-lâhi Wa Innâ Ilayhi Râji`ûn* (i.e. Verily, we belong to Allah, and to Him we shall return).” She was awakened by his *Istirjâ`* and she drew her veil over her face. Then, he brought the camel near her and let her mount without speaking to each other. Then he led the camel escorting her on foot until they entered Medina where people sighted this.

Entering Medina publicly and shortly after the arrival of the army, no one would accuse these two honorable persons or even suspect their demeanor. But the enmity of Ibn Ubayy aroused towards the Prophet aiming at offending him, defaming his wife, and separating him from his most beloved person. So, he, along with other hypocrites, falsely accused `Âishah and Safwân. Some of the Muslims including Mistâh Ibn Uthâthah, Hassân Ibn Thâbit, and Hamnah Bint Jahsh, the sister of Zaynab the Mother of the Believers, believed Ibn Ubayy and repeated his evil statements.

The news of the false accusation reached the Prophet but he never suspected his wife `Âishah, the daughter of Abû Bakr, or Safwân whom he was sure of his firm belief. However, he was disturbed by the rumors spread in Medina accusing the honor of his beloved wife. His distress became very clear and thus showed in his cold attitude towards `Âishah. That is, as soon as `Âishah arrived to Medina, she fell ill for a whole month. She missed the usual kindness of the Prophet towards her. Rather, when he passed by her door, he would only say; “How is she?” Hence, `Âishah got confused and became afraid that Juwayriyyh Bint Al-Hârith (the new wife) would replace her in the Prophet’s heart. She tried to guess the reason behind the Prophet’s coldness towards her but she could not, as she was not aware of the rumors spread in Medina.

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Troubled by this apparent uncaring toward her, `Ā'ishah asked the Prophet's permission to move to her mother's house so that she could take care of her. The Prophet gave her the permission, and so she moved while being confused for the Prophet's unusual attitude, the matter that added to her illness and pain. She remained sick for some twenty days during which she had no idea about the malicious rumors about her.

After she recovered from her illness, she went to relieve herself⁽¹⁾ with Umm Mīstah who told her about the rumors spreading in Medina.⁽²⁾ She was shocked and kept crying until she thought that the crying would destroy her liver. She returned to her mother and blamed her because she did not tell her about the rumors. Her mother tried to solace her and relieve her distress but `Ā'ishah kept weeping and became unable to sleep.

Meanwhile, the Prophet (peace be upon him) consulted the prominent figures amongst his household and Companions regarding what he should do. Usāmah Ibn Zayd spoke well about `Ā'ishah and praised her. `Alī Ibn Abū Tālib however said; "O Messenger of Allah! There are many (other) women (i.e. you can replace her)."⁽³⁾ He suggested that Burayrah, the bondmaid of `Ā'ishah, be questioned. Thus, the Prophet called Burayrah and asked; "*Did you see anything that arouses your suspicions (i.e. regarding `Ā'ishah)?*" She answered; "By Him Who have sent you with the truth, I know nothing about her but good. I found no fault with her but that sometimes she fell asleep while watching her dough, and so the pet sheep comes and eats it. By Allah! She is more precious than gold. If she had committed what people accused her of, then Allah would have informed you about it."

- (1) The Arab folk did not have in their houses these toilets that the non-Arabs have. They loathed and disliked such things finding them disgusting. See: "*Nabyy Al-Birr Muhammad: Al-Mukhtār Min Sīrat Ibn Hishām*" (P. 99); and "*Al-Kāmil Fī At-Tārīkh*" by Ibnul-Athīr [2: 133-134]
- (2) Another narration stated that a woman from the *Anṣār*, who went to visit her in her father's house, informed her about the rumors. Ibn Hajar combined the two narrations stating that she knew about the rumors from Umm Mīstah at first, and then the woman of the *Anṣār* informed her. Refer to: "*Fath Al-Bārī Bi-Sharḥ Sahīḥ Al-Bukhārī*" by Ibn Hajar Al-`Asqalānī [8: 319]
- (3) `Alī did not mean to hurt `Ā'ishah or arouse suspicions around her. Rather, he aimed at removing the worry and distress of the Prophet. `Alī thought that the Prophet's distress would be removed if he separated with `Ā'ishah until he becomes very sure of her innocence.

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‘Umar Ibnul-Khattáb, who was known for his strong argument and conformity with Divine Decisions, said; “O Messenger of Allah! Who married her to you?” the Prophet answered; “My Lord.” Hence, ‘Umar said; “Do you think that Allah has hidden her reality from you?! Glory be to Allah! This is a great falsehood.”

After consulting his family and his Companions, the Prophet became more certain about the innocence and chastity of his wife. So, he ascended the pulpit and addressed the people saying; “O People! *Why are some people hurting me regarding my family⁽¹⁾ and saying falsehood about them? By Allah, I know only good about them. People has mentioned (concerning the same matter) a man about whom I know only good and who has never entered any of my apartments except in my company.*” Hence, Usayd Ibn Hudayr, a man from Al-Aws, stood saying; “O Allah’s Messenger! If they belong to Al-Aws, we will deal with them for you, and if they belong to our brothers, Al-Khazraj, command us for, by Allah, they deserve to have their heads cut off.” Upon this, Sa’d Ibn ‘Ubâdah maintained that Usayd has said these words only because he has already known that they belong to Al-Khazraj; and that had they been from Al-Aws, Usayd would not have said it. The people entered into a state of dispute, and fighting was about to take place, were it not for the Prophet’s wisdom. Then. The Prophet went to the house of Abû Bakr, where he found ‘Â’ishah with her parents. He greeted them and sat down and then said; “O ‘Â’ishah! *You have been informed about what people have been saying. If you have committed an evil deed, repent to Allah, for Allah accepts repentance from his servants, and if you are innocent, then Allah will reveal your innocence.*” Upon this, ‘Â’ishah stopped weeping and said to her parents; “Respond to Allah’s Messenger (on my behalf).” But her parents did not speak. She shouted angrily at them saying; “Will you not reply to Allah’s Messenger?” They said; “By Allah, we do not know what to reply.” When she saw that they were unable to reply on her behalf, she wept bitterly, and turned towards the Prophet saying; “By Allah, I will never repent to Allah of that which you have mentioned. By Allah, if I admit what people are saying, while Allah knows that I am innocent of it,

(1) In another narration, the Prophet said; “*Who will forgive me (if I take actions) against a man whom I have been informed that he is hurting me regarding my family*”.

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I would be affirming what had not happened; and if I deny (what you are saying), you will not believe me.” Then, she stopped talking for a while, and resumed saying; “But I speak the same as did the father of Yûsuf (i.e. Jacob), **‘Patience is most fitting. And Allah is the one sought for help against that which you describe.’**”⁽¹⁾ Then, she lay down on her bed. Before the Prophet leaves the place where he was sitting, Allah revealed Surah *An-Nûr* (The Light) confirming the innocence of our Purified Mother, `Âishah. In this regard, Allah, the Almighty, says:

{“Indeed, those who came with falsehood are a group among you. Do not think it bad for you; rather, it is good for you. For every person among them is what [punishment] he has earned from the sin, and he who took upon himself the greater portion thereof – for him is a great punishment [i.e. Hellfire]. Why, when you heard it, did not the believing men and believing women think good of themselves [i.e. one another] and say, ‘This is an obvious falsehood’? Why did they [who slandered] not produce for it four witnesses? And when they do not produce the witnesses, then it is they, in the sight of Allah, who are the liars. And if it had not been for the favor of Allah upon you and His mercy in this world and the Hereafter, you would have been touched for that [lie] in which you were involved by a great punishment. When you received it with your tongues and said with your mouths that of which you had no knowledge and thought it was insignificant while it was, in the sight of Allah, tremendous. And why, when you heard it, did you not say, ‘It is not for us to speak of this. Exalted are You, [O Allah]; this is a great slander’? Allah warns you against returning to the likes of this [conduct], ever, if you should be believers. And Allah makes clear to you the verses [i.e. His rulings], and Allah is Knowing and Wise. Indeed, those who like that immorality should be spread [or publicized] among those who have believed will have a painful punishment in this world and the Hereafter. And Allah knows and you do not know. And if it had not been for the favor of Allah upon you and His mercy and because

(1) Surah [Yûsuf: 18].

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Allah is Kind and Merciful. O you who have believed, do not follow the footsteps of Satan. And whoever follows the footsteps of Satan – indeed, he enjoins immorality and wrongdoing. And if not for the favor of Allah upon you and His mercy, not one of you would have been pure, ever, but Allah purifies whom He wills, and Allah is Hearing and Knowing.”}

[An-Nûr: 11-21]

The Prophet became very delighted and he informed `Â'ishah of the glad news concerning her innocence. Then, he went out to the people and recited to them the Verses that Allah revealed, including the punishment of those who slander the innocent and chaste women. The punishment is expressed in Allah's saying:

{“And those who accuse chaste women and then do not produce four witnesses – lash them with eighty lashes and do not accept from them testimony ever after. And those are the defiantly disobedient.”}

[An-Nûr: 4]

Putting Allah's judgement revealed in the Qur'ân into effect, the Prophet (peace be upon him) ordered that those who publicly spoke the falsehood be lashed eighty lashes. They were Mistah Ibn Uthâthah, Hassân Ibn Thâbit, and Hamnah Bint Jahsh.⁽¹⁾ Abû Bakr had been supporting Mistah because of his close kinship with him,⁽²⁾ so when he spoke falsehood against `Â'ishah, Abû Bakr suspended his support. Then Allah revealed His saying:

{“And let not those of virtue among you and wealth swear not to give [aid] to their relatives and the needy and the emigrants for the cause of Allah, and let them pardon and overlook. Would you not like that Allah should forgive you? And Allah is Forgiving and Merciful.”}

[An-Nûr: 22]

(1) As for `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy, it is said that he was punished. Other narrations however stated that he had not been punished because punishments are atonements aimed at relieving and forgiving the sinners. Yet, a hypocrite such as Ibn Ubayy does not deserve such a favor. Also, some scholars maintain that he was not punished as a means of reconciliation with his people to avoid dissension. See: “*Al-Alâsi*” (pp. 18-118).

(2) His mother was Abû Bakr's maternal cousin.

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Abû Bakr therefore said; “Yes, I would like this, O Allah’s Messenger.” He then resumed supporting Mistah.

Meanwhile, Safwân Ibnul-Mu`attal was walking in Medina gratified that he is innocent. He went to Hassân Ibn Thâbit and struck him with a sword on his head, because he composed poetry with insinuations against him, and some people of *Al-Khazraj* caught him. The Prophet was informed about this, so, he called Hassân and Safwân. Safwân said; “O Allah’s Messenger! He insulted and satirized me, so that I struck him.” The Prophet said to Hassân; “Treat well, O Hassân”, he said; “I will do so, O Allah’s Messenger.” After that, Hassân managed to regain the Prophet’s pleasure with him. He apologized for his involvement in the falsehood against `Âishah, and even praised her.⁽¹⁾ Hence, the rumors of *Al-Ifk* (falsehood) had been brought to an end. `Âishah had completely recovered from her illness, and returned to her apartment. She maintained her position in the Prophet’s heart, and restored her esteem and great status among the Prophet’s Companions and the entire Muslim Community. Accordingly, the Prophet dedicated himself to *Da`wah*, preparing for *Al-Hudaybiyah*, the event through which Allah granted the Muslims a great favor and Conquest.⁽²⁾

Lessons derived from this story

After highlighting this story related directly to Prophet’s personal life, and proving that his life was affected by the matters affecting all other human beings to be an example for humanity, we have to derive lessons from this story, commenting on some situations that will benefit anyone whom they may concern:

1. Why did not `Âishah, the Mother of the Believers, tell the Prophet or any other person about the missed necklace? This may be because she was

(1) It is narrated that `Âishah said; “I have never heard a poetry which is better than that of Hassân.” The blindness that afflicted him might be the cause behind sympathy and forgiveness towards him.

(2) For more information about the story of *Al-Ifk* (Falsehood), please, refer to: *Nabyy Al-Birr Muhammad: Al-Mukhtâr Min Sîrat Ibn Hishâm* (pp. 98-100); and “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 133-135]; “*Fath Al-Bârî Bi-Sharh Sahîh Al-Bukhârî*” by Ibn Hajar Al-`Asqalânî [8: 329-350]; *Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*” by sheikh Muhammad Al-Khudarî (pp. 163-168); “*Hayât Muhammad*” by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (pp. 345-351).

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young, and could not realize the consequences that might have occurred. This is why she learnt the lesson of this experience, and informed the Prophet when she lost her necklace again instead of looking for it. Hence, the Prophet and the people with him looked for it until they found it. They had no water to perform *Wudu'* (ablution) for *Salâh*, so Allah, the Almighty, revealed the Verse concerning *Tayammum* (dry ablution).

2. The stance of Abû Bakr and his wife Umm Rumân: They had no acquaintance with the unseen, and their trust in their daughter, however great it was, was not sufficient to deem her innocent, particularly that they felt the coldness of the Prophet towards her. So, Abû Bakr could do nothing but to seek refuge with Allah, and keep on reciting the Qur'ân. Meanwhile, his wife could only nurse her daughter without letting her know anything about the rumors. They were confident of her innocence, so that they were not distressed because of suspecting their daughter but because of the hurt they suffered due to the falsehood. Feeling great distress, Abû Bakr said; "By Allah, we had not been accused of this during *Jâhiliyyah* (the pre-Islamic period), how could we be accused of it after Allah honored us with Islam?" Yet, we do not know any family that ever suffered so much as did the family of Abû Bakr during those days.
3. Why did the Prophet consult his Companions and family members about `Âishah, investigating the incident, and questioning some people regarding it, while he trusts Allah, and recognizes his own status regarding the matters that should befit his esteem? Why did not he say "Glory be to Allah! This is a great falsehood." As did `Umar? Why was the revelation delayed for a whole month? The answer is that: These matters were the results of Allah's wisdom behind this story. This story was a test for the Prophet and the Muslims. Allah wanted to raise the ranks of some people and decrease those of others, revealing the reality of each group. The test necessitated that the revelation be delayed for a whole month so that the true believers become more certain and firm about the truth, and the hypocrites become more hypocritical and thus their malicious purposes and intentions be exposed to the Muslims. Also, such a delay was necessary for arousing the people's curiosity regarding Allah's revelation concerning this issue.

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4. Why was the journey of `Ā'ishah a reason for slandering her, while other women of the Prophet's family, who set out in long journeys, were not slandered? For example, Zaynab, the Prophet's daughter, set out from Mecca in the company of her brother-in-law. Why did not Abū Sufyān and his men who pursued them slandered her? The answer is that: Abū Sufyān was the leader of the direct and clear enemies of Islam, so he was in no need to use such a despicable and malicious approach, unlike Ibn Ubayy, who was the head of hypocrites who cannot act but cowardly, maliciously, and secretly.

Therefore, we think that if Hafṣah Bint `Umar was in place of `Ā'ishah, Ibn Ubayy would not have dared to speak such an evil falsehood against her out of fearing `Umar. Also, Umm Salamah emigrated from Mecca to Medina, spending days and nights in the company of `Uthmān Ibn Abū Talhah, who was still a disbeliever, along with her own child Salamah. But, the difference is that she was not yet a wife of the Prophet, and so she was not a good target for slander from which Ibn Ubayy could benefit to hurt the Prophet. Actually, the slander of `Ā'ishah was, in the first place, aimed at the Prophet to whom she was the most beloved wife and her father was the closest of the Prophet's Companions and the holder of the *Muhājirūn* banner during the battle of *Banū Al-Mustaliq*.

5. The stance of Zaynab Bint Jahsh, the Mother of the Believers, in particular, and the stance of all Mothers of the Believers in general: The historians paid much attention to the stance of Zaynab because she was a competitor for `Ā'ishah regarding her beauty and Prophet's love. Her stance was noble and great as she said; "I shall protect my hearing against claiming hearing what I have not heard, and my sight against claiming seeing what it has not seen. I know nothing about `Ā'ishah but all good." She was unhappy with the stance of her sister, Hamnah. As for the other Mothers of the Believers, none of them had a particular stance to be mentioned here.
6. In his book "*The Life of Muhammad*",⁽¹⁾ Aloys Sprenger said; "Since `Ā'ishah was a wife of an old man who found herself a lone, the accusation might be true". Some orientalist said; "Muhammad claimed the revelation of

(1) "*The Life of Muhammad*" by Aloys Sprenger [3: 72].

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those Verses to protect the reputation and honor of his wife, and to convict the slanderer through punishing them!”

Glory be to Allah! This is a great falsehood. We have refuted this claim before, and the Qur’ân as well as reality silenced the tongues of the hypocrites. However, we will answer them saying;

1. What do you think about the fact that Ṣafwân Ibnul-Mu`attal was an impotent man who could not have intercourse with women?!⁽¹⁾
2. If we overlooked such a fact, and presumed that the impossible had occurred, then when exactly did the relation between Ṣafwân and `Âishah commenced? If this falsely claimed relation commenced in this night exactly, how could Ṣafwân initiate such a relation with the Mother of the Believers while being the one who had no courage to call her in the *Hawdaj*. Rather, how could he even dare to initiate any relation with her, while having no doubt regarding her strong belief in her husband, or having no idea about her intentions. Even if he dared, how can any sound mind believe that the wife of the Prophet and the daughter of Abû Bakr could be an easy catch for any man trying to seduce her? If she was an easy woman of such manners, she would be disclosed to the people and thus there would be no need to slander her falsely. Actually, Ṣafwân, the man known for his morals, would be the target of accusations in such a case. Moreover, had such a claimed relation occurred before that day, it would not be hidden from her fellow wives, her enviers, and even from the hypocrites.
3. We ask those orientalist: Was `Âishah sure that no one would notice that she was missed and thus return to find her where her secret would be discovered and the scandal would be brought to light?
4. We will not elaborate on the Prophet’s testimony regarding Ṣafwân, or Ṣafwân’s arrival with `Âishah to Medina in broad daylight where all people could see them, or even Ṣafwân’s job which was to keep behind the army looking for lost items, as we have mentioned all these things before.
5. William Muir, the Scottish Orientalist, said; “The biography of `Âishah before and after this incident obligates us to believe in her innocence and chastity.”

(1) See: “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 135].

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6. Here, we ask those orientalist saying; “If Muḥammad claimed the revelation of those Verses to protect the reputation and honor of his wife, why did he wait for a whole month suffering the pain of this slander? Why did not he put an end to the slander from its first day through asking the slanderer to prove their claims or otherwise be lashed eighty.
7. There are many lessons that can be derived from the story of *Al-Ifk*:
 - a) Avoiding the causes of arousing suspicions.
 - b) Assuming responsibility and resorting to “*Akhaffud-Dararayn*” (the lesser of the two harms).
 - c) Paying caution and vigilance regarding matters entrusted to individuals. That is, had the men who were responsible for the *Hawdaj* of `Ā'ishah paid much attention and made sure that she was inside the *Hawdaj* through greeting her saying; “*As-Salāmu `Alaykom*” (i.e. peace be with you), the whole matter would have been different.
 - d) Thinking good about Muslim individuals, not to mention the Mothers of the Believers.
 - e) Being cautious concerning the matters and the news we hear about, and avoiding conveying and spreading such news everywhere without investigating their truthfulness.
 - f) Adopting wisdom and kindness when dealing with trials and dissensions.
 - g) Calling for pardon and forgiveness when being able to take revenge, in order to seek Allah’s pardon and forgiveness. The strong and complete faith urges for a higher status which is benevolence and good treatment towards those who mistreated you.
8. Being careful about the hypocrites: The story of *Al-Ifk* (falsehood) acquaints us with the harms and evils of the hypocrites who live with people showing love and kindness, while hiding hatred and enmity. They wait for an opportunity to stir up trials and dissensions. They are the worst kind of enemies; may Allah protect us against the evils of hypocrisy and hypocrites.



Al-Hudaybiyah

The event occurred at *Al-Hudaybiyah* during Dhul-Qa`dah, 6th year of Hegira (corresponding to March, 628 A.D.) is called the treaty of *Al-Hudaybiyah*, the `Umrah (Lesser Pilgrimage) of *Al-Hudaybiyah*, and the battle of *Al-Hudaybiyah*. After the great victories of the Prophet against the disbelievers and the Jews, it was normal that the next target for the Prophet would be Mecca, his own country that he was forced to leave, and the land of the Sacred House. *Quraysh* was expecting such a step and thus began to prepare for it. It was very hard on *Quraysh* that their homeland, Mecca, be conquered by the Prophet's army that resisted and defeated them every time they tried to attack Medina.

In Dhul-Qa`dah, 6 A.H., the Prophet (peace be upon him) decided to visit Mecca with his Companions in order to perform *Hajj* (Pilgrimage) which they were prevented from performing after Hegira. Knowing that the Muslims were suffering deprivation of performing *Hajj*, which was imposed on them as it was imposed on their forefathers, and that the *Muhâjirûn* were suffering the pains of banishment from their homeland and deprivation of their own people and friends,⁽¹⁾ the Prophet set out from Medina with 1500 of the *Muhâjirûn*, the *Ansâr*, and non-Muslim Bedouins⁽²⁾ to perform *Hajj*. They were full of faith and confidence that they would gain victory, recalling the lessons extracted from the battles of *Badr*, *Uhud*, and *Al-Ahzâb*. The Qur`ân was revealed expressing anger against *Quraysh* and informing the Prophet, and the Muslims with the near great victory of Allah.⁽³⁾ In this regard, Allah, the Almighty, says:

{“They ask you about the Sacred Month - about fighting therein. Say, ‘Fighting therein is great [sin], but averting [people] from the way of Allah and disbelief in Him and [preventing access to] Al-Masjid Al-Harâm (the Sacred Mosque) and the expulsion of its people therefrom are greater [evil] in the sight of Allah...’”}

[Al-Baqarah: 217]

(1) “*Hayât Muhammad*” by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (P. 353).

(2) “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 135].

(3) “*Hayât Muhammad*” by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (P. 354).

Also, Allah, Exalted be He, says:

{“But why should Allah not punish them while they obstruct [people] from Al-Masjid Al-Harâm (the Sacred Mosque) and they were not [fit to be] its guardians? Its [true] guardians are not but the righteous, but most of them do not know. And their prayer at the House [i.e. the Ka`bah] was not except whistling and handclapping. So, taste the punishment for what you disbelieved [i.e. practiced of deviations]. Indeed, those who disbelieve spend their wealth to avert [people] from the way of Allah. So, they will spend it; then it will be for them a [source of] regret; then they will be overcome. And those who have disbelieved - unto Hell they will be gathered.”}

[Al-Anfâl: 34-36]

After suffering successive defeats in their battles with the Muslims, *Quraysh* had to face their greatest obsession represented in conquering Mecca by the Muslims. They were aware of the fact that once the Muslims arrive to Mecca, the people there will support them against the tyrants of *Quraysh* who wronged and oppressed them, forcing them to leave their homeland.

► **Setting out to Mecca**

The sign to begin the journey was a true vision seen by the Prophet who told it to his Companions the vision was that they will enter *Al-Masjid Al-Harâm* (the Sacred Mosque), if Allah wills, in safety, with their heads shaved and hair shortened, not fearing anyone. Accordingly, the Prophet proclaimed *Hajj* among the people, and asked the non-Muslim Arab tribes to set out with him to be witnesses that *Quraysh* would prevent the Muslims and the non-Muslims from performing *Hajj*. The aim of the Prophet was that the Arabs would never ally again with *Quraysh* against the Muslims after they witnessed this unprecedented situation. The Prophet, hence, rode his she-camel *Al-Qaswâ'* and set out along with his Companions. They all entered into the state of *Ihrâm* (Ritual Consecration) and drove seventy camels with them as their *Hadyy* (sacrificial animals) to announce to the people that they intend no fight and that they come only to visit and venerate the House (*Ka`bah*). Upon reaching *Dhul-Hulayfah*, the *Miqât* (stated place for assuming *Ihrâm*) for the people of Medina, located 6 miles from Medina on the way to Mecca,

they began to utter *Talbiyah*⁽¹⁾ loudly to announce their 'Umrah for which they entered into the state of *Ihrâm*.

Quraysh believed that the act of Muhammad is a trick aimed at attacking Mecca as they had tried to attack Medina. Meanwhile, the Prophet continued his march to Mecca carrying no weapons or any other war equipment. However, the pagans of Mecca had already decided to block all the routes leading to Mecca in the face of the Prophet, the Companions, and the Arabs with him, regardless of the price. Thus, the Prophet was obliged to take a different, rough, and rugged route among canyons, and thus they were exhausted until they reached *Al-Hudaybiyah* leading to *Al-Masjid Al-Harâm*, and located 8 miles to Mecca. The Prophet camped at *Al-Hudaybiyah*, while *Quraysh* situated its forces in all the routes leading to Mecca to prevent the Prophet and his Companions from entering Mecca at any cost.

► Delegations Between the Two Sides

Delegations of *Quraysh* to the Prophet

In order to recognize the strength of the Muslims, and dissuade them from entering Mecca by all possible means, *Quraysh* sent Budayl Ibn Warqâ' with a delegation from *Khuzâ'ah* to the Prophet. Their talks with him convinced them of his right to visit and venerate the House. They returned to *Quraysh* to convince them of the fact they realized, but *Quraysh* refused to accept the view of their own delegate. Then, *Quraysh* sent another delegate named Al-Hulays, the leader of *Al-Ahâbîsh*.⁽²⁾ When he saw the seventy camels of *Hadyy* (sacrificial animal) streaming from the valley, and the men tired from the long journey, he was moved by this view and became convinced that *Quraysh* was committing an act of injustice through preventing the people whose only aim was to visit and venerate the House from performing their rituals.

(1) *Talbiyah* is a Muslim prayer invoked by the pilgrims as a conviction that they intend to perform *Hajj* or 'Umrah only for the sake of Allah. In *Talbiyah*, the Muslims say; "Labbayka Allâhumma Labayk (Here I am O Allah [in response to Your call], here I am). Labbayka Lâ Sharîka Laka Labbayk (Here I am, You have no partner, here I am). Innal-Hamda Wan-Ni'mata Laka Wal-Mulk (Indeed, all praise, grace and sovereignty belong to You). Lâ Sharîka Lak (You have no partner)".

(2) A group of Arabian strong bowmen. They were named *Al-Ahâbîsh* because of their dark complexion or because they were living in Mount *Hushî*, located to the south of Mecca.

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Insisting on their stubborn and unfair position, *Quraysh* sent another man called `Urwah Ibn Mas`ud Ath-Thaqafi who returned to them after the Prophet informed him that he came in peace to visit and venerate the House in fulfilment of Divine Obligation. He saw how the Prophet's Companions held him in high status and esteem, and thus he said to *Quraysh*; "O people of *Quraysh*! I have visited Kistrâ (Khosrow), Caesar, and the Negus. But, by God, I have never seen a king whose companions respect him as Muhammad's Companions respect him. If he performs ablution, they compete with each other for the water he used. If a single hair falls off his body, they carefully take it up. They will never allow any hand to fall on him."⁽¹⁾

Quraysh paid no attention to the words of `Urwah as they did with the delegates they sent before him. The people, then, entered into a state of silence during which information about the situation inside Mecca was missed.

Delegations of the Prophet to *Quraysh*

The Prophet assumed that the delegates of *Quraysh* could not persuade them of honest and peaceful aim of the Muslims represented in the fact that the Muslims came in peace to visit and venerate the House. Thus, he (peace be upon him) decided to delegate Khirâsh Ibn Umayyah of *Khuzâ`ah* to them to reveal the Prophet's true and peaceful intention. *Quraysh*, however, slew the camel the delegate was riding and intended to kill the delegate himself but *Al-Ahâbîsh* protected him. Insisting on revealing his true intention to *Quraysh*, the Prophet delegated `Uthmân Ibn `Affân, his son-in-law, to them. However, *Quraysh* captured and imprisoned him, until the rumors reached the Muslims that he was killed. Upon this, new spirits filled the Muslims, as they wanted to sacrifice themselves for the glory of Islam showing great eagerness and consolidation despite their few numbers and weapons.

► The Pledge of *Ar-Ridwân*

In response to the news of killing `Uthmân, the Prophet declared that he had decided to fight *Quraysh*. Thus, he called his Companions while he was under a tree there in *Al-Hudaybiyah* where they gave him their pledge to

(1) "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 137]; and "Hayât Muhammad" by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (P. 359)

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fight to the death, with a firm belief, strong determination, and eagerness to take revenge for the murder of `Uthmân. This pledge is known as the Pledge of *Ar-Ridwân* (good pleasure) because Allah, the Almighty, declared that He is pleased with the believers who gave their pledge to the Prophet in His saying:

{“Certainly, was Allah pleased with the believers when they pledged allegiance to you, [O Muhammad], under the tree, and He knew what was in their hearts, so He sent down tranquility upon them and rewarded them with an imminent conquest”}

[Al-Fath: 18]

The Prophet wanted to grant `Uthmân the honor of participating in this pledge while he was absent with his destiny unknown, so he (peace be upon him) put one of his two hands on the other giving the same pledge on behalf of `Uthmân who was regarded as if he were present.

In fact, the Pledge of *Ar-Ridwân* revealed bright and outstanding stances emanating from the true belief of the Muslims. Also, it showed their faithful eagerness to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their religion. The Prophet held this Pledge in the same status as the Second Pledge of *Al-`Aqabah* regarding its effects and the Muslims' spirits and faithfulness during it.

While the Prophet and his Companions were preparing themselves to fight *Quraysh* in revenge for the murder of `Uthmân, `Uthmân returned to them and informed them about the stance of *Quraysh* on their entry to Mecca, and about their previous decisions regarding preventing the Muslims from entering Mecca and their embarrassment after discovering the true intention of the Prophet and his honest and sincere aim to visit and venerate the House (*Ka`bah*).

The saving delegate

Quraysh sent Suhayl Ibn `Amr to negotiate with the Prophet to reach a solution for the current predicament, on the condition that Muhammad should return without entering Mecca this year, but he should have the right to enter it the year after.

Conditions of reconciliation

Suhayl Ibn `Amr, the delegate of *Quraysh*, agreed with the Prophet upon the following conditions:

1. A truce of ten (or two) years shall be held between the two parties.
2. Anyone from *Quraysh* who goes over to Muḥammad without his guardian's permission shall be sent back to *Quraysh*.
3. Anyone of Muḥammad's followers who returns to *Quraysh* shall not be sent back to Muḥammad.
4. Whosoever among the Arabs wishes to enter into a treaty with Muḥammad shall be allowed to do so.
5. Whosoever among the Arabs wishes to enter into a treaty with *Quraysh* shall be allowed to do so.
6. Muḥammad and his Companions shall return to Medina this time and come back next year, but they shall remain in Mecca for three days only. They shall not have any weapons but their swords sheathed in scabbards.

The formula of the reconciliation agitates the Muslims

After the conditions of the agreement had been negotiated, the Prophet called `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib to write down the final formula of the reconciliation. The Prophet said; *“Write, In the name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful.”* Suhayl said; *“Stop! I do not know ‘the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful’.* Rather, Write, *‘In Your name, O Allah.’*” The Prophet said to `Alî; *“Write ‘In Your name, O Allah.’”* The Prophet then proceeded saying; *“Write, ‘These are the (conditions of) reconciliation which Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah, agreed upon with Suhayl Ibn `Amr’.”* Suhayl, then, interrupted saying; *“Stop! If we know that you are the Messenger of Allah, we would not fight you. But, write your name and the name of your father.”* Hence, the Prophet said to `Alî; *“Erase ‘the Messenger of Allah’ and write ‘These are the (conditions of) reconciliation which Muḥammad Ibn `Abdullâh agreed upon with Suhayl Ibn `Amr’.”*

The objections of Suhayl Ibn `Amr to the statements of the Prophet and his denial of the facts established in the hearts and minds of the Prophet's

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Companions and followers agitated the Muslims, and thus they announced their demurrals at this agreement. They began to speak with each other expressing their annoyance and irritation against what they considered an offence against the Prophet and the Muslims. In this regard, `Umar said to Abû Bakr; "O Abû Bakr! Is not he the Messenger of Allah?" Abû Bakr replied; "Yes." `Umar asked; "Are not we Muslims?" Abû Bakr replied; "Yes." Hence, `Umar said; "Then, why should we grant acceptance of what is detrimental to our religion?" Abû Bakr said; "O `Umar! Stick to your saddle (i.e. stick to whatever the Prophet says), for I bear witness that he is the Messenger of Allah." `Umar, then, said; "I, too, bear witness that he is the Messenger of Allah." `Umar then directed the same questions to the Prophet who did not get angry or disturbed. The Prophet concluded his dialogue with `Umar saying; *"I am Allah's servant and Messenger. He will never let me down."*⁽¹⁾

Allah's care vs. that of human beings

Depending upon their own discretion and understanding, the Muslims found the conditions of the reconciliation to be very prejudicial and unfair. Such a prejudice was very clear in the condition stipulating that anyone from *Quraysh* who goes over to Muḥammad without his guardian's permission shall be sent back to *Quraysh*, while anyone of Muḥammad's followers who returns to *Quraysh* shall not be sent back to Muḥammad.

The enforcement of the reconciliation was very painful and disappointing for the Muslims. While the agreement was concluded, Abû Jandal, the son of Suhayl Ibn `Amr, came to the Prophet, dragging fetters, and declared Islam in the presence of his father. Seeing his own son becoming a Muslim, Suhayl grabbed him to return him forcibly to *Quraysh*. Abû Jandal began screaming at the top of his voice; "O Muslims! Shall I be returned to the polytheists so that they may persecute me for my religion?" Hence, the Prophet looked at the helpless Muslim saying; *"Count on a reward, O Abû Jandal, for Allah will give you, and those who are with you of the oppressed, a relief and a way out. We have given the people (i.e. Quraysh) our covenants to this (i.e. the reconciliation), and we shall never act treacherously towards them."*⁽²⁾

(1) "*Ḥayât Muḥammad*" by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (P. 363).

(2) "*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târîkh*" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 139].

Islam's benefits of *Al-Hudaybiyah* reconciliation (agreement)

The profound wisdom and political insight behind *Al-Hudaybiyah* Reconciliation have been proven throughout the Islamic history, as it dramatically affected the future of Islam and Arabia as a whole due to the following reasons:

1. It was *Quraysh*'s first clear recognition of the legitimate existence of Muhammad and the Muslims, who were no longer considered as rebels, on the scene of the political life in Arabia. This implied the recognition of the Muslim State represented by the Prophet (peace be upon him).
2. *Quraysh* recognized Islam as a new and accepted religion in the Arabian Peninsula.
3. The truce held between the two parties as a condition of the reconciliation allowed the Muslims to feel safe from *Quraysh* without fearing any raids or invasions from them.
4. The reconciliation also contributed to the spread of Islam, as many of the Arabs embraced it after being certain of the fact that Muhammad was a caller for peace, but not for war as *Quraysh* falsely propagated.
5. The conditions at which the Prophet's Companions expressed their demurrals, such as the conditions stating that anyone from *Quraysh* who goes over to Muhammad without his guardian's permission shall be sent back to *Quraysh*, while anyone of Muhammad's followers who returns to *Quraysh* shall not be sent back to Muhammad, revealed the Prophet's wisdom and farsightedness, as those who apostatized from Islam and sought refuge in *Quraysh* were not really worthy of readmission to the Muslim Community. But those who embraced Islam and wished eagerly to join the Muslim Community but were unable to do so, then Allah would give them a relief and a way out.⁽¹⁾
6. The reconciliation allowed the Prophet to expand the scope of *Da'wah* through addressing the kings of nearby empires calling them to Islam.
7. *Quraysh* finally relinquished the condition stating that anyone from *Quraysh* who goes over to Muhammad without his guardian's permission shall be sent back to *Quraysh*. That is, after *Abû Başîr*, a man from *Quraysh*,

(1) "*Hayât Muhammad*" by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (P. 365).

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had embraced Islam, he fled to *Al-'Is*, a place located on the coast of the Red Sea, on the trade route that *Quraysh* used to take to Syria. Seventy of the Muslims who were prevented by *Quraysh* to join the Prophet in Medina followed him there, where they began to intercept the caravans of *Quraysh* plundering them and killing their men. Thus, *Quraysh* sent to the Prophet imploring him for the sake of the ties of kinship to give refuge to those men so that the trade route would remain safe and opened. By such a request, *Quraysh* relinquished the condition that agitated and disappointed the Prophet's Companions who considered it detrimental to their religion. Due to the great benefits and advantages gained from the reconciliation of *Al-Hudaybiyah*, Allah, Exalted be He, described it as being a "clear conquest". Surah Al-Fath (the Conquest) was revealed while the Prophet was on the way back to Medina after concluding this agreement.



Major Events After *Al-Hudaybiyah*

The Prophet (peace be upon him) was following a Divine Strategy whose results dazzled the minds and urged his Companions to follow him and firmly believe in his Message.

► *Ghadîr Khumm*

On his way back to Medina from *Al-Hudaybiyah*, and while being at *Al-Juhfah*, in a place called *Ghadîr Khumm*, the prophet took a rest for a while and then looked to his Companions saying; “*Whoever I am his master, then ‘Alî is his master (too)*”. This was in Dhul-Hajjah 18, 6th year of Hegira. This is the hadith which the Shiites used to arouse a fierce dispute with the Sunnites.

► *The Battle of Khaybar*

After the Islamic Call became known in the Arabian Peninsula, where its roots had been firmly established, due to the strong belief and great victories of the Muslims, the Prophet began to think about propagating the Islamic Call in the outside world so that it would reach all the people of the world. By doing so, the Prophet was conveying a message to his Companions that this religion shall prevail and cross all political borders to reach all human beings combining them together under its banner, and uniting them through the ties of love, peace, and brotherhood.

The Prophet decided to address the kings of the nearby empires to acquaint them with the new religion. However, such a step necessitated that the northern borders of Medina be secure from the Jews of *Khaybar* whom the Prophet feared to ally with Kusrâ against the Muslims. Hence, it was necessary to completely undermine the power and strength of the Jews forever.

Eliminating the danger of the Jews

The Prophet (peace be upon him) was completely aware of the danger of the Jews in the north, and he was planning to eliminate this danger. After concluding the reconciliation with *Quraysh* at *Al-Hudaybiyah*, securing the southern borders of Medina from the raids of *Quraysh* and its allies,

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the Prophet began to prepare for securing the northern borders of Medina from the Jews of *Khaybar*, *Fadak*, *Taymâ'*, and *Wadî Al-Qurâ*. One month and few days after his return from *Al-Hudaybiyah*, the Prophet commanded his Companions, in Muharram, 7th year of Hegira, to set out for *Khaybar*. 1400 Muslims including 200 cavalries marched with the Prophet. The army moved to *Khaybar* hoping to eliminate the Jewish influence in the Arabian Peninsula, and eager to fight in the cause of Allah. The Prophet ordered 'Âmir Ibnul-Akwa' to lead the camels chanting poetry to stir the men's enthusiasm and refresh the camels. So, 'Âmir Ibnul-Akwa' dismounted to chant for the camels saying:

*"O Allah! Without You we would not have been rightly guided,
Nor would we have given alms nor prayed.
We beseech you to send down Your serenity upon us,
And make our feet secure when we meet (our enemies),
If they cry out against us (to subvert us), we will refuse,
Already have they loudly sought others' help against us."*⁽¹⁾

When the Muslims became near the strong forts of *Khaybar*, the Prophet commanded his Companions to stop, and then he raised his hands to the sky invoking Allah saying; *"O Allah! Lord of the heavens and what they shade, Lord of the earths and what they produce, Lord of the devils and whom they lead astray, and lord of the winds and what they scatter, we implore of You the good of this village, and the good of its people, and the good of what it contains. And we seek refuge in You from the evil of this village, and the evil of its people, and the evil of what it contains! Go forward, in the name of Allah."*⁽²⁾ The Muslims reached *Khaybar* at night. In the morning, the Jews were surprised to see the Prophet at their doors saying; *"Allâhu Akbar (i.e. Allah is the Greatest)! Khaybar is doomed. Whenever we arrive in a people's square (i.e. land), it is a bad morning for those who have been warned."* The forts of *Khaybar* were many and very strong including *Nâ'im*, *Al-Qamûs*, *As-Sa'b*, *Al-Watîh*, *As-Sulâlim*, *Ash-Shiqq*, *Natâh*, and *Al-Katîbah*. The

(1) *"Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh"* by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 147].

(2) *Ibid.*

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Prophet laid siege to them, taking one fort after another, and he also took over their weapons and properties after they had fought in defense for their forts and lands. The determined Muslims defeated all their leaders.

Reconciliation with Jews of *Khaybar*

After the fall of their last two forts namely, *Al-Watîh* and *As-Sulâlim*, and the capture of their properties, the Jews of *Khaybar* pleaded for reconciliation. The Prophet (peace be upon him) concluded peace with them on the following conditions:

1. Sparing their lives and releasing their captives.
2. Permitting them to stay on their land whose title belonged to the Muslims by right of conquest, provided that they would be given half of their crops in return for their labor.

Hence, the Prophet treated the Jews of *Khaybar* differently from their brothers of *Banû Qaynuqâ`* and *Banû An-Nadîr*. This may be for the following reasons:

First: With the fall of *Khaybar*, the Jews had become no more a threat to the Muslims.

Second: The agricultural lands, orchards and groves of palm trees of *Khaybar*, which became in the possession of the Muslims, needed experienced labor to maintain them, as the *Anşâr* were not able to tend these lands beside their own orchards in Medina.

Third: The Prophet needed his soldiers to continue *Jihâd* and could not afford to demobilize his army for the sake of tending the agricultural lands of *Khaybar*. The Jews of *Khaybar* were hence allowed to continue to work their own groves in return for half of their crops.

Fadak after *Khaybar*

The fall of *Khaybar* pushed the Jews of *Fadak* to feel panic and terror. So, once the Prophet sent them a message asking them to surrender or embrace Islam, they declared their wish to conclude reconciliation with the Muslims on the conditions that they give up half of their wealth without fighting. Accordingly, the wealth of *Khaybar* became distributable among

the Muslims who engaged in the battle, while the wealth of *Fadak* belonged exclusively to the Prophet, as no fighting occurred to gain it.⁽¹⁾

Wâdî Al-Qurâ after Fadak

On his way back to Medina after achieving victory against the Jews in *Khaybar* and *Fadak*, the Prophet passed by *Wâdî Al-Qurâ* where he found that its Jewish people had prepared for fighting him. The Prophet engaged in fighting with them until they pleaded for peace on the same conditions as *Khaybar*.

Taymâ' after Wâdî Al-Qurâ

The Jews of *Taymâ'* did the same as the Jews of *Fadak* as soon as they knew what happened with the people of *Wâdî Al-Qurâ*. So, they accepted to pay the *Jizyah* (tribute) without involving in fighting. The fall of *Taymâ'* remarked the submission of all the Jews of Arabia to the authority of Muḥammad (peace be upon him), and the end of their influence there. As a result, the northern front of the Muslims became secured, as it was the case with the southern front that became secured after the treaty of *Al-Hudaybiyah*.

► Universality of the Message

The Prophet (peace be upon him) decided to send messages to Hiraql (Heraclius), Kistrâ (Khosrow), Al-Muqawqis (Cyrus), An-Najâshî (Negus), Al-Hârith Al-Ghassânî, Kistrâ's governor of Yemen, the ruler of *Al-Bahrayn*, and the ruler of *Al-Yamâmah*. They were the political powers surrounding the Arabian Peninsula. Addressing the influential kings and governors was a new step towards extending the scope of the Islamic Call, which was then limited to certain area and people, to reach a universal scope aimed at all human races and countries. These messages represented the starting point from which the Prophet's Companions began conveying the Islamic Message to those whom they could reach.

Historians differ regarding the time during which the Prophet sent his messages to the kings and governors, whether before or after the Treaty of

(1) "*Hayât Muḥammad*" by Muḥammad Husayn Haykal (P. 378); and "*At-Tanbîh Wal-Ishrâf*" by Al-Mas'ûdî (P. 224).

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Al-Hudaybiyah, and consequently whether before or after settling the danger of the Jews in *Khaybar* and the northern front as a whole. Actually, the logical order of the events gives preponderance to the view that the Prophetic messages were sent after securing the southern front through the treaty of *Al-Hudaybiyah*,⁽¹⁾ and the northern front through eliminating the Jewish influence there. Feeling safe from the evils of his enemies, the Prophet said to his Companions; *“O people! Allah has sent me to all mankind...”* Then, he told them that he was going to send message to Heraclius, Khosrow, Cyrus, Al-Hârith Al-Ghassânî, the king of *Al-Hîrah*, Al-Hârith Al-Himyarî, the governor of Yemen, and Negus, the king of *Al-Habashah* (Abyssinia) calling them to Islam. When his Companions approved, he ordered them to fashion for him a signet ring of silver upon which the statement “Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah” was engraved.

History has documented a copy of the Prophetic messages sent to Al-Muqawqis, the Patriarch of Alexandria. The message was found in Egypt, and its copy published found identical to the narrations mentioned in the books of *Hadîth*. Its content is very close to the content of the message sent to Heraclius, the Roman Emperor. We will cite this message here so that the reader can contemplate its meanings and understand its principles that aimed at uniting mankind under the umbrella of one religion that ends all religious disagreements and brings the peace to humanity. The texts of the messages sent to all kings were nearly the same. The message reads as follows; *“In the name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful. From Muhammad, the Servant of Allah and His Messenger, to Heraclius, the king of the Romans. Peace be upon whoever follows the (right) guidance. To proceed: I call you to the religion of Islam. Embrace Islam and you shall be safe, and Allah will give you your reward twice. (but) If you turn away, you will bear the sins of Al-Arisiyyîn.⁽²⁾ O People of the Scripture! Come to a word that is equitable between us and you - that we will not worship except Allah and not associate anything with Him and not take one another as lords*

(1) “*Muhammad Rasûl Allah*” by Mawlay Muhammad `Alî (pp. 146 and 151).

(2) His people: servants and followers. This means that he was responsible for their sins since he prevented them from embracing Islam. See: “*Hayât Muhammad*” by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (P. 371 footnote 1).

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instead of Allah. But if they turn away, then say, Bear witness that we are Muslims.”

The Prophet ordered that copies of this message be sent to the kings and people of authority around Arabia. Each messenger reached his destination, and the replies reached the Prophet. Most of these replies were kind and polite, but some of them were harsh. The following are some examples of these replies:

First, the Reply of An-Najâshî (Negus), the king of Abyssinia: He believed in the Prophet after receiving his message and embraced Islam at the behest of Ja`far Ibn Abû Tâlib.⁽¹⁾ Moreover, An-Najâshî married the Prophet to Umm Habîbah Bint Abû Sufyân who was in Abyssinia at that time. She was previously married to `Ubaydullâh Ibn Jahsh who renounced Islam and embraced Christianity and died as a Christian. An-Najâshî paid her on behalf of the Prophet 400 dinars as her dowry.

Second, the Reply of Hiraql (Heraclius), the Roman Emperor: He received the Prophet's message in a good manner, showing his willingness to embrace Islam. But he feared the churchmen for his life. So, he called for Abû Sufyân who was trading in the Levant while Heraclius was there. He asked him some questions about the Prophet in a lengthy discussion. When they finished, Heraclius said to him; "If you have told me the truth, then he will conquer the land beneath these feet of mine. I wish I were with him so I could wash his feet. Depart to your business!" Abû Sufyân said; "So I left his presence, clapping my hands together and saying; 'O Servants of Allah! The affair of the son of Abû Kabshah has become serious. Now the kings of the Romans fear him in their domain!'"⁽²⁾ The discussion occurred between Heraclius and Abû Sufyân, the enemy of the Muslims during this time, may be one of the causes that urged Abû Sufyân to think carefully about embracing Islam.

Third, the Reply of Kisrâ (Khosrow II), known as Chosroes Parvez: He tore the message and sent to Badhân, his governor in Yemen commanding him to send two strong men to Hejaz to arrest Prophet Muhammad and

(1) "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 144].

(2) Ibid. [2: 145].

bring him enchained. In the meanwhile, however, the Prophet told the two messengers that Chosroes Parvez, who had sent them, was killed by his son, Sheroe, better known as Kavadh II, who ascended the throne. The two men were astonished by such news. When the news was ascertained to Badhân, the governor of Yemen, he, along with a group of the Persians, converted to Islam, and thus Yemen became no more subjected to Chosroes Parvez.⁽¹⁾

Fourth, the Reply of Al-Muqawqis (Cyrus): He replied kindly, and sent to the Prophet informing him that he used to believe that a Prophet was indeed to appear soon in the world, but in the Levant. He accorded to Muhammad's messenger a good reception and sent with him a gift to the Prophet consisting of two bondmaids namely Mâriyah, who gave birth to the Prophet's son Ibrâhîm, and Sîrîn, who was given as a present to Hassân Ibn Thâbit, a white mule, a donkey, some money, and a variety of Egyptian products.

► The Outcomes of Messages Sent to Kings

The circumstances in which the Prophet sent his messages to the strong kings, summoning them to Islam, were really of special nature. The Prophet took this step only one year after the siege of Medina, where there was no hope that any Muslim could survive if the plan against the Muslims had succeeded. At the time during which the Prophet's messengers were sent to kings around Arabia, the Muslims were not able to visit Mecca to perform *Hajj* due to the conditions imposed upon the Prophet and his followers by *Quraysh*.

Despite all these circumstances, the Prophet used to work according to a Divine Strategy, upon which the messages sent to those kings resulted in the following:

1. The Prophet's messages to the strong kings, summoning them to Islam, were a clear evidence that the Prophet was certain about the Divine care and support, and that the Divine Promise that these kingdoms would eventually convert to Islam will be fulfilled.
2. The Islamic Call benefited largely from these messages since some of those to whom they were sent converted to Islam.

(1) "*Muhammad Rasûl Allah*" by Mawlay Muhammad `Ali (P. 149).

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3. These messages sent to the kings served as a command to those who would follow the Prophet to spread this Call everywhere in the world.
4. The discussion that took place between Heraclius, the Caesar of the Romans, and Abû Sufyân, encouraged the latter to think carefully about embracing Islam.
5. Thanks to these messages, the Islamic Call became the subject of universal discussions, which helped attract supporters, in response to the Divine Invitation expressed in Allah's saying:

{“Say (O Muhammad): O People of the Scripture! Come to a word that is equitable between us and you - that we will not worship except Allah and not associate anything with Him and not take one another as lords instead of Allah. But if they turn away, then say, Bear witness that we are Muslims”}

[Âl `Imrân: 64]

6. The Muslims' morale became very strong upon the conversion of some kings to Islam. *Quraysh*, however, was very disappointed watching the Islamic Call reaching these lands.

➤ **Summary of the Events Occurred in 7th Year of Hegira**

Like other years, the 7th year of Hegira witnessed a number of important events. The Prophet (peace be upon him) managed to terminate the Jewish influence in the northern front. He conquered *Khaybar*, *Taymâ'* and *Wâdî Al-Qurâ*. Also, he sent delegations to the strong Kings around the world introducing Islam and calling them to embrace it. He also received his Companions who had remained for a long time in Abyssinia, including his cousin Ja`far. The Prophet was very pleased with the conquest of *Khaybar* and the return of Ja`far that he said; ***“I do not know with which I should be much happier, the conquest of Khaybar or the arrival of Ja`far?”***⁽¹⁾ He also received the delegations, whom he had sent to the kings, after they had performed their missions, regarding taking the Islamic Call to new horizons, in a good way.

The Muslims remained in Medina for the rest of the 7th year of Hegira waiting for the season of *Hajj* (Pilgrimage), where they could, based on the

(1) *“At-Tanbîh Wal-Ishrâf”* by Al-Mas`ûdî (P. 223).

Treaty with *Quraysh*, go to Mecca, and satisfy their longing for visiting the Sacred House and their homeland where they had grown up and played as children. Meanwhile, the Muslims kept sending their expeditions to various destinations in the Arabian Peninsula to show their strength and terrify their enemies.

► **The Lesser Pilgrimage of Fulfilment ('*Umratul-Qadâ'*)**

The Muslims used to count days, longing for the season of *Hajj*, where they can enter Mecca, after they had been prevented from entering it in the last year. This is why the Prophet commanded his Companions to get ready for the Lesser Pilgrimage of Fulfilment. Those who responded to the Prophet exceeded 2000 Muslims, after there were only 1400 in the previous year.

Shortly before the beginning of Dhul-Hajjah, the Muslims, full with great passion, marched to Mecca. Many among them were of the *Muhâjirûn* who moved by the strongest emotion to circumambulate the Sacred House and to see their homeland where they were born and grown up. The others among them were of the *Ansâr* who were equally anxious to visit the blessed and holy city of Mecca, the homeland of the Prophet and the place of the first Qur'anic revelation. In compliance with the terms of *Al-Hudaybiyah* Treaty, none of them carried any weapons except his sword that he kept in its scabbard. The Messenger of Allah feared treachery, so he equipped a hundred cavalymen and instructed them to reconnoiter the fields ahead of the procession of Muslims but not to tread on the holy ground surrounding Mecca. The Muslims herded before them the sacrificial animals; the entire procession was led by Prophet Muḥammad riding his she-camel, *Al-Qaṣwâ'*, until they reached Mecca. *Quraysh* was informed about the arrival of Muḥammad and his Companions, so they evacuated Mecca as the treaty demanded. They removed themselves with their families away from Mecca where they resorted the shade of trees, and the mountains of *Abû Qubays* and *Hirâ'*.

From these hills and mountains, *Quraysh* looked down at Muḥammad and his Companions whom they never imagined to enter Mecca without resistance. They saw 'Abdullâh Ibn Rawâḥah holding reins of *Al-Qaṣwâ'*, the Prophet's she-camel, while the Prophet was surrounded by his Companions, and behind him followed organized lines of Muslims. When the Sacred House

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came into their view, their tongues were loosened with a single invocation saying; “*Labbayka Allâhumma Labayyk* (Here I am O Allah [in response to Your call], here I am). *Labbayka Lâ Sharîka Laka Labbayk* (Here I am, You have no partner, here I am). *Innal-Hamda Wan-Ni`mata Laka Wal-Mulk* (Indeed, all praise, grace and sovereignty belong to You). *Lâ Sharîka Lak* (You have no partner).” Their hearts and souls were totally turned to Allah, the Lord of Majesty. It seemed as the Prophet felt that the people of Mecca spoke among themselves of the memories of how Muḥammad and his Companions were in difficulty, distress, and want.

So, when the Prophet got near to the *Ka`bah*, he put his cloak under his right arm and threw the bottom of it over his left shoulder, leaving his right arm uncovered. Then he said; “*O Allah! Confer mercy upon a man who has shown them his strength today.*” He then stopped near the Black Stone and began *Tawâf* (circumambulating the *Ka`bah*) in a trotting pace followed by his Companions. The Prophet did so for three times of circumambulation. He also trotted while *Sa`y* (going between *As-Safâ* and *Al-Marwah*), doing so for three times.⁽¹⁾ After finishing *Tawâf* and *Sa`y*, the Prophet slaughtered the *Hadyy* (sacrificial animals) near *Al-Marwah*, and then he had his head shaved, completing the rites of the *Umrah*. The Prophet remained in Mecca for three days, where he used to lead two thousand Muslims in prayers. Bilâl Ibn Rabâh used to ascend to the top of the *Ka`bah*, giving the *Adhân* (Call for Prayer) while standing among the idols on its top. His resonant voice was filling the atmosphere of Mecca and floating up to the tops of the hills, with the call of Islam; “*Allâhu Akbar* (Allah is the Greatest), *Allâhu Akbar* (Allah is the Greatest)”.

The agreed upon period for the Muslims to remain in Mecca elapsed. The Meccans were very keen to make the Muslims leave Mecca. So, they did not accept any negotiations regarding this agreed upon period. Rather, they sent two of their men to the Prophet asking him to leave the city refusing his suggestion to remain in Mecca until he consummate his marriage to Maymûnah Bint Al-Hârith, his Uncle Al-`Abbâs’s sister-in-law, as he said; “*How would it harm you to give me some respite, that I may celebrate my*

(1) This is why trotting where ordained in *Tawâf* and *Sa`y*.

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marriage amongst you and prepare food for you, so you would attend it?” However, they replied; “No, we do not need your food. So, depart from us.” The Prophet did not hesitate to leave Mecca in compliance with the terms of *Al-Hudaybiyah* Treaty. He left behind him his client (*Mawlâ*) Abû Râfi` to take care of Maymûnah who embraced Islam and wanted to leave Mecca. The Prophet consummated his marriage to Maymûnah at *Sarif*, a place near Mecca on the way to Medina. Maymûnah became the Prophet’s last wife and “Mother of the Believers”.

Impacts of the Lesser Pilgrimage of ‘*Umratul-Qadâ*’ on *Quraysh*

The great events occurred in Mecca would not have passed without leaving the greatest possible effect upon *Quraysh*. The Prophet expected this as understood from his statement to `Abdullâh Ibn Rawâhah, who wanted to challenge *Quraysh* by shouting a war cry at them; *“Take it easy, O Ibn Rawâhah, and say; ‘Lâ Ilâha Illâ Allah Wahdah (there is no God but Allah alone), Sadaqa Wa`dah (He fulfilled His promise); Wa Nasara `Abdah (and He granted victory to His servant); Wa A`azza Jundah (and He supported his Soldiers); Wa Khadhala Al-Ahzâba Wahdah (and He defeated the Confederates by Himself)’.”*

Impacts of the Lesser Pilgrimage of ‘*Umratul-Qadâ*’ can be reflected in the following:

First: The conversion of Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd to Islam: Due to the perfect behaviors of Muslims during the ‘*Umrah*, their true belief and honesty, the Meccans were deeply affected and began to reconsider their beliefs. For example, after the departure of the Muslims, Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd, said to the people of Mecca; “It has become absolutely clear to any person with the least intelligence that Muḥammad is neither a poet nor a magician. His words are truly the words of the Lord of the Worlds. It follows then that every man with common sense ought to follow him.”⁽¹⁾ Thus, the conversion of Khâlid, *Quraysh*’s greatest military leader ever, to Islam was a huge gain for the Muslims and, at the same time, a great loss for

(1) “*Ḥayât Muḥammad*” by Muḥammad Husayn Hikâl (P. 389).

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the disbelievers, especially when this added to the conversion of `Amr Ibnul-`Âṣ and `Uthmân Ibn Talhah to Islam.

Second: The Prophet's Marriage to Maymûnah Bint Al-Hârith Al-Hilâliyâh of *Hawâzin*: This marriage helped establish relationships between the Prophet and many major figures of the Muslims and Non-Muslims. Maymûnah had seven sisters.⁽¹⁾ Al-`Abbâs, the Prophet's uncle, was married to her eldest sister, Lubâbah, while his uncle Hamzah was married to her sister Salmâ, Ja`far Ibn Abû Tâlib was married to her sister Asmâ', and Al-Mughîrah Ibn Shu`bah was married to her sister, Lubâbah, the younger, who was Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd's mother. When Maymûnah saw the Muslims performing `Umrah, she was moved by the greatness and beauty of the Muslims and thus embraced Islam. Al-`Abbâs suggested that the Prophet marry her and the Prophet accepted.

Third: When the people of Mecca saw the true belief of the Muslims, the beauty of Islam, and the greatness of the Prophet, they began to reconsider their position towards Islam. Accordingly, a great number of them converted to Islam after `Umratul-Qadâ'. At the same time, the attitude of the stubborn was discovered, and the need to conquer Mecca became very clear.

► The Battle of Mu'tah

After securing the southern front of Medina through the Treaty of *Al-Hudaybiyah* and the conversion of Yemen's governor to Islam, the lands located in the northern part as well as the Levant were the crucial point of the Prophet. He looked upon the Levant as the gateway to spread Islam beyond the frontiers of the Arabian Peninsula. Thus, any transgression or rebellion that would rise against the Muslims and the Islamic Call on the borders of the Levant required precautionary measures and strong strikes against the transgressors.

The Reasons for the battle of Mu'tah

1. Historians report that the Prophet sent fifteen men to a place called *Dhât Atlâh* at the borders of the Levant to preach and explain the principles

(1) "At-Tanbîh Wal-Ishrâf" by Al-Mas`ûdî (P. 228).

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of Islam to people there. However, the envoys of the Prophet were killed except one man who managed to survive. Thereby, it was necessary for the Prophet to revenge for killing his envoys.

2. Another narration reports that the Prophet sent an envoy to the Byzantine governor of *Busrâ*, a town in southern Syria, but a tribesman of the Ghassanids killed the Prophet's envoy. The Prophet resolved to punish the governor of *Busrâ* and the Ghassanids. Thereupon, he prepared for the battle of *Mu'tah*.

Whatever the reasons that led to the battle of *Mu'tah* were, it had become a prelude to more important battles in the history of Islam namely, the battle of *Tabûk*, just as the treaty of *Al-Hudaybiyah* had been the forerunner of the great Conquest of Mecca.⁽¹⁾

Preparations for the battle

The preparation for the battle of *Mu'tah* began in Jumada I, of the 8th year of Hegira (corresponding to 629 A.D.). The Prophet mobilized an army of 3,000 strong men for the battle. The way the commanders of this army were assigned was unique and might have been the first of its kind as the Prophet arranged the commanders of the battle of *Mu'tah* in an astonishing order indicating that Allah, the Almighty, informed him about the unseen, as events went on the same order as arranged by the Prophet. The Prophet appointed Zayd Ibn *Hârithah* as the first commander of this army, then he said; *"If Zayd Ibn Hârithah is wounded, let Ja'far Ibn Abû Tâlib be the commander. If Ja'far is wounded, let 'Abdullâh Ibn Rawâhah, be the commander."* Hereupon, the Companions as well as the assigned commanders realized that they would attain martyrdom, as their eagerness for martyrdom was greater than their yearning for life.

The two armies

The Muslim army consisted of 3,000 strong men against an enemy of a large army whose number was 100,000, or 200,000 according to some narrations, under the general command of Theodoros, the brother of the Byzantine Emperor. The Muslims arrived at the land of *Mu'ân* in the Levant where they

(1) "*Hayât Muhammad*" by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (P. 392).

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were informed about the great number of men mobilized by the Byzantine Emperor to annihilate the Muslims. For two nights, the Muslims kept thinking about what they should do with such a huge army that they had never thought of confronting it: Should they send a message to the Prophet asking him to send more soldiers and wait for his commands? Or should they fight without considering the great disparity between the two armies?

High standards in the battle

The majority of opinions were about to agree that they should inform the prophet about the current situation and wait for his commands, were it not for `Abdullâh Ibn Rawâhah who stood up and addressed the Muslims saying; “By Allah! The very thing which you are trying to avoid is the one you have set out seeking for, martyrdom. We do not fight the enemy on the strength of our numbers, or of our power; but rather, we fight them with this religion with which Allah has honored us. Advance, for it is one of the two good things, victory or martyrdom.” At once, the Muslims said; “By Allah, Ibn Rawâhah has spoken the truth.”

Encouraged by these words, the Muslim army moved towards *Mu'tah* where it encamped. A bitter fighting broke out between the two armies, who were unequal in terms of numbers and armaments. Zayd Ibn Hârithah, the first commander, assumed leadership and began to fight tenaciously and in matchless spirit of bravery until he died after being fatally stabbed. Ja`far Ibn Abû Tâlib, who was then thirty-three years old, took the banner. Ja`far fought bravely with the banner in his right hand until the enemy surrounded him and his right hand was cut off. He seized the banner with his left hand until this hand too was cut off. He then embraced the banner with both of his arms until he fell as martyr in the battlefield.

Based on the Prophet's assignment of the command, `Abdullâh Ibn Rawâhah proceeded, in some hesitation, to raise the banner. However, he took his sword and fought bravely until he fell as martyr.

Their ranks in Paradise

When the Prophet was informed about the martyrdom of his three commanders, his grief at Zayd Ibn Hârithah and Ja`far Ibn Abû Tâlib was greater

than his grief at `Abdullâh Ibn Rawâhah, then he said; *“They were all lifted to Paradise, as I saw in a vision, on beds of gold. I saw `Abdullâh’s bed turning aside from the beds of his two fellows (i.e. Zayd and Ja`far). When I asked for the reason, I was told that they moved on (without hesitation) but he wavered before moving on.”* The battle went on, and a man, from Banû Al-`Ajlân, called Thâbit Ibn Arqam took the banner and shouted; “O Muslims! Choose a commander from amongst you”. They agreed to give the command to Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd.

Khâlid’s military tactic saves the army

It is too harsh to assume the command of a nearly-defeated army! However, Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd took the command and began to maneuver in an attempt to reorganize the ranks. Khâlid engaged with the enemy during the day in sporadic skirmishes in order to gain time, but during the night he carefully laid out his plan. He sent a number of his soldiers toward the rear deploying them in a long line and ordered them to make noise with the daybreak to give the impression that massive reinforcements from Medina had arrived to join the battle. The tactic worked, and the Byzantines were spiritually affected by it. The Romans were pleased with the retreat of Khâlid and they did not try to pursue the Muslim army while retreating back to Medina. In this battle, neither the Muslims achieved victory nor the Byzantines annihilated the Muslims.

Despite Khâlid’s skillful tactic at withdrawal and the survival of the Muslim army, the retreated soldiers were not safe from some unpleasant words from their brothers in Medina who branded them as cowards. They even faced them saying; “O Deserters! You fled in the cause of Allah!” but the Messenger of Allah said; *“They are not deserters, but battlers (i.e. they will attack again), if Allah wills.”*

➤ The Battle of Dhât As-Salâsil Restores the Muslims’ Awe and Prestige

A few weeks after the return of Khâlid from the battle of *Mu’tah*, the Prophet wanted to restore the Muslims’ awe in the north of Arabia. Therefore, the Prophet (peace be upon him) sent `Amr Ibnul-`Âs to provoke the Arabs

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to march on the Levant. As `Amr arrived at a watering place called *As-Salsal*, located in the land of *Judhâm* (a Yamani tribe), he feared that the enemy might overtake him, so he sent to the Prophet asking for reinforcements. Immediately, the Prophet sent Abû `Ubaydah Ibnul-Jarrâh at the head of a corps of the early *Muhâjirûn* including Abû Bakr and `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb. Under the command of `Amr Ibnul-`Âs, the Muslim army managed to disperse and destroy the enemies crowded in the Levant ready to fight Islam. Thereby, Allah's Messenger recovered the Muslim's awe and prestige in the north of the Arabian Peninsula.



The Conquest of Mecca

As a consequence of the victories that Allah had granted to His Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), and the Islamic call which had reached as far as new horizons and new regions after the battle of *Mu'tah*, it was waited expectantly that the Messenger of Allah proceeds to conquer Mecca as he has many valid reasons to think incessantly about Mecca and how to make all of its people embrace Islam.

These valid reasons may be as follows:

First: The course of Islamic call and the significant advances it made towards the different regions of the Arabian Peninsula necessitate Mecca to be one of its clear pillars. This is because Mecca was the first place wherein the revelation had sent down, besides it was the hometown of Allah's Messenger in which he was born and his kinsfolk lived. Further it was the homeland wherefrom a great number of its people migrated and they were craving to go back home again.

Second: The overwhelming feeling of love filled the heart of Allah's Messenger for his hometown which is referred to in Allah's saying:

{“Verily! We have seen the turning of your face towards the heaven. Surely, We shall turn you to a Qiblah (prayer direction) that shall please you, so turn your face in the direction of the Sacred House (at Mecca). And whosoever you people are, turn your faces in that direction...”}

[Al-Baqarah: 144]

This love would crave the Messenger of Allah to make its people as Muslims and bring them out from the darkness of ignorance into the light of faith.

Third: The Messenger of Allah knew well that the Arabia would not submit to him unless *Quraysh* submits to him first, and he realized that the different regions of the Arabia Peninsula would not follow him unless *Quraysh* follows him first.⁽¹⁾ But how could he conquer Mecca while

(1) “*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*” by Sheikh Muhammad Al-Khudârî (P. 231).

there was a peace treaty and covenant between him and *Quraysh*?! The Messenger of Allah remained waiting a Divine Arrangement that gives him a valid reason and chance to rightfully conquer Mecca.

Allah, Exalted be He, created the appropriate circumstances and the points of the peace treaty of *Al-Hudaybiyah* gave the Messenger of Allah a legal justification for conquering Mecca. The peace treaty concluded between the Messenger of Allah and *Quraysh* prescribed that any tribe wishing to join the camp of Muhammad and join an alliance with him may do so, and any tribe wishing to join the camp of *Quraysh* and has an alliance with it may do so. On the basis of this point, the tribe of *Khuzâ`ah* chose to join the camp of Muhammad, and that of *Banû Bakr* chose to join the camp of *Quraysh*. With one of these tribes aligning itself with the Muslims and the other with the pagans, their mutual hostility and old unsettled blood feuds had to be suspended on account of the new arrangements.

➤ ***Quraysh Breached the Peace Treaty of Al-Hudaybiyah***

The reasons for breaching the peace treaty of *Al-Hudaybiyah* on the part of *Quraysh* were as follows:

- ◆ *Quraysh* knew that the peace treaty was for the benefit of Islam, and realized that the atmosphere of peace and tranquility enabled Muhammad to give his entire attention to the distant regions. This enraged the polytheists of *Quraysh* because they did not want to provide Muhammad with this atmosphere of peace and tranquility for a long time.
- ◆ The spread of Islam among the tribes of *Najd*, adjoining Iraq and the Levant, disturbed *Quraysh* tribesmen, made them sick, and provoked their grudge against Muhammad and his followers.
- ◆ After the battle of *Mu'tah*, the Byzantine empire failed to ensure the payment of the soldiers' salaries which urged thousands of tribesmen to embrace Islam; such as the tribesmen of *Salîm*, *Ashja`*, *Ghatafân*, *Abs*, *Dhubyân* and *Fizârah*. When this news came to *Quraysh*, their grudge and angry against Muhammad had become increasingly intensified.
- ◆ When the Islamic army did not return victorious from the battle of *Mu'tah*, *Quraysh* believed that the Muslim power had crumbled. Further, the tribe of *Banû Bakr* thought that the occasion has come to avenge

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themselves against the tribe of *Khuzâ`ah* for their old unsettled blood feuds. To do this, *Banû Bakr* was encouraged by *Quraysh* tribesmen, especially by `Ikrimah Ibn Abû Jahl and some chiefs of *Quraysh* who furnished them with arms,⁽¹⁾ in addition to a large number of Meccan men who took part in such assault with their camels and slaves.

Quraysh and *Banû Bakr* breached the peace treaty concluded between them and the Messenger of Allah when *Banû Bakr* launched a surprise attack against *Khuzâ`ah* tribesmen while they were camping near a well of theirs called *Al-Watîr* and brutally massacred their tribesmen. The tribesmen of *Khuzâ`ah* fled to Mecca and took refuge in the house of Budayl Ibn Warqâ', and then they sent `Amr Ibn Sâlim Al-Khuzâ`î to Medina in order to relate to the Messenger of Allah what happened for them at the hands of *Banû Bakr* and *Quraysh* and ask for assistance. The Messenger of Allah answered, "*Certainly, O `Amr Ibn Sâlim, we shall assist you.*" Soon afterwards Budayl Ibn Warqâ' came to the Messenger of Allah and informed him how *Quraysh* co-operated and encouraged *Banû Bakr* to attack and kill *Khuzâ`ah* tribesmen.

The Prophet (peace be upon him) sent three demands to *Quraysh*, the acceptance of any one of them was imperative:

- ◆ to pay blood money for the victims of *Khuzâ`ah*,
- ◆ to terminate their alliance with *Banû Bakr*; or
- ◆ to consider the peace treaty of *Al-Hudaybiyah* to have been nullified. The response of *Quraysh* was clearly the acceptance of the third demand; i.e. a breach of the peace treaty of *Al-Hudaybiyah*.⁽²⁾

Realizing that this flagrant violation of the peace treaty of *Al-Hudaybiyah* by *Quraysh* was an opportunity offered by Allah for him in order to fulfil his wish to join Mecca to the great Islamic mainland, the Prophet (peace be upon him) sent an announcement to the Muslims all over the Arabian Peninsula to mobilize and get ready at once. The target, however, he kept as a secret.

The wise elders of *Quraysh* realized the danger to which `Ikrimah Ibn Abû Jahl and his youthful comrades had exposed Mecca for their actions

(1) "*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 161]; and "*Hayât Muhammad*" by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (P. 400).

(2) "*Muhammad Rasûl Allah*" by Mawlây Muhammad `Alî (pp. 152–153).

and cooperation with *Banû Bakr* against *Khuzâ`ah*. It was a clear violation of the peace treaty of *Al-Hudaybiyah* and Muḥammad would not hesitate to assist and avenge his *Khuzâ`ah* allies against *Quraysh*. If he did so, Mecca (the holy city) would be exposed to the strongest danger. To avoid this, it occurred to them to send Abû Sufyân, their chief statesman and leader, to Medina to reaffirm the peace treaty and seek an extension to its term.

► **Abû Sufyân and His Daughter Umm Ḥabîbah**

Umm Ḥabîbah Bint Abû Sufyân was the wife of Allah's Messenger and the Mother of the Believers after Negus, king of Abyssinia married her to him. Behold! how did the Muslim daughter receive her polytheistic father?! And how did the Prophet (peace be upon him) allow his wife to meet a polytheist?!

Abû Sufyân decided to go to Medina to reaffirm the peace treaty of *Al-Hudaybiyah* and seek an extension to its term after *Quraysh* had violated it. He, therefore, viewed that upon his arrival to Medina, he had better see his daughter, Umm Ḥabîbah, the Prophet's wife, rather than Muḥammad himself. Abû Sufyân thought that he would get the respect due to the father and the honor due to the guest coming from a distant area, and that he would receive support and assistance to achieve his mission. However, things did not go well with Umm Ḥabîbah, because when Abû Sufyân reached Umm Ḥabîbah's apartment at Medina and was about to sit upon the mattress of the Messenger of Allah, Umm Ḥabîbah folded it up. Abû Sufyân said to his daughter: "I hardly knew if you consider the mattress is too good for me or that I am too good for the mattress." She replied: "This is the mattress of the Messenger of Allah. You are a polytheist and hence impure. I did not want that a person who is a polytheist, and unclean should sit on the mattress of the Prophet (peace be upon him)." Abû Sufyân retorted, "By God, evil has befallen you after you left me." Umm Ḥabîbah replied, "Rather Allah had guided me to Islam."⁽¹⁾ In this manner, the father did not find maintained ties of kinship between him and his daughter, and further the Mother of the Believers did not try to transgress the right of Allah's Messenger or show him courtesy at the expense of her religion and belief.

(1) *Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh* by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 163]; *Ḥayât Muḥammad* by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (P. 401); and *Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn* by Sheikh Al-Khudarî (P. 232).

Failure of Abû Sufyân's mission

Being disappointed at the reply of his daughter, Abû Sufyân stepped out of her apartment and went to the Messenger of Allah at the mosque and spoke to him about the extension and strengthening of the peace treaty. The Prophet (Peace be upon him) said: *"Has anything happened?"* Abû Sufyân replied: "No." The Messenger of Allah said: *"We are committed to our term and treaty."*⁽¹⁾ The Prophet (peace be upon him) said nothing more. Abû Sufyân decided to go to Abû Bakr and ask him to intervene with the Prophet (peace be upon him). Again, his request was turned down. He then approached `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb, who rejected him with harsh rebuke: "Do you expect me to intervene with the Messenger of Allah for you? By Allah, if nothing is left for me to fight with except the tiny insects (or the small ants), I will still fight you." Abû Sufyân did not leave a foremost companion but he resorted to and asked his help. Nobody could help him or intervene to dissuade the Prophet (peace be upon him). All of the companions hated to talk with the Messenger of Allah about what he disliked.

► Preparations for the Conquest

The people of Medina knew that *Quraysh* violated their peace treaty with the Messenger of Allah and he sent who calls out among the Bedouin residents around Medina shouting: *"He who believes in Allah and the Last Day let him witness Ramadan at Medina."* In response, the tribes such as *Aslam*, *Ghifâr*, *Muzyanah*, *Ashja`* and *Juhaynah* and others joined the *Muhâjirûn* (the Immigrants) and the *Ansâr* (the Supporters) until their numerical strength reached ten thousand soldiers getting ready and awaiting his command.

The Messenger of Allah kept the conquest issue a secret from *Qurayah* so that it should not begin preparing for war and bloodshed. He wanted to enter Mecca without violating its sanctity hoping to make its people embrace Islam and enjoy the bliss of belief. He supplicated: *"O Allah, take away the eyes and the news from Quraysh until we surprise them in their land."*⁽²⁾ While the Muslim army was preparing to leave Medina, *Hâtib Ibn Abû Balta`ah*, a foremost Muslim and one of those who had taken part in the battle of

(1) *"Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn"* by Sheikh Al-Khudarî (P. 232).

(2) *"Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh"* by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 163].

Badr, wrote a message informing *Quraysh* about the Muslims' intention to conquer Mecca so that they should take all the precautions, but the message was caught on the way to Mecca and *Hâtib* was brought before the Messenger of Allah. *Hâtib* informed the Messenger of Allah about his intention and why he did that. The Prophet (peace be upon him) pardoned him and said to `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb (when he asked the Prophet's permission to strike his neck on the grounds that he is a hypocrite): "O `Umar, perhaps Allah has looked favorably on the men who fought at *Badr* and has permitted them to do whatever they wish; for I have forgiven you." In this connection, the following Verse was revealed:

{“O you who believe! Take not My enemies and your enemies as friends, showing affection towards them, while they have disbelieved in what has come to you of the truth, and have driven out the Messenger (Muhammad) and yourselves (from your homeland) because you believe in Allah your Lord! If you have come forth to strive in My cause and to seek My good pleasure. You show friendship to them in secret, while I am All-Aware of what you conceal and what you reveal. And whosoever of you (Muslims) does that, then indeed he has gone (far) astray, (away) from the Straight Path.”}

[Al-Mumtahinah: 1]

On the day the Prophet (peace be upon him) left Medina, he appointed a person named Abû Ruhm Kalthûm Ibn *Husayn* Al-Ghifârî to act as his representative there during his absence.

► Tidings of the New Converts to Islam Receive the Army

After making full preparation, the Prophet (peace be upon him) at the head of the Muslim army proceeded to Mecca on the 11th of Ramadan, of the 8th year of Hegira. As the force moved forward, many more tribes joined the ranks and added to its numerical strength, armaments and equipment. The Messenger of Allah was at the forefront of this army and his greatest concern was to enter the Sacred House without shedding any unnecessary blood. By the time the army arrived at a place called *Marr Az-Zahrân* (four leagues away from Mecca). Until then, *Quraysh* knew nothing about the campaign. When Muslims had covered some distance from Medina and

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the weather was extremely hot, the Messenger of Allah broke his fast at *Marr Az-Zahrân* and also ordered all others to do so.

It is noteworthy that a number of the prominent and foremost personalities of the Arabs came out of Mecca to meet the Messenger of Allah; such as `Uyaynah Ibn Hisn Al-Fazâri who met him at a place called *Al-`Arj* (a house on his way to Mecca), Al-Aqra` Ibn Hâbis who met him at a place called *As-Suqyâ* (a place situated between Medina and the valley of *As-Safrâ*), and Al-`Abbâs Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib who met him at *Al-Juhfah*.⁽¹⁾ The narrations reported that when the Messenger of Allah received his uncle Al-`Abbâs Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib on his way to Medina as a migrant, he requested Al-`Abbâs to send his family to Medina and go back with him to Mecca, and said to him: “*You the last of the migrants, and I am the last of the Prophets.*”⁽²⁾ Also Makhramah Ibn Nawfal and Abû Sufyân Ibn Al-Hârith Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib were among those who came out of Mecca to meet the Messenger of Allah. Dr. Haykal (may Allah have mercy on him) asked: Was it a sheer coincidence that Al-`Abbâs Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib and others met the Messenger of Allah out of Mecca? Or had they all informed about the arrival of the Muslim army with this sweeping force, and then they wanted to rush to meet the Messenger of Allah and declare their Islam wherein they met him before he enters Mecca and takes any action against them?? The evidence suggest that they were cognizant of his arrival.

► Role of Al-`Abbâs in the Preparation for the Conquest of Mecca

In many situations, as we knew, Al-`Abbâs Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib (Although he was not Muslim yet) was always standing up for the Messenger of Allah in the difficult circumstances. He was the only one amongst *Banû `Abdul-Muttalib* who knew the pledge of *Al-`Aqabah* and took the covenants from the people of Medina to ensure that Muḥammad would not be hurt. Now he is in *Marr Az-Zahrân* with the Messenger of Allah declaring his Islam and considering the case of *Quraysh* and what the actions that the Messenger of

(1) *Al-Juhfah* is a place of four leagues away from Mecca, and it is the place where the people of Egypt and the Levant should enter the state of *Ihrâm* therefrom. It is situated now in *Râbigh*.

(2) “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 164].

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Allah should take against its tribesmen. Ibnul-Athîr narrated that when Al-`Abbâs saw how strong the Muslim army was and how firm the Messenger of Allah's determination to conquer Mecca was, he said: "Woe to *Quraysh*! By Allah if the Messenger of Allah surprised *Quraysh* in its homeland and stormed it by force, this would be the destruction of *Quraysh* forever." Al-`Abbâs sought to make *Quraysh* accept surrender and embrace Islam. He mounted the Prophet's mule and proceeded to the people of Mecca, so that he might find someone who sends him to the chiefs of *Quraysh*. He met Abû Sufyân, Hakîm Ibn Hizâm and Budayl Ibn Warqâ' who were sent by *Quraysh* to reconnoiter the field and evaluate the danger in *Marr Az-Zahrân*. When Abû Sufyân saw Al-`Abbâs Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib, he said: "What is afoot?" Al-`Abbâs said: "This is the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) came to you leading ten thousand Muslims." Abû Sufyân asked: "What shall we do?" Al-`Abbâs replied: "Mount behind me (on the back of this mule) and I will seek assurance of safety for you from the Messenger of Allah. By Allah! If he overpowers you, he will strike off your head." Al-`Abbâs kept on arguing the case until Abû Sufyân declared his Islam in the front of Allah's Messenger and submitted: "O Messenger of Allah! Abû Sufyân is ambitious for honor and now that matters have taken such a turn you had better give him some special honor on his people." Upon this the Messenger of Allah said, "*He who enters the house of Abû Sufyân will be safe, he who enter the house of Hakîm Ibn Hizâm will be safe, he who enters the Sacred Mosque will be safe, and he who shuts his doors upon himself will be safe.*"

After the Messenger of Allah had satisfied Abû Sufyân's ambitiousness, Al-`Abbâs said to him: "Go directly back to your people and warn them of resistance." Abû Sufyân came out with Hakîm Ibn Hizâm to the Sacred Mosque shouting: "O *Qurayah*! This is the Messenger of Allah came to you with an army that you cannot stand or resist against. O *Quraysh*! Accept Islam and you will be safe." Then he reiterated on their ears what Al-`Abbâs had reported from Allah's Messenger: "*He who enters the Sacred Mosque will be safe, he who enters the house of Abû Sufyân will be safe, and he who shuts his doors upon himself will be safe.*"

The conversion of Abû Sufyân and inviting his people at Mecca to accept surrender without any conditions did not dissuade the Messenger of Allah

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from being cautious and taking all necessary precautions before entering Mecca. He (peace be upon him) had divided the army into (four) battalions, each one would enter from a certain direction so that he controls Mecca at the same time, and he commanded them all not to engage in any fighting or shed any blood except in cases of extreme emergency.

He gave the command of the left wing to Az-Zubayr Ibn Al-`Awwâm and ordered him to enter Mecca from its upper side (the north) through *Kaddâ'* mountain. He gave the command of the right wing to Khâlid Ibn Al-Walîd and ordered him to enter Mecca from its lower side (the south). He gave the command of the people of Medina to Sa`d Ibn `Ubâdah and ordered him to enter Mecca through *Kudâ'* mountain (the west). As for Abû `Ubaydah Ibn Al-Jarrâh, he gave him the command of a group of the *Muhâjirûn* (the Immigrants) and ordered him to enter Mecca from its upper side (the north) near *Hind* mountain.

Followed by the Messenger of Allah, the Muslim battalions marched out each in its already drawn direction to fulfill the missions they were supposed to carry out until they reached *Dhû Tuwâ* (an elevated point from where the houses of Mecca as well as the *Ka`bah* and the Sacred House can be seen).⁽¹⁾ When the Prophet's eyes fell on Mecca, he found that it surrendered without any resistance on the part of *Quraysh*. He stopped and while riding his camel, he bent himself so much that his beard touched the saddle fixed on the back of the camel as a mark of thanksgiving for the victory which Allah had granted him of conquering the place wherein the revelation was sent down first and the place wherein exists the Sacred House.

All the Muslim battalions entered and took over Mecca peacefully and bloodlessly, only the front assigned to Khâlid Ibn Al-Walîd put up resistance. That quarter (south of Mecca) was populated by the most hostile and antagonistic members of *Quraysh* towards Muhammad and the Muslims, allied with *Banû Bakr* (their ally who had violated the peace treaty of *Hudaybiyah*). Not moved by the call of Abû Sufyân for assurance safety, they prepared for battle. *Safwân*, *Suhayl*, and `Ikrimah Ibn Abû Jahl headed those who were ready to resist and fight. However, after their doom had gone forth, they

(1) *Dhû Tuwâ* is a well situated northeast of Mecca near the Maternity Hospital nowadays.

quickly ran away and Khâlid dispersed them, killing thirteen of the enemy and losing two of his men; it is even said that the two soldiers missing from Khâlid's battalion were not killed in battle but they had strayed into the wilderness and lost their way. When the Messenger of Allah noticed, toward the south, the shining of swords in battle, he became angry and repeated his command that there should be no fighting. He was soon told the facts of the case and accepted Allah's judgment in the matter saying: *"Whatever Allah determines it is for our best."*

► Allah's Messenger Approaches Mecca

The messenger of Allah alighted at *Al-Hajûn* by the side of the graves of Abû Tâlib and Khadijah (may Allah be pleased with her), and a special tent was pitched for him. When he was asked whether he wanted to rest in his old house at Mecca, he answered: *"No! They did not keep for me any house at Mecca (i.e. they leveled it)."* For a moment, he turned his gaze toward the mountains and passages of Mecca, its houses dispersed here and there and at the center of which stood its Sacred House. The Messenger of Allah, moved by the sight of Mecca and the victory which Allah had granted him, let tears fall from his eye as he thanked Allah, Exalted be He. Then the Messenger of Allah felt that his task as a leader was coming to a natural conclusion. He mounted his she-camel (*Al-Qaswâ'*), and walked through those roads he often used in his youth recalling the childhood memories until he reached the *Ka'bah* where he circumambulated seven times round the Sacred House on his camel, touching the Sacred Stone with a stick which he had in his hand. After this, he dismounted and called upon `Uthmân Ibn Talhah to open the *Ka'bah* for him. The Messenger of Allah stood at its door wearing a black turban and said: *"There is no God but Allah alone. He kept His promise, and supported His slave. He alone has put the confederates to flight."*⁽¹⁾ When people gathered around the Messenger of Allah until they overcrowded the mosque, he recited this Quranic Verse: *"O mankind! We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another. Verily, the most honorable of you with Allah is the most virtuous. Verily, Allah is*

(1) *"Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh"* by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 170].

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All-Knowing, All-Aware.”}⁽¹⁾ After that he proclaimed: “*Indeed every claim of privilege, whether that of blood, or property, is under my feet, except that of the custody of Ka`bah and supplying of water to the pilgrims. O People of Quraysh, what do you think I am about to do with you? ‘Everything good,’ they answered, ‘for you are a noble brother and a noble nephew of ours.’ Upon this he said: ‘Go. All of you are free.’*”

With these noble words, the Messenger of Allah forgave *Quraysh* for all their previous crimes and forgave their past plots to persecute and kill him, and all kinds of injury and harm they had inflicted upon him and his companions. No alienation, antagonism, or hostility could find any permanent abode in his heart. Never had he imposed any future conditions on them, or ordered them to give back the property of the *Muhâjirûn* (the Immigrants) they seized after their migration to Medina, rather he asked the *Muhâjirûn* to forgo their old rights.⁽²⁾

► The Great Conquest

Mecca has opened its doors for Islam, and immediately after seeing the generosity, nobility and good manners of the Messenger of Allah, the Meccan people opened their hearts for Islam too. This conquest was loftier and greater than to be achieved only by the swords of the Muslims, rather the generosity and tolerance of the Prophet (peace be upon him) had a significant influence on the souls of its people and pulled their enmities and grudges out and touched their innermost feelings and hearts. The sublime and true principles of Islam captured these pitiless and relentless hearts such as Abû Sufyân and others. Further the good conduct of the Muslims and their generosity had prevailed over all the weapons of *Quraysh* tribesmen and put an end to their opposition. While the Messenger of Allah was sitting on the mountain of *As-Safâ*, the people of Mecca gathered around him to pledge full obedience and allegiance to him on Islam. He (peace be upon him) was taking their pledge to hear and obey Allah and His Messenger in all areas they can afford. None of them, either man or woman, was not present.

(1) [Al-Hujurât: 13].

(2) “*Muhammad Rasûl Allâh*” by Mawlây Muhammad `Alî (P. 157).

► **Breaking the Idols**

When the Messenger of Allah entered the *Ka`bah*, he saw that its walls were painted with pictures of angels and prophets. He commanded the obliteration of all pictures and images. Attached with lead to the walls of the *Ka`bah* were the idols that *Quraysh* worshipped as the associates of Allah; the idol *Hubal* stood in the center of the *Ka`bah*. The Prophet (peace be upon him) designated every one of these idols with his stick and recited this Quranic Verse:

{“And say, ‘Truth has come and falsehood has vanished. Surely! Falsehood is ever bound to vanish.”}

[Al-Isrâ’: 81]

The idols were then torn down and broken, and the Sacred House was purified forever. After purifying the *Ka`bah* from its idols, the Prophet (peace be upon him) ordered Bilâl to ascend the *Ka`bah* and call for prayer at its five times and the Messenger of Allah led people in prayer at the Sacred House. For fourteen long centuries since that day, Muslims all over the globe have been performing prayers the same way as the Prophet (peace be upon him) performed them, and the hearts of Muslims were directing to Allah while facing the Sacred House at every prayer.

► **Forgiveness Extended to the Convicts**

There were few persons, men and women, who had been guilty of serious offences and crimes, and the Messenger of Allah ordered that they will be executed even if they were hung on to the curtains of the *Ka`bah* itself. No sooner had such news spread among the people of Mecca than some of those convicts ran away to distant places while some others try to keep themselves hidden.

Among the men who were not granted impunity and the Messenger of Allah ordered their execution were:

- ◆ **‘Ikramah Ibn Abû Jahal**; the one whose hostility towards Islam was outright much the same way as his father’s hostility.
- ◆ **Safwân Ibn Umayyah Ibn Khalaf** who ran away to the city of Jeddah, and ‘Umayr Ibn Wahb sought assurance of safety for him from the Messenger of Allah.

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- ◆ **`Abdullâh Ibn Sa`d Ibn Abû As-Sarh** who was one of the scribes of revelation, but he deliberately was changing what Allah's Messenger was dictating to him, then he became an apostate.
- ◆ **`Abdullâh Ibn Khaṭal** who had embraced Islam and then became an apostate. He had two bondmaids who used to sing defamatory songs against the Prophet (peace be upon him).
- ◆ **`Abdullâh Ibn Az-Zaba`rî As-Sahmî** who used to satirize the Prophet (peace be upon him) at Mecca, and he ran away on the conquest day to *Najrân*.
- ◆ **Wahshî Ibn Harb**; the murderer of Hamzah, who ran away on the conquest day to *At-Tâ'if*.

Among the women who were not granted impunity and the Messenger of Allah ordered their execution were:

- ◆ **Hind Bint `Utbah, the wife of Abû Sufyân**, because she mutilated the body of Hamzah, uncle of the Prophet, and deeply hurt the Messenger of Allah at Mecca.
- ◆ **Sârah, the freed bondmaid of Abû `Amr Ibn Sayfi Ibn Hâshim Ibn `Abd Manâf**, who carried the message of Hâtib Ibn Abû Balta`ah to *Quraysh*.

After the list of those who were guilty of serious offences and crimes had publicly declared before the Muslims, the earth, vast as it is, was straitened for the convicts. As the situation settled down and the news of the Prophet's clemency and all-embracing forgiveness became fully known, some companions dared to think that even the condemned could also be forgiven. Therefore, each companion of the Prophet (peace be upon him) sought the intercession with the Messenger of Allah for one of the convicted persons. The Messenger of Allah accepted their intercession and forgave them. Indeed, most of the men condemned to death had been forgiven except those who were executed before giving pardon.

The Prophet's clemency and all-embracing forgiveness encompassed Wahshî who had murdered the most beloved person to himself; his uncle Hamzah. It also included Hind who chewed the liver of Hamzah, and mutilated his body. He also pardoned all those who hurt and abused him.

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How great is the beauty of pardon and forgiveness on the part of the mighty and powerful! How wonderful is the soul of Muḥammad which rose above hatred and above revenge, which denied every human feeling and ascended to heights of nobility man had never reached before! In the most decisive moment, Allah gave him power over his enemy, but Muḥammad chose to forgive, thereby giving to all mankind and all the generations the most perfect example of goodness, nobility and magnanimity.

In this manner the high moral standards of Prophethood captured these pitiless and relentless hearts that were until few days earlier his sworn enemies, but they now give him, after seeing his nobility and forgiveness, the honor and glory he deserves. Then the people of Mecca, men and women, came to enter his religion (Islam) in crowds.

► Mecca Is Inviolable Forever

Following the conquest of Mecca, a tribesman from *Khuzâ`ah* killed a tribesman from *Hudhayl* who was still a pagan. Upon hearing the news, the Prophet (peace be upon him) was so angry and delivered a speech in which he said: *“O men, Allah made Mecca as a sanctuary on the day He created the heavens and the earth; therefore, it is a sanctuary until the Resurrection Day. No man who believes in Allah and in the Day of Judgment may therefore shed any blood in it or cut down any tree in its precincts. It has never been desecrated by anyone before me and it shall never be desecrated by anyone after me. It has been permitted to me (to enter it with arms) only for this brief hour (of conquest), because of the wrath of Allah towards its people; but now again it is a sanctuary as before. Let those of you who are present tell this to those who are absent. Whoever said to you, ‘Verily the Messenger of Allah had fought at Mecca,’ answer him: ‘Allah has desanctified it for His Messenger but not for you, O Tribesmen of Khuzâ`ah!’ Stop killing, for it is evil crime and brings no advantage when indulged in. You have killed a man for which I shall pay his blood-wit (blood ransom to his people). Henceforth if anyone is killed, the relative of the murdered man will have the choice between the blood of the murderer or a blood-wit.”*⁽¹⁾

(1) See, *“Ḥayât Muḥammad”* by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (P. 412).

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In this manner and through his speech concerning murder and retaliation, the Messenger of Allah overwhelmed the hearts and feelings of the people of Mecca as a whole, and they began to embrace Islam out of love for the Messenger of Islam and declared themselves as callers for this religion and its guards. Further this made the people of Mecca calling each other: “Whoever believes in Allah and the Hereafter is supposed to scrap out the idols that should happen to be in his house.” Immediately, in compliance with the command of Muhammad who was until a few days earlier their sworn enemy, the idolaters began to destroy their idols using their own axes.

Had Mecca been conquered by peace or by force?

This question was raised increasingly by the Imams of Four Juristic Schools, and took up a large space in the books of Islamic Jurisprudence.

Al-Mas`ûdî views that this issue can be summarized in two views:

First: It was conquered by force. This is the opinion of Imam Al-Awzâ`î and a group of the people of the Levant and Iraq and some of the *Zahirites* such as Sulaymân Dâwûd Ibn `Alî Al-Asbahânî and others. They held the view that the Messenger of Allah had conquered Mecca by force and had given the *Muhâjirûn* (the Immigrants) a free hand regarding their property and houses at Mecca and did not deem it a part of booty. This party gave evidence supporting their opinion based on the Prophet’s statement, *“Allah held back the (army having) elephants from Mecca, but He let His Messenger and the believers overpower the infidels (of Mecca). Beware! It has never been desecrated by anyone before me and it shall never be desecrated by anyone after me.”* And his statement *“Do you see the ruffians of Mecca? See, when you meet them tomorrow, wipe them out.”* Also he (peace be upon him) ordered to kill a number of their men and women if you overpowered them even if they were hung on to the curtains of the *Ka`bah* itself.

Second: It was conquered by peace not by force. This is the opinion of Imam Ash-Shâfi`î who gave evidence supporting his opinion based on the fact that before the Messenger of Allah had entered Mecca he gave its people assurance of safety in his statement: *“He who enters his house will be safe, he who surrenders weapons will be safe”, and in this respect*

he mentioned the Quranic Verse: {“And He it is Who has withheld their hands from you and your hands from them in the midst of Mecca, after He had made you victors over them...”}⁽¹⁾ Some supporters of this opinion held that this Verse was revealed at the battle of *Al-Hudaybiyah*. Imam Mâlik agreed with the view of Imam Ash-Shâfi`î that it was conquered by peace, and said: “When the people of Mecca were given assurance of safety for their souls, their property were a part thereof.”

Those who viewed that Mecca was conquered by force say that the Messenger of Allah gave the property back to the people of Mecca out of his favor upon them, and he did not distribute or deem it a part of booty.⁽²⁾ Perhaps, this discussion was provoked due to the difference in the way the people of Mecca had received the battalions of the Islamic army; in many quarters of Mecca people surrendered completely without any resistance to the Messenger of Allah and his army, while some skirmishes happened in other quarters particularly in the quarter that Kâhlid Ibn Al-Walid entered therefrom. This was the basis of disagreement as to the way of conquering Mecca. He who considers the surrender without fighting said that it was conquered by peace, while he who considers the skirmishes happened at some quarters said that it was conquered by force. The ruling on this issue was subtle and unobvious because the behavior of the Messenger of Allah towards the people of Mecca and their property was not the behavior of the one who overpowered and conquered a land by force; he did not distribute their property among the conquerors or deemed it as booty for himself. This is why this discussion became a subject for research in this issue.

► **Eliminating the Last Traces of Idolatry**

In the same way as Mecca was purified from the idols, it was necessary also to purify its outskirts from the traces of idolatry. Only four days after his stay at Mecca, the Messenger of Allah sent Khâlid Ibn Al-Walid, at the head of thirty mounted soldiers, to destroy an idol called *Al-`Uzzah*, the biggest idol venerated by *Quraysh*. Later, he sent `Amr Ibn Al-`Âs to destroy another idol called *Suwâ`*, the biggest idol venerated by *Hudhayl*, at a distance of three

(1) [Al-Fath: 24].

(2) See, “*At-Tanbîh Wa Al-Ishrâf*” by Al-Mas`ûdî (P. 222).

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miles from Mecca. Sa`d Ibn Zayd Al-Ashhalî was also sent to *Al-Mushalla*⁽¹⁾ to destroy an idol called *Manât*, venerated by both *Kalb* and *Khuzâ`ah* tribes. All the platoons dispatched to destroy these idols succeeded in their missions.

► **The Anṣār Fear That Allah’s Messenger May Abandon Them**

As the Messenger of Allah had overpowered Mecca and as the *Anṣār* (the Supporters) saw him on top of *Aṣ-Ṣafâ* mountain supplicates his Lord for the Meccan people to embrace Islam, some of them inquired of one another: “Do you think that after Allah had overpowered him over his land and hometown he would stay in it??” They have the right to think like this; victor in his own hometown where stood the Sanctuary, the Sacred House of Allah, it was quite likely that the Prophet (peace be upon him) would now make Mecca his place of residence. After the Messenger of Allah had finished his supplication, he inquired concerning their fears. When they intimated to him their concern, the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: “*God forbid! I have covenanted to join you in life and death.*” The Prophet (peace be upon him) reassured their hearts and while they were thinking about the return to Medina after they had stayed at Mecca for fifteen days, they received news that the tribe of *Hawâzin* situated to the east of Mecca began to muster its men and prepare itself to mount a surprise attack against the Muslims.



(1) It is a mountain on the sea coast wherefrom he descends to *Qadîd*. See, “*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*” by Sheikh Al-Khudarî (pp. 242 and 243).

The Battle of Hunayn (Also Awtâs)

When the people of *Hawâzin* heard the news that the Muslims had conquered Mecca and demolished its idols and the idols of its surrounding tribes, they realized that their doom has gone forth and feared that the Muslims would mount attack on them in their own settlements. The nobles of *Hawâzin* convened to consult about taking some effective measures to stop the growing power of the Muslims. They thought that after Muḥammad had finished fighting his people, they would be a target for him, so they said let us mount attack on him before he mounts attack on us, and they agreed to advance against the Muslims. They selected from themselves Mâlik Ibn `Awf An-Nadraî to act as their commander. Mâlik Ibn `Awf sent to the allies of *Hawâzin* like the tribes of *Thaqîf*, *Sa`d* and *Jusham*⁽¹⁾ calling them to launch a joint campaign against Islam before Muḥammad mounts attack on them, and he decided *Awtâs* (which is a valley at the land of *Hawâzin* and is quite near *Hunayn*) to be the place of the assembled tribes. All the tribes responded to the call of Mâlik Ibn `Awf except two clans: *Ka`b* and *Kilâb*.

Among the assembled men was Durayd Ibnuṣ-Simmah, who was well known as prudent and experienced man in war. Hoary with age, he had lost the strength and vitality to lead men in battle, but he was a sage with a clear mind. When Durayd heard the growling of camels, the bleating of sheep and the cries of children, he asked Mâlik Ibn `Awf, "Why do you muster the soldiers with their property, women and children?" Mâlik replied, "I did so that everyone would fight fiercely to the last in defense of his family and property." Durayd said with a sound of objection, "Do you believe that there is anything whatsoever can stand in the way of a defeated one or stop him from fleeing? If you win the battle you avail nothing but a man with a sword and a spear; but if you lose you will bring disgrace on your family and property..." The objection of Durayd fell on deaf ears as Mâlik Ibn `Awf who refused his advice and decided to encamp at the valley of *Hunayn*. He arranged the troops in an ambush at a hidden narrow pass

(1) These tribes lived in the mountains situated at the south-east of Mecca, and Sa`d Ibn Bakr is the tribe therefrom *Halîmah As-Sa`diyyah*, the wet-nurse of the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him).

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inside the valley and put men on the front lines and the women, children and cattle to the rear lines at *Awtâs* (it is a part of the valley). Mâlik Ibn `Awf ordered the troops to ambush and conceal themselves so that when the Muslims descend to the valley they would make a one-man attack against them which breaks their ranks, creates disorder among them, hurts the pride they had taken after the victory over the people of Mecca, leaves them suffering defeat and the tribes of *Hunayn* take the pride of victory, all over the Arabia, against this power which were seeking to dominate all territories of the Arabian Peninsula. The tribes executed the commands of Mâlik Ibn `Awf and secured themselves at a narrow pass inside the valley.

► On the March to Battlefield

Two or four weeks after their stay at Mecca, the Muslims, headed by the Messenger of Allah, moved out in such great number of weapons and numerical strength which were hardly found anywhere. On that day the Muslims advanced to the valley of *Hunayn* accompanied by twelve thousand armed soldiers; ten thousand of those who had previously taken part in the conquest of Mecca, and the other two thousand were from amongst the Meccans who had recently embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca including Abû Sufyân Ibn Harb. Also eighty Meccan polytheists including Safwân Ibn Umayyah and Suhayl Ibn `Amr joined the Muslim army. On approaching the valley of *Hunayn*, the Messenger of Allah began mobilizing the army and distributing posts and flags to people. Then the Messenger of Allah personally mounted his white mule, put on two coats of mail, and put the helmet on his head and moved on behind the Muslim army, above him a canopy, around him the foremost companions just like the day of *Uhud*, and he (peace be upon him) put *Banû Sulaym* on the advance guard under the leadership of Khâlid Ibn Al-Walîd. Seeing how great in number and weapons the army was, the Messenger of Allah said: *“We shall not be defeated today for shortage in numerical strength.”*⁽¹⁾

Some Muslims self-admiringly reiterated, “We shall not be defeated today due to our great number”, but their great number availed them nothing. In the dark and just before dawn the advance guard of the Muslim

(1) *“Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh”* by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 178]; and it is said that these words were uttered by a man from Bakr (the same source).

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army moved towards the enemy. No sooner had they arrived inside the valley of *Hunayn* than they received the shock of the ambush lurking for them inside the narrows of the valley and its passes. The arrows began showering intensively at them that the air seemed to be filled as if with a swarm of locusts. The shock forced them to pull the reins of their camels and turn retreating in disorder and utter confusion. The disruption among their ranks increased and in a blind urge to get away, their route to escape had been tighten and the darkness of the dawn caused them to ran into the rear lines, and they were terrified so much that they began to flee. The first men among those who fled were the polytheists of Mecca and the Meccans who had recently embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca. Some of the new converts of Mecca were delighted when they saw the Muslims retreating. They showed their animosity towards Muḥammad and his companions, so much so that Abū Sufyân remarked, "Their defeat will not cease before they get to the sea!" In the same manner, Shaybah Ibn `Uthmân Ibn Abū Talḥah said, "Today I will revenge myself from Muḥammad (for his father who was killed at the battle of *Uhud*)." The half-brother of Safwân Ibn Umayyah commented on that saying, "The sorcery of Muḥammad has been annulled today." Safwân (although he was still a polytheist) snapped at him, "Shut up! May Allah break your mouth! I would rather see a man of *Quraysh* ruling over us than a man of the *Hawâzin*!"

Such words had been circulated while the Messenger of Allah was in the rear lines of the Muslim army and the tribes flee one follows another in the front of the Prophet (peace be upon him) but he stayed firm in his position and around him was a small number of the *Muhâjirûn* (the Immigrants) and the *Anṣâr* (the Supporters) who remained firm with him. While people running away, the Messenger of Allah called out: "*Where are you (going), O People? Come here to me. I am the Messenger of Allah.*" But it was a critical moment and the awful shock struck terror into the hearts of people and none of them seemed to have heard until the earth, vast as it is, was straitened for the fleeing men. However, the Messenger of Allah ordered Al-`Abbâs Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib, who was then holding the rein of the Prophet's mule (it was called Daldal) and who was a powerful voiced man, to call out on people. As loudly as he could, Al-`Abbâs screamed: "O people of the *Anṣâr*!

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O people who had offered the pledge of *Ar-Ridwân!*” He repeated the call until it reached the ears of the Muslims at the valley and stimulated their religious zeal and fervor. They responded immediately and began to pull the reins of their camels and return towards the Messenger of Allah shouting: “*Labbayk! Labbayk!* (Here we are [in response to Your call], Here we are).” He who was unable to force his camel to turn back due to the great number of those who were escaping, would hastily dismount his camel with his weapons in his hand and run towards the voice source. Voices would grow louder and louder until a hundred of them gathered around the Messenger of Allah, bore down on the enemy and fought them fiercely while the Prophet (peace be upon him) was calling out loudly: “*I am the Prophet, it is not a lie, I am the (grand) son of ‘Abdul-Muttalib.*”

The Messenger of Allah remarked, “*Now the fight has grown fierce*” (he was the first one to utter these words), and said to his mule (Daldal): “*Kneel down Daldal!*” When its belly stuck to the ground, he picked up a handful of earth and hurled it at their faces.⁽¹⁾ Then Allah had sent peace of reassurance down upon His Messenger and upon the believers, and sent down forces (angels) they could not see. Now the polytheists shatteringly defeated, and began to retreat in utter confusion leaving behind their property, women and children. Motivated by the Prophet’s announcement that “*whoever kills a combatant will take his booty*”, the Muslims eagerly chased the enemy and succeeded to kill and capture a great number of them, so much that, as narrated, Abû Talhah Al-Ansârî alone killed twenty men at the battle of *Hunayn* and took their booty. In this battle the casualties of the Muslims were large, but the biographers have not mentioned the number of those who were killed. The captives of *Hunayn* numbered six thousand including men, women and children. The spoils from camels, sheep and silver were the largest booty so far to have fallen into the hands of the Muslims.⁽²⁾ The Prophet (peace be

(1) “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târîkh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 179]. In the same source, there is another narration (in the weak expression ‘it is said’) that a black object descended from heaven like a garment and fell down among people, and then black ants scattered about and the enemy was defeated.

(2) The authenticated sources estimate the number of spoils from camels of twenty-four thousand, from sheep of forty thousand and from silver of four thousand *Uqiyahs* (one *Uqiyah* is equal to 40 dirhams).

upon him) ordered that the entire booty should be taken to *Al-Ji`rânah* and be kept there as it is, until the Messenger of Allah returns from *At-Tâ'if*.

The battle of *Hunayn* occurred in the 6th year of the Hegira (corresponding to 632 A.D.).

➤ **Why Muslims Suffered Defeat in the Beginning, But They Became Victorious in the End of the Battle?**

First: The reasons for defeat

- ◆ **The ambush:** The Muslims were shocked by the ambush and overtaken in the dark and just before dawn, as they were overtaken (to their rear lines) by Khâlid Ibn Al-Walîd at the battle of *Uhud*.
- ◆ **Self-admiration of Muslims for their great number** so much that they said we shall not be defeated today due to our great number, but Allah (Glory be to him) had shown them of His signs.
- ◆ **An army of different types of people:** The Muslim army consisted of a mixture of polytheists, Bedouins and the Meccans who had recently embraced Islam. These people joined the army for spoils and when the ambush shocked the advance guard of the army they were defeated and rushed to run away at first shock and spread out terror among Muslims. Had it not been for the grace of Allah, the steadfastness of His Messenger, sending peace of reassurance of Allah down upon His Messenger and gathering the Muslims around him, they would have faced defeat.

Second: The reasons for victory

- ◆ **Allah had supported the Muslims with angels as He had supported them at the battle of *Badr*.** This is as if Allah had willed, out of His own wisdom, that the Muslims' victory in the first battle over the polytheists was achieved with the support of the angles, He also willed that their victory in the last battle is achieved with their support. This why the two battles (*Badr* and *Hunayn*) are mentioned together. Concerning the battle of *Badr*, Allah, the Almighty, has revealed this Quranic Verse:

*{“And Allah has already made you victorious at *Badr*, when you were a weak little force. So fear Allah much that you may be grateful.”}*

[Âl-`Imrân: 123]

Concerning the battle of *Hunayn*, Allah, the Almighty, has revealed this Quranic Verse:

{“Truly Allah has given you victory on many battlefields, and on the day of Hunayn when you rejoiced at your great number but it availed you naught and the earth, vast as it is, was straitened for you, then you turned back in flight. Then Allah did send down His peace of reassurance on the Messenger, and on the believers, and sent down forces (angels) which you saw not, and punished the disbelievers. Such is the recompense of disbelievers. Then after that Allah will accept the repentance of whom He will. And Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful. O you who believe! Verily, the polytheists are impure. So let them not come near the Sacred House (at Mecca) after this year, and if you fear poverty, Allah will enrich you if He will, out of His bounty. Surely, Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise.”}

[At-Tawbah: 25 - 28]

- ◆ **The Muslims found that their souls are cheap to be sacrificed in the cause of Allah.** The Muslims paid high price for this victory; five or ten companions had been killed at the battle of *Hunayn*; such as Ayman Ibn Umm Ayman (from *Banû Hâshim*), Yazîd Ibn Zam`ah Ibn Al-Aswad Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib (from *Banû Asad*), and Surâqah Ibn Mâlik Al-`Ajlânî (from the *Ansâr*). Moreover, Khâlid Ibn Al-Walîd was badly wounded and most of the advance guards were annihilated.

► **Consequences of the Battle of *Hunayn***

The victory of Muslims at the battle of *Hunayn* was great and deceive, and had far-reaching consequences:

- ◆ Suppose the Muslims were defeated in the end of the battle, this would not happen because Allah fails not in His promise to His Messengers, it could possibly allow *Quraysh* to revolt and turn against the Messenger of Allah.
- ◆ The defeat of *Hawâzin* after the people of Mecca had submitted themselves to the Messenger of Allah put an end to the battles between the Arabs and Islam. The massed troops were the big numerical strength that the Arabs could gather against the Messenger of Allah, and only few groups, out of their stubbornness and obstinacy, who put up resistance and it did

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not take long before they put the swords back into the sheaths fearing the power of Islam.

- ◆ The battle of *Hunayn* was a trial and affliction to Muslims.
- ◆ Many polytheists of Mecca converted to Islam when they saw the support of Allah to Muslims.
- ◆ The battle of *Hunayn* ended with the conquest of Hejaz. After their defeat, the army of the disbelievers was divided into three battalions: a battalion of it headed for *At-Tâ'if*, another battalion headed for *Nakhlah* and the third battalion encamped at *Awtâs*.⁽¹⁾ This third battalion was not given the time until the Prophet (peace be upon him) dispatched a Muslim platoon (among them was Abû Mûsâ Al-Ash`arî) headed by Abû `Âmir Al-Ash`arî to chase them. He forced the soldiers to run away and seized some spoils remained in their possession. However, some skirmishes took place during which Abû `Âmir was killed and he was succeeded by his nephew Abû Mûsâ Al-Ash`arî. A similar platoon headed by Khâlid Ibn Al-Walîd pursued the battalion who threaded the track to *Nakhlah* and this Muslim platoon stormed them and destroyed their idol (it was called *Al-'Uzzah*).

After the return of the two platoons, the Messenger of Allah himself proceeded to the battalion headed for *At-Tâ'if*. Therefore, we said that the battle of *Hunayn* ended with the conquest of Hejaz in spite of the fact that the people of *Thaqîf* at *At-Tâ'if* remained polytheists until the month of Ramadan in the 9th year of the Hegira.

► **The Battle of *At-Tâ'if***

Following their defeat, Mâlik Ibn `Awf who headed the masses to *Hunayn* retreated with the people of *Thaqîf* to *At-Tâ'if*. Now the Messenger of Allah decided to lay a siege to *At-Tâ'if* to cut the head of the snake and clear the area surrounding Mecca, as he did with *Banû Qaynuqâ`* after the battle of *Badr*, *Banû Qurayzah* after the battle of *Al-Khandaq*, and the Jews at the battle of *Khaybar*.

(1) The place where the masses of the polytheists encamped before the battle, that is why it was called the battle of *Hunayn* or *Awtâs*.

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Here, I would like to mention that the Messenger of Allah visited *At-Tā'if* before the migration to call its people to Islam. He was alone and having no power and no strength except in Allah. The people of *At-Tā'if* maltreated the Messenger of Allah and urged their children to pelt him with stones. Now the tables are turned and he (peace be upon him) proceeds to *At-Tā'if* with a Muslim mass that the Arabs had never witnessed before. Throughout the march, the Messenger of Allah appointed Khâlid Ibn Al-Walîd to lead the advance guard of the army. On his way, the Prophet (peace be upon him) passed by the fort of Mâlik Ibn `Awf and ordered the troops to raze it to the ground. When the Muslims arrived at *At-Tā'if*, they found that the enemies took refuge in their own strong fort after they kept their weapons in it and stocked it with sufficient provisions. The Messenger of Allah ordered to encamp too close to the fort, but the archers of *Thaqîf* heavily showered them with arrows. Many Muslims had been wounded including `Abdullâh Ibn Abû Bakr and Abû Sufyân Ibn Harb who lost his eye, and twelve Muslims had died of severe wounds. To be far from the arrows range, the Messenger of Allah ordered the army to move the camp to a point which was beyond the reach of the arrows of the enemies; in the area where the mosque of *At-Tā'if* was established after surrendering the people of *Thaqîf* and their acceptance of Islam.

Next to the new camp and beyond the reach of the arrows of the enemies there were two tents pitched for the two wives of the Prophet (Umm Salamah and Zaynab who accompanied him since he left Medina), which between the Messenger of Allah used to perform prayer; maybe in this area the mosque of *At-Tā'if* was established. The Muslim laid siege to *At-Tā'if* for eighteen days; during this period Khâlid Ibn Al-Walîd was challenging their swordsmen to come out to fight him. None of them had accepted his challenge. Further `Abd Yalîl Ibn `Amr, the chief of *Thaqîf*, shouted at Khâlid: "None of us will come out to fight you, and we will stay in our fort where we stocked it with sufficient provisions serve us for years, and if you stay long until the stocks of food are wholly consumed we all will come out to fight you with our swords until the last man of us is killed!"

Seeing that the siege lasted too long, the Messenger of Allah consulted with his companions about that. Salmân the Persian suggested to use the

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testudo⁽¹⁾ against them, and attack the fort under the protection of the battering rams. They set up the testudos and a group of them advanced under the protection of two battering rams to crash through the fort. As they got to the wall of the fort, Mâlik and his men poured red-hot bars of iron into them which burnt the battering rams and terrified those under it, so that they hurriedly ran back. As they ran, the archers of *Thaqîf* fired a volley of arrows at them and killed some of them. Thereupon, the Messenger of Allah wanted to punish them as he had done with *Banû An-Nadîr*, and he ordered that their palm-trees and the grapevines be cut down to force them out to give battle or seek reconciliation. The Muslims cut down a lot of palm-trees and grapevines. The people in the fort sent (Sufyân Ibn `Abdullâh Ath-Thaqafî), or called out to the Messenger of Allah begging him to either refrain from this action for the sake of Allah and for the sake of the relationship which existed between us or seize our orchards and farms as a whole for yourself if you want. The Messenger of Allah said: *“Rather, I leave them for the sake of Allah and for the sake of the relationship which existed between us.”* Then the Messenger of Allah ordered that an announcement be made, *“Anyone who leaves the fort and comes out to us is secure.”* About ten slaves of *Thaqîf* came out from the fort; including Abû Bakrah,⁽²⁾ who was a slave to a man called Al-Hârith Ibn Kaladah. On enquiries having been made from the slaves the Messenger of Allah knew that those within the fort have provisions which are sufficient for them to stay long enough. The Messenger of Allah consulted Nawfl Ibn Mu`âwiyah Ad-Diyalî about staying or leaving. Nawfal said, “O Messenger of Allah! They are like a fox hiding inside its burrow. If you stood fast at it you would catch the fox, but if you parted with it, no harm would afflict you.” Thereupon, the Messenger of Allah ordered to lift the siege and leave.

In another narration, when the Messenger of Allah knew that the siege will last too long, some soldiers may lose patience, and the Sacred Month of

(1) **Translator:** A testudo is a large shield, usually made of wood, under which a group of assailants could advance to the gate of the fort, safe from the enemy arrows, and either crash through the gate with a battering ram or set fire to it.

(2) He was called so because of a pulley he made to descend from the fort, and when the people of *At-Tâ'if* became Muslims, their masters requested the Messenger of Allah to return the slaves to them. The Prophet (peace be upon him) refused and said to them, *“They are Allah’s freemen.”*

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Dhul-Hajjah (during which warfare was forbidden amongst the Arabs, and Islam later confirmed this tradition as well) is fast approaching, he (peace be upon him) decided to lift the siege and leave after declaring (when some hotheads among Muslims protested against this and insisted that they fight on until victory was gained): *“Then you can attack them tomorrow (after the Sacred Months).”* While returning some companions asked the Messenger of Allah to invoke evil upon the people of *Thaqîf*, but he (peace be upon him) said: *“O Allah! Give Your guidance to Thaqîf and bring them to us as Muslims.”*⁽¹⁾

► Captives and Spoils of *Hunayn*

The Messenger of Allah left *At-Tâ'if* and proceeded to *Al-Ji'rânah* where he left the captives and spoils which the Muslims had seized on the day of *Hunayn*, and he began to divide these captives. Shortly thereafter the Messenger of Allah had distributed the captives a delegation of *Hawâzin* came to him and declared that the tribe accepted Islam. The delegates reminded the Messenger of Allah of his childhood and breastfeeding in the tribe of *Sa'd Ibn Bakr* and asked him to give back their women, children and property. Gratefully (as he never ignores the services rendered by the people) he gave them the choice either to give back their women and children or their property. They chose their women and children. He (peace be upon him) forewent his own share as well as that of the descendants of `Abdul-Muttalib, but the shares of other Muslims concern them and it is necessary that they themselves would give up their rights, but he informed the delegates how they could get what they want. He advised them to say among the Muslims: *“We seek the intercession of the Messenger of Allah with the Muslims and we seek the intercession of the Muslims with the Messenger of Allah to give back our women and children”,* and promised to help them. The delegates did as they had been advised and a lot of people responded to the intercession and agreed to forgo their shares. On seeing that, the Messenger of Allah said: *“Whoever still insists on his right to the captives, shall (if he now foregoes the*

(1) See, the Siege of *At-Tâ'if*: *“Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh”* by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 180–183]; *“Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn”* by Sheikh Al-Khudarî (pp. 247–249); and *“Hayât Muhammad”* by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (pp. 419–421).

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right) receive for every captive six camels taken from the first booty that Allah may provide us.” They immediately rushed to hand over the captives in their hands. In the meantime, the Messenger of Allah inquired of the delegation about Mâlik Ibn `Awf and he was informed that he (Mâlik) had taken refuge in *At-Tâ'if*. The Messenger of Allah told them to inform Mâlik Ibn `Awf that in case he comes to me as a Muslim, I shall give him back his family and property, plus one hundred camels.

When Mâlik Ibn `Awf knew the promise of the Prophet (peace be upon him), he stealthily slipped out of *At-Tâ'if* and came to the Messenger of Allah. He embraced Islam and became a good Muslim. The Messenger of Allah fulfilled his promise and gave him back his family and property, and provided him with one hundred camels. He (peace be upon him) appointed Mâlik also as a commander over those who had embraced Islam from his people and over the tribes around *At-Tâ'if* which converted to Islam. Mâlik, with the assistance of these tribes, kept on fighting, raiding the people of *Thaqîf* and threatening all of their pasturages and trade routes until they became in sore circumstance.

By releasing the captives of *Hawâzin* and on account of these big gifts and special shares given to Mâlik Ibn `Awf and others to win their hearts and endear Islam to them, some Muslims feared that these gifts to the new converts would diminish their shares in the booty and began, in a whisper, expressing their objection to the Prophet's policy of distribution. When the Messenger of Allah was informed about their objection, he stood by the side of a camel, took some wool from its hump and, while holding it between his fingers, he lifted it up and said: *“O people, I swear by Allah that I get nothing but one-fifth of your booty, even in this wool, except one-fifth and this very fifth goes back to you.”* Then the Messenger of Allah divided the entire booty into five shares and distributed his one-fifth, which was his own share, amongst those who were until a few days earlier the sworn enemies of Islam (who were converted to Islam only recently) to endear Islam to them, and amongst some people who did not embrace Islam yet to win their hearts. He gave one hundred camels per head to Abû Sufyân, his son Mu`âwiyah, Al-Hâarith Ibn Kaladah, Al-Hâarith Ibn Hishâm, Suhayl

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Ibn `Amr, Huwaytib Ibn `Abdul-`Uzzâ, Hakîm Ibn Hizâm,⁽¹⁾ `Uyaynah Ibn Hisn, Al-Aqra` Ibn Hâbis, and Safwân Ibn Umayyah (on account of these big gifts and special shares these persons began entertaining feelings of love and affection for the Messenger of Allah and were, however, drawn to Islam). To persons belonging to another group, whose position was lower as compared with the aforesaid persons, he (peace be upon him) gave fifty camels per head to Makhramah Ibn Nawfal Az-Zuharî, `Umayr Ibn Wahb, Sa`îd Ibn Yarbû`. When the Messenger of Allah gave Al-`Abbâs Ibn Mirdâs few camels, he became disappointed and blamed the Messenger of Allah with a poem⁽²⁾ explaining that he did as it pleased and he was in no way inferior to `Uyaynah and Al-Aqra`. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: *“Take him away of me and cut off his tongue.”* They gave him (more camels) until he was pleased, that was what the Messenger of Allah meant by cutting his tongue off.⁽³⁾

While the Messenger of Allah was dividing the booty amongst those who were until a few days earlier the sworn enemies of Islam to win their hearts and endear Islam to them, a group of the *Ansâr* (the Supporters) felt so uneasy

- (1) It is narrated that when Hakîm Ibn Hizâm was given one-hundred camels like Abû Sufyân, he then asked the Messenger of Allah again and again for more and the Messenger of Allah gave him more and more. Then the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: *“O Hakîm! This wealth is indeed attractive and sweet. Whoever takes it and is satisfied will be blessed by it, but whoever takes it out of greed will not be blessed. He would be like someone who eats and is not satisfied. And the upper hand is better than the lower hand (that is, it is better to give than to receive).”* Thereupon, Hakîm took the first one hundred camels and did not count them saying: “By Him Who has sent you with the truth, I shall not ask anyone after you for anything, until I depart this world.” The Caliphs after the Prophet (peace be upon him) were calling Hakîm to give him his share from the treasury (like other companions), but he refused to accept anything.
- (2) The verses of this poem were mentioned in “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 184].
- (3) It is said that while the Messenger of Allah was dividing the booty Dhul-Khuwaysirah At-Tamîmî said: “Today you have not been just in distributing the booty!” The Messenger of Allah answered: *“Who shall act justly if I do not act justly?”* `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb said: “Give me permission that I may kill him!” The Messenger of Allah replied: *“Leave him alone. In future he will be the leader of a group who will quit Islam in the same manner in which an arrow quits a bow.”* It is said also that this story was about a property he had sent to Yemen. In any case, are they the *Kharijites*? (Ibnul-Athîr) I view that the story is fabricated as to the *Kharijites* as it includes more things.

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and were furious about the distribution of the booty to an extent that one of them said: "By Allah, the Messenger of Allah has satisfied his people! This is indeed very strange; he has given (from the booty) *Quraysh* and deprived us while our swords are still dribbling with their blood." Sa`d Ibn `Ubâdah went to the Messenger of Allah and told him about the feelings of the *Ansâr*. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said to Sa`d: "*Then assemble your people in this hutch.*" When Sa`d did so, the Messenger of Allah went to them and explained the matter saying, among other words: "*I give to a man while another is dearer to me, for fear that he might be thrown on his face in the Fire by Allah. Are you not satisfied, O people of the Ansâr that the people go away with sheep and camels while you take back with you the Messenger of Allah to your homes? By Him in Whose hand is Muḥammad's soul, had there been no migration, I would have been one of the Ansâr. If all people would go through one way, and the Ansâr go through the other way, I would go through the way of the Ansâr. May Allah have mercy on the Ansâr, their children and their grandchildren.*" The Messenger of Allah uttered these words with great affection and love for those who pledged allegiance to him, gave him lots of support, were proud of him and honored him. These words aroused their sentiments so much that all of them began to cry and they said: "O Messenger of Allah! We are satisfied with our lot and share."⁽¹⁾

Following this wise words where all people felt satisfied, the Messenger of Allah left *Al-Ji`irânah* and headed for Mecca, where he performed *`Umrah* (the Lesser Pilgrimage). Having finished the *`Umrah* he appointed `Attâb Ibn Asîd to be in charge of Mecca, and along with `Attâb he assigned Mu`âdh Ibn Jabal to learn people the Qur`ân and the teachings of Islam. Thereafter, the Messenger of Allah returned with the *Muhâjirûn* (the Immigrants) and the *Ansâr* (the Supporters) to Medina three days before the end of Dhul-Qa`dah or in the beginning of Dhul-Hajjah of the 8th year of the Hegira.



(1) See, the Captives and Spoils of *Hunayn*: "*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 182–158]; "*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*" by Sheikh Al-Khudarî (pp. 249–254); and "*Hayât Muḥammad*" by Muḥammad Husayn Haykal (pp. 422 – 425).

The Islamic Call after the Battle of Hunayn and the Year of Deputations

As a consequence of the conquest of Mecca, the victory at the battle of Hunayn and the siege of At-Tâ'if, the Messenger of Allah and the Muslims became the biggest power in the Arabia, and most of the tribes began to pledge their allegiance to Islam and realized that none in the whole Arabian Peninsula has the power to resist or stand against Islam. Further, immediately after his returning from Al-Ji`rânah (situated between At-Tâ'if and Mecca), the Messenger of Allah began to extend his domination and rule throughout different regions and territories, and give the orders to the tribes under his control. In the beginning of the 9th year of the Hegira the Messenger of Allah began dispatching the envoys to the tribes under his control requesting them to pay the prescribed Zakâh (alms-giving). All his envoys accomplished their mission (collecting the Zakâh) except two; they were the envoy of Banû Tamîm and the envoy of Banû Al-Mustaliq. Therefore, the Prophet (peace be upon him) dispatched who had punished Banû Tamîm, and as a result they announced their obedience and pledged allegiance to Islam. On the other hand, when Banû Al-Mustaliq met the collector of Zakâh with their swords celebrating his coming, he mistakenly thought that they wanted fighting and hastily returned to the Messenger of Allah and informed him about their intention. Thereupon, the Prophet (peace be upon him) dispatched Khâlid Ibn Al-Walîd to them; but when Khâlid went to Banû Al-Mustaliq, he found them in the best obedience and adherence to Islam. Now, the Islamic call advances to gain more grounds; the tribes give their obedience, the poets praise the Prophet of Islam, and among them was Ka`b Ibn Zuhayr in his poem "The Mantle" (Su`âd would disagree with me, what could I do. My heart suffers pain), and the strongholds of paganism fall down, the deputations come one follows another to Medina from all surrounding regions and territories (from Yemen, Hadramawt, Mahra, Oman, Al-Bahrayn, the outskirts of the Levant, the outskirts of Persia) in order to pledge obedience and allegiance to the Messenger of Allah, and then return to their own tribes as Muslims and

believers.⁽¹⁾ This is the reason why the 9th year of the Hegira was called the year of deputations; i.e. because the large number of deputations came to Medina in this year. This does not mean that the deputations before or during the 10th year were not existent, but in fact the deputations did not stop throughout the 11th year and some of these deputations attended *Hijjatul-Wadâ`* (the Farewell Pilgrimage).

► The Battle of *Tabûk*

Undoubtedly the defeat, or more accurately the failure to achieve victory, at the Battle of *Mu'tah* had badly affected the prestige and authority of Islam in front of the tribes residing in the areas located between Medina and the Levant. Further, when a group of *Qudâ`ah* dared to propagate the idea of invading Medina, the Messenger of Allah dispatched a campaign led by `Amr Ibn Al-`Âs to punish them, and enforce the authority of Islam and its prestige over them. Yet, enforcing the authority of Islam over these tribes on the one hand and consolidating this authority on the other hand are two very different things, because consolidating the authority requires enormous efforts and painstaking work on the part of Muslims along with striking with an iron hand any tribe dares to resist or stand against Islam. This why, in the middle of the 9th year of the Hegira, when the two tribes of *Banû `Udhrah* and *Baliyy* renounced their allegiance to Islam the Messenger of Allah had dispatched a campaign under the leadership of Khâlid Ibn Al-Walîd to rein them back, and as a result they announced their alliance with the Muslims. For its proximity to his empire in the south of the Levant, these campaigns disturbed the Roman emperor and proved him that a Prophet in the Arabia will try to extend the authority of his religion outside the borders. So, the Roman emperor armed the tribes submitted to him and located in the border area between the Levant and the Arabia Peninsula, such as *Lakhm*, *Juzâm*, and *Ghassân*, and enforced them to guard these borders. Their

(1) Among them was the deputation of *Tay`* headed by their master Zaydul-Khayl who named by the Messenger of Allah as Zaydul-Khayr, the deputation of *`Adiyy Ibn Hâtim* who escaped, rejected and then converted to Islam, the deputation of *Sudâ`*, the deputation of *Tamîm*, the deputation of *Banû Asad*, and many others. For more details, see: *“Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh”* by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 185-189 and 193-198]; and *“Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn”* by Sheikh Al-Khudarî (pp. 254-260).

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garrisons were moving backwards and forwards which gave the impression of existing masses and military movements on the borders.

The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) received this news in greatly exaggerated way; the information brought to him was that the Romans massed troops along the borders to invade his lands, and that the tribes of *Lakhm*, *Judhâm*, and *Ghassân* allied with the Byzantine armies to wage a fierce war against this new religion. This information had been confirmed also when the Messenger of Allah received news that the emperor Hercules had settled down at Homs (a city of west-central Syria north of Damascus). Accordingly, he (peace be upon him) commanded openly, contrary to his habit of concealing his target, the people of Medina and the surrounding areas to prepare themselves to invade the Romans. He cleared the situation to his people so that they would get ready since the numerical strength of the enemy, according to the news, is so big, the route is too long and difficult, the weather is extremely hot, there is a drought and the land is arid, and the people go through hard times.

The Messenger of Allah called the people of Mecca and the allied tribes to join the campaign and urged the wealthy to prepare those in poverty. In response to his call, `Uthmân Ibn `Affân, for instance, spent ten-thousand dinars and gave three-hundred camels including their saddles and waterskins, as well as fifty horses. In this respect, the Prophet (peace be upon him) said about `Uthmân: *“O Allah, be pleased with `Uthmân, for I am pleased with him”*. Then, Abû Bakr came with everything he had (it was four-thousand dirhams), the Prophet (peace be upon him) said to him, *“Did you leave anything for your family?”* Abû Bakr replied, *“I left for them Allah and His Messenger”*. `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb, on his side, brought half of his property, whereas `Abdullâh Ibn `Awf brought one-hundred *Uqiyyah* (one *Uqiyyah* is equal to 40 dirhams). Talhah and Al-`Abbâs also brought a lot of money, and women shared in this competition by giving the things they owned; such as their jewelries and ornaments. Although the donations to the army were so numerous, but they were not enough to enable some people to join the campaign. Actually seven of the scholars of companions from the *Anṣâr* (the Supporters) and others, who were poor, came to the Messenger of Allah to be provided with mounts, but he (peace be upon

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him) answered, *“I can find no mounts for you.”* They turned back while their eyes overflowing with tears of grief that they could not find anything to spend. Because of their grief, they were called *Al-Bakkâ’ûn* (the ones who wept bitterly and tears trickled down their faces).⁽¹⁾

Beside those who sacrificed their souls and property in the cause of Allah, and those who were in poverty and could find no mounts for themselves, there was a third group of persons who clung heavily to the earth, asked exemption from the battle and discouraged people, even the call of Allah’s Messenger to march out to this distant battle at this burning place was an object of ridicule among themselves. Further this group of persons incited other people not to move out reminding them of the difficulties they suffered at the hands of the Romans at the battle of *Mu’tah*. They were a group of hypocrites and on top of them was Ibn `Ubayy who said in a ridiculous manner: “Do Muhammad want invading *Banû Al-Asfar* (the Romans) at this time of hardship, in this extremely hot weather and at this great distance?! He thinks that his fighting with *Banû Al-Asfar* is an easy walk! By Allah, as if I am seeing his companions bound together in ropes.” Such statements had badly affected the souls of the Muslims, and this group began to hold meetings to discourage people and to speak badly about the Messenger of Allah and his companions.

When their news came to the Messenger of Allah, he sent `Ammâr Ibn Yâsir to ask them about their statements. When `Ammâr asked them, they declared:

{“We were only talking idly and joking.”}

[At-Tawbah: 64 - 71]

Among this group were those who came to the Messenger of Allah (such as Al-Jadd Ibn Qays) asking him to be exempted from moving out and said: “O Allah’s Messenger! Grant us leave (to be exempted from the battle) and put us not into trial because we fear falling into the temptation of the women of *Banû Al-Asfar* (the Romans).” Allah, the Almighty, revealed their intention to His Prophet (peace be upon him) in this Quranic Verse:

(1) When their condition came to know, `Uthmân Ibn `Affân provided three of them with mounts, Al-`Abbâs provided two with mounts, and Yâmin Ibn `Umayr Ibn Ka`b An-Nadârî provided another two with mounts.

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{“Surely, they have fallen into trial. And verily, Hell is surrounding the disbelievers.”}

[At-Tawbah: 49]

Also among them were some hypocrites who came with those who made excuses from the Bedouins (they were the poor and weak people) to the Messenger of Allah asking his permission to exempt them from moving out to the battle, and he granted them leave. Allah, the Almighty, blamed the Prophet (peace be upon him) for granting them leave in this Quranic Verse:

{“May Allah forgive you (O Muhammad). Why did you grant them leave (to be exempted from the battle), until those who told the truth were seen by you in a clear light, and you had known the liars?”}

[At-Tawbah: 43]

Then Allah, Glory be to Him, said about them:

{“It is only those who believe not in Allah and the Last Day and whose hearts are in doubt that ask your leave (to be exempted from the battle). So in their doubts they waver.”}

[At-Tawbah: 45]

Further, Allah denied their excuse in this Quranic Verse:

{“And if they had intended to march out, certainly, they would have made some preparation for it, but Allah was a Verse to their being sent forth, so He made them lag behind, and it was said (to them), ‘Sit you among those who sit behind (the battle)’.”}

[At-Tawbah: 46]

In order that Muslims may not be sad over the attitude of the hypocrites who sat behind (the battle), Allah, the Almighty, said:

{“Had it been a near gain (booty in front of them) and an easy journey, they would have followed you, but the distance was long for them, and they would swear by Allah, ‘If we only could, we would certainly have come forth with you.’ They destroy their ownelves, and Allah knows that they are liars. May Allah forgive you (O Muhammad). Why did you grant them leave (to be exempted from the

battle), until those who told the truth were seen by you in a clear light, and you had known the liars? Those who believe in Allah and the Last Day would not ask your leave to be exempted from fighting with their properties and their lives, and Allah is the All-Knower of the pious. It is only those who believe not in Allah and the Last Day and whose hearts are in doubt that ask your leave (to be exempted from the battle). So in their doubts they waver. And if they had intended to march out, certainly, they would have made some preparation for it, but Allah was a Verse to their being sent forth, so He made them lag behind, and it was said (to them), ‘Sit you among those who sit (at home).’ Had they marched out with you, they would have added to you nothing except disorder, and they would have hurried about in your midst (spreading corruption) and sowing sedition among you, and there are some among you who would have listened to them. And Allah is the All-Knower of the wrong-doers. Verily, they had plotted sedition before, and had upset matters for you, until the truth (victory) came and the Decree of Allah (His religion) became manifest though they hated it. And among them is he who says: ‘Grant me leave (to be exempted from the battle) and put me not into trial.’ Surely, they have fallen into trial. And verily, Hell is surrounding the disbelievers.”}

[At-Tawbah: 42-49]

However, without any doubt or hypocrisy, there were three people who sat behind (the battle), but their intention was seeking for rest and avoiding the extremely hot weather; they were Ka`b Ibn Mâlik, Hilâl Ibn Umayyah and Murârah Ibn Ar-Rabî`. When the Messenger of Allah returned from the battle of *Tabûk*, they confessed their sin and expressed their regret at what they had done. The Messenger of Allah ostracized them and ordered the Muslims not to have any kind of talk with them for fifty days until Allah, the Almighty, had accepted their repentance in this Quranic Verse:

{“And the three [who did not join the battle of Tabûk] left until for them the earth, vast as it is, was straitened and their ownelves were straitened to them, and they perceived that there is no fleeing from Allah, and no refuge but with Him. Then, He accepted their repen-

tance, that they might repent (unto Him). Verily, Allah is the One who accepts repentance, Most Merciful.”}

[At-Tawbah: 118]

When this Verse was revealed, they glowed with happiness to such an extent that Ka`b wanted to give the whole of his property in charity but Allah’s Messenger said to him: “*Keep a part of it*”, and then everything went back to normal. In spite of those who had sat behind (as mentioned above), thirty-thousand people massed with the Messenger of Allah at the battle of *Tabûk*. This army went through severe difficulties on account of the Messenger of Allah had equipped it in the lack of provision, water and mount, and for this reason it had been given the name of *Jayshul-`Usrah* (the army of hardship), and the battle of *Tabûk* was given the name of the battle of *`Usrah* too.

► ***Jayshul-`Usrah Marches into Tabûk***

The Messenger of Allah reviewed *Jayshul-`Usrah* (the army of hardship) outside Medina. The magnificent and splendid scene of the march past of the army and its numerical strength were not seen before in the history of the Arabs. When the Prophet (peace be upon him) commanded the army to march off, the dust raised, the horses neighed, the women of Medina climbed to the roofs of houses to watch this huge legion marching out through the desert towards the north paying no attention to the extremely hot weather, thirst and drought. This magnificent scene (ten-thousand mounted soldiers at the vanguard, and the women were captivated by its magnificence and strength) urged some people to march out behind the army; among them was Abû Khaythamah. When the army reached the rocky tract (the land of *Thamûd*) the Prophet (peace be upon him) said to his companions, “*Do not enter the houses of those who did wrong except while your eyes overflowing with tears*”, in order that their hearts may feel fear of Allah, and he commanded them not to drink water of that place or even perform ablution with it as this is the land of those who disbelieved.⁽¹⁾

(1) It is reported that the army encamped for rest at the land of *Thamûd* and drank water of that place, but after they had taken their rest, the Prophet (peace be upon him) ordered them not to drink water or even perform ablution, and if they had, in some cases, prepared food or kneaded flour with that water they should not eat it but it is given =

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Despite intense thirst and long route, Allah did not abandon the believers and sent to them a rainy cloud to quench their thirst. They drunk and filled their water skins, and then the army continued on the march until it arrived at the area of *Tabûk*. On reaching that spot the army encamped there and take rest,⁽¹⁾ the soldiers began to revive their strength, drink fresh water, and await to face the enemy. However, no trace of the Roman army could be seen there as the news received. It appears that when the Romans were informed about the numerical strength of the Muslim army and knew the bravery of Muslims and their unparalleled self-sacrifices at the battle of *Mu'tah*, they considered it is expedient to recall their army within the frontiers of their own territories at the Levant. At this juncture the Messenger of Allah did not see any reason to advance into the regions of the enemy but he encamped along the border challenging the Romans and began to send the platoons away to their regions.

The retreat of the Romans and the encampment of the Muslim army at *Tabûk* for a few days urged many Christian and Jewish tribes located around the Gulf of *'Aqabah* to come in deputations to conclude peace and non-aggression treaties with the Messenger of Allah so that they might acquire better security. Among these deputations was Yuhannâ Ibn Ru'bah, the ruler of *Aylah* (the city of *'Aqabah* in ancient times) and the governor-general of the Christian and Jewish tribes inhabitant around the Gulf of *Aylah*, who came to the Messenger of Allah seeking reconciliation with him. He gave gifts, pledged obedience, and paid *Jizyah* (the tribute). Also the people of *Adhruh*, the people of *Jarbâ'* and the people of *Muqna'*⁽²⁾ did the same and the Messenger of Allah sent to them peace messages.⁽³⁾

= to the animals to eat. See: "*As-Sîrah An-Nabawiyyah*" by Ibn Hishâm (P. 117); "*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 190-191]; and "*Hayât Muhammad*" by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (P. 443).

- (1) *Tabûk* is located at a distance of 610 km of Medina; it is a fertile oasis of date-palms and orchards.
- (2) *Adhruh* is a place on the border of the Levant towards *Al-Balqâ'* and Oman, and it is next to the region of Hejaz. *Jarbâ'* is a village in *Al-Balqâ'* which was under the control of Oman and it is next to *Adhruh*, and *Muqna'* is next to them.
- (3) For further details about these messages, see: "*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*" by Sheikh Al-Khudarî (P. 264); and "*Hayât Muhammad*" by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (P. 444).

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After the Messenger of Allah had concluded these treaties with the frontiers-men, and thus ensured the safety of the Islamic territories from the side of *Dûmat Al-Jandal* (situated at a distance of about fifty leagues from Damascus), he dispatched Khâid Ibn Al-Walîd with fifty-hundred mounted soldiers to *Dûmat Al-Jandal*. Khâid passed the desert until he reached *Dûmat Al-Jandal*, and without much resistance, he took its ruler Ukaydar Ibn `Abdul-Malik as prisoner, and captured two-thousand camels, eight-hundred sheep and a lot of weapons. Then, Khâid returned in the company of Ukaydar Ibn `Abdul-Malik to Medina with this booty. At this juncture when the Messenger of Allah had dispatched Khâid to *Dûmat Al-Jandal*, he (peace be upon him) returned with the Muslim army to Medina during the month of Ramadan, in the 9th year of the Hegira, and the return of Khâid with this booty to Medina was after the return of the Prophet to it. Immediately after Ukaydar Ibn `Abdul-Malik had reached Medina, he met the Messenger of Allah and embraced Islam.

Tabûk was the last Islamic battle in which the Messenger of Allah took part. On the day of his return to Medina, he (peace be upon him) ordered the mosque of *Dirâr* to be razed to the ground. This mosque was constructed by the hypocrites at a short distance of Medina to compete the mosque of *Qubâ'* (the mosque constructed by the Prophet to the north of Medina) and to create differences amongst the Muslims. When the Prophet (peace be upon him) was informed (by the Archangel Gabriel) about their intention, he destroyed it.⁽¹⁾ Destruction of the mosque of *Dirâr* was a serious blow to the hypocrites and they found none to support them except `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy, their scholar and leader, who died after about two months of the battle of *Tabûk*. Despite his ill will and hatred, as previously mentioned, towards the Messenger of Allah since his migration to Medina, when `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy (the chief of hypocrites) died, and the Messenger of Allah was called to offer his funeral

(1) This mosque was built before proceeding to the battle of *Tabûk*. A group of the hypocrites came to the Messenger of Allah and requested him to perform the opening ceremony of this place of worship by offering a few *Rak`ahs* of prayers there. The Prophet (peace be upon him) did not give them any reply, either in the affirmative or in the negative, and postponed the final decision in the matter until after his return from the battle. Once he returned from *Tabûk*, he asked them about the reason behind building this mosque, they swore by Allah that their intention was nothing but good. Allah bears witness that they were certainly liars.

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prayer, he (peace be upon him) did not hesitate to offer his funeral prayer, escort him to his final resting place and ask Allah's Forgiveness for him until he buried.⁽¹⁾ The Messenger of Allah did that to console his son `Abdullâh as well as the *Khazraj* for the position of `Abdullâh Ibn Ubayy among them. This behavior from the Messenger of love and peace was a reason for many hypocrites to take off the yoke of hypocrisy and to become sincere and loyal to Allah, His Messenger and Muslims.

► The Impact of *Tabûk* upon the Spread of Islam

The battle of *Tabûk* and the retreat of the Romans from facing the Muslims had great influences; they had furthered the Muslims exposure to the external world, conveyed the word of Allah to all regions in the Arabian Peninsula, and the Messenger of Allah ensured the safety of the Islamic territories from the enemies along the borders he had secured. In addition, the battle of *Tabûk* enforced the authority and prestige of Islam, allowed people throughout the Arabia to hear the call of Islam, and no sooner had the Messenger of Allah returned to Medina than the deputations flocked to the mosque of Medina to pledge their allegiance and embrace Islam.

Despite its strong resistance to the Messenger of Allah which made him leaves without storming its fort, and killing `Urwah Ibn Mas`ûd (one of its chiefs) when he embraced Islam and returned to call its people (*Thaqîf*) to Islam,⁽²⁾ *At-Tâ'if* was the first tribe among those who pledged obedience

(1) Thereafter, Allah, the Almighty, forbade His Messenger to offer the funeral prayer for the hypocrites in this Quranic Verse: **{“And never (O Muhammad) offer (funeral prayer) for any of them (hypocrites) who dies, nor stand at his grave...”}** [At-Tawbah: 84].

(2) `Urwah Ibn Mas`ûd was in Yemen when the Messenger of Allah conquered his land. After he had returned and knew about the great victory of the Muslim army at *Tabûk*, he rushed to meet the Prophet (peace be upon him) after his arrival to Medina so as to embrace Islam and seek his permission to go back to his people and call them to Islam. It is said that he met the Messenger of Allah during his return from *At-Tâ'if*. He embraced Islam before or after *Tabûk* whatever the case may be, the Prophet (peace be upon him) warned him about the result of this mission and said, **“I am afraid you may lose your life in this path”**. He replied, **“They love me more than their own eyes or sons”**. When `Urwah returned to *At-Tâ'if*, he declared his Islam and called his people to embrace Islam, but they killed him. `Urwah is one of two men referred to in this Quranic Verse: **{“And they say: ‘Why is not this Qur`ân sent down to some great man of the two towns (Mecca and At-Tâ'if)?’”}** [Az-Zukhruf: 31].

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and allegiance after the battle of *Tabûk*. It regretted killing `Urwah and realized that it was impossible to live alone when the Arabs were fluttering round and all of its pasturages and trade routes were threatened; even by its former ally and leader of the army of *Hunayn* Mâlik Ibn `Awf. It realized also that its doom has to go forth unless it rushes to make reconciliation with the Muslims. The people of *At-Tâ'if* decided to dispatch six of their nobles (headed by one of their elders named `Abd Yalayl) to Medina to meet the Messenger of Allah and convey to him their willingness to embrace Islam under certain conditions. They stipulated that their big idol named *Al-Lât* should continue to be worshipped for three years, and that they should be excused from offering prayers. Though their conditions were completely refused, they did not lose hope at first and requested that their idol might be allowed to remain as it was for two-years, or one-year, or even for one-month, justifying this by saying that it needs more time⁽¹⁾ that Islam may enter the hearts of people and also not to scare the women and the foolish persons when they see their idol be destroyed. Their attempts were useless and the Messenger of Allah faced them with firm and single-minded determination that they must denounce the polytheism and destroy its idols.

Thereafter, the deputation of *Thaqîf* embraced Islam as prescribed by Allah; including the prayer and the rest of its pillars. The members of deputation stayed with the Messenger of Allah until the end of Ramadan offering prayer and fasting with him. The Messenger of Allah selected as their leader `Uthmân Ibn Al-`Âs who had, during his stay at Medina, evinced great interest in learning the Qur`ân and the commands of Islam. They returned to *At-Tâ'if* in the company of Al-Mughîrah Ibn Shu`bah and Abû Sufyân Ibn Harb to destroy their idol (*Al-Lât*). When they reached *At-Tâ'if*, Abû Sufyân advanced to destroy their idol while the women of *Thaqîf* were shedding tears of grief. Al-Mughîrah took the money in their idol-temple and sold its ornaments and, as directed by the Messenger of Allah and as agreed with Abû Sufyân, paid the debt of `Urwah out of its proceeds. Through the destruction of their idol (*Al-Lât*) the last strongholds of paganism fell down in the heart of the Arabian

(1) In "*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*" (P. 258), Sheikh Al-Khudarî mentioned that Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him) agreed to remain as it was for one-month and the two envoys awaited this period to perform this job (destroying their idol).

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Peninsula, and the conversion of *At-Tâ'if* to Islam declared the whole region of Hejaz as Muslims.⁽¹⁾

The dominance and authority of the Messenger of Allah had extended from the Roman lands in the north to Yemen and *Hadramawt* in the south. The territories situated in the north of Arabia became ready to embrace the new religion, and their deputations headed towards Medina to pledge their obedience and embrace Islam. The mosque of Medina became the destination for these deputations,⁽²⁾ and the core source for learning the Qur'ân and the commands of Islam, offering prayers, and the point from which the envoys start off to spread the call of Islam. When the Messenger of Allah noticed that the Arabian tribes were seeking unity and they began to extend their hands to Islam, but many of them were unable to come to Medina, he (peace be upon him) dispatched envoys on his part to all these regions to teach people the Qur'ân and the commands of Islam and to collect the prescribed *Zakâh* (alms-giving) from them. Mu'âdh Ibn Jabal was dispatched to the area of 'Adan and Abû Mûsâ Al-Ash'arî to the area of *San'â'*, and the Prophet (peace be upon him) said to them, *"Make things easy! And do not make them complicated! Be cheerful! And do not be repulsive!"* likewise, 'Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib was dispatched to *Banû Madhhij* (residing in the north of *Najrân*), and 'Adiyy Ibn Hâtim At-Tâ'î to *Tay'* and *Asad*, and Al-'Alâ' Al-*Hadramî* was dispatched to Al-Bahrayn. In the same manner, Khâlid Ibn Al-Walîd was dispatched to *Banû 'Abdul-Madân* in *Najrân* (they were Christians) to call them to embrace Islam, or otherwise he should fight them. When Khâlid arrived at *Banû 'Abdul-Madân*, they pledged obedience and embraced Islam. Khâlid stayed there to teach its people the Qur'ân and the commands of

(1) "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 193-194]; "Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn" by Sheikh Al-Khudarî (pp. 266-288); and "Hayât Muhammad" by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (pp. 450-453).

(2) As mentioned before, the 9th year of the Hegira was called the year of deputations, and we mentioned that the deputations did not stop throughout the 10th year. Here, we indicate that all the deputations in the two years reached, as narrated by Ibn Sa'd in "At-Tabaqât", about seventy-two; and among them were *Banû Hanîfah*, the deputations of *Kindah*, *Azd*, *Shanû'ah*, *Hamadan*, *Tujîb*, *Tha'labah*, the deputations of *Banû Sa'd Ibn Hudhaym*, *Banû Fizârah*, *Banû Muhârib*, and the deputations of *Ghassân*. For more details, see: "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 199-204]; and "Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn" by Sheikh Al-Khudarî (pp. 278-288).

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Islam, and wrote a message to the Messenger of Allah informing him about their obedience and acceptance of Islam, then the Prophet (peace be upon him) wrote a message to Khâlid to return with a deputation from the tribe, and Khâlid did so. The Messenger of Allah also dispatched Ziyâd Ibn Labîd Al-Ansârî to *Hadramawt*, and Mâlik Ibn Nuwayrah to *Banû Hanzalah*.

Throughout this period, the Messenger of Allah had dispatched many envoys to the different areas; they were conveying Islam, teaching people the Qur'ân and the commands of Islam, and collecting the prescribed *Zakâh* (alms-giving) from them. He gave some of the collected *Zakâh* to the poor among Muslims and spent some of it in the public interests.

While the deputations were flocking to Medina in the 9th year of the Hegira (Immigration) and the envoys were dispatching everywhere, the time of *Hajj* (the Greater Pilgrimage) approached: Would Allah's Messenger permit the Muslims go to Mecca for *Hajj* without a leader as happened last year and let them perform the Pilgrimage as the Arabs used to do? Or would he proceed to Mecca himself to express his thanks and praise to Allah for the victory He had given over the Romans and the convert of the stubborn *Thaqîf* to Islam and the arrival of the deputations from everywhere? Or would he appoint someone as his representative to lead the Muslims in the season of Pilgrimage? The idea of not proceeding to the Pilgrimage for two years after the conquest of Mecca and the great number of pilgrims may be exploited against Islam. Also, Allah's Messenger did not want to see the acts of polytheists and their behaviors during the season of Pilgrimage. Keeping all these matters in mind, the Messenger of Allah decided to appoint his closest companion, Abû Bakr, as his representative to lead the session of Pilgrimage and he (Abû Bakr) proceeded to Mecca with three hundred Muslims.

Once Abû Bakr left for the Pilgrimage, `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib went forth behind to inform him about the revelation of the beginning of Surah *At-Tawbah* and that he will convey it to the people. Abû Bakr presided at the season of Pilgrimage, and the disbelievers performed the rites of Pilgrimage as they used to do during the pre-Islamic period. On the sacrifice day when the people gathered at *Minâ*, Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib and Abû Hurayrah stood proclaiming: "Henceforward the polytheists were not to be allowed to visit the *Ka'bah* or perform the Pilgrimage. No one was to be allowed to

circumambulate the *Ka`bah* naked. Where the Messenger of Allah had any agreements with the polytheists such agreements were to be honored for the stipulated periods.” Then, `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib recited the beginning of Surah *At-Tawbah*. The pilgrims returned to their tribes with this proclamation which gave the paganism an ultimatum throughout the Arabia that Islam had enforced its authority, and declared that Islam is the religion of the Arabian Peninsula from end to end.

► **The Farewell Pilgrimage (the Pilgrimage of Islam or the Pilgrimage of the Conveyance of Message)⁽¹⁾**

Since Abû Bakr had performed the pilgrimage and `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib had recited the beginning of Surah *At-Tawbah*, the months of the 10th year of the Hegira went on quickly and here came a new year and the month of Dhul-Qa`dah came and was about to end while the Messenger of Allah did not perform *Hajj* (the Greater Pilgrimage), even though he had performed `Umrah (the Lesser Pilgrimage) two or three times.⁽²⁾ The Greater Pilgrimage has specific rites that should be elaborated by the Messenger of Allah so that people may learn them. He intended to perform *Hajj* to the *Ka`bah* this year. Hence, when the news came to people, this inspired great interest in the Muslim *Ummah* and people came from everywhere. A hundred thousand persons or more pitched up tents in the outskirts of Medina and awaited the departure of the Prophet (peace be upon him) to Mecca.

On 25 of Dhul-Qa`dah of the 10th year of the Hegira (corresponding to March 1st, 632 A.D.), the Messenger of Allah set out accompanied by all his wives and followed by this large crowd, they proceeded to Mecca armless but

(1) In the terminology of *Hadîth* and history this historical journey is called *Hijjatul-Wadâ`* (the Farewell Pilgrimage), and this is the famous name used among the majority of historians and scholars of *Hadîth*. However, Ibn `Abbâs disliked this designation and named it *Hijjatul-Islâm* (the Pilgrimage of Islam), and at times it is also named *Hijjatul-Balâgh* (the Pilgrimage of the Conveyance of Message) because Allah's Messenger conveyed the Message, perfected the religion and said in its sermon: “*Have I not conveyed (the Message)?!*”

(2) `Umratul-*Hudaybiyah* (`Umraul-*Hasr*) was in the end of the 6th year of the Hegira, `Umraul-*Qadâ`* was in the 7th year of the Hegira, `Umratul-*Ji`rânah* was in the 8th year of the Hegira upon his return from *At-Tâ`if*, and the `Umrah which he had performed with the Farewell Pilgrimage. All these `Umrahs were on Dhul-Qa`dah.

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with full faith and hearts filled with true happiness to walk into the Sacred House of Allah (*Ka`bah*) in order to perform the Greater Pilgrimage with their honorable leader and greater teacher, Muhammad Ibn `Abdullâh. When they reached *Dhul-Hulayfah* (the place where the people of Medina should enter the state of *Ihrâm* therefrom), they stopped and spent their night there, and then they put on the clothes of *Ihrâm* and began their *Ihrâm* therefrom. They wore the same two plain sheets of cloth. The Messenger of Allah directed completely with his heart to his Lord, and all the Muslims behind him, proclaiming: "*Labbayka Allâhumma Labayyk (Here I am O Allah [in response to Your call], here I am). Labbayka Lâ Sharîka Laka Labbayk (Here I am, You have no partner, here I am). Innal-Hamda Wan-Ni`mata Laka Wal-Mulk (Indeed, all praise, grace and sovereignty belong to You). Lâ Sharîka Laka Labbayk (You have no partner, Here I am).*" All inhabitants of the surrounding valleys and deserts responded to this beautiful proclamation and supplicated their Lord in complete devotion and faithfulness.

This magnificent and splendid caravan continued with proceeding to Mecca until it reached *Sarifâ* (a place on their route between Mecca and Medina), then the Messenger of Allah said: "*Those who have not brought sacrificial animals with them and wanted to treat whatever they have already performed to be `Umrah, they might do so, and others who have brought sacrificial animals with them should not do so (and they should remain in the state of Ihrâm)*". The caravan moved until it reached Mecca and entered it from the side of *Kadâ`* (from the upper side) and entered *Ka`bah* from the gate of *Banû Shaybah*. When the Messenger of Allah saw *Ka`bah*, he said: "*O Allah, increase this House in honor, greatness, dignity and righteousness.*" Then he (peace be upon him) performed *Hajj* (the Greater Pilgrimage) with people and showed them their rites and taught them the instructions and recommendations of the Pilgrimage.⁽¹⁾ When the sun declined on the day of *`Arafah*, the Messenger of Allah walked until he reached at the bottom of the valley of *`Uranah*, where he had delivered his historical sermon which was repeated by one of his companions (Rabî`ah Ibn Umayyah Ibn Khalaf), who

(1) Some biography books mentioned the acts of Allah's Messenger in the Pilgrimage, but here we view no need to do that because this has been discussed elaborately in the books of *Hadîth* and *Fiqh*.

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had a loud voice, so that those at a distance of this great gathering might also come to know what the Messenger of Allah was saying. A part of this sermon, after he had praised and expressed his thanks to Allah, was as follows: *“O People! Verily your blood and your property are sacred and inviolable until you meet your Lord, as the sacred inviolability of this day of yours, this month of yours and this very town of yours. Have I not conveyed (the Message)?! O Allah, Be my witness. Return the goods entrusted to you to their rightful owners...”* This sermon was long and all-inclusive, through which the Messenger of Allah explained the fundamentals of religion and its branches, and set the constitution which controls the people’s behavior and treatment towards one another. No wonder, it is a commandment of the one who is anxious over his nation, and for them he is full of pity, kindness, and mercy. Since this sermon was delivered at the end of his life and he cared about the benefit of his nation, he was repeating, after each command and prohibition, his unforgettable words: *“Have I not conveyed (the Message)?! O Allah, Be my witness.”*⁽¹⁾

After the Messenger of Allah had delivered this sermon, he completed the rites of *Hijjatul-Wadâ’* (the Farewell Pilgrimage) as called by a group of historians and scholars of *Hadîth*, or *Hijjatul-Islâm* (the Pilgrimage of Islam) as called by some others, or *Hijjatul-Balâgh* (the Pilgrimage of the Conveyance of Message) as called by a third group. In fact, each of these names has some associations, which are quite evident; it was the last time the Messenger of Allah sees Mecca and the Sacred House (i.e. *Ka’bah*). Allah has perfected His religion for people and completed His favor upon them in this Pilgrimage, and therein Allah has revealed this Quranic Verse:

{“This day, I have perfected your religion for you, completed My favor upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion.”}

[Al-Mâ’idah: 3]

It was named *Hijjatul-Balâgh* (the Pilgrimage of the Conveyance of Message) because the Messenger of Allah conveyed therein what Allah has commanded

(1) The scholars of *Hadîth* and *Fiqh* elaborately discussed the historical sermon of the Prophet (peace be upon him) at the time of the Farewell Pilgrimage from all sides and all manners, and it is enough her to mention its time, place and objective.

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him to inform, conveyed the message and fulfilled the mission in the most perfect way. Allah, the Almighty, spoke the truth when He has revealed on him Surah *Al-Nasr* at *Minâ* on the days of *Tashrîq* (11th, 12th and 13th of Dhul-Hajjah) saying:

{“When comes the help of Allah and the conquest (of Mecca). And you see that the people enter Allah’s religion in crowds. So glorify the praises of your Lord, and ask for His forgiveness. Verily, He is the One who accepts the repentance and forgives.”}⁽¹⁾

[Al-Nasr:1-3]

In this Surah, Allah informed the Prophet (peace be upon him) that his message had perfected and his mission in this worldly life had fulfilled, and that Allah befits him for the highest ranks and everlasting bliss He had prepared for him.⁽²⁾



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- (1) It is reported that when Abû Bakr heard Surah *Al-Nasr*, he wept because he understood that this Surah, after the Messenger of Allah had perfected his Message, is in fact foretelling his passing away, and said: “Allah has informed the Prophet about the time of his death.”
- (2) “*Hayât Muhammad*” by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (P. 475); and “*Mir’ât Al-Islâm*” by Dr. Tâha Husayn (pp. 127-128).

The Prophet's Sickness and His Death

The 11th year of the Hegira began and Islam was in its all glory and prestige; most of the Arabian tribes submitted themselves to Islam, the envoys and governors in their respective territories were consolidating the authority of Islam and keeping its banner flying high. The Messenger of Allah was chiefly occupied with sending the messages to different regions and meeting the deputations that came to Medina to pledge their obedience and embrace Islam. At this juncture, the Messenger of Allah had reached the age of sixty-three, he did not suffer sickness, weakness or listlessness. Further he began to prepare an army under the leadership of Usâmah Ibn Zayd to punish the tribes residing in the outskirts of the Arabia and to intimidate the *Ghasâsinah* (a group of Arabs that migrated from the southern Arabian Peninsula to the Levant) and the Romans, and anyone else thinks or dares to resist or stand against Islam and its teachings. The Messenger of Allah commanded Usâmah to let the horses tread on the frontiers of *Al-Balqâ'* and *Ad-Darûm* (which were at the land of Palestine), and to step into the enemies of Allah and his enemy in the darkness and just before dawn, attack them, and hasten to precede the news, and if Allah makes you defeat them, do not stay long there and return with victory and booty.

On the 18th of Safar,⁽¹⁾ while Usâmah was preparing to march on, the Messenger of Allah began to feel ill, and this caused Usâmah to stop moving out. The Prophet's sickness got aggravated and he asked the permission of his wives that he should be treated in `Â'ishah's apartment, and he appointed Abû Bakr to lead the prayers (Abû Bakr led people in prayer for seventeen

(1) Al-Bukhârî and Muslim related that Allah's Messenger sat on the pulpit and said (among other words), *"Allah has given one of His slaves the choice of receiving the splendor and luxury of the worldly life whatever he likes or to accept the good (of the Hereafter) which is with Allah. So he has chosen that good which is with Allah."* On that Abû Bakr wept and said, "Our fathers and mothers be sacrificed for you." Allah's Messenger added, *"No doubt, I am indebted to Abû Bakr more than to anybody else regarding both his companionship and his wealth. And if I had to take a Khalîl (the closest companion) from my followers, I would certainly have taken Abû Bakr, but the fraternity of Islam is sufficient. Let no door (i.e. Khûkhah) of the mosque remain open, except the door of Abû Bakr."* Then he recommended the *Muhâjirûn* (the Immigrants) to do good to the *Ansâr* (the Supporters).

First Section: The Honorable Biography

Rak`ahs, and it is said that he led them for three days). Az-Zuharî narrated from Anas Ibn Mâlik as saying: “*While the Muslims were performing the dawn prayer, led by Abû Bakr, on Monday (the day on which the Prophet died), the Messenger of Allah went out to the mosque. The Muslims, who were praying, were so delighted that they were almost too enraptured at their prayers. Upon seeing him, they made an open space so that Abû Bakr withdrew to join the lines and gave way to the Prophet (peace be upon him) to lead the prayer. The Messenger of Allah made them a gesture to continue their prayer. He looked at them while they were praying aligned properly and smiled cheerfully and went into `A`ishah’s apartment and drew down the curtain.*” The Muslims were delighted to see the Messenger of Allah regains his health. Abû Bakr came to ask the permission of Allah’s Messenger to go to *As-Sunh* (a place on the outskirts of Medina wherein Abû Bakr’s wife, Bint Khârijah, was dwelling), and the Prophet (peace be upon him) gave him permission. Usâmah Ibn Zayd also came to ask the permission of Allah’s Messenger to march out of the army to the Levant. `Alî and `Umar went away for some of their private affairs and the people seemed blissfully happy and separated with cheerful faces. But, the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) departed from this worldly life and joined with the highest companion in the forenoon of that day, on Monday the 13th of Rabi` I, of the 11th year of the Hegira (corresponding to June 8, 632 A.D.).⁽¹⁾

Everyone soon knew the news of the Prophet’s death. No sooner had Abû Bakr reached his house at *As-Sunh* than he heard the news of Prophet’s death. He mounted his horse and came forth immediately to Medina and went to the mosque. He found `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb threatens those who claim the death of Allah’s Messenger addressing them: “He went to his Lord in the same way as Mûsâ (Moses) Ibn `Imrân did. He stayed away for forty

(1) The Messenger of Allah passed away at sixty-three years and three days of age according to the lunar calendar, and at sixty-one and eighty-four days of age according to the solar calendar. He (peace be upon him) died on the same month of his arrival at Medina as an Immigrant ten years before his death. See: “*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*” by Sheikh Al-Khudarî (P. 290); and “*Muhâdarât Fî Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*” by Sheikh Al-Khudarî [2: 236]. In “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 219], it is narrated that his death was on the evening of the 12th of Rabi` I and the burial was at midday of the 13th, and it is narrated also that the death was on Monday the 28th of Rabi` I.

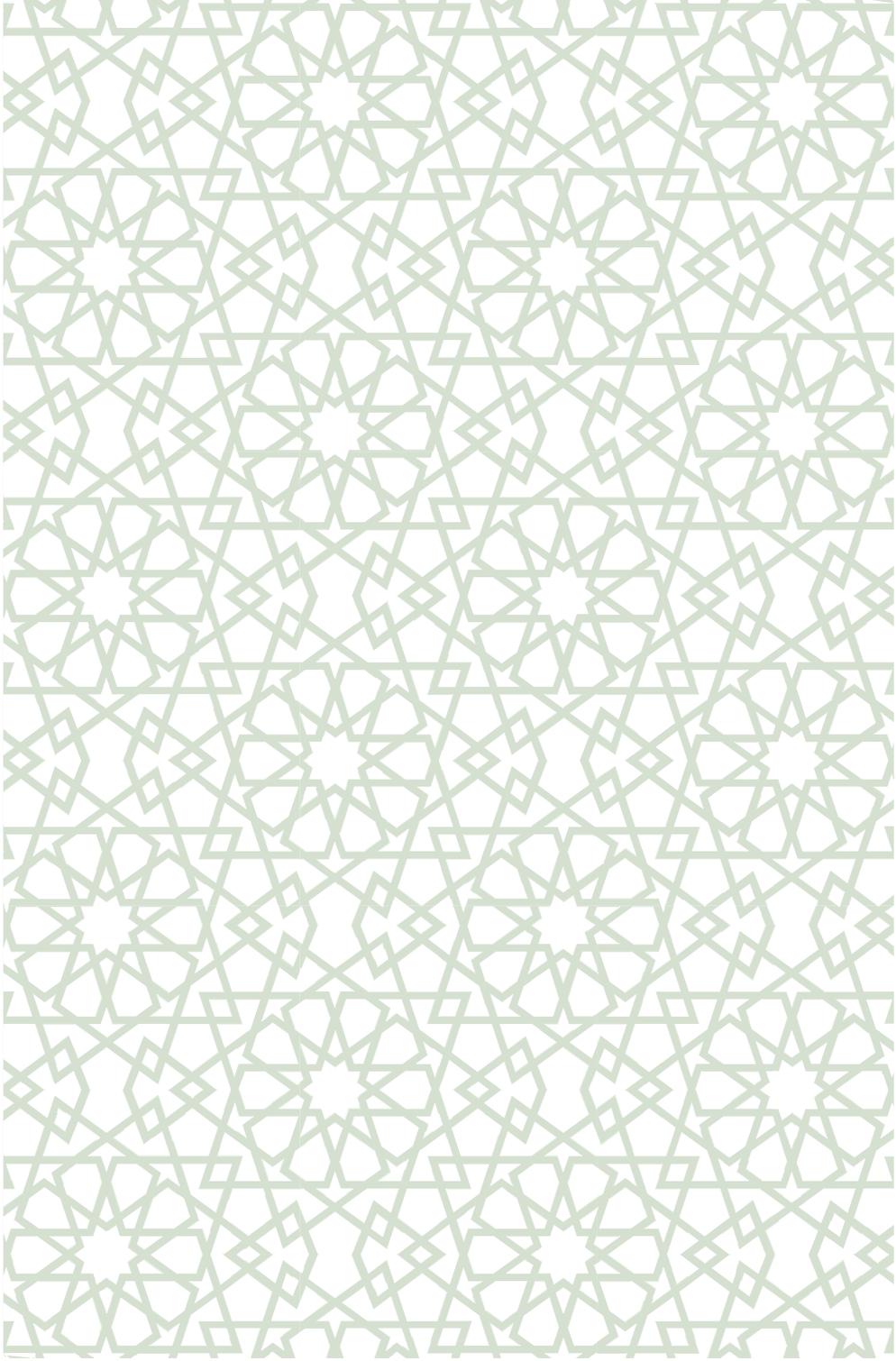
Phase (III): From Immigration to Death

nights, but he finally came back to his people.” Abû Bakr advanced quietly to the people to whom `Umar was talking and delivered his famous speech. [Refer to it in the Second Part, and refer to the farewell preparations to his honorable body and the place of his burial]

The Messenger of Allah joined the highest companion after he had conveyed the message and fulfilled the trust. He created from the Arabs a new nation that had a great influence on changing the very face of the world history, and left behind honorable and righteous companions who explain the religion, complete the conquest of regions and territories, and also spread (through persuasion and faith) the principles of the true religion. It was not long until the call of Islam had established and filled the hearts of people. No wonder! It is the true call that breathes life and happiness into each and every soul.

May Allah favor us with the grace of faith, guide us to do the good, direct all of us to the right path. Peace and blessings of Allah be upon our master, the most beloved Messenger, Muḥammad, the trustworthy Prophet, and upon his household, and upon all his companions.

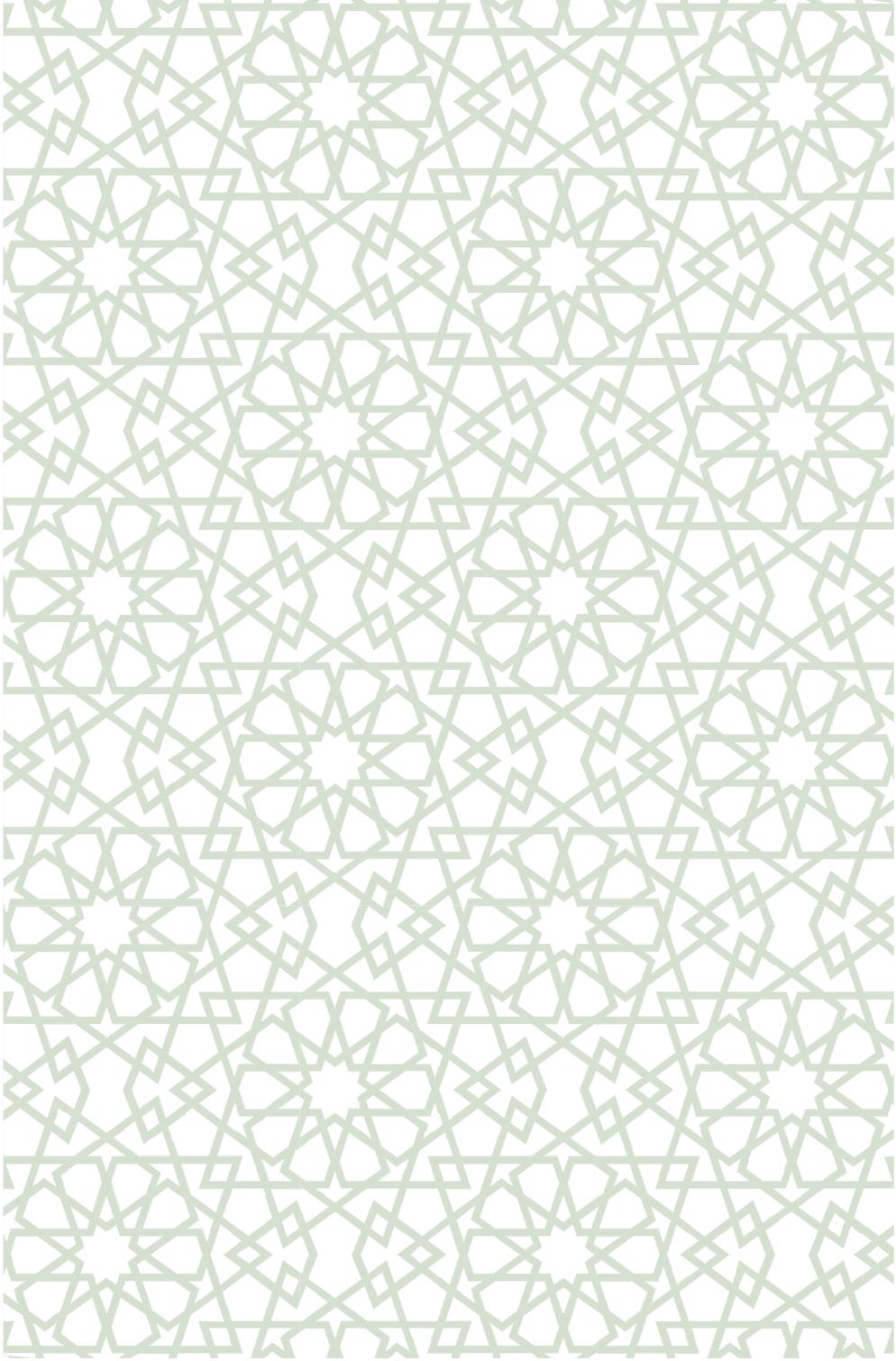




Section

2

The Rightly-Guided Caliphate





The Rightly-Guided Caliphate



► The Beginning

The conquest of Mecca, in the eighth year of Hegira, can be regarded as the strong motive that encouraged the Arabian tribes throughout the Arabian Peninsula to convert to Islam. Since this event, many delegations came and announced their conversion to Islam. They returned with some people to teach them the new religion.

However, their conviction of the principles of Islam did not reach that of the Muslims from Mecca and Medina as well as that of the early Muslims. Accordingly, when Islam reached the farthest places of the Arabian Peninsula, some Arabs thought that they might have the same degree and status as the Prophet (peace be upon him), so they claimed Prophethood using their ability to make tricks and supported by the help of their people. For example, Tulayhah Ibn Khuwaylid was supported by people from the tribe of *Banû Asad*, and Sajâh was supported by people from the tribe of *Banû Tamîm*. Moreover, Musaylimah managed to find supporters from *Banû Hanîfah*. Likewise, Al-Aswad Al-'Anasî seized the whole Yemen expelling the *Zakâh* collectors appointed by the Prophet (peace be upon him), and the rural and urban places from *Hadramawt* (Hadhramaut) to *At-Tâ'if* and from *Al-Bahrayn* to *Al-Ahsâ'* and Aden had subjected to him.⁽¹⁾

Each one of those claimers of Prophethood tried to make sedition among his people. This way the Arabian Peninsula, during the last days of the Prophet's life, was not stable as it might have appeared. Causes of sedition spread secretly, and signs of revolution appeared, except for the wisdom of the Prophet (peace be upon him) that prevented the great danger of such sedition and revolution.

(1) *“Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh”* by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 28].

➤ **Death of the Prophet**

The Prophet (peace be upon him) passed away at the time when sedition began to appear in the northeast and southeast areas of the Arabian Peninsula. Though such signs of sedition appeared at the time of the Prophet (peace be upon him), the Prophet prepared an army to fight the Romans, paying no attention to the rebels. When the news of the Prophet's death reached the Army, the campaign was cancelled and the Muslims were confused. The death of the Prophet (peace be upon him) had tremendous effect on all Muslims; be they true Muslims or false Muslims. For example, the sincere Companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him) were taken by the surprise to the extent that some lost their ability to walk and others lost their ability to hear out of the shock. Some of them even threatened to kill anyone who says that Muhammad has died.

At the same time, the false Muslims, i.e. those who did not have true love for the Prophet (peace be upon him), took the Prophet's death as a chance to take off their masks. They broke their pledges, the matter which supported the call of the claimers of Prophethood. Many people, who used to fear the Prophet (peace be upon him) during his life, followed such claimers. Other people detached from Allah's obedience stating that they were Muslims but they would not pay a tax (i.e. *Zakâh*) denoting their submission to anybody after the Prophet (peace be upon him), and thus they refused to pay *Zakâh*.

This is a brief picture of the Arabian Peninsula after the spread of the news about the Prophet's death. It was a heavy heritage for whoever would rule after the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him).

➤ **Between the Death of the Prophet (Peace be upon him) and the Muslim Caliphate**

The Muslims, who were taken by the shock of the Prophet's death, awaked from the surprise when Abû Bakr (may Allah be pleased with him) returned from *As-Sunh* after he heard about the death of his dear friend Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him). He went directly to the Prophet's house and uncovered his face and kissed him, and said; "May my father and mother be sacrificed for you, O Allah's Messenger! How wholesome you were

Second Section: The Rightly-Guided Caliphate

in life and death. Through your death Allah has ended the Prophethood that never ended with the death of any other Prophet. You are beyond any description and above any grieving. You were a special means of consolation for people, and you became common so that we became equal in our connection with you. If you had not forbidden us from excessive grieving, we would have exhausted the waters of our tear ducts. What we are not able to remove from us are grief and illness that follow one another and do not separate from each other. O Allah! Convey our greetings to him, etc.”⁽¹⁾

Then, he went out to the people. He found them frightened and found `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb very confused warning the people not to announce that Muḥammad (peace be upon him) has died. Abû Bakr went to the crowd that `Umar were addressing and said; “O people! Let whoever used to worship Muḥammad know that Muḥammad has surely died, and let whoever used to worship Allah know that Allah is Ever-Living and shall never die.”

He then recited the following Verse:

{“Muḥammad is not but a messenger. [Other] messengers have passed on before him. So if he was to die or be killed, would you turn back on your heels [to unbelief]? And he who turns back on his heels will never harm Allah at all; but Allah will reward the grateful”}

[Âl `Imrân: 144]

When `Umar heard this Verse, he fell on the ground unable to stand and knowing that the Messenger of Allah has actually died. People lapsed into silence upon hearing that and stood shocked unable to decide what to do.

► **Saqîfah Meeting**

The Prophet (peace be upon him) passed away on Monday, 12th of Rabi` I, year 11 A.H. (June 8th, 632 A.D.) without leaving for the Muslims a clear provision regarding the ruling of the Muslim world after his death. The Qur`ân does not include any provision that refers to such matter whether in detail or in general in spite of the fact that such a matter is very important for Muslims.

(1) “Al-Fath Al-Islâmî - Wal-Islâm As-Siyâsî”.

Muhammad: The Messenger of Allah and His Rightly-Guided Caliphs

The books of history tell us that when the Prophet felt that he is about to die, he met with the Companions with his head bound up and talked with them about death, and they asked him about the way of *Ghusl* (washing the dead person), shrouding and burial.⁽¹⁾ Undoubtedly, the matter of Muslims rule is very important that it should have occurred in the minds of many Companions that they should have asked the Prophet (peace be upon him) about such a matter to avoid confusion among Muslims after the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him).

Two questions arise here:

First: Why did not the Prophet set certain provision for ruling after his death while he knew the importance of this matter and the urgent need of his Companions for it?

Second: Why did not those who were close to the Prophet (peace be upon him), particularly those from *Banû Hâshim*, ask the Prophet about this matter to avoid the occurrence of sedition among Muslims?

Perhaps, the Prophet (peace be upon him) did not reveal this matter for a wisdom, which may be that he himself knew that the matter of ruling always depends on the environment where the group lives, and that the environment is always affected by time and differs according to natural, social and religious factors. In addition, the ruler and the type of government should cope with the present circumstances and the current factors.

That is, if the Qur'an had explained the way of rule or if the Prophet (peace be upon him) had referred to the type of rule that should be followed in the Muslim countries, the Muslims would have been restricted by such type of regime, preventing the Muslim country from keeping up to date concerning time and fulfillment of its requirements, especially that many non-Arab peoples had converted to Islam and had their own systems and regimes. This is why the Prophet (peace be upon him) only mentioned the principles upon which the rule of Muslims should be based so that it may be suitable for every time and place.

(1) "*Târîkh Ibn Khaldûn*" (P. 62); "*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târîkh*" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 211].

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These principles have been referred to in the Glorious Qur'ân, where they are based on three pillars that should be always taken into consideration by both rulers and peoples:

First: Fairness of the ruler. In this regard, Allah, the Almighty, says:

{“Indeed, Allah commands you to render trusts to whom they are due and when you judge between people to judge with justice. Excellent is that which Allah instructs you. Indeed, Allah is ever Hearing and Seeing”}

[An-Nisâ': 58]

Second: Peoples' obedience to their rulers. This is extracted from the interpretation of the Quranic Verse in which Allah, Glorified be He, says:

{“O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you...”}

[An-Nisâ': 59]

Third: Consultation, which is necessary for good and sincere relationship between peoples and their rulers. Consultation shall take place in every matter that concerns public interest and welfare. In this regard, Allah, the Almighty, says:

{“And those who have responded to their Lord and established prayer and whose affair is [determined by] consultation among Themselves...”}

[Ash-Shûrâ: 38]

Allah also says:

{“... and consult them in the matter...”}

[Âl-'Imrân: 159]

As for the role, title and political and religious attitude for the ruler and the type of government, they are all matters that change according to the time and circumstances, while they do not negatively affect the religion in any way, as long as the type of regime include the necessary principles, such as fairness, obedience and consultation.

Muhammad: The Messenger of Allah and His Rightly-Guided Caliphs

It might be such considerations that prevented the Prophet (peace be upon him) from dealing with such a matter, i.e. ruling and regime, in detail.

As for the other question, namely why did not the Companions of the Prophet ask him about the way of rule? We know that such a matter had occurred in the mind of some of the Prophet's Companions, especially the close Companions, such as `Alî and Al-`Abbâs.⁽¹⁾

However, being members of the Prophet's family and very close to him, they did not ask the Prophet (peace be upon him) fearing that he might entrust others with leadership of Muslims. Some books of history stated that Abû Bakr said; "I asked the Prophet about this matter (i.e. Caliphate) and the Prophet (peace be upon him) replied: *"O Abû Bakr! It (Caliphate) should be given to the one who refuses it not to the one who fights to get it, the one who sees himself incapable of it, not the one who sees himself capable of it. It is for the one to whom it is said; 'It is for you' not for the one who said; 'It is for me'."*⁽²⁾

Thus, the answer given by the Prophet (peace be upon him) to Abû Bakr did not specify the one who should rule the Muslim after the Prophet's death. Moreover, this answer did not set a certain approach to Muslims so that they may not be restricted by a certain way of rule that may not be suitable for the time or the requirements of the environment.

► The *Ansâr* and Their Opinion Regarding Caliphate

This is why the matter of the Caliphate after the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him) became a matter of study and thinking. The *Ansâr* (the Supporters) met after the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him) in the *Saqîfah* (Hall) of *Banû Sâ`idah* to discuss the matter. At that time, Sa`d Ibn `Ubâdah, the leader of *Al-Khazraj* tribe, was sick. They called him to lead the meeting. After thanking and praising Allah, he said: "O People of the *Ansâr*! You have the superiority of position and the greatness of favor in the religion that no other tribe of the Arab has. Muhammad (peace be upon him) stayed in his people for ten-odd years calling them to worship Allah, the Most Merciful, and abandoning the worship of idols and the association

(1) "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 217]; and "Sahîh Al-Bukhârî" [3: 41].

(2) "Subh Al-A`shâ", Part 1, (P. 240); "Târikh Al-Islâm As-Siyâsî" by Dr. Hasan Ibrâhîm (P. 250).

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of others with Allah in worship. But, only few people believed in him, and they were not able to protect the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) and support his religion, nor were they able to defend themselves after believing in him. When your Lord wanted to honor you, He sent nobility to you and chose you for this favor and guided you to believe in Him and in His Messenger, to protect the Messenger and his Companions, to glorify Allah and support His religion and to fight His enemies. Thus, you were the bravest in fighting the enemies of Allah until the Arabs submitted to the order of Allah willingly and unwillingly, and the distant one submitted in abject humiliation, and until through you Allah made great victory in the earth for His Messenger, and by your swords the Arabs were abased for him. Then, he (peace be upon him) passed away while being satisfied with you and consoled by you. So, you should possess this matter (i.e. Caliphate) alone because it is your absolute right.”⁽¹⁾

This speech did not bring the desired effect and the people did not rush to give the pledge of allegiance to Sa`d as a Caliph. They only praised him saying; “Well said. You gave a good opinion. We will do nothing but what you have expressed. We will give you our allegiance as you are of a sound opinion and all believers will accept you”.

However, they, once again, discussed the matter, where nobody tried to give allegiance to Sa`d Ibn `Ubâdah. One of them said: “What if the *Muhâjirûn* (the Immigrants) of *Quraysh* refused and said we are the *Muhâjirûn* and the Companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him), so how can you involve in a dispute with us about this matter (the Caliphate)?” We will say; “Let us have a ruler from us and another from you, and we will not accept any other solution.”⁽²⁾

► Beginning of Weakness

It appears from the discussions that took place in the *Saqîfah*, before the attendance of the *Muhâjirûn*, that the *Ansâr* were divided between two matters: Whether they believe that they are not more entitled to this matter (Caliphate) than the *Muhâjirûn*, or their minds have returned to the pre-Islamic tribalism as *Al-Aws* did not imagine that the leadership could be for *Al-Khazraj*.

(1) “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 222].

(2) Ibid.

Anyway, there were, undoubtedly, psychological factors that prevented them from swearing allegiance to Sa`d Ibn `Ubâdah as Caliph. This is why they prepared themselves for the probability that the *Muhâjirûn* may claim their right to the Muslim Caliphate and prepared their answer for such claim, which was "Let us have a ruler from us and another from you". Thus, Sa`d Ibn `Ubâdah realized that the people were not agreed on one opinion. So, he said his famous statement upon hearing such an answer: "This is the beginning of weakness."

The news of the *Ansâr's* discussions reached `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb, so he told Abû Bakr urging him to rush to them. Abû `Ubaydah Ibnul-Jarrâh joined them and the three of them went to the *Saqîfah* (hall) of *Banû Sâ`idah*. They found the people still discussing the matter since they did not give the pledge of allegiance to Sa`d as Caliph nor did they reach a decision concerning the Caliphate. The *Ansâr* stopped talking when they saw them, but then they showed their interest in the Caliphate.

► **Abû Bakr's Approach to Attract People**

Hereupon, `Umar wanted to make a speech but Abû Bakr prevented him fearing that `Umar may be harsh with people, leading to loss of control, which could result in sedition among Muslims. After praising and thanking Allah and His Messenger, Abû Bakr then said: "It was hard for the Arabs to abandon the religion of their forefathers. So, Allah has favored the first *Muhâjirûn* of the Prophet's people to believe in him, accept his Call, support him, and endure with him the ill-treatment of their own people who called them liars. Meanwhile, all of their people opposed them and persecuted them. However, they did not fear or retract because of their little number and the hatred of their people towards them and their people's desire to get rid of them. So, they are the first to worship Allah and believe in Him and in His Messenger in the land. They are the guardians of the Prophet and his own tribe and thus they are the most entitled to this matter (Caliphate) after him. No one could dispute with them in this regard except an unjust person. As for you, O people of the *Ansâr*, your superiority of in religion and your great precedence in Islam cannot be denied. Allah, the Almighty, has chosen you to be the Supporters of His religion and His Messenger, and made you the destination of the Immigration (i.e. the Hegira), and made

Second Section: The Rightly-Guided Caliphate

among you the most of the Prophet's wives and companions. No people after the first *Muhâjirûn* can outmatch your position. We are the rulers and you are the ministers. No decision can be taken and no matter can be settled without consulting you."

Abû Bakr's speech affected the people differently. Those who want to share the leadership found in it what satisfies their desires after Abû Bakr declared; "We are the rulers and you are the ministers. No decision can be taken and no matter can be settled without consulting you." Some people were convinced by the opinion of Abû Bakr due to his approach and way of addressing the attendants.

► Psychological Factors in the *Saqîfah* of *Banû Sâ'idah*

One may think that the *Anṣâr* gathering in the *Saqîfah* of *Banû Sâ'idah* were agreed on one purpose and aimed at achieving the same goal. But there were many psychological factors that affected the people in this event and played in the favor of the *Muhâjirûn* without any planning or intention. One of these factors was the feeling of Bashîr Ibn Sa'd, who was one of the leaders of *Al-Khazraj*, that no one of the *Anṣâr* was entitled to this matter (Caliphate), and that Sa'd Ibn 'Ubâdah was not right regarding claiming Caliphate for himself.

At the same time, *Al-Aws* were in a confusing situation, and could not decide what to do. However, after Abû Bakr had made his speech, they found an exit from such a hard situation. Perhaps, they did not prefer to give the Caliphate to *Al-Khazraj* and consequently submit to them in obedience. They also did not find it acceptable to refuse the offer given to them by *Al-Khazraj* before the arrival of Abû Bakr and his two companions.

Al-Hubâb Ibnul-Mundhir, however, worked hard so that the *Anṣâr* may assume the Caliphate at any cost.

These hidden trends were not revealed at the beginning and did not appear until the dispute flared up between the *Anṣâr* and the *Muhâjirûn* after the first speech of Abû Bakr.

Thus, people declared their opinions and thoughts hidden in their hearts. Abû Bakr heard one of the *Anṣâr* saying; "We are the supporters of Allah's

religion and the battalion of Islam, and you, O *Muhâjirûn* are a group of us, and yet some of your people want to cut us off from our origin and wrest this matter (Caliphate) from us”.

Therefore, Abû Bakr had to address the people again, praise them, and acknowledge their role in supporting Islam. Then, he made a comparison between the *Muhâjirûn* and the *Anṣâr*, where he pointed out that Allah, Glorified be He, has given precedence to the *Muhâjirûn* over the *Anṣâr* in the Qur’ân. He then said; “The Arabs would not accept the authority of anyone other than a man of *Quraysh*, so the rulers should be from us and the ministers should be from you.”

Yet, Al-Hubâb Ibnul-Mundhir claimed that the Caliphate should be for the *Anṣâr* or at least there should be a ruler from the *Muhâjirûn* and another from the *Anṣâr*.

‘Umar, however, refuted the opinion of Al-Hubâb Ibnul-Mundhir saying; “No. there should not be two rulers at the same time. The Arabs will not accept to give you the position of Caliphate while their Prophet is not one from you...”

The dispute between Al-Hubâb and ‘Umar flared up to the extent that they were about to fight by hand and sword except for the intervention of Abû ‘Ubaydah Ibnul-Jarrâh who addressed the People of Medina, saying: “O people of the *Anṣâr*, you were the first to support and help, so do not be the first to substitute and change.”

These words of Abû ‘Ubaydah aroused the obsessions and fears irritating Bashîr Ibn Sa`d mind, and thus he said; “Muhammad is from *Quraysh*, and his people are the most entitled to (heir) him. By Allah, Allah Shall never see me disputing with them regarding this matter. Fear Allah and do not differ with them or dispute with them.”⁽¹⁾

➤ **Special Bay`ah (Pledge of Allegiance)**

The word of Bashîr Ibn Sa`d was the solution of such a dispute. Abû Bakr noticed that it got the satisfaction of some of the *Khazrajites* and the

(1) Ibid. [2: 224].

Second Section: The Rightly-Guided Caliphate

Awsites accepted it completely and began whispering to each other. Abû Bakr then realized that this matter should be settled as fast as possible. He was sitting between `Umar and Abû `Ubaydah, then he took the hand of each one of them and said to the *Anṣâr*; “This is `Umar and this is Abû `Uaydah. Choose one of them to give him the pledge of allegiance.”⁽¹⁾

Silence prevailed for a while, where every one of the attendants made a comparison between the two candidates.

`Umar broke the silence saying to Abû Bakr: “Stretch out your hand Abû Bakr”, then he caught Abû Bakr’s hand and said: “Did not the Prophet (peace be upon him) order you to lead the Muslims in prayer O Abû Bakr? Then, you are the Caliph and we give you our pledge of allegiance since you are the closet of us to the Prophet (peace be upon him).”

Abû `Ubaydah followed `Umar and put his hand in Abû Bakr’s hand saying; “You are the best of the *Muhâjirûn*, the second of the two who were in the Cave, the Prophet’s deputy over prayer, and the best of Muslims concerning faith. So, who is the one who shall take precedence over you or be Caliph instead of you?”

Hence, Bashîr Ibn Sa`d immediately gave the pledge of allegiance to Abû Bakr, and Usayd Ibn Hudayr, the leader of *Al-Aws* followed him.

The people from both *Al-Aws* and *Al-Khazraj* tribes followed each other in giving the pledge of allegiance to Abû Bakr.

Here, we noticed that some historians tried to show Sa`d Ibn `Ubâdah as a rebel who refused to give the pledge of allegiance to Abû Bakr or follow his people who did so to the extent that he did not perform prayer or *Tawâful-Ifâdah* with them and kept on such an attitude until Abû Bakr passed away. Those historians also said something similar about `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib. However, the attributes of these two men, which were confirmed by their behaviors, reveal that these narrations were fabricated during the time of the Abbasid Caliphate for political purposes. Some historians argued that these narrations were fabricated when *Banû Umayyah* and *Banû Hâshim* differed regarding the war between `Alî and Mu`âwiyah.⁽²⁾

(1) Ibid.

(2) “*As-Siddiq Abû Bakr*” by Muḥammad Husayn Haykal (pp. 76 and 87).

The proof that such narrations are fabricated is that no one of those who expressed anger and refused to give the pledge of allegiance to Abû Bakr while warning and threatening to make a rebellion against the Caliph, regardless of their purposes, whether from *Banû Hâshim* or any other tribe, tried to cause sedition and call others for revolution⁽¹⁾ against the Caliph to incite people to disobey him. Then, how can we explain the refusal of some Companions from the *Muhâjirûn* or the *Anṣâr* to give the pledge of allegiance to Abû Bakr? Of course, it is the freedom of opinion, which aims at achieving the public interest without refusing to help and support the Caliph to serve the public aim, represented in protecting the Muslim Community and spreading Islam.

➤ **Public Bay`ah (Pledge of Allegiance)**

The day passed while Muslims were occupied by preparing the honorable body of the Prophet (peace be upon him) to burial. They kept on receiving the news of the *Saqîfah* to know how the future of Muslims would be settled. On the next day afternoon, Abû Bakr and `Umar came to the Mosque and `Umar apologized for what he did the last day when he denied the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him). He then said; “Allah has left with you His Book by which He guided His Messenger (peace be upon him). So, if you abide by this Book, Allah will guide you as He guided His Messenger. Allah has guided you to choose the best of you (as your Caliph). He is the Companion of the Prophet and the second of the two who were in the Cave. So arise and give the pledge of allegiance to him.”

Thereupon, all the attendants gave the pledge of allegiance to Abû Bakr as the Caliph. Hence, Abû Bakr became the undisputed Caliph of Muslims.

➤ **The Political Program of Abû Bakr**

Abû Bakr addressed the Muslims to reveal his political methodology by which he would rule the Muslim community. He delivered the following famous speech in which he said; “O people! I have been appointed as Caliph over you while I am not the best among you. If I do well then help me, and if I do wrong then set me right. Truth is loyalty and lying is betrayal.

(1) Ibid. (P. 78).

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The weak among you shall be strong in my eyes until I secure his right, and the strong among you shall be weak in my eyes until I wrest the right (of people) from him. If a people refrain from *Jihâd* (fighting in the cause of Allah), Allah will strike them with disgrace, and if obscenity becomes widespread in a people, Allah will bring calamity upon them all. Obey me as long as I obey Allah. If I disobey Him then you owe me no obedience. Arise for your prayer, May Allah bestow mercy upon you!"⁽¹⁾

This is the first speech in which Abû Bakr drew his plan and reveal his methodology to people using the simple Arabic way of talking. He did not give himself a favor due to the new position he occupied nor did he make himself above criticism or accountability. Instead, he declared himself responsible for laying justice among Muslims and for all other affairs of the Muslim Community. He was motivated by his desire to protect *Da`wah* (Islamic Call) and the heritage of the Prophet (peace be upon him). Not only that, but he also appointed Muslims as supervisors to guide him and seek their help in every affair.

► Those Who Did Not Initially Give the Pledge of Allegiance to Abû Bakr As Caliph

Despite the good traits of Abû Bakr, his fellowship with the Prophet (peace be upon him), his past full of sacrifices in the cause of *Da`wah* and the Prophet (peace be upon him), his age, his precedence in Islam, and despite the fact that the Prophet (peace be upon him) ordered him to lead Muslims in prayer instead of him, the Muslims did not unanimously agree to pledge allegiance to him as their Caliph. In fact, some people refused (initially) to give the pledge of allegiance to him as the Caliph of Muslims. Al-Ya`qûbî mentioned that those people were ten persons from the *Muhâjirûn* and the *Anṣâr*.

It is obvious that those who refused to acknowledge Abû Bakr as Caliph from the *Anṣâr* were flattering Sa`d Ibn `Ubâdah. As for those from the *Muhâjirûn*, they waited until `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib gave the pledge of allegiance to Abû Bakr. In fact, they were prominent persons, such as Al-`Abbâs Ibn

(1) "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 224-225].

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ʿAbdul-Muttalib, Al-Faḍl Ibnul-ʿAbbâs, Az-Zubayr Ibnul-ʿAwwâm, Khâlid Ibn Saʿîd, Al-Miqdâd Ibn ʿAmr, Salmân Al-Fârisî, Abû Zarr Al-Ghifârî, ʿAmmâr Ibn Yâsir, Al-Barâʾ Ibn ʿÂzib, and Ubayy Ibn Kaʿb.

It is worth mentioning that all of them acknowledged Abû Bakr as Caliph later. The history did not mention any consequences for their refusal to acknowledge Abû Bakr as Caliph at the beginning, except for Al-ʿAbbâs Ibn ʿAbdul-Muttalib and ʿAlî Ibn Abû Tâlib. The books of history are full with the stories of ʿAlî's pledge of allegiance to Abû Bakr.

There is a strong disagreement among historians regarding the pledge of ʿAlî Ibn Abû Tâlib and his uncle Al-ʿAbbâs Ibn ʿAbdul-Muttalib. In fact, all historical stories regarding this matter depend on two conflicting opinions. The first states that ʿAlî gave the pledge of allegiance to Abû Bakr immediately while the second states that he waited for some time before doing so.

The first opinion depends on the narration that when ʿAlî heard about giving the pledge allegiance to Abû Bakr, he went out immediately wearing a full shirt without wearing the waist-wrapper (*Izâr*) under it, or the outer wrapping garment, out of dislike that he might be late, aiming at Abû Bakr to give him the pledge of allegiance. He then ordered that his waist-wrapper and outer garment be brought to him where he wore them and sat in the assembly of Abû Bakr. This narration is supported by another one stating that Abû Bakr mounted the pulpit after the pledge of allegiance was given to him. He looked at the people setting in the mosque and he did not see Az-Zubayr Ibnul-ʿAwwâm. He sent for him to attend. When Az-Zubayr came, Abû Bakr said; "O son of the paternal aunt of Allah's Messenger and his *Hawâri* (disciple)! Do you want to cause division among the Muslims? Az-Zubayr said: "No blame O successor of Allah's Messenger." Then, he gave him the pledge of allegiance. Abû Bakr looked at the people in the mosque again, and he did not see ʿAlî. He sent for him to attend. When ʿAlî came, Abû Bakr said: "Cousin of Allah's Messenger and his son-in-law! Do you want to cause division among the Muslims? ʿAlî said; "No blame O successor of Allah's Messenger." Then, he gave him the pledge of allegiance.

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The narrations of `Alî's refusal to give the pledge of allegiance differ regarding the period that passed before `Alî gave such a pledge to Abû Bakr. One narration states that `Alî gave the pledge of allegiance after 40 days, and that Abû Bakr sent to him and to those who refused to give the pledge of allegiance in order to give it or otherwise he would set fire in their houses. Other narrations, which are most likely to be fabricated by the Shiites at the time of the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties to make people sympathize with the Alawites (Fans of `Alî and his household), showed `Ali as a man whose right has been usurped. These narrations state that `Alî did not give the pledge of allegiance except after 6 months from the appointment of Abû Bakr as Caliph. They even claim that `Alî took Fâtimah, the Prophet's daughter, out of her house and placed her on a donkey and went to the houses of the *Ansâr* at night to ask them for help and support. Actually, all these narrations contradict with `Alî's noted dignity and Fâtimah's inviolable chastity.

Looking at the mentality of people at that time and how they were very pious and religious, we can renounce the theory that `Alî refused intentionally to give the pledge of allegiance to Abû Bakr. Such renouncement is supported by the fact that `Alî supported and helped Abû Bakr to defend Medina against the apostates who attacked it at the beginning of Abû Bakr's Caliphate.

► Umayyad's Trick Between Abû Bakr and *Banû Hâshim*

Abû Bakr was appointed as Caliph while Abû Sufyân was outside Medina. When Abû Sufyân knew that the people had chosen Abû Bakr as a Caliph for Muslims, he came saying; "By God, I see a cloud of smoke (*`Ajâjah*) which nothing but blood will clear. O family of *`Abd Manâf*, where is Abû Bakr that he should be the master of your affairs! Where are the two weak (*Al-Mustad`afân*) and lowly ones (*Al-Adhallân*), `Alî and Al-`Abbâs?" Then, he began to cite the following proverbial verses:

No one remains in a state of ignominy that is intended for him, except the two despicable things: a domestic donkey and a wooden peg (of a tent).

The former is turned back to his state of ignominy by a piece of worn-out rope, while the latter's head is broken and no one mourns.

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The answer given by `Alî to Abû Sufyân supports the opinion that he did not refuse to give the pledge of allegiance to Abû Bakr. It also reveals that he refused to hear bad sayings spoken against Abû Bakr. Responding to Abû Sufyân `Alî said; “O Abû Sufyân! For a long time you have been at war with Islam and Muslims, but you have been unable to do any harm. I have found Abû Bakr worthy of it (Caliphate).”

In a word, all narrations which contradicted regarding those who initially refused to give the pledge of allegiance to Abû Bakr and the causes of such a refusal, have agreed on the fact that no one of those who initially refused to give such a pledge tried to declare disobedience against Abû Bakr since the first moment of appointing him as a Caliph for Muslims. Both the supporters and the opponents acknowledged the fact that he is the first Caliph for Muslims.





The First Caliph Abû Bakr As-Siddîq



► Who Is the First Caliph?

He is `Abdullâh Ibn Abû Quhâfah `Uthmân Ibn `Âmir Ibn Ka`b Ibn Sa`d Ibn Taym Ibn Murrah At-Tamîmî. In *Jâhiliyyah* (the pre-Islamic period), his name was `Abdul-Ka`bah, then the Prophet (peace be upon him) named him `Abdullâh and he was nicknamed `Atîq. Also, he was nicknamed As-Siddîq because he was the first one to believe the Prophet (peace be upon him), especially regarding the event of *Al-Isrâ' Wal-Mi`râj* (the Night Journey). It is reported that he was nicknamed Abû Bakr because he converted early to Islam.

► His Past in *Jâhiliyyah* (the Pre-Islamic Period)

Born in Mecca two years after the event of the Elephant, Abû Bakr was a noble, tender-hearted and sober-minded man who cannot be beaten by desires. He never drank wine, whether in *Jâhiliyyah* or in Islam. Ibn Hishâm says about him: "He was well-liked among his tribe, popular and easy to get on with. He was also the most expert of *Quraysh* on the genealogy of the tribes and the best informed of them about their good and bad qualities. He was a merchant, upright and well-known, and, for various purposes, the men of his tribe used to come to him and associate with him because of his knowledge, his commercial skill, and the excellence of his company."

The relationship between Abû Bakr and the Prophet (peace be upon him) began long time before the Prophet's Mission, because they had similar manners, attributes and traditions. They also became neighbors after the Prophet (peace be upon him) married Khadîjah, since she lived in the same district where Abû Bakr lived.

► **His Past in Islam**

Abû Bakr's good and noble traits attracted people to him. This explains why many people embraced Islam after he did out of trust in him and to follow his example. Since the first day of his conversion to Islam, Abû Bakr made every possible effort to support Islam with his soul and money as no one else did. He accompanied the Prophet (peace be upon him) in both good and hard times. He sacrificed everything for Islam and the Prophet (peace be upon him).

This is why the Prophet (peace be upon him) chose him as his closest Companion. Describing his great love to Abû Bakr, the Prophet (peace be upon him) said; *"If I were to take a bosom friend, I would have taken Abû Bakr as a bosom friend, but rather companionship, brotherhood and faith until Allah bring us together in the hereafter."*

► **His Present Time in Caliphate**

Abû Bakr was chosen as a Caliph for Muslims at the time when there were many attempts to spread sedition among Muslims and while Islam was shrinking in the Arabian Peninsula. After the death of the Prophet, seditions spread among Muslims. So, the claimers of Prophethood appeared and movements of apostasy took action in many places across the Peninsula.

Abû Bakr had to fight these movements to finish what the Prophet (peace be upon him) has begun. He had to dispatch the army of Usâmah at first, and then fight the claimers of Prophethood, the apostates and the rebels everywhere.

► **The Body of the Prophet**

After Abû Bakr had been chosen as a Caliph for Muslims, the dispute between the *Muhâjirûn* and the *Anşâr* had been resolved and the *Anşâr* abstained from seeking Caliphate forever.

Meanwhile, the Prophet's body was still in the apartment of `Â'ishah. After settling the matter of Caliphate and deciding the future and destiny of the Islamic State, the people, along with their Caliph, turned to the body of their Prophet (peace be upon him) to prepare him for burial.

The First Caliph: Abû Bakr As-Siddîq

Before going to the *Saqîfah* (Hall) of *Banû Sâ'idah*, Abû Bakr left `Alî, Al-`Abbâs and his two sons Al-Fadl and Qutham, and Usâmah Ibn Zayd to prepare the Prophet's body for burial. When they finished, they laid the honorable body upon his bed in `Âishah's apartment. They disagreed regarding the place of his burial, whether to bury him in his mosque or in his house? When Abû Bakr returned from the *Saqîfah* meeting, he said; "I have heard Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him) saying; *"No prophet died but he was buried where he died."* So, the bed on which he died was taken up, and a grave was dug beneath it. Then, the people came in groups to pray over the Messenger of Allah, first the men, and then the slaves. No one led the people in the prayers over him.

The Prophet (peace be upon him) was buried in the middle of the night of Wednesday on the 12th of Rabi` I, 11 A.H. So, he (peace be upon him) stayed in Medina for 10 years, and lived for 63 years, after which he chose to be with the most Exalted Companion after he had delivered the Message, and fulfilled the Trust and left people to follow his guidance and example.

► The Army of Usâmah

Abû Bakr came to power at the time when the Muslim Community faced many waves of sedition. Some people claimed Prophethood and some others apostatized, which had great effect on the Muslim Community. Before his death, the Prophet (peace be upon him) has prepared the army of Usâmah Ibn Zayd to invade the Romans. Abû Bakr decided to complete the task ordered by the Prophet (peace be upon him). So, he sent his orders to the Army to move to the Levant. Usâmah set out with his army until they arrived at *Al-Jarf*, 3 miles away from Medina.

Upon reaching there, Usâmah felt the danger of leaving Medina without protection. Therefore, he sent a message to Abû Bakr asking for his permission to return, saying; "The chiefs of the army are with me along with their forces, and I am uneasy lest the polytheists snatch away the Caliph and the Prophet's household and the households of the Muslims." Then, the *Anṣâr* suggested that if Abû Bakr insisted to complete the mission of the Army, then he should appoint in command of them a man older than Usâmah who was 18 years old at that time.

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‘Umar carried the message of Usâmah and that of the *Anṣâr* to Abû Bakr. When ‘Umar offered the idea of cancelling the mission of the army, Abû Bakr said; “By Allah, even if the dogs and wolves were to snatch me off, I would dispatch the army to its mission as Allah’s Messenger ordered, and I would never reverse a decision the Allah’s Messenger had made, and if there were nobody in the Muslim countries but me, I would dispatch it myself.”⁽¹⁾

When ‘Umar offered the request of the *Anṣâr* that a man older than Usâmah should be appointed in command of the army, Abû Bakr sprang up, and he had been seated, and seized ‘Umar’s beard, saying; “May your mother be bereaved of you O Ibnul-Khattâb! The Messenger of Allah appointed him, and you order me to dismiss him?”. Then, Abû Bakr went out on foot until he reached the place of the Army; he made Usâmah go forth, and gave him some valuable and unique advices which represent the noble and lofty ideals of *Jihâd*. He said; “I order you to do ten things, so learn them from me by heart. You shall not engage in treachery. You shall not act unfaithfully. You shall not engage in deception. You shall not indulge in mutilation. You shall kill neither a young child nor an old man nor a woman. You shall not fell palm trees or bum them. You shall not cut down any fruit-bearing tree. You shall not slaughter a sheep or a cow or a camel except for food. You will pass by people who dedicated themselves in monks’ cells, so leave them alone, and leave alone what they dedicated themselves to. You will meet people who have shaven the middle of their heads and have left around them rings of hair, just like turbans, tap them lightly with the sword. When food is offered to you, mention the name of Allah over it and then eat. O Usâmah! Do what the Prophet ordered you to do with the country of *Qudâ`ah*, and do not fall short in anything that the Allah’s Messenger commanded.”

In the Levant, Usâmah defeated the tribes of *Qudâ`ah* who apostatized and took many booties, then he returned after 40 days according to some narrations.

Dispatching the army of Usâmah to the Levant was one of the great political works that achieved long-term benefits for Muslims and Islam. The

(1) “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 226].

Dispatching of this army frightened all the Arabs. It rendered many of the enemy plots against Islam to fail, as the enemies of Islam realized that Muslims could not have been able to send such a strong army to the Levant unless they had sufficient forces in Medina and so they stopped their evil schemes against Muslims.

► Apostasy (*Riddah*) of the Arabs

After the conquest of Mecca, Islam spread throughout the Arabian Peninsula. Arabs who did not embrace Islam found no solution but to go to the Prophet (peace be upon him) in Medina in the 9th year of Hegira to announce their conversion to Islam. The Prophet (peace be upon him) received delegates from different tribes and sent with them governors and collectors of *Zakâh*. He also sent messages to the far places calling them to embrace Islam. Yet, some of the Arabs found it most distressing to submit to the Prophet (peace be upon him) and follow the authority of Medina and losing their independence and false esteem, so that they concealed their evil intentions and waited for the opportunity to get rid of the authority of Medina and violate the restrictions of Islam. This was the beginning of the apostasy (*Riddah*) waves which first appeared during the life of the Prophet (peace be upon him) in different places in the Arabian Peninsula. For example, in the northeast, Tulayhah Ibn Khuwaylid Al-Asadî of *Banû Asad*, claimed Prophethood. In *Al-Yamâmah*, Musaylimah, the Liar, also claimed that he is a prophet and sent a message to the Prophet (peace be upon him) telling him that each one of them has control over half of the land. In Yemen, Al-Aswad Al-'Ansî claimed the same thing as Tulayhah and Musaylimah.

The Prophet (peace be upon him) suppressed all these waves in his life. Yet, after the news of his death spread, they appeared again showing their suppressed desires and announcing their corrupt ideas.

► Forms of Apostasy

Apostasy (*Riddah*) waves that appeared after the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him) took different forms. That is, some people declared their submission to Islam but refused to pay the *Zakâh* declaring that they will continue to perform prayer and fasting.

Second Section: The Rightly-Guided Caliphate

The Muslims disagreed regarding this kind of apostates and did not unanimously agree to fight them. Many Muslims suggested that it is better to keep good relations with those who refused to pay *Zakâh* so that they would not join their enemies. `Umar defended this opinion. Yet, Abû Bakr insisted to fight them saying; “By Allah! If they refuse to pay me the hobble of a camel which they used to give to the Messenger of Allah, I shall fight them for it.” At the end, the opinion of Abû Bakr prevailed and he convinced Muslims to fight that group.

This group of apostates included some tribes that were located close to Medina, such as `Abs and *Zubyân*, and Mâlik Ibn Nuwayrah and some of his followers. Another group of apostates followed those who claimed Prophethood from their people, either out of belief in their claims or out of tribalism although they were sure about their lying, such as *Banû Asad* and the tribes of *Tay`* and *Ghatafân* and their neighboring tribes located to the east of Medina. These tribes were repeating the same statement of `Uyaynah Ibn *Hisn* Al-Fazârî regarding *Tulayhah* Ibn Khuwaylid Al-Asadî; “It is preferable for us to follow a prophet from our two allies (i.e. *Asad* and *Ghatafân*) than to follow a prophet from *Quraysh*. In any case, Muhammad has died, whereas *Tulayhah* still alive.”

By the same token, *Banû Hanîfah* followed Musaylimah, the Liar. At-Tabarî⁽¹⁾ reported that one of *Banû Hanîfah* said: “I bear witness that Musaylimah is a liar; but the liar of *Rabî`ah* is dearer to us than the veracious person of *Mudar*.” Likewise, the people of Yemen followed Al-Aswad Al-`Ansî.

The third form of apostasy was represented in the people of *Al-Bahrayn*. They returned to the worship of idols. No claimers of Prophethood appeared among them nor did they follow any claimers who appeared in the neighborhood.

► Reasons of Apostasy

As for the reasons behind apostasy (*Riddah*) of those Arabs, the historians maintain that the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him) was one of the causes of apostasy. Some of the Arabs refused to submit to any person other

(1) “*Târîkh Al-Umam Wal-Mulûk*” by At-Tabarî [3: 246].

than the Prophet (peace be upon him). In addition, the provisions laid down by Islam, such as the prohibition of wine, gambling and taking revenge, the restriction on number of women in marriage, and the imposition of *Zakâh*, represented another reason that led some Arabs to apostatize and violate these provisions.

Tribalism also played an important role in apostasy, especially for the tribes located far away from Mecca and Medina and which converted to Islam after the conquest of Mecca. They found that all powers became at the hands of the *Muhâjirûn*, which was a reason for their apostasy as they claimed to share the power with *Muhâjirûn*.

Moreover, the Roman Caesars and the Persian Khosrows instigated the Arabs under their control to rebel against the authority of Medina after the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him).

These are the main reasons which the historians try to explain when discussing the apostasy (*Riddah*) of the Arabs at the beginning of Abû Bakr's Caliphate. However, when we look carefully at these reasons, we will find that they are all based on one main reason, namely the weakness of belief of those who apostatized after the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him). The weakness of belief is the main reason which generated all the reasons known historically as "the reasons for *Riddah* (apostasy)." That is, if those people had truly believed in the principles laid down by the Prophet (peace be upon him), they would not have left or violated them after his death. They would have also revoked tribalism and replaced it with Islamic brotherhood and relations, nor would they accept the instigations of the Roman Caesars and the Persian Khosrows which would have been in vain.

► *Riddah* (Apostasy) Wars

Abû Bakr waged the first war against those who refused to pay the *Zakâh* after he managed to convince the Muslims of the necessity of this war. He felt that if he had waived one of the Islam pillars and obligations (i.e. *Zakâh*), negotiations would have revolved around the other pillars and obligations of Islam. This would give a great chance for the claimers of Prophethood, such as *Tulayhah* and *Musaylimah*, to arouse doubts concerning the principles

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of Islam laid down by the Prophet (peace be upon him), the matter which could incite the tribes that converted recently to Islam to follow the lies and false claims.

While the army of Usâmah was on its way to the Romans, and after the news of the Prophet's death reached the north and the northwest of the Arabian Peninsula, the tribes of 'Abs, *Dhubyân*, and those who joined them of *Banû Kinânah*, *Ghatafân* and *Fazârah*, thought that it was a proper chance to abandon the obligation of paying *Zakâh*, which they considered as an absolute right of the Prophet (peace be upon him) that cannot be given to any other person. Delegations of these tribes moved towards Medina where some of them camped in *Ar-Rabadhah* and others camped in *Dhul-Qassah*, 12 miles away from the northeast of Medina. The chiefs of these delegations went to meet Abû Bakr demanding him to release them from the obligation of paying the *Zakâh*. Abû Bakr refused their demand and threatened to fight them if they insisted on refusing to pay the *Zakâh*.

However, those people became aware of the few number of the people of Medina after dispatching the army of Usâmah to its mission. So, they planned to attack Medina to force the Caliph to accept their request. Abû Bakr anticipated their intentions, so he prepared to attack them at night. No sooner had the dawn broken than the apostates found themselves under the swords of the Muslims slaying them. Before the upper limb of the sun arose, the apostates had been defeated. Abû Bakr pursued them until he camped at *Dhul-Qassah* and expelled them from their camps.

This raid, though small, was of great consequences. It showed that the new Caliph, despite the absence of his main army, had the power to defend Medina against any rebels and attackers. It also increased the Muslims' self-confidence and spread inner peace and tranquility among them. It also resulted in that some rebel Arab tribes, including the tribes of *Banû Tamîm* and *Tay'* who were fighting in the side of 'Abs and *Dhubyân*, gave up their attitude and declared their submission and returned to pay the *Zakâh* after realizing the power of the Muslims.

This was the first battle against apostasy. Abû Bakr himself participated in it along with a few number of Muslims depending on their strength of belief

and determination. When the army of Usâmah returned from its mission in the Levant, Abû Bakr met them with great happiness as he became certain that the danger that was about to destroy the Muslim Community during the absence of the Muslim army had vanished.

Just like Abû Bakr had recorded a great victory and glory in *Dhul-Qassah*, Usâmah recorded a great victory in the Levant and returned with great booty.

► **Battlefronts in the Arabian Peninsula**

Abû Bakr stayed few days in Medina until he made sure that the army of Usâmah had rested. He set out with his soldiers to *Dhul-Qassah*, 12 miles away from the northeast of Medina, where he camped. He divided the soldiers into eleven armies and appointed a commander from the *Muhâjirûn* for each army. It seems that he deliberately left the *Ansâr* to protect Medina as they were acquainted with Medina better than the *Muhâjirûn* so they were the best to defend it.

Abû Bakr sent these armies to different destinations after he made a profound study about the Muslim fighters. After collecting necessary information about the rebelling countries, Abû Bakr dedicated the bravest commanders and the strongest battalions to fight the most rebellious country including the bigger number of rebels. He was very strict regarding the fight. Accordingly, if a commander he sent to a specific destination could not defeat the rebels quickly, another army would support him after finishing his main mission.

Despite the fact that there were eleven battlefronts in the Arabian Peninsula that differed regarding distances and places, Abû Bakr managed to keep in touch with all of his commanders informing them with the latest status quo and directing them through various battlefronts effectively to achieve their objectives and gain victory.

► **Khâlid...the Main Pillar of *Riddah* (Apostasy) Wars**

Abû Bakr appointed Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd as the commander of the first army, and ordered him to fight Tulayḥah Ibn Khuwaylid of *Banû Asad*, and then, after defeating him, Mâlik Ibn Nuwayrah, the head of *Banû Tamîm* at *Al-Butâh*.

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Abû Bakr chose Khâlid's army, which consisted of the bravest Muslim youths under the command of the most talented leader and skillful warrior, to fight *Banû Asad* and *Banû Tamîm*, because these tribes were the nearest apostate tribes to Medina. Abû Bakr thought that defeating these tribes at first would destroy the morale of other tribes, and Khâlid was the best commander to gain victory and achieve this goal.

► **`Ikrimah Ibn Abû Jahl and Shurahbîl Ibn Hasanah**

Abû Bakr appointed each one of them as a commander of an army. He ordered `Ikrimah set to *Banû Hanîfah* at *Al-Yamâmah* to fight Musaylimah, the Liar, and his followers. Then, he sent Shurahbîl to support `Ikrimah in his war against Musaylimah, ordering him to betake himself north to *Qadâ'ah* to support `Amr Ibnul-`Âs after finishing at *Al-Yamâmah*.

Abû Bakr entrusted the fourth army to Al-Muhâjir Ibn Umayyah Al-Makhzûmî, and dispatched him to Yemen to fight the soldiers of Al-Aswad Al-`Ansî who remained faithful to his principles after his death. Abû Bakr then sent him to fight `Amr Ibn Ma`d Yakrib Az-Zubaydî, Qays Ibn Makshûh Al-Murâdî and their followers, ordering him to go to *Kindah* and *Hadramawt*, after finishing with them, to fight Al-Ash`ath Ibn Qays and the apostates with him.

The fifth army was entrusted to Suwayd Ibn Muqarrin Al-Awsî who was sent to *Tihâmah* of Yemen.

The sixth army was put under the command of Al-`Alâ' Ibn Al-Hadramî who was dispatched to *Al-Bahrayn* to fight Al-Huṭam Ibn Dubay`ah of *Banû Qays Ibn Tha`labah* and his followers.

The seventh army was put under the command of Hudhayfah Ibn Mihsan Al-Ghalafânî of *Himyar* and was directed to fight Laqîṭ Ibn Mâlik Al-Azdî, known as *Dhut-Tâj* (the one with the crown) who claimed Prophethood in Oman.

`Arfajah Ibn Harthamah was put in charge of the eighth army and was ordered to fight the apostates in *Mahrah*, in the south of the Arabian Peninsula.

These eight armies were dispatched to the south of the Arabian Peninsula because Abû Bakr was aware of the power of the people in these places and

how they were insisted on apostasy. As for the north, Abû Bakr dispatched three armies. The first army was commanded by `Amr Ibnul-`Âs and was dispatched to fight the tribe of *Qadâ`ah*. The second army was dispatched, under the command of Ma`n Ibn Hâjiz As-Sulamî, to fight *Banû Sulaym* and those who backed them of *Hawâzin*. The third army was put under the command of Khâlid Ibn Sa`îd Ibnul-`Âs and was directed to fight the apostates and the rebels in the Levant.

► Abû Bakr Preparations of War Operations

Abû Bakr did not pay attention only to the priority of battles and mobilization of the armies, but he made Medina as a general command center, which was a good decision.

Orders were issued from the general command center that no leader should engage in any battle, after achieving victory in his main battle, without previous permission from Abû Bakr, the Caliph of Muslims. Abû Bakr was aware of the fact that united command, submission to the orders of the commander in chief and quick respond to such orders are the main causes of achieving victory in wars.

► Warnings Before Wars

The marvelous ability of Abû Bakr to manage and direct the armies in various battlefronts had been preceded by warning people, in rebelling areas, before waging wars against them so as to establish argument against them.

Abû Bakr a message to the people of Arabia addressing them all be they Muslims or apostates.

In his message, Abû Bakr referred to the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him) after he had delivered Allah's Message to the people. He then advised people to fear Allah and adhere to His religion. Then, he said; "I was informed that some of you have turned back from their religion after they had acknowledged Islam and acted in accordance with it, then they renounced it out of unjust estimation of Allah and out of ignorance of His command, and in compliance with Satan." Then, he added; "I have sent to you someone at the head of an army of the *Muhâjirûn* and the *Ansar* and those who follow them in good works (*Tâbi`în*). I ordered him not

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to fight anyone or to kill anyone until he has called him to the cause of Allah; so that those who respond to him and acknowledge the truth and renounce unbelief and do good works, he (the envoy) shall accept him and help him to do right. But those who reject, he shall fight them for their rejection, and he shall not spare any one of them he can gain victory over. He shall burn them with fire, slaughter them by any means, and take their women and children as captives. He shall not accept from anyone anything except Islam. So whoever believes, it is better for him; but whoever leaves, will not weaken Allah. I have ordered my messenger to read my message to you in all gathering places. The invitation to Allah's cause shall be the call to prayer. If, when the Muslims make the call to prayer, they do likewise in response, leave them alone; but if they do not make the call to prayer with the Muslims, then grant them no respite. And, if they make the call to prayer with the Muslims, ask them about their duties; then, if they deny their duties, grant them no respite, but, if they acknowledge them, he (the envoy) shall accept them and bring them to what they should do.”⁽¹⁾

These are some parts of the message sent by Abû Bakr to all places where apostasy took place. He sent his message with the soldiers to give the apostates a chance to reconsider and decide their destiny.

Just as Abû Bakr set for his soldiers the way they should treat the apostates, he gave his leaders valuable advices to adhere to during their battles and act in accordance with them in dealing with their enemies. He ordered each one of his commanders to “Take Allah's command seriously, and to strive against those who turn away from Him and turn back from Islam to the desires of Satan.” He also ordered each of them that they “should not turn the Muslims back from fighting their enemy” and that they “should only fight whoever denies Allah and His Messenger”. Then, he advised each of them that he shall not “introduce into the Muslims auxiliary troops until he can get to know them and learn what they are, making sure that they should not be spies, and that the Muslims may not be undermined because of them.”

We do not know whether the armies prepared by Abû Bakr moved from *Dhul-Qassah* at the same time or not. Also, we do not know the commanders

(1) “*Tārīkh Al-Umam Wal-Mulūk*” by At-Ṭabarī [7: 226-227].

who were ordered to move first or the exact movements of their armies in the Arabian Peninsula. We do not have texts regarding the arrangements of such campaigns, or the time of their movements, or the exact dates of their victories or initial defeats, or even the circumstances during which they were supported against their enemies.

Here, it is important only to know each commander and the people whom he was ordered to fight. Moreover, we would not talk about each commander in detail. So, we will discuss these wars in short, tackling some of the historically famous campaigns, among these wars, which affected the wars against apostasy significantly throughout Arabia, in detail.

► **Khâlid and Tulayhah in Banû Asad**

It is obvious that those who claimed Prophethood during the life of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and after his death did not try to take their people back to the first shape of idolatry. This is because the Prophet (peace be upon him) has managed to remove such form of idolatry completely to the extent that idolatry become detestable, shameful and even unimaginable.

This is why those who claimed Prophethood claimed also that they receive *Wahy* (revelation) from Allah as did the Prophet (peace be upon him) and that the angel (Gabriel) comes to them with some sort of revelation like the Qur'ân. Many of their claimed revelations had been reported showing unbelievable absurdity that cannot be imagined to be spoken by someone whom some of the Arabs believed and supported.

Tulayhah Ibn Khuwaylid Al-Asadî was one of those who claimed Prophethood during the time of the Prophet (peace be upon him). The Prophet sent Dirâr Ibnul-Azwar to fight him and his followers. The Muslims were about to defeat Tulayhah but they received the news of the Prophet's death, which affected the power and morale of the Muslims. Tulayhah gained more power after the death of the Prophet.

Another factor that contributed to the growing power of Tulayhah was that the tribes of `Abs, Dhubyân, Banû Bakr and their supporters, after Abû Bakr had defeated them at *Dhul-Qassah*, joined Tulayhah out of enmity towards Abû Bakr. Also, the tribes of *Tay'*, *Ghatafân*, *Sulaym* and many

other tribes located to the east and northeast of Medina, joined Tulayhah as well. The one who was most determined and powerful regarding supporting Tulayhah was `Uyaynah Ibn Hisn Al-Fazârî of *Ghatafân*.

The first step before Khâlid movement

`Adiyy Ibn Hâtim At-Tâ'î was one of those who returned to Islam after their decisive defeat in *Dhul-Qassah* and paid the *Zakâh* to Abû Bakr in Medina. Abû Bakr talked with him about his people and sent him to his people to convince them to stop supporting Tulayhah and to return back to Islam as he did so as to save their lives. The mission of `Adiyy was completely successful as he managed to convince *Tay'* to abandon Tulayhah and to return to Islam as a whole.

`Adiyy returned to tell Khâlid about the news of his people, and asked him to give him some days to convince the people of *Jadilah* to return to Islam as he did with the people of *Tay'*. The people of *Jadilah* followed `Adiyy and returned to Islam as well. Thanks to the efforts of `Adiyy Ibn Hâtim, thousand warriors of *Tay'* and *Jadilah* joined Khâlid's army.

Since then, the historians refer to `Adiyy as "The best person born in the land of *Tay'* and the greatest of them, with regard to the blessing he brought upon them".

Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd moved with his army, after the efforts made by `Adiyy Ibn Hâtim. He sent scouts to the land of *Banû Asad*, the people of Tulayhah. But Tulayhah and his brother met with the scouts and killed them, the matter which distressed the Muslims greatly. However, they retrieved their morale once the tribes of *Tay'* joined them. Then, Khâlid marched with his army to *Buzâkhah*, at the land of *Banû Asad*, where he found that Tulayhah had prepared an army of 700 warriors under the command of `Uyaynah Ibn Hisn Al-Fazârî. Tulayhah stayed nearby to the battlefield pretending to perform prophesy for the favor of his people.

► The Battle of *Buzâkhah*

The battle began and Khâlid and his army fought bravely and enthusiastically. When the fighting was getting severe, `Uyaynah was returning to Tulayhah and said to him; "Has Jibrîl (Gabriel) come to you?" He (Tulayhah)

was replying; “No”. So `Uyaynah was returning to the fight, and then came again to ask Tulayhah. This continued until the signs of defeat became very clear, so he returned to Tulayhah and said; “You bastard! Has Jibrîl come to you yet?” Tulayhah replied; “No.” Then `Uyaynah said; “How long will it be? By Allah it has worn us out!” Then he returned to fight, until, when he lost hope of victory, he returned to Tulayhah and said; “Has Jibrîl come to you yet?” Tulayhah said; “Yes, he has come to me.” `Uyaynah asked; “What did he say to you?” He replied; “He told me that I have a millstone like his millstone, and a story that you shall never forget.” Hence, `Uyaynah said; “Allah knew that there would be a story you would never forget. Turn away *Banû Fazârah*, for he (Tulayhah) is a liar.” So they turned away, and their men were defeated. When Tulayhah saw the end of his matter, he jumped on his horse, and carried his wife An-Nawâr behind him, and prepared himself to escape. So, his followers asked him; “What do you order us to do?” He answered; “O people of *Fazârah*! Whoever of you can do as I have done and save his wife, let him do so.” Then he traveled to the Levant and stayed among *Banû Kalb* until the news reached him that *Asad* and *Ghatafân* had embraced Islam. Then, he embraced Islam and remained staying among *Banû Kalb* until Abû Bakr died. He then came to `Umar to give the pledge of allegiance to him. Tulayhah had contributed greatly in the conquest of Iraq.

Khâlid’s army continued to fight the apostates and stayed for a month in *Buzâkhah* after defeating Tulayhah. During this month, Khâlid fought those who refused to return to Islam of the apostates and those who rallied around Umm Ziml in rebellion against Abû Bakr. He punished severely those who killed the Muslims. He then sent to Medina the leaders of the tribes that rebelled against the Caliph, such as, Qurrah Ibn Hubayrah, Al Fujâ’ah As-Sulamî and Abû Shajarah Ibn `Abdul-`Uzzâ As-Sulamî, the Son of Al-Khansâ’. They were taken to Medina as captives, where Abû Bakr forgave some of them and punished others.

Khâlid in *Al-Butâh* (homeland of *Banû Tamîm*)

At the time when Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd was fighting those who fled from the army of Tulayhah, *Banû Tamîm*, who were in *Al-Butâh*, divided into Muslims and apostates and were ready to fight each other.

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At that time, Sajâh Bin Al-Hârith Ibn Suwayd At-Tamîmiyyah arrived from *Al-Jazîrah* in Iraq. She claimed Prophethood and came with a group of her followers from the tribes of *Taghlib*, *Iyâd* and *Shaybân*. When she arrived at the land of *Banû Tamîm*, she declared her desire to invade Medina. She sent to Mâlik Ibn Nuwayrah calling him to conclude an alliance with her. He responded to her, but convinced her to turn back from Medina, and instead incited her against some clans of *Banû Tamîm*.

When she became stronger in the lands of *Banû Tamîm* at *Al-Butâh*, she incited them to invade *Al-Yamâmah*, the homeland of *Banû Hanîfah*. At the time when she intended to invade *Al-Yamâmah*, Shurahbîl Ibn Hasanah, who was sent to support `Ikrimah, arrived there to fight Musaylimah, the Liar. Hence, Musaylimah became in front of two enemies who want to eliminate him. When he knew that Sajâh want to attack him, he decided that it would be better to ally with her to fight the Muslims. So, he met with her and told her that the land of the Arabian Peninsula was divided between him and *Quraysh*, and since *Quraysh* did not accept such division, he offered her the portion of *Quraysh*. Then, Musaylimah and Sajâh agreed on marriage. This happened according to the story narrated in the various books of history. Then, their marriage ended and Sajâh returned to her people in *Al-Butâh*. No sooner had she returned than Khâlid attacked them and they dispersed. Sajâh escaped to Iraq, where she stayed with *Banû Taghlib*. She stayed there until Mu`âwiyah Ibn Abû Sufyân moved *Banû Taghlib* to the Levant. She moved with them and became a good Muslim. She then moved to *Al-Basrah*, where she stayed until she died and was buried there according to some narrations.

Khâlid and Mâlik Ibn Nuwayrah

Sajâh returned to Iraq and left Mâlik Ibn Nuwayrah in a state of confusion and regret after it was discovered that he was supporting her. When Mâlik knew that Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd defeated the people of *Fazârah*, *Ghatafân*, *Asad* and *Tay'* and was in his way to *Al-Butâh*.⁽¹⁾ Malik ordered his people to disperse to their homes and let the matter to take its course until he decides whether to join Khâlid or not. When Khâlid arrived in *Al-Butâh*, he did

(1) The homeland of *Banû Yarbû`*.

not find anyone to fight. Before marching to *Al-Butâh*, the *Ansâr* viewed that they should wait for the orders of the Caliph to march, but Khâlid insisted to go on and pursue the apostates everywhere, so the *Ansâr* accepted his decision.

Khâlid sent groups of his army to *Banû Tamîm* and ordered them to call for prayer there to know how would they respond to the Islamic call. The groups moved between the tribes of *Banû Tamîm* in *Al-Butâh* and one of them returned with Mâlik Ibn Nuwayrah among the captives.

According to some historians, Khâlid talked with Mâlik about Islam, apostasy and *Zakâh*. When he noticed that Mâlik was not convinced with Islam, he ordered his head to be chopped off. However, other historians argue that Khâlid ordered the guards responsible for the captives of *Banû Tamîm* saying; “Keep your captives warm” (Arabic: *Adfi’û Asrâkum*), as it was a very cold night. Some guards were from Kinânah in whose dialect the Arabic sentence “*Adfi’û Asrâkum*” (i.e. keep your captives warm) means kill your captives. So the guards thought that he wanted them killed, and they did so. Thus, Mâlik Ibn Nuwayrah was killed against Khâlid’s wish and intention.

Some discussions revolved around this accident, unlike the other accidents in which the apostates were killed. Some charges were directed to Khâlid, which were the subject of discussions among the Companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him) in Medina.

This is because Khâlid got married to Umm Tamîm, the wife of Mâlik, immediately after killing him. Those who were against Khâlid took such an action as an opportunity to criticize him and degrade his status before Abû Bakr. Also, the advocates of the high values of the Muslims held that it was an improper action regardless of the circumstances and excuses.

The charges directed to Khâlid were expanded over time, where the historians, be they with Khâlid or against him, had the chance to add the stories that satisfy them.

The main charge directed to Khâlid was that he killed Mâlik after the latter responded to the *Adhân* (Call to prayer) and returned to Islam in order to marry his wife.

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Moreover, he was rebuked for marrying Mâlik's wife immediately after killing him, and while being in war, the matter which is not permissible from the viewpoints of both the *Sharî'ah* (Islamic Law) and the Arabs' traditions. That is, according to the *Sharî'ah*, he married her during her *'Iddah* (the waiting period during which a woman remains unmarried after divorce or death of husband), which is forbidden. According to traditions, it is not allowed for a leader to marry during the war, because this may distract him from his higher and noble goal. The Arabs find such an act as being very detestable and disgraceful.

All these matters prompted *Banû Tamîm* to demand *Diyyah* (blood money) for Mâlik Ibn Nuwayrah. Their demand was supported by some of the *Ansâr* in Khâlid's army. `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb was convinced by this demand, and asked the Caliph to punish Khâlid saying to him; "Surely, there is a forbidden behavior in the sword of Khâlid." When `Umar kept on nagging Abû Bakr for punishing Khâlid, Abû Bakr said to him; "Tell me `Umar! Khâlid sought to clear something up but he made a mistake. So, stop rebuking him because I shall not sheathe a sword which Allah has drawn against the disbelievers." Abû Bakr, then, paid the *Diyyah* (blood money) for Mâlik from the Muslim treasury and sent a message to Khâlid ordering him to come before him. Abû Bakr rebuked Khâlid for his actions, especially his marriage to Mâlik's widow while he was in the war. Khâlid explained his excuse and Abû Bakr forgave him.

Based on these narrations and Abû Bakr's reaction, we can say that many narrations agreed on deeming Khâlid as guilty, and that `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb was very angry because of his action in such a situation. We can also say that Abû Bakr's payment of Mâlik's *Diyyah* to his brother stands for the guiltiness of Khâlid.

However, we can also find an excuse for Khâlid and accept the idea that Mâlik was unintentionally killed. This is because Abû Bakr would not have blamed Khâlid only if he was convinced that Khâlid had committed a sin that necessitates a *shar'î* punishment (*Hadd*). Abû Bakr, the Caliph of Muslims, would not disregard a religious matter for the sake of attaining any worldly gain regardless of its importance.

Absolutely, it is not of the historically sound verification to claim that the cause for which `Umar, after becoming the Muslim Caliph, deposed Khâlid from his position was his hatred of Khâlid because of this action. This is because if `Umar had been really sure that Khâlid was guilty, he would have accused Abû Bakr of disregarding the *shar`î* punishments (i.e. retaliation) and would have applied such a punishment to Khâlid after being the Caliph. Instead, the history relates that `Umar regretted after deposing Khâlid in a very critical time when he missed a person who could replace him. Also, it was not known among Muslims that Khâlid was deposed as a kind of punishment for killing Mâlik Ibn Nuwayrah.

► **The Battle of *Al-Yamâmah* at '*Aqrabâ*'**

Musaylimah managed to color his call to *Banû Hanîfah* in *Al-Yamâmah* with tribalism. He also managed to convince them that they had their own prophet and messenger as *Quraysh* had theirs, and that their status among the Arabs was equal to that of *Quraysh* or might be more. He persuaded them that their military force was more powerful than that of *Quraysh*, and that they were united and could not be dispersed.

This is why there were forty thousand warriors gathering around Musaylimah to fight in support of his cause.

One of the reasons that increased the power of Musaylimah is that a man called Nahâr Ar-Rijâl Ibn `Unfuwah joined his supporters. This man had immigrated to the Prophet (peace be upon him), recited the Qur`ân, understood the religion, and become well-versed in the teachings of Islam; so the Prophet sent him as a teacher to the people of *Al-Yamâmah*, and to diminish the call of Musaylimah. However, he joined Musaylimah and acknowledged his prophethood. This incident had greatly increased the number of Musaylimah's followers. There is no wonder that the apostasy of the man whom the Prophet (peace be upon him) was trusting was a very difficult matter for the Muslims. It was even far more difficult than any other event of apostasy they endured.

We know that after Abû Bakr had appointed the commanders of the armies at *Dhul-Qassah*, he sent `Ikrimah Ibn Abû Jahl to *Al-Yamâmah* and then sent

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Shurahbîl Ibn Hasanah to support him in the war against *Banû Hanîfah*. It was expected for `Ikrimah to wait for Shurahbîl to arrive to fight Musaylimah together. However, `Ikrimah did not wait for Shurahbîl so as to have the honor of defeating Musaylimah alone.

Yet, `Ikrimah and his soldiers were defeated by *Banû Hanîfah*. The news of their defeat reached Shurahbîl Ibn Hasanah while he was on his way to *Al-Yamâmah*, so he stayed put to prepare himself.

The defeat of `Ikrimah inflamed the Caliph, especially that it was the result of hastiness, since `Ikrimah did not wait for the arrival of Shurahbîl and his army. Hence, Abû Bakr sent a message to `Ikrimah, saying: "O Ibn Umm `Ikrimah! Let me not see you, nor should you see me in this situation. Do not turn back lest the army morale may be weakened. Go to help Hudhayfah and `Arfajah in their fight against the people of Oman and *Mahrah*, and then march with your army mopping up those whom you pass until you meet with Al-Muhâjir Ibn Abû Umayyah at Yemen and *Hadramawt*."

`Ikrimah found no solution but to go to where Abû Bakr ordered him to go. Then, the Caliph decided to support the Muslims' position in *Al-Yamâmah*. He thought that Khâlid was the only man fit for this mission. He sent reinforcements to Khâlid and ordered Shurahbîl to stay put until Khâlid reached him. Abû Bakr then ordered Shurahbîl that after eliminating Musaylimah, he should direct himself *Qudâ`ah* to support `Amr Ibnul-`Âs against its people.

Introduction to the battle

The Muslim armies moved to fight the armies of Musaylimah. Unfortunately, the army of Shurahbîl arrived before the army of Khâlid and thus when it clashed with the armies of Musaylimah, it was forced to retreat. Upon his arrival, Khâlid blamed Shurahbîl for his hastiness, and the news of his arrival reached *Al-Yamâmah*.

Mujjâ`ah Ibn Murârah with a company from his tribe were aiming at raiding *Banû `Âmir* in search of blood vengeance where the soldiers of Khâlid captured them. They all had been killed except for Mujjâ`ah who was taken as a captive and sent in chains to the tent of Khâlid, where he was watched by Khâlid's wife, Laylâ Umm Tamîm, the ex-wife of Mâlik Ibn Nuwayrah.

Musaylimah gathered his soldiers at 'Aqrabâ' in the western outskirts of *Al-Yamâmah*. The number of his soldiers was around 40 to 60 thousands. The two armies took their battle stations waiting for the beginning of the fight. The soldiers of Musaylimah strongly believed in him and were ready to defend him at any price. At the same time, the Muslim armies consisted of the bravest Muslim youths, including the bearers (memorizers) of the Qur'ân, under the command of Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd, the greatest military commander of his time believed that *Jihâd* for the cause of Allah is the best thing a Muslim can do to get closer to his Lord. This is why this battle was very intense and critical to both sides.

Shurahbîl Ibn Hasanah uttered statements of disparagement and scorn against the armies of *Banû Hanîfah*. So, Musaylimah addressed them to stir their enthusiasm saying; "O *Banû Hanîfah*! Today is the day of vigilance; if you are defeated, your women will be carried off on horseback as captives, and will be taken as wives without being demanded in marriage. So, fight for your honor and defend your women."

The battle

At the beginning of the battle, the armies of Muslims were overwhelmed. *Banû Hanîfah* entered Khâlid's tent and tried to kill Umm Tamîm, his wife, but Mujjâ'ah protected her. The soldiers of Musaylimah reduced the tent to tatters with their swords.

Khâlid's method to stir the enthusiasm of Muslims

Khâlid realized that the cause behind the defeat of Muslims was their disagreement and conflict. The *Muhâjiurun* and the *Anṣâr* argued that the Bedouins did not fight well, while the Bedouins argued that they were the best in wars.

When Khâlid realized this danger, he seized the opportunity of being in a truce period and talked to the soldiers, saying: "O people! Organize separately so that we may know the valor of each clan and know from where we are approached by the enemy." This saying of Khâlid affected the soldiers positively, and stirred their zeal for the religion. So, each one of them tried his best. In other words, every tribe tried to show that it is better than the

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other tribes, and the people encouraged each other to win martyrdom in the cause of Allah, Glorified be He.

The armies of Musaylimah were fighting desperately and violently. At this time, Khâlid realized that killing Musaylimah would be the shortest way to secure victory. He attacked with his men saying to his guards; "Let no one approach me from behind." Then, he shouted their battle slogan saying "O Muḥammad!"; the matter which awakened the Muslims' determinations and vitality. Aiming at eliminating Musaylimah, Khâlid tried to induce Musaylimah to get into a single fight, but Musaylimah was sure that he would be killed if he accepted such a fight and fell into a state of confusion. At that moment, Khâlid and his men attacked Musaylimah, who ran away to a garden he possessed called "the Garden of Ar-Rahmân". The Muslims surrounded the garden and climbed its walls. Inside the garden, which was known later as the "Garden of Death", a great fight took place between the two parties. At that time, Wahshî Al-Habashî, who killed Hamzah, was looking for Musaylimah to kill him as an act of drawing nearer to Allah and to expiate for his last sin represented in killing Hamzah. When Wahshî found Musaylimah, he threw his spear at him, which killed him.

The determination of *Banû Hanîfah* had fallen and they were very frightened when they knew that Musaylimah had been killed and they surrendered immediately. The Arabs know no war during which there was a great shedding of blood as was *Al-Yamâmah*. Khâlid searched the dead looking for Musaylimah to make sure that he was killed. When he found his body, he praised and thanked Allah, the Almighty.

Conditions of reconciliation in *Al-Yamâmah* battle

Khâlid was of the opinion that he should pursue the escapers from *Banû Hanfiah* to kill them all. At first, he did not accept the offer of Mujjâ'ah to reconcile with his people. Then, Khâlid saw that the loss of the Muslims was great since many Muslims were killed in this war.

The historians maintain that the number of Muslims killed in this war was 360 of the *Muhâjirûn*, 300 from the *Anṣâr*, and 50 from the Bedouins.

Yet, the Muslims were deeply distressed and grieved when they found 39 of the Qur'ân bearers (memorizers) among the martyrs.

Upon this, Khâlid accepted the offer of Mujjâ`ah after the latter made a trick that made Khâlid lenient with his people regarding reconciliation. The most important condition of this reconciliation was that Khâlid should release the captivated warriors, taking only their weapons and their properties of gold and silver.

While *Banû Hanîfah* were putting the conditions of reconciliation accepted by Khâlid into effect, Khâlid received a message from the Caliph ordering him to kill everyone who can fight from *Banû Hanîfah*. Yet, Khâlid fulfilled his promise and observed the reconciliation.

The battle of *Al-Yamâmah* in the balance of history

The battle of *Al-Yamâmah* is one of the greatest decisive battles in the history of Islam. In this battle, Khâlid managed to eliminate the principles of apostasy and paved the way for the Islamic belief to prevail in the Arab countries. He also terrified the apostates everywhere and caused all Muslim leaders and soldiers to feel tranquility and self-assurance.

Further, this battle became the fountain from which Muslims inspire confidence and seek the causes of victory against their enemies. This is why the news of apostasy in *Mahrah*, Oman, and Yemen became no longer a source of bothering for Muslims. Instead, such news played a great role in uniting Muslims and highlighting their self-assurance and trust in their powers. This urged Muslims to consider the matter of conquering other countries to spread Islam. Furthermore, the martyrdom of many bearers of the Qur`ân during this battle, however being grievous and distressing news, resulted in a great benefit for the future of the Muslim Nation. This accident drove Abû Bakr to think of gathering the Qur`ân and keeping its indubitable original sources on which it was recorded. After that, such sources were used to write the Qur`ân down, based on the firmness of these sources as containing the Divine Revelation sent down to the Prophet (peace be upon him).

Then, *Banû Hanîfah* embraced the Islam and regretted what they have done against the Muslims. After the battle of *Al-Yamâmah*, Khâlid moved to one of its watercourses called *Al-Wabar*, and camped there. We do not know how long did he stay there before Abû Bakr sent him a message ordering him to conquer Iraq.

► Remainder of *Riddah* (Apostasy) Wars

The battle of *Al-Yamâmah* represented a turning point in the history of *Riddah* (Apostasy) Wars. Investing their decisive victory in such a battle, the Muslims managed to defeat all other apostasy movements all over the Arabian Peninsula.

In *Al-Bahrayn*

The people of *Al-Bahrayn* embraced Islam during the life of the Prophet (peace be upon him). The Prophet (peace be upon him) appointed Al-Mundhir Ibn Sâwî as their leader. Al-Mundhir died soon after the Prophet had died and many of his people left Islam influenced by the apostasy movements in the Arabian Peninsula. Abû Bakr sent Al-`Alâ' Ibn Al-Hadramî to fight them. After reaching *Al-Bahrayn*, Al-`Alâ' and the Muslims with him confronted the apostates. Both of the two armies dug a trench as a means of protection. The fight lasted for few days and was in turns. At one night, the Muslims heard noise coming from the camp of the apostates. Therefore, Al-`Alâ' Ibn Al-Hadramî sent some of his men to bring the news. The scout informed him that the apostates were drunk. So, the Muslims attacked them making use of their drunkenness and defeated them. Some of the apostates escaped to an Island called *Dârîn* in the Persian Gulf, neat to the coast of *Al-Bahrayn*. The Muslims plunged into the sea crossing it to the apostates, where they defeated them, and Al-`Alâ' finished the apostasy of *Al-Bahrayn*.

In Oman and *Mahrah*

Laqîṭ Ibn Mâlik Al-Azdî claimed Prophethood in Oman, where some of his people followed him. *Banû Al-Julandâ'*, the Prophet's collectors of *Zakâh* in that area, could not defy them, and thus escaped to the mountains. One of them sent to Abû Bakr for help. Abû Bakr sent two leaders for them: Hudhayfah Ibn Miḥsan to Oman and `Arfajah Ibn Harthamah to *Mahrah*. Abû Bakr then sent `Ikrimah Ibn Abû Jahl to support them in the war against the people of Oman and *Mahrah*. `Ikrimah joined them before they reached Oman. *Banû Al-Julandâ'* sent to Hudhayfah, `Arfajah, and `Ikrimah asking them to come to meet them. They then sent to some of the tribes' leaders who were with Laqîṭ so that they left him and joined the Muslim party. The two

parties met in *Dabâ'* where the battle was at first in the favor of Laqîṭ and his followers. However, great reinforcements from `Abdul-Qays joined the Muslims, turning victory towards them. The apostates turned away and fled but the Muslims pursued them killing and capturing them as captives. They took their properties and divided them among the Muslims. They sent the fifth of booty to the Caliph in Medina with `Arfajah. Hudhayfah remained in Oman to rearrange the matters there.

As for *Mahrah*, `Ikrimah Ibn Abû Jahl marched to it, after he finished with Oman, with the people of `Abdul-Qays. When they fell upon the territories of *Mahrah*, they found that the people there were divided into two groups for each of them they had appointed a leader. `Ikrimah sent to the leaders of the two groups inviting them to Islam. One of them accepted, but the other refused the invitation. At the end, the fight began and the Muslims won the battle. The apostates fled and the Muslims pursued them killing and capturing them as captives. They got a lot of booty of which they sent the fifth to Medina. `Ikrimah remained in *Mahrah* until all the people there embraced Islam.

In Yemen

The movement of apostasy weakened after killing Al-Aswad Al-`Ansi. But, his followers in Yemen regained strength after the news of the Prophet's death reached them. Abû Bakr sent to those who remained Muslims of the leaders in Yemen ordering them to hold their positions against the apostates there until reinforcements reach them. They succeeded to perform this task under the leadership of Fayrûz Al-Fârisî who was appointed by Abû Bakr as a governor for *San`â'*. Abû Bakr put a plan to surround Yemen. So, he sent Al-Muhâjir Ibn Abû Umayyah to invade the country from the north, and sent `Ikrimah to *Hadramawt* to support Al-Muhâjir in his war in Yemen.

Fortunately, the two Muslim commanders found that there was a great conflict between Qays Ibn `Abd Yaghûth and `Amr Ibn Ma`d Yakrib, the two leaders of Yemen. Therefore, after a short battle, Al-Muhâjir Ibn Abû Umayyah managed to capture the two leaders, and he sent them to Abû Bakr in Medina. There, they repented and returned to Islam, and Abû Bakr accepted their repentance. After that, they became good Muslims, and played an important role in the conquest of the Persian Empire.

In Kindah

Then, Al-Muhâjir and `Ikrimah led the Muslim armies to *Hadramawt*, where Al-Ash`ath Ibn Qays, the chief of *Banû Kindah*, was leading the apostasy movement. At that time, the tribe of *Kindah* in *Hadramawt* was divided into two groups; the first stood firm in Islam, while the other refused to pay the *Zakâh*. The two groups involved into war. So, the Muslim party sent a message to Al-Muhâjir Ibn Abû Umayyah asking for help. He answered their request and sieged the apostates for a long period in a fort called “*An-Nujayr*”. Being sieged for long, the apostates went out desperately to fight the Muslims. They failed and thus fled to the fort again, and sent for reconciliation under the condition that they would deliver the fort in return for the safety of nine of their chiefs. The Muslims entered the fort and killed many of the apostate warriors, taking others as captives, and taking booty. Al-Muhâjir Ibn Abû Umayyah captured Al-Ash`ath and sent him to Abû Bakr. Abû Bakr forgave him, and he later played an important role in the conquest of Iraq.

In Qudâ`ah

Some people of *Qudâ`ah* and other neighboring tribes apostatized and refused to pay the *Zakâh*. Abû Bakr, the Muslim Caliph, sent `Amr Ibnul-`Âs to fight them. When `Amr arrived there, many of them returned to Islam and the rest fled to the mountains. `Amr stayed there for some days where some clashes with the apostates took place. Then, he returned to Medina after most of the northern tribes returned to Islam.

Accordingly, all Muslim armies gained victory and glory in all battlefields. By sending these armies, Abû Bakr protected the name of Islam and proved its might. Moreover, the success of the Muslims in these wars had a great effect on eliminating the rest of the apostates who found no solution but to give up and submit to Islam. For example, Suwayd Ibn Muqarrin succeeded in his task in *Tihâmah* in Yemen, and Ma`n Ibn Hâjiz found no resistance in *Banû Sulaym* and *Hawâzin*. Meanwhile, Khâlid Ibn Sa`îd finished his task in pursuing the apostates at the borders of the Levant. Therefore, Islam spread its sovereignty again throughout the Arabian Peninsula.

► **Reasons Behind Muslims' Victory in Riddah Wars**

After discussing the great trial that had afflicted the Muslims, which they could eliminate in one year, we have to highlight the following question: What were the factors that contributed to the victory of the Muslims in their wars against the movements of apostasy?

In fact, there are many factors that helped achieving this victory, some of which are clear while other requires deep investigation:

First, we should mention the strong will and determination of Abû Bakr. He led the first army against apostasy in *Dhul-Qassah* by himself, where he defeated the tribes of `Abs, Zubyân and their supporters from the neighboring tribes. The Caliph's victory in this war with such little numbers of the Muslim worriers, and before the return of the army of Usâmah from the Levant, helped raising the spirits of the Muslims and urged them to carry their weapons in order to fight in the cause of Allah, the Almighty.

Second, the great plan set by Abû Bakr regarding the priority of wars and the preparations of his many armies by which he attacked the apostates and the rebels all over the Arabian Peninsula, played a great role in destroying the morale of the apostates and diminishing their determination. It also left no chance for them to ally with each other and build a great army that could fight the Muslims.

Third, the Muslims, in their wars against apostasy, were motivated by their strong belief and trust in Allah. They were certain that Allah would grant them victory against their enemies because they were fighting in His cause, unlike the apostates who were fighting for the cause of tribalism and power.

Fourth, the apostates missed the common goal that could gather and unite them on both religious and political aspects. Moreover, the attack of the Bedouin tribes on Medina encouraged its people to defend it, gathered them to fight for one goal, and eliminated the disputes aroused among them.⁽¹⁾

Moreover, the victory of Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd in all his battles against the apostates was a great factor that destroyed their spirits everywhere and raised the morale of the Muslims.

(1) “`Abqariyyat As-Siddîq” by Al-`Aqqâd, (P. 48).

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Finally, the appearance of many claimers of Prophethood, whether from men or women, made it clear for the rational Arabs to realize that this was a wave of apostasy based on achieving evil and personal purposes so they ultimately refused their thoughts and denied their claims.

➤ **Results of *Riddah* (Apostasy) Wars**

After the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him), many of Arabian tribes apostatized and abandoned Islam. Abû Bakr managed to defeat the apostates throughout the Arabian Peninsula, eliminating all sources of disbelief and atheism in the Arabs homelands.

It was a hard trial that tested the Muslims in terms of their belief and trust in Allah. However, Abû Bakr and the Muslims realized that their fierce wars against the apostates were of great benefits for Islam and the Muslims.

The Islamic beliefs had been established very firm all over the Arabian Peninsula after they were the matter of dispute between those who rebelled against them and those who defended them.

Moreover, the *Riddah* wars resulted in the elimination of the main causes of sedition from the Arabs homelands, and the unification of the Muslims all over the Arabian Peninsula as one strong Nation that aims at one purpose and follows one leader.

Abû Bakr became the only man worthy of being the Prophet's successor, and thus the Muslims loved him so much, and the Arabs of different opinions and tendencies accepted him as their leader, as they realized his courage, determination and strife for the cause of his religion and nation. The Arabs, as a result, became very proud of the Caliphate, as they were very proud of Islam.

After gaining victory in the *Riddah* Wars against apostates, the Muslims became self-assured. They felt the strength resulting from their unity, and realized that no power in the world could defeat them if they remained adherent to their union.

Realizing that he should make use of the Muslim's high morale, Abû Bakr directed the Muslim armies to conquer other countries in order to spread Islam and expand the Islamic State. This was the beginning of the great

Conquests in Islam, which included the Persian and the Roman Empires. It was a series of Conquests that began at the time of Abû Bakr and was completed by the following Muslim Caliphs.

After becoming very sure that they were wrong when they refused to fight those who refused to pay the *Zakâh* but acknowledged Islam, the Muslims realized that Abû Bakr was of sound opinion when he insisted on fighting them all over the Arabian Peninsula. As a result, Abû Bakr deserved the Companions' acknowledgment of his soundness of opinion, his strength of will and determination and his great trust in Allah. In this regard, `Abdullâh Ibn Mas`ûd said; "After the death of Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him), we found ourselves in a state in which we would have perished had not Allah favored us with Abû Bakr. We had unanimously agreed that we should not fight (the people) for (refusing to pay as the *Zakâh*) *Ibnat Makhâd* (a one-year-old she-camel) and *Ibnat Labûn* (a two-year-old she-camel), that we should stay in *Qurâ `Arabiyyah* (Medina and its surroundings places) and eat from its crops, and that we should keep on worshipping Allah until the certainty (i.e. death) comes to us. But Allah guided Abû Bakr to fight them. By Allah! He was not satisfied by anything for them but (either) the humiliating plan or the evacuating war. As for the humiliating plan, it was that they should acknowledge that those who were killed among them will enter Hell, while those who were killed among us will enter Paradise, that they should pay *Diyyah* (blood money) for those who were killed from among us, that we should take their properties as booty, and that our property that fell into their hands should be returned to us. As for the evacuating war, it was that they should abandon their homes."⁽¹⁾

► The Neighbors of the Arabs: Persia and Rome

Due to their new position, the Arabs became the talk of their neighboring empires that received the news of their victories and strength. In the northeast of the Arabian Peninsula, the great Persian Empire received carefully the news of the Arabs successive victories and growing power. Before Islam, the Persians were enjoying the reverence of the Arabs who realized the might of this empire.

(1) "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 231].

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The Persian Empire reached its peak of glory before Islam and then began to weaken, which is the destiny of every power.

Despite the fact that the signs of weakness had appeared in the Persian Empire, the Arabs could not get rid of their fear of its rulers and great power. This is why they never thought that they can involve in war against the Persians or conquer Persia.

► The Persian Status Quo

The Arabs called the Persian Empire as *Dawlatul-Akâsirah* (the State of the Khosrows). Its capital was *Al-Madâ'in*, located to the south of Baghdad at the Coast of Tigris River. It extended over Persia and Iraq and reached the coasts of the Caspian Sea. At the first days of the Prophet (peace be upon him), its ruler was Khosrow I (Chosroes I), most commonly known as Anushiruwân (i.e. the immortal soul), and who was entitled “the Just”. He was succeeded by his son Hormizd IV and then by Khosrow II (Chosroes II), entitled “Aparvez” (i.e. the Victorious), and known as Chosroes Parvez. The Prophet (peace be upon him) sent a message to Chosroes Parvez calling him to embrace Islam. When he received the Prophet’s message, he sent to Badhân, his governor in Yemen, asking him to find this bold man who dared to address Khosrow in such a way that never happened before by any of the Arabs and bring him before Khosrow to punish him for his boldness and to make him an example for everybody who dares to challenge the Sassanian Khosrows. Then, Chosroes Parvez tore the Prophet’s message and killed his messenger. However, he was hated by his people and his family as well so, his son Sheroe, better known as Kavadh II, killed him in 628 A.D. and seized the throne for two years. After that, the Persian Empire faced a series of conspiracies regarding the rule until Yazdegerd III, whom the Muslims took over his throne, seized the power in 632 A.D.

The Political disorder and the disputes over the throne were among the factors that led to the collapse and defeat of the Persian Empire. However, there were other factors that took part in such a collapse, such as:

- 1. Religious disorders:** There were severe continuous religious disagreements between the followers of Zoroaster, the followers of Mani and the followers of Mazdak. There were even conflicts between these various

Persian religions on one side and Christianity and Judaism on the other. Many horrible massacres took place among the followers of these religions.

2. **Economic disorder:** In addition to the religious and political disorders, there were also many defects in the economic system, which reflected on the huge taxes imposed on the people due to corruption and wars against the Byzantine Empire. Thus, it was normal that a state that was politically, religiously, and economically dissolved would collapse.⁽¹⁾

► **The Roman Status Quo (Byzantine Empire)**

Byzantine Empire was not better than the Persian Empire as it suffered corruption, which overwhelmed its political, administrative, social and religious aspects. This was attributed in one part to the nature of its people who were adopting various conflicting Christian denominations. That is, some of those denominations believed in the divinity of the Christ, others maintained that he had one nature (Monophysitism), while others held that he had two natures (Dyophysitism). Besides, the Byzantine society was indulging in depravity and corruption, not to mention the disputes and conspiracies aimed at taking over the throne. This is in addition to the irrational and unwise foreign policy based on enmity with the Persian Empire. The enmity, which stirred up many wars between the two empires, finally resulted in the destruction of both of them.

After the emergence of Islam, a great war occurred between the two empires when the Persians, during the reign of Chosroes Parvez, attacked and defeated the Romans in Damascus in 614 A.D. and consequently occupied Jerusalem in 615 A.D. and then Alexandria in 616 A.D. This is the war narrated by the Qur'ân in Allah's saying:

{“Alif, Lâm, Mîm. The Romans (Byzantines) have been defeated. In the nearest land. But they, after their defeat, will overcome. Within three to nine years, to Allah belongs the command [i.e. decree] before and after. And that day the believers will rejoice. In the victory of Allah, He gives victory to whom He wills, and He is the Exalted in Might, the Merciful.”}

[Ar-Rûm: 1-5]

(1) “‘Asr Al-Khulafâ’ Ar-Râshidîn” by Fayyâd (P. 115).

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The Roman defeat took place during the inner conflict between emperor Phocas and Heraclius who led an inner revolution against the emperor. When Heraclius seized the power, he prepared an army to recapture the occupied territories and drive the Persians out. After some years (from three to nine years), he succeeded in 622 A.D. to remove the Persians from Egypt and the Levant. He pursued them to *Al-Madâ'in* and restored the so-called True Cross and returned victorious to Jerusalem.

Heraclius wanted to secure harmony of the society and end the religious conflict that tore the people of his empire, so he established Monothelism and ordered his soldier to force the people to adopt it. He sent Cyrus, one of his leaders, to Egypt to propagate such a doctrine there where he used all methods of violence and terror to force the people to adopt it, the matter that added greatly to the tension and disorder.

Ghassanids and Lakhmids

Due to the severe disputes and wars between them, the Ghassanid Kingdom (a Byzantine vassal state) and the Lakhmid kingdom (a Persian vassal state), who mainly drew their powers from the two powerful empires of the Byzantines and the Persians were destroyed. Accordingly, none of these two kingdoms became able to protect its allied empire against the Arab attacks in the rural areas in Iraq or the Levant.

Conclusion

We can say that while Islam, as a new religion, was building a strong nation based on the principles that this worldly life is a bridge to a better life in the hereafter, and that all Muslims shall care for each other and be like one body, the policies of the Persian and the Roman empires were destroying their societies and tearing them apart spreading disputes, seditions, hatred and enmity among the people. Such policies severed the relationships between the rulers and their peoples and pushed the people to rebel against their rulers who in return used the harshest and most tyrannical acts of ruling against them to force them to accept their policies and adopt certain religious beliefs. As a result, the suppressed religious denominations and the oppressed poor classes sought a new dawn of freedom, prosperity and good life.

Once the news of Muslim invasions reached these peoples, they felt happy and hoped for honorable life and great welfare that would free them from their miserable conditions.

Did Abû Bakr plan to conquest Iraq and the Levant?

We can say that the only goal, which Abû Bakr focused on during the *Riddah* Wars, was to defeat the apostasy movements and restore them to Islam. He wanted to spread Islam among the Arabs and throughout the Arabian Peninsula. His aim was to unite the Arabs under the religion of Islam as they were during the life of the Prophet (peace be upon him).

We think that Abû Bakr never thought to conquest the neighboring countries at that time, i.e. the beginning of *Riddah* Wars, as he was wise enough to focus his efforts on the apostates.

However, after Abû Bakr won the war against apostasy, and after his soldiers got close to the borders of these two empires, we think that he thought deeply about securing Islam inside the Peninsula before taking such an important decision. But, a problematic question arises here: Did the protection of Islam inside the Arabian Peninsula imply the protection of its borders adjacent to the enemies?

After the end of *Riddah* Wars, Abû Bakr realized that he needed to study the status of the Muslims living at the borders of the Persian and the Roman empires. Accordingly, he found that the Arabian tribes in the areas adjacent to the Byzantine Empire were frightened of the Ghassanid raids instigated against them by the Romans. Therefore, he expected that the Ghassanids under the orders of the Romans might raid Medina itself.⁽¹⁾

Afraid of such a danger, Abû Bakr thought about waging a preemptive war against the Romans in order to suppress them and the Ghassanids and to defend his country and protect *Da`wah* (Islamic Call).

The following are some of the possible reasons that urged Abû Bakr to think of waging war against the Caesar:

1. To turn the Arabs aside from seeking revenge for their losses.

(1) “*Abqariyyât As-Siddîq*” by Al-`Aqqâd (P. 156).

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2. To secure for them the glory that helps them forget their hatred against Medina and its people after their defeat in *Riddah* Wars.
3. To spread Islam in the Byzantine Empire and in other countries throughout the world.

➤ **The End of *Riddah* Wars and the Beginning of Conquests**

New circumstances came to existence and established a strong relation between the *Riddah* Wars and the Conquests. The Caliph found it necessary to begin new wars after getting victory in *Riddah* Wars. He also found that the goals of *Riddah* Wars could not be achieved unless he went to new battles against the Persians and the Romans. Describing Abû Bakr's decision to eliminate the apostates, Thomas Arnold said; "This was the first of that wonderful series of campaigns in which the Arabs overran Syria, Persia and Northern Africa overturning the ancient kingdom of Persia and despoiling the Roman Empire of some of its fairest provinces."⁽¹⁾



(1) "*The Preaching of Islam*" by Thomas Walker Arnold (P. 45).

Conquests in Persian and Roman Empires

First Battlefield: The Persian Empire

All signs suggested that the Muslim would attack the Romans in response to their actions in inciting the Ghassanids to attack the Muslim Arab tribes. At that time, Abû Bakr was studying the possibility of attacking the Romans, taking into his consideration his material and moral capabilities.

At the same time, Al-Muthannâ Ibn Hârithah, who was fighting the apostates in *Al-Bahrayn*, was thinking about fighting the Lakhmids and the tribes located at their borders. Al-Muthannâ found that the Lakhmids, the allies of the Persians, were raiding the Muslim territories forcing the Muslims to defend themselves and pursue the raiders to their homelands. He viewed that these continuous raids against the Muslims oppose the victory and glory they achieved and thus he shall attack their territories. Hence, Abû Bakr sent Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd to support Al-Muthannâ against his enemies.

Here, we notice that the events were too fast that we cannot exactly determine when the *Riddah* Wars ended and when the Conquests began. Studying the events of raiding the Persian Empire, we find that these raids were necessary for the Caliph who was obliged to provide the required military forces and equipment due to the circumstances at that time. Hence, it was the beginning of the great Muslim Conquests, and the battles against the Persians followed one another until ended with Muslim victory.

► **The Factors That Urged the Muslims Towards the Conquests:**

1. The Arabs victory in *Riddah* Wars made them very proud of their common Arab origins, the feeling which encouraged thousands of them to devote themselves to Islam working on spreading it among non-Arab nations.
2. They were very ambitious for the abundant booty they can get in addition to the heavenly reward for their efforts exerted to spread the New Religion (Islam).
3. They hoped to replace their infertile desert homelands, in which they suffered hard life, with new fertile ones to experience the life of luxury and comfort, as did the people of Persia, Egypt and the Levant.

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4. The Muslim Conquests followed after such a vast defection from the Christian faith.⁽¹⁾ The resentful Christians seized the opportunity of Muslims existence within their borders to assist the Muslims in their military expeditions.
5. The Conquests, while moving from a conquered country to another, attracted many of the Christian Bedouins incorporating them into the Conquests.

Some historians state that the Christian Arabs who were guarding the Byzantine borders in the desert joined the Muslim army when Heraclius refused to pay them the tribute he used to give them in return for their military services as border guards.

6. The numbers of Muslim forces: We do not have the accurate number of the Muslim armies that sent by Abû Bakr to invade the Persian and the Byzantine Empires. Yet, we can nearly estimate the numbers of the forces he depended upon. In the *Riddah* Wars, the number of warriors was as follows:

- a) About 3000 warriors from the tribes of *Aslam*, *Ghifâr*, *Muzaynah*, *Ashja`*, *Juhaynah* and other tribes located between Mecca and Medina.
- b) About 4000 warriors from the *Ansâr* – *Al-Aws* and *Al-Kharzaj* – and the *Muhâjirûn* and Meccan people.
- c) 2000 warriors from the tribe of *Thaqîf* located between Mecca and *At-Tâ'if*.

If we add the total of the above numbers to the potential warriors of the Bedouins, we can say that the army did not exceed 10000 warriors.⁽²⁾

Despite the fact that the Muslims armies were not equal to the Persian or the Byzantine armies with regard to the number of soldiers, weapons and preparation, the Muslims warriors compensated such shortcoming with their religious zeal, courage and obedience to their leaders.⁽³⁾

Moreover, the elements of speed and surprise were in favor of the Muslim armies, which helped them won the wars against these empires whose peoples

(1) Ibid. (P. 46).

(2) “*Khulafâ' Muhammad*” by `Umar Abû An-Naṣr [1: 87-88].

(3) Ibid. (P. 98).

lost every hope in reform by their unjust rules and thus looked forward to the Muslim rulers, especially after they heard about their justice, their kindness towards their peoples and the human touch they had towards the peoples of conquered countries.

► **Military Operations and Conquests**

At first, Abû Bakr focused on the Byzantine Empire as his first destination for conquest due to the raids of the Ghassanids on the Muslims at the instigation of the Roman emperors. The aim of these raids was to force the Arab tribes that embraced Islam to abandon this religion. Moreover, the Muslims' acquaintance with the route to the Levant and the conditions of the Ghassanids and the Romans represented other factors that urged Abû Bakr to choose the Byzantine Empire as his first aim to be conquered.

How did the Conquests begin with Persia?

While Abû Bakr was thinking about attacking the Roman Empire, the news reached him that Al-Muthannâ Ibn Hârithah Ash-Shaybânî moved with his forces to the north starting from *Al-Bahrayn* until he seized *Al-Qatîf* and *Hajar*. The news also stated that Al-Muthannâ continued until he reached the mouth of Tigris and Euphrates, achieving great victories against the Persian forces and their governors who supported the apostates in *Al-Bahrayn*.

Al-Muthannâ Ibn Hârithah was a surprising brilliant leader for Abû Bakr. When he asked about him, he was informed that he was a man from the tribe of *Banû Bakr Ibn Wâ'il* of *Al-Bahrayn* and that he joined the forces of Al-'Alâ' Al-Hadramî sent by the Caliph to suppress the apostates in *Al-Bahrayn*. Abû Bakr was also informed that Al-Muthannâ gathered the people who remained Muslim in *Al-Bahrayn* and moved with them from *Al-Bahrayn* to the north alongside the Arabian Gulf until he reached the Arab tribes at the delta of the two rivers.⁽¹⁾ He made a treaty with these tribes after he knew how they suffered from the Persian injustice and oppression. He also knew that the Arab tribes of *Taghlib*, *Iyâd* and *An-Namir*, were ready to respond to any Arab call that might release them from the Persian oppression.

(1) "As-Siddîq Abû Bakr" by Muḥammad Husayn Haykal (pp. 228-229).

The first step:

Al-Muthannâ went to Medina to provide Abû Bakr with his information about the possibility of conquering the Persian Empire. He said to Abû Bakr; "Give me command over those of my people who are nearby, and I will fight those Persians who border me and will cover my district."

Abû Bakr consulted Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd and the people of opinion among the Muslims who all agreed with Abû Bakr regarding the appointment of Al-Muthannâ as the commander of the army to proceed with his Conquests.

The second step:

The new condition made it necessary for the Caliph to send Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd to Al-Muthannâ as a general commander of the conquest armies. Abû Bakr issued the order to Khâlid in Muharram, 12 A.H. We will shed light on the Muslim armies in Iraq during a one-year-period starting from this date. We will also follow the warriors to be acquainted with the progress they achieved, and the goals they reached. However, we will find huge differences among the historians regarding the chronological order of the military operations. We are not interested in the timeline of those operations, but rather in their results, including the collapse of the Persian and the Byzantine empires at the Muslims' hands.

Due to the various battles on this battlefield, we will focus only on one or two battles that took place between the Muslims and the Persians and then apply the same way when discussing the battles between the Muslims and the Romans.

The plan

After Khâlid received the order to move to Iraq, he agreed with the Caliph on the plan to be followed in Iraq. The plan was to occupy the cities located to the west of Euphrates and the Arab Coast, starting from *Kâzimah*, *Al-Ubullah* and *Al-Hufayr*. Then, the Muslims would move to the north to occupy the cities of the western coast of the Euphrates in order to secure the army advance into the country to protect the army against any possible encirclement aimed at preventing it from retreating when necessary.⁽¹⁾

(1) "*Asr Al-Khulafâ' Ar-Râshidîn*" by Dr. Mahmûd Fayyâd (P. 120).

To implement the plan, Khâlid sent a message to Al-Muthannâ Ibn Hârithah to meet him with his army in *Al-Ubullah*. Khâlid then moved to *Al-Ubullah* with 10000 soldiers and met with Al-Muthannâ and his army consisting of 8000 soldiers. Khâlid divided the soldiers into three armies: the first army was put under the command of Al-Muthannâ Ibn Hârithah; the second army was entrusted to `Adiyy Ibn Hâtim At-Tâî; and the third one was under the command of Khâlid himself. Khâlid sent out Al-Muthannâ as the first of the Muslim armies. Then, he sent out `Adiyy Ibn Hâtim At-Tâî two days later, and finally he himself set out one day after `Adiyy. Khâlid had set for all of them a rendezvous at *Al-Hufayr*.

► **The First Battle: *Al-Hufayr (Dhâtus-Salâsil)***

When Hurmuz, the governor of Kaladah province, which includes the southern area of Tigris and Euphrates, knew that the Muslims armies would gather in *Al-Hufayr*, he went there and occupied the sources of water. Thus, the Muslims had to campaign in a waterless place. Khâlid wanted to make use of this situation to entuse the Muslims, so he heralded: “Camp here and put down your baggage, then fight them over the water. For, by my life, the water will most assuredly go to the more persistent of the two forces and the most noble of the two armies.”

The battle began and it was in the favor of Muslims during all of its stages. The importance of this battle can be attributed to the fact that it was the first battle that the Muslims fought against the well-organized Persian armies. This is why this battle frightened the Persian soldiers very much, leading them to a series of defeats. Historically, this battle is known as *Dhâtus-Salâsil* (the battle of chains)⁽¹⁾ because the Persians tied their soldiers to each other with chains so that they would not flee if the battle intensified. These chains were one of the important factors that contributed to the Muslims' victory in this battle.

Hurmuz had sent for Ardashîr, the Persian king asking for support. Ardashîr's reinforcements met with the soldiers who fled from the battle at *Al-Madhâr*, where they camped altogether in a place called *Ath-Thinî*. Again, a great battle began and the Muslims defeated the enemies and killed

(1) “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 262]; and “*As-Siddîq Abû Bakr*” by Muḥammad Husayn Haykal (pp. 243 and after).

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many of them in this battle. They sent the captives and the booty to the Caliph after the soldiers took their shares.

A new battle occurred in a place called *Al-Walajah*⁽¹⁾ and then another one took place in a place called *Ullays*, where the Muslims were heading north to *Al-Hîrah*. *Al-Hîrah* was strategic and of special importance for Khâlid because it was an Arab emirate. The people of this emirate incited the Persians to fight the Muslims in *Ullays*, and joined the Persians against the Muslims in revenge for their people who were killed in the previous battles. After being defeated they submitted to Khâlid, but he knew that they would betray him when they had the chance. So, Khâlid decided to occupy *Al-Hîrah*, the capital of the Arabs, in order to get direct and secure contact with the Arabian Peninsula.

The people of *Al-Hîrah* expected the Muslim attack and their ruler knew that Khâlid would use the ships he gained from the Persians in the previous battles to reach *Al-Hîrah*. As a result, the ruler of *Al-Hîrah* decided to change the riverbed so that the Muslims could not reach *Al-Hîrah*. Khâlid, however, managed to restore the original riverbed and the ships of the Muslims reached the two palaces of *Al-Khawarnaq* and *An-Najaf*. The People of *Al-Hîrah* fled to their fortifications for defense, but the Muslims attacked their forts, leading the people of *Al-Hîrah* to ask for reconciliation and payment of *Jizyah* (tribute).

At this time, Khâlid tried to stir the Arabs of *Al-Hîrah* to support the Arabs of the Arabian Peninsula saying; “Woe to you! Are you Arabs? So, why do you resent the Arabs! Or (are you) Persians? So, why do you resent fairness and justice!” They answered him saying; “Indeed! We are pure Arabs (*‘Arab ‘Âribah*), and others Arabicized (*Musta ‘ribah*).” Khâlid made peace with them for 190000 dirhams paid as *Jizyah* (tribute), and the two parties wrote an agreement on this.

► *Al-Hîrah*,⁽²⁾ the First Capital for Muslims Outside Their Homelands

Al-Hîrah was a city in which new kind of management and principles, such as justice, freedom and equality were established after the Muslim

(1) For detailed information about these battles, See: “*As-Siddiq Abû Bakr*” by Muḥammad Husayn Haykal.

(2) *Al-Hîrah* was a city on Euphrates River.

conquest. Khâlid left the management of the city local affairs under the control of its native rulers, which gave a good impression about the Muslims. The people of *Al-Hîrah* and its neighbors saw how the Muslims protected the farmers' production and possessions and how they released the people from the unjust treatment of the Persians. This is why the neighboring tribes wanted to make treaties with Khâlid and join his forces. The Muslims' authority reached the coast of Tigris, and Khâlid took tribute from all these countries starting from the Arabian Gulf in the south to *Al-Hîrah* in the north, and from the borders of the Arabian countries in the west to Tigris in the east.⁽¹⁾

The concentration of the Muslim forces in *Al-Hîrah* makes it easy for us to understand how the Persians' will and spirits were weakened. Another factor that contributed to the defeat of the Persians was the death of KISRÂ (Khosrow) Ardashîr that was followed by a series of disputes over the throne of the Empire that was devastating by the Muslim occupation of wide spaces of its lands. These disputes helped the Muslims to establish themselves and clean the areas they invaded from resistance. The Muslims could also declare that their rule achieved prosperity and happiness in the conquered areas. Khâlid then invaded *Al-Anbâr* and *'Ayn At-Tamr* and defeated the Persian armies everywhere.

Khâlid between *Al-Hîrah* and *Dûmat Al-Jandal*

The plan drawn to attack Iraq focused on attacking the Persians from two directions: The first was the southeast, which was the mission entrusted to Al-Muthannâ, Khâlid and `Adiyy Ibn Hâtim, and the second direction was *Dûmat Al-Jandal*, which was the mission entrusted to `Iyâd Ibn Ghanm, who was ordered to attack Iraq from the north at *Al-Musayyakh*, so that the two Muslim forces might encircle the Persian forces. In this regard, the Caliph said to Khâlid and `Iyâd: "Whoever among you reached *Al-Hîrah* first would become the commander of the other."⁽²⁾

`Iyâd Ibn Ghanm, however, could not defeat the people of *Dûmat Al-Jandal* who did not give him the opportunity to reach the Persian borders. One year

(1) "*As-Siddîq Abû Bakr*" by Muḥammad Husayn Haykal (P. 253).

(2) "*Khulafâ' Muḥammad*" by Mr. `Umar Abû An-Naṣr [1: 117].

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had passed during which `Iyâd could not achieve victory until Khâlid reached the place where `Iyâd should have launched the raids against the Persians.

When the matters became difficult for `Iyâd with the people of *Dûmat Al-Jandal*, he sent to Khâlid for support. When `Iyâd's message reached Khâlid, he replied; "From Khâlid to `Iyâd. I am coming to you". Then, Khâlid rushed to *Dûmat Al-Jandal* located 300 miles⁽¹⁾ far from *`Ayn At-Tamr*, a distance which Khâlid covered in 10 days during which he faced the dangers of the Syrian and Nefud deserts. When the people *Dûmat Al-Jandal* knew that Khâlid was coming, they were certain that the situation had become very difficult for them. Ukaydir Ibn `Abdul-Malik Al-Kindî, the leader of *Dûmat Al-Jandal*, tried to convince the leaders of the tribes who came to support him, to make peace with Khâlid saying; "I am the most knowledgeable of people about Khâlid. No one is better omended than him, nor sharper in war. No people, be they few or many, had ever seen Khâlid's face but that they fled from him. Therefore, obey me and make peace with the enemy." The leaders of those tribes, however, refused peace and insisted on fighting Khâlid's army.

Accordingly, *Dûmat Al-Jandal* was surrounded by Khâlid's forces in the north and `Iyâd's forces in the south. Thus, the people of *Dûmat Al-Jandal* had to resort to their fortress to defend themselves from inside. The Muslim forces killed all the people who were outside the fortress. Khâlid reached the gate and ordered his forces to destroy it. The Muslims rushed in upon the enemy killing the soldiers and taking women captives. *Dûmat Al-Jandal* became one of the most important strategic places for the Muslims because it was on the way leading to *Al-Hîrah* and Iraq and near to Sirhan Valley, which leads to the Levant.

While all matters were going normally for the benefit of the Muslims in *Dûmat Al-Jandal*, the Persians and the Arabs of Iraq tried to seize the chance, while khâlid was away, and avenge on the Muslims who killed many of them in the battle of *`Ayn At-Tamr*. So, they sent for the Persian leaders and kings to support them. When Al-Qa`qâ` Ibn `Amr At-Tamîmî knew about the mobilization of the Persians and the Arabs of Iraq, he sent two squads to hinder them and sent for Khâlid who returned back to Iraq quickly.

(1) Ibid. [1: 285].

The people of Iraq fell into a great state of confusion when they heard about the return of Khâlid. On his part, Khâlid seized the opportunity and engaged into a hard battle with the people of Iraq for *Al-Husayd* and *Al-Khanâfis*, located near *Al-Anbâr*. The Muslims faced great difficulties but won the battle at last. Khâlid then marched north alongside Euphrates where he found no resistance.

► ***Al-Firâd* (Firaz) Battle⁽¹⁾**

This battle is regarded as a turning point in the war between the Muslims and Persians. The geographical location of *Al-Firâd* took the war into a new direction that was not intended by Khâlid or even by Abû Bakr. The importance of this battle can be attributed to the fact that it was the first battle in which the Persians allied with the Romans against the Muslims. This alliance forced the Muslims to enter into war against the Romans who felt that they should support the Persians since they both were facing the same danger. The Muslims, on their part, found it necessary to fight the Romans, the allies of the Persians, who both regarded them as a common enemy.

Accordingly, it was necessary for the Muslims to engage in war against the Romans who disclosed their bad intentions against the Muslims through allying with the Persians in *Al-Firâd* (Firaz) Battle. The Persians and the Arabs of Iraq who fled from the battles of *Al-Husayd* and *Al-Khanâfis* marched north until they reached *Al-Firâd* located near the Roman borders where only Euphrates was between them. At *Al-Firâd*, the allies; i.e. the Persians, the Romans and the Iraqi Arabs, gathered to fight the Muslims. Khâlid ordered his soldiers to press their pursuit of them and never grant them any respite. Khâlid used many military tactics and skills that he never used in previous battles, leading finally to the victory of the Muslims. The allied forces fled and the Muslims pursued them until one hundred thousand were killed in the battle and the pursuit according to the consensus of the historians.⁽²⁾ This battle was in the month of Ramadan in 12 A.H., in a very hot weather that Khâlid and his soldiers could not fast.

(1) It is located between *Ar-Raqqa* to the north and *Qârqisyâ* (Circesium) to the south. It was located on the borders between the Persian and the Byzantine Empires.

(2) "*As-Siddîq Abû Bakr*" by Muḥammad Husayn Haykal (P. 265).

► Khâlid's Adventures

As we said before, Khâlid managed to cross the Syrian and Nefud deserts marching from the north to the south until he reached *Dûmat Al-Jandal* to support `Iyâd Ibn Ghanm. He covered this distance that reached more than 300 miles in 10 days.

After Khâlid gained victory in the battle of *Al-Firâd* (Firaz) and cleaned the territory from the enemies, he stayed there for a while and then ordered his forces to go back to *Al-Hîrah*. It was the month of Dhul-Qa`dah, 12 A.H. and the *Hajj* (pilgrimage) season was approaching. So, Khâlid decided to perform *Hajj*.

Khâlid set out as a pilgrim but kept his pilgrimage a secret because his absence, if known, might cause problems. He gave out that he was in the rear of the army. Khâlid separated himself from the army, and took a short, difficult and unfrequented route to Mecca. He reached Mecca in time and performed *Hajj* secretly, and then he returned to *Al-Hîrah*. His absence from the troops was short, so that the last of them had not arrived in *Al-Hîrah* before he came to them in the rear of the army and arrived together.⁽¹⁾

Thus, none of the Persians or the Arabs of Iraq knew about Khâlid's absence. The Caliph, however, reproached him for such a behavior. The historical resources maintain that Khâlid was sent to the Levant because of such a behavior.⁽²⁾



(1) "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 274].

(2) Ibid.

Second Battlefield: The Byzantine Empire

The Muslims engaged in battles on two battlefronts at the same time. That is, while Khâlid was fighting the Persians and devastating their armies in Iraq, other Muslims squads moved to the Byzantine Empire in the Levant aimed at extending the northwestern borders at the expense of the Byzantine Empire.

Did Abû Bakr plan to invade the two empires at the same time? Or was the engagement in the second battlefront against the Romans a prerequisite for victory in the first battlefront against the Persians?

The Historians differ regarding the military operations in the conquest of the Levant. Some historians argue that the Conquest of the Levant was a mere expansion for the *Riddah* Wars and that the Caliph ordered Khâlid Ibn Sa`îd Ibnul-`Âs to fight the apostates in the northwest of the Arabian Peninsula until he reaches *Taymâ'* where he should stop and wait for new orders.⁽¹⁾

Al-Balâdhurî and the non-Arab historians argue that the Caliph sent armies to the Levant at the same time he sent other armies to Iraq (early 12 A.H.) and that the war began simultaneously at the two battlefronts.

However, it appears that the aim of sending the armies to the Levant was not to engage in a real war. Surely, the Caliph did not desire to enter in two battlefields simultaneously because the forces of the two empires highly exceeded the Muslim forces. This is why it was not reasonable to enter into wars against the two empires at the same time.

We can say that the Caliph decided to send some Muslim squads to the Levant borders to show the Muslim Power to the Byzantines and to prevent them from aiding the Persians against the Muslims. This is because the Caliph was afraid that the Byzantines might decide to make use of the fact that the best of Muslim battalions under the command of Khâlid had set off for conquering Persia and that other Muslim forces were still fighting against apostates to attack Medina. Accordingly, the aim of sending such squads at first was to initiate skirmishes at the borders and to frighten the Arabs used by the Byzantine Empire and to reciprocate any aggression against the Muslims.

(1) "*Khulafâ' Muḥammad*" by Mr. `Umar Abû An-Naṣr [1: 130].

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When the Muslims gained victory in Iraq, the Caliph realized that he could engage in battles on a second battlefield safely,⁽¹⁾ especially after the Muslims captured *Dûmat Al-Jandal*, located directly on the way leading to the Levant and Iraq.

► Preparation for the Romans

When Khâlid Ibn Sa`îd reached *Taymâ'*, he defeated the Roman armies in two battles. The Caliph was encouraged when he heard the news of his victories and the news of Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd's victories. Thus, he decided to invade the Roman Empire. He prepared three armies led by Yazîd Ibn Abû Sufyân, `Amr Ibnul-`Âs and Shurahbîl Ibn Hasanah. The Caliph ordered each of them to take a certain route so that they might attack in different areas, dispersing the enemy forces. The Caliph continued to send supporting forces to the conquest armies in the Levant. That is, whenever a Muslim squad finished its battle with the apostates, it was sent to support the Muslims armies invading the Byzantine Empire. After gaining victory in *Al-Firâd* (Firaz) battle, many Muslims rushed to Medina to participate in the wars of Conquests in order to have the glory of victory and the abundant booty.

Thus, Abû Bakr established a fourth army, which marched to the Levant under the command of Abû `Ubaydah Ibnul-Jarrâh. Accordingly, the number of armies sent to the Levant became four, totaling 24000 soldiers.

Plan amendment

The plan put by the Caliph, as we said previously, was that each commander would take a certain route fighting his battles separately. While `Amr Ibnul-`Âs was in his way to Palestine as he was ordered by the Caliph, he found that the Byzantine army was very huge and determined, and realized that fighting separately would not be in the favor of Muslims because it would help the Byzantines, whose numbers were much greater than the Muslims, to defeat the Muslim armies in all battlefields. Thus, he sent for the commanders of the other armies suggesting that they must join their forces to fight in one battlefield. The Muslim commanders agreed that their armies join each other at Yarmouk River. They informed the Caliph with the new plan and asked for

(1) *“As-Siddîq Abû Bakr”* by Muḥammad Husayn Haykal (P. 279).

reinforcements. The Caliph accepted the new plan and ordered that each of the commanders should lead his army during Prayer.⁽¹⁾

Khâlid: The hope

After achieving victory in Iraq, the Caliph wanted to secure victory in the Levant. So, he sent to Khâlid ordering him to appoint Al-Muthannâ Ibn Hârithah as the commander of the Muslim forces in Iraq and to hasten to reinforce the Muslim armies in the Levant. Khâlid took a very dangerous and unfrequented route to the Levant in order to surprise the Roman forces behind their lines and to join the Muslims forces quickly at the same time.⁽²⁾

Khâlid reached the Levant and found that the Muslim armies had decided to fight at the same time but each army would operate separately and independently under its commander. Khâlid was not satisfied with this plan and suggested to appoint a general commander for the Muslim armies, as it was the case with the Romans. He viewed that the command should not be centralized, and so he suggested that each one of the Muslim commanders should act as the general commander for one day, and that he should be in this position on the first day.

► *Al-Yarmûk (Yarmouk) Battle*

The historical resources differ regarding the location and date of this battle. They also differ regarding its name. Some historians refer to it as *Ajnâdayn* while others refer to it as *Al-Yarmûk*. Ibnul-Athîr argued that there were two battles that took place successively in the Levant; namely, *Al-Yarmûk* and *Ajnâdayn*.⁽³⁾ However, the majority of historians mentioned only one battle, which some of them called *Al-Yarmûk* and others called *Ajnâdayn*.

The Muslim forces in this decisive battle, which opened the gates of the Byzantine Empire before the Muslims, ranged between 34000 and 40000

(1) “*The History of Al-Tabari*”, translated by Khalid Yahya Blankinship [11: 87]: Abû Bakr had assigned to each one of the commanders in Syria a district (kurah) [to conquer]. Thus he assigned Hims to Abû `Ubaydah b. `Abdallah b. al-Jarrah, Damascus to Yazid b. Abi Sufyan, al-Urdunn to Shurahbil b. Hasanah, and Palestine to `Amr b. al-`Asi and `Alqamah b. Mujazziz.

(2) See the description of this rout in “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 279].

(3) Ibid. [2: 281-286].

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soldiers. Meanwhile, the Byzantine army ranged between 100000 and 240000 soldiers. The Byzantine army gathered near the town of *Ajnâdayn* at the west side of Yarmouk River and was commanded by Theodore, brother of the Roman Emperor Heraclius.

Battlefield

Yarmouk River originates from southwestern Syria and flows southwest to its confluence with the Jordan River.

The Byzantine army camped near to *Al-Wâqûsah* trench in a vast place that was surrounded by high mountains from three directions making the mountains and *Al-Wâqûsah* trench to their backs. The Muslims passed to the right bank of the river and camped in front of the Roman army blocking their only route out. At this time, `Amr Ibnul-`Âs said; "O people, rejoice! By Allah! The Romans have been surrounded. It rarely has happened that anything good comes to the one who has been surrounded."⁽¹⁾

The two armies stayed without fight for about two months. In Jumada I 13 A.H., corresponding to August 634 A.D., the Romans decided to engage in a decisive battle against the Muslims. Khâlid divided his army into 28 squadrons specifying some of them as the army center and two wings. He appointed a judge and a preacher to encourage the soldiers to fight.

At the beginning of the battle, the Muslim managed to separate the Roman cavalry from the infantry troops. Then they attacked the infantry killing many of them and pushing many others to fall into Yarmouk River or the trench of *Al-Wâqûsah*. The chains by which the Romans tied their soldiers to each other helped that many of them be killed since a full line of chained soldiers was falling in *Al-Wâqûsah* as if a wall had been pulled down.

Woman's role in this battle

In this battle, the Muslims prepared a high place for their women from which they could watch the battle. When the fight got intensified, some Muslim soldiers tried to escape. The Muslim women, however, carried some branches and hit the escaping soldiers on their faces to push them back to

(1) Ibid.

the battle. The Muslim women cried at their husbands and people saying; “You are not our men if you do not defend us.” As a result, the men fought hardly and bravely uttering *Takbîr* [i.e. saying *Allâhu Akbar* (Allah is the greatest)]. It was a fierce battle that continued all day long and most of the night. By the morning of Jumada I 28, 13 A.H., Khâlid was inside the pavilion of Theodore, the Roman commander who fled to *Hims* (Homs) to inform Emperor Heraclius with the news of defeat.

► Heroes in *Al-Yarmûk*

In this battle, the Muslims set examples of courage, sacrifice and determination. They did everything possible to win the battle despite their small numbers comparing to their enemy. The following is one example of sacrifice set in this battle:

Pledge to fight to the death

Historical resources narrate that `Ikrimah Ibn Abû Jahl was the commander of a squadron before the pavilion of Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd in battle. He saw the strong attack of the Romans and the retreat of the Muslims before them. He then was taken by his zeal and Islamic pride and cried; “I fought against the Messenger of Allah in every battle, yet you expect me to flee from you today!”⁽¹⁾ He then called his soldiers saying; “Who will give me the pledge to fight to the death?” *Dirâr* Ibnul-Azwar and *Al-Hârith* Ibn Hishâm along with 400 of the Muslim notables and horsemen answered him saying; “O `Ikrimah! We give you our pledge to fight to the death.”

The squadron, motived by its agreement, rushed to the Roman forces killing, terrifying and dispersing them. Each of them wished to be killed for Allah’s sake and to fall as a martyr in the battlefield. When Khâlid saw how `Ikrimah and his squadron dispersed and scattered the Romans in all directions, he ordered the entire army to attack. The two armies engaged in a fierce battle and `Ikrimah and his squadron fought very bravely and steadfastly keeping to their pledge.⁽²⁾ At the end, the Roman power began to fade and the Roman soldiers found the Muslim forces in front of them blocking their way out and *Al-Wâqûsah* trench behind them. Khâlid gave them a space to escape, and

(1) “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 283].

(2) “*As-Siddîq Abû Bakr*” by Muḥammad Husayn Haykal (P. 306).

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then the Muslim armies pursued them. Many of the Romans were killed and many others fell into the trench. The Romans lost about 120000 of their best soldiers. This battle paved the way for conquering the whole Levant after the Byzantine Empire lost one of its most fertile territories.

Khâlid's dismissal

While Muslims were fighting their biggest battle under the command of Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd, a message came from Medina informing them of Abû Bakr's death and appointment of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb as the new Muslim Caliph. The same message also carried an order from the new Caliph stating the dismissal of Khâlid from his position as a commander of the army and the appointment of Abû `Ubaydah Ibnul-Jarrâh instead of him. Khâlid, however, decided not to tell the soldiers about the message during the battle. He feared that such news might weaken the Muslim force. So, he waited until the battle ended in favor of the Muslims, and then called Abû `Ubaydah and informed him about the message and transferred the army's leadership to him. He congratulated Abû `Ubaydah and served as a loyal soldier under his command. Khâlid did not say any statement of disapproval; rather, he said; "Praise be to Allah, Who decreed the death of Abû Bakr, although he was dearer to me than `Umar. And praise be to Allah, Who gave the authority to `Umar and then made me love him, even though he was more dislikeable to me than Abû Bakr."⁽¹⁾

Supreme command of the Muslim army

The Muslims were not familiar with terms like "supreme command" or "general command". We know that when Caliph Abû Bakr summoned the people to fight the Byzantines, he formed the armies and appointed a commander for each one of them specifying for him a certain route that would end to a certain destination. In such a case, every commander served as a general commander for his army.

Separate command vs. unified command

It was the custom of the Muslim armies to fight at the same time and support each other but to operate separately and independently each army

(1) "*Muhâdarât Fî At-Târikh Al-Islâmi*" by Muḥammad Budayr and Abû Bakr Dhikrî (P. 121).

under its commander who direct it in accordance to the course of incidents and actions. However, when the Muslim commanders agreed to change their military plans and unify their forces in front of the Byzantine armies, the issue of the supreme command appeared.

Tracing this issue in Islamic history, it appears that the position of general commander did not exist before Khâlid occupied such a position. The commanders of the Muslim armies who trusted his superior skills and believed in his exceptional military capabilities chose Khâlid for this important position. It also appears that when `Umar's message of Khâlid's dismissal arrived, the other commanders and soldiers thought that Khâlid was dismissed to re-assume the command of the squadron that came with him from Iraq, as it is the case with `Ikrimah, Shurahbîl and the commanders of other squadrons. However, when Khâlid performed his duty and defeated the Byzantine armies, he yielded the general command to Abû `Ubaydah complying to `Umar's order.

By doing so, Khâlid proved that his historical military glory was not represented only in his military victories against his enemies, but also in his victory against himself when his enthusiasm, religious zeal, determination and sense of duty did not weaken by his dismissal. Rather, he willingly and contently submitted to the Caliph's order and accepted Abû `Ubaydah as the general commander resuming his duty as a commander for his squadron and gaining victory in all his battles.⁽¹⁾

Lessons from *Al-Yarmûk* (Yarmouk) battle

The Muslim army, consisting of 40000 soldiers, managed to defeat two enemies that exceeded the Muslim army in numbers of soldiers and weapons, and had great civilizations, and greater experience in policy and wars compared to the Muslim army. How could the Muslim army win this war? The historians of orientalist argue that the two empires were very weak and confused; however, this was not the only reason behind the Muslims' victory in all battlefields. Despite their weakness, the two empires managed to mobilize great numbers of strong soldiers and attack the Muslim territories on the borderline. In fact, the real cause behind these great victories achieved by the Muslim armies

(1) "*As-Siddîq Abû Bakr*" by Muḥammad Husayn Haykal (P. 230).

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was the Muslims' strong and sincere desire to spread Islam.⁽¹⁾ This is in addition to their courage, determination, sacrifice and the skills and good planning of their great commanders, like Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd, Abû `Ubaydah Ibnul-Jarrâh, Al-Muthannâ Ibn Hârithah, and Al-Qa`qâ` Ibn `Amr whom the soldiers trusted and in whose military capabilities they believed.

➤ Death of Abû Bakr

The most serious danger that faced Abû Bakr during his period of rule, which lasted only for two years and some months, was *Riddah* (apostasy). Yet, he managed to defeat the *Riddah* (apostasy) movements throughout the Arabian Peninsula bringing them back to the religious belief they tried to rebel against and unifying the entire peninsula under banner of the Islam. His victory against the apostates was the gate for his wars against two of the greatest empires at that time, the Persian and the Byzantine Empires.

In his wars, Abû Bakr depended on the true and sincere Muslims who never apostatized or thought about abandoning Islam.

Abû Bakr was infected by a disease regarding which historians disagreed. Was it a poison put in his food? Or was it a fever by which he was infected after he got out of the bathroom in a cold day?⁽²⁾ Anyway, in his deathbed, Abû Bakr was very worried about the Muslim Nation and the Muslim armies that were engaging in many battles against the Persian and the Roman Empires.



(1) “*Khulafâ’ Muhammad*” by Mr. `Umar Abû An-Naṣr (P. 151).

(2) “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 287].



The Second Caliph 'Umar Ibnul-Khattâb



► 'Umar's Accession to Caliphate

Thus, who should accede to the Caliphate after Abû Bakr? How should he be elected? Should Muslims resort to public elections, which opens the door for each group to mention the merits of their candidate? Who are the rightful electors to express the opinion of the whole Nation?

All or almost all the Muslim community was fighting at the borders of Persia and Rome to open up new horizons to receive the Islamic belief. All their concern is to either achieve victory to Islam or get martyred while fighting in the cause of Allah. As for those remaining in Medina, they are few of *Ahl Al-Hall Wal-'Aqd* (those qualified to elect or depose a Caliph on behalf of the Muslim community) who, like their brothers fighting in the battle field, were all engrossed in the cause of Islam, where none of them sought a personal benefit but wholeheartedly aimed for public interest. Thus, Abû Bakr believed that consulting this group of *Ahl Al-Hall Wal-'Aqd* and then consulting with the Companions in Medina to reach a unanimous opinion would bear goodness to Muslims. It was also for the benefit of all Muslims not to divert the Muslim army away from the battle field to elect the Caliph, which would render them have different opinions and badly affect the unity among the rows of the Muslim army.

It seems that the Caliph knew that 'Umar was the person qualified to succeed him because he was loved by all Muslims and agreed upon unanimously by all the Companions. Thus, all Muslims would consider him qualified to succeed Abû Bakr in providing Muslims with moral and physical power to achieve victory over the Persian and the Roman Empires.

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Thus, one night when Abû Bakr suffered a severe pain, he thought about consulting his companions to know their opinion about `Umar so that when he appoints him as his successor Caliph, he might not be accused of tyranny, and that when the Companions agree unanimously on `Umar as the second Caliph, there will be no space for disagreement.

Abû Bakr listened to the opinions of both `Abdur-Rahmân Ibn `Awf and Talhah Ibn `Ubaydullâh, where he convinced them that `Umar was the best person to be appointed as Caliph after him. Then Abû Bakr called upon `Uthmân Ibn `Affân and told him; "Tell me about `Umar". `Uthmân replied; "What he does in private is better than what he shows openly, and there is no one like him among us."⁽¹⁾ As for `Alî, he conditioned in order to agree on the principle of appointing the Caliph that the new Caliph should be `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb.⁽²⁾

This is how Abû Bakr's opinion regarding appointing `Umar as his successor became firm after being substantiated by the opinions of *Ahl Al-Hall Wal-'Aqd* who acknowledged that `Umar played a great role and was a prominent figure in the Caliphate of Abû Bakr thanks to his sound opinions regarding the great issues of interest to the Muslim community. It was `Umar who put an end to the byzantine discussions at the *Saqîfah* (Hall) of *Banû Sâ'idah* to make all the people accept Abû Bakr as their Caliph. It was `Umar who argued the Caliph against fighting those who refused to pay the *Zakâh* after the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him) until the Caliph finally convinced him that it was obligatory to do so. It was `Umar who asked Caliph Abû Bakr upon seeing him carrying some garments at his hand to sell them in the market; "Where are you going?!" where Abû Bakr replied; "I am going to the market (to sell these garments)." Not in favor of this idea, `Umar asked him again, "How can you sell in the market while you are the Caliph of Muslims?!" Abû Bakr replied him asking; "How can I earn the living of my children?" `Umar said, "Go to Abû `Ubaydah to assign you a monthly salary from the Treasury." Thus, Abû Bakr went to Abû `Ubaydah, the trustee of the Treasury, who allotted him a monthly salary from the Treasury. It was `Umar who rebuked Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd for committing certain mistakes.

(1) *Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh* by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 292].

(2) "*Asr Al-Khulafâ' Ar-Râshidîn*" by Dr. Mahmûd Fayyâd (P. 146); *Al-Khulafâ'* by As-Sayûtî, (P. 56).

Thanks to these and other positions, `Umar was the person who most deserved the office of Caliphate after Abû Bakr. It is no wonder that he was chosen by Caliph Abû Bakr who wrote down a pledge of allegiance in this regard so that his policy can be fulfilled with no barriers nor disturbances. This is because, at that time, the whole world was keeping its eyes open to notice the wonders carried out by those few numbers of believers aiming to obliterate the two Empires of Persia and Rome and to make their people follow the newly rising state through spreading the principles of its religion and faith.

► First Deed of `Umar As Caliph

Following Khâlid, Al-Muthannâ Ibn Hârithah was the commander of the Muslim armies in Iraq. He knew about the Persian military gatherings to attack Muslims, so he engaged in many battles against them and gained victory. Yet, fearing of their insistence on fighting, he travelled to Medina to ask Caliph Abû Bakr to reinforce him with more soldiers, but he found him on his deathbed. Despite his severe illness, Caliph Abû Bakr, who had already written his will that Caliphate should be transferred to `Umar after his death, sent to `Umar and directed him before Al-Muthannâ saying; "I hope to die on this day. If I die, do not by any means let the evening enter before you have summoned the people to go with Al-Muthannâ. Let not a catastrophe, no matter how great it is, divert your attention from the matter of your religion. If Allah grants victory to the commanders of the Muslim armies fighting in the Levant, send back the troops of Khâlid to Iraq." Abû Bakr then passed away on the same day Jumada II 21th, 13 A.H. (corresponding to August 634 A.D.)

`Umar buried him in the Apartment of `Â'ishah next to his beloved Companion Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him).

`Umar embarked on putting into action what was ordered by the late Caliph Abû Bakr. Thus, he began to summon people to go to Iraq to fight under the command of Al-Muthannâ. For three days, `Umar continued to summon people to do so, without obliging them, but they remained reluctant. Recognizing that the cause behind such reluctance was the great power of the Persians, which rendered the Muslims fearful, Al-Muthannâ began to show the weakness and disunity of the Persians, which encouraged the Muslims

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to accompany him. The first to respond to his call was Abû `Ubayd Ibn Mas`ûd Ath-Thaqafi (father of Al-Mukhtâr Ibn Abû `Ubayd). Then people followed after Abû `Ubayd who was appointed as the commander of the army by `Umar.

Abû `Ubayd set off leading five thousand fighters in addition to those who joined them willingly on their way to Iraq. Meanwhile, Al-Muthannâ had already reached *Al-Hîrah* to prepare himself and inform the other militants about the coming reinforcements.

As for the Persians, they recognized that they are in a dangerous situation. Thus, they wanted to put an end to their disagreement about the office of the Emperor through appointing Bûrân Bint Kisrâ as their Emperor. Bûrân appointed General Rustum (Rostam Farrokhzad), the most skillful among the Persian Generals, to show the Persians her strength through expelling Muslims away from the territories they had conquered. Rustum paved the way for achieving this aim through doing two matters:

First: Inciting the people of Iraq to revolt against the Muslims, where he sent in every city a man to incite its people to revolt against their ruler. This call appealed to the original chieftains of Iraq who thought that Persia would gain victory ultimately however powerful their enemies may be.

Second: Putting a plan to threaten the city of *Al-Hîrah* which the Muslims took as their center of gravity against the Persians. Noticing that the Euphrates basin fell into trial and dissention and that the Persian army camped near *Al-Hîrah*, in a place called An-Namâriq, to threaten and attack the city, Al-Muthannâ Ibn Hârithah found no other way but to leave *Al-Hîrah* and retreat to the desert to wait for the reinforcements coming from Medina under the command of Abû `Ubayd Ath-Thaqafi.

► *Al-Jisr* (Bridge) Battle

The Persians took their positions at the eastern bank of the Euphrates opposite to the city of *Al-Hîrah*, where they arranged the lines of contact between their armies and their capital *Al-Madâ'in*. As for the Muslims, they took their positions at the western bank face to face against the Persians. Each

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party asked its opponent to cross the river to begin the war. It was wiser for the Muslims to wait for the Persians to cross the bridge, but the new commander Abû `Ubayd chose to cross the Euphrates in spite of the advice of Muslim experts, where he set up a bridge of boats for the armies to cross over.

The Muslims were struck by a group of elephants in the Persian army that made the horses of the Muslim army blench and their soldiers fell into disorder. Thus, the Muslims wanted to retreat orderly to the western bank. Yet, they were taken aback by the fact that the bridge was cut by `Abdullâh Ibn Marthad Ath-Thaqafi to force the Muslims to keep firm and fight bravely for their lives. Finding no way to retreat, the Muslims fell more and more into chaos. The Persians, recognizing this state of weakness the Muslims were undergoing, attacked them causing them to die either drowned into the river or killed by sword.

Yet, some Muslims were keen to rescue the army, so they managed to join the ship that had been cut away to the other ships and thus rebuilt the bridge. Al-Muthannâ Ibn Hârithah himself kept guarding the process of retreat till they managed to rescue the army as much as possible.

All Muslims found it hard to fail in this battle because it was their first time to lose a battle in their way to conquer Persia. This failure was due to two main causes:

First: Because of the impetuosity on the part of Abû `Ubayd Ath-Thaqafi who crossed the river to meet the Persians, paying no attention to the advice of experts.

Second: Cutting the bridge after defeat would most likely lead to destroying all Muslims. Perhaps cutting the bridge would have achieved its purpose if it had been cut before entering the battle, so that the Muslims would have taken into consideration that they would never retreat and that they have no other way but to attack the enemy.

► **The Battle of *Al-Buwayb***

Al-Muthannâ Ibn Hârithah managed to reorganize his army that contained few number of Muslim fighters who survived the severe defeat during the battle of *Al-Jisr*, where they totaled three thousand soldiers. When the news of

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defeat reached `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb, he called for general mobilization and allowed those apostates who rightly repented and turned to Islam to participate in fighting against the Persians and thus Al-Muthannâ received massive floods of reinforcements. He encamped his army near *Al-Buwayb* located to the south between *Al-Hîrah* and *Al-Kûfah*. The commanders of the two armies called each other to cross the river. Of course, the Muslims would refrain from doing so because of the lesson they got from the battle of *Al-Jisr*. On the other hand, the past victory would stimulate the Persian armies to pursue Muslims wherever they might be due to the weakness they showed before them.

The two armies fought a hard battle that took place in Ramadan 13 A.H. Thus, the Muslim soldiers were ordered not to fast to be strong enough to fight their enemy. The heart of the Muslim army severely attacked and defeated that of the Persian army. The two wings of the Muslim army bitterly attacked the Persians who wanted to flee through crossing the bridge to retreat to their country. Yet, Al-Muthannâ Ibn Hârithah removed the bridge before they could do so. Thus, they met the same situation that the Muslims met in the battle of *Al-Jisr*. The Muslims killed so many numbers of the Persians that no one of the two conflicting sides expected to be killed. Describing this battle, Ibnul-Athîr says, "The Muslim cavalry killed them so massively that this was the battle that witnessed the largest number of Persian corpses. The corpses remained unburied for a long time. The numbers of killed soldiers were estimated to be one hundred thousand."⁽¹⁾ Other Persian soldiers escaped in the villages of Iraq, leaving their equipment and weapons.

Al-Buwayb was a great battle in determining the future of each of the two nations. Ibn Kathîr states that this battle that took place in Iraq resembles the battle of *Al-Yarmûk* that took place in the Levant concerning the outcomes.

The battle of *Al-Buwayb* opened all areas between the Tigris and Euphrates for the Muslim soldiers, who opened many cities without resistance. The Muslims marched until they invaded *Tikrît* in the north of Iraq after a siege that lasted for 40 days.

Because of this battle, the Persians tried to put an end to such successive defeats and to stop the Muslim advance by unifying their forces. This was

(1) "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 305].

because of the wave of anger aroused against crowning a woman as the Persian Emperor.

► Yazdegerd III and the Fierce Battles at His Time

The Persian leaders agreed to crown Yazdegerd III as the Persian Emperor. They did their best to save the Persian Empire from the Muslim conquest. They mobilized armies from the entire Empire to attack *Al-Hîrah*, the center of the Arab armies, and recapture it from the Arabs.

Faced by this danger, Al-Muthannâ had to retreat from *Al-Hîrah* to the desert, where he camped in *Dhû Qârr* and sent to `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb informing him with the new situation.

In order to destroy the Persian Empire, `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb had to use all possible resources in the Arabian Peninsula. First, He sent to Abû `Ubaydah Ibnul-Jarrâh, the commander of the Muslim armies in the Levant, ordering him to send Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd with his soldiers to Iraq to fight the Persians. But, Abû `Ubaydah sent Hâshim Ibn `Utbah Ibn Abû Al-`Âs, instead of Khâlid, with ten thousand Muslim soldiers to support the Muslim army in Iraq. However, the Caliph found that this number was not enough to achieve his goal. So, he sent to his officials (*`Ummâl*) in charge of the Arab tribes saying; “Do not leave anyone who has a weapon, a horse, courage, or sound opinion but that you select him and then send him to me. Hurry, hurry!”⁽¹⁾ This call of mobilization was in Dhul-Hajjah, 13 A.H. when the Caliph was setting out for the *Hajj* (pilgrimage). As soon as he finished *Hajj*, many soldiers came to him from every place in the Peninsula. The soldiers who were near to Iraq joined the Muslim army directly. As for those who were near to Medina, they gathered there, and waited for the Caliph’s orders.

`Umar wanted to lead the armies himself

In Muharram, 14 A.H., Medina was crowded with thousands of Muslims who wanted to join the Army. At that time, `Umar wanted to set out with the Muslim volunteers until they reach a spring of water called *Sirâr*, located three miles to Medina and then camp there.

(1) “*Khulafâ’ Muḥammad*” by `Umar Abû An-Naṣr [2: 33].

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In fact, `Umar had a great desire to participate himself in the battles against the Muslims' enemies. The Prophet's Companions however suggested that he should stay in Medina to supply the army with men and weapons which is better than performing *Jihâd* by himself. `Umar accepted that opinion, meaning that he had to choose a leader for that assembly of soldiers.

Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs: Man of the hour

After a deep consideration, `Umar found that Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs was the best one for this mission, the opinion that all the attendants agreed upon. At that time, Sa`d was the official responsible for collecting the *Sadaqah* (*Zakâh*) of *Hawâzin*. `Umar appointed him as the army commander and ordered him to courage the tribes on his way who had the weapons and the ability to use it to join his army.⁽¹⁾

► Al-Qâdisiyyah: A Decisive Battle

While Sa`d was rushing to Iraq to support Al-Muthannâ Ibn Hârithah and seek the benefit of his experience with the tactics of the Persian armies, Al-Muthannâ was severely injured during the battles of *Al-Jisr* and *Al-Buwayb*. Before he died, Al-Muthannâ wrote to Sa`d informing him with all what he knew about the Persians, which could help Sa`d win the war.⁽²⁾

Sa`d camped with his army in *Al-Qâdisiyyah*, located to the west of the current *An-Najaf* city. Acting in accordance with the Caliph's instructions, Sa`d sent a delegate to offer *Kisrâ* (Khosrow) either to embrace Islam, pay *Jizyah* (tribute) or enter into war with the Muslim army. Yazdegerd III, however, chose the war. He sent his army, under the command of Rustum (Rostam Farrokhzad), to fight the Muslims. They camped in *Al-Qâdisiyyah*, near the current city of *An-Najaf*. The two commanders, i.e. Sa`d and Rustum, established direct lines of contact with their capital cities to keep them informed with the news of the battle.

Each party hanged its hopes on this battle, which was decisive for the both nations. In his palace, Yazdegerd III was unable to sleep all day long receiving the news of the battle every now and then. In Medina, `Umar used to get out for long distance to receive the messenger of Sa`d carrying the news of

(1) Ibid. [2: 35].

(2) “*Asr Al-Khulafâ’ Ar-Râshidîn*” by Dr. Mahmûd Fayyâd (P. 198).

the battle, exhausted and tired of sleeplessness. The battle of *Al-Qâdisiyyah* became the main concern of all the Arabs and Persians.

The battle⁽¹⁾

It started in Shawwal, 14 A.H. and lasted for four days. The first day of the battle was called “*Armâth*”, the second day was called “*Aghwâth*” the third day was called “*Imâs*”, and the fourth day was called “*Yawmul-Qâdisiyyah*” (the day of *Al-Qâdisiyyah*).⁽²⁾ The first day ended against the Muslim army because the Persians used elephants in the battle. The second witnessed equal fight between the two parties. The third and fourth days, however, ended for the benefit of the Muslims. This battle ended with the victory of Islam, and it brought the Persians to their knees declaring the end of the Persian Empire. In this war, Yazdegerd III used all his available resources and Rustum, the army commander, did his best to protect the Empire. Thus, their hopes faded away with the defeat that destroyed the whole Persian army.

The victory in this war, opened the door for the Muslims to invade all Persian territories. The Iraqi Arab tribes, *Ahlus-Sawâd* (the inhabitants of the agricultural lands of Iraq) and the Persian farmers blessed such victory by embracing Islam and announcing their submission to the invading army. Sa`d sent a message to the Caliph informing him with the victory of the Muslims. Caliph `Umar used to go to outskirts every day to wait for a message from Sa`d, until he saw a man riding his horse., `Umar asked him; “Where are you coming from?” The Man answered; “From Iraq”. `Umar asked; “What has Allah destined for to the Muslims?” The man replied; “Allah has defeated the enemy”. All this happened while the man was running with his horse and `Umar was running along behind until they entered Medina. The man did not recognize `Umar until the people greeted `Umar with the title “Commander of the Faithful”, the messenger said; “May Allah have mercy upon you, why did you not tell me that you are the Commander of the Faithful?” `Umar said; “No blame, my brother! Give me what you have.” The Messenger gave

(1) For detailed information about this battle, see: “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 309-338].

(2) We did not find any scholarly interpretation for these names. We even have no idea whether they are names of some places, or derived from the Arabic Names “*Ramath*” (i.e. a raft, a worn-out rope, or the remains of milk in the udder after milking), “*Ghawth*” (i.e. help, relief, or support), and “*Ams*” (i.e. erasure, obliteration, or combination).

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ʿUmar a message from Saʿd telling the news of victory and the names of those who were killed in the battle. After that, the booty arrived, containing a lot of gold, silver, women, food and clothes. When ʿUmar saw this booty, he wept bitterly and then said; “Allah never gave such things to any people without that giving rise to mutual envy and hatred. When they reciprocate envy and hatred, Allah makes them fight each other fiercely.”

► After the Battle of *Al-Qâdisiyyah*

Victory in *Al-Qâdisiyyah* was the key sign for the Muslim army to attack the Persian cities and camps. The directions of march in the Persian Empire were determined by the Caliph’s orders. After a rest lasted for two months, the army received an order from the Caliph to move to the plains of the island located between Tigris and Euphrates, where the governors of the Persian territories came to announce their submission to the Muslims. Some of the Persian governors embraced Islam and others agreed to pay *Jizyah* (tribute). In Jumada I, 15 A.H., the Caliph ordered the Muslim army under the command of Saʿd to conquer *Al-Madâ’in*, the capital of the Persian Empire. When Yazdegerd III knew about the Muslim march to his capital, he escaped with his statesmen and the notables of his Empire to *Hulwân* (Hulwan) city located 100 miles to the northeast of *Al-Madâ’in*, leaving behind them their treasures in their palaces for the conquerors.

The orders of the Caliph drew the plan for the new conquest. Adhering to these orders faithfully and accurately, the Army arrived to the city of Tikrit in the north of Iraq, where some Romans and Arab Christians gathered to fight the Muslims. The Muslims siege the city for 40 days, during which they managed to attract the Arabs who were affected by blood and language relationships between themselves and the Muslim Arabs. They agreed to support the Muslims after they converted to Islam in secret.

The plan set was that the Muslims would attack from outside and when the new Muslims hear the voices of their Muslim brothers outside uttering *Takbîr* [i.e. saying *Allâhu Akbar*], they would seize control of the city gates in the Tigris direction. Thus, the Persians and Romans were surrounded by the Muslims from all directions. The Muslim army pursued the fleeing Persian and Roman forces and seized all cities in the north, where the people of these cities submitted to the Muslims and chose to pay the *Jizyah* (tribute).

► **Building of *Al-Basrah* and *Al-Kûfah***

The Muslims made *Al-Madâ'in* as their military base after the battle of *Al-Qâdisiyyah*. When the Muslim Arabs stayed there for long time, `Umar noticed that their complexion had changed and they became physically weak, so he sent a message to Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs, saying: "Send Salmân Al-Fârisî and Hudhayfah Ibnul-Yamân as scouts; let them look for a suitable place to settle on the edge of the desert, with easy access to the water, so that no major river or bridge separates me from you."⁽¹⁾

So, Sa`d sent them. When they reached the location of *Al-Kûfah* (Kufa) and *Al-Basrah* (Basra), they found it suitable. Then, Sa`d moved to this place and established a camp there in 17 A.H., after getting the approval of the Caliph.

By doing so, *Al-Kûfah* replaced *Al-Hîrah* and *Al-Basrah* replaced *Al-Ubulah*. These two cities became very famous with regard to the command of the Muslim armies as well as both the scientific and political fields. Since then, Iraq was divided into two regions: upper region, with *Al-Kûfah* as its capital; and lower region with *Al-Basrah* as its capital. Each region had its own governor except in certain periods where the two regions were entrusted to one governor.

► ***Nihâwand* (Nehavend): Yazdegerd's Last Hope**

In 20 A.H., Yazdegerd III sent for all Persian states, supposedly still loyal to him, to provide him with the large possible number of soldiers to try to restore his Empire from the Arab hands. Large numbers of Persians who were still loyal to Yazdegerd responded to the call. According to the books of history, those numbers were about 150,000 soldiers. Fayrûz (Piruz), who was appointed as the commander of the army, put a plan according to which the army would march to *Hamadhân* (Hamadan), then to *Hulwân* (Hulwan) until finally reach *Al-Kûfah* where they should expel the Arabs to the desert forcing them back to their homelands.

When the Caliph knew about that plan, he decided to lead the army himself. The Senior Companions, however, suggested that he should not lead the army himself. `Umar then put An-Nu`mân Ibn Muqarrin in the command of the army consisting of 30,000 soldiers aimed at fighting the Persians anywhere.

(1) "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 368].

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An-Nu` mân marched to *Hulwân*, where his scouts told him that the Persians camped in *Nihâwand* (Nehavend) and that the way to them was clear. An-Nu` mân then marched until he became in front of the Persian army fortified in trenches and forts.

Hence, Tulayhah Ibn Khuwaylid Al-Asadî⁽¹⁾ suggested that the Muslims would launch a small attack and then retreat in an orderly manner to encourage the Persians to go out after them, where the Muslims could come back and fight them away from their fortifications. The Muslims gained victory in this battle and killed the Persian commander along with 30,000 of his soldiers. Thus, Yazdegerd III lost his final hope. While the battle of *Al-Qâdisiyyah* opened the gates of Persia widely, the battle of *Nihâwand* destroyed the rein of the Khosrows forever. This is why the battle of *Nihâwand* was called "*Fathul-Fitâh*" (The mother of all Conquests) since it was the last strong battle between the Muslims and the Persians. Though the Muslim army lost his commander, An-Nu` mân Ibn Muqarrin, in this battle, the Muslims soldiers managed to hide the news of his martyrdom. The army was then led by Hudhayfah Ibnul-Yamân, assisted by Al-Qa` qâ` Ibn ` Amr. After their defeat, the Persians either converted to Islam or paid the *Jizyah* (i.e. tribute). Since then, Caliph `Umar was not worried about the Muslims penetration into the Persian lands as he became sure that the fleeing Khosrow, Yazdegerd III, would not be able to restore his land or to gather his forces again.

The Muslims pursued Yazdegerd III who fled to *Isfahân*, then to *Kirmân*, then to *Balkh*, and He then went to *Marw* (Merv), located between Turkey and China, where he got support from the Turks and the Chinese but in vain. Yazdegerd III died at the time of the third Caliph, `Uthmân Ibn `Affân.

Thus, the Muslims seized the Persian land, from River Euphrates in the West to River Amu Darya in the East, and from the Indian Ocean in the South to Caspian Sea in the North. As the Muslim army invaded the Persian lands, Islam invaded the Persians' hearts. They converted to Islam and participated in *Jihâd* with Muslims, where they provided great services for Islam.



(1) Who claimed Prophethood but returned to Islam and became a faithful Muslim.

Umar's Conquests in the Levant

We stated earlier that historical sources are not unanimous as to the chronological order of the battles that took place in the Levant. They did not agree as to its specific timing. Although many Conquests are said to have taken place during the reign of Abû Bakr according to some historians, they are also attributed to `Umar's reign according to others. However, there seem to be a consensus regarding the fact that during the Battle of *Al-Yarmûk*, the news about the death of Abû Bakr reached the army. Also during the battle, the army received the information that `Umar assumed Caliphate and ordered the dismissal of Khâlid⁽¹⁾ from his office as the general commander of the armies on the Levant front, replacing him with Abû `Ubaydah Ibnul-Jarrâh. Abû `Ubaydah distributed the booty and sent the *Khums* (one-fifth) thereof to Medina along with a message informing the Caliph that the Romans are making preparations in a place called *Fihl* where they receive aids from *Hims* (Homs). Thus, he asked for the Caliph's opinion as to which of the two destinies he should direct the armies.

► Conquest of Damascus in Muharram, 14 A.H.⁽²⁾

The Caliph ordered his general commander Abû `Ubaydah to head for Damascus and at the same time send a troop to *Fihl* to distract the Romans there from joining their brothers in Damascus. Implementing the plan, Abû `Ubaydah attacked Damascus laying a siege that had the effect of cutting all supplies. However, the people of Damascus remained steadfast for as long period as seventy days. Seizing the opportunity of their being occupied with an entertainment party, Khâlid Ibnul-Walid broke into its wall and managed to reach the middle of the city to the horror of its people. The Muslims attacked the city in a well-coordinated effort. When the people of each area of the city fought separately against a part of the Muslim army, they felt that defeat is inevitable. Therefore, a delegation from the people of Damascus went to meet Abû `Ubaydah to offer peaceful surrender subject to the conditions they had refused in the beginning. Thus, he ordered his

(1) "*Khulafâ' Muhammad*" by `Umar Abû An-Naṣr [2: 91].

(2) Ibid.

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army to stop fighting. Then, he headed for *Fihl*, which contained eighty thousand Roman soldiers, and laid a siege to it. Feeling the siege is tightened, they went out to fight the Muslims taking them by surprise. However, the Muslims resisted them and prevented them from going back to their garrisons inflicting a heavy defeat on them.

To *Hims* (Homs)

Winter was extremely cold when Abû `Ubaydah laid a siege to *Hims*. However, the extreme cold and heavy rains did not cause him to discontinue. Actually, the siege continued till its people asked for a peaceful surrender subject to the same conditions as those under which the people of Damascus were subject, an offer which Abû `Ubaydah accepted. The news about the great victories achieved by the Muslims reached the Roman Emperor Hercules. Thus, he had to leave the Levant as a whole and move to Constantinople saying in farewell; "Goodbye Syria! I pay you a farewell after which there is no meeting ever." Thereafter, Abû `Ubaydah advanced further northward until the-Muslim-conquered lands of the Levant that were connected to those of Iraq.

Ajnadayn and Jerusalem

Caliph Abû Bakr planned that `Amr Ibnul-`Âs should lead his army to Palestine and that he would be its governor in case he managed to conquer it. The same was planned to other army commanders who were dispatched to different destinies. The Byzantine army commander in Palestine during the early reign of `Umar was called Artabûn (Aretion), and he was known for cunning and farsightedness. On knowing this, `Umar said; "We have confronted the Artabûn of the Romans with the Artabûn of the `Arabs."⁽¹⁾ Thus, `Amr Ibnul-`Âs launched a war against the Roman commander Artabûn that ended up with the defeat of the latter who had to flee to Palestine and settle in Jerusalem. However, `Amr pursued him conquering the cities in the way until he managed to conquer most of the Palestinian territories. On reaching Jerusalem, he laid a siege to it. When the siege was tightened, the people of Jerusalem offered peaceful surrender. However,

(1) "*Asr Al-Khulafâ' Ar-Râshidîn*" by Dr. Mahmûd Fayyâd (P. 215).

the Christian patriarch stipulated that Caliph `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb himself should convene the surrender pact. While negotiations were taking place, Artabûn fled to Egypt.

► `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb in the Levant

`Amr Ibnul-`Âs sent a message to the Caliph telling him that the people of Jerusalem offered a peaceful surrender stipulating that the Caliph himself should convene the treaty. This was the Caliph's first time to leave Medina. Before leaving, he sent to the governors in the Levant asking them to meet him in *Al-Jâbiyah*. When he met them there, he found them riding very beautiful horses while dressed in expensive garments. Thus, he dismounted his donkey and threw them with pebbles saying; "Is it me that you receive in this clothes while you have been eating well since two years only! How quickly has satiety led you astray! By Allah, if you continue to do this, then after the passage of two centuries, you would be replaced with others."

He then entered *Al-Jâbiyah* to be visited by a delegation from Jerusalem. He signed with them the pledge of safety and protection.⁽¹⁾ In fact, the existence of the Caliph in the Levant was one of the factors that encouraged the Muslims and terrified Hercules to the extent that he despaired of any authority in Syria as a whole.

Once the Muslims finished the conquest of Palestine, they had complete authority over the whole Levant from Antioch to the north to Egypt towards the south. The Muslims felt very familiar with the Levant regarding atmosphere, environment, customs and traditions. Thus, they stayed in the cities and did not seek to establish other cities as they did in Iraq. In fact, the atmosphere in the Levant was not much different from the atmosphere in Arabia.

► Conquest of Egypt

The wave of Islamic Conquests that flowed so heavily in the northern and southern Levant did not vanish at the borders of Egypt. Rather, it extended through the Egyptian territory to end up with expelling the Romans and putting an end to their dominance over the country.

(1) "*Asr Al-Khulafâ' Ar-Râshidîn*" by Dr. Maḥmûd Fayyâd (P. 216), under the title: *Kitâbul-Amân* (the pledge of safety).

Considering the conquest

The idea of conquering Egypt was that of `Amr Ibnul-`Âs. In fact, most narrations confirm that he had visited Egypt during the *Jahiliyyah* (pre-Islamic period) when it had been one of the greatest Roman governorates. Actually, Romans at that time used to consider it a pearl in the crown of the Roman Empire.

When `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb arrived to *Al-Jâbiyah* in his way to open Jerusalem, `Amr Ibnul-`Âs sought his permission to conquer Egypt. However, the Caliph thought that it was not the proper time to conquer it because the Muslims' rule over the newly-conquered territories in the Levant was not stable yet. Hesitated enough, he was even more restrained by the lack of necessary number of soldiers taking into account that available soldiers could not have been dispensed with and dispatched for a new conquest. In fact, the Caliph had before shown a similar cautiousness after the Muslims dominated most of the Iraqi regions.

However, the Caliph finally yielded to `Amr's insistence who tried to enumerate the advantages of conquering Egypt to him saying; "Egypt is endowed with the wealthiest resources and its people are the weakest people to fight in defense of themselves. If you conquer Egypt, it will serve as a support and source of power for the Muslims." **Undoubtedly, conquering Egypt was necessary for the following reasons:**

1. Egypt was the southern extension of Palestine. Thus, the cost of conquering it was not that heavy for the Arabs.
2. To safeguard the Conquests in the Levant and Palestine, it was necessary to conquer Egypt so that the Romans might not take it as a base to retain the conquered lands.
3. Dominating Egyptian ships and seaports helped repress northern coastal cities in the Levant that were still resisting. In fact, the Romans had used it as a base for their navy to confront the Muslims.
4. The multiple wealthy resources of Egypt had the effect of strengthening the Muslims and weakening the Romans.
5. Conquering Egypt prevented the Roman soldiers fleeing from battlefields in the Levant from resorting to Egypt. Actually, Artabûn (Aretion), the

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Roman governor of Jerusalem, fled from the city to Egypt and massed soldiers to fight against the Muslims in *Bilbis* (Bilbeis).

6. Conquering Egypt was very easy because Egypt was not strongly fortified. Moreover, the Egyptian people were not expected to resist the Arabs because of their hatred towards the Romans.
7. The conquest stood for a materialization of the prophecy of Allah's Messenger in which he said:

"After my death, Allah will cause you to conquer Egypt. So, you are advised to deal kindly with its Coptic population because you are attached to them through kinship and protection duty."

[Related by Ibn `Asâkir]

Beginning of conquest: The conquest of *Al-Faramâ*

As soon as `Amr obtained the Caliph's approval of conquering Egypt, he marched with his army toward it.⁽¹⁾ This took place at the end of the 18th

(1) It seems that the reason which urged `Amr to move quickly to conquer Egypt was the story of `Umar's message, if it was authentic, or his worries regarding the outcomes of consulting the Prophet's Companions in Medina regarding the conquest of Egypt. Hence, `Amr wanted that the final decision of `Umar would reach him after being already within the borders of Egypt and so giving no chance for `Umar to withdraw his decision. The story of `Umar's message narrated by some historians state that `Umar said to `Amr; "Go forward, and I will perform *Istikhârah* (prayer for guidance) regarding your advance. I will shortly send a message after you, and if it bids you return from conquering Egypt before entering it or being within its borders, you must do so. But, if you have already entered it before receiving my message then go forward and seek the help of Allah and ask him for forgiveness." We view that this story is unauthentic because `Umar, strict and well-determined as we know, would not make a serious matter as the conquest of Egypt be dependent on a message to be delivered before or after crossing its borders. Some resources narrate that `Umar gave `Amr the permission to proceed with the Conquest. But after he returned to Medina and consulted the Prophet's Companions regarding his permission, `Uthmân Ibn `Affân said; "O Commander of the Faithful! `Amr has a rash and adventurous character and he loves leadership. I am afraid that he will set out without being sure about the result or having the adequate number of men for the conquest, and so he will expose the Muslims to danger for a chance which he does not know whether to win or not." So, `Umar repented for giving `Amr the permission and sent to him a message saying; "If this message of mine reached you before you entered Egypt, then return to your position. But if you have already entered it, then go forward." =

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year of Hegira. The army that started marching was less than four thousand soldiers in number. However, it was joined in the way by five hundred soldiers of the Bedouins making the total of four thousand soldiers.

`Amr went on until he reached *Al-`Arish* on Dhul-Hajjah 10th, 18 A.H. (corresponding to December 10, 639 A.D.). He laid a tight siege to it and the city soon surrendered thereafter. He then left *Al-`Arish* heading for *Al-Faramâ*,⁽¹⁾ which he reached in December, 639 A.D. He also laid a siege to it that lasted for one or two months after which the city was dominated by the Muslims. This took place at the beginning of Muharram 19 A.H. (corresponding to mid-January 640 A.D.).

After conquering *Al-Faramâ*, `Amr headed towards the southwest until he reached a place locating at the Isthmus of Suez, nowadays *Al-Qantarah* city. So, he chose to take the desert route heading for *At-Tumaylat* valley (Wadi Tumilat). His idea behind preferring the desert route to the coastal was that the desert route can serve as a fortification for him at the time of danger. Further, he did not like to pass by agricultural lands that are very crowded with population for the fear that he might be attacked suddenly by some people. In addition to that, he wanted to avoid crossing water channels and Nile branches because his army consisted mostly of horsemen while he had no equipment to construct bridges over channels or rivers.

Bilbîs (Bilbeis)

`Amr continued to march through the desert penetrating *At-Tumaylat* valley near *At-Tall Al-Kabîr* (Tel-el-Kebir) until he approached the city of *Bilbîs*. At the outskirts of the city, he was faced by Ariteon (called by the Arabs *Artabûn* "Tribune").

= This narration is worthy of being believed, as the outcome which `Amr expected from the consultation of `Umar to the Companions had occurred. As for the narration stating that `Amr, when the messenger of `Umar reached him before entering Egypt, refused to receive the message and hastened marching until he became near *Al-`Arish*, where he received the message, the verifier cannot accept such a narration, as how it could happen while the Caliph was a man like `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb?

(1) *Al-Faramâ* is a town located two miles from the Mediterranean Sea towards the eastern borders of Egypt. It is an ancient town which is considered as the key to Egypt. Its Latin name is Pelusium and its Coptic name is Peremoun.

A fierce battle erupted that ended up with the defeat of Aretion and a great victory for `Amr. According to some narrations, he killed one thousand Roman soldiers and captured three thousand soldiers. Among the captives of this battle was Armânûsah, the daughter of Al-Muqawqis (Cyrus), the Patriarch of Alexandria. However, `Amr sent her honorably to her father along with all her wealth, a behavior that was greatly appreciated by her father.⁽¹⁾

Umm Dunayn (Tendounias) and `Ayn Shams (Ain Shams)

After the conquest of Bilbîs, there was no more than a one-day distance between the Arabs and the head of Delta. Thus, `Amr marched towards the south passing by Heliopolis⁽²⁾ until he reached a small Nile village that was located to the north of *Bâbilyûn* (Babylon) Fortress called *Umm Dunayn* (Tendounias), the present district of *Al-Azbakiyyah*. A fierce battle erupted between him and the Romans that ended up with conquering *Umm Dunayn* and *`Ayn Shams*. In fact, `Amr had prepared a genius military plan for the battle. He divided his army into three parts. He faced Theodor, the Roman commander, with one part and had another part laid in ambush at *Al-Jabal Al-Ahmar* located to the east of *Al-`Abbâsiyyah* and the third part was laid in ambush near *Umm Dunayn*. When the battle started to heat, the part waiting in ambush at *Al-Jabal Al-Ahmar* swooped on the enemy causing them to withdraw to *Umm Dunayn* where they were attacked all of a sudden by the part waiting in ambush there. Thus, they became completely in chaos and were forced to untidily resort to *Bâbilyûn* Fortress while `Amr continued to pursue them. Before giving a narrative of `Amr's siege of *Bâbilyûn* Fortress, it is worth mentioning here to have a general overview of the Fortress that was targeted by the Arabs.

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- (1) Armânûsah was on her way to Caesarea to marry Constantine, son of Heraclius. When, learning that Caesarea was besieged by the Arabs, she returned to Egypt with all her servants and treasures. As soon as she reached *Bilbîs*, she was besieged by `Amr's forces and taken as captive.
- (2) Heliopolis: A Greek name means "City of the Sun". It was first used by the Greek to describe the city of *Aûn* which was the capital of the thirteenth province of Upper Egypt. It was located near current *Matariyyah* town. In Ancient Egypt, it was the center of worshipping Ra, the god of sun, from which the Greek derived its name "Heliopolis". The Arabs kept this meaning also as they called it "*`Ayn Shams*" (i.e. Eye of Sun).

Bâbilyûn (Babylon) fortress

It was a strongly fortified castle located by the Nile. Its walls were almost 18 feet thick. Through its walls there were a number of towers, the most important of which were those on the southern and eastern sides. There were no towers on the west side of the fortress because the Nile offered the necessary fortification. In fact, the Nile's water was running under its walls and ships used to anchor near it. The fortress was accessed by two gates. The first, called the Roman Gate, was on the west side, between two big round towers. Surmounting its northern tower now still stand the Greek Orthodox Church of St. George. The second gate, called the Iron Gate, located on the southern side of the fortress, is framed by two semicircular bastions. It forms the base for *Mu`allaqah* (Hanging) Church. At the head of the door, there was a bridge that would move upwards. Once pulled by the guards inside, it would prevent those outside from reaching the walls. To the west of the Fortress located *Ar-Rûdah* Island at the middle of the Nile. The island was also strongly fortified, which added to the importance of the military Fortress and facilitated dominance over the river. The island was connected to the Fortress through a bridge of boats. During the flood, however, the Fortress would turn into an island surrounded by water opposite to which was the city of Memphis.

The present location of the Fortress is known as Old Cairo. Some historian called the fortress as *Qasr Al-Sham`* (the Palace of Candles) because the towers of the fort were adorned with illuminated candles at the beginning of every month. Some historians also called it the fortress of *Bâb Ilyûn* or *Bâb Ilyûnah*.⁽¹⁾

Regardless of the name, it was originally named after the city of *Bâbil* (Babylon). In fact, the Fortress invaded by the Arabs was a garrison of the Roman soldiers.

Siege of the fortress

After the Romans withdrew to *Bâbilyûn* Fortress, `Amr laid a siege to it and ordered that the tents of his soldiers be erected in the area between the

(1) "The Arab Conquest of Egypt And the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion" by A.J. butler, (P. 232).

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Fortress and *Al-Muqattam* Mountain. Skirmishes took place between the two armies for a long a period causing no decisive result because the Fortress was strongly fortified. On this, `Amr sent a message to the Caliph asking him for a military reinforcement. Thus, the Caliph sent to him a four-thousand-soldier reinforcement headed by famous commanders including Az-Zubayr Ibnul-`Awwâm, Al-Miqdâd Ibn `Amr, `Ubâdah Ibnus-Sâmit, and Maslamah Ibn Mukhallad or Khârijah Ibn Hudhâfah. The Caliph sent to `Amr a message saying; "I have sent to you four thousand warriors each thousand of them is commanded by a man who alone equals one thousand warriors."

After the arrival of the reinforcements, `Amr tightened the siege to the Fortress through catapult. The Roman commander was a man called Al-A`raj (Lame) and the Fortress contained five thousand soldiers in addition to those who fled to it. Moreover, there were enough food supplies in the Fortress. However, there were heated religious disputes even during the siege, which was a great reason for its failure.

Perceiving that the Arabs will never lift the siege regardless of the sacrifices they might offer, Cyrus, called by Arabic historians as Al-Muqawqis left the Fortress with a group of his people for *Ar-Rawdah* island. Then, they cut the boat-bridge so that the Muslims might not catch them. At that time, Cyrus thought that the Arab conquest was no more than a big raid. Therefore, when he moved to *Ar-Rawdah* island he made a financial offer to the Arabs saying to them that they became captives in the hands of the Romans and that it is better for them to leave. However, the Arabs replied to the offer through offering him to choose one of the three choices: adopting Islam, paying *Jizyah* (tribute) or involving in war. Fearing that the Arabs might escalate their requirements when the Nile water level decreased, Al-Muqawqis (Cyrus) decided to opt for *Jizyah*. Although he did his best to convince the Romans, they showed a strong objection to this especially George or Theodor, called Al-A`raj, the commander of the Fortress, who insisted on fighting. Thus, war erupted and the Romans were defeated and a great number of them were killed. Thus, Cyrus took the defeat as a pretext to attack his opposition feeling the strength of his position. He then asked the Arabs to stop fighting until he would receive the consent of Hercules, a request which was accepted by the Arabs and a temporary truce was signed between the two parties.

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Cyrus moved to Alexandria and sent to Hercules seeking his approval to sign a peaceful treaty with the Arabs to protect Egypt against the evils of war. This enraged Hercules and sent to Cyrus asking him to come hurriedly to Constantinople to explain to him how could one hundred thousand Roman soldiers be defeated by such a small number of Arab soldiers. Thus, Cyrus traveled to the capital city to be received repulsively by the Emperor who accused him of treason and weakness and then ordered him to be exiled.

On receiving the news that the emperor rejected the peaceful treaty, `Amr decided to annul the truce and resume fighting. At that time, the level of Nile water was getting lower causing the water level in the trench to get lower also. Thus, the Romans morale got down and the Muslims had higher expectations. After the trench became void of water, the Romans poured into it iron thorns instead of water. However, the Arabs filled up some parts of it with dust to get through it, but the Fortress was still impregnable. In March, 641 A.D., the news about the death of Hercules was received. Thus, the Roman soldiers got depressed and the Muslims were strongly inspired. Thereafter, Az-Zubayr said; "I am sacrificing my life for Allah." Then, he erected a ladder on the wall and started to ascend saying *Takbîr* [i.e. saying *Allâhu Akbar* (Allah is the greatest)] along with the Muslims who also ascended the ladder after him.

On hearing the *Takbîr*, the Romans thought that the Muslims had already broken into the Fortress. To save his own life and the life of those with him, the Roman commander asked for peaceful surrender on the condition that safety should be pledged to all the soldiers inside the Fortress. `Amr accepted the offer in spite of Az-Zubayr's objection who was about to conquer the Fortress by force. By the fall of Babylon Fortress, the Romans lost the half of Egypt if not more. The Fortress was conquered on Monday, April 9th, 641 A.D. after an eight-month siege.

Conquest of *Al-Bahnasâ*

By the time `Amr sent to the Caliph asking for reinforcements, he was seeking to get some provisions for his soldiers and fodder for their horses. Thus, he crossed the River Nile from the eastern bank to the western bank.⁽¹⁾

(1) Some historians view that allowing `Amr to cross from the eastern bank to the western bank of the Nile was a great mistake of the Romans.

He then marched southwards passing by the city of Memphis. On knowing the march of the Arabs, the governor of *Al-Fayyûm* decided to send troops of horsemen and archers to resist the Arabs. However, the Arabs could not have victory over these troops. Thus, they moved to the desert route and took over whatever cattle they found. They continued to march until they reached the city of *Al-Bahnasâ*, which they conquered by force. Moreover, `Amr managed to entrap the commander of *Al-Fayyûm* soldiers near the town of *Abwîṭ*, a town of the *Banî Swayf* (Beni Suef) Governorate, and killed him along with all those with him. The news about the defeat reached the general commander Theodor. Thus, he sent his army to *Al-Bahnasâ* to fight against the Arabs but he failed just like the Arabs failed to conquer *Al-Fayyûm* in this expedition.

Conquest of Alexandria in 20 A.H.

After the treaty was convened between the Muslims and the Romans, `Amr sent to the Caliph informing him of conquering *Bâbilyûn* (Babylon) Fortress and asking for reinforcements.⁽¹⁾ He viewed that he should march to Alexandria before the coming back of the Nile flood. Thus, he appointed a garrison of Muslims headed by Khârijah Ibn Hudhâfah As-Sahmî to protect Egypt and marched leading his soldiers accompanied by a group of Copts, whom he had to repair routs and establish bridges and markets. In this journey, `Amr took the western bank of the Nile and marched until he reached a place opposite to *Nîqyûs* (Nikiou), located near the confluence of *Al-Fir`awniyyah* canal and *Rashîd* (Rosetta) branch of the Nile, the nowadays *Shabshîr* village. Actually, it was a city of great importance and strength. Thus, he crossed the Nile to it. Leading the troops that were defending it, Domentianus felt terrified on seeing the Muslims crossing the river. Therefore, he left his army and fled to Alexandria followed by his soldiers. However, `Amr Ibnul-`Âs pursued them and killed a great number of them. Thus, *Nîqyûs* was conquered.

After the conquest of *Nîqyûs*, the door became wide open for conquering Alexandria. Seizing the opportunity of the Roman's withdrawal to their capi-

(1) When the messenger reached `Umar he responded to him and sent to `Amr asking him to describe Egypt. So, `Amr sent him the famous description mentioned in the books of history.

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tal Alexandria, `Amr left *Niqyûs* crossing to the western bank of the Nile and marched towards Alexandria conquering all cities and fortresses in the way. So, he conquered *At-Tarrânah* (Terenouti), *Niqyûs* (Nikiou), *Sultîs*, *Kûm Sharîk*,⁽¹⁾ *Damanhûr* and *Al-Karyûn*.

Al-Karyûn was the last in the series of fortresses connecting between Babylon and Alexandria. However, it was not as impregnable as *Niqyûs*. Nevertheless, the Romans decided to make the last resistance attempt in this place to prevent the Arabs from entering Alexandria. In this regard, historians record how the Romans bravely fought under the leadership of their brave commander Theodor. Although Theodor was courageous and in spite of reinforcements he received from such neighboring towns as *Balhîb*, *Sakhâ* and *Sultîs*, he was not that farsighted military commander. As a result, he could not make use of the troops that gathered near *Al-Karyûn* to fight against the Arabs. The commanders of both parties thought that this was the decisive battle. Therefore, both armies fought desperately. The battle continued for ten days during which many Muslims were killed. Despite the fact that the Romans showed extreme courage, they finally became helpless and withdrew in an orderly manner to Alexandria losing *Al-Karyûn* to the Arabs. Thus, the way to Alexandria became paved. So, the Muslims marched to it and, only few days later, reached the walls of Alexandria, the Bride of the Mediterranean Sea and its most beautiful seaport.⁽²⁾

Siege of Alexandria

Alexandria was strongly fortified. It was protected by the sea from the north and by canals from the south and west. To its south extended Lake Mariout. Moreover, it was surrounded by high walls on all sides.

To the east, the walls were strong and equipped with all the latest weaponry of the time and there was abundant weapons and military supplies. Through its port on the Mediterranean Sea, ships would go to and from. Moreover, it was protected by a fifty-thousand-soldier garrison led by Theodor.

(1) *At-Tarrânah* (Terenouti) is located to the western bank of *Rashîd* (Rosetta) branch of the Nile near *Kafr Ad-Dawwâr* and *Kûm Hamâdah*. *Niqyûs* (Nikiou) was a town of *Al-Bihîrah* (Beheira) Governorate that located on the Nile near *Kûm Hamâdah*. *Sultîs* is located six miles to the south of *Damanhûr* in the middle between *Kûm Sharîk* and *Al-Karyûn*.

(2) "*Misr Al-Islâmiyyah*" (pp. 79-80).

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Perceiving that the city is strongly fortified, `Amr decided to test his power and attacked the city as soon as he arrived. However, he achieved no victory. So, he thought of alluring the garrison to go out the walls and thus be easily defeated. However, whether the garrison would go out or not was a presumptive result of the entrapping attempt. So, what should be done? He planned to leave a considerable army garrisoned outside the city and that he should lead a troop of his army and travel southwards to Lower Egypt before the coming of the flood. So, he marched to *Al-Karyûn*, and then to *Damanhûr*. After that, he traveled across *Al-Gharbiyyah* (Gharbia) territory until he reached *Sakhâ* from which he moved southwards until he reached *Tûkh* located to the northwest of *Tantâ*. From *Tûkh*, he crossed *Dumyât* (Damietta) branch of the Nile to *Damsîs* (Demsis).

Some historians view that he did not conquer such territories because they were strongly fortified. After the journey that continued for a whole year in the Delta territory, `Amr went back to Alexandria. Actually, time was opportune because Emperor Heraklonas sent back his governor of Egypt Al-Muqawqis and authorized him to hold peace talks with the Arabs. Meanwhile, Alexandria was witnessing deep religious disputes and extreme political conflict.

These were reasons that weakened the morale of Alexandrians. Thus, some of them departed the city by sea. Moreover, those who remained viewed that fighting the Arabs was useless. Therefore, the Roman leaders and commanders agreed to hold peace treaties with the Arabs. Thus, the Treaty of Alexandria was convened.

Treaty of Alexandria

According to some narrations, this treaty was convened in *Bâbilyûn* (Babylon) by Al-Muqawqis (Cyrus) who went to `Amr and was honorably received. **After long negotiations, the two parties agreed on the following terms:**

1. Convening an eleven-month truce that should end in the Coptic month of Paopi, September 28th, 642 A.D.
2. The Arabs should hold in their positions without launching any military activity against Alexandria. Also, the Romans should stop all hostile activities.

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3. The garrison of Alexandria should leave by sea and soldiers should carry their luggage and property with them. Any soldiers who want to travel on land may do so on the condition that they pay a monthly *Jizyah* (tribute) during the period of their journey on the Egyptian lands.
4. The Romans should not attempt to retain Egypt and no Roman military force should be dispatched to it again.
5. All those on whom *Jizyah* is due should pay two dinars per year.
6. The Muslims should do no harm to churches and should never interfere in the affairs of Christianity.
7. The Jews should be allowed to remain in Alexandria.
8. The Muslims should reserve 150 soldiers and 50 civilians to ensure the enforcement of the treaty.

The treaty was signed in November, 642 A.D. to be followed by an eleven-month truce. Cyrus showed the peace treaty terms to Theodor, the higher commander of the army, who agreed to them. Also, the treaty was sent to Heraklonas, who approved it. However, the Romans did not respect the treaty later. Rather, their emperor, Constantine, the successor of Heraklonas, dispatched an army under the leadership of Manuel who occupied Alexandria and killed its garrison. Thus, `Amr marched to them and drove them out of it while subjugated. Before conquering it, `Amr had sworn to wreck its walls in case he managed to conquer it, a promise which he fulfilled after conquering the city by force this time.

Ibn Ishâq narrates that `Amr built a mosque after conquering Alexandria that continued to exist until the time of Ibn Ishâq. He further narrates that the people of *Rashîd* (Rosetta), *Fuwwah*, *Al-Mahallah*, *Damîrah*, *Samannûd* and *Al-Bihîrah* (Beheira) came to him and concluded a peaceful covenant with him pursuant to the provisions they agreed upon. After conquering Alexandria, `Amr wanted to reside in it because it was fortified. So he sent a message to the Caliph asking for permission but the Caliph refused and sent him back a message to the effect that; "Let no major river separates me from you." Thus, `Amr went back to the place where the army erected their tents. He constructed the city of *Al-Fustât* that continued to be the capital of

Egypt for so long.⁽¹⁾ In 21 A.H., he constructed therein his famous mosque. Thereafter, the Caliph ordered `Amr to dig a bay between the River Nile and the Red Sea so that ships might travel through it to Medina. The bay was then dug and called the Bay of the Commander of the Faithful.

► Conquest of Coastal Towns

After the conquest of Alexandria, the Arabs moved eastwards to conquer the coastal towns. The first town they marched toward was the city of *Ikhnâ*, near *Abû Qîr*. The governor of the town was called *At-Talâ* or *At-Talamâ*.⁽²⁾ On receiving a message from `Amr asking him to surrender pursuant to the conditions subject to which the people of Alexandria peacefully surrendered, he rejected on the pretext that the *Jizyah* to be paid was burdensome. Thus, `Amr fought against him forcing him to surrender. Likewise, the town of *Balhîb* located on the Nile to the south of *Rashîd*, faced the same destiny as that of the *Ikhnâ*.

Thereafter, the ruler of *Rashîd*, *Quzmâs* (Cosmas) or *Kuzmân*,⁽³⁾ and the ruler of the *Al-Burullus*, *Hannâ* (John), convened peaceful surrender treaties with `Amr.

From *Al-Burullus*, the Arabs moved eastwards until they reached the town of *Khays* located on the Mediterranean Sea near *Dumyât* (Damietta). From there, they headed for the city of Damietta where they faced no resistance and the ruler of the city, *Hannâ* (John) known by the Arab historians as *Al-Hâmûk*, surrendered the city to the Muslims.

By the conquest of *Dumyât* and *Rashîd*, the Arabs could dominate the two mouths of the River Nile and their dominance extended to the whole

(1) It is narrated that when `Amr wanted to march towards Alexandria after the conquest of *Babilyûn*, he ordered that his pavilion be removed. A dove laying eggs was found in the tent while being removed. Hence `Amr said; "You have sought a safe place" and ordered that the tent should not be undisturbed. When the army returned from Alexandria, they said; "Where shall we camp?" some of them answered; "Near *Al-Fustât*" (i.e. the tent of `Amr). The Arabs call every city as *Fustât*. It is called *Fustât*, *Bustât*, and *Fusât*. Some historians maintain that this name was derived from the Roman "*fossatum*" meaning "camp". It seems probable that it was built after conquering Alexandria.

(2) "The Arab Conquest of Egypt And the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion" by A.J. butler, (P. 349).

(3) Ibid (P. 350).

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Lower Egypt excluding some towns located on the islands scattered in *Al-Manzalah* Lake. These towns included *Shatâ* and *Tinnîs*. (A distinction should be made here between this town and *Tânîs* or *Sân Al-Hajar* located to its southwest on the Tanitic branch.)

As for *Shatâ*, some Arab historians confuse it with *Tânîs* and *Dumyât*. They claim that after the Arabs besieged *Dumyât*, the son of its ruler, *Shatâ*, came out along with two thousand persons and declared their adherence to Islam which he had studied for a long time. Seeing that *Tinnîs* resisted the Arabs for so long, *Shatâ* formed and armed a military force from the towns of *Al-Burullus*, *Damîrah* and *Ashmûn Tanâh* and joined the Muslim reinforcements sent to fight the people of *Tinnîs*. When the war broke out, *Shatâ* fought bravely and killed twelve of the people of *Tinnîs* before he was martyred in the night of the middle of Sha`ban, 21 A.H. Thereafter, his dead body was taken from the battlefield to be buried in a small town near *Dumyât* (Damietta) called *Shatâ*. This night is still commemorated by the people of *Dumyât* during which they visit his tomb to memorialize him.

Al-Maqrîzî views that *Shatâ* is the son of Al-Hâmûk, whose father was the maternal uncle of Al-Muqawqis (Cyrus). *Shatâwiyyah* textiles are named after *Shatâ*. After the conquest, the Muslims constructed a mosque in *Dumyât* called *Masjidul-Fath* (the Mosque of the Conquest).

As for *Tinnîs*, its ruler decided to fight against the Arabs after they took over *Dumyât*. However, he was captivated and the town surrendered to the Muslims. From this town, they moved eastwards towards *Al-Faramâ*.

► Conquest of Upper Egypt's Cities

Conquering Upper Egypt was easy for `Amr comparing to conquering other Egyptian territories. While laying siege to Alexandria, `Amr sent some troops of his army that reached up to the city of *Tîbah* (Thebes). After the conquest of Alexandria, he also sent Khârijah Ibn Hudhâfah to complete the conquest of Upper Egypt's towns.

► Reasons Behind the Success of `Amr Ibnul-`Âs in Conquering Egypt

We have already mentioned some general reasons that helped make the wave of Islamic Conquests successful. However, there are other specific reasons

for the success of the Muslim Conquest of Egypt, **the most important among which are the following:**

1. Religious Persecution: The Egyptian people were extremely persecuted by the Romans because they belonged to a different religious sect. To clarify, the Romans belonged to the Melkite denomination whereas the Egyptians belonged to the Jacobite denomination. Having the authority on their side, the Melkites persecuted the Jacobite Egyptians to such an extent that they eliminated freedom of worship and forced the Egyptian clergymen to flee to the desert and remain there for many years. When the Arabs came, they warmly welcomed them and received them in the best manner. In fact, they used to host them, help them construct fortifications, and bridges and guide them through their journeys. In this regard, Al-Muqawqis himself was an advocate of peace treaty, and managed finally to convene it.

In fact, the European historians considered this treaty of Al-Muqawqis as being betrayal to his master, the Roman Emperor. However, we disagree with this view. Actually, by doing so, Al-Muqawqis guaranteed for his people the kind treatment and religious as well as social freedom under the rule of the tolerant Muslims. Actually, it was improper to ask Al-Muqawqis to be more steadfast in resistance while knowing that ultimately he would not be fighting for the independence of his country, but would be on the side of one occupier against the other one. Therefore, he chose the occupier who used to deal with people more justly and leniently and who was much nobler in character.

2. Impact of Hercules's death: Hercules died in February 11th, 641 A.D. just two months before the surrender of *Bâbilyûn* (Babylon) Fortress. He left behind two sons, Constantine who was his son from his first wife Eudocia, and Heraclius or Heraclonas who was his son from his second wife Martina. While the former was preparing for saving Egypt, he died during May of the same year leaving behind a child called Constans II. However, the war party led by Valentine forced Emperor Martina to make Constans II a co-emperor with her son.

Thereafter, a dispute took place within the royal house that resulted in a political dispute whose effect was not limited to the first capital city (Byzantium), but rather extended to the second capital city (Alexandria).

3. Mistakes committed by the Romans during their war against the Arabs.

Following are some examples thereof:

- a) Leaving *Al-Faramâ* garrison without reinforcement. *Al-Faramâ* was the eastern entrance of Egypt. In fact, the Romans could have temporarily resisted the Arabs if they reinforced the garrison protecting the city or if they repaired its forts that were destroyed by the Persians during their last raid. However, none of this happened.
- b) Allowing `Amr Ibnul-`Âs to cross the River Nile from the eastern bank to the western bank when he was laying siege to *Bâbilyûn* (Babylon).
- c) The quick withdrawal of the Romans after conquering *Niqyûs* (Nikiou).
- d) Giving up Alexandria. Actually, there was an open route between it and *Al-Qustantîniyyah* (Constantinople) through which military supplies were provided. Nevertheless, the city surrendered.

These reasons were mentioned as factors that helped the Arabs conquer Egypt. In fact, the conquest wave was destined to proceed even if such reasons were not to exist. No doubt, victory is given by Allah to whomsoever He wills.

Arabs achievements after the conquest and the most important changes they introduced

The Arabs guaranteed the personal and religious freedom for the people of Egypt. They also introduced financial systems that balanced between the necessities of public order on the one hand and people's financial capacities on the other. Moreover, they allowed Copts to assume high public offices. Further, Copts began to benefit from the commercial activities of the city that were previously limited to the Romans and the Jews. Furthermore, the Muslims allowed the farmers to keep their agricultural lands in return for paying the *Kharâj* (Tax on agricultural land and its produce); only two dinars per acre. The amount of *Kharâj* varied in accordance with the rise of the Nile and the general conditions of agriculture. In addition, the Arabs paid much attention to agriculture. In this regard, `Amr repaired Nilometers, established dams and dug the Bay of the Commander of the Faithful between *Babilyûn* (Babylon) and *Tall Bastah* at which the Nile canal going to Suez branched off. Thus, ships began to travel from Egypt to Hejaz carrying

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Egyptian goods. Also, the Arabs paid special attention to digging canals and repairing travel routes. Thus, farmers became in better conditions and started to advance in welfare and luxurious life. Besides, the Arabs constructed the city of *Al-Fustât*⁽¹⁾ to be the capital of their rule so that contact with Medina, the center of the Caliphate, might be easier.⁽²⁾ In the city, they constructed a mosque, which is the most important building for Muslims, called *Jâmi` `Amr* (the Mosque of `Amr), *Al-Masjidul-`Atîq* (the Ancient Mosque) or *Masjidul-Fath* (the Mosque of the Conquest).⁽³⁾

Actually, it is a common mistake to claim that the Muslims burnt Alexandria Bibliotheca. The truth is that it was burnt in 48 B.C. during the great fire that took place in Alexandria after Cesar burnt his navy. Eight years after this incident, a new bibliotheca was constructed but again it was wrecked along with the University of Alexandria at the hands of Christians. They viewed that the two buildings should be wrecked since they spread pagan teachings. In fact, the second bibliotheca was completely wrecked in 391 A.D. taking into account that it was not mentioned by any historian of the fifth and sixth centuries although many of them had great concern with exploring and searching for different books and references everywhere.

Supposing that that the first or the second bibliotheca was there during the Arabic conquest, it would be unreasonable that the Romans had left behind such valuable books heedlessly without taking them during the truce that was as long as eleven months taking into account that they were allowed to take whatever property they liked. It would also be unreasonable to think that the Arabs, who used to free the captives of war on condition that they teach ten young Muslim children how to read and write, would fight against knowledge and burn books.

In brief, the narration to the effect that Muslims burnt Alexandria Bibliotheca contains its own refutation. In fact, Muslims historians denied

- (1) In the place, which they used as a military base, located to northeast of *Bâbilyûn* (Babylon) Fortress. Its present place is Old Cairo.
- (2) This is why they did not take Alexandria as their capital, however, it was prepared for being their residence.
- (3) For more details about the Arabs' achievements there, please refer to "*Al-Mujtama`ât Al-Islâmiyyah*" by Dr. Maḥmûd Ziyâdah [1: 27-41]

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allegation and mocked it. In addition, orientalists such as Gibbon, Renaudot, Muir, Renan, Butler and others denied this narration. To here, we have mentioned the most important Conquests and works achieved during the era of the Commander of the Faithful of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb. In fact, such achievements were the result of comprehensive stability and unity the Muslim Society enjoyed as a result of the wise policy of the great Caliph, who was characterized by intelligence, justice, enthusiasm for the truth, strong will and forgiving mistakes.

While everyone was benefiting from the justice of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb, sinful and criminal hands overtook and stabbed him just before the daybreak putting an end to his life at this very moment where Muslims held out much hopes of him.

► **Assassination of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb**

Since the era of the Prophet (peace be upon him), the Arabian Peninsula has enjoyed security and stability, and showered with prosperity and higher standing in the light of the Conquests accomplished during the reign of the two Caliphs Abû Bakr and `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb. During this period justice has prevailed and extended to both the true faithful and the hypocrites who pretended to be Muslims of different races and religions including the Persians, Romans, Magus, Jews and Christians.

Those hypocrites were bearing ill-will and rancor against Islam; because it demolished their religions, beliefs and conquered their homelands. These feelings of grudge and hatred could be clearly noticed in the Jews, many of the Persians' chiefs and their followers who were taken as captives to the lands of Islam.

Their ill-will and hatred had been shown on many occasions, including this incident; which is the assassination of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb. During this period, it was unthinkable that the life of such a just Caliph, who dedicated himself and his family for the benefit of all Muslims be they Arabs or non-Arabs, would be ended by a blow with dagger. However, it happened so that people might know that it is not possible for a person whosoever to obtain the consent of all people, and that the fairest ruler cannot please all members under his control. `Umar could please the Arabs through his

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justice, righteousness and compassion. However, if he could please the common people among the non-Arabs through his justice, then he angered their chiefs and leaders; because he demolished their thrones rendering them into common people who shared the same rights be they masters or slaves, superior or inferior.

But, how the assassination crime had occurred? Historians reported that `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb did not give those who attained puberty among the polytheists the permission to settle in Medina. He kept on doing that until Al-Mughîrah Ibn Shu`bah wrote to him, while he was at *Al-Kûfah* (Kufa) as its governor, asking him to give permission to a Magian slave called Fayrûz Abû Lu`lu`ah to settle in Medina because of all the crafts he can do which Muslims can benefit of. Fayrûz was a blacksmith, carpenter and painter. So `Umar reluctantly gave permission to him to settle in Medina.

While `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb was walking in the marketplace, he met this young slave, who was one of the Magian captives of the battle of *Nihâwand* (Nehavend) and was a slave under Al-Mughîrah Ibn Shu`bah. The slave complained to `Umar about the enormous *Kharâj* (income tax) imposed on him by Al-Mughîrah Ibn Shu`bah. `Umar asked him; "How much is your *Kharâj*?" The slave replied; "One hundred Dirhams a month." Another narration reported that his *Kharâj* was two Dirhams a day. `Umar then asked him; "What is your craft?" The slave answered; "I am a carpenter, blacksmith and painter." `Umar said; "I do not think that your *Kharâj* is overestimated given all the crafts you can do." Then, `Umar said to him; "I was told that you said you can make a mill that grinds by the power of wind." The slave answered; "I did." So, `Umar said; "make a mill for me." The slave said; "If you live long I will certainly make you a mill that people in the East and the West will talk about." The slave then left. `Umar remarked; "The slave has already threatened me." `Umar next went home. The following morning, Ka`b Al-Ahbâr, a Jewish scholar who became a Muslim, went to `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb in his house and told him; "Beware, for you will die in three days, Commander of the Faithful." `Umar asked him; "How do you know?" Ka`b answered; "I read it in the Holy Book, the Torah." `Umar asked him; "Oh! Is `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb mentioned in the Torah?" Ka`b replied; "No, but I did read your description and I learned that your life is drawing to

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an end.” `Umar suffered from no malady or pain. The next day, Ka`b came again and said; “A day has passed by and you have only two left.” The following day, Ka`b came to `Umar again and told him; “Two days have gone and you only have a single day until next morning.” At dawn, the morning defined by Ka`b, while `Umar was leading Muslims in *Fajr* prayer, Fayrûz stealthily stabbed him with a two-edged dagger in his waist three or six times, one of which was below his naval. When `Umar felt the pain of stabbing, he fell to the ground and was heard to say: “**...And the Command of Allah is a decree determined.**”⁽¹⁾ Then this non-Arab infidel tried to flee, and he did not pass by anyone, right or left, but he stabbed him. He stabbed thirteen people in the mosque, of whom seven died. When a Muslim man from *Banû Tamîm* called Hittân saw that, he threw his cloak over Fayrûz and hugged him. When Fayrûz realized that he had been caught, he slaughtered himself.

The moment `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb fell to the ground, he said; “Is `Abdur-Rahmân Ibn `Awf among the people?” People answered; “Yes”. `Umar said to him; “Step forward and lead the people in prayer.” `Umar was then carried to his house. `Umar therefore commanded `Abdullâh Ibn `Abbâs to go and find out who stabbed him. `Abdullâh Ibn `Abbâs kept on looking here and there for a while and came to say; “You were stabbed by the slave of Al-Mughîrah Ibn Shu`bah.” `Umar thereupon praised Allah that he was not killed by anyone who could argue with him before Allah on the grounds that he once kneeled down in prostration before Him.” Then, `Umar gave permission to people to enter into him. When they entered into him, `Umar asked them; “Did any of you order my assassination?” They said; “God forbid!” They were grieving for his death just like their grief when the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Companion Abû Bakr had passed away. Then a physician was called but there was no hope of his recovery. `Umar was martyred on Wednesday night three days before the end of Dhul-Hajjah of the 23th year of Hegira (corresponding to November 4th, 644 A.D.). He was buried in `Â`ishah’s Apartment along with his two Companions (i.e. the Prophet and Abû Bakr) based on his will after seeking the permission of `Â`ishah. His Caliphate lasted ten years, six months and four days. Like his two Companions, `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb was sixty-three years old when he was assassinated.

(1) [Al-Ahzâb: 38].

An overview of the assassination of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb

A major incident such as the crime of assassinating the Caliph should not overlooked without knowing the real reasons behind it, and whether it was a result of a pre-planned conspiracy? And who were its planners?

The rancor and resentment of Abû Lu'lu'ah at being dealt unjustly about the tax imposed on him by his master Al-Mughîrah Ibn Shu`bah do not motivate him to commit such a horrific crime, especially if we knew that he was alien to the people of Medina and has no superiority over them. Thus, his motivation for assassinating the Caliph was wider than this, and he made the whole thing up (i.e. his complaint was just to find a reason for assassinating `Umar).

Strictly speaking, this crime was committed for real reasons including the rancor and hatred against the Caliph and the Muslims who humiliated the Persians, demolished their thrones and prevailed the word of Islam over all other religions.

The authentic narrations about the assassination of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb suggest that this crime was part of a political conspiracy and result of a criminal agreement. After the incident, `Abdur-Rahmân Ibn Abû Bakr, a righteous man who is definitely unsuspected, testified that during the night of `Umar's assassination he saw Al-Hurmuzân, Fayrûz and Jufaynah (a Christian man) while they were talking secretly to each other. On seeing him, they were startled and dropped a two-edged dagger with its handle in the middle. When the people showed him the dagger with which `Umar was stabbed, `Abdur-Rahmân decided that it was exactly the one he saw with the three men. It is known that Fayrûz was a slave of Al-Hurmuzân and it is circulated that Al-Hurmuzân was the one who gave the dagger to Fayrûz and ordered him to assassinate `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb for his conviction that the Islamic State will debilitate after the assassination of `Umar because this action will cause discord and division among the Muslims. Meanwhile, `Ubaydullâh Ibn `Umar took his sword and killed those who conspired against the Caliph. Being gripped by great rage he also killed the murderer's daughter, and unless he was arrested by Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs and confined him in his house, he would kill Ka`b Al-Ahbâr and others, as he was saying; "By Allah! I would kill men of those who involved in the assassination of my father."

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As for Ka`b Al-Ahbâr, supposing that the aforementioned narration about him is authentic, it would be a conclusive evidence that he was involved in the conspiracy, or at least he was informed about it. In this respect, Sheikh Al-Khudarî elaborates: “If I was to investigate this case, I would not be hesitant for a moment to declare that Ka`b was involved in the crime of assassinating `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb, or at least he was informed about the arrangements agreed upon among the conspirators.”⁽¹⁾

Here below is a summary of each one of the four men who mentioned above to highlight their psychological state:

- 1- Al-Hurmuzân:** The king of *Al-Ahwâz* (located at the Persian lands) who was taken as captive by the Muslims. He used to break the covenants, and even though `Umar pardoned him, his ill-will and rebellion went so far because he lost his former prestige as a great king and became a common man among the inhabitants of Medina. The spread of Islam and its extension to the Persian territories, and the booty he used to see coming from his homeland to Medina hurt him so much and agitated his rancor against Islam and the Muslims.
- 2. Fayrûz:** A Persian young man whose innermost feelings of grudge and hatred towards Islam was extremely agitated. On seeing the captives brought from his homeland to Medina, he would wipe over their heads and say: “`Umar has burnt my heart up.” Every so often, he went to visit Al-Hurmuzân.
- 3. Jufaynah Al-Anbârî:** A Christian man from *Al-Anbâr* whom Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs sent him to Medina to teach its inhabitants reading and the writing. The Persians governed *Al-Anbâr* and *Jufaynah* had a relation with them. Every so often, he went to visit Al-Hurmuzân and Abû Lu`lu`ah. Their enmity towards the Arabs brought their hearts together.
- 4. Ka`b Al-Ahbâr:** A Yemeni Jewish scholar. When he saw the diminution of Judaism in Yemen and Christianity in the Levant, while on the contrary Islam was spreading and dominating over other religions, he declared his Islam to gain respect and prestige among the Muslims, making use of his knowledge of the Torah and the history of the Arabs

(1) “*Nûr Al-Yaqîn Fî Sîrat Sayyid Al-Mursalîn*” by Sheikh Al-Khudarî [2: 32].

during the pre-Islamic period. He used to say to the Muslims; “Verily the Torah contains information about everything that was and what will be.” His deception and crafty, as a Jewish scholar, enabled him to gain confidence of the common people and some of the notables. At that time, the ignorance of Muslims about the language of the Torah urged Ka`b to widely circulate the *Isrâ’iliyyât* (narratives originating from Jewish and Christian traditions), and disseminate many myths and fictions attributed falsely to the Torah among the Muslims. Unfortunately, the books in our hands today have quoted some of these narratives, and among these narratives which he had attributed to the Torah was the assassination of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb. However, the Torah in our hands includes nothing about what he had foretold; so, he was either involved in the conspiracy, or at least, informed about it.

In this connection, it may be said; “If that was so, why did Ka`b Al-Ahbâr report this narration to `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb?”

The answer to this question is very simple. Ka`b Al-Ahbâr knew well that the Muslims were trusting his knowledge and the narrations he was reporting, and so if he foretold them that the assassination of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb would occur at a specified day and hour, and what he foretold was to happen, this would boost their confidence in him and in the *Isrâ’iliyyât* he circulates, and consequently he would gain a great position among the Muslims and can easily disseminate among them the myths and fictions which corrupt their faith.

However, some historians think better of Ka`b Al-Ahbâr on this issue and view that he was not involved in the conspiracy neither had he any intention to assassinate the Caliph, but he was informed about it. Ka`b told `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb to be cautious and he did not mention the names of the conspirators because he feared for them or something else we do not know. So, he phrased the narration in a particular manner that would make the Muslims later more inclined to trust him and believe in his narratives reported from the Jewish and Christian traditions.

Our opinion, as mentioned above, is that if Ka`b Al-Ahbâr was not involved in the assassination of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb, he would be informed about the

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conspiracy, at least. In case the investigation followed the same manner as it carried out today via an intelligent investigator, he would arrest Ka`b on charge of scheming to assassinate `Umar, and take the information he circulated as a presumption of being part of the conspiracy.

It seems that the Muslims had no previous experience of the criminal investigations and revealing the political conspiracies, that is why they did not investigate all the motives that resulted in the assassination of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb or punish those who get involved in this conspiracy. If they paid much attention to the details of this crime and investigated them carefully, later on the Muslims would protect themselves from the forces of evil which finally found in Ka`b Al-Ahbâr what they have longed for.

The lack of a thorough investigation into this issue raised it again during the reign of `Uthmân Ibn `Affân in another way when the conspirators demanded to kill Ibn `Umar for those whom he had killed in retaliation or to put him on trial for his transgression against the State's authority when he avenged for himself without the permission of the government. Later on, we will discuss this issue in detail, God willing.

One important thing remains

Why did not `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb treat the threat of Fayrûz with caution, especially after Ka`b Al-Ahbâr had foretold his death?

It seems that `Umar thought that what the slave uttered was insignificant to consider or worry about because he had not a clan to protect him. Also, `Umar considered that the narration reported by Ka`b was only a myth and he did not believe in the myths and fictions, and above all the decree of Allah must be accomplished. Further, `Umar's thought that because he was establishing justice among people and helping the oppressed nobody would ever think of assassinating him. Actually, this was an oversimplification and good faith on the part of him and on the part of the Muslims. Finally, it was the will of Allah that is unavoidable.⁽¹⁾

(1) Refer to the Assassination of `Umar in: "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [3: 26, 27, and 39]; "Al-`Iqd Al-Farîd" [3: 71-72]; "Muhâdarât Fî Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah" by Sheikh Al-Khudarî [2: 31-33]; "Târikh Al-Fath Al-Islâmi" by Fakhrud-Dîn (pp. 338-342); and "Asr Al-Khulafâ' Ar-Râshidîn" by Dr. Mahmûd Fayyâd (pp. 239-242).

► **Appointment of `Umar to His Successor and the Story of *Ash-Shûrâ***

On his deathbed, `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb was asked to nominate his successor. `Umar replied; "If I leave the matter undecided (without appointing a Caliph as my successor) it is true that somebody who was better than I (i.e. the Messenger of Allah) did so, and if I appoint a Caliph (as my successor) it is true that somebody who was better than me (i.e. Abû Bakr) did so." Then he remarked; "Had Abû `Ubaydah Ibnul-Jarrâh been alive, I would have made him the Caliph, and if my Lord asked me why I did so, I would say; 'I heard Your Prophet (peace be upon him) while saying; 'He is the trustworthy of this (Muslim) Nation.' And had Sâlim, the freed slave of Abû Hudhayfah, been alive, I would trust him (and make him the Caliph), and if my Lord asked me why I did so, I would say; 'I heard Your Prophet (peace be upon him) while saying; 'Verily Sâlim has a great love for Allah; even if he did not fear Allah, he still would not disobey Him.'" A man then said to `Umar; "You can make `Abdullâh Ibn `Umar the Caliph." `Umar angrily said; "I swear that you have not suggested him seeking merely Allah's satisfaction. It is enough to have only one of Al-Khattâb's household held accountable for the Nation of Muḥammad (peace be upon him). (So far as Caliphate is concerned) Should I manage to escape from it in that I would receive neither reward nor retribution, I would be pleased."

When the people asked him again to just nominate someone to be the Caliph, `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb thought for a while and said; "I considered this issue and resolved to appoint a man who is best suited for the post and would lead you into a (harsh) path of the truth (and he pointed out to `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib), then I did not want to shoulder your responsibility in this world and in the Hereafter."

This narration, which is not mentioned in all Islamic historical resources, suggests that `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb had not thought of appointing his successor unless after Fayrûz had stabbed him.

Another narration states that `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb kept on thinking of the one who is best suited for his succession. Ibn `Abbâs narrated that one day he entered into `Umar and found that he was anxious. `Umar was saying;

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“I do not know what should I do regarding this matter (i.e. the Caliphate), whenever I get up to settle the matter I refrain from it and sit again.” So, I said to him; ‘Have you considered `Alî?!’ `Umar replied; ‘Verily he is best suited for it, but I think if he took charge of your affairs, he would lead you into a (harsh) path of the truth which you know well how it will be.’ I said; ‘Where do you stand with `Uthmân?!’ `Umar answered; ‘If I were to appoint him, *Banû Abû Mu`ayt* would be entrusted with positions and be imposed on the Muslims.’ I said; ‘What is your opinion regarding *Talhah*?!’ `Umar replied; ‘He is a man of great pride, and Allah would not entrust the affairs of Muhammad’s Nation to him considering what He knows of his pride.’ I said; ‘What about *Az-Zubayr*?!’ `Umar said; ‘He is a brave man, but he asks about the *Sâ`* and *Mudd* (two units of measures) in the market of *Al-Baqî`* (i.e. he is interested in trade), could this man then be entrusted with the affairs of the Muslims?’ I said; ‘What about *Sa`d* (Ibn Abû Waqqâs)?!’ `Umar said; ‘He is not the one, he is a warrior able to defend his squadron, so far as Caliphate is concerned he should not assume it.’ Then, I asked; ‘What about `Abdur-Rahmân Ibn `Awf?!’ `Umar replied; ‘What an excellent man you have mentioned but he is weak. By Allah, O Ibn `Abbâs! This is a responsibility which it should not be assumed except by the one who is strong without being violent, gentle without being weak, economical without being miserly, and generous without being wasteful.”

In a third narration confirms the abovementioned one, `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb said; “Should my death come while Abû `Ubaydah Ibnul-Jarrâh was still alive, I would make him the Caliph, and should my death come while he was dead, I would entrust it (Caliphate) to Mu`âdh Ibn Jabal.”

In my opinion these narrations can be combined together. A long time before his assassination, `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb kept on thinking of the one who would be suitable for assuming the power (i.e. the Caliphate) after his death but he was hesitant as to appoint a successor or not and as to the one who should be his successor. When he was stabbed, and asked to nominate his successor, he was still hesitant but he realized that the moment had come to appoint his successor and he nominated all of whom the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) had been pleased with at the time of his death

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and about whom he said; *“They will be among the dwellers of Paradise.”* `Umar excluded Sa`id Ibn Zayd Ibn Nufayl from being nominated even though he was one of the ten who had been promised Paradise because of his kinship with him (he was from the tribe of *Banû `Adiyy*, which was `Umar’s own tribe). The candidates were: `Uthmân and `Alî (both from the clan of *`Abd Manâf*), Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs and `Abdur-Rahmân Ibn `Awf (the two maternal uncles of Allah’s Messenger), Az-Zubayr, the Prophet’s supporter and maternal cousin, and Talhah Ibn `Ubaydillâh. `Umar commanded them to consult with one another (*Ash-Shûrâ*) and appoint any of them as the Caliph.

Having made his mind up, `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb sent to the five candidates present in Medina, because Talhah was absent as he went on a trip, and said to them; “I considered the matter of Caliphate and found you are the notables of people and their leaders. This matter should be assumed to a man from amongst you, and I fear that you disagree with each other, causing people to divide because of your disagreement. Ask the permission of `Âishah and gather inside her Apartment and consult one another.” When they gathered for consultation in the Apartment of `Âishah, their voices raised and consequently `Umar commanded them to postpone their meeting until his death, and then they should gather again for consultation to choose a man from among themselves within the period of three days. `Umar commanded; “The prayer shall be led by Suhayb Ar-Rûmî, and do not let the fourth day come without having a ruler over the Muslims. `Abdullâh Ibn `Umar shall be present among the council of consultants as an advisor only. Talhah is your partner in this matter and if he comes within the three days, then he will be one of the council of consultants, or otherwise go forth in the proceedings of your consultation.” After reviewing the candidates and some of their traits, `Umar said to Abû Talhah Al-Ansârî; “Allah, Glorified be He, has supported Islam through you (the *Ansâr*). Choose fifty men to support this group until they choose a man from amongst them.” Also, `Umar said to Al-Miqdâd Ibn Al-Aswad; “After you place me in my grave, bring this group together until they choose one of them.” `Umar then said to Talhah and Al-Miqdâd; “If five of them agreed on a man and one objected, the one who objected shall be killed. If four of them agreed on a man and two of them objected, the two

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who objected shall be killed. If three men chose a man and the other three chose another, then seek the judgment of `Abdullâh Ibn `Umar, and the successor shall be from the group he chooses. If they do not accept his judgment, then go with the group including `Abdur-Rahmân Ibn `Awf and kill the others if they went against the consensus of people.”

Accordingly, `Umar set up the election method and defined its proceedings as if he was not suffering a painful bleeding wound. `Umar was a noble ruler who rose above his physical pain and the laws of human nature. He did not let the calamity that had befallen him or the agonies of death, no matter how great they were, prevent him from prudently organizing and managing the Muslim's affairs.

When `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb died and his body was carried to offer his funeral prayer, `Alî and `Uthmân wanted to lead his funeral prayer; but `Abdur-Rahmân Ibn `Awf said; “Both of you are interested in assuming the power and this is a matter (leading the people in prayer) which you should be kept away from (lest that be seen as an endorsement of them to the Caliphate). This is Suhayb who was commanded by `Umar to lead the people in prayer until they have a Caliph from among themselves.”

After the burial of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb, the council of consultants gathered in a place about where the historians differed; was it `Â'ishah's apartment, the house of Al-Miswar Ibn Makhramah, the treasury, or the house of Fâtimah Bint Qays Al-Fihriyyah? It appears that the reason for the difference among the historical resources regarding the gathering place was the multiple sessions and meetings held during this period. The attendants were the five men, since Talhah was still absent, along with `Abdullâh Ibn `Umar, and Abû Talhah was commanded to watch over the election proceedings. When they discussed the matter, and locked in a long-running dispute, Abû Talhah said; “What I feared most from you was to keep yourself away from it not to compete each other for it. No way! By Him Who has taken `Umar's soul I will not give you time more than the three days determined by `Umar.”

As the matter locked in a long-running dispute and the council of consultants did not agree on one of them, `Abdur-Rahmân Ibn `Awf felt uneasy and thought of a way to end this situation. He suggested that one of them (the candidates) would hand over his own part in the matter and chose one

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of the remaining five men provided that he should swear that he would take the sides of the truth, and that he would not follow his own desire, nor would he align himself with a kinship or spare an advice for the Nation. When none of them did this, `Abdur-Rahmân stepped down from the matter and swore that he would follow the truth, and they swore to him that they would accept his judgment. Thereafter, `Abdur-Rahmân met separately with `Alî and said to him; "If you were not among the candidates, who would you choose?" `Alî answered; "I would choose `Uthmân." Then, `Abdur-Rahmân met separately with `Uthmân and said to him; "If you were not among the candidates, who would you choose?" `Uthmân answered; "I would choose `Alî." `Abdur-Rahmân do the same with Sa`d and Az-Zubayr and both of them answered: "I would choose `Uthmân".

Thus, `Abdur-Rahmân Ibn `Awf was entrusted with the task of appointing the Caliph. He spent the three nights meeting with the Companions of Allah's Messenger, and those who came to Medina of the notables and army commanders to consult them about the matter (i.e. the Caliphate). No man he met during this period but he chose `Uthmân. When the night after which the three days determined by `Umar were to expire, he came to the house of Al-Miswar Ibn Makhramah and asked him to call Az-Zubayr and Sa`d. When they came to `Abdur-Rahmân, he said to Az-Zubayr; "Let this matter go to the two sons of `Abd Manâf." Az-Zubayr answered; "I throw in my share to `Alî." `Abdur-Rahmân asked Sa`d who was his cousin to hand over his share in the Caliphate to him so that he might give it to whom he wants". Sa`d said to him; "If you choose yourself, then it is fine, but if you choose someone else (i.e. `Uthmân), then `Alî is worthier of this matter than `Uthmân." Sa`d insisted on asking `Abdur-Rahmân to choose himself but he refused because he had made an oath that he would step down from the matter, and said; "No one after Abû Bakr and `Umar assumes this matter (i.e. the Caliphate) and then be approved of by the people." Then, Az-Zubayr and Sa`d left.

According to this narration, it appears to us that the two men (Az-Zubayr and Sa`d) changed their attitude, and that this happened after a talk took place between them and `Alî in which `Alî confirmed his priority to the Caliphate.⁽¹⁾

(1) Refer to "*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*" by Ibnul-Athîr [3: 36].

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ʿAbdur-Rahmân sent Al-Miswar to ʿUthmân who came and discussed with him until the early hours of the morning. After they had performed the *Fajr* prayer, the council of consultants convened. The immigrants, the early Muslims among the Helpers, and the commanders of the army who were present there had been called to assemble. ʿAbdur-Rahmân said; “O people! Everyone would like that the people of other territories go home to their provinces while knowing who the new Caliph is.” Saʿid Ibn Zayd said; “We see you as the best suited for the post.” ʿAbdur-Rahmân said; “Give me a different opinion.” Then ʿAmmâr Ibn Yâsir said; “If you do not want the Muslims to fight each other, you should choose ʿAlî.” ʿAbdullâh Ibn Abû As-Sarh said; “If you do not want *Quraysh* to fight you should choose ʿUthmân.” At that point, ʿAmmâr and Ibn Abû As-Sarh upbraided each other. Later, *Banû Hâshim* and *Banû Umayyah* took part in the discussion. Thereupon, confusion and chaos spread among people, so Saʿd Ibn Abû Waqqâs said; “O ʿAbdur-Rahmân, get this matter over with before the people fall in dispute.” ʿAbdur-Rahmân said; “I have considered this issue and sought people’s advice. O members of the council of consultants! Do not lay yourselves open to criticism.” Then, ʿAbdur-Rahmân called ʿAlî and said to him; “Allah’s pledge and covenant is binding on you. Will you indeed act in accordance with Allah’s Book, the *Sunnah* of His Messenger and the example of the two Caliphs after him?” ʿAlî replied; “I hope to do this according to my best knowledge and capacity!” Then, ʿAbdur-Rahmân called ʿUthmân and asked him the same question he asked ʿAlî. ʿUthmân answered; “Yes.” ʿAbdur-Rahmân then gave ʿUthmân the pledge of allegiance. Hence, Uthmân became the third successor of Allah’s Messenger. On that day, Talhah arrived from his trip. He was told that all people gave the pledge of allegiance to ʿUthmân. So, he asked; “Are all *Quraysh* pleased with the choice?” They answered; “Yes”. He then headed for ʿUthmân who, in turn, said to him; “You still have your right to decide. If you refuse to give me the pledge of allegiance I will relinquish it.” Talhah asked him; “Will you relinquish it?!” ʿUthmân said; “Yes.” Talhah asked him; “Have all the people given you the pledge of allegiance?” ʿUthmân replied; “Yes”. Talhah said; “I approve. I shall never go against the consensus of the people.” Talhah then gave him the pledge of allegiance.

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The people gave the pledge of allegiance to `Uthmân on Dhul-Hajjah 29th, 23 A.H. (corresponding to November 7th, 644 A.D.). So `Uthmân officially came to office at the beginning of the month of Muharram, 24 A.H.

At that point, a lot of discussions were raised about the method which `Abdur-Rahmân Ibn `Awf followed to select `Uthmân. The historical resources reported many narrations about this issue but we were careful to leave them out because every source gives its point of view that may be influenced by specific opinion or self-desire. It was reported that `Alî said to `Abdur-Rahmân; “This is not the first time you have gathered against us. But it is better to have patience, and it is Allah (alone) Whose Help is to be sought against that which you assert.” `Abdur-Rahmân said; “O `Alî! Do not lay yourself open to criticism or establish an argument against yourself.” Then `Alî went out while saying; “Allah’s decree will come in its due time.” Sheikh Al-Khudarî said; “`Alî came back pushing his way through the people until he gave the pledge of allegiance to `Uthmân.”⁽¹⁾ It is suitable here to refer to the story of *Ash-Shûrâ* in its relevant resources to know what happened and what was said about it from speeches and discussions.⁽²⁾

Whatever the case may be, I summarized and picked what is consistent with the truth. **However, there are some comments on the reign of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb and the story of *Ash-Shûrâ*. Below are the most important comments:**

1. Why did not `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb leave the matter undecided (without appointing a Caliph) as did the Messenger of Allah, or why did not he appoint a man whom the Nation accepts during his life as did Abû Bakr? Why did he limit the candidacy to these six men only? Could not he find among the Muslims others who are fit for the post? Why did not he leave the matter free from any restrictions as it is the case nowadays, where anyone who finds himself fit to hold the post can apply for it?

All these questions crossed the minds and occupied the thoughts of researchers. To answer these questions, we believe that `Umar Ibnul-

(1) “*Muhâdarât Fî Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*” by Sheikh Al-Khudarî [3: 37].

(2) “*The History of Al-Tabari*”, translated by G. Rex Smith [14: 143-164]; “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [3: 36-39]; “*Al-`Iqd Al-Farîd*” [3: 73-79]; “*Târikh Al-Fath Al-Islâmi*” (pp. 353, 354, 358, and 359); “*Al-Bidâyah Wa An-Nihâyah*” by Ibn Kathîr [2: 137-139]; and “*Ashhar Mashâhîr Al-Islâm Fî Al-Harb Wa As-Siyâsah*” [4: 681-695].

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Khattâb did not want the Nation, when coming to select his successor after his death, to get into a state of disorder. Besides, the situation has changed since the death of Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him) as many non-Arabs embraced Islam after the numerous Conquests achieved and the forces of evil began to connive and conspire against the Islamic rule. In the same context, `Umar did not want to appoint his successor as did Abû Bakr, so as not to shoulder its responsibility in this world and in the Hereafter in view of the fact that each one of the candidates for the post suffers some of the obvious disadvantages. As he had declared, `Umar wished that he would leave the world without receiving neither reward nor retribution. For these reasons, he wanted to avoid the previous two methods for selecting the Caliph. Rather, he wanted to expand the Nation's sphere of influence, urge people to maintain the principle of *Ash-Shûrâ* (i.e. consultation), and strengthen their ability to deal with the political issues. `Umar chose six men only for the post, perhaps he was interested in limiting the consultation to a specific number of people so as to muzzle the sedition's voices, especially the Muslims had no previous knowledge about dealing with such issues. Further, he knew that tribalism was still alive in the Arabs' hearts, and if he expanded the sphere of consultation, this affair may get out of control and cause chaos. Thereupon, he adopted a balanced approach, and drew the course for the people with much deliberation hoping that they would not mislead the straight path after his death. `Umar hoped that their faith would guide them to that which was beneficial for Islam and the Muslims paying no attention to any personal interests and worldly or temporal gains. In this respect, `Umar gave an example to follow when he excluded his relatives from the matter of Caliphate; this happened when he excluded Sa`îd Ibn Zayd, even though he was one of the ten who had been promised Paradise, from nomination because he was from the tribe of *Banû `Adiyy*, which was `Umar's own tribe. This was also clear when he commanded that `Abdullâh Ibn `Umar should be present among the council of consultants as an advisor only without having any chances to be a Caliph.

2. Some people in the past and present viewed that the matter of *Ash-Shûrâ* revived the old dispute occurred between *Banû Hâshim* and *Banû Umayyah* during *Jâhiliyyah* (the pre-Islamic period). It is narrated that Mu`âwiyah said; "Nothing divided the Muslims and sowed the seeds of discord among

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them than the matter of *Ash-Shûrâ*, which `Umar made among six men. None of these men but he wanted it for himself and had a desire for it, and his tribesmen wanted it for him, and if `Umar appointed his successor as did Abû Bakr, there would not be disagreement.”

In this regard, we say to Mu`âwiyah that Abû Bakr appointed a man whom he trusted, but `Umar declared that he did not find a man whom he may fully trust. Further, `Umar was on his deathbed suffering a painful wound, so he preferred to place this trust in one of these six men, and made them responsible for it before Allah, before their consciences, and before the Muslims. Accordingly, the blame shall not be put on `Umar; rather, it shall be put on every one of the candidates who wanted it for himself and whose heart longed for it in the manner expressed by Abû Talhah before. However, we can give them the excuse, because every one of these six men wanted it for himself because he found himself able to achieve the hopes of the Muslims if he became the Caliph. We do not deny that behind those six men there were some groups who sought superiority and power, and they revealed themselves clearly among the Muslim Society during the reign of `Uthmân Ibn `Affân.

3. Giving the pledge of allegiance to `Uthmân Ibn `Affân provoked protest from `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib when he said; “This is not the first time you have gathered against us. But it is better to have patience... etc.” This statement indicates that `Alî felt prejudice against him and considered giving the priority to `Uthmân over him as injustice.

The truth here is that giving the pledge of allegiance to `Uthmân before `Alî was based on the natural order expected by the people at that time, because `Umar’s harshness during his reign restricted people, and they would not prefer to appoint `Alî as a Caliph because he was as harsh as `Umar. `Umar himself was acquainted with this fact when he said regarding him; “...he would lead you into a (harsh) path of the truth which you know well how it will be.” Rather, the people would prefer `Uthmân to assume the power because of his leniency, and because of the several Prophetic *hadiths* put `Alî after Abû Bakr, `Umar and `Uthmân concerning superiority.

It also appears that `Umar Ibnu-Khattâb observed another thing regarding `Alî, which was that *Banû Hâshim* should not combine the honor of

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Prophethood with the superiority of Caliphate. In this respect, it is narrated that `Abdullâh Ibn `Abbâs said; “One day while I was walking with `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb, he said to me; ‘O Ibn `Abbâs! What kept your people from giving you the Caliphate while you are distinguished as being *Ahlul-Bayt* (the members of the Prophet’s household)?’ I answered; ‘I do not know.’ `Umar said; ‘But I do. You have been favored over the people with the Prophethood, and the people said, ‘If they were favored over us with the Caliphate, then there would not be anything left for us,’ and the best of the two shares (i.e. Prophethood) is exclusively in your hands and I think that you will finally combine them (i.e. Prophethood and Caliphate), even if you assumed it against the will of *Quraysh*.” Perhaps this was the belief that prevented `Umar from appointing `Alî as his successor in conformity with the public opinion.

This view was shown clearly at the last moments of *Ash-Shûrâ* proceedings when `Alî chose to act according to his best knowledge and capacity although the Nation was still very eager to adhere to the Glorious Book of Allah, the *Sunnah* of His Messenger and the example of the two Caliphs who followed him.

Lastly, all these events and situations prove that `Umar Ibnu-Khattâb was a genius and a brilliant man of unique character regarding his method of choosing the new Caliph paying an honest attention to the public interest of the Muslim Community. In spite of recognizing the great advantages of the candidates, he appointed an advisor among them and commanded specific number of men to keep watch over the election proceedings and stipulated punishment for anyone who would go against their consensus. May Allah have mercy upon `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb, who gave us the most wonderful examples. It is much better to take this great personality as an example and follow its steps to hold fast and unite the Muslim Nation so that we can restore our former glory. And I think we are on the way to restore it. God willing.

Now, as `Uthmân Ibn `Affân has assumed the power, we will discuss the Conquests and events took place during his reign.





The Third Caliph 'Uthmân Ibn 'Affân



► Lineage, Birth and Early Life

His name is 'Uthmân Ibn 'Affân Ibn Abû Al-'Âs Ibn Umayyah Ibn 'Abd Shams Ibn 'Abd Manâf Ibn Qusayy, the *Umayyad Qurayshite*. 'Abd Manâf is the meeting point between his lineage and that of the Prophet (peace be upon him). His nickname is Abû 'Abdullâh and Abû 'Umar, the latter being more famous. His mother's name is Arwâ Bint Kurayz Ibn Rabî'ah Ibn Ḥabîb Ibn 'Abd Manâf. His maternal grandmother is the Prophet's paternal aunt Al-Baydâ' Umm Ḥakîm Bint 'Abdul-Muttalib. So, he is the nearest Rightly-Guided Caliph in kin to the Prophet (peace be upon him) next only to 'Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib.

He was born five or six years after the Prophet (peace be upon him) was born. His early life was a representation of noble manners and lofty characteristics. When the Prophet (peace be upon him) started his mission, 'Uthmân was one of the forerunners who proceeded to accept Islam. According to some narrations, he was the fourth person to accept Islam. After he embraced Islam, the Prophet (peace be upon him) gave him in marriage his daughter Ruqayyah. When the polytheists of *Quraysh* prosecuted Muslims, he along with his wife immigrated to *Al-Habashah* (Abyssinia). Later, he returned to Mecca before Immigration to Medina, which was his second immigration. He attended all the battles with the Prophet (peace be upon him). An exception to this was the battle of *Badr*, which he did not attend because he was looking after his sick wife Ruqayyah. Therefore, the Prophet (peace be upon him) assigned him a share of booties. Thus, he was considered a *Badrî* (i.e. one of those who attended the Battle of *Badr*) although he did not really attend it.

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Meanwhile, Ruqayyah died, thereafter, the Prophet (peace be upon him) married her to her sister Umm Kulthûm. Held by the Prophet (peace be upon him) in a high esteem, the Prophet (peace be upon him) told him after the death of Umm Kulthûm in 9 A.H.; *“If I had a third daughter, I would give her in marriage to you.”*

Held by Muslims in a great esteem also and being respected and popular among the people of *Quraysh*, the Prophet (peace be upon him) during events of *Al-Hudaybiyah* peace treaty sent `Uthmân as his envoy to meet with the leaders of *Quraysh* and negotiate Muslim entry into the city. *Quraysh* forced `Uthmân to remain longer in Mecca than he originally planned and refused to inform the Muslims of his whereabouts. This caused the Muslims to believe that the people of *Quraysh* had killed `Uthmân. On this occasion, the Prophet (peace be upon him) gathered his nearly 1,400 Companions and called them to pledge to fight until death and avenge the rumored death of `Uthmân, which they did by placing a hand on top of the Prophet's hand. It is reported that the Prophet (peace be upon him) placed one of his hands on top of the other and pledged on behalf of `Uthmân as well. This pledge took place under a tree and was known as the Pledge of the Tree. However, it soon turned out that `Uthmân was neither killed nor harmed.

He also made the most significant aid to the army of *Al-'Usrah* (Hardship) dispatched to *Tabûk*. He provided war equipment for disabled and poor persons. From his own money, he provided the army with one thousand camels and fifty horses. He also bought the *Rûmah* spring, a well with very fine fresh water. The owner of this well was a Jew, who out of a desire to subjugate Muslims, used to sell its water for Muslims so expensively. After buying it, `Uthmân made its water available for Muslims free of charge and assigned himself a share of it equal to the share of any other Muslim. Moreover, he was one of the Qur'ân revelation scribes who used to write it down in front of the Prophet (peace be upon him). After the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him), he also was a trustworthy scribe for the Caliphs Abû Bakr and `Umar, who sought his consultation regarding important matters.

► Some of His Attributes

Based on the information above, it becomes clear that `Uthmân was belonged to the elite class in *Quraysh*. He also was the chief of the clan

of *Banû Umayyah* in Islam. It is also clear that he fought in the cause of Allah with the Prophet (peace be upon him) and spent much of his money voluntarily in Allah's cause making many sacrifices in this regard. He reached to a state of generosity never reached by anyone else. Moreover, he was good mannered, agreeable and self-dependent. In this regard, he never awaked any of his family to serve him unless he finds someone awake. In such a case, he would call him to help him perform his *Wudû'* (ablution). He was so shy to the extent that he, after even closing the doors before taking a bath, he would sit down and never get up. Moreover, the Prophet (peace be upon him) used to feel shy in his presence more than in the presence of any other Companion. In this regard, the Prophet said; *"Should I not be shy of a man around whom the angels are shy (because of his modesty)?"* Furthermore, he was one of the ten Companions who were given glad tidings by the Prophet (peace be upon him) to enter Paradise and with whom the Prophet (peace be upon him) was pleased before his death. Besides, he was one of the six Companions `Umar appointed for Muslims to elect one of them as his successor and was one of those who collected the Qur`ân. In addition, he was a devoted worshipper who was surrounded by lights of guidance. Undoubtedly, he will be eternized as one of the most prominent figures that founded the structure of Islam. He is a case that documents the spirit of Islam and its teachings along with the Islamic unity and highlights the deterioration and weakness that happened to them later. A case that is considered as a benchmark in the history of Caliphate and how Muslims greatly distorted its majesty.⁽¹⁾ He is also considered a controversial figure, regarding whom many conflicting texts were narrated, a conflict that caused much fabrications and lies. We hope that Allah will help us unveil the truth regarding this controversial and complicated issue.

► **The First *Khutbah* (Sermon) of `Uthmân and His System of Rule**

After being pledged as the third Caliph, `Uthmân ascended the pulpit, praised Allah and then said; "You are in a transitory abode and in the flower of life, so set forth until the time appointed for your death, and aim for the

(1) See: *"Al-Isâbah Fî Tamyiz As-Sahâbah"* by Ibn Hajar [4: 223]; *"Muhâdarât Fî Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah"* by Sheikh Al-Khudarî [2: 37-38]; *"Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh"* by Ibnul-Athîr [3: 93-94]; and *"`Asr Al-Khulafâ' Ar-Râshidîn"* by Mahmûd Fayyâd (pp. 251-252).

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best which you can attain, for you may be met (by your end) morning or evening. Surely this world harbors deceit, 'so let not the present life delude you,' and 'let not the deceitful one (i.e. Satan) delude you concerning Allah.' Consider those who have gone before you, then be in earnest and do not be neglectful, for you will surely not be overlooked...and seek the hereafter..."⁽¹⁾

Contemplating on the sermon, we find out that it is mere preaching. It is also clear that he was so shy as usual that he did not use strict words while trying to awake people. It seems that he felt that it is his duty, like his predecessors, to make clear his system of rule. In a message he sent to his sub-governors and army commanders, he included the same principles of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb, which clearly indicates that he will follow the same policy of his predecessors. In the message, he said; "You are the protectors of Islam and sustainers of Muslims. `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb introduced the system you know. So, if I am informed that one of you did not follow that way or replaced it, Allah will replace you with another people and will change the favor which He had bestowed upon them."

In another message he sent to tax collectors, he said; "Indeed, Allah created the creatures in truth. So, accepts nothing but truth. So, take truth and give truth. Be honest to the farthest extent... Do not do injustice to orphans or *Mu`âhad* (non-Muslim in a temporary covenant with Muslims) because Allah will be the enemy of those who do injustice to them." Furthermore, he said in a third message he wrote to masses; "You reached the status you are in through following the example of the Prophet (peace be upon him). So, do not let worldly pleasures distract you from this way. No doubt, people of this Nation are expected to produce innovations in religion after you fully reach three stages: abundance of worldly means, having sons from your bondmaids and when Bedouins and non-Arabs recite the Qur'ân..."⁽²⁾

In this third message, it is clear that `Uthmân felt that the society is developing and starting to adopt a different course of conduct. In fact, this

(1) Refer to the *Khutbah* in "*Muḥâdarât Fî Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*" by Sheikh Al-Khudarî [2: 40-41].

(2) For more information about the messages, refer to "The History of al-Tabari" translated by R. Stephen Humphreys [15: 5-8]; and "*Ashhar Mashâhîr Al-Islâm Fî Al-Hurûb Was-Siyâsah*" by Dr. Rafiq Al-`Azm [4: 751-755].

development had a great impact in the revolution that was staged against `Uthmân that caused his death and led to the disunity of the Nation.

➤ **The First Issue to Be Judged by `Uthmân**

We stated earlier that `Ubaydullâh Ibn `Umar killed Al-Hurmuzân, Jufaynah, and the daughter of Abû Lu'lu'ah, the Magus. After `Uthmân came to authority, he gathered Muslims in the Mosque in the presence of Ibn `Umar. He said; "Give me consultation regarding that person that caused a great harm to Islam." `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib said; "My opinion is that you should kill him." However, some of the *Muhâjirûn* (Immigrants) said; "`Umar was just killed and now his son is going to be killed also!" `Amr Ibnul-`Âs said; "Allah has pardoned you from being responsible for such a thing while you have sovereignty over Muslims." The Caliph said; "I am their guardian. I have pardoned him and I will pay the blood money from my own money."

However, `Alî and some other Muslims refused the idea that the Caliph should pardon one of Allah's prescribed penalties. `Alî continued to hold the same view even till he became the Caliph. He demanded that `Ubaydullâh Ibn `Umar be brought to receive the death penalty, but the latter fled to the Levant where he sided with Mu`âwiyah Ibn Abû Sufyân and fought against `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib and, ultimately, he was killed during the Battle of *Siffîn*.

Undoubtedly, `Ubaydullâh had trespassed the government's authority by practicing *Qisâs* (just retaliation) himself. In fact, if individuals are allowed to take their due rights themselves, the Nation's affairs will corrupt. Actually, he committed two mistakes: killing someone who did not kill his father and practicing *Qisâs* himself waiting for no judicial decision from those in authority. However, the surrounding circumstances should be taken into account and their psychological effect on `Ubaydullâh. Actually, he thought that it was a large-scale conspiracy perpetrated against his father and against the Islamic Caliphate. Thus, he was struck by a great psychological shock that caused him behave subconsciously.

An evidence of this conclusion is the fact that he killed the daughter of the killer. Had he been in a normal state, he would never have killed her knowing that doing so is a great sin. Taking this psychological state into consideration,

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`Uthmân pardoned him, which was a great decision. In fact, this is a judicial principle applicable in many countries. For example, the English law, as well as the Sudanese law, considers provocation a nullifier of *Qisâs*.

Furthermore, law in most constitutions allows a ruler to pardon an offender either absolutely or replacing the death penalty with imprisonment without a strong suspicion. In fact, the case at hand represents a very strong suspicion.

However, `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib's insistence on killing him during his Caliphate is not the proper conduct as it is an issue that had been already decided by his predecessors, a decision that was agreed upon by prominent Muslims. In fact, such practices have the effect of making masses distrust the decisions and honesty of those in authority.

Politically speaking, `Alî deprived himself of the support of such a great hero as Ibn `Umar and his clan *Banû `Adiyy* who became against him.⁽¹⁾

► Islamic Conquests During the Reign of `Uthmân

The Islamic Conquests that took place during the reign of the two Caliphs Abû Bakr and `Umar were shocking for the Persians. They never imagined that the Bedouins of the desert would conquer their countries.

However, they unwillingly accepted the actual fact and pretended to subject themselves to the sovereignty of Muslims until they have the opportunity to retain their countries and revive their glory. They thought the time is opportune for doing so during the reign of `Uthmân. Thus, many of them rebelled against the Islamic rule and stopped to pay their due tax payments that they agreed upon with the Muslims. Therefore, `Uthmân decided to oppress their rebellion and have them conform again. He did not only do this, but also conquered new countries. Islamic Conquests went on very actively till the time of *Fitnah* (turmoil) during which the Caliph was killed.

I will not deal with these Conquests in detail. I will just give the reader an overview about them to know how active the Muslims were, and what level of glory did they reach.

(1) See the subject in full in "*Al-Kâmil Fi At-Târikh*" by Ibnul-Athîr [3: 39]; "*Târikh Al-Fath Al-Islâmi*" by Fakhrud-Dîn (P. 26); and "*Asr Al-Khulafâ' Ar-Râshidîn*" by Dr. Mahmûd Fayyâd (pp. 254-255).

Below we will divide the Conquests in accordance with the countries conquered:

Al-Basrah (Basra)

The first Conquest was the one led by `Abdullâh Ibn `Âmir, the governor of *Al-Basrah* following Abû Mûsâ Al-Ash`arî. He led his army to the neighboring Persia and managed to subdue it. He launched a series of other campaigns towards the East and the North, which were all successful. Actually, he managed to invade *Naysâbûr* (Nishapur), *Sarakhs* and *Marw* (Merv) in *Khurâsân*. He then fought another great battle near *Khwârazm* (River Amu Darya), in which he destroyed the Persian army achieving a great victory. This victory motivated him to penetrate deeper into Turkistan until he reached the city of *Balkh* and subjected it under the Islamic rule. Moreover, he continued his fighting for a complete year until he managed to dominate the eastern section of the Persian Empire under the Islamic rule once again. While in his way back, he presumptively captured forty thousand prisoners of war. This took place in 31 A.H./652 A.D. During the same year, Ibn `Âmir left the country for *Hajj* (Pilgrimage) and appointed Al-Ahnaf Ibn Qays, Mujâshi` Ibn Mas`ûd and Ar-Rabî` Ibn Ziyâd Al-Hârithî as his viceroys. They managed to reestablish the Islamic authority over the areas where the rebellion took place such as *Kirmân* (Kerman), *Sijistân* and *Tukhâristân*. To summarize, he reestablished Islamic sovereignty as far as Herat, Kabul and *Ghaznah* putting an end to the Persian army. These aforementioned Conquests are called the "Conquests of the People of *Al-Basrah*". In 32 A.H., which is the eighth year of `Uthmân's reign, Muslims got information that some of the followers of Yazdegerd III, the Persian king, disputed with him and chased him causing him to flee to a miller's house in *Marw* (Merv) where he was killed marking the end of the Sasanian empire and the reign of Khosrows forever.

Al-Kûfah (Kufa)

While the armies of *Al-Basrah* were subduing the rebellion on their side, Turkish, *Khazars* and Armenian tribes started to rebel in northern Iraq. Azerbaijan started to rebel and abstained from paying the *Jizyah* (tribute) they pledged to pay. Thereupon, Al-Walîd Ibn `Uqbah, the governor of *Al-Kûfah*, invaded it until they conformed once again and agreed to pay what they used

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to pay during the time of `Umar. Moreover, Habīb Ibn Maslamah Al-Fihri dispatched an army to Armenia that defeated rebels who were gathered there. According to some narrations, the army commander was Salmān Ibn Rabī`ah Al-Bāhilī and that Habīb Ibn Maslamah just led the reinforcing brigade. Either way, the Muslims won the battle and the two countries were subjugated.

During the reign of Sa`id Ibnul-`Ās as the governor of *Al-Kūfah*, succeeding Al-Walīd, Turks and *Khazars* launched an attack to stop the advance of the Muslims. Thus, Sa`id led a huge army including Al-Hasan and Al-Husayn, the four *`Abādilah* (i.e. `Abdullāh Ibn `Abbās, `Abdullāh Ibn `Umar, `Abdullāh Ibn `Amr Ibnul-`Ās, and `Abdullāh Ibnuz-Zubayr) and Hudhayfah Ibnul-Yamān as well as other prominent Companions to oppress the rebellion. However, the army was defeated in face of the huge numbers in a country whose atmosphere was unfamiliar to the Muslims. He then asked the Caliph for reinforcement. Thus, `Uthmān sent aiding brigades from the Levant led by `Abdur-Rahmān Ibn Rabī`ah. Muslims then redeployed their army and faced their enemy in northern Azerbaijan but were also defeated and the commander `Abdur-Rahmān Ibn Rabī`ah was killed. However, such a defeat did not affect the morale of the Muslims negatively, and could not motivate the enemy to move forward to dispel Muslims from their country. In fact, the news about Muslims' victories in other battlefields was of a profound effect on the morale of Muslims and their enemies as well. Conquests in Armenia, Azerbaijan and *Tabaristān* were called the "Conquests of the People of *Al-Kūfah*."

The Levant

After Mu`āwiyah Ibn Abū Sufyān was appointed as the governor of the Levant, he was for a while busy managing internal affairs. Suddenly, he was attacked by a Byzantine army coming from Minor Asia during 26 A.H./647 A.D.

Taken by surprise by the Byzantine army, Mu`āwiyah also had no enough forces to avert the surprising danger because the Levant continued in a peaceful situation for a long period. Therefore, he asked the Caliph for help. An eight-thousand-soldier army went then to reinforce him. Thus, he could give the enemy a crushing defeat. Furthermore, he chased them until he managed to invade the eastern part of Minor Asia. Desiring to connect the

Conquests of the Levant and those of Persia, he headed for Armenia and then to *Tabaristân* south the *Khazars* sea (the Caspian Sea). Thereafter, he headed north until he reached *Tiflîs* (Tbilisi), the coast of the Black Sea and the northern ends of Minor Asia. He fought many battles against the Byzantines during the summers of each year. Actually, he caused much inconvenience to enemies and dispelled them from huge areas. Moreover, most of minor Asia became under his sovereignty. On reaching the coast of the Sea of *Marmarah* (Marmara), he started to attack *Al-Qustantîniyyah* (Constantinople) but it was strongly fortified. This took place towards the end of `Uthmân's reign. Thus, he returned to the Levant. On his way back, he attacked many forts and castles such as *`Ammuriyyah* (Amorium).

Egypt

After Muslims conquered Alexandria, many Romans remained therein. Seeing that Muslims were busy conquering the Maghreb, they seized the opportunity and sent to Heraclius (the Roman Cesar) telling him that the Muslim army became very limited in number, and asked him for aid. He sent them a great navy led by one of his army commander in 25 A.H.

It seems that the Romans planned to attack Alexandria so that other Roman forces in Africa might join them there. They should, after invading Egypt, head north to join their other army that was attacking Muslims from Minor Asia. However, `Amr Ibnul-`Âs managed to spoil their plan. He marched toward them from *Al-Fustât* letting them advance further into the Egyptian lands. Actually, it was a successful plan, since he fought against them a number of battles until they were convinced of Muslims' excellence in land battles. Thus, they fled back to Alexandria, where they were strongly fortified. However, he besieged the city for a long period until he managed to break through it. Then, he killed a good deal of Roman soldiers and appropriated many ships of the navy. Thereafter, he wrecked the wall of Alexandria, in fulfillment of his vow to do so after conquering it, and then came back to Egypt. In fact, this was the last glorious act `Amr did for the Muslim State and was rewarded for doing so by being removed forever from his office as the governor of Egypt. This was also one of the causes of *Fitnah* and revolution staged against `Uthmân.

Africa

`Abdullâh Ibn Sa`d Ibn Abû Sarḥ, a foster brother of `Uthmân, was one of the Islamic army commanders in Egypt and Africa. `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb appointed him as the governor of Upper Egypt as subordinate to `Amr Ibnul-`Âs. He conquered Nubia. After `Uthmân removed `Amr Ibnul-`Âs from his office as the governor of Egypt, `Abdullâh Ibn Abû Sarḥ became the governor and army commander. To prove his worth, he paid special attention to the military field. Thus, he completed the conquest of Tripoli and could dominate Carthage, the most civilized Roman-dominated city in Africa. He further continued Conquests till he reached the coast of the Atlantic Ocean.

`Uthmân was so happy with this conquest that he allocated the one-fifth of the booties that is due to public treasury to `Abdullâh Ibn Sa`d Ibn Abû Sarḥ as a reward. According to some narrations, he did so in fulfillment of a vow. According to some other narrations, he sold the other four fifths to Marwân Ibnul-Hakam in return for five hundred thousand dinars, which is a very trivial sum in case the narration is authentic bearing in mind that there are many narrations to this effect. Anyway, such rumors were among the reasons that triggered *Fitnah*.

Marine campaigns

a) **Conquest of Cyprus and Rhodes:** The idea of launching a marine campaign goes back to the reign of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb. Mu`âwiyah had asked his permission to launch a marine campaign to conquer islands near the coast of the Levant such as Cyprus and Rhodes. Regarding Cyprus, he once sent to `Umar a message telling him that the people of Homs hear the dogs of Cyprus barking and their roosters crowing. Fearing the dangers of the sea for Muslims, however, `Umar refused to give him a permission. When `Uthmân came to power, Mu`âwiyah requested permission once again. `Uthmân granted him permission on condition that going on board should not be compulsory and that only volunteers should undertake the task. Accordingly, Mu`âwiyah hurried to prepare a marine campaign that sailed in 28 A.H. heading for Cyprus. The admiral was Abû Qays Al-Hârithî, who was provided with some ships

by Egypt's governor Ibn Abû Sarḥ. The Muslim army began to move through water and fought against the Byzantines, who were masters of the sea, a number of battles in one of them the Muslim admiral was killed. Muslims dominated Cyprus through a peace treaty stipulating that the people of Cyprus pay seven thousand dinars to Muslims and a similar sum to the Romans without any objection on the part of Muslims. Moreover, the treaty stipulated that Muslims should not prohibit them to contact whomsoever they like, that they should inform the Muslims about any Romans preparations to attack Muslims and that Muslims' way to enemies should pass by them. After the treaty was signed, Muslims marched toward Rhodes and conquered it.

b) Battle of the Masts: The Romans perceived that Muslims are excellent in both land and sea battles. Thus, they sought to put Muslims' newly rising sovereignty over sea to an end. They equipped a 500 or 600-ship navy led by Constantine, the son of Heraclius.

Informed about this, each of Mu`âwiyah, the governor of the Levant, and `Abdullâh Ibn Sa`d, the governor of Egypt, prepared an equipped navy. The two navies gathered with a total number of 200 ships under the leadership of Ibn Abû Sarḥ. The two navies, the Muslim and the Byzantine, fought near Alexandria. The two parties began to throw arrows and after arrows finished rock missiles replaced them. Thereafter, Muslims worked out a plan. They tied their ships to the ships of Romans and started to jump into their ships. Muslims then put them to the sword piercing them with daggers until the blood reached the coast and waves blew dead bodies ashore. Muslims were victorious because they were fighting as if on land and the Romans had to run away and their admiral was injured and fled to Cecilia. Moreover, Muslims appropriated many of their ships. Actually, the battle was called "Battle of Masts" because many masts of ships were gathered in one place.

Results of the battle:

1. The Muslim State became a marine power because of the ships appropriated from the Romans in addition to the ships made by Mu`âwiyah and `Abdullâh Ibn Sa`d. In fact, it became inevitable to protect seaports that used to be

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attacked by Romans from time to time. In spite of the great marine victory, some Muslims desired, out of tribal affiliation, that `Abdullâh Ibn Sa`d be the public admiral. However, refusing this desire made them angry and held grudge and was one of the causes that triggered the *Fitnah* against `Uthmân.

2. Romans failed to achieve their objective behind launching the campaign, which was restoring their glory in the eastern region of the Mediterranean Sea.
3. Destruction of the Roman navy and termination of their marine dominance.
4. Romans became sure that their glory had been brought to an end and that the Muslim armies that defeated them on land could destroy their sovereignty over the sea. They even became sure that they would be defeated even if they flew into the sky.
5. The Roman Sea (the Mediterranean Sea) became subject to the Arabs starting from the Levant, Egypt and Africa fronts and reaching to such nearby islands as Cyprus.
6. The coastal line of the Muslim state became much lengthier than that of the Roman Empire that was until very recently the master of the world.
7. By the end of this battle in addition to preceding battles, sovereignty of Muslims extended from Amu Darya River in Eastern Persia to the Atlantic Ocean toward the western coastal line of Maghreb and from the Indian Ocean in the south to Caucasus, Caspian Sea, and Black sea in the north. Thus, the Muslim sovereignty extended to such a great area as has never been reached by any other power even the Romans during the zenith of their power and glory.

Actually, nothing stood in the way of the advancing Islamic Conquest except the murder of `Uthmân Ibn `Affân. This caused a great turmoil and stopped the Islamic Conquest for a while until Mu`âwiyah Ibn Abû Sufyân headed the Muslim state. After the dispute was settled and his sovereignty was established, he resumed the Conquests once again.⁽¹⁾

(1) For more information on Conquests, refer to "*Futûh Al-Buldân*" by Al-Blâdhurî (pp. 200-210, 223-228, 300-311, 330, 381-386 and 395-398); "*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*" by =

► **Important Civil Achievements and Influence of `Uthmân's Caliphate**

During his Caliphate, `Uthmân made great achievements for Islam and Muslims. Following are some of the most important achievements:

- a) **Maintenance of *Al-Masjid Al-Harâm* (the Sacred Mosque) and expanding the Prophet's Mosque.** In 26 A.H., `Uthmân expanded the Sacred Mosque. In 29 A.H., he also expanded the Prophet's Mosque building it with stones, adding lead to its columns and making its ceiling of teak. He also increased its length to reach 160 cubits and its width to reach 150 cubits. Furthermore, he provided it with six doors as was the case during `Umar's reign.
- b) **Assigning slaves a share of public treasury allowances.** He unprecedentedly assigned slaves a public treasury share. This was done without causing any loss to the shares of masters, which indicates an increase in public treasury resources and `Uthmân's willingness to bring welfare to Muslims.
- c) **Reclaiming barren lands:** `Umar did not allow Muslims to cultivate lands in conquered territories. By doing so, he aimed at making them always in a state of war prepared for fighting. No doubt, farming can corrupt the military spirit because soldiers will relax in such a case. In fact, this was a suitable decision during the period of successive Conquests. However, `Uthmân viewed that Arabs inhabited conquered territories in large numbers. He also found that large areas of barren lands in conquered territories were forsaken by its owners during wars. Disliking the idea that such huge resources of income should be unused, he permitted Arabs to reclaim and farm them.
- d) **Unifying Muslims around a single copy of the Qur`ân:** Actually, this is the most prominent glorious act that marked the reign of `Uthmân Ibn `Affân. This took place because the Companions dispersed in different countries. Actually, they would pronounce some words differently

= Ibnul-Athîr [3: 41-49 and 58-67]; "*Târîkh Al-Fath Al-Islâmî*" by Fakhrud-Dîn (pp. 362-370); "*Al-Futûhât Al-Islâmiyyah Ba`d Mudîyy Al-Futûhât An-Nabawiyyah*" by Zaynî Dahlan (pp. 144-160); "*Ashhar Mashâhîr Al-Islâm Fî Al-Hurûb Was-Siyâsah*" by Dr. Rafiq Al-`Azam [4: 696-726]; and "*Ad-Dawlah Al-Islâmiyyah Wambrâtûriyyat Ar-Rûm*" by Dr. Ibrâhîm Al-`Adawî (pp. 60-65).

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according to their various Arabic dialects. However, there emerged a new generation that did not witness the Prophet (peace be upon him) in addition to recent converts to Islam from among recently conquered territories. The people of each country thought that the mode of recitation of the Companion living among them was the most authentic one and that other modes were unacceptable as Qur'ân. This manifested clearly when the people of the Levant mixed with Iraqis during the invasion of Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The reverend Companion Hudhayfah Ibnul-Yamân used to observe the case ardently. After coming back, he said to Sa`îd Ibnul-`Âs; "In my last journey I have heard about an issue that if neglected will lead to endless dispute among people regarding the Qur'ân." Sa`îd said; "Tell me about it." Hudhayfah said; "When the people of the Levant came to us, some people from Homs claimed while speaking with some people from *Al-Kûfah* that they recite the Qur'ân more properly than them since their recitation is on the authority of Al-Miqdâd Ibnul-Aswad who heard it directly from the Prophet (peace be upon him). In reply to them, the people of *Al-Kûfah* claimed the same since their recitation is on the authority of Ibn Mas`ûd. I also heard some people from Damascus claim that their recitation is even more authentic than both of them and the others give them counter arguments."

On returning to Medina, Hudhayfah entered the Mosque and told the people what he had heard warning them against the dreadful consequences. The Companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and the *Tâbi`ûn* (Followers of the Companions) decided to help him. However, the people of *Al-Kûfah* spoke fanatically in support of Ibn Mas`ûd's recitation, the people of *Al-Basrah* spoke fanatically in support of Abû Mûsâ Al-Ash`arî's recitation and the people of Homs spoke fanatically in support of Al-Miqdâd's recitation and so on. Hudhayfah and some Companions and *Tâbi`ûn* angrily asked them to stop because they are Bedouins and thus misperceive the truth. However, Ibn Mas`ûd attacked Hudhayfah, which angered him and Sa`îd Ibnul-`Âs as well. Then, Hudhayfah went to Caliph `Uthmân in Medina and told him about the issue saying; "I strongly warn you. Save the Nation."

`Uthmân then gathered the Companions and let them hear the issue from Hudhayfah. Actually, they were shocked and strongly perceived the peril. Thus, `Uthmân asked the Mother of the Believers, Hafṣah, to send him the sheets of the Qur`ân collected during the time of Abû Bakr that were with her.

When she sent him the sheets, `Uthmân ordered Zayd Ibn Thâbit, `Abdullâh Ibnuz-Zubayr, Sa`îd Ibnul-`Âṣ and `Abdur-Rahmân Ibnul-Hârith Ibn Hishâm to rewrite the sheets in perfect copies. `Uthmân said to these three scribes; "In case you disagree regarding any word, write it in the dialect of *Quraysh* as the Qur`ân was revealed in their tongue." They did so, and when they had written many copies, `Uthmân Ibn `Affân returned the original sheets to Hafṣah. Thus, people were very happy and highly appreciated the value of this great act. However, the followers of Ibn Mas`ûd in *Al-Kûfah* criticized `Uthmân for doing so saying; "He burnt all the manuscripts of the Qur`ân and kept only one." On this, Ibn Mas`ûd shouted at them; "None of this is correct. I swear by Allah, you are now saying something never said before. So, keep quiet. What happened was in the presence of all of us (Companions). If I undertook the same responsibility he undertakes, I would follow his same way." This glorious act took place in 30 A.H.

By doing so, `Uthmân brought about a strongly-formed unity around one manuscript of the Qur`ân. Otherwise, the dreadful expectations of Hudhayfah would have been materialized, i.e. there would have emerged divergent copies of the Qur`ân as was the case with the Torah and the Gospel. However, Allah saved the Nation in fulfillment of His eternal promise:

{“Indeed, it is We who sent down the message [i.e. the Qur`ân] and indeed, We will be its guardian.”}

[Al-Hijr: 9]

- e) **Arranging meals for the people of Medina during the month of Ramadan** and establishing gisting houses in *Al-Kûfah* and elsewhere.
- f) **Establishing a house for judiciary.** It is well known that `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb appointed judges in all areas assigning a salary for each. However, he is not known to have established a separate building for judiciary;

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rather, litigation used to take place in the residence of the judge or in the mosque. As for the reign of `Uthmân, Ibn `Asâkir reported Abû Sâlih, the freed slave of Al-`Abbâs, as saying; "Al-`Abbâs sent me to `Uthmân to invite him. I found him in the house of judiciary." In case this narration is authentic, `Uthmân was the first to establish a house for litigation in Islam and thus to establish courts in the Muslim state. In fact, we cannot exclude this possibility because `Uthmân was interested in construction, expansion and organization.⁽¹⁾

► *Fitnah*

Fitnah is the term used by historians to refer to the ominous revolution that led to murdering `Uthmân Ibn `Affân. Actually, this murder marked the beginning of turmoil that is as dark as pieces of the pitch-black night. Actually, it caused the Islamic countries to get into a gloomy atmosphere and cause Muslims to fight against each other in addition to other long-term results as to the future of the Muslim world.

To give a historical account of the *Fitnah*, we should first acquaint ourselves with the reasons that paved the way for it, including the development of the Muslim Society, the Caliph's policy toward this development and the emergence of Arabic tribalism.

Towards the end of `Umar's reign, the Muslim Society was completely prepared for the final stage of its life. Since Muslims had defeated the most powerful empires of that time, and since money and booties had started to flow in abundance, they started to pay farewell to nomadic hard life and commence a civilized life of luxury and prosperity. Actually, `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb was never heedless of this phenomenon. Rather, he established his sovereignty that was as covering the society as the heavens above it. Moreover, people were astonished by his accuracy, just distribution of wealth and setting himself as a model for people through enduring with patience leading an austere life. He also prohibited prominent figures of the *Muhâjirûn* and the *Ansâr* to travel to any country unless under his

(1) For more information, see "Ashhar Mashâhîr Al-Islâm Fî Al-Hurûb Was-Siyâsah" by Dr. Rafiq Al-`Azîm [4: 377-740]; and "Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh" by Ibnul-Athîr [3: 44, 51, 55 and 56].

permission and for a limited term. When they complained of this, he said; "I draw analogy between the life of Islam and that of a camel. It started as a newborn then becomes two-year-old, three-year-old, four-year-old, six-year-old then nine-year-old. Having reached such a zenith, you should wait for the decline. I affirm that Islam has reached this stage. In fact, the people of *Quraysh* want to solely benefit from the money of Allah to the exclusion of other people. I affirm that this will never happen so long as Ibnul-Khattâb is alive. I am prohibiting them to pass the *Harrah* (borders of Medina) because I am trying to save them from Hellfire." Although `Umar knew surely that this policy was conflicting with the psychology of the society. No doubt, he felt the difficulty which people find because of his policy and which he himself felt while leading them.

Ash-Sha`bî Said; "Before `Umar dies, the people of *Quraysh* had been fed up with him. He had confined them to Medina stating that their spread in countries was what he fears most for the Nation. A man from among those confined to Medina - a decision that had not been applied to the people of Mecca - would come to him seeking permission to take part in *Jihâd*. `Umar would then say; "Enough for you your *Jihâd* with the Prophet (peace be upon him). Now, what is better for you than *Jihâd* is that you neither see the world nor the world sees you."

`Uthmân came to power while being seventy years old and was lenient and easily-approached. Moreover, he grew up in a family leading a luxurious and affluent life since very young. Thus, he could not give up the high-class clothes, food and riding animals he used to have. Viewing him as lenient, they followed his example of leading a luxurious life. Therefore, combated desires started to rush seeking freedom and affluence. Since he gave them way, they loved him more than `Umar and felt happy with his Caliphate since he did not apply to them such a strict policy as was applied by his predecessor. Furthermore, he permitted the people of *Quraysh* to travel through countries. Thus, they saw the world and the world saw them. He also allowed them to replace their property in Hejaz with property in the countries they moved to. Ibn Jarîr At-Tabarî said; "Only after one year of `Uthmân's reign the people of *Quraysh* had much wealth in different countries and people started to dedicate themselves for them."

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Some historians report that they became very wealthy millionaires. For example, `Abdur-Rahmân Ibn `Awf is reported as having left behind such great amounts of gold that people cut with axes. The share of each of his wives, that is a portion of one-eighth of his real-estate, was eighty thousand dinars. Similar to him were Talhah, Az-Zubayr Ibnul-`Awwâm, Hakîm Ibn Hizâm, who was Az-Zubayr's cousin and Khadijah's nephew, Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs, Zayd Ibn Thâbit, Khabbâb Ibnul-Aratt, Al-Miqdâd Ibnul-Aswad and others.⁽¹⁾

Those prominent *Muhâjirûn* and *Ansâr* moved to territories far from Hejaz and established for themselves a religious aristocracy, whose cover is money and whose main body is early embracement of Islam and companionship of the Prophet (peace be upon him).

In the light of the wealth they owned - as described by some historical resources, were it exaggerated or not, we can imagine the number of people who used to surround these wealthy figures of high religious authority. No doubt, people would rally around them admiring their morals and good merits and be charmed with their narrative of their glorious days and of how they supported the Prophet (peace be upon him) against his polytheist enemies. They were also charmed with the gifts and offerings poured by those wealthy figures. They became so charmed that each group of them wished that the Companion among them be the Caliph so that they might be privileged and held in a high esteem. In fact, this was the first weakness to leak into Islam and the first *Fitnah* to affect masses.

This notion is strongly supported by the fact that delegations that came to Medina to oust `Uthmân from all over the Muslim world disagreed on whom should be the successor. The people of *Al-Basrah* supported Talhah, while the people of *Al-Kûfah* supported Az-Zubayr.⁽²⁾ In fact, we should not exclude the possibility that some of those prominent *Quraysh* figures aspired for assuming Caliphate since they were candidates and there was no previous rule defining

(1) For detailed information about the wealth of each of them, refer to "*Murûj Adh-Dhahab*" by Al-Mas`ûdî [1: 434]; and "*Târikh Al-Islâm As-Siyâsi*" by Dr. Hasan Ibrâhîm [1: 343-345]

(2) Talhah had great property in *Al-Basrah* and its people wanted him to be the Caliph. The same applies to Az-Zubayr in *Al-Kûfah*. Both of them were uncrowned kings in their cities.

the manner of succession to Caliphate. However, it is worth mentioning here that the Companions of the prophet, who suckled the milk of piety and were raised according to Divine Teachings while living in the shade of the blessed Prophetic teachings, were men of high manners and were perfectly religious despite the worldly benefits they got. They did not live for worldly gains nor self-desires and whims. That is why Allah gave them victory. As to the turmoil, it should be understood as Divine Test as Allah, the Almighty, says:

{“Verily We created man out of a drop of intermingled sperm so that We might test him.”}

[Al-Insân: 2]

In addition to such a group of Companions, there were other poor people who envied them and tended desperately to rebel. Actually, such people were the fuel of revolutions. They could be employed to stage revolutions by another group of people who hold grudge against the high financial and moral position *Quraysh* occupied and wish to put an end to their sovereignty and authority. Therefore, tribalism started to reach its zenith although `Umar had tried to oppress it through all possible means. Moreover, grudge was not confined only to these two groups; rather, people belonging to nations conquered by Muslims had many internal motives and undeclared objectives causing them to pretend to convert to Islam. The murder of `Umar is a clear indication of this case. Later, we will deal with Ibn Saba' and others.

Likewise, capturing, enslaving and mixing with non-Arabs had a profound impact on preparing the Community for the *Fitnah* and putting an end to the ideal era to move to another era. `Uthmân felt this shift when he said addressing the masses; “No doubt, people of this Nation are expected to produce innovations in religion after you fully reach three stages: abundance of worldly means, having sons from your bondmaids and when Bedouins and non-Arabs recite the Qur’ân.”

Although he had such a feeling, he did nothing to avert such perils and was overwhelmed by his lenient nature at a time when strictness and sharpness were mostly needed.

Undoubtedly, using leniency where sword is needed is as harmful as using the sword when leniency is needed.

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In his book “*An-Nazariyyât As-Siyâsiyyah Al-Islâmiyyah*”, Dr. Diyâ’ud-Dîn Ar-Rayyis summarized the issue as follows; “Towards the middle of the reign of the third Caliph, elements forming the Muslim Society changed. A generation began to disappear from the scene of events gradually and it was replaced with another generation that was not as having deep-rooted faith and sound understanding of the essence of ‘*Aqîdah*’ (creed) as the first generation. They did not have the same willingness to conform with public law. Moreover, environment has changed and luxurious life has begun to glitter causing circumstances to change. Furthermore, tribalism, chauvinism of the *Jâhiliyyah* (the pre-Islamic period) and individual desires began to revive. Actually, these new changes and shifts were the results of the Conquests.”⁽¹⁾

Therefore, the inevitable conflict had to take place. Obstacles began to emerge, problems began to appear on the scene and crises rose in succession. In fact, all this could have been avoided or at least some of its results could have been mitigated if the same style of wise, excellent and powerful leadership, followed by the two great Caliphs Abû Bakr and ‘Umar that was pleasing to all the Muslim world, was followed. Actually, such a leadership style was capable of confronting such a situation and introducing the solutions as may settle disputes and block the means leading to *Fitnah*, but ‘Uthmân was not of that type of strict politicians.

Anyway, the unfortunate conjunction of circumstances led him to this position at such an awkward time. Historically speaking, such eras are called transitional eras during which change causes profound effects and events can draft anything in its way. The political mistakes done out of good intention caused the state of unrest to be worse and caused its flow to be stronger. Besides, no attempt was made to stop it or change its direction. Thus, events ended up with such a sorrowful conclusion, i.e. the Caliph was besieged in his home and then murdered while reciting the Qur’ân.⁽²⁾

(1) “*An-Nazariyyât As-Siyâsiyyah Al-Islâmiyyah*”, Dr. Diyâ’ud-Dîn Ar-Rayyis [pp. 36-38].

(2) Our resources on the topic are “*Murûj Adh-Dhahab*” by Al-Mas’ûdî (Vol. I); “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr (V. III); “*Muhâdarât Fî Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*” by Sheikh Al-Khudarî [2: 47-48]; “*An-Nazariyyât As-Siyâsiyyah Al-Islâmiyyah*”, by Dr. Diyâ’ud-Dîn Ar-Rayyis (pp. 36-38); “*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ*” by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn [1: 79-88]; “*‘Uthmân Ibn ‘Affân*” by Sâdiq Ibrâhîm ‘Arjûn (pp. 79-84); and “*Târikh Al-Islâm As-Siyâsi*” by Dr. Hasan Ibrâhîm [1: 340-346].

In brief, I have acquainted you with the extent to which public developments reached and that they became beyond the capacity of `Uthmân. Overcome by his lenient nature, `Uthmân dealt very tolerantly with the people without showing necessary strictness. It is worth mentioning here that his relatives exploited his kindness towards them, his shyness with them and with the people. They made many things in his name of which he was totally innocent and thus opened the door for criticism and fabrication and caused him to be attacked. In fact, this triggered the rebel and riot spirit in different countries.

Following is a brief of the dominating status of countries under his reign so that the reader might be acquainted with the status of each country:

The status in *Al-Kûfah*

At the beginning of his Caliphate, `Uthmân appointed Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs as the governor of *Al-Kûfah* to succeed Al-Mughîrah Ibn Shu`bah Ath-Thaqafi. This was in fulfillment of `Umar's recommendation in his speech relating to consultation, when he said; "If you choose Sa`d (to succeed me), he is worthy of it. Otherwise, my successor should seek his help." `Uthmân also appointed `Abdullâh Ibn Mas`ûd as the *Kharâj* (taxes and revenues) collector. However, Sa`d remained in *Al-Kûfah* only for one year and some more months and `Uthmân had to remove him from office.

Historians state that the reason behind the removal was that Sa`d borrowed an amount of *Kharâj* money for a certain term. When payment became due, Ibn Mas`ûd demanded the payment. Since Sa`d at that time was not affluent, he requested Ibn Mas`ûd to put off the debt, but Ibn Mas`ûd rejected. Each of them sought the help of a group of the people of *Al-Kûfah* against the other, Ibn Mas`ûd seeking their help to make Sa`d pay the debt and Sa`d seeking their help to have Ibn Mas`ûd put off the debt. Thus, a conflict took place between the two men leading to a dispute and discord among the Muslims since some people sided with Sa`d while others sided with Ibn Mas`ûd.

Informed about this, the Caliph removed Sa`d from office fearing that the scope of dispute might widen and had Sa`d pay the debt. However, he did not remove Ibn Mas`ûd from his office as the guardian of the public treasury. This event took place in 25 A.H.

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In fact, Dr. Tāhâ Husayn does not accept this event as a reason. Rather, he doubts the authenticity of the narration reporting this dispute between Sa`d and Ibn Mas`ûd. He then says; “I dare say that the truth about the removal of Sa`d is the fact that *Banû Umayyah* and the household of Abû Mu`ayt were in a hurry to assume authority and urged `Uthmân to pave the way for them. Thus, `Uthmân removed Sa`d to appoint a man belonging to the household of Abû Mu`ayt in his place.”

We have already explained the viewpoint of Dr. Tāhâ in the lectures we delivered.⁽¹⁾

After Sa`d was removed from his office as the governor of *Al-Kûfah*, the Caliph sent the new governor, Al-Walîd Ibn `Uqbah. Al-Walîd adopted the policy of giving much care for the poor class. Moreover, he had neither a concierge nor a doorkeeper as was the habit of Caliphs and governors. Although Al-Walîd gained popularity among the masses, he could not gain the satisfaction of the elite, who could only be satisfied through having authority and reaching high posts. Since his first day in *Al-Kûfah*, they began to defame him. `Amr An-Nakha`i, one of the elite of *Nakha`*, said while delivering a sermon in the mosque; “Your brother `Uthmân has indeed wronged us. Is it fair that he removes Sa`d who was lenient and tolerant to appoint in his place Al-Walîd who is foolish, profligate and dissipated?”

In fact, Al-Walîd was also appointed by `Umar as governor and was known to be neither profligate nor dissipated.

Moreover, he applied a strict policy towards the people of *Al-Kûfah*, which caused security stability. Furthermore, he punished corrupting criminals who never abided by rules nor respected the sanctity of religion. It once happened that a group of young men from *Al-Kûfah* bored through the wall of certain man's house and killed him. Put into trial, they were sentenced to death penalty after they were proven guilty and were killed under the commandment of the Caliph. Therefore, their fathers held grudge against Al-Walîd and started to seek for his mistakes and make plans to entrap him. Al-Walîd had close friends who used to spend the night with him including

(1) Refer to his book “*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ*” by Dr. Tāhâ Husayn [1: 90-94].

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a poet called Abû Zubayd At-Tâ'i, who was a Christian that converted to Islam thanks to Al-Walîd. However, Abû Zubayd was known to be a drunkard. Therefore, a man came to those people who hold grudge and said; "Did you know that Al-Walîd drinks wine with Abû Zubayd?" So, they spread this rumor among the people saying that he frequently drinks wine with Abû Zubayd. Thus, they managed to enrage prominent *Muhâjirûn* living in *Al-Kûfah* against Al-Walîd.

In addition, they traveled to the abode of Caliphate (Medina) to complain against him testifying that he was a drunkard. Thus, the Caliph called for Al-Walîd to be trialed. Al-Walîd swore that he is innocent and that those witnesses were no more than his opponents who were holding grudge against him because of his judgment. `Uthmân said; "We only judge in accordance with the evidence we have. So, the *Hadd* (prescribed penalty) will be applied and let false witnesses be admitted to Hellfire. So, keep patient brother." Thus, the *Hadd* of drinking wine was applied to him. Moreover, `Uthmân granted them what they requested and removed him from office.⁽¹⁾ This took place in 30 A.H.

Thus, we can see that the Caliph adopted the right stance because he dealt with the issue from its *shar`i* (legal) perspective accepting the testimony of witnesses. He did not accept Al-Walîd's challenge to the authenticity of the witnesses' testimony based on the fact that they held grudge against him because he inflicted the death punishment on their sons. Perhaps `Uthmân thought that it was the proper political practice to punish Al-Walîd so as to please an enraged group of people. However, this was a farfetched goal. Actually, those who try to trigger riot can be combated and repressed through oppression as leniency only encourages them to continue.

However, Al-Walîd was removed and Sa`îd Ibnul-`Âs was appointed in his place.⁽²⁾ He headed for *Al-Kûfah* along with a group of people including

(1) "The History of Al-Tabari", translated by R. Stephen Humphreys [15: 45-62]; "`Uthmân Ibn `Affân" by Sâdiq Ibrâhîm `Arjûn (pp. 108-116); and "Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ" by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn [1: 95-100].

(2) Sa`îd was a moderate good-mannered man. He did well during the conquest of the Levant. `Uthmân used to care for him before coming to power. While exploring the affairs of *Quraysh*, Ibnul-Khattâb asked about him and they told him that he was at Mu`âwiyah's =

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those who sought to remove Al-Walîd. On entering it, he ascended the pulpit of its mosque and delivered a sermon commencing it with the praise of Allah. He then said; "I was unwillingly appointed as your governor. But, having been given an order, I found no way to evade carrying it out. Actually, *Fitnah* has raised its nose and eyes (to emerge). By Allah, I will strike its face until I suppress it or it defeats me. Today I am the guide of myself." He then descended.

He then began to acquaint himself with the affairs of the people until he knew a lot about them. Then he sent a precise report to the Caliph, in which he said; "The people of *Al-Kûfah* live in disorder. Honorable people who have noble lineage and who were forerunners from among them are not held in due esteem. Dominating now are newcomers and non-native Bedouins. In fact, noble native people who did much for Islam are completely disregarded." Thus, the Caliph sent to him a message asking him to give preference for forerunners who did much for Islam over others unless the newcomers excel forerunners in following the truth. However, neither of them should be deprived of their rights and due esteem.

Thus, Sa`îd sent to the forerunners of *Al-Kûfah* who took part in glorious days asking them, as being the elite, to inform him of people's needs. Moreover, he drew near to him the elite, the reciters of the Qur`ân and people of honor to be in his company. Thus, *Al-Kûfah* began to burn like a dry wood touched by fire, because the people who entrapped Al-Walîd and caused Sa`îd to come to power expected to be given preference and privileges. Feeling disappointed, they began to do what they did before and became more opponent to Sa`îd than they were to his predecessor Al-Walîd. As a result, they defamed him and spread rumors against `Uthmân and his governors. Enduring this with patience, Sa`îd was blamed by some wise and farsighted men from *Al-Kûfah*. So, he along with them sent a message to the Caliph asking him to exile those

= house and that he was sick and about to die. So, he sent to Mu`âwiyah asking him to bring Sa`îd to him kindly and carefully. Once the boy returned to Medina, he regained power and health. `Umar welcomed him warmly and dealt with him kindly. He also had him married and put him in a position equal to his peers and young men. However, he was an Umayyad *Quraishite*. He was close to `Uthmân and was undoubtedly truthful. See: "*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ*" by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn [1: 101].

people from *Al-Kûfah*. Thus, the Caliph ordered them to be exiled to the Levant to be under the observation of Mu`âwiyah Ibn Abû Sufyân.

Since evil was deeply rooted into their souls, Mu`âwiyah felt unable to discipline them and feared that their evil might spread to his own subjects. Therefore, he asked the Caliph to move them to `Abdur-Rahmân Ibn Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd the governor of *Hims* (Homs). When they reached him, he said to them; "I am the son of Khâlid Ibnul-Walîd who eliminated apostasy. Indeed, those who are not reformed through leniency will be reformed through violence." Thus, he began to deal with them very harshly and inflicted the strictest punishment on them. He used to have them walk beside him while he was riding and would reprimand and admonish them all the time. Unable to endure, they pretended to conform, declared repentance and asked forgiveness for their faults. However, he forgave them and sent one of them, Al-Ashtar, to inform `Uthmân of their repentance, which he accepted. `Uthmân then ordered that they be returned to *Al-Kûfah* but they opted for remaining in Arabia. However, their stay there did not continue for so long. That is, when Sai`d came to the Caliph to give him a report of the affairs of the people of *Al-Kûfah*, those exiled people decided to seize the opportunity. They were determined to prevent Sa`id from coming back to *Al-Kûfah* and sent to their companions to join them. They went hurriedly to *Al-Kûfah* and swore that Sa`id will never reenter it so long as they carry their swords. Then, they unanimously decided to go to `Uthmân to tell him to remove Ibnul-`Âs from his office as their governor.

While in their way to Medina, they came across Sa`id while going back to resume his work. They told him their decision, drove him back and killed his servant. In fact, Sa`id told them that it was enough to send a man to him and another to `Uthmân in order to settle the issue. He then went back to `Uthmân and told him that they want to replace him with Abû Mûsâ Al-Ash`arî whom they love. This took place in 34 A.H. In an attempt to preserve the dignity of the central government and sub-governors, the Caliph did nothing but issuing a decree to the effect of removing Sa`id from office and replacing him with Al-Ash`arî in fulfillment of the desire of malicious people. In fact, the Caliph should have launched a disciplinary campaign against *Al-Kûfah* as was planned by `Umar before he was assassinated. Moreover, the

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message sent by the Caliph gave more courage to the corrupters. He said; “I have appointed as governor the one you have chosen. By Allah, I will forgive your insults against me and will endure your averseness with patience. So, ask me for whatever you like and ask me to avert you against whatever you dislike. I will surely opt for what you like.” This way, they belittled the position of the Caliph and its governors.

The status in *Al-Basrah*

The affairs of *Al-Basrah* were not better than those of *Al-Kûfah*. In 29 A.H, the people of *Al-Basrah* were enraged against Abû Mûsâ Al-Ash`arî and asked the Caliph to oust him. The Caliph ousted him and appointed `Abdullâh Ibn `Âmir in his place. `Abdullâh was a strict, powerful and determined leader. He busied himself and the people of *Al-Basrah* with Conquests. So, he eliminated the rebellion in Persia, Kerman, *Sijistân* and *Khurâsân*. To thank Allah for the great conquest, he decided to perform *Hajj* (Pilgrimage) or `Umrah (Lesser Pilgrimage) to the *Ka`bah* entering the state of *Ihrâm* (ritual consecration) from his own place.

His system of rule was characterized by seriousness, generosity and strictness. Therefore, he did not face the same problems as those faced by Al-Walîd and Sa`îd in *Al-Kûfah*. His authority extended from *Al-Basrah* to include also *Al-Bahrayn*, which witnessed the activity of a very dangerous thief called *Hukaym* Ibn Jabalah. This thief caused much inconvenience to the people. Therefore, *Dhimmis* (protected non-Muslims living under Islamic rule) and Muslims complained to the Caliph about the evils of the thief *Hukaym*. The Caliph then sent a message to Ibn `Âmir in *Al-Basrah* asking him to confine the thief and those like him to *Al-Basrah*. Thus, he was confined to *Al-Basrah* and could not go out of its borders. Thereafter, `Abdullâh Ibn Saba', who is called by some Arab historians as Ibnus-Sawdâ', came and resided with him. Some people began to gather around Ibnus-Sawdâ' and follow him. He presented some problematic legal and theological issues to them without explaining them in detail, and so they believed him. Feeling his conspiracies and malicious teachings, Ibn `Âmir expelled him to *Al-Kûfah*. Actually, he should have been imprisoned so that his evil teachings become ineffective. However, he was left free and thus spread his corrupt ideas through countries.

Some sources state that during the reign of Ibn `Âmir a man came to him to complain that `Âmir Ibn `Abdul-Qays was contradicting the beliefs of the Muslims regarding things made lawful by Allah. Ibn `Âmir then informed `Uthmân, who ordered that the man be sent to Mu`âwiyah. However, Mu`âwiyah came to realize that the claim against the man was untrue and that the man was a devoted worshipper.

The status in the Levant

Mu`âwiyah was the most lucky governor in all respects during the reign of `Uthmân. He ruled the Levant for as long as the whole Caliphate of `Umar. He loved the people of the Levant and they also loved him. Actually, he adopted towards them a very wise system of rule, which he summarizes in his statement; "If the ties between me and the people are as thin as a hairbreadth, it will be never cut." Therefore, he led them in the aforementioned Conquests and also launched successful marine campaigns. Thus, the Levant remained safe against the followers of whims and corrupters. An exception to this is an event that took place immediately after Ibn Saba' moved to the Levant. Historians tell us that Ibnus-Sawdâ' came to the ascetic Companion Abû Dharr Al-Ghifârî and said to him; "Do not you feel astonished at Mu`âwiyah's saying 'Public property belongs to Allah?! We know that all things belong to Allah, but it seems that he wants to seize it (for himself) to the exclusion of the Muslims and to efface the Muslims' name from it.'" Thus, Abû Dharr came to Mu`âwiyah and asked him; "Why do you call public property of the Muslims 'the property of Allah.'" Mu`âwiyah said; "May Allah have mercy upon you Abû Dharr! Are we not servants of Allah? (Do not) properties, creatures and decree belong all to him?" Abû Dharr replied; "However, you should not call it so." Mu`âwiyah said; "I do not say that it does not belong to Allah; however, I will say the property of the Muslims." Ibnus-Sawdâ' once went to Abû Ad-Dardâ' but the latter said to him; "Who are you? I doubt that you are a Jew." He also went to the prominent Companion `Ubâdah Ibnus-Sâmit but he also caught him and took him to Mu`âwiyah where he said; "By Allah, this is the one who moved Abû Dharr against you." Therefore, Mu`âwiyah ordered him to be expelled from the Levant. In fact, Mu`âwiyah should not have let him go so easily like that so that he might not entrap other people into his snare. However, after Abû Dharr's

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situation with Mu`âwiyah, who showed kindness towards him, the former went on propagating the same attitude. He addressed the rich saying; "O rich people! Be beneficent to the poor. I warn those who hoard gold and silver and do not spend it in the way of Allah against irons that will be heated in the fire of Hell and seared therewith will be their foreheads, their flanks, and their backs." Actually, such propagation gained a great ground among the poor and was charmed therewith. So, they obliged the rich to help them and dealt badly with them. Upon this, the rich began to complain about what happened to them. Thus, Mu`âwiyah sent a message to the Caliph informing him of Abû Dharr's affairs. The Caliph replied that Abû Dharr should be honorably prepared and sent to Medina. On reaching Medina, he found people's gatherings reaching up to Mount *Sal`*. He then said; "I warn the people of Medina against a near violent raid and a fierce war." On entering `Uthmân's council, the latter said; "O Abû Dharr! Why do the people of the Levant complain of your sharp criticism?" He told him that money should not be attributed to Allah in a way that might not be a pretense for rulers to have exclusive ownership of it. He also told him that the rich should not hoard property. `Uthmân said; "O Abû Dharr! I have to pay only what is due on me and take from people only what is due on them. I cannot oblige them to be ascetics. I can only call them to do their best and be moderate." Abû Dharr then said; "So, give me permission to go out, because Medina cannot be an abode to me." `Uthmân said; "Do not you think that any other alternative will be more evil?" Abû Dharr replied; "The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) told me to leave Medina when construction reaches Mount *Sal`*." `Uthmân said; "So, do what the Prophet (peace be upon him) ordered you to do." Thus, Abû Dharr along with Râfi` Ibn Khadij left for *Ar-Rabadhah*, a suburban of Medina and the Caliph assigned them a regular payment. In fact, Abû Dharr remained in this place until he died in 32 A.H.

In another narration, however, Abû Dharr refused to give up his ideas seen as dangerous by `Uthmân. Thus, the latter ordered him not to attend public gatherings or otherwise he should leave for *Ar-Rabadhah*.

However, I tend to give more weight to the first narration because its narrators are trustworthy on the one hand and taking into account the nature of

`Uthmân and his kind dealing with people particularly the Companions on the other hand. We also believe that `Uthmân would have never allowed Abû Dharr to leave Medina unless having been obliged to do so in fulfillment of the Prophet's command. More credit is given to this narration through the message `Uthmân sent to him that reads; "Visit Medina frequently or you will turn into a Bedouin."

Either way, corrupters used this event against the Caliph considering it one of the criticisms against `Uthmân. In fact, the event was so exaggeratingly depicted that it was turned into a tragedy. Moreover, fantasy stories were woven around the event trying to defame and degrade `Uthmân. In fact, Allah knows the truth and acquits of false claims.

Abû Dharr and socialism

Before closing this subject, we should first answer the following questions: In his socialistic ideas, was Abû Dharr influenced by Ibn Saba' or others? What is the type of his socialism? Did it suit the era in which he lived?

Following are the answers to these questions:

1. Abû Dharr was not in need of a recent convert to Islam in order to teach him socialism. In fact, it is one of the primary concepts of Islam that can never be unknown to a man belonging to the first generation of Islam. Moreover, he kept the company of the Prophet (peace be upon him) until the Prophet's death, memorized the Qur'ân by heart and reported *hadiths* in the best manner. Furthermore, he was an ascetic and a devoted worshipper of Allah. So, why should not he adopt this idea independently uninfluenced by anybody? We can see how he sought support for his views in Quranic Verses and in the spirit of Islam. It is well known that Companions practiced *Ijtihâd* (legal reasoning and discretion) frequently and reached conclusions that formed a source of Islamic legislation without any external influence. To do so, they depended solely on the Qur'ân and the *Sunnah*.

Actually, those who claim that Abû Dharr derived his ideas from his meeting with Ibn Saba' are certainly doing injustice to themselves and to Abû Dharr. Moreover, they put Ibnus-Sawdâ' to a so high position that he never aspired to.

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Stranger than being influenced by Ibn Saba' is the view held by Ahmad Amîn in his book "*Fajr Al-Islâm*".⁽¹⁾ He viewed that Abû Dharr derived his ideas from the Persians who adhere to the ideas of Mazdak. In fact, there is no single evidence that he had any connections with the Persians or that he even knew their language. Perhaps he never heard of Mazdak. Thus, Abû Dharr was affected by no external influence. Rather, his ideas were motivated by his sympathy for the poor and his perception of a Quranic Verse, the perception that was instigated by a truthful belief and a deep-rooted faith. Furthermore, his propagation was based on faithfulness and certitude.

2. His socialistic ideas were derived from the very essence of Islam, and were based on his personal *Ijtihâd* and perception of the spirit of Islam. They also echoed the actualities of the Muslim Society after Conquests. In fact, his asceticism/socialism was about sympathizing with and benefiting the poor. Thus, it is the kind of socialism that does not encourage a workless or lazy person to be lazier and does not kill the spirit of competition and seriousness in work in both individuals and societies.

As to him, socialism meant willingness to spend one's money in the cause of Allah, for which there is a variety of ways. It includes reinforcing country's defense abilities, constructing hospitals to cure sick people, establishing and maintaining educational institutions, helping the weak and feeding those who are hungry. It also includes helping workless people through establishing factories so that they might not be dependent on the government. In brief, Abû Dharr's socialism does not like to let alone those who fall into sound sleep having their wealth hoarded in banks and safes while their Muslim brothers suffer misery and poverty.

3. In fact, Abû Dharr's efforts were in vain since he aspired to something that is beyond the capacity of human nature. The kind of socialism he propagated was irrelevant to the spirit of that era. In fact, the Muslims were punctual in paying *Zakâh*, and would even give in charity frequently and construct mosques. Actually, this was a sort of organized socialism. As for giving the poor at random, more than what is due and heedlessly, it is a very farfetched goal.

(1) "*Fajr Al-Islâm*" by Ahmad Amîn (pp. 116 and 127).

Of course, a ruler has the right to take as much property from the rich as he deems a public interest in case they dispassionately refuse to pay the due *Zakâh*.⁽¹⁾

The status in Egypt

So far, we came to know that `Amr Ibnul-`Âs was removed from his office as the governor of Egypt to be replaced by Ibn Sa`d, who were a less capable politician and manager of affairs. After having been expelled from *Al-Kûfah* and the Levant, `Abdullâh Ibn Saba' settled in Egypt where he found a safe refuge and a fertile soil for his malicious ideas. Thus, he settled in Egypt making it a center for his propagation. According to his teachings, Allah had one thousand Prophets each of them had a successor, and `Alî was the successor of Muḥammad. He further stated that Muḥammad is the last Prophet and `Alî is the last successor. Accordingly, those who did not implement the will of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and transgressed the rights of his successor through assuming Caliphate unrightfully were the worst people. He then concluded that `Uthmân was not a rightful Caliph and encouraged his followers to go to the "successor of Allah's Messenger" to instigate him. To do so, he ordered them to pretend to revolt against their governor under the principle of enjoining what is good and prohibiting what is evil. This way, they can attract the masses and then make them adhere to the idea.

Refusing to be thus limited, he spread preachers everywhere and reciprocated messages to those whose minds he had corrupted before. They propagated his mission secretly while pretending to apply the principle of enjoining what is good and prohibiting what is evil. They also sent messages to each other across different countries including the disadvantages of governors. Actually, they forged so many facts. It should be taken into account here that the Egyptians at that time mastered the art of propaganda finding in the history of Ibn Abû Sarḥ a rich material for their propaganda. They further claimed that he practiced discrimination against the Arabs

(1) For more information on the topic of Abû Dharr, refer to "*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ*" by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn [1: 132-134 and 163-165]; "*An-Nazariyyât As-Siyâsiyyah Al-Islâmiyyah*", by Dr. Diyâ'ud-Dîn Ar-Rayyis (pp. 43-44); "*`Uthmân Ibn `Affân*" by Sâdiq Ibrâhîm `Arjûn (pp. 35-39); and "*Mu`âwiyah Fî Al-Mizân*" by Al-`Aqqâd, (pp. 141-142).

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of Egypt. In this regard, they saw no advantage in his Conquests in Africa and Cyprus or in defeating the Roman navy in the Battle of the Masts. In fact, Ibn Sa`d tried to show strictness to the propagators, but the Egyptians complained of him and sent a group of them to complain about what he did with them to the Caliph. So, `Uthmân sent him a message warning him and ordering him to stop doing what people dislike. Paying no heed to the content of the message, however, he punished those who complained of him and tortured one of them until he died. Thus, Egypt was worse than other countries.

Before moving to Medina at the end of this tour, it is important at this stage to give an overview of Ibn Saba' whose name was mentioned frequently above. Who is he, and to what extent was he influential in the revolution?

Ibn Saba'

He was a Yemenite Jew. He was titled "Ibnus-Sawdá" (the son of the black woman) because his mother was a black slave. He embraced Islam during the reign of `Uthmân either outwardly or out of true belief. We have already given a narrative of how he moved to many Islamic countries and propagated the ideas we referred to above. Actually, these ideas, along with some additions, constitute the beliefs that will be held by the *Shi`ah* (Shiites) later.

Because of so many conflicting reports about this figure, many authors tended to doubt his existence altogether. However, the huge number of narrations about him and the narratives given recurrently by trustworthy historians support the fact that he was a true figure and that he had a role in the *Fitnah*. Anyway, historians gave such exaggerated account of his role that they even make him the source of and the sole reason for the *Fitnah*. However, we have already referred to the developments of the Muslim Society and the status quo in different Muslim countries.⁽¹⁾

The status in Medina

We have mentioned above that the Egyptians would send messages to, and receive messages from, each other across different countries concerning

(1) For more information about Ibn Saba', refer to "An-Nazariyyât As-Siyâsiyyah Al-Islâmiyyah", by Dr. Diyâ'ud-Dîn Ar-Rayyis (pp. 41-43); and "Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ" by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn [1: 131-143].

the disadvantages of their governors. It is worth mentioning here that the followers of Ibn Saba' living in a given country would send to the people of other countries informing them of what they do and vice versa. Thus, the false news and black propaganda about each country including Medina spread all over countries.

In fact, the people of each country would say we are not as distressed as people living in other countries. An exception to this was Medina. The bad news about all countries would reach pour there. Feeling pain for the bad news about countries, they came to `Uthmân and asked him whether he received the same news they received about different countries. His reply was to the negative and affirmed that he received only good news asking them to tell him what they heard. They told him that different Muslim countries became sources of worry and fear and that the indicators of *Fitnah* began to emerge.⁽¹⁾

On this, the Caliph asked them for advice. They advised him to send people to different countries to make sure of the news that reached Medina.

Sending messengers to countries

Seeing it as a good idea, `Uthmân sent Muḥammad Ibn Maslamah to *Al-Kûfah*, Usâmah Ibn Zayd to *Al-Basrah*, `Abdullâh Ibn `Umar to the Levant and `Ammâr Ibn Yâsir to Egypt. He also sent other men to other destinations. On their return, they all informed the Caliph that they knew about governors only good news (i.e. they are performing well). An exception to this was `Ammâr Ibn Yâsir. The group rallying people against `Uthmân attracted him to their part. Thus, he remained in Egypt to become, along with Muḥammad Ibn Abû Bakr and Muḥammad Ibn Hudhayfah. They all constituted the most

(1) Our sources on the topic of Islamic countries are: “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [3: 56, 58, and 69-75]; “*Ashhar Mashâhîr Al-Islâm Fî Al-Hurûb Was-Siyâsah*” by Dr. Rafiq Al-`Azam [4: 720-737 and 763]; “*Asr Al-Khulafâ' Ar-Râshidîn*” by Mahmûd Fayyâd (pp. 261-269); “*An-Nazariyyât As-Siyâsiyyah Al-Islâmiyyah*”, by Dr. Diyâ'ud-Dîn Ar-Rayyis (pp. 39-45); “*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ*” by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn [1: 89-127]; “*Târikh Al-Islâm As-Siyâsi*” by Dr. Hasan Ibrâhîm [1: 347-350]; “*Uthmân Ibn `Affân*” by Sâdiq Ibrâhîm `Arjûn (pp. 108-120 and 144-148); “*Muhâdarât Fî Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*” by Sheikh Al-Khudârî [2: 49-57]; and “*Târikh Al-Fath Al-Islâmi*” by Fakhrud-Dîn (pp. 372-377).

opposing and conspiring group against `Uthmân until the story reached its end.⁽¹⁾

► **The Conference of Governors in the *Hajj* Season in 34 A.H.**

Taking into account the spread of rumors, `Uthmân decided to take a further procedure in addition to sending messengers. He sent to his governors in different countries commanding them to come to Medina during the *Hajj* season in 34 A.H. When they arrived, he assembled them and had `Amr Ibnul-`Âs and Al-Mughîrah Ibn Shu`bah attend as councilors. After discussing the issue, they unanimously advised him to deal strictly with those who spread lies to implement their secret purposes. `Uthmân said; "I have listened to your advice. However, each issue should be dealt with through its relevant keys." He then ordered them not to deal violently with people, to perform the duties of Allah, show strictness only as far as Allah's rights are concerned and manage people affairs properly. He then ordered his governors to go back to their countries ordering none of their advices to be enforced.

► **Another Conference of Prominent Muslims in Medina**

After the Conference of Governors was finished, `Uthmân returned to Medina and Mu`âwiyah accompanied him in his way back to the Levant. In Medina, `Uthmân held another conference that was attended by Mu`âwiyah and a group of other prominent Companions including `Alî, Talhah, Az-Zubayr and Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs. In the conference, Mu`âwiyah delivered a speech indicating his boldness and frankness. In the speech, he advised those gathering to care for the aged Caliph and warned them against *Fitnah*

(1) According to some narrations, `Ammâr held grudge against `Uthmân because he once reciprocated insults with `Abbâs Ibn `Utbah Ibn Abû Lahab. Thereafter, `Ammâr attacked the man and rubbed his ears. Thus, `Uthmân punished both of them. There are also other narrations. Regarding the reason behind Muḥammad Ibn Abû Bakr's grudge against `Uthmân, he and `Uthmân held the same position as to Islam. On deciding a dispute between him and another person, his opponent was rightful. Without any favoring, `Uthmân ordered Muḥammad to pay his dues, which enraged Muḥammad. According to other narrations, he was aspiring to be a governor because of the position he had. As for Ibn Hudhayfah, he once asked `Uthmân to appoint him as governor but `Uthmân rejected and said to him; "If you were qualified for it, I would appoint you. But you are not." So, he asked permission to leave and `Uthmân gave him permission equipping him with necessary provisions. Therefore, he became one of the rebels after reaching Egypt. He even showed the greatest enmity.

and conflict. However, his warning included a sense of threatening. This is why `Alî scolded him and a dialogue took place between them that was never void of disaffection. Thereafter, `Uthmân talked for a while in his usual lenient and kind manner. He declared that he was going to enforce the people's advice. They said to him; "You gave so-and-so and so-and-so. Get back what you gave." He promised them to do so and the meeting ended while everyone was satisfied to some extent.

While preparing to head for the Levant, Mu`âwiyah delivered an eloquent speech to the *Muhâjirûn* exhorting them to care for `Uthmân. Actually, he was thinking that the year 35 A.H. would be comfortable and peaceful.

Mu`âwiyah and `Uthmân

After realizing the situation from all its dimensions, Mu`âwiyah suggested, at the last night before leaving for the Levant, that the Caliph should accompany him to the Levant, where he would be completely safe and protected. However, `Uthmân refused to leave the neighborhood of the Prophet (peace be upon him) or to replace the abode of Hegira (the Immigration) with whatsoever country. He said; "I will never sacrifice the neighborhood of the Prophet (peace be upon him) in return for anything even if the result is cutting off my neck." Mu`âwiyah then offered to send a group of the Levant's soldiers to stay in Medina to protect him against any attack. Also, `Uthmân refused saying; "I shall never narrow the scope of subsistence for the neighbors of the Prophet (peace be upon him) by soldiers who will come to live with them. Also, I shall never narrow the abode of the *Muhâjirûn* and the *Ansâr*."

Thus, Mu`âwiyah traveled to the Levant while perceiving the danger threatening the abode of Caliphate.⁽¹⁾

► Rebels and `Uthmân

The rebels' plan was to revolt right after their governors leave countries heading for Medina. However, this step failed and only the people of *Al-Kûfah* rallied on the pretext that they want to replace Sa`îd Ibnul-`Âs with another

(1) For more information about sending the messengers, the two conferences and Mu`âwiyah's speeches, refer to "*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ*" by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn [1: 206-20 and 215-216]; "*Uthmân Ibn `Affân*" by Sâdiq Ibrâhîm `Arjûn (pp. 98-101), "*Muhâdarât Fî Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*" by Sheikh Al-Khudarî [2: 57-58], "*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*" by Ibnul-Athîr [2: 77-80] and "*Mu`âwiyah Fî Al-Mizân*" by Al-`Aqqâd, (pp. 145-147).

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governor. After they set out heading for Medina, they met Sa`id in *Al-Jara`ah* (a high place near *Al-Qâdisiyyah*) and caused him to go back to Medina. They also managed to make the Caliph accept their demand and replace Sa`id as governor with Abû Mûsâ Al-Ash`arî. (We have already narrated this story above.) After the governors came back to their respective countries, rebels sent messages to each other planning that three delegations from the three countries should meet to consider the issue. Under the guise of enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil, they claimed that they just want to ask `Uthmân some questions. After the news spread throughout the three countries, the three delegations came out heading for Medina.

When `Uthmân knew that they became near Medina, he sent two men that were given a disciplinary punishment but endured holding no grudge. When the coming rebels saw them, they did not doubt that the two men were against them and thus told them about their true purpose. They said to the two men; "We want to question him about things we have already inculcated in the minds of people. On coming back to our people, we will tell them that he admitted them but refused to give them up and repent. Thereafter, we will set out pretending that we are going to perform *Hajj* and we will overthrow him or otherwise kill him if he refuses." The two men returned to `Uthmân and told him the plan. However, he laughed and ordered people to assemble to inform them about the plan.

Some councilors advised him to kill them, but `Uthmân said; "No, I will forgive and pardon. I will tell them about my efforts and will never show enmity to anybody unless they commit a *Hadd*-entailing crime or explicitly renounce the faith." He also said; "Those people have some issues about which they know what exactly you know. However, they claim that their purpose is to raise such issues to convince those who do not know of their rightfulness." He then proceeded to advocate himself in front of this delegation and the whole Muslim Community until he declared himself innocent of all the accusations raised against him. In fact, he refuted all the criticisms people raised against him, as we will explain later.

Criticisms people raised against `Uthmân and his refutations

1. `Uthmân said; "They say; 'He has performed the complete prayer while traveling (by performing four *Rak`ahs* instead of two), when formerly this

was not done.' But in fact, I came to a town (Mecca) where my household was residing, and so I performed the complete prayer. Is this true?" They replied; "Yes".

2. `Uthmân continued; "They say; 'He have reserved the pastures for my camels.'⁽¹⁾ I swear by Allah that I never did it. In public pastures, there graze only those animals that are the property of the public treasury. All of you know that when I was entrusted with this office (i.e. Caliphate), I had more camels than anyone in the whole of Arabia but now I have only two camels. Is this right?" They said; "Yes".
3. He added; "They say; 'The Qur`ân was preserved in a number of different written *Mushafs*, and you have burnt them all but one *Mushaf*. Indeed, the Qur`ân is one (Book), and has been revealed by one Lord. In this matter I am only a follower (of the Prophet) and not a committer of *Bid`ah* (innovation in religion). Is this true?" They replied; "Yes."
4. He further said; "They say; 'You have appointed youths as governors.' But I only appointed a man who was capable and commanded broad support. These are inhabitants of his province, so ask them about him. My predecessors appointed younger men than him to office, and people spoke more harshly to the Prophet than they have to me in connection with his appointment of Usâmah. Is this true?" They replied; "Yes."
5. He added; "It is said that I called Al-Hakam Ibn Abû Al-`Âs to Medina who was exiled by the Prophet. Actually, the Prophet (peace be upon him) exiled him from Mecca to *At-Tâ'if*. Then, the Prophet had allowed him to live at Medina. Thus, the Prophet sent him into exile, and (then) the Prophet had him return. Is this true?" They said; "Yes."
6. `Uthmân further argued; "They say; 'He gave the whole booty of North Africa as reward to Ibn Abû Sarh.' It is true that I assigned him one-fifth of the booty equaling one hundred thousands, knowing that Abû Bakr and `Umar did the same. However, when I was informed about

(1) During `Umar's reign, the pastures were reserved for the public treasury camels. Actually, `Uthmân increased its space when the camels increased in number. People thought that `Uthmân did not preserve it for the public treasury camels only but also for his own camels and horses and for the camels of *Banû Umayyah*. Here, he advocated that he reserved it only for the public treasury camels.

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the soldiers' objection to this, I took back the money from the governor although it is not their right to do so. Is this true?" They said; "Yes."

7. `Uthmân continued; "They say; 'He loves his kinsmen and makes gifts to them (from the public treasury). As to my love, it has not urge them to commit injustice; rather, it confined to (heavy) obligations. As to gifts given to them, what I give them is drawn from my own property; I do not regard the wealth of the Muslims as lawful for myself or for anyone else among the people. I used to give large and much coveted gifts from my personal property in the time of the Prophet while I was caring for this life. Now when I have attained the usual life-span of my family, and approached the end of my life, do the heretics (*Mulhids*) say such things? Indeed, by Allah, no one can rightfully say that I have had any garrison town surrender its surplus revenues, for I have returned the surpluses to them. I have received only the one-fifths, from which nothing is lawful to me. The Muslims have taken charge of delivering them for the proper recipients with no involvement from me, and I have never received (even) a Fil of these properties. I used to sustain myself only from my own property."
8. He added; "They say that I have given lands to certain persons. When these lands were conquered, the *Muhâjirûn* and the *Anşâr* shared these men in them. Whoever remained any place within these conquered territories, his family followed his lead. Whoever returned to his family (from the conquered lands), that does not negate this right to these lands that Allah has bestowed on him. So, I determined what should be distributed to them out of these Conquests. Then, at their request, I purchased (property of equivalent value) for them from (other) men who owned land in Arabia. Then I transferred their share [of the conquered territories] to them and it is now in their hands." (This was a reference to the lands he bought from prominent Companions when they wanted to move from Medina to other countries)."

Through this eloquent defense, the Caliph thought he had settled the whole dilemma⁽¹⁾ and touched the conscience of evil comers. However, such

(1) `Uthmân refuted these claims only although there are other criticisms. We have already explained them as well as his point of view on them. These criticisms include: pardoning =

a defense could never affect sick souls and hearts whose light of faith was extinguished by the black propaganda. In fact, the best course of action was to follow the advice of faithful Companions, i.e. to kill them and thus set them as an example for others. He could have also confined them to Medina under a strict watch so that they cannot go back to other countries where they can spread corruption through their malicious rumors against his works. However, his usual kind nature made him take lenient decisions and he let them go back to their countries while filled with heart-burning grudge.

Rebels leave their countries for Medina

When the delegations returned to their countries, rebels sent to each other to the effect that they should leave their countries during the season of *Hajj* in 35 A.H. as if performing *Hajj* or *Umrah*. After that, they should gather in Medina to overthrow the Caliph. At the appointed time, a number of rebels ranging between six hundred and one thousand, including Ibn Saba', left Egypt under the leadership of Al-Ghâfiqî Ibn Harb Al-`Akkî. A similar number of rebels led by `Amr Ibnul-Aṣamm left *Al-Kûfah* and another similar group left *Al-Baṣrah* under the leadership of Harqûs Ibn Zuhayr Al-Sa`dî. However, each group had their own preference. The people of *Al-Baṣrah* wanted to appoint Talhah as Caliph because he was living among them in his extended lands. The people of *Al-Kûfah* wanted Az-Zubayr since his properties were there. As for Egyptians, they wanted `Alî as dictated by the instructions of Ibn Saba' and because `Alî's stepsons Muḥammad Ibn Abû Bakr and Muḥammad Ibn Hudhayfah were living among them. About 120 kilometers away from Medina, rebels camped and agreed to send two scouts ahead to know whether the people of Medina had information of their arrival.

= `Ubaydullâh Ibn `Umar and not inflicting the death punishment on him, exiling Abû Dharr to *Ar-Rabadhah*, appointing Ibn Abû Sarḥ as a chief commander of marine forces in the Battle of Masts, instructing seven houses for himself and his daughter some of which were built using stones and lime, appointing his relatives as governors to the exclusion of prominent *Muhâjirûn* and *Anṣâr* and striking Ibn Mas`ûd so toughly that his rib was broken, in addition to his policy in appointing and deposing governors. Actually, such things enraged people. However, some people used to exaggerate them and they were easily refutable. Refer to the abovementioned resources and others such as: "*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ*" by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn [1: 179-186]; "*Târîkh Al-Fath Al-Islâmî*" by Fakhrud-Dîn (pp. 391-394); "*Inṣâf `Uthmân*" by Muḥammad Aḥmad Gâd Al-Mawlâ (pp. 57-59); and "*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târîkh*" by Ibnul-Athîr [3: 69-74].

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Actually, they had the worry that the people of Medina might be preparing to fight against them. Thus, they sent Ziyâd Ibnul-Nadr Al-Hârithî and `Abdullâh Ibnul-Aṣamm. The two men entered Medina and met the Mothers of the Believers, `Alî and Talhah. However, they told them that they came with the purpose of visiting the *Ka'bah* and asking the Caliph to overthrow some governors. Assuring that this was their sole purpose, the two men asked them to permit the rebels enter Medina. However, they all rejected and showed readiness to protect the abode of Hegira. So, the two men returned to their people to tell them what happened. Afterwards, a group of Egyptians went to `Alî, a group of the people of *Al-Basrah* went to Talhah and a group of the people of *Al-Kûfah* went to Az-Zubayr each offering Caliphate to their respective Companion. However, the prominent Companions showed a strict rejection. So, they went out and pretended to be going back to their countries so that the people of Medina might disperse, which would be a suitable time for a swift return. Feeling that there was no more danger, the people of Medina resumed their ordinary peaceful daily activities.

To their strong surprise, the rebels came all of a sudden shouting *Takbîr* (saying *Allâhu Akbar* "Allah is the Greatest"). They besieged the house of `Uthmân and said; "Whoever remains at home will be safe and whoever does not resist us will be safe."

Feeling terrified, the whole people of Medina did not resist those evil persons and kept at home. An exception to this was `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib who went to them along with a group of his companions. He asked them why they returned. The Egyptians said that they found a message with the mail sent with them to the governor ordering him to kill them. The people of *Al-Basrah* and *Al-Kûfah* said that they came to support their brothers. `Alî then said; "O people of *Al-Basrah* and *Al-Kûfah*! How did you know what happened to the Egyptians while you have traveled for more than 80 kilometers before you come back? I swear by Allah that you worked out this plan here in Medina." They said; "So, understand it the way you like. We no more need that man (`Uthmân). He should retreat. Come with us to him." `Alî said; "By Allah, I will never come with you." They said; "So, why did you send us a message?" He exclaimed; "By Allah I sent you no messages." Then, they gazed at each

other astonishingly. Thereafter, they went to the Caliph with the claimed message and said; “You ordered us to be such-and-such (i.e. killed).” He said; “You have one of two options: either you bring two Muslim witnesses that I did so, or I swear by the One except Whom there is no God that I did neither write nor dictate such a message. You know that a message might be fabricated and the seal might be forged.” They said unprecedentedly tough words to the Caliph; “Whether you are saying the truth or lying, it makes no difference. By Allah, your blood is made violable to us since you breached the covenant and your commitments.” They then accused Marwân Ibnul-Ḥakam, his councilor and chamberlain, to have written the message. Thus, they asked `Uthmân to deliver the man to them but he refused for fear that they might kill him.

In fact, they were trying to make `Uthmân abdicate the Caliph position, a request which he refused saying; “I will never take off a shirt that Allah, Exalted be He, clothed me with.”

Before advancing more with the succession of events, it is proper to investigate the issue of the message so that we might not forget it amidst the crowd of events:

Investigation

Many historians believe that the message had been fabricated and forged. Actually, I adopt the same view for the following evidences:

First: Narrators are not unanimous regarding its content. According to one narration, the message was sent to Ibn Abû Sarḥ ordering him to kill only the Egyptians who came to Medina to the exclusion of the people of *Al-Basrah* and *Al-Kûfah*. Were there an intention of betrayal, the Caliph would have sent messages to the governors of the three countries to get rid of all corrupters. However, the Caliph never had such intention even before the deterioration of events.

According to another narration, the rebels asked `Uthmân to oust Ibn Abû Sarḥ and replace him with Muḥammad Ibn Abû Bakr and he accepted. In their way back, however, they found in the mail a message ordering Ibn Abû Sarḥ to kill Muḥammad Ibn Abû Bakr and those with him. However, there is no evidence to the effect that the Caliph appointed Ibn Abû Bakr.

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Second: If the message is authentic, only the Egyptian group would have come back. However, since the people of *Al-Basrah* and *Al-Kûfah* came back with them after they separated for more than 80 kilometers, it is an indication that this was predetermined plan agreed upon by all of them. If the Egyptians, moreover, wanted to inform their partners of *Al-Basrah* and *Al-Kûfah* about the message, the only possible way for them to meet would be to return to Medina. If they had done so, they would have reached Medina by the time their other two partners had already reached their home countries. Thus, it was impossible for the three delegations to assemble in Medina at the same time unless there was a prior plan. In this regard, `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib refuted their claim and declared that this was planned in Medina and they could not reply to him. We have quoted their response above.

Third: Dr. Tâhâ Husayn, says; “It is neither reasonable nor acceptable that `Uthmân plots such a conspiracy against the Muslims pretending to forgive them while secretly sending to his governor to kill them. It is also neither incredible nor acceptable that Marwân dared to skip the Caliph and send such a message sealing it with the Caliph’s seal, and sending it with the Caliph’s servant and on the Caliph’s camel.”⁽¹⁾

Fourth: The story itself is self-refuting. To clarify, if `Uthmân appointed Ibn Abû Bakr, supposing this was true, as the governor of Egypt and send a group of the *Muhâjirûn* and the *Ansar* bearing the appointment decree, could any man of a sound mind, be he Marwân or anyone else, think of breaching the Caliph’s appointment? Could he order that the man appointed by the Caliph, along with those bearing the message and a group of Muslims, according to the second narration, be killed? If he were to do so, would he send the Caliph’s servant on his camel with a message sealed with the Caliph’s seal (about killing them) and let him travel same way taken by Ibn Abû Bakr?!

Fifth: Regarding the issue of the Caliph’s seal on the message, it could be easily forged, which was `Uthmân’s defense on seeing the message. However, arguing that the message was carried by `Uthmân’s servant and

(1) “*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ*” by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn [1: 209].

that Marwân sent it without seeking the permission of the Caliph is no more than an unsubstantiated claim. When the Caliph asked them to prove it, they could not. The least support they should have provided was to call for the servant to give his testimony about the message. Rather, they should have even arrested the servant and brought him with them. Thus, since there was no message sent by Marwân in the light of the aforementioned proofs, facts are as follows: When the rebels felt that the people of Medina were willing to defend the Caliph and failed to attract prominent Companions to their side, they attempted deception. They pretended to return to their countries, although they were determined to return to Medina under any justification and this was why they fabricated the story of the message. Actually, fabricating messages was a well-known practice at that time. For example, Ma`n Ibn Zâ'idah fabricated a message attributing it to `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb and forged his seal. By this message, Ma`n managed to obtain money from the Public Treasury in *Al-Kûfah*.

Through `Alî's discussion with the rebels, it appears that they fabricated a message in his name. Furthermore, historical sources tell us that they fabricated messages in the name of Talhah, Az-Zubayr and the Mothers of the Believers. So, fabricating messages in the name of `Uthmân was not their first time.⁽¹⁾

Aggression against the Caliph and besieging him in his house

After the story of the fabricated message, the rebels had dominance over Medina. However, the Caliph and his companions used to go to the Mosque to perform Prayer (*Salâh*). On the first Friday Prayer following the rebels dominance over Medina, the Caliph delivered the sermon exhorting the rebels to come back to obedience. However, they made a chaos and roar inside the Mosque instigating riot and disorder. When some of the prominent Companions, such as Zayd Ibn Thâbit, got up to support the Caliph, they forced them to sit down. Moreover, they started to throw stones at the Caliph and his companions until he fainted and the people moved him to his house.

(1) "*Futûh Al-Buldân*" by Al-Blâdhurî (pp. 44 and 48); "*Uthmân Ibn `Affân*" by Sâdiq Ibrâhîm `Arjûn (pp. 126-143); "*Inşâf `Uthmân*" by Muḥammad Aḥmad Gâd Al-Mawlâ (pp. 32-33 and 63-67); "*Târikh Al-Fath Al-Islâmi*" by Fakhrud-Dîn (P. 378); and "*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ*" by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn [1: 209-210].

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Thereafter, `Alî and some of other companions of `Uthmân visited him to discuss with him some mechanisms to oppress the revolution, where promises were given. After that, he used to go to the Mosque to perform Prayer for thirty days, after which he was confined to his house. Moreover, Al-Ghâfiqî, the leader of the Egyptian rebels, dared lead people in Prayer in place of the Caliph. In addition, the people of Medina kept at home. None of them would assemble or go out unless wearing their swords for protection.

During this distress, `Uthmân called for Talḥah and Az-Zubayr to come to him. When they came, the Caliph appeared from above the roof of his house and delivered in their presence a lengthy speech, during which he said; "I supplicated Allah to guide you to choose after me a Caliph that is accepted to all of you." Meanwhile, `Alî, like Muḥammad Ibn Maslamah, got despaired of reaching any solution through frequenting between the rebels and `Uthmân because of Marwân's intervention. In fact, `Alî knew about this intervention and complained many times but it was all in vain. Moreover, `Uthmân's entourage from among the clan of *Banû Umayyah* used to keep a straight face when they met `Alî, because they thought he took part in the conspiracy. Thus, he could not do any successful effort for the interest of the Muslims.

The Siege tightened

`Uthmân had sought help from different countries. Upon knowing the approach of the helping brigades, the rebels tightened their siege on `Uthmân from all sides. They prevented all kinds of aids to pass to the Caliph's house even water in the hope that he might die out of thirst. So, `Uthmân sent secretly to `Alî, Talḥah, Az-Zubayr and the Prophet's wives telling them that he had been prevented from water and asking them to provide him with water if possible. The first to help was `Alî. He came in darkness and said to the rebels; "Neither believers nor disbelievers did what you have done. Do not cut water and food supplies to the man. In fact, even the Persians and the Romans provide their war captives with food and drink." Moreover, Umm Habîbah, the Prophet's wife, in vain tried to convey water to `Uthmân's house and even was offended by the rebels, who were about to kill her. Had not it been for some water that was stealthily brought to him by his neighbors from the household of *Hazm*, he would have died out of thirst.

In fact, `Uthmân once came out to them and gave them a heart-melting exhortation, but they paid him no heed and refused to respond to his call.

By the end of 35 A.H., the Caliph, even while in the hardest distress, did not forget to perform his Caliphate duties relating to the *Hajj* season. He ascended the roof of his house and shouted at `Abdullâh Ibn `Abbâs, who was standing at the door of his house to defend him, and appointed him as the *Hajj* emir. He also handed him a lengthy message that he will read in front of all Muslims telling them about his distress. Thus, Ibn `Abbâs led people during that *Hajj* season and read the message in front of all Muslims but it was too late.

► **`Uthmân's Murder in Dhul-Hajjah 18th, 35 A.H. (May 20th, 656 A.D.)**

The rebels decided to seize the opportunity seeing that Medina was void of its population. They also got the news that the Iraq's aiding brigades were about to reach Medina and that the Levant's aiding brigades were at *Wâdî Al-Qurâ*. They also received information to the effect that pilgrims wanted to attack them after finishing the rituals so as to add higher reward to their *Hajj*. Therefore, they viewed that the only way out was to kill that man so that people might be distracted by the event. They then tried to break into the house but were resisted by Al-*H*asan, Al-*H*usayn and others from the clan of *Banû Umayyah*.⁽¹⁾ Encompassed by dangers, rebels burnt the door and some of them climbed the wall of `Uthmân's house from a neighboring house.

On seeing this, `Uthmân submitted to Divine Destiny and ordered those who want to defend him to leave. A group of them entered upon the Caliph including Muḥammad Ibn Abû Bakr, who attacked `Uthmân trying to kill him. However, he refrained from doing so on seeing him reciting the Qur'ân solemnly. According to some narrations, he took hold of the Caliph's beard but the Caliph said to him; "Let free my beard, O my brother's son! If your

(1) Dr. Tâhâ Husayn views that the house residents began to invoke the rebels when Marwân knew of the arrival of aiding brigades. Then he thought he could fight the rebels and dispel them away from the house until the aids arrive. Actually, he disliked that Mu`âwiyah or Ibn `Âmir would boast of breaking the siege he suffered along with his soldiers. See: "*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ*" by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn [1: 213-214].

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father were to see what you are doing, he would be very angry.” Muḥammad felt shy and withdrew back but Al-Ghâfiqî advanced forward and struck the Caliph with an iron bar that was with him. Sûdân Ibn H_um_rân then came to strike him with the sword but the Caliph’s wife Nâ’ilah Bint Al-Farâfiṣah threw herself on him and averted the sword strike with her hand, which caused her fingers to be cut. Thereafter, multiple sword strikes were given to the aged Caliph, who kept immovably reciting the Qur’ân until he was killed and his blood flowed on the Glorious *Mushaf*. Then, the murderers plundered all the properties in the house.

Unfortunately, the third Caliph of the Prophet (peace be upon him) remained unburied for three days. Taking advantage of his opponents’ inattention at night, people buried him in *Al-Bâqî`* on Dhul-Hajjah 21st, 35 A.H.

So was the end of the reverend martyr. Actually, there are so many narrations describing the murder in such bloodcurdling details as may make the children white-haired.⁽¹⁾

Who is responsible for killing `Uthmân?

Authors usually try to specify who is responsible for killing `Uthmân and holding a certain party responsible for the murder. They tend to unfairly distribute the responsibility among all parties disfavoring a party while favoring another for an individual purpose. Some historians accused `Alî of being unserious enough in supporting `Uthmân. They further accused him of giving up `Uthmân for the rebels. By doing so, they depict `Alî as being the whole Nation, or as if he is the one who decides whether to give `Uthmân longer life or put his life to an end. They also fabricated stories of enmity between him and `Uthmân. Pursuing events, one will find out that `Alî spared no effort. He frequently gave advices but his advices were paid no heed. Finally, he went out, or was ordered to go out to his property in *Ynabu`* but he, however, left his sons at the door of `Uthmân.

When the siege was tightened, the Caliph sent a message to `Alî as reported by Al-Mubarrid in his book *“Al-Kâmil Fî Al-Lughah Wal-Adab”*, where he

(1) *“The History of Al-Ṭabari”*, translated by R. Stephen Humphreys [15: 181-223], *“Al-Bidâyah Wan-Nihâyah”* by Ibn Kathîr; and *“Târîkh Ibn Khaldûn”* by Ibn Khaldûn under the events of year 35 A.H.

said; "The matter has become intolerable and reached the climax." He then reported the following poetic line:

*If I am to be eaten (i.e. killed), then eat (i.e. kill) me in the best way,
otherwise, save me before I am torn apart.*

Thereafter, `Alî proceeded to save him but it was too late (and ever is the command of Allah a destiny decreed).⁽¹⁾

Opposite to those who exaggeratingly held `Alî responsible for the murder of `Uthmân, there is another exaggerating group that held `Uthmân more accountable. They consider his previous policy the major reason behind the *Fitnah*. A third exaggerating group held Ibn Saba' completely responsible for the *Fitnah*.

In fact, revolutions cause a great confusion and cast a great deal of ambiguity on facts. Regarding this revolution at hand, things are more ambiguous because it took place in an era during which there were no magazines, ministry of interior or any record of events. In fact, the Muslims were divided into different sects and parties each of them viewed the event from their own perspective. In such a case, emotions are the urges and desires are the motives.

However, we should spot light on those events so as to be able to issue such a judgment as may be closer to the truth if not the truth itself. Following is a brief of `Uthmân's position:

1. He showed tolerance towards the rebels although he was personally offended. Although this is good for wise people, it is not good as far as managing people affairs is concerned. In fact, the position of the Caliph should have its own veneration and esteem in the hearts of the people. Many people advised `Uthmân to be stricter - regarding the topic on appointing and dismissing governors - and many councilors advised him to use a sort of violence to defend himself.

It seems that his tolerance was because he did not like to be the initiator of *Fitnah*.

(1) For more information on the efforts exerted by `Alî and the Prophet's Companions in this regard, refer to "*Al-Kâmil Fi At-Târikh*" by Ibnul-Athîr [3: 81-83], "*Insâf `Uthmân*" by Muhammad Ahmad Gâd Al-Mawlâ (pp. 74-87); and "*Târikh Al-Fath Al-Islâmî*" by Fakhrud-Dîn (pp. 390-391).

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2. He was determined to keep the post of Caliphate. Actually, rebels frequently asked `Uthmân to abdicate the throne but he refused saying; "I will never take off a shirt that Allah, Exalted be He, clothed me with." Rafiq Al-`Azm views that `Uthmân did not refuse to abdicate the Caliphate out of love of leadership. Rather, this was due to one of the following three reasons:
- a) Weak resolution because of old age.
 - b) He refused to abdicate the Caliphate so as not to prove the accusations rose against him. Since he believed that he had not committed any prohibited act, he saw no justification for abdicating the office. Had he seen a justification, he would not have been obstinate as such.
 - c) He followed the advices of Marwân and other Umayyads who advised him to keep his post.⁽¹⁾ In my opinion, he clung to the office because he knew that both his predecessors Abû Bakr and `Umar remained in office until death. Accordingly, he did not like to initiate the precedence of ousting the Caliph who is disliked by some citizens. If he acceded to their request and abdicated the Caliphate, Caliphate would be held in low esteem by rebels who wanted to spread corruption in the land and chaos would result wherefrom. Actually, this will cause disorder and instability because each group will demand that their chosen one be the Caliph. Therefore, civil war will be inevitable as was the case during the reign of `Alî. Anyway, the Caliph's insistence on his opinion speeded up his death.
3. The Caliph would better - having seen the indicators of *Fitnah* so long ago - employ a powerful garrison so that Medina may not be a coveted object. Actually, Mu`âwiyah had advised him to do so but he refused as we mentioned earlier. Had the Caliph consented to this advice or paid heed to this matter before things got worse, this system would have absolutely posed a siege of reverence around Medina.
4. Unlike `Umar, `Uthmân permitted prominent Companions from *Quraysh* to leave Medina and travel to other countries. We have discussed this issue above in addition to other criticisms that was raised against him.

(1) "*Ashhar Mashâhîr Al-Islâm Fî Al-Hurûb Was-Siyâsah*" by Dr. Rafiq Al-`Azm [4: 800].

Responsibility of his governors

1. Many of them were not alert enough to the growth of *Fitnah* under their observation. Actually, this took place in three countries that were governed by the nearest governors in kin to the Caliph, i.e. Egypt, *Al-Kûfah* and *Al-Başrah*. Had those governors observed the case more strictly, rebels would have been unable to join forces and travel to `Uthmân in 35 A.H. Moreover, there were causes calling for stricter observation since the rebels had gone before to Medina under the pretext of inquiring the Caliph about their criticisms.
2. They tried to avert the danger from themselves and from their respective countries through exiling those who spread innovative ideas or false propagation. In fact, they would better imprison them so that they might not spread their corruption elsewhere.
3. They slackened when it was necessary to hurry to support the Caliph when he sent to them for help taking into account that siege continued for forty days according to narrations. Moreover, `Uthmân used to have them meet him every year during the *Hajj* season. So, why did they remain in their countries that year and did not go to perform *Hajj*?

The stance of the people of Medina: They were of many types. Some of them were secret inciters such as `Amr Ibnul-`Âs, while others were active revolutionists such as Muḥammad Ibn Abû Bakr, Muḥammad Ibn Hudhayfah and `Ammâr Ibn Yâsir. However, many others remained neutral such as Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs who broke his sword and kept at home. Actually, a few of them supported the Caliph. Were they united, the rebels could never kill `Uthmân and impose their dominance and authority over Medina and its population. This is supported by the fact that the rebels made use of their absence during the *Hajj* season to commit their crime. Perhaps in the beginning they thought just causing inconvenience to the Caliph was enough to have the Caliph abdicate the Caliphate or at least give up Marwân Ibnul-Ḥakam to them so that they might be at rest. As for killing, it was ultimately unexpected. Because the Companions were very cautious, they sent their sons at the door of `Uthmân to protect him. Actually, they fought desperately to protect him but `Uthmân ordered them to leave because he did not like bloodshed.⁽¹⁾

(1) See the margins of "*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*" by Ibnul-Athîr [3: 90-91].

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As for Ibn Saba', who is held accountable for the *Fitnah*, we have already stated our opinion on him. Actually, it is so exaggerating to hold a new convert to Islam responsible. Thus, the responsibility for killing `Uthmân, if we can distribute it, is distributed among the rebels because of the turmoil they triggered and the blood they shed, `Uthmân's supporters and governors because they were negligent and poor managers of affairs, those from among the people of Medina who helped the rebels either verbally or practically and then the conspiracies of Ibn Saba'.

In fact, it is indisputably true that life circumstances and fast sequence of events that led to the killing of the Caliph were stronger than everybody. Regardless of the dispute aroused concerning him, the blood of `Uthmân could by no means be violable for the killers. However, it was Allah's will that `Uthmân be a victim. Did Muslims become at rest after his death and did this bring about stability? The answer is no. Rather, things got more complicated and intricate. The civil war that followed the death of `Uthmân tore apart the unity of the Muslims in the worst manner. Up till now, the wound caused by these wars did not heal. Immediately after the Muslims paid the pledge of allegiance to `Alî, the new Caliph got into confusion between the clan of *Banû Umayyah* on the one hand and `Âishah, Talhah and Az-Zubayr on the other hand. Thus, war broke between `Alî and the Camel's Companions and between `Alî and Mu`âwiyah. We will deal with these events in detail on speaking about the era of `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib the fourth Caliph of Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him). Thus, killing `Uthmân marked both a beginning and an end; an end of the first phase of *Fitnah* and a beginning of its second phase.





The Fourth Caliph `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib



► Pledge of Allegiance Paid to `Alî

Rebels killed the third Caliph and Medina became under their dominance. The Egyptian brigade was stronger than other brigades and its leader, Al-Ghâfiqî, used to lead people in Prayer in the Prophet's Mosque.

On the fifth day after `Uthmân was killed, they declared that they will leave Medina only after the election of the new Caliph. Actually, they knew that there has to be an Imam (ruler) to whom people should pay a pledge of allegiance as fast as possible before the governors of `Uthmân impose their authority over their respective governorates. They also feared that the strongest among those governors, Mu`âwiyah, would send brigades to Medina to subdue it under his authority and punish the rebels for what they did.

Although the rebels unanimously agreed that a Caliph should be elected, each of them had their own preference. The Egyptians preferred `Alî, the people of *Al-Kûfah* (Kufa) preferred Az-Zubayr, and the people of *Al-Basrah* (Basra) preferred Talhah. Therefore, each group went to the Companion they prefer to be the Caliph asking him to assume the position but all the three rejected. Moreover, each of the three Companions denounced the rebels. Finding no one to accede to or support them, the rebels decided to appoint none of the three. Then, they sent to Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs saying to him; "You were one of the six Companions `Umar appointed for the Muslims to elect as his successor and we unanimously elect you as the Caliph. So, come to us to pay you the pledge of allegiance." He sent to them saying; "I have forsaken this matter for ever and I am not in need of your election." They, then, came to `Abdullâh Ibn `Umar and urged him to accept the

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position as he is the son of `Umar. He said; "Assuming this position entails entering into a revenge cycle and I am not up to it. So, search for someone else." Thus, they became very confused and did not know what to do while, of course, they have the authority. They thought that if they returned to their respective countries before the election of a Caliph, a dispute will take place and they would not be safe. It seems that they finally came to the conclusion that they alone cannot appoint the Caliph and that they have to seek the help of the *Muhâjirûn* and the *Ansâr* in this regard. Therefore, they assembled the people of Medina and addressed them; "O people of Medina! You are the accredited consultants. If you pay a pledge of allegiance to a Caliph, this will be binding to the whole Nation. So, elect a man to be the Caliph and we will accede to your choice. We give you only one day to do so. If you have not elected the Caliph by tomorrow, we will kill `Alî, Talhah, Az-Zubayr and many other people." So, the people of Medina went to `Alî and tried to convince him to accept the position but he refused. However, they insisted and warned him against *Fitnah* and disorder.

According to some narrations, he said to some of them; "Leave me alone and search for someone else, because on the horizon there seems to be disorder and conflicts that will cause hearts to disunite and minds to get into confusion." They said; "We adjure you by Allah. Do not you see what is happening? Do not you see the *Fitnah*?" He said; "I will accede to your request but be informed that if I accept the position, I will lead you in my own way. However, if you do not elect me, I will be like any person of you. However, I will be the most obedient and conformist person to the one you elect." Then, they separated and agreed to meet on the next day. People consulted each other and agreed that things will be in the right direction if Talhah and Az-Zubayr interfere.

On the next day, Muslims met in the Mosque, on Dhul-Hajjah 23th, 35 A.H. `Alî addressed them; "If you are committed to our agreement yesterday, I am also committed to what I said. Otherwise, I have no authority over anyone." They replied; "We are committed to what we said." Then, people began to pay him the pledge of allegiance. Thus, the majority of the people present in Medina paid the pledge of allegiance to `Alî with the exception

The Fourth Caliph: `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib

of a group of people whom `Alî did not permit the rebels to force to pay it. Sa`d Ibn Abû Waqqâs was one of them. He said to `Alî; "You should not worry about me." Other abstainers were `Abdullâh Ibn `Umar, Muḥammad Ibn Maslamah, Abû Sa`id Al-Khudrî and Usâmah Ibn Zayd as well as others who refused to take part in the *Fitnah*. Among abstainers were Talḥah and Az-Zubayr, who were forced by the rebels to pay it. In fact, `Alî did not leave these two figures alone because he knew what the rebels knew about them. He knew that Talḥah had strongly opposed the murdered Caliph and that he aspired for assuming authority. He also knew that Az-Zubayr did not command them to kill the Caliph, but he also did not prohibit them to do so. Furthermore, he was no less aspiring for Caliphate than Talḥah. Moreover, each of them had his supporters. Thus, he wanted to make sure of their positions as well as their followers' positions so that things should go in the right direction.

However, there is another narration to the effect that the Companions, both the *Muhâjirûn* and the *Ansâr* including Talḥah and Az-Zubayr, assembled after `Uthmân was killed. They then came to `Alî and required him to assume Caliphate but he strongly rejected. However, they insisted on electing him as the Caliph. However, we tend to give more credit to the first narration as it is more in harmony with the course of events. Supposing that Talḥah and Az-Zubayr were forced, then they were forced to stick to the Muslim Community.

Five days after `Uthmân was murdered, pledge of allegiance was paid to `Alî. It was clear that `Alî gained obedience in Hejaz, *Al-Kûfah*, *Al-Basrah* and Egypt. However, the Levant worried him most because it did not take part in the pledge of allegiance on the one hand and because it was governed by Mu`âwiyah, who was the strongest governor and `Uthmân's cousin, on the other hand. However, `Alî viewed that paying pledge of allegiance to him became binding to those who were late as it was paid aggregately by the majority of the people of Medina, which was the abode of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Companions.

After `Alî was pledged as Caliph in the Prophet's Mosque, he delivered his first sermon. In the sermon, he exhorted people to perform obligatory acts of

worship and to fear Allah and explained the inviolability of Muslim's blood. He also said; "If you perceive that something is good, accept it; and if you perceive that something is evil, leave it..."⁽¹⁾

► Biography of `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib

By this biography, we do not aim at dealing with the life of `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib in detail. In fact, it cannot be covered in this brief overview. Moreover, you know much about it as it is recorded in bulky volumes. We just aim at giving a brief account thereof so that you might know how great was the man. In fact, he wanted to apply such strict system of rule following the example of the Messenger (peace be upon him), Abû Bakr and `Umar. However, circumstances were against him as the second phase of *Fitnah* had already begun. We aim also at presenting him as an example to be followed in the era we live in which materialistic life made no room for spiritualities. We wish faithfully to be able to reach this goal.

His name is `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib Ibn `Abdul-Muttalib Ibn Hâshim Ibn `Abd Manâf. He was the son of the Prophet's paternal uncle and was one of the earliest to embrace Islam. He was born 21 years before Hegira and was brought up under the guardianship of the Prophet (peace be upon him), who inculcated in him the best morals and the loftiest characteristics. The Prophet (peace be upon him) fed him with Islam since the revelation came down to the teacher of all humanity (peace be upon him).

He was educated through the pure spring of Prophethood. He followed the example of the Prophet (peace be upon him) in all walks of his life. The Prophet (peace be upon him) loved him so much. When the Prophet decided to immigrate to Medina, he entrusted him with the things people deposited with the Prophet so that `Alî might give them back to their original owners. Thus, he remained in Mecca three days after the Prophet's emigration to do so and then followed him.

(1) For more information, see: "*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*" by Ibnul-Athîr [3: 98-100]; "*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ*" by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn [2: 8-10]; "*Târikh Al-Fath Al-Islâmî*" by Fakhrud-Dîn (pp. 396-398); "*Asr Al-Khulafâ' Ar-Râshidîn*" by Mahmûd Fayyâd (pp. 297-299); "*Inshâf `Uthmân*" by Muhammad Ahmad Gâd Al-Mawlâ (P. 87); "*An-Nazariyyât As-Siyâsiyyah Al-Islâmiyyah*" by Dr. Diyâ'ud-Dîn Ar-Rayyis (P. 45); and "*`Uthmân and `Alî*" by Subyah, the sixth book, March 1958, (pp. 186-190).

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After Hegira, the Prophet (peace be upon him) instituted brotherhood among the *Muhâjirûn* and then between the *Muhâjirûn* and the *Anṣâr*. He first instituted brotherhood between himself and `Alî then between `Alî and Sahl Ibn Hunayf. Later, the Prophet (peace be upon him) married him to his daughter Fâtimah who begot his children whose offspring extends up to now. Actually, it is honorable enough to him that he was willing to sacrifice himself for the Prophet when he slept in his bed during the night appointed by the polytheists as the time for killing the Prophet (peace be upon him). He was exceptionally brave, and an example of heroism. He attended all the battles with the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) except for the battle of *Tâbûk* during which the Prophet (peace be upon him) appointed him as his deputy in Medina. However, `Alî either disliked this or perhaps the hypocrites spread malicious rumors in this regard. Therefore, the Prophet (peace be upon him) said to him; *“Will not you be pleased that you will be to me like Hârûn (Aeron) to Mûsâ (Moses)? But there will be no Prophet after me.”* On the eve of the battle of *Khaybar*, the Prophet (peace be upon him) said; *“Tomorrow, I will give the flag to a man who loves Allah and His Messenger and is loved by Allah and His Messenger.”* On the next day, the Prophet (peace be upon him) gave the flag to `Alî. In addition to his bravery in wars, he was knowledgeable to the highest extent, and God-fearing in addition to many other merits known to everybody. His striving in the cause of Allah is highly appreciated and his knowledge is undeniable. Furthermore, `Umar used to consult him in all emerging problems of rule and would say; *“Without `Alî, `Umar would have perished.”* He also said; *“`Alî is the most talented judge among us.”* When he appointed six Companions for Muslims to elect one of them as his successor, he said; *“If they elect `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib, he would lead them into a (harsh) path of the truth.”*

Moreover, `Alî was viewed as a trustworthy councilor by all the Caliphs. They all sought his consultation and he would give them the best advice, which they would put into practice. Both Abû Bakr and `Umar used to act upon his advices and even `Uthmân at the earlier period of his reign. However, a sort of alienation took place between `Alî and `Uthmân because of Marwân Ibnul-Hakam and other relatives of `Uthmân. This continued until the story reached the end we discussed earlier ending up with `Alî's election as Caliph. So, how was his system of rule?

► `Alî's System of Rule

`Alî is reported as saying; “`Umar was rightly-guided. So, I will not deviate from his way.” Actually, he followed the same system as that of `Umar and followed his example as far as asceticism, establishment of justice and showing strictness to those of whimsical desires. Moreover, he led a life that was closer to austerity and modesty than to luxury and comfort. During his short term, he used to wear such coarse patched clothes. He also had his governors lead a modest life and be kind to people. He asked them to seek the help of good people regardless of kinship or friendship in performing their work. He was keen to choose as governors the experienced modest men who belonged to noble families that have a long history in Islam. Moreover, he was very curious about the interests of the Nation. However, his strictness caused him to be disliked by those who aspire for individual interests. Actually, he considered public property of Muslims inaccessible to anybody even the closest persons. This is why his full brother `Aqîl Ibn Abû Tâlib rebelled against him and joined Mu`âwiyah in the Levant. He even used to carry his *Durrah* (strong stick) and walk in markets to preach and exhort people. In this regard, he said; “Seek refuge in your houses. Repentance is obligatory. Whoever is truly condemned will definitely be punished. Allah made sword and whip as disciplinary means for this Nation. The ruler will show no mercy towards any violator.”

Now, it became clear that `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib followed the way of `Umar Ibnul-Khattâb. However, the people he ruled over are far hard to be ruled than those of `Umar and more aspiring for worldly pleasures than those of `Umar. Moreover, `Alî policy was stricter than that of `Umar despite disagreement and disunity and disloyalty of the people. Such an approach that was not proper for his time.⁽¹⁾

The first obstacle in `Alî's way

After `Alî was pledged as Caliph and delivered the sermon we referred to above, he returned to his house. There came to him Talhah and Az-Zubayr along with a group of people. They said; “O `Alî! We stipulated that Allah's punishments be applied. These people (the rebels) participated in killing this

(1) “*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ*” by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn [2: 17-19]; “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [3: 200-202]; and “*Asr Al-Khulafâ' Ar-Râshidîn*” by Mahmûd Fayyâd (pp. 300-302).

man (`Uthmân) and have therefore forfeited their lives.” `Alî said; “I am not unaware of what you know, but how can I deal with people who rule us and we do not have authority over them? Your own salves and Bedouins have rebelled with them. They live with you imposing on you what they want. So, can you see a way of achieving what you want?” They replied; “No.” `Alî then said; “By Allah, I think there is only one thing to be said, and I expect you will agree. This is something that belongs to *Jâhiliyyah* (the pre-Islamic period) and so these people will find that they have a persistent problem. So, keep calm until people calm down and return to their senses. Claims then can be settled.” Then, the people assembling in his house dispersed. Some of them said; “We will fulfill our duty and will not delay the matter. By Allah! In his opinions and decisions `Alî pays no attention to us and we definitely see him being harsher than anyone against *Quraysh*.” When `Alî was told this, he delivered a sermon to them mentioning their excellence, his need for them and his regard for them. He pointed out that he wanted no more power over them than that and that his reward was with Allah, Exalted be He. He then proclaimed; “The religious obligation to protect a slave who fails to return to his master is null and void.” The *Saba’iyyah* (followers of Ibn Saba’) then conspired with Bedouins to fight. They said; “We will get the same treatment tomorrow, and we will not have any argument against him.” Thereafter `Alî said; “All you citizens, expel the Bedouins from among you! And all you Bedouins, go back to your own wells!” But the *Saba’iyyah* refused and the Bedouins followed their lead. So, `Alî went to his house followed by *Talhah*, *Az-Zubayr* and a number of the Companions. `Alî said; “Your revenge is right in front of you. So, kill!” They said; “They will not understand that!” `Alî replied; “By Allah! Tomorrow they will be more dim-witted and rebellious!” Then *Talhah* said; “Allow me to go to *Al-Basrah* and you will be shocked how quickly I can rally a force.” *Az-Zubayr* also asked to go to *Al-Kûfah* to do the same. However, `Alî hesitatingly said; “Let me think about it.”

Perhaps he feared that a great danger would befall Medina in case this plan was executed or perhaps might put everything to an end. This way, `Alî felt at a loss between those who claim wreaking retaliation on rebels and expelling them from Medina and the rebels who have dominance over all matters.

It seems to us that those who raised the issue of retaliation so early wanted to put the new Caliph in embarrassment since he can find no power to

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expel the people who killed a Caliph and appointed another. The people to whom Alî's own words "They rule us and we do not have authority over them" apply. Thus, it was more proper to leave them until people calm down and then claims could be settled.

In fact, those people spoiled the Caliph's wise plan, which was to wait until each group of the rebels went back to their country and then dealing with them in accordance with just Islamic law. They caused him to expose his plan that should have been concealed. However, there were another plan that can be relied on, concerning `Uthmân's governors, but again `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib wasted it. Following are the details:

Deposing `Uthmân's governors

After `Alî assumed Caliphate, he immediately began to depose governors appointed by `Uthmân. On knowing his intention, Al-Mughîrah Ibn Shu`bah, who was one of the shrewdest Arabs, went to him and advised him confidingly to confirm the governorship of `Uthmân-appointed governors and to depose whomsoever he willed after receiving their pledge of allegiance. `Alî replied; "I will never compromise as far as my religion is concerned, and I will never be humble with regard to my position." Al-Mughîrah then left `Alî but returned on the next day and said; "My opinion is that you depose the governors of `Uthmân and appoint trustworthy governors." Ibn `Abbâs came after this and `Alî told him that Al-Mughîrah gave him two conflicting advices on two successive days. Ibn `Abbâs said; "He sincerely advised you yesterday, but today he was trying to mislead you." `Alî said; "So, what is your advice?" He said; "Since the followers of Mu`âwiyah aspire for worldly pleasures, it will make no difference to them who the Caliph is once you confirm their governorship. If you depose them, however, they will claim that you assumed authority without consultation and will mislead people claiming that you have a share in killing the man (`Uthmân). Thus, the Levant and Iraq will rise against you. Moreover, I am not sure that Talhah and Az-Zubayr will continue in your side. So, I advise you to confirm the governorship of Mu`âwiyah." `Alî said; "By Allah, no. I will give him nothing but the sword." Ibn `Abbâs then said; "O Commander of the Faithful! You are a courageous man, but you are not well-versed in war strategies." However, after a lengthy dialogue, Ibn `Abbâs said to him; "Do as I say. Enter your house

and stay on your property in *Yanbu`*. The Arabs are stirred up and milling around the mass and they will not ultimately find anyone apart from you (to turn to). Now, Umayyads say that you had a share in the affair. They will mislead people and make demands similar to what the people of Medina have made. You cannot fulfill what they want.” However, `Alî refused obstinately and decided to go forward his own way. He was keen to choose efficient governors. So, he sent to *Al-Basrah* as governor `Uthmân Ibn Hunayf, a prominent figure of the *Anṣâr*, his brother Sahl Ibn Hunayf to the Levant and Qays Ibn Sa`d Ibn `Ubâdah to Egypt, all of them belonging to the *Anṣâr*. This indicates that he wanted to please the *Anṣâr* through this choice. As we can see, he chose three of them as governors for the three influential territories, Egypt, the Levant and *Al-Basrah*.

To *Al-Kûfah*, he sent `Imârah Ibn Shihâb and `Ubaydullâh Ibn `Abbâs to Yemen. He also appointed Khâlid Ibnul-`Âṣ Ibn Hishâm Ibnul-Mughîrah Al-Makhzûmî as the governor of Mecca. However, the people of Mecca rejected this appointment.

Governors traveled to their respective territories. `Uthmân Ibn Hunayf entered *Al-Basrah* after `Uthmân-appointed governor `Abdullâh Ibn `Âmir had left directing towards Mecca. As for Qays Ibn Sa`d, he entered Egypt, but its people were divided into two parties; one party joined him and the other party sought fortification in *Khiriâtâ* (in *Al-Bihârah* (Beheira) governorate). This latter party decided that they would pay pledge of allegiance to `Alî in case he wreaked retaliation on `Uthmân’s murderers. However, other people decided to obey `Alî if he did not wreak retaliation against their brothers.

As for `Ubaydullâh Ibn `Abbâs, he entered Yemen after its previous governor Ya`lâ Ibn Umayyah had fled to Mecca. As for `Imârah Ibn Shihâb and Sahl Ibn Hunayf, both of them were received while on arriving at the borders in such a manner that caused them to flee away.

On this, `Alî called for Tâlah and Az-Zubayr for consultation. They said; “Permit us to leave Medina. Either you prepare an army or let us go.” This indicates an advice to fight against those who refused to pay the pledge of allegiance. `Alî then said; “I will endure with patience until there is no room for patience. Otherwise, the last medication to resort is cauterization.” However, he gave them permission and they went to Mecca to perform *Hajj*

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or *Umrah*. According to some narrations, they set out for Mecca only when `Alî was preparing to invade the Levant on the pretext that they isolated themselves from the invasion of the Levant.

Whether they left under either of the circumstances, i.e. to perform *Hajj* or *Umrah* or to isolate themselves from the people, they were more against `Alî than being on his side as we will explain later.

`Alî's view regarding the situation

The Caliph's thought of sending messages to both Abû Mûsâ Al-Ash`arî in *Al-Kûfah* and Mu`âwiyah Ibn Abû Sufyân in the Levant asking them to give explicit indications of their obedience to him. Thus, he sent a message to Abû Mûsâ Al-Ash`arî with Ma`bad Al-Aslamî and the former replied confirming his obedience. Moreover, he informed `Alî that *Al-Kûfah* was simmering with *Fitnah*.

He also sent a message to Mu`âwiyah with Sabrah Al-Juhanî calling him to declare obedience. However, Mu`âwiyah detained the messenger for a long period and would pay no attention to the messenger when he would ask him to quickly give a reply.

In Safar 36 A.H., Mu`âwiyah returned `Alî's messenger accompanied by his own envoy Qabîsah Al-`Absî who had a message including just the statement; "From Mu`âwiyah Ibn Abû Sufyân to `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib". Mu`âwiyah ordered his envoy to hold the message -in his hand- evident to the public. He told him orally what to say to `Alî. Upon reaching Medina by the beginning of Rabi`, Al-`Absî raised high the message so that people might know that he had a message from Mu`âwiyah. In this way, the people went to their homes having known that Mu`âwiyah belonged to the opposition side. Upon opening the message, `Alî found out that it contains a blank paper with no writing thereon. In a fit of anger, `Alî asked the bearer; "What does this mean?" Qabîsah pleaded for the safety of his life before he could answer the question. `Alî said that he was free to speak, and he had his promise of safety. On this assurance, the messenger said; "I left behind people who accept no lesser than retaliation." `Alî asked; "Against whom?" He said; "Against you yourself." (Know that) I left no less than 60,000 old men whose beards are wet with tears, and who are assembling around `Uthmân's bloody

shirt hung on the pulpit of Damascus.” `Alī said; “They want to take the revenge of `Uthmān on me even though I am as in misfortune as them? O Allah! I stood absolved from `Uthmān’s blood. May Allah deal with the murderers of `Uthmān.” Saying this, Al-`Absī went out and hardly survived the agitated and enraged people.

Preparations for the invasion of the Levant

When the people of Medina came to know of the strained relations between `Alī and Mu`āwiyah, they feared further bloodshed. They sent Ziyād Ibn Hanzalah At-Tamīmī to `Alī in order to know his intention. `Alī asked him to get ready for invading the Levant. Ziyād suggested; “You should deal with them rather gently.” `Alī said in poetry:

*If you have a smart heart, a sharp sword and
an enthusiastic soul combined, no injustice could befall you.*

`Alī then announced throughout Medina to get ready for the invasion of the Levant explaining to them the importance of putting an end to the separation movement before it grows out of control urging them to join the campaign before it is too late.

When most of the people of Medina got ready for this purpose, `Alī placed Medina in the charge of Qutham Ibn `Abbās and made his son Muḥammad Ibnul-Hanafiyyah the standard-bearer of the army, `Abdullāh Ibn Abbās the commanding officer of the right flank, `Amr Ibn Abū Salamah or `Amr Ibn Sufyān the commander of the left flank, and Abū Layla Ibnul-Jarrāh on the vanguard. Furthermore, he wrote messages to `Uthmān Ibn Hunayf in *Al-Basrah*, Abū Mūsā Al-Ash`arī in *Al-Kūfah* and Qays Ibn Sa`d in Egypt to make military preparations from their respective areas and send them to Medina on demand.

While `Alī was making the preparations for invading the Levant, he got news that the people of Mecca were making preparations against him. Consequently, he decided to begin with them first.⁽¹⁾

(1) See: “*Al-Kāmil Fī At-Tārikh*” by Ibnul-Athīr [3: 100-105]; “*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrā*” by Dr. Tāhā Husayn [2: 24-41]; “*Tārikh Al-Fath Al-Islāmī*” by Fakhrud-Dīn (pp. 398-403); “*Asr Al-Khulafā` Ar-Rāshidīn*” by Maḥmūd Fayyād (pp. 302-313); “*Tārikh Al-Islām As-Siyāsī*” by Dr. Ḥasan Ibrāhīm [1: 365-366]; and “*Al-`Iqd Al-Farīd*” by Ibn `Abd Rabbuh [3: 96-98].

► **Battle of *Al-Jamal* (the Camel)**

a) **Prelude:** By the time the siege of `Uthmân was tightened, `Âishah, the Mother of the Believers had left Medina for the Levant. On her way back to Medina, a man belonging to the family of her mother met her. She said to him; “What is there?” He said; “`Uthmân was killed, people paid pledge of allegiance to `Alî and affairs are completely in disorder.” She said; “I do not think that affairs will go on this way. Let me go back.” She then went to Mecca where `Abdullâh Ibn `Âmir Al-Hadramî came to her. He said; “What brings you back O Mother of the Believers?” She said; “What brings me back is that `Uthmân was killed and he was innocent, the affair of the Muslims will not be fixed while these rebels run rampant, so ask for (retaliating) `Uthmân’s blood (i.e. murder) to fortify Islam.” `Abdullâh was the first member of to respond and join her. The first people to raise the issue were the Umayyads, from among whom Al-Walîd Ibn `Uqbah, Marwân Ibnul-Hakam and all the *Banû Umayyah* clan later joined her. They were also joined by `Abdullâh Ibn `Âmir from *Al-Basrah*, Ya`lâ Ibn Umayyah from Yemen, Talhah and Az-Zubayr from Medina. They began to think about how to implement what they planned for and what countries would side with them. Exploring different countries and the status quo therein, they decided to go to *Al-Basrah*. Actually, the majority preferred *Al-Basrah* because there were many affiliates of the tribe of *Mudâr* living therein. Moreover, its later governor `Abdullâh Ibn `Âmir claimed that he did to its people many favors and thus there would be much reciprocal affability between them. After they made up their mind to go to *Al-Basrah*, `Âishah delivered a sermon stating; “O people! What happened was heinous and unacceptable. So, be prepared to join your brothers of the people of *Al-Basrah* to proclaim your denial. Indeed, the people of the Levant have fulfilled their duty. By doing so, I hope that Allah helps Muslims wreak vengeance on the murderers of `Uthmân.” She then explained to them that after retaliation, the position of the Caliph should once again be an object of consultation among Muslims so that they could elect their Caliph willingly without any violence or coercion.

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People got themselves busy in preparation for departure. Moreover, `Âmir and Ya`lâ Ibn Umayyah supplied them with much money and riding animals. Their number amounted to three thousand.

When they set out directing towards *Al-Basrah*, people -seeing how `Â'ishah's speech impressed people- said to her; "O Mother of the Believers! Leave Medina and the disorder there and come with us to *Al-Basrah*. In fact, its people take the pledge paid to `Alî as a pretext to refuse our attitude. So, encourage them as you encouraged the people of Mecca. Then, you will stay there. If Allah causes reform to happen, then you achieved what you look for." Likewise, both Talhah and Az-Zubayr asked her to accompany them to *Al-Basrah*. She said; "Will you order people to fight?" They replied; "No, you will just come with us to exhort and urge the people to demand retaliation for `Uthmân's blood." Accordingly, she accepted to go with them to *Al-Basrah*.

News about what was happening came to `Alî. Thus, he decided to postpone the campaign against the Levant to try to dissuade those revolutionists from pursuing their objectives. He then delivered a sermon to the people of Medina during which he talked about Talhah and Az-Zubayr. He said; "I will endure with patience as long as your unity is not endangered. I will abstain from fighting so long as they abstain." However, the people of Medina felt too uncomfortable to prepare themselves for the battle. Actually, he thought that once the two parties would meet, a dialogue would take place whose results would lead to satisfaction and would cause them to conform once again. He thought that after that they would all come back to Medina where he should manage the affairs of the Muslims, as was the custom of his predecessors. No sooner did he left Medina that he received the information that he missed them and that they were in their way to *Al-Basrah* to try to convince its people to renounce their pledge of allegiance. However, he did not despair of reconciliation but took military precautions so that he might not be taken unawares. Embarking on his mission, he sent to *Al-Kûfah* seeking the support of its people. In the way, he camped in *Dhû Qârr* that locates on the way leading to *Al-Basrah*. Thus, we can find out that `Alî began to lose control over things and conflicts came in a row. He was then encompassed between an enemy

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there in the Levant preparing and joining forces and another enemy in Mecca preparing to invade *Al-Basrah* and its surroundings. There were still the people of Medina who were not willing to help thinking that it was *Fitnah* during which truth could not be distinguished from falsehood.

In fact, the decision made by `Āishah, Talḥah and Az-Zubayr to go to *Al-Basrah* and `Alī's decision to meet them constituted the first reason that led to the fateful battle of the Camel that marked the beginning of the bloody wars of *Fitnah*.

b) The Battle: `Āishah set out along with those who rallied around her heading for *Al-Basrah*. Informed of her coming, `Uthmān Ibn Hunayf, the governor of *Al-Basrah*, sent Abū Al-Aswad Ad-Du'ālī and `Imrān Ibnul-Huṣayn to explore the reason behind her coming. She said to them; "The mob from different countries and strangers who left their tribes invaded the *Haram* (Sacred City) of Allah's Messenger and committed heinous acts therein. They killed the Imam of the Muslims without any guilt. Moreover, they shed inviolable blood and remained in a city whose people disliked their stay. Therefore, I decided to come out to people to tell them about the heinous crime those people committed, what the people here want to do and what should be done to achieve reform..." They also asked Talḥah and Az-Zubayr the same question and their reply was that they came to demand retaliation for `Uthmān. The envoys said; "Did not you pay pledge of allegiance to `Alī?" They replied; "Under the threat of the sword." So, `Imrān and Abū Al-Aswad gave advice to everyone not to proceed with this, but no one listened. So, they came back to Ibn Hunayf and told him what happened. Thus, he held a consultation council. Some councilors advised him to keep peace with them until the arrival of the Caliph but he refused this opinion. He prepared his army and decided to fight them. A fierce battle took place between the two parties that ended up with killing all those who participated in inciting people against `Uthmān either verbally or practically from among the people of *Al-Basrah*. An exception to this was Harqûs Ibn Zuhayr As-Sa'dī, who was given protection by his clan *Banū Sa'd* when sought refuge with them after his companions had been killed. Thus, many supporters of Ibn Hunayf were

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killed and he himself was captured and whipped. However, `Â'ishah saved his life and ordered them to set him free after the people had shaved off his beard, eyebrows and eyelids disfiguring him in such a manner that Islam prohibits even to non-Muslims. Thus, `Uthmân, the governor of *Al-Basrah*, went to Medina and `Â'ishah and those with her camped in *Al-Furdah* near *Al-Basrah*. Then, `Â'ishah, Talhah and Az-Zubayr sent to Umayyads in the Levant and to those who held the same view as theirs in *Al-Kûfah* informing them of the temporary victory and asking them for military and financial supplies.

As for the Caliph, soldiers came to him in *Dhû Qârr* where he camped there until his army reached twelve thousand soldiers ready to march to *Al-Basrah*.

When the number was complete, `Alî called for Al-Qa`qâ` Ibn `Amr, a Companion of the Prophet (peace be upon him), and asked him to precede them to *Al-Basrah* to meet the Mother of the Believers, Talhah and Az-Zubayr to explore their intentions. He went to them and warned them against the consequences of dispute. He said to them; "To retaliate for `Uthmân, you killed six hundred men, which enraged six thousand from their tribes. What will you do if they fight against you and defeat you? The ideal position you should adopt is to suffice yourselves with the amount of `Uthmân's retaliation you have taken and reunite with the Muslim Community through swearing allegiance to `Alî. No doubt, this is more likely to cause reform. If you refuse, this is a clear sign of evil consequences. You should opt for safety if you want to achieve it. Be once again means to goodness as you always were. Do not open the door of affliction, because it will kill both of us." They showed approval of what he said and replied; "If `Alî's offer is the same as yours, this will definitely lead to reconciliation." So, Al-Qa`qâ` returned to `Alî and told him about these developments. Thus, `Alî thanked Allah and ordered the people to leave *Dhû Qârr* to convene reconciliation with `Â'ishah. He also ordered that none of those who incited against `Uthmân in the least should accompany him. Then, the Caliph sent to them to see if they still adherent to their agreement with Al-Qa`qâ`. If this was the case, they should abstain from fighting and approve of his army's entrance

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to the city so that negotiations might take place. Accordingly, `Alī camped in a suburban of *Al-Basrah* while all Muslims had undoubtedly waited for reconciliation and settlement to take place for the benefit of the Nation. Therefore, all people felt joyful except for *Saba'iyyah* (followers of `Abdullāh Ibn Saba', the head of rebels), who felt very worried for fear that they would receive a tough punishment in case *Fitnah* calmed down and stability took place. So, they spent the night in consultation. Finally, they agreed to secretly incite fighting. Disguised by darkness, they began to fight against `Ā'ishah party. Talḥah and Az-Zubayr wondered what happened. People told them that the people of *Al-Kūfah* attacked them at night. They then said; "We were sure that `Alī will never abstain from shedding blood and violating inviolabilities and will never do what we want." The Caliph, also, asked about what happened. They (*Saba'iyyah*) said; "O Commander of the Faithful! All of a sudden, we were attacked by a group of people. We defended ourselves causing them to go back to the place where they came from, since they were united against us, they could defeat us." `Alī then said; "I was sure that Talḥah and Az-Zubayr will never abstain from shedding blood and violating inviolabilities and will never do what we want."

Thus, fighting was inevitable.

Actually, this is the story reported by many historians as the reason why war broke out. However, Dr. Tāhā Husayn views that the story goes against the natural context of events and thus only naive people can take it for granted. He views that it is easily refutable and rejects the possibility of occurrence of a betrayal in the army of `Alī while he was unaware. He said; "What goes in line with the natural course of events is that the two parties met at *Al-Basrah* and held negotiations. Since negotiations failed, war was unavoidable."⁽¹⁾

However, our view is that one who has knowledge about the nature of revolutions and wars in different eras can find out that wars break out for very trivial reasons worked out by some purposeful persons. This causes confusion on the part of leaders and thus leads to the eruption

(1) "*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrā*" by Dr. Tāhā Husayn [2: 46-47].

of war. In my viewpoint, this was the case here. No doubt, the people of *Al-Basrah* and *Al-Kūfah* who took part in besieging `Uthmān feared for their lives in case reconciliation took place. It seems that historians gave the title *Saba'iyyah* for all the rebels not only those who embraced the ideas of Ibn Saba'. Anyway, the battle took place during which Az-Zubayr was killed and Talhah had a deadly wound that caused his death later.⁽¹⁾ Losing the two leaders, the Army of *Al-Basrah* was defeated. `Ā'ishah was in her *Hawdaj* (a cabinet that is usually placed on the back of the camel to carry women) in the rear of the army. Therefore, fleeing soldiers of *Al-Basrah* passed by it while chased by `Alī's army. The soldiers of *Al-Basrah* surrounded the camel so that she might not be hurt. A fierce battle took place around the camel during which many of `Alī's supporters died while trying to reach the `Ā'ishah's banner to dominate it.

Seeing the great number of deaths around the camel, `Alī sent someone who slew it. So, it fell down along with the *Hawdaj* over it. Then, `Alī ordered it to be carried away from the battlefield so that the Mother of the Believers might not be hurt. `Ā'ishah remained in her *Hawdaj* until night. Then, her brother Muḥammad Ibn Abū Bakr came to her and took her to a house in *Al-Basrah* where she remained for some days. When she decided to leave, `Alī equipped her with the riding camel, provisions and luggage she needed. Moreover, he chose forty Basrite women to

(1) According to some narrations, when the two parties stood against each other, `Alī came in between the two armies and called for Talhah and Az-Zubayr to speak to them. When the three persons met, `Alī asked the two men; "Did not you pay allegiance?" They replied; "We were forced to." He then said to Talhah; "You safeguarded your wife and now you are endangering the life of the Prophet's wife." He then spoke to Az-Zubayr about kinship and that his son `Abdullāh severed its ties when he instigated his father against `Alī because `Abdullāh's mother is from the tribe of *Banū Tamīm*, the same tribe of Talhah. He then reminded Az-Zubayr of a *ḥadīth* the Prophet (peace be upon him) said to Az-Zubayr; "You will fight against `Alī while you are the oppressor." Az-Zubayr was impressed by the *ḥadīth* and by the talk about kinship. At this point, historians differ. Some of them view that he left the battle and went away but `Amr Ibn Jurmūz pursued him until he killed him at *Wādī As-Sibā'*. Others view that his son `Abdullāh accused him of cowardice and Az-Zubayr replied; "I swore not to fight against `Alī." His son said; "So, make expiation for your pledge through freeing a slave." He did so and returned to the battle where he was killed. As for Talhah, a friendly arrow killed him. According to some narrations, the arrow was thrown by Marwān Ibnul-Hakam, who felt sorry and said thereafter; "I will no more claim retaliation for `Uthmān after that."

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accompany her and sent her brother Muhammad with her. Reconciliation took place between them. She then said to the people; "Allah knows that the relationship between me and `Alî was only affected by what usually happens between any woman and the relatives of her husband. Although I blame him, he is a good person." `Alî said; "She is truthful and righteous and she is the wife of your Prophet both in this world and the Hereafter." When it was time for departure, `Alî himself paid her farewell and walked beside the *Hawdaj* until they went outside the borders of Medina. Moreover, he had his children accompany her for a one-day distance and people paid her farewell. This took place on Ragab 1st, 36 A.H. She headed for Mecca where she remained until the *Hajj* season after which she went to Medina. After this event, she never interfered in political affairs; rather, she remained in Medina, according to the most authentic narrations, until she died in 58 A.H.

- c) **`Alî's efforts after the battle:** The battle of the Camel resulted in the death of ten thousand men most of whom were righteous prominent Muslim figures. `Alî felt very sad for this. He would identify the dead bodies of both his opponents and proponents and feel pain for them both. He also said; "One who is killed in the battle while intending to support the truth and aspiring for no more than Divine Satisfaction is a martyr."

Furthermore, when the sword of Az-Zubayr was brought to him, he invoked curse on the killer reminding people of Az-Zubayr's stance on the battle of *Uhud*. In addition, he gave strict orders to his followers not to finish off a wounded person, not to chase a runaway, not to break into a house and not to uncover a veil. Moreover, he did not divide the booty among his followers with the exception of horses or weapons that did not belong to public treasury with which Basrites equipped themselves for war. Furthermore, he ordered that all the property left behind by the people of *Al-Basrah* should be gathered and brought to the mosque. Then, he had someone call upon people to come to take the property they can prove to be theirs.

Besides, he offered the funeral Prayer for the dead persons whether from among his proponents or opponents and permitted all people to bury their dead persons. He also ordered that scattered limbs should be gathered

and buried in one big grave. He then remained in his camp outside the city after the end of the battle, and after three days, he entered it. `Alī went to the mosque where he performed Prayer and sat down where people came and paid allegiance to him. He then moved to the public treasury and divided all the property he found therein among the people equally. Thereafter, he dealt with all people on equal basis. He did not try to punish the leaders of the party that joined `Ā'ishah's army, although this enraged all his supporters. However, he paid no heed to their anger and went on. In fact, we feel no wonder that he did so since he received his education from the Prophet (peace be upon him).⁽¹⁾

Results of the Battle of *Al-Jamal* (the Camel)

The battle had profound effects on Islam and Muslims. Following is a list of the most important results thereof:

First: The battle of the Camel was a disaster that befell Islam and Muslims. It eliminated the lives of thousands of prominent Muslim figures for whose help and support Islam was in a dire need. Moreover, it caused the number of the Muslims to decrease in no war or conquest for the sake of Islam.

Second: Its occurrence made it easy for the Muslims to fight one another while each party deeming the blood of the other party violable. Actually, this was impossible before. Thus, it was the first huge battle between Muslim parties and clearly indicated that things went out of control. When informed of the death of `Uthmān, one of the Prophet's Companions commented saying the following truthful statement; "You used to milk it and it gave you milk, but after this incident you will milk it and it will give you nothing but blood."

Third: Since the leaders of the two warring factions enjoyed a high religious status, many of those weak in faith justified for themselves defaming their opponents. This also caused them to fabricate *hadiths* and reports.

(1) Sources on the Battle of *Al-Jamal*: "*Al-Kāmil Fī At-Tārīkh*" by Ibnul-Athīr [3: 105-135]; "*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrā*" by Dr. Tāhā Husayn [2: 42-60]; "*Tārīkh Al-Fath Al-Islāmī*" by Fakhru-Dīn (pp. 402-418), "*Asr Al-Khulafā' Ar-Rāshidīn*" by Mahmūd Fayyād (pp. 314-318); "*Tārīkh Al-Islām As-Siyāsī*" by Dr. Hasan Ibrāhīm [1: 366-373]; "*Al-'Iqd Al-Farīd*" by Ibn `Abd Rabbuh [3: 98-108]; and "*Tarjamt `Alī Ibn Abū Tālib*" by Ahmad Zakī Safwat (pp. 29-140).

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Thus, the battle marked the bad beginning of reinforcing discord among the Muslims through narrations that were later given a religious form.

Fourth: Many of the prominent figures from among the tribe of *Quraysh* were killed in the battlefield. This was a great loss because it weakened the position of *Quraysh* and of the forerunners and pioneers in Islam. However, it caused no decrease in the number of Bedouins and nomads, who were indulging in relentless efforts since the reign of Abû Bakr to weaken and degrade *Quraysh*. So, this loss paved the way for them to achieve their goals.

Fifth: Many Arabs became dissatisfied with *Quraysh* and its tribal chiefs as they thought the latter drove their sons to their deaths.

Sixth: `Alî's victory stood for a victory of nomadic Arabs over the Arabs of Hejaz as well as victory of *Al-Kûfah* over *Al-Basrah*. Therefore, the battle marked the beginning of territorial fanaticism, which had its clear effects on knowledge, literature and all walks of life.

Seventh: `Alî began to give superiority for the Kufi group that supported him until he won victory.

Eighth: The capital of Islam moved from Medina, the city of Islam's cradle, once and forever.

Ninth: Dr. Tâhâ Husayn is of the view that the battle constituted a fertile source for the imagination of storytellers and poets. In fact, such masterpieces of poetry and prose were attributed to the fighting factions, but they actually composed just a little amount of them. Nevertheless, such masterpieces fell short of describing the heinous horrible battle.⁽¹⁾

Tenth: Although the battle was a military victory for `Alî, it was not a political one. In fact, claims of Mu`âwiyah's, as well as other claimers of retaliating `Uthmân's murder, to the effect that `Alî protected the murderers in his army, became more strongly substantiated. Thus, `Alî lost the sympathy of many Muslims in Hejaz, the Levant and Egypt although they considered him worthy of the Caliphate position. Moreover, the battle distracted him from the greater opponent, i.e. Mu`âwiyah, who had absolute dominance over the Levant and thus became seriously in-

(1) "Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ" by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn [2: 55].

fluent and greatly dangerous. Actually, he began to equip himself and manage his affairs in the best manner and became fully prepared for the great conflict, which he expected.

Finally, the battle of *Al-Jamal* (the Camel), regardless of all that, was nothing if compared to the such subsequent battles as *Siffin* and others.

► The Battle of *Siffin*

After the situation in *Al-Basrah* calmed, `Alī appointed `Abdullāh Ibn `Abbās as its governor. `Alī then shifted into *Al-Kūfah* making it the capital city of his rule. In *Al-Kūfah*, `Alī began to concentrate all his attention on the Levant. After securing victory in the battle of *Al-Jamal*, the conflict became solely between `Alī and Mu`āwiyah who had control over the Levant and was supported by a great force that was submissively obedient to him. Thereafter, `Alī sent to him Jarīr Ibn `Abdullāh Al-Bajalī to call him to pay allegiance and comply. He also sent him a message informing him that both the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār* unanimously accepted `Alī as Caliph.

On reaching Mu`āwiyah, Jarīr talked to him and exhorted him very pressingly while Mu`āwiyah was paying him no heed. Moreover, he refused to give a reply for a long period. During this period, he sent a message to `Amr Ibnul-`Āṣ informing him of `Alī's message and asking him to come for consultation. Thus, `Amr came to Mu`āwiyah and advised him to hold `Alī accountable for `Uthmān's blood (i.e. retaliation) and, if `Alī denied his responsibility, fight him with the Levant forces. Mu`āwiyah acceded to `Amr's advice. He then sent back `Alī's envoy without a written reply. He just told the envoy to tell `Alī that he was willing to comply in case `Alī punishes `Uthmān's murderers. Jarīr went back to the Caliph and informed him of Mu`āwiyah's reply. He also told him that `Uthmān's shirt was still hung on the pulpit of Damascus and that the people of the Levant swore not to sleep before killing `Uthmān's murderers and all those who supported them. In view of this, `Alī found that he had to march toward the Levant to fight against Mu`āwiyah. He then prepared a fifty-thousand-soldier army or ninety-thousand-soldier army (according to some narrations). However, Mu`āwiyah's army consisted of the same or similar number of soldiers.

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In Dhul-Hajjah 36 A.H., `Alî marched with his army. His plan was to march toward the upper Iraq to attack the Levant from the north. Thus, he marched alongside Tigris River until he reached *Al-Mawsil* (Mosul), wherefrom he crossed the two rivers. He then reached the Euphrates River wherefrom he crossed to *Ar-Raqqah*, and from there he headed for *Halab* (Aleppo). In the way, the garrisons of the Levant faced him near the borders of the Levant. Having heard of `Alî's march, Mu`âwiyah had prepared the army and appointed `Amr Ibnul-`Âs as the general commander. `Amr Ibnul-`Âs reached the plain of *Siffin* before `Alî.⁽¹⁾ Thus, he had his army camp in the most suitable and spacious place thereof. When `Alî's army reached, they camped opposite to Mu`âwiyah's army. `Alî then asked Mu`âwiyah to make water springs freely accessible to the two armies, but Mu`âwiyah rejected. Thus, `Alî sent a troop in order to free water springs from dominance of Mu`âwiyah's army. They did their mission successfully and controlled the water springs. Distressed by thirst, Mu`âwiyah's forces asked `Alî to permit them to drink and he gave them permission. In fact, `Alî wanted to give Mu`âwiyah a chance to reconsider their situation. Therefore, envoys went to and from and negotiations were held between the two parties but no reconciliation or compromise could be reached. Furthermore, all of them feared any confrontation between the armies of Iraq and the Levant because destruction and elimination would be the inevitable result.

Feeling that negotiation with Mu`âwiyah were in vain, `Alî assigned each brigade its respective flag. Once a brigade of the Iraqi army would go out, a brigade of the Levant's army would go out to fight against it. This way, the fight continued until the end of Dhul-Hajjah.

(1) `Amr had held grudge against `Uthmân when the latter removed him from his office as the governor of Egypt. Thus, he used to secretly incite people against him. Being a cunning and farsighted politician, he left Medina to his house in Palestine on seeing `Uthmân's life endangered so that he bears no responsibility in killing him. After `Uthmân was killed, he also continued in his isolation until everything becomes clear. When Mu`âwiyah sent to him, he hesitated in the beginning on whether to join `Alî or Mu`âwiyah. However, he finally decided to join Mu`âwiyah because he can hold cunning people in their due esteem. So, he held a bargain with him stipulating being the governor of Egypt after victory in return for help. Thus, he stayed with Mu`âwiyah and used to provide him with considerable force.

The Fourth Caliph: `Alī Ibn Abū Tālib

When the month of Muharram began, the two parties convened a truce in the hope that reconciliation might be reached. Reciprocal envoys went to and from repeatedly but this was also in vain, and negotiations failed again because of the following reasons:

1. They were built on no reasonable basis of give-and-take principle. Although `Alī clearly demanded that Mu`āwiyah stop war and declare loyalty to the Caliph, he should have made a clear specification of Mu`āwiyah's position under the new system. Actually, he had to be offered some benefit in return for the concessions he was required to give.
2. Envoys were not politically experienced and were more inclined to war, which lead to severing ties and discord.
3. Most of the envoys were tough-natured. So, they sought more to bring about evil and enmity than reconciliation and settlement. To both parties, however, it became clear that military conflict is inevitable. Thus, the two parties spent the first night of Safar 37 A.H. preparing the armies. On Wednesday, Safar 1st, war erupted and continued for seven days in the same way it continued before, i.e. a brigade against a brigade. Seeing that war in this manner will last for so long, the Caliph went out with the whole army on Wednesday Safar 8th and Mu`āwiyah marched to him with the Levant's army. The two armies had a fierce fight all day long and the day ended with neither party won victory. War was resumed on the next day and the Levant's army launched a very violent attack that was about to give them victory. However, the hero `Alī Ibn Abū Tālib along with a group of his soldiers remained steadfast. He called people to rally around him and Al-Ashtar An-Nakha`ī incited people to courageously face distress. So, they followed him and together they made a counter attack that ended up with having the attackers withdraw to the lines of Mu`āwiyah. However, Al-Ashtar went on his attack until he reached Mu`āwiyah's guards and Mu`āwiyah was about to flee the battle. About this incident, he said later; "When I thought of fleeing, I remembered the poetic lines of Ibnul-Itnābah:

'My dignity and strong determination compelled me to refuse.

Therefore, I had to remain steadfast in face of the attacking hero.

I even used to spend my money to attain highness,

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and in return for praise I paid a profitable price.

*I always used to say to myself whenever I belched or felt nausea (out of fear),
Remain steadfast so that you might either be praised (in case of victory) or
find rest (in the case of death).”*

On this day, `Ammâr Ibn Yâsir was killed.

Even during night, the two parties did not separate; rather, the fighting continued all night long. In fact, it was such an ominous bitter night. They called it the night of *Harîr* (howl) because it resembled the battle of *Al-Qâdisiyyah*. In the morning, Al-Ashtar, the commander of the right flank of the Iraqi Army, marched with his brigade forward. Thus, `Alî's army was about to have victory.

Asking for arbitration

Seeing that the Iraqis are about to win the battle, Mu`âwiyah called for `Amr Ibnul-`Âs and asked him to work out a stratagem. `Amr advised him to order his soldiers to hoist *Mushafs* (copies of the Qur`ân) at the top of their spears. They did so and the herald of Mu`âwiyah shouted; “This is Allah’s Book between you and us. Who will protect the frontiers of the Levant if the people of the Levant are killed? And who will protect the frontiers of Iraq if the people of Iraq are killed?” On this, disagreement occurred among warriors in `Alî's army as they differed into two opinions. Some of them thought that such an offer should be accepted, because they basically fight to raise high Allah’s word and now they are called to it. This party was headed by Al-Ash`ath Ibn Qays Al-Kindî. Another group viewed that they had to go on fighting because this is no more than a stratagem worked out by Mu`âwiyah and his army when they felt that they are about to be defeated. The Caliph himself headed this group. Actually, victory was so close to Iraqis taking into account that Al-Ashtar An-Nakha`î was still fighting. However, the party led by Al-Ash`ath forced the Caliph to call for him while he was so close to victory. A heated debate took place between the proponents and opponents of arbitration, at the end of which `Alî unwillingly accepted resorting to arbitration because the majority of his army supported it. Al-Ash`ath said to `Alî; “Do you permit me to go to Mu`âwiyah to explore his intention?” `Alî said; “Go wherever you want to go.” He then retreated

into himself feeling disappointed of those soldiers who do not obey him. Al-Ash`ath went to Mu`āwiyah and asked him about his purpose behind hoisting *Mushafs*. Mu`āwiyah suggested that they should accept the Qur`ān as a judge between them and that each party should choose one of them to represent them in arbitration. Al-Ash`ath returned to `Alī and told him about the suggestion and `Alī unwillingly accepted it.

When it was time to choose the two arbitrators, the Levant soldiers chose `Amr Ibnul-`Ās, while the Iraqi soldiers suggested Abū Mūsā Al-Ash`arī. Although `Alī suggested `Abdullāh Ibn `Abbās or Al-Ashtar An-Nakha`ī as arbitrators, he had to surrender to their suggestion. As for Ibn `Abbās, they argued; “We want a man who stands between you and Mu`āwiyah in a neutral position.” As for Al-Ashtar, they argued; “It is him who fueled the war.”

Moreover, neither of the attempts of Al-Ashtar and Al-Aḥnaf Ibn Qays to be arbitrators or even assistants was successful.

Seeing that they were openly disobedient, `Alī said; “Do what you like.” They then sent to Al-Ash`arī who had isolated himself from fighting and told him about arbitration and that he was chosen as an arbitrator. Upon this, he came and entered the camp.

Arbitration convention

Thereafter, the two parties signed the arbitration convention. It provided that both parties should refer to the Qur`ān while trying to find a solution that could be satisfactory to both parties. If they found no solution in the Qur`ān, the next step was to refer to the *Sunnah* that can unite them and put an end to discord. The convention also provided putting an end to fighting and that people should feel safety for themselves, families and properties until the two arbitrators reach a decisive judgment. The arbitrators were entitled to choose whatever witnesses they like, whose testimony on the contents of the convention should be recorded in a written form. The two arbitrators were expected to meet during the month of Ramadan of the same year in *Dūmat Al-Jandal* or *Adhruh* in *Dūmat Al-Jandal*, located midway between the Levant and Iraq. Finally, both Mu`āwiyah and `Alī should send four hundred followers of them to attend convening the agreement.

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These were the most important points of the convention.⁽¹⁾ The convention was attested by a group of `Alî's supporters and a group of Mu`âwiyah's supporters. However, Al-Ashtar refused to attest it. It was signed on Safar 13th or 15th, 37 A.H.

This was a brief of the events in the battlefield. Thus, this was the end of the battle of *Siffîn* in which ninety thousand Muslims were killed, a number of deaths that had never been reached in all Islamic battles since the early time of *Jihâd* during the lifetime of the Prophet (peace be upon him). Moreover, it resulted in increasing the dispute among the Muslims especially among the soldiers of `Alî's army. After arbitration was convened, however, `Alî led his army back to *Al-Kûfah*.

When the time specified for the meeting of the two arbitrators was due (i.e. Ramadan),⁽²⁾ `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib sent four hundred men under the leadership of Shurayh Ibn Hânî' Al-Hârithî. He also appointed `Abdullâh Ibn `Abbâs to lead them in Prayer and manage their affairs. Of course, Abû Mûsâ Al-Ash`arî accompanied them. As for Mu`âwiyah, he sent four hundred men from among the people of the Levant led by `Amr Ibnul-`Âs. They met in *Dûmat Al-Jandal*, where the two parties camped. The two arbitrators then met alone away from the two camps in *Adhruh*, a suburban of *Dûmat Al-Jandal*. They held consultation session and reached an agreement. Then, both of them went back to announce the result of arbitration to the two camps in *Dûmat Al-Jandal*. At this point, we have different narrations of the events that followed. Al-Mas`ûdî reports that the two parties wrote a document in which they agreed to depose both `Alî and Mu`âwiyah and then Caliphate should be an object of consultation among people who can elect the Caliph they want.⁽³⁾

However, At-Tabarî reported that the two arbitrators held negotiations at the end of which they agreed to depose the two conflicting men and

(1) For more information on the arbitration convention, refer to "*Muhâdarât Fî Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*" by Sheikh Al-Khudarî [2: 101-102]; and "*Târikh Al-Islâm As-Siyâsi*" by Dr. Hasan Ibrâhîm [1: 379-380].

(2) Al-Wâqidî reports that they met during the month of Sha`ban, 37 A.H. or 38 A.H. according to two different narrations. However, the majority of narrators' view that the meeting was held during Ramadan, 37 A.H. as provided for by the arbitration convention.

(3) "*Murûj Adh-Dhahab*" by Al-Mas`ûdî [2: 27].

disagreed as to who should succeed them to power. Thus, they agreed to make Caliphate an object of consultation among people who should appoint the Caliph they like. However, they wrote no document and went out to announce the agreement to people. At that time, `Amr used to pretend to give priority to, and show respect for, Abū Mūsā who was older than him and because the latter embraced Islam earlier than him. Thus, Abū Mūsā took the lead and gave speech during which he stated that they agreed to depose both `Alī and Mu`āwiyah and that Muslims should re-elect a new Caliph. When it was `Amr's turn, he said; "You listened to that man when he deposed his companion. As for me, I agree with him in deposing his companion. However, I confirm my companion's right to authority." So, Abū Mūsā insulted him and disorder took place. Upon this, Shurayh Ibn Hāni', the leader of `Alī's delegation, lashed `Amr and then Muḥammad Ibn `Amr reacted by lashing Shurayh. Fighting was about to erupt but people could separate the two parties. Thereafter, Abū Mūsā traveled to Mecca and the people of the Levant went back to Mu`āwiyah pledging allegiance to him as the Caliph.⁽¹⁾

Which of the two narrations should be outweighed? I tend to outweigh the narration of Al-Mas`ūdī as it goes in line with the natural course of events and with the personality of the reverend Companion Abū Mūsā Al-Ash`arī. As a founder of one of the earliest schools of *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), Abū Mūsā cannot be accused of being foolish or simple-minded. Moreover, At-Ṭabari's narration to the effect that only speeches were given and that Abū Mūsā was deceived benefits Mu`āwiyah nothing. Given that `Amr confirmed his judgment, then his judgment was by no means binding. In fact, only written document could be binding to Muslims. Supposing that At-Ṭabari's narration is authentic and the people saw how `Amr was cunning, undoubtedly a great battle would have broken out between the two parties. I think just lashing could have never been enough in such a case.

Results of arbitration and our comments

1. Mu`āwiyah won a truce that saved him from a sure defeat. Moreover, he returned to Damascus with his united army. The six-month truce gave him

(1) "*The History of Al-Tabari*", translated by G. R. Hawting, [17: 108-110].

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a chance to reorganize his forces and get ready for the fighting afresh. On the other hand, `Alî lost a victory that was near at hand and lost his army's unity and obedience to him. Firstly, the majority forced him to accept arbitration. Thereafter, a group of them said; "It was an act of disbelief to accept arbitration of which we repented." Thus, they called him to breach the convention. There was still another group who judged `Alî to be mistaken since he did not fight against Mu`âwiyah with those who obeyed him and leave aside those who disobeyed.

2. `Alî is not to be blamed neither for accepting arbitration, because this was the view of the majority of his army, nor for choosing Al-Ash`arî, because it was his soldiers who chose him. It should be taken into account here that things had actually ran out of `Alî's control. Actually, he could do nothing but declaring that he cannot trust Al-Ash`arî because he distracted people from `Alî through refusing to take part in the battle and because he was not on equal footing with `Amr Ibnul-`Âs.
3. The subject of dispute was retaliation for `Uthmân. When `Alî demanded Mu`âwiyah to pay allegiance to him, Mu`âwiyah stipulated that `Uthmân be retaliated for or the assassins be arrested. This means that Mu`âwiyah admitted `Alî's rightful assumption of Caliphate. Thus, it was obligatory to confine the jurisdiction of the arbitrators to the reasons that caused the eruption of war. However, we saw that the two arbitrators discussed the issue of Caliphate. Thus, they exceeded the limits of the reasons behind the conflict. Of course, `Amr Ibnul-`Âs was the one who raised this issue because Mu`âwiyah, undoubtedly, aspired for Caliphate.
4. The two arbitrators were supported by no power to put what they agreed upon into effect. Actually, the two arbitrators agreed, in a written form, to depose both `Alî and Mu`âwiyah and that the Caliph's position should be decided later by the Muslims. However, neither of the two parties abided by the agreement although they delegated two arbitrators to settle the dispute.
5. No doubt that authorizing the Muslims to practice *Ash-Shûrâ* (i.e. the consultation) in order to decide the position of the Caliph was practically in the benefit of Mu`âwiyah not of `Alî. Actually, it raised the former to the rank of the latter making them equal. Actually, Mu`âwiyah made the

best use of the results of arbitration to achieve his own goals and reach the Caliph's position.

However, acceptance of the truce and the results of arbitration caused `Alī nothing but a great damage to his position. His army was divided and those who were his supporters in the past became his sworn enemies who rebelled and fought against him. Those were called *Al-Khawârij* (Kharijites), which literally means «dissenters».⁽¹⁾

Al-Khawârij (the Kharijites)

`Alī's acceptance of arbitration caused a group of his army to secede from the army. They viewed that arbitration was wrong because it implied that both parties doubted as to which was rightful. In their view, such doubt should not exist, because they and those who were killed fought while believing that `Alī held the truth being a rightful Caliph as he was paid a legitimate pledge of allegiance. They also fought believing that Mu`âwiyah and his army were oppressors who had to be fought against. Allah stated the ruling on oppressors in an explicit Verse that is by no means open to doubt in His saying:

{“...then fight against the one that oppresses until it returns to the ordinance of Allah...”}

[Al-Hujurât: 9]

Thus, `Alī should have continued in his war against Mu`âwiyah and his party until they conform like all other Muslims or otherwise be wholly killed. They also viewed that swords should never be sheathed after they were raised and that men should not be judges as far as blood is concerned. Allah's judgment cannot be renounced in favor of the judgment of men. Actually, these concepts were formed by `Urwah Ibn Udayyah, a man from the tribe of *Banû Tamîm*, or someone else. He inferred them in his saying; “Judgment

(1) Sources on Arbitration in addition to those referred two in the text: “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [3: 141-165]; “*Muhâdarât Fî Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*” by Sheikh Al-Khudarî [2: 92-111]; “*Târikh Al-Islâm As-Siyâsî*” by Dr. Hasan Ibrâhîm [1: 375-385]; “*An-Nazariyyât As-Siyâsiyyah Al-Islâmiyyah*” by Dr. Diyâ'ud-Dîn Ar-Rayyis (pp. 46, 47, 49 and 50); “*Al-Fitnah Al-Kubrâ*” by Dr. Tâhâ Husayn [2: 67-111]; “*Tarjamt `Alī Ibn Abū Tālib*” by Ahmad Zakî Safwat (pp. 51-62); “*Uthmân and `Alī*” by Subyah, the seventh book, April 1958, (pp. 82-123).

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is not but for Allah”. In fact, he proclaimed it when Al-Ash`ath came to recite the arbitration convention. Moreover, he attacked Al-Ash`ath with his sword trying to kill him but the strike missed Al-Ash`ath and hurt the back of his riding animal. On this, a conflict was about to take place but some reasonable men from among the tribe of *Banû Tamîm* apologized for Al-Ash`ath and his people. Thus, `Urwah was the first to introduce the concept of Divine Judgment. Thus, his followers came to be historically called “*Al-Muhakkimah*” (i.e. those who believe that Judgment belongs to Allah). They also were known as “*Al-Muhakkimah Al-Ulâ*” (i.e. the first *Muhakkimah*). Thereafter, the statement “Judgment is not but for Allah” started to spread as quickly as lightning and the view started to gain much followers.

`Alî’s herald called upon the people to leave *Siffin*. Thus, they all returned to *Al-Kûfah* in the worst state of affairs. By the time they had left *Al-Kûfah*, they were so friendly, harmonious and concordant. But when they returned, they were divided, conflicting and disputing to the maximum. They even insulted and lashed one another. The minority said to the majority; “You ran counter to religious commandments and deviated from the guidance of the Qur`ân. You even accepted the judgment of men regarding matters that shall be judged only by Allah.” The majority, in turn, said to the minority; “You disobeyed the Imam (i.e. the Caliph) and forsook the Muslim Community.” Thus, they did not enter *Al-Kûfah* as one group as they left it. Rather, *Al-Muhakkimah* dwelled in *Harûrâ*, a suburban located two miles far from *Al-Kûfah*. They were twelve thousand in number. Later, they came to be called *Al-Harûriyyah* as they were named after the place where they settled. As for the title “*Khawârij*” (lit. dissenters or those who went out), it was given to them by their opponents since they dissented from `Alî, or because they went out to different cities or because they forsook the Muslim Community. Perhaps, they gave themselves that title because they thought they came out in the cause of Allah. This notion is derived from Allah’s saying:

{“And whoever leaves his home as an emigrant to Allah and His Messenger and then death overtakes him – his reward has already become incumbent upon Allah...”}

[An-Nisâ’: 100]

The Fourth Caliph: `Alī Ibn Abū Tālib

During the Umayyad period, they gave themselves a new title: “*Shurâh*” (lit. sellers), which means those who sell themselves seeking Allah’s satisfaction as in Allah’s saying:

{“And of the people is he who sells himself, seeking means to the approval of Allah. And Allah is Kind to [His] servants.”}

[Al-Baqarah: 207]

Regardless of the title, a new party emerged that had a profound effect through the Islamic History. When they settled in *Harûrâ*, their herald shouted; “The commander of the army is Shabath Ibn Rib`î and the Imam who leads us in Prayer is `Abdullâh Ibnul-Kawwâ` Al-Yashkurî. After gaining victory, imamate will be an object of consultation. In such a case, paying the pledge of allegiance will be for the cause of Allah and for enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil.”

Actually, it was painful for the Commander of the Faithful to see that group separating themselves from his army. Deciding to deal with them gently and kindly so that no more disorder should be caused, he sent to them Ibn `Abbâs who held debates with them. During their debate with Ibn `Abbâs, the Commander of the Faithful himself came to debate with them. He stated that his attitude towards arbitration was refusal. Then he said to them; “I stipulated that the two arbitrators judge in accordance with the Qur`ân and that any judgment that conflicts with the Qur`ân will be inapplicable. This way, we made the Qur`ân, rather than men, a judge between us. Moreover, the Qur`ân is in written that does not speak but men are those who speak of it. So, come back to your country may Allah be Merciful to you.”⁽¹⁾ Although they obeyed him and came back to *Al-Kûfah*, dissention was deep-rooted in their hearts. Thus, they came to him and asked him to retreat his agreement with the people of the Levant, but he refused to fulfill their request and favored committing to the covenant, in accordance with Allah’s saying:

“And fulfill the covenant of Allah when you have taken it..”

[An-Nahl: 91]

(1) Refer to the debates in “*Muhâdarât Fî Târîkh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*” by Sheikh Al-Khudârî [2: 106-108]; and “*Târîkh Al-Islâm As-Siyâsî*” by Dr. Hasan Ibrâhîm [1: 386]. Also, see books on Islamic sects.

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So, they were enraged and frequently proclaimed, "Judgment is not but for Allah." Even while he was delivering a sermon in *Al-Kûfah*'s mosque, they interrupted him shouting the same proclamation that echoed through the mosque. On this, `Alî said; "This is a word of truth by which you intended falsehood. You have three duties on us: We will not prohibit you from offering Prayer in this mosque, we will not deprive you of your share in booties as long as you fight along with us and we will not fight against you so long as you do not initiate fighting against us."

This is how `Alî viewed *Al-Khawârij*. He did not judge them as disbelievers because they had views that are different from his. Thus, he did not consider such difference of opinion a cause of discord. Moreover, he gave them the freedom to define their attitude toward abiding by whatever fighting or peace-related decisions he takes. Thus, he adopted the highest-level of justice in his system of rule.

The first Imam of *Al-Khawârij*

Thereafter, *Al-Khawârij* assembled in the house of `Abdullâh Ibn Wahb Ar-Râsî. He delivered a speech exhorting them to renounce worldly pleasures. He also called them to enjoin what is good, forbid what is evil and denounce *Bid`ahs* (innovations in religion) and sins in favor of Allah and the Hereafter. He also called them to leave this city of oppressive people and live in caves or in some other cities. He then advised them to appoint someone of them as their leader. Thus, they offered leadership to many of them but they all refused except Ar-Râsî who accepted it. He then said; "I do not accept leadership seeking a worldly gain and I do not refuse it out of fear of death." So, they pledged allegiance to him on Shawwal 20th, 37 A.H, (i.e. after they had known the result of arbitration). They then agreed to go out of the city in disguise one by one and then meet each other near *An-Nahrawân* Bridge. *An-Nahrawân* is a wide town located to the southeast between Baghdad and *Wâsîl*. So, they sneaked one by one to *An-Nahrawân* where their number reached six thousand. After this escape and after knowing the results of arbitration, `Alî decided to attack the Levant again. So, he sent a message to *Al-Khawârij* asking them to come out with him. They sent back a message to him that read; "In fact, your anger is not for your Lord now; rather, it is for yourself. If you

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testify that you committed an act of disbelief and now declare repentance, we will consider reestablishing our relationship with you. Otherwise, we throw our commitment to obey back to you putting you on equal terms. Indeed, Allah does not like traitors.” Receiving the message, `Alî got despaired of their aid. So, `Alî began to prepare for fighting against Mu`âwiyah. He seriously prepared the army and then camped at *An-Nukhaylah*. Then, he sent a message to Ibn `Abbâs asking him to ask the people of *Al-Basrah* to join the army. When Ibn `Abbâs called them, they showed reluctance and only one thousand and five hundred soldiers came out with Al-Ahnaf Ibn Qays. Therefore, he asked the people of *Al-Kûfah* to join the army. After a great effort, he managed to form an army of 68 or 70 thousand soldiers. On deciding to head for the Levant, he was informed that some of his soldiers prefer to begin with fighting *Al-Khawârij* and then dedicate their efforts for the Levant. He then delivered a sermon to explain to them that fighting against the people of the Levant would be more important. So, people shouted; “O the Commander of the Faithful! Head for whatever destiny you like!” While preparing to move toward the Levant, he heard that *Al-Khawârij* exceeded the limits and did not observe any pact of kinship or covenant of protection concerning the people of Iraq. They shed the blood of a group of them and killed the Companion `Abdullâh Ibn Khabbâb and his pregnant wife because he spoke well of the Four Rightly-Guided Caliphs. So, `Alî sent them a messenger to investigate the issue but they killed him. Thus, `Alî thought that these acts were too horrible to be overlooked. Then, Iraqis asked him persistently to begin with *Al-Khawârij* before heading for the people of the Levant. `Alî acceded to their request and marched to them. On approaching them, he asked them to get out the killers in return for forgiving them but they refused and said; “We all killed them and we deem their blood as well as yours violable.” So, the Caliph ordered Abû Ayyûb Al-Ansârî to set up a flag then said; “Whoever advances to this flag is safe, whoever enters *Al-Kûfah* is safe and whoever returns to *Al-Madâ'in* is safe. We need no more than killing the killers.” So, most of them went away and only a total of 2800 persons remained with Ibn Wahb insisting on conflict. Thereafter, a war erupted between the two parties that ended up on the same day with killing Ibn Wahb and all those with him. Thus, the battle of *An-Nahrawân* nearly eradicated

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Al-Khawârij. However, those who could flee fled to *Al-Bahrayn* and *Al-Ahsâ'*, where they formed the core of the fanatic sect that had evil effects on `Alî Ibn Abû Tâlib. In fact, they shattered his hopes because they distracted his efforts from the more urgent fight against Mu`âwiyah to an unexpected needless war.

Having finished with *Al-Khawârij*, `Alî decided to head for the Levant. However, his supporters gave him up saying; "Our military equipment are in need to maintenance and we got very tired. So, let us go back to Egypt to make our preparation." However, he camped in *An-Nukhaylah* and ordered his soldiers to remain in their camps so that they might prepare for *Jihâd*. He also ordered them not to be frequent in visiting their families and to lead a serious life until they meet their enemy. They remained in the camp for a period of few days then started to sneak out of the camp. Thus, only a few number of prominent figures remained in the camp that can avail nothing. On this, he decided to go back to *Al-Kûfah* and decided very disappointedly not to head for the Levant. He then delivered a sermon during which he reprimanded and criticized them but they were heedless. In fact, he felt that he leads soldiers who no more revere the authority of their Imam and who preferred leisured life to the bitter life of fighting.

This was how the people of Iraq dealt with their Caliph. As for the people of the Levant, they were, on the contrary, obedient soldiers to Mu`âwiyah and heartedly united. Furthermore, Mu`âwiyah increased in power after arbitration. His power even increased further after *Al-Khawârij* rebelled against `Alî. Thus, the people of the Levant paid allegiance to him, which made him get ready for taking over territories under `Alî's authority.

► **Mu`âwiyah and Egypt**

He feared Egypt so much, as it was adjacent to him, and a great source of recruiting soldiers. Therefore, he was afraid that an Egyptian army could be an aiding help to the coming Iraqi armies. Since it was under the authority of Qays Ibn Sa`d Ibn `Ubâdah, a hero of war and intrigue, he began to work out plans and schemes to take it over. So, he began to send messages to Qays once alluring and once threatening to explore his position. However, he found that Qays was strict, firm, and apparently against him. So, he decided

to work out a scheme to sow the seeds of discord between `Alî and Qays. He rumored in the Levant that Qays became a follower of him, receiving his messages. To support these rumors, he claimed that they were indicated by the fact that he held peaceful relations with the supporters of `Uthmân in *Khiribtâ*. Spies told the Caliph what they heard about Qays. Doubting Qays, `Alî sent to him ordering him to fight against the people of *Khiribtâ*, who were ten thousand in number. Qays reply was to the effect that fighting against them is not politically proper. However, `Alî insisted that he should fight against them and Qays, in turn, insisted on refusal and sent a message to `Alî asking him to depose him if he became an object of doubt. So, `Alî deposed him and appointed Muḥammad Ibn Abû Bakr as the governor of Egypt. Muḥammad proceeded to fight against the people of *Khiribtâ*, which caused the Egyptians to revolt against him and thus disorder took place. Thus, the Caliph had to depose him and replace him with Al-Ashtar An-Nakha`î. Then, Mu`âwiyah viewed that Al-Ashtar's rule of Egypt would be more disadvantageous to him than that of Qays Ibn Sa`d. Thus, he sent a man to Egypt who lied in wait for Al-Ashtar near *Al-Qulzum* and put poison into his food. So, Al-Ashtar died before he could reach Egypt. Thereafter, Mu`âwiyah prepared an army under the leadership of `Amr Ibnul-`Âs that marched towards Egypt, where he was joined by the supporters of `Uthmân as well as his followers there. Thus, Mu`âwiyah could take over Egypt ending the authority of Muḥammad Ibn Abû Bakr, who was arrested and killed while extremely thirsty. According to some narrations, they burnt his dead body after putting it into the corpse of a donkey. Thus, Egypt became an Umayyad governorate taking into consideration that it was the most important governorate in the Muslim State after Iraq. Therefore, `Alî's loss was politically, economically and socially very great. This was the most important event of 38 A.H.

► Mu`âwiyah Seizes Other Countries

Mu`âwiyah did not content himself with the westward country (Egypt) he took over. Rather, his victory over `Alî and his follower's obedience to him and conformity with his rule tempted him to annex other countries. So, he sent armies to invade countries under the authority of `Alî. He sent

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An-Nu`mân Ibn Bashîr to the area of `Ayn At-Tamr who managed to invade it. He also sent Sufyân Ibn `Awf to *Hît*, *Al-Anbâr* and *Al-Madâ'in*. On reaching *Hît*, he found no army there and thus could easily dominate it. Then, he marched to *Al-Anbâr* where he found a small garrison under `Alî's control but he could defeat them, appropriated whatever property there and went back to Mu`âwiyah. Mu`âwiyah also sent Ad-Dahhâk Ibn Qays to invade the desert suburban of *Al-Basrah*. Also, he sent Busr Ibn Abû Artât, who was tyrannical, to Hejaz. He managed to dominate Mecca and Medina and have its people pay allegiance to Mu`âwiyah. Busr then moved to Yemen that was governed by `Ubaydullâh Ibn `Abbâs. Informed of this, `Ubaydullâh fled to *Al-Kûfah*. Therefore, Busr managed to dominate Yemen and killed two young children of `Ubaydullâh. This took place in 39 A.H. This way, Mu`âwiyah had authority over most countries, while the people of Iraq gave up the cause. Although `Alî was trying to instigate their enthusiasm through his eloquent sermons, many of which can be referred to in the book "*Nahj Al-Balâghah*", they paid him no heed. Accordingly, it is no wonder to know that the legitimately pledged Caliph asked a truce during this year, a request that was acceded to by Mu`âwiyah. The truce covenant stipulated that each of them should enjoy a complete authority over the countries he dominated. Moreover, during the *Hajj* season each of them would send a deputy of him.

► Assassination of the Fourth Caliph in 40 A.H.

`Alî was striving to confront such bitter circumstances, and to encourage his followers to join him in the war against the Levant and sending troops to resist Mu`âwiyah's raids against the frontiers. He was also absorbed in his strife against *Al-Khawârij* and in urging his governors to undertake their tasks honestly. While absorbed in all these occupations, a group of *Al-Khawârij* was performing *Hajj* and witnessed the attendance of both the followers of `Alî and Mu`âwiyah. Then, they discussed the affairs of people and criticized their governors. They also commemorated the deaths of their brothers during the battle of *An-Nahrawân* and subsequent battles. Feeling sympathy with them, they said; "Life is nothing without them." Consequently, three of them agreed beside *Ka`bah* to assassinate `Alî, Mu`âwiyah and `Amr Ibnul-`Âs, who, in their view, were the reasons behind disputes and eruption of wars. They

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specified one day (the day break of Ramadan 17th) to be the time for the three assassinations. `Abdur-Rahmân Ibn Muljam Al-Murâdî was assigned the task of assassinating `Alî, while Al-Burak Ibn `Abdullâh undertook to assassinate Mu`âwiyah and `Amr Ibn Bakr At-Tamîmî undertook to assassinate `Amr Ibnul-`Âs. They then remained for one month in Mecca, performed `Umrah in Rajab and then separated to execute their agreement.

On Friday night, Ramadan 15th, Ibn Muljam and his companions hurriedly lied in wait for `Alî while going out to perform *Fajr* (Dawn) Prayer. Then, Ibn Muljam gave him a sword strike on his forehead while shouting; "Judgment is only for Allah not for you and your companions, O `Alî!" Upon this, Muslims hurried to their Caliph who said; "Do not miss the man." Thus, people besieged the killer from all sides. People then entered upon `Alî and said; "If we miss you, and we hope that this never happens, shall we pledge allegiance to your son Al-Hasan?" He said; "I neither order nor prohibit you to do this. You are more aware." He then advised his sons to fear Allah and not to rely on those who gave him up. He died on Sunday, Ramadan 17th, 40 A.H., and was buried in *Al-Kûfah*. As for Al-Burak, he lied in wait for Mu`âwiyah but he could not cause him any harm because Mu`âwiyah was armored, according to the view of some historians. However, other historians view that he injured him, but failed to kill him. The people pursued Al-Burak and killed him. Since that time, Mu`âwiyah appointed bodyguards and used to deliver the sermon on a compartment in the mosque. As for `Amr Ibn Bakr, he lied in wait for `Amr Ibnul-`Âs but `Amr did not go out because of an illness he suffered. However, Khârijah Ibn Hudhâfah, the police commander, led people in Prayer instead of `Amr. Thinking that he was `Amr Ibnul-`Âs, `Amr Ibn Bakr attacked him and killed him. On knowing the truth, he said; "I targeted `Amr but Allah destined death for Khârijah." Thus, the conspiracy of *Al-Khawârij* paved the way for Mu`âwiyah and resulted in the death of the most knowledgeable and most ascetic person of the time. No doubt, `Alî was the most remarkable Muslim hero. This way, the father of the Prophet's two grandsons was assassinated by those of whose support he was proud in the near past. Thus, the last advocate of best politics subject to supreme ideals passed away. Actually, he died away from the city where he was born and was buried in a place that the scholars differed concerning its exact location. In fact, he did

not find his rest with the people while alive and his dead body did not rest in a specific place after his death.

► **Al-Hasan Ibn `Alî**

The people of Iraq pledged allegiance to Al-Hasan Ibn `Alî after the death of his father. Al-Hasan had a farsighted view of the surrounding circumstances. He saw soldiers who speak too much but do very little. He also saw a strong opponent and the misfortunes that befell the Muslim Nation. He also took into consideration the attacks launched by the Romans against the lands of Islam taking the advantage of civil war among the Muslims. Therefore, negotiations took place between him and Mu`âwiyah that ended up with reconciliation between the two parties subject to conditions that were agreed upon by the them both. He paid the pledge of allegiance to Mu`âwiyah and gave up *Al-Kûfah* to him by the end of Rabi` II, 41 A.H. This had the effect of stability and Muslims called this year *`Âmul-Jamâ`ah* (the Year of Unity).⁽¹⁾ However, the prominent author Al-`Aqqâd denied this title hurling criticisms on historians. He said; “There is no more astray or erroneous than those historians who called the year 41 A.H. *`Âmul-Jamâ`ah* as it is the year in which Mu`âwiyah had a complete unrivalled authority. In fact, this year was the year in which early Muslims experienced the worst form of dispute and disunity. During this year, Muslims were divided into many disputing sects. It should be taken into account that Mu`âwiyah’s security plan was based on one idea, i.e. sowing the seeds of discord among all people. However, it makes no difference whether they did not object willingly or out of inability to show objection or whether they remained silent for a few days or for long years.”⁽²⁾ However, we do not agree with this view of Al-`Aqqâd. In our view, historians mean that this was the year during which wars came to an end and people submitted to one Caliph regardless of the differing sects and

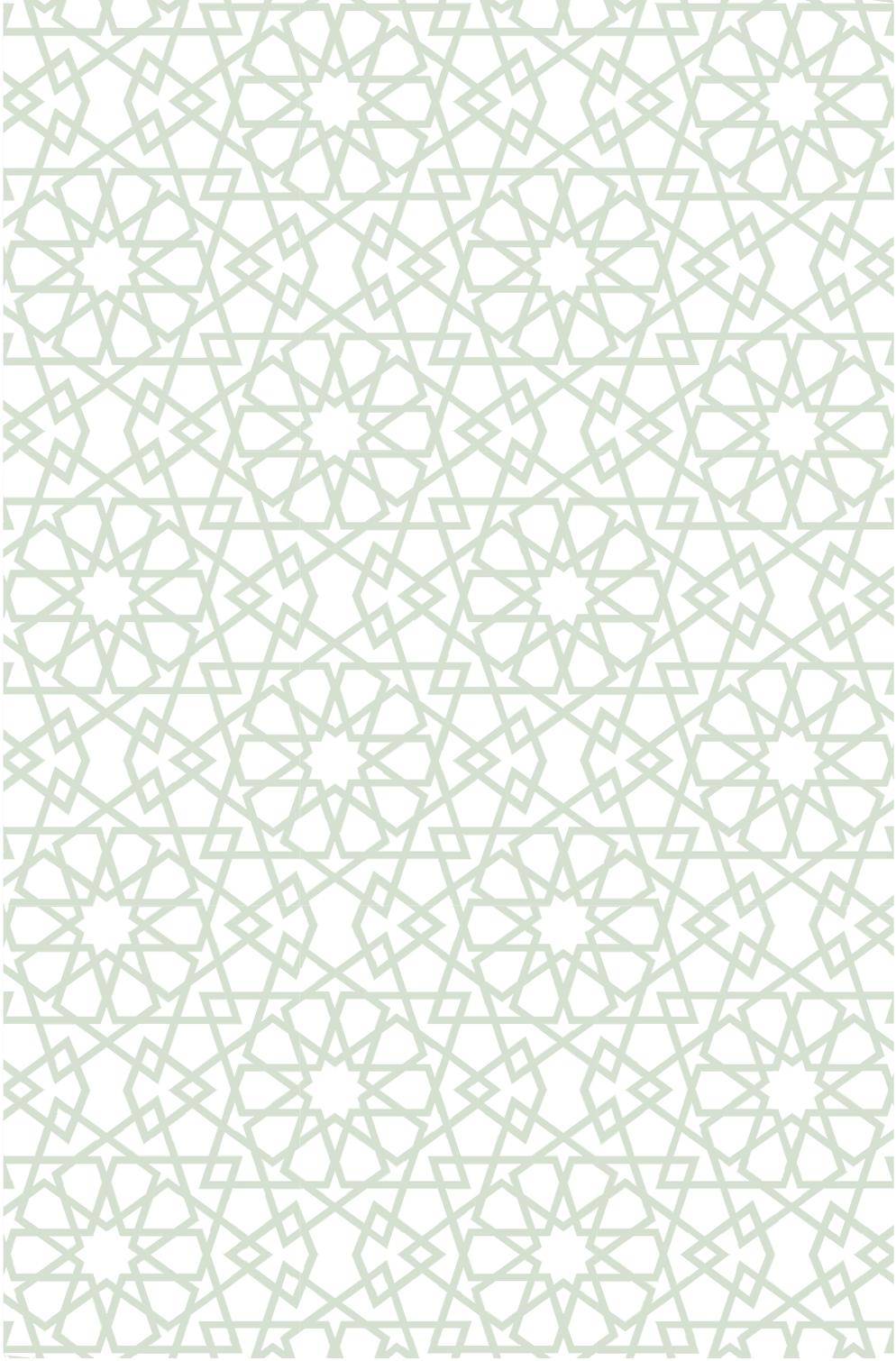
(1) Sources on the topic of *Al-Khawârij* until the end: “*Al-Kâmil Fî At-Târikh*” by Ibnul-Athîr [3: 160-203]; “*Muhâdarât Fî Târikh Al-Umam Al-Islâmiyyah*” by Sheikh Al-Khudarî [2: 105-123 and 129-130]; “*Târikh Al-Islâm As-Siyâsi*” by Dr. Hasan Ibrâhîm [1: 385-390]; “*Al-`Iqd Al-Farîd*” by Ibn `Abd Rabbuh [3: 120-129]; “*An-Nazariyyât As-Siyâsiyyah Al-Islâmiyyah*” by Dr. Diyâ`ud-Dîn Ar-Rayyis (pp. 47, 48 and 50); and “*Uthmân and `Alî*” by Subyah, the seventh book, April 1958, (pp. 124-137).

(2) “*Mu`âwiyah Fî Al-Mizân*” by Al-`Aqqâd (pp. 188-189), published by *Al-Hilâl* Magazine (issue no. 58).

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views, and regardless of Mu`âwiyah's policy to secure his authority. Thus, Al-`Aqqâd views the topic from one perspective, while historians view it from another. Actually, Al-`Aqqâd derived his information from Shiite sources. Anyway, Mu`âwiyah became a Caliph and founded the Umayyad dynasty to which Muslims subjected for about ninety years from 40 A.H. to 132 A.H., until it was inherited by the Abbasid dynasty.

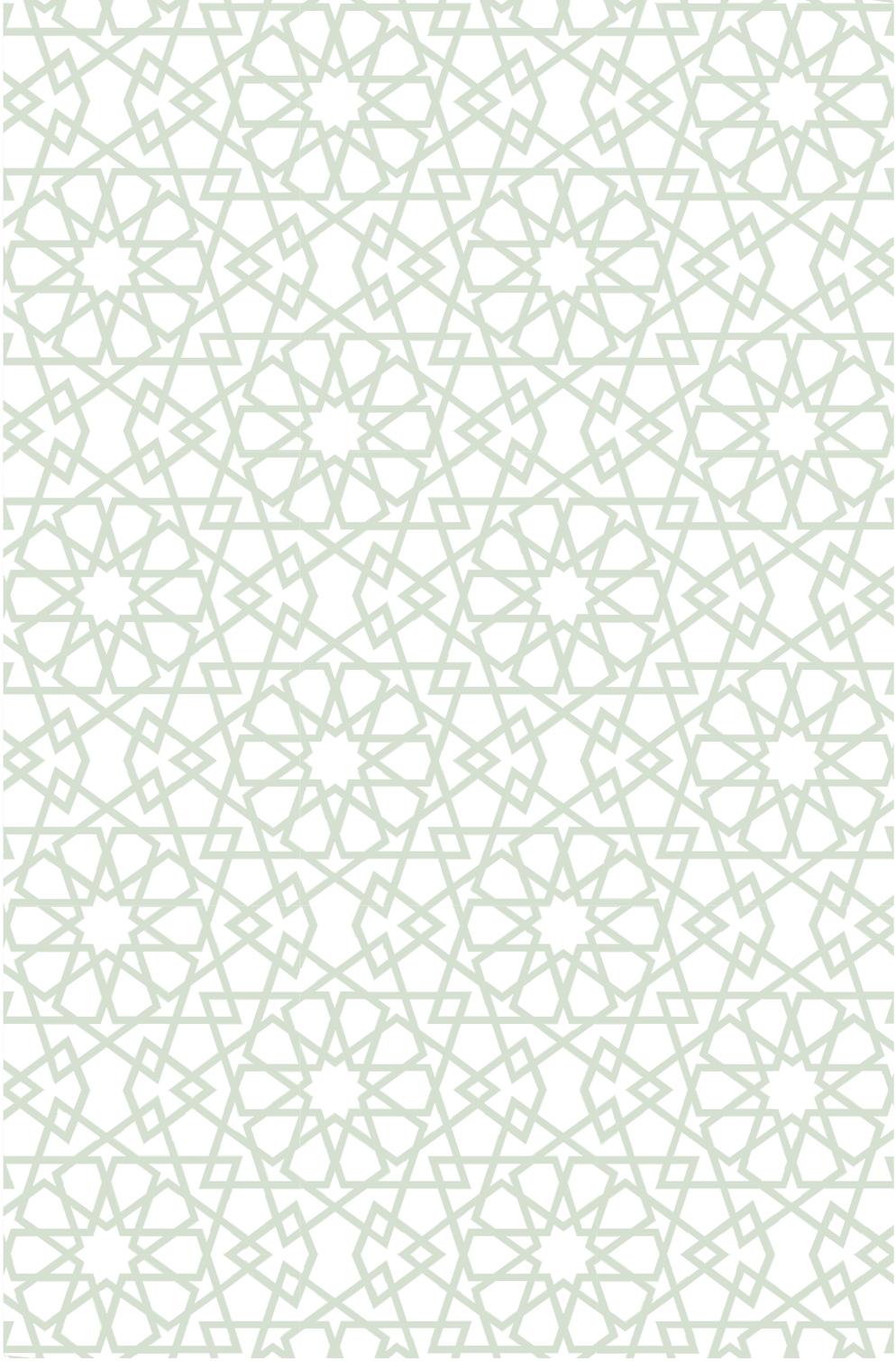




Transliteration System

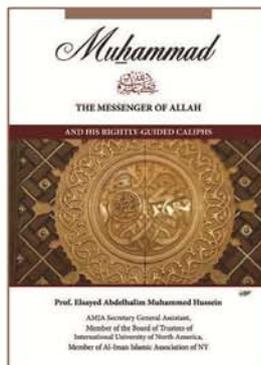


Arabic Character	Symbol	Example	Arabic Character	Symbol	Example
ء	'	`Ishá'	غ	gh	Maghrib
أ	a	Amen	ف	f	Faith/Fatwa
ب	b	bad/Bilál	ق	q	Qur`án
ت	t	tap/tasmiyah	ك	k	kill/Ka`ba
ث	th	think/thaqíf	ل	l	Qiblah
ج	j	Jew/janábah	م	m	man/Marwah
ح	<u>h</u>	Muhammad	ن	n	Noah/Nasí'ah
خ	kh	Al-Bukhârif	هـ	h	has/Hilál
د	d	day/diyah	ة	h/t	Zakáh/Zakát Al-Fitr
ذ	dh	Dhul-Hajjah	و	w	way/Witr
ر	r	far/Ribá	ي	y	yard/Talbiyah
ز	z	zero/zayd	اَ	a	Fadl
س	s	say/Surah	اِ	i	Fiqh
ش	sh	show/'Ishá'	اُ	u	Sunnah
ص	<u>s</u>	`Asr	آ	â	Âdam/Siwák
ض	<u>d</u>	Ifâdah	أُ	û	Dâwûd
ط	<u>t</u>	Tawâf	يِ	î	hadîth/hanafî
ظ	<u>z</u>	Zuhr	أَو	aw	`Awrah
ع	`	Rak`ah	عِ	ay	Ayman



Muhammad ﷺ

THE MESSENGER OF ALLAH AND HIS RIGHTLY-GUIDED CALIPHS



This book is a small contribution and a humble attempt to delve deeply into the life of the savior of humanity, Muhammad (peace be upon him), a life that is full of strife in the cause of Allah, wisdom and faith while marked by sacrifice. Moreover, it tackles the lives of the Prophet's Companions who sacrificed everything and dedicated the prime of their youth to save humanity from the earthly calls where deep darkness and ignorance had intensified.

The unbiased reader will find in this honorable biography the ideal behavior that refutes the biased false calls. He will realize that Muhammad, the Prophet who reached the summit of human perfection, was in all of his conditions a human being. That is, he lived this humanity as an upright young man, a caller for Allah with wisdom and good exhortation, a kind-hearted father, a perfect husband, a military commander, a great leader, a poor man, and rich man, combining worship and devotion to his Lord on the one hand and good companionship to his family and his Companions on the other hand.

The Prophet's mastership had been clearly represented in a distinctive upbringing way of the torn Arabs indulging in deep darkness, that resulted in bringing them out from the darkness of ignorance into the light of Tawhîd (monotheism) which united them after being torn out and divided.

The reader is kindly invited to examine this study that is essential for the tormented straying humanity, so that it may find in it a secure refuge that guides it to the port of deliverance. In the same manner, it is essential for the tormented Muslim wavering between the non-Muslim values invading his mind, thought, society on the one hand and the genuine Islamic values on the other hand.

THE MESSENGER OF ALLAH
AND HIS RIGHTLY-GUIDED CALIPHS

Muhammad ﷺ

Prof. Elsayed Abdelhalim Muhammed Hussein