

ṢAḤÎḤ AL-BUKHÂRÎ

The Early Years of Islam

Also by Muhammad Asad:

ISLAM AT THE CROSSROADS

THE ROAD TO MECCA

THE PRINCIPLES OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN ISLAM

THE MESSAGE OF THE QUR'ĀN

ṢAḤÎḤ AL-BUKHÂRÎ

The Early Years of Islam

BEING THE HISTORICAL CHAPTERS OF
THE *KITÂB AL-JÂMI' AṢ-ṢAḤÎḤ*
COMPILED BY IMÂM ABÛ 'ABD-ALLÂH
MUḤAMMAD IBN ISMÂ'ÎL AL-BUKHÂRÎ

TRANSLATED AND EXPLAINED
by
Muhammad Asad

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION (1938)

THE WORK which is now being placed before the public comprises the historical chapters of the most important compilation of Traditions, the *Kitâb al-Jâmiʿ aṣ-Ṣaḥîḥ* by Imâm Muḥammad ibn Ismâʿîl al-Bukhârî, and depicts the beginning of the Prophet's revelation and the early years of Islam up to and including that decisive turning-point of Islamic history, the Battle of Badr. The five instalments of which the present volume consists will be followed in the course of time, God willing, by thirty-five more instalments containing my translation of, and commentary on, the whole of the *Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî*.

The idea of rendering the *Ṣaḥîḥ* into English – a task never before attempted – occurred to me during my five years' sojourn at Medina, when I was studying the science of *ḥadîth* in the Prophet's Mosque. In that serene atmosphere, the necessity of finding once more a direct contact with the original spirit of Islam presented itself to me with overwhelming force. It is not enough, I realized, to know what this or that great man of the past thought about matters Islamic; it is not enough to live in the shadow of thoughts that have been thought at a period so remote from us that they can hardly have any immediate bearing on the exigencies of our present-day life. What we most urgently need today is a new understanding and a *direct* appreciation of the true teachings of Islam. In order to achieve this we must once again make real the voice of the Prophet of Islam – real, as if he were speaking directly to us and for us: and it is in the *ḥadîth* that his voice can be most clearly heard.

*

The term *ḥadîth* (pl. *aḥâdîth*) primarily denotes a narrative or a report; in Islamic theological usage it has come to mean the records of the sayings and doings of the Prophet Muḥammad, and is hence translated as "Tradition".

It was as much from the Master's example as from the Qur'ân that the Companions of the Prophet derived their beliefs and their rules of conduct. For the later generations of Muslims, who no longer had the life of the Prophet before their eyes, the exact knowledge of the records enshrining his teachings became an even greater necessity: and so people began to compile and write down the Traditions handed down to them by the Companions and their immediate successors. The prodigious memory of the Arabs, so amply borne out by history, was a great advantage for a faithful preservation of Traditions. Besides, even in the lifetime of the Prophet a few of his Companions (e.g., ʿAbd Allâh ibn ʿAmr) used to commit these reports to writing, and the increasing distance from the time of the Prophet made this practice imperative. However, until the beginning of the third century after the Hijrah, there was no system in these collections, and the individual *aḥâdîth* were hardly ever critically sifted. In consequence, much unreliable material got mixed up with the genuine; and as a reaction to this, the critical investigation of Traditions was taken up and rapidly developed into a science.

In the case of any historical document relating to a time anterior to its composition, the means of verification are, firstly, a corroboration of the evidence adduced in the document concerned by other, independent sources; and, secondly, a thorough investigation of the reliability of the authorities – or the chain of authorities – responsible for the transmission of the historical facts underlying the document in question. This principle was gradually, and with increasing rigour, applied to the Traditions. Different accounts bearing on one and the same incident or saying were critically compared, and every chain of narrators (called *isnâd*) subjected to very intense scrutiny. In order that a Tradition be recognized as "sound" (*ṣaḥîḥ*), all facts about the lives of its narrators, commencing with the Prophet's Companion or Companions who first reported it, must be known and historically established, including the fact of an un-

broken contiguity in the line of narrators, and a positive proof that every one of them was in personal contact with his authority, i.e., the person who communicated to him the *ḥadîth* in question. Every one of the narrators must be known to be truthful, pious, just and possessing a faultless memory – so much so that any substantiated challenge (*ṭa'n*) on any of these points automatically removes the narrator concerned from the rank of trustworthy authorities (*thiqât*). And, finally, if two or more persons who otherwise could be regarded as reliable narrate *intrinsically conflicting* Traditions on the same subject, they lose their position of unquestioned authority, with the result that no Tradition reported by them can by itself (i.e., without corroboration by another chain of narrators) be classified as *ṣaḥîḥ*.

It is not intended to give here the full methodology of *ḥadîth*; the above lines should merely explain one of the reasons for the extraordinary esteem in which Al-Bukhârî's *Kitâb al-Jâmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥîḥ* has always been held throughout the Muslim world. This appreciation is due to the high sense of intellectual and moral responsibility and the extreme severity with which its author – who lived in the first half of the third century after the Hijrah (corresponding to the ninth century of the Christian era) – approached the problem of *ḥadîth*. His standards of investigation and scrutiny are far more rigorous than those of any other Traditionist before or after him; and it can safely be said that to this day they answer to the most exacting demands of historical criticism.

Our realization that the Traditions regarded as *ṣaḥîḥ* by this most rigorous of all Traditionists are indeed historically reliable is of the utmost importance to the ideological future of Islam: for it is in the Sunnah – the way of life – of the Last Prophet that the spirit of Islam finds its authentic, concrete expression; and it is through *aḥâdîth* alone that the Prophet's Sunnah is fully conveyed to us. In other words, our knowledge of *ḥadîth* is an indispensable key to a full understanding of the Sunnah and, thus, of Islam.

The necessity, for a Muslim, of following the Sunnah of the Prophet is firmly established in the Qur'ân itself. But one could ask: Assuming that the Traditions as such are genuine and reliable, do the present-day conditions of the world and society permit a full application of the Sunnah to the practical life of the Muslims, or would such an application – as some assert – result in complete social rigidity, and thus constitute a permanent drawback to the cultural possibilities of the Muslim world?

To this we have a definite answer: If, despite the clear-cut Qur'anic injunctions relating to the Prophet's Sunnah, that Sunnah were not practicable at this or any other time, the only possible conclusion would be that the relevant Qur'anic injunctions are, in themselves, meaningless and impracticable. For a Muslim, who regards the Qur'ân as the Word of God, this proposition is obviously unacceptable. Consequently, if we have reason to believe that the sources from which we draw our knowledge of the Sunnah – that is, the *aḥâdîth* – are historically reliable, then this Sunnah, rightly understood, *must* be practicable at all times and cannot be a drawback to Muslim life.

But what does "the Sunnah, rightly understood," mean? Has its interpretation – nay, the interpretation of the Holy Qur'ân itself – been fixed for us, once and for all, at some remote period of the past? This, unfortunately, would seem to be the attitude of the vast majority of Muslims. Since many centuries they have ceased to think *independently* about the teachings of Islam and contented themselves with the mere repetition of ideas and conceptions formed not later than in the fourth century after the Hijrah, and often reflecting the meanderings of Neo-Platonic philosophy which loomed so large in the minds of many Muslim scholars from the second century onwards: ideas and conceptions which do not in every case coincide with the intentions of the Last Prophet and his Companions. In short, it was the rigidity of medieval Muslim thinking *about* the Prophet's teachings and not a supposed "rigidity of the Sunnah" as such that was undoubtedly one of the main causes of the cultural decay of the Muslim world. To be sure, none can pretend that the works of the early Muslim generations could be dispensed with in our days; they are as necessary for us as they were necessary for our predecessors. But are we to assume that *all* possibilities of religious knowledge have been exhausted by those early works, and that nothing remains for us but to follow them blindly, without the right to scrutinize and interpret them anew?

Obviously, it cannot be so. The very greatness of the Qur'ân – and, consequently, of the Sunnah of its Apostle – consists in the fact that the more our worldly knowledge increases, the more new and hitherto

hidden meanings appear in them. The piety and the religious ardour of the Muslims may be lower in our days than in the earliest centuries of Islam; but certainly not our means of understanding. The interpretation given to the teachings of Islam by the Last Prophet will forever remain binding on a Muslim; but beyond this, he is free – in fact, *required* – to use his own intellect and his own conscience. This, and nothing else, was the attitude of the great Islamic thinkers whom we describe as *imâms* ("leaders"). They never pretended to be infallible; they were learned men devoted to the search for truth, and they knew that the duty of thinking could never cease to be a duty for man. It was a duty for Abû Ḥanîfah as well as for Ibn Ḥazm or Ibn Rushd; for Al-Ghazâlî as well as for Ibn Taimiyyah or for Shâh Walî Allâh; and it is a duty for you and for me.

A genuine revival of Islam is impossible without an intensive inquiry into its original spirit. We must build further and higher on the foundations supplied by past generations of scholars and thinkers. We cannot accept the idea that the teachings of Islam could ever be exhausted in all their depth; and no word of anyone below the Prophet can ever be considered to be final: all of us who labour at a better understanding of the Word of God and the Example of His Prophet are but travellers aiming at new discoveries in the domain of the spirit.

And in this endeavour of ours we cannot find a better aid and companion than the immortal *Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî*.

*

While translating the *Ṣaḥîḥ*, I have tried to render its meaning as literally as possible – sometimes, I am afraid, at the expense of the English language. Whatever I have had to say myself has been confined to the explanatory notes, and whenever an addition was unavoidable in the text itself for the sake of clarity, I have used brackets to indicate the additions thus made. Each Tradition has been divided, by means of different sizes of type, into two parts: the documentary evidence of transmission (*isnâd*) and the textual substance (*matn*). Al-Bukhârî's explanatory remarks (*tarâjim al-abwâb*) which precede some of the sections are printed in italics. The letter *T* before some of the *isnâds* shows that the Tradition to which it belongs is a *ta'lîq* ("suspended" *isnâd*) on account of a missing link in the chain of narrators. The letter *ḥ* indicates a *taḥwîl* ("transfer") to another line of transmitters.

Some of my friends have questioned the necessity of including the full *isnâd* in my translation – an inclusion which, according to them, is irrelevant to the understanding of the *ḥadîth* as such, and therefore of no interest to the general reader. This, I am convinced, is an entirely erroneous view. The *isnâd* is an essential part of every *ḥadîth* – as essential as is the skeleton in the body of every higher animal, including man: for it is with the *isnâd* that the authenticity of a Tradition stands or falls. Without an *isnâd*, a Tradition is no more than a hearsay report, to be blindly accepted or capriciously rejected; with the *isnâd* before him, on the other hand, the reader is able to see for himself with what meticulous attention to detail and authenticity every *ṣaḥîḥ* Tradition has been recorded: and thus his acceptance of the Tradition becomes endowed with consciousness and ceases to be blind.

*

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 reader to compare, at every step, the translation with the original. 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 *Ṣaḥîḥ* whenever he feels the necessity of independent criticism. I cannot admit this objection as valid. The old style in which this and other compilations of Traditions are printed makes it, in many cases, exceedingly difficult to separate the frequent interpolations of the transmitters from the textual substance (the *matn*) of the Tradition, 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 the present edition – arranged as it is on the same principle as the English translation – presents the *Ṣaḥīḥ* for the first time in an easily readable form which, moreover, contains every textual improvement gained from a collation of the most reliable editions.

My translation is based on the most accurate of all existing editions, namely, that printed by order of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamîd at *Al-Maṭba'ah al-Amiriyyah*, Cairo, 1313 H. Other well-known editions have, of course, been frequently consulted.

MUHAMMAD ASAD

Lahore, Muḥarram 1357 H. (March 1938).

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

WELL over four decades have passed since this volume was first published. Issued in five instalments by Arafat Publications in Lahore between December 1935 and May 1938, it was to represent the beginning of a gradual publication of my complete work on the *Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî* projected for the following five or six years.

But man proposes and God disposes. The outbreak of the Second World War interrupted the publication. Just as it was about to be resumed, in the summer of 1947, the chaos and the inter-religious holocaust which followed upon the partition of the Indian subcontinent and the establishment of Pakistan (for which I myself had worked and striven since 1933) resulted in a great personal loss – to me as to so many others. Since the end of the war I had been living in the eastern (now Indian) part of the Punjab; and at the outbreak of the partition troubles the manuscripts of nearly three-quarters of my annotated translation of the *Ṣaḥîḥ* were barbarically destroyed. With my own eyes I saw a few scattered leaves of those manuscripts floating down the river Ravi in the midst of torn Arabic books – the remnants of my library – and all manner of debris; and with those poor, floating pieces of paper vanished beyond recall more than ten years of intensive labour.

And yet....

Although a resumption and repetition of that wantonly destroyed labour was and remained out of the question, it gradually dawned on me that my work on the *Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî* was not totally lost. On the contrary, I realized with growing conviction that the ten years spent on analyzing, translating and clarifying the *Ṣaḥîḥ* were a God-willed preparation for a work which for a very long time had represented an enticing dream to me: a new rendering into English of the message of the Holy Qur'ân and a commentary based on the principle that the doors of *ijtihâd* have never been and never could be closed to man's searching intellect. I had always known that absolute familiarity with the science of *ḥadîth* was an indispensable pre-condition for any independent approach to the Qur'ân. Thus, irrespective of whether my work on Al-Bukhârî's *Ṣaḥîḥ* was fully published or not, it was bound to bear fruit in the form of my dreamed-of commentary on the Holy Qur'ân.

By the grace of God, that dream has at last been fulfilled, and my life-work completed and published under the title *The Message of the Qur'ân*; and any scholarly reader of that work will easily recognize how much of the spirit of *ḥadîth* – and, hence, of the immortal labour of Al-Bukhârî – has gone into my interpretation of the Word of God.

*

For technical reasons connected with the photographic reproduction of the first edition of this work, it has become necessary to omit Abû Sufyân's story of his meeting with Emperor Heraclius, as well as Ibn an-Naṭûr's account of the Emperor's reactions to the message of Islam. Both these accounts are found at the end of the first chapter of the original.

MUHAMMAD ASAD

Tangier, Ṣafar 1401 H. (January 1981).

ABBREVIATIONS
FOR AUTHORITIES FREQUENTLY REFERRED TO IN THE EXPLANATORY NOTES

The works marked with an asterisk (*) are existing in many different editions, and therefore no particular edition has been mentioned here; references to these works have been given with regard to chapter and section only and not to volume and page.

Bkh is an abbreviation for the present edition of *Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî*, which is based, with minor variations, on the text of the *Ṣaḥîḥ* published by order of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamîd in Cairo, 1313 A.H. (9 vols.).

Abû Dâ'ûd - - *Abû Dâ'ûd Sulaymân ibn Ash'ath (d. 275), *Sunan* of.

Ansâb al-Ashrâf Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyâ al-Balâdhurî (d. 279), *Ansâb al-Ashrâf*, ed. S. D. F. Goitein, Jerusalem 1937—. When completed, the work will contain about 10 vols.

Asmâ' aṣ-Ṣaḥâbah Shams ad-Dîn adh-Dhahabî (d. 748), *Tajrîd Asmâ' aṣ-Ṣaḥâbah* (wrongly attributed to Ibn al-Athîr, of whose *Usd al-Ghâbah* this work is an abbreviation), Hyderabad 1315 A.H. 2 vols.

'Aynî - - - - Badr ad-Dîn Maḥmûd ibn Aḥmad al-'Aynî (d. 855), *'Umdat al-Qârî, Sharḥ Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî*, Cairo 1348 A.H. 25 vols.

Bayhaqî - - - Abû Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqî (d. 458), *Kitâb as-Sunan al-Kubrâ*, Hyderabad 1344—56 A.H. 10 vols.

Dâraquṭnî - - 'Alî ibn 'Umar ad-Dâraquṭnî (d. 385), *Sunan* of, Delhi 1310 A.H. (lith.). 2 vols.

Fâ'iq - - - - Jâr Allâh Maḥmûd ibn 'Umar az-Zamakhsharî (d. 538), *Kitâb al-Fâ'iq fî Gharîb al-Ḥadîth*, Hyderabad 1324 A.H. 2 vols.

Fatḥ al-Bârî - - Aḥmad ibn 'Alî ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalânî (d. 852), *Fatḥ al-Bârî, Sharḥ Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî*, Cairo 1348 A.H. 13 vols.

Futûḥ al-Buldân - Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyâ al-Balâdhurî (d. 279), *Kitâb Futûḥ al-Buldân*, Cairo 1318 A.H.

Hady as-Sârî - - Aḥmad ibn 'Alî ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalânî (d. 852), *Hady as-Sârî, Muqaddamah Fatḥ al-Bârî*, Cairo 1347 A.H. 2 vols.

Ibn al-Athîr - - 'Alî ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Athîr al-Jazarî (d. 630), *Al-Kâmil fî't-Ta'rîkh*, Cairo 1347 A.H.— (not completed). The same author's lexicographic work is referred to under *Nihâyah (q.v.)*.

Ibn Ḥanbal - - Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241), *Musnad* of, Cairo 1313 A.H. 6 vols.

Ibn Hishâm - - 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishâm (d. 243), *Sîrat an-Nabî*, Cairo 1346 A.H. 2 vols.

Ibn Kathîr - - Abu'l-Fidâ' Ismâ'îl ibn Kathîr (d. 774), *Tafsîr al-Qur'ân*, Cairo 1343—47 A.H. 9 vols.

Ibn Khallikân - Aḥmad ibn Ibrâhîm ibn Khallikân (d. 681), *Wafayât al-A'yân wa Anbâ' Abnâ' az-Zamân*, Cairo 1310 A.H. 2 vols.

Ibn Mâjah - - *Muḥammad ibn Yazîd al-Qazwînî (d. 273 or 275), *Sunan* of.

Ibn Sa'd - - - Muḥammad ibn Sa'd (d. 230), *Kitâb aṭ-Ṭabaqât al-Kabîr*, ed. Eduard Sachau, Leyden 1904—28. 9 vols.

Ibn Ṣalâḥ - - - 'Uthmân ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Ṣalâḥ (d. 643), *'Ulûm al-Ḥadîth (Muqaddamah)*, Aleppo 1350 A.H.

Iṣâbah - - - - Aḥmad ibn 'Alî ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalânî (d. 852), *Kitâb al-Iṣâbah fî Tamyîz aṣ-Ṣaḥâbah*, Cairo 1323—25 A.H. 8 vols.

Istî'âb - - - - Yûsuf ibn 'Abd Allâh Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Qurṭubî (d. 463), *Kitâb al-Istî'âb fî Ma'rifat al-Aṣḥâb*, Hyderabad 1336-37 A.H. 2 vols.

Kunâ - - - - Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ad-Dûlâbî (d. 310), *Kitâb al-Kunâ wa'l-Asmâ'*, Hyderabad 1322 A.H. 2 vols.

Lane - - - - Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London 1863—93. 8 vols.

Lisân al-'Arab - Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Ifrîqî (d. 711), *Lisân al-'Arab*, Cairo 1300—1307 A.H. 20 vols.

Mu'jam al-Buldân Yâqût ibn 'Abd Allâh al-Ḥamawî (d. 626), *Kitâb Mu'jam al-Buldân*, Cairo 1323 A.H., with Khânjî's *Minjam al-'Imrân, Mustadrak 'alâ Mu'jam al-Buldân*. 10 vols.

Muslim - - - *Muslim ibn Ḥajjâj an-Naysâbûrî (d. 261), *Ṣaḥîḥ* of.

Mustadrak - - Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh al-Ḥâkim (d. 405), *Al-Mustadrak 'ala'ṣ Ṣaḥîḥayn fî'l-Ḥadîth*, Hyderabad 1334—42 A.H. 4 vols.

Muwaṭṭâ' - - - Mâlik ibn Anas (d. 179), *Al-Muwaṭṭâ'*, Cairo 1348 A.H. 2 vols.

Nasâ'î - - - - *Aḥmad ibn Shu'ayb an-Nasâ'î (d. 303), *Sunan* of.
Nawawî - - - Yaḥyâ ibn Sharaf an-Nawawî (d. 676), *Sharḥ Ṣaḥîḥ Muslim*, Cairo 1347—49 A.H. 18 vols.
Nihâyah - - - 'Alî ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Athîr al-Jazarî (d. 630), *An-Nihâyah fî Gharîb al-Ḥadîth wa'l-Athr*, Cairo 1322 A.H. 4 vols.
Râghib - - - Abu'l-Qâsim Ḥusayn ar-Râghib al-Iṣfahânî (d. 503), *Mufradât fî Gharîb al-Qur'ân*, on the margin of *Nihâyah (q.v.)*.
Rijâl aṣ-Ṣaḥîḥayn Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Maqdisî (d. 507), *Kitâb al-Jam' bayn Kitâbay Abî Naṣr al-Kalâbadhî wa Abî Bakr al-Iṣbahânî fî Rijâl al-Bukhârî wa Muslim*, Hyderabad 1323 A.H. 2 vols.
Ṭabarî - - - Muḥammad ibn Jarîr aṭ-Ṭabarî (d. 310), *Ta'rîkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulûk*, Cairo 1326 A.H., with two Appendices, 'Urayb ibn Sa'd al-Qurṭubî, *Ṣilah Ta'rîkh aṭ-Ṭabarî*, and Ibn Jarîr aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Muntakhab min Kitâb Dhayl al-Mudhayyal*. 13 vols.
Tadhkirah - - Shams ad-Dîn adh-Dhahabî (d. 748), *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffâẓ*, Hyderabad 1333-34 A.H. 4 vols.
Tahdhîb at-Tahdhîb Aḥmad ibn 'Alî ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalânî (d. 852), *Tahdhîb at-Tahdhîb*, Hyderabad 1329 A.H. 12 vols.
Ṭayâlisî - - - Abû Dâ'ûd Sulaymân aṭ-Ṭayâlisî (d. 204), *Musnad* of, Hyderabad 1321 A.H.
Tirmidhî - - - *Muḥammad ibn 'Îsâ at-Tirmidhî (d. 279), *Jâmi'* of.
Wâqidî - - - Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Wâqidî (d. 207), *Kitâb al-Maghâzî*, ed. A. von Kremer, Calcutta 1856.

Other works referred to in the explanatory notes are quoted with full title, as well as place and date of publication.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

FB — see *Fatḥ al-Bârî*
IH — see Ibn Hishâm
Q — The Qur'ân
SM — see Muslim
ST — Shâh Walî Allâh, *Sharḥ tarâjim al-abwâb* (Hyderabad, 1323 H.)
TR — Tradition (*ḥadîth*)
UQ — see 'Aynî

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HOW THE REVELATION BEGAN

THUS SAID IMÂM ABÛ 'ABD ALLÂH MUḤAMMAD IBN ISMÂ'ÎL IBN IBRÂHÎM IBN AL-MUGHÎRAH AL-BUKHÂRÎ:[1]

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE DISPENSER OF GRACE.

قال الامام أبو عبد الله محمد بن اسمعيل بن ابراهيم ابن المغيرة البخارى [رح]:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

HOW THE REVELATION TO THE APOSTLE OF GOD BEGAN[2]

كيف كان بدء الوحى الى رسول الله [ص]

And the Word of God—glorified be His name—: "Behold, We revealed unto thee as we revealed unto Noah and the Prophets after him."[3]

و قول الله جل ذكره: « انا أوحينا اليك كما أوحينا الى نوح والنبيين من بعده. »

(1) Al-Ḥumaidi 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubair related to us, saying: Sufyân related to us, saying: Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd al-Anṣârî related to us, saying: Muḥammad ibn Ibrâhîm at-Taimî told me that he heard 'Alqamah ibn Waqqâṣ al-Laithî say: I heard 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb say on the pulpit:

(١) حدثنا الحميدى عبد الله بن الزبير قال: حدثنا سفيان قال: حدثنا يحيى بن سعيد الأنصارى قال: أخبرنى محمد بن ابراهيم التيمى أنه سمع علقمة بن وقاص الليثى يقول: سمعت عمر بن الخطاب [رض] على المنبر قال:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say: "Behold, the actions are but [judged] according to

سمعت رسول الله [ص] يقول: « انما الأعمال

1. This introductory remark originates from Abû 'Abd Allâh Muḥammad ibn Maṭar al-Firabrî, the disciple of Al-Bukhârî responsible for the text we are using. He heard the "Ṣaḥîḥ" twice from the lips of Al-Bukhârî: once in his native town Firabr in the year 248 H. and once in Bukhârâ in the year 252 H. (*FB* i, 2).

2. Al-Bukhârî opens his collection of Traditions with this chapter because the belief in the reality of Divine Revelation and, consequently, the Prophethood of Muḥammad is the main pillar of Islâm. Revelation supplies an essential need of mankind. The human understanding is strictly limited in its possibilities: our mind is unable, by virtue of its nature, to understand the *totality* of things; our power of synthesis is restricted to elements provided by our experience. Thus, for example, we can't comprehend infinity or eternity; nay, we don't even know what *life* is. In order to arrange our spiritual and material existence according to standards of perfection we necessarily need the guidance of something more than the normal reasoning qualities and the subjective rationalism inherent in the human being; we need someone who is illuminated by a message coming from the Absolute, in one word, a Prophet. Indirectly, the belief in Prophethood is equivalent to a belief in the existence of a Divine purpose underlying the creation and maintenance of the worlds.—The opening chapter describes not only the actual beginning of the revelation, but also the attitude of some of Muḥammad's contemporaries (like Abû Sufyân and Heraclius) towards his prophetic mission.

3. Q. iv, 163.—This is to show that the Revelation granted to Muḥammad was, in its essence and origin, similar to those granted to the former Prophets. The essentials were always the same; the Qur'ân only modified the laws governing man's conduct in individual and social life. But, apart from the fact that the former Revelations have been corrupted and mutilated, they were, from the very outset, purposely either limited in their scope—as for example that of Jesus, which related to certain aspects of spiritual life alone while the bodily life was left in the background—or suited only to a certain time and certain people—as was the case with the Revelation of Moses. In such cases the limitation was prompted by the necessity of gradually preparing a world intellectually and morally not yet fully developed for the coming of a teaching more universal, more exhaustive in its co-ordination of the spiritual and the material elements of the human nature—the teaching of Islâm.

the intentions; and, behold, unto every man is due but what he intended. Thence, whoso migrateth for the sake of this world or to wed a woman,[4] his migration is [accounted] for that unto which he migrated.[5]

بالنيات، وانما لكل امرئ ما نوى. فمن كانت هجرته الى دنيا يصيبها أو الى امرأة ينكحها فهجرته الى ما هاجر اليه.»

(2) 'Abd Allâh ibn Yûsuf related to us, saying: Mâlik told us, on the authority of Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of his father,[6] on the authority of 'Â'ishah, Mother of the Faithful[7]:

(٢) حدثنا عبدالله بن يوسف قال: أخبرنا مالك عن هشام بن عروة عن أبيه عن عائشة أم المؤمنين

AL-ḤÂRITH ibn Hishâm asked the Apostle of God and said: "O Apostle of God, how doth the revelation come unto thee?"—And the Apostle of God said: "Sometimes it cometh unto me like the ringing of a bell[8]—

أن الحارث بن هشام سأل رسول الله [ص] فقال: «يارسول الله! كيف يأتيك الوحى؟» — فقال رسول الله [ص]: «أحياناً يأتينى مثل

4. The word *hijrah* (going forth, emigration) has several meanings in the Islâmic *sharî'ah*: one 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 Quraish, emigrated from Mecca to Abyssinia; another is the emigration from a place where unbelief reigns to a place where it is possible to live according to the tenets of Islâm, as in the case of the Companions who emigrated with the Prophet or after him from Mecca to Al-Madînah. As the latter entailed great hardships and the giving up of home and, in many cases, of family bonds for the sake of God and his Prophet, it was regarded as an action of great merit. It happened, however, that even in the lifetime of the Prophet some people emigrated from Mecca to Al-Madînah for the sake of worldly gains only, and particularly for the sake of an easy marriage (*'UQ* i, 33 *f.*). The Arabs in pre-Islâmic times used to give their daughters in marriage to those only who could boast of a lineage not less noble than that of the girl. But when Islâm proclaimed the principle of equality of all Muslims, many of the early Believers hastened to offer their daughters in marriage to other Muslims without regard of their descent. Several Meccans of lower classes took advantage of the facilities existing in the Muslim community of Al-Madînah, migrated there and embraced Islâm; and to such ones refers this saying of the Prophet. But as the term *hijrah* often connotes a purely spiritual "emigration" from the domain of evil to that of righteousness (*cf.* Tr. 10), the above saying contains a general ethical principle far beyond the individual case or cases to which it originally referred.

5. It is significant that Al-Bukhârî placed this Tradition at the head of his compilation though it does not bear upon the subject of this chapter, *viz.*, the beginning of revelation. He obviously did it in recognition of the fact that this saying of the Prophet expresses one of the fundamental ethical principles of religion and, moreover, touches a problem which has intrigued the philosophers of all times: the problem of Free Will. The idea of God's omniscience presupposes that of a Divine pre-ordination of all events and, consequently, of human actions. The old question, how man can be held responsible for his actions though they have been pre-ordained by God's Will, is answered in the above Tradition. Not his *actions* are decisive for man's spiritual destiny, but his *intentions* (the intentions which immediately precede and accompany the action, and not those which have been abandoned or changed at the moment of action). Man's intentions are an expression of the intricate psychic mechanism which we call soul. And, though frequently influenced by the various functions of the body, this soul is an independent, self-contained entity and stands in a direct, if inexplicable, relation to the Divine Will (*amr*, as it is called in the Qur'ân). It is with our souls alone that we can comprehend and feel the existence of God: and we never could comprehend it if His existence were foreign to us in its essential quality. Because of this intimate and exalted relation to God the human soul partakes in the Divine prerogative of freedom which is absent in all material complexes, be they things or events. Thus, if we are unfree in—and, therefore, in a higher sense, not responsible for—our actions owing to their material, *created* character,—we are free in our intentions, because they are of a spiritual, that is, primary or *creative*, quality—and, therefore, responsibility is attached to them.—As to the word "intention" it may here be remarked that both in the Qur'ân and in the Traditions it is never used in the sense of a passing "wish," but in that of a living impulse endowed with the quality of consciousness and directly related to the subsequent event, whatever shape the latter—being pre-ordained, and thus beyond the control of our free will—may ultimately take. This stress upon "intention" is certainly in line with the general trend of the Islâmic teachings directed upon the development of inner wakefulness and consciousness in man.

6. 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair.

7. Title of honour given to the wives of the Prophet in the Qur'ân (xxxiii, 6).

8. The expression "like the ringing of a bell" points to a peculiar disturbance of the Prophet's sense of hearing

and that is most hard on me; then it leaveth me, and indeed I retain in my memory what it said. And sometimes the angel assumeth the likeness of a man for me and speaketh unto me, and I retain in my memory what he saith."

'Â'ishah said:

And, verily, I saw him whilst the revelation descended upon him on a day severe with cold; then it left him—and, behold, his brow was streaming with sweat.

(3) Yaḥyâ ibn Bukair related to us, saying: Al-Laith related to us, on the authority of 'Uqail, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, on the authority of 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair, on the authority of 'Â'ishah, Mother of the Faithful, who said:

THE first [kind] of revelation to which the Apostle of God was initiated was the true dream during sleep[9]; and he never saw a dream but it came like the dawn of the morn.[10] Thereafter the solitude became dear unto him, and he withdrew into seclusion in the cave of Ḥirâ'[11] and there applied himself to ardent devotions[12]

صلصلة الجرس—وهو أشده علىّ—فيفصم عنى وقد وعيت عنه ما قال؛ وأحياناً يتمثل لى الملك رجلاً فيكلمنى فأعى ما يقول.»

قالت عائشة [رض]:

ولقد رأيته ينزل عليه الوحى فى اليوم الشديد البرد فيفصم عنه—وان جبينه ليتفصد عرقاً.

(٣) حدثنا يحيى بن بكير قال: حدثنا الليث عن عقيل عن ابن شهاب عن عروة بن الزبير عن عائشة أم المؤمنين أنها قالت:

أول ما بدئ به رسول الله [ص] من الوحى الرؤيا الصالحة فى النوم، فكان لا يرى رؤيا الا جاءت مثل فلق الصبح. ثم حبب اليه الخلاء، وكان يخلو بغار حراء فيتحنث فيه

when he was about to receive this kind of revelation. Similar to the chaotic maze of colours which we observe whenever our optical sense is violently disturbed—be it by a physical agency or by an overwhelming emotion—, the Prophet's acoustic sensations were in such a case transformed into a maze of sounds without distinction, resembling the continuous buzzing or ringing of a bell. Shâh Walî Allâh of Delhi was of the opinion (*ST* p. 6 *f.*) that this disturbance of the Prophet's acoustic faculties was a means to isolate him, before the coming of the revelation, from the impressions of the outer world and so to enable him entirely to devote himself to the spiritual voice of the angel. This vehement change from the customary, that is, sensual, orientation to a purely spiritual one was necessarily full of anguish ("and that is most hard on me"). In the other cases, when the angel appeared "in the likeness of a man," the medium of revelation was transferred from a purely spiritual plane to the orbit of human, sensual perceptions; and thus the receiving of the revelation was less excruciating. But, as this also taxed the Prophet's power of concentration to the utmost, it never was quite free of anguish.—'Â'ishah's subsequent description of the Prophet's state during certain revelations obviously refers to the first kind.

9. The first of these prophetic dreams occurred in the month of Rabî' al-awwal in the year 13 B.H. (February, 610 C), when the Prophet had just completed his fortieth year (Al-Baihaqî, *apud FB* i, 21).

10. *i. e.*, with the clearness of light after darkness.

11. A hill about three miles north-east of Mecca, to-day known as *Jabal Nûr* ("Mount of Light"), because there the first verses of the Holy Qur'ân were revealed.

Many conjectures have been made as to length of the Prophet's retirement at Ḥirâ', and whether it took place only once or on several occasions. *IH* (i, 150) states that there were several such times of seclusion, namely, "one month in every year." But this is contradicted by the authentic Tradition (*SM*, *Kitâb at-tafsîr*) in which the Prophet distinctly declares that he remained one month (in all) at Ḥirâ'. Moreover, it is evident from Tr. 3 of our work that Muḥammad's love of solitude dated from the beginning of the prophetic dreams, the first of which, according to Al-Baihaqî (*cf.* I, 9) took place about 6 months before Gabriel's appearance at Ḥirâ'; so there can have been no question of his withdrawing into solitude "one month in every year." We must, therefore, assume that he withdrew into the cave only once, and spent there about one month; this seclusion was interrupted by his short visits home for the sake of taking provisions.

12. It is somewhat difficult exactly to translate the term *taḥannuth* used in the Arabic text. It is available in two readings, the other being *taḥannuf*. *Taḥannuth* is derived from *ḥanth*, and means "avoidance of sin." But as this does

—that is, worship[13]—
during many nights ere he went home and provided himself with food therefor; then he would return unto Khadîjah and provide himself with food for a similar [number of days]—until the truth[14] came unto him whilst he was in the cave of Ḥirâ': the angel came unto him and said: "Read!"—He said: "I am not of those who read."[15]

He said [in his narrative]: Then he took me and pressed me until all strength went out of me; thereupon he released me and said: "Read!"—I said: "I am not of those who read." Then he took me and pressed me again until all strength went out of me; thereupon he released me and said: "Read!"—And I said: "I am not of those who read." Then he took me and pressed me a third time; thereupon he released me and said: "Read in the name of thy Sustainer Who hath created—created man from a clot!

—وهو التعبد—
الليالى ذوات العدد قبل أن ينزع الى أهله ويتزود لذلك، ثم يرجع الى خديجة فيتزود لمثلها — حتى جاءه الحق وهو فى غار حراء، فجاءه الملك فقال: «اقرأ!» — قال: «ما أنا بقارئ.»

قال: فأخذنى فغطنى حتى بلغ منى الجهد، ثم أرسلنى فقال: «اقرأ!» — قلت: «ما أنا بقارئ.» فأخذنى فغطنى الثانية حتى بلغ منى الجهد، ثم أرسلنى فقال: «اقرأ!» — فقلت: «ما أنا بقارئ.» فأخذنى فغطنى الثالثة، ثم أرسلنى فقال: «اقرأ باسم ربك الذى خلق — خلق الانسان

not at all comply with the subsequent remark "that is, worship," we must accept the second reading *taḥannuf* as correct: and it is, in fact, a well-known linguistic peculiarity of the Arabs that in their speech they often transform the consonant *f* into *th*. Now, the word *taḥannuf* is not of Arabic origin, but probably derived from the Canaanite-Aramaic *ḥanpâ* which literally means "one who turns away." In Syriac it was prominently used to describe one who turns away from his religion, a renegade; so the Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate who gave up Christianity and reverted to the old Roman faith is called, in Syrian-Christian manuscripts, *Yulyâna ḥanpâ*; the same term often was applied to the Manichaeans and Sabaeans, presumably owing to the fact that their religions contained Christian elements without fully subscribing to the doctrines of the Christian Church. When the Arabs, in pre-Islâmic times, adapted this word to their language they used it in its original sense of "turning away," namely, from idolatry and, subsequently, from every kind of worldliness. Thence *taḥannuf* came to denote the ardent devotions (mainly consisting of long vigils and prayers) of the unitarian God-seekers who, consequently, were called *ḥunafâ'* (sing., *ḥanîf*)—a designation which was to become familiar to Muslims owing to its association, in the Qur'ân, with the name of Abraham. There it is almost synonymous with "Unitarian."

13. This comment originates from the famous *tâbi'î* (*i.e.*, "successor" of the Companions) Ibn Shihâb, one of the narrators of the above Tradition.

14. "Truth" means revelation in wakeful state, as contrasted with that in dream. Some Traditions (*e.g.*, *IH* i, 151) report that the appearance of Gabriel at Ḥirâ' was a dream-experience, like the Prophet's former visions; but Al-Bukhârî's version, which admittedly is more reliable (and, moreover, supported by *SM*, *Kitâb at-tafsîr*), does not allow of such an interpretation.

The appearance of Gabriel at Ḥirâ' and, consequently, the first revelation of the Qur'ân, took place, according to all authorities, during the month of Ramaḍân, 13 B. H. (July or August, 610 C.), but there is no agreement as to the exact date. If, as some commentators assume, the first revelation coincided with the *lailat al-qadr* ("Night of Destiny"), then it would have been one of the last ten nights of Ramaḍân, because the Prophet mentioned in other Traditions these ten nights as those among which the *lailat al-qadr* is to be sought.

15. These words of the Prophet are sometimes translated as "What shall I read." From the linguistical point of view this interpretation is by no means impossible: the particle *mâ* can be used in an interrogative sense ("what") as well as in a negative ("not"). But almost all philological authorities (with the single exception of Al-Akhfash, *apud* *'UQ* i, 67) are, for grammatical reasons, against this interpretation. The translation "I am not a reader" or "I am not of those who read" appears, therefore, to be the correct one.

Read! And thy Sustainer is the Most Bountiful!"[16]

And thus the Apostle of God returned, his heart trembling, and came unto Khadîjah bint Khuwailid and said: "Wrap me up! Wrap me up!"[17] And they wrapped him up until the awe left him. Then he told Khadîjah what happened and said unto her: "Verily, I fear for myself."[18]—Thereupon Khadîjah said: "Nay, by God! Never will God humiliate thee! Behold, thou fulfillest the duties of kinship, and supportest the weak, and bringest gain to the destitute, and art bounteous toward a guest, and helpest those in genuine distress."

Then Khadîjah went with him unto Waraqah ibn Naufal ibn Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzâ, a son of Khadîjah's uncle. He had embraced

من علق؛ اقرأ! وربك الأكرم!»

فرجع بها رسول الله [ص] يرجف فؤاده فدخل على خديجة بنت خويلد فقال: «زملوني! زملوني!» فزملوه حتى ذهب عنه الروع؛ فقال لخديجة وأخبرها الخبر: «لقد خشيت على نفسي.» فقالت خديجة: «كلا والله ما يخزيك الله أبداً! انك لتصل الرحم وتحمل الكل وتكسب المعدوم وتقري الضيف وتعين على نوائب الحق.»

فانطلقت به خديجة حتى أتت به ورقة بن نوفل ابن أسد بن عبد العزى ابن عم خديجة، وكان

16. Q. xcvi, 1/3.—This beautiful story of the Prophet's first encounter with the Angel of Revelation reminds us, in certain points, of Jacob's wrestling with the angel as described in Genesis, Ch. 32. But whereas Jacob resisted, Muḥammad surrendered himself entirely to the angel's embrace: and here the highest quality of Prophethood is manifested. The perfect Prophet is he who, at the time of revelation, eliminates his own dynamic personality to such a degree that almost nothing remains in him but the faculty of reception. This probably is the most difficult task ever set before man. In the average human being the impetuosity of feelings, desires and nervous sensations overpowers and dims his purely receptive qualities, his ability to listen to the voice within him or from above him. To be a Prophet means no more and no less than to be full and empty at one and the same time: a human being filled with the consciousness of his life and the natural impulses of action and self-assertion—and, at the same time, a passive, purely receptive instrument endowed with nothing but the highest sensitiveness and power of exact registration. The primary duty of a Prophet, in contrast with that of any other spiritual leader, is not to produce images and ideas born in his own mind: it consists only in the *reading* out of the unseen book of Divine Truth and the *reproducing* of its meaning to mankind without additions or subtractions. In the word "Read!" which opened the first revelation to Muḥammad this call to Perfect Prophethood is already fully expressed. The Law of God, the Eternal Truth behind the perceptible things, was laid bare before him, waiting to be understood by him in its innermost meaning. Thus it would be wrong to translate here *iqra'* by "recite"—though the Arabic language certainly permits it—because recitation implies the delivery before an audience of something committed to memory—and at the moment of the angel's first appearance there was nothing as yet in the Prophet's memory, and there was no audience. On the other hand, "reading" implies the conscious following and mental assimilation of words or ideas from an outside source: and this, without doubt, was the thing required from the Prophet. At first he was under the illusion of having been ordered to read actual script, and this, he knew, he could not do because he was illiterate. But when the angel concluded this Revelation, the Prophet understood, in sudden illumination, that he was ordered to receive the spiritual message of the Supreme Being; and the magnitude of this task with all its implications of responsibility and self-sacrifice overwhelmed him and filled him with awe.

17. Because he shivered from the excitement caused by the vision. The calming influence of a cover drawn over the whole body was known to the Arab *kahanah* (sing., *kâhin*), or soothsayers, of pre-Islâmic times, and it is very probable that its use by the Prophet led the heathen Quraish to the erroneous assumption that he belonged to the same class of visionaries.

18. The fear expressed by the Prophet had its origin in the noble humility of his soul: he thought himself unworthy of the exalted position of Prophethood. The explanation given by some of the commentators, that he was afraid of death or of having become insane, is purely hypothetical and, moreover, not corresponding with Khadijah's answer to the Prophet: "... never will God humiliate thee,"—which means: "... never will God confer a task upon thee which thou art unable to perform." The suggestion of other commentators, that he was afraid of persecution by his countrymen, is entirely without foundation. As is evident from the subsequent talk between the Prophet and Waraqah ibn Naufal, the Prophet had no notion of a danger from that direction until Waraqah told him so.

Christianity in the Time of Ignorance[19] and wrote the Hebrew script, and did write in Hebrew out of the Gospel whatever God willed him to write; and he was an old man and had become blind. And Khadîjah said unto him: "O uncle's son, hearken unto thy brother's son.[20]"—And Waraqah said unto him: "O my brother's son, what dost thou see?" Thereupon the Apostle of God told him what he had seen. And Waraqah said unto him: "That [was] the Angel of Revelation whom God sent down upon Moses. O, would that I were a youth! Would I were alive when thy people drive thee away!"—Then the Apostle of God said: "Why! Are they to drive me away?"—He said: "Yea. Never came a man with the like thou hast come with but was persecuted. And if thy day [of need] witnesseth me [alive], I shall help thee with a powerful help."—Thereafter Waraqah took no part [in these matters] until he died.[21] And the revelation broke off.[22]

امرأً قد تنصر في الجاهلية وكان يكتب الكتاب العبراني فيكتب من الانجيل بالعبرانية ماشاء الله أن يكتب، وكان شيخاً كبيراً قد عمي. فقالت له خديجة: «يا ابن عم اسمع من ابن أخيك.» — فقال له ورقة: «يا ابن أخي ما ذا ترى؟» فأخبره رسول الله [ص] خبر ما رأى، فقال له ورقة: «هذا الناموس الذي نزل الله على موسى؛ يا ليتني فيها جذعاً! ليتني أكون حياً اذ يخرجك قومك!» — فقال رسول الله [ص]: «أو مخرجيّ هم؟» — قال: «نعم، لم يأت رجل قط بمثل ما جئت به الا عودي؛ وان يدركني يومك أنصرك نصراً مؤزراً.» ثم لم ينشب ورقة أن توفي؛ وفتر الوحي.

(4) Ibn Shihâb[23] said: And Abû Salamah ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân told me that Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh al-Anṣârî said:

(٤) قال ابن شهاب: وأخبرني أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن أن جابر بن عبدالله الأنصاري قال:

19. "Time of Ignorance" (*jâhilîyah*) is the period before the announcement of Muḥammad's prophetic mission.

20. Waraqah was not in reality an uncle of the Prophet, though they belonged to the same branch of Quraish; but it is an Arab custom, prevalent even in these days, to address an old and respected man as "uncle"; hence Khadîjah's expression "thy brother's son."

21. Most commentators agree that Waraqah died before the Prophet began preaching Islâm in public, *i.e.*, before the persecution by the Quraish started. Only Ibn Isḥâq (*apud FB* i, 21) mentions that Waraqah was present when Bilâl was maltreated on account of his adherence to the Prophet; but as this account is contradicted by the evidence of Traditions in the compilations of both Al-Bukhârî and Muslim, it must be regarded as a historical mistake.

22. Between the first revelation mentioned in the above Tradition and the next one mentioned in the following account of Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh a period of about three years elapsed during which the Prophet received no revelation. This period is called "the break in the revelation" (*fatrat al-waḥî*). It was a time of deepest distress for the Prophet. The absence of revelation almost led him to believe that his first experience at Ḥirâ' was an illusion; and it was only due to Khadijah's undaunted faith in his prophetic mission that he did not entirely lose his courage.

23. Al-Bukhârî opens the *isnâd* of this Tradition with the name of Ibn Shihâb az-Zuhrî (who was not his contemporary) not because the links between him and the latter are missing, but because the line of narrators between Ibn Shihâb and the author is here the same as in Tr. 3. The particle "and" before Abû Salamah denotes that Ibn Shihâb az-Zuhrî related this Tradition in conjunction with the foregoing one, as if he had said: "'Urwah ibn az-Zubair (*cf.* *isnâd* of Tr. 3) told me this and this, *and* Abû Salamah told me, in addition to this, the following." Therefore the author places the "corroboration" (*mutâba'ah*) of both Traditions after Tr. 4 (see I, 25/26). It obviously was this peculiarity of the *isnâd* which led some historians who were not Traditionists to the mistaken notion that the event related in Tr. 4 took place immediately after that related in Tr. 3, or even that both Traditions refer to one and the same event differently narrated. The wording of Tr. 4 ("whilst speaking of the break in the revelation") makes it clear beyond any possibility of doubt that the Prophet's second encounter with the angel Gabriel occurred at a much later time, namely, after the "break in the revelation" (*cf.* I, 22).

وهو يحدث عن فترة الوحى فقال فى حديثه: بينا أنا أمشى اذ سمعت صوتاً من السماء فرفعت بصرى — فاذا الملك الذى جاءنى بحراء جالس على كرسى بين السماء والأرض؛ فرعبت منه فرجعت فقلت: «زملونى! زملونى!» فأنزل الله تعالى: «يا أيها المدثر! قم فأنذر!» — الى قوله: «والرجز فاهجر!» فحمى الوحى وتتابع.

AND—whilst speaking of the break in the revelation—[the Prophet] said in his narrative: [Once,] whilst I walked, I heard a voice from heaven and I lifted my eyes—and there was the angel who had come unto me at Ḥirâ', sitting on a throne between heaven and earth. And he inspired me with awe, and I returned home and said: "Wrap me up! Wrap me up!" Then God, the Most High, sent down [the Revelation]: "O thou wrapped in a cloak! Arise and warn!"—to His Words: ". . . and pollution shun!"[24]—Thereupon the revelation became intensive and continuous.

تابعه عبد الله بن يوسف و أبو صالح، وتابعه هلال بن رداد عن الزهرى؛ وقال يونس ومعمر «بوادره» ☆

'Abd Allâh ibn Yûsuf and Abû Ṣâliḥ concurred with him[25]; and Hilâl ibn Raddâd concurred with him,[26] [likewise] on the authority of Az-Zuhrî. And Yûnus and Ma'mar said "his shoulders."[27]

(٥) حدثنا موسى بن اسمعيل قال: حدثنا أبو عوانة قال: حدثنا موسى بن أبى عائشة قال: حدثنا سعيد بن جبير عن ابن عباس فى قوله تعالى: «لا تحرك به لسانك لتعجل به.» قال:

(5) Mûsâ ibn Ismâ'îl related to us, saying: Abû 'Awânah related to us, saying: Mûsâ ibn Abî 'Â'ishah related to us, saying: Sa'îd ibn Jubair related to us, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, concerning the Word of the Most High: "Move not thy tongue with this to make haste with it." [Ibn 'Abbâs] said:

كان رسول الله [ص] يعالج من التنزيل شدةً وكان مما يحرك شفتيه.

THE Apostle of God was severely affected by the revelation, and would move his lips.[28]

فقال ابن عباس: «فأنا أحركهما لك كما كان رسول الله [ص] يحركهما.» — و قال سعيد: «أنا أحركهما كما رأيت ابن عباس يحركهما» — فحرك شفتيه.

And Ibn 'Abbâs said: "I shall move them for thee in the same way as the Apostle of God would move them." And Sa'îd said: "I shall move them in the same way as I saw Ibn 'Abbâs move them"—and he moved his lips.

فأنزل الله تعالى: «لا تحرك به لسانك لتعجل

Thereupon God, the Most High, sent down [the Revelation]: "Move not thy tongue

24. *Q.* lxxiv, 1/5. Thus for the first time the Prophet was ordered to preach Islâm in public.

25. *i.e.*, with Yaḥyâ ibn Bukair (*cf. isnâd* of Tr. 3). This is a typical form of corroboration adopted by Al-Bukhârî. He thus intimates that he received the same Tradition independently from three different narrators, *viz.*, Yaḥyâ ibn Bukair, 'Abd Allâh ibn Yûsuf and Abû Ṣâliḥ; all of them heard it from Al-Laith (*FB* i, 22).

26. Here the reference is to 'Uqail (*cf. isnâd* of Tr. 3); he and Hilâl ibn Raddâd were disciples of Az-Zuhrî, as also were Yûnus and Ma'mar mentioned in the next sentence. This shows that Al-Laith heard this Tradition from four authorities.

27. —instead of the words "his heart" used by 'Uqail (*cf.* p. 19). Thus the difference between the narratives of Yûnus and Ma'mar and those of 'Uqail and Hilâl ibn Raddâd consisted in one single word.

28. Regarding the causes of the Prophet's suffering during revelations, see I, 8. Faced as he was with the tremendous responsibility of exactly reproducing the Word of God, the Prophet was afraid lest he should forget the words of the Revelation; he, therefore, used to repeat them rapidly while Gabriel was speaking.

with this to make haste with it. Behold, upon Us resteth the putting together thereof and the reciting thereof."[29]

[Explaining, Ibn 'Abbâs] said: "It is for Him to put it together in thy heart and [then] thou shalt recite it."

"And when We recite it thou [but] follow its recitation."[30]

[Ibn 'Abbâs] said: "—and listen unto it and remain silent."

"Thereafter, behold, its manifestation resteth upon Us."[31]

[Ibn 'Abbâs said:] "—thereafter, behold, it resteth upon Us to make thee recite it."

And after that, when Gabriel came unto him, the Apostle of God would listen, and when Gabriel departed the Prophet would recite it in the way [Gabriel] had recited it.

(6) 'Abdân related to us, saying: 'Abd Allâh told us, saying: Yûnus told us, on the authority of Az-Zuhrî;—[Al-Bukhârî] said: And Bishr ibn Muḥammad related to us the same,[32] saying: 'Abd Allâh told us, saying: Yûnus and Ma'mar told us, on the authority of Az-Zuhrî, who said: 'Ubaid Allâh ibn 'Abd Allâh told me, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, who said:

THE Apostle of God was the most generous of men; and he was more generous than ever during Ramaḍân, when Gabriel came unto him—and he would come unto him every night during Ramaḍân and impart the knowledge of the Qur'ân unto him;—then, indeed, the Apostle of God was more generous in [doing] good than the speeding wind.[33]

به؛ ان علينا جمعه و قرآنه.»

قال: «جمعه له فى صدرك و تقرأه.»

«فاذا قرأناه فاتبع قرآنه؛»

قال: «—فاستمع له و أنصت.»

«ثم ان علينا بيانه.»

«ثم ان علينا أن تقرأه.»

فكان رسول الله [ص] بعد ذلك اذا أتاه جبريل استمع، فاذا انطلق جبريل قرأه النبى [ص] كما قرأه.

(٦) حدثنا عبدان قال: أخبرنا عبدالله قال: أخبرنا يونس عن الزهرى؛—قال: وحدثنا بشر بن محمد قال: أخبرنا عبد الله قال: أخبرنا يونس و معمر عن الزهرى نحوه، قال: أخبرنى عبيدالله بن عبدالله عن ابن عباس قال:

كان رسول الله [ص] أجود الناس، وكان أجود ما يكون فى رمضان حين يلقاه جبريل —وكان يلقاه فى كل ليلة من رمضان فيدارسه القرآن—فلرسول الله [ص] أجود بالخير من الريح المرسلة.

29. Q. lxxv, 16/17.
30. Q. lxxv, 18.
31. Q. lxxv, 19.
32. This term indicates that the version of Bishr ibn Muḥammad was in every respect identical with that of 'Abdân.
33. This can mean two things: he was more generous than the stormwind which brings rain-loaded clouds and, thus, life to the earth; or that he used to help others quickly, without the least delay.

THE MERITS OF THE PROPHET'S COMPANIONS

THE MERITS OF THE PROPHET'S COMPANIONS

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 Islâmic 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 *ṣâḥib* is given in *Lisân al-'Arab* II, 7, as "one who is intimately associated [*mu'âshir*]" (with another); and in Lane IV, 1652, *ṣaḥibahu* 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 Uḥud, he would not attain to [the merit of] a *mudd* of theirs, or even half of it."[1] From other versions of this Tradition[2] we understand that there was some quarrel between 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf and Khâlid ibn al-Walîd, who abused the former. The Prophet's rebuke shows that at that time he did not yet regard Khâlid as a Companion, although the latter must have seen him daily. It was only later that Khâlid, 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-Raḥmân 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. Faḍâ'il aṣ-Ṣaḥâbah, B. Taḥrîm Sabb aṣ-Ṣaḥâbah.*

"future generations" in mind, as some well-meaning commentators suggest[1]. 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. Uḥud" 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 Madînah 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 *ṣaḥâbî*. This is evident, for example, from a Tradition quoted by Ibn Ṣalâḥ 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."[2] This strict differentiation between Companions and Muslims who merely saw the Prophet without intimate association is still clearly visible in the period of the *tâbi'ûn* (or successors of the Companions); so the famous *tâbi'î* Sa'îd 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.[3] This definition is, no doubt, somewhat artificial and schematic, and does not cover the whole ground: for it is imaginable that a man came in 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-Nawawî's commentary on *Ṣaḥîḥ 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 Madînah] and actively helped[4] [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 Islâm had become powerful."[5] Though an-Nawawî himself hesitates to subscribe to this definition,[6] 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".[7] 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 Madînah, 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

1 See 'Ayni XVI, 188.

2 Ibn Ṣalâḥ, p. 258. The author, one of the most exacting critics of Tradition, has no hesitation in accepting the *isnâd* of this Tradition as "sound" *(ṣaḥîḥ)*.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 256; *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 2.

4 *Naṣara;* in this term the *Anṣâr* and other active "helpers" besides the *Muhâjirs* are comprised.

5 Nawawi XVI, 93.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 94.

7 Cf. *tarjumah* 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-Bukhârî in accepting a political Tradition on the authority of so shady a personality as Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam[1].

This too-liberal attitude stands by no means unchallenged in the literature bearing on this subject. From among the older authors after al-Bukhârî, the Andalusian Ibn 'Abd al-Barr[2], one of the most discerning and dependable compilers of *rijâl*-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 [*ḥawâriyyûn*] who have remembered this [*Sunnah*] and have transmitted it in good faith... These are 'the best generation'[3] and 'the best community that has been sent forth to mankind'.[4] 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..."[5]

This excerpt from Ibn 'Abd 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?[6] 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 Qur'ân iii, 110. 5 *Istî'âb* I, 2.

6 Cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 2 f; 'Ayni 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 Islâm. 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 *nuṣûṣ* and *sunan*—better than anyone else could do. It would be difficult, however, to regard a man like Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam as a shining protagonist of Islâmic virtues, worthy to be imitated; but, according to the standard set up by the majority of later Traditionists, he was a *ṣaḥâbî*, 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, Marwân 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-Nawawî,[1] not even Mu'âwiyah—irrespective of his merits—could be termed "Companion", for he embraced Islâm 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 'Abbâs, who apparently did regard him as a Companion.[2] 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 Islâm was equivalent to sacrifice and personal hardship, and whose support and devotion secured the final triumph of Islâm. 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 *Muhâjirs*, while the sections 34—51 are devoted to the *Anṣâr;* 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 *Muhâjirs* nor *Anṣâr*, as, *e.g.*, Khadîjah, who died before the *hijrah*, Jarîr ibn 'Abd Allâh, who embraced Islâm in the last months of the Prophets life, 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm, who himself was not of the *Anṣâr* but was associated with them as a *ḥalîf*, 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 Islâmic history is already familiar: Abû Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmân, 'Alî, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Fâṭimah, 'Â'ishah, Khadîjah, and Mu'âwiyah.

Al-Bukhârî's primary object was to show by means of these Traditions the opinion which the Prophet Muḥammad 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 Islâm.

1 See above, p. 14.

2 See sec. 31, No. 1, in this chapter.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE DISPENSER OF GRACE

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

THE MERITS OF THE PROPHET'S COMPANIONS[1]

فضائل أصحاب النبي ﷺ

And whoso of the Muslims kept company with the Prophet or saw him, is of his Companions.[2]

ومن صحب النبي ﷺ أو رآه من المسلمين فهو من أصحابه.

SECTION I

١ باب

1 'Alî ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us: Sufyân related to us, on the authority of 'Amr, who said: I heard Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh say: Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî related to us, saying:

١ حدثنا علي بن عبدالله: حدثنا سفيان عن عمرو قال: سمعت جابر بن عبد الله يقول: حدثنا أبو سعيد الخدري قال:

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

قال رسول الله ﷺ: يأتي على الناس زمان فيغزو فئام من الناس فيقولون: فيكم من صاحب رسول الله ﷺ؟ فيقولون لهم: نعم؛ فيُفتح لهم. ثم يأتي على الناس زمان فيغزو فئام من الناس فيقال: هل فيكم من صاحب أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ؟ فيقولون: نعم؛ فيُفتح لهم. ثم يأتي على الناس زمان فيغزو فئام من الناس فيقال: هل فيكم من صاحب من صاحب

1 In all available texts, this chapter is not distinctly treated as a separate entity, although it is obviously one; the *bismillâh*, 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 *bâb* (section) before the title occurs in most of the texts, but is omitted in that of Abû Dharr al-Hirawî (cf. *Ṣaḥîḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamîd, 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.

companion of the companions of the Apostle of God? And they will answer: Yea. And they shall be victorious.[1]

أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ ؟ فيقولون : نعم؛ فيُفتح لهم.

2 Isḥâq related to me: An-Naḍr related to us: Shu'bah informed us, on the authority of Abû Jamrah: I heard Zahdam ibn Muḍarrib say: I heard 'Imrân ibn Ḥuṣayn say:

٢ حدثني اسحق: حدثنا النضر: أخبرنا شعبة عن أبي جمرة: سمعت زهدم بن مضرب قال: سمعت عمران بن حصين (رض) يقول:

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]

قال رسول الله ﷺ: خير أمتي قرني، ثم الذين يلونهم ثم الذين يلونهم.

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

قال عمران: فلا أدري أذكر بعد قرنه قرنين أو ثلاثاً.

And, behold, after you[4] 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]

ثم ان بعدكم قوماً يشهدون ولا يستشهدون ويخونون ولا يؤتمنون وينذرون ولا يفون: ويظهر فيهم السِمَن.

1 This is, of course, not to be taken as a literal prediction, because it sometimes happened even in the early history of Islâm that Muslims suffered defeat in spite of the presence among them of Companions or their successors *(tâbi'ûn)*. 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 *walâ* (from which *yalûnahum* 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 *(tâbi'ûn)*, and the successors of these *(tab' tâbi'în)* — an interpretation obviously adopted by the narrator of this Tradition, 'Imrân; for him *walâ* 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.*, *Fatḥ al-Bârî* 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 [*siman* 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.

3 Muḥammad ibn Kathîr related to us: Sufyân informed us, on the authority of Manṣûr, on the authority of Ibrâhîm, on the authority of 'Abîdah, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh:

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.[1]

Ibrâhîm said: And while we were small, they[2] would beat us in matters of testimony and oath.[3]

SECTION II

THE VIRTUES OF THE *MUHÂJIRS*[4] AND THEIR MERIT: OF THESE WAS ABÛ BAKR 'ABD ALLÂH IBN ABÎ QUḤÂFAH AT-TAYMÎ

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.[5]—*And He said: If ye help him*[6] *not, God hath helped him;*—*to His Word: Behold, God is with us.*[7]—*And 'Â'ishah, Abû Sa'îd and Ibn*

٣ حدثنا محمد بن كثير: أخبرنا سفيان عن منصور عن ابراهيم عن عبيدة عن عبد الله (رض)

أن النبي ﷺ قال: خير الناس قرني ثم الذين يلونهم ثم الذين يلونهم؛ ثم يجيء قوم تسبق شهادة أحدهم يمينه ويمينه شهادته.

قال ابراهيم: وكانوا يضربونا على الشهادة والعهد ونحن صغار.

٢ باب

مناقب المهاجرين وفضلهم: منهم أبوبكر عبد الله بن أبي قحافة التيمي (رض)

وقول الله تعالى: للفقراء المهاجرين الذين أخرجوا من ديارهم وأموالهم يبتغون فضلا من الله ورضواناً وينصرون الله ورسوله، أولئك هم الصادقون.—وقال: الا تنصروه فقد نصره الله؛—الى قوله: إن الله معنا.—قالت عائشة وأبو سعيد وابن عباس (رض): وكان

1 *I.e.*, they will be careless with regard to their testimony, swearing to more than they can testify, and testifying to matters which excede the scope of their oath.—For a fuller explanation of this Tradition, see Bkh xlii/9, No. 2.

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 Islâmic *sharî'ah:* one is the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad from Mecca to Madînah, which inaugurated a new era in the history of Islâm; 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 *muhâjir* (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 Madînah, in order to be able to live freely according to the tenets of Islâm. 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 *muhâjir* 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 Qur'ân lix, 8.

6 *Sc.*, the Prophet Muḥammad.

7 Qur'ân ix, 40.

'Abbâs said': Abû Bakr was with the Prophet in the cave.[2]

1 'Abd Allâh ibn Rajâ' related to us: Isrâ'îl related to us, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, on the authority of al-Barâ', who said:

ABÛ BAKR bought of 'Âzib[3] a camel-saddle for thirteen *dirhams;* then he said unto 'Âzib: Bid al-Barâ'[4] to carry my saddle for me.—Thereupon ['Âzib] said: Nay, not until thou tell us what ye did, thou and the Prophet, when ye left Mecca[5] and the idolaters pursued you.

[Abû Bakr] said: We departed from Mecca,[6] 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

أبوبكر مع النبي ﷺ في الغار.

١ حدثنا عبد الله بن رجاء: حدثنا اسرائيل عن أبي اسحق عن البراء قال:

اشترى أبو بكر (رض) من عازب رحلا بثلاثة عشر درهماً، فقال أبو بكر لعازب: مر البراء فليحمل الي رحلي. — فقال عازب: لا حتى تحدثنا كيف صنعت أنت ورسول الله ﷺ حين خرجتما من مكة والمشركون يطلبونكم.

قال: ارتحلنا من مكة فأحيينا

— أو: سرينا —

ليلتنا ويومنا حتى أظهرنا وقام قائم الظهيرة؛ فرميت ببصري هل أرى من ظل، فآوي اليه، فاذا صخرة، أتيتها فنظرت بقية ظل لها. فسويته ثم فرشت للنبي ﷺ فيه، ثم قلت له: اضطجع يانبي الله! — فاضطجع النبي ﷺ. ثم انطلقت أنظر ما حولي هل أرى من الطلب أحداً؛ فاذا أنا براعي غنم يسوق غنمه الى الصخرة يريد منها الذي أردنا،

1 The Tradition of 'Â'ishah referred to is fully quoted in Bkh li/21, No. 9; the Tradition of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥabbân (see *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 7); and the Tradition of Ibn 'Abbâs in Bkh liii, *sûrah* ix, sec. 9, No. 3.

2 When the Prophet and Abû Bakr left Mecca for Madînah, 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 'Âzib ibn al-Ḥârith al-Anṣârî, father of the narrator al-Barâ'.

4 Al-Barâ' ibn 'Âzib al-Anṣârî. 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 Madînah.

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 'Âzib 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 [Abû 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 perceived us save Surâqah ibn Mâlik ibn Ju'shum[1], 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.[2]

فسألته فقلت له: لمن أنت يا غلام؟— فقال: لرجل من قريش، — سماه فعرفته. فقلت: هل فى غنمك من لبن؟—قال: نعم.—قلت: فهل أنت حالب لنا؟ — قال: نعم. — فأمرته فاعتقل شاة من غنمه، ثم أمرته أن ينفض ضرعها من الغبار، ثم أمرته أن ينفض كفيه. (فقال: هكذا — ضرب احدى كفيه بالأخرى.) فحلب لى كثبة من لبن. وقد جعلت لرسول الله ﷺ اداوة على فمها خرقة، فصببت على اللبن حتى برد أسفله فانطلقت به الى النبى ﷺ فوافقته قد استيقظ فقلت: اشرب يا رسول الله! — فشرب حتى رضيت. ثم قلت: قد آن الرحيل يارسول الله! — قال: بلى. — فارتحلنا والقوم يطلبونا، فلم يدركنا أحد منهم غير سراقة بن مالك ابن جعشم على فرس له، فقلت: هذا الطلب قد لحقنا يا رسول الله! — فقال: لا تحزن، إن الله معنا.

2 Muḥammad ibn Sinân related to us: Hammâm related to us, on the authority of Thâbit, on the authority of Anas,

٢ حدثنا محمد بن سنان: حدثنا همام عن ثابت عن أنس

ON the authority of Abû Bakr, who said: While we were in the cave[3], I said unto the Prophet: If any of them had looked down below his feet,[4] he would have surely seen us.—But he said: What, thinkest thou, O Abû Bakr, could befall twain who have God as the third with them?

عن أبى بكر (رض) قال: قلت للنبى ﷺ وأنا فى الغار: لو أن أحدهم نظر تحت قدميه لأبصرنا. — فقال: ما ظنك يا أبابكر باثنين الله ثالثهما؟

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

2 Cf. Qur'ân ix, 40, which refers to the same incident. In some versions of the *Ṣaḥîḥ*, this Tradition is followed by a short commentary on *sûrah* xvi, 6, erroneously supposed to have been added by al-Bukhârî. It is, however, missing in the most authoritative texts, and thus appears to be a later interpolation (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 8).

3 See p. 20, n. 2.

4 When the Prophet and Abû 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 ABÛ BAKR*

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

'Abd Allâh ibn Muḥammad related to me: Abû 'Âmir related to us: Fulayḥ related to us, saying: Sâlim abu'n-Naḍr related to us, on the authority of Busr ibn Sa'îd, on the authority of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî, 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 Abû 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 Abû 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 Abû Bakr. And were I to chose anyone but my Sustainer to be my dearest friend[3], indeed I would chose Abû Bakr; but [for him I cherish] Islâmic brotherliness and love. There shall be left open no door in the mosque—save Abû Bakr's door.[4]

٣ باب

قول النبي ﷺ «سدوا الأبواب الا باب أبي بكر»

قاله ابن عباس عن النبي ﷺ.

حدثني عبد الله بن محمد: حدثنا أبو عامر: حدثنا فليح قال: حدثني سالم أبو النضر عن بسر ابن سعيد عن أبي سعيد الخدري (رض) قال:

خطب رسول الله ﷺ الناس وقال: ان الله خيّر عبداً بين الدنيا وبين ما عنده، فاختار ذلك العبد ما عند الله. — فبكى أبو بكر، فعجبنا لبكائه أن يخبر رسول الله ﷺ عن عبد خُيِّر. فكان رسول الله ﷺ هو المخيَّر وكان أبو بكر أعلمنا. فقال رسول الله ﷺ: ان من أمَنّ الناس علىّ فى صحبته وماله أبابكر؛ ولو كنت متخذاً خليلا غير ربى لاتخذت أبابكر، ولكن أخوة الاسلام ومودته. لا يبقين فى المسجد باب الا سُدَّ — الا باب أبي بكر.

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 Ḥajar in *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 9, in which the narrator precedes the same account with the words, "I heard the Prophet say, five nights before his death," etc.). Abû Bakr understood that the Prophet was alluding to his imminent death.

3 The expression *khalîl* denotes the dearest or most sincere friend who has no rival in the love and reliance conferred upon him (see *Lisân 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 Madînah was first built, it occupied a narrow space between houses, some of which had doors opening on it. The house of 'Â'ishah, 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'd I/ii, 180 f), as well as those of some Companions, *e.g.*, al-'Abbâs. All the Companions' houses, with

SECTION IV

THE MERIT OF ABÛ BAKR COMETH NEXT AFTER THAT OF THE PROPHET

'Abd al-'Azîz ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us: Sulaymân related to us, on the authority of Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd, 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 Abû Bakr the precedence, next to him, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, and next to him, 'Uthmân ibn 'Affân.[1]

٤ باب

فضل أبي بكر بعد النبي ﷺ

حدثنا عبد العزيز بن عبد الله: حدثنا سليمان عن يحيى بن سعيد عن نافع

عن ابن عمر (رض) قال: كنا نخير بين الناس في زمن النبي ﷺ فنخير أبابكر ثم عمر بن الخطاب ثم عثمان بن عفان (رض).

SECTION V

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

Abû Sa'îd told this [Tradition].[2]

1 Muslim ibn Ibrâhîm related to us: Wuhayb related to us: Ayyûb related to us, on the authority of 'Ikrimah, 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 Abû 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 Ayyûb[3] . . . and said:

IF I were to choose my dearest friend, [said the Prophet,] indeed I would choose him[4] to be my dearest friend; but Islâmic brotherliness is the best [that I can give him].

٥ باب

قول النبي ﷺ «لو كنت متخذاً خليلا» قاله أبو سعيد.

١ حدثنا مسلم بن ابراهيم: حدثنا وهيب: حدثنا أيوب عن عكرمة عن ابن عباس (رض)

عن النبي ﷺ قال: لو كنت متخذاً من أمتي خليلا لاتخذت أبابكر، ولكن أخي وصاحبي.

٢ حدثنا معلى بن أسد وموسى قالا: حدثنا وهيب عن أيوب . . . وقال:

لو كنت متخذاً خليلا لاتخذته خليلا، ولكن أخوة الاسلام أفضل.

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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 *Rawḍah* (*ibid.*, III/i, 203; IV/i, 13). During the Prophet's last illness, the latter stayed in 'Â'ishah'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 Abû 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 'Alî 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.*, Abû Bakr.

Qutaybah related to us: 'Abd al-Wahhâb related to us, on the authority of Ayyûb, the same [as above].

3 Sulaymân ibn Ḥarb related to us: Ḥammâd ibn Zayd informed us, on the authority of Ayyûb, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn Abî Mulaykah, who said:

THE people of Kûfah 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, Abû Bakr,) assigned to him[2] the position of father.[3]

SECTION VI

1 Al-Ḥumaydî and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us, saying: Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Jubayr ibn Muṭ'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 Abû Bakr.[6]

2 Aḥmad ibn Abî Ṭayyib related to me: Ismâ'îl ibn Mujâlid related to us: Bayân ibn Bishr related to us, on the authority of Wabarah ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân, on the authority of Hammâm, who said:

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

حدثنا قتيبة: حدثنا عبد الوهاب عن أيوب مثله.

٣ حدثنا سليمان بن حرب: أخبرنا حماد بن زيد عن أيوب عن عبد الله بن أبي مليكة قال:

كتب أهل الكوفة الى ابن الزبير فى الجد فقال: أما الذى قال رسول الله ﷺ «لو كنت متخذاً من هذه الأمة خليلا لاتخذته» أنزله أباً (يعنى أبا بكر).

٦ باب

١ حدثنا الحميدى ومحمد بن عبد الله قالا: حدثنا ابراهيم بن سعد عن أبيه عن محمد بن جبير بن مطعم عن أبيه قال:

أتت امرأة النبى ﷺ فأمرها أن ترجع اليه؛ قالت: أرأيت ان جئت ولم أجدك؟ — كأنها تقول الموت. قال ﷺ: ان لم تجديني فأتى أبابكر.

٢ حدثنى أحمد بن أبي الطيب: حدثنا اسمعيل بن مجالد: حدثنا بيان بن بشر عن وبرة بن عبد الرحمن عن همام قال:

سمعت عماراً يقول: رأيت رسول الله ﷺ

1 *I.e.*, the position of a grandfather in matters of inheritance.

2 *Sc.*, the grandfather.

3 Abû Bakr, in cases where the father of the deceased died before the latter, assigned to the grandfather the same share 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 Abû Bakr would guide the Muslims. There are many allusions to this effect both in this work and in other compilations.

five slaves[1], two women[2], and Abû Bakr[3].

وما معه الا خمسة أعبد وامرأتان وأبو بكر.

3 Hishâm ibn 'Ammâr related to us: Ṣadaqah ibn Khâlid related to us: Zayd ibn Wâqid related to us, on the authority of Busr ibn 'Ubayd Allâh, on the authority of 'Â'idh Allâh abû Idrîs,

٣ حدثنا هشام بن عمار: حدثنا صدقة بن خالد: حدثنا زيد بن واقد عن بسر بن عبيد الله عن عائذ الله أبي ادريس

ON the authority of Abu'd-Dardâ', who said: I was sitting with the Prophet, and there came Abû Bakr, lifting the end of his garment,[4] so that his knees were visible; and the Prophet said: Your friend hath had a quarrel.—[Abû Bakr] greeted [him] and said:

عن أبي الدرداء (رض) قال: كنت جالساً عند النبي ﷺ اذ أقبل أبو بكر آخذاً بطرف ثوبه حتى أبدى عن ركبته، فقال النبي ﷺ: أما صاحبكم فقد غامر. — فسلم وقال: يا رسول الله!

1 The five slaves were (according to *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 15): (1) Bilâl the Abyssinian (for biographical note see sec. 26). (2) Zayd ibn Ḥârithah (see sec. 18). (3) 'Âmir ibn Fuhayrah. He was a slave of a Qurayshî, and was maltreated by his master owing to his adherence to the Prophet. Thereupon Abû Bakr bought him and immediately liberated him. When the Prophet and Abû Bakr left Mecca on their *hijrah* and hid themselves for three nights in the cave of Mt. Thawr, 'Âmir 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 Madînah and took part in the battle of Badr. He was killed in one of the later campaigns. (See *Istî'âb* II, 449; Ibn Sa'd III/i, 164 f; Ibn Hishâm I, 160, 195, 292.) (4) Abû Fukayhah or 'Ammâr ibn Yâsir (the narrator of this Tradition); it is uncertain which of the two it was. Abû Fukayhah was a slave of Ṣafwân ibn Umayyah ibn Khalaf, and suffered the same persecution as Bilâl and 'Âmir ibn Fuhayrah, and was also bought and freed by Abû Bakr (Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 91). As to 'Ammâr ibn Yâsir, see sec. 22 of this chapter. (5) Probably Ṣâliḥ ibn 'Adî, called Shuqrân. He was a slave of the Prophet, bought by the latter from 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf; he took part in the battle of Badr, whereupon the Prophet liberated him (*Istî'âb* II, 594; Ibn Sa'd III/i, 34).

2 The first of them was Khadîjah. 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 Khadîjah, 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 Ḥunayn. After her first husband's death she married Zayd ibn Ḥârithah, the Prophet's freedman, and bore him a son, the subsequently famous Companion, Usâmah ibn Zayd. The Prophet always regarded her as a member of his family. (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 162 f). As regards Sumayyah bint Khubbâṭ (or Khayyâṭ), she was a freed slave and the mother of 'Ammâr ibn Yâsir, the narrator of this Tradition. She was the first martyr of Islâm, having been killed in a heinous way by Abû Jahl for the sake of her convictions (*ibid.*, 193). Some commentators assume that the other woman (beside Khadîjah) was neither Umm Ayman nor Sumayyah, but the wife of al-'Abbâs (mother of al-Faḍl). Ibn Ḥajar, however, regards this as extremely improbable (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 16).

3 In reality, the first Muslim *man* was 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib, who embraced Islâm shortly after Khadîjah; the narrator, however, does not mention him because he was at that time a mere child. In any case, Abû 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-Khaṭṭâb, 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 Abû Bakr!

Thereafter, behold, 'Umar [also] regretted and went to Abû Bakr's house and asked: Is Abû Bakr here?—And they answered: Nay. —So he went to the Prophet and greeted him; but the Prophet's countenance changed so much that Abû 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", Abû 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, [Abû Bakr] was not molested again.

انه كان بيني وبين ابن الخطاب شيء فأسرعت اليه، ثم ندمت فسألته أن يغفر لي فأبى عليّ، فأقبلت اليك. — فقال: يغفر الله لك يا أبا بكر! — ثلاثاً.

ثم ان عمر ندم فأتى منزل أبي بكر فسأل: أثمّ أبو بكر؟ — فقالوا: لا. — فأتى الى النبي ﷺ فسلم عليه، فجعل وجه النبي ﷺ يتمعر حتى أشفق أبو بكر فجثا على ركبتيه فقال: يا رسول الله! والله أنا كنت أظلم! — مرتين. فقال النبي ﷺ: ان الله بعثني اليكم فقلتم كذبت، وقال أبو بكر صدق، وواساني بنفسه وماله. فهل أنتم تاركو الى صاحبي؟ — مرتين. فما أوذي بعدها.

4 Mu'allâ ibn Asad related to us: 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn al-Mukhtâr related to us, saying: Khâlid al-Ḥadhdhâ' related to us, on the authority of Abû 'Uthmân, who said:

'AMR IBN AL-'ÂṢ[2] related to me that the Prophet sent him in command of the army of Dhât as-Salâsil.[3] [He said:] And

٤ حدثنا معلى بن أسد: حدثنا عبدالعزيز بن المختار قال: خالد الحذاء حدثنا عن أبي عثمان قال:

حدثني عمرو بن العاص (رض) أن النبي ﷺ بعثه على جيش ذات السلاسل. فأتيته فقلت:

1 The perfect diction of the Prophet, which often implied much in a few words, is beautifully illustrated in his saying, "Abû Bakr said, He speaketh truth". The use of the third person in Abû 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-'Âṣ ibn Wâ'il belonged to a prominent clan of Quraysh. He embraced Islâm in 8 A.H., about six months before the conquest of Mecca, and came together with Khâlid ibn al-Walîd to Madînah. Shortly afterwards, the Prophet appointed him commander in the campaign of Dhât as-Salâsil, and later made him governor of 'Umân; in this office 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ remained until after the Prophet's death. Under 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb he was governor of Palestine and Transjordan. When Mu'âwiyah was invested with the governorship of the whole of Syria, 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ 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 'Uthmân four years after 'Umar's death; this was the cause of 'Amr's grudge against 'Uthmân. He later settled in Palestine. After 'Uthmân's death he wholeheartedly supported Mu'âwiyah and took part on his side in the battle of Siffîn (37 A.H.). Subsequently, Mu'âwiyah appointed 'Amr governor of Egypt, where he died in 43 A.H. (*Isti'âb* II, 434 ff; *Iṣâbah* V, 2 f.)

3 The campaign of Dhât as-Salâsil 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: 'Â'ishah.—Then I said: [But] of the men?—He said: Her father.—And I said: And who next?—He answered: Next, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb.—Then he enumerated some [other] men.[1]

أى الناس أحب اليك ؟ — قال: عائشة. — فقلت: من الرجال؟ — فقال: أبوها. — فقلت: ثم من؟ — قال: ثم عمر بن الخطاب. — فعد رجالا.

5 Abu'l-Yamân related to us: Shu'ayb informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, who said: Abû Salamah ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf informed me that Abû Hurayrah said:

٥ حدثنا أبو اليمان: أخبرنا شعيب عن الزهرى قال: أخبرنى أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن بن عوف أن أبا هريرة (رض) قال:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say[2]: 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 Prey[3]—on the day when it will have no herdsman but me?

And whilst a man was driving an ox[4] 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] Abû Bakr and 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb.[7]

سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: بينما راع فى غنمه عدا عليه الذئب فأخذ منها شاة، فطلبه الراعى. فالتفت اليه الذئب فقال: من لها يوم السَّبُع — يوم ليس لها راع غيرى ؟

وبينا رجل يسوق بقرة قد حمل عليها فالتفتت اليه فكلمته فقالت: انى لم أخلق لهذا، ولكنى خلقت للحرث.

قال الناس: سبحان الله ! — فقال النبى ﷺ: فانى أومن بذلك وأبو بكر وعمر بن الخطاب.

1 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ 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 lii/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 *baqarah* 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 xlviii/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

٦ حدثنا عبدان : أخبرنا عبد الله عن يونس عن الزهرى قال : أخبرنى ابن المسيب سمع أبا هريرة (رض) قال :

6 'Abdân related to us: 'Abd Allâh informed us, on the authority of Yûnus, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, who said: Ibn al-Musayyab informed me that he heard Abû Hurayrah say:

سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول : بينا أنا نائم رأيتنى على قليب عليها دلو، فنزعت منها ماشاء الله؛ ثم أخذها ابن أبى قحافة فنزع منها ذنوباً أو ذنوبين وفى نزعه ضعف، والله يغفر له ضعفه. ثم استحالت غرباً فأخذها ابن الخطاب، فلم أر عبقرياً من الناس ينزع نزع عمر — حتى ضرب الناس بعَطَن.

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 Quḥâfah[1] took it and drew a bucketful or two of water, and there was some weakness in his drawing[2]; and God will forgive him his weakness. Thereafter it changed into a huge bucket[3], and Ibn al-Khaṭṭâb took it: and I never saw the strongest man[4] draw as 'Umar drew—until the people's camels satisfied their thirst and then abode at rest.[5]

٧ حدثنا محمد بن مقاتل : أخبرنا عبد الله : أخبرنا موسى بن عقبة عن سالم بن عبد الله عن

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

to them, and now he indicated that even people of the discernment of those two accepted the prediction without doubting it.

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 *'abqarî* 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 *'aṭan*, which occurs in the Arabic text, denotes the abiding-place of camels around, or near, the water; and the sentence ضرب الناس بعطن 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 rôles of the three personalities with regard to Islâm. 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 Islâm grew in size: this is expressed by the words, "he drew a bucketful or two of water", contrasted with the *dalw* (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 Sâlim ibn 'Abd Allâh, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh 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 Abû 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 doest it not [purposely] out of vanity.

Mûsâ said: Then I said to Sâlim[2]: Did 'Abd Allâh mention "one who traileth his loincloth"?—He said: I did not hear him mention anything but "his garment".[3]

8 Abu'l-Yamân related to us: Shu'ayb related to us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, who said: Ḥumayd ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf informed me that Abû Hurayrah said:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say: Whoso spendeth aught[4] 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[5] 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[6].

Thereupon Abû 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,

عبدالله بن عمر قال :

قال رسول الله ﷺ: من جر ثوبه خيلاء لم ينظر الله اليه يوم القيامة. — فقال أبو بكر: ان أحد شقي ثوبي يسترخي الا أن أتعاهد ذلك منه. — فقال رسول الله ﷺ: انك لست تصنع ذلك خيلاء.

قال موسى: فقلت لسالم: أذكر عبد الله «من جر ازاره»؟ — قال: لم أسمعه ذكر الا «ثوبه».

٨ حدثنا أبو اليمان : حدثنا شعيب عن الزهري قال : أخبرني حميد بن عبد الرحمن بن عوف أن أباهريرة قال :

سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول : من أنفق زوجين من شيء من الأشياء في سبيل الله دُعِيَ من أبواب

— يعني الجنة — :

يا عبدالله! هذا خير! فمن كان من أهل الصلاة دعي من باب الصلاة، ومن كان من أهل الجهاد دعي من باب الجهاد، ومن كان من أهل الصدقة دعي من باب الصدقة، ومن كان من أهل الصيام دعي من باب الصيام وباب الريان.

فقال أبو بكر: ما على هذا الذي يدعى من تلك الأبواب من ضرورة. — وقال: هل يدعى منها

1 For an explanation of the (conditional) prohibition of wearing a garment reaching below the ankles, see Bkh lxv/2.

2 Both Mûsâ and Sâlim are among the transmitters of the above Tradition (cf. *isnâd*).

3 Mûsâ had obviously other variants of the same Tradition in view, which mention the word *izâr* (loincloth) in this connection.

4 Lit., "a pair of things".

5 Lit., "whoso was of the people of prayer" *(ahl aṣ-ṣalâh)*. This as well as the subsequently mentioned terms, *viz.*, *ahl al-jihâd*, *ahl aṣ-ṣadaqah*, and *ahl aṣ-ṣiyâm*, 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 Abû Bakr.

كلها أحد يا رسول الله ؟ — قال : نعم، وأرجو أن تكون منهم يا أبابكر.

9 Ismâ'îl ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us: Sulaymân ibn Bilâl related to us, on the authority of Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr, on the authority of 'Â'ishah, the Prophet's wife:

٩ حدثنا اسمعيل بن عبد الله: حدثنا سليمان بن بلال عن هشام بن عروة عن عروة بن الزبير عن عائشة (رض) زوج النبي ﷺ

THE Prophet died whilst Abû Bakr was at aṣ-Ṣunḥ[1]

أن رسول الله ﷺ مات وأبو بكر بالسنح

—Ismâ'îl said: To wit, at al-'Âliyah[2].

— قال اسمعيل: يعني بالعالية.

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

فقام عمر يقول : والله ماميات رسول الله ﷺ !

['Â'ishah] said:

قالت :

And 'Umar said: By God! My mind would accept naught but this[3]! And surely God will raise him to life [again], and he will cut off the hands and feet of men[4]!—Thereupon Abû 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![5]—Then he went out and said [to 'Umar]: O thou swearing one, calm thyself.—And when Abû Bakr had thus spoken, 'Umar sat down. Then Abû Bakr praised God and extolled Him, and said: Behold, whoso worshippeth Muḥammad [may know that] Muḥammad hath died; and

وقال عمر: والله ! ما كان يقع فى نفسى الا ذاك! وليبعثنه الله فليقطعن أيدى رجال وأرجلهم ! — فجاء أبوبكر فكشف عن رسول الله ﷺ فقبله فقال: بأبى أنت وأمى! طبت حياً وميتاً. والله الذى نفسى بيده لا يذيقك الله الموتتين أبداً. — ثم خرج فقال: أيها الحالف! على رسلك. — فلما تكلم أبوبكر جلس عمر. فحمد الله أبوبكر وأثنى عليه وقال : ألامن كان يعبد محمداً فان محمداً قد مات،

1 A settlement of the clan Banû Ḥârith, of Khazraj, at al-'Awâli (so called because it is the highest ground in the immediate vicinity of Madînah); its distance from the centre of Madînah—the Prophet's Mosque—is a little more than a mile. Abû Bakr was married to a woman of Banû Ḥârith, and lived there for some time ('Aynî XVI, 185; *Fatḥ al-Bârî* III, 89).

2 Sing. of al-'Awâlî (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 'Â'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 Abû Bakr at once understood that Muṣṭafâ 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: *Muḥammad 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[4] said:

And the people sobbed and wept.

He said:

And the *Anṣâr* assembled around Sa'd ibn 'Ubâdah[5] in the roofed street of Banû Sâ'idah[6] and said[7]: There shall be a chief from among us and a chief from among you.[8]—Then there went to them Abû Bakr, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb and Abû 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrâḥ.[9] And 'Umar began to speak, but Abû Bakr bade him to be silent. (And [later]

ومن كان يعبد الله فان الله حى لايموت. وقال: «انك ميت وانهم ميتون.» وقال: «وما محمد الا رسول، قدخلت من قبله الرسل. أفان مات أوقتل انقلبتم على أعقابكم؟ ومن ينقلب على عقبيه فلن يضر الله شيأ، وسيجزى الله الشاكرين.»

قال:

فنشج الناس يبكون.

قال:

واجتمعت الأنصار الى سعد بن عبادة فى سقيفة بنى ساعدة فقالوا: منا أمير ومنكم أمير.— فذهب اليهم أبو بكر وعمر بن الخطاب وأبو عبيدة بن الجراح، فذهب عمر يتكلم فأسكته أبو بكر. (وكان

1 With these magnificent words, in face of the calamity which had befallen them, Abû 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 Muḥammad" does not imply actual worship, because this was out of question among Muslims. Abû 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'ân xxxix, 30.

3 *Ibid.*, iii, 144.

4 *Sc.*, one of the transmitters, probably 'Urwah.

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

6 A *saqîfah* 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 *saqîfah* mentioned here was the one in which the clan of Banû Sâ'idah, of Khazraj, used to hold their councils ('Aynî XVI, 185).

7 *Sc.*, to the *Muhâjirs* (see subsequent note).

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

9 When the Prophet expired, some of the most prominent Companions, as 'Alî, Ṭalḥah and az-Zubayr, went to Fâṭimah's house, while Abû Bakr and 'Umar, with other *Muhâjirs* and Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr—one of the leaders of the Aws tribe—proceeded to the quarter of Banû 'Abd al-Ashhal, of Aws, because rumours were afloat that some sections of the *Anṣâr* were contemplating to have the Caliphate vested in one of their own leaders; and Abû Bakr wished to discuss

'Umar would say: By God, I did not mean to do it[1] but for the reason that I had already prepared a speech which pleased me, and I feared that Abû Bakr would not attain to the same eloquence.) Thereafter Abû Bakr spake: and he spake more eloquently than anyone else. And he said in his speech: We[2] shall be the chiefs and ye[3] the councillors.—Thereupon Ḥubâb ibn al-Mundhir[4] said: Nay, by God! we shall not do so! There shall be a chief from among us and a chief from among you!—But Abû Bakr said: Nay, but we shall be the chiefs and ye the councillors.[5] They[6] 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-Khaṭṭâb or to Abû 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrâḥ. —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.[7]—And

عمر يقول: والله ما أردت بذلك الا أنى قد هيأت كلاماً قد أعجبنى خشيت أن لا يبلغه أبوبكر.) ثم تكلم أبوبكر فتكلم أبلغ الناس فقال فى كلامه: نحن الأمراء وأنتم الوزراء. — فقال حباب بن المنذر: لا والله! لا نفعل! منا أمير ومنكم أمير! — فقال أبوبكر: لا، ولكنا الأمراء وأنتم الوزراء؛ هم أوسط العرب داراً وأعربهم أحساباً. فبايعوا عمر بن الخطاب أوأبا عبيدة بن الجراح. — فقال عمر: بل نبايعك أنت، فأنت سيدنا وخيرنا وأحبنا الى رسول الله ﷺ.

فأخذ عمر بيده فبايعه وبايعه الناس. فقال

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 *saqîfah* of Banû Sâ'idah and were proposing the election of Sa'd ibn 'Ubâdah to the Caliphate. Abû 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 *saqîfah* in order to prevent it. (Cf. Ibn Hishâm II, 427, 429.) They were supported by the tribe of Aws, who were afraid lest their old-time rivals, the Khazraj, should gain supremacy (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* 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 *saqîfah*.

2 *I.e.*, the Quraysh.

3 *I.e.*, the *Anṣâr*.

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 Abû 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 *Anṣâr;* and as he could not—for the sake of Muslim unity—concede the claim of Khazraj to a division of power between the *Anṣâr* and the *Muhâjirs*, he proposed that one of the Quraysh should be elected as Caliph, while the *Anṣâr* would take part in the administration as councillors.

6 *I.e.*, the Quraysh.

7 From a Tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs (quoted in *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 23) we learn that after Abû Bakr's speech there was an uproar among the Khazraj. In order to cut short the

someone said: ye have killed Sa'd ibn 'Ubâdah![1]—Thereupon 'Umar said: God hath killed him.[2]

قائل: قتلتم سعد بن عبادة! — فقال عمر: قتله الله.

10 *T* And 'Abd Allâh ibn Sâlim said, on the authority of az-Zubaydî: 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn al-Qâsim said: My father, al-Qâsim, informed me that 'Â'ishah said:

١٠ وقال عبد الله بن سالم عن الزبيدى: قال عبد الرحمن بن القاسم: أخبرنى أبى القاسم أن عائشة (رض) قالت:

THE Prophet raised his eyes and said three times: In the highest company . . .[3]

شخص بصر النبى ﷺ ثم قال: فى الرفيق الأعلى . . . — ثلاثاً.

And [al-Qâsim] narrated the [above] Tradition.[4]

وقص الحديث.

[Concluding,] 'Â'ishah said:

قالت عائشة:

And with everything that was in the speeches of these two[5] God benefited [the Muslims]. 'Umar indeed terrified the people who were possessed of hypocrisy; and thus God led them back [to the fold].[6] Thereupon Abû Bakr shewed the people the right way and taught them the duty imposed upon them[7]; and they went away reciting [the

فما كانت من خطبتهما من خطبة الا نفع الله بها. لقد خوّف عمر الناس و إن فيهم لنفاقاً، فردهم الله بذلك. ثم لقد بصّر أبو بكر الناس الهدى وعرفهم الحق الذى عليهم. وخرجوا به يتلون

discussions, 'Umar quickly swore allegiance to Abû Bakr. He was followed by the *Muhâjîrs* present, as well as by the chiefs of Aws under the leadership of Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr (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 *saqîfah* of Banû Sâ'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 Abû Bakr; and this was done. 'Alî, however, refused to acknowledge Abû Bakr until six months later (cf. Bkh lii/40, No. 41; Muslim, *K. al-Jihâd, B. Ḥukm al-Fay'*). 'Alî's reluctance was probably due to Fâṭimah's displeasure with Abû 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).

1 *I.e.*, "you have mortally offended him", because he was the candidate for the Caliphate put forward by the Khazraj.

2 *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 Abû Bakr's election took place, and departed to Ḥawrân in Syria, never to return (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 144 f).

3 These were the last words of Muṣṭafâ before he expired (cf. Bkh lii/85, No. 8); they refer to the company of the Prophets and the righteous in Paradise.

4 *I.e.*, the story of the Prophet's death, 'Umar's subsequent behaviour, and Abû Bakr's sermon to the mournful Muslims; this version does not contain the story of the *saqîfah* (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 24).

5 *I.e.*, Abû Bakr and 'Umar.

6 There were at Madînah certain hypocrites who would have gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of the Prophet's death to break up the perturbed community; but they were cowed by 'Umar's violent attitude, dictated by his deep attachment to the Prophet, and were forced into silence. The subsequent speech of Abû Bakr deeply impressed the Muslims and helped them to regain their mental balance, and the hypocrites were debarred from making mischief.

7 *I.e.*, the duty of upholding Islâm and its unity even after the death of its Founder.

verse]: *Muḥammad is but an Apostle; all Apostles have passed before him* ... to [the words]: ... *the thankful.*'

«وما محمد الا رسول، قدخلت من قبله الرسل...» الى «...الشاكرين».

11 Muḥammad ibn Kathîr related to us: Sufyân informed us: Jâmi' ibn Abî Râshid related to us: Abû Ya'lâ related to us,

١١ حدثنا محمد بن كثير: أخبرنا سفيان: حدثنا جامع بن أبي راشد: حدثنا أبو يعلى

ON the authority of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah[2], who said: I said to my father: Which of the people is the best after the Apostle of God?—He said: Abû Bakr.—I said: And who next?—He said: Next, 'Umar.—And I feared he would say "'Uthmân", [so] I said: And next, thou?—He said: I am but one of the Muslims.[3]

عن محمد بن الحنفية قال: قلت لأبي أي الناس خير بعد رسول الله ﷺ؟ — قال: أبوبكر. — قلت: ثم من؟ — قال: ثم عمر. — وخشيت أن يقول «عثمان» قلت: ثم أنت؟ — قال: ما أنا الا رجل من المسلمين.

12 Qutaybah ibn Sa'îd related to us, on the authority of Mâlik, on the authority of 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn al-Qâsim, on the authority of his father,

١٢ حدثنا قتيبة بن سعيد عن مالك عن عبد الرحمن ابن القاسم عن أبيه

ON the authority of 'Â'ishah; she said[4]: We departed with the Apostle of God on one of his journeys, and when we were at al-Baydâ' or Dhât 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 Abû Bakr and said: Dost thou not see what 'Â'ishah hath done? She hath made the Apostle of God halt, and the people with him; and they are nowhere near water, and have no water with them.—Thereupon Abû 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.—['Â'ishah] said: Then he rebuked me and said whatever God willed him to say,

عن عائشة (رض) أنها قالت: خرجنا مع رسول الله ﷺ في بعض أسفاره حتى اذا كنا بالبيداء أو بذات الجيش انقطع عقد لي، فأقام رسول الله ﷺ على التماسه وأقام الناس معه، وليسوا على ماء وليس معهم ماء. فأتى الناس أبابكر فقالوا: ألا ترى ما صنعت عائشة؟ أقامت برسول الله ﷺ وبالناس معه، وليسوا على ماء وليس معهم ماء. — فجاء أبوبكر ورسول الله ﷺ واضع رأسه على فخذي قد نام، فقال: حبست رسول الله والناس وليسوا على ماء. — قالت: فعاتبني وقال ماشاء الله أن يقول وجعل يطعنني

1 Qur'ân iii, 144.

2 He was a son of 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib and of al-Ḥanafiyyah Khawlah bint Ja'far. During most of his life he was an active opponent of Banû Umayyah. Died in 81 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd V, 66 ff). According to a report quoted in *Tadhkirah* 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-Khaṭṭâb.

3 It appears that this conversation took place during the civil wars between 'Alî and Mu'âwiyah.

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[1]. Then God revealed the verse about the ablution with dust[2], and they performed this ablution. And Usayd ibn al-Ḥuḍayr[3] said: This is not the first blessing ye have caused, O family of Abû Bakr! —[Continuing,] 'Â'ishah said: Thereupon we made the camel I had been upon rise, and found the necklace under it.

بيده فى خاصرتى، فلا يمنعنى من التحرك الا مكان رسول الله ﷺ على فخذى. فنام رسول الله ﷺ حتى أصبح على غير ماء. فأنزل الله آية التيمم فتيمموا. فقال أسيد بن الحضير: ما هى بأول بركتكم يا آل أبى بكر! — فقالت عائشة: فبعثنا البعير الذى كنت عليه فوجدنا العقد تحته.

13 Âdam ibn Abî Iyâs related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of al-A'mash, who said: I heard Dhakwân relate, on the authority of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî, who said:

١٣ حدثنا آدم بن أبى اياس: حدثنا شعبة عن الأعمش قال: سمعت ذكوان يحدث عن أبى سعيد الخدرى قال:

THE Prophet said: Abuse not my companions! For, if any of you were to spend[4] as much gold as Mount Uḥud, he would not attain to [the merit of] a *mudd*[5] of theirs, or even half of it.

Jarîr, Abd Allâh ibn Dâ'ûd, Abû Mu'âwiyah and Muḥâḍir corroborated him[6], on the authority of al-A'mash.

قال النبى ﷺ: لا تسبوا أصحابى! فلو أن أحدكم أنفق مثل أحد ذهباً ما بلغ مد أحدهم ولا نصيفه.

تابعه جرير وعبد الله بن داؤد وأبو معاوية ومحاضر عن الأعمش.

14 Muḥammad ibn Miskîn abu'l-Ḥasan related to us: Yaḥyâ ibn Ḥassân related to us: Sulaymân related to us, on the authority of Sharik ibn Abî Namir, on the authority of Sa'îd ibn al-Musayyab, who said:

١٤ حدثنا محمد بن مسكين أبو الحسن: حدثنا يحيى ابن حسان: حدثنا سليمان عن شريك بن أبى نمر عن سعيد بن المسيب قال:

ABÛ MÛSÂ AL-ASH'ARÎ[7] 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'îd 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, Abû Mûsâ said:] So I followed in his foot-steps until

أخبرنى أبو موسى الأشعرى أنه توضأ فى بيته ثم خرج، فقلت: لألزمن رسول الله ﷺ ولأكونن معه يومى هذا.

قال:

فجاء المسجد فسأل عن النبى ﷺ فقالوا: خرج ووجه ههنا. — فخرجت على اثره أسأل عنه

1 —wherewith to perform ablutions.

2 The Qur'ân 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 Madînah) was a quarter of a *ṣâ'*; and a *ṣâ'* is 5⅓ pints.—The wider implications of this Tradition are discussed in the Introductory Note to this chapter.

6 Reference to the transmitter Shu'bah (see *isnâd*).

7 For biographical note, see sec. 30, No. 4.

[I found that] he had entered Bi'r Arîs[1]. And I sat down at the gate—and the gate was of palm-branches—until the Apostle of God had eased nature[2] and performed his ablution. Then I went unto him: and lo, he was sitting at the well Arîs 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 I shall be the Prophet's door-keeper.—Thereafter Abû Bakr came and pushed the gate; and I asked: Who is it?—He answered: Abû Bakr.—And I said: Wait a while.—Then I went [to the Prophet] and said: O Apostle of God! Abû Bakr is here; he 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 Abû Bakr: Enter, and the Apostle of God announceth to thee [that thou wilt gain] Paradise.—And Abû 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[3] [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[4]—,

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

حتى دخل بئر أريس؛ فجلست عند الباب — وبابها من جريد — حتى قضى رسول الله ﷺ حاجته فتوضأ. فقمت اليه فاذا هو جالس على بئر أريس وتوسط قفها وكشف عن ساقيه ودلاهما فى البئر. فسلمت عليه ثم انصرفت فجلست عندالباب فقلت: لأكونن بواب رسول الله ﷺ اليوم. — فجاء أبوبكر فدفع الباب فقلت: من هذا؟ — فقال: أبوبكر. — فقلت: على رسلك. — ثم ذهبت فقلت: يا رسول الله! هذا أبوبكر يستأذن. — فقال: ائذن له وبشره بالجنة. — فأقبلت حتى قلت لأبى بكر: ادخل ورسول الله ﷺ يبشرك بالجنة. — فدخل أبوبكر فجلس عن يمين رسول الله ﷺ معه فى القف ودلى رجليه فى البئر كما صنع النبى ﷺ وكشف عن ساقيه. ثم رجعت فجلست. وقد تركت أخى يتوضأ ويلحقنى، فقلت: ان يرد الله بفلان خيراً

— يريد أخاه —

يأت به. — فاذا انسان يحرك الباب فقلت: من هذا؟ — فقال: عمر بن الخطاب. — فقلت: على رسلك. — ثم جئت الى رسول الله ﷺ فسلمت عليه فقلت: هذا عمر بن الخطاب يستأذن. — فقال:

1 A garden (and a well of the same name) in Qubâ', in the immediate vicinity of Madînah. Once 'Uthmân let the Prophet's ring—which he, like Abû 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-Khâtim* ("the Well of the Ring").

2 The Prophet used to go for this purpose as far away from Madînah as possible (cf. Abû Dâ'ûd, *K. aṭ-Ṭahârah*, No. 1; Nasâ'î, *K. aṭ-Ṭahârah;* etc.).

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

4 Explanatory remark by the transmitter Ibn al-Musayyab. The incident narrated above led Abû Mûsâ 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 brim [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 willeth good for such-and-such, He will bring him here.—And someone came and moved the gate, and I asked: Who is it?—He answered: '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 brim already occupied[1]; so he sat down facing him[2] from the opposite side.

ائذن له وبشره بالجنة. — فجئت فقلت له: ادخل وبشرك رسول الله ﷺ بالجنة. — فدخل فجلس مع رسول الله ﷺ فى القف عن يساره ودلى رجليه فى البئر. ثم رجعت فجلست فقلت: ان يرد الله بفلان خيراً يأت به. — فجاء انسان يحرك الباب فقلت: من هذا؟ — فقال: عثمان بن عفان. — فقلت: على رسلك. — فجئت الى رسول الله ﷺ فأخبرته فقال: ائذن له وبشره بالجنة على بلوى تصيبه. — فجئته فقلت له: ادخل وبشرك رسول الله ﷺ بالجنة على بلوى تصيبك. — فدخل فوجد القف قد مُلِىء، فجلس وجاهه من الشق الآخر.

Sharîk said: Sa'îd ibn al-Musayyab said: And I interpreted this as [the position of] their graves.[3]

قال شريك: قال سعيد بن المسيب: فأولتها قبورهم.

15 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to me: Yaḥyâ related to us, on the authority of Sa'îd, on the authority of Qatâdah, that Anas ibn Mâlik related to them:

١٥ حدثنى محمد بن بشار: حدثنا يحيى عن سعيد عن قتادة أن أنس بن مالك (رض) حدثهم

THE Prophet ascended Mount Uḥud with Abû Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmân, and it trembled beneath them. And he said: Be steady, Uḥud! For, behold, upon thee there are but a prophet, a man of truth[4], and two martyrs.[5]

أن النبى ﷺ صعد أحداً وأبوبكر وعمر وعثمان، فرجف بهم. فقال: اثبت أحد! فانما عليك نبى وصديق وشهيدان.

16 Aḥmad ibn Sa'îd abû 'Abd Allâh related to

١٦ حدثنا أحمد بن سعيد أبو عبد الله: حدثنا

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 'Â'ishah'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 Câliphate and died at the age of seventy-two or eighty-four (Ibn Sa'd V, 88): thus, 'Uthmân's death occurred when he was almost a boy.

4 *Ṣiddîq* ("the Truthful"), the epiteth of Abû Bakr.

5 'Umar and 'Uthmân are regarded as martyrs because they were murdered.

us: Wahb ibn Jarîr related to us: Ṣakhr related to us, on the authority of Nâfi', that 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar said:

THE Apostle of God said[1]: Whilst I was at a well, drawing [water] from it, there came to me Abû Bakr and 'Umar. And Abû 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-Khaṭṭâb took it from the hand of Abû 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-'aṭan*[2] is the resting-place of camels.

[*The narrator*] *saith: Until the camels drank their fill and then lay down.*[3]

وهب بن جرير: حدثنا صخر عن نافع أن عبد الله ابن عمر (رض) قال:

قال رسول الله ﷺ: بينما أنا على بئر أنزع منها جاءنى أبوبكر وعمر. فأخذ أبوبكر الدلو فنزع ذنوباً أو ذنوبين وفى نزعه ضعف، والله يغفر له. ثم أخذها ابن الخطاب من يد أبى بكر فاستحالت فى يده غرباً، فلم أرعبقرياً من الناس يفرى فريه، فنزع حتى ضرب الناس بعطن.

قال وهب: العطن مبرك الابل.

يقول: حتى رويت الابل فأناخت.

17 Al-Walîd ibn Ṣâliḥ related to us: 'Îsâ ibn Yûnus related to us: 'Umar ibn Sa'îd ibn Abî'l-Ḥusayn al-Makki related to us, on the authority of Ibn Abî Mulaykah,

ON the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, who said: Behold, I was standing among the people who were praying for 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb after he had been laid on his bed.[4] 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[5], for often have I heard the Apostle of God say, "I was with Abû Bakr and 'Umar", "I did [such-and-such thing] with Abû Bakr and 'Umar", "I went with Abû Bakr and 'Umar"; and therefore indeed I hoped that God would place thee beside them.—Thereupon I turned round and lo, it was 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib.

١٧ حدثنا الوليد بن صالح: حدثنا عيسى بن يونس: حدثنا عمر بن سعيد بن أبى الحسين المكى عن ابن أبى مليكة

عن ابن عباس قال: إنى لواقف فى قوم فدعوا الله لعمر بن الخطاب وقد وضع على سريره، اذا رجل من خلفى قد وضع مرفقه على منكبى يقول: رحمك الله! إن كنت لأرجو أن يجعلك الله مع صاحبيك لأنى كثيراً مما كنت أسمع رسول الله ﷺ يقول «كنت وأبوبكر وعمر» و «فعلت وأبو بكر وعمر» و«انطلقت وأبوبكر وعمر»، فان كنت لأرجو أن يجعلك الله معهما. — فالتفت: فاذا هو على بن أبى طالب.

18 Muḥammad ibn Yazîd al-Kûfî related to us: Al-Walîd related to us, on the authority of

١٨ حدثنا محمد بن يزيد الكوفى: حدثنا الوليد عن

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 ضرب الناس بعطن.
4 —after his death.
5 *I.e.*, the Prophet and Abû Bakr; an allusion to 'Umar's burial in the *ḥujrah* of the Prophet.

al-Awzâ'î, on the authority of Yaḥyâ ibn Abî Kathîr, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Ibrâhîm, on the authority of 'Urwah 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'ayṭ[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]

الأوزاعى عن يحيى بن أبى كثير عن محمد ابن ابراهيم عن عروة بن الزبير قال:

سألت عبد الله بن عمرو عن أشد ماصنع المشركون برسول الله ﷺ. قال: رأيت عقبة بن أبى معيط جاء الى النبى ﷺ وهو يصلى فوضع رداءه فى عنقه فخنقه به خنقاً شديداً. فجاء أبو بكر حتى دفعه عنه فقال: «أتقتلون رجلاً أن يقول ربى الله — وقد جاءكم بالبينات من ربكم؟»

SECTION VII

THE VIRTUES OF 'UMAR IBN AL-KHAṬṬÂB ABÛ ḤAFṢ AL-QURASHÎ AL-'ADAWÎ

٧ باب

مناقب عمر بن الخطاب أبى حفص القرشى العدوى (رض)

1 Ḥajjâj ibn Minhâl related to us: 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn al-Mâjishûn related to us: Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir 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-Rumaysâ', the wife of Abû Ṭalḥah.[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:

١ حدثنا حجاج بن منهال: حدثنا عبد العزيز بن الماجشون: حدثنا محمد بن المنكدر عن جابر ابن عبد الله (رض) قال:

قال النبى ﷺ: رأيتنى دخلت الجنة فاذا أنا بالرميصاء امرأة أبى طلحة. وسمعت خشفة فقلت: من هذا؟ — فقال: هذا بلال. — ورأيت قصراً بفنائه جارية فقلت: لمن هذا؟ — فقال:

1 *Sc.*, before his emigration to Madînah.

2 He was one of the most implacable enemies of the Prophet. For details about him see Bkh li/5, No. 5.

3 Qur'ân 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-Naḍr, 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 Ṭalḥah 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 Ḥunayn, 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.)

'Umar's.—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?

لعمر. — فأردت أن أدخله فأنظر اليه، فذكرت غيرتك. — فقال عمر: بأبي وأمي يارسول الله! أعليك أغار؟

2 Sa'îd ibn Abî Maryam related to us: Al-Layth informed us, saying: 'Uqayl related to me, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, who said: Sa'îd ibn al-Musayyab informed me that Abû Hurayrah said:

٢ حدثنا سعيد بن أبي مريم: أخبرنا الليث قال: حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب قال: أخبرني سعيد ابن المسيب أن أبا هريرة (رض) قال:

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?

بينا نحن عند رسول الله ﷺ اذ قال: بينا أنا نائم رأيتني في الجنة فاذا امرأة تتوضأ الى جانب قصر؛ فقلت: لمن هذا القصر؟ — فقالوا: لعمر. — فذكرت غيرته فوليت مدبراً. — فبكى عمر وقال: أعليك أغار يا رسول الله؟

3 Muḥammad ibn aṣ-Ṣalt abû Ja'far al-Kûfî related to me: Ibn al-Mubârak related to us, on the authority of Yûnus, on the authority of az-Zuhrî: Ḥamzah informed me, on the authority of his father ['Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar]:

٣ حدثني محمد بن الصلت أبو جعفر الكوفي: حدثنا ابن المبارك عن يونس عن الزهري: أخبرني حمزة عن أبيه

THE Apostle of God said: Whilst asleep, [I dreamed that] I drank milk until I saw the liquid run over my finger-nail[1]

—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[2].

أن رسول الله ﷺ قال: بينا أنا نائم شربت — يعني اللبن — حتى أنظر الى الري يجري في ظفري

— أو: في أظفاري —.

ثم ناولت عمر. — قالوا: فما أولته يا رسول الله؟ — قال: العلم.

4 Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Numayr related to us: Muḥammad ibn Bishr related to us: 'Ubayd Allâh related to us, saying: Abû Bakr ibn Sâlim related to me, on the authority of Sâlim, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar:

٤ حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله بن نمير: حدثنا محمد بن بشر: حدثنا عبيد الله قال: حدثني أبوبكر بن سالم عن سالم عن عبد الله بن عمر (رض)

1 This little observation shows how vivid the dream was.

2 Ibn Ḥajar says (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* 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[1]: I saw myself in dream drawing water from a well with a leathern bucket on a wooden pulley. Then Abû Bakr came and drew a bucketful or two, drawing weakly; and God will forgive him. Thereupon came 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb 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.

أن النبي ﷺ قال: أريت في المنام أني أنزع بدلو بكرة على قليب. فجاء أبو بكر فنزع ذنوباً أو ذنوبين نزعاً ضعيفاً، والله يغفر له. ثم جاء عمر بن الخطاب فاستحالت غرباً: فلم أر عبقرياً يفري فريه — حتى روى الناس وضربوا بعطن.

Ibn Jubayr said: *Al-'abqarî*[2] are, [for example,] the most excellent *zarâbî*.[3]—And Yaḥyâ said: *Az-zarâbî* are carpets with a fine, abundant fringe.

قال ابن جبير: العبقري عتاق الزرابي. — وقال يحيى: الزرابي الطنافس لها خمل رقيق مبثوثة.

5 'Alî ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us: Ya'qûb ibn Ibrâhîm related to us, saying: My father related to me, on the authority of Ṣâliḥ, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb: 'Abd al-Ḥamîd informed me that Muḥammad ibn Sa'd informed him that his father said:[4]—

٥ حدثنا علي بن عبد الله: حدثنا يعقوب بن ابراهيم قال: حدثني أبي عن صالح عن ابن شهاب: أخبرني عبد الحميد أن محمد بن سعد أخبره أن أباه قال: —

'Abd al-'Azîz ibn 'Abd Allâh related to me: Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of Ṣâliḥ, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, on the authority of 'Abd al-Ḥamîd ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Zayd, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Sa'd ibn Abî Waqqâṣ, on the authority of his father, who said:

حدثني عبد العزيز بن عبد الله: حدثنا ابراهيم بن سعد عن صالح عن ابن شهاب عن عبد الحميد ابن عبد الرحمن بن زيد عن محمد بن سعد بن أبي وقاص عن أبيه قال:

'UMAR ibn al-Khaṭṭâb 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-Khaṭṭâb 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

استأذن عمر بن الخطاب على رسول الله ﷺ وعنده نسوة من قريش يكلمنه ويستكثرنه عالية أصواتهن على صوته. فلما استأذن عمر بن الخطاب قمن فبادرن الحجاب. فأذن له رسول الله ﷺ فدخل عمر و رسول الله ﷺ يضحك.

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 *'abqarî* denotes anything admirable on account of its skilful construction or strength. The author quotes here these words of the *tâbi'î* Ibn Jubayr in order to illustrate the meaning of *'abqarî*. *Zarâbî* were highly admired carpets of fine workmanship, of the fabric of al-Ḥîrah (cf. Lane III, 1224).—In some texts, *e.g.*, that of Abû Dharr (cf. *Ṣaḥîḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamîd, vol. V, 10), the name of the explanator is not Ibn Jubayr but Ibn Numayr; according to al-Kirmânî (cf. 'Aynî XVI, 194), this is more probable, because Ibn Numayr, one of the *shaykhs* of al-Bukhârî, is among the transmitters of this Tradition.

4 The author has two independent *isnâds* 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-Khaṭṭâb! 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!

فقال عمر: أضحك الله سنك يا رسول الله! — فقال النبي ﷺ: عجبت من هؤلاء اللاتى كن عندى فلما سمعن صوتك ابتدرن الحجاب. — فقال عمر: فأنت أحق أن يهبن يا رسول الله! — ثم قال عمر: يا عدوات أنفسهن! أتهبنى ولا تهبن رسول الله ﷺ؟ — فقلن: نعم، أنت أفظ وأغلظ من رسول الله ﷺ. — فقال رسول الله ﷺ: ايهاً يا ابن الخطاب! والذى نفسى بيده ما لقيك الشيطان سالكا فجاً قط الا سلك فجاً غير فجك.

6 Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannâ related to us: Yaḥyâ related to us, on the authority of Ismâ'îl: Qays related to us, saying: 'Abd Allâh said:

٦ حدثنا محمد بن المثنى: حدثنا يحيى عن اسمعيل: حدثنا قيس قال: قال عبد الله:

WE continuously grew in power since 'Umar embraced Islâm.[1]

ما زلنا أعزة منذ أسلم عمر.

7 'Abdân related to us: 'Abd Allâh informed us: 'Umar ibn Sa'îd related to us, on the authority of Ibn Abî Mulaykah, that

٧ حدثنا عبدان: أخبرنا عبد الله: حدثنا عمر بن سعيد عن ابن أبي مليكة

HE heard Ibn 'Abbâs say: 'Umar had been laid on his bed,[2] 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 'Alî. And he invoked God's mercy upon 'Umar and said: Thou didst not leave behind thee any-

أنه سمع ابن عباس يقول: وضع عمر على سريره فتكنفه الناس يدعون ويصلون قبل أن يرفع وأنا فيهم. فلم يرعنى الا رجل آخذ منكبي فاذا علي. فترحم على عمر وقال: ما خلفت أحداً

1 'Umar's conversion was a turning point in the fortunes of Islâm. 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 Allâh ibn Mas'ûd (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 37): " 'Umar's [acceptance of] Islâm meant power, his migration [to Madînah], victory, and his Caliphate, grace [of God]. By God, we were not able to pray before the Ka'bah until 'Umar embraced Islâm." Similar Traditions are recorded in Ibn Sa'd III/i, 193. It is also authentically reported that the Prophet once prayed to God that He help Islâm by causing 'Umar's conversion (see Tirmidhî, *B. Manâqib 'Umar; Mustadrak* III, 83; Ibn Sa'd III/i, 192; Ibn Hishâm I, 212). A day later, in Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, in the sixth year of Muḥammad's Prophethood, 'Umar embraced Islâm; he was then twenty-six years old. The dramatic story of his conversion and the reaction the Quraysh thereupon show that the latter regarded this conversion as a severe blow to their prestige (cf. Ibn Sa'd III/i, 191 ff; Ibn Hishâm 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][1] 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[2]; for often have I heard the Prophet say, "I went together with Abû Bakr and 'Umar", "I entered together with Abû Bakr and 'Umar", "I left together with Abû Bakr and 'Umar".

أحب الىَّ أن ألقى الله بمثل عمله منك؛ وايم الله إن كنت لأظن أن يجعلك الله مع صاحبيك، وحسبت أنى كنت كثيراً أسمع النبى ﷺ يقول «ذهبت أنا وأبو بكر وعمر» و«دخلت أنا وأبو بكر وعمر» و «خرجت أنا وأبو بكر وعمر».

8 Musaddad related to us: Yazîd ibn Zuray' related to us: Sa'îd related to us:——

And[3] Khalîfah told me: Muḥammad ibn Sawâ' and Kahmas ibn al-Minhâl related to us, saying: Sa'îd related to us, on the authority of Qatâdah, on the authority of Anas ibn Mâlik, who said:

٨ حدثنا مسدد: حدثنا يزيد بن زريع: حدثنا سعيد:——

وقال لى خليفة: حدثنا محمد بن سواء وكهمس ابن المنهال قالا: حدثنا سعيد عن قتادة عن أنس ابن مالك (رض) قال:

THE Prophet ascended Mount Uḥud, and with him were Abû Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmân; and [the mountain] trembled beneath them. And the Prophet struck it with his foot, saying: Be steady, Uḥud, for upon thee there are but a prophet, a man of truth, and a martyr[4].

صعد النبى ﷺ الى أحد ومعه أبو بكر وعمر وعثمان فرجف بهم. فضربه برجله قال: اثبت أحد، فما عليك الا نبى أو صديق أو شهيد.

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

٩ حدثنا يحيى بن سليمان قال: حدثنى ابن وهب قال: حدثنى عمر — هو ابن محمد — أن زيد ابن أسلم حدثه

ON the authority of his father [Aslam[5]], 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.

عن أبيه قال: سألنى ابن عمر عن بعض شأنه — يعنى عمر — فأخبرته. فقال: ما رأيت أحداً قط بعد رسول الله ﷺ من حين قبض كان أجد وأجود حتى انتهى من عمر بن الخطاب.

10 Sulaymân ibn Ḥarb related to us: Ḥammâd ibn Zayd related to us, on the authority of Thâbit,

١٠ حدثنا سليمان بن حرب: حدثنا حماد بن زيد عن ثابت عن أنس (رض)

1 This is the meaning. The construction of this sentence, in Arabic, does not permit a literal rendering into English.

2 *I.e.*, the Prophet and Abû Bakr.

3 The word "and" indicates a *taḥwîl* ("transfer") to a second *isnâd*.

4 In reality, there were two martyrs, 'Umar and 'Uthmân (because both were assassinated); the singular form *shahîd* stands here as a *nomen generis*.

5 He was 'Umar's freedman (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 38).

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, Abû 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 Yaḥyâ ibn Qaza'ah related to us: Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of Abû Salamah, on the authority of Abû Hurayrah, who said:

THE Apostle of God said: There were, in the nations before you, inspired[1] people; and if there is any [of them] in my community, it is 'Umar.

12 T Zakariyyâ ibn Abî Zâ'idah [told the same Tradition], with some additions, on the authority of Sa'd, on the authority of Abû Salamah, on the authority of Abû Hurayrah, who said:

THE Prophet said: There were, among the Banû Isrâ'îl before you, men who were inspired[2] without being prophets; and if there is any of them in my community, it is 'Umar.

13 'Abd Allâh ibn Yûsuf related to us: Al-Layth related to us: 'Uqayl related to us, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, on the authority of Sa'îd ibn al-Musayyab and Abû Salamah ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân, both of whom said: We heard Abû Hurayrah say:

THE Apostle of God said[3]: Whilst a herdsman was guarding his flock, a wolf fell

أن رجلاً سأل النبي ﷺ عن الساعة فقال: متى الساعة؟ — قال: وماذا أعددت لها؟ — قال: لاشيء الا أني أحب الله ورسوله ﷺ. — فقال: أنت مع من أحببت.

قال أنس: فما فرحنا بشيء فرحنا بقول النبي ﷺ «أنت مع من أحببت».

قال أنس: فأنا أحب النبي ﷺ وأبا بكر وعمر وأرجو أن أكون معهم بحبي اياهم وان لم أعمل بمثل أعمالهم.

١١ حدثنا يحيى بن قزعة: حدثنا ابراهيم بن سعد عن أبيه عن أبي سلمة عن أبي هريرة (رض) قال:

قال رسول الله ﷺ: لقد كان فيما قبلكم من الأمم محدَّثون، فان يكن في أمتي أحد فانه عمر.

١٢ زاد زكريا ابن أبي زائدة عن سعد عن أبي سلمة عن أبي هريرة قال:

قال النبي ﷺ: لقد كان فيمن كان قبلكم من بني اسرائيل رجال يكلَّمون من غير أن يكونوا أنبياء، فان يكن من أمتي منهم أحد فعمر.

١٣ حدثنا عبدالله بن يوسف: حدثنا الليث: حدثنا عقيل عن ابن شهاب عن سعيد بن المسيب وأبي سلمة بن عبد الرحمن قالا: سمعنا أبا هريرة (رض) يقول:

قال رسول ﷺ: بينما راع في غنمه عدا الذئب

1 Lit., "who were spoken to" *(muḥaddathûn)*, *i.e.*, inspired. There is a Tradition: "God has put truth on the tongue of 'Umar and into his heart" (see Tirmidhî, *B. Manâqib 'Umar*).

2 The Arabic verb is *yukallamûn* ("spoken to"); the meaning is the same as *muḥaddathûn* (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 Yaḥyâ ibn Bukayr related to us: Al-Layth related to us, on the authority of 'Uqayl, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, who said: Abû Umâmah ibn Sahl ibn Ḥunayf informed me, on the authority of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî, 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 Aṣ-Ṣalt ibn Muḥammad related to us: Ismâ'îl ibn Ibrâhîm related to us: Ayyûb related to us, on the authority of Ibn Abî 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[2]—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-

فأخذ منها شاة، فطلبها حتى استنقذها. فالتفت اليه الذئب فقال له: من لها يوم السَّبُع ليس لها راع غيري؟

فقال الناس: سبحان الله! — فقال النبي ﷺ: فانى أومن به وأبوبكر وعمر. — وما ثم أبوبكر وعمر.

١٤ حدثنا يحيى بن بكير: حدثنا الليث عن عقيل عن ابن شهاب قال: أخبرنى أبو أمامة بن سهل ابن حنيف عن أبى سعيد الخدرى (رض) قال:

سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: بينا أنا نائم رأيت الناس عُرِضوا علىَّ وعليهم قمص، فمنها ما يبلغ الثدى ومنها ما يبلغ دون ذلك. وعرض علىَّ عمر وعليه قميص اجتره. — قالوا: فما أولته يا رسول الله؟ — قال: الدين.

١٥ حدثنا الصلت بن محمد: حدثنا اسمعيل بن ابراهيم: حدثنا أيوب عن ابن أبى مليكة عن المسور بن مخرمة قال:

لما طعن عمر جعل يألم، فقال له ابن عباس وكأنه يجزعه: ياأمير المؤمنين! ولئن كان ذاك — لقد صحبت رسول الله ﷺ فأحسنت صحبته، ثم فارقته وهو عنك راض. ثم صحبت أبابكر فأحسنت صحبته، ثم فارقته وهو عنك راض. ثم صحبت

1 The term *dîn* has a very wide range of meanings: sometimes it stands for "religion" in the sense of a code of laws *(sharî'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".

panion 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 Abû 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.[1] By God, had I as much gold as might fill the earth, I would offer it as ransom from the wrath of God[2], the Lord of Might and Glory, ere I meet Him.[3]

صحبتهم فأحسنت صحبتهم، ولئن فارقتهم لتفارقتهم وهم عنك راضون. — قال: أما ما ذكرت من صحبة رسول الله ﷺ ورضاه فانما ذاك من من الله تعالى من به علىّ؛ وأما ما ذكرت من صحبة أبى بكر ورضاه فانما ذلك من من الله جل ذكره من به علىّ؛ وأما ما ترى من جزعى فهو من أجلك وأجل أصحابك. والله لو أن لى طلاع الأرض ذهباً لافتديت به من عذاب الله عزوجل قبل أن أراه.

Ḥammâd ibn Zayd said: Ayyûb related to us, on the authority of Ibn Abî Mulaykah, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs: "I went in unto 'Umar"—[and the rest] the same [as above].

قال حماد بن زيد: حدثنا أيوب عن ابن أبى مليكة عن ابن عباس: «دخلت على عمر» — بهذا.

16 Yûsuf ibn Mûsâ related to us: Abû Usâmah related to us, saying: 'Uthmân ibn Ghiyâth related to me: Abû 'Uthmân an-Nahdî related to us,

١٦ حدثنا يوسف بن موسى: حدثنا أبو أسامة قال: حدثنى عثمان بن غياث: حدثنا أبو عثمان النهدى

ON the authority of Abû Mûsâ, who said: I was with the Prophet in one of the gardens of Madînah, 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 Abû 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

عن أبى موسى (رض) قال: كنت مع النبى ﷺ فى حائط من حيطان المدينة، فجاء رجل فاستفتح. فقال النبى ﷺ: افتح له وبشره بالجنة. — ففتحت له فاذا هو أبوبكر؛ فبشرته بما قال النبى ﷺ، فحمد الله. ثم جاء رجل فاستفتح فقال النبى ﷺ: افتح له وبشره بالجنة. — ففتحت له فاذا هو عمر؛ فأخبرته بما قال النبى ﷺ، فحمد الله. ثم استفتح رجل، فقال لى: افتح له وبشره بالجنة على بلوى تصيبه. — فاذا عثمان؛

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 'Uthmân. I informed him of what the Apostle of God had said, and he praised God; and said: It is God Who is to be besought for aid.

فأخبرته بما قال رسول ﷺ، فحمد الله ثم قال: الله المستعان.

17 Yaḥyâ ibn Sulaymân related to us, saying: Ibn Wahb related to me, saying: Ḥaywah informed me, saying: Abû 'Aqîl Zuhrah ibn Ma'bad related to me that

١٧ حدثنا يحيى بن سليمان قال: حدثني ابن وهب قال: أخبرني حيوة قال: حدثني أبو عقيل زهرة بن معبد

HE heard his grandfather, 'Abd Allâh ibn Hishâm, say: We were with the Prophet, and he was holding the hand of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb.[1]

أنه سمع جده عبد الله بن هشام قال: كنا مع النبي ﷺ وهو آخذ بيد عمر بن الخطاب.

SECTION VIII

THE VIRTUES OF 'UTHMÂN IBN 'AFFÂN ABÛ 'AMR AL-QURASHÎ

٨ باب

مناقب عثمان بن عفان أبي عمرو القرشي (رض)

The Prophet said: Whoso diggeth the well of Rûmah, his shall be the Paradise;—and 'Uthmân dug it.[2] *And [the Prophet] said: Whoso fitteth out the Army of Difficulty*[3]*, his shall be the Paradise;*[4]*—and 'Uthmân fitted it out.*[5]

وقال النبي ﷺ: من يحفر بئر رومة فله الجنة، — فحفرها عثمان. وقال: من جهز جيش العسرة فله الجنة، — فجهزه عثمان.

1 Sulaymân ibn Ḥarb related to us: Ḥammâd ibn Zayd related to us, on the authority of Ayyûb, on the authority of Abû 'Uthmân,

١ حدثنا سليمان بن حرب: حدثنا حماد بن زيد عن أيوب عن أبي عثمان

ON the authority of Abû Mûsâ: 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 Abû Bakr. Thereafter another man came and asked leave to enter. And [the Prophet] said: Let

عن أبي موسى (رض) أن النبي ﷺ دخل حائطاً وأمرني بحفظ باب الحائط. فجاء رجل يستأذن، فقال: ائذن له وبشره بالجنة. — فاذا أبو بكر. ثم جاء آخر يستأذن، فقال: ائذن له

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

2 When the early Muslims migrated to Madînah, there was near that town a spring called Rûmah, which belonged to a man of Banû Ghifâr. Its water was far better than that of Madînah, and the owner used to sell it at a heavy price. When the Prophet requested him to give the spring as a gift to the Muslim community, he refused it. Thereupon 'Uthmân bought it for 3,500 *dînârs* 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. (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* V, 314.)

3 *Jaysh al-'Usrah.* The *Ghazwat al-'Usrah* ("the Campaign of Difficulty") was a name given to the campaign of Tabûk 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 xlv/34, and in Dâraquṭnî, p. 509.

5 He contributed several hundred camels and 1,000 *dînârs* towards the equipment of this expedition (cf. Tirmidhî, *B. Manâqib 'Uthmân; Fatḥ al-Bârî* 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.

Ḥammâd said: And[1] 'Âsim al-Aḥwal and 'Alî ibn al-Ḥakam related to us [that] they heard Abû 'Uthmân relate, on the authority of Abû Mûsâ, the like [of the above Tradition]. And 'Âsim added [the following] to it:

The Prophet was sitting at a place where there was water, and had his knees

—or: his knee—

uncovered. And when 'Uthmân entered, he covered them.[2]

وبشره بالجنة. — فاذا عمر. ثم جاء آخر يستأذن، فسكت هنيهة ثم قال: ائذن له وبشره بالجنة على بلوى ستصيبه. — فاذا عثمان بن عفان.

قال حماد: وحدثنا عاصم الأحول وعلى بن الحكم: سمعا أبا عثمان يحدث عن أبي موسى بنحوه. وزاد فيه عاصم

أن النبي ﷺ كان قاعداً فى مكان فيه ماء قد انكشف عن ركبتيه

—أو: ركبته—

فلما دخل عثمان غطاها.

2 Aḥmad ibn Shabîb ibn Sa'îd related to us, saying: My father related to me, on the authority of Yûnus: Ibn Shihâb said: 'Urwah informed me that

'UBAYD ALLÂH ibn 'Adî ibn al-Khiyâr[3] informed him that al-Miswar ibn Makhramah[4] and 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn al-Aswad ibn 'Abd Yaghûth[5] said [to him]: What preventeth thee from speaking unto 'Uthmân about his brother, al-Walîd[6], now that the people are bitterly against him[7]?—

٢ حدثنا أحمد بن شبيب بن سعيد قال: حدثنى أبى عن يونس: قال ابن شهاب: أخبرنى عروة

أن عبيد الله بن عدى بن الخيار أخبره أن المسور بن مخرمة وعبد الرحمن بن الأسود بن عبد يغوث قالا: مايمنعك أن تكلم عثمان لأخيه الوليد فقد أكثر الناس فيه؟ —

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 (*Fatḥ 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 *tâbi'î*, a relative of 'Uthmân, and known for a righteous man; he died at Madînah during the Caliphate of Walîd ibn 'Abd al-Malik (Ibn Sa'd V, 35).

4 He was a nephew of 'Abd ar-Raḥmân 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 Madînah. 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. (*Isti'âb* I, 261.)

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

6 Al-Walîd ibn 'Uqbah ibn Abî Mu'ayṭ was a half-brother of 'Uthmân on their mother's side (his father, 'Uqbah, 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 Kûfah in place of Sa'd ibn Abî Waqqâṣ whom he had recalled in the year 25 A.H. (Ṭabarî V, 44).

7 The appointment of al-Walîd was one of the unfortunate political mistakes of 'Uthmân

So I proceeded to 'Uthmân [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.—['Uthmân] said: O man! . . . from thee!

فقصدت لعثمان حتى خرج الى الصلاة؛ قلت: إن لى اليك حاجة وهى نصيحة لك. — قال: يا أيها المرء! . . . منك!

Ma'mar said: I understand that he meant: "I take my refuge with God from thee!" [1]

قال معمر: أراه قال: «أعوذ بالله منك!»

Then I left [him] and returned to those two; but lo, there came 'Uthmân'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 Muḥammad 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[2], and wert a companion of the Apostle of God, and hast seen his mode of life. Now, the people are bitterly against al-Walîd.—He said: Didst thou ever meet the Apostle of God?—I answered: Nay[3], but knowledge of him hath reached me as it even reacheth the bashful virgin.[4]—['Uthmân] said: Now, to

فانصرفت فرجعت اليهما اذ جاء رسول عثمان فأتيته؛ فقال: ما نصيحتك؟ — فقلت: إن الله سبحانه بعث محمداً ﷺ بالحق و أنزل عليه الكتاب؛ وكنت ممن استجاب لله ولرسوله ﷺ فهاجرت الهجرتين وصحبت رسول الله ﷺ ورأيت هديه. وقد أكثر الناس فى شأن الوليد. — قال: أدركت رسول الله ﷺ؟ — قلت: لا، ولكن خلص الىّ من علمه ما يخلص الى العذراء فى سترها. — قال: أما بعد. فان الله

which contributed so much to the subsequent disruption of the Muslim community. Al-Walîd was a man without principles and the people of Kûfah resented his appointment in the place of the righteous Sa'd, who had been one of the intimate Companions of the Prophet. On one occasion, al-Walîd led the prayer in the mosque in drunken state and behaved in a disgraceful manner; when the people complained to 'Uthmân, he seemed to be reluctant to inflict the legal punishment on his half-brother ('Aynî XVI, 203). Ibn Ḥajar says (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 44) that 'Uthmân was not to be blamed, for he only waited for impartial evidence regarding al-Walîd's conduct. As a matter of fact, he ultimately recalled him from his post and imprisoned him at Madînah ('Aynî, *loc. cit.*). Later he ordered him also to be flogged, as is narrated at the end of the above Tradition.

1 The author quotes this explanatory remark from another version of the same Tradition (Bkh li/13, No. 1)—which has Ma'mar among its transmitters—in order to explain 'Uthmân's answer to 'Ubayd Allâh ibn 'Adî, because in the version before us this answer is reproduced in an abbreviated, and thus not fully intelligible, form. 'Uthmân's expression shows that he was aware of the purport of 'Ubayd Allâh's talk, and was annoyed by it for obvious reasons.

2 *I.e.*, the migration of Abyssinia (see Bkh li/13) and that to Madînah. It was held to be a particular distinction if a Companion had taken part in both migrations.

3 This negation does not necessarily imply that 'Ubayd Allâh had in reality never seen the Prophet, for he was born during the latter's life-time (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 45) and most probably had seen him some time or other; but then he was presumably too young to speak with him or to understand him.

4 *Lit.*, "the virgin in her seclusion"—meaning that the Prophet's sayings and actions are not reserved only to those who actually saw him, for his whole life was an open book and he often insisted that the present should report to the absent what he had said or done; and so it is possible that even modest virgins who do not come out into society may know all about him and his teachings.

come to the point: Behold, God hath sent Muḥammad 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] Abû Bakr and 'Umar; then I became Caliph. Have I, then, not the same right as they had?[1]—I answered: Yea.—He continued: What, then, doth this your talking mean? As to what thou hast said about al-Walîd, we shall apply to him the Law, if God, exalted be He, so willeth.—Then he called 'Alî and bade him flog [al-Walîd]; and ['Alî] dealt him eighty stripes.[2]

بعث محمداً ﷺ بالحق فكنت ممن استجاب لله ولرسوله ﷺ وآمنت بما بعث به وهاجرت الهجرتين كما قلت وصحبت رسول الله ﷺ وبايعته؛ فوالله ما عصيته ولا غششته حتى توفاه الله. ثم أبو بكر مثله ثم عمر مثله. ثم استخلفت؛ أفليس لى من الحق مثل الذى لهم؟ — قلت: بلى. — قال: فما هذه الأحاديث التى تبلغنى عنكم؟ أما ما ذكرت من شأن الوليد فسنأخذ فيه بالحق ان شاء الله تعالى. — ثم دعا علياً فأمره أن يجلده، فجلده ثمانين.

3 Muḥammad ibn Ḥâtim ibn Bazî' related to me: Shâdhân related to us: 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Abî Salamah al-Mâjishûn related to us, on the authority of 'Ubayd Allâh, on the authority of Nâfi',

٣ حدثنى محمد بن حاتم بن بزيع: حدثنا شاذان: حدثنا عبدالعزيز بن أبى سلمة الماجشون عن عبيد الله عن نافع

ON the authority of Ibn 'Umar, who said: In the time of the Prophet, we esteemed none equal to Abû Bakr; next [came] 'Umar, and next, 'Uthmân. Beside these [three], we did not discuss the [other] companions of the Prophet, and did not give preference to one above another.[3]

عن ابن عمر (رض) قال: كنا فى زمن النبى ﷺ لانعدل بأبى بكر أحداً، ثم عمر ثم عثمان، ثم نترك أصحاب النبى ﷺ لا نفاضل بينهم.

'Abd Allâh ibn Ṣâliḥ corroborated him', on the authority of 'Abd al-'Azîz.

تابعه عبد الله بن صالح عن عبد العزيز.

4 Mûsâ ibn Ismâ'îl related to us: Abû 'Awânah related to us: 'Uthmân ibn Mawhab related to us, saying:

٤ حدثنا موسى بن اسمعيل: حدثنا أبو عوانة: حدثنا عثمان — هو ابن موهب — قال:

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-Walîd 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 *Muhâjirs*, the *Anṣâr*, 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 Abû Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmân they had clear indications from the Prophet himself as to their individual superiority over the other Companions. Cf. sec. 4.

4 *Sc.*, Shâdhân, 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 Allâh ibn 'Umar.[1]—[The Egyptian] said: O Ibn 'Umar, I wish to ask thee about something, and thou answer me: Dost thou know that 'Uthmân fled on the day of [the battle of] Uḥud?—[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-Riḍwân[2] 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 Uḥud, 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-Riḍwân: had there been anyone more highly esteemed in Mecca than 'Uthmân, indeed the Apostle of God would have sent him; and he sent 'Uthmân.[6] The Pledge

جاء رجل من أهل مصر حج البيت فرأى قوماً جلوساً؛ فقال: من هٰؤلاء القوم؟ — فقالوا: هٰؤلاء قريش. — قال: فمن الشيخ فيهم؟ — قالوا: عبد الله بن عمر. — قال: يا ابن عمر! إني سائلك عن شيء فحدثني عنه. هل تعلم أن عثمان فر يوم أحد؟ — قال: نعم. — فقال: تعلم أنه تغيب عن بدر ولم يشهد؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: هل تعلم أنه تغيب عن بيعة الرضوان فلم يشهدها؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: الله أكبر!

قال ابن عمر: تعال أبين لك. أما فراره يوم أحد فأشهد أن الله عفا عنه وغفر له؛ وأما تغيبه عن بدر فانه كان تحته بنت رسول الله ﷺ وكانت مريضة، فقال له رسول الله ﷺ: إن لك أجر رجل ممن شهد بدراً وسهمه. وأما تغيبه عن بيعة الرضوان: فلو كان أحد أعز ببطن مكة من عثمان لبعثه مكانه، فبعث رسول الله ﷺ عثمان؛ وكانت بيعة الرضوان

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

2 The Pledge of ar-Riḍwân 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 biassed against 'Uthmân who belonged to the clan of Banû Umayyah. In putting the above questions to Ibn 'Umar, who had a great reputation for integrity, he obviously expected that his antagonism to 'Uthmân 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 'Uthmân.

4 Reference to Qur'ân iii, 155, where God declares His forgiveness to those who at the time of the battle of Uḥud lost their hearts and fled.

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

6 See Bkh lii/37.

of ar-Riḍwân took place after 'Uthmân had left for Mecca; and the Apostle of God said, pointing to his right hand: This is the hand of 'Uthmân,—then he struck it with his [other] hand and said: This on behalf of 'Uthmân.[1]—And Ibn 'Umar added: Now take these [explanations] with thee.[2]

بعد ما ذهب عثمان الى مكة، فقال رسول الله ﷺ بيده اليمنى: هذه يد عثمان، — فضرب بها على يده فقال: هذه لعثمان. — فقال له ابن عمر: اذهب بها الآن معك.

5 Musaddad related to us: Yaḥyâ related to us, on the authority of Sa'îd, on the authority of Qatâdah, that Anas related to them, saying:

٥ حدثنا مسدد: حدثنا يحيى عن سعيد عن قتادة أن أنساً (رض) حدثهم قال:

THE Apostle of God ascended Mount Uḥud, and with him there were Abû Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmân; and [the mountain] trembled. [The Prophet] said: Be steady, Uḥud!

—I believe[3] he struck it with his foot—

for upon thee there are but a prophet, a man of truth, and two martyrs.

صعد رسول الله ﷺ أحداً ومعه أبو بكر وعمر وعثمان فرجف؛ وقال: اسكن أحد!

— أظنه ضربه برجله —

فليس عليك الا نبي وصديق وشهيدان.

SECTION IX

THE STORY OF THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO, AND AGREEMENT UPON, 'UTHMÂN IBN 'AFFÂN, AND OF THE ASSASSINATION OF 'UMAR

Mûsâ ibn Ismâ'îl related to us: Abû 'Awânah related to us, on the authority of Ḥuṣayn,

ON the authority of 'Amr ibn Maymûn, who said: I saw 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb at Madînah some days before he was killed. Speaking to Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamân[4] and 'Uthmân ibn Ḥunayf[5], he said: How did ye act? Do ye perchance fear that ye have assessed the land beyond its capacity?[6]—They

٩ باب

قصة البيعة والاتفاق على عثمان بن عفان وفيه مقتل عمر (رض)

حدثنا موسى بن اسمعيل: حدثنا أبو عوانة عن حصين

عن عمرو بن ميمون قال: رأيت عمر ابن الخطاب (رض) قبل أن يصاب بأيام بالمدينة وقف على حذيفة بن اليمان وعثمان بن حنيف قال: كيف فعلتما؟ أتخافان أن تكونا قد حملتما الأرض

1 In taking his pledge for granted, the Prophet signified his complete confidence in 'Uthmân.

2 "—and give up thy wrong notions about 'Uthmân."

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 'Uthmân ibn Ḥunayf ibn Wâhib al-Anṣârî, a *ṣaḥâbî*. He served under 'Umar and 'Alî as tax collector, after having been unanimously recommended to 'Umar by the Muslim leaders as trustworthy and experienced. He died in Kûfah in the time of Mu'âwiyah (*Isti'âb* II, 483).

6 These two men had been sent by 'Umar to assess the impost on the rural districts *(as-sawâd)* of the recently conquered 'Irâq, and the amount of *jizyah* to be paid by those of the inhabitants who did not embrace Islâm (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 49). 'Uthmân ibn Ḥunayf levied on each *jarîb* 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 *sawâd* of Kûfah 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 'Irâq so [well provided for] that after me they will never have to look to anyone for help.[1]—[Ibn Maymûn] 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 Allâh ibn 'Abbâs. 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 *takbîr*. He usually recited during the first *rak'ah* the *sûrah* "Yûsuf" or "The Bee" or such like, so that the people might [have time to] assemble.[2] But [this time] he only recited the *takbîr* when I heard him cry out, on his being stabbed[3]:

ما لا تطيق؟ — قالا: حملناها أمراً هي له مطيقة، ما فيها كبير فضل. — قال: انظرا أن تكونا حملتما الأرض ما لا تطيق! — قال: قالا: لا. — فقال عمر: لئن سلمني الله تعالى لأدعن أرامل أهل العراق لا يحتجن الى رجل بعدي أبداً. — قال: فما أتت عليه الا رابعة حتى أصيب.

قال: إني لقائم ما بيني وبينه الا عبد الله بن عباس غداة أصيب. وكان اذا مر بين الصفين قال: استووا! — حتى اذا لم ير فيهن خللاً تقدم فكبر. وربما قرأ سورة «يوسف» أو «النحل» أو نحو ذلك في الركعة الأولى حتى يجتمع الناس؛ فما هو الا أن كبر فسمعته يقول: قتلني — أو: أكلني —

(*Isti'âb* 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 'Irâq for the maintenance of destitute widows in that country.

2 The above-mentioned *sûrahs* are somewhat long, so late-comers had time to join the congregation before the *imâm* bowed down in the *rukû'*.

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; Ṭabarî V, 12 ff): Al-Mughîrah ibn Shu'bah, the governor of Kûfah, had a Persian slave, Fêrôz abû Lu'lu'ah, a native of Nuhâwand. He was a highly skilled workman—carpenter, smith and sculptor—and al-Mughîrah wished to let him work in Madînah and to profit from his earnings. (Under the Islâmic 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 Islâmic Empire, he consented to al-Mughîrah's request in the hope that the people of Madînah would benefit by the Persian slave's skill. Abû Lu'lu'ah set up his trade in Madînah and prospered. Al-Mughîrah 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 *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 49 f) to intercede with al-Mughîrah 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. Abû 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[1] 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[2] threw his *burnus*[3] over him; and when the infidel knew that he was caught, he killed himself.

And 'Umar took the hand of 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf and made him advance [as *imâm*]. 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-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf led the prayer, making it short. And when [the congregation] had dispersed, ['Umar] said: O Ibn 'Abbâs, see who it was that hath killed me.—So [Ibn 'Abbâs] went round, and then came back and said: The slave of al-Mughîrah.—['Umar] said: That skilled crafts-

الكلب! — حين طعنه. فطار العلج بسكين ذات طرفين لا يمر على أحد يميناً ولا شمالا الا طعنه حتى طعن ثلاثة عشر رجلا مات منهم سبعة. فلما رأى ذلك رجل من المسلمين طرح عليه برنساً؛ فلما ظن العلج أنه مأخوذ نحر نفسه.

وتناول عمر يد عبد الرحمن بن عوف فقدمه. فمن يلي عمر فقد رأى الذى أرى، وأما نواحى المسجد فانهم لا يدرون غير أنهم قد فقدوا صوت عمر وهم يقولون: سبحان الله! سبحان الله! — فصلى بهم عبد الرحمن بن عوف صلاة خفيفة. فلما انصرفوا قال: يا ابن عباس! انظر من قتلني. — فجال ساعة ثم جاء فقال: غلام المغيرة. —

of Wednesday, the 27th Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, 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. Ṭabarî 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'âjim)* 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 (*Lisân al-'Arab* III, 151).

2 According to *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 50, this man was a *Muhâjir*, Ḥiṭṭân at-Tamîmî al-Yarbû'î, and not, as would appear from Ibn Sa'd III/i, 252, 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Awf. The *isnâd* in the Tradition quoted in Ibn Sa'd is not reliable, as it is "interrupted" *(munqaṭi')*: there is no mention of an intervening *tâbi'î* before the first transmitter, Ismâ'il ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'd. I was unable to find anywhere a further reference to the above-mentioned Ḥiṭṭân.

3 A hooded cloak used to this day by the Arabs in North Africa and the Ṭawâriq of the Sahara. In the early days of Islâm 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 *imâm* 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 *imâm* had forgotten the words of the Qur'ân-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[1]! Praise be unto God, Who hath not caused me to die at the hand of a man who professeth Islâm! [O Ibn 'Abbâs!] It was thou and thy father who have desired that there should be many foreign infidels in Madînah.[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[3]! [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?[4]—Thereafter he was borne to his home, and we went with him.[5]

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.

قال: الصنع؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: قاتله الله! لقد أمرت به معروفاً! الحمد لله الذى لم يجعل ميتتى بيد رجل يدعى الاسلام. قد كنت أنت وأبوك تحبان أن تكثر العلوج بالمدينة. — (وكان العباس أكثرهم رقيقاً.) فقال: ان شئت فعلت (— أى: ان شئت قتلنا). — قال: كذبت! بعد ما تكلموا بلسانكم وصلوا قبلتكم وحجوا حجكم؟ — فاحتمل الى بيته فانطلقنا معه.

وكأن الناس لم تصبهم مصيبة قبل يومئذ. فقائل يقول: لابأس. — وقائل يقول: أخاف عليه.

1 This may refer to the report that 'Umar intended to request al-Mughîrah ibn Shu'bah to alleviate the impost on his slave. But I cannot find any authoritative indication that he really wrote to al-Mughîrah in this respect; there is only a Tradition, mentioned in *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 49 f, on the authority of Râfi', in which it is said that "it was 'Umar's intention to see al-Mughîrah 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 (*'ulûj*) to Madînah. '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 Madînah was too heavy to be done without foreign slaves (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 51).

3 The verb *kadhaba* does not always mean "lying"; it often denotes (and particularly in the dialect of the Ḥijâz), 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 Islâm; 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 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 Islâm 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[1] was brought to him, and he drank it: and it came out from his belly.[2] 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[3] on account of thy companionship with the Apostle of God and thy merit[4] with regard to Islâm. 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 naught in 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[5]! Lift thy loincloth: for, indeed, this is better for thy garment, and is more reverential toward thy Sustainer.[6]—[Then he said:] O 'Abd Allâh 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.[7]

فأتى بنبيذ فشربه فخرج من جوفه، ثم أتى بلبن فشربه فخرج من جرحه؛ فعلموا أنه ميت. فدخلنا عليه وجاء الناس يثنون عليه. وجاء رجل شاب فقال: أبشر يا أمير المؤمنين ببشرى الله لك من صحبة رسول الله ﷺ وقدم فى الاسلام ما قد علمت؛ ثم وليت فعدلت ثم شهادة. — قال: وددت أن ذلك كفاف، لا علىّ ولا لى. — فلما أدبر اذا ازاره يمس الأرض. قال: ردوا علىّ الغلام! — قال: ابن أخى! ارفع ثوبك، فانه أبقى لثوبك وأتقى لربك. يا عبد الله بن عمر! انظر ما علىّ من الدين. — فحسبوه فوجدوه ستة وثمانين ألفاً أو نحوه. قال: ان وفى له مال آل عمر فأده

1 *Nabîdh* (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 *ḥarâm*.

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 *qidam*, which denotes precedence in matter of time. If we take the second reading, the meaning would be, "thy having early embraced Islâm". 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 *Anṣârî*. 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 Jâbir (*apud Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 52), 'Abd ar-Rahmân 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 Banû 'Adî ibn Ka'b[1]; and if their possessions suffice not, demand it from the Quraysh; and appeal not to others beside them.[2] Thus thou shalt repay this debt on my behalf. And go to 'Â'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[3]; and say: 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb asketh leave to be buried beside his two companions[4].

Thereupon ['Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar] greeted ['Â'ishah] and asked leave to enter; then he went in unto her and found her sitting and weeping. And he said: 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb 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.[5]

When he returned, someone announced: Here is 'Abd Allâh 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 'Â'ishah's house]; then give thy greetings and say: 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb 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.

من أموالهم والا فسل فى بنى عدى بن كعب، فان لم تف أموالهم فسل فى قريش، ولا تعدهم الى غيرهم، فأد عنى هذا المال. انطلق الى عائشة أم المؤمنين فقل: يقرأ عليك عمر السلام — ولا تقل «أمير المؤمنين»، فانى لست اليوم للمؤمنين أميراً؛ وقل: يستأذن عمر بن الخطاب أن يدفن مع صاحبيه.

فسلم واستأذن ثم دخل عليها فوجدها قاعدة تبكى. فقال: يقرأ عليك عمر بن الخطاب السلام ويستأذن أن يدفن مع صاحبيه. — فقالت: كنت أريده لنفسى ولأوثرنه به اليوم على نفسى.

فلما أقبل قيل: هذا عبد الله بن عمر قد جاء. — قال: ارفعونى! — فأسنده رجل اليه. فقال: ما لديك؟ — قال: الذى تحب يا أمير المؤمنين: أذنت. — قال: الحمد لله! ما كان من شىء أهم الىّ من ذلك! فاذا أنا قضيت فاحملونى، ثم سلم فقل: يستأذن عمر بن الخطاب. فان أذنت لى فأدخلونى و ان ردتنى ردونى الى مقابر المسلمين.

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 'Â'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 Abû Bakr, whose graves were within 'Â'ishah's house.

5 There was no room left for more than one grave.

And there came the Mother of the Faithful, Ḥafṣah[1], 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.[2]—He said: I do not see anyone worthier of this office than these persons

—or: people[3]—

with whom the Apostle of God remained pleased unto his death.—And he mentioned 'Alî, 'Uthmân, az-Zubayr, Ṭalḥah, Sa'd and 'Abd ar-Raḥmân,[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

وجاءت أم المؤمنين حفصة والنساء تسير معها؛ فلما رأيناها قمنا. فولجت عليه فبكت عنده ساعة؛ واستأذن الرجال فولجت داخلاً لهم، فسمعنا بكاءها من الداخل.

فقالوا: أوص يا أمير المؤمنين، استخلف.

— قال: ما أجد أحق بهذا الأمر من هؤلاء النفر

— أو: الرهط —

الذين توفى رسول الله ﷺ وهو عنهم راض. — فسمى علياً وعثمان والزبير وطلحة وسعداً وعبد الرحمن وقال: يشهدكم عبد الله بن عمر وليس له من الأمر شيء كهيئة التعزية 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 *raht;* 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-Jarrâḥ and Sa'îd ibn Zayd. Abû 'Ubaydah was already dead at that time (see sec. 23, n.); and Sa'îd ibn Zayd was a cousin of 'Umar, and—as is apparent from a Tradition mentioned in *Fatḥ 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-Raḥmân 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 Islâm at an early period, participated in the migration to Abyssinia, and was subsequently among the first who migrated to Madînah. 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 'Uthmân 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; Ṭabarî

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].[1]

Then he said: To him who will be Caliph after me, I commend the early *Muhâjirs*[2]; he shall remember what is due to them and assure them of their [place of] honour. And I commend to him kindness toward the *Anṣâr, who have taken their abode in the City* [of the Prophet] *and in the faith before them*[3]; [the deeds of] those from among them who do good shall be welcomed, and those from among them who do wrong shall be pardoned.[4] And I commend to him kindness toward the dwellers of the towns, for, behold, they are the mainstay of Islâm, the accumulators of wealth and the terror of the enemy; and naught shall be taken from them[5] save what they can well spare. And I commend to him kindness toward the Bedouins, for, behold, they are the mainspring of the Arabs[6] and the substance of Islâm; and only a part

أصابت الامرة سعداً فهو ذاك، والا فليستعن به أيكم ما أمر؛ فانى لم أعزله عن عجز ولا خيانة.

وقال: أوصى الخليفة من بعدى بالمهاجرين الأولين أن يعرف لهم حقهم ويحفظ لهم حرمتهم. وأوصيه بالأنصار خيراً «الذين تبوؤا الدار والايمان من قبلهم» أن يقبل من محسنهم وأن يعفى عن مسيئهم. وأوصيه بأهل الأمصار خيراً فانهم ردء الاسلام وجباة المال وغيظ العدو، وأن لا يؤخذ منهم الا فضلهم عن رضاهم. وأوصيه بالأعراب خيراً، فانهم أصل العرب ومادة الاسلام، أن يؤخذ من حواشى أموالهم

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 'Irâq as commander-in-chief (Ṭabarî IV, 84 ff). He conquered that country and founded the town of Kûfah 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 Kûfah, belonging to the clan Banû Asad, complained to 'Umar that Sa'd did not know how to perform his prayers (see *Fatḥ al-Bârî* 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 *Muhâjirs*" was applied to those who migrated to Madînah 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-Riḍwân, towards the end of Dhu'l-Qa'dah, 6 A.H. ('Aynî XVI, 212).

3 *I.e.*, before the *Muhâjirs*. This is a quotation from the Qur'ân lix, 9. The *Anṣâr* had not, as a matter of fact, embraced Islâm before all of the *Muhâjirs*, but they had done it, as a group, before the people of Mecca; and from the very beginning they were so engrossed in Islâm that it became their spiritual abode. Another possible explanation of the expression "before them" is (according to 'Aynî XVI, 213), that they accepted Islâm before the coming of the Prophet to Madînah.

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, 'Irâq, 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[1]; the covenant made with them shall be fulfilled, and [the Caliph] shall fight for them[2]; and they shall not be burdened with more than they can afford.[3]

When [ʿUmar] expired we bore him away [to ʿÂ'ishah]. And ʿAbd Allâh ibn ʿUmar greeted [her] and said: ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb 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[4] assembled, and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmân said: Give up your claims in favour of three from among you.[5]—Thereupon az-Zubayr said: I give up my claim in favour of ʿAlî.—And Ṭalḥah said: I give up my claim in favour of ʿUthmân.—And Saʿd said: I give up my claim in favour of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmân ibn ʿAwf.—Then ʿAbd ar-Raḥmân said: If one of you two[6] renounce his claim, we shall leave it unto him to choose by himself the best of them[7]; and God and Islâm be his witnesses.—But the two elders[8] remained silent.—Thereupon ʿAbd ar-Raḥmân 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[9] by the hand and said:

وترد على فقرائهم. وأوصيه بذمة الله وذمة رسوله ﷺ أن يوفى لهم بعهدهم و أن يقاتل من ورائهم، ولا يكلفوا الا طاقتهم.

فلما قبض خرجنا به فانطلقنا نمشى. فسلم عبد الله بن عمر قال: يستأذن عمر بن الخطاب. — قالت: أدخلوه. — فأدخل فوضع هنالك مع صاحبيه.

فلما فرغ من دفنه اجتمع هؤلاء الرهط فقال عبد الرحمن: اجعلوا أمركم الى ثلاثة منكم. — فقال الزبير: قد جعلت أمرى الى على. — فقال طلحة: قد جعلت أمرى الى عثمان. — وقال سعد: قدجعلت أمرى الى عبد الرحمن بن عوف. —فقال عبد الرحمن: أيكما تبرأ من هذا الأمر فنجعله اليه والله عليه والاسلام لينظرن أفضلهم فى نفسه. — فأسكت الشيخان. فقال عبد الرحمن: أفتجعلونه الىّ؟ والله علىّ أن لا آلو عن أفضلكم. — قالا: نعم. — فأخذ بيد

1 *Ahl adh-dhimmah* 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 ʿUmar designated as candidates for the Caliphate.

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

6 *I.e.*, ʿUthmân and ʿAlî.

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

8 *I.e.*, ʿUthmân and ʿAlî.

9 ʿAlî, 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 'Uthmân, 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 'Uthmân!—and swore allegiance to him, and 'Alî swore allegiance to him. Then the people of the City [of the Prophet] came in and swore allegiance to him.

أحدهما فقال: لك قرابة من رسول الله ﷺ والقدم فى الاسلام ما قد علمت؛ فالله عليك لئن أمرتك لتعدلن، ولئن أمرت عثمان لتسمعن ولتطيعن. — ثم خلا بالآخر فقال له مثل ذلك. — فلما أخذ الميثاق قال: ارفع يدك ياعثمان! — فبايعه وبايع له على وولج أهل الدار فبايعوه.

SECTION X

THE VIRTUES OF 'ALÎ IBN ABÎ ṬÂLIB AL-QURASHÎ AL-HÂSHIMÎ ABU'L-ḤASAN

The Prophet said unto 'Alî: 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'îd related to us: 'Abd al-'Azîz related to us, on the authority of Abû Ḥâzim, 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 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib?—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;

١٠ باب

مناقب على بن أبى طالب القرشى الهاشمى أبى الحسن (رض)

وقال النبى ﷺ لعلى: أنت منى وأنا منك. — وقال عمر: توفى رسول الله ﷺ وهو عنه راض.

١ حدثنا قتيبة بن سعيد: حدثنا عبد العزيز عن أبى حازم عن سهل بن سعد (رض)

أن رسول الله ﷺ قال: لأعطين الراية غداً رجلاً يفتح الله على يديه.

قال:

فبات الناس يدوكون ليلتهم أيهم يعطاها. فلما أصبح الناس غدوا على رسول الله ﷺ كلهم يرجو أن يعطاها. فقال: أين على بن أبى طالب؟ — فقالوا: يشتكى عينيه يا رسول الله! — قال: فأرسلوا اليه فأتونى به. — فلما جاء بصق فى 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 'Alî—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 Ḥanbal V, 353 f and 358 f; *Mustadrak* III, 37 f; Ibn Hishâm II, 227) it is narrated that the standard was first given to Abû Bakr, and then to 'Umar, but both failed to conquer Khaybar.

4 As is evident from the subsequent Tradition, 'Alî 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 'Alî said: O Apostle of God! I shall fight them until they are like us[1]!—Thereupon [the Prophet] said: Advance warily till thou reach their dwelling-places; thereafter invite them to Islâm and inform them what duties toward God will be incumbent upon them.[2] 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[3].

ودعا له، فبرأ حتى كأن لم يكن به وجع؛ فأعطاه الراية. فقال علي: يا رسول الله! أقاتلهم حتى يكونوا مثلنا! — فقال: انفذ على رسلك حتى تنزل بساحتهم، ثم ادعهم الى الاسلام وأخبرهم بما يجب عليهم من حق الله فيه. فوالله لأن يهدى الله بك رجلاً واحداً خير لك من أن يكون لك حمر النعم.

2 Qutaybah related to us: Ḥâtim related to us, on the authority of Yazîd ibn Abî 'Ubayd, on the authority of Salamah, who said:

٢ حدثنا قتيبة: حدثنا حاتم عن يزيد بن أبي عبيد عن سلمة قال:

DURING [the campaign of] Khaybar, 'Alî 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[4]—;

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

كان علي قد تخلف عن النبي ﷺ في خيبر وكان به رمد؛ فقال: أنا أتخلف عن رسول الله ﷺ؟ — فخرج علي فلحق بالنبي ﷺ. فلما كان مساء الليلة التي فتحها الله في صباحها قال رسول الله ﷺ: لأعطين الراية

— أو: ليأخذن الراية —

غداً رجلاً يحبه الله ورسوله

— أو قال: يحب الله ورسوله —

يفتح الله عليه. — فاذا نحن بعلي وما نرجوه. فقالوا: هذا علي! — فأعطاه رسول الله ﷺ ففتح الله عليه.

1 *I.e.*, until they embrace Islâm.

2 *Sc.*, if they accept Islâm. The *sharî'ah* does not permit to fight against non-Muslims unless they first have been invited to accept Islâm or to pay *jizyah* and have rejected both. See in this connection Bkh xlvi.

3 Lit., "red camels" *(ḥumr an-na'am)*. The Arabs regard the camels of this colour as the best, hence *ḥumr 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 'Alî that the foremost duty of a *mujâhid* consisted in the endeavour to bring the non-Muslim enemy into the fold of Islâm 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 Bkh lii/40, No. 15, both sentences occur side by side: "whom God and His Apostle love, and who loveth God and His Apostle".

3 'Abd Allâh ibn Maslamah related to us: 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Abî Ḥâzim related to us, on the authority of his father:

A MAN came to Sahl ibn Sa'd[1] and said: Such-and-such

—meaning the governor of Madînah[2]—

abuseth 'Alî from the pulpit.—[Sahl] said: And what doth he say?—He answered: He calleth him "Father of Dust" *(Abû Turâb)*.—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.

[Abû Ḥâzim said:] Then I desired Sahl to let me enjoy this Tradition, and said: O Abû 'Abbâs[3], how [was this]?

[Sahl] said: 'Alî went in unto Fâṭimah; then he left and went to sleep in the mosque.[4] Thereupon the Prophet asked [Fâṭimah]: Where is thy uncle's son[5]?—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!

٣ حدثنا عبد الله بن مسلمة: حدثنا عبد العزيز بن أبي حازم عن أبيه

أن رجلاً جاء الى سهل بن سعد فقال: هذا فلان

— لأمير المدينة —

يدعو علياً عند المنبر. — قال: فيقول ماذا؟ — قال: يقول له «أبو تراب». — فضحك قال: والله ما سماه الا النبي ﷺ، وما كان له اسم أحب اليه منه.

فاستطعمت الحديث سهلا وقلت: يا أبا عباس! كيف؟

قال: دخل عَلِيّ على فاطمة ثم خرج فاضطجع في المسجد. فقال النبي ﷺ: أين ابن عمك؟ — قالت: في المسجد. — فخرج اليه فوجد رداءه قد سقط عن ظهره وخلص التراب الى ظهره؛ فجعل يمسح التراب عن ظهره فيقول: اجلس يا أبا تراب! — مرتين.

1 Sahl ibn Sa'd ibn Mâlik al-Anṣârî. At the time of the Prophet's death, he was fifteen years old; one of the last Companions from among the *Anṣâr*, he died in 88 or 91 A.H., nearly one hundred years old (*Istî'âb* II, 571 f).

2 This explanatory remark obviously goes back to the transmitter Abû Ḥâzim (Salamah ibn Dînâr). I was unable to trace anywhere the name of the governor in question. But, as until the death of 'Alî Madînah 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 'Alî. It might have been Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam, who for a considerable time, during the reign of Mu'âwiyah and Yazîd, was governor of Madînah and often used publicly to abuse 'Alî. It is also evident from other reports (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 60) that the Umayyads used 'Alî's nickname "Abû Turâb" 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 'Alî intended to spend the night in the mosque instead of at home.

5 *I.e.*, 'Alî. 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 Muḥammad ibn Râfi' related to us: Ḥusayn related to us, on the authority of Zâ'idah, on the authority of Ḥaṣîn, on the authority of Sa'd ibn 'Ubaydah, who said:

A MAN came to Ibn 'Umar and asked him about 'Uthmân and [Ibn 'Umar] mentioned his good deeds [and] said: Perchance this is disagreeable to thee?[1]—[The man] answered: Yea.—[Ibn 'Umar] said: Then may God abase thee![2]—Then [the other] asked him about 'Alî, and [Ibn 'Umar] mentioned his good deeds, [and] said: His house was in the midst of the Prophet's houses.[3]—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!

٤ حدثنا محمد بن رافع: حدثنا حسين عن زائدة عن أبي حصين عن سعد بن عبيدة قال:

جاء رجل الى ابن عمر فسأله عن عثمان فذكر عن محاسن عمله، قال: لعل ذاك يسوءك؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: فأرغم الله بأنفك! — ثم سأله عن علي فذكر محاسن عمله، قال: هو ذاك بيته أوسط بيوت النبي ﷺ. — ثم قال: لعل ذاك يسوءك؟ — قال: أجل! — قال: فأرغم الله بأنفك! انطلق فاجهد عليّ جهدك!

5 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to me: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of al-Ḥakam: I heard Ibn Abî Laylâ say:

'ALÎ related to us: Fâṭimah complained of the fatigue which the handmill caused her. [At that time] a slave had been brought to the Prophet[4]; so she went [to him], and found him not [at home]. But she found 'Â'ishah and told her [her desire].[5] And when the Prophet returned, 'Â'ishah informed him of Fâṭimah'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

٥ حدثني محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة عن الحكم: سمعت ابن أبي ليلى قال:

حدثنا علي أن فاطمة عليها السلام شكت ما تلقى من أثر الرحى؛ فأتى النبي ﷺ سبي فانطلقت فلم تجده؛ فوجدت عائشة فأخبرتها. فلما جاء النبي ﷺ أخبرته عائشة بمجيء فاطمة. فجاء النبي ﷺ الينا وقد أخذنا مضاجعنا؛ فذهبت لأقوم فقال: على مكانكما! — فقعد بيننا حتى وجدت برد قدميه على صدري، وقال: ألا أعلمكما خيراً مما

1 Ibn Ḥajar (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* 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 *isnâds*, 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 Khawârij, who held that 'Alî and the Umayyads were equally responsible for the tragic split in Islâm (cf. Ṭabarî VI, 83 f, where the story of the plot to murder 'Alî, Mu'âwiyah and 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ 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.

سألتمانى؟ اذا أخذتما مضاجعكما تكبرا أربعاً وثلاثين وتسبحا ثلاثا وثلاثين وتحمدا ثلاثة وثلاثين؛ فهو خير لكما من خادم.

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

٦ حدثنا محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة عن سعد قال: سمعت ابراهيم بن سعد عن أبيه قال:

THE Prophet said unto 'Alî: Art thou not satisfied with being unto me what Aaron was unto Moses? [1]

قال النبي ﷺ لعلي: أما ترضى أن تكون منى بمنزلة هرون من موسى؟

7 'Alî ibn al-Ja'd related to us: Shu'bah informed us, on the authority of Ayyûb, on the authority of Ibn Sîrîn, on the authority of 'Abîdah,

٧ حدثنا على بن الجعد: أخبرنا شعبة عن أيوب عن ابن سيرين عن عبيدة

ON the authority of 'Alî, 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]

عن علي قال: اقضوا كما كنتم تقضون — فانى أكره الاختلاف — حتى يكون للناس جماعة أو أموت كما مات أصحابى.

Ibn Sîrîn regarded most of the reports about 'Alî as lies.[4]

فكان ابن سيرين يرى أن عامة ما يروى على على الكذب.

1 Shî'ite authors often refer to this and similar Traditions in support of their claim that 'Alî was meant by the Prophet to be his successor. But the Sunnî commentators (*e.g., Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 60) argue—I believe, rightly—that the above saying of the Prophet referred merely to the family-relationship between him and 'Alî, and not to the question of the Caliphate; for Aaron was not the *khalîfah* of Moses, having preceded him in death. The Tradition under consideration has been fully quoted in Bkh lii/80, No. 2. There we read that the Prophet ordered 'Alî to remain in Madînah in charge of the city and the Prophet's family while he himself was proceeding on the campaign of Tabûk. When 'Alî 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), 'Alî is reported to have been highly gratified by this comparison.

2 *Sc.*, to the people of 'Irâq. 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. 'Umar 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 'Alî's view, but later he changed it and held that she could be sold (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* 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 Shî'ite sources—in which 'Alî is alleged to have spoken against Abû Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmân (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 60).

SECTION XI

THE VIRTUES OF JA'FAR IBN ABÎ ṬÂLIB AL-HÂSHIMÎ[1]

The Prophet said: Thou resemblest me in appearance and character.[2]

1 Aḥmad ibn Abî Bakr related to us: Muḥammad ibn Ibrâhîm ibn Dînâr abû 'Abd Allâh al-Juhanî related to us, on the authority of Ibn Abî Dhi'b, on the authority of Sa'îd al-Maqburî,

ON the authority of Abû Hurayrah[3]: The people used to say: Abû Hurayrah relateth too many [Traditions].[4] Behold, [this is because] I used to keep close to the Prophet—for my belly was easily satisfied[5]—and ate no leavened bread, and wore no showy garment[6]; and never man or woman

١١ باب

مناقب جعفر بن أبي طالب الهاشمي (رض)

وقال النبي ﷺ: أشبهت خلقي وخلقي.

حدثنا أحمد بن أبي بكر: حدثنا محمد بن ابراهيم ابن دينار أبو عبد الله الجهني عن ابن أبي ذئب عن سعيد المقبري

عن أبي هريرة (رض) أن الناس كانوا يقولون: أكثر أبو هريرة. وإني كنت ألزم رسول الله ﷺ بشبع بطني حتى لا آكل الخمير ولا ألبس الحبير ولا يخدمني فلان ولا فلانة.

1 He was a brother of 'Alî, 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 Ḥârithah, 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 *aṭ-Ṭayyâr* ("the Flyer") and *Dhu'l-Janâḥayn* ("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; *Isti'âb* 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 Abû Hurayrah, a brief account of his life is given in the following. "Abû 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 *(hurayrah*, dem. of *hirrah)*. His real name is not known with certainty; it is said to have been 'Abd ash-Shams before he embraced Islâm, and afterwards 'Abd ar-Raḥmân, 'Abd Allâh, 'Âmir or 'Umayr. He belonged to the tribe of Daws, and came to Madînah in the year 7 A.H., when the Prophet was at Khaybar; he followed him there and embraced Islâm. 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 Baḥrayn, but does not seem to have relished this appointment. He died at Madînah in 58 or 59 A.H., at the age of seventy-eight. (Ibn Sa'd IV/ii, 52 ff; *Isti'âb* II, 697 f.)

4 The objections against some of the Traditions reported by Abû Hurayrah will be fully discussed in my *Introduction to the Study of Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî*.

5 This was indeed a necessary qualification for a permanent companion of the Prophet, in whose house food was never abundant. Abû 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 *Ḥabîr*, 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'ân-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 Abî Ṭâlib[1]; he would take us[2] [home] with him and would give us to eat all that was in his house—and would offer us even the empty butter-skin[3]: he would tear it and we would lick whatever [remained] therein.

2 'Amr ibn 'Alî related to me: Yazîd ibn Hârûn related to us: Ismâ'îl ibn Abî Khâlid informed us, on the authority of ash-Sha'bî:

WHEN greeting Ja'far's son[4], Ibn 'Umar would say: Greeting unto thee, O son of the Two-Winged one[5]!

وكنت ألصق بطنى بالحصباء من الجوع، وإن كنت لأستقرىء الرجل الآية هى معى كى ينقلب بى فيطعمنى. وكان أخير الناس للمسكين جعفر ابن أبى طالب: كان ينقلب بنا فيطعمنا ما كان فى بيته — حتى إن كان ليخرج الينا العكة التى ليس فيها شىء فيشقها فنلعق ما فيها.

٢ حدثنى عمرو بن على: حدثنا يزيد بن هرون: أخبرنا اسمعيل بن أبى خالد عن الشعبى

أن ابن عمر (رض) كان اذا سلم على ابن جعفر قال: السلام عليك يا ابن ذى الجناحين!

SECTION XII

CONCERNING AL-'ABBÂS IBN 'ABD AL-MUṬṬALIB[6]

Al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad related to us: Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh al-Anṣârî related

١٢ باب

ذكر العباس بن عبد المطلب (رض)

حدثنا الحسن بن محمد: حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله

adorned or showy garment. The reading *ḥarîr* (silk), which occurs in the text of al-Kashmîhanî is, according to Ibn Ḥajar, incorrect (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 61); but the latter fails to mention that the same reading is to be found in the texts of Abû Dharr and Ibn 'Asâkir as well (cf. *Ṣaḥîḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamîd, vol. V, 19). It is possible that Abû 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" ('Aynî XVI, 220).

2 *I.e.*, poor people of the kind of the narrator; cf. note on *aṣḥâb aṣ-ṣuffah* in Bkh viii 58.

3 *'Ukkah*, a small leathern receptacle for clarified butter.

4 'Abd Allâh ibn Ja'far; d. 80 A.H. (*Isti'âb* 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 Islâm 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 Madînah. But he did not openly embrace Islâm 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 Madînah. Subsequently al-'Abbâs 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-'Abbâs 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 Islâm and migrated to Madînah, where he settled permanently. Subsequently he took part in the campaigns of Ḥunayn, Ṭâ'if, and Tabûk and died at Madînah in the year 32 A.H., during the Caliphate of 'Uthmân. (Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 2 ff; *Isti'âb* 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:

الأنصارى: حدثنى أبى عبد الله بن المثنى عن ثمامة بن عبد الله بن أنس عن أنس (رض)

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!

أن عمر بن الخطاب كان اذا قحطوا استسقى بالعباس بن عبد المطلب فقال: اللهم! إنا كنا نتوسل اليك بنبينا ﷺ فتسقينا؛ وإنا نتوسل اليك بعم نبينا فاسقنا!

[Anas] said:

قال:

Thereupon they would be given rain.[1]

فيسقون.

SECTION XIII

THE VIRTUES OF THE RELATIVES OF THE APOSTLE OF GOD[2]

١٣ باب

مناقب قرابة رسول الله ﷺ

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

١ حدثنا أبو اليمان: أخبرنا شعيب عن الزهرى قال: حدثنى عروة بن الزبير عن عائشة

FÂṬIMAH 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[3] at

أن فاطمة عليها السلام أرسلت الى أبى بكر تسأله ميراثها من النبى ﷺ فيما أفاء الله على رسوله ﷺ، تطلب صدقة النبى ﷺ التى

1 See Bkh xiii/3, No. 3.

2 In most texts of the *Ṣaḥîḥ* follow here the words, "and of Fâṭimah, 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 Fâṭimah. The text of Abû Dharr, however, omits these portions of the *tarjumah* in sec. 13 (cf. *Ṣaḥîḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamîd, vol. V, 20). This is obviously correct, as a separate section of this work is devoted to Fâṭimah, 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, *ṣadaqat an-nabî* ("the Prophet's alms"). This refers to (a) the plantations taken in war from the defeated Jewish tribe of Banu'n-Naḍir, which became the Prophet's property after most of it had been distributed among the poor *Muhâjirs* (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VI, 152), and (b) the property of the Jew Mukhayriq, of Banû Qaynuqâ', who embraced Islâm during the battle of Uḥud 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'd I/ii, 182 f). The revenues derived from that part of the lands of Banu'n-Naḍir which the Prophet had kept for himself were not utilised by him, but set aside for emergencies (*ibid.*, p. 183).

The expression *ṣadaqah* was obviously not used by Fâṭimah herself, for she regarded the said property as her rightful heritage; it appears to be an explanatory description on the part of the narrator, 'Â'ishah. This is the view of al-Kirmânî, one of the oldest commentators of the *Ṣaḥîḥ* ('Ayni XVI, 222).

Madînah, and also Fadak[1], and what remained of the quint of Khaybar.[2] Abû Bakr said: Behold, the Apostle of God hath said: We [prophets] leave no heritage: what we leave is an alms [to the community][3]; behold, the family of Muḥammad shall but derive their subsistence from this property—which is God's property[4]—and shall not go beyond the [needs of] subsistence.[5] And, by God! [said Abû 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![6]

بالمدينة وفدك وما بقي من خمس خيبر. فقال أبو بكر: إن رسول الله ﷺ قال: لا نورث، ما تركنا فهو صدقة؛ إنما يأكل آل محمد من هذا المال — يعني مال الله — ليس لهم أن يزيدوا على المأكل. وإني والله لا أغير شيأ من صدقات النبي ﷺ التي كانت عليها في عهد النبي ﷺ ولأعملن فيها بما عمل فيها رسول الله ﷺ.

And 'Alî repeated the Creed[7] and said:

فتشهد علي ثم قال: إنا قد عرفنا يا أبا بكر

1 Fadak was a place between Madînah 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 (Ṭabarî 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/ii, 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 *Muhâjirs* (Ibn Sa'd I/ii, 183). Evidently Fâṭimah 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 (Abû Dâ'ûd, *K. al-Kharâj, B. Fî Ṣafâyâ Rasûl Allâh*), 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'ân viii, 41.

5 Thus, Abû 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 Abû Bakr to fulfil Fâṭimah'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 Abû 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 Bayhaqî VI, 301, to the effect that she reconciled herself with Abû 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 Muḥammad 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[1] relationship with the Apostle of God and their [consequent] rights. Then Abû 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.[2]

فضيلتك.— وذكر قرابتهم من رسول الله ﷺ وحقهم. فتكلم أبو بكر فقال: والذى نفسى بيده! لقرابة رسول الله ﷺ أحب الى أن أصل من قرابتى.

2 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb informed me: Khâlid related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Wâqid, who said: I heard my father[3] relate, on the authority of Ibn 'Umar,

٢ أخبرنى عبد الله بن عبد الوهاب: حدثنا خالد: حدثنا شعبة عن واقد قال: سمعت أبى يحدث عن ابن عمر

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

عن أبى بكر (رض) قال: ارقبوا محمداً ﷺ فى أهل بيته.

3 Abu'l-Walîd related to us: Ibn 'Uyaynah related to us, on the authority of 'Amr ibn Dînâr, on the authority of Ibn Abî Mulaykah, on the authority of al-Miswar ibn Makhramah:

٣ حدثنا أبو الوليد: حدثنا ابن عيينة عن عمرو ابن دينار عن ابن أبى مليكة عن المسور بن مخرمة

THE Apostle of God said: Fâṭimah is a part of me, and whoso offendeth her, offendeth me.[4]

أن رسول الله ﷺ قال: فاطمة بضعة منى، فمن أغضبها أغضبنى.

4 Yaḥyâ ibn Qaza'ah related to us: Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of 'Urwah,

٤ حدثنا يحيى بن قزعة: حدثنا ابراهيم بن سعد عن أبيه عن عروة

ON the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said: During the illness preceding his death, the Prophet called his daughter Fâṭimah 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 ['Â'ishah]—I asked her about it, and she said: The Prophet spake to me in

عن عائشة (رض) قالت: دعا النبى ﷺ فاطمة ابنته فى شكواه الذى قبض فيها فسارها بشىء فبكت؛ ثم دعاها فسارها فضحكت. قالت: فسألتها عن ذلك فقالت: سارنى النبى ﷺ

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version of this Tradition (Bkh lii/40, No. 41), this fragment refers to a later time, namely, after Fâṭimah'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), 'Alî did not swear allegiance to Abû Bakr till after Fâṭimah's death. His above-mentioned speech, and Abû Bakr's answer to it, preceded 'Alî's oath of allegiance.

1 *I.e.*, his and his family's.

2 Reference to Abû Bakr's dispute with Fâṭimah, in which the former justified his attitude by his deference to the wishes of the Prophet.

3 Muḥammad ibn Zayd ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 63).

4 This is a reference to 'Alî's intended marriage with a daughter of Abû 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 Abû 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.

فأخبرنى أنه يقبض فى وجعه الذى توفى فيه فبكيت؛ ثم سارنى فأخبرنى أنى أول أهل بيته أتبعه فضحكت.

SECTION XIV

THE VIRTUES OF AZ-ZUBAYR IBN AL-'AWWÂM[1]

١٤ باب

مناقب الزبير بن العوام (رض)

Ibn 'Abbâs said: He was a helper [ḥawârî] *of the Prophet.*[2]*—And the* ḥawâriyyûn *were thus called on account of the whiteness of their garments.*

وقال ابن عباس: هو حوارى النبى ﷺ. — وسمى الحواريون لبياض ثيابهم.

1 Khâlid ibn Makhlad related to us: 'Alî ibn Mushir related to us, on the authority of Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of his father, who said: Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam informed me, saying[3]:

١ حدثنا خالد بن مخلد: حدثنا على بن مسهر عن هشام بن عروة عن أبيه قال: أخبرنى مروان ابن الحكم قال:

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 Islâm at the age of fifteen or sixteen, shortly after Abû Bakr. He took part in both migrations—to Abyssinia and to Madînah—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 Jumâdâ II, 36 A.H./4th December, 656 A.C.), he was at first a partisan of 'Â'ishah; but on the same day he met Ibn 'Abbâs and became convinced by him that it was utterly wrong to take part in this fratricidal fight. He left 'Â'ishah's encampment, but was subsequently killed by one of 'Alî's partisans, who did not know what had happened and believed him to be 'Alî's enemy. He was then sixty-four years old. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 70 ff; *Isti'âb* I, 201 ff.) According to one report (cf. *Isti'âb* I, 203), it was 'Alî 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 liii, *sûrah* ix, sec. 9, No. 3. The word *ḥawârî* is used in the Qur'ân 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. *ḥawâriyyûn* 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-Bukhârî's subsequent remark in this *tarjumah;* but it is understood that Ibn 'Abbâs used the word in its general sense as "helper of prophets".

3 It is astonishing that al-Bukhârî—as well as most of the other Traditionists, with the exception of Muslim (see *Hady as-Sârî* II, 164)—accept Marwân 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 Marwân's whole history shows that he was entirely unscrupulous. He acted as 'Uthmân's secretary, and in that capacity he frequently intrigued against some of the most prominent Companions, and went to the extent of misusing 'Uthmân's name—without the latter's

'UTHMÂN 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.—['Uthmân] asked: And did [the people] say this?—[The man] answered: Yea.—['Uthmân] said: And who shall it be?—But [the man] remained silent. Then another man came unto him—I believe, al-Ḥârith[3]—and said: Appoint thy successor.—'Uthmân asked: And did [the people] say this?—[The other] said: Yea.—['Uthmân] said: who shall it be?—But [the man] remained silent. ['Uthmân] said: Perchance they have said, az-Zubayr?—[The man] answered: Yea.—['Uthmân] 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]

أصاب عثمان بن عفان رعاف شديد سنة الرعاف حتى حبسه عن الحج وأوصى. فدخل عليه رجل من قريش قال: استخلف. — قال: وقالوه؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: ومن؟ — فسكت. فدخل عليه رجل آخر — أحسبه الحرث — فقال: استخلف. — فقال عثمان: وقالوا؟ — فقال: نعم. — قال: ومن هو؟ — فسكت. قال: فلعلهم قالوا الزبير؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: أما والذى نفسى بيده! إنه لخيرهم ما علمت، وإن كان لأحبهم الى رسول الله ﷺ.

2 'Ubayd ibn Ismâ'îl related to me: Abû Usâmah related to us, on the authority of Hishâm: My father ['Urwah] informed me:

٢ حدثنى عبيد بن اسمعيل: حدثنا أبو أسامة عن هشام: أخبرنى أبى:

knowledge—for his own purposes, and was several times rebuked by 'Uthmân. The majority of the Muslims hated him and often complained to the Caliph against him (Ibn Sa'd V, 24 f). 'Â'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. Ṭabarî V, 218 f) indirectly contributed to the downfall of 'Uthmân. Himself seriously wounded on the occasion of the murder of 'Uthmân, Marwân subsequently joined 'Â'ishah's group and took part in the Battle of the Camel (36 A.H.). On the same day he murdered Ṭalhah ibn 'Ubayd Allâh (who also was a partisan of 'Â'ishah) on the pretext that he was responsible for the murder of 'Uthmân (Ibn Sa'd V, 26). During Mu'âwiyah's Caliphate he repeatedly acted as governor of Madînah. After the death of Mu'âwiyah ibn Yazîd he succeeded, by means of a series of discreditable 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 Marwân among their transmitters, and especially to those which refer to political questions, like the one under consideration. Al-Bukhârî's acceptance of these narratives was undoubtedly a serious mistake.

1 According to *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 64, this illness, called *ar-ru'âf*, was prevalent in Madînah in the year 31 A.H.

2 Obviously, in expectation of death.

3 Al-Ḥârith ibn al-Ḥakam, brother of the narrator, Marwân ('Aynî XVI, 224).

4 This story is an obvious attempt to prevent, after the assassination of 'Uthmân, the public recognition of 'Alî's election to the Caliphate.

سمعت مروان : كنت عند عثمان أتاه رجل فقال : استخلف. — قال : وقيل ذاك ؟ — قال : نعم ، الزبير. — قال : أما والله إنكم لتعلمون أنه خيركم ، — ثلاثا.

I HEARD Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam [say][1]: I was with 'Uthmân, when a man came and said: Appoint thy successor.—['Uthmân] said: And hath that one been named?—[The man] answered: Yea, az-Zubayr.—['Uthmân] said thrice: By God! Indeed ye know that he is the best of you.

٣ حدثنا مالك بن اسمعيل : حدثنا عبد العزيز — هو ابن أبي سلمة — عن محمد بن المنكدر عن جابر (رض) قال :

3 Mâlik ibn Ismâ'il related to us: 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Abî Salamah related to us, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir, on the authority of Jâbir, who said:

قال النبي ﷺ : إن لكل نبي حواري، وإن حواري الزبير بن العوام.

THE Prophet said: Behold, every prophet hath helpers[2]; and az-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwâm is a helper of mine.

٤ حدثنا أحمد بن محمد : أخبرنا عبد الله : أخبرنا هشام بن عروة عن أبيه

4 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad related to us: 'Abd Allâh informed us: Hishâm ibn 'Urwah informed us: on the authority of his father,

عن عبد الله بن الزبير قال : كنت يوم الأحزاب جعلت أنا وعمر بن أبي سلمة في النساء. فنظرت فاذا أنا بالزبير على فرسه يختلف الى بني قريظة مرتين أو ثلاثا. فلما رجعت قلت: يا أبت رأيتك تختلف. — قال : أوهل رأيتني

ON the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubayr[3], who said: On the Day of the Confederates[4], I and 'Umar ibn Abî Salamah[5] were with the Prophet's womenfolk.[6] And lo, I saw [my father,] Ibn az-Zubayr, riding on his mare to and fro Banû Qurayẓah[7]. 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 Madînah in 1 A.H., having been one of the first children born among the *Muhâjirs*. After the death of Mu'âwiyah ibn Yazîd, he proclaimed himself Caliph in Mecca in 64 or 65 A.H.—while Marwân 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 Marwân, after the siege and conquest of Mecca by al-Ḥajjâj ibn Yûsuf (73 A.H.), and al-Ḥajjâj ordered his body to be crucified. (*Istî'âb* 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-Bârî* 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 Abî Salamah was the Prophet's adopted son, for the latter had married his mother, Umm Salamah, after her first husband's (Abû Salamah's) death. According to *Istî'âb* 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 Madînah (cf. Muslim, *K. Faḍâ'il aṣ-Ṣaḥâbah, B. Faḍâ'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 Banû Qurayẓah 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!

يا بنى ؟ — قلت : نعم. — قال : كان رسول الله ﷺ قال : من يأت بنى قريظة فيأتينى بخبرهم ؟ فانطلقت. فلما رجعت جمع لى رسول الله ﷺ أبويه فقال : فداك أبى و أمى !

5 'Alî ibn Ḥafṣ related to us: Ibn al-Mubârak related to us: Hishâm ibn 'Urwah informed us, on the authority of his father:

٥ حدثنا على بن حفص : حدثنا ابن المبارك : أخبرنا هشام بن عروة عن أبيه

ON the day of the battle of Yarmûk[1], the companions of the Prophet[2] said unto az-Zubayr[3]: 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.

أن أصحاب النبى ﷺ قالوا للزبير يوم وقعة اليرموك : ألا تشد ؟ فنشد معك. — فحمل عليهم فضربوه ضربتين على عاتقه بينهما ضربة ضربها يوم بدر.

'Urwah added: When I was a child I would place my fingers in play into these scars.[4]

قال عروة : فكنت أدخل أصابعى فى تلك الضربات ألعب وأنا صغير.

SECTION XV

CONCERNING ṬALḤAH IBN 'UBAYD ALLÂH[5]

'Umar said: The Prophet remained pleased with him unto his death.[6]

١٥ باب

ذكر طلحة بن عبيد الله

وقال عمر : توفى النبى ﷺ وهو عنه راض.

1 Jumâdâ 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-Athîr 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 Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allâh al-Qurashî at-Taymî. He embraced Islâm at about the same time as Abû Bakr. Ten days before the battle of Badr he was sent by the Prophet, together with Sa'îd 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 Uḥud 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 Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam (both being partisans of 'Â'ishah), as Marwân held him responsible for the murder of 'Uthmân. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 152 ff.) As regards his rôle at 'Uthmân's death, it is reported (*Isti'âb* I, 207) that "some people believed that Ṭalḥah was one of those who had besieged 'Uthmân [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 Muḥammad ibn Abî Bakr al-Muqaddamî related to me: Mu'tamir related to us, on the authority of his father[1], on the authority of Abû 'Uthmân, who said:

ON one of the days when the Apostle of God was fighting,[2] none remained with him[3] save Ṭalḥah and Sa'd[4], as was related by these two.[5]

2 Musaddad related to us: Khâlid related to us: Ibn Abî Khâlid related to us,

ON the authority of Qays ibn Abî Ḥâzim[6], who said: I saw that hand of Ṭalḥah which had saved the Prophet[7]; it was already withered.

SECTION XVI

THE VIRTUES OF SA'D IBN ABÎ WAQQÂṢ AZ-ZUHRÎ[8]

The Banû Zuhrah were maternal uncles of the Prophet.[9]*—His real name was Sa'd ibn Mâlik.*

١ حدثني محمد بن أبي بكر المقدمي: حدثنا معتمر عن أبيه عن أبي عثمان قال:

لم يبق مع النبي ﷺ في بعض تلك الأيام التي قاتل فيهن رسول الله ﷺ غير طلحة وسعد، عن حديثهما.

٢ حدثنا مسدد: حدثنا خالد: حدثنا ابن أبي خالد عن قيس بن أبي حازم قال: رأيت يد طلحة التي وقى بها النبي ﷺ قد شلت.

١٦ باب

مناقب سعد بن أبي وقاص الزهري

وبنو زهرة أخوال النبي ﷺ.—وهو سعد ابن مالك.

1 Sulaymân at-Taymî (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 66).

2 This refers to the battle of Uḥud, 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 Abî Waqqâṣ (see next section).

5 Cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 66, where another version of this Tradition is mentioned: the narrator, Abû 'Uthmân, was asked how he knew it, and he answered: "These two have told it to me."

6 Qays ibn Abî Ḥâzim al-Bajalî, famous *tâbi'î* and Traditionist (d. 37 A.H.). He became Muslim in the Prophet's time, and was on his way to Madînah, when the Prophet died (*Tadhkirah* I, 58).

7 On the day of the battle of Uḥud, 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'âb* I, 207). Abû Bakr later saw that Ṭalḥah had received on that day about seventy wounds (Aṭ-Ṭayâlisî, p. 3).

8 Sa'd embraced Islâm at a very early period (probably on the same day as Abû 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 'Irâq he was the commander-in-chief, and founded the town of Kûfah. For some time he acted as governor of that country, and was recalled by 'Umar 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 'Uthmân'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-'Aqîq, near Madînah; 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'âb* I, 544 f.)

9 The Prophet's mother, Âminah, belonged to the clan of Banû Zuhrah.

1 Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannâ related to me: ʿAbd al-Wahhâb related to us, saying: I heard Yaḥyâ say: I heard Saʿîd ibn al-Musayyab say:

I HEARD Saʿd say: The Prophet named me, on the day of [the battle of] Uḥud, together with both of his parents.[1]

١ حدثنى محمد بن المثنى: حدثنا عبد الوهاب قال: سمعت يحيى قال: سمعت سعيد بن المسيب قال:

سمعت سعداً يقول: جمع لى النبى ﷺ أبويه يوم أحد.

2 Makkî ibn Ibrâhîm related to us: Hâshim ibn Hâshim[2] related to us, on the authority of ʿÂmir ibn Saʿd,

ON the authority of his father [Saʿd], who said: Verily, I believe that [for some time] I represented one-third of Islâm.[3]

٢ حدثنا مكى بن ابراهيم: حدثنا هاشم بن هاشم عن عامر بن سعد

عن أبيه قال: لقد رأيتنى وأنا ثلث الاسلام.

3 Ibrâhîm ibn Mûsâ related to me: Ibn Abî Zâʾidah informed us: Hâshim ibn Hâshim ibn ʿUtbah ibn Abî Waqqâṣ related to us, saying: I heard Saʿîd ibn al-Musayyab say:

I HEARD Saʿd ibn Abî Waqqâṣ say: No man[4] embraced Islâm before the day on which I did it; and, verily, for seven days I represented one-third of Islâm.

Abû Usâmah corroborated him[5] [saying]: Hâshim related to us.

٣ حدثنى ابراهيم بن موسى: أخبرنا ابن أبى زائدة: حدثنا هاشم بن هاشم بن عتبة بن أبى وقاص قال: سمعت سعيد بن المسيب يقول:

سمعت سعد بن أبى وقاص يقول: ما أسلم أحد الا فى اليوم الذى أسلمت فيه، ولقد مكثت سبعة أيام وإنى لثلث الاسلام.

تابعه أبو أسامة: حدثنا هاشم.

4 ʿAmr ibn ʿAwn related to us: Khâlid ibn ʿAbd Allâh related to us, on the authority of Ismâʿîl, on the authority of Qays, who said:

٤ حدثنا عمرو بن عون: حدثنا خالد بن عبد الله عن اسمعيل عن قيس قال:

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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 Hishâm ibn Hâshim, which is probably a copyist's mistake. We find no evidence of any disciple of ʿÂmir ibn Saʿd (see *isnâd*) by the name of Hishâm, but, on the other hand, one Hâshim ibn Hâshim; see *Rijâl aṣ-Ṣaḥîḥayn* 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 Saʿd embraced Islâm immediately after Abû Bakr, there were already several other Muslims at that time (cf. sec. 6, No. 1). It is, however, most probable that Saʿd referred only to the three free-born, adult Muslims, *i.e.*, Khadîjah, Abû Bakr and himself. He did not count ʿAlî, who was only a child, nor the five slaves (see Bkh, *loc. cit.*). It appears that Saʿd accepted Islâm on the same day as Abû Bakr, and that there was only a matter of hours between his and Abû Bakr's conversion; this can be inferred from Ibn Saʿd III/i, 98, where Saʿd says: "No man embraced Islâm before me save a man who embraced Islâm on the day I did it"—whereby only Abû 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 Khadîjah was the *first* of all Muslims), I have rendered it as "no man". As regards the other men who embraced Islâm before Saʿd, see preceding note.

5 *I.e.*, the transmitter Ibn Abî Zâʾidah. The full *isnâd* 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.[1] 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 Banû Asad blame me for my not having understood Islâm![2] 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.)

سمعت سعداً (رض) يقول: إني لأول العرب رمى بسهم في سبيل الله. وكنا نغزو مع النبي ﷺ ومالنا طعام الا ورق الشجر حتى إن أحدنا ليضع كما يضع البعير أو الشاة ماله خلط. ثم أصبحت بنو أسد تعزرني على الاسلام! لقد خبت اذاً وضل عملي! — (وكانوا وشوا به الى عمر قالوا: لايحسن يصلي.)

SECTION XVII

CONCERNING THE PROPHET'S RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE: OF THESE WAS ABU'L-'ÂṢ IBN AR-RABÎ'[3]

باب ١٧

ذكر أصهار النبي ﷺ: منهم أبو العاص ابن الربيع

1 Abu'l-Yamân related to us: Shu'ayb informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, who said: 'Alî ibn Ḥusayn related to me that al-Miswar ibn Makhramah said:

١ حدثنا أبو اليمان: أخبرنا شعيب عن الزهري قال: حدثني علي بن حسين أن المسور بن مخرمة قال:

1 This refers to the first military expedition ever sent by the Prophet, in the year 1 A.H. (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 68). Its commander was 'Ubaydah ibn al-Ḥârith ibn al-Muṭṭalib, and Sa'd was the standard-bearer; it was the first time the Prophet employed a standard of his own ('Aynî XVI, 229). The object of this expedition was to intercept a caravan of the Quraysh near Râbigh (on the west coast of the Ḥijâz), 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 Islâm". This refers to the unjust complaints made by some people of the clan Banû Asad in Kûfah 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 Islâm, 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-Bukhârî mentions in this section only Abu'l-'Âṣ, as the two other sons-in-law of the Prophet—'Uthmân and 'Alî—have been mentioned in separate sections. Abu'l-'Âṣ ibn ar-Rabî' married the Prophet's daughter Zaynab. He was a nephew of Khadîjah. His real name is uncertain, but it was most probably Laqîṭ. 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 Madînah, as she could not remain the wife of an unbeliever. Abu'l-'Âṣ faithfully fulfilled his promise and sent Zaynab to Madînah. Shortly before the conquest of Mecca he was again taken prisoner by the Muslims in one of the minor campaigns. In Madînah he took refuge in the house of Zaynab, and subsequently embraced Islâm; thereupon Zaynab was given back to him as his wife. He died in the year 12 A.H. (*Isti'âb* II, 671 f.)

إن علياً خطب بنت أبي جهل، فسمعت بذلك فاطمة فأتت رسول الله ﷺ فقالت: يزعم قومك أنك لا تغضب لبناتك، وهذا علي ناكح بنت أبي جهل. — فقام رسول الله ﷺ فسمعته حين تشهد يقول: أما بعد. فاني أنكحت أبا العاص بن الربيع، فحدثني وصدقني. وإن فاطمة بضعة مني وإني أكره أن يسوءها. والله لا تجتمع بنت رسول الله وبنت عدو الله عند رجل واحد! — فترك علي الخطبة.

'ALÎ demanded in marriage a daughter of Abû Jahl[1]; when Fâṭimah 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[2]; and now 'Alî is going to marry the daughter of Abû Jahl.— Thereupon the Apostle of God rose, and I[3] heard him repeat the Creed[4] and say: To come to the point. Behold, I gave [a daughter of mine[5]] in marriage to Abu'l-'Âṣ ibn ar-Rabî'; and he spake unto me, and spake the truth.[6] Behold, Fâṭimah 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![7]—Thereupon 'Alî gave up his intended marriage.

٢ وزاد محمد بن عمرو بن حلحلة عن ابن شهاب عن علي عن مسور:

سمعت النبي ﷺ وذكر صهراً له من بني عبد شمس فأثنى عليه في مصاهرته اياه فأحسن، قال: حدثني فصدقني و وعدني فوفى لي.

2 And[8] Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥalḥalah told [the same Tradition], with some additions, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, on the authority of 'Alî, on the authority of Miswar:

I HEARD the Prophet mention one of his relatives by marriage who belonged to Banû 'Abd ash-Shams[9]; 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 Islâm. The girl's name was Juwayriyah. She subsequently married 'Attâb ibn Asîd (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 191), who had embraced Islâm after the conquest of Mecca and was appointed by the Prophet governor of that city; he died in 12 A.H. (*Istî'âb* II, 508). After 'Attâb's death, Juwayriyah married Abân ibn Sa'îd ibn al-'Âṣ (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 Makhramah.

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

5 Zaynab.

6 This refers to the promise made by Abu'l-'Âṣ, 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 *sharî'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 *isnâd*, which is fully given *loc. cit.*

9 *I.e.*, Abu'l-'Âṣ ibn ar-Rabî'; he belonged to the clan of Banû 'Abd ash-Shams.

SECTION XVIII

THE VIRTUES OF ZAYD IBN ḤÂRITHAH, THE PROPHET'S FREEDMAN[1]

Al-Barâ' said, on the authority of the Prophet [who said]: Thou art our brother[2] and our freedman.[3]

1 Khâlid ibn Makhlad related to us: Sulaymân related to us, saying: 'Abd Allâh ibn Dînâr related to me, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar, who said:

THE Prophet sent out an expedition[4] and gave its command to Usâmah ibn Zayd[5]. Some people objected to his commandership,[6] whereupon the Prophet said: Ye object to his commandership as ye have objected to that of his father before.[7] On God do I take mine oath that he was worthy of commandership and was one of the dearest of men to me; and after him, behold, this one[8] is one of the dearest of men to me.

١٨ باب

مناقب زيد بن حارثة مولى النبي ﷺ

وقال البراء عن النبي ﷺ: أنت أخونا ومولانا.

١ حدثنا خالد بن مخلد: حدثنا سليمان قال: حدثني عبد الله بن دينار عن عبد الله بن عمر (رض) قال:

بعث النبي ﷺ بعثاً وأمر عليهم أسامة ابن زيد، فطعن بعض الناس في إمارته فقال النبي ﷺ: ان تطعنوا في إمارته فقد كنتم تطعنون في إمارة أبيه من قبل. وايم الله إن كان لخليقاً للامارة وإن كان لمن أحب الناس الي، وإن هذا لمن أحب الناس الي بعده.

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1 Zayd ibn Ḥârithah al-Kalbî was taken prisoner, while still a child, in one of the inter-tribal raids before Islâm, and was sold as a slave to Ḥakîm ibn Ḥizâm, Khadîjah'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, Usâmah. 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'âb* I, 185 ff; Ibn Sa'd III/i, 27 ff.)

2 *I.e.*, in Islâm.

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 Usâmah 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 (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* 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 Islâm, 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 Islâmic 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.*, Usâmah ibn Zayd.

2 Yaḥyâ ibn Qaza'ah related to us: Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, on the authority of 'Urwah,

ON the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said: A tracker[1] came once to me while the Prophet was present and Usâmah ibn Zayd and Zayd ibn Ḥârithah were lying asleep,[2] and said [pointing to their feet[3]]: These feet have sprung from each other.[4]

['Urwah] said:

And the Prophet was pleased [with this saying] and liked it,[5] and spake to 'Â'ishah about it.

SECTION XIX

CONCERNING USÂMAH IBN ZAYD[6]

1 Qutaybah ibn Sa'id related to us: Layth related to us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, on the authority of 'Urwah, on the authority of 'Â'ishah:

THE Quraysh were preoccupied with the matter of the Makhzûmî woman[7], and they said: Who can dare to speak to him[8] but Usâmah ibn Zayd, the darling of the Apostle of God?

٢ حدثنا يحيى بن قزعة: حدثنا ابراهيم بن سعد عن الزهرى عن عروة

عن عائشة (رض) قالت: دخل على قائف والنبى ﷺ شاهد وأسامة بن زيد و زيد بن حارثة مضطجعان، فقال: إن هذه الأقدام بعضها من بعض.

قال:

فسرّ بذلك النبى ﷺ وأعجبه فأخبر به عائشة.

١٩ باب

ذكر أسامة بن زيد

١ حدثنا قتيبة بن سعيد: حدثنا ليث عن الزهرى عن عروة عن عائشة (رض)

أن قريشاً أهمهم شأن المخزومية فقالوا: من يجترىء عليه الا أسامة بن زيد حِبّ رسول الله ﷺ؟

1 Arabic, *qâ'if* (from *qawafa*), one who is skilled in reading the traces of men and animals (*Nihâyah* 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 Usâmah 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 *qâ'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 Usâmah was not Zayd's son.

5 Because thus it was shown that the suspicion regarding Usâmah'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'âwiyah, most probably in 54 A.H. (*Isti'âb* I, 30).

7 Her name was Fâṭimah bint al-Aswad ibn 'Abd al-Asad al-Makhzûmî (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 lxxiii/12. The Quraysh were distressed about this affair—for the Banû Makhzûm 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.

2 And[1] 'Alî related to us: Sufyân related to us, saying: I went to ask az-Zuhrî about the Tradition on the Makhzûmî woman, but he scolded me.[2]—[Thereupon] I[3] asked Sufyân: Then thou didst not hear this [Tradition] from anyone?—He answered: I found it [later] in a book written by Ayyûb ibn Mûsâ [thus]: On the authority of az-Zuhrî, on the authority of 'Urwah, on the authority of 'Â'ishah:

A WOMAN of Banû Makhzûm committed theft, and the people said: Who will speak on her behalf to the Prophet?—But no one dare to speak unto him until Usâmah ibn Zayd did it. Thereupon [the Prophet] said: Behold, the Banû Isrâ'îl [did such wise]: when a noble from among them committed theft, they would let him go; and when a poor man committed theft, they would cut his hand. If it had been Fâṭimah, indeed I would cut her hand![4]

٢ وحدثنا علي: حدثنا سفيان قال: ذهبت أسأل الزهري عن حديث المخزومية فصاح بي. — قلت لسفيان: فلم تحتمله عن أحد؟ — قال: وجدته في كتاب كان كتبه أيوب بن موسى: عن الزهري عن عروة عن عائشة (رض)

أن امرأة من بني مخزوم سرقت فقالوا: من يكلم فيها النبي ﷺ؟ — فلم يجترىء أحد أن يكلمه فكلمه أسامة بن زيد. فقال: إن بني اسرائيل كان اذا سرق فيهم الشريف تركوه، واذا سرق فيهم الضعيف قطعوه. لو كانت فاطمة لقطعت يدها!

SECTION XX

٢٠ باب

1 Al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad related to me: Abû 'Abbâd Yaḥyâ ibn 'Abbâd related to us: Al-Mâjishûn related to us: 'Abd Allâh ibn Dînâr informed us, saying:

ONE day, when Ibn 'Umar was in the mosque, he saw a man trailing his garment in the remote end of it, and said: See who it is; would that he were nigh unto me![5]—A man said to him: Dost thou not know him, O Abû 'Abd ar-Raḥmân[6]? This is Muḥammad ibn Usâmah[7].

١ حدثني الحسن بن محمد: حدثنا أبو عباد يحيى بن عباد: حدثنا الماجشون: أخبرنا عبد الله ابن دينار قال:

نظر ابن عمر يوماً وهو في المسجد الى رجل يسحب ثيابه في ناحية من المسجد فقال: انظر من هذا؛ ليت هذا عندي! — قال له انسان: أما تعرف هذا يا أبا عبد الرحمن؟ هذا محمد بن أسامة.

1 The author begins this *isnâd* with an "and" because he does not fully accept it on account of the fact that one of the transmitters, Sufyân (ibn 'Uyaynah), received the Tradition not through oral transmission but from a book, as is shown further on in the *isnâd*. The problem of oral or written transmissions, and al-Bukhârî's attitude towards it, will be fully discussed in my *Introduction to the Study of Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî*. Here the author quotes this Tradition merely in support of the preceding one, which fact is indicated by the adjunctive particle "and".

2 The Tradition was probably so well-known that az-Zuhrî was angry with his disciple Sufyân for asking him about it.

3 *I.e.*, the first narrator, 'Alî (ibn al-Madînî).

4 Thus the Prophet refused to listen to intercession based on the plea that the guilty person was of "good family" and should, therefore, be leniently treated.

5 Obviously he wished to admonish him about his too-long garment.

6 Ibn 'Umar's *kunyah;* the name of his first-born son was 'Abd ar-Raḥmân.

7 He was a son of Usâmah ibn Zayd ibn Ḥârithah; died at Madînah during the reign of al-Walîd ibn 'Abd al-Malik (Ibn Sa'd V, 183).

[ʿAbd Allâh ibn Dînâr] said:

Thereupon Ibn ʿUmar bent his head, struck the ground with his hand, and said: Had the Apostle of God seen him, indeed he would have loved him.[1]

قال:

فطأطأ ابن عمر رأسه ونقر بيديه فى الأرض ثم قال: لو رآه رسول الله ﷺ لأحبه.

2 Mûsâ ibn Ismâʾîl related to us: Muʿtamir related to us, saying: I heard my father, [Sulaymân, say]: Abû ʿUthmân related to us,

ON the authority of Usâmah ibn Zayd, who related that the Prophet used to embrace him and al-Ḥasan[2] and would say: O God! Love them both, for, indeed, I love them!

٢ حدثنا موسى بن اسمعيل: حدثنا معتمر قال: سمعت أبى: حدثنا أبو عثمان

عن أسامة بن زيد (رض) حدث عن النبى ﷺ أنه كان يأخذه والحسن فيقول: اللهم! أحبّهما فانى أحبّهما!

3 Nuʿaym[3] said, on the authority of Ibn al-Mubârak: Maʿmar informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî: A freedman of Usâmah ibn Zayd[4] informed us:

AL-ḤAJJÂJ ibn Ayman ibn Umm Ayman (Ayman ibn Umm Ayman was Usâmah's brother on their mother's side[5]) was a man of the *Anṣâr*.[6] [Once] Ibn ʿUmar saw him leave both his *rukûʿ* and his prostration unfinished, and said: Repeat [thy prayer]!

٣ وقال نعيم عن ابن المبارك: أخبرنا معمر عن الزهرى: أخبرنى مولى لأسامة بن زيد

أن الحجاج بن أيمن بن أم أيمن (وكان أيمن بن أم أيمن أخا أسامة لأمه) وهو رجل من الأنصار فرآه ابن عمر لم يتم ركوعه ولا سجوده فقال: أعد!

4 Abû ʿAbd Allâh[7] said: And[8] Sulaymân ibn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmân related to me: Al-Walîd ibn Muslim related to us: ʿAbd ar-Raḥmân ibn Namir related to us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî:

٤ قال أبو عبد الله: وحدثنى سليمان بن عبد الرحمن: حدثنا الوليد بن مسلم: حدثنا عبد الرحمن بن نمر عن الزهرى:

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1 The Prophet was very fond of this whole family. He loved Zayd ibn Ḥârithah like his own son, and regarded Umm Ayman, Usâmah's mother, as a member of his family (cf. p. 25, n. 2); Usâmah himself was known as "the Prophets' darling".

2 *Sc.*, ibn ʿAlî.

3 Nuʿaym ibn Ḥammâd al-Marwazî was a *shaykh* of al-Bukhârî, but several Traditionists have found grave fault with certain Traditions narrated by him (cf. *Tadhkirah* II, 6 f); therefore al-Bukhârî never brings a Tradition on his authority unless it is supported *(maqrûn)* by a similar one with a different *isnâd*, in which case the first Tradition becomes *ṣaḥîḥ li-ghayrihi* ("authentic on the strength of another [Tradition]", *i.e.*, the supporting one). In the present case, Nuʿaym's Tradition is left incomplete; the end of the incident of which it treats is narrated in the subsequent, "supporting", Tradition (No. 4) on the authority of Sulaymân ibn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmân.

4 The name of this freedman was Ḥarmalah, as is evident from No. 4. See also p. 83, n. 1.

5 Ayman was Umm Ayman's first-born son, to which fact her *kunyah* was due. His father was ʿUbayd ibn Zayd (cf. p. 25, n. 2), while Usâmah was the son of Umm Ayman's second husband, Zayd ibn Ḥârithah.

6 Al-Ḥajjâj ibn Ayman descended on his father's side from the tribe of Khazraj (see Ibn Saʿd VIII, 162).

7 *Sc.*, al-Bukhârî.

8 The adjunctive particle "and" indicates in this case that the following Tradition supports the previous one, which was narrated by Nuʿaym. See n. 3 above.

HARMALAH, the freedman of Usâmah ibn Zayd[1], related to me that he was with 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar, when al-Ḥajjâj ibn Ayman came in. He left both his *rukû'* and his prostration unfinished; thereupon [Ibn 'Umar] said: Repeat [thy prayer]!—And when he went away, Ibn 'Umar asked me: Who is he?—I answered: Al-Ḥajjâj ibn Ayman ibn Umm Ayman.—Thereupon Ibn 'Umar said: Had the Apostle of God seen him, he would indeed have loved him.—And he mentioned the Prophet's[2] love for the children of Umm Ayman.

[Al-Bukhârî] added: And some of my friends related to me, on the authority of Sulaymân[3]:

She had been the Prophet's nurse.[4]

حدثني حرملة مولى أسامة بن زيد أنه بينما هو مع عبد الله بن عمر اذ دخل الحجاج بن أيمن فلم يتم ركوعه ولا سجوده، فقال: أعد! — فلما ولى قال لى ابن عمر: من هذا؟ — قلت: الحجاج بن أيمن ابن أم أيمن. — فقال ابن عمر: لو رأى هذا رسول الله ﷺ لأحبه. — فذكر حبه وما ولدته أم أيمن.

قال: وحدثني بعض أصحابي عن سليمان:

وكانت حاضنة النبي ﷺ.

SECTION XXI

THE VIRTUES OF 'ABD ALLÂH IBN 'UMAR IBN AL-KHAṬṬÂB[5]

٢١ باب

مناقب عبد الله بن عمر بن الخطاب (رض)

1 He is sometimes described as the freedman of Zayd ibn Thâbit, which is wrong; this misconception is probably due to the fact that Ḥarmalah used to be much in the company of Zayd ibn Thâbit and to serve him (cf. Ibn Sa'd V, 224).

2 In the text, "his", in conjunction with the preceding sentence.

3 The author did not hear this part of the Tradition directly from his *shaykh*, Sulaymân, and intimated this fact here.

4 Cf. p. 25, n. 2.

5 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar was 'Umar's eldest son; he is sometimes called Abû 'Abd ar-Raḥmân after his first-born son of that name. 'Abd Allâh embraced Islâm together with his father, in the sixth year of the Prophet's Mission. He migrated early to Madînah (before his father). Too young to take part in the battles of Badr and Uḥud, he participated in the Campaign of the Moat and most of the later expeditions. Always an upright and righteous man, he refused after the murder of 'Uthmân to fight on 'Â'ishah's side against 'Alî, and spent the rest of his life devoted to his religious duties and to learning, and was considered one of the greatest authorities of his time as regards Traditions. He died under tragic circumstances in Mecca, after its conquest by the Umayyad general, al-Ḥajjâj ibn Yûsuf, in 73 A.H., which followed the short-lived "Caliphate" of 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubayr. 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar caused the wrath of the victorious general by rebuking him for his negligence regarding congregational prayers, and by valiantly defending the name of the dead 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubayr against calumnies propounded by al-Ḥajjâj. As Ibn 'Umar was too widely esteemed to be openly killed, al-Ḥajjâj induced one of his own followers to wound him, as if by accident, with a poisoned lance. When Ibn 'Umar lay on his death-bed, al-Ḥajjâj played the distressed and visited him; but Ibn 'Umar plainly told him that he knew who was the real perpetrator of the crime. He died at the age of eighty-three; and his murderer, al-Ḥajjâj, led the funeral prayer. (*Isti'âb* I, 368 f.) 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar was of so mild a disposition that his father, 'Umar, refused to entertain even the idea that his son should succeed him in the Caliphate (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 248; Ṭabarî V, 33 ff). Ibn 'Umar's righteousness, piety and learning had almost no equal after the Right-Guided Caliphs. During his whole life he paid the minutest attention to the exactitude of

1 Isḥâq ibn Naṣr related to us: 'Abd ar-Razzâq related to us, on the authority of Ma'mar, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, on the authority of Sâlim,

ON the authority of Ibn 'Umar, who said: In the life-time of the Prophet, everyone who had a dream would tell it to him[1]; and I desired to have a dream so that I [also] might tell it to the Prophet. I was an unmarried boy in his time, and used to sleep in the mosque. And [once] I saw in a dream two angels take me toward Hell. And lo, it was built like the casing of a well and had two pillars like those of a well; and lo, there were people in it whom I knew, and I cried out: I take with God my refuge from Hell! I take with God my refuge from Hell!—Then another angel joined the two [others] and said unto me: Thou needst not fear!

And I told this [dream] to Ḥafṣah[2], and Ḥafṣah told it to the Prophet. He thereupon said: Worthy is this man, 'Abd Allâh! O that he would pray at night[3]!

Sâlim added:

And [from then onward,] 'Abd Allâh would sleep but during a small part of the night.[4]

١ حدثنا اسحق بن نصر: حدثنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن الزهرى عن سالم

عن ابن عمر (رض) قال: كان الرجل فى حياة النبى ﷺ اذا رأى رؤياً قصها على النبى ﷺ؛ فتمنيت أن أرى رؤياً أقصها على النبى ﷺ. وكنت غلاماً أعزب وكنت أنام فى المسجد على عهد النبى ﷺ. فرأيت فى المنام كأن ملكين أخذانى فذهبا بى الى النار؛ فاذا هى مطوية كطى البئر واذا لها قرنان كقرنى البئر، واذا فيها ناس قد عرفتهم فجعلت أقول: أعوذ بالله من النار! أعوذ بالله من النار! — فلقيهما ملك آخر فقال لى: لن تراع!

فقصصتها على حفصة فقصتها حفصة على النبى ﷺ فقال: نعم الرجل عبد الله! لو كان يصلى بالليل!

قال سالم:

فكان عبد الله لا ينام من الليل الا قليلاً.

2 Yaḥyâ ibn Sulaymân related to us: Ibn Wahb related to us, on the authority of Yûnus, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, on the authority of Sâlim,

ON the authority of Ibn 'Umar, on the authority of his sister, Ḥafṣah: The Prophet said unto her: Behold, 'Abd Allâh is a righteous man.

٢ حدثنا يحيى بن سليمان: حدثنا ابن وهب عن يونس عن الزهرى عن سالم

عن ابن عمر عن أخته حفصة أن النبى ﷺ قال لها: إن عبد الله رجل صالح.

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the Prophet's Traditions narrated by him, and would never report any unless he was fully satisfied that no detail had escaped him. So, *e.g.*, the famous *tâbi'î*, ash-Sha'bî, said that once he had spent a full year with Ibn 'Umar without hearing from him a single Tradition (Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 106). It has been already mentioned that Ibn 'Umar hated discord between Muslims and never took part in any of the internecine wars which ensued after 'Uthmân's death; and he would not make any distinction between Muslims, however "sectarian" be theirs views, provided they professed Islâm and performed their religious duties in the way the Prophet had ordered (*ibid.*, p. 125).

1 In order to have it interpreted by the Prophet.
2 His sister, who was married to the Prophet.
3 The supererogatory prayer during the night *(tahajjud)* is regarded as highly meritorious.
4 —and would spend the rest of the night in prayer.

SECTION XXII

THE VIRTUES OF 'AMMÂR[1] AND ḤUDHAYFAH[2]

1 Mâlik ibn Ismâ'îl related to us: Isrâ'îl related to us, on the authority of al-Mughîrah, on the authority of Ibrâhîm,

ON the authority of 'Alqamah[3], who said: I came to Damascus. After having prayed two *rak'ahs,*[4] I said: O God! Enable me to find a righteous companion!—Then I came upon some people and sat down by their side; thereupon, lo, an old man came and sat down by my side. I asked: Who is he?—They answered: Abu'd-Dardâ'[5].—Then I said: Behold, I prayed God to enable me to find a righteous companion; and He hath enabled me to meet thee.—[Abu'd-Dardâ'] said: Whence art thou?—I answered: Of the people of Kûfah.—He said: Have ye not, then, among you Ibn Umm 'Abd[6], [the man] who was in charge of the [Prophet's] sandals, pillow and ewer[7]? And [the man] whom God hath saved from the Satan, as He revealed through His Prophet[8]? Is there not among

٢٢ باب

مناقب عمار وحذيفة (رض)

١ حدثنا مالك بن اسمعيل: حدثنا اسرائيل عن المغيرة عن ابراهيم

عن علقمة قال: قدمت الشأم فصليت ركعتين، ثم قلت: اللهم! يسر لى جليساً صالحاً! — فأتيت قوماً فجلست اليهم، فاذا شيخ قد جاء حتى جلس الى جنبي. قلت: من هذا؟ — قالوا: أبو الدرداء. — فقلت: إنى دعوت الله أن ييسر لى جليساً صالحاً، فيسرك لى. — قال: ممن أنت؟ — فقلت: من أهل الكوفة. — قال: أوليس عندكم ابن أم عبد صاحب النعلين والوساد والمطهرة؟ وفيكم الذى أجاره الله من الشيطان على لسان نبيه ﷺ؟ أوليس فيكم صاحب سر النبي ﷺ

1 'Ammâr ibn Yâsir belonged, on his father's side, to the tribe of Qaḥṭân, but he was regarded as a "freedman" of Banû Makhzûm (who were Quraysh) because his mother Sumayyah (see p. 25, n. 2) had been a slave of that clan. He was one of the earliest adherents of the Prophet and was cruelly maltreated on that account. The early Qur'ân-commentators are unanimous in that verse xvi, 106, was revealed on account of him (see n. 8 below). He migrated first to Abyssinia and then—at an early period—to Madînah, and participated in all campaigns of the Prophet, as well as in most of those of his successors, *e.g.*, the campaign of Yamâmah. He fell in the battle of Ṣiffîn, 37 A.H. (*Isti'âb* II, 422 ff.)

2 The author mentions here the name of Ḥudhayfah (ibn al-Yamân) because there is a reference to him in both Traditions of this section. Ḥudhayfah has a special rubric in this chapter (sec. 55), and there his biographical sketch is given.

3 'Alqamah ibn Qays an-Nakha'î, famous *tâbi'î;* died in Kûfah in 62 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd VI, 57 ff).

4 The usual prayer of thanksgiving on the arrival at one's destination after a journey.

5 'Uwaymir ibn Zayd ibn Qays al-Anṣârî, surnamed Abu'd-Dardâ'. He was a learned man and called *ḥakîm al-ummah.* His conversion to Islâm took place in 3 or 4 A.H., and he died in Damascus in 31 or 32 A.H., during the Caliphate of 'Uthmân (Ibn Sa'd VII/ii, 117 f). There is some difference of opinion regarding the date of his death, which is sometimes given as 38 or 39 A.H. this, however, is wrong (*Isti'âb* II, 453).

6 *I.e.,* 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd; Umm 'Abd was the *kunyah* of his mother (cf. Ibn Sa'd VIII, 112). For biographical note see sec. 30.

7 Ibn Mas'ûd used to serve the Prophet.

8 Lit., "through His Prophet's tongue"—allusion to Qur'ân xvi, 106, where God's forgive-

you [the man] who was trusted with the Prophet's secrets which nobody knew but he[1]?—Then he said: How doth 'Abd Allâh [ibn Mas'ûd] recite, *By the night when it draweth its veil*[2]?—And I recited to him: *By the night when it draweth its veil, and by the day when it shineth with splendour, and by the male and the female...*[3]—[Abu'd-Dardâ'] said: By God! Thus the Apostle of God with his own mouth[4] made me recite it!

الذى لا يعلم أحد غيره؟ — ثم قال: كيف يقرأ عبد الله «والليل اذا يغشى»؟ — فقرأت عليه: «والليل اذا يغشى والنهار اذا تجلى والذكر والأنثى...» — قال: والله! لقد أقرأنيها رسول الله ﷺ من فيه الى فيّ!

2 Sulaymân ibn Ḥarb related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Mughîrah, on the authority of Ibrâhîm, who said:

٢ حدثنا سليمان بن حرب: حدثنا شعبة عن مغيرة عن ابراهيم قال:

'ALQAMAH went to Damascus. When he entered the mosque, he said: O God! Enable me to find a righteous companion!—Then he sat down by the side of Abu'd-Dardâ'. And Abu'd-Dardâ' said: Whence art thou?—['Alqamah] answered: Of the people of Kûfah.—[Abu'd-Dardâ'] said: Is there not among you

—or: from among you—

[the man] who was trusted with the secret which nobody knew but he?[5]

—He meant Ḥudhayfah.

ذهب علقمة الى الشأم؛ فلما دخل المسجد قال: اللهم! يسرلى جليساً صالحاً! — فجلس الى أبى الدرداء. فقال أبو الدرداء: ممن أنت؟ — قال: من أهل الكوفة. — قال: أليس فيكم

— أو: منكم —

صاحب السر الذى لا يعلمه غيره؟

— يعنى حذيفة.

ness is expressed for those who, while inwardly believing, recant their faith in Islâm under threat of death. This refers to 'Ammâr ibn Yâsir. He had been cruelly tortured by the pagan Quraysh and forced publicly to retract his belief in the Prophet's Message. The above revelation was regarded as a particular distinction for 'Ammâr.

1 Reference to Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamân (see sec. 55). It is said (*Istî'âb* I, 104) that the Prophet disclosed to him the names of the hypocrites at Madînah who openly professed Islâm but remained disbelievers at heart; no other Companion possessed this knowledge.

It appears from the above questions of Abu'd-Dardâ' that he was astonished to see 'Alqamah and his companions search for a learned man in Damascus (this could be inferred from 'Alqamah's saying, "O God! Enable me to find a righteous companion!") while they had in their midst great *ṣaḥâbah* like Ibn Mas'ûd, 'Ammâr and Ḥudhayfah.

2 Qur'ân xcii, 1.

3 —omitting the words *mâ khalaqa*. This is the way Ibn Mas'ûd used to recite this verse. His reading (as well as that of Abu'd-Dardâ') was conflicting with that of all other Companions, who used to read this verse thus: وما خلق الذكر والانثا ("and by *the creation of* the male and the female"). 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd often differed from the other Companions with regard to the reading of Qur'ân-verses. It is possible, however, that the words *mâ khalaqa* have been revealed on a later occasion, and Ibn Mas'ûd and Abu'd-Dardâ' did not hear the second version ('Aynî XVI, 237).

4 Lit., "from his mouth to my mouth".

5 See n. 1 above.

['Alqamah] said: I answered: Yea.—[Abu'd-Dardâ'] said: Is there not among you

—or: from among you—

[the man] whom God hath saved, as He revealed through His Prophet[1]?

—To wit, [saved] from the Satan; he alluded to 'Ammâr.

I answered: Yea.—He said: Is there not among you

—or: from among you—

the man who was in charge of the [Prophet's] tooth-brush[2]

—or: was trusted with [his] secrets[3]—?

['Alqamah] said: [I answered:] Yea.—[Abu'd-Dardâ'] said: How did 'Abd Allâh [ibn Mas'ûd] recite, *By the night when it draweth its veil, and by the day when it shineth with splendour?*—I recited: . . . *and by the male and the female.*[4]—[Abu'd-Dardâ'] said: And these people almost made me give up something which I had heard from the Apostle of God![5]

قال: قلت: بلى. — قال: أليس فيكم

— أو: منكم —

الذى أجاره الله على لسان نبيه ﷺ ؟

—يعنى من الشيطان، يعنى عماراً.

قلت: بلى. — قال: أليس فيكم

— أو: منكم —

صاحب السواك

— أو: السرار —؟

قال: بلى.— قال: كيف كان عبدالله يقرأ «والليل اذا يغشى والنهار اذا تجلى» ؟ — قلت: «والذكر والأنثى». — قال: ما زال بى هؤلاء حتى كادوا يستنزلونى عن شىء سمعته من رسول الله ﷺ !

SECTION XXIII

THE VIRTUES OF ABÛ 'UBAYDAH IBN AL-JARRÂḤ[6]

1 'Amr ibn 'Alî related to us: 'Abd al-A'lâ related to us: Khâlid related to us, on the

٢٣ باب

مناقب أبى عبيدة بن الجراح (رض)

١ حدثنا عمرو بن على: حدثنا عبد الأعلى: حدثنا

1 See p. 85, n. 8.

2 *Siwâk*, the tooth-stick used by the Prophet, and the Arabs before him, for cleaning the teeth (see Bkh iv/76). This is another expression of the fact that Ibn Mas'ûd was the Prophet's personal servant.

3 *Ṣâḥib as-sirâr*, one who is trusted with secrets. The transmitter's uncertainty is easy to understand, for *siwâk* and *sirâr* differ only in two letters. Moreover, on account of his attendance on the Prophet, Ibn Mas'ûd was regarded almost a member of the Prophet's family, and the latter had no secrets from him. Cf. sec. 30, No. 4, and Muslim, *K. Faḍâ'il aṣ-Ṣaḥâbah, B. Faḍâ'il 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd*, Trad. 2.

4 See p. 86, n. 3.

5 The people of Damascus had evidently objected to his unusual reading of this Qur'ân-verse. Abu'd-Dardâ', as well as Ibn Mas'ûd, maintained that they had heard the Prophet recite it in this way. See p. 86, n. 3.

6 Abû 'Ubaydah 'Âmir ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn al-Jarrâḥ al-Qurashî. He embraced Islâm at an early period of the Mission, migrated to Abyssinia and participated in the battle of Badr. 'Umar sent him as commander-in-chief of the Syrian campaign; later he became governor of Syria, and died there from plague in 18 A.H. at the age of fifty-eight. He was one of the ten to whom the Prophet had announced in their life-time that they would enter Paradise. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 297 ff; *Istî'âb* II, 669 f.)

authority of Abû Qilâbah, who said, Anas ibn Mâlik related to me:

THE Apostle of God said: Every nation hath its man of trust; and, behold, our man of trust, O ye people, is Abû 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrâḥ.[1]

2 Muslim ibn Ibrâhîm related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, on the authority of Ṣilah, on the authority of Ḥudhayfah, who said:

THE Prophet said unto the people of Najrân[2]: I am going to send to you one who is really a man of trust.[3]—Thereupon his Companions looked up eagerly[4]: and he sent Abû 'Ubaydah.

SECTION XXIV

CONCERNING MUṢ'AB IBN 'UMAYR[5]

SECTION XXV

THE VIRTUES OF AL-ḤASAN AND AL-ḤUSAYN

Nâfi' ibn Jubayr said, on the authority of Abû Hurayrah: The Prophet embraced al-Ḥasan.[6]

1 'Ṣadaqah related to us: Ibn 'Uyaynah related

خالد عن أبي قلابة قال: حدثني أنس بن مالك

أن رسول الله ﷺ قال: لكل أمة أمين، وإن أميننا أيتها الأمة أبو عبيدة بن الجراح.

٢ حدثنا مسلم بن ابراهيم: حدثنا شعبة عن أبي اسحق عن صلة عن حذيفة (رض) قال:

قال النبي ﷺ لأهل نجران: لأبعثن (يعني عليكم) أميناً حق أمين. — فأشرف أصحابه، فبعث أبا عبيدة (رض).

٢٤ باب

ذكر مصعب بن عمير

٢٥ باب

مناقب الحسن والحسين (رض)

قال نافع بن جبير عن أبي هريرة: عانق النبي ﷺ الحسن.

١ حدثنا صدقة: حدثنا ابن عيينة: حدثنا أبو

1 This occurred on the occasion of the deputation from Najrân in 9 A.H. (see Bkh lii/74), who asked the Prophet to send with them a trustworthy man to be governor of their country in his name.

2 See preceding note.

3 As is evident from Bkh lii/74, No. 1, which refers to the same event, the deputation particularly insisted that the man who would be sent to them should be really a person on whom the Prophet fully relied.

4 Each of them hoped that he would be chosen by the Prophet.

5 This section contains neither *tarjumah* nor Tradition, being one of those sections which the author incorporated in his scheme without completing it. It is quoted in all available texts of the *Ṣaḥîḥ*, with the sole exception of that of Abû Dharr (cf. *Ṣaḥîḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamîd, vol. V, 26).—Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr ibn Hâshim was a cousin of the Prophet's father. He embraced Islâm at the very beginning of the Mission and was one of the most prominent Companions. When the Prophet accepted, at 'Aqabah, the invitation proffered to him by a deputation of the tribes Aws and Khazraj (for particulars see Bkh li/19), he sent Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr—who was thus the first *Muhâjir*— to Madînah to teach the Qur'ân to the people there; he was generally known as the "Reciter" *(qârî)*. He fell in the battle of Uḥud, a little over forty years old. (*Isti'âb* I, 279.)

6 This is a somewhat free quotation from Bkh xxvi/49, No. 5, where Ḥasan's name is not mentioned; it occurs, however, in other versions of the same Tradition *(e.g.,* Muslim, *K. Faḍâ'il aṣ-Ṣaḥâbah, B. Faḍâ'il al-Ḥasan wa'l-Ḥusayn).*

to us: Abû Mûsâ related to us, on the authority of al-Ḥasan, who heard Abû Bakrah [say]:

I HEARD the Prophet say on the pulpit, having al-Ḥasan by his side and looking by turns at the people and at him: This son of mine is most generous[1]; and it may be, by the grace of God, that through him peace will be brought about between two factions of Muslims.[2]

2 Musaddad related to us: Al-Mu'tamir related to us, saying: I heard my father [Sulaymân] say: Abû 'Uthmân related to us,

ON the authority of Usâmah ibn Zayd, on the authority of the Prophet, who used to embrace him[3] and al-Ḥasan and say: O God! Behold, I love them both; do love them Thou!—or aught like this.

3 Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Ibrâhîm related to me, saying: Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad related to me: Jarîr related to us, on the authority of Muḥammad, on the authority of Anas ibn Mâlik:

AL-ḤUSAYN'S head was brought to 'Ubayd Allâh ibn Ziyâd[4] and was put in a basin. Thereupon ['Ubayd Allâh] struck it[5] and said something about its beauty.

And Anas added:

Of all of them, [al-Ḥusayn] had the greatest resemblance with the Apostle of God[6]; his hair and beard were dyed black.

موسى عن الحسن سمع أبا بكرة:

سمعت النبي ﷺ على المنبر والحسن الى جنبه ينظر الى الناس مرة واليه مرة ويقول: ابنى هذا سيد، ولعل الله أن يصلح به بين فئتين من المسلمين.

٢ حدثنا مسدد: حدثنا المعتمر قال: سمعت أبى قال: حدثنا أبو عثمان

عن أسامة بن زيد (رض) عن النبي ﷺ أنه كان يأخذه والحسن ويقول: اللهم! إنى أحبهما فأحبهما! — أو كما قال.

٣ حدثنى محمد بن الحسين بن ابراهيم قال: حدثنى حسين بن محمد: حدثنا جرير عن محمد عن أنس ابن مالك (رض):

أُتِىَ عبيد الله بن زياد برأس الحسين فجُعِل فى طست؛ فجعل ينكت وقال فى حسنه شيأ.

فقال أنس:

كان أشبههم برسول الله ﷺ وكان مخضوباً بالوسمة.

1 This translation of *sayyid* is warranted by *Lisân al-'Arab* IV, 213, and Lane IV, 1462. The expression here obviously refers to the combined virtues of generosity and clemency.

2 This prediction was fulfilled in 41 A.H., when Ḥasan resigned his claim to the Caliphate in favour of Mu'âwiyah and thus prevented further bloodshed between Muslims. This event is described in Bkh xliii/9. (Cf. also Ṭabarî VI, 93 ff.)

3 *Sc.*, Usâmah.

4 This happened after the battle of Karbalâ', in Muḥarram, 61 A.H. 'Ubayd ibn Ziyâd was Yazîd's governor in Kûfah.

5 Ṭabarî VI, 262, mentions that 'Ubayd Allâh struck Ḥusayn's face with his stick, and Zayd ibn Arqam, an old Companion, vehemently protested against this, saying that he had seen the Prophet kiss that very face. 'Ubayd Allâh abused him and threatened him for his interference.

6 As is evident from No. 7 of this section, Anas attributed to Ḥasan the greatest resemblance with the Prophet. It appears that here he refers only to persons who had outlived Ḥasan.

4 Ḥajjâj ibn al-Minhâl related to us: Shu'bah related to us, saying: 'Adî informed me, saying: I heard al-Barâ' say:

I SAW the Prophet with al-Ḥasan on his shoulder; and he said: O God! Behold, I love him; do love him Thou!

٤ حدثنا حجاج بن المنهال: حدثنا شعبة قال: أخبرنى عدى قال: سمعت البراء (رض) قال:

رأيت النبي ﷺ والحسن على عاتقه يقول: اللهم! إنى أحبه فأحبه!

5 'Abdân related to us: 'Abd Allâh informed us, saying: 'Umar ibn Sa'îd ibn Abî Ḥusayn informed me, on the authority of Ibn Abî Mulaykah, on the authority of 'Uqbah ibn al-Ḥârith, who said:

I SAW Abû Bakr bearing Ḥasan; and he said: I would sacrifice my father [for him]! He resembleth the Prophet and doth not resemble 'Alî.—And 'Alî laughed.

٥ حدثنا عبدان: أخبرنا عبد الله قال: أخبرنى عمر ابن سعيد بن أبي حسين عن ابن أبي مليكة عن عقبة بن الحرث قال:

رأيت أبابكر (رض) وحمل الحسن وهو يقول: بأبي! شبيه بالنبي ليس شبيه بعلي. — وعلي يضحك.

6 Yaḥyâ ibn Ma'în and Ṣadaqah related to us, saying: Muḥammad ibn Ja'far informed us, on the authority of Shu'bah, on the authority of Wâqid ibn Muḥammad, on the authority of his father, on the authority of Ibn 'Umar, who said:

ABÛ BAKR said: Regard Muḥammad by showing regard to the members of his family.

٦ حدثنا يحيى بن معين وصدقة قالا: أخبرنا محمد ابن جعفر عن شعبة عن واقد بن محمد عن أبيه عن ابن عمر (رض) قال:

قال أبو بكر: ارقبوا محمداً ﷺ فى أهل بيته.

7 Ibrâhîm ibn Mûsâ related to us: Hishâm ibn Yûsuf informed us, on the authority of Ma'mar, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, on the authority of Anas:—

And 'Abd ar-Razzâq said[1]: Ma'mar informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî: Anas informed me, saying:

NO one resembled the Prophet more than Ḥasan ibn 'Alî.[2]

٧ حدثنا ابراهيم بن موسى: أخبرنا هشام بن يوسف عن معمر عن الزهرى عن أنس:—

وقال عبد الرزاق: أخبرنا معمر عن الزهرى: أخبرنى أنس قال:

لم يكن أحد أشبه بالنبي ﷺ من الحسن ابن علي.

8 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to us: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Abî Ya'qûb: I heard Ibn Abî Nu'm [say]:

٨ حدثنا محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة عن محمد بن أبي يعقوب: سمعت ابن أبي نعم:

1 The author quotes here this second *isnâd* (which is *mu'allaq*, for 'Abd ar-Razzâq was not a *shaykh* of al-Bukhârî) because of the expression *akhbaranî Anas* ("Anas informed me") occurring after the name of az-Zuhrî. The latter generally quotes an intermediary between himself and Anas, and thus the expression "on the authority of Anas", which occurs in the first *isnâd* might be regarded as ambiguous. The second *isnâd*, however, establishes beyond doubt that az-Zuhrî heard this Tradition directly from Anas.

2 See also p. 89, n. 6.

سمعت عبد الله بن عمر وسأله عن المحرم
— قال شعبة: أحسبه يقتل الذباب —،
فقال: أهل العراق يسألون عن الذباب — وقد
قتلوا ابن ابنة رسول الله ﷺ — وقال النبي ﷺ:
هما ريحانتاى من الدنيا...

I HEARD someone ask 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar about the [duties incumbent upon a] *muḥrim*[1]

—Shu'bah said: I believe [that man] killed flies[2]—;

and [Ibn 'Umar] answered: The people of 'Iraq[3] ask about flies—they who have killed the grandson of the Apostle of God[4], while the Prophet had said: These two[5] are my sweet-smelling blossoms in this world...[6]

٢٦ باب

مناقب بلال بن رباح مولى أبي بكر (رض)

وقال النبي ﷺ: سمعت دف نعليك بين يدى فى الجنة.

١ حدثنا أبو نعيم: حدثنا عبد العزيز بن أبي سلمة عن محمد بن المنكدر: أخبرنا جابر بن عبد الله (رض) قال:

كان عمر يقول: أبو بكر سيدنا وأعتق سيدنا.
— يعنى بلالا.

SECTION XXVI

THE VIRTUES OF BILÂL IBN RABÂḤ, ABÛ BAKR'S FREEDMAN[7]

The Prophet said: I heard the clattering of thy sandals before me in Paradise.[8]

1 Abû Nu'aym related to us: 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Abî Salamah related to us, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir: Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh informed us, saying:

'UMAR used to say: Abû Bakr is our master and he hath freed our master.[9]

—He alluded to Bilâl.[10]

1 *I.e.*, one who is on the pilgrimage to Mecca and wears the pilgrim's garb *(iḥrâm)*. In this state it is prohibited to kill any animals except those which are harmful or are lawfully slaughtered for the sake of food; hunting is also prohibited.

2 —and was uncertain whether this was permissible or not.

3 The questioner obviously belonged to that country.

4 Lit., "the son of the daughter of the Apostle of God"; reference to Ḥusayn ibn 'Alî.

5 Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.

6 This last sentence is a fragment from another Tradition, which has been quoted by Ṭabarânî (see 'Aynî XVI, 243).

7 Bilâl was an Ethiopian slave belonging to some people of the clan Banû Jumaḥ, of Quraysh. One of the first Muslims, he was persecuted and tortured by Umayyah ibn Khalaf until Abû Bakr bought and freed him. Later he became the first *mu'adhdhin* (one who calls to prayer) in Islâm and took part in all campaigns of the Prophet. He remained with Abû Bakr till the latter's death. Thereafter he took part in the Syrian wars and died of plague, sixty-and-odd years old, in Damascus in 18 or 20 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 165 ff.) According to some reports, he was not an Abyssinian but a Nubian (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 79); but this has to be taken with caution, for the most authentic reports agree in that he was an Abyssinian.

8 Fragment from a Tradition quoted in Bkh xvii/17. Cf. also sec. 7, No. 1.

9 The expression *sayyid*, here translated as "master", is a title of honour often given to prominent Companions; it does not necessarily imply the notion of leadership, although it sometimes does, as, *e.g.*, in the case of Abû Bakr.

10 This explanatory remark goes back to the narrator, Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh.

2 Ibn Numayr related to us, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd: Ismâ'îl related to us, on the authority of Qays:

BILÂL said unto Abû Bakr: If thou hast bought me for thy own sake, keep me; and if thou hast bought me for the sake of God, let me go, and I shall work in the cause of God.[1]

SECTION XXVII

CONCERNING IBN 'ABBÂS[2]

Musaddad related to us: 'Abd al-Wârith related to us, on the authority of Khâlid, on the authority of 'Ikrimah,

ON the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, who said: The Prophet pressed me to his bosom and said: O God! Teach him wisdom!

Abû Ma'mar related to us: 'Abd al-Wârith related to us[3]: . . . And [the Prophet] said: O God! Teach him the Book[4]!

Mûsâ related to us: Wuhayb related to us, on the authority of Khâlid, the like of it.[5]

"Wisdom" is cognition of truth in matters not embraced by Revelation[6].

٢ حدثنا ابن نمير عن محمد بن عبيد: حدثنا اسمعيل عن قيس

أن بلالاً قال لأبي بكر: ان كنت إنما اشتريتني لنفسك فأمسكني، وان كنت إنما اشتريتني لله فدعني وعمل الله.

٢٧ باب

ذكر ابن عباس (رض)

حدثنا مسدد: حدثنا عبد الوارث عن خالد عن عكرمة

عن ابن عباس قال: ضمني النبي ﷺ الى صدره وقال: اللهم! علمه الحكمة!

حدثنا أبو معمر: حدثنا عبد الوارث: . . . وقال: اللهم! علمه الكتاب!

حدثنا موسى: حدثنا وهيب عن خالد مثله.

والحكمة الاصابة في غير النبوة.

1 Bilâl made this request after the Prophet's death. He wished to go forth to war, but Abû Bakr implored him not to leave him, as he was old and needed his (Bilâl's) services. So Bilâl remained at Madînah until Abû Bakr died. Subsequently he requested 'Umar to let him go. In the beginning 'Umar was reluctant to give him permission for he regarded Bilâl's services indispensable as *mu'adhdhin*. Thereupon Bilâl suggested another Companion as his successor, and 'Umar accepted this and allowed him to go. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 168).

2 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abbâs ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's cousin, was born three years before the *hijrah* and was, according to the most reliable reports, thirteen years old at the time of the Prophet's death. He was one of the most learned among the Companions, and the first commentator of the Qur'ân. His comments on the Qur'ân and the Traditions were regarded by Companions and *tâbi'ûn* as most authoritative. He died in 68 A.H. in Ṭâ'if, a little over seventy years old. (*Istî'âb* I, 372 f.) It is established that Ibn 'Abbâs, like some other Companions, used to put in writing Traditions of the Prophet (Ibn Sa'd II/ii, 123).

3 The remaining part of the *isnâd*, omitted here, is the same as that of the preceding Tradition.

4 *I.e.*, the Qur'ân. This variant of the preceding Tradition is to be found in complete form, with full *isnâd*, in Bkh iii/17.

5 *I.e.*, the words "teach him the Book".

6 Lit., "prophethood". This explanatory remark of al-Bukhârî is to be found only in the text of Abû Dharr (cf. *Ṣaḥîḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamîd, vol. V, 27).

SECTION XXVIII

THE VIRTUES OF KHÂLID IBN AL-WALÎD[1]

Aḥmad ibn Wâqid related to us: Ḥammâd ibn Zayd related to us, on the authority of Ayyûb, on the authority of Ḥumayd ibn Hilâl, on the authority of Anas:

THE Prophet announced to the people the death of Zayd[2], Ja'far and Ibn Rawâḥah[3] before they received this news; and he said: Zayd took the standard, and fell; thereupon Ja'far took it, and fell; thereupon Ibn Rawâḥah took it, and fell.—And his eyes were streaming with tears. [Then he continued:] In the end, a Sword of the Swords of God[4] took [the standard], and God gave [him] victory over them.[5]

SECTION XXIX

THE VIRTUES OF SÂLIM THE FREEDMAN OF ABÛ ḤUDHAYFAH[6]

Sulaymân ibn Ḥarb related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of 'Amr ibn Murrah, on the authority of Ibrâhim, on the authority of Masrûq, who said:

٢٨ باب

مناقب خالد بن الوليد (رض)

حدثنا أحمد بن واقد: حدثنا حماد بن زيد عن أيوب عن حميد بن هلال عن أنس (رض)

أن النبي ﷺ نعى زيداً وجعفراً وابن رواحة للناس قبل أن يأتيهم خبرهم، فقال: أخذ الراية زيد فأصيب، ثم أخذ جعفر فأصيب، ثم أخذ ابن رواحة فأصيب — وعيناه تذرفان — حتى أخذ سيف من سيوف الله حتى فتح الله عليهم.

٢٩ باب

مناقب سالم مولى أبي حذيفة (رض)

حدثنا سليمان بن حرب: حدثنا شعبة عن عمرو ابن مرة عن ابراهيم عن مسروق قال:

---

1 There is some difference of opinion as to the exact date when Khâlid embraced Islâm; but it is certain that this happened between 6 and 8 A.H. He came to Madînah, together with 'Amr ibn al-'Âs and 'Uthmân ibn Ṭalḥah, half a year before the conquest of Mecca. From that time onward he took a very prominent part in the campaigns of early Islâm, and received from the Prophet the epithet of *Sayf Allâh* ("Sword of God"). He was undoubtedly the most brilliant general of his time. He was the commander of the force which overwhelmed Musaylimah the Liar in 11-12 A.H., and it was he who, together with Abû 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrâḥ, conquered Damascus in Rajab, 14 A.H.; 'Umar, however, soon relieved him of his command. He died in 21 or 22 A.H. (*Isti'âb* I, 153 f.)

2 *Sc.*, ibn Ḥârithah.

3 'Abd Allâh ibn Rawâḥah al-Anṣârî al-Khazrajî. He embraced Islâm on the occasion of the second deputation from Yathrib to the Prophet (1 B.H.), and was one of the twelve elders *(nuqabâ'*, sing., *naqîb)* whom the Prophet appointed over the new Muslim community at Yathrib. Subsequently he took part in all campaigns of the Prophet, and fell in the battle of Mu'tah, in 8 A.H. (*Isti'âb* I, 349.)

4 This was the occasion when Khâlid received his famous epithet; see n. 1 above.

5 *I.e.*, over the Byzantines. The event referred to is the battle of Mu'tah, 8 A.H.

6 Sâlim ibn Ma'qil was a Persian slave of Abû Ḥudhayfah's wife, and was later freed and adopted by the former. Always a good reciter of the Qur'ân, he acted as *imâm* of the *Muhâjirs* in the mosque of Qubâ', near Madînah, before the Prophet's emigration. He took part in many campaigns of the Prophet, and was killed in Yamâmah, in 12 A.H. (*Isti'âb* II, 561 f.)—As regards Abû Ḥudhayfah (Hushaym ibn 'Utbah ibn Rabî'ah al-Qurashî), he became Muslim at an early period, took part in the migration to Abyssinia and in all campaigns of the Prophet. He also, like Sâlim, fell in the battle of Yamâmah. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 59 f.)

THE name of 'Abd Allâh [ibn Mas'ûd][1] was mentioned in the presence of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr[2], and he said: I shall always love this man since I have heard the Apostle of God say: Learn the recitation of the Qur'ân from four men: 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd—[the Prophet] mentioned him first—, Sâlim the freedman of Abû Ḥudhayfah, Ubayy ibn Ka'b[3], and Mu'âdh ibn Jabal[4].—[Ibn 'Amr] added: I do not remember whether he mentioned Ubayy or Mu'âdh first.

ذكر عبد الله عند عبد الله بن عمرو فقال: ذاك رجل لا أزال أحبه بعد ما سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: استقرؤا القرآن من أربعة: من عبد الله بن مسعود — فبدأ به — وسالم مولى أبي حذيفة وأبي بن كعب ومعاذ بن جبل. — قال: لا أدري بدأ بأبي أو بمعاذ.

SECTION XXX

THE VIRTUES OF 'ABD ALLÂH IBN MAS'ÛD[5]

1 Ḥafṣ ibn 'Umar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Sulaymân, who said: I heard Abû Wâ'il say: I heard Masrûq say: 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr said:

BEHOLD, the Apostle of God never did, or attempted to do, an unseemly thing; and he said: Behold, the dearest of you unto me is he who hath the best character.[6]—And he said: Learn the recitation of the Qur'ân from four men: 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd, Sâlim the freedman of Abû Ḥudhayfah, Ubayy ibn Ka'b, and Mu'âdh ibn Jabal.

٣٠ باب

مناقب عبد الله بن مسعود (رض)

١ حدثنا حفص بن عمر: حدثنا شعبة عن سليمان قال: سمعت أبا وائل قال: سمعت مسروقاً قال: قال عبد الله بن عمرو:

إن رسول الله ﷺ لم يكن فاحشاً ولا متفحشاً؛ وقال: إن من أحبكم الىّ أحسنكم أخلاقاً. — وقال: استقرؤا القرآن من أربعة: من عبد الله بن مسعود وسالم مولى أبي حذيفة وأبي ابن كعب ومعاذ بن جبل.

1 For biographical note, see sec. 30.

2 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ embraced Islâm before his father, 'Amr, after the *hijrah*. He was one of the first (perhaps the first) who used to write down what they heard from the Prophet; he collected Traditions in a manuscript which he called *aṣ-Ṣâdiqah* ("the True"). The date of his death is not known with certainty; it is given as 55, 63, 65 or 67 A.H. (*Isti'âb* I, 370 f.)

3 See sec. 49. 4 See sec. 47.

5 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd ibn Ghâfil al-Hudhalî. He embraced Islâm in the earliest period and remained from that time onward in the service of the Prophet; he left him only temporarily when emigrating to Abyssinia. He participated in the battle of Badr—where he, together with some other Companions, killed Abû Jahl—as well as in most of the other campaigns of the Prophet. Later 'Umar sent him to Kûfah as councillor of the governor, 'Ammâr ibn Yâsir. Ibn Mas'ûd was very learned in religious matters, and was one of the best reciters of the Qur'ân. He died in Madînah in 32 A.H., sixty-and-odd years old. (*Isti'âb* I, 359 ff; Ibn Sa'd III/i, 106 ff.) On several occasions the Prophet extolled his deep understanding of Islâm. In Traditions he is often called Ibn Umm 'Abd, after his mother's *kunyah*. The Prophet regarded him and his mother almost as members of his family (see No. 4 of this section).

6 This part of the *matn* is, in fact, a separate Tradition, quoted in Bkh xlix/22, No. 18, also on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr. Probably one of the transmitters had heard it on the same occasion as the following Tradition (here included in the same *matn*) about the recitation of the Qur'ân, and later the two Traditions became fused in his memory into one.

2 Mûsâ related to us, on the authority of Abû 'Awânah, on the authority of Mughîrah, on the authority of Ibrâhîm,

ON the authority of 'Alqamah[1]: I entered Damascus and prayed two *rak'ahs;* then I said: O God! Enable me to find a [righteous[2]] companion!—Then I saw an old man coming; and when he came nigh, I said: I hope that God hath fulfilled my desire.—[The old man[3]] said: Whence art thou?—I answered: Of the people of Kûfah.—He said: Have ye not, then, among you the man who was in charge of the [Prophet's] sandals, cushion and ewer? Is there not among you he who was saved from the Satan? Is there not among you he who was trusted with the secrets which nobody knew but he? How did Ibn Umm 'Abd recite, *By the night*[4]?—Then I recited: *By the night when it draweth its veil, and by the day when it shineth with splendour, and by the male and the female . . .*[5] —[The old man] said: Thus the Prophet with his own mouth[6] made me recite it! And these people[7] well-nigh made me change it!

٢ حدثنا موسى عن أبي عوانة عن مغيرة عن ابراهيم

عن علقمة: دخلت الشأم فصليت ركعتين فقلت: اللهم! يسر لى جليساً! — فرأيت شيخاً مقبلاً، فلما دنا قلت: أرجو أن يكون استجاب الله. — قال: من أين أنت؟ — قلت: من أهل الكوفة. — قال: أفلم يكن فيكم صاحب النعلين والوساد والمطهرة؟ أو لم يكن فيكم الذى أجير من الشيطان؟ أو لم يكن فيكم صاحب السر الذى لا يعلمه غيره؟ كيف قرأ ابن أم عبد «والليل»؟ — فقرأت: «والليل اذا يغشى والنهار اذا تجلى والذكر والأنثى . . .» — قال: أقرأنيها النبي ﷺ فاه الى فىّ! فما زال هؤلاء حتى كادوا يردونى!

3 Sulaymân ibn Ḥarb related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq,

ON the authority of 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Yazîd[8], who said: We asked Ḥudhayfah as to who resembled the Prophet with regard to good conduct and mode of life, so that we might learn from him; and [Ḥudhayfah] answered: I know none who resembled the Prophet more with regard to good conduct, mode of life or pleasant disposition than Ibn Umm 'Abd.

٣ حدثنا سليمان بن حرب: حدثنا شعبة عن أبي اسحق

عن عبد الرحمن بن يزيد قال: سألنا حذيفة عن رجل قريب السمت والهدى من النبي ﷺ حتى نأخذ عنه، فقال: ما أعرف أحداً أقرب سمتاً وهدياً ودلاً بالنبي ﷺ من ابن أم عبد.

1 For an explanation of this Tradition and the allusions contained therein, see sec. 22, No. 1.

2 The word *ṣâliḥ* (righteous) is missing in the majority of the texts; it occurs, however, in that of Abû Dharr (cf. *Ṣaḥîḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamîd, vol. V, 28). It is obvious from other versions of this Tradition (*e.g.*, sec. 22, Nos. 1 and 2) that this word rightly belongs here.

3 It was Abu'd-Dardâ'; cf. sec. 22, Nos. 1 and 2.

4 The first words of *sûrah* xcii, 1.

5 See p. 86, n. 3.

6 Lit., "his mouth toward my mouth".

7 *I.e.*, the Muslims of Damascus, see p. 87, n. 5.

8 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Yazîd ibn Qays an-Nakha'î, well-known *tâbi'î;* died 83 A.H. (*Rijâl aṣ-Ṣaḥîḥayn* I, 289).

4 Muḥammad ibn al-'Alâ' related to me: Ibrâhîm ibn Yûsuf ibn Abî Isḥâq related to us, saying: My father related to me, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, who said: Al-Aswad ibn Yazîd related to me, saying:

٤ حدثني محمد بن العلاء: حدثنا ابراهيم بن يوسف ابن أبي اسحق قال: حدثني أبي عن أبي اسحق قال: حدثني الأسود بن يزيد قال:

I HEARD Abû Mûsâ al-Ash'arî[1] say: We came, I and my brother[2], from Yaman [to Madînah],[3] and soon we saw that 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd was [regarded] a member of the Prophet's family, for we saw him and his mother enter the Prophet's house [without restraint].

سمعت أبا موسى الأشعري يقول: قدمت أنا وأخي من اليمن فمكثنا حيناً ما نرى الا أن عبد الله بن مسعود رجل من أهل بيت النبي ﷺ لما نرى من دخوله ودخول أمه على النبي ﷺ.

SECTION XXXI

CONCERNING MU'ÂWIYAH IBN ABÎ SUFYÂN[4]

1 Al-Ḥasan ibn Bishr related to us: Al-Mu'âfâ related to us, on the authority of 'Uthmân ibn al-Aswad, on the authority of Ibn Abî Mulaykah, who said:

٣١ باب

ذكر معاوية بن أبي سفيان (رض)

١ حدثنا الحسن بن بشر: حدثنا المعافى عن عثمان بن الأسود عن ابن أبي مليكة قال:

MU'ÂWIYAH [once] prayed one [single] *rak'ah* of *witr* after the prayer of nightfall; and a freedman of Ibn 'Abbâs, who was with him, went thereupon to Ibn 'Abbâs.[5] But [the latter] said: Let him do so, for, behold, he had kept company with the Apostle of God.[6]

أوتر معاوية بعد العشاء بركعة وعنده مولى لابن عباس؛ فأتى ابن عباس فقال: دعه، فانه قد صحب رسول الله ﷺ.

1 'Abd Allâh ibn Qays Abû Mûsâ al-Ash'arî. He hailed from Yaman and embraced Islâm in Mecca at an early period of the Mission. According to some reports, he took part in the migration to Abyssinia; but according to others, he returned to his country after having embraced Islâm. In any case, he rejoined the Prophet at the time of the campaign of Khaybar (7 A.H.). 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb appointed him in 20 A.H. governor of Baṣrah in succession to al-Mughîrah ibn Shu'bah; Abû Mûsâ remained in this office till the beginning of 'Uthmân's reign. Subsequently he was transferred to Kûfah, where he remained till 'Uthmân's death. He acted, though somewhat reluctantly, as 'Alî's representative in the arbitration between the latter's and Mu'âwiyah's claims after the battle of Ṣiffîn (37 A.H.). He died in Mecca or, according to others, in Kûfah; the date is also uncertain: it is variously given as 42, 44, 50 or 52 A.H. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and Ibn Sa'd regard 42 A.H. as most probable. (*Istî'âb* II, 658 f; Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 78 ff.)

2 See p. 36, n. 3. The brother mentioned here is most probably Abû Burdah 'Âmir ibn Qays al-Ash'arî (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 29; *Istî'âb* II, 627).

3 Regarding the arrival of the Ash'aris from Yaman, see Bkh lii/76.

4 As Mu'âwiyah's history is widely known, I have omitted here his biographical sketch. The Traditions in this section are meant to show that Mu'âwiyah was regarded by his contemporaries as a Companion. See Introductory Note, p. 16.

5 The freedman—according to *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 83, it was Kurayb—was obviously astonished to see Mu'âwiyah pray only one *rak'ah* during the *witr*-prayer, and probably thought that this was against the *sunnah* of the Prophet. Regarding the permissibility of *witr*-prayer consisting of one single *rak'ah*, see Bkh xii.

6 *Sc.*, "—and must have seen the Prophet do so".

2 Ibn Abî Maryam related to us: Nâfi' ibn 'Umar related to us: Ibn Abî Mulaykah related to me:

SOMEONE said to Ibn 'Abbâs: What dost thou think of the Commander of the Faithful, Mu'âwiyah? Indeed, he hath prayed but one *rak'ah* of *witr!*—[Ibn 'Abbâs] answered: Behold, he is a man of understanding.[1]

3 'Amr ibn 'Abbâs related to us: Muḥammad ibn Ja'far related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Abu't-Tayyâḥ, who said: I heard Ḥumran ibn Abân [say],

ON the authority of Mu'âwiyah, who said: Behold, ye are offering a prayer which we, who have kept company with the Prophet, have never seen him pray; and, verily, he hath forbidden these two.

He alluded to the two *rak'ahs* after the prayer of afternoon.[2]

SECTION XXXII

THE VIRTUES OF FÂṬIMAH

The Prophet said: Fâṭimah is exalted among the women of Paradise.[3]

Abu'l-Walîd related to us: Ibn 'Uyaynah related to us, on the authority of 'Amr ibn Dînâr, on the authority of Ibn Abî Mulaykah, on the authority of al-Miswar ibn Makhramah:

THE Apostle of God said: Fâṭimah is a part of me, and whoso offendeth her offendeth me.[4]

SECTION XXXIII

THE MERIT OF 'Â'ISHAH

1 Yaḥyâ ibn Bukayr related to us: Al-Layth related to us, on the authority of Yûnus, on

٢ حدثنا ابن أبي مريم: حدثنا نافع بن عمر: حدثني ابن أبي مليكة:

قيل لابن عباس: هل لك في أمير المؤمنين معاوية؟ فانه ما أوتر الا بواحدة! — قال: إنه فقيه.

٣ حدثنا عمرو بن عباس: حدثنا محمد بن جعفر: حدثنا شعبة عن أبي التياح قال: سمعت حمران ابن أبان

عن معاوية (رض) قال: إنكم لتصلون صلاة لقد صحبنا النبي ﷺ فما رأيناه يصليها؛ ولقد نهى عنهما.

يعني الركعتين بعد العصر.

٣٢ باب

مناقب فاطمة (رض)

وقال النبي ﷺ: فاطمة سيدة نساء أهل الجنة.

حدثنا أبو الوليد: حدثنا ابن عيينة عن عمرو ابن دينار عن ابن أبي مليكة عن المسور بن مخرمة (رض)

أن رسول الله ﷺ قال: فاطمة بضعة مني، فمن أغضبها أغضبني.

٣٣ باب

فضل عائشة (رض)

١ حدثنا يحيى بن بكير: حدثنا الليث عن يونس

1 See the two preceding notes.

2 See Bkh viii/141.

3 This is the last sentence of a Tradition quoted in Bkh xlix/24, No. 50. The expression *sayyidah* (masc., *sayyid*) is usually translated as "chief", but this obviously cannot have been the meaning intended by the Prophet in this saying, for there had been other women—like Mary, the mother of Jesus, or Khadîjah, the Prophet's first wife—whose merit was probably greater than that of Fâṭimah. The use of *sayyid* in the sense of exalted, eminent, noble, etc., is not uncommon in Arabic (cf. Lane IV, 1462).

4 For an explanation of this saying, see p. 70, n. 4, and also sec. 17, No. 1.

the authority of Ibn Shihâb: Abû Salamah said:

عن ابن شهاب: قال أبو سلمة:

'Â'ISHAH said: One day the Apostle of God said: O 'Â'ishah! Gabriel is here and offereth thee his greeting.—I said: And unto him greeting and the grace of God and His blessing! Thou seest that which I cannot see.

She meant the Apostle of God.[1]

إن عائشة (رض) قالت: قال رسول الله ﷺ يوماً: يا عائش! هذا جبريل يقرئك السلام. — فقلت: وعليه السلام ورحمة الله وبركاته! ترى ما لا أرى.

تريد رسول الله ﷺ.

2 Âdam related to us: Shu'bah related to us, saying:—

(h) and 'Amr related to us: Shu'bah informed us, on the authority of 'Amr ibn Murrah, on the authority of Murrah, on the authority of Abû Mûsâ al-Ash'arî, who said:

٢ حدثنا آدم: حدثنا شعبة قال:—

(ح) وحدثنا عمرو: أخبرنا شعبة عن عمرو بن مرة عن مرة عن أبي موسى الأشعري (رض) قال:

THE Apostle of God said: Many a man hath reached perfection, but of the women none save Mary, the daughter of 'Imrân, and Âsiyah, the wife of Pharaoh[2]; and the preferment of 'Â'ishah over all other women[3] is as the preferment of *tharîd*[4] over all other food.[5]

قال رسول الله ﷺ: كمل من الرجال كثير ولم يكمل من النساء الا مريم بنت عمران وآسية امرأة فرعون. وفضل عائشة على النساء كفضل الثريد على سائر الطعام.

3 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us, saying: Muḥammad ibn Ja'far related to me, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân, that the latter heard Anas ibn Mâlik say:

٣ حدثنا عبد العزيز بن عبد الله قال: حدثني محمد ابن جعفر عن عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن أنه سمع أنس بن مالك (رض) يقول:

1 Explanatory remark by one of the transmitters, probably Abû Salamah.

2 An allusion to this personality (without mention of her name) is found in the Qur'ân lxvi, 11. The early Qur'ân-commentators say that she had declared her belief in the mission of Moses and was subsequently tortured to death by her tyrant husband. For a full discussion of the subject see Bkh xlviii/31, where the same Tradition is quoted.

3 *I.e.*, over the women then alive, for it is not conceivable that the Prophet attributed to 'Â'ishah a position higher than, *e.g.*, Khadîjah.

4 A popular dish of the Arabs, consisting of very thin bread soaked in a broth of meat and, sometimes, vegetables. The Prophet preferred it to other dishes.

5 This comparison with *tharîd* shows that the preferment of 'Â'ishah here referred to consisted in the Prophet's particular love for her (cf. sec. 6, No. 4), and not in that he regarded her as superior to all women of past and present. It must be remembered, however, that there is no woman in the whole history of Islâm who so deeply understood its teachings and so convincingly explained them to others as 'Â'ishah did; and it may be that the Prophet alluded here to this fact. 'Â'ishah's perfect adaptability to the Prophet's spiritual moods is best illustrated by his own saying that he received revelations in her presence—a privilege denied to her fellow-wives (cf. No. 8 of this section). Moreover, she was honoured by the revelation of a considerable number of Qur'ân-verses which refer to her personality and her doings—probably in anticipation of the rôle which she was destined to play in the dissemination of the Prophet's teachings.

سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: فضل عائشة على النساء كفضل الثريد على الطعام.

I HEARD the Apostle of God say: The preferment of 'Â'ishah over other women is as the preferment of *tharîd* over [all other] food.[1]

٤ حدثنى محمد بن بشار: حدثنا عبد الوهاب بن عبد المجيد: حدثنا ابن عون عن القاسم بن محمد

4 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to me: 'Abd al-Wahhâb ibn 'Abd al-Majîd related to us: Ibn 'Awn related to us, on the authority of al-Qâsim ibn Muḥammad:

أن عائشة اشتكت، فجاء ابن عباس فقال: يا أم المؤمنين! تقدمين على فرط صدق — على رسول الله ﷺ وعلى أبى بكر.

'Â'ISHAH fell ill[2]; and there came Ibn 'Abbâs and said: O Mother of the Faithful! Thou art going to meet the forerunners[3] of Truth—the Apostle of God and Abû Bakr[4].

٥ حدثنا محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة عن الحكم: سمعت أبا وائل قال:

5 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to us: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of al-Ḥakam: I heard Abû Wâ'il say:

لما بعث على عماراً والحسن الى الكوفة ليستنفرهم خطب عمار فقال: إنى لأعلم أنها زوجته فى الدنيا والآخرة، ولكن الله ابتلاكم لتتبعوه أو إياها.

WHEN 'Alî sent 'Ammâr and al-Ḥasan to [the people of] Kûfah to call them to his aid,[5] 'Ammâr spake thus [unto them]: Behold, I know that 'Â'ishah[6] was the Prophet's[7] wife in this world and [will be so] in the world to come[8]; but God is testing you whether ye will obey Him or obey her.[9]

٦ حدثنا عبيد بن اسمعيل: حدثنا أبو أسامة عن هشام عن أبيه

6 'Ubayd ibn Ismâ'îl related to us: Abû Usâmah related to us, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father ['Urwah],

1 See preceding Tradition, and nn.

2 It appears from another version of the same Tradition (Bkh liii, *sûrah* xxiv, sec. 9) that this was 'Â'ishah's last illness; she died shortly afterwards.

3 In the Arabic text in the sing. form *(farat)*, as a *nomen generis*.

4 Ibn 'Abbâs mentioned here, beside the Prophet, only Abû Bakr, because he was 'Â'ishah's father.

5 This is an incident of the conflict between 'Alî and 'Â'ishah, in the year 36 A.H., which resulted in the Battle of the Camel between the two factions of the Muslims.

6 In the text, "she", without mention of the name. It is apparent that this sentence was part of a longer speech.

7 In the text, "his".

8 *Fath al-Bârî* VII, 86, mentions a Tradition in which the Prophet is reported to have said to 'Â'ishah: "Art thou not satisfied with being my wife in this world and in the world to come?" It is possible that 'Ammâr alludes to this saying.

9 Thus 'Ammâr implied that the duty of submitting to the acknowledged Caliph was a duty towards God Himself, for the Caliph represented the rule of *sharî'ah*. 'Â'ishah's distinction of having been the Prophet's wife had nothing to do with the fact that in waging war upon 'Alî she was, in 'Ammâr's opinion, acting wrongly.

ON the authority of 'Â'ishah, [who said] that she had borrowed a necklace from Asmâ'[1] and had lost it [during a journey].[2] Thereupon the Apostle of God sent some of his companions to search for it; and [while they were thus occupied] the time for prayer came, and they had to pray without ablutions.[3] On their return to the Prophet they mentioned this to him deploringly. Then the verse about the ablution with dust was revealed.[4] And Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr[5] said [to 'Â'ishah]: May God reward thee well! By God, never hath any [difficult] thing happened to thee without God's showing thee a way out of it and turning it into a blessing for the Muslims.[6]

عن عائشة (رض) أنها استعارت من أسماء قلادة فهلكت، فأرسل رسول الله ﷺ ناساً من أصحابه فى طلبها، فأدركتهم الصلاة فصلوا بغير وضوء. فلما أتوا النبي ﷺ شكوا ذلك اليه؛ فنزلت آية التيمم. فقال أسيد بن حضير: جزاك الله خيراً! فوالله مانزل بك أمر قط الا جعل الله لك منه مخرجاً وجعل للمسلمين فيه بركة.

7 'Ubayd ibn Ismâ'îl related to us: Abû Usâmah related to us, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father ['Urwah]:[7]

٧ حدثنا عبيد بن اسمعيل: حدثنا أبو أسامة عن هشام عن أبيه

DURING his [last] illness the Apostle of God went by turns to his wives[8] and asked [each of them]: Where shall I be

أن رسول الله ﷺ لما كان فى مرضه جعل يدور فى نسائه ويقول: أين أنا غداً؟ أين

1 Asmâ' bint Abî Bakr, 'Â'ishah's elder sister; she was married to az-Zubayr and died in Mecca in 73 A.H. (*Istî'âb* II, 704).

2 This incident has been narrated, in a slightly different form and with more details, in sec. 6, No. 12. See also Bkh vii/1, No. 1.

3 They were in the desert and had no water.

4 In the other versions of the same Tradition, referred to in n. 2 above, there is no mention of persons having gone away from the camp and prayed without ablutions (cf. sec. 6, No. 12). But it is possible that, apart from what happened in the camp, some Companions, who were surprised by the prayer-time during their search in the desert, prayed without ablutions, as they were unaware of the verse on *tayammum* which in the meantime had been revealed to the Prophet.

5 Note about him in sec. 46.

6 Allusion to the famous incident which caused a lot of talk and slander against 'Â'ishah, until the verses 11—18 in *sûrah* xxiv were revealed, which silenced the calumniators. The story of this incident is narrated in detail in Bkh lii/36. It proved a blessing for the Muslims because henceforth the Qur'ân forbade spreading of rumours affecting the moral character of any person unless clear proofs of misconduct were forthcoming. The above utterance of Usayd is the reason why the author placed this Tradition in the section dealing with the merits of 'Â'ishah.

7 This Tradition has the semblance of a *ḥadîth mursal, i.e.*, a Tradition reported by a *tâbi'î* with omission of the *ṣaḥâbî* from whom the former had heard it. The *irsâl*, however, is contradicted by the fact that towards the end of the Tradition the name of 'Â'ishah occurs ("'Â'ishah said", etc.). Thus it is evident that 'Urwah heard it from the latter; and this establishes the Tradition as *mawṣûl* (*i.e.*, properly traced back to the Prophet through a Companion).

8 The *shari'ah*, as interpreted by the Prophet's example, requires of a man who has more than one wife to spend by turns one day and night with each of them.

to-morrow? Where shall I be to-morrow?[1]— longing for 'Â'ishah's house.

'Âishah said[2]: And when my turn came, he remained [with me].[3]

أنا غداً؟ — حرصاً على بيت عائشة.

قالت عائشة: فلما كان يومى سكن.

8 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb related to us: Ḥammâd related to us: Hishâm related to us, on the authority of his father ['Urwah], who said:

٨ حدثنا عبد الله بن عبد الوهاب: حدثنا حماد: حدثنا هشام عن أبيه قال:

THE people used to bring presents [to the Prophet] on the days when he was with 'Â'ishah.[4] 'Â'ishah said: Thereupon my fellow-wives assembled at Umm Salamah's house and said: O Umm Salamah! By God, the people bring presents [only] on the day when he is with 'Â'ishah; but we desire this good fortune[5] same as 'Â'ishah desireth it. Therefore, request the Apostle of God to tell the people that they should bring him their gifts wherever he be

—or: wherever he choose to stay—.

['Â'ishah] continued: Then Umm Salamah mentioned this to the Prophet. [Narrating this incident later,] she said: But he heeded me not. And when he came to me again, I mentioned this [once more] to him, but he heeded me not. And I [again] mentioned it to him on his third visit, and he said: Worry me not on account of 'Â'ishah, for, by God! never did a revelation come unto me while I was secluded with[6] any of ye women but her.[7]

كان الناس يتحرون بهداياهم يوم عائشة. قالت عائشة: فاجتمع صواحبي الى أم سلمة فقلن: يا أم سلمة! والله إن الناس يتحرون بهداياهم يوم عائشة، وإنا نريد الخير كما تريده عائشة. فمرى رسول الله ﷺ أن يأمر الناس أن يهدوا اليه حيثما كان

—أو: حيثما دار—.

قالت: فذكرت ذلك أم سلمة للنبي ﷺ. قالت: فأعرض عنى. فلما عاد الىّ ذكرت له ذاك فأعرض عنى. فلما كان فى الثالثة ذكرت له فقال: يا أم سلمة! لا تؤذينى فى عائشة، فانه والله ما نزل علىّ الوحى وأنا فى لحاف امرأة منكن غيرها.

1 Owing to his illness he was not sure of his own memory regarding the sequence of his visits.

2 See p. 100, n. 7.

3 *Sc.*, until his death. As is evident from Bkh lii/85, No. 14, he asked the consent of his other wives to his remaining in 'Â'ishah's house during the rest of his illness.

4 It is evident from Bkh xli/6, No. 1, that the Companions, knowing the Prophet's great love for 'Â'ishah, chose those particular days in order to please him.

5 This may refer either to the worldly benefits consisting in a share of these presents, or to the honour of having presents brought to the Prophet while he was with them. The expression *khayr* has a material as well as a moral connotation. Taking into consideration the Prophet's equitable treatment of his wives, we may safely assume that there was no question of his giving presents to one and neglecting the others. It thus appears that the Prophet's wives were merely anxious fully to share with 'Â'ishah the honour of their position.

6 Lit., "under the blanket of".

7 This refers only to those wives of the Prophet who were alive at that time, for the Prophet had received revelations also in the presence of Khadijah.

SECTION XXXIV

THE VIRTUES OF THE *ANṢÂR*[1]

The Word of God, the Lord of Might and Glory: Those who have sheltered [the Prophet] and helped [him]...[2] *Those who have taken their abode in the City [of the Prophet] and in the faith before them love those who migrate unto them; and in their hearts there is no grudge for what [the others] have been given...*[3]

1 Mûsâ ibn Ismâ'îl related to us: Mahdî ibn Maymûn related to us:

GHAYLÂN ibn Jarîr[4] related to us, saying: I said unto Anas: Tell me, that name "*Anṣâr*"—did ye invent it yourself or did God name you so?—He answered: God named us thus.[5]

We used to visit Anas,[6] and he would relate to us Traditions on the virtues and deeds of the *Anṣâr*, and would turn toward me or [another] man of Azd[7] and would say: Thy people, on such-and-such day, did this and that.

2 'Ubayd ibn Ismâ'îl related to us: Abû Usâmah related to us, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father ['Urwah], on the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said:

٣٤ باب

مناقب الأنصار

وقول الله عزوجل: والذين آووا ونصروا... والذين تبوؤا الدار والايمان من قبلهم يحبون من هاجر اليهم ولا يجدون في صدورهم حاجة مما أوتوا.

١ حدثنا موسى بن اسمعيل: حدثنا مهدى بن ميمون:

حدثنا غيلان بن جرير قال: قلت لأنس: أرأيت اسم «الأنصار» — كنتم تسمون به أم سماكم الله؟ — قال: بل سمانا الله.

كنا ندخل على أنس فيحدثنا مناقب الأنصار ومشاهدهم ويقبل علىّ أو على رجل من الأزد فيقول: فعل قومك يوم كذا وكذا وكذا.

٢ حدثنا عبيد بن اسمعيل: حدثنا أبو أسامة عن هشام عن أبيه عن عائشة (رض) قالت:

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1 *Anṣâr* (sing., *naṣîr*, from *naṣara*, "he helped") is a designation of the early Muslims of the tribes Aws and Khazraj of Madînah (then called Yathrib). According to some commentators, this appellation refers also to members of other tribes, or even non-Arabs, who were allied *(ḥulafâ'*, sing., *ḥalîf)* to these two tribes (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 87; 'Ayni XVI, 253); but there is no clear evidence of people other than Aws and Khazraj having been designated as *Anṣâr* by the Prophet or by his Companions. The Prophet's great love for the *Anṣâr* is manifest from many Traditions. The selfless and wholehearted support he and his Companions received from them at a time of dire persecution proved a turning point in the fortunes of Islâm.

2 Qur'ân viii, 72 and 74.

3 *Ibid.*, lix, 9. The first part of this verse has been explained on p. 59, n. 3. The second part refers to the plantations taken in war from the Jewish tribe of Banu'n-Naḍîr, of which the Prophet gave a part to the poor *Muhâjirs* (cf. p. 68, n. 3); the *Anṣâr* did not receive anything, because they were in their homeland and in possession of their own lands, while the *Muhâjirs* had lost everything on leaving Mecca (cf. Ibn Kathîr VIII, 292).

4 Ghaylân ibn Jarîr al-Azdî, a *tâbi'î* of Baṣrah; d. 129 A.H. (*Tahdhîb at-Tahdhîb* VIII, 253 f).

5 Reference to the numerous passages in the Qur'ân which contain the appellation of *Anṣâr* in different grammatical forms.

6 This was in Baṣrah, where Anas spent the later part of his life (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 87).

7 The tribes of Aws and Khazraj trace their common descent back to a forefather of the name of Azd. The narrator of this Tradition, Ghaylân, was also an Azdî, without being an *Anṣârî;* but Anas wanted to show that all Azdîs had reason to be proud of the *Anṣâr*.

THE day of Bu'âth—God brought it about before the coming of His Apostle.[1] When the Apostle of God came [to Madînah] they[2] were divided into rival factions, and their nobles had been killed or wounded: God brought this about before the coming of His Apostle, so that they might [readily] embrace Islâm.

كان يوم بعاث يوماً قدمه الله لرسوله ﷺ. فقدم رسول الله ﷺ وقد افترق ملؤهم وقتلت سرواتهم وجرحوا، فقدمه الله لرسوله ﷺ فى دخولهم فى الاسلام.

3 Abu'l-Walîd related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Abu't-Tayyâḥ, who said: I heard Anas say:

٣ حدثنا أبو الوليد: حدثنا شعبة عن أبى التياح قال: سمعت أنساً (رض) يقول:

ON the day of the conquest of Mecca,[3] [the Prophet] gave [the spoils] to the Quraysh[4]; thereupon the *Anṣâr* said: By God! This is strange! The blood of Quraysh is [still] dripping from our swords, and our spoils are being returned to them![5]—When the Prophet heard of this, he called the *Anṣâr* and said: What is it that I hear about you?—And [as] they never lied, they answered: It is as thou hast heard.—He said: Are ye not satisfied that [other] people return to their homes with [mere] spoils, while ye return to your homes with the Apostle of God? If the *Anṣâr* go through a valley or a ravine, indeed I shall go through the valley or the ravine of the *Anṣâr*![6]

قالت الأنصار يوم فتح مكة وأعطى قريشاً: والله! إن هذا لهو العجب! إن سيوفنا لتقطر من دماء قريش وغنائمنا ترد عليهم! — فبلغ ذلك النبى ﷺ فدعا الأنصار فقال: ما الذى بلغنى عنكم؟ — وكانوا لا يكذبون فقالوا: هو الذى بلغك. — قال: أولا ترضون أن يرجع الناس بالغنائم الى بيوتهم وترجعون برسول الله الى بيوتكم؟ لو سلكت الأنصار وادياً أو شعباً لسلكت وادى الأنصار أو شعبهم!

1 Bu'âth (or, according to some transmitters, Bughâth), was a place or a fort belonging to the Jewish tribe of Banû Qurayẓah, approximately two miles from Madînah. About five years before the Prophet's arrival at Madînah, a battle took place there between the two rival tribes, Aws and Khazraj. In the beginning of the fight the luck was with the Khazraj, but afterwards the Aws gained the upper hand and the former were badly defeated. (Ibn al-Athîr I, 417 ff.). This battle was the climax of the age-long feud between the two tribes, and went a long way to prepare the ground for the Prophet's subsequent preaching of Islâm at Madînah, for both these tribes were exhausted by the continuous warfare and were only too ready to submit to a strong, impartial personality who would settle their differences and would bring peace to their country.

2 *I.e.*, the tribes Aws and Khazraj.

3 It should be "*in the year* of the conquest of Mecca", and the reference in the following is to the spoils obtained from the tribe of Hawâzin at Ḥunayn (about two months after the conquest of Mecca). This is evident from Bkh xlvi/216, No. 5, and lii/58, No. 6.

4 *I.e.*, the newly-converted Quraysh of Mecca. The Prophet gave them a part of the spoils of the battle of Ḥunayn in order to reconcile them to Islâm.

5 These spoils were, in fact, taken from the Hawâzin and not from the Quraysh (cf. n. 3 above); but as these two tribes had been recently allied against the Muslims, the *Anṣâr* resented their being allowed to benefit by the self-sacrifice of the Prophet's supporters.

6 *I.e.*, "I will share their life, be it easy or hard". Thus the Prophet explained that his giving the spoils to the newly-converted Quraysh did not imply his preferment of the latter over the *Anṣâr*, for it was the *Anṣâr* who for ever had the first claim to his love.

SECTION XXXV

THE PROPHET'S SAYING, *WHERE IT NOT FOR THE HIJRAH, INDEED I SHOULD [LIKE TO] BE ONE OF THE* ANṢÂR

'Abd Allâh ibn Zayd narrated the above [Tradition] on the authority of the Prophet.[1]

Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to me: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Ziyâd, on the authority of Abû Hurayrah,

ON the authority of the Prophet (or: Abu'l-Qâsim[2] said): If the *Anṣâr* go through a valley or a ravine, indeed I shall go through the valley of the *Anṣâr*[3]; and were it not for the *hijrah*, indeed I should [like to] be one of the *Anṣâr!*

And Abû Hurayrah added:

He was right—I would sacrifice for him my father and my mother!—[for it is] they [who] sheltered and helped him.

Or [perhaps Abû Hurayrah used] some other expression.

SECTION XXXVI

THE BROTHERHOOD ESTABLISHED BY THE PROPHET BETWEEN THE *MUHÂJIRS* AND THE *ANṢÂR*[4]

1 Ismâ'îl ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us, saying: Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd related to me, on the

٣٥ باب

قول النبي ﷺ «لو لا الهجرة لكنت من الأنصار»

قاله عبد الله بن زيد عن النبي ﷺ.

حدثني محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة عن محمد بن زياد عن أبي هريرة (رض) عن النبي ﷺ (أو: قال أبو القاسم ﷺ): لو أن الأنصار سلكوا وادياً أو شعباً لسلكت في وادي الأنصار، ولولا الهجرة لكنت امرأ من الأنصار.

فقال أبو هريرة:

ماظلم — بأبي وأمي! — آووه ونصروه. أوكلمة أخرى.

٣٦ باب

إخاء النبي ﷺ بين المهاجرين والأنصار

١ حدثنا اسمعيل بن عبد الله قال: حدثني ابراهيم

1 The title of this section is a fragment from a Tradition quoted in Bkh lii/58, No. 6. Thus the Prophet indicated that the giving up of one's home and possessions for the sake of a religious ideal is an act of the highest merit; and next to it comes helping selflessly a community struggling for the fulfilment of that ideal. The Tradition in this section (with a different *isnâd*) has a wording similar to that from which the above fragment was taken.

2 The Prophet's *kunyah*.

3 See p. 103, n. 6.

4 Most of the *Muhâjirs* who came from Mecca to Madînah were destitute for on their emigration they had to leave their possessions behind. So the Prophet suggested to the *Anṣâr* that they should share their means with the poor *Muhâjirs;* and the former responded to this call with enthusiasm. Ibn Sa'd (I/i, 1) reports that about 90 or 100 persons, one half of them *Anṣâr* and one half *Muhâjirs*, established between themselves bonds of brotherhood, each *Anṣârî* taking one *Muhâjir* as brother; and they went so far as to give to the *Muhâjirs* the right of inheritance equal to that of actual brothers. This latter custom, however, was abolished by the revelation, after the battle of Badr, of the Qur'ân-verse viii, 75, which re-affirms the rule that only the lawful relations of a deceased may inherit his property.

authority of his father, on the authority of his grandfather [Ibrâhîm'], who said:

WHEN [the *Muhâjirs*] came to Madînah, the Apostle of God established bonds of brotherhood between 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf and Sa'd ibn ar-Rabî'[2]. The latter said unto 'Abd ar-Raḥmân: Behold, I am the wealthiest of the *Anṣâr*, and I shall divide my possessions into two halves.[3] And I have two wives; thou see whichever of the two pleaseth thee better, and tell me her name: I shall divorce her, and when her waiting term[4] is over, thou wed her.—['Abd ar-Raḥmân] said: Bless thee God in thy family and thy possessions![5] Where is your market?[6]—So they guided him to the market of Banû Qaynuqâ'; and he did not return until he had made some profit consisting of cheese and clarified butter. He continued to do so every morning. One day he came having on him traces of yellow perfume; and the Prophet asked: What is this?—He answered: I have wedded.—[The Prophet] asked: How much didst thou give her in dower?—He answered: A golden *nawâh*[7]

ابن سعد عن أبيه عن جده قال:

لما قدموا المدينة آخى رسول الله ﷺ بين عبد الرحمن بن عوف وسعد بن الربيع. قال لعبد الرحمن: إنى أكثر الأنصار مالاً فأقسم مالى نصفين؛ ولى امرأتان، فانظر أعجبهما اليك فسمها لى أطلقها فاذا انقضت عدتها فتزوجها. — قال: بارك الله لك فى أهلك ومالك! أين سوقكم؟ — فدلوه على سوق بنى قينقاع. فما انقلب الا ومعه فضل من أقط وسمن؛ ثم تابع الغدو. ثم جاء يوماً وبه أثر صفرة، فقال النبى ﷺ: مهيم؟ — قال: تزوجت. — قال: كم سقت اليها؟ — قال: نواة من ذهب

1 Ibrâhîm ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf; d. 76 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd V, 40). This *isnâd* has the semblance of a *ḥadîth mursal:* Ibrâhîm was a *tâbi'î*, and the *isnâd* does not show his having heard the Tradition from a Companion. But another version of the same Tradition (Bkh xxvi/1, No. 2) clearly shows that Ibrâhîm heard it from his father, 'Abd ar-Raḥmân; and there the story is narrated by the latter in the first person. In the version before us, the transmitter Ibrâhîm omits the words "'Abd ar-Raḥmân said", and speaks of the latter in the third person. Nevertheless, the Tradition is the same, with only a minor change of wording; and thus it must be regarded as *mawṣûl* ("properly connected").

2 Sa'd ibn ar-Rabî' ibn 'Amr al-Khazrajî. He was one of the men whom the Prophet appointed at 'Aqabah as elders over the new Muslim community at Yathrib; he took part in the battle of Badr, and fell in the battle of Uḥud (*Istî'âb* II, 547). It is narrated in *Muwaṭṭâ'* I, 309, that after the battle of Uḥud the Prophet ordered a search for Sa'd's body. He was found dying; and when a man of the *Anṣâr* asked him how he felt, he answered: "Tell thy people that if the Apostle of God should die [in this battle] while even one of them remained alive, they will never be forgiven by God."

3 Meaning, that he would give one half to 'Abd ar-Raḥmân.

4 *I.e.*, the period during which a divorced or widowed woman may not remarry.

5 Implying that he did not wish to deprive his friend of either.

6 He wanted to earn his livelihood through trade, and did not wish to depend on others. He was very successful in his endeavours and became one of the wealthiest Companions. Although part of his later property undoubtedly originated from his share in the booty of many campaigns (cf. Ibn Sa'd III/i, 94), his trading ventures largely contributed to it (*ibid.*, p. 93).

7 A *nawâh* was a piece of gold worth five *dirhams* (*Lisân al-'Arab* XX, 225).

—أو: وزن نواة من ذهب. — شك ابراهيم.

—or: gold to the weight of a *nawâh*.— Ibrâhîm[1] was doubtful [as to the expression used].

٢ حدثنا قتيبة: حدثنا اسمعيل بن جعفر عن حميد عن أنس (رض) أنه قال:

2 Qutaybah related to us: Ismâ'il ibn Ja'far related to us, on the authority of Ḥumayd, on the authority of Anas, who said:

قدم علينا عبد الرحمن بن عوف وآخى رسول الله ﷺ بينه وبين سعد بن الربيع وكان كثير المال، فقال سعد: قد علمت الأنصار أنى من أكثرها مالاً، سأقسم مالى بينى وبينك شطرين؛ ولى امرأتان، فانظر أعجبهما اليك فأطلقها حتى اذا حلت تزوجتها. — فقال عبد الرحمن: بارك الله لك فى أهلك! — فلم يرجع يومئذ حتى أفضل شيأ من سمن وأقط. فلم يلبث الا يسيراً حتى جاء رسول الله ﷺ وعليه وضر من صفرة، فقال له رسول الله ﷺ: مهيم؟ — قال: تزوجت امرأة من الأنصار. — فقال: ماسقت فيها؟ — قال: وزن نواة من ذهب

— أو: نواة من ذهب —.

فقال: أولم ولو بشاة!

'ABD AR-RAḤMÂN ibn 'Awf came to us[2], and the Apostle of God established bonds of brotherhood between him and Sa'd ibn ar-Rabî', who was very wealthy. And Sa'd said: The *Anṣâr* know that I am one of the wealthiest of them. I will divide my possessions equally between myself and thee. I have two wives; see thou whichever of the two pleaseth thee better, and I shall divorce her, so that thou wed her when she becometh lawful.—Thereupon 'Abd ar-Raḥmân said: Bless thee God in thy family! —And he did not come home that day until he had made some profit consisting of clarified butter and cheese. And after a short time he came to the Apostle of God having on him stains of a yellow perfume. The Apostle of God asked him: What is this?—He answered: I have wedded a woman of the *Anṣâr*.—[The Prophet] asked: What didst thou spend on her in dower?—He answered: Gold to the weight of a *nawâh*

—or: a golden *nawâh*—.

Then [the Prophet] said: [Now,] prepare a wedding-feast, even though it be of a single sheep!

٣ حدثنا الصلت بن محمد أبو همام قال: سمعت المغيرة بن عبد الرحمن: حدثنا أبو الزناد عن الأعرج عن أبى هريرة (رض) قال:

3 Aṣ-Ṣalt ibn Muḥammad abû Hammâm related to us, saying: I heard al-Mughîrah ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân [say]: Abu'z-Zinâd related to us, on the authority of al-A'raj, on the authority of Abû Hurayrah, who said:

قالت الأنصار: اقسم بيننا وبينهم النخل.

THE *Anṣâr* said [unto the Prophet][3]: Divide our palm-orchards between us

1 There are two persons of the name of Ibrâhîm mentioned in the *isnâd* of this Tradition. According to 'Aynî XVI, 256, Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd (cf. *isnâd*) is meant here.

2 *I.e.*, to Madînah; the narrator Anas was an *Anṣârî*. For an explanation of the allusions contained in this Tradition, see No. 1 of this section.

3 Evidently this happened shortly after the arrival of the first *Muhâjirs* at Madînah. The discussion reproduced in this Tradition throws full light on the selfless love of the *Anṣâr* for their Meccan brethren.

and them[1].—He said: Nay.[2]—[Thereupon the *Anṣâr*] said [to the *Muhâjirs*]: Then ye will help us in the cultivation and will have a share in the dates.—[The *Muhâjirs*] said: We hear and obey.

— قال: لا. — قال: تكفونا المؤنة وتشركونا في التمر. — قالوا: سمعنا وأطعنا.

SECTION XXXVII

LOVE OF THE *ANṢÂR*

1 Ḥajjâj ibn Minhâl related to us: Shu'bah related to us, saying: 'Adî ibn Thâbit informed me, saying: I heard al-Barâ' say:

I HEARD the Prophet [say]

—or he said: The Prophet said—:

None loveth the *Anṣâr* but a faithful, and none hateth them but a hypocrite. Thus, whoso loveth them, may God love him, and whoso hateth them, may God hate him.[3]

٣٧ باب

حب الأنصار

١ حدثنا حجاج بن منهال: حدثنا شعبة قال: أخبرني عدي بن ثابت قال: سمعت البراء (رض) قال:

سمعت النبي ﷺ

— أو قال: قال النبي ﷺ —:

الأنصار لايحبهم الا مؤمن ولا يبغضهم الا منافق؛ فمن أحبهم أحبه الله ومن أبغضهم أبغضه الله.

2 Muslim ibn Ibrâhîm related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Jabr[4], on the authority of Anas ibn Mâlik,

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: Love of the *Anṣâr* is a sign of faith, and hate of the *Anṣâr*, a sign of hypocrisy.

٢ حدثنا مسلم بن ابراهيم: حدثنا شعبة عن عبد الله بن عبد الله بن جبر عن أنس بن مالك (رض)

عن النبي ﷺ قال: آية الايمان حب الأنصار وآية النفاق بغض الأنصار.

SECTION XXXVIII

THE PROPHET'S SAYING TO THE *ANṢÂR*, *YE ARE THE DEAREST OF ALL PEOPLE UNTO ME*

1 Abû Ma'mar related to us: 'Abd al-Wârith related to us: 'Abd al-'Azîz related to us, on the authority of Anas, who said:

٣٨ باب

قول النبي ﷺ للأنصار «أنتم أحب الناس إليّ»

١ حدثنا أبو معمر: حدثنا عبد الوارث: حدثنا عبد العزيز عن أنس (رض) قال:

1 *I.e.*, the *Muhâjirs*.

2 The Prophet obviously regarded this proposed division of property as too great a sacrifice on the part of the *Anṣâr*.

3 The services of the *Anṣâr* to the cause of Islâm and their self-sacrifice were so great that one's feelings towards them, as a group, necessarily indicate a man's attitude towards Islâm as such. Like so many other sayings of the Prophet pronounced on special occasions, this and the subsequent Traditions have also a general meaning relating to all those who help the cause of Islâm when it is in difficulties.

4 In most of the texts, this transmitter's name is given as *'Abd ar-Raḥmân* ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Jabr; this is undoubtedly a mistake, as is pointed out in the margin of *Ṣaḥîḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamîd, vol. V, 32. Cf. also the *isnâd* of the same Tradition in Bkh ii/9.

THE Prophet saw women and children[1] coming

—['Abd al-'Azîz] said: I believe [Anas] said: . . . [coming] from a wedding—.

Thereupon the Prophet rose and said: By God! Ye are among the dearest of all people unto me!—He said this three times.

رأى النبي ﷺ النساء والصبيان مقبلين

— قال: حسبت أنه قال: . . . من عرس —.

فقام النبي ﷺ ممثلاً فقال: اللهم! أنتم من أحب الناس الىّ! — قالها ثلاث مرار.

2 Ya'qûb ibn Ibrâhîm ibn Kathîr related to us: Bahz ibn Asad related to us: Shu'bah related to us, saying: Hishâm ibn Zayd informed me, saying: I heard Anas ibn Mâlik say:

٢ حدثنا يعقوب بن ابراهيم بن كثير: حدثنا بهز ابن أسد: حدثنا شعبة قال: أخبرنى هشام بن زيد قال: سمعت أنس بن مالك (رض) قال:

A WOMAN of the *Anṣâr* came with her child unto the Apostle of God, and he spake unto her and said: By Him in Whose hand is my soul! Verily, ye[2] are the dearest of all people unto me.—[He said this] twice.

جاءت امرأة من الأنصار الى رسول الله ﷺ ومعها صبي لها، فكلمها رسول الله ﷺ فقال: والذى نفسى بيده! إنكم أحب الناس الىّ، — مرتين.

SECTION XXXIX

THE FOLLOWERS OF THE *ANṢÂR*[3]

٣٩ باب

أتباع الأنصار

1 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to us: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of 'Amr [who said]: I heard Abû Ḥamzah [say], on the authority of Zayd ibn Arqam[4]:

١ حدثنا محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة عن عمرو: سمعت أبا حمزة عن زيد بن أرقم:

THE *Anṣâr* said: O Apostle of God! Every prophet hath followers: and, behold, we have followed thee. Now, pray God that He cause our own followers to join us [in Islâm].[5]—And [the Prophet] made this prayer.

['Amr[6]] said: I mentioned this [Tradition]

قالت الأنصار: يا رسول الله! لكل نبى أتباع وإنا قد اتبعناك؛ فادع الله أن يجعل أتباعنا منا. — فدعا به.

فنميت ذلك الى ابن أبى ليلى، قال: قد زعم

1 It is possible that the "women and children" mentioned here are identical with the persons designated in No. 2 of this section as *Anṣâr*. Although this indication is not found in the version quoted under No. 1, we have another version of the same Tradition (Muslim, *K. Faḍâ'il aṣ-Ṣaḥâbah, B. Faḍâ'il al-Anṣâr*), at the end of which Anas adds the words, "that is, the *Anṣâr*".

2 The address is in the plural form, and not in the dual, and refers, therefore, not only to the woman and her child but to her community as a whole, *i.e.*, to the *Anṣâr*.

3 Meant are here the confederates *(ḥulafâ')* of the *Anṣâr* from among other tribes, as well as their freedmen *(mawâlî)*.

4 Zayd ibn Arqam ibn Zayd al-Khazrajî. He fought in seventeen campaigns of the Prophet, and took part on 'Alî's side in the battle of Ṣiffîn (37 A.H.); died in Kûfah in 66 or 68 A.H. (*Iṣâbah* III, 21).

5 Lit., "to become of us"—that is, to embrace Islâm. The loyal *Anṣâr* wished that their friends from among other tribes and their freedmen (both groups are comprised in the term "followers") who had been faithful to them in the past, should remain united with them in the fold of Islâm.

6 The identity of the speaker is evident from No. 2 of this section.

to Ibn Abî Laylah[1], and he said: It was Zayd [himself] who said this [to the Prophet].[2]

2 Âdam related to us: Shu'bah related to us: 'Amr ibn Murrah related to us, saying: I heard Abû Ḥamzah, a man of the *Anṣâr*, [say]:[3]

THE *Anṣâr* said [unto the Prophet]: Every community[4] hath followers: and, behold, we have followed thee. Now, pray God that He cause our own followers to join us [in Islâm].[5]—The Prophet prayed: O God! Cause their followers to join them!

'Amr said: I mentioned this [Tradition] to Ibn Abî Laylah, and he said: It was Zayd who said this [to the Prophet].[6]—Shu'bah said: I believe it was Zayd ibn Arqam.[7]

SECTION XL

THE MERIT OF THE CLANS[8] OF *ANṢÂR*

1 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to me: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to

ذلك زيد.

٢ حدثنا آدم: حدثنا شعبة: حدثنا عمرو بن مرة قال: سمعت أبا حمزة رجلاً من الأنصار:

قالت الأنصار: إن لكل قوم أتباعاً وإنا قد اتبعناك؛ فادع الله أن يجعل أتباعنا منا. — قال النبي ﷺ: اللهم! اجعل أتباعهم منهم!

قال عمرو: فذكرته لابن أبي ليلى، قال: قد زعم ذاك زيد. — قال شعبة: أظنه زيد بن أرقم.

٤٠ باب

فضل دور الأنصار

١ حدثني محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا

1 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Abî Laylah, famous *tâbi'î* and Traditionist; he fell in a battle against the Umayyad general, Ḥajjâj ibn Yûsuf (Ibn Sa'd VI, 74 ff).

2 *I.e.*, it was Zayd ibn Arqam (the narrator of this Tradition) who, on behalf of the *Anṣâr*, interceded with the Prophet for their followers.—In the French version of the *Ṣaḥîḥ* by Houdas and Marçais (vol. III, 5, in two places) we find the ridiculous translation: "C'est Zeïd qui pretend cela" ("It is Zayd who *pretends* this")—thus twisting Ibn Abî Laylah's answer into a discrediting criticism of the authenticity of this Tradition. The French translators were evidently not aware of the fact that the primary meaning of *za'ma* is equivalent to *qâla* ("he said"); cf. *Lisân al-'Arab* XV, 156.

3 This Tradition has the semblance of a *ḥadîth mursal*, because there is no mention of the *ṣaḥâbî* who narrated it. But it is evident from the preceding Tradition that the narrator was Zayd ibn Arqam, and that it was he himself who had addressed the Prophet on behalf of the *Anṣâr*. This is again stated by Ibn Abî Laylah at the end of this Tradition.

4 In the Arabic text, *qawm*. Meant is here a community associated with a prophet; cf. the preceding Tradition.

5 See p. 108, n. 5.

6 Cf. n. 2 above.

7 As there is no mention of the name of Zayd ibn Arqam in the *isnâd* of this Tradition, there was a possibility of the Zayd mentioned by Ibn Abî Laylah being another person of that name, *e.g.*, Zayd ibn Thâbit. Therefore Shu'bah stated before his audience that, in his opinion, the narrator concerned was Zayd ibn Arqam. It is probable that Shu'bah heard this version before that quoted under No. 1, in which Zayd ibn Arqam is mentioned in the *isnâd* with his patronymic.

8 The word used in the text, *dûr* (sing., *dâr*) denotes an abode or a settlement; if associated with the name of a tribal group it simply signifies "tribe" (*Fâ'iq* I, 206). Here the expression refers to the various sub-tribes, or clans, of the tribes Aws and Khazraj.

us, saying: I heard Qatâdah [say], on the authority of Anas ibn Mâlik, on the authority of Abû Usayd[1], who said:

THE Prophet said: The worthiest clan of *Anṣâr* are Banu'n Najjâr, thereafter Banû 'Abd al-Ashhal, thereafter Banu'l-Ḥârith ibn Khazraj, thereafter Banû Sâ'idah; but there is worthiness in all clans of *Anṣâr*.

Thereupon Sa'd[2] said: I see that the Prophet hath placed [others] above us![3]—Then someone said: But he hath placed you above many [others].

And 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad said: Shu'bah related to us: Qatâdah related to us: I heard Anas [say]: Abû Usayd said, on the authority of the Prophet, the same, with the words: Sa'd *ibn 'Ubâdah*.[4]

2 Sa'd ibn Ḥafṣ related to us: Shaybân related to us, on the authority of Yaḥyâ: Abû Salamah said: Abû Usayd informed me that

HE heard the Prophet say: The worthiest of *Anṣâr*—or he said: The worthiest of the clans of *Anṣâr*—are Banu'n-Najjâr, Banû 'Abd al-Ashhal, Banu'l-Ḥârith and Banû Sâ'idah.

3 Khâlid ibn Makhlad related to us: Sulaymân related to us, saying: 'Amr ibn Yaḥyâ related to me, on the authority of 'Abbâs ibn Sahl, on the authority of Abû Ḥumayd,

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: Behold, the worthiest of the clans of *Anṣâr* is the clan of Banu'n-Najjâr, thereafter that of Banû 'Abd al-Ashhal, thereafter the clan of Banu'l-Ḥârith, there-

شعبة قال: سمعت قتادة عن أنس بن مالك عن أبي أسيد (رض) قال:

قال النبي ﷺ: خير دور الأنصار بنو النجار ثم بنو عبد الأشهل ثم بنو الحرث بن خزرج ثم بنو ساعدة؛ وفي كل دور الأنصار خير.

فقال سعد: ما أرى النبي ﷺ الا قد فضل علينا! — فقيل: قد فضلكم على كثير.

وقال عبد الصمد: حدثنا شعبة: حدثنا قتادة: سمعت أنساً: قال أبو أسيد عن النبي ﷺ بهذا وقال: سعد بن عبادة.

٢ حدثنا سعد بن حفص: حدثنا شيبان عن يحي: قال أبو سلمة: أخبرني أبو أسيد

أنه سمع النبي ﷺ يقول: خير الأنصار — أو قال: خير دور الأنصار — بنو النجار وبنو عبد الأشهل وبنو الحرث وبنو ساعدة.

٣ حدثنا خالد بن مخلد: حدثنا سليمان قال: حدثني عمرو بن يحي عن عباس بن سهل عن أبي حميد

عن النبي ﷺ قال: إن خير دور الأنصار دار بني النجار ثم بني عبد الأشهل ثم

1 Abû Usayd Mâlik (or Hilâl) ibn Rabî'ah al-Khazrajî. He took part in all campaigns of the Prophet. There is great difference of opinion as to the date of his death (*Istî'âb* I, 244, and II, 621 f). The fact of his having been a member of the clan of Banû Sâ'idah is of particular importance, because he narrates here a Tradition in which the Banû Sâ'idah are placed last on the list of merit of the clans of *Anṣâr*.

2 *Sc.*, Sa'd ibn 'Ubâdah; note about him in sec. 48.

3 Sa'd was the chief of the clan Banû Sâ'idah, and he resented to see his own clan placed last in the order of merit. He was extremely ambitious, as is evident from sec. 6, No. 9; see also note about him in sec. 48.

4 This is a fragment of the Tradition quoted in sec. 48. The author brings it here in order to make clear that the Sa'd mentioned in the above Tradition without patronymic is Sa'd ibn 'Ubâdah. This, by the way, is also evident from No. 3 of this section.

after that of Banû Sâ'idah; but there is worthiness in all clans of *Anṣâr*.

Then we came up with Sa'd ibn 'Ubâdah, and Abû Usayd[1] said: Hast thou not seen how the Prophet of God graded the *Anṣâr* [according to their merits], and placed us[2] at the end?—Thereupon Sa'd went to see the Prophet, and said: O Apostle of God! The clans of *Anṣâr* have been graded [according to their merits], and we have been placed at the end.—The Prophet answered: Doth it not suffice you to be among the worthy?

دار بنى الحرث ثم بنى ساعدة، وفى كل دور الأنصار خير.

فلحقنا سعد بن عبادة فقال أبو أسيد: ألم تر أن نبي الله ﷺ خير الأنصار فجعلنا أخيراً؟ — فأدرك سعد النبي ﷺ فقال: يا رسول الله! خُيِّرَ دور الأنصار فجُعِلنا آخراً. — فقال: أوليس بحسبكم أن تكونوا من الخيار؟

SECTION XLI

THE PROPHET'S SAYING TO THE *ANṢÂR*, *BE PATIENT UNTIL YE MEET ME AT THE POOL* [OF PARADISE][3]

'Abd Allâh ibn Zayd told the above [*Tradition*] *on the authority of the Prophet.*[4]

٤١ باب

قول النبي ﷺ للأنصار «اصبروا حتى تلقونى على الحوض»

قاله عبد الله بن زيد عن النبي ﷺ.

1 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to us: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, saying: I heard Qatâdah [say], on the authority of Anas ibn Mâlik, on the authority of Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr:

١ حدثنا محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة قال: سمعت قتادة عن أنس بن مالك عن أسيد ابن حضير (رض)

A MAN of the *Anṣâr* said: O Apostle of God! Wilt thou not make use of me as thou hast made use of such-and-such[5]?—[The Prophet] answered: After me, others will be given preference over you[6]; there-

أن رجلاً من الأنصار قال: يا رسول الله! ألا تستعملنى كما استعملت فلاناً؟ — قال:

1 He belonged to the clan of Banû Sâ'idah (cf. p. 110, n. 1), which explains his subsequent remark.

2 *I.e.*, the clan of Banû Sâ'idah.

3 *I.e.*, the pool in Paradise from which the Faithful will be given to drink on the Day of Resurrection.

4 Reference to the title of this section, which is a fragment from Bkh lii/58, No. 6.

5 Ibn Ḥajar says in *Hady as-Sârî* II, 45, that the speaker was Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr, the narrator of this Tradition, himself, and the "such-and-such" referred to, 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ, whom the Prophet had appointed governor of 'Umân (cf. *Isti'âb* II, 435); and Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr obviously desired a similar appointment. In *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 93, however, Ibn Ḥajar states that he does not remember the source of his information.

6 Meaning that after his death the *Anṣâr* would not be treated according to their deserts, and other groups would be given preference over them: a prophesy which was fulfilled by the treatment meted out to the *Anṣâr* by the Umayyads, who gave all high government posts to the Quraysh and passed over the *Anṣâr*. At the same time, the Prophet implied that he did not pass over Usayd because of his being one of the *Anṣâr*—for the Prophet himself had a great love for them—but, perhaps, because he regarded him as not suitable for such a post. As a matter of fact, the Prophet often gave important commands to *Anṣâr*.

fore, be patient until ye meet me at the Pool [of Paradise].[1]

2 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to me: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Hishâm, who said: I heard Anas ibn Mâlik say:

THE Prophet said unto the *Anṣâr:* Behold, after me others will be given preference over you; therefore, be patient until ye meet me [in the world to come]; and the Pool [of Paradise] shall be your reward.

3 'Abd Allâh ibn Muḥammad related to us: Sufyân related to us, on the authority of Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd, who heard Anas ibn Mâlik say, on the occasion of their journey to al-Walîd[2]:

THE Prophet called the *Anṣâr* together in order to apportion to them [a share in the proceeds from] Baḥrayn[3]; but they said: Nay, [we will accept it] only if thou give our brethren from among the *Muhâjirs* an equal share.—He said: If [ye accept it] not, then be patient until ye meet me [in the world to come]; for, behold, after me others will be given preference over you.

SECTION XLII

THE PROPHET'S PRAYER, *BE THOU GRACIOUS TOWARD THE* ANṢÂR *AND THE* MUHÂJIRS!

1 Âdam related to us: Shu'bah related to us: Abû Iyâs Mu'âwiyah ibn Qurrah related to us, on the authority of Anas ibn Mâlik, who said:

THE Apostle of God prayed: [O God!] There is no life but the Life Eternal. Be

ستلقون بعدى أثرة، فاصبروا حتى تلقونى على الحوض.

٢ حدثنى محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة عن هشام قال: سمعت أنس بن مالك (رض) يقول:

قال النبى ﷺ للأنصار: إنكم ستلقون بعدى أثرة، فاصبروا حتى تلقونى، وموعدكم الحوض.

٣ حدثنا عبد الله بن محمد: حدثنا سفيان عن يحيى ابن سعيد سمع أنس بن مالك (رض) حين خرج معه الى الوليد قال:

دعا النبى ﷺ الأنصار الى أن يقطع لهم البحرين فقالوا: لا الا أن تقطع لاخواننا من المهاجرين مثلها. — قال: إما لا فاصبروا حتى تلقونى، فانه سيصيبكم بعدى أثرة.

٤٢ باب

دعاء النبى ﷺ «أصلح الأنصار والمهاجرة!»

١ حدثنا آدم: حدثنا شعبة: حدثنا أبو إياس معاوية بن قرة عن أنس بن مالك (رض) قال:

قال رسول الله ﷺ: لا عيش الا عيش

1 *Sc.*, "where ye will get your reward". The Prophet uttered this saying about the *Anṣâr* on several occasions (cf. No. 3 of this section, where it refers to events after the occupation of Baḥrayn, and Bkh lii/58, No. 6, where the reference is to the battle of Ḥunayn).

2 Anas ibn Mâlik was unjustly persecuted in Baṣrah by al-Ḥajjâj ibn Yûsuf, the governor of 'Irâq; he went to Damascus to complain to the Caliph, al-Walîd ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who accorded him justice (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 93).

3 In the year 8 A.H., the majority of the people of Baḥrayn accepted Islâm, and the remainder agreed to pay *jizyah* (for particulars see Bkh lii/75, n.). The Prophet distributed a part of these proceeds to his followers at Madînah (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VI, 206).

Thou gracious toward the *Anṣâr* and the *Muhâjirs!*[1]

And the like of it [was related] on the authority of Qatâdah, on the authority of Anas, on the authority of the Prophet, with the words: Grant Thou forgiveness to the *Anṣâr!*[2]

2 Âdam related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Ḥumayd aṭ-Ṭawîl, [who said]: I heard Anas ibn Mâlik say:

ON the Day of the Moat, the *Anṣâr* said [these verses]:

We are those who swore allegiance to Muḥammad,
To wage *jihâd* throughout our life!

—And [the Prophet] answered: O God! There is no life but the Life Eternal; be Thou bountiful toward the *Anṣâr* and the *Muhâjirs!*

3 Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allâh related to me: Ibn Abî Ḥâzim related to us, on the authority of his father,

ON the authority of Sahl, who said: The Apostle of God came to us while we were digging the moat[3] and were carrying the earth on our shoulders. And the Apostle of God said: O God! There is no life but the Life Eternal; grant Thou forgiveness to the *Muhâjirs* and the *Anṣâr!*[4]

SECTION XLIII

AND THEY PREFER OTHERS ABOVE THEMSELVES, THOUGH POVERTY BE THEIR LOT[5]

Musaddad related to us: 'Abd Allâh ibn Dâ'ûd related to us, on the authority of

الآخرة، فأصلح الأنصار والمهاجرة!

وعن قتادة عن أنس عن النبي ﷺ مثله، وقال: فاغفر للأنصار!

٢ حدثنا آدم: حدثنا شعبة عن حميد الطويل: سمعت أنس بن مالك (رض) قال:

كانت الأنصار يوم الخندق تقول:

نحن الذين بايعوا محمدا
على الجهاد ماحيينا أبدا!

فأجابهم: اللهم! لاعيش الا عيش الآخرة، فأكرم الأنصار والمهاجرة!

٣ حدثني محمد بن عبيد الله: حدثنا ابن أبي حازم عن أبيه عن سهل قال:

جاءنا رسول الله ﷺ ونحن نحفر الخندق وننقل التراب على أكتادنا، فقال رسول الله ﷺ: اللهم! لاعيش الا عيش الآخرة، فاغفر للمهاجرين والأنصار!

٤٣ باب

«ويؤثرون على أنفسهم ولوكان بهم خصاصة»

حدثنا مسدد: حدثنا عبد الله بن داؤد عن

1 This and the subsequent two Traditions refer to an incident of the Campaign of the Moat *(al-Khandaq)*, during which the Muslims were in great difficulties. For particulars see Bkh lii/31. The words which the Prophet uttered on that occasion are reported with slight variations in each of the following Traditions.

2 Cf. No. 3 of this section.

3 See n. 1 above.

4 *I.e.*, "forgive them if they have erred, and do not suffer them to be destroyed by their enemies".

5 Qur'ân lix, 9, which referes to the bounty of the *Anṣâr* towards the *Muhâjirs*. The occasion of the revelation of this verse is shown in the subsequent Tradition.

Fuḍayl ibn Ghazwân, on the authority of Abû Ḥâzim, on the authority of Abû Hurayrah:

A MAN came to the Prophet, and the latter sent a message to his wives[1]. But they answered: We have naught but water. —Thereupon the Apostle of God asked: Who will receive

—or: show hospitality to—

this man?—A man of the *Anṣâr*[2] said: I.—And he took [the stranger] to his wife and said: Honour the guest of the Apostle of God.—She answered: We have naught but the supper of our children.—Thereupon [her husband] said: Prepare thy repast, and light thy lamp, and put thy children to sleep if they ask for their supper.—And so she prepared her repast, and lit her lamp, and put her children to sleep. Then she rose as though to set right her lamp, and extinguished it; and she made [the guest] believe that she and her husband were eating [with him]: but they went to bed hungry.

And on the morrow [the host] went unto the Apostle of God, and the latter said: Last night, God hath smiled

—or: was pleased—

on account of your good deed.—Thereupon God revealed [the verse]: *And they prefer others above themselves, though poverty be their lot; and whoso escapeth from his own avarice—such, indeed, will attain felicity.*[3]

فضيل بن غزوان عن أبي حازم عن أبي هريرة (رض)

أن رجلاً أتى النبي ﷺ فبعث الى نسائه فقلن: ما معنا الا الماء. — فقال رسول الله ﷺ: من يضم

— أو: يضيف —

هذا؟ — فقال رجل من الأنصار: أنا. — فانطلق به الى امرأته فقال: أكرمي ضيف رسول الله ﷺ. — فقالت: ماعندنا الا قوت صبياني. — فقال: هيئي طعامك وأصبحي سراجك ونومي صبيانك اذا أرادوا عشاء. — فهيأت طعامها وأصبحت سراجها ونومت صبيانها؛ ثم قامت كأنها تصلح سراجها فأطفأته، فجعلا يريانه أنهما يأكلان، فباتا طاويين.

فلما أصبح غدا الى رسول الله ﷺ فقال: ضحك الله الليلة

— أو: عجب —

من فعالكما. — فأنزل الله: «ويؤثرون على أنفسهم ولو كان بهم خصاصة، ومن يوق شح نفسه فأولئك هم المفلحون.»

SECTION XLIV

THE PROPHET'S SAYING, *YE SHALL WELCOME [THE DEEDS OF] THOSE FROM AMONG THEM WHO DO GOOD, AND SHALL FORGIVE THOSE WHO DO WRONG*[4]

٤٤ باب

قول النبي ﷺ «اقبلوا من محسنهم وتجاوزوا عن مسيئهم»

1 —requesting them to feed the stranger. It is not known with certainty who the man was.

2 In another version of the same Tradition (Muslim, *K. al-Ashribah, B. Ikrâm aḍ-Ḍayf*), his name is given as Abû Ṭalḥah. It is improbable that this man is identical with the well-known Companion Abû Ṭalḥah Zayd ibn Sahl (to whom sec. 51 of this chapter is devoted), for the latter was wealthy and could not, therefore, have been in such straits as narrated in this Tradition. Moreover, Zayd ibn Sahl was very famous among the Companions, and Abû Hurayrah would not have mentioned him distantly as "a man of the *Anṣâr* called Abû Ṭalḥah" (cf. Muslim, *loc. cit.*). We must, therefore, assume that the man mentioned in this Tradition was a different person.

3 Qur'ân lix, 9.

4 Reference to the *Anṣâr;* see the Traditions of this section.

١ حدثنى محمد بن يحيى أبو على: حدثنا شاذان أخو عبدان: حدثنا أبى: أخبرنا شعبة بن الحجاج عن هشام بن زيد قال: سمعت أنس بن مالك يقول:

1 Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyâ Abû 'Alî related to me: Shâdhân, the brother of 'Abdân, related to us: My father ['Uthmân] related to us: Shu'bah ibn al-Ḥajjâj informed us, on the authority of Hishâm ibn Zayd, who said: I heard Anas ibn Mâlik say:

مر أبوبكر والعباس (رض) بمجلس من مجالس الأنصار وهم يبكون، فقال: ما يبكيكم؟ — قالوا: ذكرنا مجلس النبي ﷺ منا. — فدخل على النبي ﷺ فأخبره بذلك. قال: — فخرج النبي ﷺ وقد عصب على رأسه حاشية برد فصعد المنبر — ولم يصعده بعد ذلك اليوم — فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، ثم قال: أوصيكم بالأنصار فانهم كرشى وعيبتى، وقد قضوا الذى عليهم وبقى الذى لهم. فاقبلوا من محسنهم وتجاوزوا عن مسيئهم.

ABÛ BAKR and al-'Abbâs passed by a group of *Anṣâr*, who were weeping; and [one of the two] asked: What is the cause of your weeping?—They answered: We have been recalling our meetings with the Prophet.[1]—Then he[2] went in unto the Prophet and informed him about this.—Thereupon the Prophet went out, the end of [his] mantle wound round his head,[3] and mounted the pulpit—he never mounted it again after that day—and praised God and extolled Him. Then he said: I commend to you the *Anṣâr*, for, behold, they are my children and my trusted friends.[4] They have fulfilled their duty, and [now] only their reward remaineth to be given to them. Therefore, ye shall welcome [the deeds of] those from among them who do good, and shall forgive those who do wrong.

٢ حدثنا أحمد بن يعقوب: حدثنا ابن الغسيل: سمعت عكرمة يقول: سمعت ابن عباس (رض) يقول:

2 Aḥmad ibn Ya'qûb related to us: Ibn al-Ghasîl related to us: I heard 'Ikrimah say: I heard Ibn 'Abbâs say:

خرج رسول الله ﷺ وعليه ملحفة متعطفاً بها على منكبيه وعليه عصابة دسماء حتى جلس على المنبر فحمد الله وأثنى عليه ثم قال: أما بعد. أيها الناس! فان الناس يكثرون وتقل الأنصار حتى يكونوا كالملح فى الطعام. فمن ولى منكم أمراً

THE Apostle of God went out, wearing a wrap folded around his shoulders and a dark-coloured turban[5] [on his head]. He sat down on the pulpit, praised God and extolled Him, and said: To come to the point. O ye people! Behold, [other] Muslims become more and more in number, and the *Anṣâr*, less and less,[6] until they will be like salt in food.[7] Therefore, he of you [Muslims] who will have the power to harm and to

1 As is obvious from the sequence, this happened during the Prophet's last illness, when the people already knew that he would not recover.

2 It is not clear whether it was Abû Bakr or al-'Abbâs.

3 He wore it like a turban; or perhaps he wrapped it round his head on account of headache.

4 Regarding this translation of *karishî wa 'aybatî*, cf. Lane V, 2206, and VII, 2607.

5 From the preceding Tradition it appears that it was the end of his mantle which he wrapped like a turban around his head.

6 *I.e.*, in relation to the ever-increasing number of new Muslim converts from among the Arabs and non-Arabs.

7 *I.e.*, insignificant in quantity.

benefit[1] shall welcome [the deeds of] those from among them who do good, and shall forgive those who do wrong.

3 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to us: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, saying: I heard Qatâdah [say], on the authority of Anas ibn Mâlik,

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: The *Anṣâr* are my children and my trusted friends.[2] [Other] Muslims become more and more in number, and they become less and less. Therefore, ye shall welcome [the deeds of] those from among them who do good, and shall forgive those who do wrong.

SECTION XLV

THE VIRTUES OF SA'D IBN MU'ÂDH[3]

1 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to me: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, who said: I heard al-Barâ' say:

A DOUBLE garment[4] of silk was presented to the Prophet. His companions touched it and admired its softness; thereupon he said: Do ye admire the softness of this [cloth]? Indeed, the kerchiefs of Sa'd ibn Mu'âdh [in Paradise[5]] are better than this[6]

يضر فيه أحداً أو ينفعه فليقبل من محسنهم ويتجاوز عن مسيئهم

٣ حدثنا محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة قال: سمعت قتادة عن أنس بن مالك (رض)

عن النبي ﷺ قال: الأنصار كرشي وعيبتي؛ والناس سيكثرون ويقلون؛ فاقبلوا من محسنهم وتجاوزوا عن مسيئهم.

٤٥ باب

مناقب سعد بن معاذ (رض)

١ حدثني محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة عن أبي اسحق قال: سمعت البراء (رض) يقول:

أهديت للنبي ﷺ حلة حرير، فجعل أصحابه يمسونها ويعجبون من لينها، فقال: أتعجبون من لين هذه؟ لمناديل سعد بن معاذ خير منها

1 *I.e.*, he who will be invested with supreme authority as ruler or Caliph.

2 See p. 115, n. 4.

3 Abû 'Amr Sa'd ibn Mu'âdh ibn Nu'mân belonged to the clan of Banû 'Abd al-Ashhal, and was regarded as the chief of Aws. The Banû 'Abd al-Ashhal were the first of the Arab clans at Yathrib who accepted Islâm as a group. Sa'd participated in all the early campaigns of the Prophet and died in 5 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 2 ff.) His death resulted from a wound received in the Battle of the Moat; for particulars, see Bkh lii/32, No. 6; regarding his arbitration between the Muslims and the Jewish clan of Banû Qurayẓah, see *ibid.*, Nos. 5 and 6.

4 The Arabic word *ḥullah* denotes a garment, generally new, consisting of two pieces of the same material; either an *izâr* (loincloth) and a *ridâ'* (wrap), or an *izâr* and a tunic. This was the dress of the Arabs at the time of the Prophet; it is still worn in Yaman and Ḥaḍramawt.

5 That the Prophet refers to Paradise is evident from other versions of the same Tradition in Bkh xli/27, No. 1, and lxv/26.

6 A variant of this Tradition in Bkh xli/27, No. 1, mentioned in the preceding note, shows that this incident occurred after the prohibition of silken garments for men. One of the Companions, who probably was not aware of this prohibition, presented a silken dress to the Prophet, and when

—or: softer [than this]—.

Qatâdah and az-Zuhrî transmitted this [Tradition], having heard Anas ibn Mâlik [relate it] on the authority of the Prophet.[1]

— أو: ألين —.

رواه قتادة والزهري سمعا أنس بن مالك عن النبي ﷺ.

2 Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannâ related to me: Faḍl ibn Musâwir, the son-in-law of Abû 'Awânah, related to us: Abû 'Awânah related to us, on the authority of al-A'mash, on the authority of Abû Sufyân, on the authority of Jâbir [who said]:

I HEARD the Prophet say: The Throne [of God] shook at the death of Sa'd ibn Mu'âdh.[2]

٢ حدثني محمد بن المثنى: حدثنا فضل بن مساور ختن أبي عوانة: حدثنا أبو عوانة عن الأعمش عن أبي سفيان عن جابر (رض):

سمعت النبي ﷺ يقول: اهتز العرش لموت سعد بن معاذ.

3 And on the authority of al-A'mash[3]: Abû Ṣâliḥ related to us, on the authority of Jâbir, on the authority of the Prophet, the like of the above [Tradition, with this variant]: Someone said to Jâbir: Behold, al-Barâ' saith, "The bed shook".[4]—But Jâbir answered: [Although] there was rancour between these two tribes[5], [I repeat that]

٣ وعن الأعمش: حدثنا أبو صالح عن جابر عن النبي ﷺ مثله: فقال رجل لجابر: فان البراء يقول «اهتز السرير». — فقال: إنه كان بين هذين الحيين ضغائن

the Companions admired it the former alluded in his answer to the blessings of Paradise which the Faithful would be granted instead of the joys of this world which they have to forego; and he stated metaphorically that, in Paradise, the most insignificant part of the dress of virtuous people like Sa'd ibn Mu'âdh (who had recently died) would be vastly superior to the most sumptuous garment of this world.

1 This refers to two other versions of the above Tradition: the one, on the authority of Qatâdah, is quoted in Bkh xli/27, No. 1, and the other, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, in a *ta'liq* in lxv/26.

2 Thus the Prophet described in a metaphorical way God's love for His faithful servant, Sa'd ibn Mu'âdh. In the Arabic usage, the expression *ihtazza lahu* ("he shook for his sake") is often used to denote one's joy at the arrival of a beloved or a friend (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 97).

3 The beginning of this *isnâd* is the same as in the preceding Tradition (Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannâ—Faḍl ibn Musâwir—Abû 'Awânah). Al-Bukhârî never brings a Tradition with an *isnâd* which has Abû Sufyân (Ṭalḥah ibn Nâfi') among the transmitters (see *isnâd* of No. 2), unless it is supported *(maqrûn)* by an *isnâd* in which Abû Sufyân's name does not appear, as is the case in the version before us (No. 3). The reason is, that the reliability of the above-mentioned Abû Sufyân was seriously questioned by some of the Traditionists (cf. *Hady as-Sârî* II, 135).

4 *I.e.*, the bed on which Sa'd ibn Mu'âdh was borne to the grave. Thus the interlocutor challenged the authenticity of the report according to which the Prophet is to have said that God's Throne shook at the death of Sa'd; and to this effect he quoted a Tradition on the authority of al-Barâ', according to whom the Prophet had said, "the bed shook". I was not able to trace this version of al-Barâ'.

5 Aws and Khazraj. Sa'd ibn Mu'âdh was an Awsî, while the narrator, Jâbir, was a Khazrajî. Thus Jâbir points out that the enmity which had existed between their tribes could not prevent him from faithfully reproducing a saying of the Prophet in which the latter extolled the spiritual position of a Companion who belonged to the rival tribe.

I HEARD the Prophet say: The Throne of the Most Gracious shook at the death of Sa'd ibn Mu'âdh.

سمعت النبي ﷺ يقول: اهتز عرش الرحمن لموت سعد بن معاذ.

4 Muḥammad ibn 'Ar'arah related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Sa'd ibn Ibrâhîm, on the authority of Abû Umâmah ibn Sahl ibn Ḥunayf, on the authority of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî:

٤ حدثنا محمد بن عرعرة: حدثنا شعبة عن سعد ابن ابراهيم عن أبي أمامة بن سهل بن حنيف عن أبي سعيد الخدري (رض)

THE [Jewish] people submitted to the judgment of Sa'd ibn Mu'âdh.[1] Thereupon [the Prophet] sent for him, and he came riding an ass. When he approached the mosque[2], the Prophet said [to his companions]: Stand up before your better

—or: your master—!

Then he said: O Sa'd! Behold, those people have submitted to thy judgment.—[Sa'd] said: Then I give this judgment: their warriors shall be killed and their children led into captivity.[3]—[The Prophet] said: Thou hast given a judgment according to the law of God

—or: according to the law of the Lord[4]—.

أن أناساً نزلوا على حكم سعد بن معاذ فأرسل اليه فجاء على حمار. فلما بلغ قريباً من المسجد قال النبي ﷺ: قوموا الى خيركم

— أو: سيدكم —!

فقال: يا سعد! إن هؤلاء نزلوا على حكمك. — قال: فاني أحكم فيهم أن تقتل مقاتلتهم وتسبى ذراريهم. — قال: حكمت بحكم الله

— أو: بحكم الملك —.

SECTION XLVI

THE VIRTUES OF USAYD IBN ḤUḌAYR[5] AND 'ABBÂD IBN BISHR[6]

٤٦ باب

منقبة أسيد بن حضير وعباد بن بشر (رض)

1 The people were the Jewish tribe of Banû Qurayẓah who had been besieged in their fort by the Muslims and had finally surrendered after having accepted Sa'd ibn Mu'âdh as arbitrator. For details of this event, see Bkh lii/32, n.

2 It was not, as is sometimes erroneously assumed, the Prophet's Mosque at Madînah, but some other mosque near the besieged fort.

3 Regarding the justification of this harsh judgment, see Bkh lii/32, n.

4 It is obvious from the context of this as well as of other versions of this Tradition (*e.g.*, Muslim, *K. al-Jihâd, B. Jawâz Qitâl Man Naqaḍa'l-'Ahd*, several versions) that the expression *malik* does not refer here to an earthly sovereign but to God.

5 Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr al-Awsî al-Ashhalî was one of the earliest Muslims from among the *Anṣâr*, and one of the twelve elders *(nuqabâ')* whom the Prophet appointed on the occasion of the second deputation sent to him at 'Aqabah by the men of Yathrib. Later he took part in all the important campaigns, and was severely wounded in the battle of Uḥud, where he had remained with the Prophet after most of the Muslims had fled. He was one of the most sagacious men among the *Anṣâr*, and his counsel was greatly esteemed. He died in 20 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 135 ff; *Isti'âb* I, 28 f.)

6 'Abbâd ibn Bishr al-Ashhalî embraced Islâm shortly before Usayd (see preceding note). He was one of the men who killed the Jew Ka'b ibn Ashraf (for particulars of this incident, see Bkh lii/15). He fell in the campaign of Yamâmah, 11 A.H. (*Isti'âb* II, 413 f.)

'Alî ibn Muslim related to us: Ḥabbân related to us: Hammâm related to us: Qatâdah informed us, on the authority of Anas:

TWO men[1] departed from the Prophet on a dark night; and lo, a light [shone] before them until they parted: and thereupon the light split itself into two.[2]

Ma'mar said, [while narrating the same Tradition] on the authority of Thâbit, on the authority of Anas: Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr and another man of the *Anṣâr* ...[3]—And Ḥammâd said: Thâbit informed us, on the authority of Anas: Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr and 'Abbâd ibn Bishr were with the Prophet ...[4]

حدثنا علي بن مسلم: حدثنا حبان: حدثنا همام: أخبرنا قتادة عن أنس (رض)

أن رجلين خرجا من عند النبي ﷺ في ليلة مظلمة واذا نور بين أيديهما حتى تفرقا، فتفرق النور معهما.

وقال معمر عن ثابت عن أنس أن أسيد بن حضير ورجلاً من الأنصار ...— وقال حماد: أخبرنا ثابت عن أنس: كان أسيد بن حضير وعباد بن بشر عند النبي ﷺ ...

SECTION XLVII

THE VIRTUES OF MU'ÂDH IBN JABAL[5]

Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to me: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of 'Amr, on the authority of Ibrâhîm, on the authority of Masrûq, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr [who said]:

I HEARD the Prophet say: Learn the recitation of the Qur'ân from four men: Ibn Mas'ûd, Sâlim the freedman of Abû Ḥudhayfah, Ubayy [ibn Ka'b], and Mu'âdh ibn Jabal.

٤٧ باب

مناقب معاذ بن جبل (رض)

حدثني محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة عن عمرو عن ابراهيم عن مسروق عن عبد الله بن عمرو (رض):

سمعت النبي ﷺ يقول: استقرؤا القرآن من أربعة: من ابن مسعود وسالم مولى أبي حذيفة وأبي ومعاذ بن جبل.

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1 It is evident from the two *ta'liqs* which al-Bukhârî appended to this Tradition that the two persons were Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr and 'Abbâd ibn Bishr.

2 Lit., "the light divided itself with them".

3 The author quotes this as well as the subsequent *ta'liq* in order to establish the identity of the two persons, who are not mentioned by name in the preceding Tradition. Ibn Ḥajar states (*Fatḥ-al-Bârî* VII, 99) that the narrative of Ma'mar, mentioned in the above *ta'liq*, was quoted in full, with complete *isnâd*, in the *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd ar-Razzâq.

4 This *ta'liq* is part of a narrative quoted in full in *Mustadrak* III, 288. The rest of the *matn* there, as well as in the Tradition to which the preceding *ta'liq* refers (see n. 3 above), is almost literally identical with the above version quoted by al-Bukhârî.

5 Mu'âdh ibn Jabal al-Khazrajî al-Anṣârî was one of the seventy delegates from Yathrib to the Prophet at 'Aqabah. He took part in all campaigns of the Prophet, and was later appointed by him governor and *qâḍî* of the district Jund in Yaman (cf. Bkh lii/62); it was also his duty to collect the amounts realised by the various tax-collectors in that country. He died of plague in Transjordan in 18 A.H., thirty-eight years old. The Prophet often praised his deep understanding of Islâm, and is reported to have said: "The most learned from among my community as regards the things allowed *(ḥalâl)* and the things forbidden *(ḥarâm)* is Mu'âdh ibn Jabal." (Ibn Sa'd VII/ii, 114 f; *Isti'âb* I, 238 f.)

SECTION XLVIII

THE VIRTUES OF SA'D IBN 'UBÂDAH[1]

'Â'ishah said: Before that, [Sa'd ibn 'Ubâdah] had been a righteous man.[2]

Isḥâq related to us: 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad related to us: Shu'bah related to us: Qatâdah related to us, saying: I heard Anas ibn Mâlik [say]: Abû Usayd said:

THE Apostle of God said: The worthiest clan of *Anṣâr* are Banu'n-Najjâr, thereafter Banû 'Abd al-Ashhal, thereafter Banu'l-Ḥârith ibn al-Khazraj, thereafter Banû Sâ'idah; but there is worthiness in all clans of *Anṣâr*.

Thereupon Sa'd ibn 'Ubâdah, who was one of the early Muslims,[3] said: I see that the

٤٨ باب

منقبة سعد بن عبادة (رض)

وقالت عائشة: وكان قبل ذلك رجلاً صالحاً.

حدثنا اسحق: حدثنا عبد الصمد: حدثنا شعبة: حدثنا قتادة قال: سمعت أنس بن مالك (رض): قال أبو أسيد:

قال رسول الله ﷺ: خير دور الأنصار بنو النجار ثم بنو عبد الأشهل ثم بنو الحرث بن الخزرج ثم بنو ساعدة، وفى كل دور الأنصار خير. فقال سعد بن عبادة وكان ذا قدم فى الاسلام:

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1 Sa'd ibn 'Ubâdah ibn Dulaym al-Khazrajî was the recognised chief of the Khazraj before the advent of Islâm; owing to his many accomplishments he was called *al-Kâmil* (the Perfect). He was one of the few people among the Arabs of that period who knew to read and to write (Ibn Sa'd VII/ii, 115). When the second deputation from Yathrib met the Prophet at 'Aqabah, the latter appointed Sa'd ibn 'Ubâdah one of the elders *(nuqabâ')* over the new Muslim community at Yathrib. He took part in all campaigns of the Prophet with the exception of that of Badr. Always a man of haughty temper, he expressed the wish, after the conquest of Mecca—during which he was the Prophet's standard-bearer—that all the Quraysh who had been newly converted to Islâm should be killed; thereupon the Prophet took the standard from him and gave it to another Companion (*Isti'âb* II, 548 f). Sa'd's deplorable rôle on the occasion of Abû Bakr's election to the Caliphate is shown in sec. 6, No. 9. He was extremely ambitious and could not bear the thought of another man—and that, too, one of the Quraysh—having been preferred to him. He left the assembly at the *saqîfah* of Banû Sâ'idah and refused to swear allegiance to Abû Bakr. Since that time he lived in retirement, embittered towards the whole world. After Abû Bakr's death he refused to acknowledge 'Umar also. One day 'Umar accosted Sa'd in the street and asked him whether he still persisted in his refusal. Sa'd answered rudely in the affirmative, and added: "By God, I hate thy very neighbourhood!" 'Umar answered: "If one hates his neighbour, it is better for him to go away." And Sa'd said: "I make no secret of it; and I am going to find better neighbours." Shortly afterwards he left for Syria and died in the Ḥawrân in 15 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd VII/ii, 116.) The character of Sa'd ibn 'Ubâdah is stained by his pernicious spirit of tribal preferences, which his conversion to Islâm could not overcome, as is shown also in the Tradition in this section (already quoted in sec. 40). See also subsequent note.

2 This sentence is a fragment of a long Tradition quoted in Bkh lii/36, No. 1, and refers to the incident known as *Ifk*, wherein 'Â'ishah had been slandered by some of the Companions and the hypocrites of Madinah. In the ensuing discussion, Sa'd ibn 'Ubâdah haughtily refused to give his consent to the punishment of the slanderer, should a Khazrajî be proved as such. Thus, as on several later occasions, Sa'd was blinded by his tribal partisanship and behaved, in 'Â'ishah's opinion, as no righteous man would have behaved. This incident gave the first indication of his true character: this is expressed by 'Â'ishah in the above fragment.

3 *I.e.*, from among the *Anṣâr*.

Apostle of God hath placed others above us[1]!—Then he was told: [But] he hath placed you above many [other] people.

أرى رسول الله ﷺ قد فضل علينا! — فقيل له: قد فضلكم على ناس كثير.

SECTION XLIX

THE VIRTUES OF UBAYY IBN KA'B[2]

1 Abu'l-Walîd related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of 'Amr ibn Murrah, on the authority of Ibrâhîm, on the authority of Masrûq, who said:

THE name of 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd was mentioned in the presence of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr, and the latter said: I shall always love this man, [for] I have heard the Prophet say: Learn the Qur'ân from four men: 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd—[the Prophet] mentioned him first—, Sâlim the freedman of Abû Ḥudhayfah, Mu'âdh ibn Jabal, and Ubayy ibn Ka'b.

٤٩ باب

مناقب أبي بن كعب (رض)

١ حدثنا أبو الوليد: حدثنا شعبة عن عمرو بن مرة عن ابراهيم عن مسروق قال:

ذُكر عبد الله بن مسعود عند عبد الله بن عمرو فقال: ذاك رجل لا أزال أحبه، سمعت النبي ﷺ يقول: خذوا القرآن من أربعة: من عبد الله بن مسعود — فبدأ به — وسالم مولى أبي حذيفة ومعاذ بن جبل وأبي بن كعب.

2 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to me: Ghundar related to us, saying: I heard Shu'bah [say]: I heard Qatâdah [say], on the authority of Anas ibn Mâlik:

THE Prophet said unto Ubayy: Behold, God hath bidden me to recite unto thee [the *sûrah*], *Those who had no faith did not...*[3] —[Ubayy] asked: And did He mention me by name?—[The Prophet] answered: Yea.—Thereupon [Ubayy] wept.[4]

٢ حدثني محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر قال: سمعت شعبة: سمعت قتادة عن أنس بن مالك (رض):

قال النبي ﷺ لأبي: إن الله أمرني أن أقرأ عليك «لم يكن الذين كفروا». — قال: وسماني؟ — قال: نعم. — فبكى.

1 Sa'd belonged to the clan of Banû Sâ'idah, whom the Prophet mentioned last among the four prominent clans of *Anṣâr*.

2 Ubayy ibn Ka'b al-Khazrajî embraced Islâm in 1 B.H. at 'Aqabah, on the occasion of the second deputation from Yathrib, of which he was a member. He was learned in religious lore, and was one of the best reciters of the Qur'ân, as well as one of the few Arabs of his time who had mastered the art of writing. He was the first writer of the Prophet's revelations after the latter's migration to Madînah, and participated in all his campaigns. The date of Ubayy's death is not established with certainty. Ibn Sa'd regards 30 A.H. as the most probable because of the reports that Ubayy was one of the twelve Companions to whom 'Uthmân had entrusted the collection of the Qur'ân. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 59 ff.) Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (*Isti'âb* I, 27) gives preference to the reports which mention that Ubayy died during the Caliphate of 'Umar (in 19, 20 or 22 A.H.)—a view taken also by some modern scholars; cf. Caetani, *Chronographia* I, 221, where 19 A.H. is regarded as the most probable date. Ibn Ḥajar, however, is (like Ibn Sa'd) of opinion that Ubayy died during 'Uthmân's Caliphate (*Iṣâbah* I, 16 f).

3 Qur'ân xcviii. Only the first words of the *sûrah* are quoted here.

4 The reason of the Prophet having been ordered to recite this newly-revealed *sûrah* to Ubayy ibn Ka'b may have been that the latter did not only possess an extraordinary memory,

SECTION L

THE VIRTUES OF ZAYD IBN THÂBIT[1]

Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to me: Yaḥyâ related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Qatâdah, on the authority of Anas:

FOUR men knew the whole Qur'ân by heart in the Prophet's time, and all of them were of the *Anṣâr*[2]: Ubayy, Mu'âdh ibn Jabal, Abû Zayd[3], and Zayd ibn Thâbit.

I[4] asked Anas: Who was [this] Abû Zayd?—He answered: One of my paternal uncles[5].

SECTION LI

THE VIRTUES OF ABÛ ṬALḤAH[6]

٥٠ باب

مناقب زيد بن ثابت

حدثني محمد بن بشار: حدثنا يحيى: حدثنا شعبة عن قتادة عن أنس (رض):

جمع القرآن على عهد رسول الله ﷺ أربعة كلهم من الأنصار: أبي ومعاذ بن جبل وأبو زيد وزيد بن ثابت.

قلت لأنس: من أبو زيد؟—قال: أحد عمومتي.

٥١ باب

مناقب أبي طلحة (رض)

but was also one of the best reciters of the Qur'ân; and through him the exact reading of these verses would be made common. This particular *sûrah* is of great importance, because it lays stress, in a few condensed sentences, on the main principles of Islâm, namely, the Unity of God, the doctrine that the Prophet Muḥammad is but the last of a long line of God-sent Apostles, prayer and *zakâh;* and it further describes the reward to be given to the Faithful and the punishment to be meted out to the rejecters of the Apostle's Mission, be they of the People of the Scriptures or of the idolaters.

1 Zayd ibn Thâbit belonged to the clan Banû Najjâr, of Khazraj. He was one of the most learned in the exposition of the *sharî'ah* and was foremost among the Companions who knew the whole Qur'ân by heart. The Prophet employed him to write down revelations, and stated on several occasions that Zayd knew the laws of inheritance better than anyone else. He was very highly respected, and both Abû Bakr and 'Umar used to leave him as their representative in Madînah when they went on pilgrimage. When Abû Bakr initiated the collection of the Qur'ân, he entrusted Zayd with this work, and 'Uthmân followed Abû Bakr's example and included Zayd among the number of persons engaged to complete the collection (see Bkh liv/3). During 'Uthmân's Caliphate, Zayd was in charge of the public treasury. Although a political partisan of 'Uthmân, he loved 'Alî deeply and often extolled his merits. The exact date of his death is uncertain, but all authorities agree in that he died during the reign of Mu'âwiyah, fifty-four or fifty-six years old. (*Isti'âb* I, 188 f.)

2 Thus Anas, who was himself an *Anṣârî*, laid emphasis on the fact that the *Anṣâr* were more prominent than the *Muhâjirs* as *ḥuffâẓ* and reciters of the Qur'ân.—For a full discussion of the problem as to which of the Companions knew the whole of the Qur'ân by heart in the Prophet's time, see Bkh liv/3.

3 Abû Zayd Qays ibn as-Sakan an-Najjârî. He participated in all expeditions of the Prophet, and fell in a battle in 15 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 70).

4 The speaker is Qatâdah (cf. *isnâd*).

5 In reality, Anas and Abû Zayd were only distantly related; but they belonged to the same clan, and it is an old Arab custom to refer to such a relation as "uncle" or "cousin" according to their relative position in the genealogical tree.

6 Abû Ṭalḥah Zayd ibn Sahl an-Najjârî. One of the oldest Companions from among

Abû Ma'mar related to us: 'Abd al-Wârith related to us: 'Abd al-'Aziz related to us,

ON the authority of Anas, who said: On the day of [the battle of] Uḥud, [most of] the people forsook the Prophet and fled[1]; but Abû Ṭalḥah [remained] in front of the Prophet, protecting him with his shield. And Abû Ṭalḥah was an archer with a strong pull of bow, and had [already] broken two or three bows on that day; and whenever a man passed by with a quiver full of arrows, [the Prophet] would say: Give them to Abû Ṭalḥah!—Then the Prophet exposed himself[2] and looked toward the enemy[3], and Abû Ṭalḥah cried out: O Prophet of God! For thee I would sacrifice my father and my mother! Expose not thyself lest one of the enemy's arrows hit thee! Let my breast protect thine[4]!

And I saw 'Â'ishah, the daughter of Abû Bakr, and Umm Sulaym[5]: they had tucked up their garments so that I could see their anklets,[6] and were carrying water-skins on their backs and were emptying them into the mouths of the warriors; and they [repeatedly] returned and refilled them, and [again] emptied them into the warriors' mouths.

And, verily, twice or thrice the sword fell from Abû Ṭalḥah's hands.[7]

حدثنا أبو معمر: حدثنا عبد الوارث: حدثنا عبد العزيز

عن أنس (رض) قال: لما كان يوم أحد انهزم الناس عن النبي ﷺ وأبو طلحة بين يدى النبي ﷺ مجوب به عليه بحجفة له. وكان أبو طلحة رجلاً رامياً شديد القِد يكسر يومئذ قوسين أو ثلاثاً؛ وكان الرجل يمر ومعه الجعبة من النبل فيقول: انثرها لأبى طلحة!— فأشرف النبي ﷺ ينظر الى القوم، فيقول أبو طلحة: يا نبي الله! بأبى أنت وأمى! لا تشرف يصيبك سهم من سهام القوم! نحرى دون نحرك!

ولقد رأيت عائشة بنت أبى بكر وأم سليم وانهما لمشمرتان أرى خدم سوقهما تنقزان القرب على متونهما تفرغانه فى أفواه القوم ثم ترجعان فتملآنها ثم تجيئان فتفرغانها فى أفواه القوم.

ولقد وقع السيف من يدى أبى طلحة اما مرتين واما ثلاثاً.

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the *Anṣâr* (he embraced Islâm at 'Aqabah, before the *hijrah*), he was also one of the most valiant, and distinguished himself in all campaigns of the Prophet, so that the latter is reported to have said: "Ṭalḥah's voice [*i.e.*, presence] in the army is better than a hundred men." (*Istî'âb* II, 652 f.) Regarding his death, we have two widely divergent reports. According to one, he died in Madînah at the age of seventy in 31 or 34 A.H., and 'Uthmân led the funeral prayer; and according to the other, he died on sea during a maritime expedition in 50 or 51 A.H., and was buried on an island seven days later. Ibn Ḥajar gives preference to the latter report (*Iṣâbah* III, 29).

1 For the particulars of the battle of Uḥud, see Bkh lii/17.

2 Lit., "he rose", or "rose into view".

3 In the text, *al-qawm* ("the people"). It is evident from the subsequent exclamation of Abû Ṭalḥah that the enemy was meant.

4 Lit., "my breast in front of thy breast".

5 She was the wife of Abû Ṭalḥah, and mother of Anas ibn Mâlik. For particulars about her, see p. 39, n. 4.

6 Usually, Muslim women have to cover their legs down to the ankles, and they are not to display their ornaments. This injunction was, of course, of no importance in the heat of the battle, where the early Muslim women rendered most courageous help to the warriors.

7 So exhausted was he from continuous fighting.

SECTION LII

THE VIRTUES OF 'ABD ALLÂH IBN SALÂM[1]

1 'Abd Allâh ibn Yûsuf related to us, saying: I heard Mâlik narrate [this Tradition] on the authority of Abu'n-Naḍr, the freedman of 'Umar ibn 'Ubayd Allâh, on the authority of 'Âmir ibn Sa'd ibn Abî Waqqâṣ, on the authority of the latter's father, [Sa'd ibn Abî Waqqâṣ,] who said:

I NEVER heard the Prophet say unto anyone walking on this earth[2] that he was of the people of Paradise, save unto 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm.[3]

[Mâlik[4]] added:

And it was about him that the Qur'ân-verse was revealed: *And a witness from*

٥٢ باب

مناقب عبد الله بن سلام (رض)

١ حدثنا عبد الله بن يوسف قال: سمعت مالكاً يحدث عن أبي النضر مولى عمر بن عبيد الله عن عامر بن سعد بن أبي وقاص عن أبيه قال:

ما سمعت النبي ﷺ يقول لأحد يمشي على الأرض انه من أهل الجنة الا لعبد الله بن سلام.

قال:

وفيه نزلت هذه الآية «وشهد شاهد من بني

---

1 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm ibn al-Ḥârith al-Isrâ'îlî belonged to the Jewish tribe of Banû Qaynuqâ', who had settled in Madînah long before the advent of Islâm; he was a *ḥalîf* (ally) of the *Anṣâr*. Before his acceptance of Islâm his name was Ḥaṣîn or Ḥuṣayn; it was the Prophet himself who gave him the name 'Abd Allâh. His *kunyah* was Abû Yûsuf. He embraced Islâm on the Prophet's arrival at Madînah. He was one of the most learned men among the Jews, and had been greatly respected by them on this account. The story of his conversion is told in Bkh li/27, No. 1. He died in 43 A.H. (*Istî'âb* I, 383 f.)

2 *I.e.*, "anyone alive".

3 It is obvious that Sa'd ibn Abî Waqqâṣ refers here to the *direct* pronouncement (in the words mentioned above) made by the Prophet to 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm, and not to all the announcements to this effect made to various Companions during their life-time. This appears to be the only possible explanation of this Tradition, and it is strange that none of the older commentators ever thought of it. They all appear to have understood the preposition *li* occurring twice in this Tradition *(li-aḥadin, li-'Abdi'llâh)* as denoting "about" *(fî)*, and thus they interpreted it in the sense of the Prophet's having spoken these words *of* anyone, or *of* 'Abd Allâh. But if we assume that Sa'd referred here to the *indirect* announcements of the Prophet as well, we are at once faced with a historical contradiction: for the Prophet said of several other Companions, during their life-time, that they were "of the people of Paradise", or otherwise announced to them that they would enter Paradise. It is possible, of course, to read the sentence in question thus: ". . . who still walk on this earth", *i.e.*, as referring to people who were still alive at the time when Sa'd narrated this Tradition. But then, again, Sa'd himself was one of those to whom Paradise had been announced in their life-time; another of such-like privileged Companions, Sa'îd ibn Zayd, had also outlived 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm (the latter died in 43 A.H., while Sa'îd ibn Zayd died in 50 or 51 A.H.). If we take all these facts into consideration we come to the conclusion that Sa'd ibn Abî Waqqâṣ meant to say that, so far as he knew, the Prophet had never addressed anyone but 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm directly with the words, "Thou art of the people of Paradise". This interpretation is supported by all available versions of this Tradition (which, by the way, occurs in almost all the standard works on the subject); for everywhere we find the identical construction with the preposition *li* ("to") before the name of 'Abd Allâh.

4 See *isnâd*. The identity of the narrator to whom the word *qâla* refers is revealed in the author's remark at the end of the Tradition.

among the Banû Isrâ'îl bore testimony . . .[1]

['Abd Allâh ibn Yûsuf[2]] said: I know not whether Mâlik mentioned this verse [of his own accord] or whether [he quoted it as] part of the Tradition.[3]

2 'Abd Allâh ibn Muḥammad related to me: Azhar as-Sammân related to us, on the authority of Ibn 'Awn, on the authority of Muḥammad,

ON the authority of Qays ibn 'Ubâd[4], who said: I was sitting in the mosque of Madînah, when there entered a man who bore the mark of humility on his face. And [the people] said: This man is of the people of Paradise!—He prayed two short *rak'ahs* and left thereafter. I went after him and said: Behold, when thou camest into the mosque [the people] said, This man is of the people of Paradise.—He said: By God! None should say what he doth not know [for certain]. I shall [now] tell thee why [they say] this. I saw a dream in the Prophet's time and told it to him. I seemed to be in a garden (—he described its expanse and its verdure); in the midst of it there stood an iron pillar, its base in the earth and its summit in the sky: and upon its summit there was a hand-hold[5]. And I was told: Climb up this [pillar]!—I answered: I am unable to do it.—Thereupon a helper[6] came

اسرائيل» (الآية).

قال: لا أدرى قال مالك الآية أو فى الحديث.

٢ حدثنى عبد الله بن محمد: حدثنا أزهر السمان عن ابن عون عن محمد

عن قيس بن عباد قال: كنت جالساً فى مسجد المدينة فدخل رجل على وجهه أثر الخشوع، فقالوا: هذا رجل من أهل الجنة! — فصلى ركعتين تجوز فيهما ثم خرج، وتبعته فقلت: انك حين دخلت المسجد قالوا: هذا رجل من أهل الجنة. — قال: والله ما ينبغى لأحد أن يقول ما لا يعلم. وسأحدثك لم ذاك. رأيت رؤيا على عهد النبى ﷺ فقصصتها عليه. ورأيت كأنى فى روضة (ذكر من سعتها وخضرتها)، وسطها عمود من حديد أسفله فى الأرض وأعلاه فى السماء، فى أعلاه عروة. فقيل لى: ارقه! — قلت: لا أستطيع. — فأتانى منصف فرفع ثيابى

1 *I.e.*, to the fact that the claim of the Prophet Muḥammad was based on truth, and that the Qur'ân was really the Word of God. The above verse is from *sûrah* xlvi, 10. The circumstances in which this verse was revealed are discussed in Bkh li/27, No. 1.

2 It is shown in *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 102, that the speaker is 'Abd Allâh ibn Yûsuf, one of the *shaykhs* of al-Bukhârî.

3 As regards this uncertainty on the part of 'Abd Allâh ibn Yûsuf, it is shared by most of the commentators as well; but Ibn Ḥajar inclines to the opinion that this reference to the Qur'ân-verse goes back to the first narrator, Sa'd ibn Abî Waqqâṣ, and thus forms an integral part of the Tradition (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 102). In any case, all authorities agree in that the Qur'ân-verse under consideration refers to 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm (cf. Ibn Kathîr VII, 458 f).

4 Qays ibn 'Ubâd ibn Qays ibn Tha'labah was *tâbi'î* of Baṣrah; he was killed by the Umayyad governor, Ḥajjâj ibn Yûsuf ('Aynî XVI, 276).

5 *'Urwah* is the means by which anything is made firm or fast (physically or metaphorically); a loop, as, *e.g.*, the loop of a bucket; or a handle, a hand-hold, etc. The word has several other meanings as well, but they are not relevant here.

6 In the text, *minṣaf*, which is synonymous with *khâdim* (servant). Here this term is used only in relation to the help which he rendered to 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm, and so I have translated it as "helper". See also p. 126, n. 5.

unto me and lifted my garments from behind: and so I climbed up and reached the summit [of the pillar] and grasped the hand-hold. Thereupon I was told: Hold fast!—And, verily, I was grasping it until I awoke.[1] [Later] I narrated this [dream] to the Prophet, and he said: That garden [represented] Islâm; that pillar, the pillar of Islâm[2]; and that hand-hold, faith[3]. Thus, thou shalt remain a Muslim until thy death.

And that man was 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm.[4]

من خلفى فرقيت حتى كنت فى أعلاها فأخذت بالعروة؛ فقيل لى: استمسك! — فاستيقظت وإنها لفى يدى. فقصصتها على النبى ﷺ قال: تلك الروضة الاسلام، وذلك العمود عمود الاسلام، وتلك العروة عروة الوثقى. فأنت على الاسلام حتى تموت.

وذاك الرجل عبد الله بن سلام.

And Khalîfah told me: Mu'âdh related to us: Ibn 'Awn related to us, on the authority of Muḥammad: Qays ibn 'Ubâd related to us, on the authority of ['Abd Allâh] ibn Salâm, who said *waṣîf* instead of *minṣaf*.[5]

وقال لى خليفة: حدثنا معاذ: حدثنا ابن عون عن محمد: حدثنا قيس بن عباد عن ابن سلام قال «وصيف» مكان «منصف».

3 Sulaymân ibn Ḥarb related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Sa'îd ibn Abî Burdah,

٣ حدثنا سليمان بن حرب: حدثنا شعبة عن سعيد ابن أبي بردة

1 This is the meaning. The Arabic construction is slightly different; literally rendered into English, the sense would be somewhat ambiguous.

2 *I.e.*, the *sharî'ah* on which Islâm is built; cf. Bkh ii/1. It is represented here by a pillar rising to the skies because it is the means by which man can ascend the heights of moral development and thus attune himself to the will of God.

3 In the text, *'urwat al-wuthqâ*, "the firmest hand-hold"; reference to Qur'ân ii, 256, where this expression signifies "faith".

4 The reason of the particular distinction conferred by the Prophet upon 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm (both by telling him that he was "of the people of Paradise" and by interpreting his dream in the above way) is easy to understand. Unlike most of the Prophet's Arab followers, who accepted Islâm as a welcome release from the soul-killing idolatry practised by their forefathers, 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm was, before he became a Muslim, an adherent of Judaism, a highly developed religion. In spite of the many corruptions which had disfigured that religion in the course of centuries, it still had a considerable hold over its adherents, and it was not easy for them suddenly to give up the notions in which they had been brought up and to adapt their minds to the teachings of Islâm. It greatly redounds to the credit of 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm that, as soon as these teachings were put before him, he showed the moral strength to abandon all his previous ideas of the Jews being a "chosen nation", and gladly submitted to the postulates of a religion which taught the equality of mankind and denounced the arrogant conception of one nation being exalted above all others. If we consider the surroundings in which 'Abd Allâh had lived until he embraced Islâm, and the all-powerful influence of conventions to which till then he had been bound, we realise that his speedy, voluntary conversion to Islâm at a time when it possessed no worldly power whatever—the Prophet himself being a poor refugee from a distant town—constituted an act not only of merit but of moral heroism. (See also Bkh li/27, No. 1, where the story of 'Abd Allâh's conversion is found.)

5 This *isnâd* indicates a variant of the above Tradition, in which 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm used the expression *waṣîf* instead of *minṣaf*. Both words are synonymous and denote a servant, male or female (cf. *Lisân al-'Arab* XI, 273). I have translated *minṣaf* as "helper" (see p. 125, n. 6).

ON the authority of his father [Abû Burdah[1]], who said: I came to Madînah and met 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm.[2] He said: Wilt thou not come [to me], so that I may give thee *sawîq*[3] and dates to eat; and thou wilt enter [my] house.[4]—Then he said: Behold, thou livest in a country where usury is common.[5] If thou hast given a loan to a man, and he offereth thee as a gift a load of straw, a load of barley or a load of fodder, accept it not, for this will be usury.[6]

عن أبيه قال: أتيت المدينة فلقيت عبد الله بن سلام فقال: ألا تجيء فأطعمك سويقاً وتمراً وتدخل فى بيت؟ — ثم قال: انك بأرض الربا بها فاش. اذا كان لك على رجل حق فأهدى اليك حمل تبن أو حمل شعير أو حمل قت فلا تأخذه فانه رباً.

An-Naḍr, Abû Dâ'ûd [aṭ-Ṭayâlisî] and Wahb did not mention "the house" [while narrating this Tradition] on the authority of Shu'bah.[7]

ولم يذكر النضر وأبو داؤد و وهب عن شعبة «البيت».

SECTION LIII

THE PROPHET'S MARRIAGE WITH KHADÎJAH, AND HER MERIT[8]

٥٣ باب

تزويج النبى ﷺ خديجة وفضلها (رض)

1 Abû Burdah 'Âmir ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Qays. He was a son of Abû Mûsâ al-Ash'arî, and should not be confused with the other Abû Burdah, Abû Mûsâ's brother (cf. p. 36, n. 3). He became *qâḍî* of Kûfah in succession to the famous *qâḍî* Shurayḥ, and died in 104 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd VI, 187).

2 It is reported (Ibn Sa'd VI, 187) that Abû Burdah was sent by his father, Abû Mûsâ—who at that time held an official position in 'Irâq (see p. 96, n. 1)—to Madînah in order that he might study religious sciences from 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm.

3 *Sawîq* is a meal of parched barley or similar grain, often in the form of a thin porridge.

4 An explanation of 'Abd Allâh's particular mention of his house is forthcoming from another version of this Tradition (Ibn Sa'd VI, 187), where he says: "Wilt thou not enter a house which the Apostle of God has entered, and pray in a house in which the Apostle of God has prayed?" This distinction which the Prophet had conferred upon 'Abd Allâh's house seems to be also the reason why al-Bukhârî placed this Tradition in a section devoted to the praise of 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm.

5 Ibn Salâm alludes here to 'Irâq, whence Abû Burdah had come. The people of 'Irâq are said to have adopted many subterfuges in order to circumvent the Islâmic prohibition of usury (in which term also simple interest is also included).

6 Receiving presents from a debtor, in consideration of the debt, may be a means of indirectly levying interest on the amount loaned, and should, therefore, be avoided. Regarding the Islâmic conception of interest and usury, see Introductory Note to Bkh xxvi, where this problem is fully discussed.

7 Thus the author indicates other variants of the above Tradition, also on the authority of Shu'bah, which do not contain the allusion to Ibn Salâm's house. But we have several versions in Ibn Sa'd (VI, 187) where this allusion occurs on the strength of entirely different *isnâds* in which Shu'bah does not figure as transmitter. It is, therefore, irrelevant if the three above-mentioned disciples of Shu'bah do not indicate the words in question in their variants; the authenticity of the allusion is amply established.

8 The Prophet's marriage with Khadijah took place about fifteen years before the beginning of the Revelation, he being twenty-five and she forty years old. She was a rich widow and ran

1 Muḥammad [ibn Salâm[1]] related to me: 'Abdah informed us, on the authority of Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of his father, who said: I heard 'Abd Allâh ibn Ja'far say: I heard 'Alî say: I heard the Apostle of God say:—

Ṣadaqah related to me: 'Abdah informed us, on the authority of Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of his father, who said: I heard 'Abd Allâh ibn Ja'far [say], on the authority of 'Alî,

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: The best of the women of her time was Mary, and the best of the women of her time was Khadîjah.[2]

١ حدثنى محمد: أخبرنا عبدة عن هشام بن عروة عن أبيه قال: سمعت عبد الله بن جعفر قال: سمعت علياً يقول: سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: ——

حدثنى صدقة: أخبرنا عبدة عن هشام بن عروة عن أبيه قال: سمعت عبد الله بن جعفر عن على (رض)

عن النبى ﷺ قال: خير نسائها مريم وخير نسائها خديجة.

2 Sa'îd ibn 'Ufayr related to us: Al-Layth related to us, saying: Hishâm wrote to me, on the authority of his father ['Urwah],

ON the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said: Never was I so jealous of any wife of the Prophet as I was jealous of Khadîjah—[although] she had died before he wedded me—: for often I heard him praise her; and God had bidden him to give her the glad tidings of a palace of jewels [which she would have in Paradise]; and whenever he killed a sheep, he would present a good deal of it to her friends.[3]

٢ حدثنا سعيد بن عفير: حدثنا الليث قال: كتب الى هشام عن أبيه

عن عائشة (رض) قالت: ما غرت على امرأة للنبى ﷺ ما غرت على خديجة — هلكت قبل أن يتزوجنى — لما كنت أسمعه يذكرها وأمره الله أن يبشرها ببيت من قصب؛ وإن كان ليذبح الشاة فيهدى فى خلائلها منها ما يسعهن.

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a large trade of her own. It was she who offered herself in marriage to Muḥammad, who was associated with her in her trading ventures (Ṭabarî II, 196; Ibn Sa'd I/i, 84). She very early understood the extraordinary qualities with which he was endowed, and remained deeply devoted to him and morally supported him throughout her life. Regarding her attitude at the beginning of the Revelation, see Bkh i, No. 3.—In the heading of the present section al-Bukhârî alludes to the rôle which the marriage with Khadîjah played in the Prophet's life. It is no exaggeration to say that her instantaneous belief in his mission had a decisive effect on his self-confidence and, thus, on the destinies of Islâm. Her death about three years before the *hijrah* (*Iṣâbah* VIII, 62) so deeply affected the Prophet that his Companions always referred to that year as "the year of grief". She was indeed a worthy mate of the Last Prophet, who, although fifteen years younger, never thought of marrying another woman as long as she was alive.

1 Regarding the identity of this transmitter, see *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 105.

2 The Arabic text does not give a clear reference as to the period, and reads as follows: "The best of its women [was] Mary, and the best of its women [was] Khadîjah." It is obvious, however, that the pronoun "it" refers to the respective periods, or times, of Mary and Khadîjah.

3 *I.e.*, even after Khadîjah's death. 'Â'ishah was jealous of Khadîjah not only because of the high esteem in which the latter had been held by the Prophet in her life-time, but also because his love for Khadîjah remained undiminished even after her death. The fact that the Prophet never married another woman as long as Khadîjah was alive, while, on the other hand, he took other wives during 'Â'ishah's life, may have played a certain rôle in the latter's feelings which

٣ حدثنا قتيبة بن سعيد: حدثنا حميد بن عبد الرحمن عن هشام بن عروة عن أبيه

عن عائشة (رض) قالت: ما غرت على امرأة ما غرت على خديجة من كثرة ذكر رسول الله ﷺ إياها. — قالت: وتزوجني بعدها بثلاث سنين. وأمره ربه عزوجل

— أو: جبريل عليه السلام —

أن يبشرها ببيت في الجنة من قصب.

3 Qutaybah ibn Sa'id related to us: Ḥumayd ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân related to us, on the authority of Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of his father,

ON the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said: Never was I so jealous of any woman as I was jealous of Khadîjah, for the Apostle of God so often praised her.—She added: He married me three years after her [death].[1] And his Sustainer, the Lord of Might and Glory,

—or: Gabriel[2]—

had bidden him to give her the glad tidings of a palace of jewels [which she would have] in Paradise.

٤ حدثني عمر بن محمد بن حسن: حدثنا أبي: حدثنا حفص عن هشام عن أبيه

عن عائشة (رض) قالت: ما غرت على أحد من نساء النبي ﷺ ما غرت على خديجة وما رأيتها ولكن كان النبي ﷺ يكثر ذكرها؛ وربما ذبح الشاة ثم يقطعها أعضاء ثم يبعثها في صدائق خديجة. فربما قلت له: كأنه لم يكن في الدنيا الا خديجة! — فيقول: إنها كانت وكانت وكان لي منها ولد.

4 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan related to me: My father related to us: Ḥafṣ related to us, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father ['Urwah],

ON the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said: Never was I so jealous of any of the Prophet's wives as I was jealous of Khadîjah, though I had never seen her[3]; but the Prophet very often praised her. And often he would kill a sheep and cut it into pieces and send them to Khadîjah's friends. And often I would say unto him: It is as though there was none in this world but Khadîjah!—And he would answer me: Behold, she was this and was that,[4] and I had children by her.[5]

with the beautiful candour peculiar to her, she often confessed to the world, thus enhancing the glory of Khadijah's name and freeing her own jealousy of all meanness.

1 Regarding the date of 'Â'ishah's marriage with the Prophet, see Bkh li 20, n.

2 One of the transmitters was uncertain regarding the exact words used by 'Â'ishah. See No. 6 of this section.

3 'Â'ishah must have seen Khadîjah, for she was six years old at the latter's death and her father, Abû Bakr, was a constant Companion of the Prophet. But it is probable that she was too young at that time to have a conscious appreciation of Khadîjah and her position in the Prophet's house; and perhaps it is this she means by the words, "I had never seen her".

4 *I.e.*, the Prophet mentioned Khadîjah's outstanding merits. There is a Tradition on the authority of 'Â'ishah (Ibn Ḥanbal VI, 117 f), wherein the Prophet is reported to have said: "She had faith in me when other people rejected me, and she believed me when other people called me a liar, and she supported me with whatever she had when other people denied everything to me; and God gave me children by her when He denied to me children by other women." (See also subsequent note).

5 All children of the Prophet were born of Khadîjah, with the exception of Ibrâhîm, whose mother was the Copt slave, Mâryah.

٥ حدثنا مسدد: حدثنا يحيى عن اسمعيل قال:

قلت لعبد الله بن أبى أوفى (رض): بشر النبى ﷺ خديجة؟ — قال: نعم ببيت من قصب لاصخب فيه ولا نصب.

٦ حدثنا قتيبة بن سعيد: حدثنا محمد بن فضيل عن عمارة عن أبى زرعة عن أبى هريرة (رض) قال:

أتى جبريل النبى ﷺ فقال: يا رسول الله! هذه خديجة قد أتت معها إناء فيه إدام — أو: طعام، أو: شراب —؛ فاذا هى أتتك فاقرأ عليها السلام من ربها و منى وبشرها ببيت فى الجنة من قصب لاصخب فيه ولا نصب.

٧ وقال اسمعيل بن خليل: أخبرنا على بن مسهر عن هشام عن أبيه

عن عائشة (رض) قالت: استأذنت هالة بنت خويلد أخت خديجة على رسول الله ﷺ فعرف استئذان خديجة فارتاع لذلك فقال: اللهم!

5 Musaddad related to us: Yaḥyâ related to us, on the authority of Ismâ'îl, who said:

I ASKED 'Abd Allâh ibn Abî Awfâ[1]: Did the Prophet [ever] give Khadîjah glad tidings [of Paradise]?—He answered: Yea, of a palace of jewels, wherein there is no noise and no toil.

6 Qutaybah ibn Sa'îd related to us: Muḥammad ibn Fuḍayl related to us, on the authority of 'Umarah, on the authority of Abû Zur'ah, on the authority of Abû Hurayrah, who said:

GABRIEL came to the Prophet and said: O Apostle of God! Lo, Khadijah is coming unto thee with a vessel of seasoned food[2] —or: food; or: drink—. When she reach thee, offer her greetings from her Sustainer and from me, and give her the glad tidings of a palace of jewels in Paradise, wherein there is no noise and no toil.

7 And Ismâ'îl ibn Khalîl said[3]: 'Alî ibn Mushir informed us, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father ['Urwah],

ON the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said: Hâlah bint Khuwaylid,[4] Khadîjah's sister, asked leave to see the Apostle of God; and he was reminded of Khadîjah's [manner of] asking leave to enter,[5] and became excited thereby and said: O God! [It is]

1 He took part in the Pledge of ar-Riḍwân (6 A.H.) and in several campaigns of the Prophet; died in Kûfah in 86 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd IV/ii, 36 f).

2 *Idâm* is any seasoning or condiment for bread; or anything that is eaten with bread (cf. Lane I, 36).

3 This *isnâd* has the appearance of a *ta'lîq*, for the expression at the beginning, "And such-and-such *said*", is usually employed by the Traditionists in cases where there is no direct connection between the last narrator and the compiler. It is known, however, that Ismâ'îl ibn Khalîl (d. 225 A.H.) was a *shaykh* of al-Bukhârî (cf. *Rijâl aṣ-Ṣaḥîḥayn* I, 24); and so in this case the connection is established. It is possible, of course, that al-Bukhârî has not heard this Tradition from Ismâ'îl ibn Khalîl directly but found it in some written record of Traditions, in which case he would naturally regard it as a *ta'lîq*. Ibn Ḥajar, however, inclines to the opinion that, notwithstanding the expression, "And Ismâ'îl ibn Khalîl *said*", al-Bukhârî heard the Tradition directly from the latter (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 110); thus it would be established as *muttaṣil* ("properly connected").

4 Hâlah bint Khuwaylid ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzah, Khadîjah's sister, and mother of Abu'l-'Âṣ ibn ar-Rabî' (see sec. 17), who married the Prophet's daughter, Zaynab.

5 Obviously owing to a resemblance of Hâlah's voice to that of her deceased sister.

Hâlah!—And this made me jealous,[1] and I said: Why dost thou remember one of those old women of Quraysh, with gums red and quivering[2], long since dead,—while God hath given thee a better one in her stead?[3]

هالة! — قالت: فغرت فقلت: ما تذكر من عجوز من عجائز قريش حمراء الشدقين هلكت فى الدهر — قد أبدلك الله خيراً منها؟

SECTION LIV

CONCERNING JARÎR IBN 'ABD ALLÂH AL-BAJALÎ[4]

1 Isḥâq al-Wâsiṭî related to us: Khalîd related to us, on the authority of Bayân, who said: I heard Qays say[5]:

JARÎR ibn 'Abd Allâh said: The Apostle of God never refused to receive me since I embraced Islâm, and never looked at me without a smile.

٥٤ باب

ذكر جرير بن عبد الله البجلى (رض)

١ حدثنا اسحق الواسطى: حدثنا خالد عن بيان عن قيس قال: سمعته يقول:

قال جرير بن عبد الله (رض): ما حجبنى رسول الله ﷺ منذ أسلمت ولا رآنى الا ضحك.

2 And on the authority of Qays,[6]

ON the authority of Jarîr ibn 'Abd Allâh, who said: There was, in the Time of

٢ وعن قيس

عن جرير بن عبد الله قال: كان فى

1 *Sc.*, of Khadîjah. Cf. Nos. 2, 3 and 4 of this section.

2 —because of their toothlessness.

3 It is very characteristic of 'Â'ishah that in her narrative she does not try to embellish this outburst of unreasonable jealousy but recounts it plainly, without any varnish, thereby admitting her fault. We have another version of this Tradition (Ibn Ḥanbal VI, 150), also on the authority of 'Â'ishah, where the Prophet is reported to have grown exceedingly angry at these words of her. We must bear in mind that 'Â'ishah was extremely young at that time and had not yet acquired that tact and breadth of vision which she showed in later years, and which made her so prominent among the Prophet's Companions.

4 Jarîr ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Jâbir al-Bajalî was a chief of the tribe of Bajîlah (of the Adnânî group), who were settled in Yaman (cf. Bkh Iii/64, No. 3). There is difference of opinion regarding the time at which he embraced Islâm. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr says (*Istî'âb* I, 90) that this happened forty days before the Prophet's death. But this is contradicted by the event narrated in No. 2 of this section, namely, the destruction of the idol-temple of Dhu'l-Khalaṣah, which took place in Ramaḍân, 10 A.H. (cf. Ṭabarî III, 173), *i.e.*, about six months before the Prophet's death. From a narrative in Ibn Sa'd (I/ii, 77 f) it appears that the deputation of the tribe Bajîlah reached Madînah in 10 A.H., whereupon Jarîr ibn 'Abd Allâh embraced Islâm; immediately afterwards he was sent by the Prophet to destroy the temple of Dhu'l-Khalaṣah. Thus it is obvious that he embraced Islâm shortly before Ramaḍân, 10 A.H. Although his Companionship was of a short duration, he was held in high esteem by the Prophet and his successors, and died in 54 A.H. or, according to some historians, in 51 A.H. (*Istî'âb* I, 90).

5 The Arabic construction of this portion of the *isnâd* is somewhat involved and cannot be literally translated without impairing its clearness.

6 Only the first transmitter, Qays, is mentioned here because the preceding (here omitted) portion of the *isnâd* is identical with that of the foregoing Tradition.

Ignorance, a temple[1] called Dhu'l-Khalaṣah[2]; it was also called "the Yamanite Ka'bah" or "the Northern Ka'bah"[3]. And the Apostle of God said unto me: Wilt thou rid me of Dhu'l-Khalaṣah?[4]—And so I went forth at the head of one hundred and fifty horsemen of [the tribe of] Aḥmas[5], and we destroyed it and killed whomsoever we found there. Then we came [back] to the Prophet and informed him [of what we had done]; and he blessed us and [the tribe of] Aḥmas.

الجاهلية بيت يقال له ذوالخلصة، وكان يقال له «الكعبة اليمانية» أو «الكعبة الشامية». فقال لى رسول الله ﷺ: هل أنت مريحى من ذى الخلصة؟ — قال: فنفرت اليه فى خمسين ومائة فارس من أحمس. قال: فكسرناه وقتلنا من وجدنا عنده فأتيناه فأخبرناه، فدعا لنا ولأحمس.

SECTION LV

CONCERNING ḤUDHAYFAH IBN AL-YAMÂN AL-'ABSÎ[6]

Ismâ'îl ibn Khalîl related to me: Salamah ibn Rajâ' informed us, on the authority of Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of his father, on the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said:

ON the day of [the battle of] Uḥud the idolaters suffered a complete defeat.

٥٥ باب

ذكر حذيفة بن اليمان العبسى (رض)

حدثنى اسمعيل بن خليل: أخبرنا سلمة بن رجاء عن هشام بن عروة عن أبيه عن عائشة (رض) قالت:

لما كان يوم أحد هزم المشركون هزيمة

1 Lit., "house"; it is obvious from the sequence that a house of worship, *i.e.*, a temple, is meant.

2 For particulars of this Yamanite temple and the history of its destruction (mentioned in the above Tradition), see Bkh lii/64.

3 The temple of Dhu'l-Khalaṣah was situated in the northernmost part of Yaman, about seven days south of Mecca; cf. al-Kalbî, *Kitâb al-Aṣnâm* (ed. Aḥmad Zakî, Cairo 1914), p. 34. From the point of view of the Yamanites it was situated in the North. The use of the expression "Ka'bah" in this context suggests that this term was originally not limited to the Meccan sanctuary alone but might have been applied to other Arabian places of worship as well. See also Bkh lii/64, where the history of this pre-Islâmic temple, so far as it is traceable, is discussed.

4 The Prophet could not bear the thought that ancient idol-temples should still exist in Arabia when almost all its inhabitants had embraced Islâm.

5 The Aḥmas were a sub-tribe of the Bajîlah, whose leader was Jarîr ibn 'Abd Allâh. They embraced Islâm at the same time as Jarîr (cf. Ibn Sa'd I/ii, 78).

6 Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamân (Ḥusayl) ibn Jâbir al-'Absî belonged to the tribe Ghaṭafân and was a *ḥalîf* (ally) of the clan Banû 'Abd al-Ashhal, of Aws. He was an outstanding figure among the Companions, and was known as the "confidant of the Prophet" because the latter is said to have revealed to him the names of some of the hypocrites at Madînah who were commonly regarded as Muslims (cf. sec. 22, Nos. 1 and 2). He took part in most of the Prophet's campaigns from that of Uḥud onwards. In the battle of Uḥud his father, al-Yamân, was killed in tragic circumstances, as is narrated in the Tradition of this section. 'Umar appointed Ḥudhayfah administrator of Madâ'in (Ctesiphon) in 'Irâq. Later Ḥudhayfah distinguished himself in the Persian campaigns, and was the leader of the victorious forces which conquered Nahâwand in 21 A.H. (*Futûḥ al-Buldân*, p. 313). Subsequently he conquered Hamadhân, Dînawar and Rayy. He died in Madâ'in in 36 A.H. (*Isti'âb* I, 104.)

[Suddenly] Iblîs cried out: O worshippers of God! Look out behind you![1]—Thereupon the front ranks turned upon those behind them, and the latter fought back. And Ḥudhayfah looked, and lo! he recognised his father; and he called out: O worshippers of God! My father! My father![2]

And [ʿÂʾishah] added:

And, by God! ere they could be separated they killed him. Thereupon Ḥudhayfah said: May God forgive you.[3]

[Hishâm said:] My father [ʿUrwah] said:[4]

And, by God, Ḥudhayfah was always given the credit for this [magnanimity], until he went to meet God, the Lord of Might and Glory.

SECTION LVI

CONCERNING HIND BINT ʿUTBAH IBN RABÎʿAH[5]

And ʿAbdân said: ʿAbd Allâh informed us: Yûnus informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî [who said]: ʿUrwah related to me: ʿÂʾishah said:

بينة، فصاح ابليس: أى عباد الله! أخراكم! — فرجعت أولاهم على أخراهم فاجتلدت أخراهم. فنظر حذيفة فاذا هو بأبيه، فنادى: أى عباد الله! أبى! أبى!

فقالت:

فوالله ما احتجزوا حتى قتلوه. فقال حذيفة: غفرالله لكم.

قال أبى:

فوالله مازالت فى حذيفة منها بقية خير حتى لقى الله عزوجل.

٥٦ باب

ذكر هند بنت عتبة بن ربيعة (رض)

وقال عبدان: أخبرنا عبد الله: أخبرنا يونس عن الزهرى: حدثنى عروة أن عائشة (رض) قالت:

1 See subsequent note.

2 When the Muslims went forth to the battle of Uḥud, the Prophet left Ḥudhayfah's father, al-Yamân, with another old man, Thâbit ibn Waqsh, in Madînah in charge of the women and children there. After some time the two old men regretted having been left behind and went out to rejoin the Muslim army. As they appeared behind the Muslim lines someone, probably one of the Muslims, cried out, "Look out behind you!"—and in the ensuing excitement the Muslims mistook al-Yamân for one of the enemies and killed him before Ḥudhayfah, who at once recognised his father, could prevent it. (Cf. Ibn Hishâm II, 81.) As the above-mentioned outcry had so tragic consequences for the Muslims, who till then had the upper hand over their adversaries, ʿÂʾishah, the narrator of this Tradition, aptly described it as the "cry of Iblîs".

3 He said this after the Muslims had perceived their fatal error and expressed their sorrow. It is reported (Ibn Hishâm II, 81) that the Prophet offered to pay to Ḥudhayfah the blood-money *(diyah)* on account of his father's death, but the former refused to accept it and forgave those who had unwittingly killed al-Yamân. The man who actually committed the deed was ʿUtbah ibn Masʿûd, a brother of ʿAbd Allâh ibn Masʿûd (*Istîʿâb* I, 138).

4 The following sentence goes back to the *tâbiʿî* ʿUrwah only, and is, therefore, not a part of the Tradition as such.

5 Hind bint ʿUtbah ibn Rabîʿah, wife of Abû Sufyân and mother of Muʿâwiyah. She was one of the most prominent women of Quraysh, excelling in understanding and spirit. She took part in the battle of Uḥud by the side of her husband, Abû Sufyân. When Ḥamzah, the Prophet's uncle, was killed by the negro slave, Waḥshî (for particulars see Bkh lii/24), Hind had the liver torn out of the dead man's body and ate a piece of it: such was her hatred of Ḥamzah, who in the battle of Badr had killed her father, ʿUtbah, and her uncle, Shaybah. She embraced Islâm at the time of the conquest of Mecca, and appears to have been sincere in it. She died during the Caliphate of ʿUmar, in 14 A.H. (*Istîʿâb* II, 764.)

HIND bint 'Utbah came [to the Prophet] and said: O Apostle of God! [At one time] there was no family[1] on earth which I would have sooner seen humiliated than thine; but to-day there is no family on earth which I would sooner see exalted than thine.[2]—He answered: And so it is with me, by Him in Whose hand is my soul!—[Then] she said: O Apostle of God! Behold, Abû Sufyân is a miser. Will it be, then, a sin on my part if I feed our household out of what he possesseth?—[The Prophet] answered: I do not see [a sin in] it, provided [thou use his property] with fairness.

جاءت هند بنت عتبة قالت: يا رسول الله! ما كان على ظهر الأرض من أهل خباء أحب الىَّ أن يذلوا من أهل خبائك، ثم ما أصبح اليوم على ظهر الأرض أهل خباء أحب الىَّ أن يعزوا من أهل خبائك. — قال: وأيضاً والذى نفسى بيده! — قالت: يا رسول الله! إن أبا سفيان رجل مسيك؛ فهل علىَّ حرج أن أطعم من الذى له عيالنا؟ — قال: لا أراه الا بالمعروف.

1 Lit., "dwellers of a house (or tent)".

2 It appears from a more detailed version of this Tradition (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 171 f) that Hind came to the Prophet with other women of Quraysh soon after the conquest of Mecca and declared that she had embraced Islâm. Then she showed him her face and reminded him who she was—expecting, no doubt, to be reproached for what she had done to Ḥamzah, the Prophet's beloved uncle. But the Apostle of God treated her with kindness and bade her welcome. This manifestation of his most noble and forgiving nature overwhelmed her and she impulsively expressed her reverence and love for him in the words quoted in the above Tradition.

CONCLUSION

WHILE arranging the sections and Traditions of this chapter, al-Bukhârî had obviously no intention of giving a complete estimate of the personalities mentioned therein. He restricted himself to narratives of such incidents of their lives as had a direct connection with the life of the Prophet and induced the latter to express his appreciation of them by words or deeds. The whole of the work before us abounds in testimonies as to the important rôle which many of the Companions played in the life of the Prophet and in the destinies of early Islâm, and it would have been impossible to collect all the Traditions relating to this subject in one single chapter. Moreover, much that redounds to the highest credit of certain Companions by far exceeds the scope of a work devoted to the sayings and doings of the Prophet of Islâm, for it did not directly concern his life. Some of the Companions proved their full greatness only after their Master's death, and some of their extraordinary qualities came to light in circumstances in which he played no personal part,—although it was indubitably his teachings and the memory of his personality which provided the source of everlasting inspiration for the men and women who had come in touch with him. Thus, the chapter on "The Merits of the Prophet's Companions" is meant to give no more than a glimpse of some of the outstanding figures out of the galaxy which surrounded the Prophet during the two decades and three years of his Mission and to show something of the tremendous impression which he created on the minds of his followers. It is only when we realise the extent of this impression that we can fully understand the "why" and "how" of the astonishing success of early Islâm.

Out of the darkness of pre-Islâmic Arabia, out of the spiritual unrest and the social chaos of a people endowed with great potentialities, but hopelessly enthralled in soulless tradition, the

light of Muḥammad suddenly shone forth. It gradually broke through the clouds of hostile opposition, gave certainty to the doubtful and hope to the despondent, and made the humble proud and the proud humble. A wild youth like 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb was converted into a passionate servant of truth and an austere statesman whose hands moulded an empire greater than any which the world had seen before. A young girl with nothing more than a lively temperament to her credit—'Â'ishah—was transformed within a few years into a woman full of ethical wisdom to whom successive generations looked up for spiritual guidance. Men who had loved the good things of this world joyously gave them up, and followed their Prophet into his self-imposed exile to the distant Yathrib; and the obscure, eternally warring tribes of that town composed under his influence their customary enmity and became known to history as the self-effacing *Anṣâr*, the Helpers, of nascent Islâm. It is against the historical background provided by the reactions of the Companions that the personality of the Prophet is fully expressed. Their greatness was of his doing; and they nobly acquitted themselves of their debt of gratitude by upholding the image of his uniqueness for later generations.

For, whatever we know of the Prophet's life and of pristine Islâm depends—apart from what becomes obvious from the Holy Qur'ân—almost invariably on narratives transmitted by Companions; other sources are practically non-existent. It is upon our knowledge of the original transmitters of Traditions, upon our certainty as to their understanding of Islâm, and upon their moral integrity that we base, in the first instance, our belief in the authenticity of the main body of *ṣaḥîḥ* Traditions. We are helped in our scrutiny by the fact that identical narratives are often forthcoming from various Companions; but even in the case of a Tradition which can be traced back to one Companion only we are on a fairly safe ground if we rely on psychological evidence. It is extremely improbable that people for whom Islâm and the person of its Prophet represented the focal point of their life should have wilfully deviated from the path of truth when describing events relating to that overwhelming personality. Mistakes must have, of course, occurred here and there, and it is the duty of historical criticism to notice and to rectify them. But we can never overlook the fact that our first and foremost guarantee of the authenticity of Traditions is the personality of the Companions who narrated them. To this end we require well-authenticated reports by contemporaries showing us the kind of man or woman the Companion was on whose authority we are supposed to accept Traditions—those narratives which provide us, in a cumulative way, with a picture of the Prophet's life and teachings. We may safely assume that it was primarily for this reason that al-Bukhârî placed the chapter treating of "The Merits of the Prophet's Companions" immediately before those portions of his compilation which contain an outline of the Prophet's history. In this chapter only a few out of the many great Companions are discussed; but they are fully representative of that select group of the Prophet's Friends whose lives and aims were identical with the life of Islâm.

Besides the Companions' direct testimony relating to the Prophet's sayings and doings, and contained in the *corpus* of authentic Traditions, we depend on our knowledge of their own actions and sayings for a proper understanding of many traits of the Islâmic *sharî'ah*, insofar as the latter has not been directly elucidated by the Prophet himself. There can be no doubt that not all interpretations of matters Islâmic by Companions are binding on us, for, as Imâm Shâfi'î has aptly expressed, "They were men, and *we* are men"; they were not free from error and mistake, and they never arrogated to themselves infallibility. But even with this reservation we have to recognise that it is difficult, if not impossible, to find on the whole better informed interpreters of the spirit and practice of Islâm than those people whose lives were dominated by an unsurpassed devotion to its cause, whose intimate connection with the Prophet gave them a deep insight into the working of his mind, and who personally took part in the grand drama of Islâm's evolution from a few fundamental doctrines about the Unity of God and the life after death to that resplendent new order of life expressed in the ethical, social and economic aspects of the *sharî'ah*. The attitude of the foremost Companions furnishes in many cases a most convincing commentary of

Islâmic problems, and enables us to avoid many errors to which we are liable owing to our distance from the time of the Law-Giver. We can never attain to a true estimate of the manifold laws of Islâm without taking critically into consideration the opinions of the Companions about them.

Al-Bukhârî's other reason for bringing the chapter on the Companions before those treating chronologically of the Prophet's life consists in the fact that it is impossible to understand the history of the twenty-three years of the Prophet's ministry without a thorough appreciation of the rôle which this band of faithful and self-sacrificing followers played in it. Just as the Holy Qur'ân cannot be fully understood without a knowledge of the personality which communicated it to us, so the Prophet's own life, his rise from humble beginnings to the glory of final achievement, cannot be fully understood unless we are able to appreciate his relations with his Companions in their true historical perspective and to estimate the startling effect of his personality on those who were intimately connected with him, and who in their turn, by their attitude and their actions, influenced the trend of events and helped their Master to build the great social structure of early Islâm. Just as a physical action requires both a subject and an object before it is realised, so also a spiritual message, however profound and true it be, remains an abstract proposition, debarred from all reality, unless it is reflected in the reactions of those who listen to it. Islâm is unthinkable without the personality of the Prophet Muḥammad; but—in a somewhat lesser degree—it is also unthinkable without those great men and women whom we describe as the Prophet's Companions. The Qur'ân and the Prophet, and the Prophet and his Companions: these are the two axes around which the constellation of Islâm revolves.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ISLÂM

THE BEGINNINGS OF ISLÂM

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE REASONS for our present division of chapters xlviii—lii have been discussed in the Introductory Note to ch. xlviii ("The Book of Prophets"). Here we shall briefly reiterate the arguments so far as they concern the present 29 sections which depict some of the conditions of pre-Islâmic Mecca and the first thirteen years of the Prophet's Mission, and which have been treated in the present work—contrary to established convention—as a separate chapter under the title "The Beginnings of Islâm".

In all the available texts of the *Ṣaḥîḥ*, these 29 sections follow without break upon the portion entitled "The Merits of the Prophet's Companions"; there is no separate title and no *bismillâh*, which usually heads a new chapter. Thus the impression is created that the author conceived the two portions as one inseparable entity. This assumption, however, cannot hold good if we consider the entirely different historical treatment accorded to these two portions of the work. The chapter on "The Merits of the Prophet's Companions" is compiled from the viewpoint of the historical anecdote and arranged according to the prominence of the personalities concerned. Thus, the sub-division devoted to the *Muhâjirs* begins with the four Right-Guided Caliphs in the order of their succession (which is held to represent their respective order of merit) and ends, so far as men are concerned, with Mu'âwiyah; then come the two most prominent women among the *Muhâjirs*, Fâṭimah and 'Â'ishah. Similar is the arrangement in the sub-division treating of the *Anṣâr*, with the difference only that there the accounts of individuals are preceded by eleven sections showing the merits of *Anṣâr* in general. After the Traditions dealing with the *Anṣâr* are placed those which relate to certain Companions who were neither *Muhâjirs* nor *Anṣâr*, the last of them being Hind bint 'Utbah. Immediately after the section devoted to her the subject-matter changes radically. The classified accounts of personalities or groups give way to a chronologically conceived description of episodes showing the emergence of Islâm and its subsequent destinies. Instead of the biographical anecdotes constituting the chapter on "The Merits of the Prophet's Companions" we have, in the following sections, something approaching a narrative. It is not, of course, an uninterrupted narrative, for al-Bukhârî was limited by the material at his disposal, which was still further reduced by the extremely rigorous standards of his criticism; but it is as nearly a chronicle as was possible in the circumstances.

This change of historical treatment is too definite to be accidental. In the whole of his work, al-Bukhârî reveals himself as an incomparably conscientious compiler who never approaches any given subject-matter without a clearly conceived plan. We are forced, therefore, to assume that his change of method was not fortuitous: in other words, he never intended a coalescence of his description of the Companions with the historical account of the Prophet's Mission into one composite whole. This coalescence, seemingly forthcoming in all the available MSS. and printed editions of the *Ṣaḥîḥ*, may be due to an omission on the part of one or another of al-Bukhârî's disciples who wrote the work at the masters dictation, or, more probably, to an omission on

the part of some disciples of al-Bukhârî's disciples. We have to bear in mind that al-Bukhârî's purpose was twofold: to collect, after the most careful sifting, authentic Traditions, and to arrange them in such a way as to enable the student to draw from them definite conclusions with regard to problems of the *sharî'ah*. In this respect, our author laid great emphasis on the grouping of Traditions in sections *(abwâb)*, generally accompanied by explanatory headings and remarks *(tarâjim al-abwâb)* which express, directly or indirectly, his arguments and views on the subject. The originality of the work primarily consists in this peculiar treatment of *abwâb*, while the larger division into *kutub* (chapters) follows, in the main, the already established conventions of *fiqh*. Al-Bukhârî's particular emphasis on his system of *abwâb* was responsible for the careful treatment of his original arrangement in this respect by his disciples and the subsequent generations of scholars. It is noteworthy that in all the available texts there is hardly any divergence—and never an important one—regarding the *abwâb* and their *tarâjim*, while, on the other hand, differences as regards the division into *kutub* are not infrequent.

The assumption of some commentators of the *Ṣaḥîḥ*, that al-Bukhârî regarded the whole portion of his work beginning with *Kitâb al-Anbiyâ'* ("The Book of Prophets", in the present edition ch. xlviii) and ending with *Kitâb al-Maghâzî* ("The Book of Campaigns", here ch. lii) as one single chapter entitled *Kitâb al-Anbiyâ'*, has been fully discussed and refuted in the Introductory Note to ch. xlviii. We have come to the conclusion that "The Merits of the Prophet's Companions" are an independent chapter; and, consequently, we must regard the 29 sections beginning with the story of Zayd ibn 'Amr and ending with the Prophet's *hijrah* to Madînah, as a separate entity.

IN THE ABSENCE of a title in the Arabic texts at my disposal, I have named this chapter "The Beginnings of Islâm". It opens with the story of Zayd ibn 'Amr, the famous *ḥanîf* of the period immediately preceding the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad. It was obviously the author's intention to show that the spirit of religious inquiry was not entirely dead among the pre-Islâmic Arabs—a fact which partly explains the success of the Prophet's Mission. The first and third Traditions of the first section show also some of the customs and beliefs of pagan Arabia—a theme that is continued in the subsequent two sections ("The Building of the Ka'bah" and "The Days of Ignorance"). Sec. 4 consists of the Prophet's genealogical tree and a Tradition showing the classical division of his life into three periods. Sections 5—18 contain episodes illustrating the Meccan period of Islâm, the sufferings of the Prophet and his community at the hands of pagan Quraysh, the gradual widening of the circle of Islâm, the migration to Ethiopia. Sections 19—29 depict how the voice of the Prophet reached the Arab tribes in distant Yathrib, and describe in detail his *hijrah*, which opened a new chapter in the history of Islâm.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE DISPENSER OF GRACE

THE BEGINNINGS OF ISLÂM[1]

SECTION I

THE STORY OF ZAYD IBN 'AMR IBN NUFAYL[2]

١ باب

حديث زيد بن عمرو بن نفيل

1 Muḥammad ibn Abi Bakr related to me: Fuḍayl ibn Sulaymân related to us: Mûsâ related to us: Sâlim ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar:

١ حدثني محمد بن أبي بكر: حدثنا فضيل بن سليمان: حدثنا موسى: حدثنا سالم بن عبد الله عن عبد الله بن عمر (رض)

THE Prophet met Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl in the lower part of Baldaḥ[3] before revelation came unto him. Some food

أن النبي ﷺ لقي زيد بن عمرو بن نفيل بأسفل بلدح قبل أن ينزل على النبي ﷺ

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1 As has been already mentioned in the Introductory Note to this chapter (p. 139), in all the available texts of the *Ṣaḥîḥ* the following 29 sections seem to have been treated as part of the preceding chapter. But as their subject-matter is entirely different, and their arrangement chronological (while the chapter on the Prophet's Companions is arranged according to personalities), I have felt justified to regard these sections as a separate chapter and to give them a title as such. This innovation, however, has been restricted to the translation only, while the Arabic text has remained unchanged.

2 Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl was a cousin of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, and the father of the well-known Companion, Sa'îd ibn Zayd. He was one of those God-seekers from among the Quraysh who, shortly before the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad, grew disgusted with the idolatry prevalent among their people and turned to the worship of the One God. They have become known in history as *ḥanîfs* (for a discussion of this term, see p. 143, n. 3). Zayd ibn 'Amr was ill-treated by his kinsmen on account of his religious beliefs which ran counter to the established convention, and his uncle Khaṭṭâb, 'Umar's father, incited the Quraysh to boycott him; and so he was forced to leave Mecca, and could visit it only secretly (Ibn Hishâm I, 147 f). Later he travelled with Waraqah ibn Nawfal, another of the above-mentioned *ḥanîfs*, to Mawṣil in Irâq and thence to Syria (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 112; Ibn Hishâm does not mention that Waraqah accompanied Zayd also to Mawṣil). There Waraqah embraced Christianity, but Zayd remained unsatisfied, as is narrated in No. 2 of this section. The date of his death is uncertain. According to Ibn Hishâm (I, 148), he was returning to Mecca at about the time when Muḥammad received his prophetic call, when he was murdered near Balqâ', in Transjordan. Some authorities state that his death occurred nearly five years before the beginning of Muḥammad's Prophethood (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 112; 'Aynî XVI, 285).

3 A valley west of Mecca on the way to Tan'îm, in the country of Banû Fazârah ('Aynî XVI, 286). The Prophet went there in the company of Zayd ibn Ḥârithah (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 113).

was brought to the Prophet, but [Zayd] refused [to eat of it]; and he said: Behold, I eat not of that which ye slaughter on your altar-stones[1]; and, moreover, I eat but that upon which the name of God hath been pronounced.[2]—And, indeed, Zayd ibn 'Amr would blame the Quraysh for their [manner of] slaughtering, and would say: God createth the sheep and sendeth down water for it from the sky and causeth verdure spring forth for it from the earth: and then ye slaughter it in a name other than that of God!—[He would say this] out of his loathing of such [custom] and his reverence for Him.

الوحى. فقدمت الى النبى ﷺ سفرة فأبى أن يأكل منها، ثم قال زيد: إنى لست آكل مما تذبحون على أنصابكم ولا آكل الا ما ذُكر اسم الله عليه. — و أن زيد بن عمرو كان يعيب على قريش ذبائحهم ويقول: الشاة خلقها الله وأنزل لها من السماء الماء و أنبت لها من الأرض، ثم تذبحونها على غير اسم الله! — انكاراً لذلك و اعظاماً له.

2 *T* Mûsâ said[3]: Sâlim ibn 'Abd Allâh related to me—and I believe he related it on the authority of Ibn 'Umar—:

ZAYD ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl went forth to Syria in search of the [true] religion,

٢ قال موسى: حدثنى سالم بن عبد الله — و لا أعلمه الا تحدث به عن ابن عمر —

أن زيد بن عمرو بن نفيل خرج الى

1 *Al-anṣâb* (sing., *nuṣub*) were altar-stones set up around the Ka'bah, on which the pagan Quraysh used to sacrifice animals for their idols; but it appears certain that not only sacrificial animals but also such as were destined for common consumption were often slaughtered there (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 113). Some commentators assume that the meat mentioned in the above Tradition was presented by pagan Quraysh, and that it was the Prophet who refused to eat of it, whereupon Zayd ibn 'Amr followed suit. But it is evident from another version of the same Tradition, in Bkh lx/16, that it was the Prophet who offered this food to Zayd, and the latter refused it. It is also shown in various Traditions, *e.g.*, that on the authority of Sa'îd ibn Zayd (Ibn Ḥanbal I, 189), that the Prophet, before his Mission, did eat meat of animals slaughtered on those altar-stones, which, as has been mentioned above, were used for non-sacrificial purposes as well. This point is made absolutely clear by a Tradition on the authority of Zayd ibn Ḥârithah (*apud Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 113), in which the latter states that, before setting out with the Prophet on the journey in the course of which they met Zayd ibn 'Amr, they slaughtered a sheep on the altar-stones and took the meat with them. The other Tradition referred to (Ibn Ḥanbal I, 189) distinctly shows that *after* this meeting with Zayd ibn 'Amr the Prophet never again ate meat of animals slaughtered on the altar-stones. Zayd ibn 'Amr, who had some knowledge of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, was already aware of the necessity of avoiding the use of pagan altars even for non-sacrificial purposes, and regarded the meat offered to him as unclean.

2 This saying of Zayd shows that he rejected the meat not because he thought that it was the remnant of a pagan sacrifice—for the Prophet had from his very childhood abhorred the worship of idols—but that he simply objected to the place where the animal had been slaughtered, as well as to their slaughtering it without the mention of God's name over it.

3 This *isnâd* is *mu'allaq*, there being no mention of the transmitters between Mûsâ and the author. Ibn Ḥajar expresses at one place (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 113) the opinion that it is connected *(mawṣûl)* with the *isnâd* of the preceding Tradition and is, therefore, not a *ta'lîq*; but at another place (*Hady as-Sârî* I, 38) he distinctly mentions the present Tradition among the *ta'lîqs* of al-Bukhârî. 'Aynî (XVI, 287) also regards it as a *ta'lîq*. There is a further defect in the *isnâd*: Mûsâ shows that he is not quite sure as to the original narrator on whose authority Sâlim reported the story.

so that he might follow it.[1] He met a savant from among the Jews and asked him about their religion and said: Behold, I might embrace your religion; so inform me [about it].—[The Jew] answered: Thou canst not be of our religion unless thou take thy share of God's wrath.[2]—Zayd said: It is but from the wrath of God that I am flying; and I shall never bear aught of His wrath while I am able [to evade it]. Canst thou, then, direct me toward [a religion] other than this?—[The Jew] answered: I know it not, unless it be the *ḥanîf* [religion][3].—

الشام يسأل عن الدين ويتبعه؛ فلقي عالماً من اليهود فسأله عن دينهم فقال: انى لعلى أن أدين دينكم، فأخبرنى. — فقال: لا تكون على ديننا حتى تأخذ بنصيبك من غضب الله. — قال زيد: ما أفر الا من غضب الله ولا أحمل من غضب الله شيأ أبداً وأنا أستطيعه. فهل تدلنى على غيره؟ — قال: ما أعلمه الا أن يكون حنيفاً. — قال

1 Cf. p. 141, n. 2.

2 The Jews believed that the loss of their erstwhile home and their independence and, consequently, their miserable position in the world were due to God's wrath on account of their previous misdeeds; and the Jewish savant implied that by becoming one of them Zayd would have to share the consequences of this divine wrath.

3 The word *ḥanîf* is, as some philologists assume, not of Arabic origin but probably derived from the Aramaic *hanpa* or *hanfa*, which literally means "one who turns away". In the theological usage of the Syrian-Christian Church it came to denote a renegade from Christianity; so the Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate is called, in Syriac writings, *Yulyana hanpa;* the same term seems to have been applied there to the Manichæans and Sabæans as well, presumably owing to the fact that their religions contained Christian elements without fully subscribing to the doctrines of the Christian Church (cf. Andræ, *Mohammed*, Eng. Tr., London 1936, pp. 150 f). But it would be erroneous to assume that this word came to the Arabs by way of Christian theology. If it is really an Aramaic loanword—which is by no means satisfactorily proved—its incorporation into the Arabic language must have taken place much earlier, for the Arabs always used it in its original sense of "turning away", namely, from sin and worldliness, and never in that of heresy. The assumption of Grimme (in his work, *Mohammed*, Münster 1892, vol. I, 12 ff), that *ḥanîf* meant, even in the Qur'ânic usage, "a heathen", is absolutely groundless and contradicted by the evidence not only of the Qur'ân itself but also that available from the pre-Islâmic poetry of the Arabs. The term *ḥanîf* occurs, in various grammatical forms, most often in the verses of Umayyah ibn Abi'ṣ-Ṣalt. The authenticity of Umayyah's poetry has been repeatedly questioned by European scholars (cf. *Encyclopædia of Islam* II, 259, in the article "Ḥanif", and IV, 998, in the article "Umaiya b. Abi'l-Ṣalt"); but we are not depending on it, for numerous evidences of the use of the term *ḥanîf* are found in verses of other pre-Islâmic poets (cf. *Lisân al-'Arab* VI, 133; X, 404; XIII, 206). There we find that the word denotes "an upright man", "one who turns away from idol-worship", "a worshipper of the One God"; and this is the meaning which this term always has in the Qur'ân and in Traditions. Thence *taḥannuf* came to mean the ardent devotions, mainly consisting of long vigils and prayers, of the unitarian God-seekers of pre-Islâmic times (cf. the note on the similarity of *taḥannuf* and *taḥannuth* in Bkh i/1, No. 3). The designation *ḥanîf* was to become familiar to Muslims owing to its association, in the Qur'ân, with the name of Abraham. Thus, the question as to whether this word is of Aramaic origin or a genuine Arabic form, as most of the Arab philologists and some modern Orientalists are inclined to believe (cf. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, London 1926, p. 58), is not of primary importance here, because it is established that in the oldest known Arabic usage it had the same connotation as that implied in the Qur'ân and the Traditions. Sometimes, as in the Tradition before us, it is applied

Zayd asked: And what is the *ḥanîf* [religion]?—[The other] answered: The religion of Abraham, who was neither a Jew nor a Christian, and worshipped none but God.

Then Zayd went forth and met a savant from among the Christians and spake the like [unto him], and [the other] said: Indeed, thou canst not be of our religion unless thou take thy share of God's curse.[1]—[Zayd] said: It is but the curse of God that I am flying from; and I shall never bear aught of His curse, or of His wrath, while I am able [to evade it]. Canst thou, then, direct me toward [a religion] other than this?—[The Christian] answered: I know it not, unless it be the *ḥanîf* [religion].—[Zayd] asked: And what is the *ḥanîf* [religion]?—[The Christian] answered: The religion of Abraham, who was neither a Jew nor a Christian, and worshipped none but God.

And when Zayd understood what they said about Abraham he went away; and when he left [their country] he raised his hands and said: O God! Behold, I take Thee for my witness that I am of Abraham's religion![2]

زيد: وما الحنيف؟ — قال: دين ابراهيم، لم يكن يهودياً ولا نصرانياً و لا يعبد الا الله.

فخرج زيد فلقى عالماً من النصارى فذكر مثله فقال: لن تكون على ديننا حتى تأخذ بنصيبك من لعنة الله. — قال: ما أفر الا من لعنة الله و لا أحمل من لعنة الله و لا من غضبه شيأ أبداً و أنا أستطيع. فهل تدلنى على غيره؟ — قال: ما أعلمه الا أن يكون حنيفاً. — قال: و ما الحنيف؟ — قال: دين ابراهيم، لم يكن يهودياً و لا نصرانياً و لا يعبد الا الله.

فلما رأى زيد قولهم فى ابراهيم عليه السلام خرج، فلما برز رفع يديه فقال: اللهم! إنى أشهدك أنى على دين ابراهيم!

not to the worshipper but to the kind of his worship and to his religious orientation as such, and denotes, in its noun form, "a unitarian religion". The adjective use of *ḥanîf* in conjunction with a mode of worship is very common, and frequently occurs in the Qur'ân and in Traditions.

As is evident from the Tradition under consideration, Zayd ibn 'Amr subsequently came to regard himself as a *ḥanîf*. The best-known *ḥanîfs* of the period immediately preceding the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad were (Ibn Hishâm I, 143 ff): (1) Waraqah ibn Nawfal, a cousin of Khadîjah; he accompanied Zayd on his Syrian travels (see p. 141, n. 2) and became a Christian; (2) 'Ubayd ibn Jaḥsh, who became a Muslim; later, during the Meccan period of Islâm, he took part in the migration to Abyssinia, where he forsook Islâm and embraced Christianity; and (3) 'Uthmân ibn al-Ḥuwayrith, who is said to have become Christian at the court of the Emperor of Byzantium and to have attained to a high position there. To these names may be added the pre-Islâmic poet, Umayyah ibn Abi'ṣ-Ṣalt, about whom more in sec. 3, No. 10.

1 Allusion to the Christian doctrine of Original Sin.

2 This story of Zayd's quest for the true religion has been obviously embellished by the narrators, although it appears to be correct in its main theme. We cannot, of course, rely upon the details as narrated above, for the story as such reached al-Bukhârî in form of a *ta'liq* (see p. 142, n. 3); in addition to this, there is a grave defect in the *isnâd*: the transmitter Mûsâ was not absolutely certain whether his shaykh, Sâlim ibn 'Abd Allâh, had stated that he had heard the story from his father, 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar, or from some other, not mentioned, source. Had this report been a Tradition in the exact sense of the word, *i.e.*, a report of words or actions of the Prophet —with the consequent religious implications—al-Bukhârî would have certainly rejected it as "weak" *(ḍa'îf)*. He obviously regarded it merely as an illustration of the spiritual conditions im-

3 T And al-Layth said: Hishâm wrote to me [this] on the authority of his father ['Urwah], on the authority of Asmâ' bint Abî Bakr, who said:

I SAW Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl standing before the Ka'bah and leaning with his back on it; he was saying: O people of Quraysh! By God! none of you followeth the religion of Abraham except me.[1]—[He] would save the life of girls [that were to be] buried alive,[2] saying unto the man who wanted to kill his daughter: Kill her not; I shall undertake her maintenance in thy stead.—Then he would take her with him; and when she grew up, he would say unto her father: If thou wish, I shall return her unto thee; and if thou wish [otherwise], I shall [continue to] maintain her in thy stead.

SECTION II

THE BUILDING OF THE KA'BAH[3]

٣ وقال الليث: كتب الى هشام عن أبيه عن أسماء بنت أبي بكر (رض) قالت:

رأيت زيد بن عمرو بن نفيل قائماً مسنداً ظهره الى الكعبة يقول: يا معاشر قريش! والله ما منكم على دين ابراهيم غيري. — وكان يحيي الموؤدة يقول للرجل اذا أراد أن يقتل ابنته: لا تقتلها، أنا أكفيكها مؤنتها. — فيأخذها فاذا ترعرعت قال لأبيها: ان شئت دفعتها اليك وان شئت كفيتك مؤنتها.

٢ باب

بنيان الكعبة

mediately preceding the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad, the re-awakening of religious conscience among some of the Arabs, and the doubts which at that time preoccupied many of the Jewish and Christian thinkers in the countries bordering on Arabia regarding the truth of their own doctrines. A similar report about Zayd's experiences in Syria is found in Ibn Sa'd I/i, 106; it is more precise than the version before us and apparently contains less legendary embellishments. The latter are, evidently, due to the Islâmic conceptions of the people who later narrated the story.

1 The pagan Quraysh claimed to be followers of Abraham's religion.

2 The barbaric custom of burying female infants alive seems to have been fairly wide-spread among the Arabs before Islâm, although perhaps not to that extent as is commonly assumed. Ibn Ḥajar says (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 115) that the causes of this custom were, on the one side, the fear that an increase of female offspring would be an economical burden (this idea is borne out by several verses of the Qur'ân as well as by the above Tradition), and, on the other side, the humiliation frequently caused by girls being captured by a hostile tribe and subsequently preferring their captors to their parents. Beside Zayd ibn 'Amr, who effectively opposed this custom, another man, Ṣa'ṣa'ah ibn Nâjiyah at-Tamîmî (grandfather of the well-known poet, Farazdaq), achieved fame before Islâm as a saviour of girls thus condemned to death; he later embraced Islâm (*Isti'âb* I, 321; *Iṣâbah* III, 245). Ibn Khallikân (II, 197) mentions that Ṣa'ṣa'ah saved thirty girls by paying ransom to their parents.

3 This refers to the reconstruction of the Ka'bah in the Prophet's time. Its walls were previously scarcely above a man's height and had no roof. It is said that a woman, while burning incense, set accidentally fire to the building, which was greatly damaged (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 115). Some historians assert that the main reason for the reconstruction was a theft of treasures belonging to the temple by some people who climbed the roofless walls (Ṭabarî II, 198 f; Ibn al-Athîr II, 27). It is also possible that the great flood referred to in sec. 3, No. 3, which threatened the building with destruction, provided the first incentive for its reconstruction (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 117). The Quraysh resolved to rebuild the sanctuary. Wood from a Byzantine vessel which was wrecked at

1 Maḥmûd related to me: 'Abd ar-Razzâq related to us, saying: Ibn Jurayj informed me, saying: 'Amr ibn Dînâr informed me that he heard Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh say:[1]

WHEN the Ka'bah was being built, the Prophet and 'Abbâs carried the stones. And 'Abbâs said unto the Prophet: Put thy loincloth on thy neck, it will protect thee from the stones.—And[2] [the Prophet] fell to the ground [fainting], his eyes upturned to the sky. Then he came to himself and cried out: My loincloth! My loincloth!—Thereupon ['Abbâs] fastened his loincloth on him.[3]

١ حدثني محمود: حدثنا عبد الرزاق قال: أخبرني ابن جريج قال: أخبرني عمرو بن دينار سمع جابر بن عبد الله (رض) قال:

لما بنيت الكعبة ذهب النبي ﷺ و عباس ينقلان الحجارة. فقال عباس للنبي ﷺ: اجعل ازارك على رقبتك يقيك من الحجارة. — فخر الى الأرض وطمحت عيناه الى السماء؛ ثم أفاق فقال: ازاري! ازاري! — فشد عليه ازاره.

2 Abu'n-Nu'mân related to us: Ḥammâd ibn Zayd related to us, on the authority of 'Amr ibn Dînâr and 'Ubayd Allâh ibn Abi Yazîd, both of whom said:[4]

THERE was no enclosure around the House of God in the Prophet's time; the people used to pray [anywhere] in the vicinity of the House until 'Umar's time. He then built an enclosure around it.

'Ubayd Allâh added:

This wall was low, so Ibn az-Zubayr built it [higher].[5]

٢ حدثنا أبو النعمان: حدثنا حماد بن زيد عن عمرو بن دينار وعبيد الله بن أبي يزيد قالا:

لم يكن على عهد النبي ﷺ حول البيت حائط، كانوا يصلون حول البيت حتى كان عمر، فبنى حوله حائطاً.

قال عبيد الله:

جدره قصير فبناه ابن الزبير.

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about that time on the Red Sea coast near Jiddah was used for the new building, and the Quraysh were assisted in their work by a Copt carpenter, probably a survivor of the wreck. The old walls, which had been built of stones without cement, were demolished, and new walls were erected twenty cubits high and roofed over with beams from the stranded ship (Ibn al-Athîr II, 28 f; Ibn Hishâm I, 122.) The Prophet was at that time twenty-five or, according to some sources, thirty-five years old (Ibn Hishâm I, 122; *Fatḥ al-Bârî* III, 345).

1 This Tradition is a *ḥadîth mursal* (of the class known as *marâsîl aṣ-ṣaḥâbah*), for Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh was an *Anṣârî* and was, consequently, not present in Mecca at the time when the Ka'bah was rebuilt. He may have heard the story from the Prophet himself or, more probably, from 'Abbâs (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* III, 344 f).

2 The account is here greatly abbreviated. Another version, mentioned in *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 115, shows that when the Prophet put his loincloth on his shoulder he thereby exposed his private parts. When someone drew his attention to this he felt so terribly ashamed that he fainted.

3 In another version of the same Tradition (Bkh viii/8), the narrator adds at the end: "And after that, the Prophet was never seen naked."

4 This narrative is *mursal*, because 'Amr ibn Dînâr and 'Ubayd Allâh ibn Abî Yazîd belonged to a late generation of the *tâbi'ûn* and died in 126 A.H. (see Ibn Sa'd V, 353 f and 355, respectively). They could not have witnessed the events referred to, and had not even seen 'Umar. Only the last sentence, regarding Ibn az-Zubayr, concerns an event which took place in the life-time of these two narrators.

5 In the Prophet's time and that of Abû Bakr, the Ka'bah had no enclosure but was surrounded

SECTION III

THE DAYS OF IGNORANCE[1]

1 Musaddad related to us: Yaḥyâ related to us: Hishâm said: My father ['Urwah] related to me, on the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said:

THE tenth of Muḥarram was a day on which the Quraysh used to fast in the Time of Ignorance,[2] and the Prophet [also] used to fast. Later, when he came to Madînah, he continued fasting on that [day] and bade [his followers] fast. Then, when [the fast of] Ramaḍân was ordained, he who wished would fast on that [particular day also], and he who did not wish would not fast.

2 Muslim related to us: Wuhayb related to us: Ibn Ṭâ'ûs related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, who said:

[THE pagan Arabs] regarded an *'umrah*[3] [performed] during the month of the *ḥajj* as one of the [most] reprehensible acts on earth. They would give to Muḥarram the name of Ṣafar,[4] and would say: When the galls on the backs of the camels[5] are healed and the [pilgrims'] traces obliterated, then [only] the *'umrah* becometh lawful unto him who undertaketh it.

٣ باب

أيام الجاهلية

١ حدثنا مسدد: حدثنا يحيى: قال هشام: حدثنى أبى عن عائشة (رض) قالت:

كان عاشوراء يوماً تصومه قريش فى الجاهلية وكان النبى ﷺ يصومه. فلما قدم المدينة صامه وأمر بصيامه. فلما نزل رمضان كان من شاء صامه ومن شاء لا يصومه.

٢ حدثنا مسلم: حدثنا وهيب: حدثنا ابن طاوس عن أبيه عن ابن عباس (رض) قال:

كانوا يرون أن العمرة فى أشهر الحج من الفجور فى الأرض، وكانوا يسمون المحرم صفراً ويقولون: اذا برا الدبر وعفا الأثر حلت العمرة لمن اعتمر.

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by houses. When the available space became too small on account of the growth of the Muslim community, the Caliph 'Umar bought all the houses in the vicinity of the sanctuary, pulled them down and built around the Ka'bah a wall of less than a man's height. This wall was raised by the successive Caliphs, among them 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubayr. (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 116.)

1 *Jâhiliyyah* ("Time of Ignorance") is, in Islâmic terminology, the time before the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad. In this section, this term mainly denotes the period between his birth and the beginning of his Mission.

2 For the reason of this fast, see Bkh xxxiii/68.

3 The so-called "Lesser Pilgrimage"; for particulars see Bkh xxi/151.

4 The month of Muḥarram was one of the four months of sacred truce *(al-ashhur al-ḥurum)* observed by the pre-Islâmic Arabs; the other three months were Rajab, Dhu'l-Qa'dah and Dhu'l-Ḥijjah. During these months fighting was forbidden. The war-loving pagan Arabs felt the restraint imposed during three successive months of truce (Dhu'l-Qa'dah, Dhu'l-Ḥijjah and Muḥarram) too burdensome, and so they employed the subterfuge of interchanging the names of Muḥarram and Ṣafar, thus making it lawful to fight during Muḥarram ('Aynî IX, 199 f; Nawawî VIII, 225). This procedure is connected with the practice of intercalation *(nasî')* in use among the Arabs before Islâm. (See the articles, "Ṣafar", "Muḥarram" and "Nasî'" in the *Encyclopædia of Islam.*)

5 *I.e.*, of those which had been used in the *ḥajj*. *Dabar* is a gall or a sore on the back of a camel or a horse produced by the saddle (cf. Lane III, 846).

[Ibn 'Abbâs] continued:

And [once] the Apostle of God and his companions came [to Mecca] on the fourth [of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah], having assumed the pilgrim's garb for the *ḥajj;* but the Prophet bade them perform that [pilgrimage] as an *'umrah.*[1] They said: O Apostle of God! What shall be lawful [for us][2]?—He answered: All that is [otherwise] lawful.[3]

قال:

فقدم رسول الله ﷺ وأصحابه رابعة مهلين بالحج وأمرهم النبي ﷺ أن يجعلوها عمرة؛ قالوا: يا رسول الله! أي الحل؟ — قال: الحل كله.

3 'Alî ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us: Sufyân related to us, saying: 'Amr used to say: Sa'îd ibn al-Musayyab related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of his grandfather [Ḥazn], who said:

THERE came a flood in the Time of Ignorance, and it submerged everything between the two hills.[4]

Sufyân added: And ['Amr] used to say: Behold, this Tradition is of great importance.[5]

٣ حدثنا علي بن عبد الله: حدثنا سفيان قال: كان عمرو يقول: حدثنا سعيد بن المسيب عن أبيه عن جده قال:

جاء سيل في الجاهلية فكسا ما بين الجبلين.

قال سفيان: ويقول: ان هذا الحديث له شأن.

4 Abu'n-Nu'mân related to us: Abû 'Awânah related to us, on the authority of Bayân abû Bishr, on the authority of Qays ibn Abî Ḥâzim, who said:

ABÛ BAKR went into unto a woman of [the tribe of] Aḥmas[6], called Zaynab, and observed that she did not speak. He asked: Why doth she not speak?—They answered: She performeth the *ḥajj* in silence.[7]—He said unto her: Speak! for, behold, this is not

٤ حدثنا أبو النعمان: حدثنا أبو عوانة عن بيان أبي بشر عن قيس بن أبي حازم قال:

دخل أبو بكر على امرأة من أحمس يقال لها زينب فرآها لا تكلم فقال: ما لها لا تكلم؟ — قالوا: حجت مصمتة. — قال لها: تكلمي!

1 Thus the Prophet implied that the pre-Islâmic prohibition of *'umrah* during the months of *ḥajj* had no validity in Islâm.

2 *I.e.*, "what things or actions will be lawful for us after the completion of the *'umrah*?"

3 *I.e.*, "all that is otherwise lawful for anyone who is not in the state of *iḥrâm*". For a full explanation of the problem involved, see Bkh xxi/33, No. 4.

4 *I.e.*, Mount Bûqubays and Mount Qu'ayqi'ân, which enclose the valley of Mecca from east and west, respectively. There are frequent floods in Mecca, and the one mentioned above, which apparently occurred during the Prophet's life-time, must have been particularly threatening, and may have possibly contributed to the decision of the Quraysh to rebuild the Ka'bah.

5 There is a reference in *Fatḥ al-Bârî* (VII, 117) to a saying of Ka'b al-Aḥbâr (the Jewish scholar who embraced Islâm during the reign of 'Umar) that the Last Day would be heralded by great floods; he had found this prophesy in some ancient (obviously Jewish) books. As the above-mentioned flood in Mecca was greater than any they had witnessed before, some Muslims probably thought that the Last Day was near.

6 See p. 132, n. 5.

7 She obviously thought that this self-imposed hardship would increase the merit of her pilgrimage.

lawful; it is a practice of the Time of Ignorance[1].—Thereupon she began to speak, and said: Who art thou?—He answered: A man of the *Muhâjirs*.—She asked: Which *Muhâjirs?*—He answered: Of Quraysh.—She asked: Of which [clan of] Quraysh art thou? —He said: Verily, thou art full of questions! I am Abû Bakr.—[Then] she said: How long will we remain in this righteous state which God hath ordained after the Time of Ignorance?—He answered: Ye will remain in it as long as your leaders lead you the right way.[2] —She asked: And what are they, the leaders? —He said: Were there not among thy people chiefs and nobles commanding the others, and the latter obeyed them?—She answered: Yea, indeed.—He said: Now, they [of whom I speak] are such [chiefs] over the people.

فان هذا لا يحل، هذا من عمل الجاهلية. — فتكلمت فقالت: من أنت؟ — قال: امرؤ من المهاجرين. — قالت: أى المهاجرين؟ — قال: من قريش. — قالت: من أى قريش أنت؟ — قال: انك لسؤل! أنا أبوبكر. — قالت: ما بقاؤنا على هذا الأمر الصالح الذى جاء الله به بعد الجاهلية؟ — قال: بقاؤكم عليه ما استقامت بكم أئمتكم. — قالت: وما الأئمة؟ — قال: أما كان لقومك رؤس وأشراف يأمرونهم فيطيعونهم؟ — قالت: بلى. — قال: فهم أولئك على الناس.

5 Farwah ibn Abi'l-Maghrâ' related to me: 'Alî ibn Mushir informed us, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father ['Urwah],

٥ حدثنى فروة بن أبى المغراء: أخبرنا على بن مسهر عن هشام عن أبيه

ON the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said: A black woman belonging to some Arabs[3] embraced Islâm and had a little hut in the mosque. She would visit us and would talk with us, and whenever she ended her talk she would recite:

The Day of the Jewelled Girdle[4] was
one of the wonders of our Sustainer,
For, behold! it saved me from the country of infidelity.[5]

—She so often repeated it that 'Â'ishah asked her: And what was the Day of the

عن عائشة (رض) قالت: أسلمت امرأة سوداء لبعض العرب وكان لها حفش فى المسجد. قالت: فكانت تأتينا فتحدث عندنا، فاذا فرغت من حديثها قالت:

ويوم الوشاح من تعاجيب ربنا
ألا إنه من بلدة الكفر أنجانى.

— فلما أكثرت قالت لها عائشة: وما يوم الوشاح؟

1 Islâm, contrary to some other religions, strongly disapproves of ascetic practices as a means of spiritual progress.

2 Thus the importance of righteous leadership is emphatically stated. So long as the leaders are dominated by devotion to Islâm and have the secular power to enforce their decisions, the Muslim community is on the right way; the disappearance of effectual leadership must cause confusion and, consequently, individual Muslims will be unable to remain true to the spirit of Islâm.

3 In another version of the same Tradition (Bkh viii/57) it is mentioned that she was a freed slave.

4 *Wishâḥ* is a necklace-like ornament worn by women, sometimes consisting of strings of pearls and jewels; or a long girdle of braided leather adorned with jewels (*Lisân al-'Arab* III, 472 f).

5 Her suffering at the hands of pagan Quraysh, as narrated in the following story, impelled her to embrace Islâm.

Jewelled Girdle?—She said: A little girl belonging to some of my people[1] went out wearing a jewelled leathern girdle; it fell from her, and a kite—believing it to be meat—swooped down upon it and carried it away. Then they suspected me on this account and tormented me until it came to that that they searched my private parts. And while they stood around me, and my distress was great, lo! the kite approached and hovered above our heads; then it let fall down [the girdle], and they took it. Thereupon I said unto them: It is on account of this that ye suspected me, while I was innocent.[2]

— قالت: خرجت جويرية لبعض أهلي وعليها وشاح من أدم، فسقط منها فانحطت عليه الحديا — وهي تحسبه لحماً — فأخذت. فاتهموني به فعذبوني حتى بلغ من أمري أنهم طلبوا في قُبُلي. فبيناهم حولي وأنا في كربي اذ أقبلت الحديا حتى وازت برؤسنا، ثم ألقته فأخذوه. فقلت لهم: هذا الذي اتهمتموني به وأنا منه بريئة.

6 Qutaybah related to us: Ismâ'îl ibn Ja'far related to us, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn Dînâr, on the authority of Ibn 'Umar,

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: Now, behold, whoso sweareth shall not swear but by God.—(The Quraysh used to swear by their forefathers, and therefore [the Prophet] told them: Do not swear by your forefathers.)

٦ حدثنا قتيبة: حدثنا اسمعيل بن جعفر عن عبد الله بن دينار عن ابن عمر (رض)

عن النبي ﷺ قال: ألا من كان حالفاً فلا يحلف الا بالله. — (فكانت قريش تحلف بآبائها فقال: لاتحلفوا بآبائكم.)

7 Yaḥyâ ibn Sulaymân related to us, saying: Ibn Wahb related to me, saying: 'Amr informed me that 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn al-Qâsim related to him that [his father] al-Qâsim used to walk before a funeral but would not rise when it passed,[3] and would narrate [the following] on the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said:

IN the time of Ignorance, the people would rise when a funeral passed, and would thus address the dead body[4]: Thou hast lived among thy people, and wilt not live again.[5]

٧ حدثنا يحيى بن سليمان قال: حدثني ابن وهب قال: أخبرني عمرو أن عبد الرحمن بن القاسم حدثه أن القاسم كان يمشي بين يدي الجنازة ولا يقوم لها ويخبر عن عائشة قالت:

كان أهل الجاهلية يقومون لها يقولون اذا رأوها: كنت في أهلك، ما أنت مرتين.

1 The term *ahl* is used by slaves or freed slaves to denote the family with whom they are, or were, thus associated.

2 This story illustrates the cruel and high-handed treatment accorded to slaves in pre-Islâmic times. With the advent of Islâm their position was radically changed for the better; henceforth their masters' dealings with them were strictly regulated by the *sharî'ah*, and they even enjoyed many privileges usually denied to hired servants.

3 The conclusion drawn by the transmitter, al-Qâsim, that it is not permissible to rise before a passing funeral was based on his complete misunderstanding of 'Â'ishah's account. See n. 5 below, second paragraph (on p. 151).

4 The sentence has been rendered somewhat freely.

5 Lit., "thou hast been among thy people, and wilt not be twice". This saying has been

8 'Amr ibn 'Abbâs related to me: 'Abd ar-Raḥmân related to us: Sufyân related to us, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, on the authority of 'Amr ibn Maymûn, who said: 'Umar said:

BEHOLD, the idolaters returned not from Jam'[1] until the sun rose over [Mount] Thabîr. Therefore the Prophet acted contrary to them, and returned before the sun rose.[2]

٨ حدثنى عمرو بن عباس: حدثنا عبد الرحمن: حدثنا سفيان عن أبى اسحق عن عمرو بن ميمون قال: قال عمر (رض):

ان المشركين كانوا لا يفيضون من جمع حتى تشرق الشمس على ثبير. فخالفهم النبى ﷺ فأفاض قبل أن تطلع الشمس.

9 Isḥâq ibn Ibrâhîm related to me, saying: I said to Abû Usâmah: Yaḥyâ ibn al-Muhallab [thus] related to you:[3] Ḥusayn related to us, on the authority of 'Ikrimah, who explained [the words], *wa ka'san dihâqan*[4] ("and a full cup"), as meaning "filled without interval", saying:

IBN 'ABBÂS said: I heard my father say in the Time of Ignorance: Give me a full cup to drink![5]

٩ حدثنى اسحق بن ابراهيم قال: قلت لأبى أسامة: حدثكم يحيى بن المهلب: حدثنا حصين عن عكرمة «وكأساً دهاقاً» قال: «ملأى متتابعة». قال:

وقال ابن عباس: سمعت أبى يقول فى الجاهلية: اسقنا كأساً دهاقاً!

variously explained by the commentators, but the most convincing explanation is, that the pagan Arabs did not believe in a life after death. According to them, the soul of a deceased flew away from the body in the shape of a bird, never to return (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 119); and they used to express this belief on the occasion of a funeral.

Regarding al-Qâsim's misconception, referred to on p. 150, n. 3, it is obvious that he thought that 'Â'ishah deprecated the rising before a passing funeral by describing it as a pre-Islâmic custom. This, however, could not have been her intention, because the Prophet had clearly ordered his followers to stand up whenever a funeral (even that of a non-Muslim) passed (cf. Bkh xix/46—49); it is out of question that 'Â'ishah should have remained ignorant of such an often-repeated injunction. When describing the above-mentioned custom of the pagan Arabs she merely wished to illustrate the fact that they had no belief in a continuance of life after the bodily death; she had obviously no intention whatever to deprecate the custom of rising before a funeral, which had been confirmed by the Prophet himself. Al-Qâsim, however, naïvely assumed that 'Â'ishah held the rising in itself to be wrong, because it was "a pagan custom".

1 Another name for Muzdalifah, a place between Minâ and 'Arafah, where the pilgrims stop overnight on their return from the latter. For an explanation of the name Jam', see Bkh xxi/93.

2 The above Tradition is fully discussed in Bkh xxi/100.

3 The narrator Isḥâq ibn Ibrâhîm puts it in this quaint way instead of saying: "Abû Usâmah related to us (or, to me): Yaḥyâ ibn al-Muhallab related to us: Ḥusayn related", etc. This form of transmission is called *qirâ'ah 'ala'sh-shaykh* ("reciting before the teacher"); for a full explanation of this term the reader is referred to my *Introduction to the Study of Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî*.

4 Occurring in the Qur'ân (lxxviii, 34).

5 Al-Bukhârî brings this saying of 'Abbâs, like many other sayings and stories in this chapter, merely in order to illustrate the customs of the pagan Arabs. As to 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abbâs's having heard these words from his father "in the Time of Ignorance", this is obviously impossible, for Ibn 'Abbâs was born about ten years after the beginning of the Prophet's Mission (cf. p. 92, n. 2) and could not have witnessed any event of the Time of Ignorance. Ibn Ḥajar suggests (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 120) that the term *jâhiliyyah* is used here not in its general implication but with reference to 'Abbâs only (*i.e.*, as denoting the time when he was a pagan).

10 Abû Nu'aym related to us: Sufyân related to us, on the authority of 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Umayr, on the authority of Abû Salamah, on the authority of Abû Hurayrah, who said:

THE Prophet said: The truest word a poet ever said is this word of Labîd[1]: *Verily, everything save God is vain.*[2] And Umayyah ibn Abi'ṣ-Ṣalt had well-nigh embraced Islâm.[3]

11 Ismâ'îl related to us: My brother[4] related to me, on the authority of Sulaymân ibn Bilâl, on the authority of Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd, on the authority of 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn al-Qâsim, on the authority of al-Qâsim ibn Muḥammad, on the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said:

ABÛ BAKR had a slave who used to give him part of his earnings,[5] and Abû Bakr used to buy food with it.[6] One day [the slave] brought some [food], and Abû Bakr ate of it. Thereupon the slave said unto him: Dost thou know what this is?—And Abû Bakr said: And what is it?—[The slave] answered: I used to soothsay[7] for some man in the

١٠ حدثنا أبو نعيم: حدثنا سفيان عن عبد الملك بن عمير عن أبي سلمة عن أبي هريرة (رض) قال:

قال النبي ﷺ: أصدق كلمة قالها الشاعر كلمة لبيد: «ألا كل شيء ما خلا الله باطل.» وكاد أمية بن أبي الصلت أن يسلم.

١١ حدثنا اسمعيل: حدثني أخي عن سليمان بن بلال عن يحيى بن سعيد عن عبد الرحمن بن القاسم عن القاسم بن محمد عن عائشة (رض) قالت:

كان لأبي بكر غلام يخرج له الخراج وكان أبو بكر يأكل من خراجه. فجاء يوماً بشيء فأكل منه أبو بكر، فقال له الغلام: تدري ما هذا؟ — فقال أبو بكر: وما هو؟ — قال: كنت تكهنت

1 Labîd ibn Rabî'ah abû 'Aqîl, the famous poet of the pre-Islâmic period, embraced Islâm in his later age and died in Kûfah at an extraordinarily old age in the year 41 A.H. (*Isti'âb* I, 228 f; Ibn Sa'd VI, 20 f; *Iṣâbah* VI, 4 f).

2 It is most probable that Labîd composed the above-mentioned verse before he embraced Islâm, for he is reported to have said that he never made any poetry after having come to know the Qur'ân (cf. *Isti'âb* I, 229; Ibn Sa'd VI, 21).

3 For the life and works of this great pre-Islâmic poet see article "Umaiya ibn Abi'l-Ṣalt" in the *Encyclopædia of Islam;* regarding the use of the expression *ḥanîf* by him, cf. p. 143, n. 3, in the present work. The Prophet obviously intended to convey the notion that many of the Arab poets in the *jâhiliyyah* were near in spirit to the message of Islâm. As is evident from several authentic reports (quoted in *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 121), Umayyah often expressed his belief in the Unity of God, but was doubtful as to the Prophethood of Muḥammad. The Prophet is reported to have said about him: "In his poetry he was a Believer, but unbelief remained in his heart." He died in 2 or 9 A.H. *(ibid.)*

4 'Abd al-Ḥamîd ibn Abî Uways ('Aynî XVI, 295).

5 In the text, *kharâj* (impost); here, the revenue derived by the owner of a slave from a portion of the latter's earnings.

6 Lit., "used to eat from his *kharâj*".

7 Soothsaying *(kihânah)* was widely practiced among the pre-Islâmic Arabs and played a considerable part in their social life. The *kâhins* were believed to be inspired by *jinns* who endowed them with supernatural knowledge of past and future events and enabled them also to interpret dreams. Their utterances were generally very ambiguous, and consisted in a sort of rhythmic and rhymed prose *(saj')*; cf. the article "Kâhin" in the *Encyclopædia of Islam.* In the beginning of his Mission, the Prophet Muḥammad was accused of *kihânah* by many of his opponents, but from

Time of Ignorance; I knew naught of sooth-saying, but I deceived him. Now he met me and paid me for it: and it is from this that thou hast [now] eaten.—Thereupon Abû Bakr put his hand [into his throat] and vomited everything that was in his stomach.

لانسان فى الجاهلية وما أحسن الكهانة الا أنى خدعته، فلقينى فأعطانى بذلك؛ فهذا الذى أكلت منه. — فأدخل أبوبكر يده فقاء كل شىء فى بطنه.

12 Musaddad related to us: Yaḥyâ related to us, on the authority of 'Ubayd Allâh [who said]: Nâfi' informed me, on the authority of Ibn 'Umar, who said:

١٢ حدثنا مسدد: حدثنا يحيى عن عبيد الله: أخبرنى نافع عن ابن عمر (رض) قال:

IN the Time of Ignorance, people used to sell the meat of the offspring of the unborn offspring of camels.

كان أهل الجاهلية يتبايعون لحوم الجزور الى حبل الحبلة.

[Ibn 'Umar] added:

قال:

And [the sale of] "the offspring of the unborn offspring" was this, that the she-camel would bring forth the young that was in her belly, and later the young that she hath brought forth would become pregnant.[1] Then the Prophet forbade them this [practice].[2]

و «حبل الحبلة» أن تنتج الناقة ما فى بطنها ثم تحمل التى نتجت. فنهاهم النبى ﷺ عن ذلك.

13 Abu'n-Nu'mân related to us: Mahdî related to us:

١٣ حدثنا أبو النعمان: حدثنا مهدى:

GHAYLÂN ibn Jarîr said: We used to visit Anas ibn Mâlik, and he would speak to us about the *Anṣâr*, and would say unto me: Thy people did this and that on such-and-such day; and thy people did this and that on such-and-such day.[3]

قال غيلان بن جرير: كنا نأتى أنس بن مالك فيحدثنا عن الأنصار، وكان يقول لى: فعل قومك كذا وكذا يوم كذا وكذا، وفعل قومك كذا وكذا يوم كذا وكذا.

14 Abû Ma'mar related to us: 'Abd al-Wârith related to us: Qaṭan abu'l-Haytham related to us: Abû Yazîd al-Madanî related to us, on the authority of 'Ikrimah, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, who said:

١٤ حدثنا أبو معمر: حدثنا عبد الوارث: حدثنا قطن أبو الهيثم: حدثنا أبو يزيد المدنى عن عكرمة عن ابن عباس (رض) قال:

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the very first he emphatically rejected this allegation. It is known that he detested *kihânah* more than anything else (cf. Ibn Sa'd I/i, 130); and he forbade his followers to make use of the services of a *kâhin* (cf. Bkh xxvi/112, No. 1) and, of course, to practice this art themselves.

1 Add: "and would bring forth another young" (*i.e.*, the one that was sold in the original transaction).

2 Cf. Bkh xxvi/61.

3 For an explanation of this Tradition, see Bkh I/34, No. 1. The author brings it again in this section which deals with pre-Islâmic customs because of the reference to *ayyâm al-'Arab* (the "Days" of the Arabs), *i.e.*, the tribal wars of the pre-Islâmic time, implicitly contained in this Tradition.

إن أول قسامة كانت فى الجاهلية لفينا بنى هاشم. كان رجل من بنى هاشم استأجره رجل من قريش من نخذ أخرى، فانطلق معه فى إبله. فمر رجل به من بنى هاشم قد انقطعت عروة جوالقه فقال: أعثنى بعقال أشد به عروة جوالقى، لاتنفر الابل. — فأعطاه عقالا فشد به عروة جوالقه. فلما نزلوا عقلت الابل الا بعيراً واحداً. فقال الذى استأجره: ما شأن هذا البعير؟ لم يعقل من بين الابل! — قال: ليس له عقال. — قال: فأين عقاله؟ — قال: فحذفه بعصاً كان فيها أجله.

BEHOLD, the first Oath by Fifty[1] which occurred in the Time of Ignorance concerned us, the Banû Hâshim. There was a man of Banû Hâshim[2] whom a man of another clan of Quraysh[3] hired; and he went with him in charge of his camels. [On the way,] another man of Banû Hâshim passed by him; a loop of his saddle-bags was torn, so he said [to the hired man]: Help me out with a camel-rope[4] so that I may tie with it the loop of my saddle-bags; thy camels will not run away.—So [the servant] gave him a camel-rope and he tied with it the loop of his saddle-bags. And when [the caravan] alighted all camels were roped but one. Thereupon the master said [to the servant]: What is the matter with this camel? It hath not been roped like the other camels!—[The servant] answered: It hath no rope.—[The master] said: Where, then, is its rope?—And he hurled a stick against his servant, which brought about the latter's death.[5]

1 The Oath by Fifty (*qasâmah*, from *qasama*, "he swore", or "he took an oath") was a pre-Islâmic institution for establishing the guilt or innocence of a person suspected of homicide. The party concerned had to produce fifty men who would declare on oath that none of them had committed the crime, and that they did not know who had done it. If they took this oath, the accused was discharged; otherwise he had to pay the blood-money or to suffer capital punishment. (Cf. *Nihâyah* III, 284 f; *Fâ'iq* II, 170; *Fatḥ al-Bârî* XII, 193 ff; 'Aynî XVI, 296). This institution was retained in Islâm in a modified form; but there is divergence of opinion among the Muslim jurists as to the extent of its validity (for a full discussion, see Bkh lxxiv/22).

In most of the texts of the *Ṣaḥîḥ* available to-day, which go back to al-Bukhârî's disciple, al-Farabrî, this Tradition is preceded by a title, *Al-Qasâmah fi'l-Jâhiliyyah*, as if it were a separate section (the word *bâb*, however, is not to be found in any of the texts at this place). Ibn Ḥajar (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 122) holds that there is no justification for the above-mentioned title as all the preceding and following Traditions of this section ("The Days of Ignorance") deal with different aspects of the *jâhiliyyah*, of which the *qasâmah* is one. He is supported in his view by the texts going back to an-Nasafî (another prominent disciple of al-Bukhârî), which do not contain this title.

2 His name was 'Amr (or 'Âmir) ibn 'Alqamah ibn al-Muṭṭalib (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 123). Thus, he did not belong to Banû Hâshim proper (Hâshim having been his great-uncle); but he was regarded as belonging to this clan owing to the ties of brotherhood which linked these two branches of Quraysh.

3 It is said that his name was Khidâsh ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Abî Qays and that he belonged to the clan of Banû 'Âmir ('Aynî XVI, 297).

4 *'Iqâl*, a rope used to bind a camel's forshank and arm while camping, to prevent its running away. While travelling, every camel has its own rope attached to the pack-saddle.

5 As is evident from what follows, the man did not die immediately but was left alone by the murderer in a dying condition.

Then a man from Yaman passed by him; and [the dying man] said: Wilt thou take part in the festival [of *ḥajj*]?—[The other] answered: I do not intend to take part in it; but I have often done it.[1]—He said: Art thou willing to bear some time a message from me?—[The Yamanite] answered: Yea. —He said: Then, when thou art present at the festival, cry, O people of Quraysh! And when they answer thee, cry, O people of Banû Hâshim! And when they answer thee, ask for Abû Ṭâlib[2] and tell him that so-and-so hath killed me for the sake of a camel-rope.—And the hired man died.

And when the man who had hired him reached [Mecca], Abû Ṭâlib went to him and said: What hath become of our friend? —He answered: He fell ill, and I tended him with greatest care; and [when he died,] I buried him.—[Abû Ṭâlib] said: He hath well deserved it from thee.—And [the murderer] tarried for some time [in Mecca]. Thereafter, behold, the man whom [the victim] had charged with his message came to take part in the festival, and cried: O people of Quraysh!—They answered: These here are Quraysh.—He cried: O people of Banû Hâshim!—They answered: These here are Banû Hâshim.—He asked: Where is Abû Ṭâlib?—They answered: This is Abû Ṭâlib. —He [then] said: So-and-so bade me bear the message to thee that so-and-so hath killed him for the sake of a camel-rope.—Thereupon Abû Ṭâlib went unto him [who had killed their friend] and said unto him: Choose one of these three things: if thou art willing, give one hundred camels [as blood-money], for thou hast killed our friend; or, if thou art willing, fifty men of thy clan may swear that thou didst not kill him; but if thou refuse [both], we shall kill thee for him.—Then the people of his clan came and said: We will swear.—And there came a woman of Banû Hâshim who was wedded to one of their men[3] and had borne him children, and

فمر به رجل من أهل اليمن فقال: أتشهد الموسم؟ — قال: ما أشهد وربما شهدته. — قال: هل أنت مبلغ عنى رسالة مرة من الدهر؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: فكنت اذا أنت شهدت الموسم فناد: يا آل قريش! فاذا أجابوك فناد: يا آل بنى هاشم! فان أجابوك فاسأل عن أبى طالب فأخبره أن فلاناً قتلنى فى عقال. — ومات المستأجر.

فلما قدم الذى استأجره أتاه أبو طالب فقال: مافعل صاحبنا؟ — قال: مرض فأحسنت القيام عليه فوليت دفنه. — قال: قد كان أهل ذاك منك. — فمكث حيناً. ثم ان الرجل الذى أوصى اليه أن يبلغ عنه وافى الموسم فقال: يا آل قريش! — قالوا: هذه قريش. — قال: يا آل بنى هاشم! — قالوا: هذه بنو هاشم. — قال: أين أبو طالب؟ — قالوا: هذا أبو طالب. — قال أمرنى فلان أن أبلغك رسالة أن فلاناً قتله فى عقال. — فأتاه أبو طالب فقال له: اختر منا إحدى ثلاث: ان شئت أن تؤدى مائة من الابل فانك قتلت صاحبنا، وان شئت حلف خمسون من قومك أنك لم تقتله، فان أبيت قتلناك به. — فأتى قومه فقالوا: نحلف. — فأتته امرأة من بنى هاشم كانت تحت رجل منهم قد ولدت له فقالت: يا أبا

1 In the text, "often taken part in it" —thus implying that he might do it again.
2 He was obviously regarded as the leader of the clan.
3 Her name was Zaynab bint 'Alqamah, and she was a sister of the murdered man; the name

said: O Abû Ṭâlib! I wish that thou count not this son of mine[1] as one of the fifty, and force him not to take his oath at the place where the oaths are taken.[2]—And [Abû Ṭâlib] did so. Then a man of those [fifty] came and said: O Abû Ṭâlib! Thou art willing to let fifty men swear instead of [taking] one hundred camels [from the accused]; thus, every man answereth for two camels. Here are these two camels, accept them and force me not to take my oath at the place where the oaths are taken.—And [Abû Ṭâlib] accepted the two [camels]. Then the [remaining] forty-eight came forward and swore.

Ibn 'Abbâs added:

And, by Him in Whose hand is my soul! ere the year passed none of the forty-eight remained alive.[3]

طالب! أحب أن تجيز ابنى هذا برجل من الخمسين ولا تصبر يمينه حيث تصبر الأيمان. — ففعل. فأتاه رجل منهم فقال: يا أبا طالب! أردت خمسين رجلاً أن يحلفوا مكان مائة من الابل، يصيب كل رجل بعيران؛ هذان بعيران فاقبلهما عنى ولا تصبر يمينى حيث تصبر الأيمان. — فقبلهما. وجاء ثمانية وأربعون فحلفوا.

قال ابن عباس:

فوالذى نفسى بيده! ما حال الحول ومن الثمانية وأربعين عين تطرف.

15 'Ubayd ibn Ismâ'îl related to me: Abû Usâmah related to us, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father ['Urwah], on the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said:

THE Day of Bu'âth[4]—God brought it about before the coming of His Apostle. When the Apostle of God came [to Madînah] they were divided into rival factions, and their nobles had been killed or wounded: God brought this about before the coming of His Apostle, so that they might [readily] embrace Islâm.

١٥ حدثنى عبيد بن اسمعيل: حدثنا أبو أسامة عن هشام عن أبيه عن عائشة (رض) قالت:

كان يوم بعاث يوماً قدمه الله لرسوله ﷺ. فقدم رسول الله ﷺ وقد افترق ملؤهم وقتلت سرواتهم وجرحوا، قدمه الله لرسوله ﷺ فى دخولهم فى الاسلام.

16 *T* And Ibn Wahb said: 'Amr informed us, on the authority of Bukayr ibn al-Ashajj, that Kurayb, the freedman of Ibn 'Abbâs, related to him that Ibn 'Abbâs said:

١٦ وقال ابن وهب: أخبرنا عمرو عن بكير بن الأشج أن كريباً مولى ابن عباس حدثه أن ابن عباس قال:

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of her husband (who belonged to Banû 'Âmir, the murderer's clan) was 'Abd al-'Uzzâ ibn Abî Qays (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 124): it thus appears that he was a paternal uncle of the murderer.

1 Ḥuwayṭib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzâ (*Fath al-Bârî* VII, 124). He embraced Islâm after the conquest of Mecca (*Istî'âb* I, 145). His mother obviously did not want him to swear to the innocence of the accused because she was herself convinced of the latter's guilt.

2 In pre-Islâmic times solemn oaths were taken before the Ka'bah between its southern corner *(ar-Rukn al-Yamâni)* and the *Maqâm Ibrâhîm* (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 124).

3 Lit., "and of the forty-eight no eye remained open". Ibn 'Abbâs was of opinion that they died because they had perjured themselves.

4 For an explanation of this Tradition, see Bkh I/34, No. 2. See also p. 153, n. 3.

THE running in the valley between aṣ-Ṣafâ and al-Marwah[1] is not a *sunnah* [of the Prophet][2], for, behold, [even] in the Time of Ignorance the people would run through it, saying: We traverse not this torrent-bed[3] otherwise than with great speed.[4]

ليس السعى ببطن الوادى بين الصفا والمروة سنة، انما كان أهل الجاهلية يسعونها ويقولون: لانجيز البطحاء الا شداً.

17 'Abd Allâh ibn Muḥammad al-Ju'fî related to us: Sufyân related to us: Muṭarrif informed us, saying: I heard Abu's-Safar say:

١٧ حدثنا عبد الله بن محمد الجعفى: حدثنا سفيان: أخبرنا مطرف قال: سمعت أبا السفر يقول:

I HEARD Ibn 'Abbâs say: O ye people! Hearken unto what I am going to tell you, and repeat it to me ere ye go about and say, Ibn 'Abbâs said [this], Ibn 'Abbâs said [that]:

Whoso maketh the circuit round the House of God shall make it beyond [the enclosure called] *al-Ḥijr*[5]; and call it not *al-Ḥaṭîm*[6]. Behold, in the Time of Ignorance, when a man was about to swear, he would

سمعت ابن عباس (رض) يقول: يا أيها الناس! اسمعوا منى ما أقول لكم وأسمعونى ما تقولون ولا تذهبوا فتقولوا قال ابن عباس قال ابن عباس:

من طاف بالبيت فليطف من وراء الحجر، ولا تقولوا «الحطيم»؛ فان الرجل فى الجاهلية

1 Two hillocks in Mecca. See Bkh xxi/79.

2 *I.e.*, it was not introduced by the Prophet, but was already practiced in earlier times, it is believed, in memory of Ishmael's mother, Hagar, who ran in despair between the two hillocks after she had been abandoned there by Abraham (cf. Bkh xlviii/10, No. 3).

3 *Baṭḥâ'*, a dry water-course, or torrent-bed, covered with sand and pebbles; here, the depression between aṣ-Ṣafâ and al-Marwah.

4 See Bkh xxi/79, n.

5 This semi-circular enclosure on the north-west side of the Ka'bah is regarded as a part of the latter (although it is not included in the building as such), and therefore it ought to remain within the circuit *(ṭawâf)* which the pilgrims make around the Ka'bah.

6 An alternative name given by pre-Islâmic Arabs to the enclosure *(Ḥijr)* referred to in the preceding note; sometimes the name *Ḥaṭîm* stands for the low wall which surrounds the *Ḥijr*. The word is derived from *ḥaṭama*, "he broke" or "he crushed". Some authorities assert that this enclosure was so called because it was left in a broken state outside the building when the Ka'bah was reconstructed in early pre-Islâmic times; in this case, the grammatical form *ḥaṭîm* would have the passive meaning of *maḥṭûm* ("broken"). Another, more probable, explanation is connected with the magic beliefs of the pagan Arabs. It is known that they regarded this enclosure (which contained idols) as a sacred place for most solemn oaths, and believed that if a wronged man raised there his supplications—supported by an oath—against the wrongdoer, the latter would soon die, crushed by the magic power of the *Ḥaṭîm* ("the breaking one"); thus, the form *ḥaṭîm* would be an equivalent of *ḥâṭim* (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 126). The latter interpretation is the more convincing of the two, for it would explain Ibn 'Abbâs's admonition, not to apply the name of *Ḥaṭîm*—which had a pagan, magic connotation—to the *Ḥijr* of the Ka'bah. His subsequent reference to the ancient custom of throwing down one's personal belongings when taking a solemn oath supports this view. It is highly probable that this custom had an animistic origin, and expressed the idea that the man who was about to take an oath threw the weight of his whole existence—symbolised by articles of daily use—before the magic power which he invoked.

throw his whip, his sandals or his bow on the ground [there].[1]

18 'Alî ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us: Sufyân related to us, on the authority of 'Ubayd Allâh, who heard Ibn 'Abbâs say:

IT was a custom in the Time of Ignorance to cast aspersions on [other people's] genealogies, and to bewail the dead.[2]

And ['Ubayd Allâh said that] he had forgotten the third [custom].[3] Sufyân added: Some people say that this [third custom] was, to pray for rain in the name of the setting and rising stars.[4]

SECTION IV

THE PROPHET'S MISSION

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hâshim ibn 'Abd Manâf ibn Quṣayy ibn Kilâb ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ayy ibn Ghâlib ibn Fihr ibn Mâlik ibn an-Naḍr ibn Kinânah ibn Khuzaymah ibn Mudrikah ibn Ilyâs ibn Muḍar ibn Nizâr ibn Ma'add ibn 'Adnân.[5]

Aḥmad ibn Abî Rajâ' related to us: An-Naḍr related to us, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of 'Ikrimah, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, who said:

كان يحلف فيلقى سوطه أو نعله أو قوسه.

١٨ حدثنا على بن عبد الله: حدثنا سفيان عن عبيد الله سمع ابن عباس (رض) قال:

خلال من خلال الجاهلية الطعن فى الأنساب والنياحة.

ونسى الثالثة. قال سفيان: ويقولون انها الاستسقاء بالأنواء.

٤ باب

مبعث النبى ﷺ

محمد بن عبد الله بن عبد المطلب بن هاشم بن عبد مناف بن قصى بن كلاب بن مرة بن كعب بن لؤى بن غالب بن فهر بن مالك بن النضر بن كنانة بن خزيمة بن مدركة بن إلياس بن مضر بن نزار بن معد ابن عدنان.

حدثنا أحمد بن أبى رجاء: حدثنا النضر عن هشام عن عكرمة عن ابن عباس (رض) قال:

1 Here follows, in most of the current texts of the *Ṣaḥîḥ*, a story by the *tâbi'î* 'Amr ibn Maymûn, which, apart from its unreasonableness, has no connection whatever with the subject-matter of this chapter. It was not to be found in the copy of al-Bukhârî's disciple, Ibrâhîm ibn Ma'qil an-Nasafî, and must be regarded as a later interpolation. This is the view taken by the great Traditionist Muḥammad ibn Abî'n-Naṣr al-Ḥumaydî (d. 488 A.H.; particulars about him in *Tadhkirah* IV, 17 ff) in his famous work, *Al-Jam' bayn aṣ-Ṣaḥîḥayn*, a critical concordance of the *Ṣaḥîḥs* of al-Bukhârî and Muslim (quoted in 'Aynî XVI, 300). Al-Ḥumaydî is definitely of opinion that the above-mentioned story of 'Amr ibn Maymûn never formed a part of the original compilation. Ibn Ḥajar (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 127) disagrees with him, but al-'Aynî *(loc. cit.)* supports al-Ḥumaydî on very good grounds. Consequently, the story has been omitted here.

2 Both these customs are prohibited in Islâm.

3 'Ubayd Allâh had obviously heard Ibn 'Abbâs speak of three customs in this connection, but he remembered only two. In other versions of this Tradition (see *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 128) all the three customs are definitely mentioned in the *matn*.

4 The pagan Arabs attributed most of the climatic changes, like rain, wind, cold, heat, to the movements of certain stars which compose the Mansions of the Moon *(manâzil al-qamr)*. A full account of the term *anwâ'* (sing., *naw'*) is given in Lane VIII, 2861 f. It is possible that the star-worship of the pre-Islâmic Arabs was influenced by Babylonian mythology.

5 There is full agreement among all Muslim historians and Traditionists regarding the genealogical tree of the Prophet up to 'Adnân, after which legendary elements creep in.

THE Apostle of God received his first revelation when he was forty years old. Then he stayed thirteen years [in Mecca]; thereafter he was bidden to emigrate, and he migrated to Madînah; there he stayed for ten years; thereafter he died.

أنزل على رسول الله ﷺ وهو ابن أربعين؛ فمكث ثلاث عشرة سنة، ثم أمر بالهجرة فهاجر الى المدينة، فمكث بها عشر سنين، ثم توفى ﷺ.

SECTION V

WHAT THE PROPHET AND HIS COMPANIONS SUFFERED FROM THE IDOLATERS IN MECCA

٥ باب

مالقى النبى ﷺ وأصحابه من المشركين بمكة

1 Al-Ḥumaydî related to us: Sufyân related to us: Bayân and Ismâ'îl related to us, saying: We heard Qays say:

١ حدثنا الحميدى: حدثنا سفيان: حدثنا بيان واسمعيل قالا: سمعنا قيساً يقول:

I HEARD Khabbâb[1] say: I came unto the Prophet, and he had a striped mantle for his pillow and was [lying] in the shade of the Ka'bah. We had already suffered much hardship at the hands of the idolaters, and so I said: Wilt thou not invoke God [for help]?— Thereupon he sat up, his face reddened [with anger], and said: Verily, there was before you [many a one] whose flesh and sinews were combed away from his bones with iron combs: but this did not turn him away from his religion; or the saw was put on the upper part of his head, and he was cut in twain: but this did not turn him away from his religion. And, indeed, God will bring this cause [of ours] to such a fulfilment that a rider will travel by night from Ṣan'â' to Ḥaḍramawt with nothing to fear but God

— Bayân added:

and the wolf [which might prey] upon his flock.[2]

سمعت خباباً يقول: أتيت النبى ﷺ وهو متوسد بردة وهو فى ظل الكعبة. وقد لقينا من المشركين شدة فقلت: ألا تدعو الله؟ — فقعد وهو محمر وجهه فقال: لقد كان من قبلكم ليمشط بمشاط الحديد مادون عظامه من لحم أو عصب، ما يصرفه ذلك عن دينه؛ ويوضع المنشار على مفرق رأسه فيشق باثنين، ما يصرفه ذلك عن دينه. وليتمن الله هذا الأمر حتى يسير الراكب من صنعاء الى حضرموت ما يخاف الا الله

— زاد بيان:

والذئب على غنمه.

2 Sulaymân ibn Ḥarb related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, on the authority of al-Aswad, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh, who said:

٢ حدثنا سليمان بن حرب: حدثنا شعبة عن أبى اسحق عن الأسود عن عبد الله (رض) قال:

THE Prophet recited [the *sûrah*] "The Star"[3], and prostrated himself; and all [the

قرأ النبى ﷺ «النجم» فسجد، فما بقى

1 Khabbâb ibn al-Aratt at-Tamîmî (or al-Khuzâ'î) embraced Islâm at a very early date and was, along with other followers of the Prophet, persecuted by the pagan Quraysh. He took part in all the campaigns of the Prophet and died in Kûfah in 37 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 116 ff; *Istî'âb* I, 160).

2 *I.e.*, there would be no human enemy to fear. This prophetic vision of complete security of life and property in Arabia was realised during the reign of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb.

3 Qur'ân liii.

present] prostrated themselves [with him], save one man: I saw him raise handfull of pebbles and touch them with his forefront,[1] saying: This is enough for me.—And, verily, later I saw him slain, a disbeliever in God.[2]

3 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to me: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, on the authority of 'Amr ibn Maymûn, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh, who said:

WHILE the Prophet was prostrate [in prayer], surrounded by people of Quraysh, 'Uqbah ibn Abî Mu'ayṭ brought the afterbirth of a she-camel and threw it on the Prophet's back; but he did not raise his head. Then Fâṭimah came and took it away from his back and cursed [the man] who had done it. And the Prophet said: O God! Unto thee I leave these nobles of Quraysh—Abû Jahl ibn Hishâm,[3] 'Utbah ibn Rabî'ah, Shaybah ibn Rabî'ah, and Umayyah ibn Khalaf!

—Or: Ubayy ibn Khalaf.—Shu'bah was uncertain [which of the two it was].[4]

And I[5] saw them [all] slain on the Day of Badr, and they were [all] thrown into a well, save Umayyah

—or: Ubayy—.

He was cut into pieces and was not thrown into the well.[6]

4 'Uthmân ibn Abî Shaybah related to us: Jarîr related to us, on the authority of Manṣûr [who said]:

أحد الا سجد الا رجل، رأيته أخذ كفاً من حصاً فرفعه فسجد عليه وقال: هذا يكفيني. — فلقد رأيته بعد قتل كافراً بالله.

٣ حدثني محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة عن أبي اسحق عن عمرو بن ميمون عن عبد الله (رض) قال:

بينا النبي ﷺ ساجد وحوله ناس من قريش جاء عقبة بن أبي معيط بسلى جزور فقذفه على ظهر النبي ﷺ، فلم يرفع رأسه. فجاءت فاطمة عليها السلام فأخذته من ظهره ودعت على من صنع. فقال النبي ﷺ: اللهم! عليك الملأ من قريش — أبا جهل بن هشام وعتبة بن ربيعة وشيبة بن ربيعة و أمية بن خلف!

— أو: أبي بن خلف. — شعبة الشاك.

فرأيتهم قتلوا يوم بدر فألقوا في بئر غير أمية

— أو: أبي —.

تقطعت أوصاله فلم يلق في البئر.

٤ حدثنا عثمان بن أبي شيبة: حدثنا جرير عن منصور:

1 Lit., "prostrate himself on it".

2 It appears from another version of this Tradition (Bkh liii, *sûrah* liii, sec. 7, No. 2) that the man who thus ridiculed the Muslim prayer was Umayyah ibn Khalaf.

3 His real name was 'Amr, and his *kunyah*, Abu'l-Ḥakam. It was the persecuted Muslims who dubbed him Abû Jahl ("Father of Ignorance", here meaning a belief not agreeable with facts) on account of his bitter opposition to the Prophet's claim (Ibn al-Athîr II, 49). One of the worst crimes of Abû Jahl was the cruel murder of Sumayyah, the mother of 'Ammâr ibn Yâsir (cf. p. 25, n. 2).

4 See n. 6 below.

5 The speaker is 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd, the narrator of this Tradition.

6 It is historically established that it was Umayyah ibn Khalaf who was killed at Badr (cf. Bkh lii/2, and also lii/8, several Traditions), and not his brother Ubayy; the latter was killed in the battle of Uḥud (cf. Ibn al-Athîr II, 49). The corpses of the three other persons—Abû Jahl, 'Utbah and Shaybah—were thrown into a disused well near Badr (see Bkh lii/8, No. 15).

SA'ÎD ibn Jubayr[1] related to me:

—Or perhaps [Manṣûr] said: Al-Ḥakam related to me, on the authority of Sa'îd ibn Jubayr, who said:—

'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Abzâ[2] said unto me: Ask Ibn 'Abbâs about the meaning of these two Qur'ân-verses: ... *and [those] who do not slay human beings whom God hath forbidden to be slain* ...[3], and, *Whoso intentionally slayeth a Faithful* ...[4]—And so I asked Ibn 'Abbâs, and he answered: When that [verse] in [the *sûrah*] "The Criterion"[5] was revealed, the idolaters of Mecca said: And we [who] have [often] slain human beings whom God hath forbidden to be slain, and have invoked other deities side by side with God, and have been given to abominable vices [—what about us]? —Thereupon God revealed the verse: *Save him who repenteth and believeth* ...[6] This verse, then, concerneth such people. As to the verse in [the *sûrah*] "The Women",[7] [it concerneth] the man who hath come to know Islâm and its laws and thereafter committeth a murder: *his reward shall be Hell; he shall abide therein.*[8]

Then I mentioned this to Mujâhid[9], and he said: Save him who is remorseful.[10]

5 'Ayyâsh ibn al-Walîd related to us: Al-Walîd ibn Muslim related to us: Al-Awzâ'î related to me: Yaḥyâ ibn Abî Kathîr related

حدثنى سعيد بن جبير :

— أو قال: حدثنى الحكم عن سعيد بن جبير قال : —

أمرنى عبد الرحمن بن أبزى قال : سل ابن عباس عن هاتين الآيتين ما أمرهما : « ... ولا تقتلوا النفس التى حرم الله ... » و « من يقتل مؤمناً متعمداً ... » — فسألت ابن عباس فقال : لما أنزلت التى فى « الفرقان » قال مشركوا أهل مكة : فقد قتلنا النفس التى حرم الله ودعونا مع الله الهاً آخر وقد أتينا الفواحش . — فأنزل الله « الا من تاب وآمن ... » (الآية) فهذه لأولئك . وأما التى فى « النساء » الرجل اذا عرف الاسلام وشرائعه ثم قتل « فجزاؤه جهنم خالداً فيها ».

فذكرته لمجاهد فقال : الا من ندم .

٥ حدثنا عياش بن الوليد : حدثنا الوليد بن مسلم : حدثنى الأوزاعى : حدثنى يحيى بن أبى كثير عن

1 Abû 'Abd Allâh Sa'îd ibn Jubayr, prominent *tâbi'î;* he was killed by al-Ḥajjâj ibn Yûsuf in 94 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd VI, 185).

2 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Abzâ embraced Islâm in the Prophet's time. 'Umar is reported to have praised his deep insight into the Qur'ân. He was appointed by 'Alî tax-collector for Khurâsân. (*Istî'âb* II, 399 f.)

3 Qur'ân xxv, 68.

4 *Ibid.*, iv, 93.

5 *I.e.*, the above-mentioned verse 68 in *sûrah* xxv.

6 Qur'ân xxv, 70.

7 *Ibid.*, iv, 93.

8 *Ibid.* Not all commentators of the Qur'ân are as uncompromising as Ibn 'Abbâs. Cf. the subsequent qualifying remark by Mujâhid.

9 Prominent Qur'ân commentator of the *tâbi'î* group; d. between 102 and 104 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd V, 344).

10 Thus Mujâhid differed from his *shaykh*, Ibn 'Abbâs, who would not admit of the possibility of forgiveness in the case of a Muslim who intentionally kills another Muslim.

to me, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Ibrâhîm at-Taymî, who said: 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr related to me, saying:

I SAID to ['Abd Allâh] ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ: Tell me, what was the worst thing the idolaters did unto the Prophet?—He said: While the Prophet was praying within the enclosure of the Ka'bah,[1] 'Uqbah ibn Abî Mu'ayṭ[2] approached, put his garment around the Prophet's neck and throttled him strongly therewith. Thereupon Abû Bakr came, gripped ['Uqbah] by his shoulder and pushed him away from the Prophet, saying: *Will ye kill a man because he saith, My Sustainer is God?*[3]

Ibn Isḥâq corroborated him[4], [saying]: Yaḥyâ ibn 'Urwah related to me, on the authority of 'Urwah: I said to 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr...[5]

T And 'Abdah said, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father ['Urwah, who said]: Someone said to 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ...[6]

And Muḥammad ibn 'Amr said, on the authority of Abû Salamah [who said]: 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ related to me...[7]

SECTION VI

THE CONVERSION TO ISLÂM OF ABÛ BAKR THE TRUTHFUL[8]

'Abd Allâh ibn Ḥammâd al-Âmulî related

محمد بن ابراهيم التيمى قال: حدثنى عروة بن الزبير قال:

سألت ابن عمرو بن العاص: أخبرنى بأشد شىء صنعه المشركون بالنبى ﷺ. — قال: بينا النبى ﷺ يصلى فى حجر الكعبة اذ أقبل عقبة ابن أبى معيط فوضع ثوبه فى عنقه فخنقه خنقاً شديداً؛ فأقبل أبو بكر حتى أخذ بمنكبه و دفعه عن النبى ﷺ قال: «أتقتلون رجلاً أن يقول ربى الله؟» (الآية)

تابعه ابن اسحق: حدثنى يحيى بن عروة عن عروة: قلت لعبد الله بن عمرو ...

و قال عبدة عن هشام عن أبيه: قيل لعمرو بن العاص...

وقال محمد بن عمرو عن أبى سلمة: حدثنى عمرو ابن العاص...

٦ باب

اسلام أبى بكر الصديق (رض)

حدثنى عبد الله بن حماد الآملى قال: حدثنى

1 Meant is here the *Ḥijr*; see p. 157, nn. 5 and 6.

2 'Uqbah ibn Abî Mu'ayṭ (Abân) ibn 'Amr belonged to the clan of Banû Umayyah and was one of the bitterest enemies of the Prophet. He was taken prisoner in the battle of Badr and was subsequently killed by the Companion 'Âṣim ibn Thâbit (Ibn Hishâm II, 27; Ibn al-Athîr II, 50).

3 Qur'ân xl, 28. 4 *I.e.*, 'Ayyâsh, the *shaykh* of al-Bukhârî ('Aynî XVI, 307).

5 This implies that the rest of the Tradition is similar to that quoted above.

6 According to the above *isnâd*, it was 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ who narrated this Tradition, and not his son, 'Abd Allâh. This would conflict with the *isnâd* of No. 5, in which 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr figures as the original narrator. It is probable, however, that both father and son had witnessed the event described in the above Tradition and narrated it independently on different occasions. It is, in any case, clear from the version of Ibn Ḥanbal (II, 218)—which contains many details not mentioned in al-Bukhârî's version—that 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr had actually witnessed the incident. Al-Bukhârî obviously prefers the *isnâd* which is based on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr.

7 This *isnâd* again supports the view that the above Tradition was originally narrated by 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ—for the transmitter Abû Salamah mentions here clearly that he heard the Tradition from 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ.

8 Abû Bakr embraced Islâm at the very beginning of the Prophet's Mission (at about the same time as 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib); he is often referred to as "the first of Muslims",—*i.e.*, from among the grown-up men (cf. Ibn Sa'd III/i, 121).

to me, saying: Yaḥyâ ibn Ma'în related to me: Ismâ'îl ibn Mujâlid related to us, on the authority of Bayân, on the authority of Wabarah, on the authority of Hammâm ibn al-Ḥârith, who said:

'AMMÂR ibn Yâsir said: I saw the Apostle of God while there was none with him but five slaves, two women, and Abû Bakr.[1]

SECTION VII

SA'D'S CONVERSION TO ISLÂM

Isḥâq related to me: Abû Usâmah informed us: Hâshim related to us, saying: I heard Sa'îd ibn al-Musayyab say:

I HEARD Abû Isḥâq Sa'd ibn Abî Waqqâṣ say: No man embraced Islâm before the day on which I did it; and, verily, for seven days I represented one-third of Islâm.[2]

SECTION VIII

CONCERNING THE *JINN*[3]

The Word of God, exalted be He: Say, It hath been revealed unto me that a company of jinn *had listened [to the recitation of the Qur'ân] . . .*[4]

1 'Ubayd Allâh ibn Sa'îd related to me: Abû Usâmah related to us: Mis'ar related to us, on the authority of Ma'n ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân, who said: I heard my father say:

I[5] ASKED Masrûq[6]: Who made the presence of the *jinn* known unto the Prophet

يحيى بن معين: حدثنا اسمعيل بن مجالد عن بيان عن وبرة عن همام بن الحرث قال:

قال عمار بن ياسر: رأيت رسول الله ﷺ وما معه الا خمسة أعبد وامرأتان وأبوبكر.

٧ باب

اسلام سعد (رض)

حدثنى اسحق: أخبرنا أبو أسامة: حدثنا هاشم قال: سمعت سعيد بن المسيب قال:

سمعت أبا اسحق سعد بن أبى وقاص يقول: ما أسلم أحد الا فى اليوم الذى أسلمت فيه، ولقد مكثت سبعة أيام وانى لثلث الاسلام.

٨ باب

ذكر الجن

وقول الله تعالى: قل: أوحى الىّ أنه استمع نفر من الجن...

١ حدثنى عبيد الله بن سعيد: حدثنا أبو أسامة: حدثنا مسعر عن معن بن عبد الرحمن قال: سمعت أبى قال:

سألت مسروقاً: من آذن النبى ﷺ بالجن

1 For particulars and explanation, see Bkh I/6, No. 2.

2 For an explanation of this Tradition, see p. 76, n. 3.

3 For a discussion of the term *jinn* and of the different meanings it has in the Arabic language, see Bkh xlvii/12. The average sceptic is only too ready to rely on the evidence of his senses and to deny the existence of anything that is beyond his every-day experience. In this connection, I am quoting the following passages from F. H. Bradley's *Appearance and Reality*, which—though of course not referring to the problem of *jinn*—throw a certain amount of light on the so-called "modern" attitude towards these things: "As to that which can, and that which cannot, play the part of an organism, we know very little. A sameness greater or less with our own bodies is the basis from which we conclude to other bodies and souls . . . A certain likeness of outward form, and again some amount of similarity in action, are what we stand on when we argue on psychical life. But our failure, on the other side, to discover these symptoms is no sufficient warrant for positive denial."

4 Qur'ân lxxii, 1.

5 The speaker is 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd.

6 Masrûq ibn al-Ajda', famous *tâbi'î*; d. 63 A.H. (*Tadkirah* I, 46 f).

on the night when they listened to [his recitation of] the Qur'ân? — He answered: Thy father

— that is, 'Abd Allâh [ibn Mas'ûd] —

related to me that it was a tree that made their presence known [to him].[1]

2 Mûsâ ibn Ismâ'îl related to us: 'Amr ibn Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd related to us, saying: My grandfather[2] informed me,

ON the authority of Abû Hurayrah. He [said that he] went with the Prophet, carrying a waterskin for the latter's ablutions and personal needs. While he was following the Prophet therewith, the latter said: Who is it? — He answered: It is I, Abû Hurayrah. — Thereupon [the Prophet] said: Find me some stones, so that I cleanse myself therewith,[3] but bring neither bone nor [dry] dung. — [Abû Hurayrah continued:] So I brought him some stones in the [upturned] end of my garment and placed them by his side; then I withdrew. When he had eased nature I went along with him; and I asked: What is the matter with bones and dung? — [The Prophet] answered: They are among the food of *jinn*. Behold, [once] a deputation of the *jinn* of Naṣîbîn[4] — those worthy *jinn*[5] — came unto me and asked me for provisions; thereupon I prayed to God for them that they might never pass by a bone or [a piece of] dung without finding food thereon.[6]

SECTION IX

THE CONVERSION TO ISLÂM OF ABÛ DHARR AL-GHIFÂRÎ[7]

ليلة استمعوا القرآن؟ — فقال: حدثني أبوك

— يعني عبد الله —

أنه آذنت بهم شجرة.

٢ حدثنا موسى بن اسمعيل: حدثنا عمرو بن يحيى ابن سعيد قال: أخبرني جدي

عن أبي هريرة (رض) أنه كان يحمل مع النبي ﷺ إداوة لوضوئه وحاجته؛ فبينما هو يتبعه بها فقال: من هذا؟ — فقال: أنا أبو هريرة. — فقال: ابغني أحجاراً أستنفض بها، و لا تأتني بعظم ولا بروثة. — فأتيته بأحجار أحملها في طرف ثوبي حتى وضعتها الى جنبه، ثم انصرفت حتى اذا فرغ مشيت معه فقلت: ما بال العظم والروثة؟ — قال: هما من طعام الجن. و انه أتاني وفد جن نصيبين — ونعم الجن — فسألوني الزاد، فدعوت الله لهم أن لا يمروا بعظم و لا بروثة الا وجدوا عليها طعاماً.

٩ باب

اسلام أبي ذر الغفاري (رض)

1 It is evident from various references in the Qur'ân and in Traditions that *jinn* sometimes listened to the Prophet's recitation of the Qur'ân. It appears that on the occasion referred to in the above Tradition the Prophet himself did not see them, and that he was made aware of their presence by the peculiar appearance or behaviour of a tree which stood nearby.

2 Sa'îd ibn 'Amr ibn Sa'îd ibn al-'Âṣ.

3 Regarding the use of stones or pieces of dry earth for cleansing oneself after easing nature, see Bkh iv/24.

4 Town in the northern part of the Jazîrah, on the caravan route from Mawṣil to Syria (*Mu'jam al-Buldân* VIII, 292).

5 Obviously they had embraced Islâm.

6 The reader is referred to my detailed discussion of the term *jinn* in Bkh xlvii/12.

7 Abû Dharr Jundub (or Burayr) ibn Junâdah al-Ghifârî embraced Islâm at a very early

'Amr ibn 'Abbâs related to me: 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Mahdî related to us: Al-Muthannâ related to us, on the authority of Abû Jamrah, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, who said:

حدثنى عمرو بن عباس: حدثنا عبد الرحمن بن مهدى: حدثنا المثنى عن أبى جمرة عن ابن عباس (رض) قال:

WHEN Abû Dharr heard of the advent of the Prophet, he said unto his brother[1]: Proceed to that valley[2] and enlighten me about that man who claimeth to be a prophet and to receive communications from Heaven. Listen to some of his sayings and then return unto me.—So the brother went forth, reached the Prophet and heard some of his sayings. Thereafter he returned to Abû Dharr and said unto him: I found that he enjoineth the highest principles of morality, and that his speech is not poetry.[3]—But [Abû Dharr] said: Thou hast not been able to satisfy me.

Thereupon he took some provisions, together with an old waterskin full of water, and proceeded to Mecca. [There] he went to the mosque[4] and began to look for the Prophet—for he knew him not, and was loath to ask about him[5]—; and thus he spent part of the night. Thereupon 'Alî saw him and

لما بلغ أبا ذر مبعث النبى ﷺ قال لأخيه: اركب الى هذا الوادى فاعلم لى علم هذا الرجل الذى يزعم أنه نبى يأتيه الخبر من السماء، واسمع من قوله ثم ائتنى. — فانطلق الأخ حتى قدمه و سمع من قوله، ثم رجع الى أبى ذر فقال له: رأيته يأمر بمكارم الأخلاق وكلاماً ما هو بالشعر. — فقال: ما شفيتنى مما أردت.

فتزود وحمل شنة له فيها ماء حتى قدم مكة؛ فأتى المسجد فالتمس النبى ﷺ — ولا يعرفه وكره أن يسأل عنه — حتى أدركه بعض الليل.

period; he was probably the fifth Muslim from among the free-born (cf. Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 164). During his earlier life he achieved fame as a daring raider, and his predatory expeditions, undertaken together with other men of the tribe of Ghifâr, caused great damage to the trading caravans of the Quraysh. With all this, Abû Dharr appears to have been a God-seeker from his earliest youth, and may well be classed together with those righteous men who prayed to the One God and were known before Islâm as *ḥanîfs*. After his conversion he returned to his tribal home and within a short time converted all other members of the tribe of Ghifâr to Islâm. Later, after the Prophet's *hijrah* to Madînah, Abû Dharr also migrated there; he reached Madînah after the Battle of the Moat (4 or 5 A.H.). He died in Rabadhah, near Madînah, in 32 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 161 ff; *Isti'âb* II, 645 f.)

1 Unays ibn Junâdah al-Ghifârî; he was a poet of note, and embraced Islâm shortly after his younger brother, Abû Dharr (*Isti'âb* I, 31).

2 *I.e.*, Mecca.

3 The pre-Islâmic Arabs rightly believed that the utterances of poets could not be taken very seriously, because ample allowance should be made for their inclination to exaggerate. A preaching like that of the Prophet Muḥammad, which was not couched in verses although often rhythmic in expression was bound to impress an unprejudiced mind as sincere, because it precluded indulgence in poetic license. (Cf. Qur'ân xxxvi, 69.) It is to be noted that Unays, the brother of Abû Dharr, was himself a poet (cf. n. 1 above, and also Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 161).

4 *I.e.*, the sanctuary around the Ka'bah, which at that time was not yet a mosque in the Islâmic sense.

5 Abû Dharr knew of the hatred with which Mecca's people regarded the new Prophet, and was unwilling to expose himself to personal danger by showing interest in him.

knew him to be a stranger; and when [Abû Dharr] met 'Alî, he went with him [to the latter's house]. And until daybreak neither of the two asked any questions of the other.[1] Then [Abû Dharr] betook himself with his waterskin and his provisions to the mosque and passed that day until evening without finding the Prophet.[2] Then he returned to his resting place [in the mosque].[3] And 'Alî passed by him and said: Is it not time that a man should know his abode?[4]—And he made him rise and took him to his house,[5] neither of the two asking any question of the other. And on the third day 'Alî did likewise, and [Abû Dharr] stayed with him. Thereafter ['Alî] said: Wilt thou not tell me what hath brought thee here?—[Abû Dharr] answered: I will do so if thou promise me that thou wilt guide me aright.—And ['Alî] agreed to this. Thereupon [Abû Dharr] told him [all]. ['Alî] said: Behold, it is true, and he is [indeed] an Apostle of God! To-morrow morning, then, follow me. If I see any danger for thee,[6] I shall stop as if to pass water; but if I go on, thou follow me and enter the place which I enter.—[Abû Dharr] did so, and followed the other until he entered the Prophet's house; and [Abû Dharr] went in with him. Then he listened to some of the Prophet's sayings and embraced Islâm on the spot. Thereupon the Prophet said unto him: Return unto thy people and inform them [about me] and await my bidding.—[Abû Dharr] cried out: By Him in Whose hand is my soul! indeed I shall loudly proclaim this [truth] among the idolaters[7]

فرآه علي فعرف أنه غريب، فلما رآه تبعه. فلم يسأل واحد منهما صاحبه عن شيء حتى أصبح. ثم احتمل قربته وزاده الى المسجد وظل ذلك اليوم ولا يراه النبي ﷺ حتى أمسى، فعاد الى مضجعه. فمر به علي فقال: أما نال للرجل أن يعلم منزله؟ — فأقامه فذهب به معه لا يسأل واحد منهما صاحبه عن شيء حتى اذا كان يوم الثالث فعاد على على مثل ذلك فأقام معه؛ ثم قال: ألا تحدثني ما الذي أقدمك؟ — قال: ان أعطيتني عهداً وميثاقاً لترشدني فعلت. — ففعل، فأخبره. قال: فانه حق وهو رسول الله ﷺ! فاذا أصبحت فاتبعني، فاني ان رأيت شيأ أخاف عليك قمت كأني أريق الماء، فان مضيت فاتبعني حتى تدخل مدخلي. — ففعل؛ فانطلق يقفوه حتى دخل على النبي ﷺ و دخل معه، فسمع من قوله وأسلم مكانه. فقال له النبي ﷺ: ارجع الى قومك فأخبرهم حتى يأتيك أمري. — قال: والذي نفسي بيده! لأصرخن بها بين ظهرانيهم!

1 It was an ancient custom of the 'Arabs, prevailing to this day among the Bedouins, not to ask any personal questions of a guest during the first three days of his sojourn.

2 Lit., "and the Prophet did not see him".

3 It appears that Abû Dharr did not spend the whole day in the precincts of the Ka'bah; he probably went out into the town in search of the Prophet, and, not having achieved his object, returned in the evening to the mosque with the intention of spending the night there.

4 Thus 'Alî reproached his guest of the previous night for not returning to his house.

5 Lit., "took him with him".

6 *I.e.*, through the people of Mecca becoming aware of the object of his visit.

7 In the text, "among them"—obviously meaning the pagan Quraysh. According to another version (Bkh xlix/9, No. 1), the Prophet had hinted to Abû Dharr that he should not expose himself to dangers by proclaiming his new faith among the hostile population of Mecca, but should

Then he left and went to the mosque and called out at the top of his voice: I bear witness that there is no deity but God, and that Muḥammad is the Apostle of God!—Thereupon the people [of Mecca] fell upon him and beat him and threw him to the ground. And there came al-'Abbâs and covered him with his own body,[1] crying: Woe unto you! Know ye not that he belongeth to [the tribe of] Ghifâr, and that your merchants' road to Syria [passeth through their country]?—And so he rescued him from them. On the morrow, [Abû Dharr] did the same again, and they fell upon him and beat him,[2] and [again] al-'Abbâs covered him with his own body.

فخرج حتى أتى المسجد فنادى بأعلى صوته: أشهد أن لا اله الا الله وأن محمداً رسول الله! — ثم قام القوم فضربوه حتى أضجعوه؛ وأتى العباس فأكب عليه قال: ويلكم! ألستم تعلمون أنه من غفار وأن طريق تجاركم الى الشام؟ — فأنقذه منهم ثم عاد من الغد لمثلها فضربوه وثاروا اليه، فأكب العباس عليه.

SECTION X

THE CONVERSION TO ISLÂM OF SA'ÎD IBN ZAYD[3]

Qutaybah ibn Sa'îd related to us: Sufyân related to us, on the authority of Ismâ'îl, on the authority of Qays, who said:

I HEARD Sa'îd ibn Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl say in the mosque of Kûfah[4]: By God! It so happened that 'Umar persecuted me on account of [my conversion to] Islâm ere he himself had embraced it.[5] If Mount Uḥud could but split asunder, it surely would have split asunder on account of what ye have done with 'Uthmân![6]

١٠ باب

اسلام سعيد بن زيد (رض)

حدثنا قتيبة بن سعيد: حدثنا سفيان عن اسمعيل عن قيس قال:

سمعت سعيد بن زيد بن عمرو بن نفيل فى مسجد الكوفة يقول: والله! لقد رأيتنى وان عمر لموثقى على الاسلام قبل أن يسلم عمر. ولو أن أحداً ارفض للذى صنعتم بعثمان لكان محقوقاً أن يرفض!

quietly return to his tribal home. But Abû Dharr, in his new-born enthusiasm, wished to defy the pagan Quraysh publicly.

1 Lit., "threw himself over him".

2 In the Arabic original the sequence is reversed, thus: "they beat him and fell upon him".

3 Sa'îd ibn Zayd was a son of the famous *ḥanîf*, Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl (see sec. 1), and a cousin and brother-in-law of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb. He and his wife, Fâṭimah ('Umar's sister), embraced Islâm during the first years of the Prophet's Mission, and both were the indirect cause of 'Umar's conversion, as is shown on p. 168, n. 1. He early migrated to Madînah, and took part in all the important campaigns of the Prophet with the exception of that of Badr (see p. 74, n. 5). On account of his great services to the cause of Islâm, the Prophet announced to Sa'îd in his lifetime that he would gain Paradise. He died in 'Aqîq, near Madînah, in 50 or 51 A.H. (*Isti'âb* II, 538 ff.) According to some reports, he died in Kûfah, and Mughîrah ibn Shu'bah, the then governor of the province, is said to have led the funeral prayer (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 280).

4 'Uthmân had allotted to Sa'îd some lands near Kûfah (*Isti'âb* II, 539).

5 See p. 168, n. 1.

6 By referring to the story of his persecution by 'Umar, before the latter had embraced Islâm, Sa'îd ibn Zayd drew a comparison between the hostile actions of the pagan Quraysh and

SECTION XI

THE CONVERSION TO ISLÂM OF 'UMAR IBN AL-KHAṬṬÂB[1]

١١ باب

اسلام عمر بن الخطاب (رض)

1 Muḥammad ibn Kathîr related to me: Sufyân informed us, on the authority of Ismâ'îl ibn Abî Khâlid, on the authority of Qays ibn Abî Ḥâzim, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd, who said:

١ حدثنى محمد بن كثير : أخبرنا سفيان عن اسمعيل ابن أبى خالد عن قيس بن أبى حازم عن عبد الله بن مسعود (رض) قال :

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the brutal murder of 'Uthmân by a Muslim faction. The implication is, that this murder was even more abominable than the deeds of the pagan Quraysh who persecuted the Muslims, because the Quraysh did not believe at that time in Islâm, and had been blind in their ignorance, while the Muslims who killed 'Uthmân knew the teachings of Islâm and had the life-example of the Prophet before their eyes.

1 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb was, before he embraced Islâm, one of the bitterest enemies of the Prophet and the Muslims. He was a man of fierce temperament and immensely proud, and could not forgive the Prophet his uncompromising attitude towards the tribal religion of the Quraysh. 'Umar's love of wine and wild company (cf. Ibn Hishâm I, 212 f) must have still further increased his dislike of the early Muslims, who were strongly averse to worldliness and dissipation. Regarding his conversion, which occurred in the month of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, in the sixth year of the Prophet's Mission, we have several well-authenticated reports (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 191 f; Ibn Hishâm I, 210 ff; Dâraquṭnî I, 45; Ibn al-Athîr II, 57 ff) which tell us that 'Umar once surprised his sister Fâṭimah and her husband, Sa'îd ibn Zayd—both of whom had secretly embraced Islâm—while they were listening to a recitation of the Qur'ân by Khabbâb ibn al-Aratt (note about him on p. 159, n. 1). In his anger, 'Umar struck his sister; but when he saw her bleed he regretted and was ashamed of himself. Then he requested Fâṭimah to give him the leaf they were reading from—it was the *sûrah "Ṭâ Hâ"*—and read it for himself. The words of the Holy Book entered his heart at once, and he immediately betook himself to the Prophet and embraced Islâm. At the time of his conversion he was twenty-six years old (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 193).

Besides the above account, which has received currency among the Traditionists and early historians of Islâm, there exist Traditions (Ibn Ḥanbal I, 17; Ibn Hishâm I, 212 f) which give a different story of 'Umar's conversion. From these Traditions it would appear that one night 'Umar overheard the Prophet himself reciting verses from the Qur'ân before the Ka'bah. He became convinced by what he heard that the Qur'ân was not the work of a mortal but was a message from God Himself; and so he followed the Prophet when the latter left the precincts of the Ka'bah, and told him that Islâm had entered his heart.

It would thus appear that these two accounts of 'Umar's conversion contradict each other; but, as a matter of fact, there is no difficulty in reconciling them. 'Umar's conversion to Islâm was probably not the result of one single experience. It seems to have been preceded by periods of uncertainty, when 'Umar almost believed in the truth of Islâm; and his fanatic animosity to the Prophet immediately before his conversion could be explained as the reaction of a proud soul unwilling to acknowledge its defeat by a superior spiritual force. It is possible that the second of the above-mentioned versions, namely, his encounter with the Prophet near the Ka'bah, describes an earlier experience, which was followed by a recoil and a relapse into stubborn paganism; while his adventure with his sister Fâṭimah and her husband, Sa'îd ibn Zayd, was the real climax of his spiritual development, the end of 'Umar, the enemy of Islâm, and the birth of 'Umar, the Prophet's glorious Companion. An indirect allusion to 'Umar's periods of doubt before his conversion is found in his dream narrated in No. 4 of this section.

WE continuously grew in power since 'Umar embraced Islâm.[1]

ما زلنا أعزة منذ أسلم عمر.

2 Yaḥyâ ibn Sulaymân related to us, saying: Ibn Wahb related to me, saying: 'Umar ibn Muḥammad related to me, saying: And my grandfather, Zayd ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar, informed me,[2]

٢ حدثنا يحيى بن سليمان قال: حدثنى ابن وهب قال: حدثنى عمر بن محمد قال: فأخبرنى جدى زيد بن عبد الله بن عمر

ON the authority of his father, ['Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar,] who said: While 'Umar[3] was in his house, apprehensive of danger,[4] there came unto him al-'Âṣ ibn Wâ'il as-Sahmī, the father of 'Amr,[5] wearing a new striped garment and a shirt with a silken border; he belonged to the Banû Sahm, who were our allies[6] in the Time of Ignorance. He said to 'Umar[7]: What is the matter with thee? — ['Umar] answered: Thy people[8] said that they would kill me because I have embraced Islâm. — [Al-'Âṣ] said: They shall not harm thee![9] — When [al-'Âṣ] said this, ['Umar] felt safe.[10] Thereupon al-'Âṣ went out and faced the people: and the valley was full of them. He then asked: Where are ye going? — They answered: We want this Ibn al-Khaṭṭâb who hath forsaken our religion! — [But al-'Âṣ] declared: Ye shall not harm him! — And so the people went away.

عن أبيه قال: بينما هو فى الدار خائفاً اذ جاءه العاص بن وائل السهمى أبو عمرو عليه حلة حبرة وقميص مكفوف بحرير، وهو من بنى سهم وهم حلفاؤنا فى الجاهلية، فقال له: ما بالك؟ — قال: زعم قومك أنهم سيقتلونى أن أسلمت. — قال: لا سبيل اليك! — بعد أن قالها أمنت. — فخرج العاص فلقى الناس قد سال بهم الوادى، فقال: أين تريدون؟ — فقالوا: نريد هذا ابن الخطاب الذى صبا! — قال: لا سبيل اليه! — فكرّ الناس.

3 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us: Sufyân related to us, saying: I heard 'Amr ibn Dînâr say:

٣ حدثنا على بن عبد الله: حدثنا سفيان قال: عمرو بن دينار سمعته قال:

1 For an explanation see p. 42, n. 1.

2 The particle "and" which precedes this phrase suggests that the transmitter, 'Umar ibn Muḥammad, narrated this Tradition in conjunction with some other matter, which is now lost.

3 In the text, "he"; it is evident from the sequence that the pronoun refers to 'Umar.

4 The Quraysh were particularly embittered on learning of 'Umar's conversion, for they had always relied on this strong man as their best ally in their struggle with nascent Islâm (Ibn Hishâm I, 213 f). It appears that they were bent on killing him for his "apostasy".

5 Note about 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ on p. 26, n. 2. His father, al-'Âṣ ibn Wâ'il, died some time before the *hijrah* without having embraced Islâm (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 141). It appears that he possessed considerable influence in Mecca.

6 *I.e.*, allies of 'Umar's clan. The Banû Sahm belonged also to Quraysh.

7 In the text, "to him".

8 *I.e.*, the Quraysh.

9 Lit., "there is no access to thee".

10 In the original this passage is extremely condensed, and appears to be an interpolation, by the narrator, of a direct saying of 'Umar, thus: "['Umar said:] When [al-'Âṣ] said this, I felt safe." For the sake of clearness in the translation, 'Umar's saying has been rendered in the third person as part of the narrative.

قال عبد الله بن عمر (رض): لما أسلم عمر اجتمع الناس عند داره وقالوا: صبا عمر! — وأنا غلام فوق ظهر بيتي. فجاء رجل عليه قباء من ديباج فقال: قد صبا عمر؟ فما ذاك فأنا له جار؟ — قال: فرأيت الناس تصدعوا عنه؛ فقلت: من هذا الرجل؟ — قالوا: العاص بن وائل.

'ABD ALLÂH ibn 'Umar said: When 'Umar embraced Islâm, the people assembled before his house and cried: 'Umar hath forsaken our religion!—I was a little boy [at that time][1], and was [sitting] on the roof of the house. Then there came a man wearing a tunic of silk brocade, and said: 'Umar hath forsaken your religion? What of it, if I am his protector?—And I saw the people disperse and go away. Then I asked: Who is this man? —They answered: Al-'Âṣ ibn Wâ'il.

٤ حدثنا يحيى بن سليمان قال: حدثني ابن وهب قال: حدثني عمر أن سالماً حدثه عن عبد الله ابن عمر قال:

4 Yaḥyâ ibn Sulaymân related to us, saying: Ibn Wahb related to me, saying: 'Umar related to me that Sâlim related to him, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar, who said:

ما سمعت عمر لشيء قط يقول «إني لأظنه كذا» الا كان كما يظن. بينما عمر جالس اذ مر به رجل جميل فقال عمر: لقد أخطأ ظني أو إن هذا على دينه في الجاهلية أو لقد كان كاهنهم. علي الرجل! — فدعي له فقال له ذلك. فقال: ما رأيت كاليوم استقبل به رجل مسلم! — قال: فاني أعزم عليك الا ما أخبرتني. — قال: كنت كاهنهم في الجاهلية. — قال: فما أعجب ما جاءتك

WHENEVER I heard 'Umar say about anything, "I think it is so", it [really] was so as he had thought.[2] [Once,] when 'Umar was sitting, a good-looking man[3] passed by him, and 'Umar said: Verily, if I am not mistaken, this man still professeth the religion [which he professed] in the Time of Ignorance—or else he had been [once] their soothsayer.[4] Bring this man to me!—He was called, and ['Umar] repeated to him the same. Thereupon [the man] said: I have never seen, until this day, a Muslim received in such a way![5]—['Umar] said: Behold, I but request thee to enlighten me.[6]—[The man] answered: I was [indeed] their soothsayer in the Time of Ignorance.—['Umar] asked: What, then, was the strangest thing thy

1 'Abd Allâh was at that time about six years old (Ibn Sa'd III i, 193).

2 Cf. Bkh 1/7, Nos. 11 and 12.

3 This man's name is given as Sawâd ibn Qârib as-Sadûsî (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 141). Note about him in *Istî'âb* II, 582 ff, and a Tradition about his conversion to Islâm in *Mustadrak* III, 609.

4 'Umar, with his almost uncanny perspicacity, read a deep impress of pagan beliefs in Sawâd's physiognomy, and deduced therefrom that either the man was still a pagan or that, before embracing Islâm, he had practised soothsaying *(kihânah)*, which in some subtle way had left a mark upon his features.

5 Sawâd ibn Qârib was angry on being told that he looked like a pagan, while he himself was conscious of having sincerely embraced Islâm.

6 In another version of this Tradition (*Istî'âb* II, 582) we read that 'Umar explained to Sawâd that his remark was not meant as a rebuke, as he ('Umar) himself had committed, before he became a Muslim, even worse things than soothsaying, namely, idolatry—the grossest sin man can commit.

jinniyyah[1] ever disclosed to thee?—He answered: One day, when I was in the market, she came unto me,[2] and I could see that she was terrified. And she said[3]: Didst thou not see the *jinn*, their confusion and despair after they had been overthrown,[4] and their clinging to the desert Arabs[5]?

'Umar said: He speaketh truth! [Once,] when I was asleep[6] before their idols, lo! there came a man with a calf, and sacrificed it [to them]. Thereupon someone cried aloud —and I never heard anyone cry louder—: O thou bold evildoer[7]! A [new] cause is triumphant, an eloquent man saith, There is no deity save Thee [O God]! Thereupon, [said 'Umar,] the people fled; [but] I said [to myself]: I shall not go away till I know what is behind this.—Then the cry rose [again]: O thou bold evildoer! A [new] cause is

به جنيتك؟ — قال: بينما أنا يوماً فى السوق جاءتنى أعرف فيها الفزع، فقالت: ألم تر الجن و إبلاسها ويأسها من بعد إنكاسها ولحوقها بالقلاص وأحلاسها؟

قال عمر: صدق! بينما أنا نائم عند آلهتهم اذ جاء رجل بعجل فذبحه؛ فصرخ به صارخ — لم أسمع صارخاً قط أشد صوتاً منه — يقول: يا جليح! أمر نجيح، رجل فصيح يقول: لا اله إلا أنت! — فوثب القوم. قلت: لا أبرح حتى أعلم ما وراء هذا. — ثم نادى: يا جليح! أمر

1 *Jinniyyah* is the female form of *jinnî*. The male *kâhins* were believed to have relations with female *jinn*, and the female *kâhins*, with male (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 142; cf. also p. 152, n. 7, in the present work).

2 It is evident from other versions of the same Tradition (*e.g.*, *Mustadrak* III, 608 ff) that Sawâd, when he had this experience, was in a state "between sleep and wakefulness", that is, in trance.

3 The following sentence is, in the original, in the metre called *rajaz*.

4 In his vision, the *kâhin* perceived that the *jinn* (here probably meaning the forces of darkness which lead man astray from the path of spiritual truth) were thrown into confusion by the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad, who was destined to shed light over the world and to free mankind from superstitions and from the terror of the Unknown. It is shown in *Mustadrak* (III, 609) that Sawâd ibn Qârib, while in trance, was informed that a true Prophet from the descendants of Hâshim had appeared. When he recovered from his trance he immediately proceeded to Mecca, where he learnt that the Prophet had migrated to Madînah. Sawâd followed him there and embraced Islâm.

5 Lit., "to the camels with their saddle-cloths". Already one of the oldest commentators of the *Ṣaḥîḥ*, al-Kirmânî, maintains that this is a symbolical expression for the nomad Arabs whose main occupation is camel-breeding (cf. 'Aynî XVII, 7). The meaning of this strange sentence seems to be this: When the forces of darkness felt themselves defeated by the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad, they betook themselves, as their last refuge, to the ignorant, superstitious nomads, hoping to lead them astray from Islâm.

6 Regarding the authenticity of the word *nâ'im* ("asleep"), see *Ṣaḥîḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamîd, vol. V, 48, marginal note.

7 *Jalîḥ* means one who openly or boldly commits an act of hostility, enmity, or evil ('Aynî XVII, 9). Here this term obviously refers to the pagan Arab whom 'Umar saw in his dream sacrifice an animal to false gods. It appears that 'Umar regarded this dream-experience as indicative of the fact that the *jinn* were already aware of the advent of the Prophet of Islâm; this assumption would explain 'Umar's words, "he speaketh truth", with which he confirmed Sawâd's preceding narrative about the turmoil which this event had caused in the world of the *jinn*.

triumphant, an eloquent man saith, There is no deity save God!—Thereupon I awoke. And soon afterward they began to say: A prophet is come![1]

5 Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannâ related to me: Yaḥyâ related to us: Ismâ'îl related to us: Qays related to us, saying:

I HEARD Sa'îd ibn Zayd thus address the people: Oh, it so happened that 'Umar persecuted me and his sister[2] on account of [our conversion to] Islâm ere he [himself] had embraced it. If Mount Uḥud could but crumble into pieces, it surely would have crumbled into pieces on account of what ye have done with 'Uthmân![3]

SECTION XII

THE SPLITTING ASUNDER OF THE MOON[4]

1 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb related to me: Bishr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal related to us: Sa'îd ibn Abî 'Arûbah related to us, on the authority of Qatâdah, on the authority of Anas ibn Mâlik:[5]

THE people of Mecca asked the Apostle of God to show them a miracle[6]; there-

نجيح، رجل فصيح يقول: لاإله إلا الله! — فقمت، فما نشبنا أن قيل: هذا نبي!

٥ حدثني محمد بن المثنى: حدثنا يحيى: حدثنا اسمعيل: حدثنا قيس قال:

سمعت سعيد بن زيد يقول للقوم: لو رأيتني موثقي عمر على الاسلام أنا وأخته وما أسلم. ولو أن أحداً انقض لما صنعتم بعثمان لكان محقوقاً أن ينقض!

١٢ باب

انشقاق القمر

١ حدثني عبد الله بن عبد الوهاب: حدثنا بشر بن المفضل: حدثنا سعيد بن أبي عروبة عن قتادة عن أنس بن مالك (رض)

أن أهل مكة سألوا رسول الله ﷺ

1 It is obvious that the above dream, or vision, which occurred shortly before the Prophet came forward with his preaching, made a deep impression on 'Umar. Although for some years to come he bitterly opposed the Prophet's claim, it is probable that this early dream-experience remained ever active in his sub-conscious mind and contributed to the doubts which arose in him from time to time regarding the reasonableness of his hostility towards Islâm. It has been suggested on p. 168, n. 1, that 'Umar's approach to Islâm was not sudden, as is commonly believed, but came about gradually, with interruptions and reactions; and we may safely assume that the final change of heart, which resulted in his conversion to Islâm in the sixth year of the Prophet's Mission, was but the climax of the long sub-conscious development which began with the dream narrated in the above Tradition.

2 *I.e.*, Sa'îd's wife, Fâṭimah bint al-Khaṭṭâb.

3 For an explanation, see p. 167, n. 6.

4 This miracle, which is mentioned in the Qur'ân (liv), occurred about five years before the *hijrah*. Although we cannot explain it in terms of our every-day experience, its occurrence is amply established by the evidence not only of the Qur'ân, but also by that of several Companions of the Prophet who had witnessed it. For a full discussion, see Bkh xlix/26.

5 This report belongs to the *marâsîl aṣ-ṣaḥâbah*, for Anas was not present in Mecca at the time in question. He might have heard it either from the Prophet himself or from one of the Companions who are known to have witnessed the "splitting asunder of the moon", most probably from 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd (whose report is found in this section as well as in other places of this work), or, perhaps, from Jubayr ibn Muṭ'im (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 144).

6 Lit., "sign".

upon he made them see the moon split in twain so that they could see [Mount] Ḥirâ' between the two [pieces].

أن يريهم آية ، فأراهم القمر شقتين حتى رأوا حراء بينهما .

2 'Abdân related to us, on the authority of Abû Ḥamzah, on the authority of al-A'mash, on the authority of Ibrâhîm, on the authority of Abû Ma'mar,

٢ حدثنا عبدان عن أبي حمزة عن الأعمش عن ابراهيم عن أبي معمر

ON the authority of 'Abd Allâh [ibn Mas'ûd], who said: The moon was split asunder while we were with the Prophet at Minâ[1]; he thereupon said: Bear witness!— And one part [of the moon] moved toward the mountain.

عن عبد الله (رض) قال : انشق القمر ونحن مع النبي ﷺ بمنى ؛ فقال : اشهدوا ! — وذهبت فرقة نحو الجبل .

And Abu'd-Duḥâ said, on the authority of Masrûq, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh, "[the moon] was split asunder in Mecca".[2]

وقال أبو الضحى عن مسروق عن عبد الله : « انشق بمكة » .

And Muḥammad ibn Muslim corroborated him[3], on the authority of Ibn Abî Najîḥ, on the authority of Mujâhid, on the authority of Abû Ma'mar, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh [ibn Mas'ûd].

وتابعه محمد بن مسلم عن ابن أبي نجيح عن مجاهد عن أبي معمر عن عبد الله .

3 'Uthmân ibn Ṣâliḥ related to us: Bakr ibn Muḍar related to us, saying: Ja'far ibn Rabî'ah related to me, on the authority of 'Irâk ibn Mâlik, on the authority of 'Ubayd Allâh ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Utbah ibn Mas'ûd, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abbâs:[4]

٣ حدثنا عثمان بن صالح : حدثنا بكر بن مضر قال : حدثني جعفر بن ربيعة عن عراك بن مالك عن عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن عتبة بن مسعود عن عبد الله بن عباس (رض)

THE moon was split asunder in the time of the Apostle of God.

أن القمر انشق على زمان رسول الله ﷺ .

4 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣ related to us: My father related to us: Al-A'mash related to us: Ibrâhîm related to us, on the authority of

٤ حدثنا عمر بن حفص : حدثنا أبي : حدثنا الأعمش : حدثنا ابراهيم عن أبي معمر عن

1 A place between Mecca and 'Arafât. See also subsequent note.

2 The words "in Mecca", occurring in this variant, do not contradict the first-mentioned Tradition on the authority of Ibn Mas'ûd, for Minâ is so near Mecca that it can be almost regarded as part of the town. Besides, Ibn Ḥajar mentions another version of the same Tradition (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 145), also on the authority of Ibn Mas'ûd, in which the latter says: "The moon was split asunder in the time of the Apostle of God while we were in Mecca, before our departure for Madînah." It would thus appear that the expression "in Mecca" refers to the period rather than to the place.

3 *I.e.*, the transmitter Ibrâhîm (see *isnâd* of No. 2). This "corroboration" refers to the narrative of Abû Ma'mar, on whose authority both Ibrâhîm and Muḥammad ibn Muslim (the latter through two intermediaries) reported the above Tradition.

4 This version is one of the *marâsîl aṣ-ṣaḥâbah*, for 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abbâs was not yet born at the time of this occurrence. To him also applies the same as has been remarked regarding Anas (see p. 172, n. 5).

Abû Ma'mar, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh [ibn Mas'ûd], who said:

THE moon was split asunder.

عبد الله (رض) قال :

انشق القمر .

SECTION XIII

THE MIGRATION TO ETHIOPIA[1]

'Â'ishah said: The Prophet said: I was shewn[2] the goal of your migration — a land of palm-trees between two tracts of black stones. — And those who had resolved upon migration migrated thereupon to Madînah; and most of those who had [previously] migrated to the country of Ethiopia returned [to Arabia and betook themselves] to Madînah.[3]

Concerning this, [there is a Tradition] on the authority of Abû Mûsâ and Asmâ'[4], on the authority of the Prophet.

١٣ باب

هجرة الحبشة

وقالت عائشة : قال النبي ﷺ : أريت دار هجرتكم ذات نخل بين لابتين . — فهاجر من هاجر قبل المدينة ورجع عامة من كان هاجر بأرض الحبشة الى المدينة .

فيه عن أبي موسى وأسماء عن النبي ﷺ .

1 Owing to the unrelenting persecution which the early Muslims had to suffer at the hands of the pagan Quraysh, the Prophet decided to send his followers away from Mecca. He himself and a few persons with him were comparatively safe owing to the protection afforded to them by Abû Ṭâlib; but the same did not apply to the rest of his followers. They resolved to migrate to Ethiopia, which was ruled by Christian kings who afforded to everyone full freedom of belief and worship. So it came about that in the month of Rajab, in the fifth year of the Prophet's Mission, about a dozen Muslim men and four women left Mecca secretly and embarked for Ethiopia, where they were friendly received by the Negus Aṣḥamah, who had evidently strong leanings towards the doctrine of pure *tawḥîd* preached by the Prophet of Islâm. This first emigration to Ethiopia made a profound impression on the minds of the pagan Quraysh, who realised that the Muslims were prepared to sacrifice everything, even home and country, for the sake of their faith. Soon afterwards, the emigrants learned of 'Umar's conversion to Islâm, and some of them returned to Mecca: for so great was the prestige of this extraordinary personality that the exiles could not believe that after his conversion the Meccans would still persecute the Muslims. But their hopes were soon frustrated. 'Umar's conversion caused such a resentment among the Quraysh that they redoubled their efforts to crush the Muslims. When the persecution became unbearable, the Prophet ordered his followers again to migrate to Ethiopia. In this second migration more than eighty men and eighteen women participated, for the Muslim community had perceptibly grown after 'Umar's conversion. Soon afterwards, the Quraysh sent a deputation to Ethiopia praying that the emigrants be forced to return to Mecca. But the Negus was by this time fully convinced of the divine origin of the Prophet's teachings, and he firmly refused to surrender the fugitives. About one half of them returned later to Mecca when they heard that the Companions had begun to migrate to Yathrib; a few died in Mecca or were imprisoned there by the pagan Quraysh, and the rest reached Madînah. The remaining emigrants, led by Ja'far ibn Abî Ṭâlib, came to Madînah in the year 7 A.H. — For full particulars of both migrations, see Ṭabarî II, 221 ff; Ibn Hishâm I, 197 ff; Ibn Sa'd I/i, 136 ff; Ibn al-Athîr II, 51 ff.

2 *Sc.*, in dream.

3 This is a fragment of Tradition No. 9 in sec. 21, which see for an explanation.

4 Asmâ' bint Umays. Note about her in Bkh lii/40, No. 32, where the Tradition referred to is found. Abû Mûsâ's Tradition occurs also, in an abbreviated form, under No. 5 of this section.

1 'Abd Allâh ibn Muḥammad al-Ju'fî related to us: Hishâm related to us: Ma'mar informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî [who said]: 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr related to us that

'UBAYD ALLÂH ibn 'Adî ibn Khiyâr informed him that al-Miswar ibn Makhramah and 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Abd Yaghûth said to him: What preventeth thee from speaking unto thy uncle 'Uthmân about his brother, al-Walîd ibn 'Uqbah?—[For] the people were bitterly against the latter on account of what he had done.[1]

'Ubayd Allâh continued: And so I waited for 'Uthmân when he was going out for prayer and said unto him: Behold, I have to speak to thee, and it is a good advice [I have to give].—But 'Uthmân said: O man! I take my refuge with God from thee!—So I went away.

And when I finished my prayer I sat down by the side of al-Miswar and Ibn 'Abd Yaghûth and related to them what I had said to 'Uthmân and what he had said to me. Then the two said: Well, thou hast done thy duty.—While I was thus sitting with them, a messenger from 'Uthmân came to me; and the two [friends] said unto me: This is a trial which God inflicteth upon thee![2]—Then I proceeded, and went in unto 'Uthmân; and he said: What is this good advice of thine which thou didst mention a little while ago? —I recited the Creed and said: Behold, God hath sent Muḥammad and hath revealed the Book unto him. And thou wert of those who responded to the call of God and His Apostle and hadst faith in him; and thou hast taken part early in both migrations,[3] and wert a companion of the Apostle of God,

١ حدثنا عبد الله بن محمد الجعفى: حدثنا هشام: أخبرنا معمر عن الزهرى: حدثنا عروة بن الزبير

أن عبيد الله بن عدى بن الخيار أخبره أن المسور بن مخرمة وعبد الرحمن بن الأسود بن عبد يغوث قالا له: ما يمنعك أن تكلم خالك عثمان فى أخيه الوليد بن عقبة؟ — وكان أكثر الناس فيما فعل به.

قال عبيد الله: فانتصبت لعثمان حين خرج الى الصلاة فقلت له: إن لى إليك حاجة وهى نصيحة. — فقال: أيها المرء! أعوذ بالله منك! — فانصرفت.

فلما قضيت الصلاة جلست الى المسور و الى ابن عبد يغوث فحدثتهما بالذى قلت لعثمان وقال لى؛ فقالا: قد قضيت الذى كان عليك. — فبينما أنا جالس معهما اذ جاءنى رسول عثمان، فقالا لى: قد ابتلاك الله! — فانطلقت حتى دخلت عليه، فقال: ما نصيحتك التى ذكرت آنفاً؟ — قال: فتشهدت ثم قلت: إن الله بعث محمداً ﷺ وأنزل عليه الكتاب؛ وكنت ممن استجاب لله ورسوله ﷺ وآمنت به و هاجرت الهجرتين الأولين وصحبت رسول الله ﷺ ورأيت هديه،

1 For an explanation of this Tradition, see Bkh 1/8, No. 2. The reason for its repetition in this chapter is the allusion contained therein to 'Uthmân's having participated in the migration to Ethiopia.

2 They obviously thought that 'Uthmân would punish 'Ubayd Allâh for his outspokenness.

3 Lit., "the *first two* migrations". Some commentators believe that this refers to the two migrations to Abyssinia. Others, like al-Kirmânî (*apud* 'Aynî XVII, 13), explain it as meaning the *early participation* in the migrations to Abyssinia and Madînah; and this seems to be more in keeping with 'Ubayd Allâh's address in which he enumerates the merits of 'Uthmân. Early participation in the migrations (both to Abyssinia and Madînah) was always regarded as an act of great merit.

and hast seen his mode of life. Now, the people are bitterly against al-Walîd ibn 'Uqbah, and it is thy duty to impose upon him the lawful penalty.—Thereupon ['Uthmân] said unto me: O my brother's son! Didst thou ever meet the Apostle of God?—I answered: Nay, but knowledge of him hath reached me as it hath even reached the virgin in her seclusion.—Then 'Uthmân recited the Creed and said: Behold, God hath sent Muḥammad with the Truth, and hath revealed unto him the Book. And I was of those who responded to the call of God and His Apostle, and I had faith in Muḥammad's Mission; I took part early in both migrations, as thou saidst, and I 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. Then God made Abû Bakr Caliph: and, by God! never was I disobedient to him nor did I deceive him. Thereafter 'Umar became Caliph: and, by God! never was I disobedient to him nor did I deceive him. Then I became Caliph [myself]. Have I, then, not the same [right] over you as they had over me?—I[1] answered: Yea, indeed.—He said: What, then, doth mean this your talking? As to what thou hast said about al-Walîd ibn 'Uqbah, we shall apply to him the Law, if God so willeth.

Then he sentenced al-Walîd to forty[2] stripes, and bade 'Alî flog him; and the latter did as he was bidden.[3]

وقد أكثر الناس فى شأن الوليد بن عقبة، فحق عليك أن تقيم عليه الحد. — فقال لى: يا ابن اخى! آدركت رسول الله ﷺ؟ — قال: قلت: لا، ولكن قد خلص الى من علمه ما خلص الى العذراء فى سترها. — قال: فتشهد عثمان فقال: إن الله قد بعث محمداً ﷺ بالحق وأنزل عليه الكتاب، وكنت ممن استجاب لله ورسوله ﷺ وآمنت بما بعث به محمد ﷺ وهاجرت الهجرتين الأوليين كما قلت وصحبت رسول الله ﷺ وبايعته؛ والله ما عصيته ولا غششته حتى توفاه الله ثم استخلف الله أبابكر، فوالله ما عصيته ولا غششته؛ ثم استخلف عمر، فوالله ما عصيته ولا غششته؛ ثم استخلفت. أفليس لى عليكم مثل الذى كان لهم علىّ؟ — قال: بلى. — قال: فما هذه الأحاديث التى تبلغنى عنكم؟ فأما ما ذكرت من شأن الوليد بن عقبة فسنأخذ فيه ان شاء الله بالحق.

قال: فجلد الوليد أربعين جلدة وأمر علياً أن يجلده وكان هو يجلده.

Yûnus and the nephew of az-Zuhrî[4] used [in the course of the above Tradition] the expression: "... Have I, then, not the same right over you as they had?"

وقال يونس وابن أخى الزهرى عن الزهرى: «أفليس لى عليكم من الحق مثل الذى كان لهم؟»

2 Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannâ related to me: Yaḥyâ related to us, on the authority of Hishâm, who said: My father ['Urwah] related to me, on the authority of 'Â'ishah:

٢ حدثنى محمد بن المثنى: حدثنا يحيى عن هشام قال: حدثنى أبى عن عائشة (رض)

1 In the text, "he"—meaning, of course, 'Ubayd Allâh.

2 In another version of the same Tradition, in Bkh 1/8, No. 2, the number of the stripes is given as eighty.

3 Lit., "and it was he who flogged him".

4 Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Muslim ('Aynî XVII, 13).

UMM ḤABÎBAH[1] and Umm Salamah[2] spake of a church they had seen in Ethiopia, in which there had been images[3]; and they mentioned this to the Prophet. He said: Behold, those people, when a righteous man from among them dieth, build over his grave a church[4] and set up therein such-like images. On Resurrection-Day God will regard them as the most wicked of [His] creation.[5]

أن أم حبيبة وأم سلمة ذكرتا كنيسة رأينها بالحبشة فيها تصاوير فذكرتا للنبي ﷺ. فقال: إن أولئك اذا كان فيهم الرجل الصالح فمات بنوا على قبره مسجداً وصوروا فيه تيك الصور. أولئك شرار الخلق عند الله يوم القيامة.

3 Al-Ḥumaydi related to us: Sufyân related to us: Isḥâq ibn Sa'îd as-Sa'îdî related to us, on the authority of his father,

٣ حدثنا الحيدى: حدثنا سفيان: حدثنا إسحق ابن سعيد السعيدى عن أبيه

ON the authority of Umm Khâlid bint Khâlid[6], who said: When I came from the country of Ethiopia [to Madînah] I was a little girl. The Apostle of God clothed me

عن أم خالد بنت خالد قالت: قدمت من أرض الحبشة وأنا جويرية، فكسانى رسول

1 Her full name was Ramlah bint Abî Sufyân. She was first married to 'Ubayd Allâh ibn Jaḥsh and migrated with him to Ethiopia. There 'Ubayd Allâh embraced Christianity, but Umm Ḥabîbah refused to follow suit and remained faithful to Islâm. Shortly after 'Ubayd Allâh's death, the Prophet demanded her in marriage by letter, and the ceremony was performed by the Negus himself. It appears that the Prophet wished thus to distinguish and reward the faithful woman who, in spite of her husband's apostasy, had remained true to her religion. Later Umm Ḥabîbah came to Madînah together with other Companions who had migrated to Ethiopia. According to some reports, it was only after her arrival at Madînah that the marriage ceremony was performed. She died in 44 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 68 ff; *Istî'âb* II, 728 ff.)

2 Umm Salamah's full name was Hind bint Abî Umayyah al-Makhzûmiyyah. Her first husband was 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd al-Asad; after their first-born child they received the *kunyahs* of Abû Salamah and Umm Salamah, respectively; their second son was 'Umar ibn Abî Salamah (see p. 73, n. 5). They were the earliest emigrants to Abyssinia. Abû Salamah died in 4 A.H. from wounds received in the battle of Uḥud. Some months afterwards the Prophet married his widow, Umm Salamah. She died in 59 or 60 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 60 ff; *Istî'âb* II, 763; regarding Abû Salamah, see Ibn Sa'd III i, 170 ff; *Istî'âb* I, 367.) As to the Prophet's marriage with Umm Salamah, *Istî'âb* (II, 763) gives the erroneous date, 2 A.H. This is obviously impossible, as her first husband, Abû Salamah, died in 4 A.H., as mentioned above. Caetani (*Chronographia* I, 31) puts the date of Abû Salamah's death at 3 A.H., which is also wrong. See also *Iṣâbah* IV, 95, where the date of Abû Salamah's death is fully discussed.

3 Evidently statues or pictorial representations of Jesus and the saints.

4 Lit., "mosque".

5 Islâm strictly forbids pictorial representations of animated beings in a place of worship, for they are conducive of *shirk*, that is, association of other beings with God in the mind of the worshipper. For similar reasons, the erection of mosques over graves, although sometimes practised by people ignorant of the true purport of Islâmic teachings, is strongly discountenanced in the *sharî'ah*.

6 Amah bint Khâlid, called Umm Khâlid, was born in Abyssinia and came to Madînah in 7 A.H. Later she married az-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwâm and bore him two sons, Khâlid and 'Amr. (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 169 f.)

in a black cloak[1] with embroidered borders; then he stroked the borders with his hand and said: *Sanâh, sanâh*[2]!

Al-Ḥumaydî explained: That meaneth, "good, good".

4 Yaḥyâ ibn Ḥammâd related to us: Abû 'Awânah related to us, on the authority of Sulaymân, on the authority of Ibrâhîm, on the authority of 'Alqamah,

ON the authority of 'Abd Allâh [ibn Mas'ûd], who said: [Previously] we were wont to greet the Prophet while he was praying, and he used to answer our greeting; but when we came back from the [country of the] Negus we greeted him [once while he was praying], but he did not answer our greeting. Then we said: O Apostle of God! [In the past] we greeted thee, and thou usedst to answer our greetings.—He said: Behold, prayer is an [engrossing] preoccupation.[3]

I said to Ibrâhîm: And how dost thou do it?' He answered: I answer the greeting in my heart.[4]

5 Muḥammad ibn al-'Alâ' related to us: Abû Usâmah related to us: Burayd ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us, on the authority of Abû Burdah,

ON the authority of Abû Mûsâ, who said: While we were in Yaman,[7] we learned of the Prophet's departure [for Madînah]. Thereupon we embarked, but our boat bore us away to the [country of the] Negus in Ethiopia. [There] we met Ja'far ibn Abî Ṭâlib, and we remained with him till we came [to Madînah]. We reached the Prophet at the time when he conquered Khaybar. Then the

الله ﷺ خميصة لها أعلام ؛ فجعل رسول الله ﷺ يمسح الأعلام بيده ويقول : سناه سناه !

قال الحميدى : يعنى « حسن حسن » .

٤ حدثنا يحيى بن حماد : حدثنا أبو عوانة عن سليمان عن ابراهيم عن علقمة

عن عبد الله (رض) قال : كنا نسلم على النبي ﷺ وهو يصلى فيرد علينا . فلما رجعنا من عند النجاشى سلمنا عليه فلم يرد علينا ، فقلنا : يا رسول الله ! انا كنا نسلم عليك فترد علينا . — قال : ان فى الصلاة شغلاً .

فقلت لابراهيم : كيف تصنع أنت؟ — قال : أرد فى نفسى .

٥ حدثنا محمد بن العلاء : حدثنا أبو أسامة : حدثنا بريد بن عبد الله عن أبى بردة

عن أبى موسى (رض) قال : بلغنا مخرج النبي ﷺ ونحن باليمن ، فركبنا سفينة فألقتنا سفينتنا الى النجاشى بالحبشة ؛ فوافقنا جعفر بن أبى طالب فأقمنا معه حتى قدمنا ، فوافقنا النبي ﷺ حين افتتح خيبر . فقال النبي ﷺ : لكم أنتم

1 A *khamîṣah* was a black wrap or cloak with ornamented borders *(a'lâm*, sing., *'alam)*.

2 This word is of Ethiopic origin, and it is probable that the Prophet picked it up from his Companions who had returned from Abyssinia.

3 See Bkh xviii/2, No. 1.

4 The speaker is the transmitter Sulaymân (cf. *isnâd*).

5 *Sc.*, "if someone greeteth thee while thou art praying".

6 *I.e.*, without outward sign or word.

7 For the full story of the voyage of Abû Mûsâ al-Ash'arî and his brother from Yaman to Ethiopia and thence to Arabia, see Bkh lii/76.

Prophet said: Ye, O ye people of the boat, will have [the merit of] two migrations![1]

يا أهل السفينة هجرتان !

SECTION XIV

THE DEATH OF THE NEGUS[2]

١٤ باب

موت النجاشي

1 Abu'r-Rabî' related to us: Ibn 'Uyaynah related to us, on the authority of Ibn Jurayj, on the authority of 'Aṭâ', on the authority of Jâbir:

١ حدثنا أبو الربيع: حدثنا ابن عيينة عن ابن جريج عن عطاء عن جابر (رض):

WHEN the Negus died, the Prophet said: A righteous man hath died to-day. Rise, therefore, and pray for your brother Aṣḥamah.[3]

قال النبي ﷺ حين مات النجاشي: مات اليوم رجل صالح، فقوموا فصلوا على أخيكم أصحمة.

2 'Abd al-A'lâ ibn Ḥammâd related to us: Yazîd ibn Zuray' related to us: Sa'îd related to us: Qatâdah related to us that 'Aṭâ' related to them,

٢ حدثنا عبد الأعلى بن حماد: حدثنا يزيد بن زريع: حدثنا سعيد: حدثنا قتادة أن عطاء حدثهم

ON the authority of Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh al-Anṣârî: The Prophet of God led a

عن جابر بن عبد الله الأنصاري (رض)

1 *I.e.*, the migration to Abyssinia and that to Madînah.

2 Meant is the Negus Aṣḥamah, who gave an asylum to the Muslim refugees from Mecca. It is to be noted that he died at a much later period than that to which this portion of the work refers: namely, in the month of Rajab, 9 A.H. (Ṭabarî III, 154). But it was obviously al-Bukhârî's intention to show, at this place, that Aṣḥamah had embraced Islâm under the influence of the Muslim emigrants whom he had so hospitably received; and as no direct narrative to this effect answered to the author's rigorous standards, he quoted at this place Traditions showing that the Prophet, on hearing of the Negus's death, performed funeral prayers for him at Madînah; this establishes beyond doubt that the Prophet regarded the deceased as a Muslim. That Aṣḥamah was in sympathy with the creed of Islâm is already evident from the cold reception accorded by him to the deputation of the pagan Quraysh who demanded the surrender of the Muslim refugees (cf. Ibn Hishâm I, 205 ff). On that occasion, the Negus is said to have expressed his full agreement with the teachings of the Qur'ân regarding Jesus as an Apostle of God. It is very probable that Aṣḥamah, before he embraced Islâm, inclined towards the Nestorian sect and the theological movement known as Arianism, which declared that God is absolutely one, unknowable and separated from every created being; and that Jesus, although having certain divine qualities, was a created being. Both the Nestorian and Arian movements possessed at that time a certain influence in the Near East. It is not difficult, therefore, to imagine that Aṣḥamah was deeply impressed by the Islâmic teachings which solved the hesitancy of the Arian and Nestorian speculations by clearly asserting that Jesus was but a human being without divine attributes, albeit specially chosen by God to be the bearer of His eternal message. Direct references to Aṣḥamah's conversion to Islâm are found in Ibn Hishâm I, 209 f, and Ṭabarî III, 89. According to these reports, the Prophet sent in 6 A.H. 'Amr ibn Umayyah with a letter to the Negus, inviting him to embrace Islâm; in that letter the Prophet referred to the Islâmic beliefs regarding Jesus. The Negus's reply contained an explicit declaration of Islâm and a recognition of Muḥammad as the Apostle of God.

3 Regarding funeral prayers held at other places than that at which the funeral actually takes place (in theological terminology, *ṣalâh 'ala'l-ghâ'ib*), see Bkh xix/4, No. 1.

[funeral] prayer for the Negus and made us stand in rows behind himself; and I was in the second or third row.

أن نبي الله ﷺ صلى على النجاشي فصفنا وراءه، فكنت في الصف الثاني أو الثالث.

3 'Abd Allâh ibn Abî Shaybah related to me: Yazîd ibn Hârûn related to us, on the authority of Salîm ibn Ḥayyân [who said]: Sa'îd ibn Mînâ' related to us, on the authority of Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh [who said]:

٣ حدثني عبد الله بن أبي شيبة: حدثنا يزيد بن هرون عن سليم بن حيان: حدثنا سعيد بن ميناء عن جابر بن عبد الله (رض)

THE Prophet led the [funeral] prayer for Aṣḥamah, the Negus, and recited the *takbîr* four times.

أن النبي ﷺ صلى على أصحمة النجاشي فكبر عليه أربعاً.

'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad corroborated him[1].

تابعه عبد الصمد.

4 Zuhayr ibn Ḥarb related to us: Ya'qûb ibn Ibrâhîm related to us: My father related to me, on the authority of Ṣâliḥ, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, who said: Abû Salamah ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân and Ibn al-Musayyab related to me that Abû Hurayrah informed them that

٤ حدثنا زهير بن حرب: حدثنا يعقوب بن ابراهيم: حدثنا أبي عن صالح عن ابن شهاب قال: حدثني أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن وابن المسيب أن أبا هريرة (رض) أخبرهما

THE Apostle of God announced to them the death of the Negus, the ruler of Ethiopia, on the [very] day on which the latter died[2]; and he said: Beg of God forgiveness for your brother.

أن رسول الله ﷺ نعى لهم النجاشي صاحب الحبشة في اليوم الذي مات فيه وقال: استغفروا لأخيكم.

4 (contd.) And on the authority of Ṣâliḥ,[3] on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, who said: Sa'îd ibn al-Musayyab[4] related to me that Abû Hurayrah informed them that

وعن صالح عن ابن شهاب قال: حدثني سعيد ابن المسيب أن أبا هريرة (رض) أخبرهم

THE Apostle of God made them stand in rows at the place of prayer[5] and led the [funeral] prayer for the Negus[6], reciting the *takbîr* four times.

أن رسول الله ﷺ صف بهم في المصلى فصلى عليه وكبر أربعاً.

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1 This pronoun refers to Yazîd ibn Hârûn (see *isnâd*); 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, like Yazîd, heard this Tradition from Salîm ibn Ḥayyân (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 152).

2 It appears that the Prophet was informed through revelation of the Negus's death.

3 The beginning of the *isnâd* (up to Ṣâliḥ) is here the same as in the preceding portion of the Tradition. The reason for the repetition of only a part of the *isnâd* at this place is, that Ibn Shihâb heard the first half of the Tradition from two narrators, namely Abû Salamah and Ibn al-Musayyab, while the second half was narrated by Ibn al-Musayyab alone. Thus, the two portions are in reality one Tradition.

4 See preceding note.

5 According to some Traditions (cf. 'Aynî VIII, 19), this funeral prayer took place at the *muṣallâ* in the cemetery al-Baqî', at Madînah.

6 In the text, "for him".

SECTION XV

THE IDOLATERS' OATH-BOUND LEAGUE AGAINST THE PROPHET[1]

'Abd al-'Azîz ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us, saying: Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd related to me, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, on the authority of Abû Salamah ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân, on the authority of Abû Hurayrah, who said:

WHILE setting out toward Ḥunayn[2], the Apostle of God said: To-morrow, if God so willeth, we shall encamp on the slope of Banû Kinânah,[3] the place where [the Quraysh] pledged themselves in the cause of infidelity.[4]

١٥ باب

تقاسم المشركين على النبي ﷺ

حدثنا عبد العزيز بن عبد الله قال: حدثني ابراهيم بن سعد عن ابن شهاب عن أبي سلمة ابن عبد الرحمن عن أبي هريرة (رض) قال:

قال رسول الله ﷺ حين أراد حنيناً: منزلنا غداً ان شاء الله بخيف بني كنانة حيث تقاسموا على الكفر.

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1 Enraged by 'Umar's conversion to Islâm, the hospitality shown to the Muslim refugees by the king of Abyssinia, and the steady increase in the number of the Prophet's followers, the pagan Quraysh decided upon a boycott of the Prophet and his community. In the month of Muḥarram, in the seventh year of the Mission, the chiefs of the Quraysh drew up a solemn agreement between themselves to cease all intercourse with the Muslims, not to intermarry with them, and not to allow any supplies to reach them. In order that this agreement might have a religious sanction, the parchment upon which it was written was hung up in the Ka'bah. The Prophet and his followers retired into Abû Ṭâlib's house, which was situated in a narrow ravine *(shi'b)* on the eastern side of Mecca. There they remained for about three years, deprived of almost all necessities of life and exposed to most severe hardships. It was only with great difficulty that they were able to receive from time to time supplies of food from secret sympathisers in Mecca. Some of the non-Muslim Meccans, however, were opposed to this cruel treatment of the Muslims. Led by Hishâm ibn 'Amr al-'Âmirî and Zuhayr ibn Abî Umayyah, they prevailed in the end upon the Quraysh to lift the ban imposed on the Prophet and his followers; they were assisted in their endeavours by the discovery that white ants had in the meantime eaten up the parchment which had been placed in the Ka'bah. Thus, in the tenth year of the Prophet's Mission, the Muslims were able to leave their place of refuge and again to move about freely. (For a comprehensive narrative of this event, see Ṭabarî II, 225 f; Ibn Hishâm I, 214 ff; Ibn al-Athîr II, 59 ff.) Once again the pagan Quraysh were forced to realise that all their persecutions were of no avail to suppress the growing tide of Islâm; and the Muslims emerged out of this bitter trial strengthened in their faith and ready for still greater sacrifices.

The Tradition in this section contains merely a reference to this memorable incident. It appears that al-Bukhârî, although accepting the facts mentioned above, did not receive the story of the boycott in a form which would technically answer to his canons of criticism, and so he contented himself with a Tradition which merely alludes to it—a procedure adopted by him in many sections of his work.

2 Reference to the campaign of Ḥunayn (see Bkh lii 56).

3 A *khayf* is any acclivity or declivity of a hill, or any place elevated above the channel of a torrent-bed between two mountains (cf. Lane II, 833). The *khayf* of Banû Kinânah was near Minâ, about half-way from Mecca to 'Arafât (see *Mu'jam al-Buldân* III, 499 f, and VII, 395). Today this place is marked by a mosque called *Masjid al-Khayf*.

4 See n. 1 above. This and similar versions of the above Tradition (*e.g.*, Bkh xxi 44, Nos. 1 and 2) are, to my knowledge, the only evidence as to the place at which the chiefs of the pagan Quraysh pledged themselves to boycott the Prophet and his followers.

SECTION XVI

THE STORY OF ABÛ ṬÂLIB[1]

1 Musaddad related to us: Yaḥyâ related to us, on the authority of Sufyân [who said]: 'Abd al-Malik related to us: 'Abd Allâh ibn al-Ḥârith related to us:

AL-'ABBÂS ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib related to us that he said unto the Prophet: How didst thou serve thy uncle [Abû Ṭâlib]?[2] For, behold, he protected thee and strove[3] on thy behalf.—[The Prophet] answered: He is [now] in shallow fire[4]; had it not been for me, he would be indeed at the bottom of Hell.[5]

١٦ باب

قصة أبي طالب

١ حدثنا مسدد: حدثنا يحيى عن سفيان: حدثنا عبد الملك: حدثنا عبد الله بن الحرث:

حدثنا العباس بن عبد المطلب (رض) قال للنبي ﷺ: ما أغنيت عن عمك؟ فانه كان يحوطك ويغضب لك. — قال: هو في ضحضاح من نار، ولو لا أنا لكان في الدرك الأسفل من النار.

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1 The name of Abû Ṭâlib, the Prophet's uncle, will be forever remembered with gratitude by Muslims, although he died without embracing Islâm. His real name was 'Abd Manâf, but he is better known by his *kunyah*, Abû Ṭâlib (the name of his first-born son having been Ṭâlib). This generous and kind-hearted man, who—in spite of his poverty—held a position of esteem among the chiefs of the Quraysh (cf. sec. 3, No. 14), seems to have regarded the care for the person of his nephew as the central object of his life. He loved him more than his own children, protected him against the persecutions of the pagan Quraysh, and did everything that was in his power to soften the hardships to which the Prophet was exposed at Mecca. His death in the tenth year of the Mission was one of the most distressing events in the life of the Prophet, who had henceforward no powerful protector in Mecca.

According to all trustworthy reports—some of which are quoted in this section—Abû Ṭâlib refused even on his deathbed to embrace Islâm. There exist, to be sure, some narratives (generally quoted by Shi'ite authors) to the effect that Abû Ṭâlib became a Muslim immediately before his death; but historical criticism has proved beyond the possibility of doubt that all these narratives are without foundation. The story of Abû Ṭâlib's "conversion" is nothing but a myth dictated by a pious wish. A full discussion of this subject, with detailed references to all relevant Traditions, as well as a refutation of the story of the alleged conversion, is found in *Iṣâbah* VII, 112 ff.

Abû Ṭâlib's eldest son, Ṭâlib, sympathised with the cause of Islâm, but was forced by the pagan Quraysh to take part in the battle of Badr on their side. He was not killed there, nor taken prisoner by the Muslims, nor did he ever return to Mecca; it is not known what happened to him. (Ibn Sa'd I/i, 77.) The second son was 'Aqîl, surnamed Abû Yazîd; he embraced Islâm before the truce of Ḥudaybiyah and died during the reign of Mu'âwiyah (*Isti'âb* II, 509). The two youngest sons of Abû Ṭâlib were Ja'far (see Bkh I/11) and 'Alî, the fourth Caliph.

2 *Sc.*, "after his death". Al-'Abbâs was anxious to know whether the Prophet had been able to intercede with God for Abû Ṭâlib, who had died a non-Muslim.

3 Lit., "was angry".

4 The expression *ḍaḥḍâḥ* connotes, literally, shallow water (not reaching above the ankles), as contrasted with deep water. Here it is figuratively used for the lightness of Abû Ṭâlib's punishment in the Hereafter.

5 Abû Ṭâlib's great sin was, that, while inwardly believing in the truth of the Prophet's Mission, he had not the moral courage to break with the tribal traditions of the Quraysh and openly to accept a religion which contested almost everything that the pagan Arabs regarded as sacred. As is shown in No. 2 of this section, he remained a pagan against his better convictions,

2 Maḥmûd related to us: 'Abd ar-Razzâq related to us: Ma'mar informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, on the authority of Ibn al-Musayyab, on the authority of his father:

WHEN Abû Ṭâlib was dying, the Prophet went in unto him and [found] Abû Jahl by his side; and he said: O my uncle! Say, There is no deity save God. By virtue of these words I could plead for thee before God!—Thereupon Abû Jahl and 'Abd Allâh ibn Abî Umayyah[1] said: O Abû Ṭâlib! Wilt thou forsake the faith of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib? —And they did not cease to speak such-wise unto him until he said—and these were his last words—: [I remain] in the faith of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.[2]—Thereupon the Prophet said: Indeed, I shall beg of God forgiveness for thee as long as I am not forbidden to do so. —Then [the verse] was revealed: *It is not for the Prophet and the Faithful to beg of God forgiveness for the idolaters, even though they be near of kin, after it hath become clear to them that they are inmates of Hell-Fire.*[3] And [this other verse] was revealed: *Thou canst not guide whom thou desirest . . .*[4]

٢ حدثنا محمود: حدثنا عبد الرزاق: أخبرنا معمر عن الزهرى عن ابن المسيب عن أبيه

أن أبا طالب لما حضرته الوفاة دخل عليه النبي ﷺ وعنده أبو جهل. فقال: أى عم! قل: لا اله الا الله — كلمة أحاج لك بها عند الله! — فقال أبو جهل وعبد الله بن أبى أمية: يا أبا طالب! ترغب عن ملة عبد المطلب؟ — فلم يزالا يكلمانه حتى قال آخر شيء كلمهم به: على ملة عبد المطلب. — فقال النبي ﷺ: لأستغفرن لك ما لم أُنه عنه. — فنزلت «ما كان للنبي والذين آمنوا أن يستغفروا للمشركين ولو كانوا أولى قربى من بعد ما تبين لهم أنهم أصحاب الجحيم». ونزلت «انك لا تهدى من أحببت».

3 'Abd Allâh ibn Yûsuf related to us: Al-Layth related to us: Ibn al-Hâd related to us, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn Khabbâb, on the authority of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî, [who said] that

٣ حدثنا عبد الله بن يوسف: حدثنا الليث: حدثنا ابن الهاد عن عبد الله بن خباب عن أبى سعيد الخدرى

and thus became guilty of a tremendous spiritual crime. His attitude towards the Prophet, however, and the self-sacrificing love for the latter which he had shown throughout his life, mitigated Abû Ṭâlib's sin and, thus, his tribulation after death.

This Tradition fully reveals the Islâmic attitude regarding the problem as to whether mere belief in heart without an open acknowledgment and acceptance of the tenets of Islâm can procure salvation. The answer is clearly in the negative. Islâm, being not only a metaphysical faith, but also a programme of life, both spiritual and material, demands of man an unequivocal declaration of his adherence to its tenets, and not merely a tacit admission of their truth, as was probably the case with Abû Ṭâlib. For a full discussion of this problem, see Bkh ii/18.

1 'Abd Allâh ibn Abî Umayyah al-Makhzûmî was a brother of Umm Salamah, who later became the Prophet's wife (cf. p. 177, n. 2). He embraced Islâm shortly before the conquest of Mecca and fell in the battle of Ṭâ'if, 8 A.H. (*Isti'âb* I, 337.)

2 According to Traditions quoted by Ibn Sa'd (I/i, 78), Abû Ṭâlib told the Prophet that the only reason for his perseverance in the "religion of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib" was the apprehension lest the pagan Quraysh attribute his conversion to the fear of death.

3 Qur'ân ix, 113.

4 *Ibid.*, xxviii, 56.

أنه سمع النبي ﷺ وذكر عنده عمه فقال: لعله تنفعه شفاعتي يوم القيامة فيجعل في ضحضاح من النار يبلغ كعبيه يغلى منه دماغه.

HE heard the Prophet say, when someone mentioned his uncle [Abû Ṭâlib]: It may be that my intercession will be avail for him on the Day of Resurrection, and he will be put in shallow fire reaching up to his ankles[1]; and this will make his brain boil.[2]

حدثنا ابراهيم بن حمزة: حدثنا ابن أبي حازم والدراوردي عن يزيد بهذا وقال: «تغلى منه أم دماغه».

Ibrâhîm ibn Ḥamzah related to us: Ibn Abî Ḥâzim and ad-Darâwardî related to us, on the authority of Yazîd[3], the same [Tradition], using the words, "which will make the membranes of his brain boil".

١٧ باب
حديث الاسراء

SECTION XVII
THE STORY OF THE NIGHT JOURNEY[4]

1 See p. 182, n. 4.

2 This reference to Abû Ṭâlib's "brain" shows that the Prophet regarded his uncle's sin as a sin of the intellect: he had failed to discern between the true value of Islâm and the merely conventional value of social pride (see p. 182, n. 5), and thus it would be his mind, here symbolised by "brain", that would suffer most.

3 *I.e.*, Yazîd ibn al-Hâd, who is among the transmitters of the above Tradition (cf. *isnâd*).

4 The Night Journey to Jerusalem and the subsequent Ascension are, in reality, two stages of one event. Al-Bukhârî, however, devotes a separate section to the Night Journey, because it is explicitly mentioned in the Qur'ân and has thus achieved a significance of its own.

According to most of the authorities, this event occurred about one year before the *hijrah* (cf. Ibn Sa'd I/i, 143). The Prophet found himself transported at night to the place of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem, and was subsequently borne to heaven. The first part of his journey is called the Night Journey *(Isrâ')*, and the second, Ascension *(Mi'râj)*. The Prophet was mounted on a strange and wonderful steed, called al-Burâq, and was accompanied by Gabriel.

From the earliest times of Islâm there existed a difference of opinion regarding the nature of this experience. The majority of the Companions and of the commentators believe that both the Night Journey and the Ascension were bodily occurrences, although some of them admit of the possibility that the Prophet experienced several such night journeys and ascensions, some of which might have been purely spiritual. The minority are of opinion that there had been only a spiritual Night Journey and a spiritual Ascension. For details of this controversy, which has excited the minds of Muslim scholars from the earliest times, the reader is referred to Ibn Hishâm I, 242; Ibn al-Athîr II, 33 ff; Ibn Kathîr V, 140 ff; *Zâd al-Ma'âd* II, 47 ff; *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 155 ff; 'Aynî IV, 39 f. Other works bearing on this subject, particularly the Qur'ân-commentaries of Ibn Jarîr aṭ-Ṭabarî and Fakhr ad-Dîn ar-Râzî, as well as the philosophical works of al-Ghazzâlî and Shâh Walî Allâh, are referred to in my note on Bkh xlix/23.

Those who maintain that the Night Journey and the Ascension were physical experiences refer to a corresponding belief of some Companions and most of the *tâbi'ûn*. In addition to this, some scholars (particularly in modern times) lay stress on the words *asrâ bi-'abdihi* ("He [God] transported His servant at night"), occuring in Qur'ân xvii, 1, and contend that the expression *isrâ'* is always used in the Qur'ân with respect to a physical journey at night time (*e.g.*, xxvi, 52). In the same way they reason that the expression *'abd* denotes a living human being composed of body and soul. Now, although it is a fact that the Qur'ân generally uses the term *isrâ'* in the above sense, there is no linguistic support forthcoming for the contention that it *cannot* be used in a spiritual

sense as well. As a matter of fact, none of the older authorities who took part in the controversy as to whether the Prophet had performed it in waking or "in dream", ever took any objection, on linguistical grounds, to the use of the term *isrâ'* in connection with a dream-experience (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 157). While the present writer does not subscribe to the view that the Night Journey and the Ascension were dream-experiences (see below), it is worthwhile to note that, so far as the term *isrâ'* is concerned, there is no ground to suppose that it can be applied only to a physical journey and to nothing else.—As to the use of the term *'abd* in the above-mentioned verse of the Qur'ân, I cannot agree with the commentators who say that it must necessarily, and in all cases, denote a combination of body and soul—for also the angels, whom we presume to be spiritual beings, are addressed in the Qur'ân as *'ibâd*. It is obvious that the expression *asrâ bi-'abdihî* does not refer to the physical quality of the Prophet, but rather to the fact of his being an *'abd*, a servant of God. The extraordinary favour of heavenly ascension conferred upon the Prophet might have easily given rise to the erroneous belief that he was a divine being—as was the case with the Christians with regard to Jesus. In order to counteract such a belief, the Qur'ân stresses the fact that it was but a *servant of God* who was thus blessed by his Creator.—As to the argument, that the majority of the Companions appear to have believed that the Prophet performed the Night Journey and the Ascension in his physical body, we have not a single Tradition to the effect that the Prophet *told* them this; thus, we are lacking the evidence of the only authority whose word could be final in this respect—namely, that of the Prophet himself.

As against the above meagre arguments in favour of a "physical" Night Journey and Ascension, we have plenty of indirect evidence in authentic Traditions to the effect that it was a spiritual experience (but, at the same time, not a dream). The most convincing argument in favour of this view is forthcoming from the use of symbolical descriptions in many Traditions relating to it. Some of these descriptions occur in No. 1 of sec. 18 in this work, and I have discussed them in the footnotes. Several other Traditions, quoted by Ibn Ḥajar (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 158 f), are very illuminating in this respect, *e.g.*, the following Tradition on the authority of Anas:

"[On his Night Journey to Jerusalem,] the Prophet heard someone calling him so as to turn him away from his path; but Gabriel said: Go on!—Then he met an old woman, and asked: Who is she?—And [Gabriel] answered: The one who has called thee was Iblîs, and the old woman is this mortal world *(dunyâ)*."—So far as the "call of Iblîs" is concerned, it is quite possible, if one so wishes, to regard it as a bodily occurrence. But the same can certainly not be said of the "world" in the symbolical garb of an old woman.

Another Tradition, on the authority of Abû Hurayrah *(ibid.)*, shows even more clearly the spiritual quality of the Prophet's experiences during his Night Journey:

"[The Prophet] passed by people who were sowing and harvesting; and every time they completed their harvest, [the grain] grew up again. Gabriel said: These are the fighters in the way of God *(mujâhidûn)*.—Then they passed by people whose heads were being shattered by rocks; and every time they were shattered, they became whole again. [Gabriel] said: These are they whose heads were neglectful of prayer.—Then they passed by people who were naked but for rags over their private parts, and they were grazing like cattle. [Gabriel] said: These are they who did not pay the sacred tax *(zakâh)*.—Then they passed by people who were eating raw, rotting meat, and were throwing away cooked, wholesome meat. [Gabriel] said: These are the adulterers."—The rest of this Tradition continues in a similar vein. The Prophet encounters various forms of abasement and suffering, and Gabriel explains to him that they are representative of the punishment which sinners have to endure for the evil they have done in this world.

In another Tradition, on the authority of Anas, we are told that on his Night Journey the Prophet visited Moses *in his grave*, and found him praying (cf. Ibn Kathir V, 111). Similar Traditions could be quoted in great numbers. Is there any room, after this, for the assumption that the Prophet's experiences in the Night Journey (and, consequently, in the Ascension) were anything but spiritual? This was evidently also the view of several Companions, *e.g.*, 'Â'ishah and

Mu'âwiyah (cf. Ibn Hishâm I, 242), and some of the greatest *tâbi'ûn*, like al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrî (cf. *Zâd al-Ma'âd* II, 48).

But it appears that the question, "bodily or spiritual", is of no great weight as compared with the fact, readily accepted by most of the Muslims, that the Night Journey and the Ascension were *real* experiences of the Prophet—real in the sense of having actually taken place in the objective world, and not merely in his fancy or dream. For, while there is—apart from personal opinions of some Companions and most of the later Qur'ân-commentators—no cogent reason for the unbiassed student to believe in a "bodily" Night Journey and Ascension, there is, on the other hand, no reason to suppose that these events took place merely in dream. The older theologians of Islâm, who possessed only the rudiments of psychological knowledge, could not conceive of any alternative to a physical experience but a dream. It appeared to them—and rightly so—that these wonderful occurrences, so important from the viewpoint of Islâmic eschatology, would greatly lose in significance if they were relegated to the domain of mere dream. In the meantime, however, we have come to know that, in connection with this problem, a dream-experience is not the only alternative to a physical experience. The results of modern psychical research, although still in their infancy and fairly vague, have at least revealed the fact that not every so-called spiritual experience (that is, an experience in which the known organs of the body have no part) must necessarily be a mere manifestation of the "mind"—whatever this term may connote—but that it may be not less real, or "actual", than anything that man can experience by means of his physical organism. We know as yet very little about the quality of psychical functions and manifestations, and it is, therefore, well-nigh impossible to reach definite conclusions as to the nature of experiences based on a temporary separation of the spirit from—or rather, independence of—a living body. Nevertheless, certain observations of modern psychologists have confirmed the possibility of such experiences, claimed from time immemorial by adherents of various esoteric doctrines in the East. In the event of such a temporary "split of personality" (as we are constrained to call it owing to the lack of a better term), the active part of man, that is, his spirit, appears to be able freely to traverse time and space, and sometimes also to condense facts and occurrences widely separated in time and symptoms, into symbolical "manifestations" or phenomena of great clearness and comprehensiveness. When it comes to communicating such phenomena to ordinary mortals who have never experienced anything of this kind, the subject (in this case, the Prophet) is obliged to resort to figurative expressions; and this would account for the highly allegorical style of the Traditions relating to the Night Journey and the Ascension.

At this place I should like to draw the reader's attention to the interesting discussion of "spiritual Ascension" by one of the greatest scholars of Islâm, Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawzî (*Zâd al-Ma'âd* II, 48 f):

"As mentioned by Ibn Isḥâq, 'Â'ishah and Mu'âwiyah maintained that [the Prophet's] Night Journey was performed by his soul *(bi-rûḥihi)*, while his body did not leave its place. The same is reported on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrî. But it is necessary to know the difference between the saying, 'the Night Journey took place in dream *(manâman)*', and the saying, 'it was [performed] by his soul without his body'. The difference between these two [views] is tremendous . . . What the dreamer sees are mere reproductions *(amthâl)* of forms already existing in his mind; and so he dreams, [for example,] that he ascends to heaven or is transported to Mecca or to [other] regions of the world, while [in reality] his spirit neither ascends nor is transported . . .

"Those who have reported the Ascension of the Apostle of God can be divided into two groups: one group maintained that the Ascension was in spirit *and* in body, and the other group maintained that it was performed by his spirit, while his body did not leave its place. But these latter [also] do not mean to say that the Ascension took place in dream: they merely mean that it was his soul itself which actually went on the Night Journey and ascended to heaven, and that the soul witnessed things which it [otherwise] witnesses after death [lit., *mufâraqah*, *i.e.*, separation]. Its condition on that occasion was similar to the condition [of the soul] after death . . . But that which the Apostle

The Word of God, exalted be He: Glory be unto Him Who transported His servant by night from the Sacred Temple to the Farthest Temple . . .[1]

وقول الله تعالى: سبحان الذى أسرى بعبده ليلاً من المسجد الحرام الى المسجد الأقصى . . .

Yaḥyâ ibn Bukayr related to us: Al-Layth related to us, on the authority of 'Uqayl, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb [who said]: Abû Salamah ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân related to me: I heard Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh [say] that

حدثنا يحيى بن بكير: حدثنا الليث عن عقيل عن ابن شهاب: حدثنى أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن: سمعت جابر بن عبد الله (رض)

HE heard the Apostle of God say: When the Quraysh accused me of lying,[2] I remained [praying] in the enclosure of the Ka'bah.[3] Thereupon God displayed Jerusalem

أنه سمع رسول الله ﷺ يقول: لما كذبنى قريش قمت فى الحجر؛ فجلا الله لى بيت المقدس،

of God experienced on his Night Journey was superior to the [ordinary] experiences of the soul after death, and, of course, was far above the dreams which one sees in sleep . . . As to the Prophets [whom the Apostle of God met in heaven], it was but their souls which had come to dwell there after their separation from the bodies, while the soul of the Apostle of God ascended there in his lifetime."

It is obvious that this kind of spiritual experience is not only not inferior, but, on the contrary, vastly superior to anything that bodily organs could ever perform or record; and it goes without saying, as already mentioned by Ibn al-Qayyim, that it is equally superior to what we term "dream-experiences", for the latter have no objective existence outside the subject's mind, while spiritual experiences of the kind referred to above are not less "real" (that is, objective) than anything which could be experienced "in body". By assuming that the Night Journey and the Ascension were "spiritual", we do not diminish the extraordinary value attaching to this experience of the Prophet. On the contrary, it appears that the fact of his having had such an experience by far transcends any miracle of bodily ascension, for it presupposes a personality of tremendous spiritual perfection—the very thing which we expect from a true Prophet of God. It is improbable that we will be ever in a position fully to comprehend spiritual experiences of this kind. Our mind can only operate with elements provided by our consciousness of time and space; and everything that extends beyond this particular set of conceptions will always defy our attempts at a clear-cut definition.

In any case, we see that even in times long since past the discussion of the nature of Night Journey and Ascension was not merely the privilege of "heretics", as some of the present-day theologians would make us believe. For a more detailed consideration of the psychical problems involved, I refer the reader to my note on Bkh xlix/23—a section devoted to the saying that "the Prophet's heart was awake while his eye slept".

1 Qur'ân xvii, 1.—The Prophet's Night Journey to Jerusalem, previous to his Ascension, was apparently meant to show that Islâm is not a new doctrine but a continuation of the same Divine Message which was preached by the Prophets of old, who had Jerusalem as their spiritual home. This view is supported by Traditions (quoted in *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 158), according to which the Prophet offered prayers, during his Night Journey, at Yathrib, Sinai, Bethlehem, etc. His encounters with other Prophets, mentioned in sec. 18, No. 1, are symbolical of the same idea. The well-known Traditions to the effect that the Prophet, after his Night Journey, led a prayer in the Temple of Jerusalem, in which all other Prophets ranged themselves behind him, expresses in a figurative way the doctrine that Islâm, as preached by the Prophet Muḥammad, is the fulfilment and perfection of mankind's religious development, and that Muḥammad is the last and greatest of the Apostles of God.

2 *I.e.*, when, in the morning after the Night Journey, he told them of his experiences. A vivid description of this encounter with the Quraysh, led by Abû Jahl, is found in Ibn Ḥanbal I, 309.

3 *I.e.*, in the *Ḥijr* (see p. 157, nn. 5 and 6). According to another version of this Tradition

before me, and I began describing it to them while I was still looking at it.

فطفقت أخبرهم عن آياته وأنا أنظر اليه.

SECTION XVIII

THE ASCENSION[1]

١٨ باب

المعراج

1 Hudbah ibn Khâlid related to us: Hammâm ibn Yaḥyâ related to us: Qatâdah related to us, on the authority of Anas ibn Mâlik, on the authority of Mâlik ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah [who said]:

١ حدثنا هدبة بن خالد: حدثنا همام بن يحيى: حدثنا قتادة عن أنس بن مالك عن مالك بن صعصعة (رض)

THE Prophet of God related to them the story of his Night Journey, and said: While I lay on the ground in the *Ḥaṭîm*[2],

أن نبي الله ﷺ حدثهم عن ليلة أسرى به قال: بينما أنا في الحطيم

—or perhaps he said: in the *Ḥijr*[2] —,

— وربما قال: في الحجر —

lo, someone[3] came and cut open

مضطجعاً اذ أتاني آت فقدّ

—[Qatâdah] said: I also heard him[4] say: split open—

— قال: وسمعته يقول: فشق —

[my breast] from here to here.

ما بين هذه الى هذه.

[Qatâdah said:] Then I asked al-Jârûd[5], who was sitting by my side: What is meant thereby?—He answered: From the pit at the top of his breast to below his navel. I also heard him[6] say: ... from the uppermost part of his breast to below his navel.[7]

فقلت للجارود وهو الى جنبي: ما يعني به؟ قال: من ثغرة نحره الى شعرته. وسمعته يقول: ... من قصه الى شعرته.

Then he took my heart out. And a golden basin full of faith was brought unto me, and my heart was washed [therein] and was filled [with faith]; then it was restored to its place.[8]

فاستخرج قلبي: ثم أُتيت بطست من ذهب مملوءة ايماناً، فغُسِل قلبي ثم حُشِي ثم أعيد:

(Ibn Sa'd I i, 144 f), the pagan Quraysh asked the Prophet on that occasion to describe to them Jerusalem which, as they well knew, he had never visited; but the Prophet had already forgotten what he had seen on his Night Journey, and so he was greatly distressed at being unable to vindicate himself by an exact description of Jerusalem. Thereupon God displayed that city before his spiritual eye, as is also narrated in the present Tradition.

1 For a full discussion of the Ascension, see p. 184, n. 4. 2 See p. 157, nn. 5 and 6.

3 This was Gabriel, as is evident from the subsequent portions of this Tradition.

4 *I.e.*, Anas. These variants show that Anas narrated this Tradition more than once.

5 Perhaps Ibn Abî Sabrah al-Baṣrî, Anas's friend, is meant ('Aynî XVII, 23).

6 *I.e.*, Anas.

7 From the different expressions forthcoming in this and other versions of this Tradition it appears that the Prophet merely indicated the spot with his hand, while the transmitters later used words to indicate it.

8 The "opening of the breast" was an experience which the Prophet had apparently had more than once. The best-known is that which is said to have happened in his childhood, while he was in the charge of his nurse, Ḥalîmah, among the tribe of Banû Sa'd (cf. Ibn Sa'd I i, 70 and 96 f). It is difficult indeed to understand how the Muslim theologians could take this occurrence in the literal, physical sense. The reference, in the present Tradition, to the washing and filling of the

Thereupon a white steed, smaller than a mule and larger than an ass, was brought unto me.

Al-Jârûd asked: Was this the Burâq[1], O Abû Ḥamzah[2]?—Anas answered: Yea.—

Its stride was as long as the eye could reach.[3] And I was mounted on it, and Gabriel took me with him to the nearest heaven[4], and demanded that it be opened. [A voice] asked: Who is it?—[Gabriel] answered: Gabriel.—And who is with thee?—Muḥammad.—And hath he received the Message?—Yea.—Welcome unto him! His is a blessed arrival!—And [the heavenly gate] was opened. When I entered [the heaven], lo! there was Adam; and [Gabriel] said: This here is thy father, Adam; offer him thy greeting.—And I greeted him, and he answered my greeting and said: Welcome unto the righteous son, the righteous Prophet!

Then [Gabriel] ascended with me still higher, and [we] reached the second heaven; and he demanded that it be opened. [A voice] asked: Who is it?—[My guide] answered: Gabriel.—And who is with thee?—Muḥammad.—And hath he received the Message?—Yea.—Welcome unto him! His is a blessed arrival!—And [the gate] was opened. When I entered, lo! [I saw] John and Jesus, the two cousins. [Gabriel] said: These here are John and Jesus; offer them thy greeting.—And I greeted [them], and they answered [my greeting] and said: Welcome unto the righteous brother, the righteous Prophet!

Then [Gabriel] ascended with me to the third heaven, and demanded that it be opened. [A voice] asked: Who is it?—Gabriel answered: Gabriel.—And who is with thee?—Muḥammad.—And hath he received the

ثم أتيت بدابة دون البغل وفوق الحمار أبيض

— فقال له الجارود: هو البراق يا أبا حمزة؟

— قال أنس: نعم. —

يضع خطوه عند أقصى طرفه. فحملت عليه فانطلق بي جبريل حتى أتى السماء الدنيا فاستفتح، فقيل: من هذا؟ — قال: جبريل. — قيل: ومن معك؟ — قال: محمد. — قيل: وقد أُرسل اليه؟ — قال: نعم. — قيل: مرحباً به فنعم المجيء جاء! — ففتح؛ فلما خلصت فاذا فيها آدم. فقال: هذا أبوك آدم، فسلم عليه. — فسلمت عليه فرد السلام ثم قال: مرحباً بالابن الصالح والنبي الصالح!

ثم صعد بي حتى أتى السماء الثانية فاستفتح، قيل: من هذا؟ — قال: جبريل. — قيل: ومن معك؟ — قال: محمد. — قيل: وقد أرسل اليه؟ — قال: نعم. — قيل: مرحباً به فنعم المجيء جاء! — ففتح؛ فلما خلصت اذا يحيى وعيسى وهما ابنا الخالة. قال: هذا يحيى وعيسى، فسلم عليهما. — فسلمت فردا ثم قالا: مرحباً بالأخ الصالح والنبي الصالح!

ثم صعد بي الى السماء الثالثة فاستفتح، قيل: من هذا؟ — قال: جبريل. — قيل: ومن معك؟ — قال: محمد. — قيل: وقد أرسل اليه؟ — قال:

heart with faith clearly shows that the Prophet himself regarded this event as a spiritual experience; for faith is an abstract conception, and could not by any stretch of imagination be regarded as possessing bodily substance.

1 The name of the heavenly steed seems to be derived from *barq* ("lightning"); it alludes to the quickness of its motion, as is evident from the subsequent description of the length of its stride.

2 This was Anas's *kunyah*.

3 See n. 1 above.

4 Lit., "heaven of this world".

Message?—Yea. Welcome unto him! His is a blessed arrival!—And [the gate] was opened. When I entered, lo! [I saw] Joseph. [Gabriel] said: This here is Joseph; offer him thy greeting.—And I greeted him, and he answered [my greeting] and said: Welcome unto the righteous brother, the righteous Prophet!

Then [Gabriel] ascended with me still higher, and [we] reached the fourth heaven; and he demanded that it be opened. [A voice] asked: Who is it?—[My guide] answered: Gabriel.—And who is with thee?—Muḥammad.—And hath he received the Message?—Yea.—Welcome unto him! His is a blessed arrival!—And [the gate] was opened. When I entered, lo! I saw Idrîs. Gabriel said: This here is Idrîs; offer him thy greeting.—And I greeted him, and he answered [my greeting] and said: Welcome unto the righteous brother, the righteous Prophet!

Thereafter [Gabriel] ascended with me still higher, and [we] reached the fifth heaven; and he demanded that it be opened. [A voice] asked: Who is it?—[Gabriel] answered: Gabriel.—And who is with thee?—Muḥammad.—And hath he received the Message?—Yea.—Welcome unto him! His is a blessed arrival!—And when I entered, lo! [I saw] Aaron. [Gabriel] said: This here is Aaron; offer him thy greeting.—And I greeted him, and he answered [my greeting] and said: Welcome unto the righteous brother, the righteous Prophet!

Then [my guide] ascended with me still higher, and [we] reached the sixth heaven; and he demanded that it be opened. [A voice] asked: Who is it?—[My guide] answered: Gabriel.—Who is with thee?—Muḥammad:—And hath he received the Message?—Yea.—Welcome unto him! His is a blessed arrival!—And when I entered, lo! [I saw] Moses. [Gabriel] said: This here is Moses; offer him thy greeting.—And I greeted him, and he answered [my greeting] and said: Welcome unto the righteous brother, the righteous Prophet!—And when I passed [by him], he wept. Someone asked him: What maketh thee weep?—[Moses] answered: I weep because after me there hath been sent [as

نعم. — قيل: مرحباً به فنعم المجيء جاء! — ففُتِح: فلما خلصت اذا يوسف. قال: هذا يوسف. فسلم عليه. — فسلمت عليه فرد ثم قال: مرحباً بالأخ الصالح والنبي الصالح!

ثم صعد بي حتى أتى السماء الرابعة فاستفتح، قيل: من هذا؟ — قال: جبريل. — قيل: ومن معك؟ — قال: محمد. — قيل: وقد أرسل اليه؟ — قال: نعم. — قيل: مرحباً به فنعم المجيء جاء! — ففُتِح؛ فلما خلصت الى ادريس قال: هذا ادريس، فسلم عليه. — فسلمت عليه فرد ثم قال: مرحباً بالأخ الصالح والنبي الصالح!

ثم صعد بي حتى أتى السماء الخامسة فاستفتح، قيل: من هذا؟ — قال: جبريل. — قيل: ومن معك؟ — قال: محمد. — قيل: وقد أرسل اليه؟ — قال: نعم. — قيل: مرحباً به فنعم المجيء جاء! — فلما خلصت فاذا هرون. قال: هذا هرون، فسلم عليه. — فسلمت عليه فرد ثم قال: مرحباً بالأخ الصالح والنبي الصالح!

ثم صعد بي حتى أتى السماء السادسة فاستفتح، قيل: من هذا؟ — قال: جبريل. — قيل: من معك؟ — قال: محمد. — قيل: وقد أرسل اليه؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: مرحباً به فنعم المجيء جاء! — فلما خصلت فاذا موسى. قال: هذا موسى، فسلم عليه. — فسلمت عليه فرد ثم قال: مرحباً بالأخ الصالح والنبي الصالح! — فلما تجاوزت بكى. قيل له: مايبكيك؟ — قال: أبكي لأن غلاماً بعث

Prophet] a young man whose followers will enter Paradise in greater numbers than my followers.

Thereafter Gabriel went up with me to the seventh heaven, and demanded that it be opened. [A voice] asked: Who is it?—[Gabriel] answered: Gabriel.—And who is with thee?—Muḥammad.—And hath he received the Message?—Yea.—Welcome unto him! His is a blessed arrival!—And when I entered, lo! [I saw] Abraham. [My guide] said: This here is thy father; offer him thy greeting.—And I greeted him, and he returned my greeting, saying: Welcome unto the righteous son, the righteous Prophet![1]

Thereafter I was made to see the Lote-Tree of the Farthest Limit[2]: its drupes were like the jars of Hajar[3], and its leaves like elephant-ears[4]. [Gabriel] said: This is the Lote-Tree of the Farthest Limit.—And lo! [I saw] four rivers—two hidden rivers and two manifest rivers. I said: What are these two [kinds of rivers], O Gabriel?—He answered: As to the two hidden ones, they are rivers of Paradise; and as to the two manifest ones, they are the Nile and the Euphrates.[5]—Then I was made to see the

بعدى يدخل الجنة من أمته أكثر من يدخلها من أمتى.

ثم صعدبى الى السماء السابعة فاستفتح جبريل، قيل: من هذا؟ — قال: جبريل. — قيل: ومن معك؟ — قال: محمد. — قيل: وقد بعث اليه؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: مرحباً به فنعم المجيء جاء! — فلما خلصت فاذا ابراهيم. قال: هذا أبوك، فسلم عليه. — قال: فسلمت عليه فرد السلام قال: مرحباً بالابن الصالح والنبي الصالح!

ثم رفعت لى سدرة المنتهى، فاذا نبقها مثل قلال هجر و اذا ورقها مثل آذان الفيلة. قال: هذه سدرة المنتهى. — و اذا أربعة أنهار — نهران باطنان و نهران ظاهران. فقلت: ما هذان يا جبريل؟ — قال: أما الباطنان فنهران فى الجنة، وأما الظاهران فالنيل والفرات. — ثم رفع لى

1 Regarding the meaning of the symbolical meetings of the Apostle of God with former Prophets, see p. 187, n. 1.

2 *Sidrat al-muntahâ* (cf. Qur'ân liii, 14). The author of *Mufradât* suggests, in explanation of this Qur'ânic expression, that the *sidr* (Arabian lote-tree) is, owing to the abundance of its shade, symbolical of the shade of Paradise (Râghib, in the margin of *Nihâyah*, II, 143). Pursuing this trend of thought, we may perhaps assume that the expression "Lote-Tree of the Farthest Limit" is indicative of the limit of all knowledge allowed to created beings: though great and wonderful in itself, their knowledge, even in Paradise, can never attain to the limitless perfection of the knowledge which the Creator has reserved for Himself.

3 Hajar was the name of an ancient town in Arabia, but it is difficult to-day to ascertain where it was situated. Even the older authorities (cf. *Mu'jam al-Buldân* VIII, 445 f) are not unanimous on this point, and they refer to several places of that name, particularly one in Baḥrayn (which term, at that time, connoted the East-Arabian littoral) and one near Madînah; probably the latter is meant here. It is said that the jars manufactured in Hajar were famous throughout Arabia for their exceptional size. It may be that the comparison of the fruits of the Lote-Tree with the "jars of Hajar" is meant to convey an idea of the extent of heavenly knowledge—as is probably also the case with the enormous leaves mentioned in the sequence.

4 See preceding note, last sentence.

5 It appears to me that the two "manifest" rivers, the Nile and the Euphrates, symbolically describe the area—geographical and spiritual—of the religious development which culminated in Islâm: for it is in the countries between these two rivers that all the Prophets mentioned in the

Much-Frequented House[1]; and then a vessel full of wine, a vessel full of milk, and a vessel full of honey were brought to me; and I took the milk. Thereupon [Gabriel] said: This is [a symbol of] the inclination toward all that is natural in life[2]; and it is this that thou and thy community stand for.[3]

Thereafter prayers were elevated to a duty[4]—fifty prayers a day. When I was returning, I passed by Moses, and he said: What hath been enjoined upon thee?—I[5] answered: Fifty prayers a day have been

البيت المعمور، ثم أتيت باناء من خمر واناء من لبن واناء من عسل، فأخذت اللبن. فقال: هي الفطرة، أنت عليها وأمتك.

ثم فرضت عليّ الصلوات — خمسين صلاة كل يوم. فرجعت فمررت على موسى فقال: بما أُمرت؟ — قال: أمرت بخمسين صلاة كل يوم.

Qur'ân as the spiritual precursors of Islâm, as well as the Prophet Muḥammad himself, lived and preached. The use of the term "manifest" in this connection would imply that the complex religious manifestations which have taken place between "the Nile and the Euphrates"—that is, the teachings of all the Qur'ânic Prophets up to the Holy Prophet of Islâm—contain all the moral and spiritual truths which God regarded as necessary for the life of this world, and which He revealed, or made manifest, to mankind through His Apostles. Besides this, God will reveal to the righteous, in the final illumination of the Paradise, hitherto hidden sources of Truth (symbolised by the "hidden" rivers), and will make them comprehend problems which are beyond the grasp of mortal man.—I should like to make it clear that I do not presume to give in the above a definite interpretation of this or any of the other mystical expressions occurring in this Tradition. I offer no more than suggestions; and it is for the reader to examine them with an open mind.

1 The "Much-Frequented House" *(al-bayt al-ma'mûr)* is mentioned in the Qur'ân (lii, 4). As is evident from another version of this Tradition (Bkh xlvii/6, No. 1), meant is the Temple which myriads of heavenly beings visit in adoration of their Creator. It is said to have been the spiritual prototype of the Ka'bah in Mecca (Ibn Kathîr VIII, 76), which is the earthly symbol of the Oneness of God in the same sense as the "Much-Frequented House" is its heavenly symbol.

2 It is very difficult to render the Arabic term *fiṭrah* into English. It denotes the original constitution, or disposition, with which a child comes into this world, as contrasted with qualities or inclinations acquired during life; besides this, it refers to the spiritual inclination inherent in man in his unspoilt state. In this Tradition, the Prophet's inclination towards the natural things in life is symbolised by milk—the only food for which the new-born child has a natural, instinctive desire—in contrast to wine and honey, the taste for which is merely acquired.

3 The deepest aim of Islâm consists in the directing and training of the human mind in such a way that man may conform to all that is natural in life. The Qur'ân says (xcv, 4): "Verily, We have created man in the best disposition"—and the whole of the Islâmic teachings converges on the endeavour to preserve the original, inborn purity of man, to promote the conscious contact between instinct and reality—in other words, to evolve a type of man which lives in co-ordination with Nature, and not against it. Only a society answering to this characteristic may be termed Islâmic in the true sense of the word.

4 Lit., "prayers were made obligatory for me". In another version of this Tradition (Bkh viii/1, No. 1), occur the words: "And God made the prayers obligatory for my community." I have translated the above phrase as "elevated to a duty", because even before the Ascension the Prophet and his followers used to pray; but these prayers had not yet been regulated by the *shari'ah*, and the obligation was only a moral one. It was during the Ascension that the Prophet was bidden to declare the five daily prayers as an integral part of the Islâmic dispensation.

5 In the text, "he".

enjoined upon me.—[Moses] said: Behold, thy community cannot bear fifty prayers a day. By God! I have tested men before thee, and I exerted myself to the utmost with the Children of Israel.[1] Go back, then, unto thy Sustainer, and beg of Him to lighten thy community's burden.—So I went back, and [God] granted me a remission of ten [prayers]. Then I came again to Moses, but he repeated what he had said [before]. I went back, and [the Lord] granted me a remission of ten [more]. Then I came again to Moses, but he repeated what he had said [before]. And I went back, and [the Lord] granted me a remission of ten [more]. Then I came again to Moses, but he repeated what he had said [before]. And I went back, and ten prayers a day were enjoined upon me. Then I came again [to Moses], but he repeated what he had said [before]. And I went back, and five prayers a day were enjoined upon me. Then I came again to Moses, and he asked: What hath been enjoined upon thee?—I answered: Five prayers a day have been enjoined upon me.—He said: Behold, thy community cannot bear [even] five prayers a day. I have tested men before thee, and I exerted myself to the utmost with the Children of Israel. Go back, then, unto thy Sustainer, and beg of Him to lighten thy community's burden.—I answered: I have begged so much of my Sustainer that I feel ashamed. But I am content now, and I shall submit [to God's will].—And when I left, I heard a voice: I have confirmed My injunction, and have lightened the burden of My worshippers![2]

— قال: ان أمتك لا تستطيع خمسين صلاة كل يوم، و انى والله قد جربت الناس قبلك وعالجت بنى اسرائيل أشد المعالجة. فارجع الى ربك فاسأله التخفيف لأمتك. — فرجعت فوضع عنى عشراً. فرجعت الى موسى فقال مثله. فرجعت فوضع عنى عشراً. فرجعت الى موسى فقال مثله. فرجعت فوضع عنى عشراً. فرجعت الى موسى فقال مثله. فرجعت فأمرت بعشر صلوات كل يوم. فرجعت فقال مثله. فرجعت فأمرت بخمس صلوات كل يوم. فرجعت الى موسى فقال: بما أمرت؟ — قلت: أمرت بخمس صلوات كل يوم. — قال: ان أمتك لا تستطيع خمس صلوات كل يوم، و انى قد جربت الناس قبلك وعالجت بنى اسرائيل أشد المعالجة. فارجع الى ربك فاسأله التخفيف لأمتك. — قال: سألت ربى حتى استحييت؛ ولكن أرضى وأسلّم. — قال: فلما جاوزت نادانى مناد: أمضيت فريضتى وخففت عن عبادى!

1 Moses had, of all the Prophets of old, the greatest experience regarding the guidance of a nation—a fact borne out by the frequent references in the Qur'ân to his history and his heroic endeavours to guide aright the Children of Israel. It had become obvious to Moses that too great a stress on a particular mode of worship is bound to lessen the ability of a people to conform to the duties of religion. Confronted by too exacting a demand with regard to one aspect of worship, people are soon disheartened and gradually give up the performance even of the remaining duties. Knowing all this, Moses recalled to the Prophet of Islâm the example of the Children of Israel who had been overburdened with too elaborate a ritual and have often, in consequence, gone to the other extreme, namely, forsaking the very elements of their faith. In order to save the Muslim community from a similar calamity, Moses repeatedly implored the Prophet Muḥammad to beg of God an alleviation of the burden of prayers.

2 This beautiful story of the imposition of five daily prayers on Muslims is, of course, not to

2 Al-Ḥumaydî related to us: Sufyân related to us: 'Amr related to us, on the authority of 'Ikrimah,

ON the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs. Concerning His Word, exalted be He, *We ordained the vision which We shewed thee but as a temptation for mankind,*[1] he said: This is [an allusion to] that which the Apostle of God was shewn in his vision[2] on the night when he was transported to Jerusalem.

['Ikrimah] added:

[Concerning] *the Accursed Tree in the Qur'ân,*[3] [Ibn 'Abbâs] said: This is the tree of az-Zaqqûm.[3]

SECTION XIX

THE DEPUTATIONS OF THE *ANṢÂR* TO THE PROPHET AT MECCA, AND THE PLEDGE OF 'AQABAH[4]

٢ حدثنا الحميدى: حدثنا سفيان: حدثنا عمرو عن عكرمة

عن ابن عباس (رض) فى قوله تعالى «و ما جعلنا الرؤيا التى أريناك الا فتنة للناس» قال: هى رؤيا عين أريها رسول الله ﷺ ليلة أسرى به الى بيت المقدس.

قال:

«والشجرة الملعونة فى القرآن» قال: هى شجرة الزقوم.

١٩ باب

وفود الأنصار الى النبى ﷺ بمكة وبيعة العقبة

be taken in the sense that God was ever "undecided" concerning the number of prayers to be imposed on His worshippers. The way this duty was established is merely meant to show that the burden of the Muslims is lighter than that imposed on their predecessors, and that it is well within the individual ability of man.

1 Qur'ân xvii, 60. This verse obviously refers to the disbelief of the Quraysh regarding the Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension (see the Tradition in sec. 17). The "temptation" consisted—as it consists to-day—in the rejection of the Prophet's account on the ground that it apparently does not conform to our ordinary experience.

2 Lit., "the vision *(ru'yâ)* of the aspect which he was shown". Regarding the translation of *'ayn* as "aspect" or "outward appearance", see Lane V, 2216. This explanation of the Qur'ân-verse by Ibn 'Abbâs is often misunderstood as meaning "a vision with the physical eye". This interpretation is untenable, as the term *ru'yâ* generally denotes a vision in dream (cf. *Lisân al-'Arab* XIX, 9)—in this case, something seen with the spiritual eye—as distinct from *ru'yah*, meaning "seen with the physical eye". It is obvious that Ibn 'Abbâs was not trying, in this connection, to explain the quality of the Prophet's "vision", but that he simply pointed out that the Qur'ân-verse in question refers to the Night Journey and the Ascension.

3 Qur'ân xvii, 60. This second part of the verse has no direct connection with the story of the Ascension. This also shows that Ibn 'Abbâs's explanation of the whole verse was probably part of a discourse on the Qur'ân as such, and did not specially deal with the problem of the Ascension, as mentioned in the preceding note.

4 This refers to one of the most momentous events in the life of the Prophet and, consequently, in the history of Islâm. 'Aqabah is a place in Minâ, near Mecca, where pilgrims returning from 'Arafât spend the three days of the *'id al-aḍḥâ*; even in pre-Islâmic times this was a custom of the heathen Arabs who had preserved the ancient ceremonies of the pilgrimage. There the Prophet used to approach members of different tribes, who had come for pilgrimage, with the request to support him in his mission. But all his endeavours were in vain until he met some men of the tribes Aws and Khazraj of Yathrib (as Madînah was then called) who accepted Islâm at his hands. Their subsequent accounts, at Yathrib, of the Prophet and his teachings were so glowing that the people

1 Yaḥyâ ibn Bukayr related to us: al-Layth related to us, on the authority of 'Uqayl, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb;——

(h) and Aḥmad ibn Ṣâliḥ related to us: 'Anbasah related to us: Yûnus related to us, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, who said: 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Ka'b ibn Mâlik informed me that 'Abd Allâh ibn Ka'b (who was Ka'b's guide after the latter had become blind[1]) said:

I HEARD Ka'b ibn Mâlik[1] relate the story of his remaining behind the Prophet in the campaign of Tabûk.[2]

In his version, Ibn Bukayr related [the following]:[3]

[Ka'b] added: Verily, I was with the Prophet on the Night of 'Aqabah, when he made with us the covenant of Islâm; and not even for a participation in the battle of Badr would I part with this [memory],[4] although

١ حدثنا يحيى بن بكير: حدثنا الليث عن عقيل عن ابن شهاب——

(ح) وحدثنا أحمد بن صالح: حدثنا عنبسة: حدثنا يونس عن ابن شهاب قال: أخبرني عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن كعب بن مالك أن عبد الله بن كعب (وكان قائد كعب حين عمي) قال:

سمعت كعب بن مالك يحدث حين تخلف عن النبي ﷺ في غزوة تبوك (بطوله).

قال ابن بكير في حديثه:

ولقد شهدت مع النبي ﷺ ليلة العقبة حين تواثقنا على الاسلام، وما أحب أن لي بها مشهد

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of Aws and Khazraj, awakened to interest, sent during the next season of pilgrimage twelve men to see the Prophet on their behalf. They met him at 'Aqabah, a little over a year before the *hijrah*, and went back to Yathrib fully convinced of the truth of Islâm. This meeting is called the First Pledge of 'Aqabah. Shortly afterwards, the Prophet sent Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr (see p. 88, n. 5) to Yathrib to teach the Qur'ân to the people there; and after the lapse of one year there was hardly a family left in Yathrib without one or more of its members, men and women, converted to Islâm. In the next year, on the night of the 11th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, a few months before the *hijrah*, the Prophet was met at the same place again by a second deputation from Yathrib—this time more than seventy men and two women. 'Abbâs ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's uncle, addressed the men of Aws and Khazraj and explained to them the difficulties they would have to encounter if they undertook to protect the Prophet and his religion from the persecutions of the Quraysh; but they solemnly promised to help the cause of Islâm and to defend it with their lives: thence the appellation *Anṣâr* (helpers), by which the early Muslims of Madînah came to be known in history. This was the Second Pledge of 'Aqabah. Then the Prophet selected twelve men from among them and appointed them as elders (*nuqabâ'*, sing., *naqîb*) over the new Muslim community of Yathrib. Shortly afterwards, he himself migrated there. (Ibn Sa'd I/i, 147 ff; Ibn Hishâm I, 255 ff.)

1 For particulars about Ka'b ibn Mâlik, see Bkh lii/81. He became blind towards the end of his life (*Istî'âb* I, 216).

2 The reference is to the long Tradition quoted in Bkh lii/81, from which the subsequent saying of Ka'b has been extracted.

3 Thus the author draws our attention to the fact that of the two versions of the above-mentioned Tradition referred to in the *isnâd*, only the version of Ibn Bukayr contains Ka'b's saying about his participation in the Pledge of 'Aqabah.

4 Lit., "I would not like to exchange it for a participation in the battle of Badr". The battle of Badr was the first decisive victory of the Muslims over the pagan Quraysh. But although its importance for the subsequent history of Islâm was enormous, Ka'b ibn Mâlik gave to the Pledge of 'Aqabah a higher rank in his estimation, because it was virtually then and there that the Muslims ceased to be the helpless victims of persecution and were enabled to establish, with the help of

Badr is more renowned among the people than that [event].

بدر و ان كانت بدر أذكر فى الناس منها.

2 'Alî ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us: Sufyân related to us, saying: 'Amr used to say:

٢ حدثنا على بن عبد الله: حدثنا سفيان قال: كان عمرو يقول:

I HEARD Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh[1] say: My two maternal uncles[2] were present with me at 'Aqabah.[3]

سمعت جابر بن عبد الله (رض) يقول: شهد بى خالاى العقبة.

Abû 'Abd Allâh [al-Bukhârî] said: Ibn 'Uyaynah said: One of the two [uncles] was al-Barâ' ibn Ma'rûr.[4]

قال أبو عبد الله: قال ابن عيينة: أحدهما البراء ابن معرور.

3 Ibrâhîm ibn Mûsâ related to me: Hishâm informed us that Ibn Jurayj informed them: 'Aṭâ' said:

٣ حدثنى ابراهيم بن موسى: أخبرنا هشام أن ابن جريج أخبرهم: قال عطاء:

JÂBIR said: I, my father[5] and my two maternal uncles[6] were among the Com-

قال جابر: أنا و أبى وخالاى من أصحاب

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the new converts of Yathrib, the strong, united polity which became the basis of the later expansion of Islâm. The Pledge of 'Aqabah ushered in a new era in the destinies of Islâm, and it was but due to this historic event that the victory of Badr became possible.—It is to be noted that Ka'b ibn Mâlik himself did not participate in the battle of Badr for reasons shown in Bkh lii/81.

1 Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr as-Sulamî embraced Islâm on the occasion of the Second Pledge of 'Aqabah, some months before the *hijrah*. He went to 'Aqabah as a child in the company of his father, who also embraced Islâm at that time. Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh took part in almost all of the Prophet's campaigns, as well as on 'Alî's side in the battle of Ṣiffîn. He died in Madînah, most probably in the year 74 A.H. (*Istî'âb* I, 85.)

2 Jâbir's mother, Unaysah bint 'Anamah (or Ghanamah) ibn 'Adî (see Ibn Sa'd VIII, 298), had two brothers, Tha'labah *(ibid.)* and 'Amr (*Istî'âb* II, 430). Both these persons are mentioned by Ibn Hishâm (I, 277) among those who had participated in the Second Pledge of 'Aqabah. It is most probable, therefore, that it is they to whom Jâbir refers in the above Tradition. See also n. 4 below.

3 *I.e.*, on the occasion of the Second Pledge.

4 It appears that Sufyân ibn 'Uyaynah made a wrong guess when he suggested that one of Jâbir's maternal uncles was al-Barâ' ibn Ma'rûr, for the latter was not a brother of Jâbir's mother, although he was related to her (for his genealogy, see Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 146). As has been shown in n. 2 above, Jâbir's two maternal uncles who participated in the Second Pledge of 'Aqabah were Tha'labah and 'Amr. Some authorities suggest (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 176 f) that Sufyân may not have been wrong in assuming that al-Barâ' ibn Ma'rûr was one of the "maternal uncles" referred to, as it was a custom of the Arabs to designate thus not only the actual brothers of one's mother, but also her other near relatives. But in this case there is no need for such an assumption, as it is historically established that two real maternal uncles of Jâbir had participated in the Second Pledge.—As to al-Barâ' ibn Ma'rûr, he was one of the chiefs of Khazraj, and one of the elders appointed by the Prophet on the occasion of the Second Pledge. He died about one month before the *hijrah*. In his last will he bequeathed one-third of his possessions to the Prophet. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 146 f; *Istî'âb* I, 57.)

5 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥarâm; he was one of the twelve elders of 'Aqabah, participated in the battle of Badr, and fell in that of Uḥud (*Istî'âb* I, 367).

6 In some of the texts (cf. *Ṣaḥîḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamîd, vol. V, 55), this word is in the singular

panions of 'Aqabah.

العـقبة .

4 Isḥâq ibn Manṣûr related to me: Ya'qûb ibn Ibrâhîm informed us: [Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh,'] the nephew of Ibn Shihâb, related to us, on the authority of his uncle [Ibn Shihâb], who said: Abû Idrîs 'Â'idh Allâh informed me that

'UBÂDAH ibn aṣ-Ṣâmit,[2] who had taken part in the battle of Badr with the Apostle of God, and had been among his companions on the Night of 'Aqabah, reported that the Apostle of God, surrounded by a group of his companions, said[3]: Come and pledge unto me that ye will associate naught with God, and will not steal, and will not commit adultery, and will not kill your children,[4] and will not utter slander invented by yourselves,[5] and will not disobey me with regard to [the rules of] right conduct. And whoso of you fulfilleth this promise, God will reward him. And whoso committeth aught of these [sins] and then is punished in this world, this [punishment] shall be his atonement. And whoso committeth aught of these, and then God hideth his sin, his destiny will rest with God: if He willeth, He will punish him, and if He willeth, He will forgive him.

[And 'Ubâdah] added: And thus I pledged unto him.[6]

٤ حدثنى اسحق بن منصور : أخبرنا يعقوب بن ابراهيم : حدثنا ابن أخى ابن شهاب عن عمه قال : أخبرنى أبو ادريس عائذ الله

أن عبادة بن الصامت من الذين شهدوا بدراً مع رسول الله ﷺ و من أصحابه ليلة العقبة أخبره أن رسول الله ﷺ قال و حوله عصابة من أصحابه : تعالوا بايعونى على أن لا تشركوا بالله شيأ ولا تسرقوا ولا تزنوا ولا تقتلوا أولادكم ولا تأتون ببهتان تفترونه بين أيديكم و أرجلكم ولا تعصونى فى معروف . فمن وفى منكم فأجره على الله ؛ و من أصاب من ذلك شيأ فعوقب به فى الدنيا فهو له كفارة ؛ و من أصاب من ذلك شيأ فستره الله فأمره الى الله : ان شاء عاقبه و ان شاء عفا عنه .

قال : فبايعته على ذلك .

5 Qutaybah related to us: Al-Layth related to us, on the authority of Yazîd ibn Abî Ḥabîb, on the authority of Abu'l-Khayr, on the authority of aṣ-Ṣunâbiḥî,

٥ حدثنا قتيبة : حدثنا الليث عن يزيد بن أبى حبيب عن أبى الخير عن الصنابحى

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form, *khâlî* ("my maternal uncle"). Considering the preceding Tradition (No. 2), the dual form *(khâlâya)* is definitely preferable.

1 Cf. 'Aynî XVII, 33.

2 'Ubâdah ibn aṣ-Ṣâmit ibn Qays al-Khazraji took part in both the deputations to 'Aqabah, and was one of the twelve *naqîbs* appointed by the Prophet on the occasion of the Second Pledge. He participated in all campaigns of the Prophet. 'Umar appointed him *qâḍî* of Ḥimṣ in Syria. He died in Ramlah (Palestine) in 34 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 93 f; *Istî'âb* II. 412.)

3 This is an incident of the First Pledge of 'Aqabah (cf. Ibn Hishâm I, 261).

4 Allusion to the barbarous custom of the pre-Islâmic Arabs who often killed their new-born daughters when they regarded them as superfluous.

5 Lit., "which you make up between your hands and feet".

6 The pledge thus formulated was the one which the Prophet demanded from the men of Yathrib on the accasion of their first deputation to 'Aqabah. It has since become known as "the pledge of women" *(bay'at an-nisâ')*, because the Prophet accepted such a pledge in 8 A.H. from the newly converted women of Mecca (cf. Qur'ân lx, 12).

ON the authority of 'Ubâdah ibn aṣ-Ṣâmit, who said: I was one of the elders[1] who swore allegiance to the Apostle of God [at 'Aqabah]. He added: We pledged unto him that we would associate naught with God, and would not steal, and would not commit adultery, and would not kill, save under the Law, any human being which God had forbidden to kill, and would not rob, and would not disobey [the laws in general]. We were promised Paradise if we did [right]; and if we committed aught of these [sins], the reckoning thereof would rest with God.

عن عبادة بن الصامت (رض) أنه قال: انى من النقباء الذين بايعوا رسول الله ﷺ. وقال: بايعناه على أن لانشرك بالله شيأ ولا نسرق ولا نزنى ولا نقتل النفس التى حرم الله الا بالحق ولا ننتهب ولا نعصى: بالجنة ان فعلنا ذلك. فان غشينا من ذلك شيأ كان قضاء ذلك الى الله.

SECTION XX

THE PROPHET'S WEDDING WITH 'Â'ISHAH, HER ARRIVAL AT MADÎNAH, AND THE CONSUMMATION OF HIS MARRIAGE WITH HER[2]

٢٠ باب

تزويج النبى ﷺ عائشة وقدومها المدينة وبنائه بها

1 *I.e.*, one of the twelve *naqibs* appointed by the Prophet.

2 Shortly after Khadîjah's death, about two and a half years before the Hijrah, the Prophet married 'Â'ishah, who was at that time between six and seven years old. On that occasion only the wedding ceremony was performed. The marriage was consummated in Madînah, about three years later; 'Â'ishah was at that time between nine and ten years old. There is some confusion concerning these dates, but the cumulative evidence of Traditions in all of *aṣ-Ṣiḥâḥ as-Sittah*, supported by a great number of reports in Ibn Sa'd (VIII, 39 f), Ṭabarî (II, 257) and Ibn Hishâm (II, 417), should be sufficient to remove all doubts regarding the fact that 'Â'ishah was formally married at the age of six to seven, and that she came into the Prophet's house when she was a little over nine years old. The most confusing factor in the calculation of these dates is the custom of the Arabs to count only full years without mentioning the months. Thus, a period often appears to have been shorter or longer than it was in reality. An example of this sort of calculation is apparent from the Tradition in which 'Â'ishah says that the Prophet married her when she was six, that the marriage was consummated when she was nine, and that she lived with him for nine years (cf. Bkh Iv/39-40). Now, it is established that their marriage was consummated in the month of Shawwâl, 1 A.H. (cf. Ibn Sa'd, *loc. cit.*). The Prophet died in Rabî' I, 11 A.H. Thus, 'Â'ishah lived with him in reality for nine years and five months—and not merely nine years, as she says.

It appears that the initiative in the matter of his marriage with 'Â'ishah did not proceed from the Prophet himself. After Khadîjah's death he was so depressed and dispirited that his Companions were afraid for his life (cf. Ibn Sa'd VIII, 41). Thereupon a Muslim woman, Khawlah bint Ḥakîm, requested him to re-marry, and suggested two women—the middle-aged Sawdah bint Zam'ah, widow of a Companion, and the young daughter of Abû Bakr, 'Â'ishah; and the Prophet allowed Khawlah to arrange matters on his behalf (Ibn Ḥanbal VI, 210 f). As 'Â'ishah was still very young, she became only nominally the Prophet's wife. As regards Sawdah, her marriage with the Prophet was contracted at about the same time, and was consummated in Mecca shortly before the Prophet's emigration to Madînah (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 36; cf. also *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 179). Thus, after Khadîjah's death the Prophet remained virtually without wife for about two years, as is also evident from Tradition No. 3 of this section.—The above-mentioned story of Khawlah bint Ḥakîm shows that the Prophet himself was not particularly eager to marry 'Â'ishah or, for that matter, anybody else;

1 Farwah ibn Abi'l-Maghrâ' related to us: 'Alî ibn Mushir related to us, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father ['Urwah],

١ حدثنا فروة بن أبي المغراء: حدثنا علي بن مسهر عن هشام عن أبيه

ON the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said: The Prophet wedded me when I was six years old. [Later] we went to Madînah[1] and stayed with the Banu'l-Ḥârith ibn Khazraj.[2] I got fever and lost my hair; but [soon] it grew again until it reached the shoulders. My mother, Umm Rûmân,[3] came unto me[4] while I was [playing] on a swing together with some of my girl-friends. She called me, and I went unto her, not knowing what she wanted of me. She took me by the

عن عائشة (رض) قالت: تزوجني النبي ﷺ وأنا بنت ست سنين. فقدمنا المدينة فنزلنا في بني الحرث بن خزرج: فوعكت فتمرق شعري فوفى جميمة. فأتتني أمي أم رومان وإني لفي أرجوحة ومعي صواحب لي، فصرخت بي فأتيتها لا أدري ما تريد بي. فأخذت بيدي

this disposes of the ridiculous allegation made by some European orientalists, that he "succumbed to 'Â'ishah's charms". That this was not the case is proved not only by the circumstances narrated above, but also by a Tradition quoted by Ibn Sa'd (VIII, 43), which tells us that some three years later, when they were all established at Madînah, Abû Bakr had to *remind* the Prophet that he take his bride home—for till then 'Â'ishah had remained in her father's house. Incidentally, this reminder would imply that by then 'Â'ishah had reached puberty, and that Abû Bakr had become aware of it.

Modern Muslims, influenced by Western conceptions of marriage and sex-relations in general, are sometimes perplexed by the thought that the Prophet took for his wife a girl of about nine or ten years. For anyone, however, who knows something about the rapid physical development of Arabian women there is hardly anything astonishing in such marriages. During my long sojourn in Arabia I have come across one or two cases where a girl of twelve became mother; and I was told, on very good authority, that sometimes even younger mothers have given birth to living children. As regards 'Â'ishah, her mental precocity is fairly obvious from many Traditions; and it is very probable that her physical development went hand in hand with the mental. In any case, during the years of her married life she not only gave happiness to her husband, but also herself found, besides the honour of being allied to the Apostle of God, all the happiness and satisfaction which a woman could expect from marriage: and this, I believe, provides the strongest human justification of this alliance, and an answer to those who think that they must ignore historical evidence if it happens to clash with their own arbitrary, entirely subjective, notions as to what should or should not have occurred.

1 Within a few days after their arrival at Madînah, the Prophet and Abû Bakr sent for their families which had remained in Mecca. Zayd ibn Ḥârithah and Abû Râfi' went on behalf of the Prophet, and 'Abd Allâh ibn Urayqit, the Prophet's and Abû Bakr's guide in their journey to Madînah, on behalf of Abû Bakr. The two families, together with several other *Muhâjirs* (among them, Ṭalhah), reached Madînah at the time when the Prophet was building the mosque there. (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 42 f.)

2 The clan of Banu'l-Ḥârith ibn Khazraj lived in the locality called Sunḥ; Abû Bakr had his house there (cf. *Mu'jam al-Buldân* V, 148 f; see also p. 30, n. 1, in the present work).

3 Umm Rûmân bint 'Amir al-Kinâniyyah, 'Â'ishah's mother, married Abû Bakr after her first husband's death, and bore him, besides 'Â'ishah, his son 'Abd ar-Raḥmân; she died in 6 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 202).

4 This happened in Shawwâl, 1 A.H. Cf. p. 198, n. 2.

hand, made me stand at the house-door — for I was out of breath —, until I could breathe easier. Then she took a little water and bathed therewith my face and my head. Thereafter she made me enter the house. And lo, there were women of the *Anṣâr* in the house, and they said: Good luck [unto thee], and good fortune, and plenty of happiness! — Thereupon [my mother] left me to them, and they dressed me up. And suddenly, ere I was aware of anything, the Apostle of God appeared, and [the women] left me to him. And at that time[1] I was nine years old.

حتى أوقفتنى على باب الدار و انى لأنهج حتى سكن بعض نفسى، ثم أخذت شيأ من ماء فمسحت به وجهى ورأسى، ثم أدخلتنى الدار. فاذا نسوة من الأنصار فى البيت فقلن: على الخير و البركة و على خير طائر! — فأسلمتنى اليهن، فأصلحن من شأنى، فلم يرعنى الا رسول الله ﷺ ضحى فأسلمنى اليه. و أنا يومئذ بنت تسع سنين.

2 Mu'allâ related to us: Wahayb related to us, on the authority of Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of his father,

ON the authority of 'Â'ishah. The Prophet said unto her: Thou wert shown to me twice in dream.[2] I saw thee [wrapped] in a piece of silk, and someone said: This is thy wife. — Thereupon I uncovered [the cloth], and lo, it was thou! Then I thought: If this [dream] is from God, He will fulfil it.

٢ حدثنا معلى: حدثنا وهيب عن هشام بن عروة عن أبيه

عن عائشة (رض) أن النبى ﷺ قال لها: أريتك فى المنام مرتين. أرى أنك فى سرقة من حرير و يقول: هذه امرأتك. — فأكشف فاذا هى أنت؛ فأقول: ان يك هذا من عند الله يمضه.

3 'Ubayd ibn Ismâ'îl related to us: Abû Usâmah related to us, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father ['Urwah], who said:[3]

KHADÎJAH passed away three years before the Prophet's migration to Madînah. He remained for two years, or nearly so long, [without wife].[4] He wedded 'Â'ishah when she was six years old. And he consummated his marriage with her, when she was nine years old.

٣ حدثنا عبيد بن اسمعيل: حدثنا أبو أسامة عن هشام عن أبيه قال:

توفيت خديجة قبل مخرج النبى ﷺ الى المدينة بثلاث سنين، فلبث سنتين أو قريباً من ذلك. و نكح عائشة وهى بنت ست سنين؛ ثم بنى بها و هى بنت تسع سنين.

1 Lit., "on that day" — an idiomatic usage of the Arabs, which should not be taken literally.

2 *I.e.*, before the marriage was consummated.

3 'Urwah was a *tâbi'î* and did not witness the events related in this Tradition, which has thus the appearance of a *hadîth mursal*. But as 'Urwah has reported a great number of Traditions on the authority of 'Â'ishah, we can safely assume that he heard this one also from her.

4 Some commentators have misunderstood this Tradition as meaning that the Prophet married 'Â'ishah two years after Khadîjah's death — which assumption is contradicted by ample evidence to the effect that this marriage was celebrated a little over one month after Khadîjah's death and was consummated three years later. The period of two years or so during which the Prophet remained without wife is the time between Khadîjah's death and the consummation of his marriage with Sawdah, which occurred shortly before the *hijrah*. (Cf. p. 198, n. 2.)

SECTION XXI

THE MIGRATION OF THE PROPHET AND HIS COMPANIONS TO MADÎNAH[1]

٢١ باب

هجرة النبي ﷺ و أصحابه الى المدينة

1 The *hijrah* of the Prophet and his Companions to Madînah heralded an entirely new era in the history not only of Islâm but of the world. Thanks to the support offered by the *Anṣâr*, the Prophet was able to realise the aim for which he had hitherto striven in vain: the establishment of a theocratic polity, the first of its kind in the world. All organisations on a theocratic or semi-theocratic basis before Islâm had been limited by narrow conceptions of tribal homogeneity; thus, in the early theocratic state of the Jews, when God was supposed to rule, it was necessarily the God of the Children of Israel alone. In the structure of Islâmic thought, considerations of descent or tribal adherence never had any room; but the true significance of this attitude was not fully realised until the *hijrah*. While the Muslims were still in Mecca, Islâm affected mostly Quraysh, their slaves or freedmen, and a few individuals from other tribes. To many of the non-Muslim Quraysh it appeared to be no more than a local extravagance, albeit very unpleasant to the conservative mind of the Meccans. But the *hijrah* changed everything. Suddenly it became clear both to Muslims and non-Muslims that Islâm aimed at much more than a mere moral re-orientation of man, as was the case with Christianity, or the fulfilment of a national destiny with the help of the moral imperative, as was the case with Judaism: with the migration of the Prophet and his Companions to Yathrib it became clear that Islâm aspired, among other things, to the establishment of a self-contained political community which cut across the conventional divisions of tribe and race. The fire of persecution, endured for more than a decade, had purified and steeled the minds of the Muslims. But more than this: it had helped them to realise that ties of tribal kinship were of no importance as compared with the higher loyalty towards an idea. The new conception of a brotherhood of men united not by bonds of blood-relationship but by their consciousness of common outlook on life and common aspirations, found its expression in the Islâmic principle of *ummah*—an organisation open to everyone—of whatever race or colour he be—who stands for the common ideal, and closed to everyone, even one's nearest kinsman, in case he refuses to accept the same. And more than thirteen centuries before this century of ours, which has elevated the conception of "nationality" to the status of godhead, Islâm unfolded before the world the dazzling spectacle of an idealistic—but none the less severely practical—commonwealth which was spiritually as far ahead of any society conceived on "national" lines as a motorcar is ahead of an oxcart. The *hijrah* of the Holy Prophet and his Companions to Madînah became the living symbol of this development.

Towards the end of the year 1 B.H. and in the beginning of 1 A.H., most of the Meccan Muslims who had not gone previously to Ethiopia migrated in batches to Yathrib. Many of them had to go secretly, as the pagan Quraysh did everything they could to stop this emigration. Only a few families remained in Mecca, among them those of the Prophet and of Abû Bakr. After having made sure that most of his Companions had safely reached their destination, the Prophet, accompanied by Abû Bakr, set out on the 1st Rabî' al-awwal on their historic journey northwards, and, according to the most trustworthy reports, reached Qubâ', a suburb of Yathrib, on the 12th of the same month. (For a description of their route see Ibn Sa'd I i, 157, and Ibn Hishâm I, 295.) Born in the midst of danger and suffering and self-sacrifice, the cause of Islâm found at last a congenial soil among the inhabitants of Yathrib, which henceforth came to be known as *Madînat an-Nabî*, the City of the Prophet.

As regards the above-mentioned dates of the Prophet's departure from Mecca and arrival at Madînah, no absolute reliance can be placed on them, for the reports are not unanimous. Arab historians are notoriously weak regarding dates. The difference of opinion with reference to the *hijrah* is perhaps partly due to the fact that Muslims reckon the beginning of a month from the

'Abd Allâh ibn Zayd and Abû Hurayrah reported [the following] on the authority of the Prophet: [He said:] Were it not for the hijrah, *indeed I should [like to] be one of the* Anṣâr.[1] — *And Abû Mûsâ reported [the following] on the authority of the Prophet: I saw myself in dream migrating from Mecca to a land of palm-trees. I thought it was Yamâmah or Hajar*[2]*, but it was the town of Yathrib.*[3]

وقال عبد الله بن زيد و أبو هريرة (رض) عن النبي ﷺ: لولا الهجرة لكنت امرأ من الأنصار. — و قال أبو موسى عن النبي ﷺ: رأيت فى المنام أنى أهاجر من مكة الى أرض بها نخل؛ فذهب وهلى الى أنها اليمامة أو هجر، فاذا هى المدينة يثرب.

1 Al-Ḥumaydî related to us: Sufyân related to us: Al-A'mash related to us, saying: I heard Abû Wâ'il say:

١ حدثنا الحميدى: حدثنا سفيان: حدثنا الأعمش قال: سمعت أبا وائل يقول:

WE visited Khabbâb[4], who was ill, and he said: We migrated with the Prophet [to Madînah], seeking the pleasure of God; and with God is our reward. And there were

عدنا خباباً فقال: هاجرنا مع النبي ﷺ نريد وجه الله، فوقع أجرنا على الله. فمنا من

appearance of the new moon; thus, errors must evidently occur here and there. The three days which the Prophet and Abû Bakr spent in the cave on Mt. Thawr (see No. 9 of this section) may have contributed to this uncertainty, for some historians count those days as part of the journey, while others calculate the beginning of the journey from the moment when the two fugitives left the cave (which is so near Mecca that it may be regarded as being situated almost within the precincts of the town). So, *e.g.*, Ṭabarî (II, 254) says that the Prophet left Mecca on a Monday, and reached Madînah (or, to be more exact, Qubâ') on Monday, the 12th Rabî' I. It appears that the first Monday (according to this calculation, the 5th Rabî' I) refers to the departure not from Mecca proper but from Mt. Thawr. This view is supported by Ibn Sa'd (I i, 157), who explicitly mentions that the Prophet and Abû Bakr left Mt. Thawr in the night of the 5th (*i.e.*, the night preceding the 5th), which was a Monday. As against this, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr quotes a report on the authority of al-Kalbî (*Istî'âb* I, 18), to the effect that they left the cave (and not Mecca proper) on the 1st, which was a Monday (according to the calculation of Ibn Sa'd and Ṭabarî, the 1st should have been a Thursday). Regarding the date of the arrival at Qubâ', the historians are still less unanimous. Ibn Ḥajar (*Fath al-Bârî* VII, 194) mentions several dates suggested by various authors; these dates cover almost the whole of the month of Rabî' I, and are, therefore, not at all helpful. Most of the authorities, however, agree in that it was the 12th. Besides Ibn Sa'd and Ṭabarî *(loc. cit.)*, Ibn Hishâm also (I, 295) subscribes to this view. But while these three authorities state that the 12th Rabî' I fell on a Monday, al-Kalbî *(Istî'âb, loc. cit.)* maintains that it was a Friday. On the whole, the most probable dates are: departure from Mecca, 1st; departure from Mt. Thawr, 5th; arrival at Qubâ', 12th. In Caetani's *Chronographia* (I. 2) we find the following dates of the Christian Era corresponding to the Muslim dates: 1st Rabî' I — 13th September, 622 A.C.; 5th Rabî' I — 17th September; 12th Rabî' I — 24th September. As regards the week-days, Caetani's calculation coincides with that of al-Kalbî, the 1st being a Monday, and the 12th, a Friday; but the week-days as given by Ibn Sa'd and Ṭabarî (*i.e.*, departure from Mecca on Thursday, from Mt. Thawr on Monday, and arrival at Qubâ' on Monday) are, on the whole, better supported by the evidence of other reliable Traditions.

1 This is a fragment from two Traditions quoted (on the authority of Abû Hurayrah) in Bkh l/35 and (on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn Zayd) in Bkh lii/58, No. 6.

2 Town near Madînah. See p. 191, n. 3.

3 Fragment of a Tradition quoted in full in Bkh xlix/24, No. 49.

4 Notice about this Companion on p. 159, n. 1.

some of us who passed away without having obtained any reward [in this world]; one of these was Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr[1]. He was killed in the battle of Uḥud and left behind him [naught but] a striped cloak[2]. And when we covered his head therewith, his feet remained uncovered; and when we covered his feet, his head remained uncovered. Thereupon the Apostle of God bade us cover his head [with the cloak] and put some sweet rush over his feet. And there were some from among us whose fruit ripened [in this world], and they were able to gather it.[3]

مضى لم يأخذ من أجره شيأ، منهم مصعب بن عمير قتل يوم أحد وترك نمرة، فكنا اذا غطينا بها رأسه بدت رجلاه، واذا غطينا رجليه بدا رأسه. فأمرنا رسول الله ﷺ أن نغطى رأسه ونجعل على رجليه شيأ من إذخر. ومنا من أينعت له ثمرته فهو يهدبها.

2 Musaddad related to us: Ḥammâd ibn Zayd related to us, on the authority of Yaḥyâ, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Ibrâhîm, on the authority of 'Alqamah ibn Waqqâṣ, who said: I heard 'Umar say:

٢ حدثنا مسدد: حدثنا حماد هو ابن زيد عن يحيى عن محمد بن ابراهيم عن علقمة بن وقاص قال: سمعت عمر (رض) قال:

I CERTAINLY heard the Prophet say: Deeds [will be judged] according to the intention. Hence, whoso migrateth for the sake of this world or to wed a woman,[4] his migration will be [judged according] to that toward which he migrated. And whoso migrateth for the sake of God and His Apostle, his migration will be [judged as performed] unto God and His Apostle.[5]

سمعت النبى ﷺ أراه يقول: الأعمال بالنية. فمن كانت هجرته الى دنيا يصيبها أو امرأة يتزوجها فهجرته الى ما هاجر اليه؛ ومن كانت هجرته الى الله ورسوله فهجرته الى الله ورسوله.

1 See p. 88, n. 5.

2 A *namirah* was a striped woollen garment of the kind called *burdah*, resembling the striped *'abâyah* which the Arabs of the Syrian Desert and the northernmost Najd wear to this day.

3 *I.e.*, their endeavours were rewarded by affluence in their lifetime.

4 Although most of the Companions (or, more correctly, all real Companions) migrated to Madînah for the sake of Islâm alone, it happened that some persons betook themselves from Mecca to Madînah for the sake of worldly gains, and particularly for the sake of easy marriage. We have the following Tradition on the authority of Ibn Mas'ûd (*Iṣâbah* VIII, 269): "There was among us [*i.e.*, at Madînah] a man who asked in marriage a woman named Umm Qays; but she refused to marry him unless he migrated [to Madînah]. So he migrated and married her, and we used to call him '*Muhâjir* of Umm Qays'." This instance may have been one out of several. The Arabs in pre-Islâmic times used to give their daughters in marriage only to those who could boast of a lineage not less noble than of the girl. But when Islâm proclaimed the principle of equality of all Muslims, many of the early Believers gave their daughters in marriage to other Muslims without regard of their descent. It is probable that some Meccans of lower classes took advantage of the facilities existing in the Muslim community of Madînah, and migrated there and embraced Islâm.

5 No *hijrah* is meritorious in the sight of God unless it is performed in the pursuance of a spiritual ideal. The above Tradition, which lays down the principle of spiritual responsibility of man, is among the best authenticated of all sayings of the Prophet, and al-Bukhârî quotes it in several places of his work. For a discussion of the philosophy underlying this Tradition, see Bkh i, No. 1.

3 Isḥâq ibn Yazîd ad-Dimashqî related to me: Yaḥyâ ibn Ḥamzah related to us, saying: Abû 'Amr al-Awzâ'î related to me, on the authority of 'Abdah ibn Abî Lubâbah, on the authority of Mujâhid ibn Jabr al-Makkî:

'ABD ALLÂH ibn 'Umar used to say: No more *hijrah* after the conquest [of Mecca]![1]

٣ حدثني اسحق بن يزيد الدمشقي: حدثنا يحيى ابن حمزة قال: حدثني أبو عمرو الأوزاعي عن عبدة بن أبي لبابة عن مجاهد بن جبر المكي

أن عبد الله بن عمر (رض) كان يقول: لا هجرة بعد الفتح!

4 And al-Awzâ'î[2] related to me,

ON the authority of 'Âṭâ' ibn Abî Rabâḥ[3], who said: I visited 'Â'ishah together with 'Ubayd ibn 'Umayr al-Laythî[4]. We asked her about the *hijrah*[5], and she answered: There is no *hijrah* now. [Once,] the Faithful were flying for the sake of their religion unto God and His Apostle, fearing lest it be corrupted. But now God hath made Islâm victorious, and [everyone] can worship his Sustainer wherever he liketh. *But* jihâd *and* [*the merit of good*] *intention* [*remain*].[6]

٤ قال يحيى بن حمزة: وحدثني الأوزاعي

عن عطاء بن أبي رباح قال: زرت عائشة مع عبيد بن عمير الليثي، فسألناها عن الهجرة فقالت: لا هجرة اليوم. كان المؤمنون يفر أحدهم بدينه الى الله تعالى و الى رسوله ﷺ مخافة أن يفتن عليه. فأما اليوم فقد أظهر الله الاسلام، واليوم يعبد ربه حيث شاء. ولكن جهاد ونية.

5 Zakariyyâ ibn Yaḥyâ related to me: Ibn Numayr related to us: Hishâm said: And[7] my father ['Urwah] informed me, on the authority of 'Â'ishah [who said]:

SA'D [ibn Mu'âdh] prayed: O God! Thou knowest that there is none upon whom I would more willingly wage war in Thy

٥ حدثني زكرياء بن يحيى: حدثنا ابن نمير: قال هشام: فأخبرني أبي عن عائشة (رض)

أن سعداً قال: اللهم! انك تعلم أنه ليس أحد أحب الي أن أجاهدهم فيك

1 Meant is here the *hijrah* from Mecca to Madînah, which had become unnecessary when Mecca came under Muslim control; this is made clear in Tradition No. 4 of this section. It is obvious that Ibn 'Umar does not refer to *hijrah* in general, for that was, and is, always incumbent upon a Muslim who is not allowed, in his own country, to live according to the tenets of Islâm. In such a case, migration to a Muslim country is ordained in the *sharî'ah*. See also p. 19, n. 4.

2 The transmitters below al-Awzâ'î are the same as those of the *isnâd* of No. 3 (*i.e.*, Isḥâq ibn Yazîd and Yaḥyâ ibn Ḥamzah). Obviously al-Awzâ'î related the Tradition No. 4 in connection with the preceding one, and thus al-Bukhârî did not consider it necessary to repeat the last two links of the *isnâd*.

3 'Aṭâ' ibn Abî Rabâḥ was a *tâbi'î*. He hailed from the district Janad in Yaman, but was brought up in Mecca, where he became renowned for his learning; he died there at the age of eighty-eight in the year 115 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd V, 344 ff).

4 He was a well-known *tâbi'î*; d. 74 A.H. (*Tadhkirah* I, 48).

5 See n. 1 above.

6 The last sentence is a quotation from the Prophet's saying found in Bkh xlvi/1, No. 2, to which refer for explanation.

7 The particle "and" indicates that the Tradition quoted here has been told in conjunction with some other matter, and that the present version is merely a fragment. The complete Tradition is found in Bkh lii/32, No. 6.

من قوم كذبوا رسولك ﷺ وأخرجوه! اللهم! فانى أظن أنك قد وضعت الحرب بيننا و بينهم.

name than those people who accused Thy Apostle of lying and drove him away [from his home]! Indeed I believe that Thou hast already ended the fight between us and them.[1]

وقال أبان بن يزيد: حدثنا هشام عن أبيه: أخبرتنى عائشة: «... من قوم كذبوا نبيك و أخرجوه من قريش.»

And Abân ibn Yazid said: Hishâm related to us, on the authority of his father ['Urwah, who said]: 'Â'ishah told me [the Tradition with this variant]: "... than the people who accused Thy Prophet of lying and drove him away from [the country of] the Quraysh."

٦ حدثنا مطر بن الفضل: حدثنا روح بن عبادة: حدثنا هشام: حدثنا عكرمة عن ابن عباس (رض) قال:

6 Maṭar ibn al-Faḍl related to us: Rawḥ ibn 'Ubâdah related to us: Hishâm related to us: 'Ikrimah related to us, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, who said:

بعث رسول الله ﷺ لأربعين سنة، فمكث بمكة ثلاث عشرة سنة يوحى اليه. ثم أمر بالهجرة فهاجر عشر سنين؛ ومات وهو ابن ثلاث وستين.

THE Apostle of God received his Call when he was forty years old. Then he stayed thirteen years in Mecca, receiving revelations. Thereafter he was bidden to migrate, and he remained for ten years in Madînah.[2] And he died at the age of sixty-three.

٧ حدثنى مطر بن الفضل: حدثنا روح بن عبادة: حدثنا زكرياء بن اسحق: حدثنا عمرو بن دينار عن ابن عباس قال:

7 Maṭar ibn al-Faḍl related to me: Rawḥ ibn 'Ubâdah related to us: Zakariyyâ ibn Isḥâq related to us: 'Amr ibn Dînâr related to us, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, who said:

مكث رسول الله ﷺ بمكة ثلاث عشرة؛ وتوفى وهو ابن ثلاث وستين.

THE Apostle of God stayed in Mecca for thirteen [years][3]; and he passed away at the age of sixty-three.

٨ حدثنا اسمعيل بن عبد الله قال: حدثنى مالك عن أبى النضر مولى عمر بن عبيد الله عن عبيد — يعنى ابن حنين — عن أبى سعيد الخدرى (رض):

8 Ismâ'îl ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us, saying: Mâlik related to me, on the authority of Abu'n-Naḍr the freedman of 'Umar ibn 'Ubayd Allâh, on the authority of 'Ubayd ibn Ḥunayn, on the authority of Abu Sa'îd al-Khudrî [who said]:

أن رسول الله ﷺ جلس على المنبر فقال: ان عبداً خيره الله بين أن يؤتيه من زهرة

THE Apostle of God sat down on the pulpit and said: Behold. God gave one of His servants the choice as to whether he would like that [God] give him all splendour

1 This was the prayer of Sa'd ibn Mu'âdh when dying of a wound received in the Battle of the Moat (4 or 5 A.H.). The whole story is told in Bkh lii/32, No. 6. Al-Bukhârî quotes this Tradition in the section devoted to the Prophet's *hijrah* because of the allusion contained therein to the fact that the Prophet left Mecca owing to the persecutions of the Quraysh.

2 Lit., "was an emigrant during ten years".

3 *I.e.*, after the beginning of his Mission.

of this world or that which is with Him; and [the servant] chose that which is with Him.—Thereupon Abû Bakr wept and said: Our fathers and our mothers may be sacrificed for thee!—And we wondered at this, and the people said [among themselves]: See this old man! The Apostle of God speaketh of a servant of God whom He gave the choice as to whether he would like that [God] give him the splendour of this world or that which is with Him,—and he saith, Our fathers and our mothers may be sacrificed for thee!—But it was the Apostle of God himself who had been given this choice, and Abû Bakr knew it better than we. And the Apostle of God added: Behold, of all people, the most generous toward me with regard to his companionship and his property was Abû Bakr. And were I to choose my dearest friend from among my community, indeed I would choose Abû Bakr; [but I can give him naught] save the true friendship of Islâm. There shall be left no door opening on the mosque save Abû Bakr's door![1]

الدنيا ما شاء و بين ما عنده، فاختار ما عنده. — فبكى أبوبكر و قال: فديناك بآبائنا و أمهاتنا! — فعجبنا له وقال الناس: انظروا الى هذا الشيخ! يخبر رسول الله ﷺ عن عبد خيره الله بين أن يؤتيه من زهرة الدنيا و بين ما عنده وهو يقول: فديناك بآبائنا و أمهاتنا! — فكان رسول الله ﷺ هو المخير و كان أبوبكر هو أعلمنا به. وقال رسول الله ﷺ: ان من أمن الناس علىّ فى صحبته وماله أبابكر: ولو كنت متخذاً خليلاً من أمتى لاتخذت أبابكر، الا خلة الاسلام. لا يبقين فى المسجد خوخة الا خوخة أبى بكر!

9 Yaḥyâ ibn Bukayr related to us: Al-Layth related to us, on the authority of 'Uqayl [who said]: Ibn Shihâb said: And 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr informed me:

٩ حدثنا يحيى بن بكير: حدثنا الليث عن عقيل: قال ابن شهاب: فأخبرنى عروة بن الزبير (رض)

'Â'ISHAH, the Prophet's wife, said: I do not remember my parents otherwise than as followers of the [true] religion. No day passed without the Apostle of God coming to us in the morning and in the evening. When the Muslims began to be persecuted, Abû Bakr set out with the intention of migrating to the country of Ethiopia, and reached Bark al-Ghimâd[2]. [There] Ibn ad-Daghinah[3], the chief of [the tribe of] al-Qârah[4], met him and said: Whereto goest

أن عائشة (رض) زوج النبى ﷺ قالت: لم أعقل أبوى قط الا وهما يدينان الدين؛ و لم يمر علينا يوم الا يأتينا فيه رسول الله ﷺ طرفى النهار بكرة وعشية. فلما ابتلى المسلمون خرج أبوبكر مهاجراً نحو أرض الحبشة حتى بلغ برك الغماد، لقيه ابن الدغنة — وهو سيد القارة —

1 For an explanation of this Tradition, see Bkh I/3. It is repeated in this section, because one of the most outstanding merits of Abû Bakr which made the Prophet say the above words was the old Companion's devotion to his Master during their flight from Mecca.

2 Bark al-Ghimâd (sometimes also spelt Birk or Burk) was a place near the sea-coast, five days south-west from Mecca (*Mu'jam al-Buldân* II, 149).

3 It is difficult to establish the identity of this Ibn ad-Daghinah, for the historical sources mention several persons of that name (see *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 184; 'Aynî XVII, 43).

4 A tribe of the Khuzaymah-group, famous for their skill in archery; they were allies (sing.,

thou, O Abû Bakr?—Abû Bakr answered: My people have made me leave [my country]. Now I am going to wander through the world and to worship my Sustainer.—Thereupon Ibn ad-Daghinah said: Behold, a man such as thou art, O Abû Bakr, should not leave [his country], nor should he be driven away. Thou bringest gain to the destitute, and art kind to thy kindred, and supportest the weak, and art bounteous toward the guest, and helpest those in genuine distress.[1] Behold, I shall be thy protector![2] Return, and worship thy Sustainer in thy own country!—Thereupon [Abû Bakr] returned, and Ibn ad-Daghinah accompanied him.

In the evening [after their arrival in Mecca], Ibn ad-Daghinah visited the nobles of the Quraysh one by one, and spake to them thus: Behold, a man like Abû Bakr should not leave [his country], nor should he be driven away. Do ye drive away a man who bringeth gain to the destitute, is kind to his kindred, supporteth the weak, is bounteous toward the guest, and helpeth those in genuine distress?—The Quraysh could not disregard the protection offered by Ibn ad-Daghinah, and so they said unto him: Bid, then, Abû Bakr worship his Lord in his own house. He may pray and recite there as much as he liketh, but he shall not trouble us therewith, and shall not do it openly, for, behold, we fear lest he lead astray our women and children.

Ibn ad-Daghinah reported this to Abû Bakr. And Abû Bakr did such-wise for a certain time. He worshipped his Lord in his house, and did not pray openly, nor did he recite [the Qur'ân] outside his own house. Thereafter Abû Bakr changed his mind, and built a mosque in front of his house, where he prayed and recited the Qur'ân. The women and children of the idolaters would throng

فقال: أين تريد يا أبابكر؟ — فقال أبوبكر: أخرجنى قومى، فأريد أن أسيح فى الأرض وأعبد ربى. — فقال ابن الدغنة: فان مثلك يا أبابكر لايخرج ولا يخرج. انك تكسب المعدوم وتصل الرحم وتحمل الكل وتقرى الضيف وتعين على نوائب الحق. فأنا لك جار؛ ارجع واعبد ربك ببلدك! — فرجع و ارتحل معه ابن الدغنة.

فطاف ابن الدغنة عشية فى أشراف قريش فقال لهم: ان أبابكر لايخرج مثله ولايخرج. أتخرجون رجلاً يكسب المعدوم ويصل الرحم ويحمل الكل ويقرى الضيف ويعين على نوائب الحق؟ — فلم تكذب قريش بجوار ابن الدغنة وقالوا لابن الدغنة: مر أبابكر فليعبد ربه فى داره فليصل فيها وليقرأ ما شاء ولا يؤذينا بذلك ولايستعلن به، فانا نخشى أن يفتن نساءنا وأبناءنا.

فقال ذلك ابن الدغنة لأبى بكر. فلبث أبوبكر بذلك يعبد ربه فى داره ولا يستعلن بصلاته ولا يقرأ فى غير داره. ثم بدا لأبى بكر فابتنى مسجداً بفناء داره وكان يصلى فيه ويقرأ القرآن، فينقذف عليه نساء المشركين وأبناؤهم وهم يعجبون منه

halîf) of the Qurayshite clan Banû Zuhrah (*Fath al-Bârî* VII, 184).

1 These are exactly the words with which Khadîjah encouraged the Prophet when he was overawed by his first revelation (cf. Bkh i, No. 3). It appears that the phrase was customary among the pre-Islâmic Arabs, and that it represented their outstanding criterion of an "upright man".

2 Being the chief of a tribe allied to the Quraysh (cf. p. 206, n. 4), Ibn ad-Daghinah had a certain influence among the latter.

—Those who had resolved upon migration migrated thereupon to Madînah; and most of those who had [previously] migrated to the country of Ethiopia returned [to Arabia and betook themselves] to Madînah.

And Abû Bakr made ready to go to Madînah; but the Apostle of God said unto him: Wait a while! For, behold, I [also] hope to receive permission therefor [from God].[1] —Abû Bakr exclaimed: Dost thou indeed expect this, O thou for whom I would sacrifice my father?—[The Prophet] answered: Yea.—So Abû Bakr postponed his departure for the sake of the Apostle of God, so that he might keep him company. And he fed two dromedaries, which he happened to possess, with acacia-leaves

—that is, [with] *khabaṭ*[2]—

[continuously] for four months.[3]

Ibn Shihâb said: 'Urwah said:

'A'ishah continued: And we were sitting one day in Abû Bakr's house when, in the heat of noon, someone said to Abû Bakr: The Apostle of God is approaching,[4] his head covered, at this hour at which he never used to visit us before!—And Abû Bakr exclaimed: My father and my mother may be sacrificed for him! By God! naught but a weighty matter could bring him at this hour!—The Apostle of God came and asked leave to enter; and he was let in. He came in and said unto Abû Bakr: Tell everyone who is with thee to go away.—Abû Bakr replied: Behold, only the members of thy family are here.[5]

— فهاجر من هاجر قبل المدينة، ورجع عامة من كان هاجر بأرض الحبشة الى المدينة.

وتجهز أبوبكر قبل المدينة، فقال له رسول الله ﷺ: على رسلك! فانى أرجو أن يؤذن لى. — فقال أبوبكر: وهل ترجو ذلك بأبى أنت؟ — قال: نعم. — فحبس أبوبكر نفسه على رسول الله ﷺ ليصحبه، وعلف راحلتين كانتا عنده ورق السمر

— وهو الخبط —

أربعة أشهر.

قال ابن شهاب: قال عروة:

قالت عائشة: فبينما نحن يوماً جلوس فى بيت أبى بكر فى نحر الظهيرة قال قائل لأبى بكر: هذا رسول الله ﷺ متقنعاً فى ساعة لم يكن يأتينا فيها. — فقال أبوبكر: فداء له أبى وأمى! والله ما جاء به فى هذه الساعة الا أمر! — قالت: فجاء رسول الله ﷺ فاستأذن فأذن له فدخل؛ فقال النبى ﷺ لأبى بكر: أخرج من عندك. — فقال أبوبكر: انما

1 The Prophet never did any important thing without first praying to God for inspiration.

2 This is an explanatory remark by the transmitter Ibn Shihâb (see *isnâd*). *Khabaṭ* is a very sustaining food for camels, consisting of acacia-leaves, dried and mixed with water into a sort of dough. It is especially given during or before long journeys.

3 This reference to the period of four months shows that the Prophet's advice to his Companions, to migrate to Madînah, was given before the Second Pledge of 'Aqabah. It was only after the Second Pledge—*i.e.*, about the middle of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, 1 B.H.—that the advice was changed into an order (cf. Ṭabarî II, 240 f). About two and a half months later the Prophet himself left.

4 Lit., "is here".

5 Abû Bakr referred to his own family as the family of the Prophet, because at that time 'Â'ishah was already the latter's lawful wife, although she still lived in her father's house (cf. p. 198, n. 2). It is obvious that the Prophet did not desire the news of his intended departure to become common knowledge.

My father may be sacrificed for thee, O Apostle of God!—[The Prophet] said: Behold, now I have received permission [from God] to go away.[1]—Abû Bakr exclaimed: [Am I to go in thy] company? [For] I would sacrifice for thee my father, O Apostle of God!—The Apostle of God answered: Yea. —Abû Bakr said: Then take, O Apostle of God, thou for whom I would sacrifice my father, one of these two dromedaries of mine. —The Apostle of God said: [But only] against payment.

'Â'ishah continued: Thereupon we made quick preparations for the journey of the two, and put into a leather-bag some provisions for them. Asmâ', Abû Bakr's daughter, cut a piece of her girdle and tied therewith the mouth of the leather-bag; and hence she was named "She of the Girdle" *(Dhât an-Niṭâq)*.[2]

Later,[3] the Apostle of God and Abû Bakr reached a cave on Mount Thawr and hid themselves there for three nights. 'Abd Allâh ibn Abî Bakr,[4] a sagacious and clever boy, used to stay with them overnight; he would leave them before daybreak, so that he was in the morning with the Quraysh in Mecca as if he had spent the night [there]. And whenever he heard of any hostile plan concerning the two [fugitives], he kept it well in his memory until he was able to reach them under the cover of darkness and com-

هم أهلك بأبى أنت يا رسول الله! — قال: فانى قد أذن لى فى الخروج. — فقال أبو بكر: الصحابة؟ بأبى أنت يا رسول الله! — قال رسول الله ﷺ: نعم. — قال أبو بكر: فخذ بأبى أنت يا رسول الله احدى راحلتى هاتين. — قال رسول الله ﷺ: بالثمن.

قالت عائشة: فجهزناهما أحث الجهاز وصنعنا لهما سفرة فى جراب؛ فقطعت أسماء بنت أبى بكر قطعة من نطاقها فربطت به على فم الجراب، فبذلك سميت «ذات النطاق».

قالت: ثم لحق رسول الله ﷺ وأبو بكر بغار فى جبل ثور فكمنا فيه ثلاث ليال يبيت عندهما عبد الله بن أبى بكر وهو غلام شاب ثقف لقن، فيدلج من عندهما بسحر فيصبح مع قريش بمكة كبائت، فلا يسمع أمرا يكتادان به الا وعاه حتى يأتيهما بخبر ذلك حين يختلط الظلام. ويرعى

1 According to a Tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs (*Mustadrak* III, 3), this divine permission was given in Qur'ân xvii, 80.

2 A *niṭâq* was a girdle of cloth worn by women. Asmâ' was sometimes also called *Dhât an-Niṭâqayn* ("She of the Two Girdles"), as is shown in No. 10 of this section, for she tore her girdle into two pieces, and tied with one of them the leather-bag containing the provisions which the Prophet and her father were to take on their journey, and with the other, their waterskin (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 182).

3 For the date of the departure, see the second half of my note on the *hijrah*, beginning on p. 201. The Prophet and Abû Bakr left Mecca at night, while 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib lay down on the Prophet's bed and covered himself with the latter's *burdah* in order to deceive the Quraysh who had become aware of the Prophet's intention and were bent on killing him (Ibn Sa'd I/i, 153 f; Ṭabarî II, 243 f). When they perceived on the next morning that they had been outwitted, they sent out two trackers (sing., *qâ'if*), but the latter soon lost the trace of the fugitives, who had in the meantime reached the cave on Mt. Thawr (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 188).

4 'Abd Allâh ibn Abî Bakr was born of the same mother as Asmâ', and was a Muslim from his childhood; he died in the beginning of his father's Caliphate from wounds received in the battle of Ṭâ'if (*Istî'âb* I, 335).

municate it to them. And 'Âmir ibn Fuhayrah, Abû Bakr's freedman,[1] kept for them a milch-ewe from [his master's[2]] flock, and would drive it to them one hour after nightfall. Thus they had always enough milk—the [fresh] milk of the ewe and the milk which they warmed by means of heated stones. Before dawn, 'Âmir ibn Fuhayrah would call the ewe away. Such-wise he did each of the three nights.

The Apostle of God and Abû Bakr had hired[3] a man of [the tribe] Banu'd-Dîl—that is, of Banû 'Abd ibn 'Adî[4]—as guide; he was a *khirrît*

—a *khirrît* is one who is highly skilled in guiding[5]—

who had dipped [his hand in blood] in [token of] alliance[6] with the family of al-'Âṣ ibn Wâ'il as-Sahmî[7], and had the same beliefs as the heathen Quraysh. The two [fugitives] had confided in him and handed over to him their two dromedaries; and they had told him to come with them to the cave of [Mount] Thawr on the morning after the third night. And [when they set out,] 'Âmir ibn Fuhayrah and the guide went with them, and led them along the road by the sea-coast.[8]

عليهما عامر بن فهيرة مولى أبى بكر منحة من غنم فيريحها عليهما حين تذهب ساعة من العشاء؛ فيبيتان فى رسل — وهو لبن منحتهما و رضيفهما — حتى ينعق بها عامر بن فهيرة بغلس؛ يفعل ذلك فى كل ليلة من تلك الليالى الثلاث. واستأجر رسول الله ﷺ وأبوبكر رجلاً من بنى الديل — وهو من بنى عبد بن عدى — هادياً خريتاً

— والخريت الماهر بالهداية —

قد غمس حلفاً فى آل العاص بن وائل السهمى، وهو على دين كفار قريش. فأمناه فدفعا اليه راحلتيهما و واعداه غار ثور بعد ثلاث ليال براحلتيهما صبح ثلاث؛ وانطلق معهما عامر بن فهيرة والدليل فأخذ بهم طريق السواحل.

1 Notice about him on p. 25, n. 1.

2 A Tradition quoted in *Fatḥ-al-Bârî* (VII, 189) mentions explicitly that the flock belonged to Abû Bakr.

3 *I.e.*, before they had secretly left Mecca.

4 The Banû 'Abd ibn 'Adî were a clan of the tribe Banu'd-Dîl, of the Kinânah-group (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 189 f). The man's name was 'Abd Allâh ibn Urayqiṭ (Ibn Hishâm I, 293; Ibn Sa'd I/i, 155, and VIII, 42; Ṭabarî II, 258; *Mustadrak* III, 9).

5 This explanatory remark is from Ibn Shihâb az-Zuhrî, one of the transmitters of this Tradition.

6 It was an ancient custom of the pre-Islâmic Arabs to confirm thus the oath of alliance *(ḥilf)* between two persons of different tribes or clans. A vessel was filled with blood or coloured scent, and each of the parties dipped a hand therein; thus they indicated that they would henceforth share all joys and adversities in life. A ceremony of this kind, relating to the covenant of the Qurayshite clans 'Abd ad-Dâr, Jumaḥ, Sahm, Makhzûm and 'Adî ibn Ka'b, is described in *Lisân al-'Arab* (X, 400). This ceremony took place before the Ka'bah, and the participants dipped their hands into a vessel of scent and then touched with them the walls of the Ka'bah.

7 He was the father of 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ (cf. p. 169, n. 5).

8 In the beginning the fugitives went over by-paths, as the Quraysh were still searching for them. They passed 'Usfân (a village about two days' journey north-west from Mecca), struck from there straight for the littoral *(tihâmah)*, whence they followed the traditional caravan route for Madînah. (For details of their route, see Ibn Hishâm I, 295, and Ibn Sa'd I/i, 157.)

9 (contd.) Ibn Shihâb said[1]: And 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Mâlik al-Mudlijî[2]—a nephew of Surâqah ibn Mâlik ibn Ju'shum[3]—informed me that his father informed him that

HE heard Surâqah ibn [Mâlik ibn] Ju'shum[3] say: There came to us messengers from the heathen Quraysh [telling us that] they had put a price on the heads of the Apostle of God and Abû Bakr,[4] [to be paid] to whoso killed or captured any of the two. While I was sitting in one of the assemblies of my tribe, the Banû Mudlij,[5] one of them[6] came to us, who were sitting there, and said: O Surâqah! Behold, I have just seen some persons faraway on the sea-coast; I think they are Muḥammad and his companions.—I [also] realised that it must be they, but I said: Behold, it is not they, but thou hast seen so-and-so and so-and-so, who departed [from here] before our own eyes![7]—And I remained for a while in the assembly, then I rose and went home and bade my handmaiden fetch my mare, which was behind a hillock, and keep her ready for me. Then I took my lance and left by a back-entrance of my house, dragging the shoe of the lance on the ground and keeping its point low,[8] reached my mare and mounted her. Then I let her go in canter till

قال ابن شهاب: وأخبرنى عبد الرحمن بن مالك المدلجى — وهو ابن أخى سراقة بن مالك بن جعشم — أن أباه أخبره

أنه سمع سراقة بن جعشم يقول: جاءنا رسل كفار قريش يجعلون فى رسول الله ﷺ وأبى بكر دية كل واحد منهما لمن قتله أو أسره. فبينما أنا جالس فى مجلس من مجالس قومى بنى مدلج أقبل رجل منهم حتى قام علينا ونحن جلوس فقال: ياسراقة! انى قد رأيت آنفاً أسودة بالساحل أراها محمداً وأصحابه. — قال سراقة: فعرفت أنهم هم، فقلت له: انهم ليسوا بهم ولكنك رأيت فلاناً وفلاناً انطلقوا بأعيننا. — ثم لبثت فى المجلس ساعة، ثم قمت فدخلت فأمرت جاريتى أن تخرج بفرسى — وهى من وراء أكمة — فتحبسها علىّ؛ وأخذت رمحى فخرجت به من ظهر البيت فخططت بزجه الأرض وخفضت

1 Below Ibn Shihâb the transmitters are the same as those of the preceding Tradition, and have, therefore, not been mentioned again by the author. Traditions with an *isnâd* connected with that of a foregoing Tradition are, in this work, usually independent as regards the *matn*; but in some cases—as the present one—they must be regarded as consecutive portions, albeit reported by different Companions, of one and the same narrative. The present Tradition is but a continuation of the story of the *hijrah*, and was evidently narrated by Ibn Shihâb as such.

2 In reality, his name was 'Abd ar-Raḥmân *ibn al-Ḥârith* ibn Mâlik (cf. Ibn Hishâm I, 293, 295). The name of his father is omitted here, and his own name is followed immediately by that of his grandfather, Mâlik.

3 Surâqah ibn Mâlik ibn Ju'shum al-Mudlijî, surnamed Abû Sufyân, was a Bedouin of the Kinânî tribe of Banû Mudlij. He was a warrior and a poet, and lived mostly in his tribal village Qudayd (near Mecca). He embraced Islâm after the conquest of Mecca, and died in 24 A.H. (*Istî'âb* II, 581; *Iṣâbah* III, 69 f.) The story of his meeting the Prophet again, after the campaigns of Ḥunayn and Ṭâ'if, and of his conversion to Islâm, is told by Ibn Hishâm (I, 294 f).

4 The price was one hundred camels for each of them (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 191).

5 Obviously in the village of Qudayd (cf. n. 3 above).

6 *I.e.*, of the Banû Mudlij.

7 He intended to capture the fugitives himself, so that he would not be obliged to divide the reward with anyone else.

8 —in order not to attract attention to his setting out on his lonely expedition.

I overtook the fugitives.[1] And [suddenly] my mare stumbled, and I was thrown off. I rose, got hold of my quiver, took forth the divining-arrows[2] and consulted them as to whether I should harm [the fugitives] or not; and that which I disliked came forth.[3] But I remounted my mare, paying no heed to the divining-arrows, and let her go in canter till I could hear the Apostle of God recite [the Qur'ân]. He did not turn his head, while Abû Bakr was doing it often.[4] [Suddenly,] the fore-legs of my mare sank up to the knees into the ground, and I was thrown off. Thereupon I urged her by shouts, and she pulled up, dragging out her fore-legs with difficulty; and when she could stand again, lo, there rose from the holes which her fore-legs had made[5] dust unto the heaven like smoke. Then I [again] consulted the divining-arrows, and that which I disliked came forth. Thereupon I called out to them that they had naught to fear from me: and they halted. I remounted my mare and rode toward them. And it came to my mind, when I saw how I had been withheld from [harming] them, that the cause of the Apostle of God would triumph. I said unto him: Behold, thy people have put a price on thy head.—And I told them what plans the people [of Mecca] had made concerning them, and offered them provisions and utensils[6]; but they accepted

عاليه حتى أتيت فرسى، فركبتها فرفعتها تقرب
بى حتى دنوت منهم. فعثرت بى فرسى فخررت
عنها. فقمت فأهويت يدى الى كنانتى فاستخرجت
منها الأزلام فاستقسمت بها أضرهم أم لا، فخرج
الذى أكره. فركبت فرسى وعصيت الأزلام
تقرب بى حتى اذا سمعت قراءة رسول الله ﷺ
وهو لا يلتفت وأبوبكر يكثر الالتفات ساخت
يدا فرسى فى الأرض حتى بلغتا الركبتين فخررت
عنها، ثم زجرتها فنهضت، فلم تكد تخرج يديها؛
فلما استوت قائمة اذا لأثر يديها عثان ساطع فى
السماء مثل الدخان. فاستقسمت بالأزلام، فخرج
الذى أكره. فناديتهم بالأمان فوقفوا. فركبت
فرسى حتى جئتهم. و وقع فى نفسى حين لقيت ما
لقيت من الحبس عنهم أن سيظهر أمر رسول
الله ﷺ. فقلت له: ان قومك قد جعلوا فيك
الدية. — وأخبرتهم أخبار ما يريد الناس بهم،
وعرضت عليهم الزاد و المتاع؛ فلم يرزآنى و لم

1 Lit., "till I approached them".

2 They were arrows without a point and without feathers, used by the pre-Islâmic Arabs to find out what destiny was allotted to them. Lane (III, 1247) gives the following comprehensive account of this usage: "They were arrows upon which the Arabs in the Time of Ignorance wrote 'Command' or 'Prohibition'; . . . or they were three arrows; upon one of which was written 'My Lord hath commanded me'; and upon another, 'My Lord hath forbidden me'; and the third was blank; and they put them in a receptacle, and when any of them desired to make a journey, or to accomplish a want, or when he desired to perform some affair, he put his hand into that receptacle, and took forth an arrow; and if the arrow upon which was 'Command' (or 'My Lord hath commanded me') came forth, he went to accomplish his purpose; but if that upon which was 'Prohibition' (or 'My Lord hath forbidden me') came forth, he refrained; and if the blank came forth, they shuffled them a second time."

3 He evidently read from his oracle that his hostile endeavours would bear no fruit.

4 Cf. Bkh 1/2, No. 1, where it is shown that Abû Bakr was disquieted, while the Prophet assured him that they were under the protection of God.

5 Lit., "from the traces of her fore-legs".

6 He obviously offered to fetch these things from his home in the village of Qudayd, which

naught from me, and demanded naught of me, save that [the Prophet] said: Keep our whereabouts secret.—I asked of him to write for me a warrant of security[1]; and he thereupon gave an order to 'Âmir ibn Fuhayrah, who wrote [it] on a piece of tanned leather. Thereafter the Apostle of God went his way.

يسألانى الا أن قال: أخف عنا. — فسألته أن يكتب لى كتاب أمن، فأمر عامر بن فهيرة فكتب فى رقعة من أديم. ثم مضى رسول الله ﷺ.

9 (contd.) Ibn Shihâb said[2]: And 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr informed us[3] that

قال ابن شهاب: فأخبرنى عروة بن الزبير

was not far away (cf. p. 212, n. 3). Also, there is a Tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 192), according to which Surâqah told the Prophet and Abû Bakr: "My camels are grazing on the way you are going; get, therefore, some milk there, and take an arrow from my quiver as a token for the herdsman."

1 It is clear that Surâqah anticipated not only a moral but also a political victory of Islâm in the near future; and he wished to safeguard himself against such an eventuality.

2 See p. 212, n. 1.

3 The above Tradition appears to be a *ḥadîth mursal*, for the transmitter 'Urwah does not mention here that he heard it from a Companion. Ibn Ḥajar (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 193) believes that there is no *irsâl*, as in another version of this Tradition (*Mustadrak* III, 11) 'Urwah says that "he heard az-Zubayr mention", etc. This, however, does not solve the problem, for the version in *Mustadrak* differs, at least in the beginning, from al-Bukhârî's version, and so it cannot be taken as fully supporting the latter. In *Mustadrak* we find 'Urwah saying that "he heard az-Zubayr mention that he [the Prophet] met a small caravan of Muslims who had been trading in Syria [and were now] returning from Mecca [*sic*]; they gave to the Apostle of God and to Abû Bakr white garments as soon as they learned that [these two] had gone forth [on their *hijrah*]." Now, quite apart from the statement in *Mustadrak* that the merchants were "returning from Mecca"—as against the statement in al-Bukhârî's version, that they were returning from Syria—one thing becomes obvious from the version in *Mustadrak*: az-Zubayr does not mention there that it was he who gave the garments to the Prophet and Abû Bakr, nor even that he was present in the caravan. As a matter of fact, the passage quoted above is so entirely impersonal that, had there been no other evidence, we could not but infer from it that az-Zubayr had not been in that caravan. If the version in *Mustadrak* can be really regarded as corroborating al-Bukhârî's version, and thus as removing the defect of an apparent *irsâl*, this corroboration can be only accepted for the remaining portion of the present Tradition, namely, for the story of the Prophet's arrival at Madînah (which is almost identical in the present work and in *Mustadrak*), but not for the story of az-Zubayr's presence in the caravan and of his giving garments to the Prophet and Abû Bakr. This first paragraph of the Tradition must, therefore, be regarded as *mursal*, and cannot be accepted on its face value.

Apart from the above (technically unsatisfactory) version of al-Bukhârî we have not a single Tradition to the effect that az-Zubayr met the Prophet during the latter's *hijrah*. On the other hand, Ibn Sa'd (III/i, 122 f, 153) reports that it was Ṭalḥah who, coming with other Muslim merchants from Syria, met the Prophet and Abû Bakr and presented them with new clothing; a similar Tradition is mentioned in *Fatḥ al-Bârî* (VII, 193). This would support our assumption that the mention of az-Zubayr by al-Bukhârî is a mistake. The author of *Fatḥ al-Bârî (loc. cit.)* suggests that the two versions could be "reconciled" by assuming that both Ṭalḥah and az-Zubayr were present in the caravan; but in view of the impersonal style of az-Zubayr's narrative in *Mustadrak*, this appears highly improbable. Moreover, while Ṭalḥah's movements after this encounter are fully accounted

for, the same is not the case with az-Zubayr: he does not figure in any report relating to that period, and we simply meet him after some time in Madînah, settled there together with other *Muhâjirs*. As to Ṭalḥah, he reached Mecca after his meeting the Prophet, and returned in company with the latter's and Abû Bakr's families to Madînah (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 153). Now, the absence of reports as to the whereabouts of az-Zubayr in the period under consideration would not constitute in itself any positive evidence for or against our assumption that it was not he but Ṭalḥah who met the Prophet near Madînah,—were it not for the existence of indirect evidence that *az-Zubayr was at that time already settled in Madînah.*

The evidence is this: Asmâ' bint Abî Bakr, az-Zubayr's wife, reached Madînah together with her brother 'Abd Allâh, her sister 'Â'ishah and the latter's mother, Umm Rûmân (Asmâ' was the daughter of Abû Bakr's first wife); they had been sent for shortly after the Prophet's and Abû Bakr's arrival at Madînah (cf. p. 199, n. 1). Abû Bakr was at that time living at Sunḥ, a suburb of Madînah (cf. p. 199, n. 2), and his family, with the exception of Asmâ', joined him there. As to Asmâ', we know that almost immediately after her arrival she gave birth to her son, 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubayr; and this event took place not in her father's house, but at Qubâ', another suburb of Madînah (cf. No. 12 of this section). Why did Asmâ' not go to Abû Bakr's house with the other members of her family who had come together with her from Mecca? The obvious answer is: because she remained at Qubâ' in the house of her husband, az-Zubayr, who was already settled there. An indirect confirmation of this conclusion is forthcoming from the report (Ibn Hishâm I, 287) that az-Zubayr, when he came to Madînah, stayed in the house of the *Anṣârî* Mundhir ibn Muḥammad at 'Uṣbah (or 'Aṣabah); this locality was part of Qubâ' (*Mu'jam al-Buldân* VI, 183). It is most probable that az-Zubayr, like so many other prominent Companions, had migrated from Mecca to Madînah before, or shortly after, the Second Pledge of 'Aqabah, *i.e.*, before the Prophet himself.

If we assume, as we must, that az-Zubayr was already in Madînah at the time of his wife's arrival there, we cannot accept the isolated (and technically *mursal*) report of al-Bukhârî telling us that it was az-Zubayr who—coming from Syria and going to Mecca—met the Prophet and Abû Bakr on their way to Madînah. The time between this supposed meeting and the departure of Asmâ' from Mecca was very short; and it is improbable that az-Zubayr would have gone to Mecca only to return immediately, and without his family, to Madînah—the more so as he would have known, in that case, that his wife and her relations were about to go to Madînah. On the other hand, we know for certain that he did not come to Madînah in their company; and it is equally certain that he did not turn back and accompany the Prophet and Abû Bakr to Madînah. The only possible conclusion is, therefore, that it was not he but Ṭalḥah who met the Prophet on the way. It is probable that one of al-Bukhârî's transmitters, reporting this Tradition on the authority of 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr, on the authority of his father, az-Zubayr, by mistake substituted the latter's name for that of Ṭalḥah.

But if we are forced to find fault with the first paragraph of al-Bukhârî's Tradition (namely, the story of the caravan), we do not in the least question the authenticity of the subsequent portion relating to the Prophet's arrival at Madînah: for this portion is fully corroborated by the above-mentioned version in *Mustadrak*, which is clearly based on az-Zubayr's report. And it is here that the real importance of the preceding investigation becomes apparent. For, if we were to believe that it was really az-Zubayr who met the Prophet shortly before the latter's arrival at Madînah, we could not by any stretch of imagination regard his description of the Prophet's arrival as the evidence of an eye-witness, because in that case az-Zubayr could not have been present in Madînah on that occasion. Thus, we would be obliged to regard az-Zubayr's report as a *mursal* Tradition, of the class called *marâsîl aṣ-ṣaḥâbah*—that is, a Companion's report based on hearsay. But if we can prove—as, I believe, has been done in the above discussion—that the mention of az-Zubayr's name in connection with the Muslim caravan is based on a mistake, and that he was, in reality, at that time in Madînah, then his evidence relating to the Prophet's arrival there at once assumes a different aspect—namely, it becomes the *evidence of an eye-witness.*

THE Apostle of God met az-Zubayr[1] in a small caravan of Muslim merchants who were returning from Syria; and az-Zubayr clothed the Apostle of God and Abû Bakr in white garments.

And the Muslims in Madînah heard of the departure of the Apostle of God from Mecca, and betook themselves every morning to the *ḥarrah*[2] and waited for him till the heat of the noon forced them to return. And so they were returning one day after long waiting. When they entered their houses, [it happened that] a man of the Jews climbed on [the roof of] one of the forts of his people[3] to look for some thing; and he espied the Apostle of God and his companions, dressed in white, emerging out of the desert mirage.[4] And the Jew could not restrain himself from shouting at the top of his voice: O ye Arab people! Here is your great man whom ye are expecting!—Thereupon the Muslims rushed to their arms,[5] and received the Apostle of God on the summit of the *ḥarrah*. And [the Prophet] turned with them to the right[6] and alighted among the Banû 'Amr ibn 'Awf.[7] This was on a Monday in the month of Rabî' I.[8] Abû Bakr received the people, while the Prophet was sitting in silence. Those of the *Anṣâr* present who had never seen the Prophet [before], began welcoming Abû Bakr—till the sun shone upon the Apostle of God and Abû Bakr came forward and shaded him with his wrap; and thus the people came to know [that this was] the Apostle of God.

The Apostle of God remained with the

أن رسول الله ﷺ لقي الزبير في ركب من المسلمين كانوا تجاراً قافلين من الشام، فكسا الزبير رسول الله ﷺ وأبابكر ثياب بياض.

وسمع المسلمون بالمدينة مخرج رسول الله ﷺ من مكة فكانوا يغدون كل غداة الى الحرة فينتظرونه حتى يردهم حر الظهيرة. فانقلبوا يوماً بعد ما أطالوا انتظارهم، فلما أووا الى بيوتهم أوفى رجل من يهود على أطم من آطامهم لأمر ينظر اليه فبصر برسول الله ﷺ وأصحابه مبيضين يزول بهم السراب؛ فلم يملك اليهودي أن قال بأعلى صوته: يا معاشر العرب! هذا جدكم الذي تنتظرون! — فثار المسلمون الى السلاح، فتلقوا رسول الله ﷺ بظهر الحرة، فعدل بهم ذات اليمين حتى نزل بهم في بني عمرو بن عوف، وذلك يوم الاثنين من شهر ربيع الأول. فقام أبوبكر للناس وجلس رسول الله ﷺ صامتاً، فطفق من جاء من الأنصار ممن لم ير رسول الله ﷺ يحيي أبابكر — حتى أصابت الشمس رسول الله ﷺ فأقبل أبوبكر حتى ظلل عليه بردائه، فعرف الناس رسول الله ﷺ عند ذلك.

فلبث رسول الله ﷺ في بني عمرو بن عوف

1 See p. 214, n. 3.

2 See p. 208, n. 3.

3 In the text, "one of their forts". Many of the Jews and Arabs of Madînah lived in fortified hamlets (sing., *uṭum*) which were scattered around the town.

4 Lit., "the mirage disappeared around them".

5 They wished to accord to the Prophet a ceremonial reception.

6 The Prophet and Abû Bakr approached Madînah from the south-west, coming from al-Ghâ'ir and Baṭn Ri'm (for particulars of the route, see Ibn Hishâm I, 295); thus, the suburb of Qubâ', where they intended to go, lay on their right.

7 He alighted in Qubâ' at the house of Kulthûm ibn Hidm, who belonged to the clan of Banû 'Amr ibn 'Awf, a sub-division of the tribe of Aws (Ibn Hishâm I, 296).

8 Cf. p. 201, n. 1, last paragraph.

Banû 'Amr ibn 'Awf ten and odd nights,[1] and there was founded the mosque that was *founded on piety*[2]; and the Apostle of God prayed therein. Thereafter he mounted his dromedary and went on, the people accompanying him, until [the dromedary] kneeled down before the Mosque of the Apostle in Madînah.[3] Some of the Muslims used to pray there [even] in those days[4]; it was a yard for [drying] dates,[5] and belonged to Suhayl and Sahl,[6] two orphan boys in the care of As'ad ibn Zurârah[7]. When his dromedary kneeled down with him, the Apostle of God said: This, God willing, [shall be our] abiding place.—Thereupon the Apostle of God called the two boys and told them to name the price of the yard, so that he might use it for a mosque. The two [boys] answered: Nay, but we shall make thee a gift of it, O

بضع عشرة ليلة وأُسس المسجد الذى «أُسس على التقوى»، وصلى فيه رسول الله ﷺ. ثم ركب راحلته فسار يمشى معه الناس حتى بركت عند مسجد الرسول ﷺ بالمدينة. وهو يصلى فيه يومئذ رجال من المسلمين، وكان مربداً للتمر لسهيل وسهل غلامين يتيمين فى حجر أسعد بن زرارة. فقال رسول الله ﷺ حين بركت به راحلته: هذا ان شاء الله المنزل. — ثم دعا رسول الله ﷺ الغلامين فساومهما بالمربد ليتخذه مسجداً؛ فقالا: لا بل نهبه لك يا رسول الله! —

1 As is the case with all dates and calculations relating to the Prophet's *hijrah*, there is also no absolute certainty as to the length of the time which he spent at Qubâ'. The above-mention of "ten and odd nights" is supported by a Tradition on the authority of Anas (sec. 22, No. 9), in which the number of days is given as fourteen. Various other numbers are mentioned by the historians (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 195 and 196); but, on the whole, we may safely assume that the Prophet stayed at Qubâ' for about a fortnight.

2 Quotation from the Qur'ân (ix, 108). The reference is to the famous mosque of Qubâ' which is to this day venerated by Muslims, although, of course, the present building is comparatively new. This mosque which was built by the Prophet's order was the first in which he could pray openly with his followers (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 195).

3 *I.e.*, the place where *now* the Prophet's Mosque stands. See also subsequent note.

4 Even before the arrival of the Prophet at Madînah, the *Anṣâr* had at that spot a prayer place *(muṣallâ)*, which had been built by As'ad ibn Zurârah (see n. 7 below); it had only walls and no roof, and As'ad used to lead there the congregational prayers attended by many of the *Anṣâr* (Ibn Sa'd I/ii, 2). Nearby was the house of Abû Ayyûb, in which the Prophet stayed before he built his own house.

5 In reality, this yard was *adjoining* the *muṣallâ* of As'ad ibn Zurârah (see preceding note), which the Prophet wished to enlarge and to convert into a permanent structure (cf. *Futûḥ al-Buldân*, p. 12).

6 They were the sons of Râfi' ibn Abî 'Amr, and belonged to the tribe of Khazraj. Later they took part in all campaigns of the Prophet; Sahl, however, did not participate in the battle of Badr, presumably because he was too young. Suhayl died during the reign of 'Umar. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 53; *Isti'âb* II, 571 and 576.)

7 Abû Umâmah As'ad ibn Zurârah al-Khazrajî was the first Muslim from among the *Anṣâr*. He met the Prophet in Mecca a little over two years before the *hijrah*, and embraced Islâm. It was his and his companions' reports about the Prophet that caused a stir among the Arabs of Yathrib and ultimately led to the Pledge of 'Aqabah. He participated in both the first and the second Pledges, and was one of the twelve *naqîbs* appointed by the Prophet. As is mentioned in n. 4 above, As'ad initiated congregational prayers at Yathrib even before the Prophet's arrival. He died in the month of Shawwâl, 1 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 138 ff; *Isti'âb* I, 40 f.)

Apostle of God!—But the Apostle of God refused to accept it from them as a gift, and [finally] bought it of them[1] and built a mosque there. And the Apostle of God set himself to carrying with the others the unburnt bricks for its building[2]; and he would recite:

This burden is better than the burdens of Khaybar,[3]
[For] it is more pious in the sight of God, and more pure.[4]

—And he would add: O God! The [true] reward is the reward in the Hereafter; so bestow Thou Thy mercy on the *Anṣâr* and the *Muhâjirs*![5]

Thus he cited, by way of proverb, the poem of some Muslim whose name is unknown to me.[6]

Ibn Shihâb said: And we have heard of no Tradition to the effect that the Apostle of God hath ever cited any complete verse, by way of proverb, save this [one] verse.[7]

10 'Abd Allâh ibn Abî Shaybah related to us: Abû Usâmah related to us: Hishâm related to us, on the authority of his father ['Urwah] and of [his wife] Fâṭimah[8],

ON the authority of Asmâ': I prepared provisions for the Prophet and Abû Bakr when they were going to Madînah; and I said to my father: I do not find anything to tie the leather-bag[9] therewith, save my

فأبى رسول الله ﷺ أن يقبله منهما هبة حتى ابتاعه منهما ثم بناه مسجداً. وطفق رسول الله ﷺ ينقل معهم اللبن فى بنيانه ويقول:

هذا الحمال لا حمال خيبر
هـذا أبر ربنـا وأطهر.

— ويقول: اللهم! ان الأجر أجر الآخرة، فارحم الأنصار والمهاجرة!

فتمثل بشعر رجل من المسلمين لم يسم لى.

قال ابن شهاب: ولم يبلغنا فى الأحاديث أن رسول الله ﷺ تمثل ببيت شعر تام غير هذا البيت.

١٠ حدثنا عبد الله بن أبى شيبة: حدثنا أبو أسامة: حدثنا هشام عن أبيه وفاطمة

عن أسماء (رض): صنعت سفرة للنبى ﷺ وأبى بكر حين أرادا المدينة، فقلت لأبى: ما

1 The price agreed upon was ten *dînârs*, and it was paid by Abû Bakr (*Futûḥ al-Buldân*, p. 12).

2 The original mosque built by the Prophet had foundations of stone, walls of unburnt bricks, and a roof of palm-branches supported by palm-trunks. The space it originally occupied is to-day indicated by the *Rawḍah* (cf. p. 22, n. 4). Later 'Umar enlarged the mosque. 'Uthmân pulled the whole structure down and built it anew with stone and plaster, and covered it with a roof of teak-wood, supported by pillars of stone. (*Futûḥ al-Buldân*, p. 13.)

3 Lit., "is not like the burdens of Khaybar". The oasis of Khaybar was famous for its trade in dates and raisins ('Aynî XVII, 50).

4 The author of these verses was probably 'Abd Allâh ibn Rawâḥah (cf. n. 6 below).

5 The Prophet uttered a similar prayer on the occasion of the Battle of the Moat (cf. Bkh I/42).

6 This remark probably goes back to the transmitter, 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr; it refers to the above verses about Khaybar, which have possibly the Companion 'Abd Allâh ibn Rawâḥah for their author (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 197).

7 See preceding note. Ibn Shihâb speaks here merely of verses quoted by way of proverb, and not of poetry generally.

8 Fâṭimah bint al-Mundhir ibn az-Zubayr was a cousin of the transmitter Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, and was married to him (*Rijâl aṣ-Ṣaḥîḥayn* II, 611).

9 In the text, "it"; the reference is to the leather-bag mentioned in the first portion of Tradition No. 9 (p. 210).

girdle.—He answered: Then tear it up!—I did so, and was [hence] named "She of the Two Girdles" *(Dhât an-Niṭâqayn)*.[1]

أجد شيأ أربطه الا نطاقى. — قال: فشقيه! — ففعلت فسميت «ذات النطاقين».

11 Muḥammad ibn Bashhâr related to us: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, who said: I heard al-Barâ' say:

١١ حدثنا محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة عن أبى اسحق قال: سمعت البراء (رض) قال:

WHEN the Prophet was going to Madînah, Surâqah ibn Mâlik ibn Ju'shum pursued him. And the Prophet invoked God against him,[2] and [the fore-legs of] his mare sank [into the ground]. [Then Surâqah] said: Invoke God on my behalf, and I shall not harm thee!—And [the Prophet] invoked God on his behalf.[3]

لما أقبل النبى ﷺ الى المدينة تبعه سراقة ابن مالك بن جعشم؛ فدعا عليه النبى ﷺ فساخت به فرسه. قال: ادع الله لى ولا أضرك! — فدعا له.

[Al-Barâ'] said:

قال:

The Apostle of God felt thirst,[4] and he met a shepherd. [Narrating this incident,] Abû Bakr said: Then I took a bowl and milked a little milk into it, and brought it unto him; and he drank until I was satisfied.

فعطش رسول الله ﷺ فمر براع. قال أبو بكر: فأخذت قدحاً فحلبت فيه كثبة من لبن فأتيته فشرب حتى رضيت.

12 Zakariyyâ ibn Yaḥyâ related to me, on the authority of Abû Usâmah, on the authority of Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of his father,

١٢ حدثنى زكرياء بن يحيى عن أبى أسامة عن هشام بن عروة عن أبيه

ON the authority of Asmâ', who said: When I left [for Madînah] I was pregnant with 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubayr[5], and my time was approaching. Then I came to Madînah and alighted at Qubâ'[6]; and at Qubâ' I gave birth to him. Thereafter I brought him unto the Prophet and placed him on his lap. [The Prophet] asked for a date, chewed it, and dropped some of its juice into the child's mouth; thus, the first thing that entered its stomach was the saliva of the Apostle of God. Then [the Prophet] rubbed his palate with a date, invoked God on his behalf and blessed him. This was the

عن أسماء (رض) أنها حملت بعبد الله ابن الزبير. قالت: فخرجت وأنا متم. فأتيت المدينة فنزلت بقباء فولدته بقباء. ثم أتيت به النبى ﷺ فوضعته فى حجره؛ ثم دعا بتمرة فمضغها ثم تفل فى فيه، فكان أول شىء دخل جوفه ريق رسول الله ﷺ. ثم حنكه بتمرة ثم دعاله وبرك عليه.

1 See p. 210, n. 2.
2 Cf. the version quoted under No. 14 of this section.
3 For a full account of this incident, see the second part of No. 9 of this section.
4 This is another incident of the Prophet's *hijrah*, narrated in detail in Bkh I/2, No. 1, and li/21, No. 19.
5 Note about him on p. 73, n. 3.
6 A hamlet about two miles south of Madînah; it was at that place that the Prophet sojourned for some days before entering the town (cf. No. 9 of this section).

first child born in [the land of] Islâm.[1]

Khâlid ibn Makhlad corroborated him[2], on the authority of 'Alî ibn Mushir, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father ['Urwah], on the authority of Asmâ', [with this variant]: "She migrated unto the Prophet while she was pregnant."

13 Qutaybah related to us, on the authority of Abû Usâmah, on the authority of Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of his father, on the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said:

THE first child born in [the land of] Islâm[3] was 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubayr. He was brought unto the Prophet. The latter took a date, chewed it and put it into the child's mouth: thus, the first thing that entered its stomach was the Prophet's saliva.

14 Muḥammad related to me: 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad related to us: My father ['Abd al-Wârith] related to us: 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Ṣuhayb related to us: Anas ibn Mâlik related to us, saying:

THE Prophet of God went forth to Madînah, riding in front of Abû Bakr on the same camel.[4] Abû Bakr was an elderly man, well-known [to the people],[5] while the Prophet of God was young [in appearance][6] and was unknown. Thus, when people saw Abû Bakr, they used to ask him: O Abû Bakr! Who is this man in front of thee?—And he would answer: This man guideth me on my way.—And the people thought that he alluded to the road; but [Abû Bakr] meant only "the way of righteousness".[7]

وكان أول مولود ولد فى الاسلام .

تابعه خالد بن مخلد عن على بن مسهر عن هشام عن أبيه عن أسماء (رض) أنها «هاجرت الى النبى ﷺ وهى حبلى» .

١٣ حدثنا قتيبة عن أبى أسامة عن هشام بن عروة عن أبيه عن عائشة (رض) قالت :

أول مولود ولد فى الاسلام عبد الله بن الزبير ؛ أتوا به النبى ﷺ فأخذ النبى ﷺ تمرة فلاكها ثم أدخلها فى فيه ، فأول ما دخل بطنه ريق النبى ﷺ .

١٤ حدثنى محمد : حدثنا عبد الصمد : حدثنا أبى : حدثنا عبد العزيز بن صهيب : حدثنا أنس بن مالك (رض) قال :

أقبل نبى الله ﷺ الى المدينة وهو مردف أبابكر . وأبوبكر شيخ يعرف و نبى الله ﷺ شاب لا يعرف . قال : فيلقى الرجل أبابكر فيقول : يا أبابكر ! من هذا الرجل الذى بين يديك ؟ — فيقول : هذا الرجل يهدينى السبيل . — قال : فيحسب الحاسب أنه انما يعنى الطريق وانما يعنى «سبيل الخير» .

1 *I.e.*, the country where Muslims were supreme.

2 The pronoun refers to the transmitter Zakariyyâ ibn Yaḥyâ (cf. 'Aynî XVII, 51).

3 See n. 1 above.

4 On the second of the two camels which the fugitives had with them (cf. No. 9 of this section) were riding 'Âmir ibn Fuhayrah and the guide, 'Abd Allâh ibn Urayqiṭ, as is evident from many narratives of this incident.

5 Abû Bakr had often travelled to Syria before, and so he was known in many of the settlements on the way.

6 He was actually two years older than Abû Bakr.

7 During the greater part of their journey, the Prophet and Abû Bakr were in continuous peril of being apprehended by the men whom the pagan Quraysh had sent after them. Abû Bakr was probably afraid of making known the identity of the Prophet, but, on the other hand, he was unwilling to tell a lie: and so he used the above ambiguous expression.

And Abû Bakr looked back, and lo! he saw a horseman who had almost reached them[1]; and he cried out: O Apostle of God! This horseman hath already reached us!—Thereupon the Prophet looked back and said: O God! Cause him to fall!—And the mare threw him down, and started neighing. Thereupon [Surâqah] said: O Prophet of God! Bid me do whatever thou willest!—And [the Prophet] answered: Stay where thou art, and allow no one to reach us.—Thus, at the beginning of the day, [Surâqah] was an enemy of[2] the Prophet of God, and at the end of the day he became his protector.

The Apostle of God alighted on the border of the *ḥarrah* and sent a message to the *Anṣâr*. And they came to the Prophet of God and to Abû Bakr, greeted them and said: Ride on! Ye two are safe [now], and we shall obey you!—Then the Prophet of God and Abû Bakr rode on, surrounded by armed men.[3] Someone said in Madînah: The Prophet of God is come! The Prophet of God is come!—And all people were eagerly looking, and were crying: The Prophet of God is come! The Prophet of God is come!

[The Prophet] went on, and alighted near the house of Abû Ayyûb[4]. And while he was speaking with the latter's family, 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm,[5] who was gathering dates in a palm-orchard belonging to his family, heard of him. He made haste to put away

فالتفت أبوبكر فاذا هو بفارس قد لحقهم، فقال: يا رسول الله! هذا فارس قد لحق بنا! — فالتفت نبي الله ﷺ فقال: اللهم! اصرعه! — فصرعه الفرس ثم قامت تحمحم. فقال: يانبي الله! مرني بم شئت! — فقال: فقف مكانك لاتتركن أحداً يلحق بنا. — قال: فكان أول النهار جاهداً على نبي الله ﷺ وكان آخر النهار مسلحة له.

فنزل رسول الله ﷺ جانب الحرة ثم بعث الى الأنصار، فجاؤا الى نبي الله ﷺ وأبي بكر فسلموا عليهما وقالوا: اركبا آمنين مطاعين! — فركب نبي الله ﷺ وأبوبكر وحفوا دونهما بالسلاح. فقيل في المدينة: جاء نبي الله! جاء نبي الله ﷺ! — فأشرفوا ينظرون ويقولون: جاء نبي الله! جاء نبي الله!

فأقبل يسير حتى نزل جانب دار أبي أيوب؛ فانه ليحدث أهله اذ سمع به عبد الله بن سلام وهو في نخل لأهله يخترف لهم، فعجل أن يضع

1 The following is a greatly abbreviated account of the incident narrated, in a more detailed form, in No. 9 of this section. For particulars about the pursuer, Surâqah, see p. 212, n. 3.

2 Lit., "was making war on". 3 Lit., "and they surrounded them with their arms".

4 Khâlid ibn Zayd al-Anṣârî, better known by his *kunyah* Abû Ayyûb, belonged to the clan of Banu'n-Najjâr (of the Khazraj tribe). He participated in the Pledge of 'Aqabah and, subsequently, in all of the Prophet's campaigns. Later, he assisted 'Alî in all his wars, but after the latter's death he loyally supported Mu'âwiyah. When the Caliph sent for the first time an army against Constantinople (49 A.H./669 A.C.), Abû Ayyûb, though very old at that time, went with it, and his presence contributed to the enthusiasm of the Muslim warriors. He died in 50 A.H., after the siege of the city, and was buried near its walls. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 50; *Isti'âb* I, 152, and II, 620.) When the Prophet, after his arrival from Qubâ', came to stay as guest in Abû Ayyûb's house, he took for himself and his family the lower storey, while Abû Ayyûb remained in the upper; but the latter hated the thought of having the Prophet below his feet (cf. *Mustadrak* III, 461), and ultimately prevailed upon him to shift to the upper storey, while he (Abû Ayyûb) went below.

5 For particulars about this Companion, who was originally a Jew, see p. 124, n. 1.

the dates which he had been gathering for his family, and came [to the Prophet laden] with them. He listened [a while] to the Prophet of God, and then went home.

The Prophet of God asked: Which is the nearest of the houses of our kinsfolk[1]?—Abû Ayyûb answered: Mine,[2] O Prophet of God! This here is my house, and here is my door!—[The Prophet] said: Go, then, and prepare our resting-place!—[Abû Ayyûb] said: Dwell here with God's blessing![3]

When the Prophet of God entered [the house], there came 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm [again] and said: I bear witness that thou art an Apostle of God and that thou hast brought a true message![4] The Jews know well that I am their chief and the son of their chief, as well as the most learned and the son of the most learned among them. Call them, then, and ask them about me ere they come to know that I have embraced Islâm; for, behold, if they know that I have embraced Islâm, they will say about me things which are not true.[5]—So the Prophet of God sent [for them], and they came and went in unto him. Thereupon the Apostle of God addressed them thus: O Jewish people! Woe unto you! Fear God! For, by the One and Only God[6]! ye know well that I am truly an Apostle of God, and that I have brought you a true message. Accept, then, Islâm!—They answered: We do not believe all this.[7]—Thus they spake to the Prophet, [although] he said thrice the same. [Then] he asked: What kind of man is 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm among you?—They answered: He is our chief and the son of our chief, as well as the most learned and the son of the most learned among us.—[The

الذى يخترف لهم فيها فجاء وهى معه، فسمع من نبى الله ﷺ ثم رجع الى أهله.

فقال نبى الله ﷺ: أى بيوت أهلنا أقرب؟ — فقال أبو أيوب: أنا يا نبى الله! هـذه دارى وهذا بابى! — قال: فانطلق فهَيِّىء لنا مقيلاً! — قال: قوما على بركة الله!

فلما جاء نبى الله ﷺ جاء عبد الله بن سلام فقال: أشهد أنك رسول الله وأنك جئت بحق! وقد علمت يهود أنى سيدهم وابن سيدهم وأعلمهم وابن أعلمهم؛ فادعهم فاسألهم عنى قبل أن يعلموا أنى قد أسلمت، فانهم ان يعلموا أنى قد أسلمت قالوا فىَّ ما ليس فىَّ. — فأرسل نبى الله ﷺ: فأقبلوا فدخلوا عليه. فقال لهم رسول الله ﷺ: يا معشر اليهود! ويلكم! اتقوا الله! فوالله الذى لا اله الا هو! انكم لتعلمون أنى رسول الله حقاً وأنى جئتكم بحق، فأسلموا! — قالوا: ما نعلمه. — قالوا للنبى ﷺ قالها ثلاث مرار. قال: فأى رجل فيكم عبد الله بن سلام؟ — قالوا: ذاك سيدنا وابن سيدنا وأعلمنا وابن أعلمنا. —

1 The Prophet referred thereby to the clan of Banu'n-Najjâr. His great-grandmother, Salmâ bint 'Amr (the wife of Hâshim ibn 'Abd Manâf), belonged to this clan (cf. Ibn Sa'd I/i, 34).

2 Lit., "I".

3 The Prophet stayed in Abû Ayyûb's house for seven months, and shifted thereafter to his own newly-built dwelling (cf. Ibn Sa'd I/i, 161). As to the manner of his accommodation at Abû Ayyûb's house, see the last portion of n. 4 on p. 221.

4 For the full story of Ibn Salâm's conversion, see sec. 27, No. 1.

5 Lit., "that which is not in me".

6 Lit., "by God except Whom there is no deity".

7 Lit., "we do not know it".

Prophet] said: What would ye think if he accepted Islâm?—They cried out: God forbid! Never could he accept Islâm!—[The Prophet] repeated: What would ye think if he accepted Islâm?—They said: God forbid! Never could he accept Islâm!—[Again the Prophet] said: What would ye think if he accepted Islâm?—They repeated: God forbid! Never could he accept Islâm!—[Thereupon the Prophet] said: O Ibn Salâm! Shew thyself unto them![1]—And ['Abd Allâh ibn Salâm] shewed himself and said: O Jewish people! Fear God! For, by the One and Only God[2]! ye know well that he is truly an Apostle of God and that he hath brought a true message!—But they said unto him: Thou liest!—Thereupon the Apostle of God bade them go.

قال: أفرأيتم ان أسلم؟ — قالوا: حاشى لله! ما كان ليسلم! — قال: أفرأيتم ان أسلم؟ — قالوا: حاشى لله! ما كان ليسلم! — قال: أفرأيتم ان أسلم؟ — قالوا: حاشى لله! ما كان ليسلم! — قال: يا ابن سلام! اخرج عليهم! — فخرج فقال: يا معشر اليهود! اتقوا الله! فوالله الذى لا اله الا هو انكم لتعلمون أنه رسول الله و أنه جاء بحق! — فقالوا له: كذبت! — فأخرجهم رسول الله ﷺ.

15 Ibrâhîm ibn Mûsâ related to us: Hishâm informed us, on the authority of Ibn Jurayj, who said: 'Ubayd Allâh ibn 'Umar informed me, on the authority of Nâfi', on the authority of ['Abd Allâh] ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb,[3] who said:

١٥ حدثنا ابراهيم بن موسى: أخبرنا هشام عن ابن جريج قال: أخبرنى عبيد الله بن عمر عن نافع يعنى عن ابن عمر عن عمر بن الخطاب (رض) قال:

['UMAR] granted to the early *Muhâjirs*[4] four thousand [*dirhams*] each,[5] while

كان فرض للمهاجرين الأولين أربعة

1 Lit., "come out before them". It appears that during the Prophet's conversation with the Jews, 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm was in another room.

2 See p. 222, n. 6.

3 In most of the current texts, this portion of the *isnâd* has the following strange construction: "... on the authority of Nâfi', that is *(ya'nî)*, on the authority of Ibn 'Umar, on the authority of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb". Now, it is very improbable that the Tradition in the form as it here appears had 'Umar himself for its narrator, as the context clearly shows that it was narrated by 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar; the latter's narrative was reproduced by the transmitter Nâfi' in the third person. Ibn Ḥajar (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 202) mentions another version of the above *isnâd* having this form: "... on the authority of Nâfi', on the authority of 'Umar". This form is technically not acceptable because Nâfi' never saw 'Umar in his life (cf. *Tadhkirah* I, 94). It appears that some copyist inadvertently mixed up the names of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar and that of his father, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb. I have, therefore, adopted in my translation the form: "Nâfi', on the authority of ['Abd Allâh] ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb".

4 See p. 59, n. 2.

5 In the text, "four thousand by four thousand"—which is obviously a copyist's mistake. Ibn Ḥajar points out (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 203) that in the text of an-Nasafi, a disciple of al-Bukhârî, the word *fî* ("by") did not occur. It appears that originally the construction was *"arba'at âlâf arba'at âlâf"*—that is, "four thousand each". This is a very common construction, and it occurs repeatedly, with reference to the same subject, in Ibn Sa'd III/i, 219. (It is to be noted, however, that there is a discrepancy between the figures given by al-Bukhârî and by Ibn Sa'd.)—Al-Bukhârî quotes this Tradition in the section treating of the *hijrah* in order to show the high esteem in which the early *Muhâjirs* were held by the Prophet's Companions.

he granted [only] three thousand and five hundred to ['Abd Allâh] ibn 'Umar. Thereupon someone said unto him: [But] he [also] is one of the [early] *Muhâjirs*; why, then, didst thou give him less than four thousand? —['Umar] answered: Behold, it was but his parents who took him with them when they migrated.[1]—['Umar] implied [thereby] that 'Abd Allâh's merit was not[2] as [that of] one who had migrated of his own accord.

آلاف فى أربعة، وفرض لابن عمر ثلاثة آلاف وخمسمائة. فقيل له: هو من المهاجرين، فلم نقصته من أربعة آلاف؟ — قال: انما هاجر به أبواه. — يقول ليس هو كمن هاجر بنفسه.

16 Muḥammad ibn Kathîr related to us: Sufyân informed us, on the authority of al-A'mash, on the authority of Abû Wâ'il, on the authority of Khabbâb, who said: We migrated with the Apostle of God . . .

١٦ حدثنا محمد بن كثير: أخبرنا سفيان عن الأعمش عن أبى وائل عن خباب قال: هاجرنا مع رسول الله ﷺ...

(h) And Musaddad related to us: Yaḥyâ related to us, on the authority of al-A'mash, who said: I heard Shaqîq ibn Salamah say:

(ح) وحدثنا مسدد: حدثنا يحيى عن الأعمش قال: سمعت شقيق بن سلمة قال:

KHABBÂB[3] related to us, saying: We migrated with the Apostle of God [to Madînah], seeking the pleasure of God; and with God is our reward. And there were some of us who passed away without having enjoyed any reward [in this life]; one of these was Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr. He was killed in the battle of Uḥud, and we could find naught wherewith to enshroud his dead body but a striped cloak.[4] When we covered his head therewith, his feet remained uncovered; and when we covered his feet, his head remained uncovered. Thereupon the Apostle of God bade us cover his head therewith, and put some sweet rush over his feet. And there were some from among us

حدثنا خباب قال: هاجرنا مع رسول الله ﷺ نبتغى وجه الله، ووجب أجرنا على الله. فمنا من مضى لم يأكل من أجره شيأ، منهم مصعب ابن عمير، قتل يوم أحد فلم نجد شيأ نكفنه فيه الا نمرة؛ كنا اذا غطينا بها رأسه خرجت رجلاه، فاذا غطينا رجليه خرج رأسه. فأمرنا رسول الله ﷺ أن نغطى رأسه بها ونجعل على رجليه

1 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar was about eleven years old at the time of his *hijrah* (cf. p. 83, n. 5, and *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 203). Although he seems to have gone to Madînah before his father (cf. *Isti'âb* I, 368), he was obviously sent by the latter (cf. p. 226, n. 1), and thus his *hijrah* was not an independent action.

2 In the text, "that he was not".

3 For particulars about Khabbâb ibn al-Aratt, see p. 159, n. 1. Al-Bukhârî's object in quoting this Tradition for the second time in this section appears to be this: the first version (No. 1 of this section) serves as a general indication of the merit of *hijrah*; and the present version (No. 16) is quoted for the sake of the passage, "And there were some of us who passed away without having enjoyed any reward [in this life]". It has to be read in conjunction with the preceding Tradition (No. 15) which shows something of the rewards which many of the *Muhâjirs* obtained during this life.

4 It has been shown in No. 1 of this section that the striped cloak *(namirah)* had belonged to Muṣ'ab ibn Umayr himself, and that it was the only possession he had left.

whose fruit ripened [in this world], and they were able to gather it.

من إذخر . ومنا من أينعت له ثمرته فهو يهدبها .

17 Yaḥyâ ibn Bishr related to us: Rawḥ related to us: 'Awf related to us, on the authority of Mu'âwiyah ibn Qurrah, who said:

١٧ حدثنا يحيى بن بشر : حدثنا روح : حدثنا عوف عن معاوية بن قرة قال :

ABÛ BURDAH ibn Abî Mûsâ al-Ash'arî[1] related to me, saying: 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar asked me: Dost thou know what my father [once] said unto thine?—I answered: Nay.—[Ibn 'Umar] said: Behold, my father [once] said unto thine: O Abû Mûsâ! Art thou happy about our acceptance of Islâm at the hands of the Apostle of God, our *hijrah* together with him, our *jihâd* with him,—[seeing that] all that we did with him will stand forever in our favour, while all that we did after him is barely enough to hold the balance between good and evil?[2] —Thereupon thy father[3] said: Nay, by God! Even after the [death of the] Apostle of God we made *jihâd* and prayed and fasted and did plenty of good; and many people have accepted Islâm at our hands; and indeed we hope [to be rewarded for all] this.—But my father said: As for myself, by Him in Whose hands is 'Umar's soul! I am satisfied if all those [earlier deeds] stand forever in our favour, even though all that we did thereafter be barely enough to hold the balance between good and evil!

Thereupon I[4] said: Thy father was, by God! better than mine![5]

حدثنى أبو بردة بن أبى موسى الأشعرى قال : قال لى عبد الله بن عمر : هل تدرى ما قال أبى لأبيك ؟ — قال : قلت : لا . — قال : فان أبى قال لأبيك : يا أبا موسى ! هل يسرك اسلامنا مع رسول الله ﷺ وهجرتنا معه وجهادنا معه — وعملنا كله معه برد لنا ، وأن كل عمل عملناه بعده نجونا منه كفافاً رأساً برأس ؟ — فقال أبوك : لا والله ! قد جاهدنا بعد رسول الله ﷺ وصلينا وصمنا وعملنا خيراً كثيراً ، وأسلم على أيدينا بشر كثير ؛ وانا لنرجو ذلك . — فقال أبى : لكنى أنا والذى نفس عمر بيده ! لوددت أن ذلك برد لنا وأن كل شىء عملناه بعد نجونا منه كفافاً رأساً برأس !

فقلت : ان أباك والله خير من أبى !

18 Muḥammad ibn Ṣabbâḥ related to me—or I was told on his authority[6]—: Ismâ'il re-

١٨ حدثنى محمد بن صباح — أو بلغنى عنه — :

1 Note about him on p. 127, n. 1. Regarding his father Abû Mûsâ al-Ash'arî, see p. 96, n. 1.

2 Lit., "is merely compensated, head for head"—*i.e.*, every good action is balanced by sins or omissions.

3 In all the texts current to-day, *abî* ("*my* father"). This is evidently a copyist's mistake, because the speaker is 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar, and he refers to Abû Burdah's father, Abû Mûsâ al-Ash'arî. In an-Nasafî's copy (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 203; 'Aynî XVII, 55), the pronoun was correctly mentioned (*abûka*, "thy father").

4 *I.e.*, Abû Burdah.

5 —because he ('Umar) was possessed of a deep humility regarding his actions, and was never satisfied with his own righteousness.—This Tradition is quoted in the present section owing the mention therein of the *hijrah* as an act of outstanding merit.

6 It appears that al-Bukhârî was not certain whether he had heard this Tradition directly

lated to us, on the authority of 'Âṣim, on the authority of Abû 'Uthmân an-Nahdî, who said:

I HEARD ['Abd Allâh] ibn 'Umar fly into anger when someone mentioned that he had migrated before his father[1]; and [I heard him] say: I came together with [my father] 'Umar to the Apostle of God,[2] and we found him having his siesta; and so we went back to our house. [After a while] 'Umar sent me [to the Prophet's house], saying: Go and see whether he is awake.—I betook myself [again] to the Prophet and went in unto him, and swore allegiance unto him. Then I went [back] to 'Umar and told him that [the Prophet] was already awake; and we betook ourselves to him, walking quickly. ['Umar] went in and swore allegiance unto him; thereafter I swore allegiance [again].[3]

حدثنا اسمعيل عن عاصم عن أبي عثمان النهدي قال:

سمعت ابن عمر (رض) اذا قيل له هاجر قبل أبيه يغضب، قال: وقدمت أنا وعمر على رسول الله ﷺ فوجدناه قائلاً، فرجعنا الى المنزل. فأرسلني عمر وقال: اذهب فانظر هل استيقظ. — فأتيته فدخلت عليه فبايعته. ثم انطلقت الى عمر فأخبرته أنه قد استيقظ؛ فانطلقنا اليه نهرول هرولة حتى دخل عليه، فبايعه ثم بايعته.

19 Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmân related to us: Shurayḥ ibn Maslamah related to us: Ibrâhîm ibn Yûsuf related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, who said:

I HEARD al-Barâ' relate the following: Abû Bakr bought of 'Âzib[4] a camel-saddle, and I carried it for him[5]. And 'Âzib

١٩ حدثنا أحمد بن عثمان: حدثنا شريح بن مسلمة: حدثنا ابراهيم بن يوسف عن أبيه عن أبي اسحق قال:

سمعت البراء يحدث قال: ابتاع أبوبكر من عازب رحلاً فحملته معه. قال: فسأله عازب عن

from Muḥammad ibn aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ (on whose authority he has reported several Traditions in this work) or through some intermediary. It is possible that this intermediary was 'Abbâd ibn al-Walîd (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 204).

1 Although 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar appears to have left Mecca before his father (cf. p. 83, n. 5, and *Isti'âb* I, 368), he did not regard his own *hijrah* as having preceded in time—and, therefore, in merit—that of his father. As a matter of fact, 'Abd Allâh had been sent ahead by 'Umar with their luggage when the family set out on their *hijrah*; this is evident from a Tradition mentioned in *Fatḥ al-Bârî* (VII, 204).

2 *Sc.*, after the Prophet's arrival at Madînah.

3 It would thus seem that some of the Companions present in Madînah gave spontaneously a new pledge of allegiance to the Prophet on his arrival there. They obviously realised that a new era of Islâm was about to begin, and they wished to re-affirm solemnly their loyalty to the Prophet's cause.—'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar narrated this story of the pledge in order to show that, although he had preceded his father in this act, the merit was really not his but his father's who had sent him—as was also the case with 'Abd Allâh's *hijrah* (cf. n. 1 above). His repetition of the oath of allegiance after 'Umar clearly shows that he wished to avoid the appearance of precedence over his venerated father.

4 'Âzib ibn al-Ḥârith al-Awsî was the father of al-Barâ'. Nothing is known about him except that he embraced Islâm, together with most of the *Anṣâr*, at about the time of the Prophet's *hijrah*.

5 In the text, "with him". Al-Barâ' (see p. 20, n. 4) was a boy at that time.

asked him about the journey of the Apostle of God,[1] [and Abû Bakr] said: Our enemies lay in waiting for us, and so we left at night and travelled throughout the night and the [following] day,[2] till the sun was at its highest. Thereafter we perceived a rock and went toward it; and there was a little shade under it.[3] I spread for the Apostle of God a fur which I had with me, and the Prophet lay down upon it. Then I went forth to look around.[4] And lo, I met a herdsman approaching with a small flock, desiring of the rock that which we had desired. I asked him: To whom dost thou belong, O boy?—He answered: I belong to so-and-so.[5]—Then I said unto him: Is there milk in thy flock?—He answered: Yea.—I asked him: Wilt thou milk [for us]?—He answered: Yea.—And he got hold of a ewe from his flock. I said unto him: Clean the udder of dust!—Then he drew a little milk. I had with me a waterskin tied up with a piece of cloth,[6] which I had prepared for the Apostle of God. Now I poured [some water] into the milk so that it cooled to the bottom, went therewith to the Prophet and said: Drink, O Apostle of God!—And the Apostle of God drank until I was satisfied. Thereafter we departed, the pursuers on our track.[7]

مسير رسول الله ﷺ، قال: أخذ علينا بالرصد، فخرجنا ليلاً فأحثثنا ليلتنا ويومنا حتى قام قائم الظهيرة. ثم رفعت لنا صخرة، فأتيناها ولها شيء من ظل. قال: ففرشت لرسول الله ﷺ فروة معي، ثم اضطجع عليها النبي ﷺ. فانطلقت أنفض ما حوله، فاذا أنا براع قد أقبل في غنيمة يريد من الصخرة مثل الذي أردنا، فسألته: لمن أنت يا غلام؟ — فقال: أنا لفلان. — فقلت له: هل في غنمك من لبن؟ — قال: نعم. — قلت له: هل أنت حالب؟ — قال: نعم. — فأخذ شاة من غنمه. فقلت له: انفض الضرع! — قال: فحلب كثبة من لبن. ومعي إداوة من ماء عليها خرقة قد روأتها لرسول الله ﷺ، فصببت على اللبن حتى برد أسفله، ثم أتيت به النبي ﷺ فقلت: اشرب يا رسول الله! — فشرب رسول الله ﷺ حتى رضيت. ثم ارتحلنا والطلب في إثرنا.

Al-Barâ' continued: Then[8] I went in with Abû Bakr into his house; and there was his daughter 'Â'ishah, laid up with fever.[9] I saw

قال البراء: فدخلت مع أبي بكر على أهله فاذا عائشة ابنته مضطجعة قد أصابتها حمى. فرأيت

1 *I.e.*, the journey from Mecca to Madînah.

2 As has been already explained on p. 20, n. 6, this refers to the Prophet's and Abû Bakr's departure not from Mecca but from the cave on Mt. Thawr in which they had stayed for three days. Cf. also the second half of n. 1 on p. 201.

3 Lit., "it had something of shade".

4 *Sc.*, for possible pursuers. Cf. Bkh 1/2, No. 1.

5 In another version of this Tradition (Bkh 1/2, No. 1) the boy is said to have been the slave of a Qurayshite.

6 This was apparently the *niṭâq* of Abû Bakr's daughter Asmâ' (cf. p. 210, n. 2).

7 Reference to Surâqah ibn Mâlik, whose story is told in sec. 21, No. 9.

8 When Abû Bakr had finished his narrative to 'Âzib, the father of al-Barâ', the latter accompanied him home carrying the saddle which Abû Bakr had bought from 'Âzib.

9 This happened shortly after 'Â'ishah's arrival at Madînah after the Prophet's *hijrah* (cf. sec. 20, No. 1). The climate of Madînah did not suit the *Muhâjirs* in the beginning, as is also shown in sec. 22, No. 3.

her father kiss her cheek; and he asked: How art thou, little daughter?

20 Sulaymân ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân related to us: Muḥammad ibn Ḥimyar related to us: Ibrâhîm ibn Abî 'Ablah related to us that 'Uqbah ibn Wassâj related to him, on the authority of Anas, the Prophet's servant, who said:

WHEN the Prophet came [to Madînah], none of his companions had grizzled hair save Abû Bakr.[1] He dyed his hair[2] with henna and *katam*[3].

21 T And Duḥaym said: Al-Walîd related to us: Al-Awzâ'î related to us: Abû 'Ubayd related to me, on the authority of 'Uqbah ibn Wassâj [who said]: Anas ibn Mâlik related to me, saying:

WHEN the Prophet came to Madînah, the oldest of his companions was Abû Bakr. He dyed his hair with henna and *katam*[3], so that it became dark-red.

22 Aṣbagh related to us: Ibn Wahb related to us, on the authority of Yûnus, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, on the authority of 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr, on the authority of 'Â'ishah:

ABÛ BAKR married a woman of [the tribe of] Kalb[4]; she was called Umm Bakr[5]. When Abû Bakr migrated to Madînah, he divorced her; thereupon her cousin[6]

أباها فقبل خدها وقال: كيف أنت يابنية؟

٢٠ حدثنا سليمان بن عبد الرحمن: حدثنا محمد بن حمير: حدثنا ابراهيم بن أبي عبلة أن عقبة بن وساج حدثه عن أنس خادم النبي ﷺ قال:

قدم النبي ﷺ وليس في أصحابه أشمط غير أبي بكر، فغلفها بالحناء والكتم.

٢١ وقال دحيم: حدثنا الوليد: حدثنا الأوزاعي: حدثني أبو عبيد عن عقبة بن وساج: حدثني أنس بن مالك (رض) قال:

قدم النبي ﷺ المدينة فكان أسن أصحابه أبو بكر، فغلفها بالحناء والكتم حتى قنأ لونها.

٢٢ حدثنا أصبغ: حدثنا ابن وهب عن يونس عن ابن شهاب عن عروة بن الزبير عن عائشة

أن أبا بكر (رض) تزوج امرأة من كلب يقال لها أم بكر؛ فلما هاجر أبو بكر طلقها،

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1 *I.e.*, he was the oldest of the Companions, as is explicitly stated in the subsequent Tradition.

2 In the text, "it".

3 *Katam* is (according to *Lisân al-'Arab* XV, 411) a rare mountain plant utilised, like henna, for dyeing grey hair.

4 *I.e.*, Banû Kalb ibn 'Awf, a tribe of the Kinânah-group (cf. 'Aynî XVII, 58, and *Iṣâbah* VII, 21) —not to be confused with another tribe of the same name which was a sub-division of Quḍâ'ah.

5 I was not able to trace her real name anywhere. It is just possible that her *kunyah*, Umm Bakr, was derived from a son which she had from Abû Bakr; but as no son of Abû Bakr the Companion with the name of Bakr is mentioned anywhere, we may perhaps assume that she had a son of this name from her second husband, whose *kunyah* also happened to be Abû Bakr (see n. 6 below). She had perhaps at first embraced Islâm and had turned renegade at the time of the Prophet's *hijrah* – which would account for her divorce by Abû Bakr, her first husband.—The mention of Abû Bakr's *hijrah* in the above Tradition was the reason for the incorporation of the latter in this section.

6 His name was Abû Bakr Shaddâd ibn al-Aswad (sometimes also called, after his mother, Ibn Sha'ûb). According to some authorities, he later embraced Islâm; according to others, he first became a Muslim and then turned apostate (Ibn Hishâm II, 46; *Iṣâbah* VII, 21 f). In any case, in

فتزوجها ابن عمها — هذا الشاعر الذى قال هذه القصيدة رثى كفار قريش :

وما ذا بالقليب — قليب بدر —
من الشيزى تزين بالسنام ؟
وما ذا بالقليب — قليب بدر —
من القينات والشرب الكرام ؟
تحيينا السلامة أم بكر :
وهل لى بعد قومى من سلام ؟
يحدثنا الرسول بأن سنحيا ،
وكيف حياة أصداء وهام ؟

married her—that poet who composed the following elegy on the heathen Quraysh[1]:

What is there left in the well—the well of Badr[2]—
Of [that life amidst] festive dishes[3] adorned with camels' meat?
What is there left in the well—the well of Badr—
Of [that life amidst] singing girls and boon companions noble?
Thou greetest us with the greeting of peace, O Umm Bakr:
But can I, after my people [are gone], find peace?
The Apostle telleth us that we shall live again;
But how can there be life for owls and skulls?[4]

٢٣ حدثنا موسى بن اسمعيل : حدثنا همام عن ثابت عن أنس

عن أبى بكر (رض) قال : كنت مع النبى ﷺ فى الغار ؛ فرفعت رأسى فاذا أنا بأقدام

23 Mûsâ ibn Ismâ'îl related to us: Hammâm related to us, on the authority of Thâbit, on the authority of Anas,

ON the authority of Abû Bakr, who said: I was with the Prophet in the cave[5]. I lifted my head and, lo, I saw the feet of the people [who were passing above us[6]]; and I

the battle of Uḥud he sided with the pagan Quraysh, and saved Abû Sufyân's life by killing Ḥanẓalah ibn Abî 'Âmir, the Prophet's Companion (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 207).

1 This elegy is quoted in a slightly different form, with more verses, by Ibn Hishâm (II, 46). My translation is not strictly literal.

2 Reference to the disused well near Badr into which the corpses of some leaders of the Quraysh were thrown by the victorious Muslims (see Bkh lii/8, No. 15, as well as sec. 5, No. 3, in the present chapter).

3 *Shîzâ* (or *shîz*) is a kind of black wood, of which bowls *(qiṣâ')* were made—either ebony or walnut-wood (cf. Lane IV, 1630). Here it is used metaphorically for the hospitable and festive life which the killed chiefs of the Quraysh had led.

4 The pre-Islâmic Arabs believed that, when a man died, his soul escaped from the skull in the shape of a night bird. If the person was slain, and his blood not avenged by retaliation, the bird cried upon his grave, "Give me to drink"—*i.e.*, the blood of the slayer (cf. Lane IV, 1670 f, art. صدى). It is noteworthy that the two expressions occurring in this verse, *aṣdâ'* (sing., *ṣadâ*) and *hâm* (sing., *hâmah*)—translated above as "owls" and "skulls"—are frequently interchanged, *hâmah* denoting an owl, and *ṣadâ*, a skull (cf. Lane, *loc. cit.*, and *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 206 f). The pagan Arabs did not believe in life after death, and so the poet derided the contention of the Prophet Muḥammad that the dead would be resurrected.

5 *I.e.*, in the cave of Mt. Thawr, where they hid themselves for three days after their departure from Mecca.

6 These people were probably the trackers sent by the Quraysh after the fugitives, as mentioned in n. 3 on p. 210.

said: O Prophet of God! If any of them had looked down, he would have seen us! —[The Prophet] answered: Be silent, O Abû Bakr! [Wherever there are] two, God is the third with them.

24 'Alî ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us: Al-Walid ibn Muslim related to us: Al-Awzâ'î related to us:——

(h) And Muḥammad ibn Yûsuf said: Al-Awzâ'î related to us: Az-Zuhrî related to us, saying: 'Aṭâ' ibn Yazid al-Laythî related to me, saying: Abû Sa'îd related to me, saying:

A NOMAD Arab came to the Prophet and asked him about *hijrah*[1]; and [the Prophet] answered: Mercy on thee[2]! Behold, a *hijrah* is full of hardship.[3] Dost thou possess camels?—[The nomad] answered: Yea.—[The Prophet] asked: And dost thou pay the sacred tax on them?—Yea.—And dost thou let others benefit by them[4]?—Yea.—And dost thou milk them on the days when they are watered[5]?—Yea.—Do so, then, [even] beyond the seas[6]: for, behold, God will not overlook[7] any of thy [good] deeds!

SECTION XXII

THE ARRIVAL OF THE PROPHET AND HIS COMPANIONS AT MADÎNAH

1 Abu'l-Walîd related to us: Shu'bah related to us, saying: Abû Isḥâq told us [that] he heard al-Barâ' say:

القوم، فقلت: يا نبي الله! لو أن بعضهم طأطأ بصره رآنا! — قال: اسكت يا أبابكر! اثنان الله ثالثهما.

٢٤ حدثنا علي بن عبد الله: حدثنا الوليد بن مسلم: حدثنا الأوزاعي:——

(ح) وقال محمد بن يوسف: حدثنا الأوزاعي: حدثنا الزهري قال: حدثني عطاء بن يزيد الليثي قال: حدثني أبو سعيد (رض) قال:

جاء أعرابي الى النبي ﷺ فسأله عن الهجرة، فقال: ويحك! ان الهجرة شأنها شديد! فهل لك من ابل؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: فتعطى صدقتها؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: فهل تمنح منها؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: فتحلبها يوم ورودها؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: فاعمل من وراء البحار، فان الله لن يترك من عملك شيأ!

٢٢ باب

مقدم النبي ﷺ وأصحابه المدينة

١ حدثنا أبو الوليد: حدثنا شعبة قال: أنبأنا أبو اسحق سمع البراء (رض) قال:

1 This Bedouin, who obviously lived at a great distance from Madinah, wanted to know whether he should migrate from his native place to Madînah, as he had now embraced Islâm. It appears that this incident took place before the conquest of Mecca.

2 Regarding this translation of *wayḥaka*, see Lane VIII, 2970 f.

3 Even before the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet did not order Bedouins to migrate to Madînah on their acceptance of Islâm. The life of nomads depends on wide pastures for their herds and flocks, and a large congregation of them in and around Madînah would have inevitably caused starvation. Only town-dwellers were under the obligation to migrate to the *Dâr al-Islâm* if they were not allowed freely to profess their religion in their native place—as was the case with the Meccan Muslims before the conquest of Mecca in 8 A.H.

4 *I.e.*, by giving milk to people who have no cattle of their own.

5 Milch-camels give more milk on the days when they are watered; on such days many poor Bedouins collect around the wells in the hope of benefitting from their richer friends.

6 *I.e.*, "wherever thou art, regardless of the distance from the centre of Islâm".

7 Lit., "diminish".

THE first who came to us [at Madînah] were Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr[1] and Ibn Umm Maktûm[2]; then there came to us 'Ammâr ibn Yâsir[3] and Bilâl.

أول من قدم علينا مصعب بن عمير وابن أم مكتوم، ثم قدم علينا عمار بن ياسر وبلال (رض).

2 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to us: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, who said:

٢ حدثنا محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة عن أبي اسحق قال:

I HEARD al-Barâ' ibn 'Âzib say: The first who came to us [at Madînah] were Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr and Ibn Umm Maktûm; and they were teaching the people [the Qur'ân]. Then there came Bilâl, Sa'd [ibn Abî Waqqâṣ] and 'Ammâr ibn Yâsir. Thereafter 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb came with twenty of the Prophet's companions. Thereafter the Prophet [himself] came. And never saw I the people of Madînah show joy so great as their joy about the Apostle of God; and even the slave-girls were shouting: The Apostle of God hath arrived!— And before he came I had already read [the *sûrah*] *"Glorify the name of thy Sustainer, the Most High,"*[4] together with [other] *sûrahs* of the [portion called] *al-mufaṣṣal*.[5]

سمعت البراء بن عازب (رض) قال: أول من قدم علينا مصعب بن عمير وابن أم مكتوم، وكانا يقرئان الناس. فقدم بلال وسعد وعمار بن ياسر. ثم قدم عمر بن الخطاب فى عشرين من أصحاب النبى ﷺ. ثم قدم النبى ﷺ. فما رأيت أهل المدينة فرحوا بشىء فرحهم برسول الله ﷺ حتى جعل الاماء يقلن: قدم رسول الله ﷺ! — فما قدم حتى قرأت «سبح اسم ربك الأعلى» فى سور من المفصل.

3 'Abd Allâh ibn Yûsuf related to us: Mâlik informed us, on the authority of Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of his father,

٣ حدثنا عبد الله بن يوسف: أخبرنا مالك عن هشام بن عروة عن أبيه

ON the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said: When the Apostle of God came to Madînah, Abû Bakr and Bilâl fell ill with fever.[6] I went in unto them and said: O my

عن عائشة (رض) أنها قالت: لما قدم رسول الله ﷺ المدينة وعك أبوبكر وبلال. قالت: فدخلت عليهما فقلت: يا أبت! كيف

1 Note about him on p. 88, n. 5.

2 'Amr (or 'Abd Allâh) ibn Qays aḍ-Ḍarîr ("the blind"), surnamed Ibn Umm Maktûm after his mother, was a son of Khadîjah's maternal uncle. He embraced Islâm at an early time, and was one of the earliest *Muhâjirs*. The Prophet often used to leave him in charge of Madînah when he himself had to lead a military expedition. Ibn Umm Maktûm fell, according to the most trustworthy reports, in the battle of Qâdisiyyah, in 16 A.H.; according to other accounts, he returned from Qâdisiyyah and died in Madînah, perhaps in 23 A.H. The first of the two reports is definitely better authenticated. (Ibn Sa'd V/i, 150 ff; *Iṣâbah* IV, 284 f; cf. also Caetani, *Chronographia* I, 269.)

3 Note about him on p. 85, n. 1.

4 Qur'ân lxxxvii.

5 *Al-mufaṣṣal* is the last of the seven *manâzil* of the Qur'ân, beginning, according to some authorities, with *sûrah* xlix; but Ibn Kathîr (VIII, 35 f) is of opinion that it begins with *sûrah* l.

6 The climate of Madînah had in the beginning a bad effect on the health of many of the Meccan *Muhâjirs*; the fever referred to in this Tradition, as well as 'Â'ishah's illness mentioned in sec. 20, No. 1, and in sec. 21, No. 19, was most probably malaria.

father, how dost thou feel?—and: O Bilâl, how dost thou feel?—And whenever he had fever, Abû Bakr would say:

Each man is hailed with greetings in the morn amidst his kin—
But death is nearer unto him than his sandal-strings.[1]

—And Bilâl, whenever the fever left him, would say, sobbing:

Would that I know whether I shall spent [another] night
In the valley [of Mecca], sweet rush and panic grass[2] around me;
And whether I shall drink [again] one day the waters of Majannah[3],
And [once again] behold [the hills of] Shâmah and Ṭafîl.[4]

—['Â'ishah] continued: And I went unto the Apostle of God and told him thereof; and he prayed: O God! Make us love Madînah even as we have loved Mecca—and more than that! Make it healthy, and bless us in all our doings here[5]; and take away its fever to Juḥfah[6]!

تجدك؟ — و: يا بلال! كيف تجدك؟ — قالت: فكان أبوبكر اذا أخذته الحمى يقول:

كل امرئ مصبح فى أهله
و الموت أدنى من شراك نعله.

— وكان بلال اذا أقلع عنه الحمى يرفع عقيرته ويقول:

ألا ليت شعرى هل أبيتن ليلة
بواد وحولى إذخر وجليل،
وهل أردن يوماً مياه مجنة
وهل يبدون لى شامة وطفيل.

— قالت عائشة: فجئت رسول الله ﷺ فأخبرته فقال: اللهم! حبب الينا المدينة كحبنا مكة — أو أشد! وصححها وبارك لنا فى صاعها ومدها، وانقل حماها فاجعلها بالجحفة!

4 'Abd Allâh ibn Muḥammad related to me: Hishâm related to us: Ma'mar informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî [who said]: 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr related to me that 'Ubayd Allâh ibn 'Adî informed him [saying]: I went in unto 'Uthmân...

T (h) And Bishr ibn Shu'ayb said: My father related to me, on the authority of az-Zuhrî

٤ حدثنى عبد الله بن محمد: حدثنا هشام: أخبرنا معمر عن الزهرى: حدثنى عروة بن الزبير أن عبيد الله بن عدى أخبره: دخلت على عثمان...

(ح) وقال بشر بن شعيب: حدثنى أبى عن

1 Meaning, that there can be no feeling of security in man's life, for we may die at any moment, however distant death may appear.

2 Panic grass (*jalîl* or *thumâm*) and sweet rush *(idhkhir)* grow in abundance around Mecca.

3 Majannah was a place at a distance of several miles from Mecca; in ancient times fairs were held there similar to that of 'Ukâẓ (*Mu'jam al-Buldân* VII, 289 f).

4 Shâmah and Ṭafîl were the ancient names of two hills about thirty miles from Mecca (*Mu'jam al-Buldân* VI, 52).

5 Lit., "in its *ṣâ'* and its *mudd*". *Ṣâ'* and *mudd* are grain measures (see p. 35, n. 5), and denote here metaphorically "daily life".

6 Juḥfah was, as already its name indicates, a ruined, abandoned village, about four stages to the north of Mecca. It is said to have been the ancient habitation of a tribe related to the legendary people of 'Âd; subsequently floods destroyed *(ijtaḥafa)* their settlement (cf. *Mu'jam al-Buldân* III, 62).—Thus, the Prophet prayed to God that the malignant fever under which the *Muhâjirs* had to suffer, should be taken away from them and should be cast into the wilderness, where it would harm nobody: this is another example of the metaphorical style of speech so often employed by the Prophet.

[who said]: 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr related to me that

'UBAYD ALLÂH ibn 'Adî ibn Khiyâr reported the following: I went in unto 'Uthmân. He recited the Creed and said: Now, to come to the point. Behold, God hath sent Muḥammad with the Truth, and I was of those who responded to the call of God and His Apostle and had faith in Muḥammad's mission. Then I took part in two migrations; I became the son-in-law of the Apostle of God, and I swore allegiance to him: and, by God! never was I disobedient to him and never did I deceive him until God caused him to die.[1]

الزهرى: حدثنى عروة بن الزبير

أن عبيد الله بن عدى بن خيار أخبره قال: دخلت على عثمان فتشهد ثم قال: أما بعد؛ فان الله بعث محمداً ﷺ بالحق وكنت ممن استجاب لله ولرسوله وآمن بما بعث به محمد ﷺ. ثم هاجرت هجرتين ونلت صهر رسول الله ﷺ وبايعته: فوالله ما عصيته ولا غششته حتى توفاه الله.

Isḥâq al-Kalbî corroborated him[2] [saying]: Az-Zuhrî related to me the same.

تابعه اسحق الكلبي: حدثنى الزهرى مثله.

5 Yaḥyâ ibn Sulaymân related to us: Ibn Wahb related to me: Mâlik related to us, and Yûnus informed me, [both] on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, who said: 'Ubayd Allâh ibn 'Abd Allâh informed me:

٥ حدثنا يحيى بن سليمان: حدثنى ابن وهب: حدثنا مالك وأخبرنى يونس عن ابن شهاب قال: أخبرنى عبيد الله بن عبد الله

IBN 'ABBÂS reported: In the course of the last pilgrimage led by 'Umar,[3] 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf returned to his family at Minâ, and met me [there]. And 'Abd ar-Raḥmân said: ... Then[4] I said: O Commander of the Faithful! Behold, the festival of pilgrimage bringeth together a mass of common people[5]; I think, therefore that thou shouldst wait until thou go [back] to Madînah, for that [city] is the realm of the [Prophet's] *hijrah* and [of his] *sunnah*, and thou wilt [be able to] refer [the matter] to people of understanding, men of nobility,

أن ابن عباس أخبره أن عبد الرحمن ابن عوف رجع الى أهله وهو بمنى فى آخر حجة حجها عمر فوجدنى. فقال عبد الرحمن: ... فقلت: يا أمير المؤمنين! ان الموسم يجمع رعاع الناس، وانى أرى أن تمهل حتى تقدم المدينة فانها دار الهجرة والسنة وتخلص لأهل الفقه وأشراف

1 This is a fragment of a long Tradition quoted in Bkh 1/8, No. 2, where all necessary explanations are found.

2 *I.e.*, he corroborated the transmitter Shu'ayb, who is mentioned in the second of the two *isnâds* of this Tradition.

3 *I.e.*, in the year 23 A.H.

4 The subsequent speech of 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf is a fragment of a longer speech, which is found in a more detailed version of this Tradition in Bkh lxxiii/31. There we read that during the pilgrimage some people criticised the manner of Abû Bakr's election to the Caliphate, whereupon 'Umar became angry and thought of immediately addressing the Muslims on this subject. But 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf persuaded him to wait until they all returned to Madînah.

5 *I.e.*, people who cannot be expected to understand a discourse on the political principles involved.

and persons and discernment.—'Umar said: Indeed, I shall speak [of it] on the first occasion I speak at Madînah![1]

الناس وذوى رأيهم. — قال عمر: لأقومن فى أول مقام أقومه بالمدينة!

6 Mûsâ ibn Ismâ'îl related to us: Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd related to us: Ibn Shihâb informed us, on the authority of Khârijah ibn Zayd ibn Thâbit [who said]:

٦ حدثنا موسى بن اسمعيل: حدثنا ابراهيم بن سعد: أخبرنا ابن شهاب عن خارجة بن زيد بن ثابت

UMM AL-'ALÂ'[2]—one of the women of the *Anṣâr*[3] who had sworn allegiance to the Prophet—reported that, when the *Anṣâr* drew lots as to which of them would give shelter to the *Muhâjirs*,[4] it fell to her family's[5] lot to give shelter to 'Uthmân ibn Maẓ'ûn[6]. Umm al-'Alâ' said: [After some time] 'Uthmân fell ill in our house, and I nursed him until he died; and we wrapped him in his [own] garments.[7] The Prophet came to us, and I said: God's mercy be upon thee, O Abu's-Sâ'ib[8]! I am thy witness [that], verily, God hath honoured thee![9]—Thereupon the Prophet said: And how knowest thou that

أن أم العلاء — امرأة من نسائهم بايعت النبى ﷺ — أخبرته أن عثمان بن مظعون طار لهم فى السكنى حين اقترعت الأنصار على سكنى المهاجرين. قالت أم العلاء: فاشتكى عثمان عندنا فمرضته حتى توفى، وجعلناه فى أثوابه. فدخل علينا النبى ﷺ فقلت: رحمة الله عليك أبا السائب! شهادتى عليك لقد أكرمك الله! — فقال النبى ﷺ: وما يدريك أن الله أكرمه؟ —

1 He actually delivered a speech on this subject on the occasion of the first Friday-prayer after their return to Madînah. Incidentally, this was the last Friday-prayer which 'Umar ever led, for he was murdered on the following Wednesday (cf. p. 53, n. 3).—Al-Bukhârî quotes this fragment in the present section because of the mention therein that Madînah was the realm of the Prophet's *hijrah* and of his *sunnah*.

2 Umm al-'Alâ' bint al-Ḥârith ibn Thâbit al-Khazrajiyyah was the mother of the narrator, Khârijah ibn Zayd (cf. *isnâd*). She was one of the first women of the *Anṣâr* who embraced Islâm. She took part in the campaign of Khaybar, probably attending to the wounded, as so many Muslim women did in the earliest times of Islâm. (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 336; *Iṣâbah* VIII, 260.)

3 In the text, "one of their women".

4 The *Anṣâr* vied with each other as to which of them would take one of the newly-arrived *Muhâjirs* into his house—for the *Anṣâr* were many and the *Muhâjirs* comparatively few. As none of the *Anṣâr* was willing to forego this privilege, they resorted to drawing lots.

5 In the text, "to their".

6 'Uthmân ibn Maẓ'ûn ibn Ḥabîb al-Jumaḥî, surnamed Abu's-Sâ'ib, was the fourteenth man among those who embraced Islâm. He participated in the migration to Ethiopia, as well as in that to Madînah, and in the battle of Badr. It is reported that already in the Time of Ignorance he abstained from wine-drinking; and even among the Companions he was conspicuous for his deep piety and his devotion to Islâm. He died shortly after his return from Badr, in 2 or 3 A.H. The Prophet blessed him with a kiss after his death, and ordered a tombstone to be placed over his grave. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 286 ff; *Istî'âb* II, 481 f.)

7 In those early times the majority of the Muslims were extremely poor, and it is probable that there was no grave-cloth to wrap therewith the body of 'Uthmân ibn Ma'zûn.

8 *Kunyah* of 'Uthmân ibn Ma'zûn (cf. n. 6 above).

9 She obviously anticipated that he would enter Paradise on account of the good deeds which he had performed in his lifetime.

God hath honoured him?—I answered: I know it not, O Apostle of God, thou for whom I would sacrifice my father and my mother! But who [else is worthy of it, if not he]?—[The Prophet] answered: As to him, by God! he is dead now, and I wish indeed that it go well with him; but [as for knowing,] I do not [even] know—I, the Apostle of God—what God will do to me![1]—I[2] exclaimed: Then, by God! I shall never again assert anyone's purity[3]!—But [never the less,] this made me sad. And [when] I slept, I dreamed of a gushing spring belonging to 'Uthmân ibn Maẓ'ûn; and I went to the Apostle of God and told him thereof. Thereupon he said: This is [a symbol of] his [good] deeds.

قالت: قلت: لا أدرى بأبى أنت وأمى يا رسول الله! فمن؟ — قال: أما هو فقد جاءه والله اليقين؛ والله! انى لأرجو له الخير، وما أدرى والله — وأنا رسول الله — مايفعل بى. — قالت: فوالله لا ازكى أحداً بعده! — قالت: فأحزننى ذلك. فنمت فأريت لعثمان بن مظعون عيناً تجرى؛ فجئت رسول الله ﷺ فأخبرته، فقال: ذلك عمله.

7 'Ubayd Allâh ibn Sa'îd related to us: Abû Usâmah related to us, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father ['Urwah], on the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said:

THE Day of Bu'âth[4]—God, the Lord of Might and Glory, brought it about before the coming of His Apostle. When the Apostle of God came [to Madînah], they[5] were divided into rival factions, and their nobles had been killed, [so that they were ready] to embrace Islâm.

٧ حدثنا عبيد الله بن سعيد: حدثنا أبو أسامة عن هشام عن أبيه عن عائشة (رض) قالت:

كان يوم بعاث يوماً قدمه الله عزوجل لرسوله ﷺ، فقدم رسول الله ﷺ المدينة وقد افترق ملؤهم وقتلت سراتهم فى دخولهم فى الاسلام.

8 Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannâ related to me: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father ['Urwah],

ON the authority of 'Â'ishah. [She said] that Abû Bakr [once] came to her, while the Prophet was with her. [It was] the festival of breaking the fast

٨ حدثنى محمد بن المثنى: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة عن هشام عن أبيه

عن عائشة أن أبابكر دخل عليها والنبى ﷺ عندها يوم فطر

1 Cf. Qur'ân xlvi, 9. Thus the Prophet indicated that we can never regard Paradise as our right, even if our deeds and intentions in this world are beyond reproach. With our good deeds we merely acquire the moral *qualification* for reward in the Hereafter—but the bestowal of this reward is an act of divine grace. The Prophet himself, in his unparalleled humility, did not except himself from the general rule, although he was an Apostle of God—for "God giveth unto whom He will".

2 In the text, "she".

3 Cf. Qur'ân liii, 32.

4 For an explanation of this Tradition, see p. 103, n. 1. Al-Bukhârî quotes it in this section in order to show the social transformation wrought by the Prophet's arrival at Madînah.

5 *I.e.*, the tribes of Aws and Khazraj.

—or: of sacrifices[1]—,

and there were two slave-girls with her, singing the songs of the *Anṣâr* about the Day of Bu'âth[2]. Thereupon Abû Bakr exclaimed twice: [This is] Satan's chant[3]!—But the Prophet said: Let them do, O Abû Bakr! Behold, all people have their festivals —and this day is *our* festival.

— أو : أضحى —

وعندها قينتان تغنيان بما تقاذفت الأنصار يوم بعاث . فقال أبو بكر: مزمار الشيطان ! — مرتين. فقال النبي ﷺ : دعهما يا أبا بكر ! ان لكل قوم عيداً ، وان عيدنا هذا اليوم .

9 Musaddad related to us: 'Abd al-Wârith related to us:—

(h) And Isḥâq ibn Manṣûr related to us: 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad informed us, saying: I heard my father ['Abd al-Wârith] relate: Abu't-Tayyâḥ Yazîd ibn Ḥumayd aḍ-Ḍuba'î related to us, saying:

٩ حدثنا مسدد : حدثنا عبد الوارث : ——

(ح) وحدثنا اسحق بن منصور: أخبرنا عبد الصمد قال : سمعت أبي يحدث : حدثنا أبو التياح يزيد بن حميد الضبعي قال :

ANAS ibn Mâlik related to me, saying: When the Apostle of God came to Madînah, he alighted in the upper part of the town[4] among the clan called Banû 'Amr ibn 'Awf, and stayed with them for a fortnight.[5] Thereafter he sent for the chiefs of Banu'n-Najjâr, and they came, girded with their swords. I [still] seem to see the Apostle of God, riding his dromedary, with Abû Bakr behind him and the chiefs of Banu'n-Najjâr around him. And so he arrived before the house of Abû Ayyûb.[6]

And [the Prophet] would pray at whatever place he happened to be when the time of prayer came; and he would pray [even] in a sheepfold. Thereafter he ordered that a mosque be built. He sent for the chiefs of Banu'n-Najjâr,[7] and they came; and he said:

حدثني أنس بن مالك (رض) قال : لما قدم رسول الله ﷺ المدينة نزل في علو المدينة في حي يقال لهم بنو عمرو بن عوف . قال : فأقام فيهم أربع عشرة ليلة ، ثم أرسل الى ملأ بني النجار . قال : فجاؤا متقلدي سيوفهم . قال : وكأني أنظر الى رسول الله ﷺ على راحلته و أبو بكر ردفه وملأ بني النجار حوله حتى ألقى بفناء أبي أيوب .

قال : فكان يصلي حيث أدركته الصلاة ويصلي في مرابض الغنم . قال : ثم انه أمر ببناء المسجد فأرسل الى ملأ بني النجار فجاؤا فقال :

1 It appears that the transmitter Shu'bah was uncertain as to whether it was *'Îd al-Fiṭr* or *'Îd al-Aḍḥâ*; but from another version of this Tradition (Bkh xi/25, No. 2) it is evident that it was the latter, for it is mentioned there that the incident took place "in the days of Minâ", *i.e.*, on one of the three days following the return from 'Arafât.

2 See p. 103, n. 1.

3 *Mizmâr* denotes, primarily, a musical instrument like a flute or a pipe, but it is used also to denote singing or chanting, like *mazâmîr Dâwûd*, "the Psalms of David" (cf. Lane III, 1251). Abû Bakr in his austerity was obviously averse to every kind of music. It appears from the sequence that the Prophet differed in this respect from of Abû Bakr. For a detailed discussion of the Islâmic attitude towards music, see Bkh xi/2.

4 *I.e.*, in Qubâ' (see n. 7 on p. 216).

5 See p. 217, n. 1. For other explanatory notes relating to this Tradition, see sec. 21, No. 9.

6 See p. 221, n. 4.

7 One of those chiefs was As'ad ibn Zurârah, the guardian of the two orphan boys to whom

O Banu'n-Najjâr! Name the price of this enclosure of yours.—They answered: Nay, by God! We ask no price for it, save from God!—And in that enclosure[1] there were the following things: graves of idolaters, ruined buildings, and palm-trees. The Apostle of God ordered that the graves of the idolaters be dug up,[2] the ruins be razed to the ground, and the palm-trees be cut. Then they layed the [trunks of the] palm-trees in rows on the *qiblah*-side of the mosque, and built its two door-posts of stone. They were carrying the stones therefor, and were reciting—and the Apostle of God with them—: O God! There is no [lasting] good but the good of the Hereafter; so help Thou the *Anṣâr* and the *Muhâjirs*![3]

يا بنى النجار ! ثامنونى حائطكم هذا . — فقالوا : لاوالله ! لانطلب ثمنه الا الى الله ! — قال : فكان فيه ما أقول لكم : كانت فيه قبور المشركين وكانت فيه خرب وكان فيه نخل . فأمر رسول الله ﷺ بقبور المشركين فنبشت و بالخرب فسويت و بالنخل فقطع . قال : فصفوا النخل قبلة المسجد . قال : وجعلوا عضادتيه حجارة . قال : جعلوا ينقلون ذاك الصخر وهم يرتجزون — ورسول الله ﷺ معهم — يقولون : اللهم ! انه لا خير الا خير الآخرة ، فانصر الأنصار والمهاجرة !

SECTION XXIII

THE *MUHÂJIR'S* SOJOURN IN MECCA AFTER THE PERFORMANCE OF THE RITES [OF PILGRIMAGE][4]

Ibrâhîm ibn Ḥamzah related to me: Ḥâtim related to us, on the authority of 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Ḥumayd az-Zuhrî, who said: I heard 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz[5] ask as-Sâ'ib, the nephew of an-Namir: What didst thou hear concerning [a *Muhâjir's*] sojourn in Mecca?[6]—[As-Sâ'ib] answered: I heard al-'Alâ' ibn al-Ḥaḍramî say:

THE Apostle of God said: Three [days are allowed] to the *Muhâjir* after the return [from Minâ].[6]

٢٣ باب

اقامة المهاجر بمكة بعد قضاء نسكه

حدثنى ابراهيم بن حمزة : حدثنا حاتم عن عبد الرحمن بن حميد الزهرى قال : سمعت عمر ابن عبد العزيز يسأل السائب بن أخت النمر : ما سمعت فى سكنى مكة ؟ — قال : سمعت العلاء بن الحضرمى قال :

قال رسول الله ﷺ : ثلاث للمهاجر بعد الصدر .

belonged the place which the Prophet had chosen as the site of the mosque (cf. sec. 21, No. 9).

1 In the text, "therein".

2 It is evident from other reports (*e.g.*, Ibn Sa'd I/ii, 2) that the bones dug out from those graves were buried elsewhere. The reason for this order of the Prophet was the Islâmic prohibition to offer prayers amidst graves (cf. Bkh viii/52, where the problem is fully discussed).

3 For details of the mosque-building, see p. 218, n. 2.

4 The Companions who had migrated from Mecca to Madînah were not allowed by the Prophet ever again to make Mecca their home. Their *hijrah* had implied a silent vow that home and native country should never have precedence with them over the interests of Islâm, and that they were going to Madînah to make it the heart of *Dâr al-Islâm*. The prohibition of the *Muhâjirs'* resettlement in Mecca held good even after its conquest in 8 A.H. They were allowed, however, to go there temporarily on special occasions, *e.g.*, on a pilgrimage. As is shown in the subsequent Tradition, they were permitted to stay in Mecca up to three days after the performance of the pilgrimage.

5 *I.e.*, the famous Umayyad Caliph, 'Umar II.

6 *I.e.*, after the performance of the pilgrimage. See n. 4 above.

SECTION XXIV

1 'Abd Allâh ibn Maslamah related to us: 'Abd al-'Aziz related to us, on the authority of his father [Salamah ibn Dînâr], on the authority of Sahl ibn Sa'd, who said:

THE Companions[1] counted [the Islâmic Era] not from the [beginning of the] Prophet's Mission, nor from his death, but from [the year of] his arrival at Madînah.[2]

2 Musaddad related to us: Yazid ibn Zuray' related to us: Ma'mar related to us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, on the authority of 'Urwah, on the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said:

TWO *rak'ahs* were [originally] prescribed in [every] prayer. When the Prophet migrated [to Madînah], [prayers of] four [*rak'ahs*] were instituted, and the prayer during travel remained unchanged.[3]

'Abd ar-Razzâq corroborated him[4], on the authority of Ma'mar.

SECTION XXV

THE PROPHET'S SAYING, *O GOD! FULFIL MY COMPANIONS' HIJRAH!*[5]—AND HIS LAMENTING THOSE WHO DIED AT MECCA[6]

Yaḥyâ ibn Qaza'ah related to us: Ibrâhîm related to us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, on the authority of 'Âmir ibn Sa'd ibn Mâlik,

ON the authority of his father [Sa'd ibn Abî Waqqâṣ], who said: The Prophet visited me in the year of the Farewell-Pilgrimage[7] during an illness which had brought

٢٤ باب

١ حدثنا عبد الله بن مسلمة: حدثنا عبد العزيز عن أبيه عن سهل بن سعد قال:

ما عدوا من مبعث النبي ﷺ ولا من وفاته، ما عدوا الا من مقدمه المدينة.

٢ حدثنا مسدد: حدثنا يزيد بن زريع: حدثنا معمر عن الزهري عن عروة عن عائشة (رض) قالت:

فرضت الصلاة ركعتين؛ ثم هاجر النبي ﷺ ففرضت أربعاً وتركت صلاة السفر على الأولى.

تابعه عبد الرزاق عن معمر.

٢٥ باب

قول النبي ﷺ «اللهم! أمض لأصحابي هجرتهم» ومرثيته لمن مات بمكة

حدثنا يحيى بن قزعة: حدثنا ابراهيم عن الزهري عن عامر بن سعد بن مالك

عن أبيه قال: عادني النبي ﷺ عام حجة الوداع من مرض أشفيت منه على الموت،

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1 In the text, "they".

2 It is reported that the Islâmic Era as we count it to-day (*i.e.*, beginning with the month of Muḥarram of the year in which the Prophet migrated to Madînah) was first instituted by Caliph 'Umar (cf. Ṭabarî II, 252 f).

3 For an explanation of this Tradition, see Bkh viii/1, No. 2.

4 The pronoun refers to Yazid ibn Zuray' (cf. *isnâd*).

5 *I.e.*, "—let them remain *Muhâjirs* in Madînah to the end of their life". See in this connection n. 4 on p. 237.

6 This refers to those who originally migrated to Madînah but re-settled at Mecca after its conquest by the Muslims—an act which the Prophet had always discountenanced.

7 *I.e.*, in 10 A.H. (For particulars of this pilgrimage, see Bkh lii/79.)

me to the threshold of death; and I said: O Apostle of God! Thou seest how I suffer. I am a rich man, and I have no heir except my only daughter[1]. Shall I, then, give away two-thirds of my possessions as alms?—[The Prophet] answered: Nay.—I said[2]: Shall I, then, give away one-half?—He answered: Nay.—[And] he added: [Give away] one-third, O Sa'd! And [even] one-third is much. Behold, to leave thy children rich is better than to leave them poor [and reduced to] begging from [other] people. And whatever thou spend with a desire to please God, God will reward thee therefor—and even though it be a morsel which thou put into the mouth of thy wife.

I said: O Apostle of God! Am I to be left [in Mecca] after my companions [have gone]?[3]—[The Prophet] answered: Nay, thou shalt not be left behind. Whatever thou do with a desire to please God is bound to add to thy [spiritual] rank and thy merit.[4] And I hope that thou wilt remain [alive long enough] to become a blessing for [some] peoples and an affliction for others.[5] O God! Fulfil my companions' *hijrah*, and let them not turn back on their heels![6]

But as to the unlucky Sa'd ibn Khawlah[7],

فقلت: يا رسول الله! بلغ بى من الوجع ما ترى، وأنا ذومال ولا يرثنى الا ابنة لى واحدة، أفأتصدق بثلثى مالى؟ — قال: لا. — قال: فأتصدق بشطره؟ — قال: لا. — قال: الثلث يا سعد! والثلث كثير. انك أن تذر ذريتك أغنياء خير من أن تذرهم عالة يتكففون الناس. ولست بنافق نفقة تبتغى بها وجه الله الا آجرك الله بها — حتى اللقمة تجعلها فى فى امرأتك.

قلت: يا رسول الله! أخلف بعد أصحابى؟ — قال: انك لن تخلف فتعمل عملاً تبتغى به وجه الله الا ازددت به درجة ورفعة. ولعلك تخلف حتى ينتفع بك أقوام ويضر بك آخرون. اللهم! أمض لأصحابى هجرتهم ولا تردهم على أعقابهم!

لكن البائس سعد بن خولة يرثى له رسول

1 It was his first-born daughter, 'Â'ishah,—not to be confused with another daughter of the same name, born some years after the death of her elder sister (*Iṣâbah* VIII, 141). Sa'd had many more children, but they were all born after the period referred to in the above Tradition.

2 In the text, "he said".

3 Sa'd was afraid lest he should be left to die in Mecca.

4 Thus the Prophet implied that he and his Companions would take Sa'd with them when they returned to Madînah; at the same time, the Prophet consoled Sa'd that, whatever happened, his *intention* of returning to the place of his *hijrah* would certainly have its due reward with God. See also n. 4 on p. 237.

5 This hope of the Prophet was ultimately fulfilled, for Sa'd lived till 55 or 58 A.H. (cf. n. 8 on p. 75), after having led Muslim armies from success to success and having conquered for Islâm the whole of 'Irâq and a part of Persia.

6 *I.e.*, "let them not make Mecca their abode again".

7 Sa'd ibn Khawlah, surnamed Abû Sa'îd, hailed from Yaman and was a *ḥalîf* of the Qurayshite clan Banû 'Âmir; some sources state that he was of Persian origin. According to Ibn Hishâm (I, 224), he took part in the second migration to Ethiopia. Later he migrated to Madînah. He participated in the battles of Badr, Uḥud and the Moat, as well as in the expedition of Ḥudaybiyah. He died during the pilgrimage of 10 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 297; *Isti'âb* II, 551; *Iṣâbah* III, 74 f.) The fact that the Prophet lamented his death in Mecca suggests that Sa'd ibn Khawlah had previously returned to Mecca to stay there for good.

the Apostle of God lamented his death in Mecca.

And Aḥmad ibn Yûnus and Mûsâ said, on the authority of Ibrâhîm: "... to leave thy heirs".[1]

SECTION XXVI

HOW THE PROPHET ESTABLISHED BONDS OF BROTHERHOOD BETWEEN HIS COMPANIONS[2]

'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf said: On our arrival at Madînah, the Prophet established bonds of brotherhood between myself and Sa'd ibn ar-Rabî'.[3]—*And Abû Juḥayfah said: The Prophet established bonds of brotherhood between Salmân and Abu'd-Dardâ'.*[4]

Muḥammad ibn Yûsuf related to us: Sufyân related to us, on the authority of Ḥumayd, on the authority of Anas, who said:

WHEN 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf came [to Madînah], the Prophet established bonds of brotherhood between him and Sa'd ibn ar-Rabî' the *Anṣârî*.[5] Thereupon [Sa'd] offered 'Abd ar-Raḥmân one-half of his family and of his possessions. But 'Abd ar-Raḥmân said: Bless thee God in thy family and thy possessions! Guide me [instead] to the market.—And he made [on that day] some profit consisting of cheese and clarified butter. After some days the Prophet saw him, and he had on him stains of a yellow perfume; and the Prophet asked: What is this, O 'Abd ar-Raḥmân?—He answered: O Apostle of God! I have wedded a woman of the *Anṣâr*.—[The Prophet] asked: And what didst thou spend on her in dower?—He answered: [A piece of] gold to the weight of a *nawâh*.—Then [the Prophet] said: Prepare a wedding feast, even though it be of a [single] sheep!

الله ﷺ أن توفى بمكة.

وقال أحمد بن يونس وموسى عن ابراهيم: «... أن تذر ورثتك».

٢٦ باب

كيف آخى النبي ﷺ بين أصحابه

وقال عبد الرحمن بن عوف: آخى النبي ﷺ بيني وبين سعد بن الربيع لما قدمنا المدينة. — وقال أبو جحيفة: آخى النبي ﷺ بين سلمان وأبي الدرداء.

حدثنا محمد بن يوسف: حدثنا سفيان عن حميد عن أنس (رض) قال:

قدم عبد الرحمن بن عوف فآخى النبي ﷺ بينه وبين سعد بن الربيع الأنصاري؛ فعرض عليه أن يناصفه أهله وماله. فقال عبد الرحمن: بارك الله لك في أهلك ومالك! دلني على السوق. — فربح شيأ من أقط وسمن. فرآه النبي ﷺ بعد أيام وعليه وضر من صفرة، فقال النبي ﷺ: مهيم يا عبد الرحمن؟ — قال: يا رسول الله! تزوجت امرأة من الأنصار. — قال: فما سقت فيها؟ — فقال: وزن نواة من ذهب. — فقال النبي ﷺ: أولم ولو بشاة!

1 This is a variant of the sentence occurring in the above Tradition: "... to leave thy children rich", etc. In some of the current texts this variant is inserted *in loco* as well as at the end of the Tradition (cf. *Ṣaḥîḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamîd, vol. V, 69).

2 *Sc.*, at Madînah. See p. 104, n. 4.

3 This is a fragment from a Tradition quoted in full in Bkh xxvi/1, No. 2.

4 Fragment from a Tradition quoted in full in Bkh xxxiii/50.

5 The above Tradition is a variant of the one quoted in Bkh 1/36, No. 1, where all necessary explanations are found.

SECTION XXVII

1 Ḥâmid ibn 'Umar related to me, on the authority of Bishr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal [who said]: Ḥumayd related to us: Anas related to us:

'ABD ALLÂH ibn Salâm learned of the Prophet's arrival at Madînah[1]; he thereupon went to him and asked him about [certain] things, saying: Behold, I am going to ask thee about three [things] which none but a prophet knoweth: What will be the first sign of the Last Hour? What is the first food the inmates of Paradise will eat? How doth it come about that a child taketh after his father or after his mother?[2]—[The Prophet] answered: Just now Gabriel hath informed me about [all] this.—Ibn Salâm exclaimed: He is, of all angels, the enemy of the Jews![3]—[The Prophet] continued: As to the first sign of the Last Hour, it will be a fire that will drive the people[4] from the East toward the West.[5] As to the first food the inmates of Paradise will eat, it will be the caul of the fish-liver.[6]

٢٧ باب

١ حدثنى حامد بن عمر عن بشر بن المفضل: حدثنا حميد: حدثنا أنس

أن عبد الله بن سلام بلغه مقدم النبى ﷺ المدينة، فأتاه يسأله عن أشياء فقال: انى سائلك عن ثلاث لا يعلمهن الا نبى: ما أول أشراط الساعة؟ وما أول طعام يأكله أهل الجنة؟ وما بال الولد ينزع الى أبيه أو الى أمه؟ — قال: أخبرنى به جبريل آنفا. — قال ابن سلام: ذاك عدو اليهود من الملائكة! — قال: أما أول أشراط الساعة فنار تحشرهم من المشرق الى المغرب. و أما أول طعام يأكله أهل الجنة فزيادة كبد

1 See sec. 21, No. 14.

2 The verb *naza'a* denotes "to resemble", as well as "to incline" in respect of qualities (cf. Lane VIII, 3030). Thus, in the above context, it may relate to a child's taking after either of its parents as regards physical appearance, character, or sex. See also n. 3 on p. 242.

3 Cf. Qur'ân ii, 97. For a full discussion of this point the reader is referred to Bkh liii, *sûrah* iii, sec. 6.

4 In the text, "them".

5 This appears to be an allegorical description of social cataclysms which will destroy the foundations of eastern cultures and will drive the people of the East towards a blind imitation of the West. It is described as a "fire" because, like fire, it will consume the remaining cultural strength of the eastern peoples, and will turn their past into dead history without connection with the present.—It is to be noted that, in Islâmic eschatology, the period preceding the Last Hour is of indefinite length, as has been frequently expressed by the Prophet. The "nearness" of the Last Hour is nearness only in comparison with the countless æons of past cosmic history.

6 Lit., "excrescence of the fish-liver". Regarding the translation of *ziyâdah*, in this context, as "caul", see Lane III, 1276.—Many commentators have been perplexed by this strange description of the "food of Paradise" by the Prophet. In reality, however, the above picturesque expression is not difficult to understand. We see here one instance more of the Prophet's genius for conveying, by means of easily comprehensible metaphors and parables, abstract ideas to people of widely divergent intellectual levels or of habits of thinking different from that of the speaker. The Jews of Madînah appear to have had a particular predilection for fish, and fish-liver was regarded by them as the rarest of delicacies. If we remember, in addition, that the "caul of the liver" (not particularly fish-liver, to be sure) is among those parts of the meat of sacrificial animals which, according to the elaborate instructions given in the Bible, were to be used for "a burnt

As to the child, [this is so:] when the man's fluid prevaileth upon[1] the woman's fluid, it is he after whom the child will take[2]; and when the woman's fluid prevaileth upon the man's fluid, it is she after whom the child will take.[3]

[Thereupon Ibn Salâm] said: I do bear witness that there is no deity save God, and that thou art God's Apostle!—[And] he added: O Apostle of God! Behold, the Jews are great calumniators; ask them, then,

الحوت. وأما الولد فاذا سبق ماء الرجل ماء المرأة نزع الولد. واذا سبق ماء المرأة ماء الرجل نزعت الولد.

قال: أشهد أن لا اله الا الله وأنك رسول الله! قال: يا رسول الله! ان اليهود قوم بهت،

offering, a sweet savour before the Lord" (cf. Exodus xxix, 22–25), we can easily imagine that for a Jew of that period there could have been hardly a more appropriate symbol of the sublime enjoyment provided by the "food of Paradise" than that contained in the Prophet's answer to 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm. Like so many other sayings of the Prophet, this one also refers to a metaphysical problem in terms of physical imagery adapted to the listener's predisposition and mental capacity.

1 The expression *sabaqa* can mean "to precede [in time]", as well as "to prevail upon". I have chosen in my translation the latter meaning because several other versions of this and similar Traditions frequently give in this context the term *'alá*, which means, "to become superior", "to overcome", "to prevail upon", etc. For examples of such versions, see *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 219; *Mushkil al-Âthâr* III, 275 ff.

2 Lit., "he will resemble the child".

3 Lit., "she will resemble the child".—The Prophet's answer raises the very complex problem of heredity. Modern science is not yet decided as to the exact connection between the details of a sexual act and the characteristics of the offspring resulting therefrom. Although it seems to be established beyond reasonable doubt that the vaginal secretion of the woman during the act *(mâ' al-mar'ah)* has no direct bearing on the biological aspect of the act itself or on its result—conception being possible with or without such a secretion—it has certainly an indirect import on conception, for it is a physiological expression of the degree, or quality, of the woman's emotion during the act: and it goes without saying that in a highly developed organism like the human body emotional conditions must to a great extent influence the reproductive processes. Moreover, it is quite possible that the popular expressions, *mâ' ar-rajul* and *mâ' al-mar'ah*, do not refer, in this context, merely to the ejaculation of the sperm on the part of the man and the vaginal secretion of the woman, but to the gametic processes in their entirety. This brings us considerably nearer to an understanding of the problem. If we take the term *naza'a* as denoting resemblance in the matter of sex (see n. 2 on p. 241), the above utterance of the Prophet would imply that the sex of the offspring is determined by the greater vigour of either of the parents at the time of mating. This idea is supported by one of the most influential modern theories in this domain, namely, that propounded by the biologist Girou, who connects the sex of the offspring with that of the more vigorous parent. We have Traditions (*e.g.*, Muslim, *K. al-Ḥayḍ, B. Ṣifat Mani ar-Rajul wa'l-Mar'ah*), in which the Prophet is reported to have used the verb *'alá* ("to be superior", "to prevail upon") in this connection; and there he clearly stated (quite in accordance with Girou) that this superiority, or greater vigour, in the gametic functions of one of the parents accordingly decides the sex of the child. In another Tradition *(ibid., B. Wujûb al-Ghusl 'ala'l-Mar'ah)*, this greater vigour is said to result in a resemblance not in the matter of sex but in that of appearance or character (the wording of the Tradition makes it uncertain which it is). On the whole, modern science has not yet been able to offer a definite solution of this problem.

about me ere they become aware of my conversion to Islâm.—And the Jews came, and the Prophet said: What kind of man is 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm among you?—They answered: The best of us and the son of the best of us, as well as the most erudite[1] and the son of the most erudite among us.—The Prophet asked: What would ye think if he accepted Islâm?—They exclaimed: May God protect him from such a thing!—[The Prophet] repeated his question, but they gave the same answer. Then 'Abd Allâh [ibn Salâm] shewed himself unto them[2] and said: I bear witness that there is no deity save God, and that Muḥammad is God's Apostle!—[The Jews] cried out: He is the worst and the son of the worst among us!—and they gave him bad names. He [then] said: It is this that I was afraid of, O Apostle of God![3]

فاسألهم عنى قبل أن يعلموا باسلامى. — فجاءت اليهود فقال النبى ﷺ: أى رجل عبد الله بن سلام فيكم؟ — قالوا: خيرنا وابن خيرنا وأفضلنا وابن أفضلنا. — فقال النبى ﷺ: أرأيتم ان أسلم عبد الله بن سلام؟ — قالوا: أعاذه الله من ذلك! — فأعاد عليهم فقالوا مثل ذلك. فخرج اليهم عبد الله فقال: أشهد أن لا اله الا الله وأن محمداً رسول الله! — قالوا: شرنا وابن شرنا! — وتنقصوه. قال: هذا كنت أخاف يا رسول الله!

2 'Alî ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us: Sufyân related to us, on the authority of 'Amr:

I[4] HEARD Abu'l-Minhâl 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Mut'im[5] say: A partner of mine sold in the market [some] *dirhams* on credit[6], and I said: Glory be unto God! Is this allowed?—He answered: Glory be unto God! By God! When I sold them in the market nobody took any objection.—Then I asked al-Barâ' ibn 'Âzib[7] [about this], and he said: We used to make such transactions when the Prophet came to Madînah; [but] then he ordained: There is no harm [in the sale

٢ حدثنا على بن عبد الله: حدثنا سفيان عن عمرو سمع أبا المنهال عبد الرحمن بن مطعم قال: باع شريك لى دراهم فى السوق نسيئة، فقلت: سبحان الله! أيصلح هذا؟ — فقال: سبحان الله! والله لقد بعتها فى السوق فما عابه أحد. — فسألت البراء بن عازب فقال: قدم النبى ﷺ ونحن نتبايع هذا البيع، فقال: ما كان

1 The term *afḍal* means "the best" as well as "the most erudite". I have chosen the latter translation because it conforms with other versions of this Tradition (*e.g.*, sec. 21, No. 14).

2 See p. 223, n. 1.

3 Most of the commentators assume that verse 10 in *sûrah* xlvi refers to 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm's conversion (cf. Bkh I/52, No. 1; see also Ibn Kathîr VII, 459). Now, this *sûrah* belongs to the Meccan period, while Ibn Salâm's conversion took place in Madînah. Some authorities maintain that verse 10 alone was revealed at Madînah, the rest of the *sûrah* being Meccan (cf. 'Aynî XVI, 275; *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 102). The older commentators, however, regard this verse also as Meccan, and, consequently, as a prophesy (cf. Ibn Kathîr VII, 458 f).

4 In the text in the third person ("he").

5 He hailed from Kûfah and was a disciple of Ibn 'Abbâs, al-Barâ' and Zayd ibn Arqam (*Rijâl aṣ-Ṣaḥîḥayn* I, 293).

6 Regarding the legal problem of the sale of money against deferred payment, see Bkh xxvi/80.

7 Notice about this well-known Companion on p. 20, n. 4.

of money] if it is done hand to hand[1]; but it is not allowed to do so on credit.[2] Find thou [added al-Barâ'] Zayd ibn Arqam[3], and ask him about it, for he was the most proficient among us in [matters of] trade.— Thereupon I asked Zayd ibn Arqam, and he said the same [as al-Barâ'].

يداً بيد فليس به بأس، وما كان نسيئة فلا يصلح. والق زيد بن أرقم فاسأله، فانه كان أعظمنا تجارة. — فسألت زيد بن أرقم فقال مثله.

And once Sufyân mentioned [the following variant]: "... and [al-Barâ'] said: We used to make such transactions when the Prophet came to us at Madînah; and [then] he ordained: ... on credit till the festival, or [till] the *ḥajj*."[4]

وقال سفيان مرة: «... فقال: قدم علينا النبي ﷺ المدينة ونحن نتبايع؛ وقال: ... نسيئة الى الموسم أو الحج.»

SECTION XXVIII

THE PROPHET'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE JEWS[5] ON HIS ARRIVAL AT MADÎNAH

٢٨ باب

اتيان اليهود النبي ﷺ حين قدم المدينة

[*The meaning of*] hâdû[6] *is, "they have become Jews". But the* [*meaning of the*] *word*[7] hudnâ[8] *is, "we have repented"*; [*thus.*] hâ'id *is "one who repenteth".*[9]

«هادوا» صاروا يهودا؛ وأما قوله «هدنا» تبنا، هائد تائب.

1 Muslim ibn Ibrâhîm related to us: Qurrah related to us, on the authority of Muḥammad, on the authority of Abû Hurayrah,

١ حدثنا مسلم بن ابراهيم: حدثنا قرة عن محمد عن أبي هريرة

1 *I.e.*, against cash.

2 It is for the sake of this sentence that al-Bukhârî incorporated the above Tradition in this portion of his work. It was his intention to show that the Prophet's arrival at Madînah brought about far-reaching changes in the social and economic life of its inhabitants.

3 See p. 108, n. 4.

4 The beginning of the sentence is here omitted because it is identical with that in the preceding version. The difference in this fragment consists in the Prophet's mentioning, by way of an example, definite periods such as were frequently stipulated by the Arabs in similar transactions.

5 Lit., "the coming of the Jews to the Prophet". As there is no mention in this section of the coming of the Jews to the Prophet, we must assume that the author refers to the Prophet's *attitude* towards them after their contact with him had been established. It is evident from many Traditions that he never entertained feelings of animosity against the Jews as such. On the contrary, he often showed his admiration for their learning in religious lore, and ardently desired that they should become his followers. It was only their stubborn hostility against his teachings and his claim to Prophethood—due to their conviction that a prophet could appear only from among the Children of Israel—and their treacherous support of the Muslims' enemies, the Quraysh, which forced the Prophet to adopt stern measures against the Jews of Madînah, and which ultimately resulted in their banishment, as is narrated in ch. lii of this work.

6 —occurring in Qur'ân ii, 62.

7 In the text, "His [*i.e.*, God's] Word".

8 Cf. Qur'ân vii, 156.

9 Thus al-Bukhârî shows that in spite of the similarity of roots there is no connection whatever between the name of the Jews, *yahûd* (which is derived from a Hebrew proper name), and the Arabic word *hudnâ*, occurring in the Qur'ân.

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: Had but ten of the [leading[1]] Jews believed in me, surely all Jews would have come to believe.[2]

عن النبي ﷺ قال: لو آمن بي عشرة من اليهود لآمن بي اليهود.

2 Aḥmad (or Muḥammad) ibn 'Ubayd Allâh al-Ghudânî related to me: Ḥammâd ibn Usâmah related to us: Abû 'Umays informed us, on the authority of Qays ibn Muslim, on the authority of Ṭâriq ibn Shihâb, on the authority of Abû Mûsâ, who said:

٢ حدثني أحمد (أو محمد) بن عبيد الله الغداني: حدثنا حماد بن أسامة: أخبرنا أبو عميس عن قيس بن مسلم عن طارق بن شهاب عن أبي موسى (رض) قال:

WHEN the Prophet came to Madînah, some of the Jews used to observe the tenth of Muḥarram with reverence and fasting. Thereupon the Prophet said: It is we [Muslims] rather who should observe this fast.[3]—And he bade his [followers] observe this fast.[4]

دخل النبي ﷺ المدينة و اذا أناس من اليهود يعظمون عاشوراء ويصومونه. فقال النبي ﷺ: نحن أحق بصومه. — فأمر بصومه.

3 Ziyâd ibn Ayyûb related to us: Hushaym related to us: Abû Bishr related to us, on the authority of Sa'îd ibn Jubayr, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, who said:

٣ حدثنا زياد بن أيوب: حدثنا هشيم: حدثنا أبو بشر عن سعيد بن جبير عن ابن عباس (رض) قال:

WHEN the Prophet arrived at Madînah he found that the Jews used to fast on the tenth of Muḥarram; on being asked about this, they said: This is the day on which God granted victory over Pharaoh to Moses and the Children of Israel; and we fast on this day to glorify that [event].—Thereupon the Apostle of God said: We [Muslims] are nearer unto Moses than you.—And he bade [his followers] observe this fast.[5]

لما قدم النبي ﷺ المدينة وجد اليهود يصومون عاشوراء، فسُئلوا عن ذلك فقالوا: هذا هو اليوم الذي أظفر الله فيه موسى وبني اسرائيل على فرعون؛ ونحن نصومه تعظيماً له. فقال رسول الله ﷺ: نحن أولى بموسى منكم. ثم أمر بصومه.

4 'Abdân related to us: 'Abd Allâh related to us, on the authority of Yûnus, on the au-

٤ حدثنا عبدان: حدثنا عبد الله عن يونس عن

1 In the opinion of most of the commentators (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 220), the Prophet could have only meant the *leaders* of the Jews. There was a considerable number of Jewish converts to Islâm in the Prophet's time, but almost all of them (with one or two notable exceptions, like 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm) belonged to the common people.

2 The Jews were greatly influenced by their religious leaders, so much so that the Qur'ân says of them that "they had taken their learned men *(aḥbâr)* for lords beside God" (Qur'ân ix. 31). It was the intransigency of these leaders which prevented the bulk of the Jews in Arabia from accepting the creed of the Prophet Muḥammad, so akin in many points to their own teachings.

3 For an explanation of this sentence see No. 3 of this section.

4 This fast was observed by many pre-Islâmic Arabs as well (cf. Bkh li/3, No. 1). Its Jewish origin is indicated in No. 3 of this section; it is probable that the pagan Arabs simply imitated the Jews, who had a great reputation for learning in Arabia.

5 As is mentioned in Bkh li/3, No. 1, this fast was at first imposed as a duty on the Muslims. It ceased to be so after the institution of fasting during Ramaḍân. See also Bkh xxiii/68.

thority of az-Zuhrî, who said: 'Ubayd Allâh ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Utbah informed me, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abbâs [who said]:

THE Prophet kept his hair falling loose upon the neck, while the heathen [Arabs] used to part theirs in the middle. The People of the Scripture[1] kept their hair falling loose upon the neck; and the Prophet liked to follow the People of the Scripture in matters regarding which he was not directed [by revelation]. [But] later he started parting his hair in the middle.[2]

5 Ziyâd ibn Ayyûb related to me: Hushaym related to us: Abû Bishr informed us, on the authority of Sa'îd ibn Jubayr, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, who said:

THEY, the People of the Scripture, have divided the latter into parts, believing in some of it and disbelieving in the rest.[3]

SECTION XXIX

THE CONVERSION TO ISLÂM OF SALMÂN THE PERSIAN[4]

الزهرى قال: أخبرنى عبيد الله بن عبد الله ابن عتبة عن عبد الله بن عباس (رض)

أن النبى ﷺ كان يسدل شعره وكان المشركون يفرقون رؤسهم. وكان أهل الكتاب يسدلون رؤسهم؛ وكان النبى ﷺ يحب موافقة أهل الكتاب فيما لم يؤمر فيه بشىء. ثم فرق النبى ﷺ رأسه.

٥ حدثنى زياد بن أيوب: حدثنا هشيم: أخبرنا أبو بشر عن سعيد بن جبير عن ابن عباس (رض) قال:

هم أهل الكتاب جزؤه أجزاء فآمنوا ببعضه وكفروا ببعضه.

٢٩ باب

اسلام سلمان الفارسى (رض)

1 Here particularly the Jews are meant.

2 With the Jews persisting in their hostility against Islâm and its Prophet, the latter ceased to sympathise with them; and he gradually realised the necessity, for Muslims, to express their inner difference from the non-Muslims in their external appearance as well.

3 The meaning is, that the Jews and Christians refused to admit the references, in their own Scriptures, to the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad; in addition to this, they acted contrary to many unequivocal injunctions of their own religion.

4 Salmân hailed from the town of Râm-Hurmuz in Khûzistân, or, according to other reports from Jayy (near Iṣfahân). The son of an apparently well-to-do agriculturist, Salmân displayed from his childhood a deeply religious bend of mind. After a period of arduous attachment to the Zoroastrian faith he came in contact with some Christians. In their teachings he found a good deal of what he had been previously longing for, and he decided to embrace Christianity. On being harshly opposed therein by his father, Salmân left his home and proceeded to Syria. In Damascus he became Christian and spent some years in the service of a priest and, after the latter's death, in that of his successor. For many years afterwards he was intimately associated as servant-disciple with several other Christian priests and monks of more or less saintly reputation; and he sojourned during that period in Mawṣil, Naṣîbîn and 'Ammûriyah (a town in Anatolia; cf. *Mu'jam al-Buldân* VI, 226). At the end, he was told by one of his spiritual masters that the Prophet announced in the Bible had now appeared in far-off Arabia. Driven by his unsatiable spiritual thirst, Salmân immediately proceeded southwards. On the way he was treacherously sold into slavery by some Bedouins of the tribe Banû Kalb, whom he had engaged as his guides. He came to be the slave of a Jew in Wâdi'l-Qurâ—an oasis between Taymâ' and Khaybar—and was later sold by his master to a Jew of Madînah. When, about one year later, the Prophet Muḥammad migrated thither from

1 Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Umar ibn Shaqîq related to me: Mu'tamir related to us: My father [Sulaymân] said: And[1] Abû 'Uthmân related to us.

ON the authority of Salmân the Persian: I[2] changed hands ten and odd times, from master to master.[3]

2 Muḥammad ibn Yûsuf related to us: Sufyân related to us, on the authority of 'Awf, on the authority of Abû 'Uthmân, who said:

I HEARD Salmân say: I hail from Râm-Hurmuz[4].

3 Al-Ḥasan ibn Mudrik related to me: Yaḥyâ ibn Ḥammâd related to us: Abû 'Awânah informed us, on the authority of 'Âṣim al-Aḥwal, on the authority of Abû 'Uthmân,

ON the authority of Salmân, who said: The interval between Jesus and Muḥammad was six hundred years.[5]

١ حدثني الحسن بن عمر بن شقيق: حدثنا معتمر: قال أبي: وحدثنا أبو عثمان

عن سلمان الفارسي أنه تداوله بضعة عشر من رب الى رب.

٢ حدثنا محمد بن يوسف: حدثنا سفيان عن عوف عن أبي عثمان قال:

سمعت سلمان (رض) يقول: أنا من رام هرمز.

٣ حدثني الحسن بن مدرك: حدثنا يحيى بن حماد: أخبرنا أبو عوانة عن عاصم الأحول عن أبي عثمان

عن سلمان قال: فترة بين عيسى ومحمد صلى الله عليهما وسلم ستمائة سنة.

Mecca, Salmân understood at once that this was the Prophet of whom he had heard during his sojourn in the North. He visited the Prophet several times, and when he became fully convinced of the truth of his Mission, he embraced Islâm. Being a slave, he could not take part in the early battles; but shortly after that of Uḥud the Prophet suggested to him that he should demand of his Jewish master his right to purchase freedom. The Jew agreed to set Salmân free if the latter planted for him 300 date palms and paid, in addition to this, a heavy amount in cash. The Companions collected the necessary palm-slips between themselves, and all of them collaborated with Salmân in planting and watering them. The money was a more difficult problem, for the Muslims were poor at that time. But it happened that one of them found a lump of gold in a primitive mine near Madînah; this was given to Salmân's master, who thereupon liberated him. From that time onward Salmân took part in all of the Prophet's campaigns (the first in which he participated was the Battle of the Moat). The Prophet regarded him as a member of his own family, and he was deeply respected by all Companions on account of the knowledge which he had acquired during his long travels in foreign lands. 'Umar appointed him governor of Madâ'in (in 'Irâq), where Salmân died during the reign of 'Uthmân. The date of his death is variously given as 35, 36 and 37 A.H. (*Istî'âb* II, 558; *Iṣâbah* III, 113); the most probable date is 35 A.H. (cf. *Chronographia* I, 383).—The romantic life-story of Salmân is told in great detail by Ibn Sa'd (IV/i, 53 ff).

1 —indicating that this Tradition was originally narrated as part of a longer narrative.

2 In the text the narrative is indirect and in the third person ("that he", etc.).

3 Meant are here obviously not only the persons whose slave Salmân was at one time or another, but also his spiritual masters in Syria, 'Irâq and Anatolia (cf. p. 246, n. 4).

4 Râm-Hurmuz was a flourishing town in the Persian province of Khûzistân; sometimes it was also called Râm-Ûrmizd (cf. *Ḥudûd al-'Âlam*, tr. V. Minorsky, London 1937, pp. 75 and 130). It should not be confused with the island of Hurmuz in the straits of the same name.—There is a report to the effect that Salmân came from a village called Jayy, in the province of Iṣfahân (Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 53). It is possible that his family originated from Râm-Hurmuz and later settled in the province of Iṣfahân.

5 The author brings this Tradition to show that Salmân was a man of learning as compared with most of the Companions and other Arabian contemporaries of the Prophet.

CONCLUSION

THE foregoing chapter describes some aspects of what is known as the *Jâhiliyyah* period—the time of Arabian paganism before the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad—, as well as the thirteen years of the latter's ministry in Mecca. Before stopping to consider the beginnings and the gradual development of Islâm into a well-defined ethical system and a social programme, we must try to establish the right angle of view from which to judge its Arabian background. It is impossible to understand the language of the Qur'ân without a thorough study of the poetry of the *Jâhiliyyah;* in the same sense, it is impossible to understand the true, historical significance of the sudden rise of Islâm unless one is in a position to appreciate the spirit of the Arabian *Jâhiliyyah* upon which it was grafted.

It is a common enough mistake among Muslims to regard the life of pre-Islâmic Arabia as a period of darkest barbarism without redeeming features. This mistake is not merely the expression of a misguided zeal intent on pulling down evetything that does not fit into the frame of the great ideal: it is, more than anything else, the result of an understandable optical deception. The contrast between the achievements of early Islâm and the social and ethical stagnation of pre-Islâmic Arabia is indeed startling; but we must not forget that the tremendous positive development set in motion by the rise of Islâmic ideas and the personality of the Prophet Muḥammad stood in a similar contrast not only to the backward civilisation of Arabia but also to the comparatively high civilisations of Persia and Byzantium. Thus, if we view the beginnings of Islâm against the background of the contemporary Arabian society, we should realise that this contrast is due to the extraordinary qualities inherent in early Islâm rather than to a supposed "sub-human" aspect of the pre-Islâmic Arabian civilisation.

As a matter of fact, the life of Arabia in the decades preceding Islâm was by no means devoid of finer elements. Its civilisation was, no doubt, stale and decadent. It had lost every vestige of its ancient brilliance, and practically every contact with its predecessors, the Ḥimyarite and Sabæan civilisations. It possessed no art—with the sole exception of poetry—, and no philosophy; and its religious orientation was of the crudest type. The social organisation of the peninsula was based on tribal loyalties, and the conception of "common good" was rudimentary. Superstition had taken the place of intellectual activity, sexual morality stood low, and infanticide was not unknown. But, strange to say, with all this the Arabs, as a people, were neither depraved nor decadent. The decay of their civilisation was like a long-drawn, painful disease of the skin, which, however dangerous if allowed to progress unchecked, had not yet touched the vital parts of the organism. Under the thick layer of superstition, ignorance and vice, the Arabian people had retained a good deal of child-like innocence, virility and straightforwardness of character—qualities which constitute the real building material for any positive human culture. They were fully conscious of the value of personality and individuality; their love of freedom was not anarchic in conception, but took fully into account the necessity of tacitly agreed upon restrictions which had for their object the safeguarding of as much liberty for as many individuals as possible. Thus, their particular code of honour—the honour of fighting men—attributed to justice and generosity no less places than to valour, and the antitheses of *'adl* (right, justice) and *ẓulm* (wrong, injustice), as well as of *ma'rûf* ("that which is known", *i.e.*, known, or accepted, as good) and *munkar* ("that which is repudiated", *sc.*, because it is bad), played a great rôle in pre-Islâmic social life. The protection of the weak by the strong found its noblest expression in the ancient institutions of *ḥilf* and *jawâr*, which enabled a wronged or persecuted person to find support and refuge among members of a strange tribe; and we know of many cases where even a non-Arab became the *ḥalîf* of an Arab tribe. The description and definition of the "upright man" as given by Khadijah (Bkh i, No. 3) and Ibn ad-Daghinah (cf. sec. 21, No. 9, in the present chapter) clearly shows that

the pre-Islâmic Arabs regarded that man as the noblest who brought gain to the destitute, was kind to his kindred, supported the weak, was bounteous towards the guest, and helped people in distress. Could the Arabs, with such principles, be regarded as depraved? It is only reasonable to presume that people who from time immemorial were wont to accept such ideas as a corner-stone of social morality, found no difficulty in appreciating at a given moment the principle of brotherhood enunciated by Islâm. Far from being an obstacle in the way of an understanding and an appreciation of Islâm, the innate qualities and social traditions of the Arabs were, in themselves, the direct reason of its rapid success. We see a people full of unused energies, living in constant turmoil because their vitality had no productive outlet and no definite direction; a people almost visibly waiting for a form-giving force which would mould their chaotic strength and guide it into constructive channels. Their vices were not corrosive, for they existed only on the surface of the people's conscious life—like children's pranks, ready to give way under the pressure of educative influences.

It is not even true of those pre-Islâmic Arabs that they were entirely devoid of spirituality. Their religious conceptions were, as we have mentioned at the outset, extremely primitive; they represented a sort of animistic materialism with numberless fetishes, gods and demi-gods, and only a vague remembrance of teachings relating to a supreme, transcendental Being. Nevertheless, the existence of such a Being was freely admitted by the Arabs, and there were not a few people among them who had outgrown the primitive man's blind fear of the Unknown and were longing for a personal, spiritual approach to the object of their devotion. Several names of such seekers after Truth have been handed down to us; one of them, Zayd ibn 'Amr, is vividly described in the foregoing chapter. Although he and other men of his type were isolated among the multitude of their idolatrous contemporaries, the fact that they were regarded with a certain respect by the pagan Arabs shows that the endeavours of those God-seekers did not appear to their people to be quite out of place. It was only in Mecca that they were actually opposed. The reason of this hostility was, that the Meccan oligarchy derived considerable material benefits from the position of their town as the central Arabian sanctuary, and were averse to losing the advantages connected therewith. This, by the way, explains also their bitter animosity against the Prophet Muḥammad. As long as he appeared to them as a mere apocalyptic preacher they treated him with mild derision; but as soon as they perceived that he was out on giving to his teachings a practical shape and to destroy their pantheon of deities which had hitherto drawn so lucrative a business into Mecca, they turned against him as a rebel against their holiest of holies: their money. But even at the time of the worst persecution of Islâm there were many people among the Meccans who sincerely regretted this state of affairs. They realised more or less clearly that the Prophet was acting in accord with their own dimly remembered traditions which pivoted around the personalities of Abraham and Ishmael; and the frequent references in the earliest verses of the Qur'ân to these personalities show that the "legend of Abraham", as the European Orientalists are wont to call it, was always present in the minds of the pre-Islâmic Arabs and acted as a dead weight on their endeavours to crush rising Islâm.

There can be no doubt that the traditions and legends relating to Abraham were a fairly potent factor in the life of the pre-Islâmic Arabs. The influence of Judaism and Christianity in the *Jâhiliyyah* age was not at all considerable; and whatever there was of it was mainly due to that "Abrahamitic" residuum in the Arabian mind. It is to this residuum that the Prophet Muḥammad appealed; and the rapid success of Islâm in Arabia—for the two decades of the Prophet's ministry were a very short while indeed in comparison with the centuries of idolatrous habits that had preceded them—can be only explained by the fact that the teachings of Islâm found a very fertile soil not only in the Arabs' innate generosity and high-mindedness, but also in their consciousness of being heirs to the spiritual heritage left them by Abraham and Ishmael. Thus we can understand why Islâm "took over" or confirmed certain supposedly "pagan" practices of the *Jâhiliyyah* age: they were not in reality pagan practices but remnants of a long-forgotten past in which the unitarian

faith of Abraham had been prevalent in Arabia. There was no necessity for Islâm to do away with that past; it had only to be freed from the thick layer of animism and primitive idolatry that had accumulated in the course of the past centuries, and to restore it to its pristine purity; and on these foundations the final structure of the Islâmic *sharî'ah* was erected.

The miracle of the beginnings of Islâm, insofar as the Arabs are concerned, is not that a supposedly depraved and spiritually lost nation was transformed and suddenly elevated to the highest spheres of spiritual realisation; it rather consists in the wondrous spiritual soundness and pertinacity of that nation which had succeeded in preserving all that was best in their character —and this in spite of their age-long submersion in a crude and materialistic form of fetishism—, until they were called upon to arise from their sleep and to act as the vanguard of the Faith of Light. We cannot imagine to-day a beginning of Islâm other than in the Arabia of the Prophet Muḥammad: for all our conceptions of that beginning are forever most intimately connected with the galaxy of the Companions—those Arabs who rose to eternal glory out of the masses of their contemporaries by dint of their intensive belief in the Islâmic ideal and the personality of its Prophet. All our notions of what a Muslim—nay, an upright man—should or should not do are derived from what we know of the life of the Companions. Many aspects of the Prophet's and his Friends' behaviour were determined by the fact of their Arabian origin. Thus, many aspects of Arabian life as such have become for all times the prototype and model for all Muslims, Arabs and non-Arabs alike.

It was obviously this line of thought that induced al-Bukhârî to precede the chapter treating of the beginnings of Islâm with several sections devoted to beliefs and customs of the *Jâhiliyyah* age. The story of Zayd ibn 'Amr throws an interesting light on the spiritual unrest in pre-Islâmic Arabia, which found an articulated expression in the endeavours of the *ḥanîfs* (see n. 3 on p. 143 f). The subsequent sections clearly show the existence of the Abrahamitic tradition, albeit in a corrupted form: for, from the earliest times the Arabs associated the ceremonies connected with the Ka'bah, the *ḥajj*, and the *'umrah* with the story of Abraham, Hagar and Ishmael. When Islâm came to the foreground, these and other institutions with similar associations were not repealed but only modified and restored to their original meaning. The intensive opposition of the Meccan nobility had, as we have mentioned above, its roots in material considerations; and it is perhaps for this very reason that it was uncompromising from beginning to end. Besides their fear of losing the pecuniary advantages due to Mecca's privileged position as the foremost sanctuary in Arabia, the Quraysh were strongly moved by considerations of tribal pride. Through long centuries they were accustomed to regard themselves as the noblest tribe of Arabia, and most of the other tribes were usually guided by their decisions. With the advent of Islâm, however, this position of tribal supremacy was threatened with ruin. According to the principles enounced by the new Prophet, caste and race were to be regarded as of no importance in dealings between men, and the ethical attitude alone was to decide about man's value. Strange enough, this very element of the Islâmic teachings provided an equally strong driving force both in the opponents and in the followers of the Prophet. On the one hand, it caused the Quraysh nobility to entrench themselves in stubborn opposition; and on the other, it suddenly enabled the Prophet's adherents to regain the almost lost contact with the Abrahamitic tradition which was based on the same ethical postulates as Islâm, and thus gave a clear spiritual background to the Arabs' instinctive craving after *'adl* and *ma'rûf*. For those early Muslims, Islâm was like an awakening to consciousness after long sleep; and this sudden awakening is an explanation of the violent transformations wrought by Islâm in some of the strongest personalities among the Companions, like 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb or Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî, and of the attraction which Islâm exerted on the Arabs of Yathrib, who were even nearer to the Abrahamitic tradition than the Meccans owing to their long-standing association with the Jews. We observe in this connection that in the First Pledge of 'Aqabah made by the earliest *Anṣâr*, the Prophet used the expression *ma'rûf*, so familiar to the Arabs of that time, in the sense of "rules of right conduct" (cf. sec. 19, No. 4): thus he appealed

to those very conceptions of the Arabs which later became a decisive factor in the victory of Islâm.

The thirteen years of the Prophet's Mission in Mecca, which is the subject of this chapter, were almost entirely devoted to an exposition of *Tawḥid*—the teaching of the Oneness of God—as the highest, metaphysical, expression of *'adl* and *ma'rûf*. Thus, the fundamental principle of Islâm became immediately linked with an idea which had always lain in the Arabs' blood. It was this intimate coincidence between their instinctive tendencies and the new teachings of Islâm which helped the Arabs to realise their latent potentialities and to become the warrior-saints of early Islâm.

THE BOOK OF CAMPAIGNS

THE BOOK OF CAMPAIGNS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THIS chapter describes the period from the *hijrah* to the Prophet's death. That period was characteristically different from the preceding thirteen years in Mecca, for it was immediately after the *hijrah* that the Prophet constituted the Muslims into a political community and laid the foundations of the future Islâmic Empire. The most outstanding factor of this new development consisted in the numerous campaigns and expeditions which served to consolidate the Muslim commonwealth; and it is for this reason that al-Bukhârî—like most other Muslim Traditionists and historians—entitles the portion of his work describing this period as "The Book of Campaigns". Nevertheless, the material contained in the present chapter embraces not only the wars but other political aspects of the period as well—as, *e.g.*, the deputations from the different Arabian tribes to the Prophet at Madînah, the latter's embassies to various parts of Arabia and his messages to the emperor of Byzantium and the king of Persia, etc.

Apart from the political aspect, the Traditions of this chapter provide us with abundant material relating to the social and ethical conditions of the period, and are thus of primary importance for the history of Islâmic ideas; for there can be no doubt that the form of life and thought peculiar to Muslims received its definite shape and outlook mostly during the last ten years of the Prophet's ministry.

All Qur'ân-commentators agree in that the verses 39-40 of *sûrah* xxii ("Sanction is given unto those who fight because they have been wronged...") constitute the original permission accorded by God to the Muslims to take up arms against their enemies. The *sûrah* in question was revealed in the transitory period immediately before and after the Prophet's *hijrah* to Madînah, so that some authorities regard it as a Meccan and others as a Madînese *sûrah;* it appears that the majority of its verses were revealed in Mecca and some of them in Madînah (cf. Ibn Kathîr V, 592). Among those latter are undoubtedly the verses 39-40 which refer to the permission to fight. We possess an authentic Tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs to the effect that these verses were revealed at the very time of the *hijrah* (see Tirmidhî, *A. at-Tafsîr, B. Sûrat al-Ḥajj;* Nasâ'î, *K. al-Jihâd,* first Tradition; *Mustadrak* II, 246); and this is also the opinion of most of the Qur'ân-commentators (cf. Ibn Kathîr, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Jarîr XVII, 111; *Kashshâf* II, 63).

Shortly after his arrival at Madînah the Prophet began sending out forays and expeditions against his enemies. According to Ibn Sa'd (II/i, 2 ff), the sequence of the expeditions up to Badr was as follows:

(1) The expedition to Sîf al-Baḥr (a place on the sea-coast near 'Îṣ), in Ramaḍân, 1 A.H. Thirty *Muhâjirs* took part in it, and Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the commander. The objective was a large Meccan caravan, led by Abû Jahl and accompanied by 300 men, on its way home from Syria. Before the Muslims were able to attack the caravan, the Juhaynah-chief Majdî ibn 'Amr, who had friendly relations both with the Muslims and the Quraysh, interposed between the two hostile groups and prevented them from fighting.

(2) The expedition led by 'Ubaydah ibn al-Ḥârith in Shawwâl, 1 A.H. It appears that the Muslims, sixty men in all, had no definite objective in view. They surprised a body of 200 Meccans under the command of Abû Sufyân camping at Aḥyâ' (near Râbigh). No actual fighting took place; only a few arrow-shots were exchanged.

(3) Sa'd ibn Abî Waqqâṣ's expedition to Kharrâr (a place of wells between Juḥfah and Mecca) in Dhu'l-Qa'dah, 1 A.H. The Muslims' intention was to intercept a Meccan caravan which was due to pass there. But when Sa'd reached Kharrâr at the head of his twenty men, the caravan had already passed that place; and as he had been ordered by the Prophet not to go further than Kharrâr, Sa'd could do nothing but return to Madînah.

(4) The expedition of Abwâ' (or Waddân) was the first which the Prophet led in person. He left Madînah in Ṣafar, 2 A.H., at the head of sixty *Muhâjirs*, intending to surprise a caravan of Quraysh between Abwâ' and Waddân (in Wâdi'l-Fur', about three days south of Madînah on the way to Mecca). There he encountered the hostile tribe of Banû Ḍamrah, a branch of Kinânah, and concluded a treaty with them, according to which the Banû Ḍamrah undertook never again to help any enemy of the Muslims. No fighting between the Muslims and the Quraysh took place, and the Prophet returned to Madînah after an absence of fifteen days.

(5) In Rabî' I, 2 A.H., the Prophet personally led an expedition to Buwâṭ, a place near Jabal Raḍwâ (in the country of the tribe Juhaynah). The objective was a Meccan caravan led by Umayyah ibn Khalaf, consisting of 2,500 camels and accompanied by 100 armed men; but they eluded the Muslims, and so the Prophet returned to Madînah without fighting.

(6) In the same month (Rabî' I, 2 A.H.) the Prophet led an expedition against the Bedouin chief Kurz ibn Jâbir al-Fihrî who had robbed in the vicinity of Madînah some cattle belonging to the Muslims. The Prophet pursued him as far as Safawân (a valley near Badr), but Kurz ibn Jâbir managed to escape. (Shortly afterwards, however, he embraced Islâm and distinguished himself in several expeditions.)

(7) The expedition to 'Ushayrah (see p. 258, n. 1) took place in Jumâdâ II, 2 A.H. The Prophet himself was in command. He intended to intercept the great Meccan caravan under Abû Sufyân on its way to Syria. But when the Muslims reached 'Ushayrah they were informed that the Quraysh had already passed some days previously. It was the same caravan which became about three months later, on its return journey, the cause of the battle of Badr (see n. 4 on p. 261).

(8) In Rajab, 2 A.H., the Prophet sent twelve of the *Muhâjirs* under the command of 'Abd Allâh ibn Jaḥsh al-Asadî to Nakhlah, a village in the vicinity of Mecca. They had the order to report the movements of the Quraysh. At Nakhlah they surprised a Meccan caravan returning from Ṭâ'if and routed it. 'Abd Allâh ibn Jaḥsh set aside a fifth *(khums)* of the booty for the Prophet: this was the first precedent of its kind.

This is, in short, the sequence of the expeditions sent or led by the Prophet before the battle of Badr. Ibn Hishâm (I, 360 ff) differs from the other authorities as regards the chronology. According to him, the order of the expeditions was as follows: (1) The expedition to Abwâ' (or Waddân), in Ṣafar, 2 A.H.; (2) the expedition to Aḥyâ', led by 'Ubaydah ibn al-Ḥârith; (3) Ḥamzah's expedition to Sîf al-Baḥr; (4) the expedition to Buwâṭ; (5) the expedition to 'Ushayrah; (6) Sa'd's expedition to Kharrâr; (7) the expedition against Kurz ibn Jâbir al-Fihrî; (8) the expedition to Nakhlah. Thus, according to Ibn Hishâm, the Prophet did not make any war before 2 A.H. Most of the later historians, however, accept in the main the sequence of the expeditions as given by Ibn Sa'd (II/i, 2 ff). Cf. in this respect Ibn al-Athîr II, 77 ff; *Zâd al-Ma'âd* II, 83 f. Modern research supports the view of Ibn Sa'd against that of Ibn Hishâm (cf. Caetani's *Chronographia* I, 7 and 11 f).

THE STORY of the Prophet's expeditions before Badr forces the conclusion on us that their real object was not the acquisition of booty. Had this been the case, the Prophet would have had no reason to spare the hostile Banû Ḍamrah in the expedition of Abwâ'. It appears rather that all those campaigns (with the exception of that against Kurz ibn Jâbir al-Fihrî) were merely meant to

harass the Meccan Quraysh and so to compel them to give open battle. It is evident from all we know of the battle of Badr that the Prophet had long expected it, and that it represented for him the fulfilment of long-cherished hopes. He understood that the position of the Muslim community at Madinah could never become secure unless the Quraysh were made to realise, by means of a crushing defeat, that an entirely new period had begun in the history of their country.

The question as to whether the wars of the Prophet were in the main offensive or defensive—the last being the view of many modern "apologetic" writers from among the Muslims—is finally discussed in the Conclusion of this chapter. There it is also shown that the Madînah-period was the logical continuation of the first thirteen years at Mecca, and that it implied no "change" in the mind of the Apostle of God, as is so often alleged by Western scholars.

AL-BUKHÂRÎ opens "The Book of Campaigns" with a section on the expedition of 'Ushayrah, not because he regards 'Ushayrah as the first expedition, but because he did not hear Traditions relating to the previous campaigns in a form which would correspond to his critical standard.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE DISPENSER OF GRACE

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

THE BOOK OF CAMPAIGNS

كتاب المغازى

SECTION 1

١ باب

THE CAMPAIGN OF 'USHAYRAH (OR 'USAYRAH)[1]

غزوة العشيرة (أو العسيرة)

Ibn Isḥâq said[2]*: The first campaign which the Prophet led [in person] was [that of] Abwâ', thereafter [that of] Buwâṭ, thereafter [that of] 'Ushayrah.*[3]

وقال ابن اسحق: أول ما غزا النبي ﷺ الأبواء ثم بواط ثم العشيرة.

'Abd Allâh ibn Muḥammad related to me: Wahb related to us: Shu'bah related to us,

حدثني عبد الله بن محمد: حدثنا وهب: حدثنا شعبة

ON the authority of Abû Isḥâq[4] [who said]: I was [sitting] by the side of Zayd ibn Arqam[5], when he was asked: How many campaigns did the Prophet lead?—[Zayd] answered: Nineteen.[6]—They asked: In how many didst thou accompany him?—He answered: [In] seventeen.—I asked: And which of these was the first[7]?—He answered: [That of] 'Usayrah or 'Ushayr.

عن أبي اسحق: كنت الى جنب زيد ابن أرقم فقيل له: كم غزا النبي ﷺ من غزوة؟ — قال: تسع عشرة. — قيل: كم غزوت أنت معه؟ — قال: سبع عشرة. — قلت: فأيهم كانت أول؟ — قال: العسيرة أو العشير.

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1 Of this place—situate in the territory of the tribe Banû Mudlij near the well-known sea-port of Yanbu'—various spellings are given in Traditions: 'Ushayrah, 'Ushayrâ', 'Usayrah, 'Ushayr, 'Usayr, often with the prefixed noun *dhû* or *dhât*. The reading 'Ushayrah (or Dhât al-'Ushayrah) is the generally accepted one (cf. *Mu'jam al-Buldân* VI, 181 f, and Qatâdah's remark at the end of the Tradition in this section).—Regarding the sequence of the Prophet's campaigns before Badr, as well as their objects and geography, see Introductory Note to this chapter.

2 Cf. Ibn Hishâm I, 360 ff.

3 See Introductory Note to this chapter.

4 Abû Isḥâq 'Amr ibn 'Abd Allâh al-Hamdânî, d. 126 or 127 A.H. (*Rijâl aṣ-Ṣaḥîḥayn* I, 366).

5 See p. 108. n. 4.

6 There is a great difference of opinion among the authorities regarding the number of the campaigns led by the Prophet in person. For details of this controversy, see *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 224 f.

7 The reference is obviously to the Prophet's campaigns in general, and not only to those in which Zayd ibn Arqam participated; cf. another version of the above Tradition in Muslim, *K. al-Jihâd, B. 'Adad Ghazawât an-Nabi*. Thus, Zayd seems not to have remembered the campaigns of Abwâ' and Buwâṭ which preceded that of 'Ushayrah (see Introductory Note, p. 256). This was perhaps due to the fact that he was a mere child at the time of those two campaigns.

Then I[1] mentioned this to Qatâdah, and he said: [The right spelling is.] 'Ushayrah.[2]

فذكرت لقتادة فقال: العشيرة.

SECTION II

THE PROPHET'S PREDICTION ABOUT THE DEATH OF SOME [OF THE IDOLATERS] AT BADR[3]

٢ باب

ذكر النبي ﷺ من يقتل ببدر

Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmân related to me: Shurayḥ ibn Maslamah related to us: Ibrâhîm ibn Yûsuf related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, who said: 'Amr ibn Maymûn related to me that he heard 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd relate [the following]

حدثني أحمد بن عثمان: حدثنا شريح بن مسلمة: حدثنا ابراهيم بن يوسف عن أبيه عن أبي اسحق قال: حدثني عمرو بن ميمون أنه سمع عبد الله ابن مسعود (رض) حدث

ON the authority of Sa'd ibn Mu'âdh[4]. [Sa'd] was a friend of Umayyah ibn Khalaf[5]. Whenever Umayyah passed through Madînah[6] he stayed with Sa'd; and whenever Sa'd visited Mecca he stayed with Umayyah. [Shortly] after the arrival of the Apostle of God at Madînah, Sa'd went forth to make an *'umrah*, and stayed in Mecca with Umayyah. And he said to Umayyah: Find out for me [at] what hour [the mosque] is empty, so that I may make the circuit round the House of God.[7]—And so [Umayyah] went with him [to the mosque] about midday. [There] Abû Jahl met them; and he said: O Abû Ṣafwân[8]! Who is this [man] with thee?—[Umayyah] answered: This is Sa'd.—Thereupon Abû Jahl thus addressed Sa'd[9]: What! I see thee going about freely in Mecca, while ye[10] have given shelter to those renegades, declaring that ye would help and

عن سعد بن معاذ أنه قال كان صديقاً لأمية بن خلف، وكان أمية اذا مر بالمدينة نزل على سعد وكان سعد اذا مر بمكة نزل على أمية. فلما قدم رسول الله ﷺ المدينة انطلق سعد معتمراً فنزل على أمية بمكة؛ فقال لأمية: انظر لي ساعة خلوة لعلي أن أطوف بالبيت. — فخرج به قريباً من نصف النهار. فلقيهما أبوجهل فقال: يا أبا صفوان! من هذا معك؟ — فقال: هذا سعد. — فقال له أبوجهل: ألا أراك تطوف بمكة آمناً وقد آويتم الصباة وزعمتم أنكم تنصرونهم وتعينونهم؟

1 The speaker is the transmitter Shu'bah (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 225).

2 See p. 258, n. 1.

3 The reference is to the Tradition, mentioned in Muslim, *K. al-Jihâd, B. Ghazwat Badr*, according to which the Prophet predicted, shortly before the battle of Badr, the deaths of several of the pagan Quraysh, indicating the places at which each of them would be killed.

4 See p. 116, n. 3.

5 He was one of the leaders of the pagan Quraysh; and the master of Bilâl until Abû Bakr bought and freed the latter (cf. p. 91, n. 7).

6 Evidently in the course of his trading journeys to Syria.

7 Sa'd anticipated the enmity of the Quraysh on account of his adherence to Islâm.

8 *Kunyah* of Umayyah ibn Khalaf, whose eldest son's name was Ṣafwân (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 226). Correspondingly, Umayyah's wife was called Umm Ṣafwân.

9 In the text, "him".

10 *I.e.*, the *Anṣâr*.

support them? O, by God! Were it not that thou art with Abû Ṣafwân, thou wouldst not return home unhurt!—And Sa'd answered him with a loud voice: O, by God! If thou debar me from this [worship of mine] I shall certainly debar thee from something which is more weighty for thee: thy way to Madînah![1]—Thereupon Umayyah said unto him: Raise not thy voice, O Sa'd, against Abu'l-Ḥakam, the chief of the people of the Valley[2]!—Sa'd cried out: Let me alone, O Umayyah! By God! Verily, I heard the Apostle of God predict that [the Muslims] would kill thee!—[Ummayyah] asked: In Mecca?—[Sa'd] answered: I know it not.—On hearing this, Umayyah was filled with great fear.

And when Umayyah came home, he said [to his wife]: O Umm Ṣafwân[3]! Dost thou know what Sa'd told me?—She said: And what did he tell thee?—He answered: He declared that Muḥammad had informed them that they would kill me. I asked him, In Mecca? And he answered, I know it not.—And Umayyah added: By God! I shall not leave Mecca![4]

And shortly before the battle of Badr[5] Abû Jahl called the people to war, saying: Go to the help of your caravan![6]—But Umayyah was loath to leave. Then Abû Jahl came unto him and said: O Abû Ṣafwân! Behold, if the people see thee remain behind—thee, a chief of the people of the Valley—, they also will remain behind.—And Abû Jahl pressed him until he said: As thou hast forced me, by God! I shall buy the swiftest camel in Mecca![7]—Then Umayyah said [to

أما والله! لولا أنك مع أبي صفوان ما رجعت الى أهلك سالما! — فقال له سعد ورفع صوته عليه: أما والله! لئن منعتني هذا لأمنعنك ما هو أشد عليك منه: طريقك على المدينة! — فقال له أمية: لا ترفع صوتك يا سعد على أبي الحكم سيد أهل الوادي. — فقال سعد: دعنا عنك يا أمية! فوالله لقد سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول انهم قاتلوك! — قال: بمكة؟ — قال: لا أدري. — ففزع لذلك أمية فزعاً شديداً.

فلما رجع أمية الى أهله قال: يا أم صفوان! ألم ترى ما قال لي سعد؟ — قالت: وما قال لك؟ — قال: زعم أن محمداً أخبرهم أنهم قاتلي. فقلت له: بمكة؟ قال: لا أدري. — فقال أمية: والله لا أخرج من مكة!

فلما كان يوم بدر استنفر أبو جهل الناس قال: أدركوا عيركم! — فكره أمية أن يخرج؛ فأتاه أبو جهل فقال: يا أبا صفوان! انك متى يراك الناس قد تخلفت وأنت سيد أهل الوادي تخلفوا معك. — فلم يزل به أبو جهل حتى قال: أما اذ غلبتني فوالله لأشترين أجود بعير بمكة! — ثم قال أمية: يا أم صفوان! جهزيني! —

1 Madînah lay on the Meccan trade route to Syria, which was of great importance to the Quraysh.

2 *I.e.*, the valley of Mecca.

3 See p. 259, n. 8.

4 This shows that in spite of their rejection of Muḥammad as Prophet the pagan Quraysh had a considerable respect for his ability to predict future events.

5 Lit., "on the day of Badr".

6 Lit., "reach your caravan". Meant was the big Meccan caravan which was returning from Syria. For details of this event, which led to the battle of Badr, see sec. 3 of this chapter.

7 —so as to be able to fly in case of danger.

his wife]: O Umm Ṣafwân! Make my things ready!—She said unto him: O Abû Ṣafwân! Hast thou forgotten what thy friend[1] from Yathrib told thee?—He answered: No; [but] I do not propose going far with them.

And from the time he set out, Umayyah would rope his camel at every camping place[2]; and he went on doing so until God, the Lord of Might and Glory, caused him to be killed at Badr.[3]

فقالت له: يا أبا صفوان! وقد نسيت ما قال لك أخوك اليثربي؟ — قال: لا، ما أريد أن أجوز معهم الا قريباً.

فلما خرج أمية أخذ لا ينزل منزلاً الا عقل بعيره. فلم يزل بذلك حتى قتله الله عزوجل ببدر.

SECTION III

THE STORY OF THE CAMPAIGN OF BADR[4]

٣ باب

قصة غزوة بدر

1 Lit., "brother".

2 The Arabs usually let the camels free to graze as soon as they encamp; but Umayyah, always thinking of the prediction regarding his death, took care to have his mount near at hand; and so he kept it roped in his vicinity instead of letting it graze with the other camels.

3 The manner in which he was killed is described in Bkh xxxi/2.

4 In the beginning of Ramaḍân, 2 A.H., the Prophet set out from Madînah at the head of over 300 Companions—for the first time assisted by warriors from the *Anṣâr*—ostensibly with the intention of attacking the great Meccan caravan led by Abû Sufyân, now on its way home from Syria. It was the same caravan which had eluded the Muslims on its northward march some months previously (cf. description of the campaign of 'Ushayrah in the Introductory Note to this chapter). Informed of the Muslims' approach, Abû Sufyân turned off his caravan towards the sea-coast, and sent a courier to Mecca with an urgent request for reinforcements (his own forces were, according to different reports, between thirty and seventy men). Thereupon an armed force of Quraysh, numbering about 1000 men, 700 camels and 100 horses, went forth, under the leadership of Abû Jahl, to the succour of their caravan. The late Marmaduke Pickthall advances in his *Meaning of the Glorious Koran* (London 1930, p. 180) the plausible suggestion, that the Prophet's real objective was, from the very beginning, this strong Meccan army, and that the "attack on the caravan" was merely a bait for the Meccans to offer open battle to the Muslims. In any case, the Muslim warriors had not expected to be faced by so strong an enemy; but when the Prophet asked them whether they were prepared to fight, they enthusiastically answered in the affirmative. On the 17th (according to some authorities, on the 19th or 21st) of Ramaḍân, 2 A.H., the two armies came to grips near the wells of Badr Ḥunayn, some days' journey south of Madînah, and about one day's distance from the coast. The Muslims were greatly inferior in numbers and equipment—there were, *e.g.*, only two horses in their army, and only a limited number of camels—but these drawbacks were more than set off by their boundless courage and readiness for self-sacrifice. The Meccan forces were completely routed and several of their most prominent chiefs were killed. The effect of their defeat could never again be effaced from the minds of the Quraysh. It was the first open battle between them and the young Muslim community of Madînah, and its outcome made the Quraysh realise at last that the movement inaugurated by the Prophet Muḥammad was not an ephemeral dream but the beginning of a new political power and a new social order different from everything that the Arabian past had known. The Meccans' apprehensions, first thoroughly roused by the *hijrah* of the Prophet and his Companions to Madînah, found a shattering confirmation on the day of Badr. Although the power of Arabian paganism was not finally broken until some years later, its decay becomes clearly visible from that momentous

The Word of God, exalted be He: Verily, God hath helped you at Badr, when ye were of small account; be God-fearing, then, that ye may [learn to] be thankful! And thou didst say unto the Faithful: Is it not enough for you that your Sustainer aideth you with three thousand angels sent down [from Heaven]?— Aye! If ye be steadfast and God-fearing, and [it should happen that your foes] come suddenly upon you, your Sustainer will aid you with five thousand destroying angels. And God ordained this only as glad tidings for you, and that thereby your hearts might be set at ease: for victory is from God alone, the Mighty, the Wise— that He might destroy some of the infidels, or overthrow them so that they turn back, frustrated.[1]

Waḥshî[2] *said: Ḥamzah killed Ṭu'aymah ibn 'Adî ibn Khiyâr on the day of Badr.*[3]

The Word of God, exalted be He: And [remember,] when God promised you that one of the two [enemy] groups[4] *should be yours, and ye desired that the one without strength should be yours.*[5]

Shawkah [*is synonymous with*] "*strength*" (ḥadd).[6]

وقول الله تعالى: ولقد نصركم الله ببدر وأنتم أذلة. فاتقوا الله لعلكم تشكرون. اذ تقول للمؤمنين: ألن يكفيكم أن يمدكم ربكم بثلاثة آلاف من الملائكة منزلين؟ بلى! ان تصبروا وتتقوا ويأتوكم من فورهم هذا يمددكم ربكم بخمسة آلاف من الملائكة مسومين. وما جعله الله الا بشرى لكم ولتطمئن قلوبكم به؛ وما النصر الا من عند الله العزيز الحكيم — ليقطع طرفاً من الذين كفروا أو يكبتهم فينقلبوا خائبين.

وقال وحشي: قتل حمزة طعيمة بن عدى بن الخيار يوم بدر.

وقوله تعالى: واذ يعدكم الله احدى الطائفتين أنها لكم وتودون أن غير ذات الشوكة تكون لكم.

الشوكة الحد.

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battle. For the Muslims also Badr proved a turning point. It may be safely assumed that until then only a few of the Companions had fully understood the political implications of the new order of Islâm. For most of them Madînah had meant, in those early days, a refuge from the persecutions which they had had to endure at Mecca. After the battle of Badr, however, even the most simple-minded among the Muslims came to know that they were out to establish the Kingdom of God on earth. No more passivity for them; no more desire to live a sheltered life. The spirit of passive sacrifice of the earlier days received its complement in the new idea of sacrifice through action. The doctrine of activity as the most fundamental, because creative, element of life was, perhaps for the first time in history, consciously realised not only by individuals but by a community as such; and the activist community of Islâm was the immediate product of the battle of Badr.—For the full story of this battle, see Ibn Hishâm I, 369 ff; Ṭabarî II, 267 ff; Ibn al-Athîr II, 80 ff; *Zâd al-Ma'âd* I, 85 ff.

1 Qur'ân iii, 123–27.

2 Meant is Waḥshî ibn Ḥarb, who killed Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in the battle of Uhud, and later embraced Islâm. For particulars about him see sec. 24 of this chapter.

3 Fragment from the Tradition in sec. 24 of this chapter which see for explanation.

4 *I.e.*, the caravan led by Abû Sufyân and the approaching Meccan army under Abû Jahl (cf. p. 261, n. 4).

5 Qur'ân viii, 7. It is to be remembered that the followers of the Prophet had not expected to encounter the strong army from Mecca; their original idea had been to intercept the caravan coming from Syria, and they had counted on easy victory.

6 Al-Bukhârî bases this remark on an explanation of the term *shawkah* given by the philologist Abû 'Ubaydah in his *Kitâb al-Majâz* (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 229). The terms *shawkah* and *ḥadd* (or *ḥiddah*) are often interchanged, both meaning, primarily, sharpness, vehemence, etc., and subsequently strength, force. Both can be also translated as "weapons" or "arms". Cf. Lane II, 525, and IV, 1621.

Yaḥyâ ibn Bukayr related to me: Al-Layth related to us, on the authority of 'Uqayl, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, on the authority of 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Ka'b [who said]: 'Abd Allâh ibn Ka'b said:

I HEARD Ka'b ibn Mâlik[1] say: I never remained behind the Apostle of God in any of his campaigns, save in the campaign of Tabûk. I did not, however, take part in the campaign of Badr: but none who failed to take part therein was [ever] blamed, for the Apostle of God had set out to attack the caravan of the Quraysh—and God caused them unexpectedly to meet their foes.[2]

SECTION IV

The Word of God, exalted be He: And when ye besought your Sustainer for help, He assured you: I will aid you with a thousand angels, rank on rank.—And God ordained this only as glad tidings [for you], and that thereby your hearts might be set at ease. And victory is from God alone: behold, God is Mighty, Wise. [Remember,] when He made slumber come upon you as [a sign of] security granted by Him,[3] and sent down upon you water from the sky, that He might cleanse you thereby and rid you of the foul whisperings of Satan,[4] and make thereby strong your hearts and firm [your] feet.[5] Remember, when thy Sustainer told[6] the angels: Behold, I am with you! Make, then, the Faithful firm! I will cast dread into the hearts of the infidels; smite ye their necks, and

حدثنى يحيى بن بكير: حدثنا الليث عن عقيل عن ابن شهاب عن عبدالرحمن بن عبد الله بن كعب أن عبد الله بن كعب قال:

سمعت كعب بن مالك (رض) يقول: لم أتخلف عن رسول الله ﷺ فى غزوة غزاها الا فى غزوة تبوك غير أنى تخلفت عن غزوة بدر، ولم يعاتب أحد تخلف عنها، انما خرج رسول الله ﷺ يريد عير قريش — حتى جمع الله بينهم وبين عدوهم على غير ميعاد.

٤ باب

قول الله تعالى: اذ تستغيثون ربكم فاستجاب لكم: أنى ممدكم بألف من الملائكة مردفين. — وما جعله الله الا بشرى ولتطمئن به قلوبكم؛ وما النصر الا من عند الله، ان الله عزيز حكيم. اذ يغشيكم النعاس أمنة منه وينزل عليكم من السماء ماء ليطهركم به ويذهب عنكم رجز الشيطان وليربط على قلوبكم ويثبت به الأقدام. اذ يوحى ربك الى الملائكة: أنى معكم! فثبتوا الذين آمنوا! سألقى فى قلوب الذين كفروا الرعب، فاضربوا فوق الأعناق واضربوا منهم كل بنان! ذلك

1 Notice about this Companion in sec. 81 of this chapter. The above saying of Ka'b is a fragment from the Tradition quoted in that section.

2 While setting out to intercept Abû Sufyân's caravan the Companions had thought of their expedition as a mere raid, and had not attached to it a particular importance. They had not anticipated what was to come, and so no blame did subsequently attach to those who did not take part in the battle of Badr.

3 We possess Traditions to the effect that in the night preceding the battle of Badr most of the Muslim warriors fell asleep, although they knew by then that in the morning they were to face a considerably stronger enemy (cf. Ibn Kathîr IV, 22)—a sure sign that they felt confident of ultimate victory.

4 Lit., "Satan's filth".

5 While crossing the desert near Badr, the Muslim army was badly in need of water. Almost overwhelmed by thirst, many of the Companions became despondent. Suddenly rain fell, and this revived their vanishing spirits. (Cf. Ibn Kathîr IV, 22 ff.) Shortly afterwards they encamped, and most of them fell into a restful sleep (see preceding note).

6 Lit., "revealed to".

smite all [their] limbs! This, because they contended against God and His Apostle. And whoso contendeth against God and His Apostle—behold, God is severe in punishment.[1]

1 Abû Nu'aym related to us: Isrâ'îl related to us, on the authority of Mukhâriq, on the authority of Ṭâriq ibn Shihâb, who said:

I HEARD Ibn Mas'ûd say: I heard an utterance by al-Miqdâd ibn al-Aswad[2]—and surely I would give anything for having made it myself.[3] He came to the Prophet while the latter was urging [his followers] against the idolaters[4]; and [al-Miqdâd] said: We shall not speak as the people of Moses spake, *Go thou and thy Lord, and fight ye two!*[5] Nay, we shall fight on thy right and on thy left, before thee and behind thee!—And I saw the Prophet's face light up with joy on hearing these words.

2 Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Ḥawshab related to me: 'Abd al-Wahhâb related to us: Khâlid related to us, on the authority of 'Ikrimah, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas, who said[6]:

بأنهم شاقوا الله ورسوله؛ ومن يشاقق الله ورسوله فان الله شديد العقاب.

١ حدثنا أبو نعيم: حدثنا اسرائيل عن مخارق عن طارق بن شهاب قال:

سمعت ابن مسعود يقول: شهدت من المقداد بن الأسود مشهداً لأن أكون صاحبه أحب الىّ مما عدل به. أتى النبي ﷺ وهو يدعو على المشركين، فقال: لا نقول كما قال قوم موسى «اذهب أنت وربك فقاتلا» ولكنا نقاتل عن يمينك وعن شمالك وبين يديك وخلفك! — فرأيت النبي ﷺ أشرق وجهه وسره يعنى قوله.

٢ حدثنى محمد بن عبد الله بن حوشب: حدثنا عبد الوهاب: حدثنا خالد عن عكرمة عن ابن عباس قال:

1 Qur'ân viii, 9—13.

2 Miqdâd's real patronymic was Ibn 'Amr, but he was called Ibn al-Aswad after his foster-father, al-Aswad ibn 'Abd Yaghûth az-Zuhrî. He early embraced Islâm, but was unable openly to migrate to Madînah with the Prophet. So he remained outwardly a partisan of the pagan Quraysh, until he succeeded to join the Muslims. An opportunity was provided by a military expedition, of which Miqdâd was a member, sent by the Quraysh against the Muslims in Shawwâl, 1 A.H. They encountered a Muslim raiding party under 'Ubaydah ibn al-Ḥârith; and Miqdâd ibn al-Aswad, accompanied by 'Utbah ibn Ghazwân, went over to the Muslims. Miqdâd took part in the battle of Badr (in which he was one of the two horsemen which the Muslim army possessed) and in most of the later campaigns, including that of Egypt under 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ. He died in Jurf, near Madînah, in 33 A.H., at the age of seventy. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 114 f; *Isti'âb* I, 279 f.)

3 Lit., "I would have loved more than anything else to have been myself its author".

4 About two days after he left Madînah at the head of the Muslim army, the Prophet received the news that Abû Sufyân had become aware of the Muslims' plans and had turned off his caravan towards the coast; and that a strong Meccan army under Abû Jahl was on its way to Madînah. The Prophet thereupon summoned his followers and asked them whether they were prepared, now that Abû Sufyân had evaded them, to face a much more dangerous enemy. Some of the Muslims had apprehensions regarding their own weakness and the enemy's strength, but an overwhelming majority declared themselves to be ready to follow the Prophet wherever he led them. (Ibn Hishâm I, 374 f; Ṭabarî II, 273 f.)

5 Qur'ân v, 24.

6 This form of the Tradition is *mursal*, for Ibn 'Abbâs did not participate in the battle of Badr, being a child at that time. But it is evident from another version of this Tradition (Muslim,

قال النبي ﷺ يوم بدر: اللهم! أنشدك عهدك ووعدك! اللهم! ان شئت لم تعبد! — فأخذ أبوبكر بيده فقال: حسبك! — فخرج وهو يقول: «سيهزم الجمع ويولون الدبر.»

ON the day of Badr, the Prophet prayed: O, God! I appeal to Thy covenant and Thy promise! O God! If thou hast willed [our defeat], Thou wilt be worshipped no more![1]—Thereupon Abû Bakr took him by his hand and said: [God] will suffice thee![2]—And [the Prophet] took the field,[3] reciting: *The [enemies'] host will be routed, and they will turn their backs!*[4]

٥ باب

حدثني ابراهيم بن موسى: أخبرنا هشام أن ابن جريج أخبرهم قال: أخبرني عبد الكريم أنه سمع مقسماً مولى عبد الله بن الحرث يحدث عن ابن عباس أنه سمعه يقول:

لا يستوى القاعدون من المؤمنين عن بدر والخارجون الى بدر.

SECTION V

Ibrâhîm ibn Mûsâ related to me: Hishâm informed us that Ibn Jurayj informed them, saying: 'Abd al-Karîm informed me that he heard Miqsam, the freedman of 'Abd Allâh ibn al-Ḥârith, relate that he heard Ibn 'Abbâs say:

THOSE of the Faithful who stayed away from Badr and those who went forth to Badr are not alike [in merit].[5]

٦ باب

عدة أصحاب بدر

١ حدثنا مسلم: حدثنا شعبة عن أبي اسحق عن البراء قال: استصغرت أنا وابن عمر...

SECTION VI

THE NUMBER OF THE COMPANIONS OF BADR

1 Muslim related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, on the authority of al-Barâ', who said: I and Ibn 'Umar were regarded as too young...

K. al-Jihâd, B. al-Imdâd bi'l-Malâ'ikah) that Ibn 'Abbâs heard it from 'Umar.

1 In other versions, like that quoted by Muslim (see preceding note), or Ṭabarî (III, 269), this sentence is given in its complete form, thus: "If Thou exterminate this group of Muslims, Thou wilt be worshipped on earth no more!" Ibn Ḥajar explains this prayer as follows: "[The Prophet] said this because he knew that he was the Last of the Prophets; if he and those who were with him were to be destroyed, no other [prophet] would come after him to preach the [true] faith; and the idolaters, were they to prevail, would continue worshipping other [deities] than God" (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 231).—On the other hand, it is possible that the Prophet raised this supplication on the day of Badr not out of fear for the outcome of the battle (for he seems to have been certain of the Muslims' victory), but in order to inspire his Companions with greater confidence by thus reminding them, indirectly, that God had promised them victory.

2 Thus Abû Bakr expressed his confidence that God would accept the supplication of His Prophet.

3 Lit., "went out".

4 Qur'ân liv, 45. It is to be noted that this verse, as well as the entire *sûrah*, were revealed in Mecca, long before the battle of Badr.

5 This is 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abbâs's commentary on Qur'ân iv, 95. For a detailed discussion of this verse, see Bkh liii, *sûrah* iv, sec. 19.

And Maḥmûd related to me: Wahb related to us, on the authority of Shu'bah, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq,

ON the authority of al-Barâ', who said: I and ['Abd Allâh] ibn 'Umar were regarded, on the day of Badr, as too young [to take part in fighting].[1] The *Muhâjirs* were, on the day of Badr, sixty and odd [men], and the *Anṣâr*, two hundred forty and odd.[2]

وحدثني محمود: حدثنا وهب عن شعبة عن أبي اسحق

عن البراء قال: استصغرت أنا وابن عمر يوم بدر. وكان المهاجرون يوم بدر نيفاً على ستين والأنصار نيفاً وأربعين ومائتين.

2 'Amr ibn Khâlid related to us: Zuhayr related to us: Abû Isḥâq related to us, saying: I heard al-Barâ' say:

SOME of Muḥammad's companions who took part in the battle of Badr related to me that their number was that of Saul's companions who crossed the river [Jordan] with him[3]—[that is,] three hundred ten and odd.

Al-Barâ' added:

By God! None but the faithful crossed the river with him![4]

٢ حدثنا عمرو بن خالد: حدثنا زهير: حدثنا أبو اسحق قال: سمعت البراء (رض) يقول:

حدثني أصحاب محمد ﷺ ممن شهد بدراً أنهم كانوا عدة أصحاب طالوت الذين جازوا معه النهر — بضعة عشر وثلثمائة.

قال البراء:

لا والله ما جاوز معه النهر الا مؤمن!

3 'Abd Allâh ibn Rajâ' related to us: Isrâ'îl related to us, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, on the authority of al-Barâ', who said:

WE, the companions of Muḥammad, used to mention among ourselves that the number of the Companions of Badr was the same as the number of Saul's companions who crossed the river [Jordan] with him—and none but the faithful crossed [the river] with him—: three hundred ten and odd.

٣ حدثنا عبد الله بن رجاء: حدثنا اسرائيل عن أبي اسحق عن البراء قال:

كنا أصحاب محمد ﷺ نتحدث أن عدة أصحاب بدر على عدة أصحاب طالوت الذين جاوز وا معه النهر — ولم يجاوز معه الا مؤمن —: بضعة عشر وثلثمائة.

1 Regarding al-Barâ', cf. n. 4 on p. 20, and regarding 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar, n. 5 on p. 83.

2 The battle of Badr was the first occasion on which the *Anṣâr* took active part in fighting side by side with the *Muhâjirs*. Their original compact with the Prophet, at 'Aqabah, implied their defending Islâm at Madînah, and did not put them under obligation to take part in military expeditions outside their territory. While setting out on the campaign of Badr, the Prophet expressly asked them whether they were willing to march with him; and the *Anṣâr* responded with enthusiasm. Cf. in this respect Ibn Hishâm I, 375; Ṭabarî II, 274.—As to the number of the Muslims who participated in the battle, it varies in the most reliable reports between 313 and 319 men.

3 Reference to the story narrated in Qur'ân ii, 249.

4 *I.e.*, with Saul. Thus al-Barâ' implied that, similarly, among the Companions who followed the Prophet Muḥammad in the campaign of Badr there were none but the really faithful.

4 'Abd Allâh ibn Abî Shaybah related to me: Yaḥyâ related to us, on the authority of Sufyân, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, on the authority of al-Barâ':——

(h) And Muhammad ibn Kathîr related to us: Sufyân informed us, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, on the authority of al-Barâ', who said:

WE used to mention among ourselves that the Companions of Badr were three hundred ten and odd [men]—like the number of Saul's companions who crossed the river [Jordan] with him; and none but the faithful crossed [the river] with him.[1]

SECTION VII

THE PROPHET'S CURSE UPON THE INFIDELS OF QURAYSH—SHAYBAH, 'UTBAH, AL-WALÎD, AND ABÛ JAHL IBN HISHÂM—AND THEIR [SUBSEQUENT] DESTRUCTION[2]

'Amr ibn Khâlid related to me: Zuhayr related to us: Abû Isḥâq related to us, on the authority of 'Amr ibn Maymûn,

ON the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd, who said: The Prophet turned toward the Ka'bah and cursed these chiefs of Quraysh: Shaybah ibn Rabî'ah, 'Utbah ibn Rabî'ah, al-Walîd ibn 'Utbah, and Abû Jahl ibn Hishâm.[3] And I do take God for my witness: verily, [later] I saw them [all] dead on the ground, rotting in the sun: for the day was hot.

SECTION VIII

THE DEATH OF ABÛ JAHL[4]

٤ حدثني عبد الله بن أبي شيبة: حدثنا يحيى عن سفيان عن أبي اسحق عن البراء:——

(ح) وحدثنا محمد بن كثير: أخبرنا سفيان عن أبي اسحق عن البراء (رض) قال:

كنا نتحدث أن أصحاب بدر ثلثمائة وبضعة عشر — بعدة أصحاب طالوت الذين جاوزوا معه النهر، وما جاوز معه الا مؤمن.

٧ باب

دعاء النبي ﷺ على كفار قريش — شيبة وعتبة والوليد وأبي جهل بن هشام — وهلاكهم

حدثني عمرو بن خالد: حدثنا زهير: حدثنا أبو اسحق عن عمرو بن ميمون

عن عبد الله بن مسعود (رض) قال: استقبل النبي ﷺ الكعبة فدعا على نفر من قريش: على شيبة بن ربيعة وعتبة بن ربيعة والوليد بن عتبة وأبي جهل ابن هشام. فأشهد بالله لقد رأيتهم صرعى قد غيرتهم الشمس، وكان يوماً حاراً.

٨ باب

قتل أبي جهل

1 For an explanation of the above Tradition, as well as the other variants preceding it, see No. 1 of this section.

2 *Sc.*, at Badr.

3 This is a reference to the incident at Mecca narrated in Bkh li/5, No. 3. In that version the name of al-Walîd ibn 'Utbah is not mentioned, but it occurs in another version, in Bkh xlvi/97, No. 4.

4 The story of Abû Jahl's death at the hands of Mu'awwidh and 'Awf, the sons of 'Afrâ', is told in sec. 10, No. 5, of this chapter. The present section treats of the death not only of Abû Jahl but also of that of other chiefs of Quraysh. According to 'Aynî (XVII, 85), some of the older MSS give the title of this section as "The Death of Abû Jahl and Others".

1 Ibn Numayr related to us: Abû Usâmah related to us: Ismâ'îl related to us: Qays informed us,

ON the authority of 'Abd Allâh [ibn Mas'ûd]: On the day of Badr he came upon Abû Jahl, who had still a spark of life in him; and Abû Jahl said: Was ever a nobler man killed by you?

١ حدثنا ابن نمير: حدثنا أبو أسامة: حدثنا اسمعيل: أخبرنا قيس

عن عبد الله (رض) أنه أتى أبا جهل وبه رمق يوم بدر؛ فقال أبو جهل: هل أعمد من رجل قتلتموه؟

2 Aḥmad ibn Yûnus related to us: Zuhayr related to us: Sulaymân at-Taymî related to us that Anas related to them, saying: The Prophet said:——

(h) And 'Amr ibn Khâlid related to me: Zuhayr related to us, on the authority of Sulaymân at-Taymî, on the authority of Anas, who said:

٢ حدثنا أحمد بن يونس: حدثنا زهير: حدثنا سليمان التيمى أن أنساً حدثهم قال: قال النبى ﷺ:——

(ح) وحدثنى عمرو بن خالد: حدثنا زهير عن سليمان التيمى عن أنس (رض) قال:

THE Prophet said [on the day of Badr]: Who will go and see what hath happened to Abû Jahl?—Thereupon Ibn Mas'ûd went forth and found him struck to death by the two sons of 'Afrâ'; and he said: Art thou Abû Jahl?—and took him by his beard. [Abû Jahl] answered: And was ever a greater man killed by you?

Or: "... killed by his [own] people?"[1]

Aḥmad ibn Yûnus said: "It is thou, Abû Jahl!"[2]

قال النبى ﷺ: من ينظر ما صنع أبو جهل؟ — فانطلق ابن مسعود (رض) فوجده قد ضربه ابنا عفراء حتى برد: قال: أ أنت أبو جهل؟ — قال: فأخذ بلحيته. قال: وهل فوق رجل قتلتموه؟

أو: «... رجل قتله قومه؟»

قال أحمد بن يونس: «... أنت ابو جهل!»

3 Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannâ related to me: Ibn Abî 'Adî related to us, on the authority of Sulaymân at-Taymî, on the authority of Anas, who said:

THE Prophet said on the day of Badr: Who will go and see what hath happened to Abû Jahl?—Thereupon Ibn Mas'ûd went forth and found him struck to death by the two sons of 'Afrâ'. And he took him by his beard and said: It is thou, Abû Jahl!—[Abû Jahl] answered: And was ever a greater man killed by his [own] people?

Or he said: "... killed by you?"

٣ حدثنى محمد بن المثنى: حدثنا ابن أبى عدى عن سليمان التيمى عن أنس (رض) قال:

قال النبى ﷺ يوم بدر: من ينظر مافعل أبو جهل؟ — فانطلق ابن مسعود فوجده قد ضربه ابنا عفراء حتى برد، فأخذ بلحيته فقال: أنت أبا جهل! — قال: وهل فوق رجل قتله قومه؟

أو قال: «... قتلتموه؟»

1 Uncertainty on the part of the transmitter Sulaymân at-Taymî, as is evident from another version of this Tradition in sec. 12, No. 22.

2 Reference to a variant in which Ibn Mas'ûd is said to have used in his address the form of a statement instead of a question

Ibn al-Muthannâ related to me: Mu'âdh ibn Mu'âdh informed us: Sulaymân related to us: Anas ibn Mâlik reported a similar [Tradition].

حدثنى ابن المثنى: أخبرنا معاذ بن معاذ: حدثنا سليمان: أخبرنا أنس بن مالك نحوه.

'Alî ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us, saying: I wrote—on the authority of Yûsuf ibn al-Mâjishûn, on the authority of Ṣâliḥ ibn Ibrâhîm, on the authority of his father, on the authority of his grandfather ['Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf]—the account of Badr, namely, the story of the sons of 'Afrâ'.[1]

حدثنا على بن عبد الله قال: كتبت عن يوسف ابن الماجشون عن صالح بن ابراهيم عن أبيه عن جده فى بدر، يعنى حديث ابنى عفراء.

4 Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh ar-Raqâshî related to me: Mu'tamir related to us, saying: I heard my father [Sulaymân] say: Abû Mijlaz related to us, on the authority of Qays ibn 'Ubâd,

٤ حدثنى محمد بن عبد الله الرقاشى: حدثنا معتمر قال: سمعت أبى يقول: حدثنا أبو مجلز عن قيس بن عباد

ON the authority of 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib, who said: On the Day of Resurrection, I shall be the first to kneel down before the Most Gracious to receive [His] judgment.[2]

عن على بن أبى طالب (رض) أنه قال: أنا أول من يجثو بين يدى الرحمن للخصومة يوم القيامة.

Qays ibn 'Ubâd added: It is about them that [the verse] was revealed: *These two [groups of] antagonists contend about their Lord*—those [men] who fought in single combat on the day of Badr—: Ḥamzah, 'Alî and 'Ubaydah ibn al-Ḥârith; Shaybah ibn Rabî'ah, 'Utbah ibn Rabî'ah and al-Walîd ibn 'Utbah.[3]

وقال قيس بن عباد: وفيهم أنزلت «هذان خصمان اختصموا فى ربهم». قال: هم الذين تبارزوا يوم بدر — حمزة وعلى وعبيدة بن الحرث، وشيبة بن ربيعة وعتبة بن ربيعة والوليد ابن عتبة.

5 Qabîṣah related to us: Sufyân related to us, on the authority of Abû Hâshim, on the authority of Abû Mijlaz, on the authority of Qays ibn 'Ubâd,

٥ حدثنا قبيصة: حدثنا سفيان عن أبى هاشم عن أبى مجلز عن قيس بن عباد

ON the authority of Abû Dharr, who said: [The verse,] *These two [groups of] antagonists contend about their Lord,*[4] was revealed on account of six of the Quraysh: 'Alî, Ḥamzah, 'Ubaydah ibn al-Ḥârith, Shaybah ibn Rabî'ah, 'Utbah ibn Rabî'ah

عن أبى ذر (رض) قال: نزلت «هذان خصمان اختصموا فى ربهم» فى ستة من قريش: على وحمزة وعبيدة بن الحرث وشيبة بن ربيعة

1 The story of the sons of 'Afrâ', who killed Abû Jahl at Badr, is told—with an *isnâd* different from the one given above—in sec. 10, No. 5, of this chapter; and with a similar *isnâd* as above (only al-Bukhârî's *shaykh* being different) in Bkh xlvi/215, No. 1.

2 To 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib belongs the supreme honour of having delivered the first sword-stroke in the most momentous battle of Islâm: for it was he who opened the fight in a single combat with al-Walîd ibn 'Utbah. See also No. 5 of this section.

3 For an explanation see the next Tradition.

4 Qur'ân xxii, 19.

and al-Walîd ibn 'Utbah.[1]

6 Isḥâq ibn Ibrâhîm aṣ-Ṣawwâf related to us: Yûsuf ibn Ya'qûb (he used to live among the Banû Ḍubay'ah, and was a freedman of the Banû Sadûs[2]) related to us: Sulaymân at-Taymî related to us, on the authority of Abû Mijlaz, on the authority of Qays ibn 'Ubâd, who said:

'ALÎ said: It is on account of us that the verse, *These two [groups of] antagonists contend about their Lord,* was revealed.[3]

7 Yaḥyâ ibn Ja'far related to us: Waki' informed us, on the authority of Sufyân, on the authority of Abû Hâshim, on the authority of Abû Mijlaz, on the authority of Qays ibn 'Ubâd, who said:

I HEARD Abû Dharr declare on oath: These verses[4] were revealed on account of those six persons on the occasion of the battle of Badr.[5]

[This version is] similar to that [quoted above].[6]

8 Ya'qûb ibn Ibrâhîm ad-Dawraqi related to us: Hushaym related to us: Abû Hâshim informed us, on the authority of Qays, who said:

I HEARD Abû Dharr declare on oath: Behold, the verse, *These two [groups of] antagonists contend about their Lord,* was revealed on account of the men who fought in single combat on the day of Badr: Ḥamzah, 'Alî, 'Ubaydah ibn al-Ḥârith, 'Utbah and Shaybah—the sons of Rabî'ah—and al-Walîd ibn 'Utbah.

وعتبة بن ربيعة والوليد بن عتبة.

٦ حدثنا اسحق بن ابراهيم الصواف: حدثنا يوسف بن يعقوب (كان ينزل فى بنى ضبيعة وهو مولى لبنى سدوس): حدثنا سليمان التيمى عن أبى مجلز عن قيس بن عباد قال:

قال على (رض): فينا نزلت هذه الآية «هذان خصمان اختصموا فى ربهم».

٧ حدثنا يحيى بن جعفر: أخبرنا وكيع عن سفيان عن أبى هاشم عن أبى مجلز عن قيس بن عباد قال:

سمعت أبا ذر (رض) يقسم: لنزلت هؤلاء الآيات فى هؤلاء الرهط الستة يوم بدر.

نحوه.

٨ حدثنا يعقوب بن ابراهيم الدورقى: حدثنا هشيم: أخبرنا أبو هاشم عن أبى مجلز عن قيس قال:

سمعت أبا ذر يقسم قسماً: ان هذه الآية «هذان خصمان اختصموا فى ربهم» نزلت فى الذين برزوا يوم بدر: حمزة وعلى وعبيدة ابن الحرث وعتبة وشيبة ابنى ربيعة والوليد ابن عتبة.

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1 *I.e.*, three Muslims ('Alî, Ḥamzah and 'Ubaydah) and three pagans (Shaybah, 'Utbah and al-Walîd). They opened the battle of Badr by fighting in single combat. It is established that 'Alî engaged al-Walîd; about the two other pairs of combatants the reports differ (cf. 'Aynî XVII, 87). In any case, the three pagan Quraysh were killed by their Muslim opponents. For a full discussion of the Qur'ân-verse referred to, see Bkh liii, *sûrah* xxii, sec. 3.

2 Thus al-Bukhârî removes any possibility of doubt as to the name of this transmitter who is sometimes called "aḍ-Ḍubay'î" and sometimes "as-Sadûsî" (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 238).

3 For explanations, see preceding Tradition.

4 *I.e.*, Qur'ân xxii, 19–22.

5 See n. 1 above.

6 *I.e.*, No. 5 of this section.

9 Aḥmad ibn Sa'îd abû 'Abd Allâh related to me: Isḥâq ibn Manṣûr as-Salûlî related to us: Ibrâhîm ibn Yûsuf related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq:

A MAN asked al-Barâ' in my hearing: Did 'Alî take part in [the battle of] Badr?—[Al-Barâ'] answered: [Yea, and] he fought in single combat, too, clad in a double coat of mail.[1]

٩ حدثنى أحمد بن سعيد أبو عبد الله: حدثنا اسحق بن منصور السلولى: حدثنا ابراهيم بن يوسف عن أبيه عن أبى اسحق:

سأل رجل البراء وأنا أسمع قال: أشهد على بدراً؟ — قال: بارز وظاهر.

10 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us, saying: Yûsuf ibn al-Mâjishûn related to me, on the authority of Ṣâliḥ ibn Ibrâhîm ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf, on the authority of his father,

ON the authority of his grandfather, 'Abd ar-Raḥmân [ibn 'Awf], who said: I had an agreement with Umayyah ibn Khalaf.[2] And on the day of Badr...

—and then he narrated how Umayyah and his son[3] were killed.[4]

And Bilâl said: I shall never be safe if Umayyah remaineth alive.[5]

١٠ حدثنا عبد العزيز بن عبد الله قال: حدثنى يوسف بن الماجشون عن صالح بن ابراهيم بن عبد الرحمن بن عوف عن أبيه

عن جده عبد الرحمن قال: كاتبت أمية بن خلف؛ فلما كان يوم بدر...

— فذكر قتله وقتل ابنه.

فقال بلال: لانجوت ان نجا أمية.

11 'Abdân ibn 'Uthmân related to us, saying: My father informed me, on the authority of Shu'bah, on the authority of Abû Isḥâq, on the authority of al-Aswad, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh:

THE Prophet recited, *By the Star...*,[6] and then he prostrated himself[7]; and all who were with him prostrated themselves. But one old man took [merely] a handful of dust and touched his forehead therewith,

١١ حدثنا عبدان بن عثمان قال: أخبرنى أبى عن شعبة عن أبى اسحق عن الأسود عن عبد الله (رض)

عن النبى ﷺ أنه قرأ «والنجم» فسجد بها، وسجد من معه غير أن شيخاً أخذ كفاً

1 This Tradition is *mursal*, for al-Barâ' had not witnessed the battle of Badr (see sec. 6. No. 1): the incident referred to, however, was undoubtedly famous among the Companions.

2 As is shown in a more detailed version of this Tradition (Bkh xxxi/2), 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf had made an agreement with Umayyah ibn Khalaf, according to which 'Abd ar-Raḥmân was to protect some of Umayyah's relatives who lived in Madînah, and Umayyah was to do the same with regard to 'Abd ar-Raḥmân's relatives in Mecca. This shows that, until the battle of Badr at least, not all relations between the Muslims at Madînah and the Quraysh at Mecca were suspended.

3 'Alî ibn Umayyah.

4 Lit., "he mentioned his killing and the killing of his son"; reference to Bkh xxxi/2.

5 This sentence also is a fragment from the Tradition in Bkh xxxi/2. 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf tried to save Umayyah ibn Khalaf in the battle of Badr; but Bilâl, who had been cruelly persecuted by Umayyah in Mecca, incited the *Anṣâr* to kill him.

6 Qur'ân liii. The incident narrated in this Tradition occurred in Mecca.

7 The last verse of this *sûrah* contains the command to prostrate oneself while reciting it.

من تراب فرفعه الى جبهته فقال: يكفيني هذا.

saying: This is enough for me.[1]

قال عبد الله:

'Abd Allâh added:

— فلقد رأيته بعد قتل كافراً.

—And, verily, later I saw him slain, an infidel.[2]

١٢ أخبرني ابراهيم بن موسى: حدثنا هشام بن يوسف عن معمر عن هشام

12 Ibrâhîm ibn Mûsâ informed me: Hishâm ibn Yûsuf related to us, on the authority of Ma'mar, on the authority of Hishâm:

عن عروة قال: كان في الزبير ثلاث ضربات بالسيف احداهن في عاتقه. قال: ان كنت لأدخل أصابعي فيها. قال: ضرب ثنتين يوم بدر وواحدة يوم اليرموك.

'URWAH [ibn az-Zubayr] said: Az-Zubayr had three sword-scars, one of them on his shoulder; [as a child] I would place my fingers therein [in play]. Two [of these wounds] he received on the day of Badr, and one on the day of al-Yarmûk[3].

قال عروة: وقال لي عبد الملك بن مروان حين قتل عبد الله بن الزبير: يا عروة! هل تعرف سيف الزبير؟ — قلت: نعم. — قال: فما فيه؟ — قلت: فيه فلة فلها يوم بدر. — قال: صدقت! «بهن فلول من قراع الكتائب». — ثم رده على عروة.

'Urwah added: When 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubayr was killed,[4] 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwân[5] said to me: O 'Urwah! Dost thou remember the sword of az-Zubayr[6]?—I answered: Yea.—He [then] asked: And what [marks] had it?—I answered: It had a dent cut into it on the dav of Badr.[7]—['Abd al-Malik] said: Thou art right! *They have dents from the blows of the warriors.*[8]—And ['Abd al-Malik] returned the sword[9] unto me[10].

قال هشام: فأقمناه بيننا ثلاثة آلاف وأخذه بعضنا؛ ولوددت أني كنت أخذته!

Hishâm [ibn 'Urwah] added: We valued it among ourselves at three thousand [*dirhams*], and one from among us[11] acquired it. Would that I had acquired it!

١٣ حدثنا فروة عن علي عن هشام عن

13 Farwah related to us, on the authority of 'Alî, on the authority of Hishâm, on the

1 This man was Umayyah ibn Khalaf (cf. Bkh liii, *sûrah* liii, sec. 7, No. 2).

2 *Sc.*, at Badr.

3 See No. 14 of this section.

4 He was killed in Mecca in 73 A.H. See n. 3 on p. 73.

5 Fifth Caliph of the dynasty of Banû Umayyah.

6 This sword was found among the possessions of az-Zubayr's son, 'Abd Allâh, when he was killed in 73 A.H. after the siege and conquest of Mecca by al-Ḥajjâj ibn Yûsuf. Al-Ḥajjâj sent the sword to the Caliph, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwân, who—as is narrated in the above Tradition—subsequently returned it to 'Abd Allâh's younger brother, 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr. (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 239.)

7 This remark, as well as the preceding one about the two wounds which az-Zubayr had received at Badr, was the reason for al-Bukhârî's quoting the above Tradition in one of the sections dealing with the battle of Badr.

8 This is a quotation from a well-known *qaṣîdah* of the pre-Islâmic poet, an-Nâbighah; the reference is to the swords of the heroes.

9 In the text, "it".

10 In the text in the third person ("to 'Urwah").

11 *I.e.*, from among 'Urwah's sons. It was (according to *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 240) 'Uthmân ibn 'Urwah, a brother of the transmitter, Hishâm.

authority of his father ['Urwah], who said:

THE sword of az-Zubayr[1] was adorned with silver.

Hishâm added: The sword of 'Urwah [ibn az-Zubayr] was [also] adorned with silver.

14 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad related to us: 'Abd Allâh related to us: Hishâm ibn 'Urwah informed us, on the authority of his father [who said]:

ON the day of al-Yarmûk[2], the companions of the Apostle of God[3] said unto az-Zubayr: Wilt thou not assault [the enemy]? For then we shall assault [them] together with thee![4]—[Az-Zubayr] answered: Behold, if I assault them, ye will fail me.—But they exclaimed: We shall not!—Thereupon he attacked the Byzantines,[5] and broke through their lines, and went beyond them; and none [of the Muslims went] with him [so far]. Then he turned back, and [the enemy] got hold of the bridle of his [horse] and struck him twice on his shoulder; between these two [wounds] there was the scar [of a wound] which he had received on the day of Badr.[6]

'Urwah said: When I was a child I would place my fingers in play into these scars.—'Urwah continued:

'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubayr was with his father[7] on that day; he was ten years old [then].[8] [Az-Zubayr] had mounted him on a mare and had left him in some [other] man's charge.

15 'Abd Allâh ibn Muḥammad related to me that he heard Rawḥ ibn 'Ubâdah [say]: Sa'id

أبيه قال:

كان سيف الزبير محلى بفضة.

قال هشام: وكان سيف عروة محلى بفضة.

١٤ حدثنا أحمد بن محمد: حدثنا عبد الله: أخبرنا هشام بن عروة عن أبيه

أن أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ قالوا للزبير يوم اليرموك: ألا تشد؟ فنشد معك! — فقال: انى ان شددت كذبتم. — فقالوا: لا نفعل! — فحمل عليهم حتى شق صفوفهم فجاوزهم وما معه أحد؛ ثم رجع مقبلاً فأخذوا بلجامه فضربوه ضربتين على عاتقه بينهما ضربة ضربها يوم بدر.

قال عروة: كنت أدخل أصابعى فى تلك الضربات ألعب وأنا صغير. — قال عروة:

وكان معه عبد الله بن الزبير يومئذ وهو ابن عشر سنين، فحمله على فرس وكل به رجلاً.

١٥ حدثنى عبد الله بن محمد سمع روح بن عبادة:

1 See preceding Tradition.

2 The battle of al-Yarmûk (in southern Syria) took place in 13 or 15 A.H. It ended with a decisive victory of the Muslims over the Byzantine army.

3 See n. 2, p. 74.

4 See n. 3, p. 74.

5 In the text, "them".

6 It is for the sake of this reference to the battle of Badr that the above Tradition has been quoted at this place.

7 In the text, "with him".

8 In reality, the age of 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubayr was 12 or 14 at the time of the battle of al-Yarmûk, for the latter took place in the year 13 or (according to the most reliable reports) 15 A.H., and 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubayr was born in 1 A.H. (cf. Bkh li/21, Nos. 12 and 13).

ibn Abî 'Arûbah related to us, on the authority of Qatâdah, who said: Anas ibn Mâlik narrated to us, on the authority of Abû Ṭalḥah:

ON the day of Badr, the Prophet gave order to throw [the bodies of] twenty-four leaders of the Quraysh into one of the rotten, filthy wells at Badr.[1] Now, whenever he defeated an enemy, [the Prophet] would remain three nights on the spot; but on the third day after the battle of Badr he called for his dromedary, and it was saddled; then he set out, and his companions followed him, saying [among themselves]: Surely he is going for some weighty reason.—And he halted at the brink of the well and addressed the corpses of the infidels[2] by their and their fathers' names: O So-and-so, son of So-and-so! —and: O So-and-so, son of So-and-so![3] Are ye pleased with having [suchwise] obeyed God and His Apostle? Behold, we, we have found that our Lord's promises do come true; did ye [also] find that the promises of your Lord come true?[4]

Thereupon 'Umar said: O Apostle of God! Why speakest thou to bodies that have no soul in them?—The Apostle of God answered: By Him in Whose hand is Muḥammad's soul! Ye do not hear better what I am saying than they do![5]

حدثنا بن سعيد أبى عروبة عن قتادة قال: ذكر لنا أنس بن مالك عن أبى طلحة

أن نبى الله ﷺ أمر يوم بدر بأربعة وعشرين رجلاً من صناديد قريش فقذفوا فى طوى من أطواء بدر خبيث مخبث. وكان اذا ظهر على قوم أقام بالعرصة ثلاث ليال؛ فلما كان ببدر اليوم الثالث أمر براحلته فشُد عليها رحلها، ثم مشى واتبعه أصحابه وقالوا: ما نرى ينطلق الا لبعض حاجته، — حتى قام على شفة الركى فجعل يناديهم بأسمائهم وأسماء آبائهم: يافلان بن فلان! — و: يا فلان بن فلان! أيسركم أنكم أطعتم الله ورسوله؟ فانا قد وجدنا ما وعدنا ربنا حقاً، فهل وجدتم ما وعد ربكم حقاً؟

قال: فقال عمر: يا رسول الله! ماتكلم من أجساد لا أرواح لها؟ — فقال رسول الله ﷺ: والذى نفس محمد بيده! ما أنتم بأسمع لما أقول منهم!

1 It appears that the Prophet thus wished to demonstrate to Muslims and non-Muslims how God had broken the pride of the antagonists of His Apostle.

2 In the text, "called them".

3 In other versions of this Tradition (*e.g.*, Ibn Hishâm I, 389) the Prophet is reported to have particularly addressed the four foremost chiefs of the Quraysh, namely, Abû Jahl ibn Hishâm, 'Utbah ibn Rabî'ah, Shaybah ibn Rabî'ah, and Umayyah ibn Khalaf, who had been most active in persecuting the Muslims at Mecca. Although Umayyah ibn Khalaf does not appear to have been among those whose corpses were thrown into the well (cf. Bkh li/5, No. 3), the Prophet may have included him in his apostrophe on account of his intimate association with the other three leaders of Quraysh.

4 The last part of the sentence refers to the warnings which the Prophet conveyed to the pagan Quraysh on many occasions.

5 For a full discussion of the problem as to whether dead people in their graves can actually hear when they are addressed by the living, or whether, as 'Â'ishah believed for some time, this is to be understood in a figurative sense alone (cf. Nos. 17 and 18 of this section), see the notes on Bkh xix/86. From the above Tradition it would appear that the Prophet referred to actual hearing, be it in a bodily or a spiritual sense, by the dead of what is said to them over their graves.

Qatâdah said: God made them alive [again] so that they might hear the Prophet's words of reproof, humiliation and chastisement, [and feel] regret and remorse.[1]

16 Al-Ḥumaydî related to us: Sufyân related to us: 'Amr related to us, on the authority of 'Aṭâ':

ON the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs. [Explaining the words,] *Those who have repaid the favour of God with infidelity*,[2] he said: Meant are, by God! the heathen Quraysh.

'Amr said: These are the Quraysh; and Muḥammad is "the favour of God".—[The words,] ... *and have led their people down to the abode of perdition*,[3]—that is, Hell—he explained [as referring to] the day of Badr.

17 'Ubayd ibn Ismâ'îl related to me: Abû Usâmah related to us, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father ['Urwah], who said:

SOMEONE mentioned before 'Â'ishah that Ibn 'Umar attributed to the Prophet [the following saying]: *Behold, the dead is punished in his grave for his family's lamentation [for him]*.[4] But ['Â'ishah] said: Behold, the Apostle of God but meant that "[the dead] is being punished for his faults and sins, and now his family are lamenting for him".—She added: And this is similar to the saying of the Apostle of God, when he halted before the well containing the [corpses of the] idolaters slain at Badr, *Indeed they do hear what I say*[5]; he but meant thereby that "now, indeed, they know well that what I had been telling them was true".—Then she recited, *Behold, thou canst not make the dead to hear*,[6] and, *Thou canst not make those who are in*

قال قتادة : أحياهم الله حتى أسمعهم قوله توبيخاً وتصغيراً ونقمة وحسرة وندماً .

١٦ حدثنا الحميدى : حدثنا سفيان : حدثنا عمرو عن عطاء

عن ابن عباس (رض) «الذين بدلوا نعمة الله كفراً» قال: هم والله كفار قريش .

قال عمرو: هم قريش، ومحمد ﷺ «نعمة الله» . — «وأحلوا قومهم دار البوار» — قال : النار يوم بدر .

١٧ حدثنى عبيد بن اسمعيل : حدثنا أبو أسامة عن هشام عن أبيه قال :

ذكر عند عائشة (رض) أن ابن عمر رفع الى النبى ﷺ «ان الميت يعذب فى قبره ببكاء أهله» فقالت : انما قال رسول الله ﷺ «انه ليعذب بخطيئته وذنبه وان أهله ليبكون عليه الآن» . — قالت : وذاك مثل قوله ان رسول الله ﷺ قام على القليب وفيه قتلى بدر من المشركين فقال لهم ما قال «انهم ليسمعون ما أقول» ، انما قال «انهم الآن ليعلمون أن ما كنت أقول لهم حق» . — ثم قرأت «انك لا تسمع الموتى» و «ما أنت بمسمع من فى القبور» ، — تقول : حين

1 Thus the *tâbi'î* Qatâdah replied to those who sought to refute the above Tradition by a reference to Qur'ân xxx, 52. It is evident that neither Qur'ân nor Tradition provide a basis for Qatâdah's somewhat arbitrary explanation of the Prophet's addressing the dead Quraysh.

2 Qur'ân xiv, 28. 3 *Ibid.*

4 This is a reference to the Tradition quoted in Bkh xix/32, No. 3, in which the subsequent saying of 'Â'ishah also occurs—albeit in a different form. See my notes on the *tarjumah* of Bkh xix/32.

5 See last paragraph of Tradition No. 15 of this section.

6 Qur'ân xxx, 52.

their graves to hear thee.[1]—She added:—[that is,] when they have taken their abode in the Fire.

18 'Uthmân related to me: 'Abdah related to us, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father ['Urwah], on the authority of Ibn 'Umar, who said:

THE Prophet halted before the well of Badr and said: Did ye find that your Lord's promises come true?—Then he said: Behold, they now hear what I say.

When this was [later] mentioned to 'Â'ishah, she said: What the Prophet meant was this: "Now, indeed, they know well that what I had been telling them was the truth." —Then she recited, *Behold, thou canst not make the dead to hear,*[2] to the end of the verse.[3]

SECTION IX

THE MERIT OF THOSE WHO FOUGHT AT BADR

1 'Abd Allâh ibn Muḥammad related to me: Mu'âwiyah ibn 'Amr related to us: Abû Isḥâq related to us, on the authority of Ḥumayd, who said: I heard Anas say:

IT was on the day of Badr that Ḥârithah fell[4]; he was very young [at that time]. His mother[5] came to the Prophet and said: O Apostle of God! Thou knowest what Ḥârithah was to me. If he is in Paradise, I shall bear up and shall look to God for my reward. But if it be otherwise, then thou wilt see what I do![6]—[The Prophet] an-

تبوؤا مقاعدهم من النار.

١٨ حدثني عثمان: حدثنا عبدة عن هشام عن أبيه عن ابن عمر (رض) قال:

وقف النبي ﷺ على قليب بدر فقال: هل وجدتم ما وعد ربكم حقاً؟ — ثم قال: انهم الآن يسمعون ما أقول.

فذكر لعائشة فقالت: انما قال النبي ﷺ «انهم الآن ليعلمون أن الذي كنت أقول لهم هو الحق». — ثم قرأت «انك لا تسمع الموتى» حتى قرأت الآية.

٩ باب

فضل من شهد بدراً

١ حدثني عبد الله بن محمد: حدثنا معاوية بن عمرو: حدثنا أبو اسحق عن حميد قال: سمعت أنساً (رض) يقول:

أصيب حارثة يوم بدر وهو غلام، فجاءت أمه الى النبي ﷺ فقالت: يا رسول الله! قد عرفت منزلة حارثة مني؛ فان يكن في الجنة أصبر وأحتسب، وان تك الأخرى ترى ما أصنع!—

1 Qur'ân xxv, 22. Thus 'Â'ishah dissented from the view of most of the Companions that the Prophet's words about the dead who hear in their graves are to be taken literally. It would seem from several other Traditions that 'Â'ishah later modified her view. For a full discussion of this problem, see Bkh xix/86.

2 Qur'ân xxx, 52.

3 The second paragraph of the above Tradition is based on a report by 'Urwah (see *isnâd*), and not by Ibn 'Umar, who is responsible only for the first paragraph.—For a discussion of 'Â'ishah's saying, see No. 17 of this section, and, particularly, Bkh xix/86.

4 Ḥârithah ibn Surâqah, a cousin of Anas ibn Mâlik, was the first of the *Anṣâr* killed in *jihâd*. He had preceded the Muslim army as a scout, and was surprised by the enemy at the wells of Badr before the real battle began. (*Istî'âb* I, 107.)

5 Her name was ar-Rubayyi' bint an-Naḍr; she was an aunt of Anas (*Istî'âb* II, 730).

6 Perhaps she hinted thereby that she would kill herself unless she knew for certain that her dead son was in Paradise.

swered: Mercy on thee! Hast thou lost thy senses? Is there only one Paradise? Behold, there are many stages of Paradise; and he, he is in the loftiest Paradise.[1]

2 Isḥâq ibn Ibrâhîm related to me: 'Abd Allâh ibn Idrîs informed us, saying: I heard Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân [say], on the authority of Sa'd ibn 'Ubaydah, on the authority of Abû 'Abd ar-Raḥmân as-Sulamî,

ON the authority of 'Alî, who said: The Apostle of God sent out myself, Abû Marthad[2] and az-Zubayr—all of us on horseback—, saying: Go ye to Rawḍat Khâkh[3]; there [ye will find] a woman of the idolaters bearing a letter from Ḥâṭib ibn Abî Balta'ah to the idolaters [of Mecca].[4]—And we found her, riding a camel, at the place which the Apostle of God had mentioned; and we said: [Out with] the letter!—But she answered: There is no letter with me.—Thereupon we made her camel to kneel down and searched [her belongings]; but we found no letter. Then we said: The Apostle of God could not have been mistaken! Either thou produce the letter or we shall strip thee naked!—When she saw that we were determined, she reached below her waist-band—she had tied her cloak round her waist—and took out the letter[5]; and we took her with us to the Apostle of God.[6]

And 'Umar said: O Apostle of God! [This Ḥâṭib] hath betrayed God, His Apostle and the Faithful! Let me strike off his head!—Thereupon the Prophet asked [Ḥâṭib]: What made thee do this?—Ḥâṭib answered: By

فقال: ويحك! أوهبلت؟ أوجنة واجدة هي؟ انها جنان كثيرة، وانه في جنة الفردوس.

٢ حدثني اسحق بن ابراهيم: أخبرنا عبد الله بن ادريس قال: سمعت حصين بن عبد الرحمن عن سعد بن عبيدة عن أبي عبد الرحمن السلمي

عن علي (رض) قال: بعثني رسول الله ﷺ وأبا مرثد والزبير — كلنا فارس — قال: انطلقوا حتى تأتوا روضة خاخ، فان بها امرأة من المشركين معها كتاب من حاطب بن أبي بلتعة الى المشركين. — فأدركناها تسير على بعير لها حيث قال رسول الله ﷺ، فقلنا: الكتاب! — فقالت: ما معنا كتاب. — فأنخناها فالتمسنا فلم نر كتاباً، فقلنا: ما كذب رسول الله ﷺ! لتخرجن الكتاب أو لنجردنك! — فلما رأت الجر أهوت الى حجزتها — وهي محتجزة بكساء — فأخرجته؛ فانطلقنا بها الى رسول الله ﷺ.

فقال عمر: يا رسول الله! قد خان الله ورسوله والمؤمنين! فدعني فلأضرب عنقه! — فقال النبي ﷺ: ما حملك على ما صنعت؟ —

1 *I.e.*, "he is not only for certain in Paradise, but in its loftiest stages, too".

2 Abû Marthad Kannâz ibn Ḥusayn al-Ghanawî. He was a *Muhâjir*, and fought, together with his son Marthad, at Badr. Later he took part in all the campaigns of the Prophet, and died in 12 A.H. at the age of sixty-six. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 32; *Istî'âb* I, 276.) 'Aynî (XVII, 95) gives his name as "Kinnâz", but the first-mentioned reading is preferable.

3 A place between Mecca and Madînah, nearer to the latter (*Mu'jam al-Buldân* III, 384 f).

4 This story of Ḥâṭib ibn Abî Balta'ah is given, with more detail, in sec. 48 of this chapter, where the reader will find a biographical note on Ḥâṭib. The letter referred to contained information about certain plans of the Prophet.

5 In the text, "it".

6 The portion of the story describing the treacherous contents of the letter is omitted here; for a complete version, see sec. 48 of this chapter.

God! It is not as if I had no faith in God and His Apostle. I [but] wanted to have [some] influence among the people [of Mecca], so that, God willing, I might protect my family and my possessions [there]. There is none of thy companions who hath not some kinsfolk there to protect, God willing, his family and his possessions.[1] —Thereupon [the Prophet] said: He is right! Speak kindly to him!—But 'Umar exclaimed: [But] he hath betrayed God, His Apostle and the Faithful! Let me strike off his head!—[The Prophet] said: Is he not one of those who have fought at Badr? —And he added: Maybe God will look upon those who fought at Badr and will say, Do whatever ye like, [for] now Paradise is yours![2]

Or: "... [for] now I have forgiven you your sins."[3]

—And tears gushed out of 'Umar's eyes, and he said: God and His Apostle know it best!

قال حاطب: والله! ما بي أن لا أكون مؤمناً بالله ورسوله ﷺ. أردت أن تكون لي عند القوم يد يدفع الله بها عن أهلي ومالي؛ وليس أحد من أصحابك الا له هناك من عشيرته من يدفع الله به عن أهله وماله. — فقال: صدق! ولا تقولوا له الا خيراً! — فقال عمر: انه قد خان الله ورسوله والمؤمنين! فدعني فلأضرب عنقه! — فقال: أليس من أهل بدر؟ — فقال: لعل الله اطلع على أهل بدر فقال: اعملوا ما شئتم، فقد وجبت لكم الجنة!

أو: «... فقد غفرت لكم.»

— فدمعت عينا عمر وقال: الله ورسوله أعلم!

SECTION X

١٠ باب

1 'Abd Allâh ibn Muḥammad al-Ju'fî related to me: Abû Aḥmad az-Zubayrî related to us: 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn al-Ghasîl related to us, on the authority of Ḥamzah ibn Abî Usayd and az-Zubayr ibn al-Mundhir ibn Abî Usayd,

١ حدثني عبد الله بن محمد الجعفي: حدثنا أبو أحمد الزبيري: حدثنا عبدالرحمن بن الغسيل عن حمزة بن أبي أسيد والزبير بن المنذر بن أبي أسيد

ON the authority of Abu Usayd[4], who said: On the day of Badr, the Apostle of God said unto us: When [your foes] come nigh unto you, shoot at them; but use your arrows sparingly.[5]

عن أبي أسيد (رض) قال: قال لنا رسول الله ﷺ يوم بدر: اذا أكثبوكم فارموهم، واستبقوا نبلكم.

1 Ḥâṭib had no kinsfolk in Mecca, being a comparative stranger there and a man of little importance; and so he thought of other means to gain some influence among the Quraysh.

2 This shows in what esteem the Prophet himself held the Companions of Badr. Their heroism and self-sacrifice on the occasion of that battle outweighed any lapse on their part in later times. It is to be understood, however, that the Prophet considered that Ḥâṭib's act was rather due to weakness than to really treacherous motives.

3 Uncertainty on the part of one of the transmitters. The above variant is found in the version quoted in sec. 48.

4 Note about this Companion on p. 110, n. 1.

5 The Muslims had but a scanty equipment at Badr, and the Prophet wished to prevent careless shooting over a long distance.

2 Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥîm related to me: Abû Aḥmad az-Zubayrî related to us: 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn al-Ghasîl related to us, on the authority of Ḥamzah ibn Abî Usayd and al-Mundhir ibn Abî Usayd,

ON the authority of Abû Usayd, who said: On the day of Badr, the Apostle of God said unto us: When [your foes] come nigh unto you

—that is, "[are about to] overcome you by sheer numbers"—,[1]

shoot at them; but use your arrows sparingly.[2]

٢ حدثنى محمد بن عبد الرحيم: حدثنا أبو أحمد الزبيرى: حدثنا عبد الرحمن بن الغسيل عن حمزة بن أبى أسيد والمنذر بن أبى أسيد

عن أبى أسيد (رض) قال: قال لنا رسول الله ﷺ يوم بدر: اذا أكثبوكم — يعنى «كثروكم» — فارموهم، واستبقوا نبلكم.

3 'Amr ibn Khâlid related to me: Zuhayr related to us: Abû Isḥâq related to us, saying:

I HEARD al-Barâ' ibn 'Âzib say: On the day of 'Uḥud, the Prophet put 'Abd Allâh ibn Jubayr[3] in charge of the archers, and seventy of us fell. On the day of Badr, the Prophet and his companions inflicted one hundred and forty casualties on the idolaters —seventy prisoners and seventy slain.

Abû Sufyân said[4]: [This is] a day [of revenge] for the day of Badr; war is [up and down like] well-buckets.[5]

٣ حدثنى عمرو بن خالد: حدثنا زهير: حدثنا أبو أسحق قال:

سمعت البراء بن عازب (رض) قال: جعل النبى ﷺ على الرماة يوم أحد عبد الله بن جبير، فأصابوا منا سبعين. وكان النبى ﷺ وأصحابه أصابوا من المشركين يوم بدر أربعين ومائة — سبعين أسيراً وسبعين قتيلا.

قال أبو سفيان: يوم بيوم بدر، والحرب سجال.

4 Muḥammad ibn al-'Alâ' related to me: Abû Usâmah related to us, on the authority of Burayd, on the authority of his grandfather, Abû Burdah, on the authority of Abû Mûsâ,

ON the authority, I believe,[6] of the Prophet, who said:... And lo! The good fortune is that which God gave us after [Uḥud]; [it is] the reward of [our] fidelity granted to us by Him after the day of Badr.[7]

٤ حدثنى محمد بن العلاء: حدثنا أبو أسامة عن بريد عن جده أبى بردة عن أبى موسى

أراه عن النبى ﷺ قال: ... واذا الخير ما جاء الله به من الخير بعد وثواب الصدق الذى أتانا بعد يوم بدر.

1 Explanatory remark by one of the transmitters. 2 See n. 5 on p. 278.

3 Note about this Companion in sec. 17, No. 3.

4 Abû Sufyân ibn Ḥarb uttered this saying on the day of Uḥud. The above Tradition is a greatly abbreviated version of that quoted in sec. 17, No. 3.

5 *I.e.*, sometimes one party wins, and sometimes the other. Abû Sufyân later used the same expression in his conversation with Emperor Heraclius, described in Bkh i, No. 6.

6 Thus the transmitter Abû Burdah (see *isnâd*) expressed his uncertainty as to whether his father, Abû Mûsâ al-Ash'arî, reported the Tradition directly on the authority of the Prophet, or whether he mentioned some intermediary between the latter and himself.

7 This is a fragment from a longer Tradition quoted in Bkh xlix 24, No. 49, in which the

5 Ya'qûb ibn Ibrâhîm related to me: Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of his grandfather [Ibrâhîm], who said:

'ABD AR-RAḤMÂN ibn 'Awf said: Behold, I [was fighting] in my rank on the day of Badr, when, lo! I saw on my right and left two very young boys; and I did not feel quite safe between them.[1] Suddenly, one of them spake unto me in a low voice, so that his companion should not hear: O [mine] uncle[2]! Shew me Abû Jahl! — I said: O my brother's son! What wilt thou do unto him? — He answered: I have vowed before God that I shall kill him when I see him, or shall be killed by him! — And the other spake likewise unto me in a low voice, so that his companion should not hear. And how was I pleased then to be between two [such] men! I pointed him out to them, and they threw themselves upon him like two hawks, and struck him down. And they were the sons of 'Afrâ'.[3]

6 Mûsâ ibn Ismâ'îl related to us: Ibrâhîm related to us: Ibn Shihâb informed us, saying: 'Amr ibn Asîd ibn Jâriyah ath-Thaqafî — an ally of the Banû Zuhrah and companion[4] of Abû Hurayrah — informed me, on the authority of Abû Hurayrah, who said:

٥ حدثنى يعقوب بن ابراهيم : حدثنا ابراهيم بن سعد عن أبيه عن جده قال :

قال عبدالرحمن بن عوف : انى لفى الصف يوم بدر اذا التفت فاذا عن يمينى وعن يسارى فتيان حديثا السن ، فكأنى لم آمن بمكانهما ، اذ قال لى أحدهما سرا من صاحبه : يا عم ! أرنى أباجهل ! — فقلت : يا ابن أخى ! وما تصنع به ؟ — قال: عاهدت الله ان رأيته أن اقتله أو أموت دونه ! — فقال لى الآخر سرا من صاحبه مثله . قال : فما سرنى أنى بين رجلين مكانهما ! فأشرت لهما اليه فشدا عليه مثل الصقرين حتى ضرباه . وهما ابنا عفراء .

٦ حدثنا موسى بن اسمعيل : حدثنا ابراهيم : أخبرنا ابن شهاب قال: أخبرنى عمرو بن أسيد بن جارية الثقفى — حليف بنى زهرة وكان من أصحاب أبى هريرة — عن أبى هريرة (رض) قال :

Apostle of God narrates a prophetic dream which he had before the migration to Madinah. The sentence quoted in the above fragment refers to the eventual triumph of the Muslim cause after the temporary reverse at Uḥud. The Prophet described this "good fortune" as a result of the Muslims' fidelity and self-sacrifice at Badr.

1 Obviously, 'Abd ar-Raḥmân would have preferred to be in the vicinity of grown-up men, who could be expected to assist him in fight.

2 This is merely an expression of respect, for there was no relationship between 'Abd ar-Raḥmân and the two boys.

3 They were Mu'awwidh and 'Awf, sons of al-Ḥârith ibn Rifâ'ah an-Najjârî; they were surnamed "sons of 'Afrâ'" after their mother, 'Afrâ' bint 'Ubayd, one of the first Muslim women from among the *Anṣâr* (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 55 f, and VIII, 325). Their eldest brother, Mu'âdh, took also part in the battle of Badr (cf. *ibid.*); he is, on this account, often confused with Mu'âdh ibn 'Amr ibn al-Jamûḥ al-Anṣârî, who assisted Mu'awwidh and 'Awf in their attack on Abû Jahl (*Isti'âb* I, 240). After having been struck down by Mu'âdh ibn 'Amr and the two sons of 'Afrâ', Abû Jahl roused himself to a last effort and mortally wounded 'Awf; the latter's brother Mu'awwidh also fell on the same day. Both had been among the participants of the Second Pledge of 'Aqabah. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 55 f.) As to Mu'âdh ibn 'Amr al-Jamûḥ — who had taken part in both deputations to 'Aqabah —, he is reported to have died during the reign of 'Uthmân (*Isti'âb, loc. cit.*).

4 *I.e.*, disciple.

THE Apostle of God sent out ten scouts under the command of 'Âṣim ibn Thâbit al-Anṣârî[1], the grandfather of 'Âṣim ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb. When they reached al-Haddah, between 'Usfân and Mecca, their presence was made known to a sub-tribe of Hudhayl, called Banû Liḥyân. The latter sent about one hundred archers after them; and the [archers] followed the tracks of [the Muslims] until they found remnants of dates which [the scouts] had eaten at one of their camping-places. The [pursuers] said: [These are] dates from Yathrib!—And they followed the tracks. When 'Âṣim and his companions became aware of them, they took refuge on a hillock. But the foes surrounded them and said: Come down and surrender! We give you our solemn promise not to kill any of you! —But 'Âṣim ibn Thâbit answered: O ye people! As to myself, I shall never put myself under the protection of an infidel! O God! Inform Thy Prophet about us!—So [the Banû Liḥyân] shot their arrows at them, and slew 'Âṣim[2]. And three [of the scouts] surrendered on that solemn promise: Khubayb, Zayd ibn ad-Dathinah, and another man. When [the Banû Liḥyân] got hold of them, they detached their bowstrings and bound their captives therewith. The third man [of the Muslims] cried out: This is the first treachery! By God, I shall not go with you, and shall follow those others!—meaning thereby the slain [companions]. [The Banû Liḥyân] dragged him along and struggled with him, but he refused to go with them.[3] Then Khubayb and Zayd ibn ad-Dathinah were taken along, and [their captors] sold them [in Mecca] in revenge for Badr.[4] And the sons of al-Ḥârith ibn 'Âmir ibn Nawfal bought Khubayb: for it was Khubayb who had slain [their father] al-Ḥârith ibn 'Âmir on the day of Badr; and Khubayb remained

بعث رسول الله ﷺ عشرة عيناً وأمر عليهم عاصم بن ثابت الأنصارى جد عاصم بن عمر بن الخطاب، حتى اذا كانوا بالهدة بين عسفان ومكة ذكروا لحى من هذيل يقال لهم بنو لحيان فنفروا لهم بقريب من مائة رجل رام، فاقتصوا آثارهم حتى وجدوا مأكلهم التمر فى منزل نزلوه، فقالوا: تمر يثرب! — فاتبعوا آثارهم. فلما حس بهم عاصم وأصحابه لجؤا الى موضع، فأحاط بهم القوم فقالوا لهم: انزلوا فأعطوا بأيديكم! ولكم العهد والميثاق أن لانقتل منكم أحداً! — فقال عاصم بن ثابت: أيها القوم! أما أنا فلا أنزل فى ذمة كافر! اللهم! أخبر عنا نبيك ﷺ! — فرموهم بالنبل فقتلوا عاصماً، ونزل اليهم ثلاثة نفر على العهد والميثاق، منهم خبيب وزيد بن الدثنة ورجل آخر. فلما استمكنوا منهم أطلقوا أوتار قسيهم فربطوهم بها. قال الرجل الثالث: هذا أول الغدر! والله لا أصحبكم، ان لى بهؤلاء أسوة! — يريد القتلى. فجروه وعالجوه فأبى أن يصحبهم. فانطلق بخبيب وزيد بن الدثنة حتى باعوهما بعد وقعة بدر؛ فابتاع بنو الحرث بن عامر بن نوفل خبيباً: وكان خبيب هو قتل الحرث ابن عامر يوم بدر. فلبث خبيب عندهم

1 For explanatory notes relating to this Tradition (including biographical notices on the personalities mentioned herein), see sec. 30, No. 1, of this chapter. The story refers to incidents which took place in the beginning of the year 4 A.H.

2 —together with six other Muslims, as shown in sec. 30, No. 1.

3 They subsequently killed him; see sec. 30, No. 1.

4 Lit., "after the battle of Badr".

in their captivity until they decided to kill him.

[One day, Khubayb] borrowed from one of the daughters of al-Ḥârith a razor to shave therewith his pubes, and she lent it to him. In a moment of her inattention, a little son of hers went unto him: and she found that Khubayb had placed him on his thigh, and was holding the razor in his hand. She was[1] terrified, and Khubayb perceived it; and he said: Art thou afraid lest I kill him? Never would I do such a thing!—She [later] said: By God! I never saw a nobler captive than Khubayb! By God! I found him one day, fettered with iron [chains], eating from a bunch of grapes [which he held] in his hand; and there was no fruit in Mecca [at that time].—And she used to add: Indeed, it was a bounty which God hath bestowed upon Khubayb.

And when they led him out of the sacred territory[2] to kill him where killing was allowed, Khubayb said unto them: Let me pray two *rak'ahs*.—And they let him do so; he prayed two *rak'ahs*, then he said: By God! Were it not that ye would think I do it out of fear, I would pray more.—Then he prayed: O God! Count their number, and slay them one by one, and let none of them remain [alive]!—Then he recited:

I care not, when I am to be slain as a Muslim,
In what way I fall for the sake of God:
For it *is* for the sake of God; and if He willeth,
He will bless the mangled limbs of [my] body.

—Thereupon Abû Sarwa'ah 'Uqbah ibn al-Ḥârith rose and killed him. And it was Khubayb who taught[3] the prayer [before death] to Muslims [condemned to be] slain in captivity.

And the Prophet informed his companions[4] on the day those [martyrs] were slain of what had happened to them.

أسيراً حتى أجمعوا قتله.

فاستعار من بعض بنات الحرث موسى يستحد بها فأعارته. فدرج بنى لها وهى غافلة عنه حتى أتاه، فوجدته مجلسه على فخذه والموسى بيده. قالت: فقزعت فزعة عرفها خبيب فقال: أتخشين أن أقتله؟ ما كنت لأفعل ذلك! — قالت: والله ما رأيت أسيراً خيراً من خبيب! والله لقد وجدته يوماً يأكل قطفاً من عنب فى يده وانه لموثق بالحديد، وما بمكة من ثمرة. — وكانت تقول: انه لرزق رزقه الله خبيباً.

فلما خرجوا به من الحرم ليقتلوه فى الحل قال لهم خبيب: دعونى أصلى ركعتين. — فتركوه فركع ركعتين فقال: والله! لولا أن تحسبوا أن مابى جزع لزدت. — ثم قال: اللهم! أحصهم عدداً واقتلهم بدداً ولا تبق منهم أحداً! — ثم أنشأ يقول:

فلست أبالى حين أقتل مسلماً
على أى جنب كان لله مصرعى،
وذلك فى ذات الاله، وان يشأ
يبارك على أوصال شلو ممزع.

— ثم قام اليه أبو سروعة عقبة بن الحرث فقتله. وكان خبيب هو سن لكل مسلم قتل صبراً الصلاة.

وأخبر يعنى النبى ﷺ أصحابه يوم أصيبوا خبرهم.

1 In the text, "she said: I was", etc.

2 *I.e.*, the precincts of the *ḥaram* of Mecca, in which even in the Time of Ignorance killing was regarded as unlawful. 3 Lit., "instituted". 4 In the text, "them".

Some of the Quraysh, when they were told of the death of 'Âṣim ibn Thâbit, sent out messengers with [the order] to bring a part of his [body], so that [his death] might be known [for certain]—for he had killed [at Badr] one of their leaders. But God sent a swarm of bees as a protection for 'Âṣim, and they shielded him from the messengers, who were thus unable to cut a piece of his [body].

Ka'b ibn Mâlik said: I have been told that Murârah ibn ar-Rabî' al-'Amrî and Hilâl ibn Umayyah al-Wâqifî, two righteous men, fought at Badr.[1]

وبعث ناس من قريش الى عاصم بن ثابت حين حُـدثوا أنه قتل أن يؤتوا بشيء منه يعرف — وكان قتل رجلاً عظيماً من عظمائهم. فبعث الله لعاصم مثل الظلة من الدبر فحمته من رسلهم فلم يقدروا أن يقطعوا منه شيأ.

وقال كعب بن مالك: ذكروا مرارة بن الربيع العمرى وهلال بن امية الواقفى رجلين صالحين قد شهدا بدراً.

7 Qutaybah related to us: Al-Layth related to us, on the authority of Yaḥyâ, on the authority of Nâfi':

IBN 'UMAR was [once] told on a Friday that Sa'îd ibn Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl[2] —one of the Companions of Badr[3]—had fallen ill. [Ibn 'Umar] rode over to him at about midday. The time of Friday-prayer was near, but [Ibn 'Umar] forbore from taking part in the prayer.

٧ حدثنا قتيبة: حدثنا الليث عن يحيى عن نافع أن ابن عمر (رض) ذكر له أن سعيد ابن زيد بن عمرو بن نفيل — وكان بدرياً — مرض فى يوم جمعة؛ فركب اليه بعد أن تعالى النهار واقتربت الجمعة وترك الجمعة.

8 T And al-Layth said: Yûnus related to me, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, who said: 'Ubayd Allâh ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Utbah related to me that his father wrote to 'Umar ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn al-Arqam az-Zuhrî, requesting him to visit Subay'ah bint al-Ḥârith al-Aslamiyyah and to ask her about her story and about what the Apostle of

٨ وقال الليث: حدثنى يونس عن ابن شهاب قال: حدثنى عبيدالله بن عبدالله بن عتبة أن أباه كتب الى عمر بن عبد الله بن الأرقم الزهرى يأمره أن يدخل على سبيعة بنت الحرث الأسلمية فيسألها عن حديثها وعن ما قال لها

1 This is a somewhat modified quotation from the long Tradition of Ka'b ibn Mâlik in sec. 81 of this chapter, which see for further explanations. Al-Bukhârî brings this saying here in order to show that the two above-mentioned Companions were among those who fought at Badr. Most of the historians disagree with this view, for nowhere in the older records (except this saying of Ka'b) there is a mention of those two Companions as participants in the battle of Badr. It is possible that Ka'b ibn Mâlik, who himself did not take part in that battle (cf. sec. 3 of this chapter), was mistaken as to Hilâl's and Murârah's participation. Ibn Ḥajar vigorously upholds al-Bukhârî's view that they did fight at Badr (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 248); and the same is also the view of Traditionists like Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (cf. *Isti'âb* I, 277, and II, 598) or adh-Dhahabî (cf. *Asmâ' aṣ-Ṣaḥâbah* II, 72).

2 See n. 3 on p. 167.

3 As a matter of fact, Sa'îd did not participate in the battle of Badr, for shortly before he had been sent by the Prophet, together with Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allâh, on a scouting mission in the north of the Ḥijâz (cf. p. 74, n. 5); but as these two Companions' absence from Badr was not due to any negligence on their part, the Prophet regarded them as "Companions of Badr" and gave them a share in the spoils obtained in that battle (cf. Ibn Sa'd III i, 279; *Isti'âb* II, 538). This is the reason why the author quoted the above Tradition at this place.

God had told her when she had submitted her case to him for decision. Thereupon 'Umar ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn al-Arqam wrote to 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Utbah, informing him [as follows]:

SUBAY'AH bint al-Ḥârith[1] reported that she was married to Sa'd ibn Khawlah[2]; he belonged to the Banû 'Âmir ibn Lu'ayy,[3] and was one of those who had fought at Badr.[4] Then he died at the time of the Farewell-Pilgrimage[5], while she was with child; and soon after his death she gave birth to the child. When she rose from childbed, she dressed up for the sake of the men who came to ask her in marriage.[6] Then there came unto her Abu's Sanâbil Ba'kak, of the [clan of] Banû 'Abd ad-Dâr,[7] and said unto her: What! I see thee dressed up for those who come to ask thee in marriage, and thou thinkest of wedlock? By God! Thou art not allowed to wed until thou let four months and ten [days] elapse![8]

Subay'ah said: When he said this, I put on my out-door dress in the evening, went unto the Apostle of God, and asked him about this [problem]. And he decided that I was free to marry, as I had [already] given birth to my child; and he allowed me to wed if I so wished.

Aṣbagh corroborated him[9], on the authority of Ibn Wahb, on the authority of Yûnus.

T And al-Layth said: Yûnus related to me, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb; we asked him [about this problem], and he said: Muḥammad

رسول الله ﷺ حين استفتته. فكتب عمر بن عبد الله بن الأرقم الى عبد الله بن عتبة يخبره أن سبيعة بنت الحرث أخبرته أنها كانت تحت سعد بن خولة وهو من بنى عامر بن لؤى وكان ممن شهد بدراً، فتوفى عنها فى حجة الوداع وهى حامل؛ فلم تنشب أن وضعت حملها بعد وفاته. فلما تعلّت من نفاسها تجملت للخطاب. فدخل عليها أبو السنابل بن بعكك رجل من بنى عبد الدار فقال لها: مالى أراك تجملت للخطاب ترجين النكاح؟ فانك والله ما أنت بناكح حتى تمر عليك أربعة أشهر وعشر!

قالت سبيعة: فلما قال لى ذلك جمعت علىّ ثيابى حين أمسيت وأتيت رسول الله ﷺ فسألته عن ذلك؛ فأفتانى بأنى قد حللت حين وضعت حملى، وأمرنى بالتزوج ان بدا لى.

تابعة أصبغ عن ابن وهب عن يونس.

وقال الليث: حدثنى يونس عن ابن شهاب وسألناه فقال: أخبرنى محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن

1 For particulars about her, as well as for a discussion of the legal problem implied in this Tradition, see Bkh lvi/39.

2 See p. 239, n. 7.

3 In reality, he was only a *ḥalîf* of the clan Banû 'Âmir (see Ibn Sa'd III/i, 297).

4 It is for the sake of this remark that the above Tradition was inserted here.

5 In 10 A.H.

6 Thus she intimated that she regarded her waiting period *('iddah)*, which she should have observed after her husband's death, as finished, because she had given birth to her dead husband's child.—The above story is, incidentally, one more illustration of the fact that there was no seclusion *(ḥijâb)* of women—the wives of the Apostle of God alone excepted—during the Prophet's lifetime.

7 Abu's-Sanâbil Ḥabbah ibn Ba'kak al-Qurashî was a poet; he embraced Islâm at the time of the conquest of Mecca (*Istî'âb* II, 693).

8 Cf. Qur'ân ii, 234.

9 The pronoun refers to al-Layth (see *isnâd*).

ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Thawbân, a freedman of Banû 'Âmir ibn Lu'ayy, informed me that Muḥammad ibn Iyâs ibn al-Bukayr—whose father[1] had fought at Badr—informed him...[2]

ثوبان مولى بنى عامر بن لؤى أن محمد بن اياس بن البكير — وكان أبوه شهد بدراً — أخبره...

SECTION XI

THE PARTICIPATION OF ANGELS IN THE BATTLE OF BADR[3]

١١ باب

شهود الملائكة بدراً

1 Isḥâq ibn Ibrâhîm related to me: Jarîr informed us, on the authority of Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd, on the authority of Mu'âdh ibn Rifâ'ah ibn Râfi' az-Zuraqî, on the authority of his father [Rifâ'ah], who was one of the Men of Badr, [and who] said:

١ حدثنى اسحق بن ابراهيم: أخبرنا جرير عن يحيى بن سعيد عن معاذ بن رفاعة بن رافع الزرقى عن أبيه وكان أبوه من أهل بدر قال:

GABRIEL came unto the Prophet and said: How do ye regard among yourselves the Men of Badr?—[The Prophet] answered: As the best of the Muslims.

—Or [he used] some similar expression.

—[Gabriel] said: And so [do we regard] the angels who assisted at Badr.

جاء جبريل الى النبى ﷺ فقال: ما تعدون أهل بدر فيكم؟ — قال: من أفضل المسلمين — أو كلمة نحوها.

— قال: وكذلك من شهد بدراً من الملائكة.

2 Sulaymân ibn Ḥarb related to us: Ḥammâd related to us, on the authority of Yaḥyâ, on the authority of Mu'âdh ibn Rifâ'ah ibn Râfi' [who said]:

٢ حدثنا سليمان بن حرب: حدثنا حماد عن يحيى عن معاذ بن رفاعة بن رافع

RIFÂ'AH[4] was one of the Men of Badr, while [his father] Râfi'[5] was one of the

وكان رفاعة من أهل بدر وكان رافع من

1 *I.e.*, Iyâs ibn al-Bukayr (or ibn Abi'l-Bukayr) al-Laythî; he was one of the early Muslims from among the *Muhâjirs*, and took part in all the campaigns of the Prophet (*Istî'âb* I, 48).

2 This *isnâd* refers to a Tradition on a similar subject (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 249). Al-Bukhârî quotes it here merely owing to the mention therein of Iyâs ibn al-Bukayr as one of the Companions of Badr.

3 Regarding the symbolical assistance of angels at the battle of Badr, cf. Qur'ân iii, 124-25; viii, 9, 12.

4 Rifâ'ah ibn Râfi' ibn Mâlik az-Zuraqî took part in all campaigns of the Prophet; he died in the beginning of Mu'âwiyah's reign (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 130).

5 Râfi' ibn Mâlik az-Zuraqî was one of those men who were called "Perfect" *(kâmil)* in the Time of Ignorance—and this on account of his ability to read and to write and his proficiency in swimming and archery. He was one of the first men of Yathrib who met the Prophet at 'Aqabah a little over two years before the *hijrah* (see p. 194, n. 4) and embraced Islâm at his hands. He subsequently participated in both Pledges of 'Aqabah, and was appointed one of the twelve *naqîbs* (see *ibid.*). For some reason or other he did not participate in the expedition which resulted in the battle of Badr. He fell at Uḥud in Shawwal, 3 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 148 f.) Ibn 'Abd al-Barr quotes an isolated report (*Istî'âb* I, 174) to the effect that Râfi' did take part in the battle of Badr, but this is contradicted by the evidence forthcoming in the present work.

Men of 'Aqabah. And [the latter] used to say to his son: I would not be happier if I had taken part in the battle of Badr than I am on account of my having taken part in the Pledge of 'Aqabah.[1]

أهل العقبة، فكان يقول لابنه: ما يسرني أني شهدت بدراً بالعقبة.

[Mu'âdh] added: Gabriel asked the Prophet about this.[2]

قال: سأل جبريل النبي ﷺ بهذا.

Isḥâq ibn Manṣûr related to us: Yazîd informed us: Yaḥyâ informed us that he heard Mu'âdh ibn Rifâ'ah [say]: An angel asked the Prophet...[3]

حدثنا اسحق بن منصور: أخبرنا يزيد: أخبرنا يحيى سمع معاذ بن رفاعة أن ملكاً سأل النبي ﷺ ...

And on the authority of Yaḥyâ [who said] that Yazîd ibn al-Hâd informed him that he [also] was present on the day when Mu'âdh related to him this Tradition; and Yazîd added: Mu'âdh said: The one who asked [the Prophet] was Gabriel.

وعن يحيى أن يزيد بن الهاد أخبره أنه كان معه يوم حدثه معاذ هذا الحديث، فقال يزيد: فقال معاذ: ان السائل هو جبريل عليه السلام.

3 Ibrâhîm ibn Mûsâ related to us: 'Abd al-Wahhab informed us: Khâlid related to us, on the authority of 'Ikrimah, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs [who said]:

٣ حدثني ابراهيم بن موسى: أخبرنا عبد الوهاب: حدثنا خالد عن عكرمة عن ابن عباس (رض)

THE Prophet said on the day of Badr: Here is Gabriel, grasping the reins[4] of his steed, armed for war![5]

أن النبي ﷺ قال يوم بدر: هذا جبريل آخذ برأس فرسه عليه أداة الحرب!

SECTION XII

١٢ باب

1 Khalîfah related to me: Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh al-Anṣârî related to us: Sa'îd related to us, on the authority of Qatâdah, on the authority of Anas, who said:

١ حدثني خليفة: حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله الأنصاري: حدثنا سعيد عن قتادة عن أنس (رض) قال:

ABÛ ZAYD[6] died without leaving any offspring; he was one of the warriors of Badr.

مات أبو زيد ولم يترك عقباً، وكان بدرياً.

1 Cf. the saying of Ka'b ibn Mâlik in Bkh li/19, No. 1, and the corresponding n. 4 on p. 195.

2 Thus Mu'âdh ibn Rifâ'ah, the grandson of Râfi', refers to the Tradition quoted under No. 1 of this section, according to which the Prophet gave preference to the fighters of Badr above all other Muslims.

3 This *isnâd*, used by al-Bukhârî as a corroboration of that given under No. 1 of this section, has the appearance of *irsâl*, because the *tâbi'î* Mu'âdh does not mention a Companion as his authority; we know, however, for certain that Mu'âdh heard this Tradition from his father Rifâ'ah, who was a Companion.

4 Lit., " head".

5 This Tradition is *mursal*, for Ibn 'Abbâs was not present at the battle of Badr, and so he could not have heard this saying of the Prophet. On the other hand, *Fatḥ al-Bârî* (VII, 250) quotes the following Tradition on the authority of Ibn Isḥâq: "On the day of Badr, the Prophet bent down his head dozing *(khafaqa khafaqatan)*; then he awoke and said: I give thee glad tidings, O Abû Bakr! Victory has come from God! Here is Gabriel..." etc.,—as in the Tradition in the present work. This shows that the above words of the Prophet related to a vision in dream.

6 See n. 3 on p. 122.

2 'Abd Allâh ibn Yûsuf related to us: Al-Layth related to us, saying: Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd related to me, on the authority of al-Qâsim ibn Muḥammad, on the authority of Ibn Khabbâb:

ABÛ SA'ÎD ibn Mâlik al-Khudrî[1] came [once] home from a journey, and his family offered him meat [left over] from sacrifices.[2] But he said: I shall not eat it before asking [whether this is allowed].[3]—Then he went to his half-brother[4], Qatâdah ibn an-Nu'mân,[5] who was one of the warriors of Badr,[6] and asked him [about the matter]. [Qatâdah ibn an-Nu'mân] answered: Behold, after thy departure an order was issued [by the Prophet] revoking the prohibition of eating after three days the meat [left over] from sacrifices.[7]

٢ حدثنا عبد الله بن يوسف: حدثنا الليث قال: حدثني يحيى بن سعيد عن القاسم بن محمد عن ابن خباب

أن أبا سعيد بن مالك الخدرى (رض) قدم من سفر فقدم اليه أهله لحماً من لحوم الأضحى، فقال: ما أنا بآكله حتى أسأل. — فانطلق الى أخيه لأمه وكان بدرياً قتادة بن النعمان فسأله، فقال: انه حدث بعدك أمر نقض لما كانوا ينهون عنه من أكل لحوم الأضحى بعد ثلاثة أيام.

3 'Ubayd ibn Ismâ'îl related to me: Abû Usâmah related to us, on the authority of Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of his father, who said:

AZ-ZUBAYR said: I met on the day of Badr 'Ubaydah ibn Sa'îd ibn al-'Âṣ[8], so covered with armour that only his eyes were visible. He was surnamed "Abû Dhât al-Karish", and so he was crying: I am Abû Dhât al-Karish![9]—I attacked him with my

٣ حدثني عبيد بن اسمعيل: حدثنا أبو أسامة عن هشام بن عروة عن أبيه قال:

قال الزبير: لقيت يوم بدر عبيدة بن سعيد بن العاص وهو مدجج لايرى منه الا عيناه، وهو يكنى أبو ذات الكرش فقال: أنا أبو ذات الكرش! — فحملت عليه بالعنزة فطعنته

1 Abû Sa'îd Sa'd ibn Mâlik al-Khudrî was a prominent Companion from among the *Anṣâr*, particularly well-known as narrator of many Traditions and an authority on the subject of the Prophet's *sunnah*. He participated in twelve campaigns led by the Prophet in person, the first of those in which he assisted being the Battle of the Moat. He died in 74 A.H. (*Isti'âb* II, 552 f.)

2 *I.e.*, sacrificial animals slaughtered during the *'Îd al-Aḍḥâ*, which evidently took place a few days previous to Abû Sa'îd's return.

3 Originally it was forbidden to eat such meat after three days of the slaughtering of the animal; cf. Bkh lxi/16.

4 Lit., "brother from his mother's side".

5 Qatâdah ibn an-Nu'mân ibn Zayd al-Anṣârî was a member of the deputation from Yathrib to the Prophet on the occasion of the Second Pledge of 'Aqabah (Ibn Hishâm, however, does not mention him among the Companions of 'Aqabah). He was famous for his skill in archery, and he took part in all the campaigns of the Prophet. Died in 23 A.H. at the age of sixty-five. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 25 f; *Isti'âb* II, 531.)

6 It is for the sake of this remark that the above Tradition was incorporated here.

7 For further explanations see Bkh lxi/16.

8 He was one of the Quraysh nobles, and belonged to the clan 'Abd Shams. His brother, al-'Âṣ ibn Sa'îd, was killed by 'Alî in the same battle (cf. Ibn Hishâm II, 27).

9 The term *karish* denotes, among other meanings, "family", "children", or "issue"; thus,

spear and pierced his eye; and he died.

Hishâm said: And thus I was told[1]:

Az-Zubayr continued: Verily, I set my foot on him and pulled out [the spear]; and I had to use great force to drag it out, for its both ends were bent.

'Urwah said:

[Later] the Apostle of God demanded this spear[2] from him, and [az-Zubayr] gave it unto him; and when the Apostle of God passed away, [az-Zubayr] took it back. Thereafter Abû Bakr demanded it from him, and [az-Zubayr] gave it unto him. And when Abû Bakr passed away, 'Umar demanded it from him, and [az-Zubayr] gave it unto him; and when 'Umar passed away, [az-Zubayr] took it back. Thereafter 'Uthmân demanded it from him, and [az-Zubayr] gave it unto him. When 'Uthmân was murdered, [the spear] remained in 'Alî's family. Then 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubayr demanded it [back]; and it remained with him until he was slain.

4 Abu'l Yamân related to us: Shu'ayb informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, who said: Abû Idrîs 'Â'idh Allâh ibn 'Abd Allâh informed me:

'UBÂDAH ibn aṣ-Ṣâmit[3] — one of those who fought at Badr — [narrated] that the Apostle of God said: Pledge unto me . . .[4]

5 Yaḥyâ ibn Bukayr related to us: Al-Layth related to us, on the authority of 'Uqayl, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb [who said]: 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr informed me, on the authority of 'Â'ishah, the Prophet's wife:

ABÛ ḤUDHAYFAH[5] — one of those who fought at Badr together with the

فى عينه فمات .

قال هشام : فأخبرت

أن الزبير قال : لقد وضعت رجلى عليه ثم تمطأت ، فكان الجهد أن نزعتها وقد انثنى طرفاها .

قال عروة :

فسأله اياها رسول الله ﷺ فأعطاه ، فلما قبض رسول الله ﷺ أخذها ؛ ثم طلبها أبو بكر فأعطاه ؛ فلما قبض أبو بكر سألها اياه عمر فأعطاه اياها ، فلما قبض عمر أخذها ؛ ثم طلبها عثمان منه فأعطاه اياها ؛ فلما قتل عثمان وقعت عند آل على ؛ فطلبها عبد الله بن الزبير فكانت عنده حتى قتل .

٤ حدثنا أبو اليمان : أخبرنا شعيب عن الزهرى قال : أخبرنى أبو ادريس عائذ الله بن عبد الله

أن عبادة بن الصامت — وكان شهد بدراً — أن رسول الله ﷺ قال : بايعونى . . .

٥ حدثنا يحيى بن بكير : حدثنا الليث عن عقيل عن ابن شهاب أخبرنى عروة بن الزبير عن عائشة (رض) زوج النبى ﷺ

أن أبا حذيفة — وكان ممن شهد بدراً

dhât al-karish would mean "mother of [many] children". It is possible that 'Ubaydah ibn Sa'id had a daughter to whom this auspicious name had been given; or he may have used it as a boast about his having large progeny. In any case, it is common among the Arabs to this day to use boasting expressions of this kind about oneself when engaged in hand-to-hand fighting.

1 — obviously by his father, 'Urwah. 2 In the text, "it".

3 Notice about this Companion on p. 197, n. 2.

4 The above is a fragment from the Tradition in Bkh ii/10 (and also, in a slightly different form, in Bkh li/19, No. 4), which refers to the First Pledge of 'Aqabah (for particulars see Bkh li/19). Here the author quotes it for the sake of the remark that 'Ubâdah was one of the warriors of Badr.

5 See p. 93, n. 6.

Apostle of God—adopted Sâlim[1] as his son, and married him to his brother's daughter, Hind bint al-Walîd ibn 'Utbah[2]; [Sâlim] was the freedman of a woman of the *Anṣâr*[3]. In the same way, the Apostle of God had adopted Zayd[4] as his son. When anybody adopted a son in the Time of Ignorance, the people used to call the latter after his [foster-father's] name,[5] and he would inherit from his [foster-father's] possessions, —until God, exalted be He, revealed [the verse], *Call them by their [real] fathers' names.*[6]

Sahlah[7] came unto the Prophet ...[8]

—and ['Urwah] quoted the [rest of the] Tradition.

مع رسول الله ﷺ — تبنى سالماً وأنكحه بنت أخيه هند بنت الوليد بن عتبة وهو مولى لامرأة من الأنصار، كما تبنى رسول الله ﷺ زيداً. وكان من تبنى رجلاً فى الجاهلية دعاه الناس اليه وورث من ميراثه — حتى أنزل الله تعالى: «ادعوهم لآبائهم.»

فجاءت سهلة النبى ﷺ ...

— فذكر الحديث.

6 'Alî related to us: Bishr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal related to us: Khâlid ibn Dhakwân related to us,

٦ حدثنا على: حدثنا بشر بن المفضل: حدثنا خالد ابن ذكوان

ON the authority of ar-Rubayyi' bint Mu'awwidh[9], who said: The Prophet came unto me on the morning after my wedding[10] and sat down on my bed as thou art sitting now[11]. Some girls were [there],

عن الربيع بنت معوذ قالت: دخل علىّ النبى ﷺ غداة بُنِىَ علىّ فجلس على فراشى كمجلسك منى، وجويريات يضربن بالدف يندبن

1 See p. 93, n. 6.

2 She was a daughter of one of the famous leaders of the pagan Quraysh, al-Walîd ibn 'Utbah, who was killed at Badr. She embraced Islâm in spite of her father's opposition, and migrated to Madînah together with her husband, Sâlim ibn Ma'qil. Some authorities give her name as *Fâṭimah* bint al-Walîd, but this seems to be a mistake. (*Isti'âb* II, 753; *Iṣâbah* VIII, 207.)

3 It was Abû Ḥudhayfah's wife, Thubaytah bint Ya'âr; she belonged to the tribe of Aws, and is, therefore, designated as an *Anṣâriyyah* (*Isti'âb* II, 710 f).

4 See p. 79, n. 1.

5 *E.g.*, Sâlim was first called "Sâlim ibn Abî Ḥudhayfah".

6 Qur'ân xxxiii, 5.

7 Sahlah bint Suhayl ibn 'Amr al-Qurashiyyah, another (probably the first) wife of Abû Ḥudhayfah. She participated, together with her husband, in the migration to Ethiopia, and later migrated with him to Madînah. After Abû Ḥudhayfah's death, Sahlah became the wife of 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf. (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 197 f.)

8 The rest of this Tradition, referring to the position of Sahlah vis-à-vis Sâlim, the adopted son of Abû Ḥudhayfah, is found in other works on Tradition, *e.g.*, Abû Dâwûd, *K. an-Nikâḥ, B. fî Raḍâ'at al-Kabîr*, and also Ibn Sa'd VIII, 198.

9 She was a daughter of Mu'awwidh ibn al-Ḥârith (surnamed Ibn 'Afrâ')—one of the *Anṣâr* who killed Abû Jahl at Badr (see sec. 10, No. 5). She was married to Iyâs ibn al-Bukayr al-Laythî (see p. 285, n. 1), and participated in several campaigns of the Prophet, nursing the wounded and carrying water to the fighters. (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 327 f; *Isti'âb* II, 731; *Iṣâbah* VIII, 79 f.)

10 *Sc.*, with Iyâs ibn al-Bukayr.

11 The man thus addressed is the transmitter, Khâlid ibn Dhakwân (see *isnâd*).

من قتل من آبائهن يوم بدر حتى قالت جارية: وفينا نبي يعلم ما فى غد! — فقال النبي ﷺ: لا تقولى هكذا! وقولى ما كنت تقولين!

beating the tambourine and singing of those of their kinsfolk[1] who had been killed on the day of Badr. Then one young girl sang: There is among us a Prophet who knoweth what will happen to-morrow!— But the Prophet said: Do not say this[2]! Speak of what thou hast spoken before!

٧ حدثنا ابراهيم بن موسى: أخبرنا هشام عن معمر عن الزهرى، —

7 Ibrâhîm ibn Mûsâ related to us: Hishâm informed us, on the authority of Ma'mar, on the authority of az-Zuhrî;—

(ح) وحدثنا اسمعيل قال: حدثنى أخى عن سليمان عن محمد بن أبى عتيق عن ابن شهاب عن عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن عتبة بن مسعود أن ابن عباس (رض) قال:

(ḥ) and Ismâ'îl related to us, saying: My brother ['Abd al-Ḥamîd] related to me, on the authority of Sulaymân, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Abî 'Atîq, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, on the authority of 'Ubayd Allâh ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Utbah ibn Mas'ûd, [who reported] that Ibn 'Abbâs said:

أخبرنى أبو طلحة (رض) صاحب رسول الله ﷺ وكان قد شهد بدراً مع رسول الله ﷺ أنه قال: لا تدخل الملائكة بيتاً فيه كلب ولا صورة. — يريد التماثيل التى فيها الأرواح.

ABÛ ṬALḤAH,[3] a companion of the Apostle of God and one of those who fought at Badr together with the Apostle of God,[4] informed me that [the latter] said: The angels enter not a house in which there is a dog[5] or an effigy.—He meant thereby images of animated beings.[6]

٨ حدثنا عبدان: أخبرنا عبد الله: أخبرنا يونس: —

8 'Abdân related to us: 'Abd Allâh informed us: Yûnus informed us:—

(ح) وحدثنا أحمد بن صالح: حدثنا عنبسة: حدثنا يونس عن الزهرى: أخبرنا على بن حسين أن حسين بن على أخبره

أن علياً قال: كانت لى شارف من

(ḥ) and Aḥmad ibn Ṣâliḥ related to us: 'Anbasah related to us: Yûnus related to us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî [who said]: 'Alî ibn Ḥusayn informed us that Ḥusayn ibn 'Alî reported:

'ALÎ said: I had an old she-camel which had fallen to my lot out of the spoil

1 In the text, "fathers"; but it is obvious that other relatives, such as brothers, etc., are meant as well.

2 Thus the Prophet definitely forbade his followers to attribute to him independent knowledge of the future or of the Unknown *(ghayb)*, which only God Himself possesses—although He may occasionally reveal glimpses thereof to His chosen ones.

3 See p. 122, n. 6.

4 The above qualification of Abû Ṭalḥah as one of the fighters of Badr is the reason for the incorporation of this Tradition here.

5 It may be mentioned here that the Islâmic *sharî'ah* discountenances only pet-dogs, and not service-dogs of any description. For a full discussion of this problem, see Bkh lx/6.

6 For a discussion of the Islâmic prohibition of three-dimensional (*i.e.*, sculptured), and in certain circumstances also two-dimensional (*i.e.*, pictorial), representations of animated beings, see Bkh lxv/88.

of the battle of Badr; and the Prophet had given me [another] from the quint[1] which God had granted him on that day. As I intended to celebrate my marriage with Fâṭimah, the Prophet's daughter,[2] I made an arrangement with a goldsmith from among the Banû Qaynuqâ'[3] that he should go out with me to help me gather sweet rush, which I intended to sell to the goldsmiths[4] in order to be able to defray the expenses of my wedding-feast. I was collecting the pack-saddles of my two old she-camels, the sacks, and the ropes—the while my camels were kneeling by the side of an *Anṣârî's* dwelling—until I had collected what I needed. And suddenly I saw that the humps of my two old she-camels were cut off, their flanks ripped open, and their livers torn out! I could not refrain from weeping when I beheld this sight. I exclaimed: Who did this?—Someone answered: Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib did it. He is in this house here with [his] drink-companions[5] from among the *Anṣâr*, a singing girl, and [other] friends; and in her song [the girl] said:

Forward, O Ḥamzah, upon the fat old camels![6]

نصيبي من المغنم يوم بدر، وكان النبي ﷺ أعطاني مما أفاء الله عليه من الخمس يومئذ. فلما أردت أن أبتني بفاطمة (رض) بنت النبي ﷺ واعدت رجلاً صواغاً في بني قينقاع أن يرتحل معي فنأتي باذخر، فأردت أن أبيعه من الصواغين فنستعين به في وليمة عرسي. فبينا أنا أجمع لشارفي من الأقتاب والغرائر والحبال — وشارفاي مناخان الى جنب حجرة رجل من الأنصار — حتى جمعت ما جمعته، فاذا أنا بشارفي قد أجبت أسنمتهما وبقرت خواصرهما وأخذ من أكبادهما! فلم أملك عيني حين رأيت المنظر. قلت: من فعل هذا؟ — قالوا: فعله حمزة بن عبد المطلب، وهو في هذا البيت في شرب من الأنصار عنده قينة وأصحابه، فقالت في غنائها:

الا يا حمز للشرف النواء!

1 See Bkh xlvi/198.

2 There is some difference of opinion regarding the date of 'Alî's marriage with Fâṭimah. Ṭabarî (II, 262) mentions a report according to which this marriage took place in Ṣafar, 2 A.H.—that is, *before* the battle of Badr; but it can be assumed that he refers only to the formal wedding ceremony *('aqd)*, and not to the actual consummation of marriage. This appears to be confirmed by a report (*ibid.*, p. 300) to the effect that the marriage was consummated in Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, 2 A.H. Ibn Sa'd (VIII, 13) explicitly states that it was consummated after the Muslims' return from Badr. Fâṭimah was then eighteen years old.

3 One of the Jewish tribes which were then settled at Madînah.

4 Sweet rush *(idhkhir)* was utilised in Arabia for various purposes, as, *e.g.*, the manufacture of perfumes (cf. Lane III, 956).

5 It is to be borne in mind that at that time the Muslims were not yet definitely prohibited from drinking wine. Although verse 219 in *sûrah* ii was revealed shortly after the Prophet's arrival at Madînah, most of the Muslims interpreted the words, "in both of them [*i.e.*, in wine and in games of chance] is a great sin and [at the same time] a profit for men", as conveying merely a warning and not a prohibition (cf. Ibn Kathîr III, 225). It was only after the revelation of verse 90 in *sûrah* v, which forbade wine-drinking in unequivocal terms, that the Muslims gave up this evil. This verse was revealed at a considerably later date, and certainly not before the battle of Uḥud. For particulars see Bkh lxii/1.

6 Thus she incited him in his drunkenness to slaughter the two camels for their feast. It is said that the above line was part of a poem by 'Abd Allâh ibn as-Sâ'ib al-Makhzûmî (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VI, 149).

Thereupon Ḥamzah leapt to his sword, and cut off their humps, ripped open their flanks, and tore out their livers.

'Alî continued: Then I went away, and went in unto the Prophet; and Zayd ibn Ḥârithah[1] was with him. The Prophet [at once] saw that something had happened to me,[2] and said: What is the matter with thee?—I answered: O Apostle of God! I never saw [such a thing] as [I saw] to-day! Ḥamzah hath thrown himself upon my two she-camels, and hath cut off their humps and hath ripped open their flanks! And now he is in a house together with [his] drink-companions!—And the Prophet called for his wrap, and wrapped himself therein; then he went forth, I and Zayd ibn Ḥârithah following him, and came to the house in which Ḥamzah was. [The Prophet] asked leave to enter, and leave was given. And the Prophet started upbraiding Ḥamzah for what he had done; and Ḥamzah was drunk and had reddened eyes. He looked at the Prophet [from below], then he raised his eyes and looked at [the Prophet's] knees, and thereafter he raised his eyes [further] and looked at his face. Then he cried out: And what are ye, if not my father's slaves[3]?—The Prophet understood that [Ḥamzah] was drunk; and so he retraced his steps, walking backwards, and went out; and we left with him.[4]

فوثب حمزة الى السيف فأجب أسنمتهما وبقر خواصرهما وأخذ من أكبادهما.

قال على: فانطلقت حتى أدخل على النبى ﷺ وعنده زيد بن حارثة. وعرف النبى ﷺ الذى لقيت فقال: مالك؟ — قلت: يا رسول الله! ما رأيت كاليوم! عدا حمزة على ناقتى فأجب أسنمتهما وبقر خواصرهما! وها هوذا فى بيت معه شرب! — فدعا النبى ﷺ بردائه فارتدى، ثم انطلق يمشى واتبعته أنا وزيد بن حارثة حتى جاء البيت الذى فيه حمزة، فاستأذن عليه فأذن له. فطفق النبى ﷺ يلوم حمزة فيما فعل. فاذا حمزة ثمل محمرة عيناه، فنظر حمزة الى النبى ﷺ ثم صعد النظر فنظر الى ركبتيه ثم صعد النظر فنظر الى وجهه، ثم قال حمزة: وهل أنتم الا عبيد لأبى؟ — فعرف النبى ﷺ أنه ثمل فنكص رسول الله ﷺ على عقبيه القهقرى فخرج، وخرجنا معه.

9 Muḥammad ibn 'Abbâd related to me: Ibn 'Uyaynah informed us, saying: Ibn al-Iṣbahânî gave us a full account[5] of what he had heard from Ibn Ma'qil:

٩ حدثنى محمد بن عباد: أخبرنا ابن عيينة قال: أنفذه لنا ابن الاصبهانى سمعه من ابن معقل

1 For particulars about him see p. 79, n. 1.

2 Lit., "what had happened to me".

3 Thus Ḥamzah, in his drunkenness, boasted about his being a son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who had brought up the Prophet after the latter's father had died.

4 It appears that the Prophet in his incomparable gentleness forgave Ḥamzah his atrocious behaviour while under the influence of drink. It is, however, reported that he ordered Ḥamzah to pay the price of the two camels to 'Alî (cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VI, 150).—The object of the above Tradition, at this place, is to show that the Prophet recognised 'Alî's heroism in the battle of Badr by giving him, besides his usual share in the spoils, a special present from the quint *(khums)* reserved for himself as the *imâm*.

5 The term *anfadha* ("he gave a full account") used at this place suggests that Ibn al-Iṣbahânî (*i.e.*, 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Abd Allâh al-Kûfî) related a full Tradition, from which the subsequent transmitters quoted only the fragment before us.

'ALÎ led the funeral prayer[1] for Sahl ibn Ḥunayf[2]; then he said: Behold, he fought at Badr.

أن عليًا (رض) كبر على سهل بن حنيف فقال: انه شهد بدراً.

10 Abu'l-Yamân related to us: Shu'ayb informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, who said: Sâlim ibn 'Abd Allâh informed me that he heard 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar relate:

١٠ حدثنا أبو اليمان: أخبرنا شعيب عن الزهرى قال: أخبرنى سالم بن عبد الله أنه سمع عبد الله ابن عمر (رض) يحدث

'UMAR ibn al-Khaṭṭâb [used to speak] of the time when Ḥafṣah bint 'Umar[3] lost her husband, Khunays ibn Ḥudhâfah as-Sahmî, who had been one of the companions of the Apostle of God, had fought at Badr, and had died in Madînah.[4] 'Umar said: Then I met 'Uthmân ibn 'Affân and offered him Ḥafṣah in marriage, saying: If thou wilt, I shall give thee Ḥafṣah bint 'Umar for wife.—He answered: I shall think over the matter.—I waited for some days, and then ['Uthmân] said: It occurred to me that I should not wed just now.—Then I met Abû Bakr, and I said: If thou wilt, I shall give thee Ḥafṣah bint 'Umar for wife.—But Abû Bakr remained silent and gave no answer; and I became [even] more angry with him than I was with 'Uthmân. And after some days the Apostle of God demanded her in marriage from me, and I gave her to him for wife. Later, Abû Bakr met me and said: Maybe thou wert angry with me when thou offeredst me Ḥafṣah in marriage and I gave no answer?—I said: Yea.—[Abû Bakr] said: Behold, I was unable to

أن عمر بن الخطاب (رض) حين تأيمت حفصة بنت عمر من خنيس بن حذافة السهمى وكان من أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ قد شهد بدراً توفى بالمدينة. قال عمر: فلقيت عثمان بن عفان فعرضت عليه حفصة فقلت: ان شئت أنكحتك حفصة بنت عمر. — قال: سأنظر فى أمرى. — فلبثت ليالى فقال: قد بدا لى أن لا أتزوج يومى هذا. — قال عمر: فلقيت أبا بكر فقلت: ان شئت أنكحتك حفصة بنت عمر. — فصمت أبو بكر فلم يرجع الىّ شيأ، فكنت عليه أوجد منى على عثمان. فلبثت ليالى، ثم خطبها رسول الله ﷺ فأنكحتها اياه. فلقينى أبو بكر فقال: لعلك وجدت علىّ حين عرضت علىّ حفصة فلم

1 Lit., "recited the *takbîr*".

2 Sahl ibn Ḥunayf ibn Wâhib al-Anṣârî took part in the battle of Badr and the rest of the Prophet's campaigns. He was one of the few Companions who remained steadfast with the Prophet during the reverse in the battle of Uḥud. He was a staunch supporter of 'Alî; the latter, when leaving for Baṣrah, gave to Ḥunayf the charge of Madînah. After the battle of Ṣiffîn (37 A.H.) he became governor of Fârs. He died in Kûfah in 38 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 39 f; *Isti'âb* II, 570.)

3 See p. 58, n. 1.

4 Khunays ibn Ḥudhâfah ibn Qays as-Sahmî embraced Islâm in the early Meccan period. He migrated to Ethiopia, then to Madînah, and died in 3 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 285 f.) The suggestion put forward by some of the historians (*e.g.*, *Isti'âb* I, 165; *Iṣâbah* II, 142) that Khunays died from wounds which he had received at Uḥud must be rejected—for the battle of Uḥud took place in Shawwâl, 3 A.H., while the Prophet married Ḥafṣah (after she had become widow) in Sha'bân, 3 A.H.; this last date is agreed upon by all authorities (cf. Ibn Sa'd VIII, 58; Ṭabarî III, 9; *Isti'âb* II, 714; Ibn al-Athîr II, 103).—The fact that Khunays is mentioned in the above Tradition as one of the Companions of Badr is the author's justification for placing it here.

answer thee concerning what thou hadst proposed to me, because I knew that the Apostle of God was thinking of her: and it was not for me to disclose a secret of the Apostle of God. [But] had he given her up, I would have surely accepted her [myself].[1]

11 Muslim related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of 'Adî, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn Yazîd:

I[2] HEARD Abû Mas'ûd al-Badrî[3] report [the following] on the authority of the Prophet: A man's spending on his family is an act of charity.[4]

12 Abu'l-Yamân related to us: Shu'ayb informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî [who said]: I heard 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr relate [the following] to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz during the latter's governorship [of Madînah[5]]:

WHEN al-Mughîrah ibn Shu'bah was governor of Kûfah,[6] he [once] postponed the prayer of afternoon. Thereupon Abû Mas'ûd 'Uqbah ibn 'Amr al-Anṣârî (the grandfather of Zayd ibn Ḥasan[7]), one of those who had fought at Badr, went in [unto him] and said: Thou knowest well that Gabriel came down [from heaven]

أرجع اليك؟ — قلت: نعم. — قال: فانه لم يمنعنى أن أرجع اليك فيما عرضت الا أنى قد علمت أن رسول الله ﷺ قد ذكرها. فلم أكن لأفشى سر رسول الله ﷺ؛ ولو تركها لقبلتها.

١١ حدثنا مسلم: حدثنا شعبة عن عدى عن عبد الله بن يزيد

سمع أبا مسعود البدرى عن النبي ﷺ قال: نفقة الرجل على أهله صدقة.

١٢ حدثنا أبو اليمان: أخبرنا شعيب عن الزهرى: سمعت عروة بن الزبير يحدث عمر بن عبد العزيز فى امارته:

أخر المغيرة بن شعبة العصر وهو أمير الكوفة؛ فدخل أبو مسعود عقبة بن عمرو الأنصارى (جد زيد بن حسن) شهد بدراً فقال: لقد علمت نزل جبريل عليه السلام فصلى، فصلى

1 It is obvious that 'Uthmân's refusal of Ḥafṣah was based on the same grounds as Abû Bakr's: their utmost respect for the wishes of the Prophet, and their determination not to stand in his way even at the cost of personal sacrifice or the risk of offending their best friend.

2 In the text, "he".

3 His full name was Abû Mas'ûd 'Uqbah ibn 'Amr ibn Tha'labah al-Anṣârî, but he is commonly known as Abû Mas'ûd al-Badrî. He took part, as a child, in the Second Pledge of 'Aqabah. According to almost all of the historians, he did not take part in the battle of Badr; the designation "al-Badrî" is said to have been applied to him on account of his having settled at Badr. He died after 40 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd VI, 9; *Istî'âb* II, 489.) Contrary to the historians who deny that Abû Mas'ûd was one of the Companions of Badr, the Traditionists are mostly of opinion that he did participate in that battle, and that his designation "al-Badrî" was due to this fact. This is evidently also the opinion of al-Bukhârî, whose next Tradition (No. 12 of this section) clearly mentions that Abû Mas'ûd fought at Badr. Cf. also *Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 255, and 'Aynî XVII, 112.

4 For an explanation of this Tradition, see Bkh ii/41, No. 2.

5 Cf. *Fatḥ al-Bârî* II, 2.

6 He held this office during the reign of Mu'âwiyah, and died in 50 A.H. For particulars about him see Bkh ii/42, No. 2.

7 *I.e.*, Zayd ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Alî; his mother, Umm Bashîr, was a daughter of Abû Mas'ûd (cf. Ibn Sa'd V, 234).

and prayed; thereupon the Apostle of God prayed the [prescribed] five prayers. And [Gabriel] said: Thus thou hast been bidden to do.[1]

Bashîr ibn Abî Mas'ûd used to relate the same on the authority of his father.

13 Mûsâ related to us: Abû 'Awânah related to us, on the authority of al-A'mash, on the authority of Ibrâhîm, on the authority of 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Yazîd, on the authority of 'Alqamah,

ON the authority of Abû Mas'ûd al-Badrî, who said: The Apostle of God said: Whoso reciteth at night-time the last two verses of the *sûrah* "The Cow" *(Al-Baqarah)*,[2] they will stand him in goodstead.[3]

'Abd ar-Raḥmân said: Then I met Abû Mas'ûd while he was making the circuit round the House of God, and I asked him about this, and he related the same to me.[4]

14 Yaḥyà ibn Bukayr related to us: Al-Layth related to us, on the authority of 'Uqayl, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb [who said]: Maḥmûd ibn ar-Rabî' informed me:

'ITBÂN ibn Mâlik—one of the companions of the Prophet from among the *Anṣâr* who had fought at Badr[5]—came to the Apostle of God...[6]

Aḥmad ibn Ṣâliḥ related to us: 'Anbasah related to us: Yûnus related to us: Ibn Shihâb said: Later I asked al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Muḥammad, one of the leaders of the clan Banû Sâlim,[7] concerning the Tradition reported by Maḥmûd ibn ar-Rabî' on the authority of 'Itbân ibn Mâlik, and [al-Ḥuṣayn] confirmed it.[8]

رسول الله ﷺ خمس صلوات، ثم قال: هكذا أمرت.

كذلك كان بشير بن أبي مسعود يحدث عن أبيه.

١٣ حدثنا موسى: حدثنا أبو عوانة عن الاعمش عن ابراهيم عن عبد الرحمن بن يزيد عن علقمة عن أبي مسعود البدري (رض) قال: قال رسول الله ﷺ: الآيتان من آخر سورة «البقرة» من قرأهما في ليلة كفتاه.

قال عبد الرحمن: فلقيت أبا مسعود وهو يطوف بالبيت فسألته فحدثنيه.

١٤ حدثنا يحيى بن بكير: حدثنا الليث عن عقيل عن ابن شهاب: أخبرني محمود بن الربيع أن عتبان بن مالك — وكان من أصحاب النبي ﷺ ممن شهد بدراً من الأنصار — أنه أتى رسول الله ﷺ...

حدثنا أحمد هو ابن صالح: حدثنا عنبسة: حدثنا يونس: قال ابن شهاب: ثم سألت الحصين بن محمد وهو أحد بني سالم وهو من سراتهم عن حديث محمود بن الربيع عن عتبان بن مالك فصدقه.

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1 For an explanation of this Tradition, see Bkh viii/110.

2 Qur'ân ii, 285-86.

3 For an explanation see Bkh liv/10, No. 1.

4 Thus, the *tâbi'î* 'Abd ar-Raḥmân heard this Tradition first from 'Alqamah, who narrated it on the authority of Abû Mas'ûd, and a second time from Abû Mas'ûd himself.

5 'Itbân ibn Mâlik ibn 'Amr al-Anṣârî belonged to the clan of Banû Sâlim, of Khazraj. He took part in the battles of Badr, Uḥud and that of the Moat, and later lost his eyesight. He died in the reign of Mu'âwiyah. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 96 f; *Isti'âb* II, 410.)

6 The rest of the Tradition is omitted here, as the author only wished to show that 'Itbân ibn Mâlik was one of the Men of Badr. The complete Tradition is found in Bkh viii/46.

7 It was the clan to which 'Itbân belonged (see n. 5 above).

8 This refers to the complete Tradition quoted (with the same confirmation) in Bkh viii/46.

15 Abu'l Yamân related to us: Shu'ayb informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, who said: 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Âmir ibn Rabî'ah—one of the chiefs of Banû 'Adî and son of one of the Prophet's companions who had fought at Badr[1]—informed me:

'UMAR appointed Qudâmah ibn Maẓ'ûn[2] governor of Baḥrayn; he had fought at Badr, and was a maternal uncle of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar and Ḥafṣah.[3]

١٥ حدثنا أبو اليمان: أخبرنا شعيب عن الزهرى قال: أخبرنى عبد الله بن عامر بن ربيعة — وكان من أكبر بنى عدى وكان أبوه شهد بدراً مع النبى ﷺ —

أن عمر استعمل قدامة بن مظعون على البحرين، وكان شهد بدراً وهو خال عبد الله ابن عمر وحفصة (رض).

16 'Abd Allâh ibn Muḥammad ibn Asmâ' related to us: Juwayriyah related to us, on the authority of Mâlik, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, [who said] that Sâlim ibn 'Abd Allâh informed him, saying:

RÂFI' ibn Khadîj[4] informed 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar that his two paternal uncles, who had fought at Badr,[5] reported that the Prophet had forbidden to give cultivated lands on rent.[6]

I[7] said to Sâlim[8]: And dost thou give them on rent?—He answered: Yea. Râfi' hath indeed exaggerated the matter.[9]

١٦ حدثنا عبد الله بن محمد بن اسماء: حدثنا جويرية عن مالك عن الزهرى أن سالم بن عبد الله أخبره قال:

أخبر رافع بن خديج عبد الله بن عمر أن عميه وكانا شهدا بدراً أخبراه أن رسول الله ﷺ نهى عن كراء المزارع.

قلت لسالم: فتكريها أنت؟ — قال: نعم، ان رافعاً أكثر على نفسه.

17 Âdam related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân, who said: I heard 'Abd Allâh ibn Shaddâd ibn al-Hâd al-Laythî say:

١٧ حدثنا آدم: حدثنا شعبة عن حصين بن عبد الرحمن قال: سمعت عبد الله بن شداد بن الهاد الليثى قال:

1 The reference is to 'Âmir ibn Rabî'ah, whose name is mentioned in sec. 13 of this chapter.

2 Qudâmah ibn Maẓ'ûn al-Qurashî al-Jumaḥî was one of the early Muslims. He took part in the migration to Abyssinia, migrated later to Madînah and fought in all of the Prophet's campaigns. 'Umar appointed him governor of Baḥrayn (as shown in the above Tradition), but later recalled him from this post. He died in 36 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 291 f; *Isti'âb* II, 534.)

3 Qudâmah's sister, Zaynab, was the wife of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb and the mother of 'Abd Allâh and Ḥafṣah (cf. *Isti'âb* II, 736).

4 Râfi' ibn Khadîj ibn Râfi' ibn 'Adî al-Anṣârî was too young to take part in the battle of Badr, but he took part in that of Uḥud and was wounded there by an arrow. The Prophet is reported to have said to him on that occasion: "I shall be thy witness on the Day of Judgment." Later Râfi' participated in most of the Prophet's campaigns. He died in 74 A.H. at the age of eighty-six. (*Isti'âb* I, 174.)

5 Their names were Ẓuhayr and Maẓhar; they were the sons of Râfi' ibn 'Adî. Ẓuhayr was one of the delegates on the occasion of the Second Pledge of 'Aqabah. Maẓhar was killed in Khaybar during the reign of 'Umar. ('Aynî XVII, 114.) Al-Bukhârî quotes this Tradition here in order to show that these two men were among the Companions of Badr.

6 As is pointed out in the subsequent statement by Sâlim ibn 'Abd Allâh, Râfi' took this order of the Prophet in too general a sense. For a detailed discussion of the problem involved, see Bkh xxxii/19.

7 *I.e.*, az-Zuhrî (cf. *isnâd*). 8 *I.e.*, Sâlim ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar. 9 See n. 6 above.

I SAW Rifâ'ah ibn Râfi' al-Anṣârî, who had fought at Badr . . .[1]

18 'Abdân related to us: 'Abd Allâh informed us: Ma'mar and Yûnus informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, [who said] that 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr informed him that al-Miswar ibn Makhramah informed him [thus]:

'AMR ibn 'Awf, an ally of Banû 'Âmir ibn Lu'ayy, who had fought at Badr together with the Prophet,[2] [reported]:

The Apostle of God sent Abû 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrâḥ to Baḥrayn to bring in the *jizyah* due from there; for the Apostle of God had made peace with the people of Baḥrayn and had appointed al-'Alâ' ibn al-Ḥaḍramî as governor over them.[3] Abû 'Ubaydah arrived [at Madînah] with the money from Baḥrayn, and the *Anṣâr* heard of his arrival. [On the next day] they prayed the prayer of dawn with the Prophet; and when it was finished they presented themselves before him.[4] And the Apostle of God smiled when he saw them; and he said: I think ye have heard that Abû 'Ubaydah hath brought something.—They answered: Indeed, it is so, O Apostle of God!—He said: Be of good cheer, then, and expect that which will give you joy![5] By God! It is not poverty that I fear for you; I rather fear lest [the good of] this world become too much for you, as it became too much for those before you, and [then] ye become engrossed therein as they became engrossed therein; and lest it [then] destroy you as it hath destroyed them.[6]

رأيت رفاعة بن رافع الأنصارى وكان شهد بدراً . . .

١٨ حدثنا عبدان: أخبرنا عبد الله: أخبرنا معمر ويونس عن الزهرى عن عروة بن الزبير أنه أخبره أن المسور بن مخرمة أخبره

أن عمرو بن عوف وهو حليف لبني عامر بن لؤى وكان شهد بدراً مع النبي ﷺ أن رسول الله ﷺ بعث أبا عبيدة بن الجراح الى البحرين يأتى بجزيتها، وكان رسول الله ﷺ هو صالح أهل البحرين وأمر عليهم العلاء بن الحضرمى. فقدم أبو عبيدة بمال من البحرين؛ فسمعت الأنصار بقدوم أبى عبيدة فوافوا صلاة الفجر مع النبي ﷺ؛ فلما انصرف تعرضوا له، فتبسم رسول الله ﷺ حين رآهم ثم قال: أظنكم سمعتم أن أبا عبيدة قدم بشيء؟ — قالوا: أجل يا رسول الله! — قال: فأبشروا وأملوا ما يسركم! فوالله ما الفقر أخشى عليكم؛ ولكنى أخشى أن تبسط عليكم الدنيا كما بسطت على من قبلكم فتنافسوها كما تنافسوها وتهلككم كما أهلكتهم.

1 See n. 4 on p. 285.

2 'Amr ibn 'Awf ibn Zayd al-Mazanî embraced Islâm at a very early period, and migrated to Madînah; he died towards the end of Mu'âwiyah's reign (*Istî'âb* II, 437).

3 For the story of the submission of Baḥrayn to the Muslim rule, see sec. 75 of this chapter. As to al-'Alâ' ibn al-Ḥaḍramî, he was an ally *(ḥalîf)* of the Qurayshite clan Banû 'Abd Shams. The Prophet appointed him governor of Baḥrayn, and 'Umar confirmed him in this post; later he transferred al-'Alâ' to Baṣrah, but the latter died on the way thither in 14 or, according to some authorities, in 21 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd IV/ii, 76 ff; *Istî'âb* II, 505.)

4 Although they do not appear to have expressed it clearly, the Prophet understood that the *Anṣâr* were anxious to get a share of the *jizyah* of Baḥrayn.

5 Thus the Prophet intimated to the *Anṣâr* that they need not be afraid that they would be overlooked when it came to the distribution of public funds among the Muslims.

6 This admonition of the Prophet made so deep an impression on the *Anṣâr* that later they

19 Abu'n-Nu'mân related to us: Jarîr ibn Ḥâzim related to us, on the authority of Nâfi' [who said]:

IBN 'UMAR used to kill all snakes until Abû Lubâbah al-Badrî[1] related to him that the Prophet had forbidden to kill the [harmless snakes called] *jânn*, which are to be found in houses. Thereupon Ibn ['Umar] refrained from harming them.

١٩ حدثنا أبو النعمان: حدثنا جرير بن حازم عن نافع

أن ابن عمر (رض) كان يقتل الحيات كلها حتى حدثه أبو لبابة البدرى أن النبي ﷺ نهى عن قتل جنان البيوت؛ فأمسك عنها.

20 Ibrâhîm ibn al-Mundhir related to me: Muḥammad ibn Fulayḥ related to us, on the authority of Mûsâ ibn 'Uqbah [who said]: Ibn Shihâb said: Anas ibn Mâlik related to us:

SOME men of the *Anṣâr* asked leave to see the Apostle of God; then they said [unto him]: Allow us to forego the ransom due [to us] from our sister's son, 'Abbâs.[2]— [The Prophet] answered: By God! Ye shall not remit a single *dirham* thereof![3]

٢٠ حدثنى ابراهيم بن المنذر: حدثنا محمد بن فليح عن موسى بن عقبة: قال ابن شهاب: حدثنا أنس بن مالك

أن رجالاً من الأنصار استأذنوا رسول الله ﷺ فقالوا: ائذن لنا فلنترك لابن أختنا عباس فداءه. — قال: والله! لا تذرون منه درهماً!

21 Abû 'Âṣim related to us, on the authority of Ibn Jurayj, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, on the authority of 'Aṭâ' ibn Yazîd, on the authority of 'Ubayd Allâh ibn 'Adî, on the authority of al-Miqdâd ibn al-Aswad:—

٢١ حدثنا أبو عاصم عن ابن جريج عن الزهرى عن عطاء بن يزيد عن عبيد الله بن عدى عن المقداد بن الأسود:—

refused to accept a share in the proceeds from Baḥrayn unless the *Muhâjirs* were given an equal share (cf. Bkh I/41, No. 3).

1 Abû Lubâbah Bashîr ibn al-Mundhir al-Anṣârî participated in the Second Pledge of 'Aqabah. When the Prophet set out at the head of the Muslim force towards Badr, he left Abû Lubâbah as his vice-gerent in Madînah. Thus, Abû Lubâbah did not actually take part in the battle; but as he had remained in Madînah by the Prophet's order, the latter attributed to him the merit of the Companions of Badr, and gave him later a share in the spoils; hence he is commonly designated as "Badrî". Subsequently he participated in most of the Prophet's campaigns and died in the reign of 'Alî. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 29; *Istî'âb* II, 655 f.)

2 'Abbâs ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was taken prisoner by the Muslims in the battle of Badr (cf. p. 67, n. 6); the man who actually took him prisoner was Abu'l-Yasar Ka'b ibn 'Amr al-Anṣârî (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 257). Although 'Abbâs appears to have been a Muslim at that time, the Prophet refused to judge otherwise than by outward facts: and 'Abbâs had been captured while he was a member of the pagan force at Badr. The expression used by the *Anṣâr*, "our sister's son", relates to the fact that 'Abbâs's grandmother Salmah, the wife of Hâshim, belonged to the clan of Banu'n-Najjâr (a sub-division of Khazraj).

3 Thus the Prophet refused to entertain the idea that his uncle 'Abbâs should be accorded a preferential treatment. Even before the battle of Badr the Prophet knew well that 'Abbâs had been forced by the pagan Quraysh to go with them, and that he was in his heart a Muslim (see in this respect n. 6 on p. 67). Therefore the Prophet enjoined on his followers not to kill 'Abbâs and several other of the Quraysh who were in the same position; but, nevertheless, he insisted that they should be treated as prisoners of war because of their outward adherence to the enemies of Islâm. (Cf. Ṭabarî II, 290; Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 3 f.)

(h) and Isḥâq related to me: Ya'qûb ibn Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd related to us: [Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh,] the nephew of Ibn Shihâb, related to us, on the authority of his uncle, who said: 'Aṭâ' ibn Yazîd al-Laythî al-Junda'i informed me that 'Ubayd Allâh ibn 'Adî ibn al-Khiyâr informed him [thus]:

AL-MIQDÂD ibn 'Amr al-Kindî[1]—an ally of [the clan] Banû Zuhrah,[2] and one of those who fought at Badr together with the Apostle of God—reported that he had [thus] addressed the Apostle of God: If it should happen that I meet one of the infidels in fight, and he striketh with his sword a hand of mine and cutteth it off,—and then he taketh cover behind a tree and saith, I declare before God that I am a Muslim[3]—: shall I slay him, O Apostle of God, after he hath said this?—And the Apostle of God answered: Thou shalt not slay him.—[Al-Miqdâd] exclaimed: O Apostle of God! [But] he hath cut off a hand of mine and hath [but] afterwards uttered that saying!—Thereupon the Apostle of God said: Thou shalt not slay him; for if thou slay him, he will be as thou wert before thou slayedst him,[4] and thou, thou wilt become as he was before he had uttered that saying of his.[5]

22 Ya'qûb ibn Ibrâhîm related to me: Ibn 'Ulayyah related to us: Sulaymân at-Taymî related to us: Anas related to us, saying:

THE Apostle of God said on the day of Badr: Who will go and see what hath happened to Abû Jahl?—Thereupon Ibn

(ح) وحدثنى اسحق: حدثنا يعقوب بن ابراهيم ابن سعد: حدثنا ابن أخى ابن شهاب عن عمه قال: أخبرنى عطاء بن يزيد الليثى ثم الجندعى أن عبيد الله بن عدى بن الخيار أخبره

أن المقداد بن عمرو الكندى — وكان حليفاً لبنى زهرة وكان ممن شهد بدراً مع رسول الله ﷺ — أخبره أنه قال لرسول الله ﷺ: أرأيت ان لقيت رجلاً من الكفار فاقتتلنا فضرب احدى يدى بالسيف فقطعها — ثم لاذ منى بشجرة فقال: أسلمت لله! آأقتله يارسول الله بعد أن قالها؟ — فقال رسول الله ﷺ: لا تقتله. — فقال: يا رسول الله! انه قطع احدى يدى ثم قال ذلك بعد ما قطعها! — فقال رسول الله ﷺ: لا تقتله؛ فان قتلته فانه بمنزلتك قبل أن تقتله وانك بمنزلته قبل أن يقول كلمته التى قال.

٢٢ حدثنى يعقوب بن ابراهيم: حدثنا ابن علية: حدثنا سليمان التيمى: حدثنا أنس (رض) قال:

قال رسول الله ﷺ يوم بدر: من ينظر ما صنع أبو جهل؟ — فانطلق ابن مسعود فوجده

1 Al-Miqdâd ibn 'Amr, called also Ibn al-Aswad; for particulars about him see p. 264, n. 2. The *nisbah* "Kindî" obviously refers to his father's alliance *(ḥilf)* with the Yamanî tribe of Kindah, for it is established that al-Miqdâd descended from the tribe Quḍâ'ah; cf. his genealogy in Ibn Sa'd III/i, 114, and Ibn Hishâm II, 11 (in the account of the warriors of Badr).

2 This alliance was due to the fact that al-Miqdâd's foster-father, al-Aswad ibn 'Abd Yagûth, belonged to the clan of Banû Zuhrah (cf. n. 2 on p. 264).

3 Lit., "I have surrendered *(aslamtu)* to God".

4 —namely, a Muslim.

5 The question as to whether a man is sincere in his acceptance of Islâm or not, cannot be answered by any human being, and is, therefore, of no consequence in the *sharî'ah*, which is concerned only with outward facts and objective indications. Now, the slaying of another Muslim is one of the worst crimes a Muslim can commit. Although such an act cannot be described as *kufr* in the established sense of this word, it places the transgressor, with regard to the punishment which he may expect, in the position of an infidel *(kâfir)*; cf. Qur'ân iv, 93.

Mas'ûd went forth and found him struck to death by the two sons of 'Afrâ'; and he said: Is it thou, Abû Jahl?[1]

Ibn 'Ulayyah said: Sulaymân said: Thus said Anas: "[Ibn Mas'ûd] said: Is it thou, Abû Jahl?"[2]

—[Abû Jahl] answered: And was ever a greater man killed by you?

Sulaymân said: Or [perhaps] he said: "... killed by his own people?"—[Sulaymân] added: And Abû Mijlaz reported [the following]:

—Abû Jahl added: Would that I had not been killed by a [mere] peasant![3]

23 Mûsâ related to us: 'Abd al-Wâḥid related to us: Ma'mar related to us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, on the authority of 'Ubayd Allâh ibn 'Abd Allâh [who said]: Ibn 'Abbâs related to me,

ON the authority of 'Umar: When the Prophet passed away, I said unto Abû Bakr: Let us go to our brethren, the *Anṣâr*.[4] —And [on our way] we met two men from among the latter; they were two righteous men, and had fought at Badr.[5]

I[6] spake [about this] to 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr, and he said: They were 'Uwaym ibn Sâ'idah[7] and Ma'n ibn 'Adî[8].

قد ضربه أبنا عفراء حتى برد، فقال: آنت أباجهل؟

قال ابن علية: قال سليمان: هكذا قالها أنس: «قال: آنت أبا جهل؟»

— قال: وهل فوق رجل قتلتموه؟

قال سليمان: أو قال «... قتله قومه؟» — قال: وقال أبو مجلز:

— قال أبو جهل: فلو غير أكار قتلني!

٢٣ حدثنا موسى: حدثنا عبدالواحد: حدثنا معمر عن الزهري عن عبيد الله بن عبد الله: حدثني ابن عباس

عن عمر (رض): لما توفى النبي ﷺ قلت لأبي بكر: انطلق بنا الى اخواننا من الأنصار. — فلقينا منهم رجلان صالحان شهدا بدراً.

فحدثت عروة بن الزبير فقال: هما عويم بن ساعدة ومعن بن عدي.

1 See the preceding versions of this Tradition in sec. 8. Here the author repeats it in order to show that 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd, as well as the two sons of 'Afrâ' (see n. 3 on p. 280), were Companions of Badr.

2 Thus the transmitter Sulaymân at-Taymî impressed upon his disciples that he had heard Anas use the form of interrogation. For other variants see sec. 8, No. 2.

3 This contemptuous remark is directed against the sons of 'Afrâ' (or one of them) — for the *Anṣâr* were agriculturists, and were as such held in contempt by the proud Quraysh. It is to be noted, however, that this additional sentence is *mursal*, for Abû Mijlaz (Lâḥiq ibn Ḥumayd) was a *tâbi'î*; and he does not quote here any Companion as his authority.

4 This fragment refers to the incident of the *saqîfah* of Banû Sâ'idah, described in Bkh I/6, No. 9.

5 The author's object in quoting this fragment is to show that these two men (whose names are given in the sequence) were Companions of Badr.

6 The speaker is az-Zuhrî, as is evident from another version of this Tradition in Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 31.

7 'Uwaym ibn Sâ'idah ibn 'Ayyâsh al-Awsî belonged to the clan of Banû 'Amr ibn 'Awf. He participated in both Pledges of 'Aqabah, as well as in almost all of the Prophet's campaigns, and died at the age of sixty-five or sixty-six during the reign of 'Umar. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 30 f; *Isti'âb* II, 514.)

8 Ma'n ibn 'Adî ibn al-Jadd al-Balawî was an ally of the clan Banû 'Amr ibn 'Awf (of Aws),

24 Isḥâq ibn Ibrâhîm related to us that he heard Muḥammad ibn Fuḍayl [relate], on the authority of Ismâ'îl, on the authority of Qays:

THE Men of Badr were given [annually] five thousand [*dirhams*] each.[1] And 'Umar used to say[2]: Indeed, I judge them to be more excellent than any [of the Muslims who came] after them.

٢٤ حدثنا اسحق بن ابراهيم سمع محمد بن فضيل عن اسمعيل عن قيس:

كان عطاء البدريين خمسة آلاف خمسة آلاف. وقال عمر: لأفضلنهم على من بعدهم.

25 Isḥâq ibn Manṣûr related to me: 'Abd ar-Razzâq related to us: Ma'mar informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhrî, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Jubayr,

ON the authority of his father, [Jubayr ibn Muṭ'im,] who said: I heard the Prophet recite during the prayer of sunset [the *sûrah*] "The Mount" *(At-Ṭûr)*[3]—and it was then that faith took root in my heart.[4]

٢٥ حدثنى اسحق بن منصور: حدثنا عبد الرزاق: أخبرنا معمر عن الزهرى عن محمد بن جبير

عن أبيه قال: سمعت النبى ﷺ يقرأ فى المغرب «بالطور» — وذلك أول ما وقر الايمان فى قلبى.

25 **(contd.)** And[5] on the authority of az-Zuhrî, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Jubayr ibn Muṭ'im,

وعن الزهرى عن محمد بن جبير بن مطعم

---

and is thus counted among the *Anṣâr*. Even before Islâm he was able to read and to write Arabic, a rare achievement among his contemporaries. He took part in the Second Pledge of 'Aqabah and in all campaigns of the Prophet. He fell in the battle of Yamâmah in 12 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 35; *Isti'âb* I, 271.)

1 As is evident from Ibn Sa'd (III/i, 219), 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, when he became Caliph, granted annual pensions to many of the deserving Muslims, as, *e.g.*, the widows of the Prophet, the early *Muhâjirs*, and the survivors of Badr. From among the Badr-warriors, every *Anṣârî* received 4,000 *dirhams* per annum, while 5,000 *dirhams* were granted to every *Muhâjir*—in consideration of the fact that the *Muhâjirs* had given up their properties when they migrated with the Prophet to Madînah. Cf. also Bkh li/21, No. 15.

2 Lit., "said".

3 Qur'ân lii.

4 Jubayr ibn Muṭ'im ibn 'Adî was one of the foremost nobles of Quraysh, and was one of the greatest authorities of his time on the subject of genealogies. At the time of the battle of Badr he was an unbeliever. He came to Madînah bearing the ransom for some of the pagan Quraysh who had been taken prisoners by the Muslims at Badr, and was waiting outside the mosque while the Prophet and his followers were offering the prayer of sunset; and it was on that occasion that the recitation of the Qur'ân by the Prophet made a deep impression on Jubayr, as narrated in the above Tradition. He did not, however, openly embrace Islâm until at the time of the Muslim conquest of Mecca (8 A.H.) or, according to some authorities, after the conquest of Khaybar (7 A.H.). He died in Madînah in 57 or 59 A.H. (*Isti'âb* I, 88 f.)—The author quotes the above Tradition at this place as it treats of the prisoners of Badr.

5 This shows that the Tradition was related in conjunction with the preceding one. The transmitters between az-Zuhrî and al-Bukhârî are identical with those mentioned in the preceding (complete) *isnâd*.

ON the authority of his father [Jubayr ibn Muṭ'im, who said]: Speaking of the captives of Badr, the Prophet said [unto me]: Had al-Muṭ'im ibn 'Adî[1] been alive, and had he spoken to me on behalf of these soulless people[2], I would have indeed delivered them to him [without ransom].[3]

عن أبيه أن النبي ﷺ قال فى أسارى بدر: لو كان المطعم بن عدى حياً ثم كلمنى فى هؤلاء النتنى لتركتهم له.

26 *T* And al-Layth said, on the authority of Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd, on the authority of Sa'îd ibn al-Musayyab [who said]:

٢٦ وقال الليث عن يحي بن سعيد عن سعيد بن المسيب:

WHEN the first disaster [of Islâm] took place

— namely, the murder of 'Uthmân[4] —,

the Companions of Badr disappeared [in its wake] one after another.[5] Then the second disaster took place

— namely, [that of] al-Ḥarrah[6] —,

وقعت الفتنة الأولى

— يعنى مقتل عثمان —

فلم تبق من أصحاب بدر أحداً. ثم وقعت الفتنة الثانية

— يعنى الحرة —

1 Father of the narrator, Jubayr ibn Muṭ'im. See n. 3 below.

2 Lit., "these carcasses"—a contemptuous reference to the pagan prisoners, who had set out from Mecca to destroy the Prophet and the Faithful, and had themselves become the victims of their iniquity. They were bereft of spiritual life, and so the Prophet likened them to dead bodies.

3 Muṭ'im ibn 'Adî ibn Nawfal, although himself a non-Muslim, had protected the Muslims on several occasions from the persecutions of the Quraysh, and so the Prophet held him in high esteem. He was one of the upright men who objected to the cruel boycott imposed by the Quraysh on Muḥammad and his followers in the seventh year of the Mission, which led to a three-years' siege of the Muslims in Abû Ṭâlib's house (see n. 1 on p. 181); and it was he who, together with Hishâm ibn 'Amr and Zuhayr ibn Abî Umayyah, ultimately succeeded in persuading the Quraysh to lift the ban (see Ibn Hishâm I, 227 ff; Ṭabarî II, 228 f). Muṭ'im also afforded his whole-hearted protection to the Prophet when the latter was returning, in the tenth year of the Mission, from his unsuccessful attempt to convert the people of Ṭâ'if to Islâm (see Ṭabarî II, 231). He did not embrace Islâm, but the Prophet never forgot his chivalrous attitude towards the Muslims at the time when Islâm was weak and persecuted. He died in Ṣafar, 2 A.H.—a few months before the battle of Badr (*Isti'âb* I, 89).

4 This and the second explanatory remarks originated with the transmitter Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd, and are not parts of Sa'îd ibn al-Musayyab's saying. The latter mentioned only the "first", "second" and "third" disasters, and it was left to his disciple, Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd, to interpret these expressions in historical terms.

5 Lit., "and none of the Companions of Badr remained [alive]". Now, 'Uthmân was murdered in 35 A.H., and several of the old Companions of Badr were still alive in the years following this "first disaster". The only plausible explanation of this saying appears to be that given by al-Kirmânî (*apud* 'Aynî XVII, 119), who says that the murder of 'Uthmân was the *cause* of the disappearance of most of the old Companions of Badr. Thus, the expression, "and none of the Companions of Badr remained [alive]" seems to be a colloquial generalisation.

6 The reference is to the massacre of the people of Madînah by Yazîd's army under Muslim ibn 'Uqbah in the Ḥarrat Wâqim, near Madînah, in Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, 63 A.H., in which many of the old Companions of the Prophet were killed (cf. Ṭabarî VII, 7 ff).

and [in its wake] the Companions of Ḥudaybiyah[1] [also] disappeared one after another. Then the third [disaster] took place; and it did not abate until the strength of the [Muslim] people was sapped.[2]

فلم تبق من أصحاب الحديبية أحداً. ثم وقعت الثالثة، فلم ترتفع وللناس طباخ.

27 Al-Ḥajjâj ibn Minhâl related to us: 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar an-Numayrî related to us: Yûnus ibn Yazîd related to us, saying: I heard az-Zuhrî say: I heard the story of 'Â'ishah, the Prophet's wife,[3] from 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr, Sa'îd ibn al-Musayyab, 'Alqamah ibn Waqqâṣ, and 'Ubayd Allâh ibn 'Abd Allâh; each of them related to me a portion of the Tradition:

٢٧ حدثنا الحجاج بن منهال: حدثنا عبد الله بن عمر النميري: حدثنا يونس بن يزيد قال: سمعت الزهري قال: سمعت عروة بن الزبير وسعيد بن المسيب وعلقمة بن وقاص وعبيد الله بن عبد الله عن حديث عائشة (رض) زوج النبي ﷺ، كل حدثني طائفة من الحديث:

[ʿÂ'ISHAH] said: . . . And when we were returning, I and Umm Miṣṭaḥ, the latter stumbled over her cloak[4]; and she exclaimed: May Miṣṭaḥ perish[5]!—[ʿÂ'ishah] said: What bad thing dost thou say! Dost thou curse[6] a man who fought at Badr?[7]

Then [az-Zuhrî] related the [complete] story of the Calumny.[8]

﴿ قالت: . . . فأقبلت أنا وأم مسطح فعثرت أم مسطح في مرطها، فقالت: تعس مسطح! — فقلت: بئس ما قلت! تسبين رجلاً شهد بدراً؟ فذكر حديث الافك.

28 Ibrâhîm ibn al-Mundhir related to us: Muḥammad ibn Fulayḥ ibn Sulaymân related

٢٨ حدثنا ابراهيم بن المنذر: حدثنا محمد بن فليح بن

1 *I.e.*, those who took part in the expedition of Ḥudaybiyah, in 6 A.H.

2 Here the transmitter Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd does not specify the "disaster". It seems that Ibn al-Musayyab referred to the period of bloody civil wars which tore at the very life of the Islâmic polity from 63 A.H. onward for about two decades: as, *e.g.*, the rising of 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubayr against the Umayyad Caliphs in 63 A.H. and his subsequent proclamation as Caliph in Mecca; the Shî'ah sedition led by al-Mukhtâr ibn Abî 'Ubayd ath-Thaqafî, which began with the seizure of Kûfah by al-Mukhtâr in 66 A.H. and developed, after the latter's death in 67 A.H., into one of the many Shî'ah movements of the first and second centuries A.H.; and the Khâriji movement of the Azraqites (or Azâriqah), which seems to have ended, after fierce struggles, in 77 A.H. These three examples are only a few out of the chaotic fratricidal wars of the period. (For more particulars, see Ṭabarî VII, 7 ff.) The civil wars roused the passions of the Muslim peoples on an unprecedented scale, and never again was achieved that unity of mind and purpose which had made Islâm triumphant during the lifetime of its Founder and his immediate successors.

3 *I.e.*, the story of the Calumny *(al-Ifk)* which is given in sec. 36, No. 1, of this chapter.

4 The *mirṭ* was a kind of wrap or cloak *(kisâ')* used by the Muslim women of the period while going out (cf. Lane VII, 2709 f).

5 Lit., "may he fall upon his face". Thus, in her anger, she cursed her own son, Miṣṭaḥ ibn Uthâthah, one of the Companions who had calumniated 'Â'ishah (see sec. 36, No. 1).

6 Lit., "abuse".

7 The mention of Miṣṭaḥ as one of the Companions of Badr was the reason for the placing here of the above fragment. For particulars of the whole story, as well as for details about Miṣṭaḥ ibn Uthâthah and his mother, Umm Miṣṭaḥ, see No. 1 in sec. 36.

8 Reference to the complete Tradition in sec. 36, No. 1.

to us, on the authority of Mûsâ ibn 'Uqbah, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, who said: These were the campaigns of the Apostle of God...—Then [Mûsâ ibn 'Uqbah] narrated the story [of Badr, and continued thus]:

سليمان عن موسى بن عقبة عن ابن شهاب قال: هذه مغازى رسول الله ﷺ ... — فذكر الحديث:

AND the Apostle of God said, when he caused [the corpses of the pagan Quraysh] to be thrown [into the well]: Did ye find that your Lord's promises come true?[1]

فقال رسول الله ﷺ وهو يلقيهم: هل وجدتم ما وعدكم ربكم حقاً؟

Mûsâ said: Nâfi' said: 'Abd Allâh said:

قال موسى: قال نافع: قال عبد الله:

Some of his companions said: O Apostle of God! Dost thou address dead people?—The Apostle of God answered: Ye [others] do not hear better what I am saying than they do![2]

قال ناس من أصحابه: يا رسول الله! تنادى ناساً أمواتاً؟ — قال رسول الله ﷺ: ما أنتم بأسمع لما قلت منهم.

The total number of the [Muslim] Quraysh who fought at Badr and received their share [of the spoil][3] was eighty-one men.[4]

فجميع من شهد بدراً من قريش ممن ضرب له بسهمه أحد وثمانون رجلاً.

And 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr used to say: Az-Zubayr said:

وكان عروة بن الزبير يقول: قال الزبير:

When their shares were distributed, their number was one hundred[5]; but God knoweth best [how many they really were].

قسمت سهمانهم فكانوا مائة، والله أعلم.

29 Ibrâhîm ibn Mûsâ related to me: Hishâm informed us, on the authority of Ma'mar, on the authority of Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of his father, on the authority of az-Zubayr, who said:

٢٩ حدثني ابراهيم بن موسى: أخبرنا هشام عن معمر عن هشام بن عروة عن أبيه عن الزبير قال:

THE *Muhâjirs* received on the day of Badr one hundred shares [of the spoil].[6]

ضربت يوم بدر للمهاجرين بمائة سهم.

1 Fragment from the Tradition which is given in complete form (but with a different *isnâd*) in sec. 8, No. 15, which see for explanations.

2 See preceding note.

3 In the case of the Companions who fell in that battle, their shares were given to their dependants.

4 This last paragraph also is a saying of Mûsâ ibn 'Uqbah (see *isnâd*). There is a considerable difference of opinion among the early historians as to the number of the *Muhâjirs* who took part in the battle of Badr; the figures vary from sixty and odd (cf. sec. 6, No. 1) to more than eighty as in the above Tradition.

5 It is to be borne in mind that several of the Companions who were prevented, through no fault of theirs, from taking part in the campaign of Badr, were subsequently given by the Prophet shares of the spoils equal to those granted to the actual fighters: thus it is quite possible that, if the number of the fighters from among the *Muhâjirs* was above eighty, their shares rose to nearly one hundred.

6 See preceding note.

SECTION XIII

LIST OF THE NAMES OF THE MEN OF BADR [MENTIONED] IN THIS COMPILATION OF ABÛ 'ABD ALLÂH [AL-BUKHÂRÎ][1]

The Prophet Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh al-Hâshimî, may God bless him and give him peace; Abû Bakr the True Believer, 'Umar, 'Uthmân, and 'Alî[2]*; Iyâs ibn al-Bukayr; Bilâl ibn Rabâḥ, the freedman of Abû Bakr al-Qurashî; Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Hâshimî; Ḥâṭib ibn Abî Balta'ah, ally of the Quraysh; Abû Ḥudhayfah ibn 'Utbah ibn Rabî'ah al-Qurashî; Ḥârithah ibn ar-Rubayyi*[3] *al-Anṣârî (that is, Ḥârithah ibn Surâqah), who was killed on the day of Badr, being one of the scouts; Khubayb ibn 'Adî al-Anṣârî; Khunays ibn Ḥudhâfah as-Sahmî; Rifâ'ah ibn Râfi' al-Anṣârî; Rifâ'ah ibn 'Abd al-Mundhir abû Lubâbah al-Anṣârî; az-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwâm al-Qurashî; Zayd ibn Sahl abû Ṭalḥah al-Anṣârî; Abû Zayd al-Anṣârî; Sa'd ibn Mâlik az-Zuhrî; Sa'd ibn Khawlah al-Qurashî; Sa'îd ibn Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl al-Qurashî; Sahl ibn Ḥunayf al-Anṣârî; Ẓuhayr ibn Râfi' al-Anṣârî, and his brother [Maẓhar]; 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd al-Hudhalî; 'Utbah ibn Mas'ûd al-Hudhalî*[4]*; 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf az-Zuhrî; 'Ubaydah ibn al-Ḥârith al-Qurashî; 'Ubâdah ibn aṣ-Ṣâmit al-Anṣârî; 'Amr ibn 'Awf, ally of the Banû 'Âmir ibn Lu'ayy; 'Uqbah ibn 'Amr al-Anṣârî; 'Âmir ibn Rabî'ah al-'Anazî; 'Âṣim ibn Thâbit al-Anṣârî;*

١٣ باب

تسمية من سمى من أهل بدر فى الجامع الذى وضعه أبو عبد الله على حروف المعجم

النبى محمد بن عبد الله الهاشمى ﷺ ؛ أبو بكر الصديق ثم عمر ثم عثمان ثم على ؛ ثم اياس بن البكير ؛ بلال ابن رباح مولى أبى بكر القرشى ؛ حمزة بن عبد المطلب الهاشمى ؛ حاطب بن أبى بلتعة حليف لقريش ؛ أبو حذيفة بن عتبة بن ربيعة القرشى ؛ حارثة بن الربيع الأنصارى قتل يوم بدر (وهو حارثة بن سراقة) كان فى النظارة ؛ خبيب بن عدى الأنصارى ؛ خنيس بن حذافة السهمى ؛ رفاعة بن رافع الأنصارى ؛ رفاعة بن عبد المنذر أبو لبابة الأنصارى ؛ الزبير بن العوام القرشى ؛ زيد بن سهل أبو طلحة الأنصارى ؛ أبو زيد الأنصارى ؛ سعد بن مالك الزهرى ؛ سعد بن خولة القرشى ؛ سعيد بن زيد بن عمرو بن نفيل القرشى ؛ سهل بن حنيف الأنصارى ؛ ظهير بن رافع الأنصارى وأخوه ؛ عبد الله بن مسعود الهذلى ؛ عتبة بن مسعود الهذلى ؛ عبد الرحمن بن عوف الزهرى ؛ عبيدة بن الحرث القرشى ؛ عبادة بن الصامت الأنصارى ؛ عمرو ابن عوف حليف بنى عامر بن لؤى ؛ عقبة بن عمرو

1 In the text are added the words, *'alâ ḥurûf al-mu'jam* ("alphabetically"). This has been omitted in the translation as the English alphabet does not coincide with the Arabic.—The list contains only the names of those Companions who are expressly mentioned in this work as having fought at Badr; this explains the fact that some of the Companions of Badr known as such through other sources but not accordingly defined in Bkh have been omitted from the above list—as, *e.g.*, Abû 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrâḥ. The title of this section appears to originate from al-Bukhârî's disciple, al-Farabrî, on whose recension most of the current texts of Bkh are based; the list itself seems to have been composed by al-Bukhârî, although the texts differ with regard to the order of the names (see n. 2 below).

2 In some of the current texts the names of the four Right-Guided Caliphs are inserted in the list in their alphabetic order; but their mention immediately after the Prophet—as in our text—appears to be better established (cf. 'Aynî XVII, 122; *Al-Bidâyah wa'n-Nihâyah* III, 314).

3 Ar-Rubayyi' was his mother's name. In most of the current texts of Bkh it is spelt at this place *ar-Rabî'*, but this is obviously a mistake (cf. 'Aynî XVII, 122).

4 The mention of 'Utbah ibn Mas'ûd at this place is obviously a mistake on the part of one of the early copyists, for nowhere in Bkh 'Utbah is mentioned as a Companion of Badr, nor does any of the other historical authorities mention him as such. The name of 'Utbah did not appear in this list in the (now lost) text of an-Nasafî, a prominent disciple of al-Bukhârî (*Fatḥ al-Bârî* VII, 262).

'Uwaym ibn Sâ'idah al-Anṣârî; 'Itbân ibn Mâlik al-Anṣârî; Qudâmah ibn Maẓ'ûn; Qatâdah ibn an-Nu'mân al-Anṣârî; Mu'âdh ibn 'Amr ibn al-Jamûḥ; Mu'awwidh ibn 'Afrâ', and his brother ['Awf]; Mâlik ibn Rabî'ah abû Usayd al-Anṣârî; Murârah ibn ar-Rabî' al-Anṣârî; Ma'n ibn 'Adî al-Anṣârî; Miṣṭaḥ ibn Uthâthah ibn 'Abbâd ibn al-Muṭṭalib ibn 'Abd Manâf; Miqdâd ibn 'Amr al-Kindî, ally of the Banu Zuhrah; Hilâl ibn Umayyah al-Anṣârî; — may God be pleased with all of them.

الأنصارى؛ عامر بن ربيعة العنزى؛ عاصم بن ثابت الأنصارى؛ عويم بن ساعدة الأنصارى؛ عتبان بن مالك الأنصارى؛ قدامة بن مظعون؛ قتادة بن النعمان الأنصارى؛ معاذ بن عمرو بن الجموح؛ معوذ بن عفراء وأخوه؛ مالك بن ربيعة أبو أسيد الأنصارى؛ مرارة ابن الربيع الأنصارى؛ معن بن عدى الأنصارى؛ مسطح بن أثاثة بن عباد بن المطلب بن عبد مناف؛ مقداد بن عمرو الكندى حليف بنى زهرة؛ هلال ابن أمية الأنصارى؛ — رضى الله عنهم.

