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VOLUME V
SAHÎH AL-BUKHÂRÎ

BEING TRADITIONS OF THE SAYINGS AND DOINGS OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD / NARRATED BY HIS COMPANIONS TO THOSE WHO FOLLOWED THEM / AND COMPILED UNDER THE TITLE KITÂB AL-JÂMI' AṢ-ṢAHÎH BY IMÂM ABU 'ABD ALLÂH MUHAMMAD IBN ISMÂ'îL AL-BUKHÂRÎ

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES

BY

MUHAMMAD ASAD

VOLUME V

ARAFAT PUBLICATIONS
MODEL TOWN • LAHORE
1938
IN THIS VOLUME:

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THE MERITS OF THE PROPHET'S COMPANIONS

CHAPTER LI
THE BEGINNINGS OF ISLÂM

CHAPTER LII
THE BOOK OF CAMPAIGNS

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لقد كأن لكم في رسول الله أسوة حسنة
(سورة аль-أنفال)

Verily, in the Apostle of God
ye have a good example.

(SУRAH XXXIII. 21)
A PRELIMINARY edition of the First Part of this work, comprising the chapters "How the Revelation Began" and "The Book of Faith", has been published as long ago as December, 1935. But the great expenditure involved in the production of a work of this magnitude has obliged the publishers to postpone the issue of further volumes until a time when the response of the public would justify this venture; and now, after the lapse of more than two years, they believe that this time has come. In this respect I am greatly indebted to the Right Hon’ble Sir Akbar Hydari, Prime Minister of Hyderabad; himself a lover of Islâmic culture and learning, he has encouraged me in my labours almost from their inception, and has been instrumental in bringing them to the notice of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, who has been pleased to sanction a Government grant for the purchase of a considerable number of copies of this work. Another illustrious Indian Prince, His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, has graciously presented to the Arafat Publications the beautiful Arabic types which have been used for printing this book.

There is no doubt that the Muslim world was long in need of a faithful and sufficiently annotated English version of the greatest work on Islâmic Traditions. The seeming lack of interest in the past decades was not so much due to a real indifferance of Muslims with regard to this branch of Islâmic literature as to the strange prejudices which European orientalists have brought to bear on the subject, either directly or through the medium of Muslim writers educated predominantly on Western lines. As a matter of fact, it is the older Muslim authors themselves who were partly responsible for these prejudices and misconceptions. Enveloped as they were in the folds of Neo-Platonic philosophy, they could not rise to that spacious outlook and independence of thought without which it is impossible to appreciate the earliest manifestations of Islâm in their true aspect. Their conceptions of the social, psychological and economic factors underlying the teachings of Islâm were deficient in many respects; and their often narrow-minded interpretation of some of the most important Islâmic problems has created a certain amount of distrust as regards Traditions in the modern Muslim mind. It is true that the enormous labours of the early Traditionists, especially in relation to the biographies of the Companions and the later transmitters of Traditions, as well as their technical investigation of the ways of transmission, are priceless beyond words and have produced a truly magnificent structure of historical criticism, of which Muslims have every right to be proud. But are we to assume that all possibilities of interpretation and explanation have been exhausted by those early works, and that nothing remains for us but blindly to follow them without the right to criticise?

It is the object of this work to prove, firstly, that the "scholastic" interpretation of so many hadith by Muslim theologians from the fourth century A.H. onwards does not always coincide with the intentions of the Founder of Islâm and his Companions. Secondly, that the methods of the early Traditionists are by no means to be lightly dismissed as "unscientific", as is being done by a certain school of thought among European orientalists who have erected their edifices on the shifty sands of Goldziher's theories on Tradition in his Muhammedanische Studien. I rather believe that after a careful study of Şâhid al-Bukhâri the unbiased student will come to the conclusion that never has there existed a historical document, relating to a past period, which was more firmly based on facts or better authenticated by external and internal evidence than this work which represents the climax of the science of Tradition.
The third, and perhaps the most important, object I had in view when undertaking this work, was the inducement it may offer to Muslims of this age to start a more intensive inquiry into the original spirit of Islam. For this reason, the fifth volume (out of the eight which will comprise the whole work), containing the life-history of the Prophet and his Companions, is being published first, as it provides the historical background so necessary for a proper understanding of the whole Corpus of Traditions.

While translating this book, I have tried to render its meaning as literally as possible—sometimes, I am afraid, at the expense of the English language. Whatever I had to say myself has been confined to the explanatory notes, and wherever an addition was unavoidable in the text itself for the sake of clearness, I have used brackets to indicate the additions thus made. Each Tradition has been divided, by means of different sizes of types, into two parts: the documentary evidence of transmission (isnâd) and the textual substance (matn). Al-Bukhârî’s tarâjim al-abwâb have been printed in italics. The letter T before some of the isnâds shows that the Tradition in question is a ta’liq ("suspended") on account of a missing link in the isnâd. The letter ḥ indicates a tahwil ("transfer") to another line of transmitters.

The translation is based on the most accurate of all existing editions, namely, that printed by order of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid at the Maṭba‘ah al-Amiriyah, Cairo, 1313 A.H. Other reliable editions have been frequently consulted.

And now a word about the printing of the Arabic text side by side with the translation. In Muslim countries, this system has been well received, because it enables the lay reader to check at every step the exactitude of the translation. But some European scholars have pointed out to me that this unnecessarily increases the volume of the work and, consequently, the cost of production; and that the student could well avail himself of any of the existing copies of the Sahih whenever he feels the necessity of independent criticism. I cannot admit the objection as valid. The old style in which all the existing copies of this and other works on Tradition were printed makes it, in many cases, exceedingly difficult to separate the frequent interpolations of the transmitters from the textual substance of the Traditions, and sometimes even leads to a confusion of utterances of different persons with the narrator’s statement of facts contained in the matn. Thus, the Arabic text in our edition—arranged as it is on the same principle as the English translation—presents the Sahih for the first time in an easily readable form which, moreover, contains every textual improvement gained from a collation of the most reliable editions.

I shall not conclude these lines without expressing deepfelt thanks to my friend, Ḥâfiz 'Aṭâ' ar-Rahmân Hoshiârpuri, for his invaluable help throughout the whole of this work, as well as to Maulvi Shafiq ar-Rahmân, who has assisted me in reading the proofs of the Arabic text. I am also obliged to 'Abd al-Ḥakîm Khân, the head-compositor of the Arafat Press, for the careful and loving attention which he paid to the printing of the book.

LAHORE, March, 1936.

MUHAMMAD ASAD
L

THE MERITS OF THE PROPHET'S COMPANIONS
CHAPTER L
THE MERITS OF THE PROPHET’S COMPANIONS
CONTAINING 56 SECTIONS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THIS CHAPTER treats of some of the most prominent Companions of the Prophet, so far as reports concerning their merits or actions reached al-Bukhârî. In order to remove certain misconceptions dating back to the writings of some of the earlier Muslim authors, and since current in the Islamic literature on this subject, we ought to discuss here in some detail the problem as to who is to be regarded a Companion, and what elements make up this definition.

The primary meaning of the word ṣâhib is given in Lisân al-‘Arab II, 7, as “one who is intimately associated [muḍ̄shīr]” (with another); and in Lane IV, 1652, ṣâhibahu is explained thus: “He associated, kept company, or consorted with him;... (he accompanied him;) he was, or became, his companion, associate, comrade, fellow, friend...”

From these references, to which many more from other authoritative sources could be added, it becomes apparent that the term “Companionship”, in relation to the Prophet, can be attributed only to those personalities from among the earliest Muslims who were on intimate terms with him and shared his daily life and, in varying degrees, also his thoughts: that is, to those who could be called friends in the deepest meaning of this word. But Muslim historians and theologians have, from the third century of the Hijrah onward, begun to enlarge this term in quite an unjustifiable manner, and have included in it every person who, while being a Muslim, saw the Prophet even without nearer association. The reason for this exaggeration was the extraordinary respect which the Prophet’s personality commanded; a meeting with him, even if it were for a fleeting moment only, conferred a sort of halo on the person concerned, and induced the later generations to regard such an eye-witness as sanctified above those who had not enjoyed the same privilege, and to treat him as an “associate”, or Companion, of the Prophet. This, however, was evidently not the meaning which he himself implied in the term “Companion”. That he made a distinction between his Companions and the Muslims who were merely his contemporaries is apparent from the Tradition quoted in sec. 6, No. 13, of this chapter: “Abuse not my companions! For, if any of you were to spend as much gold as Mount Uhud, he would not attain to [the merit of] a mudd of theirs, or even half of it.” From other versions of this Tradition we understand that there was some quarrel between ‘Abd ar-Rahmān ibn ‘Awf and Khālid ibn al-Walīd, who abused the former. The Prophet’s rebuke shows that at that time he did not yet regard Khālid as a Companion, although the latter must have seen him daily. It was only later that Khālid, not by merely seeing the Prophet, but by his brilliant deeds of devotion which earned him the appellation “Sword of God”, was received in the Prophet’s friendship and became a Companion. On the other hand, ‘Abd ar-Rahmān ibn ‘Awf was one of the oldest associates of the Prophet, and was described by him as such in the above Tradition. It is quite improbable that in this saying the Prophet had in the first line the

1 For an explanation of expressions occurring in this Tradition, see p. 35, nn. 4 and 5.
2 Cf. Muslim, K. Fāḍ’il as-Sahdhab, B. Tahrim Sāb as-Sahdhab.
"future generations" in mind, as some well-meaning commentators suggest. Apart from the fact that the occasion on which he uttered this saying is historically established, the use of similes of strictly local importance, like "Mt. Uhud" or "mudd", precludes the possibility of its having been intended as a warning for future generations. Had this been the case, the Prophet would have probably used—as he often did—comparisons of a wider connotation, which could have been easily appreciated by people who perhaps never saw the mountains surrounding Madinah and were not necessarily familiar with the local customs prevailing there.

As to the Companions themselves, they were undoubtedly of opinion that not every Muslim who merely saw the Prophet was a sahâbi. This is evident, for example, from a Tradition quoted by Ibn ʿAbd Allâh in his Muqaddamah: Someone asked Anas ibn Mâlik: "Is any of the Companions of the Apostle of God still alive beside thee?" Anas answered: "Some Bedouins who saw him are still alive; but of his Companions—none." This strict differentiation between Companions and Muslims who merely saw the Prophet without intimate association is still clearly visible in the period of the tabî‘un (or successors of the Companions); so the famous tâbi‘i Sa’id ibn al-Musayyab is reported to have regarded as Companions only those persons who had lived for at least one year in the Prophet’s company and had taken part in some of his campaigns. This definition is, no doubt, somewhat artificial and schematic, and does not cover the whole ground: for it is imaginable that a man came into contact with the Prophet in the last months of the latter’s life, or that he himself died after only a brief association with the Prophet, and nevertheless became a real Companion. But even with this defect, Ibn al-Musayyab’s definition is important as an attempt to stem the growing tide of pious exaggeration which elevated everyone who had had the privilege of seeing the Prophet, to the status of a Companion. Ibn al-Musayyab was certainly not isolated in this endeavour. So, e.g., we read in an-Nawawi’s commentary on Sahîh Muslim: "Some Traditionists maintain that this distinction of Companionship is limited to those who had kept company with him [i.e., the Prophet] for a long period, have spent [their possessions in his cause], and those who migrated [to Madinah] and actively helped [him]: and not to those who saw him occasionally, as, for example, the deputations of the Bedouins; nor to those who were in his company only after the conquest of Mecca, when Islam had become powerful." Though an-Nawawi himself hesitates to subscribe to this definition, it is obvious that it was accepted by many of the early Traditionists, at least in the first two centuries. The more, however, the distance from the Prophet’s time increases, the more pronounced becomes the tendency to generalise the term “Companionship”. With al-Bukhârî, it applies already to every Muslim who “kept company with the Prophet or saw him”. The forcedness of this definition is evident at the first glance: the use of the co-ordinating particle “or” can hardly bridge the linguistic obstacle arising from the application of the term “Companionship” to a person who never kept company with the Prophet and saw him perhaps only once—as was the case with many of the newly-converted Bedouins who came to Madinah, asked the Prophet a few questions, received his answers, and departed, never to see him again. It is possible, however, that al-Bukhârî, like so many Traditionists before him, uses the appellation “Companion” from two different points of view: the one is the historical point of view, which embraces the real Companions “who kept company with the Prophet”, i.e., were intimately associated with him; and the other represents the purely technical usage of the Traditionist. For the

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1 See ʿAyn XVI, 188.
2 Ibn ʿAbd Allâh, p. 258. The author, one of the most exacting critics of Tradition, has no hesitation in accepting the isnad of this Tradition as “sound” (saḥîh).
3 Ibid., p. 256; Fath al-Bârî VII, 2.
4 Nasara: in this term the Anṣâr and other active “helpers” besides the Muhâjîrs are comprised.
5 Nawawi XVI, 93.
6 Ibid., p. 94.
7 Cf. tarjumâh of this chapter, p. 17.
muḥaddith, the transmitters of Traditions are ranged in groups according to the period in which they lived. The oldest group, i.e., those persons who have met the Prophet as Muslims and are thus in a position to report Traditions on his authority, are conveniently (and only in this strictly technical sense) described as "Companions"; the degree of their intimacy with the Prophet is not taken into account. This technical usage of the term "Companion" is not objectionable as such; it may, however, lead to a confusion of issues. We have been accustomed to regard the real Companions of the Prophet as persons whose trustworthiness is beyond criticism, for they have proved their moral worth and, therefore, their reliability as transmitters of Traditions by the very fact of their intimate association with the Prophet and the trust he reposed in them: his knowledge of the human nature would not have allowed him to consort intimately, and for a long time, with a hypocrite or a weak-minded, shallow person. But the same unquestioning attitude cannot be reasonably postulated with regard to all the personalities whom we may describe as "Companions" merely in the technical sense of the science of Tradition (i.e., as an indication of the period in which they lived); and, therefore, we cannot possibly accept their Traditions without further scrutiny of their individual trustworthiness. But the extension of the term "Companion" to everyone who once met the Prophet often makes the muḥaddith forget that he uses this term in the technical sense alone, and leads to a slackening of criticism with regard to the period which requires the strictest criticism, and to errors like that committed by al-Bukhārī in accepting a political Tradition on the authority of so shady a personality as Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam.

This too-liberal attitude stands by no means unchallenged in the literature bearing on this subject. From among the older authors after al-Bukhārī, the Andalusian Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, one of the most discerning and dependable compilers of rijāl-works, was definitely against the indiscriminate designation as "Companion" of everyone who saw the Prophet. His remarks in this respect are very characteristic and deserve to be quoted:

"Behold, the first thing to which the student and the scholar turn after the Book of God is the Sunnah of His Apostle, for it explains the intentions of God such as are implied in His Book. . . And one of the most important elements which help us to understand and to preserve the Sunnah is the knowledge of those [personalities] who have transmitted it, on the authority of their Prophet, to the whole world . . . and these are his Companions and his Helpers [ḥawāriyyūn] who have remembered this [Sunnah] and have transmitted it in good faith . . . These are 'the best generation' and 'the best community that has been sent forth to mankind.' The righteousness of all of them has been confirmed by God's and His Apostle's praise of them. None can be more righteous than he whom God was pleased to make a Companion and Helper of His Prophet, and there can be no purity greater than theirs and no manifestation of righteousness more complete. But this quality [of Companionship] applies only to those who have early accepted his [i.e., the Prophet's] Mission, had faith in him and have strengthened him and helped him and kept company with him: and does not apply to everyone who saw him, nor to everyone who had faith in him . . . "

This excerpt from Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr's great work is characteristic of a number of older Muslim scholars. But in the centuries which followed, the "pious" view—namely, that every Muslim who but once saw the Prophet is of his Companions—obtained far larger currency. The logical exploitation of this idea led to innumerable absurdities and serious discussions of "problems" like these: Is a man who only in his earliest infancy saw the Prophet, a Companion or not? Or one who for the first time saw the Prophet after the latter's death (before he was buried)? Are the Jinns and the Angels to be counted among his Companions? With such fantastic problems otherwise quite

1 Note about him on p. 71, n. 3.
2 368–463 A.H.; see Tadhkirah III, 306 ff.
3 Cf. sec. 1, Nos. 2 and 3.
4 Qurʾān iii, 110.
5 Istīʿdb I, 2.
6 Cf. Fath al-Bārī VII, 2 f; ʿĀyni XVI, 179.
reasonable scholars busied themselves for a considerable period. Without a thorough revision of this attitude and a return to the oldest standards set up by the Prophet himself and his real Companions, we will be unable to find our way to a sound valuation of Traditions.

But the question as to who is, and who is not, to be regarded a Companion is not merely of technical importance from the point of view of the science of Tradition; it exerts a direct, and not inconsiderable, influence on our attitude towards the ethical and social structure of Islam. On many occasions the Prophet recommended his Companions as an example to the future generations, for it is they who have understood and assimilated his teachings—at least as regards the *nusús* and *sunan*—better than anyone else could do. It would be difficult, however, to regard a man like Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam as a shining protagonist of Islamic virtues, worthy to be imitated; but, according to the standard set up by the majority of later Traditionists, he was a *ṣahabī*, because as a child he saw the Prophet! When we, however, limit the designation of Companion to those who were intimate associates of the Prophet, Marwān is automatically excluded, and there remains nothing of him but the memory of an unpleasant personality who had merely had the good luck of having seen the Prophet. And if we accept the definition quoted by an-Nawawi, not even Muʿāwiya—irrespective of his merits—could be termed "Companion", for he embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca, when almost all inhabitants of Arabia thought it prudent to do so; though in his case we have the sayings of other Companions, like Ibn ʿAbbās, who apparently did regard him as a Companion. But be it as it may, the Companions to whom the Prophet so often alludes as examples for posterity are undoubtedly to be sought among those men and women who followed him and helped him at a time when profession of Islam was equivalent to sacrifice and personal hardship, and whose support and devotion secured the final triumph of Islam. The selfless grandeur of their lives will for ever remain a symbol of the influence which the personality of the Greatest Man radiated upon his friends and comrades—an influence which transformed and changed the course of their lives, and with them, the destinies of the world.

THE CHAPTER before us is arranged in three main parts. After a sort of “preamble” consisting of three Traditions which deal with the merits of Companions in general, the author brings in the sections 2–33 Traditions on the *Muhājirs*, while the sections 34–51 are devoted to the *Anṣār*; in both portions, the men come first and are followed by the women. The last part (sections 52–56) consists of Traditions on Companions who were neither *Muhājirs* nor *Anṣār*, as, e.g., Khadijah, who died before the *hijrah*, Jarir ibn ʿAbd Allāh, who embraced Islam in the last months of the Prophet's life, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Salām, who himself was not of the *Anṣār* but was associated with them as a *ḥalif*, etc. Whenever necessary, short biographical sketches of the personalities concerned have been given in the explanatory notes. No such biographies are given of the Companions with whom the student of Islamic history is already familiar: Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAli, Ḥasan, Husayn, Fāṭimah, ʿAʾishah, Khadijah, and Muʿāwiya.

Al-Bukhārī's primary object was to show by means of these Traditions the opinion which the Prophet Muhammad had of his Companions; secondly, to record such actions of theirs as prove their worth and moral status; and, lastly, to show what their contemporaries among the Muslims thought of them. Incidentally, this chapter may help to remove several historical misconceptions relating to the early history of Islam.

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2. See sec. 31, No. 1, in this chapter.
IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE DISPENSER OF GRACE

THE MERITS OF THE PROPHET’S COMPANIONS

And whoso of the Muslims kept company with the Prophet or saw him, is of his Companions.

SECTION I

1. ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd Allāh related to us: Sufyān related to us, on the authority of ‘Amr, who said: I heard Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh say: Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī related to us, saying:

THE Apostle of God said: A time will come when a party of the people will go forth to fight, and some will say: Is there among you anyone who hath kept company with the Apostle of God? And they will answer: Yea. And they shall be victorious. Thereafter a time will come when a party of the people will go forth to fight, and someone will say: Is there among you anyone who hath kept company with the companions of the Apostle of God? And they will answer: Yea. And they shall be victorious. Thereafter a time will come when a party of the people will go forth to fight, and someone will say: Is there among you anyone who hath kept company with a

1 In all available texts, this chapter is not distinctly treated as a separate entity, although it is obviously one: the bismillāh, however, which in Bkh generally precedes a new chapter, occurs in all texts, which leads us to the assumption that the author intended it to be a separate chapter. The word bāb (section) before the title occurs in most of the texts, but is omitted in that of Abū Dharr al-Hirawi (cf. Sahih, ed. ‘Abd al-Hamid, vol. V. 2); I have inserted it after the tarjumah to mark the beginning of the first section.

2 Regarding the problem as to who is to be considered a Companion of the Prophet, see Introductory Note to this chapter.
companions of the companions of the Apostle of God? And they will answer: Yea. And they shall be victorious.¹

2 Ishāq related to me: An-Nadr related to us: Shu'bah informed us, on the authority of Abū Jamrah: I heard Zahdām ibn Muḍarrīb say: I heard 'Imrān ibn Ḥusayn say:

The Apostle of God said: The best of my community is my generation,² thereafter those who will follow them, thereafter those who will follow them.³

'Imrān said: And I know not whether he mentioned two or three generations after his [own] generation.

And, behold, after you⁴ there will be people who will testify without being asked to testify;⁵ and will betray and will not be trusted; and will make vows and will not fulfil them: and they will grow in opulence.⁶

¹ This is, of course, not to be taken as a literal prediction, because it sometimes happened even in the early history of Islam that Muslims suffered defeat in spite of the presence among them of Companions or their successors (tābi‘ūn). The above saying seems to express the moral superiority of a Muslim force fighting in the name of God and guided by the life-example of the Prophet: their victory and their defeat will both be victory in the moral sense. Cf. in this respect the well-known Tradition: “There will be always, to the Last Day, people from among my community who will remain victorious”; another version adds: “and none of those who forsake them or oppose them will be able to harm them”. Both versions are found in Bkh xlix/27, Nos. 2 and 3.

² The term qarn is sometimes erroneously translated as “century”; in reality, it denotes people belonging to the same period or being of equal age (cf. Lane VIII, 2987), that is, a generation.

³ The expression wālā (from which yalūnahum is derived) means “to be next, or adjacent (to another thing)”. In the above context, it is generally interpreted as “next in time”; thus it is taken to mean the Companions of the Prophet, their successors (tābi‘ūn), and the successors of these (tabi‘īn)—an interpretation obviously adopted by the narrator of this Tradition, ‘Imrān; for him wālā is synonymous with “next generation”. The primary meaning of this word, however, does not postulate succession in matter of time; it rather suggests nearness in conceptions. Thus, the meaning of the above Tradition appears to be wider than that usually adopted by the older commentators. While it goes without saying that the Companions of the Prophet and their successors were not only in time but also in conceptions nearer to the Prophet than the later generations, the degree of “nearness” to the Prophet and his Companions is not restricted to time, but depends on the degree of following their teachings and their spirit.

⁴ I.e., after the first three or four generations.

⁵ Sc., because they are not held trustworthy. The commentators (e.g., Fath al-BArī V, 198) have advanced several laboured explanations of this sentence, but they are not convincing. The only acceptable interpretation appears to be the one given above.

⁶ Lit., “fatness [ṣīman or saman] will become apparent among them”. The meaning is, that the people of the time thus predicted by the Prophet will extremely care for their material well-being without having any of the virtues required of a Muslim.
Muḥammad ibn Katḥir related to us: Suﬁyān informed us, on the authority of Mansūr, on the authority of Ibrāhīm, on the authority of ‘Abīdah, on the authority of ‘Abd Allāh:

The Prophet said: The best of people are my generation, thereafter those who will follow them, thereafter those who will follow them. Then will come [such] people that one’s testimony will outrun his oath, and one’s oath, his testimony.

Ibrāhīm said: And while we were small, they would beat us in matters of testimony and oath.

SECTION II

THE VIRTUES OF THE MUḤĀJĪRĪN AND THEIR MERIT: OF THESE WAS ʿABŪ BAKR ʿABD ALLĀH IBN ABĪ QHĀFAH AT-TAYMĪ

The Word of God, exalted be He: For the poor emigrants who have been driven from their homes and their possessions, seeking favour from God and [His] pleasure, and help God and His Apostle: these are the sincere. And He said: If ye help him, not, God hath helped him;—to His Word: Behold, God is with us. And ‘Aʾishah, Abū Saʿīd and Ibn ʿAbd Allāh said: It is the best of the oaths. For a fuller explanation of this Tradition, see Bkh xli/9, No. 2.

1 i.e., they will be careless with regard to their testimony, swearing to more than they can testify, and testifying to matters which exceed the scope of their oath.

2 Sc., the parents and teachers.

3 To prevent the misuse of testimonies.

4 The word hijrah (going forth, emigration) has several meanings in the Islāmic shariʿah: one is the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad from Mecca to Madīnah, which inaugurated a new era in the history of Islām; another, more general, meaning is the emigration of Muslims from a place of danger to a place of security, as in the case of the Companions of the Prophet who, in order to escape the persecutions of the Quraysh, migrated from Mecca to Abyssinia; another, the emigration from a place where unbelief reigns to any place under Muslim rule. Wherever the word muḥājir (emigrant) occurs in a Tradition without any further qualification it refers to those Companions of the Prophet who emigrated with him or shortly after him (that is, before the conquest of Mecca, in 8 A.H.) from Mecca to Madīnah, in order to be able to live freely according to the tenets of Islām. Such emigration, entailing the giving up of home and family relations for the sake of God and His Prophet, was naturally regarded as an action of great merit; and so the designation of muḥājir had not only a historical connotation, but was also a sign of particular distinction. Regarding the wider, spiritual implications of the term hijrah, see Bkh i, No. 1.

5 Qurʾān lix, 8.

6 Sc., the Prophet Muḥammad.

7 Qurʾān ix, 40.

[Abû Bakr] said: We departed from Mecca, and remained awake

— or: travelled — throughout that night and the [following] day, till the sun was at its highest. Then I cast my eyes around to see whether there was some shade where we could betake ourselves for refuge: and lo, there was a rock. I went toward it and saw that it had still a little shade. I smoothed the ground and spread on it a bedding for the Prophet and said unto him: Lie down, O Prophet of God! — And the Prophet lay down. Thereupon I went forth to look around for any of the pursuers. And lo, I met a herdsman driving his flock toward the rock, desiring of it that

1 The Tradition of ‘A’ishah referred to is fully quoted in Bkh li/21, No. 9; the Tradition of Abû Sa’id al-Khudri in the Musnad of Ibn Habbân (see Fath al-Bâri VII, 7); and the Tradition of Ibn ‘Abbas in Bkh lîi, sûrah ix, sec. 9, No. 3.

2 When the Prophet and Abû Bakr left Mecca for Madinah, they first hid themselves during three nights in a cave in Mt. Thawr in the vicinity of Mecca, and thence proceeded further, after having procured a guide (cf. Bkh li/21, No. 9). The author mentions this fact here to show the regard in which Abû Bakr was held by his companions for having stood by the Prophet at a time of great danger.

3 ‘Āzib ibn al-Hârith al-Ansârî, father of the narrator al-Barâ’.

4 Al-Barâ’ ibn ‘Āzib al-Ansârî. He was too young to take part in the battle of Badr, but later he witnessed fourteen or fifteen campaigns led by the Prophet personally. He is said to have been the commander of the forces which conquered Ray, in Persia, in 24 A.H. Died 72 A.H. (Iṣâbah I, 147.)

5 On their hijrah to Madinah.

6 Although it might appear that this narrative refers to the actual departure of the two fugitives from Mecca, it refers in reality to events which happened three days later, namely, after their departure from the cave of Mt. Thawr. It is probable that ‘Āzib already knew the story of the cave, so Abû Bakr restricted his narrative to events which happened after that.
which we had desired. I asked him: To whom
dost thou belong, O boy?—He said: To a
man of Quraysh;—he mentioned his name,
and I knew him. Then I said: Is there milk
in thy flock?—He answered: Yea.—I said:
Wilt thou, then, milk [for us]?—He said: Yea.
—So I bade him do so, and he tied up a ewe
of his flock. Then I bade him clean her udder
of dust, and bade him clean his hands.
(Thus,—said [Abū Bakr] slapping one
of his hands against the other.) He drew
a little milk for me. I had already prepared
a waterskin for the Prophet, of which the
mouth was covered with a piece of cloth;
and I poured [some water] into the milk so
that it cooled to the bottom, went therewith
to the Prophet and found him already awake;
and I said: Drink, O Apostle of God!—and he
drank until I was satisfied. Thereupon I said:
It is time to depart, O Apostle of God!—He
said: Yea.—So we departed, those people
[still] pursuing us. But none of them per-
ceived us save Surāqah ibn Malik ibn Ju-
shum⁴, riding his mare. I said: This pursuer
hath already reached us, O Apostle of God!
—But he said: Grieve not: for, behold, God is
with us.

Muhammad ibn Sinān related to us: Ham-
mām related to us, on the authority of Thābit, on the authority of Anas.

On the authority of Abū Bakr, who said:
While we were in the cave⁴, I said unto
the Prophet: If any of them had looked down
below his feet,⁵ he would have surely seen
us.—But he said: What, thinkest thou, O
Abū Bakr, could befall twain who have God
as the third with them?

1 For particulars about this man, who later embraced Islām, see Bkh li/21, No. 9. There is
also described how Surāqah was rendered unable to fulfil his inimical designs regarding the Prophet
and Abū Bakr.

2 Cf. Qurʾān ix, 40, which refers to the same incident. In some versions of the Ṣaḥīh, this Tradition
is followed by a short commentary on sūrah xvi, 6, erroneously supposed to have been added
by al-Bukhārī. It is, however, missing in the most authoritative texts, and thus appears to be a
later interpolation (cf. Fath al-Bārī VII, 8).

3 See p. 20, n. 2.

4 When the Prophet and Abū Bakr were hiding in the cave, some of the pursuers passed
above its mouth without noticing it (cf. Bkh li/21, No. 22).
SECTION III
THE SAYING OF THE PROPHET, CLOSE ALL DOORS
SAVE THE DOOR OF ABU BAKR

Ibn 'Abbās related this [Tradition] on the authority of the Prophet.¹

'Abd Allāh ibn Muhammad related to me: Abū 'Amir related to us; Fulayh related to us, saying: Sālim abu‘n-Naḍr related to us, on the authority of Busr ibn Sa‘īd, on the authority of Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, who said:

THE Apostle of God addressed the people and said: Behold, God gave one of His servants the choice between this world and that which is with Him; and the servant chose that which is with God.—Thereupon Abū Bakr wept; and we wondered at his weeping over the announcement of the Apostle of God concerning one of God's servants who had been given the choice. But it was the Apostle of God himself who had been given the choice, and Abū Bakr knew it better than we.² Then the Apostle of God said: Behold, of all people, the most generous toward me with regard to his companionship and his property was Abū Bakr. And were I to choose anyone but my Sustainer to be my dearest friend³, indeed I would choose Abū Bakr; but [for him I cherish] Islamic brotherliness and love. There shall be left open no door in the mosque—save Abū Bakr's door.⁴

¹ This Tradition is fully quoted in Bkh viii/80, No. 2.
² The Prophet spoke the above words at the time of his temporary recovery from his last illness (cf. Bkh viii/80, No. 2, and a Tradition on the authority of Jundub, quoted by Ibn Hajar in Fath al-Bārī VII, 9, in which the narrator precedes the same account with the words, "I heard the Prophet say, five nights before his death," etc.). Abū Bakr understood that the Prophet was alluding to his imminent death.
³ The expression khalīl denotes the dearest or most sincere friend who has no rival in the love and reliance conferred upon him (see Lisān al-'Arab XIII, 230 f). As the Prophet's highest love was reserved for God Himself, he could not entertain for any mortal the same degree of affection and devotion.
⁴ When the Prophet's Mosque at Madīnah was first built, it occupied a narrow space between houses, some of which had doors opening on it. The house of 'A‘īshah, in which the Prophet mostly lived (and which to-day is included in the mosque and surmounted by a green dome), also bordered on it; and adjoining to this were the houses of other wives of the Prophet (Ibn Sa‘īd I/ii, 180 f), as well as those of some Companions, e.g., al-'Abbās. All the Companions' houses, with
SECTION IV
THE MERIT OF ABU BAKR COMETH NEXT AFTER THAT OF THE PROPHET

'Abd al-'Aziz ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us: Sulaymân related to us, on the authority of Yahyâ ibn Sa'id, on the authority of Nâfi'.

ON the authority of Ibn 'Umar, who said: In the time of the Prophet we used to grade people [according to their merits]; and we used to give Abu Bakr the precedence, next to him, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, and next to him, 'Uthmân ibn 'Affân.¹

SECTION V
THE PROPHET'S SAYING, IF I WERE TO CHOOSE [ANYONE TO BE] MY DEAREST FRIEND

Abû Sa'id told this [Tradition].²

1 Muslim ibn Ibrâhim related to us: Wuhayb related to us, on the authority of 'Ayûb, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs.

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: If I were to choose my dearest friend from among my community, indeed I would choose Abu Bakr; but [he] is my brother and my companion.

2 Mu'allâ ibn Asad and Mûsâ related to us, saying: Wuhayb related to us, on the authority of 'Ayûb³ . . . and said:

IF I were to choose my dearest friend, [said the Prophet.] Indeed I would choose him⁴ to be my dearest friend; but Islamic brotherliness is the best [that I can give him].

the exception of those of the Prophet's wives and of al-'Abbâs, were later demolished by 'Umar when he rebuilt and enlarged the mosque, which originally occupied only the space indicated today by the Rawdah (ibid., III/i, 203; IV/i, 13). During the Prophet's last illness, the latter stayed in 'Âishah's house; as he was troubled by the noise and the frequent passing of people, he ordered all doors leading from the houses to the mosque to be closed, with the exception of that of Abu Bakr, as a special mark of esteem for the old and trusty friend.

1 It is probable that Ibn 'Umar told this Tradition at a time when the Muslims were already divided in their opinions as to whether 'Uthmân or 'Âli occupied a higher rank. This Tradition is to be found, in a more explicit form, in sec. 8, No. 3.
2 Reference to the Tradition already quoted in sec. 3.
3 The rest of the isnâd is the same as in the preceding Tradition.

4 Sc., Abu Bakr.
Qutaybah related to us: ‘Abd al-Wahhab related to us, on the authority of Ayyub, the same [as above].

Sulayman ibn Harb related to us: Hammad ibn Zayd informed us, on the authority of Ayyub, on the authority of ‘Abd Allah ibn Abi Mulaykah, who said:

The people of Kufah wrote to Ibn az-Zubayr concerning the grandfather, \(^1\) and he answered: He of whom the Apostle of God said, If I were to chose my dearest friend from among this community, indeed I would chose him, (that is, Abu Bakr) assigned to him \(^8\) the position of father. \(^3\)

SECTION VI

1. Al-Humaydi and Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Allah related to us, saying: Ibrahim ibn Sa’d related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of Muhammad ibn Jibayr ibn Mut’im, on the authority of his father, who said:

A woman came unto the Prophet, and he bade her come again. \(^4\) She said: What shall I do if I come and find thee not?—as if she were alluding to [his] death. \(^5\) He said: If thou find me not, go to Abu Bakr. \(^6\)

2. Ahmad ibn Abi Tayyib related to me: Ismai’il ibn Mujalid related to us: Bayan ibn Bishr related to us, on the authority of Wubahra ibn ‘Abd ar-Rahman, on the authority of Hammam, who said:

I HEARD ‘Ammar say: I saw the Apostle of God while there was none with him but

Hadith No. 2651: Haditha Abu Al-Wahab, in his words.

3. Hadith No. 2652: Imam Suleiman, who had heard Abu Bakr, then said: Abi Bakr, in cases where the father of the deceased died before the latter, assigned to the grandfather the same part in the inheritance as that which is allotted to the father of a deceased. There is, however, difference of opinion among the legists concerning this point (see Bkh Lxxii 9).

4. It is nowhere mentioned in the Traditions who the woman was or what the problem was she had brought before the Prophet.

5. It appears that this happened during the Prophet’s last illness, and the woman was afraid lest he should die before she came again, and so her matter would remain undecided.

6. Thus, perhaps, the Prophet indicated that after his demise Abu Bakr would guide the Muslims. There are many allusions to this effect both in this work and in other compilations.
five slaves¹, two women², and Abū Bakr³.

3 Hishām ibn `Ammār related to us: Sādaqaḥ ibn Khālid related to us: Zayd ibn Wāqīd related to us, on the authority of Busr ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, on the authority of 'A'idh Allāh abū Idrīs, of the authority of Abu'd-Dardā', who said: I was sitting with the Prophet, and there came Abū Bakr, lifting the end of his garment, so that his knees were visible; and the Prophet said: Your friend hath had a quarrel.—[Abū Bakr] greeted [him] and said:

On the authority of Abu'd-Dardā', who said: I was sitting with the Prophet, and there came Abū Bakr, lifting the end of his garment, so that his knees were visible; and the Prophet said: Your friend hath had a quarrel.—[Abū Bakr] greeted [him] and said:

1 The five slaves were (according to Fath al-Bārī VII, 15): (1) Bilāl the Abyssinian (for biographical note see sec. 26). (2) Zayd ibn Ḥārithah (see sec. 18). (3) `Amīr ibn Fuhayrah. He was a slave of a Qurayshi, and was maltreated by his master owing to his adherence to the Prophet. Thereupon Abū Bakr bought him and immediately liberated him. When the Prophet and Abū Bakr left Mecca on their hijrah and hid themselves for three nights in the cave of Mt. Thawr, `Amīr came daily to them with his flock of sheep and supplied them with milk, as is narrated in Bkh li/21, No. 9. (He should not be confused with the shepherd mentioned in sec. 2, No. 1, of this chapter.) Later he migrated to Madinah and took part in the battle of Badr. He was killed in one of the later campaigns. (See Istī‘āb II, 449; Ibn Sa’d III/i, 164 f; Ibn Hishām I, 160, 195, 292.) (4) Abū Fukayyah or `Ammār ibn Yāsir (the narrator of this Tradition); it is uncertain which of the two it was. Abū Fukayyah was a slave of Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah ibn Khalaf, and suffered the same persecution as Bilāl and `Amīr ibn Fuhayrah, and was also bought and freed by Abū Bakr (Ibn Sa’d IV/i, 91). As to `Ammār ibn Yāsir, see sec. 22 of this chapter. (5) Probably Śālih ibn `Adi, called Shuqārān. He was a slave of the Prophet, bought by the latter from `Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn `Awf; he took part in the battle of Badr, whereupon the Prophet liberated him (Istī‘āb II, 594; Ibn Sa’d III/i, 34).

2 The first of them was Khadijah. As to the other woman, the reports differ as to whether it was Umm Ayman or Sumayyah. Umm Ayman (whose real name was Barakah) was a slave inherited by the Prophet from his father; she had nursed him in his childhood. He freed her on his marriage with Khadijah, whereupon she married `Ubayd ibn Zayd and bore him a son, Ayman, who later became a Companion of the Prophet and fell in the battle of Hunayn. After her first husband's death she married Zayd ibn Ḥārithah, the Prophet's freedman, and bore him a son, the subsequently famous Companion, Usāmah ibn Zayd. The Prophet always regarded her as a member of his family. (Ibn Sa’d VIII, 162 f). As regards Sumayyah bint Khubbāt (or Khayyāt), she was a freed slave and the mother of `Ammār ibn Yāsir, the narrator of this Tradition. She was the first martyr of Islam, having been killed in a heinous way by Abū Jahl for the sake of her convictions (ibid., 193). Some commentators assume that the other woman (beside Khadijah) was neither Umm Ayman nor Sumayyah, but the wife of al-`Abbas (mother of al-Faḍl). Ibn Hajar, however, regards this as extremely improbable (cf. Fath al-Bārī VII, 16).

3 In reality, the first Muslim man was `Ali ibn Abī Ṭalib, who embraced Islam shortly after Khadijah; the narrator, however, does not mention him because he was at that time a mere child. In any case, Abū Bakr was the first free-born man who openly declared himself a Muslim; and it seems to have been the intention of the narrator to show this fact.

4—in order to be able to walk quickly. His hurry is also implied in the subsequent words of the Prophet.
O Apostle of God! Behold, there was something between me and Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and I was hasty with him; then I regretted it, and asked of him forgiveness, but he refused it. And so I have come unto thee. Then [the Prophet] said three times: God will forgive thee, O Abū Bakr!

Thereafter, behold, 'Umar [also] regretted and went to Abū Bakr’s house and asked: Is Abū Bakr here?—And they answered: Nay. So he went to the Prophet and greeted him; but the Prophet’s countenance changed so much that Abū Bakr was frightened and threw himself on his knees and said twice: O Apostle of God! By God, it is I who was in the wrong!—Thereupon the Prophet said: Behold, [when] God sent me unto you and ye [all] said, “Thou liest”, Abū Bakr said, “He speaketh truth”,1 and helped me with his person and his property. Will ye, then, not let my companion alone?—[And he said this] twice. After this, [Abū Bakr] was not molested again.

4 Mu‘allā ibn Asad related to us: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn al-Mukhtār related to us, saying: Khalīd al-Hadhdhā’ related to us, on the authority of Abū ‘Uthmān, who said:

‘A MR IBN AL-‘ĀS2 related to me that the Prophet sent him in command of the army of Dhat as-Salāsil.3 [He said:] And

1 The perfect diction of the Prophet, which often implied much in a few words, is beautifully illustrated in his saying, “Abū Bakr said, He speaketh truth”. The use of the third person in Abū Bakr’s saying implies that the latter not only acknowledged the Prophet in his face, but also that in the latter’s absence he valiantly defended him before others.

2 ‘Amr ibn al-‘Ās ibn Wā’il belonged to a prominent clan of Quraysh. He embraced Islam in 8 A.H., about six months before the conquest of Mecca, and came together with Khalīd ibn al-Walīd to Madinah. Shortly afterwards, the Prophet appointed him commander in the campaign of Dhat as-Salāsil, and later made him governor of ‘Uthmān; in this office ‘Amr ibn al-‘Ās remained until after the Prophet’s death. Under ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb he was governor of Palestine and Transjordan. When Mu‘āwiyyah was invested with the governorship of the whole of Syria, ‘Amr ibn al-‘Ās was sent by ‘Umar to Egypt, and conquered that country in 20 A.H. He remained its governor during ‘Umar’s life-time, and was recalled by ‘Uthmān four years after ‘Umar’s death; this was the cause of ‘Amr’s grudge against ‘Uthmān. He later settled in Palestine. After ‘Uthmān’s death he wholeheartedly supported Mu‘āwiyyah and took part on his side in the battle of Sīffin (37 A.H.). Subsequently, Mu‘āwiyyah appointed ‘Amr governor of Egypt, where he died in 43 A.H. (Iṣṭāb II, 434 ff; Iṣābah V, 2 f.)

3 The campaign of Dhat as-Salāsil took place in the year 8 A.H. For details see Bkh lii/65.
I came unto him and asked: Which of the people is the dearest unto thee?—He answered: 'A'ishah.—Then I said: [But] of the men?—He said: Her father.—And I said: And who next?—He answered: Next, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab.—Then he enumerated some [other] men. 1

5 Abu'l-Yaman related to us: Shu'ayb informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhri, who said: Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Awf informed me that Abū Hurayrah said:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say4: Whilst a herdsman was guarding his flock, a wolf fell upon it and bore a ewe away; and the herdsman pursued it. Then the wolf turned toward him and said: Who will guard this flock on the Day of the Beast of Prey5—on the day when it will have no herdsman but me?

And whilst a man was driving an ox6 which he had burdened with a load, it turned toward him and spake unto him, saying: I was not created for this, but was created for ploughing.

The people [who heard this] said: Glory be unto God!5—Thereupon the Prophet said: Behold, I believe it,6 and [so do] Abū Bakr and 'Umar ibn al-Khattab.7

1 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ obviously cherished the idea that the Prophet, who had shown him his favour by appointing him to an important command, would name him first among the persons dear to him. But he was utterly mistaken. In another version of the same Tradition, quoted in Bkh lī/65, 'Amr honestly adds the words: “Then I remained silent out of fear that he would put me at the end of them.”

2 The two stories quoted in this Tradition are evidently parables, and probably refer to a time to come, when wrong would be rampant in the world and the natural order of things would be upset.

3 Symbolical indication of unjust rule, when the enemies of society would be put in charge of it.

4 The word bagaraḥ used in the Arabic text is a generic term denoting any kind of bovine cattle; it is commonly used for the female (cow), but here it obviously denotes an ox or a bullock.

5 They were astonished to hear of talking animals (cf. Bkh xlvi/53, No. 6).—This story, of course, is not to be taken literally, but as an indication of a future time, when the established order of life would be upset and confused.

6 This expression supports the assumption that the parable refers to the future.

7 As is evident from the same Tradition quoted in sec. 7, No. 13, the two were not present at that time. The Prophet apparently so entirely relied on their implicitly believing his words, that he vouched for their belief in their absence. It might be that he had already mentioned the parable.
6  'Abdân related to us: 'Abd Allâh informed us, on the authority of Yûnus, on the authority of az-Zuhri, who said: Ibn al-Musayyab informed me that he heard Abû Hurayrah say:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say: Whilst asleep, I saw myself at a well on which there was a leathern bucket; and I drew with it as much [water] as God willed. Thereafter Ibn Abî Quhâylah took it and drew a bucketful or two of water, and there was some weakness in his drawing; and God will forgive him his weakness. Thereafter it changed into a huge bucket, and Ibn al-Khattâb took it: and I never saw the strongest man draw as 'Umar drew—until the people’s camels satisfied their thirst and then abode at rest.5

7  Muḥammad ibn Muqâtil related to us: 'Abd Allâh informed us: Mûsâ ibn 'Uqbah in-

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1 I.e., Abû Bakr.
2 For an explanation see n. 5 below.
3 A gharb is a very large leathern bucket used for drawing water from a well by means of a camel or a bullock. When filled, it is generally too heavy to be lifted by a single man.
4 The expression ‘abqari denotes anything admired for the exceptional skill or strength it exhibits (see Lane V, 1940 f, and also Ibn Jubayr’s explanation of this word in sec. 7, No. 4). Hence it means, in this context, an exceptionally strong man.
5 The word ‘atam, which occurs in the Arabic text, denotes the abiding-place of camels around, or near, the water; and the sentence 'Ha‘ib al-nas ‘atam' is used in the Arabic idiom as translated in the above Tradition (cf. Lane V, 2084).

This prophetic dream describes in a symbolical way the rôle of the three personalities with regard to Islam. The life of the Muslim community, symbolised by “water”, was first drawn to light by the Prophet (“I drew as much water as God willed”). He was succeeded by Abû Bakr, during whose reign the realm of Islam grew in size: this is expressed by the words, “he drew a bucketful or two of water”; contrasted with the dahw (small leathern bucket) of the Prophet; but Abû Bakr was able to draw only “one or two bucketful”, which indicates the shortness of his reign; and “there was some weakness in his drawing”: that is, he was not able fully to consolidate and to pacify the Empire. But this was mainly due to his early death, and not to any shortcoming in him: therefore, “God will forgive him his weakness”. Under the reign of 'Umar, however, the Muslim Empire not only immensely grew in size—which is symbolised by the “huge bucket” (gharb) of 'Umar, and the Prophet’s admiration of his almost superhuman strength and skill—but was also established on solid administrative foundations, so that the Muslims obtained the largest possible measure of security and well-being and could fully utilise the benefits accruing to them (“the people’s camels satisfied their thirst and then abode at rest”).—This dream of the Prophet is extremely well authenticated and occurs in several—almost literally identical—versions in this work as well as in other prominent compilations of Traditions.
formed us, on the authority of Sālim ibn 'Abd Allāh, on the authority of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar, who said:

The Apostle of God said: Whoso traileth his garment out of vanity, God will not look toward him on the Day of Resurrection.1—Thereupon Abū Bakr said: One end of my garment [always] goeth down if I do not take care of it.—But the Apostle of God said: Behold, thou dost it not [purposely] out of vanity.

Mūsā said: Then I said to Sālim: Did 'Abd Allāh mention "one who traileth his loincloth"?—He said: I did not hear him mention anything but "his garment".2

8 Abū-l-Yamān related to us: Shu'ayb related to us, on the authority of az-Zuhri, who said: Ḥumayd ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Awf informed me that Abū Hurayrah said:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say: Whoso spendeth aught in the cause of God, shall [on the Day of Resurrection] be called in from gates

—to wit, of Paradise—:

O servant of God! Here is felicity! And whoso had excelled in prayer shall be called in from the Gate of Prayer; and whoso had excelled in holy war shall be called in from the Gate of Holy War; and whoso had excelled in alms-giving shall be called in from the Gate of Alms-Giving; and whoso had excelled in fasting shall be called in from the Gate of Fasting and the Gate of Thirst-Quenching.3

Thereupon Abū Bakr said: There will be no need [of anything more] for him who is called in from those gates.—And he asked: Will anyone be called in from all of them, ya 'Abdullāh! This [reward] is for one who has added an extra prayer in the prayer, and one who has added an extra qalāda in the qalāda, and one who has added an extra jihād in the jihād, and one who has added an extra sadaqah in the sadaqah, and one who has added an extra siyām in the siyām.

Abū Bakr: Then the Apostle of God said: "One who traileth his garment out of vanity, God will not look toward him on the Day of Resurrection."—Abū Bakr: Quoted by Abū Hurayrah's father.4

1 For an explanation of the (conditional) prohibition of wearing a garment reaching below the ankles, see Bk h lxv/2.
2 Both Mūsā and Sālim are among the transmitters of the above Tradition (cf. isnād).
3 Mūsā had obviously other variants of the same Tradition in view, which mention the word izār (loincloth) in this connection.
4 Lit., “a pair of things”.
5 Lit., “whoso was of the people of prayer” (ahl as-salāh). This as well as the subsequently mentioned terms, viz., ahl al-jihād, ahl as-sadaqah, and ahl as-siyām, merely express the most prominent characteristics of different groups of Believers.
6 Lit., “of him who has quenched his thirst”.
O Apostle of God?—[The Prophet] answered: Yea, and I hope thou wilt be of them, O Abū Bakr.

Isma'īl ibn 'Abd Allāh related to us: Sulaymān ibn Biṭal related to us, on the authority of Hishām ibn 'Urwa, on the authority of 'Urwa ibn az-Zubayr, on the authority of 'Ā'ishah, the Prophet's wife:

And 'Umar kept on saying: The Apostle of God is not dead!

['Ā'ishah] said:

And 'Umar said: By God! My mind would accept naught but this! And surely God will raise him to life [again], and he will cut off the hands and feet of men'!—Thereupon Abū Bakr came, uncovered [the face of] the Prophet, kissed him and said: I would have sacrificed for thee my father and my mother! Thou hast been good in life and in death: And, by God in Whose hand is my soul, never will God let thee taste death twice!—Then he went out and said [to 'Umar]: O thou swearing one, calm thyself. And when Abū Bakr had thus spoken, 'Umar sat down. Then Abū Bakr praised God and extolled Him, and said: Behold, whoso worshippeth Muhammad [may know that] Muhammad hath died; and

1 A settlement of the clan Banū Ḥarīth, of Khazraj, at al-‘Awāli (so called because it is the highest ground in the immediate vicinity of Madinah); its distance from the centre of Madinah—the Prophet's Mosque—is a little more than a mile. Abū Bakr was married to a woman of Banū Ḥarīth, and lived there for some time ('Ayni XVI, 185; Fath al-Bāri III, 89).

2 Sing. of al-'Awāli (see preceding note).

3 I.e., that the Prophet is not really dead, but will come back to life.

4 Sc., who say that he is dead. The expression "cutting off of hands and feet" denotes, in Arabic usage, the destruction of worldly power and influence. It was incomprehensible to 'Umar that the Prophet, whose personality was so strong a reality in their lives, could ever pass away; but apart from this, 'Umar probably feared that certain malcontents and hypocrites would utilise this occasion for fomenting discord among Muslims. This is supported by 'Ā'ishah's remarks in No. 10 of this section.

5 'Umar, who believed that the Prophet was not dead, wished that God might restore him to life; but Abū Bakr at once understood that Muṣṭafā had really passed away, and expressed his conviction that God would not let him taste the bitterness of death twice.
whoso worshippeth God [may know that] God is Living, and never dieth.1 And He said: Behold, thou wilt die, and, behold, they will die.2 And He said: Muhammad is but an Apostle; all Apostles have passed away before him. Then, if he die or be slain, will ye turn back on your heels? Whoso turneth back on his heels doeth surely no harm to God; and God will reward the thankful.3

He said:

And the people sobbed and wept.

He said:

And the Anṣār assembled around Sa‘d ibn ‘Ubādah5 in the roofed street of Banū Sā‘īdah6 and said 7: There shall be a chief from among us and a chief from among you.8—Then there went to them Abū Bakr, ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Abū ‘Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ.9 And ‘Umar began to speak, but Abū Bakr bade him to be silent. (And [later]

1 With these magnificent words, in face of the calamity which had befallen them, Abū Bakr gave the proof of his ability of leadership. He alone preserved calmness of judgment at that critical moment; and so he was able to show to the distressed Muslims that the Prophet had been but a medium between God and mankind, and that God’s work would survive the death of His Apostle. The expression “worshipped Muhammad” does not imply actual worship, because this was out of question among Muslims. Abū Bakr merely wished to impress upon them that the placing of unlimited reliance on a human being, however exalted, almost amounted to worship; and this should be restricted to God, Who alone is above the changes of life and death.

2 Qur‘ān xxxix, 30.

3 Ibid., iii, 144.

4 Sc., one of the transmitters, probably ‘Urwa.

5 He was the chief of the Khazraj tribe. For particulars about him, see sec. 48.

6 A saqīfah is a roof projecting from one house and resting on the wall of the opposite house or houses; thence, a roofed street like the covered bazaars in many oriental cities. The saqīfah mentioned here was the one in which the clan of Banū Sā‘īdah, of Khazraj, used to hold their councils (‘Aynī XVI, 185).

7 Sc., to the Muhājirs (see subsequent note).

8 Confronted by the demise of the Prophet, the Khazraj proposed to divide the authority between themselves and the Muhājirs, who were mostly Quraysh. Originally the Khazraj desired that their leader, Sa‘d ibn ‘Ubādah, be elected as Caliph; but when one of them suggested that the Muhājirs might object to it, others proposed the above-mentioned division of authority (cf. Ṭabarī III, 207 f).

9 When the Prophet expired, some of the most prominent Companions, as ‘Ali, Ṭalhah and az-Zubayr, went to Fātimah’s house, while Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, with other Muhājirs and Usayd ibn Huḍayr—one of the leaders of the Aws tribe—proceeded to the quarter of Banū ’Abd al-Ashhal, of Aws, because rumours were afloat that some sections of the Anṣār were contemplating to have the Caliphate vested in one of their own leaders; and Abū Bakr wished to discuss
'Umar would say: By God, I did not mean to do it but for the reason that I had already prepared a speech which pleased me, and I feared that Abū Bakr would not attain to the same eloquence.) Thereafter Abū Bakr spake: and he spake more eloquently than anyone else. And he said in his speech: We shall be the chiefs and ye the councilors.—Thereupon Hubāb ibn al-Mundhir said: Nay, by God! we shall not do so! There shall be a chief from among us and a chief from among you!—But Abū Bakr said: Nay, but we shall be the chiefs and ye the councilors. They are the most central among the Arabs with regard to their home, and the most prominent with regard to their descent. Therefore, swear allegiance to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb or to Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāh.—But 'Umar said: Nay, it is to thee we will swear allegiance, for thou art our master and the best of us, and wert the dearest of us unto the Apostle of God.

And 'Umar took his hand and swore allegiance to him, and thereupon the [other] people swore allegiance to him.—And

this matter with members of the Aws tribe and to secure their co-operation in peacefully deciding it. While they were there the news reached them that the Khazraj had already assembled in the saqifah of Banū Sā'idah and were proposing the election of Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah to the Caliphate. Abū Bakr and his companions understood that there was immediate danger of a split between the different groups of Muslims, and so they proceeded to the saqifah in order to prevent it. (Cf. Ibn Hishām II, 427, 429.) They were supported by the tribe of Aws, who were afraid lest their old-time rivals, the Khazraj, should gain supremacy (Fath al-Bārī VII, 22).

1 I.e., to deliver a speech. This remark of 'Umar was obviously made at a later time, when he narrated to his companions the incident of the saqifah.

2 I.e., the Quraysh.

3 I.e., the Ansār.

4 He was prominent among the Khazraj and esteemed for the wisdom of his counsel; he died during the reign of 'Umar (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 110).

5 Abū Bakr was afraid that if the leadership were vested in the Khazraj, the tribe of Aws—their rivals before the Prophet's advent—would not agree to it, and so disunity would prevail among the Muslim community. By advancing the claim of Quraysh, who had no part in these inter-tribal factions, he avoided the rivalry between the two groups of the Ansār; and as he could not—for the sake of Muslim unity—concede the claim of Khazraj to a division of power between the Ansār and the Muhājirīn, he proposed that one of the Quraysh should be elected as Caliph, while the Ansār would take part in the administration as councilors.

6 I.e., the Quraysh.

7 From a Tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās (quoted in Fath al-Bārī VII, 23) we learn that after Abū Bakr's speech there was an uproar among the Khazraj. In order to cut short the
someone said: ye have killed Sa’d ibn ‘Ubādah!—Thereupon ‘Umar said: God hath killed him.\footnote{I.e., “you have mortally offended him”, because he was the candidate for the Caliphate put forward by the Khazraj.}

10 T And ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sālim said, on the authority of az-Zubaydi: ‘Abd ar-Rahmān ibn al-Qāsim said: My father, al-Qāsim, informed me that ‘A’ishah said:

THE Prophet raised his eyes and said three times: In the highest company... \footnote{I.e., “God has shamed him”, for he was about to create dissension among the Muslims by insisting on his own candidature. He had left the assembly in anger before Abū Bakr’s election took place, and departed to Hawrān in Syria, never to return (Ibn Sa’d III/ii, 144 f.)}

And [al-Qāsim] narrated the [above] Tradition. \footnote{I.e., “you have mortally offended him”.}

[Concluding.] ‘A’ishah said:

And with everything that was in the speeches of these two\footnote{I.e., the story of the Prophet’s death, ‘Umar’s subsequent behaviour, and Abū Bakr’s sermon to the mournful Muslims; this version does not contain the story of the saqīfah (cf. Fath al-Bārī VII, 24).} God benefited [the Muslims]. ‘Umar indeed terrified the people who were possessed of hypocrisy; and thus God led them back [to the fold].\footnote{I.e., “you have mortally offended him”.} Thereupon Abū Bakr shewed the people the right way and taught them the duty imposed upon them; and they went away reciting [the discussions, ‘Umar quickly swore allegiance to Abū Bakr. He was followed by the Muhājīrs present, as well as by the chiefs of Aws under the leadership of Usayd ibn Hudayr (about whom more in sec. 46); and the Khazraj, faced by a strong majority, ultimately consented to do the same. As is evident from Bkh lxxx/51, No. 3, the pledge at the saqīfah of Banū Sā’idah was restricted to the elders of all groups. On the next morning, ‘Umar appealed from the pulpit of the mosque to all Muslims to swear allegiance to Abū Bakr; and this was done. ‘Ali, however, refused to acknowledge Abū Bakr until six months later (cf. Bkh li/40, No. 41; Muslim, K. al-Jihād, B. Ḥukm al-Fay). ‘Ali’s reluctance was probably due to Ṣafīmah’s displeasure with Abū Bakr on account of the latter’s refusal to admit her right to inheritance with regard to the property left by the Prophet (see sec. 13, No. 1).}
verse]: Muhammad is but an Apostle; all Apostles have passed before him. . . . to [the words]: . . . the thankful. 1

11 Muhammad ibn Kathir related to us: Sufyān informed us: Jāmī' ibn Abī Rashīd related to us: Abū Ya‘lā related to us, On the authority of Muhammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah, who said: I said to my father: Which of the people is the best after the Apostle of God?—He said: Abū Bakr. —I said: And who next?—He said: Next, ‘Umar.—And I feared he would say ‘‘‘Uthmān’’, [so] I said: And next, thou?—He said: I am but one of the Muslims. 

12 Qutaybah ibn Sa‘īd related to us, on the authority of Mālik, on the authority of Abī Ṭaḥlīl ibn Qāsim, on the authority of his father, On the authority of ‘A‘īshah; she said: We departed with the Apostle of God on one of his journeys, and when we were at al-Bayḍā’ or Dḥāt al-Jaysh I lost a necklace, and the Apostle of God halted to have a search made for it; and all people halted with him. But they were nowhere near water, and had no water with them. So the people came to Abū Bakr and said: Dost thou not see what ‘A‘īshah hath done? She hath made the Apostle of God halt, and the people halted with him; and they are nowhere near water, and have no water with them.—Thereupon Abū Bakr came [to me], and the Apostle of God was asleep with his head on my thigh; and he said: Thou hast detained the Apostle of God and the people with him; and they are nowhere near water, and have no water with them.—[‘A‘īshah] said: Then he rebuked me and said whatever God willed him to say.

1 Qur‘ān iii, 144.
2 He was a son of ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib and of al-Ḥanafīyah Khawlah bint Ja‘far. During most of his life he was an active opponent of Banū Umayyah. Died in 81 A.H. (Ibn Sa‘d V, 66 ff). According to a report quoted in Tādhkīrah V, 85, he was sixty-five years old at the time of his death; thus, he was born during the Caliphate of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.
3 It appears that this conversation took place during the civil wars between ‘Ali and Mu‘āwiyyah.
4 This Tradition is also quoted in Bkh vii/1, No. 1, where the reader will find all explanatory notes relating to it.
and poked my side with his hand; and I dared not move because the Apostle of God reclined on my thigh. And the Apostle of God slept until he awoke in the morning, and there was no water. Then God revealed the verse about the ablution with dust, and they performed this ablution. And Usayd ibn al-Huḍayr said: This is not the first blessing ye have caused, O family of Abū Bakr! —[Continuing.] ‘A’ishah said: Thereupon we made the camel I had been upon rise, and found the necklace under it.

13 Adam ibn Abī Iyās related to us: Shu’bāh related to us, on the authority of al-‘A’imash, who said: I heard Dhakwān relate, on the authority of Abū Sa‘d al-Khudri, who said:

THE Prophet said: Abuse not my companions! For, if any of you were to spend as much gold as Mount Uḥud, he would not attain to [the merit of] a mudd of theirs, or even half of it.

Jarīr, Abd Allāh ibn Dā’ūd, Abū Mu‘āwiyyah and Muhādir corroborated him, on the authority of al-‘A’imash.

14 Muḥammad ibn Miskīn abu’l-Ḥasan related to us: Yahyā ibn Hassān related to us: Sulaymān related to us, on the authority of Sharīk ibn Abī Namīr, on the authority of Sa‘d ibn al-Musayyab, who said:

A BŪ MŪṢĀ AL-ASH‘ARĪ informed me that he performed his ablution at home and thereafter went out and said: I will keep to the Apostle of God and will remain this [whole] day with him.

[Sa‘d ibn al-Musayyab] said:

Then he went to the mosque and asked for the Prophet, and they said: He left, and went in that direction. —[Continuing, Abū Mūṣā said:] So I followed in his footsteps until

1 —wherewith to perform ablutions.
2 The Qur’ān verse referred to is either iv, 43 or v, 6. See also Bkh vii/1.
3 See sec. 46.
4 Sc., by way of charity.
5 The mudd is a measure of grain, differing according to locality. The “Prophet’s mudd” (i.e., that in use at that time in Madinah) was a quarter of a ṣā‘; and a ṣā‘ is 5½ pints. —The wider implications of this Tradition are discussed in the Introductory Note to this chapter.
6 Reference to the transmitter Shu’bāh (see isnād).
7 For biographical note, see sec. 30, No. 4.
[I found that] he had entered Bi'r Aris. And I sat down at the gate—and the gate was of palm-branches—until the Apostle of God had eased nature and performed his ablution. Then I went unto him: and lo, he was sitting at the well Aris in the middle of the brim; he had uncovered his legs and kept them hanging into the well. I greeted him, then I went away and sat down at the gate and said: Surely, to-day shall I be the Prophet's door-keeper. Thereafter Abū Bakr came and pushed the gate; and I asked: Who is it? He answered: Abū Bakr. And I said: Wait a while. Then I went [to the Prophet] and said: O Apostle of God! Abū Bakr is here; asketh leave to enter. And he said: Let him enter, and announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise. So I went and said to Abū Bakr: Enter, and the Apostle of God announceth to thee [that thou wilt gain] Paradise. And Abū Bakr entered and sat down on the right of the Apostle of God on the brim [of the well] and let his feet hang into the well, same as the Prophet had done, and uncovered his legs. Thereafter I returned [to the gate] and sat down. Now, I had left my brother [outside]; he was to perform his ablution and to rejoin me. And I said: If God willeth good for such-and-such—

—he meant his brother—He will bring him here. And lo, someone was pushing the gate, and I asked: Who is it? He answered: 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. And I said: Wait a while. Then I went to the Prophet, greeted him, and said: 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb is here; he asketh leave to enter. And he said: Let him enter, and

—حتي دخل برأس أريس; جلس عند الباب—ويابها من جريد—حتي قضى رسول الله ﷺ حاجته فتوضاً. فسألت إليه فذا هو جالس على برأس وتوسط قفه وكشف عن ساقه ودلاها في البئر. فسألت عليه ﷺ انصرفت جلس عند الباب: لا يكون بواب رسول الله ﷺ يوم. فجاء أبو بكر فدفع الباب قفلت:


1 A garden (and a well of the same name) in Qubā', in the immediate vicinity of Madinah. Once 'Uthmān let the Prophet's ring—which he, like Abū Bakr and 'Umar before him, had worn during his Caliphate—fall into the well in that garden, and it was never recovered (Ibn Sa'd I/ii, 165); since then the well is popularly known as Bi'r al-Khaṭim ("the Well of the Ring").

2 The Prophet used to go for this purpose as far away from Madinah as possible (cf. Abū Dā'ūd, K. at-Tahārah, No. 1; Nasā'i, K. at-Tahārah; etc.).

3 Abū Mūsā had two or three brothers, of whom the best-known is Abū Burdah; one of them had obviously accompanied him in his walk to Qubā'.

4 Explanatory remark by the transmitter Ibn al-Musayyab. The incident narrated above led Abū Mūsā to hope that if his brother came now, the Prophet would give him also the tidings of Paradise.
announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise.
—So I went and said to him: Enter, and the Apostle of God announceth to thee [that thou wilt gain] Paradise.—And he entered and sat down on the brink [of the well] on the left of the Apostle of God, and let his feet hang into the well. Thereafter I returned [to the gate], sat down and said: If God will
—wealthy good for such-and-such, He will bring
him here.—And someone came and moved the gate, and I asked: Who is it?—He an
swered: ‘Uthmân ibn ‘Affân.—And I said:
Wait a while.—Then I went to the Apostle
of God and informed him; and he said: Let
him enter, and announce to him [that he will
gain] Paradise after a calamity which is to
befall him.—So I went and said to him:
Enter, and the Apostle of God announceth
to thee [that thou wilt gain] Paradise after
a calamity which is to befall thee.—And he
entered, and found the brink already occu
pied; so he sat down facing him from
the opposite side.

Sharîk said: Sa‘îd ibn al-Musayyab said: And
I interpreted this as [the position of] their
graves.

15 Muhammad ibn Bashshâr related to me:
Yahyâ related to us, on the authority of Sa‘îd, on the authority of Qatâdah, that
Anas ibn Mâlik related to them:

THE Prophet ascended Mount Uhud with
Abû Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uthmân, and it
trembled beneath them. And he said: Be
steady, Uhud! For, behold, upon thee there
are but a prophet, a man of truth, and two
martyrs.

16 Ahmad ibn Sa‘îd abû ‘Abd Allâh related to

1 *i.e.*, occupied on both sides of the Prophet.
2 Sc., the Prophet.
3 Abû Bakr and ‘Umar are buried by the side of the Prophet in what was originally ‘A‘îshah’s
house, while the grave of ‘Uthmân is at some distance, namely, in the cemetery al-Baqî’. This
“interpretation” of Ibn al-Musayyab is not of great value, for it was made post factum: he was born
four (or, according to others, eight) years after ‘Umar’s accession to the Caliphate and died at the
age of seventy-two or eighty-four (Ibn Sa‘îd V, 88): thus, ‘Uthmân’s death occurred when he was
almost a boy.
4 *Siddiq* ("the Truthful"), the epiteth of Abû Bakr.
5 ‘Umar and ‘Uthmân are regarded as martyrs because they were murdered.
us: Wahb ibn Jarir related to us: Sakhir related to us, on the authority of Nafi', that 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar said:

THE Apostle of God said: 'Whilst I was at a well, drawing [water] from it, there came to me Abū Bakr and 'Umar. And Abū Bakr took the leathern bucket and drew a bucketful or two, but there was some weakness in his drawing; and God will forgive him. Thereafter Ibn al-Khattāb took it from the hand of Abū Bakr, and it changed in his hand into a huge bucket: and I never saw the strongest man do a deed like his. And he drew [water] until the people's camels satisfied their thirst and then abode at rest.

Wahb said: Al-'atan is the resting-place of camels.

[The narrator saith: Until the camels drank their fill and then lay down.]

17 Al-Walid ibn Sālih related to us: 'Īsā ibn Yūnus related to us: 'Umar ibn Sa'id ibn Abī'l-Husayn al-Makki related to us, on the authority of Ibn Abī Mulaykah.

ON the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, who said: Behold, I was standing among the people who were praying for 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb after he had been laid on his bed. Suddenly a man from behind put his elbow on my shoulder, saying [to the dead man]: May God have mercy upon thee! Behold, I was indeed hoping that God would place thee beside thy two companions, for often have I heard the Apostle of God say, "I was with Abū Bakr and 'Umar", "I did [such-and-such thing] with Abū Bakr and 'Umar", "I went with Abū Bakr and 'Umar"; and therefore indeed I hoped that God would place thee beside them.—Thereupon I turned round and lo, it was 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib.

18 Muhammad ibn Yazid al-Kūfi related to us: Al-Walid related to us, on the authority of

1 For a full explanation of this dream of the Prophet, see No. 6 of this section.
2 The last word of the above Tradition. See p. 28, n. 5.
3 Thus the transmitter explains the sentence "strubb lānis mzmul.
4 —after his death.
5 I.e., the Prophet and Abū Bakr: an allusion to 'Umar's burial in the hujrah of the Prophet.
al-Awzâ‘i, on the authority of Yahyâ ibn Abî Kathîr, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Ibrâhîm, on the authority of ‘Urwh ibn az-Zubayr, who said:

I ASKED ‘Abd Allâh ibn ‘Amr about the worst that the idolaters had done unto the Apostle of God. 1 He said: I saw ’Uqbah ibn Abî Mu‘ayt 2 come to the Prophet while he was praying, put his wrap around his neck and throttle him strongly therewith. Thereupon Abû Bakr came and pushed him away from the Prophet, and said: Will ye kill a man because he saith, My Sustainer is God,—when he hath already brought you clear signs from your Sustainer? 3

SECTION VII

THE VIRTUES OF ‘UMAR IBN AL-KHAṬṬĀB ABÛ HAFṢ AL-QURASHI AL-‘ADAWI

1 Hajjâj ibn Minâhîl related to us: ‘Abdal-‘Azîz ibn al-Mâjishûn related to us: Muhammad ibn al-Munkadîr related to us, on the authority of Jâbir ibn ‘Abd Allâh, who said:

THE Prophet said: I saw myself [in a dream] enter Paradise, and lo, I met ar-Rumayshâ‘, the wife of Abû Ṭâlîhâ, 4 Then I heard the sound of footsteps and asked: Who is it?— [Someone] answered: It is Bilâl. — Then I saw a palace, and by its side there was a girl; and I said: Whose is this?— [Someone] answered:

1 Sc., before his emigration to Madinah.
2 He was one of the most implacable enemies of the Prophet. For details about him see Bkh li/5, No. 5.
3 Qur’an xl, 28.
4 Her real name was, according to some authorities, Rumaylah, and according to others, Sahlah; she was also called Umm Sulaym. Her first husband was Mâlik ibn an-Nâdîr, and she bore him Anas, the famous Companion of the Prophet. She embraced Islâm at an early period, while her husband remained an unbeliever. After his death, Abû Ṭâlîhâ wished to marry her, but she refused because he was an idolater. When he, however, embraced Islâm, she readily consented to marry him and regarded his conversion as her only dowry. Later she witnessed personally several of the Prophet’s campaigns and in the midst of the fight attended to the wounded and gave water to the warriors; on these occasions she used to go armed with a dagger in order to be able to fight if necessary. In such a way she took part in the battle of Hunayn, while she was pregnant in the seventh month. The Prophet extolled her merits and her sincere devotion to Islâm on many occasions. (Ibn Sa’d VIII, 310 ff.)
And I wanted to enter and see it, but I remembered thy jealousy [O 'Umar].—Thereupon 'Umar said: I would sacrifice for thee my father and my mother, O Apostle of God! Could I of thee be jealous?

WHILST we were with the Apostle of God, he said: Whilst asleep, I saw myself in Paradise; and lo, there was a woman performing her ablution by the side of a palace. And I asked: Whose is this palace?—They answered: 'Umar's.—Then I remembered his jealousy, and turned back and went away.—Thereupon 'Umar wept and said: Could I of thee be jealous, O Apostle of God?

THE Apostle of God said: Whilst asleep, [I dreamed that] I drank milk until I saw the liquid run over my finger-nail

—or: finger-nails—.

Then I handed it to 'Umar.—[The Companions] said: And how didst thou interpret it, O Apostle of God?—He answered: [As] knowledge.

1 This little observation shows how vivid the dream was.

2 Ibn Ḥajar says (Fath al-Bārī VII, 35): “The reason of this interpretation is, that milk and knowledge have the abundance of benefit in common: milk as food for the body, and knowledge as food for the intellect.”—Thus the Prophet intimated that next to him as regards knowledge was 'Umar, particularly with regard to his deep understanding of religion and statecraft.
The Prophet said: I saw myself in dream drawing water from a well with a leathern bucket on a wooden pulley. Then Abu Bakr came and drew a bucketful or two, drawing weakly; and God will forgive him. Thereupon came 'Umar ibn al-Khattab and [the small bucket] changed into a huge bucket: and I never saw the strongest man do a deed like his—until the people's camels satisfied their thirst and then abode at rest.

Ibn Jubayr said: Al-'abqarī are, [for example,] the most excellent zarābī. And Yahyā said: Az-zarābī are carpets with a fine, abundant fringe.

'Ali ibn 'Abd Allāh related to us: Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm related to us, saying: My father related to me, on the authority of Sālih, on the authority of Ibn Shihab: 'Abd al-Hamīd informed me that Muhammad ibn Sa'd informed him that his father said:

'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh related to me: Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of Sālih, on the authority of Ibn Shihab, on the authority of 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Zayd, on the authority of Muhammad ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqās, on the authority of his father, who said:

'Umar ibn al-Khattāb asked leave to see the Apostle of God while there were with the latter some women of Quraysh, who were speaking to him and were raising their voices above his voice. And when 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb asked leave to enter, they rose and went behind a curtain. Then the Apostle of God gave him leave, and 'Umar entered; and the Apostle of God was

1 For a full explanation of this Tradition, see sec. 6, No. 6, and nn.
2 The word occurring towards the end of the Tradition, here translated as the "strongest man".
3 As has already been explained (p. 28, n. 4), the word 'abqari denotes anything admirable on account of its skilful construction or strength. The author quotes here these words of the tabi'ī Ibn Jubayr in order to illustrate the meaning of 'abqari. Zarābī were highly admired carpets of fine workmanship, of the fabric of al-Hirah (cf. Lane III, 1224). In some texts, e.g., that of Abū Dharr (cf. Sālih, ed. 'Abd al-Hamīd, vol. V, 10), the name of the explainer is not Ibn Jubayr but Ibn Numayr; according to al-Kirmānī (cf. Ayni XVI, 194), this is more probable, because Ibn Numayr, one of the shaykhs of al-Bukhārī, is among the transmitters of this Tradition.
4 The author has two independent ismāds for this Tradition and quotes them one after the other.
laughing. Thereupon 'Umar said: May God keep thee laughing all thy life, O Apostle of God! —The Prophet said: I wonder at these [women] who were with me and, upon hearing thy voice, went behind the curtain.—

‘Umar said: But it is more fit that they should fear thee, O Apostle of God! —Thereupon he addressed [the women]: O ye enemies of yourselves! Do ye fear me, and fear not the Apostle of God?—They answered: Yea; thou art sterner and harder than the Apostle of God.—And the Apostle of God said: This is true, O Ibn al-Khattab! By Him in Whose hand is my soul! If Satan would encounter thee in some way, he would certainly take a way different from thine!

Muhammad ibn al-Muthanná related to us: Yahyá related to us, on the authority of Ismá‘il: Qays related to us, saying: ‘Abd Allah said:

We continuously grew in power since ‘Umar embraced Islám.

‘Abdán related to us: ‘Abd Allah informed us: ‘Umar ibn Sa‘íd related to us, on the authority of Ibn Abí Mulaykah, that

He heard Ibn ‘Abbas say: ‘Umar had been laid on his bed, and the people surrounded him, invoking God and praying before he was taken away [to be buried], and I was among them. Upon a sudden a man gripped my shoulder: and lo, it was ‘Ali. And he invoked God’s mercy upon ‘Umar and said: Thou didst not leave behind thee any-

— فقال عمر: أحلك الله سنك يا رسول الله! — فقال النبي ﷺ: عجبت من هؤلاء اللائي كنتم
— عندئذ فلما سمعن صوتك ابتددن الحجاب.
— فقال عمر: فلأ أحق أن بيني يا رسول الله! — قال رسول الله ﷺ: قل: نعم، أنت أفتٌ وأغلظ من رسول الله ﷺ.
— فقال رسول الله ﷺ: إبذا يا ابن الخطاب! والى إنفسي بيده ما لقيك السيف انقذ الله وجوه الله.

1 حديث عبد بن المثنى: حدثنا يحيى عن اسمعيل:

2 حديث قيس قال: قال عبد الله:

ما زلت أعرف منذ أسلم عمر.

3 حديث عبد: أعربنا عبد الله: حديث عمر بن سعيد بن أبي ملكة

أنا سمع ابن عباس يقول: وضع عمر على سريره فتكبض الناس يدعون ويصلون قبل أن يرفع وانا فيهم. فلم يرعل إلا رجل آخر ملكي فذا على. فترجح على عمر وقال: ما خلفت أحداً

1 ‘Umar’s conversion was a turning point in the fortunes of Islám. The addition of this strong personality greatly increased the prestige of the small community; this is shown in a Tradition on the authority of ‘Abd Alláh ibn Mas‘úd (Fath al-Bári VII, 37): “‘Umar’s acceptance of Islám meant power, his migration [to Madinah], victory, and his Caliphate, grace [of God]. By God, we were not able to pray before the Ka‘bah until ‘Umar embraced Islám.” Similar Traditions are recorded in Ibn Sa‘íd III/i, 193. It is also authentically reported that the Prophet once prayed to God that He help Islám by causing ‘Umar’s conversion (see Tirmidhi, B. Manáqib ‘Umar; Mustadrak III, 83; Ibn Sa‘íd III/i, 192; Ibn Hishám I, 212). A day later, in Dhu‘l-Hijjah, in the sixth year of Muhammad’s Prophecy, ‘Umar embraced Islám; he was then twenty-six years old. The dramatic story of his conversion and the reaction the Quraysh thereafter show that the latter regarded this conversion as a severe blow to their prestige (cf. Ibn Sa‘íd III/i, 191 ff; Ibn Hishám I, 210 ff). From that day onward, the influence of the Muslim community grew without interruption until it reached its summit in the majestic empire created by ‘Umar.

2 Sc., after his death.
one whose deeds were better than thine; and I would prefer to meet God with deeds like thine [to my credit] than with those of anyone else. And on God do I take my oath that I have indeed thought that God would place thee beside thy two companions; for often have I heard the Prophet say, "I went together with Abū Bakr and 'Umar", "I entered together with Abū Bakr and 'Umar", "I left together with Abū Bakr and 'Umar":

8 Musaddad related to us: Yazid ibn Zuray' related to us: Sa'id related to us:

And Khalifah told me: Muhammad ibn Sawâ' and Kahmas ibn al-Minhâl related to us, saying: Sa'id related to us, on the authority of Qatâdah, on the authority of Anas ibn Mâlik, who said:

THE Prophet ascended Mount Uhud, and with him were Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmân; and [the mountain] trembled beneath them. And the Prophet struck it with his foot, saying: Be steady, Uhud, for upon thee there are but a prophet, a man of truth, and a martyr.

9 Yahyâ ibn Sulaymân related to us, saying: Ibn Wahb related to me, saying: 'Umar—that is, Ibn Muhammad—related to me that Zayd ibn Aslam related to him.

ON the authority of his father [Aslam], who said: Ibn 'Umar asked me about some of his—that is, 'Umar's—deeds, and I informed him [about them]. Then he said: I never saw anyone, since the Apostle of God passed away, who was more zealous and more generous until the end than 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb.

10 Sulaymân ibn Harb related to us: Hammâd ibn Zayd related to us, on the authority of Thâbit.

أحب إلى أن ألقي الله مثلاً عمله منك: وايما الله
إن كنت لؤظن أن يحكم الله مع صاحبك،
وحسب أن كنت كبيراً أجمع النبي علّيّ يقول
"ذهب أنّك وأبو بكر وعمر" و"دخلت أنا وأبو بكر وعمر" و"خرجت أنا وأبو بكر وعمر".

8 حدثنا سعيد: حدثنا يزيد بن زريع: حدثنا
سعيد:

و قال لي خليفة: حدثنا محمد بن سواء و كهمس
أين المهن قال: حدثنا سعيد عن قادة عن أنس
أين مالك (رض) قال:

سعد: صعد النبي طالع إلى أحد ومعه أبو بكر
وعمر وعثمان فرخف بهم، فضربه برجل قال:
"أبيات أحد، فا علك الآتي أو صديق أو شهيد.

9 حدثنا يحيى بن سهلان قال: حدثني ابن وهب
قال: حدثني عمر—هو ابن محمد—أن زيد
ابن أسلم حدثه

عمر أبى قال: سألني ابن عمر عن
بضعة شأنه— يعني عمر—فأخبرته. فقال: مارأيت
أحداً قبل بعد رسول الله ﷺ من حين قضى كان
أجد وأجد حتى أثبت في عمر بن الخطاب.

10 حدثنا سهلان بن حرب: حدثنا حرام بن زيد
عن ثابت بن أنس (رض)
ON the authority of Anas: A man asked the Prophet about the Last Hour, and said: When will the Last Hour be?—[The Prophet] said: And what didst thou prepare for it?—He answered: Naught, save my love of God and His Apostle. Then [the Prophet] said: Thou [shalt be] with those whom thou lovest.

Anas said: And we never felt joy so great as our joy about the Prophet's saying, "Thou wilt be with those whom thou lovest".

Anas said: As for me, I love the Prophet, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and I hope that for the sake of my love for them I shall be with them, although I did not do aught comparable to their deeds.

11 Yahyā ibn Qaza'ah related to us: Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of Abū Salamah, on the authority of Abū Hurayrah, who said:

THE Apostle of God said: There were, in the nations before you, inspired people; and if there is any [of them] in my community, it is ‘Umar.

12 Zakariyyā ibn Abi Zā'īdah [told the same Tradition], with some additions, on the authority of Sa'd, on the authority of Abū Salamah, on the authority of Abū Hurayrah, who said:

THE Prophet said: There were, among the Banū Isrā'il before you, men who were inspired without being prophets; and if there is any of them in my community, it is ‘Umar.

13 ‘Abd Allāh ibn Yūsuf related to us: Al-Layth related to us: ‘Uqayl related to us, on the authority of Ibn Shihāb, on the authority of Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab and Abū Salamah ibn Abī ar-Rahmān, both of whom said: We heard Abū Hurayrah say:

THE Apostle of God said: Whilst a herdsman was guarding his flock, a wolf fell upon a child of theirs. The child cried out, ‘Father! Father! Help me!’ And the father came; and the child said, ‘Father! Father! Help me!’ He said, ‘Why?’ The child said, ‘The wolf fell upon me.’ The father said, ‘I have not seen a wolf that fell upon anything more than he has fallen upon that child of yours, and I believe that time in which the words of God were put into the mouth of His Apostle, saying: ‘They shall be gathered into their graves, and brought forth from their graves, and when the hour of reckoning cometh, then it shall be within their reach. And the hypocrites shall say, “Our Lord! send us not unto the punishment of the Hour.” But theirs shall be the punishment of the Hour, and the Hour cometh to none save for them who deserveth it.”’

1 Lit., “who were spoken to” (muhaddathān), i.e., inspired. There is a Tradition: “God has put truth on the tongue of ‘Umar and into his heart” (see Tirmidhi, B. Manaqib ‘Umar).

2 The Arabic verb is yuqallamun (“spoken to”); the meaning is the same as muhaddathun (see preceding note).

3 For an explanation of this parable, see sec. 6, No. 5, and nn.
upon it and bore a ewe away; and [the herdsman] pursued it and took it back. Then the wolf turned to him and said: Who will guard this flock on the Day of the Beast of Prey, when it will have no herdsman but me?

And the people [who heard this] said: Glory be unto God!—Then the Prophet said: Verily, I believe it, and [so do] Abû Bakr and 'Umar.—And Abû Bakr and 'Umar were not present [at that time].

14 Yahyâ ibn Bukayr related to us: Al-Layth related to us, on the authority of 'Uqayl, on the authority of Ibn Shihab, who said: Abû Umamah ibn Sahil ibn Hunayf informed me, on the authority of Abû Sa'id al-Khudri, who said:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say: Whilst asleep I beheld people presented to me, and they wore shirts: and some of these reached to the breasts, and some reached below that. And 'Umar was presented to me: and he wore a trailing shirt.—The [Companions] asked: And how didst thou interpret it, O Apostle of God?—He answered: [As strength of] faith.¹

15 Aś-Ṣalt ibn Muhammad related to us: Ismâ'il ibn Ibrâhim related to us: Ayyûb related to us, on the authority of Ibn Abi Mulaykah, on the authority of al-Miswar ibn Makhramah, who said:

WHEN 'Umar was stabbed, he suffered much; so Ibn 'Abbâs said, as if consoling him: O Commander of the Faithful! Even if this be so—verily, thou wert a companion of the Apostle of God and didst well in his companionship; and he remained ever pleased with thee till ye were separated. Thereafter thou wert a companion of Abû Bakr and didst well in his companionship; and he remained ever pleased with thee till ye were separated. Then thou wert a com-

¹ The term din has a very wide range of meanings: sometimes it stands for “religion” in the sense of a code of laws (shari'ah), or simply, a law; sometimes for “obedience” (which is its primary meaning); occasionally, it is taken to denote “faith”. For a full discussion of this term, see the Introductory Note to Bkh ii (The Book of Faith). The above allusion to 'Umar implies that his religious ardour was greater than that of the other men whom the Prophet saw in dream.

² I.e., “if thou art to die”.
companion of their companions and didst well in their companionship; and if indeed thou art to leave them, they will remain pleased with thee. — [Umar] said: As to what thou hast mentioned about [my] companionship with the Apostle of God and his pleasure [with me], behold, that was a favour which God, exalted be He, hath bestowed upon me. And as to what thou hast mentioned about [my] companionship with Abū Bakr and his pleasure [with me], behold, that was a favour which God, glorified be His name, hath bestowed upon me. And as to this grief in which thou seest me, this is [but] for thine and thy companions' sake. By God, had I as much gold as might fill the earth, I would offer it as ransom from the wrath of God, the Lord of Might and Glory, ere I meet Him.

Hamād ibn Zayd said: Ayūb related to us, on the authority of Ibn Abī Mulaykah, on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās: "I went in unto ‘Umar"—[and the rest] the same [as above].

Yūsuf ibn Mūsā related to us: Abū Usāmah related to us, saying: ‘Uthmān ibn Ghiyāth related to us: Abū Usūl an-Nahdi related to us,

ON the authority of Abū Mūsā, who said: I was with the Prophet in one of the gardens of Madinah, when a man came and asked to be let in. The Prophet said: Let him in, and announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise.—So I opened [the gate] and lo, it was Abū Bakr. I announced to him what the Prophet had said, and he praised God. Then another man came and asked to be let in. And the Prophet said: Let him in, and announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise.—So I opened [the gate], and lo, it was ‘Umar. I informed him of what the Prophet had said, and he praised God. Then another man came and asked to be let in. And [the Prophet] said to me: Let him in, and announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise after a calamity which is to befall him.—And

1 —and not on account of bodily suffering.
2 Lit., "punishment from God".
3 In his deep humility, which made him overlook all his merits and see only his shortcomings, 'Umar was afraid lest God should call him to account for any omissions or mistakes in the administration of the community which had been in his charge.
lo, it was 'Uthmān. I informed him of what the Apostle of God had said, and he praised God; and said: It is God Who is to be sought for aid.

17 Yahyā ibn Sulaymān related to us, saying: Ibn Wahb related to me, saying: Haywah informed me, saying: Abū 'Aqlī Zuhrah ibn Ma'bad related to me that

He heard his grandfather, 'Abd Allāh ibn Hishām, say: We were with the Prophet, and he was holding the hand of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.¹

SECTION VIII
THE VIRTUES OF 'UTHMĀN IBN 'AFFĀN ABū 'AMR AL-QURASHI

The Prophet said: Whoso diggeth the well of Rūmah, his shall be the Paradise;—and 'Uthmān dug it.² And [the Prophet] said: Whoso fitteth out the Army of Difficulty, his shall be the Paradise;—and 'Uthmān fitteth it out.³

1 Sulaymān ibn Harb related to us: Ḥammād ibn Zayd related to us, on the authority of Ayyūb, on the authority of Abū 'Uthmān, on the authority of Abū Mūsā: The Prophet entered a garden and bade me guard its gate. Then a man came and asked leave to enter. And [the Prophet] said: Let him enter, and announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise.—And lo, it was Abū Bakr. Thereafter another man came and asked leave to enter. And [the Prophet] said: Let

17 Hadītha bihi ben Salmān Cal: Hadīthī abīn 'Abī Abī Qālib Zahrā bi 'Abd Allāh bi Abī Hāshim Cal: Kān

بعباب

مناقب عثمان بن عفان أبى عمرو الفرشي (رض)

وقال اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ مَالَ فِي هِيَنَّةٍ مُّؤَزِّمَ فُلَلَةً الجَنَّةَ

فُحَرَتْ هُم عَبَانَ. وقَالَ: مَن جَهَّزَ جَيْشٍ يُعْرِجُهُ فِي الجَنَّةَ.مَهْرُهُ عَبَانَ.


2) عَرَضَ أَبَى مُوسى (رض) أَنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ سَلْطَةٌ دَخَلَ حَافِظُ وَأَمَّرَ بِحَفَظِ بَابِ الحَاجَّةَ. فَحَاجَ رجُلٌ يُسَتَّدِينَ. فَقَالَ: إِنَّهُ لَوْ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بَلْ. فَأَذَّنَ. فَقَالَ: إِنَّهُ لَوْ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بَلْ.

1 Fragment of a Tradition which is fully reproduced in Bkh lxx/3, No. 5.

2 When the early Muslims migrated to Madinah, there was near that town a spring called Rūmah, which belonged to a man of Banū Ghifār. Its water was far better than that of Madinah, and the owner used to sell it at a high price. When the Prophet requested him to give the spring as a gift to the Muslim community, he refused it. Thereupon 'Uthmān bought it for 3,500 dinārs and made it a waqf for the whole community; and in addition to the spring he dug by its side a well and had it faced with solid masonry. (Fath al-Bāri V, 314.)

3 Jaysh al-'Usrah. The Ghazwat al-'Usrah ("the Campaign of Difficulty") was a name given to the campaign of Tabūk on account of the extremely difficult circumstances under which it took place. See Bkh lii/80.

4 The above two sayings of the Prophet are found, with more details, in Bkh xliv/34, and in Dāraqūṭnī, p. 509.

5 He contributed several hundred camels and 1,000 dinārs towards the equipment of this expedition (cf. Tirmidhi, B. Manāqib 'Uthmān; Fath al-Bāri VII, 43).
him enter, and announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise.—And lo, it was Umar. Thereafter another man came and asked leave to enter. And [the Prophet] remained silent for a while; then he said: Let him enter, and announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise after a calamity that is to befall him.—And lo, it was Uthmân ibn Affân.

Hammâd said: And 'Aṣim al-Ahwâl and 'Ali ibn al-Hakam related to us [that they heard Abû 'Uthmân relate, on the authority of Abû Mūsâ, the like [of the above Tradition]. And 'Aṣim added [the following] to it:

The Prophet was sitting at a place where there was water, and had his knees uncovered. And when 'Uthmân entered, he covered them.*

Ahmad ibn Shabîb ibn Sa'id related to us, saying: My father related to me, on the authority of Yûnus: Ibn Shihâb said: 'Urwhah informed me that

"UBAYD ALLAH ibn 'Adi ibn al-Khiyâr" informed him that al-Miswar ibn Makhrâmâh and 'Abd ar-Rahmân ibn al-Aswâd ibn 'Abd Yaghûthî said [to him]: What preventeth thee from speaking unto 'Uthmân about his brother, al-Wâlîd, now that the people are bitterly against him? —

1 Sc., in addition to the above version.

2 'Uthmân was the most modest of all Companions, and so the Prophet covered his knees out of consideration for him (Fath al-Bârî VII, 43 f). It also may be that the Prophet was not quite as intimate with 'Uthmân—perhaps on account of the latter's shyness—as he was with Abû Bakr and 'Umar.

3 He was a tabî'i, a relative of 'Uthmân, and known for a righteous man; he died at Madinah during the Caliphate of Walîd ibn 'Abd al-Malik (Ibn Sa'd V, 35).

4 He was a nephew of 'Abd ar-Rahmân ibn 'Awf and was born in Mecca two years after the Prophet's hijrah and went in the year 8 A.H. with his father to Madinah. At the time of the Prophet's death he was eight years old. Later he was held in high esteem on account of his learning in religious matters. After 'Uthmân's death he returned to Mecca, and was killed, during the siege of 64 A.H., by a stray missile from a catapult, while praying in the Great Mosque. (Istı'âb I, 261.)

5 He was a tabî'i and belonged to the clan of Banû Zuhrah, of Quraysh (Ibn Sa'd V, 2 f).

6 Al-Walîd ibn 'Uqqâh ibn Abî Mu'ayyî was a half-brother of 'Uthmân on their mother's side (his father, 'Uqqâh, had been one of the Prophet's bitterest enemies in the early days of the Mission; cf. Bkh li/5, No. 5). 'Uthmân appointed al-Walîd governor of Kufah in place of Sa'd ibn Abî Waqqâs whom he had recalled in the year 25 A.H. (Tabârî V, 44).

7 The appointment of al-Walîd was one of the unfortunate political mistakes of 'Uthmân
So I proceeded to 'Uthman [and found him] going out for prayer. I said: Behold, I have to speak to thee, and it concerneth a counsel I have to give thee.—'Uthman' said: O man! . . . from thee!

Ma'mar said: I understand that he meant: "I take my refuge with God from thee!"

Then I left [him] and returned to those two; but lo, there came 'Uthman's messenger [to call me back]; so I went to him. He asked: What is thy counsel?—I answered: Behold, God, glory be unto Him, hath sent Muhammad with the Truth, and hath revealed the Book unto him; and thou wert of those who responded to the call of God and His Apostle. And thou hast taken part in both migrations, and wert a companion of the Apostle of God, and hast seen his mode of life. Now, the people are bitterly against al-Walid.—He said: Didst thou ever meet the Apostle of God?—I answered: Nay, but knowledge of him hath reached me as it even reacheth the bashful virgin.['Uthman'] said: Now, to}

quelquns, leurs actions et leurs paroles ne sont plus réservées qu'aux seuls qui les ont vues réellement, pour toute sa vie, depuis un livre ouvert et qu'il a souvent proclamé que le public ne devrait pas en parler, mais qu'il est possible que même les vierges modestes qui ne sortent pas de la société connaissent tout sur lui et ses enseignements.
come to the point: Behold, God hath sent Muhammad with the Truth, and I was of those who responded to the call of God and His Apostle, and had faith in the object of his mission; I took part in the two migrations, as thou saidst, and was a companion of the Apostle of God and had sworn allegiance to him: and, by God, never was I disobedient to him and never did I deceive him until God caused him to die. And [I did] the same [with] Abū Bakr and 'Umar; then I became Caliph. Have I, then, not the same right as they had? I answered: Yea. He continued: What, then, dost this your talking mean? As to what thou hast said about al-Walid, we shall apply to him the Law, if God, exalted be He, so willeth. Then he called 'Ali and bade him flog [al-Walid]; and ['Ali] dealt him eighty stripes.

3 Muhammad ibn Hātim ibn Bāzī related to me: Shādhān related to us: 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abī Salamah al-Mājishūn related to us, on the authority of 'Ubayd Allāh, on the authority of Nafti.

ON the authority of Ibn 'Umar, who said: In the time of the Prophet, we esteemed none equal to Abū Bakr; next [came] 'Umar, and next, 'Uthmān. Beside these [three], we did not discuss the [other] companions of the Prophet, and did not give preference to one above another.

'Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ corroborated him', on the authority of 'Abd al-'Azīz.

4 Mūsā ibn Ismā'īl related to us: Abū 'Awānah related to us: 'Uthmān ibn Mawhāb related to us, saying:

1 i.e., the right of appointing and deposing officers and of receiving obedience on the part of the Muslims.
2 This presumably did not occur immediately after the conversation quoted above, for al-Walid remained for some time in prison and was flogged afterwards (cf. p. 48 f, n. 7).
3 i.e., they did not classify other Companions individually—for, as regards groups of them, some of these were evidently regarded as superior to others, e.g., the Muhājirs, the Anṣār, the ten men to whom the Prophet announced in their life-time that they would enter Paradise, the Companions who took part in the battle of Badr, etc. Ibn 'Umar apparently meant that only with regard to Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān they had clear indications from the Prophet himself as to their individual superiority over the other Companions. Cf. sec. 4.
4 Sc., Shādhān, one of the transmitters of the above Tradition.
A MAN of the people of Egypt came on his pilgrimage to the House of God. He saw some people sitting [there] and asked: Who are these people?—Someone answered: They are Quraysh.—[The man] asked: And who is their chief?—They answered: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar.1—[The Egyptian] said: O Ibn 'Umar, I wish to ask thee about something, and thou answer me: Dost thou know that 'Uthmān fled on the day of [the battle of] Uhud?—[Ibn 'Umar] answered: Yea.—He asked: Dost thou know that he was absent from Badr, and did not take part [in the battle]?—[Ibn 'Umar] answered: Yea.—He asked: Dost thou know that he was absent during [the Pledge of] ar-Riḍwān2 and did not take part in it?—[Ibn 'Umar] answered: Yea.—[The Egyptian] said: God is great!3

[Thereupon] Ibn 'Umar said: Come, I will explain [all this] to thee. As to his flight on the day of Uhud, I do bear witness that God hath absolved him from it and hath forgiven him.4 As to his absence from Badr, behold, he was wedded to a daughter of the Apostle of God, and she was ill,5 so the Apostle of God said unto him: Behold, thou shalt have a reward [equal to that] of any who took part in [the battle of] Badr, and an equal share [in the spoils]. And as to his absence during [the Pledge of] ar-Riḍwān: had there been anyone more highly esteemed in Mecca than 'Uthmān, indeed the Apostle of God would have sent him; and he sent him.6 The Pledge of ar-Riḍwān took place in the month of Dhu‘l-Qa‘dah, 6 A.H., just before the Truce of Ḥudaybiyah (see Bkh lii/37).

From the foregoing conversation it appears that the Egyptian in question was a partisan of the Alides and thus biased against 'Uthmān who belonged to the clan of Banū Umayyah. In putting the above questions to Ibn 'Umar, who had a great reputation for integrity, he obviously expected that his antagonism to 'Uthmān would be vindicated by historical facts. Ibn 'Umar's monosyllabic answers seemed at first to confirm his views; but, as is subsequently shown in this Tradition, Ibn 'Umar was able to explain the alleged misconduct of 'Uthmān.

Reference to Qur’ān iii, 155, where God declares His forgiveness to those who at the time of the battle of Uhud lost their hearts and fled.

When the Prophet was leaving for Badr, his daughter Ruqayyah was ill, and he ordered her husband 'Uthmān to remain with her at Madinah. She died at the moment when Zayd ibn Hārithah arrived with the news of the victory (Ibn Sa‘d VIII, 24).

1 In the period following the Right-Guided Caliphs, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar held a unique position on account of his righteousness and his vast knowledge of Islām.

2 The Pledge of ar-Riḍwān took place in the month of Dhu‘l-Qa‘dah, 6 A.H., just before the Truce of Ḥudaybiyah (see Bkh lii/37).

3 From the foregoing conversation it appears that the Egyptian in question was a partisan of the Alides and thus biased against 'Uthmān who belonged to the clan of Banū Umayyah. In putting the above questions to Ibn 'Umar, who had a great reputation for integrity, he obviously expected that his antagonism to 'Uthmān would be vindicated by historical facts. Ibn 'Umar's monosyllabic answers seemed at first to confirm his views; but, as is subsequently shown in this Tradition, Ibn 'Umar was able to explain the alleged misconduct of 'Uthmān.

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5 When the Prophet was leaving for Badr, his daughter Ruqayyah was ill, and he ordered her husband 'Uthmān to remain with her at Madinah. She died at the moment when Zayd ibn Hārithah arrived with the news of the victory (Ibn Sa‘d VIII, 24).
of ar-Ridwán took place after ‘Uthmán had left for Mecca; and the Apostle of God said, pointing to his right hand: This is the hand of ‘Uthmán,—then he struck it with his [other] hand and said: This on behalf of ‘Uthmán.'—And Ibn ‘Umar added: Now take these [explanations] with thee.  

5 Musaddad related to us: Yahyá related to us, on the authority of Sa‘íd, on the authority of Qatádah, that Anas related to them, saying:

THE Apostle of God ascended Mount Uhud, and with him there were Abú Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uthmán; and [the mountain] trembled. [The Prophet] said: Be steady, Uhud!  

—I believe” he struck it with his foot— 
for upon thee there are but a prophet, a man of truth, and two martyrs.

SECTION IX

THE STORY OF THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO, 
AND AGREEMENT UPON, ‘UThmÁN IBN ‘AFFÁn, 
AND OF THE ASSASSINATION OF ‘UThmÁn

Muṣá ibn Ismá‘il related to us: Abú ‘Awánah related to us, on the authority of Ḥusayn.

O n the authority of ‘Amr ibn Maymún, who said: I saw ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭáb at Madinah some days before he was killed. Speaking to Hudhayfah ibn al-Yamán” and ‘Uthmán ibn Hunayf, he said: How did ye act? Do ye perchance fear that ye have assessed the land beyond its capacity?  

They

بعد ما ذهب عثمان إلى مكة، فقال رسول الله ﷺ: "ليه يدي عثمان، فضرب بها على يده فقال: هذه عثمان. فقال له ابن عمر: اذهب بها الآن معلک.

5 حدثنا مسرد: حدثنا يحيى عن سعيد عن قادة أن أنسى (رض) حدثهم قال: صعد رسول الله ﷺ: أبداً ومعه أبو بكر وعمر وعثمان فرجع، وقال: اسكن أحد! أظهراً ضربه برجله. فليس عليك النبي ﷺ وصديق وشهدان.

9 باب

قصة البيعة والاتفاق على عثمان بن عفان

وفي مقتل عمر (رض)

حدثنا موسى بن إسماعيل: حدثنا أبو عوانة عن حصن

عمر عمو بن ميمون قال: رأيته عمر ابن الخطاب (رض) قبل أن يصب بأيام المدينة وقف على حديثًا بن إيبان وعثمان بن حنيف قال: كيف فعلتهما؟ أتخفاف أن كوكنا قد حملت الأرضاً.

1 In taking his pledge for granted, the Prophet signified his complete confidence in ‘Uthmán.  
2 “—and give up thy wrong notions about ‘Uthmán.”  
3 This uncertainty is obviously due to one of the later transmitters. Cf. sec. 7, No. 8, where this sentence occurs in the matn.  
4 For details about this Companion, see sec. 55.  
5 ‘Uthmán ibn Hunayf ibn Wáhib al-Ansári, a sahábi. He served under ‘Umar and ‘Ali as tax collector, after having been unanimously recommended to ‘Umar by the Muslim leaders as trustworthy and experienced. He died in Kufah in the time of Mu‘áwiya (İst’áb II, 483).  
6 These two men had been sent by ‘Umar to assess the impost on the rural districts (as-sawād) of the recently conquered ‘Irāq, and the amount of jizyāh to be paid by those of the inhabitants who did not embrace Islām (Fath al-Bārî VII, 49). ‘Uthmán ibn Hunayf levied on each jarb of irrigated land one dirham in cash and one qafîz (about seventy pints) of grain. A year before ‘Umar’s death, this tax is said to have amounted in the sawād of Kufah alone to about 100 million dirhams.
said: We have only assessed it according to its capacity; there is no excess in it.—['Umar said: Beware that ye assess not the land beyond its capacity!—They said: Nay, [we did not do so].—Thereupon 'Umar said: Indeed, if God, exalted be He, keep me alive, I shall leave the widows of 'Iraq so [well provided for] that after me they will never have to look to anyone for help.]—[Ibn Maymun added: But he was killed ere four days passed.

[He further] said: On the morning when he was killed I was standing [in the mosque ready for prayer], and between me and him there was but 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās. While passing between the rows ['Umar] said: Adjust your ranks!—Then, when he saw that there was no empty space in them, he advanced and recited the takbir. He usually recited during the first rak'ah the sūrah “Yūsuf” or “The Bee” or such like, so that the people might [have time to] assemble. But [this] time he only recited the takbir when I heard him cry out, on his being stabbed:


قال: إن لقائم ما بني وبيته إلا عبد الله بن عباس غداة أصيب. وكان إذا مرين الصفين قال: استواا! — حتى إذا لم ري فين خلاً تقدم فكبر. وربما قرأ سورة يوسف أو النحل أو نحو ذلك في الركعة الأولى حتى جمع الناس; فما هو إلا أن كبر فسمعته يقول: قلئي — أو: أكلي

(Isti‘āb II, 483). 'Umar was obviously perturbed at this high figure and was afraid that the taxes were too heavy.

1 'Umar apparently intended to utilise a part of the revenues derived from 'Iraq for the maintenance of destitute widows in that country.

2 The above-mentioned sūrahs are somewhat long, so late-comers had time to join the congregation before the imām bowed down in the rukū‘.

3 In the original, this part of the sentence is in the active form ("when he stabbed him"); it has been rendered in the passive for the sake of clearness.

The cause of 'Umar's assassination was as follows (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 244 ff; Tābarī V, 12 ff): Al-Mughirah ibn Shu'bah, the governor of Kūfah, had a Persian slave, Fēroż abū Lu'lu'ah, a native of Nuhāwānd. He was a highly skilled workman—carpenter, smith and sculptor—and al-Mughirah wished to let him work in Madinah and to profit from his earnings. (Under the Islamic Law, the owner of a slave is entitled to a certain share in the latter's gains.) Although 'Umar had previously forbidden any adult non-Muslim foreigner to enter the capital of the Islamic Empire, he consented to al-Mughirah's request in the hope that the people of Madinah would benefit by the Persian slave's skill. Abū Lu'lu'ah set up his trade in Madinah and prospered. Al-Mughirah used to take four dirhams from his daily earnings, which were considerable. One day, the slave complained to the Caliph that his master charged him too high a tribute; but, on finding that the Persian's earnings were far above the small sum demanded from him, 'Umar held that the tribute was not excessive. Nevertheless, he intended (according to Fath al-Bātī VII, 49 ff) to intercede with al-Mughirah on behalf of the slave. For the present, however, he admonished the latter to behave well. This seeming indifference caused the slave's wrath, and when 'Umar asked whether he could build for him a windmill, the slave answered darkly: "I will make for thee such a mill that all people will talk of it." 'Umar understood that this was a threat, but did not pay any attention to it. Abū Lu'lu'ah provided himself with a double-bladed dagger and hid it in the mosque. On the morning
The dog hath killed me!—or: bitten me!—Thereupon the foreign infidel fled, with a double-bladed dagger [in his hand], and did not pass anyone on his right or left without stabbing him, until he stabbed thirteen men, seven of whom died. On seeing this, a man of the Muslims threw his burra's over him; and when the infidel knew that he was caught, he killed himself.

And 'Umar took the hand of 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Awf and made him advance [as imām]. And whoso was nigh unto 'Umar saw what I had seen; but [the people in] the remote parts of the mosque perceived naught save that they missed 'Umar's voice; and they were saying: Glory be unto God! Glory be unto God!4—Then 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Awf led the prayer, making it short. And when [the congregation] had dispersed, [‘Umar] said: O Ibn 'Abbās, see who it was that hath killed me.—So [Ibn 'Abbās] went round, and then came back and said: The slave of al-Mughirah.—[‘Umar] said: That skilled craftsman of Wednesday, the 27th Dhu‘l-Hijjah, 23 A.H. (5th November, 644 A.C.), he stabbed ‘Umar during the prayer of dawn. There is some difference of opinion as regards the exact date (cf. Tabari V, 13 f; Ibn Sa‘d III/i, 265), but all reports agree in that it happened on a Wednesday. ‘Umar received several deep wounds in the abdomen and died during the following night. We are told (Ibn Sa‘d III/i, 242 f) that on the Friday preceding the murder, he had dreamt that a cock crowed twice or thrice over him; he interpreted this as his approaching death, and added: “A non-Arab (rajul min al-a‘dājm) will kill me.” This would explain the definite article in his outcry, when stabbed: “The dog hath killed me!”

1 ‘Ilj—a sturdy, bulky, or coarse man; especially, of the non-Arab infidels; or simply, a foreign infidel (Lisān al-‘Arab III, 151).

2 According to Fath al-Bārī VII, 50, this man was a Muhājir, Hiṭṭān at-Tamimi al-Yarbu‘i, and not, as would appear from Ibn Sa‘d III/i, 252, ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Awf. The ismād in the Tradition quoted in Ibn Sa‘d is not reliable, as it is “interrupted” (munaqat): there is no mention of an intervening tābi‘i before the first transmitter, Ismā‘il ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa‘d. I was unable to find anywhere a further reference to the above-mentioned Hiṭṭān.

3 A hooded cloak used to this day by the Arabs in North Africa and the Tawāriq of the Sahara. In the early days of Islām it was widely used in Arabia (cf. Lane I, 196).

4 It speaks a great deal for the discipline of those early Muslims that the turmoil caused in the front ranks by the assassination of ‘Umar and several other men did not break up the congregation. Only those who were in the front ranks left their places, while the rows further down remained standing as they had been. The expression “Glory be unto God!” is used when members of the congregation think that the imām has committed an error in his recitation or in the ritual of prayer (cf. Bkh xviii/3). Restrained by their sense of discipline, the Muslims present in the mosque did not know what had happened in front, and probably thought that their imām had forgotten the words of the Qur‘ān-text he was reciting and stopped too long to remember them.
man?—[Ibn ‘Abbâs] answered: Yea.—[And ‘Umar] said: May God punish him! Verily, I had enjoined the right thing regarding him! Praise be unto God, Who hath not caused me to die at the hand of a man who professeth Islam! [O Ibn ‘Abbâs!] It was thou and thy father who have desired that there should be many foreign infidels in Madinah.2

—(Al-‘Abbâs had possessed more slaves than any of them.) And [Ibn ‘Abbâs] said: if thou will, I shall act (–or, [perhaps he said:] If thou will, we shall kill them).—[‘Umar] said: Thou art wrong! [Wouldst thou kill them now,] after they have begun to speak your language, and to pray toward your qiblah, and to perform the same pilgrimage as ye perform?—Thereafter he was borne to his home, and we went with him.3

And the people had never before that day suffered [such] a calamity. One said: It is nothing serious.—And another said: I fear for him.

1 This may refer to the report that ‘Umar intended to request al-Mughirah ibn Shu’bah to alleviate the impost on his slave. But I cannot find any authoritative indication that he really wrote to al-Mughirah in this respect; there is only a Tradition, mentioned in Fath al-Bârî VII, 49 f, on the authority of Râfî’, in which it is said that “it was ’Umar’s intention to see al-Mughirah and to speak to him, so that he might reduce it” (i.e., the tribute levied on his slave). But this reference is so vague that we cannot rely on it alone in trying to explain ’Umar’s saying, “I had enjoined the right thing regarding him”. Another, more probable, explanation suggests itself from ’Umar’s subsequent reproach to Ibn ‘Abbâs, that it was he and his father who had been in favour of admitting foreign infidels (‘ulâj) to Madinah. ’Umar had been always afraid that these people would cause mischief in the City of the Prophet. (See also subsequent note.)

2 Traditions to this effect are found in Ibn Sa’d III/i, 254 and 256. ’Umar was strongly against it, but al-‘Abbâs remonstrated with him, saying that the work at Madinah was too heavy to be done without foreign slaves (Fath al-Bârî VII, 51).

3 The verb kadâhaba does not always mean “lying”; it often denotes (and particularly in the dialect of the Hijâz), erring, or making a mistake (cf. Lisân al-‘Arab II, 203 f; Lane VII, 2599).

4 Ibn ‘Abbâs obviously said the above in despair, seeing ’Umar fatally wounded. But the dying Caliph reminded him that he could not kill them now, after many of them had—outwardly at least—embraced Islam; for even if some of them were hypocrites at heart, they now were members of the Muslim community.

5 It is recorded (Ibn Sa’d III/i, 254 f) that ’Umar subsequently fainted, and his companions thought that he was going to die. But at that very moment. Then one of them suggested that they should recite the call to prayer, for this was the thing which ’Umar had loved most, and it would revive him. They did it, and he regained consciousness, looked around and said: “The prayer? O God! there is no place in Islam for him who gives up prayer!” And, although he was profusely bleeding, he performed his ablution and said the prayer of dawn which he had missed.
Some must of dates was brought to him, and he drank it; and it came out from his belly. Then milk was brought unto him, and he drank it: and it came out through his wound. Thus they knew that he would die. We went in unto him, and the people came in, extolling him. And a young man came and said: Rejoice, O Commander of the Faithful, about the announcement which God—as thou well knowest—gave thee on account of thy companionship with the Apostle of God and thy merit with regard to Islam. Then thou becamest Caliph, and wert just. And [now there is thy] martyrdom.

[‘Umar] said: Would that such were the balance: naught against me, and my favour. When [the youth] was leaving his loincloth was touching the ground, [‘Umar] said: Bring the boy back to me! [Then] he said: My brother's son! Lift thy loincloth: for, indeed, this is better for thy garment, and is more reverential toward thy Sustainer. [Then he said:] O ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar! Find out how much debt there is upon me. They counted it and found that it was eighty-six thousand [dirhams] or so.

1 *Nabīd* (must) is a beverage of dates put in water and left in it for some time. Before it ferments (that is, before it develops alcohol and thus becomes intoxicating) it is lawful; after that, it becomes *harām*.

2 Obviously his stomach was perforated.

3 ‘Umar was one of the ten Companions to whom the Prophet had announced in their lifetime that they would gain Paradise; this is amply shown in the preceding sections of this chapter.

4 The noun in question can be spelt in two ways: *qadam*, which means precedence in matter of rank—in other words, merit, or merits; and *qidad*, which denotes precedence in matter of time. If we take the second reading, the meaning would be, “thy having early embraced Islam”. Both readings are admissible, but I have taken the first because it is more comprehensive.

5 That the young man was not actually a nephew of ‘Umar is evident from another version of the same Tradition in Bkh xix/96, No. 5, where he is described as an *Anṣāri*. The appellation “my brother’s son” is often used by the Arabs when an older man addresses a younger one; correspondingly, a young man addresses an old and respected one as “my uncle”.

6 See Bkh lxv/2. It is characteristic of ‘Umar that even on his death-bed he did not cease to pay full attention to religious injunctions and to advise his companions in this respect.

7 In a Tradition on the authority of ‘Abd ar-Rahmān ibn ‘Awf is said to have asked ‘Umar for what purpose he had spent that amount (because ‘Umar’s own way of living was extremely frugal); and ‘Umar explained that he had spent it on several pilgrimages—he had performed them with a large following of poor people—and for some emergencies of State. It is clear that this was not a personal expenditure, and ‘Umar could have well regarded it as spent in the interest of the community of which he was the head. But his
[‘Umar] said: If the property of ‘Umar’s family suffice, repay it from their possessions; if not, demand it from Banū ‘Adi ibn Ka‘b; and if their possessions suffice not, demand it from the Quraysh; and appeal not to others beside them. Thus thou shalt repay this debt on my behalf. And go to ‘A’ishah, Mother of the Faithful, and say: ‘Umar offereth thee his greeting,—and do not say, “the Commander of the Faithful”, for, behold, to-day I am no more commander of the Faithful; and say: ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab asketh leave to be buried beside his two companions.

Thereupon [‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar] greeted [‘A’ishah] and asked leave to enter; then he went in unto her and found her sitting and weeping. And he said: ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab offereth thee his greeting and asketh leave to be buried beside his two companions.—And she said: I had desired it for myself, but to-day, indeed, I shall give him preference over myself.

When he returned, someone announced: Here is ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar; he hath come back.—[‘Umar] said: Raise me up!—And a man propped him up. Then he asked: What bringest thou?—[His son] answered: That which thou lovest [to hear], O Commander of the Faithful: she hath given leave. —He said: Praise be unto God! There was naught which caused me more anxiety than this! Thus, when my end hath come, bear me [to ‘A’ishah’s house]: then give thy greetings and say: ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab asketh leave to enter. If she give leave, bear me inside; and if she refuse me, bring me back to the graveyard of the Muslims.

uncommonly keen sense of responsibility demanded of him that the above expenditure, which did not come under any of the conventional budgetary headings (to-day we would design it as “extraordinary budget”), should be restituted from his own means.

1 ‘Umar’s clan.
2 According to the ancient Arab code of honour, the clan and the tribe of a deceased debtor were morally responsible for the payment of his debts.
3 He wished to impress upon ‘A’ishah that the subsequently mentioned request was made in his private capacity and not as Commander of the Faithful to whom obedience was due; and that she was under no obligation whatever to fulfil it.
4 I.e., the Prophet and Abū Bakr, whose graves were within ‘A’ishah’s house.
5 There was no room left for more than one grave.
And there came the Mother of the Faithful, Ḥafsah, and [other] women were following her; and when we saw her, we rose. And she went in unto him and wept for a time by his side; then the men asked leave to enter, and she went inside; and we heard her weeping from the inner room.

Then [the men] said: Make thy will, O Commander of the Faithful, and appoint thy successor.⁴—He said: I do not see anyone worthier of this office than these persons

—or: people⁵

with whom the Apostle of God remained pleased unto his death. And he mentioned ‘Ali, ‘Uthman, az-Zubayr, Talhah, Sa’d and ‘Abd ar-Rahmân,⁴ and said: ‘Abd Allâh ibn ‘Umar, who hath no share in government, shall be your witness; [this] as a consolation for him.⁵ And should the authority devolve

وجات أم المؤمنين حفصة والنساء تسير
معها، فلما رأيتها قمنا، فوجلت عليه فَبَكَتْ عنه
ساعة، وعُسِأَلَ الرجال فوجلت داخلاً أَمَام
فسمعنا بكآها من الداخل.

فقالوا: أوص يا أمير المؤمنين، استخلف.
قال: ما أجد أحق بهذا الأمر من هؤلاء النفر

أو: الرهط

الذين توفى رسول الله وعليه السلام وهو عنهم راض.
فسمي علياً وعثمان والزبير وطلحة وسعداً.
وعبد الرحمن وقال: يشهدك عبد الله بن عمر
وليس له من الأمر شيء كهيئة التعري له. فان

1 She was ‘Umar’s daughter; married the Prophet in 3 A.H. and died in 41 A.H. (Isti‘âb II, 713 f).

2 It appears that even at an earlier date the Muslims had requested ‘Umar to appoint his successor; so, e.g., there is a Tradition (Ibn Sa’d III/i, 242 f) according to which ‘Umar said in his last Friday-sermon, five days before his assassination: “Some people desire me to appoint my successor” etc. A similar reference, without mention of the date at which it happened, is found in Bkh lxxx/51, No. 2. It seems, however, that he did not make up his mind in this matter until he was fatally wounded.

3 Uncertainty on the part of one of the transmitters. The word used in the Arabic text is râht; it generally denotes a group of men less than ten, and sometimes a little more (cf. Lane III, 1169). ⁴ These six men belonged to the ten to whom in their life-time Paradise had been announced. The other four were: ‘Umar himself, Abû Bakr, Abû ‘Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrâh and Sa’id ibn Zayd. Abû ‘Ubaydah was already dead at that time (see sec. 23, n.); and Sa’id ibn Zayd was a cousin of ‘Umar, and—as is apparent from a Tradition mentioned in Fath al-Bârî VII, 54—the latter purposely omitted him from the number of his possible successors in order to remove any doubt as to his impartiality. His recommendation of the six remaining personalities was based solely on the distinction conferred upon them by the Prophet himself. Five of these six Companions are discussed in separate sections of this chapter. As to ‘Abd ar-Rahmân ibn ‘Awf, he belonged to the clan of Banû Zuhrah, of Quraysh. He was born ten years after the Year of the Elephant (about 570 A.C.), embraced Islam at an early period, participated in the migration to Abyssinia, and was subsequently among the first who migrated to Madinah. He took part in all campaigns of the Prophet, grew very rich through trade, and died in 31 or 32 A.H. (Isti‘âb II, 390 f.) ⁵ In order to make some amends for the fact that his son ‘Abd Allâh had never had any share in the affairs of State, ‘Umar appointed him as a sort of arbiter for the candidates for the Caliphate; but there is no evidence of his ever having acted in this capacity, because the lead in the proceedings which resulted in the election of ‘Uthman was taken by ‘Abd ar-Rahmân ibn ‘Awf, as is narrated in this Tradition. According to several well-authenticated reports, some people had suggested to ‘Umar that he should nominate ‘Abd Allâh as his successor, but he refused it on the ground that ‘Abd Allâh was too soft-hearted for so responsible a post (Ibn Sa’d III/i, 248; Ṭabari
upon Sa'd, be it so; otherwise, he from among you who will become invested with the authority shall avail himself of his aid; for, behold, I did not dismiss him on account of any incapacity or faithlessness [on his part].

Then he said: To him who will be Caliph after me, I commend the early Muhājirs; he shall remember what is due to them and assure them of their [place of] honour. And I commend to him kindness toward the Ansār, who have taken their abode in the City [of the Prophet] and in the faith before them; [the deeds of] those from among them who do good shall be welcomed, and those from among them who do wrong shall be pardoned. And I commend to him kindness toward the dwellers of the towns, for, behold, they are the mainstay of Islām, the accumulators of wealth and the terror of the enemy; and naught shall be taken from them save what they can well spare. And I commend to him kindness toward the Bedouins, for, behold, they are the mainspring of the Arabs and the substance of Islām; and only a part

أصابت الأمة سعداً فهو ذلك، والأ فليس تستع

به أبكم ما أمر، فإن لم أعزه عن أجيال ولا

خيانة.

و قال: أوصى الخليفة من بعدا بالمهاجرين

الأولين أرب عرفهم حقيقهم وحفظ لهم

الحرمين. وأوصي بالنصر خيراً الذين

تبوؤا الدار والايام من قبلهم، أن

يقبل من محسن، وأن يعف عن مسيئتهم.

وأوصي بأهل الأمصار خيراً لأنهم ردد

الإسلام وحاجة المال وغيف العدو، وأن

ليتخذ منهم إلا فضلهم عن رضائهم. وأوصي

بالاعراب خيراً، لأنهم أصل العرب ومادَة

الإسلام، أن يؤخذ من حواشي أهالِمهم

V, 33 ff). For 'Umar, the question of the Caliphate was a matter of religious duty alone, and he never let any of his relatives benefit by his position.

1 Sa'd had been sent by 'Umar in 14 A.H. to 'Iraq as commander-in-chief (Tabari IV, 84 ff). He conquered that country and founded the town of Kufah in 17 A.H. (ibid., p. 188 ff). Subsequently he was the governor of that town and of the whole of Iraq, until 'Umar recalled him (ibid., p. 231). The reason of this dismissal was, that some people of Kufah, belonging to the clan Banū Asad, complained to 'Umar that Sa'd did not know how to perform his prayers (see Fath al-Bāri VII, 68, and also sec. 16, No. 4, as well as Bkh viii, 245, No. 1, where some other complaints are mentioned). 'Umar must have later realised that these complaints were not based on truth.

2 According to some commentators, the designation of “early Muhājirs” was applied to those who migrated to Madinah before the qiblah was changed from Jerusalem to Mecca, that is, before the month of Rajab, 2 A.H.; according to others, to those who took part in the Pledge of ar-Ridwān, towards the end of Dhu’l-Qa’dah, 6 A.H. ('Ayni XVI, 212).

3 I.e., before the Muhājirs. This is a quotation from the Qur’ān lix, 9. The Ansār had not, as a matter of fact, embraced Islām before all of the Muhājirs, but they had done it, as a group, before the people of Mecca; and from the very beginning they were so engrossed in Islām that it became their spiritual abode. Another possible explanation of the expression “before them” is (according to 'Ayni XVI, 213), that they accepted Islām before the coming of the Prophet to Madinah.

4 Free quotation of a saying of the Prophet (cf. sec. 44, Nos. 1, 2 and 3).

5 Sc., by way of taxes.

6 Only those who can trace their descent to one of the Bedouin tribes are regarded as real Arabs; all others, e.g., many of the town-dwellers and villagers in Syria, 'Iraq, North Africa, etc., who speak the Arabic language but do not descend from a Bedouin tribe, are considered to be only “arabianised”. 
of their less valuable cattle shall be taken from them, and [that] shall be returned unto the poor among them. And I commend to him those who are under the protection of God and His Apostle; the covenant made with them shall be fulfilled, and [the Caliph] shall fight for them; and they shall not be burdened with more than they can afford. 3

When [Umar] expired we bore him away to 'Aishah]. And 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar greeted [her] and said: 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb asketh leave to enter. She said: Bring him in. Then he was brought in and laid there to rest beside his two companions.

When the burial was over, those people assembled, and 'Abd ar-Rahmān said: Give up your claims in favour of three from among you. 4—Thereupon az-Zubayr said: I give up my claim in favour of 'Ali. And Taḥlah said: I give up my claim in favour of Uthmān. And Sa'd said: I give up my claim in favour of 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Awf. Then 'Abd ar-Rahmān said: If one of you two renounce his claim, we shall leave it unto him to choose by himself the best of them; and God and Islām be his witnesses. But the two elders remained silent. Thereupon 'Abd ar-Rahmān said: Will ye, then, leave it unto me? And God be my witness that I shall not fail to choose the best of you. The two said: Yea. Thereupon he took one of them by the hand and said:

وَتَرَى عَلَى فَقَرَائِهِمْ وَأوْصِيَ بِذِمَةِ اللَّهِ وَذِمَةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ أَنْ يَقُولُوا لِمَ بِهِمْ يَعْتَدُونَ أَنْ يَقَالُوا مِن وَرَأَيْهِمْ وَلَا يَكَلِفَوْا الْإِلَافِقَهُمْ

فَلَى قَضِيَ خَرْجُهُ بِهِ فَأَطْلَقْتُهُمْ فَسُلِمَ

عبَدُ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ قَالَ: يُسْتَأْذَنُ عُمَرُ بِالحَتَّابِ

قَالَ: أَدْخُلُوهُ—فَأَدْخَلُ فَوْضُتُ هَذَا

مَعَ صَاحِبِهِ

فَلَى فَعَلَ مِنْ دِفْهُ اجْمَعْ حَوْلَاءِ الْرِّهْطِ

فَقَالَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنَ: أَجْعَلْوا أَمْرَكَ إِلَى ثَلَاثَةٍٖ مَّنْكُمْ

فَقَالَ الزَّيْبِرُ: قَدْ جَعَلَتِ أَمْرِي إِلَى عَلَٰ

فَقَالَ طَلْحَةُ: قَدْ جَعَلَتِ أَمْرِي إِلَى عُثْمَانِ

وَقَالَ سَعْدُ: قَدْ جَعَلَتِ أَمْرِي إِلَى عُثْمَانِ

فَقَالَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنَ: أَيْكَ آتَأَرَ مِن هَذَا

الآمِرَ فَجَعَلَهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ ولِلَّهِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ لِيَنْظَرُ

أَفْضِلَهُمْ فِي نَفْسِهِ—فَأَسْأَلْتُ الْشَّيْخَانَ فَقَالَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنَ: أَفْتَجَعِلُونَهُ إِلَى ؟ وَلَهُمْ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ لا

آَلَوْنَ أَفْضِلَهُمْ—قَالَ: نَمَٰ—فَأَخَذَ يَدَٰ

1 Ahl adh-dhimmaḥ are those from among the conquered non-Muslims who remain within the fold of their religion and pay a capitation tax (jizyah) to the Muslim government; in return, the latter guarantees them their institutions and full social freedom and protects them in the same way as the Muslim subjects. See also Bkh xlvi/218.

2 i.e., whenever they are attacked by a third party.

3 Reference to the amount of the capitation tax to be imposed on them. This was always left to the discretion of the Caliph.

4 The six personalities whom Umar designated as candidates for the Caliphate.

5 In order to reduce the possibility of disension he proposed to reduce the number of candidates from six to three.

6 i.e., Uthmān and 'Ali.

7 By following the above procedure, the number of candidates was reduced to three including 'Abd ar-Rahman; and now the latter proposed that one of them should renounce his claim and act as arbiter between the remaining two.

8 i.e., Uthmān and 'Ali.

9 'Ali, as is obvious from the sequence.
Thou art related to the Apostle of God and art the earliest Muslim, as thou well knowest. So God be thy witness: if I confer the power upon thee, be just; and if I confer it upon 'Uthmān, heed him and obey him.—Then he took the other aside and spake likewise unto him. And after he had made this covenant [with them], he said: Raise thy hand, O 'Uthmān!—and swore allegiance to him, and 'Ali swore allegiance to him. Then the people of the City [of the Prophet] came in and swore allegiance to him.

SECTION X

THE VIRTUES OF 'ALI IBN ABĪ TĀLĪB

AL-QURASHĪ AL-HĀSHIMĪ ABU'L-HASAN

The Prophet said unto 'Ali: Thou art of me and I am of thee.1—And 'Umar said: The Apostle of God remained pleased with him unto his death.2

1. Qutaybah ibn Sa'id related to us: 'Abd al-'Aziz related to us, on the authority of Abū Ḥāzim, on the authority of Sahl ibn Sa'd: The Apostle of God said: To-morrow I shall give the standard to a man through whose hands God will grant us victory.3 [Sahl ibn Sa'd] said:

And the people spent the night wondering to which of them it would be given. When the morn came, they hastened to the Apostle of God, everyone of them hoping that it would be given to him. Then [the Prophet] said: Where is 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālīb?—They answered: He is suffering from his eyes,4 O Apostle of God!—He said: Then send for him and bring him to me. When he came, [the Prophet] spat into his eyes and prayed for him;

أحدهما فقال: لَكْ قرَآنًا مِنَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ 
والقدم في الإسلام ماذاق علمت: ﷺ علِك
لنْ أُرِيكَ لَتَتَّلدِنَ، وَلَنْ أُرِيكَ عَيْنَانَ لَتَسَمَّعَنَّ
وُلْتِطَيِّنَانِ— ثم خَلَأَ الْآخَرِ فَقَالَ لَهُ مِثْلَ ذَلِكِ.
فَلَا أَخْذَ الْمِيتَاقَ قَالَ: أَرَفَعْ يَدَكَ يَا اِبْنُ أَبِي الْحَمَّامِ?
فَبَيَاءَهُ وَبَيَاءَهُ لَهُ وَلَوْ جَلَّ أَهْلُ الدَّارِ فَبَيَاءُوهُ;

باب

مناقب على بن أبي طالب القرشي الهاشمي

(أبو الحسن، رض)

 وقال النبي ﷺ لعلي: أنت متي وآنا منك.
وقال عمر: توقي رسل الله ﷺ لبايته وعنه راض.

1. حدثنا قتيبة بن سعيد: حدثنا عبد العزيز بن أبي حازم عن
(رست بن سعد، رض)

أقت رسول الله ﷺ قال: لأتلتين

الراية غدًا رجلاً يفتح الله عليه.

قيل:

فبض الناس يدوكون ليتهم أئمهم يبطوها. فلما
أصبح الناس غدوا على رسول الله ﷺ كلهم يرجع
أن يبطوها. قال: أين على بن أبي طالب؟

قالوا: يشتكى عينيه يا رسول الله! قال: 
 فأرسلوا إليه فأتوتي به. فلما جاء بصق في عينيه

1 This is a fragment of a long Tradition quoted in Bkh xlIII/6, No. 2, and lii/45, No. 1.
2 Abbreviated quotation from the Tradition in sec. 9, where 'Umar is reported to have said this of the six men— one of whom was 'Ali—whom he recommended as candidates for the Caliphate.
3 This is an incident of the campaign of Khaybar, in the year 7 A.H. (see Bkh lii/40). In several Traditions (Ibn Hanbal V, 353 f. and 358 f.; Mustadrak III, 37 f.; Ibn Hishām II, 227) it is narrated that the standard was first given to Abū Bakr, and then to 'Umar, but both failed to conquer Khaybar.
4 As is evident from the subsequent Tradition, 'Ali suffered from ophthalmia, which forced him to remain in the rear of the army.
and he was cured as if he had never been ill. Then [the Prophet] gave him the standard. And ‘Ali said: O Apostle of God! I shall fight them until they are like us!—Thereupon [the Prophet] said: Advance warily till thou reach their dwelling-places; thereafter invite them to Islam and inform them what duties toward God will be incumbent upon them. For, by God! if God guide aright through thee one single man, this will be better for thee than to possess the most precious of camels.a

Qutaybah related to us: Hātim related to us, on the authority of Yazid ibn Abī ‘Ubayd, on the authority of Salamah, who said:

DURING [the campaign of] Khaybar, ‘Ali remained behind the Apostle of God, for his eyes were inflamed; then he said: Is it for me to remain behind the Apostle of God?—and he went forth and rejoined the Prophet. And in the eve of the day on which God granted the victory, the Apostle of God said: I shall give the standard to

—or: I shall let the standard be taken by—a man whom God and His Apostle love
—or he said: who loveth God and His Apostle—;

[and] through him God will grant us victory.

—And lo, we saw ‘Ali, whom we did not expect. [The people] said: Here is ‘Ali!—Thereupon the Apostle of God gave him [the standard], and God granted us victory through him.

1 I.e., until they embrace Islam.
2 Sc., if they accept Islam. The shari’ah does not permit to fight against non-Muslims unless they first have been invited to accept Islam or to pay jizyah and have rejected both. See in this connection Bkhl xlvi.
3 Lit., “red camels” (humr an-na’am). The Arabs regard the camels of this colour as the best, hence humr an-na’am “signifies the high-bred, or excellent, of camels, and is proverbially applied to anything highly prized, precious, valuable, or excellent” (Lane II, 641 f). Thus the Prophet wished to impress upon ‘Ali that the foremost duty of a mujāhid consisted in the endeavour to bring the non-Muslim enemy into the fold of Islam before waging war upon him.
4 Uncertainty on the part of a transmitter. In another version of the same Tradition, on the authority of Sahl ibn Sa‘d, in Bkhl lii/40, No. 15, both sentences occur side by side: “whom God and His Apostle love, and who loveth God and His Apostle”.


2 حدثنا قتيبة: حدثنا حاتم عن يزيد بن أبي عبيد عن سلحة قال:

كانت على قد تخلف عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في خيبر وكان به رمد: فقال: أنا أخفف عن رسول الله ورسوله؟ فخرج على فتح بالنيط والبئر. لما كان منسًا لليلة التي فتحها الله في صبحها قال رسول الله ﷺ: لأعطي الراية

أو: لاأخذ الراية—

غدا رجلاً يحب الله ورسوله

أو قال: يحب الله ورسوله

ففتح الله عليه. —فاذأ نحن بلع وما نرجع. فقالوا: هذا على! — فأعطاه رسول الله ﷺ

ففتح الله عليه.
A MAN came to Sahl ibn Sa’d¹ and said:

Such-and-such

—meaning the governor of Madinah²—

abuseth ‘Ali from the pulpit.—[Sahl] said: And what doth he say?—He answered: He calleth him “Father of Dust” (Abū Turāb).—Thereupon [Sahl] laughed and said: By God! none else than the Prophet [himself] gave him this name; and no name was dearer unto him than this.

[Abū Ḥāzim said:] Then I desired Sahl to let me enjoy this Tradition, and said: O Abū ‘Abbās, how [was this]?

[Sahl] said: ‘Ali went in unto Fāṭimah; then he left and went to sleep in the mosque.⁴ Thereupon the Prophet asked [Fāṭimah]: Where is thy uncle’s son?—She answered: In the mosque.—So the Prophet went to him and saw that his wrap had slipped from his back, and his back was covered with dust.⁶ And the Prophet set himself to wipe the dust from his back, saying twice: Get up, O thou Father of Dust!

1 Sahl ibn Sa’d ibn Mālik al-Anṣārī. At the time of the Prophet’s death, he was fifteen years old; one of the last Companions from among the Anṣār, he died in 88 or 91 A.H., nearly one hundred years old (Isti’āb II, 571 f).

2 This explanatory remark obviously goes back to the transmitter Abū Ḥāzim (Salamah ibn Dinār). I was unable to trace anywhere the name of the governor in question. But, as until the death of ‘Ali Madinah was the capital of the Empire, and, consequently, had no governor of its own, this incident must have happened in the time of the Umayyads, and a governor of that period was naturally susceptible of animosity against ‘Ali. It might have been Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, who for a considerable time, during the reign of Mu’āwiya and Yazid, was governor of Madinah and often used publicly to abuse ‘Ali. It is also evident from other reports (cf. Fath al-Bārî VII, 60) that the Umayyads used ‘Ali’s nickname “Abū Turāb” in a contemptuous sense; they were obviously ignorant of its origin, which is given in the above Tradition.

3 Kunyah of Sahl ibn Sa’d.

4 In the same Tradition, in Bkh viii/58, No. 2, it is stated that the two had quarrelled, and so ‘Ali intended to spend the night in the mosque instead of at home.

5 I.e., ‘Ali. In reality he was not her cousin, but her father’s. But owing to the custom to marry cousins, prevalent among the Arabs, they often apply the designation “uncle’s son” or “uncle’s daughter” to husband and wife even in cases where this relationship does not exist.

6 Lit., “the dust reached his back.”
4 Muhammad ibn Rāfī' related to us: Husayn related to us, on the authority of Zā‘īdah, on the authority of Hasin, on the authority of Sa‘d ibn ‘Ubaydah, who said:

A MAN came to Ibn ‘Umar and asked him about ‘Uthmān and [Ibn ‘Umar] mentioned his good deeds [and] said: Perchance this is disagreeable to thee?—[The man] answered: Yea.—[Ibn ‘Umar] said: Then may God abase thee!—Then [the other] asked him about ‘Ali, and [Ibn ‘Umar] mentioned his good deeds, [and] said: His house was in the midst of the Prophet’s houses.⁴—And he added: Perchance this [also] is disagreeable to thee?—[The man] answered: It is!—[Ibn ‘Umar] said: Then may God abase thee! Go away, and do against me all thou art able to do!

Muhammad ibn Bashār related to me: Ghundar related to us: Shu’bāh related to us, on the authority of al-Ḥakam: I heard Ibn Abi Laylā say:

‘A LĪ related to us: Fāṭimah complained of the fatigue which the handmill caused her. [At that time] a slave had been brought to the Prophet; so she went [to him], and found him not [at home]. But she found ‘A‘ishah and told her [her desire].⁵ And when the Prophet returned, ‘A‘ishah informed him of Fāṭimah’s visit. Thereupon the Prophet came to us; and we had already lain down to sleep. I wanted to get up, but he said: Remain as ye are!—And he sat down between us, so that I felt the coldness of his feet on my chest; and he said: Shall I show you a thing better than that which ye

5 Muhammad ibn Bashār related to me: ‘A‘ishah complained of the fatigue which the handmill caused her. [At that time] a slave had been brought to the Prophet; so she went [to him], and found him not [at home]. But she found ‘A‘ishah and told her [her desire].⁵ And when the Prophet returned, ‘A‘ishah informed him of Fāṭimah’s visit. Thereupon the Prophet came to us; and we had already lain down to sleep. I wanted to get up, but he said: Remain as ye are!—And he sat down between us, so that I felt the coldness of his feet on my chest; and he said: Shall I show you a thing better than that which ye

1 Ibn Hajar (Fath al-Bārī VII, 58) seems to believe that this man was identical with the Egyptian mentioned in sec. 8, No. 4, and that both Traditions refer to one and the same incident. But the wording of the two Traditions, as well as the entirely different isnāds, do not appear to justify this assumption. While the Egyptian of the first Tradition was obviously a partisan of the Alides, the man mentioned in this one reminds us rather of the Khāwārij, who held that ‘Ali and the Umayyads were equally responsible for the tragic split in Islām (cf. Ṭabarī VI, 83 f, where the story of the plot to murder ‘Ali, Mu‘awiyah and ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ is narrated at length).

2 Lit., “may God cleave thy nose to the dust”.

3 I.e., he was a member of the Prophet’s family.

4 Evidently a captive from one of the recent campaigns.

5 In another version of the same Tradition, in Bkh lxvii/11, it is clearly stated that “she went to the Prophet to ask him for a servant”—evidently the recently brought-in slave.
have demanded of me? When ye lay down to sleep, say thirty-four times, “God is Great,” thirty-three times, “Glory be unto God,” and thirty-three times, “All praise is due unto God”; this is better for you than a servant.

6 Muḥammad ibn Bashshār related to us: Ghundar related to us: Shu’bah related to us, on the authority of Sa’d, who said: I heard [this from] Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d, on the authority of his father, who said:

**The** Prophet said unto ‘Ali: Art thou not satisfied with being unto me what Aaron was unto Moses?\(^1\)

7 ‘Ali ibn al-Ja’d related to us: Shu’bah informed us, on the authority of Aṣyūb, on the authority of Ibn Sirin, on the authority of ‘Abidah.

On the authority of ‘Ali, who said\(^2\): Judge as ye used to judge [before], so that the people may remain united—for I hate discord—and I may die as my companions have died.\(^3\)

*Ibn Sirin regarded most of the reports about ‘Ali as lies.*\(^4\)

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1 Shi’ite authors often refer to this and similar Traditions in support of their claim that ‘Ali was meant by the Prophet to be his successor. But the Sunni commentators (e.g., *Fāṭḥ al-Bārī* VII, 60) argue—I believe, rightly—that the above saying of the Prophet referred merely to the family-relationship between him and ‘Ali, and not to the question of the Caliphate; for Aaron was not the *khālifah* of Moses, having preceded him in death. The Tradition under consideration has been fully quoted in Bkh li/80, No. 2. There we read that the Prophet ordered ‘Ali to remain in Madīnah in charge of the city and the Prophet’s family while he himself was proceeding on the campaign of Tabūk. When ‘Ali expressed his disappointment, the Prophet referred to the example of Moses who had left his brother Aaron in charge of the community when he himself ascended Mt. Sinai. In a Tradition on the authority of Sa’d (Ibn Ḥanbal I, 175), ‘Ali is reported to have been highly gratified by this comparison.

2 Sc., to the people of ʿIrāq. During his tenure of the Caliphate, the question arose as to whether a female slave who had born a child to her master could be sold by him or not. ʿUmar had held—in accordance with the most authentic Traditions on this subject—that the Prophet had forbidden to sell such a slave again and had ordered that she be regarded automatically as free on her master’s death (if the latter had not already freed her in his life-time). This was originally also ‘Ali’s view, but later he changed it and held that she could be sold (*Fāṭḥ al-Bārī* VII, 59). As his view, however, was vehemently opposed by the majority of Muslims, he renounced it and, as is told in the above Tradition, ordered them to continue to judge according to the principle established in ‘Umar’s time. The legal aspects of the above problem are discussed Bkh xl/8, n.

3 *I.e.,* as the head of a united community, as was the case with his predecessors.

4 This refers to the reports—mostly from Shi’ite sources—in which ‘Ali is alleged to have spoken against Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān (*Fāṭḥ al-Bārī* VII, 60).
SECTION XI

THE VIRTUES OF JAFAR IBN ABĪ TĀLĪB

AL-HĀSHIMI

The Prophet said: Thou resembllest me in appearance and character.¹

1 Ahmad ibn Abi Bakr related to us: Muham- mad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Dīnār Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Juḥani related to us, on the authority of Ibn Abī Dhi'b, on the authority of Sa'id al-Maqburi,

ON the authority of Abū Hurayrah²: The people used to say: Abū Hurayrah relateth too many [Traditions].³ Behold, [this is because] I used to keep close to the Prophet—for my belly was easily satisfied⁴—and ate no leavened bread, and wore no showy garment⁵; and never man or woman

1 He was a brother of 'Ali, ten years older than the latter. One of the oldest Muslims, he became the leader of the emigrants to Abyssinia, and returned from that country to the Prophet after the conquest of Khaybar (7 A.H.); and the Prophet said: "I know not whether to rejoice more about the conquest of Khaybar or the return of Ja'far." In 8 A.H., at the age of forty-one, he was sent as second-in-command on the expedition of Mu'tah; he succeeded the commander-in-chief, Zayd ibn Hārithah, after the latter fell, and was himself subsequently killed. Before he received his mortal wound he lost both his arms in fight, and the Prophet is reported to have later said that in Paradise Ja'far would be given two wings instead: thence the appellations at-Tāyyār ("the Flyer") and Dhu'l-Janāhāyin ("the Two-Winged one") given to him by his companions after his death (cf. No. 2 in this section). In appearance he strongly resembled the Prophet. (Ibn Sa'd IV.i, 22 ff; Iṣṭi'āb I, 81 f.)

2 Fragment from a long Tradition quoted in Bkh xlii/6, No. 2, and lii/45, No. 1.

3 As there is no separate section in this work dealing with Abū Hurayrah, a brief account of his life is given in the following. "Abū Hurayrah" was not his real name, but a pet name given to him by the Prophet on account of the tenderness he once showed to a little cat (ḥurayrah, dem. of ḥirraḥ). His real name is not known with certainty; it is said to have been 'Abd ash-Shams before he embraced Islām, and afterwards 'Abd ar-Rahlīm, 'Abd Allāh, 'Amir or 'Umār. He belonged to the tribe of Daws, and came to Madinah in the year 7 A.H., when the Prophet was at Khaybar; he followed him there and embraced Islām. From that time onward he never left the Prophet and was day and night in his attendance as his most faithful servant. This fact accounts for the great number of Traditions attributed to him. During 'Umar's Caliphate, he acted for a short time as tax-collector in Bahrain, but does not seem to have relished this appointment. He died at Madinah in 58 or 59 A.H., at the age of seventy-eight. (Ibn Sa'd IV/ii, 52 ff; Iṣṭi'āb II, 697 f.)

4 The objections against some of the Traditions reported by Abū Hurayrah will be fully discussed in my Introduction to the Study of Sahih al-Bukhārī.

5 This was indeed a necessary qualification for a permanent companion of the Prophet, in whose house food was never abundant. Abū Hurayrah did not care for the good things of this world, so he did not pursue any trade, but preferred to remain in attendance on the Prophet.

6 Ḥabīr, a striped garment of the kind called burd (cf. Lane II, 499); hence, any kind of
served me. And [often] would I press my belly against a stone on account of hunger; and would ask a man to recite a Qur’ān-verse to me—although I knew it by heart—only that he take me [home] with him and feed me. And the most generous of all people toward the poor was Ja’far ibn Abī Ṭālib⁴; he would take us [home] with him and would give us to eat all that was in his house—and would offer us even the empty butter-skin⁵; he would tear it and we would lick whatever [remained] therein.

† Amr ibn ‘Ali related to me: Yazid ibn Hārūn related to us: Ismā’īl ibn Abī Khālid informed us, on the authority of ash-Sha’bī:

WHEN greeting Ja’far’s son⁴, Ibn ‘Umar would say: Greeting unto thee, O son of the Two-Winged one⁹?

SECTION XII
CONCERNING AL-’ABBĀS IBN ’ABD AL-MUṬTALIB⁷

Al-Hasan ibn Muhammad related to us: Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī related

adorned or showy garment. The reading ḥarīr (silk), which occurs in the text of al-Kashmihani is, according to Ibn Ḥajar, incorrect (Fath al-Bārî VII, 61); but the latter fails to mention that the same reading is to be found in the texts of Abū Dharr and Ibn ‘Asākir as well (cf. Sahīh, ed. ‘Abd al-Hamīd, vol. V, 19). It is possible that Abū Hurayrah refers to the period before the prohibition of silken garments for men. On the whole, however, the reading ḥabîr is preferable.

1. The Prophet used to call him “father of the poor” (‘Ayni XVI, 220).
2. I.e., poor people of the kind of the narrator; cf. note on ʾashāb as-suffah in Bkh viii 58.
3. ‘Ukkah, a small leathern receptacle for clarified butter.
4. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ja’far; d. 80 A.H. (Ist’āb I, 324).
5. See p. 66, n. 1.
6. He was an uncle of the Prophet, and two or three years older than the latter. It appears that he was attracted by Islām at an early period, for he actively supported the Prophet at al-‘Aqabah on the occasion of the delegation from the tribes Aws and Khazraj, who invited the Prophet to Madinah. But he did not openly embrace Islām for some time to come, although from Mecca he used to communicate the plans of the Quraysh to the Prophet who in the meantime had migrated to Madinah. Subsequently al-‘Abbās also wanted to go there, but the Prophet seems to have preferred that he should stay at Mecca and, as before, inform him about the movements of the Quraysh. Against his will, al-‘Abbās was forced to take part in the battle of Badr on the side of the pagan Quraysh, and was taken prisoner by the Muslims; later he returned to Mecca, presumably for the same purpose as before. Finally, in the year 7 or 8 A.H., he openly declared his conversion to Islām and migrated to Madinah, where he settled permanently. Subsequently he took part in the campaigns of Hunayn, Ṭā’if, and Tabūk and died at Madinah in the year 32 A.H., during the Caliphate of ‘Uthmān. (Ibn Sa’d IV/i, 2 ff; Ist’āb II, 484 ff.)
to us: My father, 'Abd Allâh ibn al-Muthannâ, related to me, on the authority of Thumâmah ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Anas, on the authority of Anas:

**WHEN** there was drought, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb would pray for rain in the name of al-'Abbâs ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, saying: O God! Behold, we used to approach Thee for favour in the name of our Prophet, and Thou gavest us rain; and now, behold, we approach Thee for favour in the name of our Prophet's uncle: so give us rain!

[Anas] said:

Thereupon they would be given rain.

**SECTION XIII**

THE VIRTUES OF THE RELATIVES OF THE APPOSTLE OF GOD

1 Abu'l-Yamân related to us: Shu‘ayb informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhri, who said: 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr related to me, on the authority of 'A’ishah:

FÂTIMAH sent for Abû Bakr and demanded of him her heritage from the Prophet; it concerned the property which God had granted to His Apostle. She claimed the Prophet’s gift to his community at

1 See Bkh xiii/3, No. 3.

2 In most texts of the Sahih follow here the words, “and of Fâtimah, the Prophet’s daughter”, as well as the fragment of a Tradition referring to the latter; both are repeated in sec. 32, which treats of Fâtimah. The text of Abû Dharr, however, omits these portions of the tarjumah in sec. 13 (cf. Sahih, ed. ‘Abd al-Hamîd, vol. V, 20). This is obviously correct, as a separate section of this work is devoted to Fâtimah, while the present section deals with more general aspects of the Prophet’s relations. I have followed in this respect the text of Abû Dharr.

3 In the Arabic text, sadaqat an-nabi ("the Prophet’s alms"). This refers to (a) the plantations taken in war from the defeated Jewish tribe of Banû’n-Nadir, which became the Prophet’s property after most of it had been distributed among the poor Muhâjîrs (Fath al-Bâri VI, 152), and (b) the property of the Jew Mukhayriq, of Banû Qaynuqa’, who embraced Islam during the battle of Uhud and declared that, in case he fell in battle, his lands should devolve on the Prophet; Mukhayriq was killed on the same day, and the Prophet immediately converted this property into a waqf for the Muslim community as a whole (Ibn Sa’îd I/ii, 182 f). The revenues derived from that part of the lands of Banû’n-Nadir which the Prophet had kept for himself were not utilised by him, but set aside for emergencies (ibid., p. 183).

The expression sadaqah was obviously not used by Fâtimah herself, for she regarded the said property as her rightful heritage; it appears to be an explanatory description on the part of the narrator, ‘A’ishah. This is the view of al-Kirmâni, one of the oldest commentators of the Sahîh (‘Aynî XVI, 222).
Madinah, and also Fadak, and what remained of the quint of Khaybar. Abū Bakr said: Behold, the Apostle of God hath said: We [prophets] leave no heritage: what we leave is an alms [to the community]; behold, the family of Muhammad shall but derive their subsistence from this property—which is God's property—and shall not go beyond the [needs of] subsistence. And, by God! [said Abū Bakr.] I shall change naught in [the disposition of] the Prophet's alms observed in his life-time, and shall do concerning them that which the Apostle of God did!

And `Ali repeated the Creed and said: فُتِسَهَدُ عَلَىٰ ثُمَّ قَالَ: إِنَّا قَدْ عَرَفْنَا يَا أُبَا بُكَرَ.

1 Fadak was a place between Madinah and Khaybar, populated by Jews. In 7 A.H., the people of Fadak sent a deputation to the Prophet, requesting him to allow them to leave their country in peace (Tabari III, 95). Subsequently, the lands of Fadak came into the possession of the Prophet, who utilised the revenues derived therefrom for the provisioning of poor travellers (Ibn Sa'd I/i, 183).

2 The khums (quint) is the fifth part of the spoils of war which is to be handed over to the chief of the Muslim community, to be utilised by him for the public good (see Bkh xlvi/198). As regards the quint (in lands) which he received after the conquest of Khaybar, the Prophet divided it into three parts: two-thirds he distributed among the Muslim community, and one-third he reserved for the maintenance of his own family; what remained of the revenues from the latter he distributed among the poor Muhājirūn (Ibn Sa'd I/i, 183). Evidently Fāṭimah demanded the lands which constituted this third of the quint of Khaybar.

3 The meaning of this famous Tradition is, that the property in the hands of prophets is but a trust which they hold on behalf of the community. In another version of this Tradition (Abū Dā'ud, K. al-Kharāj, B. Fi Ṣafāyah Rasul Allāh), the Prophet is reported to have said: "If God gives to a prophet means of subsistence, He makes it over, after He had caused [the Prophet] to die, to him who takes his place after him."

4 Allusion to Qur'an viii, 41.

5 Thus, Abū Bakr rightly maintained, the Prophet's family (i.e., his whole family, and not only his descendants) had a claim upon the usufruct of that property, while the substance was to be regarded as a waqf.

6 This refusal on the part of Abū Bakr to fulfil Fāṭimah's demand regarding what she believed to be her father's heritage, annoyed her to such an extent that she ceased to have any connection with Abū Bakr until her death six months later; this is shown in another version of the same Tradition, Bkh xlvi/198, No. 2. On the other hand, we have a Tradition in Bayhaqi VI, 301, to the effect that she reconciled herself with Abū Bakr shortly before her death: during her last illness he asked to be admitted to her, which she allowed; he then explained his attitude with regard to the Prophet's heritage, and she understood that he had not been prompted by any animosity against her, but solely by his desire to act according to the commandments of the Prophet.

7 The kalimah, "There is no deity save God, and Muhammad is the Apostle of God"; it is often used as a preamble before important declarations. As is evident from another, more detailed,
Behold, we acknowledge thy superiority,—And he mentioned their relationship with the Apostle of God and their [consequent] rights. Then Abū Bakr spake and said: By Him in Whose hand is my soul! I would rather do good to the relations of the Apostle of God than to my [own] relations.3

2 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb informed me: Khālid related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Wāqīd, who said: I heard my father relate, on the authority of Ibn 'Umar,

On the authority of Abū Bakr, who said: Regard Muḥammad by showing regard to the members of his family.

3 Abu'l-Walid related to us: Ibn 'Uyaynah related to us, on the authority of 'Amr ibn Dinār, on the authority of Ibn Abī Mulaykah, on the authority of al-Miswar ibn Makhramah:

The Apostle of God said: Fāṭimah is a part of me, and whoso offendeth her, offendeth me.4

4 Yaḥyā ibn Qaṣ'ah related to us: Ibrāhim ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of 'Urwa,

On the authority of 'A'īshah, who said: During the illness preceding his death, the Prophet called his daughter Fāṭimah and told her something in secret, whereupon she wept. And he addressed her [again] and spake to her in secret, whereupon she laughed. Then—said ['A'īshah]—I asked her about it, and she said: The Prophet spake to me in

version of this Tradition (Bkh lii/40, No. 41), this fragment refers to a later time, namely, after Fāṭimah’s death, which occurred about six months after that of the Prophet. As had been already mentioned on p. 32, n. 7 (continued on p. 33), 'Ali did not swear allegiance to Abū Bakr till after Fāṭimah’s death. His above-mentioned speech, and Abū Bakr’s answer to it, preceded 'Ali’s oath of allegiance.

1 I.e., his and his family’s.
2 Reference to Abū Bakr’s dispute with Fāṭimah, in which the former justified his attitude by his deference to the wishes of the Prophet.
3 Muhammad ibn Zayd ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar (Fatḥal-Bârī VII, 63).
4 This is a reference to 'Ali’s intended marriage with a daughter of Abū Jahl (see sec. 17). The Prophet expressed his disapproval of this marriage and said that the daughter of the Prophet could not be expected to live together with the daughter of Abū Jahl, the Prophet’s bitterest enemy.
secret and informed me that he would die in the course of that illness which did take him away, and so I wept. Thereafter he spake to me in secret and informed me that I would be the first of his family to follow him, and so I laughed.

SECTION XIV

THE VIRTUES OF AZ-ZUBAYR IBN AL-'AWWĀM

Ibn 'Abbās said: He was a helper [ḥawārī] of the Prophet. —And the ḥawārīyyūn were thus called on account of the whiteness of their garments.

1 Khalid ibn Makhlad related to us: 'Ali ibn Mushir related to us, on the authority of Hishām ibn 'Urwa, on the authority of his father, who said: Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam informed me, saying:

1 Az-Zubayr was a cousin of the Prophet, his mother Ṣafiyyah being a daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and a nephew of Khadijah. He embraced Islām at the age of fifteen or sixteen, shortly after Abū Bakr. He took part in both migrations—to Abyssinia and to Madinah—and in all campaigns of the Prophet. The latter announced to him in his life-time that he would enter Paradise. As is shown in sec. 9, he was one of the six men recommended by 'Umar as his successors in the Caliphate. During the Battle of the Camel (10th Jumādā II, 36 A.H./4th December, 656 A.C.), he was at first a partisan of 'A'ishah; but on the same day he met Ibn 'Abbās and became convinced by him that it was utterly wrong to take part in this fratricidal fight. He left 'A'ishah's encampment, but was subsequently killed by one of 'Ali's partisans, who did not know what had happened and believed him to be 'Ali's enemy. He was then sixty-four years old. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 70 ff.; Istī'āb I, 201 ff.) According to one report (cf. Istī'āb I, 203), it was 'Ali himself who met him on the day of the Battle of the Camel and induced him to desist from fight. In his life-time az-Zubayr was the wealthiest of all Companions (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 77).

2 This refers to the Tradition quoted under No. 3 in this section and, more fully, in Bkh lii, sūrah ix, sec. 9, No. 3. The word ḥawārī is used in the Qur'ān as denoting the disciples, or companions, of Jesus. More generally, it denotes "one who advises, or counsels, or acts, sincerely, honestly, or faithfully;... a friend, or true, or sincere, friend... or a strenuous assistant,... or an assistant of prophets" (Lane II, 666). The original meaning of this word is probably "one who whitens clothes... by washing and beating them... Hence its pl. ḥawārīyyūn is applied to the companions (i.e., apostles and disciples) of Jesus, because their trade was to do this" (ibid.). This meaning is also given in al-Bukhāri's subsequent remark in this tarjumah: but it is understood that Ibn 'Abbās used the word in its general sense as "helper of prophets".

3 It is astonishing that al-Bukhārī—as well as most of the other Traditionists, with the exception of Muslim (see Ḥady as-Sārī II, 164)—accept Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam as transmitter of Traditions. As a matter of fact, the record of this man is so bad that no reliance whatever can be placed on the stories he told; but the older Traditionists were unfortunately only too ready to accept without deeper criticism the narratives of anyone who, while being a Muslim, had seen the Prophet. But Marwān's whole history shows that he was entirely unscrupulous. He acted as 'Uthmān's secretary, and in that capacity he frequently intrigued against some of the most prominent Companions, and went to the extent of misusing 'Uthmān's name—without the latter's
ÚTHMÁN fell so ill with a violent bleeding from the nose in the year when that illness was prevalent, 1 that he was prevented from going on pilgrimage and made his last will. 2 A man of the Quraysh came unto him and said: Appoint thy successor. 3 [Úthmán] asked: And did [the people] say this?—[The man] answered: Yea.— [Úthmán] said: And who shall it be?—But [the man] remained silent. Then another man came unto him—I believe, al-Ḥaráth 4—and said: Appoint thy successor. 5 [Úthmán] asked: And did [the people] say this?—[The other] said: Yea.— [Úthmán] said: who shall it be?—But [the man] remained silent. [Úthmán] said: Perchance they have said, az-Zubayr?—[The man] answered: Yea.— [Úthmán] said: By Him in Whose hand is my soul! He is indeed the best of them, as well I know; and indeed he was the dearest of them all unto the Apostle of God. 4

1  'Ubayd ibn Ismá'il related to us, on the authority of Hishám: My father ['Urwah] informed me: knowledge—for his own purposes, and was several times rebuked by 'Uthmán. The majority of the Muslims hated him and often complained to the Caliph against him (Ibn Sa'd V, 24 f). 'A'ishah is reported (ibid., p. 25) to have said that she would like to have a mill-stone fastened to his legs and have him thrown into the sea. He often incited one group of Muslims against another in order to fish in troubled waters. One of his infamous tricks (cf. Tabari V, 218 f) indirectly contributed to the downfall of 'Uthmán. Himself seriously wounded on the occasion of the murder of 'Uthmán, Marwán subsequently joined 'A'ishah's group and took part in the Battle of the Camel (36 A.H.). On the same day he murdered Taḥlah ibn 'Ubayd Alláh (who also was a partisan of 'A'ishah) on the pretext that he was responsible for the murder of 'Uthmán (Ibn Sa'd V, 26). During Mu'áwiyyah's Caliphate he repeatedly acted as governor of Madinah. After the death of Mu'áwiyyah ibn Yazid he succeeded, by means of a series of discrepant intrigues, to be elected as Caliph by the people of Damascus in 64 A.H. (ibid., p. 26 ff), and was murdered in the next year by the widow of his predecessor, against whom he had ignominiously behaved (ibid., p. 30).—In these circumstances, it is impossible to attribute the least credit to narratives which have Marwán among their transmitters, and especially to those which refer to political questions, like the one under consideration. Al-Bukhári's acceptance of these narratives was undoubtedly a serious mistake.

2 According to Fath al-Bári VII, 64, this illness, called ar-ruḍáf, was prevalent in Madinah in the year 31 A.H.

3 The story is an obvious attempt to prevent, after the assassination of 'Uthmán, the public recognition of 'Ali's election to the Caliphate.
I HEARD Marwán ibn al-Ḥakam [say]:
I was with ‘Uthmān, when a man came and said: Appoint thy successor.—[‘Uthmān] said: And hath that one been named?—[The man] answered: Yea, az-Zubayr.—[‘Uthmān] said thrice: By God! Indeed ye know that he is the best of you.

3 Ḍalīk ibn Ismā‘īl related to us: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Abī Salāmah related to us, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadīr, on the authority of Jābir, who said:

T HE Prophet said: Behold, every prophet hath helpers; and az-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām is a helper of mine.

4 Ahmad ibn Muḥammad related to us: ‘Abd Allāh informed us: Hishām ibn ‘Urwa informed us: on the authority of his father,

O n the authority of ‘Abd Allāh ibn az-Zubayr, who said: On the Day of the Confederates, I and ‘Umar ibn Abī Salāmah were with the Prophet’s womenfolk. And lo, I saw [my father,] Ibn az-Zubayr, riding on his mare to and fro Banū Qurayzh. When I returned [home], I said: O my father! I saw thee going to and fro [the enemy]!—He said: Didst thou, then, see me,

1 See p. 71, n. 3, and p. 72, n. 4.
2 See p. 71, n. 2.
3 He was born at Madinah in 1 A.H., having been one of the first children born among the Muhādjīrs. After the death of Mu‘āwiyyah ibn Yazid, he proclaimed himself Caliph in Mecca in 64 or 65 A.H.—while Marwán ibn al-Ḥakam was elected as Caliph at Damascus—and the population of Mecca swore allegiance to him. He was killed, seventy-one years old, during the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwán, after the siege and conquest of Mecca by al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf (73 A.H.), and al-Ḥajjāj ordered his body to be crucified. (Iṣṭi‘āb I, 352 f.) At the time of the events narrated in the above Tradition he was three or four years old; it is thus somewhat curious that his narrative has been accepted by the Traditionists. Ibn Ḥajar, however, does not find this strange (cf. Fatḥ al-Bārī VII, 65 f).
4 The Campaign of the Moat (al-Khandaq), also called the Day of the Confederates, took place in the year 4 or 5 A.H. For details and the explanation of the name, see Bkh lii/31.
5 ‘Umar ibn Abī Salāmah was the Prophet’s adopted son, for the latter had married his mother, Umm Salāmah, after her first husband’s (Abū Salāmah’s) death. According to Iṣṭi‘āb II, 421, he was born in Abyssinia in 2 A.H., and was thus at the time of the Campaign of the Moat two or three years old.
6 They were in the fort (uṭum) of Madinah (cf. Muslim, K. Fadā’il aṣ-Ṣahābah, B. Fadā’il Ṭalḥah wa‘z-Zubayr).
7 One of the Jewish tribes confederated with the pagan Quraysh against the Muslims (see Bkh lii/31).
O my little son?—I answered: Yea.—He [then] said: The Apostle of God had said: Who will go to Banū Qurayzah and bring me information about them? So I went. And when I returned, the Apostle of God named me together with both of his parents, saying: I would sacrifice for thee my father and my mother!

Ali ibn Hafs related to us: Ibn al-Mubarak related to us: Hishām ibn 'Urwah informed us, on the authority of his father:

ON the day of the battle of Yarmūk, the companions of the Prophet said unto az-Zubayr: Wilt thou not assault [the enemy]? For then we shall assault [them] together with thee. Thereupon he attacked them, and received two wounds on his shoulder; between these two there was an [old] wound which he had received on the day of [the battle of] Badr.

‘Urwah added: When I was a child I would place my fingers in play into these scars.'

SECTION XV
CONCERNING TALHĀH IBN ‘UBAYD ALLĀH *

‘Umar said: The Prophet remained pleased with him unto his death.'

1 Jumādā II, 13 A.H. This battle ended with a complete victory of the Muslim army over greatly superior Byzantine forces.
2 There were, according to Ibn al-Athir II, 281, about 1,000 Companions in the Muslim army; about one hundred of them had participated in the battle of Badr.
3 Because he had been one of the most intimate Companions (one of the ten to whom the Prophet had announced Paradise), he was regarded with particular esteem.
4 The narrator ‘Urwah was az-Zubayr's son.
5 Ṭalḥāh ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Qurashi at-Taymi. He embraced Islam at about the same time as Abū Bakr. Ten days before the battle of Badr he was sent by the Prophet, together with Sa‘īd ibn Zayd, on a secret military mission to the confines of Syria, and returned too late to take part in the battle of Badr. During the battle of Uḥūd he saved the Prophet’s life, and subsequently took part in all the campaigns led by the latter. On the day of the Battle of the Camel (36 A.H.), when he was sixty-two or sixty-four years old, he was murdered by Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam (both being partisans of ‘A‘ishah), as Marwān held him responsible for the murder of ‘Uthmān. (Ibn Sa‘īd III/1, 152 ff.) As regards his rôle at ‘Uthmān’s death, it is reported (Isti‘ab I, 207) that “some people believed that Ṭalḥāh was one of those who had besieged ‘Uthmān [in his house before he was murdered]”. This allegation, however, cannot be substantiated by any authoritative report.
6 Fragment from the long Tradition quoted in sec. 9.
1 Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr al-Muqaddami related to me: Mu’tamir related to us, on the authority of his father1, on the authority of Abū ʿUthmān, who said:

On one of the days when the Apostle of God was fighting,2 none remained with him3 save Ṭalḥah and Sa’d4, as was related by these two.5

2 Musaddad related to us: Khālid related to us: Ibn Abī Khālid related to us,

On the authority of Qays ibn Abī Ḥāẓim,6 who said: I saw that hand7 of Ṭalḥah which had saved the Prophet; it was already withered.

SECTION XVI
THE VIRTUES OF SA’D IBN ABI WAQQĀS
AZ-ZUHRI8

The Banū Zuhrah were maternal uncles of the Prophet.9—His real name was Sa’d ibn Mālik.

1 Sulaymān at-Taymi (Fath al-Bārī VII, 66).
2 This refers to the battle of Uhud, where many of the Muslims had forsaken the Prophet and fled.
3 I.e., in his immediate vicinity, because many other Muslims had remained in fight on that day.
4 Sc., ibn Abī Waqqās (see next section).
5 Cf. Fath al-Bārī VII, 66, where another version of this Tradition is mentioned: the narrator, Abū ʿUthmān, was asked how he knew it, and he answered: “These two have told it to me.”
6 Qays ibn Abī Ḥāẓim al-Bajali, famous tābi’ti and Traditionist (d. 37 A.H.). He became Muslim in the Prophet’s time, and was on his way to Madinah, when the Prophet died (Tadhkirah I, 58).
7 On the day of the battle of Uhud, Ṭalḥah saved the Prophet’s life by intercepting an arrow aimed at the latter with his naked hand, which was shattered and subsequently dried up; then he bore the Prophet, who himself was wounded, on his shoulders out of the thick of the battle and up the hill (Isti’āb I, 207). Abū Bakr later saw that Ṭalḥah had received on that day about seventy wounds (At-Ṭayālisi, p. 3).
8 Sa’d embraced Islam at a very early period (probably on the same day as Abū Bakr; cf. p. 76, n. 3); he was then nineteen years old. He was one of the most intimate Companions of the Prophet and took part in almost all of the latter’s campaigns; he was also one of the ten to whom Paradise had been announced. During the conquest of ‘Irāq he was the commander-in-chief, and founded the town of Kūfah. For some time he acted as governor of that country, and was recalled by ʿUmar in 21 A.H. (cf. p. 59, n. 1). His devotion to the cause of Muslim unity was so great (if somewhat passive) that throughout the civil wars which ensued after ʿUthmān’s death he remained secluded in his house and requested his family not to inform him of anything that happened until the whole community would agree upon one leader. He died in his castle at al-ʿAqiq, near Madinah; there is some difference of opinion regarding the date of his death, which is variously given as 54, 55 or 58 A.H. He reached the age of above seventy or, according to others, above eighty. (Isti’āb I, 544 f.)
9 The Prophet’s mother, Aminah, belonged to the clan of Banū Zuhrah.
I HEARDSa‘d say: The Prophet named me, on the day of [the battle of] Uhud, together with both of his parents.¹

2 Makki ibn Ibrāhīm related to us: Hāshim ibn Hāshim⁴ related to us, on the authority of ‘Amir ibn Sa‘d.⁴

O N the authority of his father [Sa‘d], who said: Verily, I believe that [for some time] I represented one-third of Islām.⁴

I HEARD Sa‘d ibn Abi Waqāṣ say: No man⁴ embraced Islām before the day on which I did it; and, verily, for seven days I represented one-third of Islām.

Abū Usāmah corroborated him⁶ [saying]: Hāshim related to us.

‘Amr ibn ‘Awn related to us: Khālid ibn ‘Abd Allāh related to us, on the authority of Ismā‘il, on the authority of Qays, who said:

1 I.e., he said, “I would sacrifice for thee my father and my mother”—the strongest expression, in ancient Arabian speech, of love and devotion.

2 In some texts, this name is spelt Hishām ibn Hāshim, which is probably a copyist’s mistake. We find no evidence of any disciple of ‘Amir ibn Sa‘d (see isnād) by the name of Hishām, but, on the other hand, one Hāshim ibn Hāshim; see Rijāl aṣ-Ṣaḥiḥayn I, 376.

3 Meaning, that there were but two Muslims beside him. If this is to be taken literally, it is obviously a mistake: for though Sa‘d embraced Islām immediately after Abū Bakr, there were already several other Muslims at that time (cf. sec. 6, No. 1). It is, however, most probable that Sa‘d referred only to the three free-born, adult Muslims, i.e., Khadijah, Abū Bakr and himself. He did not count ‘Ali, who was only a child, nor the five slaves (see Bkh, loc. cit.). It appears that Sa‘d accepted Islām on the same day as Abū Bakr, and that there was only a matter of hours between his and Abū Bakr’s conversion; this can be inferred from Ibn Sa‘d III/1, 98, where Sa‘d says: “No man embraced Islām before me save a man who embraced Islām on the day I did it”—whereby only Abū Bakr can be meant. The same, if less clearly, can be inferred from No. 3 in this section.

4 Lit., “no one”; but as in this case it evidently refers only to men and not to women (for Khadijah was the first of all Muslims), I have rendered it as “no man”. As regards the other men who embraced Islām before Sa‘d, see preceding note.

5 I.e., the transmitter Ibn Abi Zā‘idah. The full isnād from which this corroboration has been taken is found in Bkh li/7.
I 

HEARD Sa'd say: Behold, I was the first of the Arabs who shot an arrow in the path of God. And [often] we went forth with the Prophet to fight, and had no food save tree leaves, and our excrements were crumbly like those of camels or sheep. And now the Banū Asad blame me for my not having understood Islām! Verily, [if this be true,] I must have failed entirely, and all my deeds were in vain!—(They caluminated him before 'Umar, saying: He doth not know how to pray.)

SECTION XVII

CONCERNING THE PROPHET'S RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE: OF THESE WAS ABU'L-ĀS IBN AR-RABI'

1 Abu'l-Yamān related to us: Shu'aybin informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhri, who said: 'Ali ibn Husayn related to me that al-Miswar ibn Makhrāmah said:

1 This refers to the first military expedition ever sent by the Prophet, in the year 1 A.H. (Fath al-Bārī VII, 68). Its commander was 'Ubaydah ibn al-Hārīth ibn al-Muṭṭalib, and Sa'd was the standard-bearer; it was the first time the Prophet employed a standard of his own (Aynī XVI, 229). The object of this expedition was to intercept a caravan of the Quraysh near Rābih (on the west coast of the Hijāz), but it ended with no more than an exchange of arrow-shots, as the Muslims were too weak to overcome their adversaries. According to Ibn Sa'd III/i, 99, the Muslim warriors numbered only sixty.

2 Lit., "blame me on account of Islām". This refers to the unjust complaints made by some people of the clan Banū Asad in Kūfah against Sa'd (see p. 59, n. 1), as is mentioned at the end of this Tradition. Sa'd refutes them by saying that he was one of the oldest Companions of the Prophet and had undergone much suffering for the sake of Islām, and so he could not be reasonably supposed to be negligent or ignorant in so fundamental a matter like prayer, as those intriguers had alleged.

3 By "relatives by marriage" only those are meant who had married the Prophet's daughters. Al-Bukhārī mentions in this section only Abu'l-Ās, as the two other sons-in-law of the Prophet—'Uthmān and 'Aḥā—have been mentioned in separate sections. Abu'l-Ās ibn ar-Rabi' married the Prophet's daughter Zaynab. He was a nephew of Khadijah. His real name is uncertain, but it was most probably Laqīt. At the beginning he sided with the pagan Quraysh and took part with them in the battle of Badr. Taken prisoner by the Muslims, he was later ransomed by his wife, Zaynab, who—although a Muslimah—had remained with him in Mecca. The Prophet allowed him to return on the condition that he would send Zaynab to Madinah, as she could not remain the wife of an unbeliever. Abu'l-Ās faithfully fulfilled his promise and sent Zaynab to Madinah. Shortly before the conquest of Mecca he was again taken prisoner by the Muslims in one of the minor campaigns. In Madinah he took refuge in the house of Zaynab, and subsequently embraced Islām; thereupon Zaynab was given back to him as his wife. He died in the year 12 A.H. (Istiʿāb II, 671 f.)
‘Ali demanded in marriage a daughter of Abū Jahl; when Fāṭimah heard of this, she went to the Apostle of God and said: Thy people think that thou never feelest anger on account of thy daughters; and now ‘Ali is going to marry the daughter of Abū Jahl.—Thereupon the Apostle of God rose, and I heard him repeat the Creed and say: To come to the point. Behold, I gave [a daughter of mine] in marriage to Abūl-'Aṣ ibn ar-Rabī‘; and he spake unto me, and spake the truth. Behold, Fāṭimah is a part of me, and it paineth me to see her wronged. By God! It cannot be that a daughter of the Apostle of God should be united in one and the same man's house with a daughter of God's enemy!—Thereupon ‘Ali gave up his intended marriage.

And Muhammad ibn ‘Amribn Halhalah told [the same Tradition], with some additions, on the authority of Ibn Shihāb, on the authority of ‘Ali, on the authority of Miswar:

I HEARD the Prophet mention one of his relatives my marriage who belonged to Banū ‘Abd ash-Shams; he extolled his good conduct in their relationship, and said: He spake unto me, and spake the truth; and he gave me a promise, and fulfilled it.

1 This happened after the conquest of Mecca (8 A.H.), when even the bitterest enemies of the Prophet accepted Islam. The girl's name was Juwayriyah. She subsequently married ‘Attāb ibn Asid (Ibn Sa‘d VIII, 191), who had embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca and was appointed by the Prophet governor of that city; he died in 12 A.H. (Iṣī‘āb II, 508). After ‘Attāb's death, Juwayriyah married Abān ibn Sa‘d ibn al-‘Aṣ (Ibn Sa‘d, loc. cit.).

2 I.e., "they think that thou dost not protect them". This opinion was due to the Prophet's severe impartiality. It is evident from many a Tradition that in matters of conduct he did not make the slightest difference between his own relatives and other Muslims.

3 I.e., the narrator al-Miswar ibn Makhrāmah.

4 I.e., the kalimah; see p. 69, n. 7.

5 Zaynab.

6 This refers to the promise made by Abūl-‘Aṣ, while still an unbeliever, to send Zaynab back to her father (cf. p. 77, n. 3).

7 This expostulation was not based on an injunction of the shari‘ah (for, before the latter all Muslims are equal) but on a consideration of the feelings of the persons concerned (cf. Bkh. xlvi/202, No. 6).

8 The following is a fragment from another Tradition (Bkh xlvi/202, No. 6), similar to that in No. 1. The author omits here the beginning of the isnād, which is fully given loc. cit.

9 I.e., Abūl-‘Aṣ ibn ar-Rabī‘; he belonged to the clan of Banū ‘Abd ash-Shams.
SECTION XVIII
THE VIRTUES OF ZAYD IBN ḤĀRITHAH, THE PROPHET'S FREEDMAN

Al-Bara' said, on the authority of the Prophet [who said]: Thou art our brother and our freedman.

Khālid ibn Makhlad related to us: Sulaymān related to us, saying: ‘Abd Allāh ibn Dīnār related to me, on the authority of ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar, who said:

The Prophet sent out an expedition and gave its command to Usamah ibn Zayd. Some people objected to his commandship, whereupon the Prophet said: Ye object to his commandship as ye have objected to that of his father before. On God do I take mine oath that he was worthy of commandship and was one of the dearest of men to me; and after him, behold, this one is one of the dearest of men to me.

1 Zayd ibn Ḥārithah al-Kalbi was taken prisoner, while still a child, in one of the inter-tribal raids before Islam, and was sold as a slave to Ḥakim ibn Ḥizām, Khadijah's nephew, who bought him for his aunt. The latter gave the boy as a present to the Prophet, who freed and adopted him at the age of eight; this was before the Mission. Zayd was one of the oldest adherents of the Prophet (cf. p. 25, n. 1). He later married Umm Ayman (see p. 25, n. 2), who bore him a son, Usamah. He participated in most of the Prophet's expeditions and fell in the campaign of Mu'tah, of which he was the leader, in 8 A.H. (Isti'aḥ I, 185 ff; Ibn Sa'd III/i, 27 ff.)

2 I.e., in Islam.

3 This is a fragment of a long Tradition quoted in full in Bkh xliii/6, No. 2.

4 It was the last expedition undertaken by the Muslims during the Prophet's life-time; its goal was the border of Syria (see Bkh lii/89).

5 Zayd's son, to whom the next section is devoted.

6 He was eighteen years at that time, and some Companions took objection to his extreme youth (Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 46). There might have been another reason as well: in the Time of Ignorance some people suspected that Usamah was not Zayd's son, because his complexion was very dark and that of his father "white like cotton"; but this was due to the dark complexion of his mother, Umm Ayman (Fath-al-Bari XII, 46 f).

7 The reason of this objection against Zayd is difficult to ascertain. It is possible that it was based on the fact that Zayd had been a slave in his childhood; the old Arabian pride, not yet quite tempered by the influence of Islam, made it difficult for some people to accept the leadership of a "slave". But, on the other hand, this attitude is and always was based on race prejudice; this was certainly out of place in Zayd's case, for he was of pure Arab stock and had been sold as slave after having been taken prisoner in an inter-tribal feud. It is possible, nevertheless, that the irrational stigma of once having been a slave still stuck to him. With the deepening of Islamic consciousness, however, this prejudice vanished, and we find slaves, or some-time slaves, among the greatest military and political leaders in Muslim history.

8 I.e., Usamah ibn Zayd.
SECTION XIX

CONCERNING USĀMAH IBN ZAYD 6

1 Qutaybah ibn Sa‘d related to us: Layth related to us, on the authority of az-Zuhri, on the authority of ‘Urwh, on the authority of ‘A’ishah:

The Quraysh were preoccupied with the matter of the Makhzūmi woman, and they said: Who can dare to speak to him but Usāmah ibn Zayd, the darling of the Apostle of God?

1 Arabic, qā‘if (from qawafa), one who is skilled in reading the traces of men and animals (Nihayah III, 318). To this day, such people are employed in Arabia to track strayed camels in the desert, and sometimes also criminals, and they often display an almost uncanny skill, divining from mere traces in the sand the most astonishing particulars concerning the man or animal they seek.

2 Zayd was the Prophet’s adopted son, and so he and Usāmah were regarded as members of the family.

3 It seems that they were covered with a blanket, and only their feet were visible.

4 Thus the qā‘if, who knew much about these things, at once recognised that the feet which were visible from under the blanket belonged to father and son; and this was an evidence against the popular belief (see p. 79, n. 6) that Usāmah was not Zayd’s son.

5 Because thus it was shown that the suspicion regarding Usāmah’s illegitimate birth was without foundation.

6 He was deeply loved by the Prophet, and, therefore, called by the people the “darling of the Apostle of God” (cf. Ibn Sa‘d IV/i, 42, and also the subsequent Tradition). He died during the reign of Mu‘āwiya, most probably in 54 A.H. (Isti‘āb I, 30).

7 Her name was Fātimah bint al-Aswad ibn ‘Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmi (Ibn Sa‘d VIII, 192). She stole some pieces of jewellery, and the Prophet ordered her right hand to be cut. For particulars of this incident, see Bkh lxxii/12. The Quraysh were distressed about this affair—for the Banū Makhzūm were a noble clan—and they were thinking of sending someone to the Prophet to intercede on the woman’s behalf.

8 I.e., to the Prophet.