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### A critical study of Al-Taḥṭāwī's Nihāyat al-ijāz fi sīrat sākin al-Hijāz with particular emphasis on the foundation of the Islamic State

Lamiaa' Mahmoud Zaki

*The American University in Cairo AUC*

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A CRITICAL STUDY  
OF AL-TAHTAWI'S NIHAyat AL-HIAZ  
FI SIRAT SAKIN AL-HIAZ WITH  
PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON  
THE FOUNDATION  
OF THE ISLAMIC STATE

BY  
LAMIAA MAHMOUD ZAKI

1990

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A CRITICAL STUDY OF AL-ṬAḤṬĀWĪ'S  
NIHĀYAT AL-ĪJĀZ FI SĪRAT SĀKIN AL-HIJĀZ  
WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON  
THE FOUNDATION OF THE ISLAMIC STATE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE CENTER FOR ARABIC STUDIES  
THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

By  
LAMIAA' MAHMOUD ZAKI

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO

January 1990

Thesis  
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THIS THESIS FOR THE MASTERS OF ARTS DEGREE

BY LAMIAA' MAHMOUD ZAKI

HAS BEEN APPROVED

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CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC STUDIES



D e d i c a t i o n

To My Dearest Middle Sister Zena,

and to

The Prosperous Future of

My Beloved Little Doha



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## CHAPTER ONE

### SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE LIFE OF RIFĀʿA RĀFIʿ AL-ṬAḤṬĀWĪ AND HIS WORKS



SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE LIFE OF  
RIFĀCA RĀFI<sup>c</sup> AL-ṬAḤṬĀWĪ AND HIS WORKS

Biographical studies of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī are so numerous as to make an additional treatment of the subject here, in any detail, otiose. However, a condensed version within a chronological framework is of help in providing a background for the understanding of Nihāyat al-ijāz which is the subject of this thesis.

The presentation which follows immediately contains information gathered from many sources and attempts to integrate al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's intellectual development, as represented by his publications,<sup>1</sup> within the framework of his life and times.

1801.....Rifāca ibn Badawī ibn ʿAlī ibn Rāfi<sup>c</sup> al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was born in Ṭaḥṭa, in Upper Egypt, 420 km up-river from Cairo. He had no siblings. His family on his father's side were descended from al-Ḥusayn ibn Fātīma al-Zahrā', the Prophet's daughter, and on his mother's side,

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<sup>1</sup>For information about unpublished manuscripts read Salwā al-Sāwī: Rifācah Rāfi<sup>c</sup> al-Ṭaḥṭāwī: A study of his life and works with particular emphasis on bibliographical concerns, his status as a historian and his influence on Egyptian political and social thinking since 1952. M.A. thesis, AUC. 1979.



from the Khazraj Anṣar of Madina.<sup>1</sup>  
 1813.....When his father's iltizāms (fiefs) were taken away the family encountered financial difficulties, as a result of which they moved from Ṭaḥṭa to well-to-do relatives called Bayt Abī Qaṭāna who lived in Manshīya al-Nida close to Girga. In Manshīya al-Nida al-Ṭaḥṭāwī learned by heart most of the Quran. Subsequently, his family moved on to Qena and remained there for a while before moving to Farshōt. When his father died, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī and his mother returned to Ṭaḥṭa.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Alī Mubārak. al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiqīya al-Jadīda, vol. 13, pp. 51 and 56.

Ahmad Badawī. Rifāʿa al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, (Cairo, 1950) p. 1.

Sālih Majdī. (ed.) Hilyat al-Zamān bi Manāqib Khadim al-watan. (Cairo, 1958), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Alī Mubārak. op. cit. p. 53.

Badawī. op. cit. p. 12.

Muhammad ʿImāra. al-Aʿmāl al-Kāmila li Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭaḥṭāwī. (Beirut, 1973), pp. 31-32.

Majdī. op. cit. p. 4 and p. 28.

el-Sāwī. op. cit. p. 1.



Most writers on al-Taḥṭāwī's biography have gone into the question of the degree to which his family's fortunes were affected by Muḥammad ʿAlī's confiscation of the awqāf; or whether the family's financial decline was due to other reasons. This researcher has not been able to find any other plausible reason for their financial decline other than Muḥammad ʿAlī's policies. Badawī, Majdī and ʿAlī Mubārak are all inconclusive on this particular point. Cole tends to more or less agree, though he concludes that these land policies were not initially responsible for the al-Taḥṭāwī family's decline-without hazarding a guess as to what caused it.<sup>1</sup>

In any case, upon his return to Taḥṭa, al-Taḥṭāwī's maternal uncles maintained him and he completed the memorization of the Quran there. His uncles were mashā-yikh of wide scholarly repute among whom was Shaykh Farag al-Anṣārī, who was educated at al-Azhar and wrote commentaries on Shāfiʿī jurisprudence. It was therefore, through his uncles, that he moved to al-Azhar.

1817.....al-Taḥṭāwī was sent off to al-Azhar at the age of sixteen. He did not follow the regular

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<sup>1</sup>John Ricardo Cole. Rifāʿah at-Taḥṭāwī and the revival of practical philosophy. M.A. thesis. AUC. 1978, pp. 67-69.



course in his first year. During his stay at al-Azhar, he was initiated into the Wafā'iyā Ṣūfī order with the name of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm.<sup>1</sup> When al-Ṭaḥṭāwī finally began to take the regular curriculum he made rapid progress under the best teachers of his age; he studied both the traditional and the rational sciences.

With Shaykh al-Faḍḍālī (d. 1820) he read al-Bukhārī Shaykh Ahmad al-Damhiḡī (d. 1830), Rector of al-Azhar for a year, taught him the commentary on al-Ashmūnī. al-Najjārī taught him al-Ḥikam. Under ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Dumyātī and Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī (d. 1860) he read the commentary of al-Jalālayn on the Quran. With Hasan al-Ḳuwaysinī, he read the Masharīḡ al-Anwār. al-Ṭaḥṭāwī also read the Mughni al-Labīb and the Jāmʿ al-Jawāmiʿ (of Ibn Athīr) under Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥubaysh. With

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<sup>1</sup>ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Rāfiʿi. ʿAṣr Muhammad ʿAlī (Cairo, 1930), p. 472.

ʿAlī Mubārak. op. cit. p. 53.

Badawī. op. cit. pp. 10-13.

ʿImāra. op. cit. p. 293.

Majdī. op. cit. p. 3.



Shaykh al-Damānḥurī al-Ṭaḥṭāwī read the commentary of Ibn ʿAqīl on the Alfīya (of Ibn Mālik). Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's introduction to the subjects that were not included in the curriculum at al-Azhar such as Islamic history, literature, and the philosophical sciences came about through Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār.<sup>1</sup> The latter stood in a tradition of philosophic humanism followed in the ḥikma school of thought that was best exemplified in the eighteenth century by Ḥasan al-Jabartī.<sup>2</sup>

It was also through al-ʿAṭṭār's good offices with the ruling elite that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī found himself a teaching position in their circles during his student days—particularly during the last two years which were of extreme poverty. This difficulty came about as a result of the confiscation of the public and private waqf of the ʿulamā', by Muḥammad ʿAlī. This hit hard al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's maternal Azharite uncles who were supporting him. As a result, his widowed mother was forced to sell her gold for him to carry on with his education.

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<sup>1</sup>J. Heyworth-Dunne. "Rifāʿah Badawī Rāfi at-Ṭaḥṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist." BSOAS, vol. 9, 1937-1939, pp. 961-962.

Badawī. op. cit. p. 13-14.

<sup>2</sup>Cole. op. cit. p. 70.



Al-<sup>C</sup>Aṭṭār found him a post as a teacher in the Muḥammad Lādhughlī School and a tutor to Ḥusayn Bek, son of Tabozghlī, a member of the elite. Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī taught ḥadīth and logic.<sup>1</sup>

1821.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī began teaching at al-Azhar, he taught ḥadīth, logic rhetoric, poetics and prosody. He soon became a popular teacher within al-Azhar and this brought the possibility of working himself up into the hierarchy of the Muslim intellectual elite in Egypt, despite his impecunious origins.<sup>2</sup>

1824.....On the recommendation of his mentor, al-<sup>C</sup>Aṭṭār al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was appointed wāḥiḍ to one of Muḥammad <sup>C</sup>Alī's newly formed regiments, headed by Ḥasan Bek al-Manastirlī and Aḥmad Bek al-Munklī.<sup>3</sup>

Heyworth-Dunne and al-Rāfi<sup>C</sup>ī agree that this meant a tremendous change in the life of the Azhari Shaykh. He now abandoned the madrasa life to come into contact with the new military organization. The latter, controlled

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<sup>1</sup>Badawī, op. cit. p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>Badawī, op. cit. p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Heyworth-Dunne, op. cit. p. 962.



by Turks, had also European instructors whose influence began to be asserted through the demands made on them for the 'new learning.'<sup>1</sup>

1825.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī is shifted to another regiment with whom he remained until Shaʿbān of the following year when he was sent to Paris.<sup>2</sup>

Before al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's trip to France, his early life seems to have been most strongly affected by three basic factors: his financial impecunity, his family's connection with al-Azhar and his relationship with Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār.

1826.....On al-ʿAṭṭār's recommendation, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was appointed as an Imām to the military mission sent by Muḥammad ʿAlī to France. These men, who were mostly Turks and Armenians, were sent to study military science, agriculture, engineering, administration, and medicine.

It may well be that by al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's appointment, as has been suggested, "al-ʿAṭṭār hoped to form a new generation of students, and he partially succeeded... and

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<sup>1</sup>al-Rāfiʿī, op. cit. p. 474.

<sup>2</sup>Badawī, op. cit. p. 17.



his most notable success, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭaḥṭāwī helped begin Egypt's intellectual renaissance."<sup>1</sup> Other writers, such as Heyworth-Dunne, feel that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's appointment "was sheer accident that gave Egypt a revivalist, a reformer and the father of modern Arabic Literature."<sup>2</sup>

Whatever the instigation, there can be no doubt of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's readiness to take advantage of this opportunity. According to Majdī, he began learning French as soon as the ship parted from Alexandria<sup>3</sup>—not, as Badawī informs us, after his arrival in Marseilles.<sup>4</sup> According to Majdī, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī went to France intending to learn translation, in order to aid his country and al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's subsequent behaviour leads credence to his assertion. An examination of the translated works al-Ṭaḥṭāwī

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<sup>1</sup>Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot. "Modernization among the rectors of the Azhar, 1798-1879", Polk & Chambers. (ed.) Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East. Chicago. 1968, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup>Heyworth-Dunne. An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt. (London, 1939), p. 167.

<sup>3</sup>Majdī, op. cit. pp. 30-31.

<sup>4</sup>Badawī, op. cit. pp. 19-20.



translated are a second indication that his French experience was not haphazard.<sup>1</sup>

1827.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's translation of Yūsuf Yaʿkaūb's (his translation instructor) "La Lyre Brisée" into Arabic is published in Paris.

Being an imām allowed al-Ṭaḥṭāwī plenty of time to take an interest in those subjects which were congenial to him. For example, the life of Napoleon, Lord Chesterfield's letters to his son, some French poetry, including Racine and, most important, something of the French thought of the eighteenth century such as Voltaire, Condillac, Rousseau's Social Contract, and the main works of Montesquieu. Also while in Paris al-Ṭaḥṭāwī met the orientalist of his day, such as Silvestre de Sacy. No doubt it was through them he became aware of the discoveries of the Egyptologists.<sup>2</sup>

The subjects al-Ṭaḥṭāwī dealt with do not seem to show the mind of a traditionalist Azharite shaykh, since he concentrated on cosmology, mathematics, history and

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<sup>1</sup>Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl. Tārīkh al-Tarjama wa'l-Haraka al-thaqāfiya fi ʿahd Muḥammad ʿAlī. (Cairo, 1951) pp. 128-129.

<sup>2</sup>Albert Hourani. Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939. (Oxford, 1970), pp. 69-70.



political thought. As Cole commented, the last topic one would have expected a strict young Azharite, who earned his living teaching ḥadīth, to be interested in Greek mythology.<sup>1</sup> These interests of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's in the philosophical sciences and adab may well have been fostered in him initially by al-ʿAṭṭār's keen interests in them also.

1828.....The Egyptian mission took an examination on the curriculum they have been following while in Paris. In it al-Ṭaḥṭāwī scored quite highly.<sup>2</sup> This was probably due to his efforts in translation study of French grammar. He completed twelve translations while in Paris among them a portion of a biography of Alexander and a treatise on the principles of natural rights; in addition to translations on the subjects dealing with mining, geography, and health care.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cole, op. cit. pp. 72-74.

<sup>2</sup>Badawī, op. cit. p. 21.

<sup>3</sup>Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing & Translations under Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt." Muslim World, V. 54, 1964, p. 335.



1830.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's translation of a French work on geography al-Jughrāfiya al-Ṣaghira was published at the Bulaq press, while he was still in Paris, in addition to ʿIlm hayʿat al-dunyā.<sup>1</sup>

1831.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī passed the final examination in Paris, and then returns to Egypt, where his rise was meteoric. In Alexandria he was met by Ibrāhīm Pāshā who granted him thirty six feddans for his efforts. In Cairo, and on the basis of reports sent by Jomard, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was appointed by Muḥammad ʿAlī as a translator and a French teacher in Clot Bey's Medical School at Abū Zaʿbal.<sup>2</sup>

1833.....He was transferred to the Artillery School at Ṭurah as a translator under the supervision of Seguera. In the same year al-Ṭaḥṭāwī also published a translation on mining called al-Maʿādin an-nāfiʿa li-tadbīr maʿāyish al-khalā'ik.

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<sup>1</sup>Heyworth-Dunne, "Rifāʿah Badawī Rāfi at-Ṭaḥṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist." BSOAS, V. 10, 1939-1942, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup>Heyworth-Dunne, "The Egyptian Revivalist." V. 9, p. 964.



Also during the same year al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's translation of Depping's Aperçu historique sur les mœurs et coutumes des nations, appeared under the title of Qālā'id al-mafākhir fī gharīb Ḥawā'id al-awā'il wa'l-awākhir.<sup>1</sup>

1834.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's Takhlīs al-ibriz fī talkhīs Bārīz was published; it was also called as the Riḥla. The first edition was in Arabic. It acquired such fame that Muḥammad ḤAlī ordered its translation into Turkish in 1840 under the title of Safarat Nāmeḥ. This journal, about his Paris experiences, was published at the Bulaq press. The same press published two translations on geography: al-Kanz al-mukhtār fī kashf al-arādī wāl-biḥār, an elementary geography book written in the form of questions and answers.<sup>2</sup> The second was a major portion of Maltebrun's Geographie Universelle. This he had finished in Ṭaḥṭa where he had fled from the outbreak of plague in Cairo.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. vol. 10, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. vol. 9, p. 964.



Upon his return to Cairo from Ṭaḥṭa he presented this translation to Muḥammad ʿAlī who promoted him to the rank of Ṣaghaqūl Aghāsī, as well as giving him a large cash remuneration.<sup>1</sup>

1835.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī headed the newly formed school of History and Geography. During this year al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was appointed librarian for the school at Qaṣr al-ʿAynī, in charge of 15000 volumes in French and Italian. Later in the year, he was made head of the newly formed School of Language, Madrasat al-ʿAlsun.<sup>2</sup>

It is a general belief that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī founded this school and was its first head, but Heyworth-Dunne claims that a certain Ibrahīm Effendī founded it in June 1836 in the Palace of Alfī Bey in the Ezbekīya quarter. He added that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī 'suddenly' came to the fore in 1836 in connection with the re-organization of the school's administration council and that he was appoint-

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<sup>1</sup>Mahmūd Fahmī Hijāzī. Usūl al-fikr al-ʿArabi al-ḥadīth ʿand al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, (Cairo, 1974), pp. 130-135 and Heyworth-Dunne, "The Egyptian Revivalist." op. cit. p. 965.

<sup>2</sup>Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifāʿah Rāfiʿ al-Ṭaḥṭāwī. (Cairo, 1958), p. 30.



ed by that council Director of Madrasat al-Alsun in January 1837.

In any case, Madrasat al-Alsun provided him with the opportunity to put his ideas into practice. In his capacity as head of that school, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī introduced a syllabus that included the study of European Languages, mathematics, history and geography.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to geography and purely technical subjects, the other major emphasis of the translation movement which al-Ṭaḥṭāwī headed in the '30's and '40's was world history. However, this activity in translation would have been limited in its effect without the establishment of a government printing press, at Būlāq around 1822.<sup>2</sup>

1836.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's translation of the biographies of the ancient Greek philosophers, Kitāb qudamā' al-falāsifa is published at Būlāq.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Heyworth-Dunne. "The Egyptian Revivalist." Vol. 9, p. 966.

<sup>2</sup>p.M. Holt. Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922: A Political History, (London, 1966), p. 191.

<sup>3</sup>Heyworth-Dunne, "The Egyptian Revivalist." Vol. 10, p. 403.



To create a translation movement out of the void was no easy task. It even entailed the development of a new Arabic vocabulary suitable to modern concepts.<sup>1</sup>

1838.....A translation of Dumarais' La Logique, entitled

ed al-Mantiq was published. Also, the publication of his translated ancient Egyptian history entitled Ta'rīkh al-qudamā' al-Miṣriyīn.<sup>2</sup>

Another translation on ancient history is published called Bidāyat al-Qudamā' wa Hidayāt al-Hukamā'.<sup>3</sup>

1840.....Under al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's guidance, Muṣṭafā al-Zarābī's translation on medieval history appeared.

1841.....Three translations of a book on modern European history were published by al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's pupils, including Voltaire's History of Charles XII. It was entitled Matāliḥ shumus al-siyar fī waqā'iḥ Karlus al-thāni Ḥashar.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>El-Sāwī, op. cit. p. 20.

<sup>2</sup>Heyworth-Dunne, "The Egyptian Revivalist." Vol. 10, p. 403.

<sup>3</sup>Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, A History of Egyptian Historiography in the Nineteenth Century. (Alex, 1962).

<sup>4</sup>Abd al-Samīḥ Muḥammad Aḥmad, "Rifāḥa wa'l-Alsun", Nadwat Rifāḥa Rāfiḥ al-Ṭaḥṭāwī. (Cairo, 1976), p. 30.



In the same year al-Taḥṭāwī was assigned the task of re-organizing the government newspaper al-Waqā'iḥ al-Misriyah and served as its editor.<sup>1</sup>

Thus far the efforts made by al-Taḥṭāwī in the institutions created by Muḥammad ʿAlī were basically an extension of the army, and reflected its needs. The idea of public education for its own sake was foreign to the mind of Muḥammad ʿAlī. To him, growth meant the serving of his military and imperial designs. In fact, by confiscating religious endowments, he was actually undermining the traditional school system in Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

However, the London treaty of 1841 made it clear that Europe was not going to allow Egypt to replace the Ottoman Empire as the major force in the area. Consequently, the cutting back of the school system, as well as the army and navy, reflects this reality. The situation did not change during the 1840's although there were some changes made - closing of some schools and opening of others.

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<sup>1</sup>El-Sāwī claims al-Taḥṭāwī's appointment was in 1848. op. cit. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Heyworth-Dunne. History of Education, pp. 154-156.



- 1842.....The preparatory school at Abū Zaḥbal was transferred to the same location as the School of Languages and placed under al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's direction. In addition, a newly combined school of European law and administration was also put under al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's supervision. Another school was opened for Islamic law and jurisprudence, also given into his charge. All of these institutions were amalgamated and called the School of Languages and Accountancy. During this same year, one of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's students published a translation of Montesquieu's Considérations Sur Les Causes de la Grandeur des Romains.
- 1843.....The second volume of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's translation of Maltebrun appeared.
- 1844.....Muḥammad ḤAlī raised al-Ṭaḥṭāwī to the rank Qā'im-maqām in appreciation of his services.
- 1846.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was made Amīr al-āy and given substantial gifts of land by the royal family. From this time he became known as Rifāḥa Bey instead of Shaykh Rifāḥa. Al-Shayyāl points out that we thus have the curious anomaly of



an Azharī shaykh in charge of a military academy bearing a military rank.<sup>1</sup>

1848.....A graduate of the school of languages published the translation of Travels in India, entitled it as Siyāḥa fī'l-Hind.<sup>2</sup>

1849.....Another graduate of the School of Languages publishes Voltaire's history of Peter the Great. Also the second edition of the Riḥla was published.

1850.....ʿAbbās closed down the official newspaper, and then exiles al-Ṭaḥṭāwī to Khartoum as superintendent of a primary school there. Bayyūmi Effendi, a fellow member of the 1826 mission, accompanied him. While in the Sudan al-Ṭaḥṭāwī translated Fenelon's Télémaque and several long poems reflect his depression and grief at this time.<sup>3</sup>

The question needing to be asked is why was al-Ṭaḥṭāwī exiled? Heyworth-Dunne suggests that ʿAbbās was

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<sup>1</sup>Al-Shayyāl, Tā'rikh, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup>Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, "Rifāʿah al-mutarjim," Mahrajān Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, (Cairo, 1960), p. 166.

<sup>3</sup>Al-Shayyāl, Tā'rikh, p. 41.



persuaded to get rid of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī by certain ḥulāmā' who did not like him and who looked upon him as a heretic.<sup>1</sup> ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karīm claims that ʿAbbās' antagonism was occasioned by machinations of ʿAlī Mubārak-but why? ʿAbd al-Karīm does not explain.<sup>2</sup> Al-Rāfiʿī speculates that the displeasure with al-Ṭaḥṭāwī may have coincided with the second edition of Takhlīs al-Ibrīz which recorded certain opinions that went against ʿAbbās' authoritarian tendencies.<sup>3</sup> A further explanation is that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī himself was reported to have been invited to take up an educational position in Istanbul. ʿAbbās, according to this account, intervened and obtained the cancellation of the offer.<sup>4</sup>

1851.....The School of Languages and Accountancy is

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<sup>1</sup>Heyworth-Dunne, "The Egyptian Revivalist." Vol. 9, p. 967.

<sup>2</sup>Ahmad ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karīm, Dirāsāt Tarikhiya fī'l nahda al-ʿArabiya al-ḥadītha. (Cairo, 1958), p. 58.

<sup>3</sup>Al-Rafiʿi. op. cit. p. 489.

<sup>4</sup>Footnote No. 11 in microfilm. Israel Altman, The Political Thought of Rifāʿah Rāfiʿ at-Ṭaḥṭāwī, a 19th C. Egyptian Reformer. Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of California 1976. This footnote is from James Hilton, Sinai, the Hedjaz and the Sudan. (London, Richard Bently), 1857. p. 344.



closed in May and ʿAlī Mubārak was made head of the Translation Bureau.

1854.....Saʿīd was enthroned and a Qaṣīda Waṭanīyah Miṣrīyah in his praise by al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, who has returned from the Sudan, was published at the Būlāq press.

Under Saʿīd, a new phase of the Egyptian cultural movement headed by the new bureaucratic class was to be opened, reversing the downward trend of the previous twenty years. He dismantled Muhammad ʿAlī's system of etatism. This, along with the interruption of the American exports by the Civil War brought about a brief improvement in the economy which had its effect on the cultural sphere.<sup>1</sup>

.....Upon his return from the Sudan al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was appointed director of Muhandis Khāna School in the Citadel and subsequently Director of Diwān al-Madāris, being given responsibility for the European Department - Makātib al-milla of the Governorate.

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<sup>1</sup>David Landes. Bankers & Pashas, (London, 1958), p. 78.



In addition, he worked as a translator in Majlis al-muhāfaza.<sup>1</sup>

1855.....Al-Taḥṭāwī was appointed vice-superintendent of the Military Academy. He also printed at the Bulaq press poems under the title Manzūmāt waṭanīya Miṣrīya. It is significant that al-Taḥṭāwī had translated the Marseillaise.<sup>2</sup>

The brief economic recovery earlier takes a downturn and projects which had benefitted from it begin to close.<sup>3</sup>

1860.....The Military Academy in the Citadel was abolished and for the first time in thirty six years al-Taḥṭāwī finds himself out of public service. He remained unemployed until Ismāʿīl's reign.

1863.....The succession of Ismāʿīl brings a new dynamism to Egypt's economy and institutions.

Ismāʿīl's modernizing ambitions were supported by the cotton boom of 1863 and an even better one in 1864,

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<sup>1</sup>Al-Shayyāl. Ta'rikh at-Tarjama. p. 43.

<sup>2</sup>Heyworth-Dunne, "The Egyptian Revivalist," Vol. 10, p. 403.

<sup>3</sup>Landes, op. cit. pp. 106-110.



when European style companies were founded to develop the resources of the country. This provided enough to initiate projects like educational reform and the re-constitution of military schools such as those that had existed under Muḥammad ʿAlī.

.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was appointed director of Ismāʿīl's new Translation Bureau which was attached to Diwān al-Madāris. One of the first tasks of the Translation Bureau under al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was a translation of the Code Napoleon. Also in this same year a grammatical work by al-Ṭaḥṭāwī called Jumal al-īyrūmiya was printed by the *al-Ājurrumiyah* Būlāq press. He also wrote a teacher's manual on language teaching in schools.<sup>1</sup>

1864.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī published a long poem in praise of Egypt to celebrate the accession of Ismāʿīl- called Manzūma Waṭanīya Miṣrīya.<sup>2</sup>

1867.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was given the responsibility for the supervision of the national schools (Lā'i-ḥat tanẓīm al-makatib al-ahliya) especially the Kuttabs. His responsibility was to upgrade

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<sup>1</sup>Imāra, op. cit. p. 66.

<sup>2</sup>El-Sāwī, op. cit. p. 4.



the curriculum from simply teaching the Quran to educating the students in writing, arithmetic, commercial knowledge, grammar, ancient history geography, modern languages and manners.<sup>1</sup> In this same year, al-Taḥṭāwī's translation of Les Aventures de Telemaque appeared in Beirut<sup>2</sup>

1868.....A translation of the French Commercial code was printed in the Būlāq press,<sup>3</sup> as was the history of ancient Egypt up to the Islamic era, Anwār tawfiq al-jalīl fī akhbar Miṣr wa tawthīq banī Ismāʿīl.<sup>4</sup>

While Ismāʿīl's educational reforms were most advantageous for al-Taḥṭāwī's own career, there were also many other aspects of Ismāʿīl's reign which were to have a strong influence on the subject matter of Nihāyat al-

<sup>1</sup>Suzanne Sidhom. Calī Mubārak: the Man and His Achievements. M.A. thesis, AUC, 1974, pp. 164-166.

<sup>2</sup>Heyworth-Dunne, "The Egyptian Revivalist," Vol. 10, p. 403.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p. 404.

<sup>4</sup>Rifāʿah Rāfiʿ al-Taḥṭāwī, Anwār tawfiq al-jalīl fī akhbar Miṣr wa tawthīq Banī Ismāʿīl. (Cairo, 1869), pp. 4-6.



Ījāz, particularly the section on political theory. This point will be dealt with subsequently in this thesis.

1869.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī published Manāhiḥ al-albāb al-Miṣr-īya fī mabāhiḥ al-ādab al-ḥaṣrīya. This was the first book on the politics of modern Egypt from the pen of an Arab Muslim.<sup>1</sup> In the same year al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's innovative Arabic grammar, at-Tuḥfa al-maktabīya litaqrīb al-luḡat al-ʿArabīya was published for use in newly re-organized primary schools. This too was the first modern book ever written in Arabic about grammar.<sup>2</sup>

1870.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was appointed as editor to the newly founded Journal Rawḍat al-madāris - a position he occupied until his death. In this educational journal (founded by ʿAlī Mubārak), al-Ṭaḥṭāwī serialized the rest of his works which saw print during his own life time. In this year, he began serializing a work on

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<sup>1</sup>Fritz Steppat. "National Education Projects in Egypt before the British Occupation." Polk & Chambers, op. cit. p. 285.

<sup>2</sup>Heyworth-Dunne, "The Egyptian Revivalist," op. cit. Vol. 10, p. 404.



jurisprudence al-Qawl as-sadīd fī'l-ijtihād wa'l-taqlīd.<sup>1</sup>

1872.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's fundamental ideas on education were serialized in Rawdat al-madāris, al-Murshid al-amīn fī'l-taʿlīm li'l-banāt wa'l-banīn

1873.....Al-Murshid was published, prior to al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's death, at Matbaʿat al-Madāris al-Malakīya. Some writers have argued that this book was only serialized and published after al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's death in 1875. However, this was the second edition, which was published in 1875 by al-Matbaʿa al-Mutaqaddima.<sup>2</sup> Also serialized in Rawdat al-Madāris was al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's book on the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, Nihāyāt al-ījāz fī Sīrat Sākin al-Ḥijāz. This was the second volume of Anwār tawfīq al-jalīl fī akhbār Miṣr was tawthīq Banī Ismāʿīl, that had been published in 1868.

1873.....Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī died.

1874.....The first printed edition of Nihāyāt al-ījāz

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<sup>1</sup>Imara, op. cit. p. 66.

<sup>2</sup>El-Sāwī, op. cit. p. 13.



was published in Matba<sup>C</sup>at al-Madaris<sup>1</sup> by his  
son <sup>C</sup>Alī Fahmy.

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<sup>1</sup>Ref. Nihāyat al-Ījaz fī Sirat Sākin al-Ḥijāz. p. 5  
and p. 530.



The review of the contents of al-Tahtāwī's *Siya* which follows will, of necessity, be selective. For convenience sake, I have made it correspond with the three thematic divisions of *Nihāyat al-Ījāz* namely, from the Prophet's birth to the *siyā*, the *siyā* and the institutions of the Islamic state. With somewhat greater emphasis being given to the latter, in step with the translation of the *Siya* into English which accompanies the present discussion.

## CHAPTER TWO

THE THEMES AND STRUCTURE OF AL-ṬAHTĀWĪ'S  
NIHĀYAT AL-ĪJĀZ

*Nihāyat al-Ījāz* is the condensed version of the *Siya* of Ibn Isḥāq/Ibn Sīrīn.<sup>1</sup> It has omitted the material from the *muqaddima* section of Ibn Isḥāq/Ibn Sīrīn dealing with the history of both Arabia, the Persian and Abyssinian occupation of Arabia and the history of the *saḥāba*. It may well be that this selective reduction was not his own choice and that he was following Ibn Saʿyid al-Ḥafṣī in doing so. It is, perhaps, no accident that

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Isḥāq, *al-Siyar al-nabawiya*, Cairo 1955, pp. 1-493.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Saʿyid al-Ḥafṣī, *Siya al-nabi wa siyāt al-ḥafṣī*, Cairo, 1938.



The review of the contents of al-Taḥṭāwī's Sīra which follows will, of necessity, be selective. For convenience sake, I have made it correspond with the three thematic divisions of Nihāyat al-ījāz- namely, from the Prophet's birth to the Hijra, the maghāzī and the institutions of the Islamic state, with somewhat greater emphasis being given to the latter, in step with the translation of that section into English which accompanies the present discussion.

The first of these sections is dealt with by al-Taḥṭāwī in the compass of 133 pages, thus reducing to around one third the volume of the first part of the Sira of Ibn Ishāq/Ibn Hishām.<sup>1</sup> He has omitted the material from the mubtada' section of Ibn Ishāq/Ibn Hishām dealing with the history of both Arabia, the Persian and Abyssinian occupation of Arabia and the history of the Ka<sup>c</sup>ba. It may well be that this selective reduction was not his own choice and that he was following Ibn Sayyid al-Nās<sup>2</sup> in doing so. It is, perhaps, no accident that

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn Hishām, al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, Cairo 1955, pp. 1-480.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Uyūn al-athar fī funūn al-maghāzī wa'l Si'yar, Cairo, 1938.



he refers to him by name in the first section of Nihāyat al-ījāz.

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī deals, in this section, with the Prophet's birth, genealogy, his wet nurses and his raising. He is aware of the dispute over the number of genealogical links between ʿAdnān and Ismāʿīl and between Ibrāhīm back to ʿAdnān. However, he does not refer to either the Sīra or standard genealogical sources. The same observation holds good in the section on the lineage of the mother of the Prophet. On the other hand, the part on the Prophet's birth is documented and he quotes al-Suhaylī, Ibn Sayyid al-Nās and al-Tirmidhī. His having recourse to ḥadīth sources, per se, is worth commenting on, since this was not a feature of Sīra writing before Ibn Sayyid al-Nās and Ibn Kathīr.

There are some interesting passages in this section which reflect favourably on al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's wide reading-although, unfortunately, the sources are not given. For example, his discussion of the four forms of marriage which existed in the jāhilīya - ordinary with the ījāb and qubūl; nikāḥ al-baghāya, nikāḥ al-istibḍāʿ; and nikāḥ al-jamʿ.<sup>1</sup> This material is not contained in the

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<sup>1</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Nihāyat al-ījāz, p. 9.



standard Sīra sources. al-Ṭaḥṭāwī draws also on al-Rāzī (273) and al-Suyūṭī (911 A.H.) for material which is not part of the canonical Sīra - for example the affirmation that the Prophet's parents, although obviously dying before Islam, did so <sup>1</sup> على التوحيد ودين إبراهيم, on the monotheism and deity of Ibrahim. It is curious that he should use al-Suyūṭī and not the authoritative version of al-Suhaylī<sup>2</sup> for his discussion of the status of Abī Ṭālib as well as the Prophet's parents. One can only assume that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī found al-Suyūṭī's material on the sensitive issue of تعذيب أهل الفترة less upsetting to his sensibilities.

The selective nature of his choice of themes of the Sīra has a price to pay in terms of the cohesion of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's work. For example, he moves abruptly, at this point, from a discussion of the Prophet having prayed to God to bring his parents back to life so that they be rehabilitated<sup>3</sup> to the Prophet's suckling and the arrival of the wet nurses from Banū Saʿd. It cannot be established whether such abrupt thematic changes are the

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>al-Rawḍ al-unuf, Cairo, 1967, Vol. 2, p. 185 seq.

<sup>3</sup>Nihāyat al-ījāz, pp. 14-22.



result of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's own choice, or the work of his son Alī Rifāʿa, who edited part of the book.

The second chapter of the book deals, in eighteen pages, with the Prophet's birth, its arrival celebration and related matters. In the portion dealing with the arrival of mawlid we see a typical feature of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's technique - a long tangential treatment of the mawlid, whether or not it is a bidʿa he maintains a بدعة محمودة a commendable bidʿa analogous to that of ʿUmar in initiating the tarāwīḥ (the sitting after four rakʿa).<sup>1</sup>

None of this is relevant to the life of the Prophet and one wonders why such a long excursus on the subject of the mawlid is necessary - as a show of erudition perhaps, for the presentation is studded with numerous references to Ibn Ḥajar, al-Maḡarrī, Ibn al-Ṭabbākh, al-Nawawī, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Subkī etc. etc.

On this point, and indeed throughout, the depth and range of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's knowledge of primary sources in history, ḥadīth and fiqh is extremely impressive. This gives the lie to conventional western opinion developed during recent decades that the state of knowledge about and use of primary sources in Egypt at the turn of the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 35.



eighteenth century was at a nadir.<sup>1</sup> Much of this has been based upon al-Jabartī's testimony that when he came to write his work he found:

Nothing but a few scattered and disorderly parts on some of the waqf shelves of the madrasas. Book sellers tampered with them; inspectors and supervisors sold them and they were transferred to the Maghrib and the Sudan...<sup>2</sup>

It is simply not conceivable that the rich library resources which al-Ṭaḥṭāwī obviously made such good use of, should suddenly become unavailable in the few decades which separated him from al-Jabartī.

The third chapter of the first part of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's work deals with <sup>the Prophet's</sup> ~~his~~ marriage to khadīja and his offspring. He does not name any sources for his account of the Prophet's marriage to Khadija, but it seems to be a free redaction based on several sources - the initial part is obviously Ibn Ishāq/Ibn Hishām. He has, clearly, not used Ibn Sayyid al-Nās here, for the latter draws heavily on al-Wāqidī for his information; at no point does al-Ṭaḥṭāwī refer to al-Wāqidī.

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<sup>1</sup>See, for example, Ayalon, "The Historian al-Jabartī and his background" BSOAS. 1960, p. 219 seq.

<sup>2</sup>al-Jabartī, ʿAjā'ib al-āthār, Cairo, 1315 H, Vol. 2, p. 16.



The remainder of this section is taken up with biographies of the Prophet's children by Khadija al-Qasim, Zeynab, Ruqayya, Fāṭima, al-Ṭayyib, al-Ṭāhir, but not Umm Kulthūm. ~~al~~-Fāṭima has much the longest treatment. He seldom mentions his sources but the material is conventional and seems to be derived largely from al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar.

The first section of Nihāyat al-ījāz continues with the Prophet's mission, the emigration to Abyssinia and the attempt to establish Islam in al-Ṭā'if, and the hijra and finally, a section on al-miḥrāj and al-isrā'. A short section on the first revelation, mainly from al-Nawawī, is followed by a discussion as to those who converted first to Islam.

Once again, we see in the account of Ḥamza becoming a Muslim the tendency to make free associations, which is such a striking feature of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's presentation. After describing Abū Jahl having insulted the Prophet and Ḥamza's defence of him he goes on to quote Ibn al-Jawzī:

God did not create a good leader without creating his opposite from among the evil ones. He created Adam and Iblīs, Khalīl



and Nimrod, Moses and Pharoah and Moḥammad  
and Abi Jahl...<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, in the account of the emigration to Abyssinia - unlike that of Ibn Ishāq/Ibn Hishām which is largely a list of names - opens with a discussion of the concept of Hijra; the moving from the abode of Kufr to the Abode of Islam, from the abode of sedition to the abode of obedience. The emigration to Abyssinia is thus a move "away from the abode of kufr and Jahiliya", even if only marginally better to the "abode of kufr and the people of the book."<sup>2</sup>

The profession of Islam by ʿUmar is inset into the account of the emigration to Abyssinia, simply because it took place during that time. In turn ʿUmar's becoming a Muslim is related to the revelation of verses 1-20 of Sūrat al-Najm, for no very valid reason. There is no indication as to where this exegetical material comes from. It is certainly not from Ibn Hishām,<sup>3</sup> although al-Ṭabarī does refer to a recension of Ibn Ishāq where

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<sup>1</sup>Nihāyat al-ījāz, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>3</sup>This was omitted by him intentionally as he acknowledges in his introduction al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, Cairo 1955, Vol. 1, p. 4.



the account has survived.<sup>1</sup> Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī does refer to this passage on Sūrat al-Najm to Mūsā ibn 'Uqba.<sup>2</sup> Mūsā is, along with Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī one of the principal primary sources on the Sira, although his kitāb al-Maghāzī has not survived. It would be interesting to know the source of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's attribution to him. Lexical explanation of al-Gharaniq is to be found in any of the classical lexica.

al-Ṭaḥṭāwī does not give a source for his core account of the Prophet's night journey - although the catechism of him by sceptical members of Quraysh is larger than in Ibn Hishām/Ibn Ishāq. He records the differences of opinion that have existed among Muslims in regard to al-Isrā' and al-mi'raj; whether it was a bodily or a spiritual journey and ascent and states that the majority of opinion holds that it was a journey when awake and not a vision. Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī goes along with the majority opinion.<sup>3</sup>

On the events leading up to the Hijra, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī does not give his sources for the core narrative. However

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<sup>1</sup>Annales, I, p. 1191.

<sup>2</sup>Nihāyat al-Ījāz, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup>Nihāyat al-Ījāz, p. 93.



he mentions three meetings at Aqabal<sup>1</sup> as opposed to the two in Ibn Ishāq/Ibn Hishām. This section is clearly based on Ibn Sayyid al-Nās<sup>2</sup> although the names of the participants are omitted.

Comment is appropriate, in this context, on the selection criteria which motivated al-Ṭaḥṭāwī. Obviously he has left out details which are present in the early sources and one may speculate that this was intended to produce a smoother flowing story-line. The question may be asked: did he intend to put together a more popular and less esoteric form of the Sīra? This would accord with the excessive use of poetry - much of it not to be found in the canonical collections. Some collation of and comment on the material in Ibn Ishāq/Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, on events up to the Hijra. may well be in order at this point.

Reference has been made earlier to the considerable body of material which was part of the mubtada' of Ibn Ishāq's Sīra and does not appear in Nihāyat al-ījāz and the possible reasons for this - not only for the sake of brevity, but also that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was following Ibn

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 109 seq.

<sup>2</sup>Uyūn al-athar, V. I, p. 155 seq.



Sayyid al-Nās. There are also additions in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī such as reference to the Prophet's maternal line.<sup>1</sup> The place of the Prophet's birth [ السبب ] is mentioned by al-Ṭaḥṭāwī<sup>2</sup> but not by Ibn Ishāq. Similarly, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī speaks of the reign of the Persian king at the time of the Prophet's birth.<sup>3</sup> The problem is that we do <sup>not</sup> know his source for this extra information since the material concerned is not documented.

The digging of Zamzam and ʿAbd al-Muṭṭālib's vow to sacrifice his son is similar in treatment, although longer, in Ibn Ishāq, but al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's digressional description of Hubal<sup>4</sup> is not in Ibn Ishāq. The death of the Prophet's father is specified by al-Ṭaḥṭāwī as taking place when the Prophet was two years of age.<sup>5</sup> This is contained in <sup>the Prophet's</sup> a biographical account to him. In Ibn Ishāq it is referred to tangentially in the context of a

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<sup>1</sup>Nihāyat al-Ījāz, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-18.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-21.



dialogue between Abu Ṭālib and Baḥīra, when the former said, "his father died before the child was born."<sup>1</sup>

As for the opening of the Prophet's chest the essence of the story in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī parallels that of Ibn Ishāq,<sup>2</sup> but not in exact detail. For example, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī tells us that the angels who opened the Prophet's chest took out his heart and washed it with freezing cold water in a gold bowl and filled his heart with faith and wisdom. The angels took out a black clot representing Satan from the Prophet's heart.<sup>3</sup> Such details are not even mentioned in Ibn Ishāq.

Regarding the Prophet's suckling al-Ṭaḥṭāwī claims that the Prophet's mother suckled him for seven days;<sup>4</sup> there is no reference in Ibn Ishāq. Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī also informs us that a certain Thuwayba al-Aslamīya suckled the Prophet.<sup>5</sup> There is no mention of this name in Ibn Ishāq, although mention is made of a certain Ḥalīma bint

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 30-31.

<sup>2</sup>Nihāyat al-ījāz, p. 28 and al-Sirat al-nabawiya, v. I, p. 176, 1937 ed.

<sup>3</sup>Nihāyat al-ījāz, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 22.



Abī Dhu'ayb.<sup>1</sup> It may well be that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī might have read bint Abī Dhu'ayb as Thuwayba. The death of the Prophet's mother is much the same as in Ibn Ishāq except for one detail found in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī. The latter claims that Āmina went to see her family with Umm Ayman, the Prophet's nurse.<sup>2</sup> No mention of Umm Ayman is made in Ibn Ishāq.

In regard to Khadīja's trading activities al-Ṭaḥṭāwī tells us that it was Abū Ṭālib who had suggested to the Prophet that he take Khadīja's caravan. The Prophet accepted the suggestion and Abū Ṭālib asked Khadīja.<sup>3</sup> In Ibn Ishāq it was Khadīja who asked the Prophet to take her caravan and not Abū Ṭālib.

There are contradictions in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's account of Khadīja's marriage to the Prophet as compared with Ibn Ishāq. According to al-Ṭaḥṭāwī,<sup>4</sup> Khadīja asked the Prophet to ask her uncle, ʿAmr b. Asad, for her hand. In Ibn Ishāq, the Prophet went with Ḥamza to ask Khuwaylid

<sup>1</sup>al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, V. I, p. 172, 1937 ed.

<sup>2</sup>Nihāyat al-ījaz, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup>Nihāyat al-ījaz, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 49.



ibn Asad for Khadīja's hand.<sup>1</sup> The amount of Khadīja's dowry in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī has two possibilities - 400 dinars and 20 young camels. al-Ṭaḥṭāwī explains that the 400 dinars was possibly a present from the Prophet's uncle to Khadīja while the 20 camels was her dowry.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ishāq does not mention a dowry at all. As to the wedding party of the Prophet and Khadīja al-Ṭaḥṭāwī cites al-Muntaqā to support his description of the proceedings and the speeches given at it.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ishāq makes no mention for any of this.

On the subject of Khadīja's death al-Ṭaḥṭāwī gives the reader a full account but without stating his source. For example, that Khadīja died in the 10th year after the Prophet's mission and three years before either of the two Hijras. She died at the age of 65 and was buried in al-Ḥajūn.<sup>4</sup> Ibn Ishāq does not give any information beyond the simple statement of Khadīja's death.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, V. 1, p. 205, '37 ed.

<sup>2</sup>Nihāyat al-ījāz, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>5</sup>al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, V. 2, p. 25, '37 ed. Op. cit.



Ibn Ishāq mentions the names of the Prophet's children<sup>1</sup>. In addition, there are none of the detailed stories about them given by al-Ṭaḥṭāwī. For example, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī tells us of the sun's eclipse as a result of al-Ṭāhir's death.<sup>2</sup> Another example of this kind of biographical digression is al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's account of Fāṭima's characteristics and the honor of her sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. Although this is presumably from Ibn Ḥajar,<sup>3</sup> it is certainly not found in Ibn Ishāq.

The panegyric on the status of ahl al-Bayt is another obvious example of digression by al-Ṭaḥṭāwī though he does document it from Ibn Ḥajar, and al-Dhahabī.<sup>4</sup> None of this material appears in Ibn Hishām/Ibn Ishāq.

The subject of the Black Stone in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī is similar to Ibn Ishāq/Ibn Hishām.<sup>5</sup> However, the difference lies in the chronological placement of this topic in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's Sira vis-a-vis the canonical Sira. That is to say, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī talks about the Black Stone after

<sup>1</sup>al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, V. 1, p. 206, '37 ed.

<sup>2</sup>Nihāyat al-ījaz, pp. 55-56.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 53-54.

<sup>5</sup>al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, V. 1, p. 213, '37 ed.



the death of Khadījal whereas this, chronologically, happened before Khadīja's death and the beginning of revelation.

The account of the Kiswa of the Ka'ba in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī corresponds more or less with that of Ibn Hishām<sup>2</sup> although al-Ṭaḥṭāwī digresses a great deal on such points as whether the Kiswa can be ornamented with gold.

In describing the beginning of the Prophet's revelations al-Ṭaḥṭāwī confines himself to a simple statement as to al-ru'ya al-sādiqa.<sup>3</sup> However, on the point of the interval between this and the next revelation, Ibn Ishāq says simply "then revelation stopped for a time".<sup>4</sup> According to al-Ṭaḥṭāwī the interval was three months before the revelation of Surat al-mudaththir. He claims that Ibn Ishāq is his authority for this - wrongly, because according to the latter the next revelation was Sūrat al-ḍuḥā.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Nihāyat al-ījāz, pp. 58-59.

<sup>2</sup>al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, V. 1, pp. 19-20, '37 ed.

<sup>3</sup>Nihāyat al-ijaz, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup>al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, V. 1, p. 260, '37 ed.

<sup>5</sup>Op. cit.



On the proscription of prayer and the number of rakā'a, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī follows Ibn Ishāq, but very briefly;<sup>1</sup> the long and rather repetitive account in the latter being reduced to a few lines.

There is an interesting divergence between al-Ṭaḥṭāwī and Ibn Ishāq as to who was the first to accept Islam after Khadīja. According to Ibn Ishāq it was 'Alī.<sup>2</sup> al-Ṭaḥṭāwī comes out in favour of Abū Bakr<sup>3</sup> - a curious reverse of the normal sequence and particularly in the light of the laudatory references to 'Alī which follow in Nihāyat al-Ījāz. The long list in Ibn Ishāq of the companions who accepted Islam at the invitation of Abū Bakr<sup>4</sup> is missing in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī.

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's use of sources in the section of Nihāyat al-Ījāz up to the Hijra presents something of a problem. Comment has been made earlier on the astonishingly wide range of source which he refers to - although it must be said that these are references and not quota-

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<sup>1</sup>al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, V. 1, p. 262, '37 ed.  
Nihāyat al-Ījāz, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup>al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, V. 1, p. 264, '37 ed .

<sup>3</sup>Nihāyat al-Ījāz, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup>al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, V. 1, p. 267, '37 ed.



tions. In addition to Ibn Ishāq he refers to the later but important works on the Sīra of Ibn Sayyid al-Nās and al-Suhaylī and later still, the Kitāb al-Siyar of al-Ghazzālī. Ibn Kathīr and al-Zurqānī are both mentioned but he seems to have used them very sparingly. There are many references to ḥadīth sources - al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Da'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, but hardly ever a specific attribution of the material. The same applies to the biographical sources, notably Ibn Hajar and al-Dhahabī, which he has obviously drawn on fairly extensively.

One cannot avoid the conclusion that his use of sources is far from scientific and his attributions vague and general and that his primary concern seems to have been the presentation of a cursive version of the story of the Sīra. It would be a formidable task indeed to track down the source of each item of information, in these circumstances. The many digressions, such as on the mawlid and the kiswa, are interesting and informative but not of original or substantive value.

The fourth section, of Nihāyat al-Ījāz, which corresponds with the maghāzī of the canonical Sīra, comes in ten chapters with a total of 157 pages. Each of the ten chapters represents one of the ten years of Hijra.



In presenting each ghazwa al-Taḥṭāwī adopts a standard procedure, enlightening the reader as to the geographical site of the ḡhazwa and the correct way to pronounce the name of the ghazwa. Al-Taḥṭāwī then speaks in detail about the circumstances accompanying the ḡhazwa including the causes which led to it, division of booty and the number of people killed from both sides. If there were any treaties signed as a consequence of the ḡhazwa, he mentions them. As is customary throughout, al-Taḥṭāwī refers the reader to other parts of his own book where the topic may also be mentioned. From page 259 al-Taḥṭāwī proof-read text gives way to that of his son ʿAlī Fahmy. The latter states that his father had verbally requested him to tabulate the ghazawāt.

Al-Taḥṭāwī ends this section without mentioning anything about the Prophet's death, as the initial title of the section had indicated. Instead, al-Taḥṭāwī begins section five of the book with the title of "the death of the Prophet along with some of his prominent moral attributes and personal traits." Section five also deals with his wives, paternal uncles and aunts, maternal uncles, mawālī and servants and comes in four chapters with a total of 68 pages. This section is difficult to



relate either to the second theme i.e. ghazawāt or to that dealing with the institutions of the Islamic state.

In attempting some assessment of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's second theme al-ghazawāt some comparison will be made of the ghazawāt as presented in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī versus, the ghazawāt in the primary sources, Mūsā ibn ʿUqba, al-Wāqidi and Ibn Ishāq. The ghazawāt, beginning from the first ghazwa until Uhud, provide a useful framework for this investigation. The chronology and sequence found in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī in relation to the others is an obvious starting point. There follows a tabular presentation of the sequence of the maghāzī in each case. Use of the material from Mūsā b. ʿUqba is qualified by the fact his maghāzī has not come down to us in toto.<sup>1</sup>

I am much indebted to Dr. Marsden Jones' research on the chronology of the maghazi at this point.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Braimah, Abdu Rahimih Baba, 'A Reconstruction of the lost 'kitab al-Maghāzī' of Mūsā ibn ʿUqba', M.A. AUC, 1968.

<sup>2</sup>Jones, J.M.B. 'The Chronology of the maghāzī, B.S.O.A.S., V. XIX, part 2, 1957, p. 245.



Ibn Ishāq	al-Wāqidī	Mūsā b. ʿUqba	al-Ṭaḥṭāwī
Waddān	Ḥamza's raid	Ḥamza's raid	al-Abwā'
Rābiḡh	Rābiḡh	al-Abwā'	Buwāt
Ḥamza's raid	al-kharrār	Badr al-ʿulā	al-ʿUshayra
Buwāt	al-Abwā'	Nakhla	Badr al-ʿulā
al-ʿUshayra	Buwāt	Nakhla	Badr
al-kharrār	Badr al-ʿulā	Badr	B. Qaynuqāʿ
Badr al-ʿulā	al-ʿUshayra	Killing of Kaʿb b. Ashraf	al-Sawīq
Nakhla	Nakhla	Uḥud	Waqʿit Dhi Qar
Badr	Badr	-	Qarqarat al- kudr
al-Sawīq	Killing of ʿAsmā' Bint Marwān	-	Dhū Ammar
Qarqarat al- kudr	Killing of Abū ʿAfak	-	Buhrān
Dhu Amarr	B. Qaynuqāʿ	-	Uḥud
Buhrān	al-Sawīq		
Qaynuqāʿ	Qarqarat al- kudr		
al-Qarada	Killing of Kaʿb b. Ashraf		
Killing of Kaʿb b. Ashraf	Dhu Ammar		
Uḥud	Buhran al-Qarada Uḥud.		



al-Abwā' or Waddān:

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī dates this ghazwa in the 1st H. year in Ṣafar and puts it first. Later on in the same paragraph he cites the opinion that it took place on the 12th of Ṣafar in the 2nd H. year.<sup>1</sup> al-Wāqidī dates it Ṣafar of the 1st H. year.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ishāq calls it Waddān but gives no specific date,<sup>3</sup> although, inferentially from the text, it can be taken as Ṣafar 2. He puts it first in the sequence of maghāzī.

al-Ṭaḥṭāwī hardly ever gives his source in the maghāzī section. However, he is clearly following Ibn Ishāq at this point. It can be said, with confidence, that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī did not use al-Wāqidī or refer to him through a later source such as Ibn Kathīr. Only one manuscript of al-Wāqidī's Kitab al-Maghāzī is known to have survived and this is currently in the British Museum.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, pp. 135-136.

<sup>2</sup>Jones, Op. cit., p. 246.

<sup>3</sup>al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, V. 2, p. 223, '37 ed.

<sup>4</sup>Jones, Op. cit., p. 18.



Buwat:

Al-Taḥṭāwī dates this ghazwa Rabīʿ al-Awwal of the 1st H. year. This agrees with neither Ibn Ishāq nor al-Wāqidī, who put it in the year 2.<sup>1</sup> al-Taḥṭāwī claims that other opinions have the ghazwa in Rabīʿ al-Ākhir of the 2nd H. year.<sup>2</sup> The latter date presents a problem. The only authority to give Rabīʿ al-Ākhir is Abū ʿUmar whose maghazi has not survived except in quotations in later writers such as al-Zurqānī.<sup>3</sup> Al-Taḥṭāwī does not mention al-Zurqānī at any point.

al-ʿUshayra:

Al-Taḥṭāwī dates it in Jumādā'1-ūlā of the 2nd H. year.<sup>4</sup> al-Wāqidī, however, dates it Jumādā'1-Ākhira exactly one year and four months after H.<sup>5</sup> Ibn Ishāq dated it either on Jumādā'1-ūlā and Jumādā'1-Ākhira of the 2nd Hijra year.<sup>6</sup> Once again, al-Taḥṭāwī agrees with

<sup>1</sup>al-Taḥṭāwī, Nihāyat al-Ījāz, pp. 135-136.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 135-136.

<sup>3</sup>Sharḥ al-ʿAlā 'L-mawāhib al-ladunīya, Cairo 1907-10, v. 1, p. 474.

<sup>4</sup>al-Taḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>5</sup>Kitāb al-Maghāzī, v. 1, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup>al-Sīrat al-Nabawīya, v. 2, p. 234, '37 ed.



Ibn Hishām's version of Ibn Ishāq. However, al-Taḥṭāwī confuses the reader when he says that the ghazwa took place in the 2nd year since the context of his presentation indicates that he puts it among the ghazawāt belonging to the 1st H. year.<sup>1</sup>

Badr al-ūlā [Safwan]:

Al-Taḥṭāwī does not specify the exact month in which this ghazwa took place. However, he gives us the 2nd H. year as the time of its occurrence.<sup>2</sup> al-Wāqidī dates this ghazwa in Rabīʿ al-Awwal of the 2nd H. year.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ishāq puts it in Jumādā' l-Ākhira.<sup>4</sup> There is general agreement on its being in the 2nd H. year.

Badr:

Al-Taḥṭāwī gives the date of this major ghazwa as the morning of Friday the 17th of Ramaḍān in the 2nd Hijra year.<sup>5</sup> Mūsā ibn ʿUqba gives us only Ramaḍān of

<sup>1</sup>al-Taḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>3</sup>al-Wāqidī, V. 1, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup>al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, V. 2, p. 238, '37 ed.

<sup>5</sup>al-Taḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 148.



the 2nd Hijra year as its date.<sup>1</sup> al-Wāqīdī states the morning of Friday the 17th in Ramaḍān of the 2nd Hijra year as its date.<sup>2</sup> There is no disagreement in the primary sources on this point.

Banu Qaynuqāʿ:

Al-Taḥṭāwī dates this ghazwa mid Shawwāl of the 2nd Hijra year.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ishāq in Ibn Hishām's version, does not give the event a specific date although three separate dates are attributed to him in other sources. Other early sources refer to it as being early in Ṣafar 2, after Badr and six months after Badr.<sup>4</sup>

Professor Jones rejects the three attributions on the grounds that the dates do not accord with the fact that the Prophet was at another place at the time. It is puzzling to find al-Taḥṭāwī agreeing with al-Wāqīdī when, as has already been pointed out, he never refers to him and it is almost impossible that a copy of al-Wāqīdī's Maḡhāzī would have been available to him. Since

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<sup>1</sup>Jones, Op. cit., p. 260.

<sup>2</sup>al-Wāqīdī, V. 1, pp. 2-11.

<sup>3</sup>al-Taḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 159.

<sup>4</sup>Jones, ibid., p. 247.



he does not give his sources, a solution to the problem is unlikely.

al-Sawīq:

al-Ṭaḥṭāwī dates precisely this ghazwa in Dhū'l-Hijja in the 2nd Hijra year.<sup>1</sup> al-Wāqidī also states that it took place in Dhū'l-Hijja in the 2nd year of the Hijra,<sup>2</sup> as does Ibn Ishāq.<sup>3</sup>

Waq'at Dhī Qarr:<sup>4</sup>

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī dates this incident in the second Hijra year. None of the early sources mention it. It may well be a misrendering of Dhū Amarr, which both Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī put in the year three.<sup>5</sup>

Qarqarat al-kudr:

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī attributes al-Muḥarram of the 3rd Hijra year for this ghazwa. He also accepts late Dhū'l-Hijja of the 2nd year until the first of al-Muḥarram of the

<sup>1</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 160.

<sup>2</sup>al-Wāqidī, V. 1, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup>al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, V. 2, p. 422, '37 ed.

<sup>4</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 162.

<sup>5</sup>Jones, Op. cit., p. 248.



3rd Hijra year.<sup>1</sup> al-Wāqidī states that this ghazwa took place in mid al-Muḥarram in three Hijra.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ishāq gives the date (an interpolation of the text) as early Shawwāl of the 2nd Hijra year.<sup>3</sup> Professor Jones in his article, quoting Zurqānī, tells us Ibn Hishām dates this ghazwa in al-Muḥarram of the 3rd Hijra year.<sup>4</sup> Once again al-Ṭaḥṭāwī seems to be using material which is not contained in the basic text of Ibn Hishām's Sira and yet there is no indication that he was aware, or made use of al-Zurqānī.

Dhū Amarr:

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī gives the date of this ghazwa as the 12th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal of the 3rd Hijra year.<sup>5</sup> Al-Wāqidī dates it as 12 Rabīʿ al-Awwal of the 3rd year.<sup>6</sup> Ibn Ishāq [an interpolated date] puts the ghazwa in al-Mu-

<sup>1</sup>Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 163.

<sup>2</sup>al-Wāqidī, v. 1, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup>Jones, Op. cit., p. 248.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 248.

<sup>5</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 163.

<sup>6</sup>al-Wāqidī, v. 1, pp. 193-194.



ḥarrām of the 3rd year.<sup>1</sup> Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī concurs with al-Wāqidī on the dating of the ghazwa, but gives no indication as to the source of his information.

Buḥrān:

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī dates this ghazwa Jumādā'1-ūlā in the 3rd Hijra year.<sup>2</sup> Al-Wāqidī has the same date.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ishāq dates it Rabīʿ al-Ākhir in the 3rd year.<sup>4</sup>

In the preceding pages the ghazawāt up to Uḥud have been analysed in an attempt to ascertain al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's sources and provide the basis of a tentative assessment of the significance of the work as an historical presentation. Comment has already been made on the unscientific use of sources by al-Ṭaḥṭāwī and the present survey of the early ghazawāt confirms this. First of all, his reference to specific sources is very sparse indeed in this section. Ibn Ishāq has three specific citations,<sup>5</sup> although it is clear from the above discussion

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<sup>1</sup>Jones, Op. cit., p. 248.

<sup>2</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 165.

<sup>3</sup>Al-Wāqidī, V. 1, p. 196.

<sup>4</sup>al-Sīrat al-Nabawīya, V. 2, p. 425, '37 ed.

<sup>5</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., pp. 149, 150, 154.



that he has used Ibn Hishām's version of Ibn Ishāq fairly extensively. Al-Nawawī is referred to as frequently.<sup>1</sup> Anas ibn Mālik has two citations<sup>2</sup> and Muslim and Ibn Ḥanbal receive single citations.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Taḥṭāwī's predilection for ḥadīth sources in his Sira has been referred to already. In the section under review he sometimes mentions material in reference to a single origin without mentioning the corpus from which it is taken. For example, "Ibn ʿAbbās said."<sup>4</sup> "Musʿab ibn Sa'd related."<sup>5</sup> or even, more vaguely, "and on the authority of ʿĀisha"<sup>6</sup> or "on the authority of Anas."<sup>7</sup> A more precise attribution such as "And in al-Tabarānī with a good isnad on the authority of Abū Hurayra..."<sup>8</sup> is the exception rather than the rule. There are references which are even more elliptic and imprecise such as

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 170, 171, 177.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 145-180.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 145, 165.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 173.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 170.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 157.



"the Quran commentators have said."<sup>1</sup> One cannot escape the conclusion that in many instances, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī may have been drawing on memorized knowledge and not on a written text which he had before him - a comment which clearly implies an adverse judgement not only on al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's scholarly apparatus but on the value of this work as a whole.

There are occasions when it is possible to track down the origin of information which he fails to attribute to a particular source. For example, the text of the treaty made between the Prophet and Banū Ḍamra is not to be found in Ibn Ishāq, nor for that matter in al-Wāqidī:

In the name of God the Beneficent the Merciful. This is a treaty between Muḥammad the Messenger of God and Banū Ḍamra that they are secure in their property and persons and will receive assistance against whoever attacks them in perpetuity so long as they not make war on God's religion. And that the Prophet should he call on their assistance they will respond. They have in return God's protection and the protection of His Prophet...

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī does not tell us where he obtained the text of this document. However, it is quoted by al-Suhaylī in his commentary on the Sīra of Ibn Hishām

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 172.



Kitāb al-Rawḍ an-unufl and since al-Taḥṭāwī has referred elsewhere to al-Suhaylī we may assume legitimately that this was his source.

There are problems of omission as well as commission in regard to the material contained in this section. For example, the expedition of Abdallah ibn Jaḥsh to Nakhla is dealt with in a few lines.<sup>2</sup> This is unquestionably the most important of the ghazawat up to Badr. It was the first in which fighting occurred and booty was taken in Islam. Incidentally, it was also the first in which the title 'amīr al-mu'minīn' was bestowed on a Muslim commander and yet al-Taḥṭāwī deals with it in a most cursory fashion. Again, one is justified in raising the question of a possible elipsis in relation to memorized rather than written material.

The third and last portion of Nihāyat al-Ījāz, the institutions of the Islamic state, is dealt with by al-Taḥṭāwī in seven sections with a total of 465 pages. As it is rather long, it would perhaps be appropriate to introduce a brief outline of it. Initially, the content of this part of the book [i.e. from pp. 350-515] will be

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<sup>1</sup>al-Suhaylī, Op. cit., V. 5, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup>al-Taḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 139.



discussed but with particular emphasis on the part concerning Islamic government. Stress is laid on al-Taḥṭāwī's opinions regarding Islamic government because it is one of the main concerns of the present thesis.

Secondly, an attempt will be made to assess al-Taḥṭāwī's treatment of this theme vis-a-vis the sources. In doing so, attention will be confined to the offices of the Islamic state. Finally, there will be a section on al-Taḥṭāwī's use of sources in this part.

This section of Nihāyat al-Ījāz is presented in six parts. They are:

1. Those who served the Prophet.
2. The primary functions relating to the great imamate, such as the wazirate, Hijāba, responsibility for the sacrificial animals, providing water for the pilgrims and the secretariat.
3. Of the Fiqh related offices and what is added to them.
4. Sending a messenger to call to Islām or to make arrangements concerning reconciliation or pledges of security, or for seeing to other matters involving the sending of emissaries; and such related functions as translation and the like.



5. On the writing of the army lists and stipends; the Diwān; the Zimām, and an indication that Diwān had its origins during the Prophet's time.

6. About the heads of army units and the accountants.

A translation of this section appears as an addendum to this thesis.

The presentation is more or less straightforward, perhaps because the nature of the material relating to the Islamic state required from al-Taḥṭāwī a more concentrated effort to be more definitive. Although al-Taḥṭāwī may have had this in view, yet he could not help making some of his customary digressions and the failure to document his argument continues to be evident. For example, in the course of his discourse on Islamic fiqh, al-Taḥṭāwī can be criticised when he introduces crucial fiqh issues attributing them to 'some said'.<sup>1</sup> However, at other points in this chapter on fiqh, al-Taḥṭāwī gives the reader a detailed and properly documented presentation of the material.<sup>2</sup> Again, when he talks

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<sup>1</sup>al-Taḥṭāwī, Op. cit., pp. 397, 401 and 402.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 391, 393, 394.



about the imāmate he ventures unsupported statements.<sup>1</sup> However, al-Taḥṭāwī manages very well at other points to successfully document his material using, amongst others, Muslim, Bukhārī, Ibn Ishāq and al-Azharī and al-Nawawī.

On the controversial issue of whether al-Taḥṭāwī is being traditional and unscientific in his approach to the immunity protecting the Prophet's Companions against committing grave offenses, allowing only for slips and oversights, he adopts an orthodox position. Al-Taḥṭāwī's view is that any quarrel, dispute or conflict which occurred among the Companions should not be spoken of, especially if this aims at disgracing or decrying their views or conduct.<sup>2</sup>

In the course of his discussion on Fiqh al-Taḥṭāwī discourses on the interpretation of visions.<sup>3</sup> This raises the question of what part the interpretation of visions can possibly play in administering the affairs

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 362-367. Although al-Taḥṭāwī shows a versed knowledge of the Rafida literature on the imāmate topic - pp. 365-366 - yet, he does not trouble to document his arguments.

<sup>2</sup>al-Taḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 367.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 403-404.



of the state according to Islamic fiqh? A probable reason for his introducing this topic at this juncture is that al-Taḥṭāwī was giving the reader another of his digressive pieces of information on fatwā features of the time when the Prophet was alive. In doing so, there is no logical reason why all this should be introduced at this point.

Still on the topic of the institutions of the Islamic state he continues with offices related to al-aḥkām including the following:

1. al-imāra, jurisdiction and matters related to witnesses and the writing of contracts.
2. inheritance and allocation of expenses.
3. about al-Muḥtasib, al-Munādī, the Shurṭa chief guard of the city, the spy, jailer, executors of ḥudud.

This section has a total of 28 pages of mostly well documented material and straightforward discourse.

In the part on the Mazālim, however, al-Taḥṭāwī, in the researcher's view, has blundered into a major anachronism. Al-Taḥṭāwī clearly states that this office is



novel to the time of the Prophet.<sup>1</sup> The first to introduce the practice of maẓālim hearings was 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>2</sup>

The following section of Nihāyat al-Ījāz is entitled 'Of military functions and related matters.' containing:

1. The Jihād amīr, the succession of the Amīr over the city, or the Prophet's family, when he goes out on a ghazwa.
2. About the Liwa' bearer and the first one to carry it in the time of the Prophet.
3. About the five army divisions.
4. The man in charge of horses and races.
5. Of those in charge of the weapons of the Prophet, their preparation and maintenance, and the Prophet's guards.
6. Of matters related to preparations for going forth on a ghazwa.
7. About language carriers.
8. About siege equipment.
9. About the man in charge of booty.
10. About the man heralding victory.

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<sup>1</sup>al-Taḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 431.

<sup>2</sup>al-Mawardī, Op. cit., p. 81



11. Of ships used during the ghazwa. This section falls into 28 pages, which are well supported by adequate documentation.

Still on the subject of institutions of the Islamic state the next section is entitled 'Tax collectors of-fices.' The section includes:

1. Of the offices of those in charge of jizya, Cushr, land taxes, zakāt and ṣadaqāt and survey.
2. About Awkāf.
3. Of the offices of the person in charge of inheritance

This section falls into 10 pages that are mostly well documented, except for the part regarding the person in charge of survey.

Al-Taḥṭāwī states that this office belonged to the time of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Consequently, it does not belong to the Prophet's time.

The following entitled 'Various Offices' is made up of two parts:

1. About the disperser, the man in charge of financial affairs, the man in charge of taking delegations to the guest house, and taking delegations to the companions homes.



2. About hospitals, medicine, bleeding cauterization and poor houses. This is a small section, well documented

The last section entitled 'Crafts at the time of the prophet' has three parts, namely:

1. About trade and related matters.
2. On additional crafts for men.
3. On professions suited to women as al-Māshiṭa [hair stylist], midwife, circumcisor, washing woman and the singer.

This last section falls into 15 pages; a good part of it is well referenced with brief historical backgrounds of the crafts where necessary. Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī spends some 13 pages on singing out of 15 pages of this section. He provides the reader with a good historic background to this profession. Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī gives us opinions of some of the authorities on singing and why it should not be encouraged. However, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī makes allowances, supported by authorities, for singing - such as in a wedding, provided it be done with modesty and decency.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to explore al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's ideas on Islamic government with more emphasis on his political theory.



Al-Taḥṭāwī defines the greater imāma as originally a post for the Prophet.<sup>1</sup> This imāma means the khilāfa i.e. the general presiding over religious and worldly matters and i.e. in succession to the Prophet's role. When khilāfa is subdivided, it consists of the imāma of revelation such as Prophecy; inheritance such as knowledge; and worship such as prayer. it is that imāmate which is intended here.

Al-Taḥṭāwī uses the word imām, sovereign [ملك] absolute ruler [سلطان] custodian and khalīfa interchangeably without any specific distinctions among them<sup>2</sup>

Al-Taḥṭāwī goes on to say it is only by way of generalization that Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī are called Caliphs.<sup>3</sup> The title khalīfa is defined by al-Taḥṭāwī as the man who immediately succeed the Prophet as Imām.<sup>4</sup> Al-Taḥṭāwī further introduces the title of Amīr al-Mu'minīn as given to the rest who followed the guided Caliphs.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>al-Taḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 357.

<sup>2</sup>al-Taḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 374.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 366.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 366.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 366.



Having defined the term imām, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī presents us with the qualities and conditions of the imām proper. The imām, according to al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, ought to be a sane Muslim, discerning, male, free, mature, just, a mujtahid with no physical disabilities, sharp perceptions, having initiative, brave with war experiences and from Quraysh<sup>1</sup> Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī emphasizes that the imām should come from Banū Kināna or be a descendant of Ismāʿīl, though not necessarily from Banū Hāshim, or infallible, or more meritorious than whoever is currently ruling.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī gives the following reasons for choosing the imām from Quraysh:

1. They worshipped God for 10 years when no one else did so.
2. God aided them on the Day of the Elephant whilst they were polytheists.
3. It was concerning them that God sent down sūrat ilāf Quraysh.
4. In them is vested prophecy, the caliphate, the hijāba and siqāya.

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<sup>1</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 361.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 361.



The importance and necessity of the khalīfa's office, as stated in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, is attributed to his fulfilling the following requirements: enabling the learned man to spread his knowledge, the judge to execute sentence, the worshiper to worship, the craftsman to work at his craft, the merchant to carry on his trade, the sower to harvest his field. In addition, the Caliph secures the internal front of the state against any strife within the community and protects the frontiers against invasions or harm.<sup>1</sup>

The reverence ascribed to the Caliph's office is made clear from al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's quotation of the following ḥadīth, "He who has obeyed me has obeyed God and whoever disobeys me has disobeyed God and whoever obeys the amīr has obeyed me and whoever disobeys the amir has disobeyed me and whoever disobeys me his lot is hell-fire."<sup>2</sup> Therefore, according to al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Caliphs are "God's shadows on earth."<sup>3</sup>

On the subject of appointing the imām, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī maintains that there can only be one at a single time

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 357.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 360.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 358.



and place by consensus. In addition, in the absence of an act of delegation from the preceding imām for the installation of a specific nominee it is necessary to appoint one. This appointment to the greater imāmate is a general charge upon the Muslims. The appointment is binding upon the community by the divine law as a kifa' obligation. The community is represented by the 'people of tying and untying'. If the appointment of an imām is not done then it is a sin for Muslims collectively. However, when the 'people of tying and untying' carry out the process of appointing, then the community need not be anxious because they are absolved from this obligation.<sup>1</sup>

For a community to be absolved from this obligation their representatives must exercise ray', be just and have a knowledgeability of the conditions governing the imamate. However, al-Taḥṭāwī does not specify the conditions governing the imamate, one of which are the procedural steps of how the process of appointment is carried out. Al-Taḥṭāwī simply states that the 'people of tying and untying' give their oath of loyalty [bay'ca] immediately by clasping of the hand and their testifying

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 359.



to the one absent as to what transpired.<sup>1</sup> An indication of the importance attached by the Companions to bayʿa was that they made it to Abū Bakr before burying the Prophet, since they regarded it as the most important of obligations.

Another possibility for the appointment of an imām is to have the incumbent caliph designate a successor during his life time. Only then is the successor eligible for pledge of allegiance. So the assumption of the office by the successor is pending upon the death of the current caliph.<sup>2</sup> Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī fails to list other possibilities of appointing the imām, notably the Shūra of ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī. Otherwise, the foregoing is a purely conventional statement of the sunni theory of the imāmate.

On the subject of the imāmate of prayer of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī poses two contrasting views - either the Sultan or amīr leads the prayer or that the leader of the prayer should be a different person designated by the imām.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 359.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 361.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 406.



On the office of the wazīr al-Ṭaḥṭāwī gives the following definition, he is someone whom the Amīr resorts to for his opinion and retreats from the burden of his office.<sup>1</sup> According to al-Ṭaḥṭāwī the criteria for an efficient wazīr should be that he be well acquainted with the constituents of the Sharīʿa and all the articles of faith involved in it and the subdivisions of each. He should be well versed in political affairs and those related to laws of the world. Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī maintains that the wizāra is imāra because the wazīr ranks with the monarch, as the wazīr represents the real executive authority.<sup>2</sup> Here, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī seems to be clouding the distinction between imām and wazīr and who does what and when and why. He does not say so, but it is as if he is talking about the tafwīd wazīrate.<sup>3</sup>

Having presented the rulers and their role the following are the community's duties towards the ruler. If the office of an imām is empty, it is a general requirement upon the Muslim community to see that it be filled. As the Muslim community is represented by the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 375.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 375.

<sup>3</sup>See al-Mawardī, Op. cit., p. 24.



'people of tying and untying' the choice of an imām and the act of bayʿa the 'people of tying and untying' give to the appointed imām absolves the community from having an immediate role, instead their role is thus represented by the Culamā and the leaders of the people. If the office of an imām is not filled "then it is a sin for Muslims collectively."<sup>1</sup> Once an imām is appointed the community must obey the imām (1) as a duty (2) as an obligation.

It is required of a community to obey as a duty because God commanded obedience to His messenger and the messenger said, "He who has obeyed me has obeyed God and whoever obeys the amir has obeyed me and whoever disobeys the amir has disobeyed me and whoever disobeys me his lot is hell-fire."<sup>2</sup> In addition, the prophet also said, "I commend you to be pious towards God and to hear and obey."<sup>3</sup> As al-Taḥṭāwī emphasises, by 'to hear' is meant to respond to the words of the one in authority and obedience to his commands. This is a duty of an umma so long as the imām does not command what is rebel-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 359.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 360.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 360.



lious to [in God's view]. For there is no obedience to any created being involving rebellion against the creator.<sup>1</sup>

However, al-Taḥṭāwī seems to reconcile this last statement by saying that the obedience of the community is obligatory to an imām, even though he may be a slave or the law may become so confused that succession devolves upon those who have no right to it. Presumably the obligation of the community to obey is essentially to spare the Muslim's blood and to be as a precaution against strife within the community.<sup>2</sup>

The political theory in al-Taḥṭāwī's book raises the question about the autocracy of the ruler. This issue is really raised at the very beginning of the book in the section on the Prophet's birth specifically pp. 36-38. In this part, al-Taḥṭāwī begins his discussion about al-mawlid al-Nabawī and whether its celebration is a bidʿa. It has already been pointed out that this conclusion has political undertones because the bidʿa of al-mawlid, according to al-Tahtawi, reflects the joy and

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 360.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 260.



happiness of the people at each anniversary of the Prophet's birth. Al-Taḥṭāwī then, under the bidʿa category of Harām,<sup>1</sup> says that it is 'ḥarām' for the ruler whenever he sees fit to suspend the zakāt for reasons of maintaining a good facade for the state [36].

Attention must be drawn to al-Taḥṭāwī's statement that if a rational caliph imposed on the subjects a sunna of his own, i.e. not supported by Sharʿ, it should not be followed by the subjects. At this point al-Taḥṭāwī's attitude towards the obedience of subjects is ambivalent. At one point the subjects are required to obey the ruler<sup>2</sup>, at another they are given the right to opposition<sup>3</sup> which is the basic principle of Democracy. Al-Taḥṭāwī seems to be promulgating two opposing political systems simultaneously: a democratic system based on opposition and an autocratic absolutist system based on complete obedience.

This statement on the subject of a caliph imposing a sunna of his own not supported by Sharʿ does not imply

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 360.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 360.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 38.



his irrationality, because a ruler is not infallible

كل حليم ذو عثرة — every gentle person has a slip. al-Tahtawi goes on to establish a theory on the basis of the above hadith, saying that every ruling is rendered lawful by a SharC or unlawful and it is possible to trace it back to lawfulness or unlawfulness. If a ruling continues al-Tahtāwī, is made after another ruling the second one repeals the first. In addition, if no ground is found for the permissibility of a ruling or its unlawfulness, nor can it be traced back, then there is disagreement as to how the SharC is to be applied. The correct thing, Al-Tahtāwī tells us, is that such a ruling is لا تكيف فيه — but public interest and the effectiveness of politics establish the suitability of the ruling and whether it is to be used or not.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Tahtāwī seems to be giving more license to the ruler, thus allowing him potentially to be autocratic.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, p. 38.



This is clear when al-Taḥṭāwī says that 'public interest and the effectiveness of politics establish...' The question poses itself, according to which criteria can this suitability be established? In the absence of a clear answer to the previous question, one must infer that al-Taḥṭāwī is actually for an autocratic ruler. He does, indeed, present the reader with a number of justifications for this autocracy such as 'sovereigns are Allah's custodians on His earth.'<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps, feeling that his stance on this issue could be interpreted as a hard line attitude and intransigent, he later says, "... orders and prohibitions of rulers should be in conformity with the opinions given by the learned and the views of men of ijtihād. Such does not preclude the imāra succeeding prophethood in safeguarding religion and the world..."<sup>2</sup> The apologetic tone explicit in the previous passage may well be an attempt on al-Taḥṭāwī's part to reconcile, to the detriment of his own political theory, the opposing attitudes of complete obedience and the right to opposition. The tendency to support autocracy is manifest in his saying, "even when

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 374.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 398.



some of the appointed rulers turned out to be too corrupt they retained it [right to rule] thanks to their being in authority, by right of conquest, or gave it to those who would help in promoting their policies and perpetuating their rule."<sup>1</sup>

Clearly, the assumption to be made is that al-Taḥṭāwī was probing for an accepted justification for his allegiance to an autocratic ruler.

The final section of Nihayāt al-ījāz, dealing with offices, functions crafts etc. at the time of the Prophet, is not a concept peculiar to al-Taḥṭāwī.

An examination of this genre of Islamic literature in relation to al-Taḥṭāwī's Sīra is appropriate at this point.

Sīra or 'biography' is the amalgamation of the bulk of 'conduct' and 'manner of living' of some important figure.<sup>2</sup> In the case of al-Sīrat al-nabawīya this is the biographical literature on Muḥammad. The nuclear corpus of this material derives from three sources—Mūsā ibn ʿUqba [d. 140H], Ibn Ishāq [d. 150H] and al-Wāqidī [d. 206H.]. Subsequently, although the central

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 406.

<sup>2</sup>E.I. 'Sīra', p. 439.



body remains the same, there are occasional tendencies which emerge: one is the growth of a hagiographical tradition - "... the transformation undergone by the personality of Muḥammad in the religious consciousness of Islam."<sup>1</sup>

As part of the growth of this hagiographical tradition, there is an emphasis on the collection of material on the minute details of what the Prophet ate, wore, who performed for him various services, etc. Some of these details are present in the nuclear Sīra, such as that of the māshiṭa,<sup>2</sup> but the collection and enumeration of them gather momentum as time passes. The functions and services are not institutionalized in the nuclear Sīra.

However, by the middle of the third century we find Ibn Saʿd enlarging upon aspects of the Prophet's life which are peripheral to the Sīra proper. Descriptions of the Prophet's swords, shields and comb,<sup>3</sup> are listed in such a way as to show their importance. Ibn Saʿd lists other aspects of the Prophet's life, such as the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 440.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Hishām, al-Sīrat al-nabawīya, V. 3, p. 219, '74 ed.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Saʿd, al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā, Beirut, 1960, V. 1, pp. 170-172.



prophet's food, his way of walking, his hair, his dress and such like.<sup>1</sup> Later in the third century we find al-Balādhurī harping on the Prophet's clothe.<sup>2</sup> al-Balādhurī adds a new aspect to the hagiographical tradition, when he mentions the names of people who looked like the Prophet in his physical features.<sup>3</sup>

The hagiographical tradition continued to flourish through Ibn al-Jawzī<sup>4</sup> [d. 595 H] and Ibn Sayyid al-Nās<sup>5</sup> [d. 734 H] up to al-Kalācī<sup>6</sup> [d. 634]. Al-Taḥṭāwī continued the tradition into the nineteenth century. In the table which follows the offices found in the section of the institutions of the Islamic state in Nihāyat al-ījāz are juxtaposed with mention of them in earlier writers namely, Ibn Hishām, Ibn Saʿd, al-Balādhurī, Ibn al-

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., V. 1, pt. 2, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-ashrāf, Cairo, 1959, p. 507.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 539.

<sup>4</sup>Ibn al-Jawzī, Talqih Fuhūm ahl al-athar fī ʿuyūn al-tarīkh wa al-siyar, Cairo.

<sup>5</sup>Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, ʿUyun al-athar fī funūn al-maghāzī wa'l-shama'l wa'l-siyar, Beirut, 1977.

<sup>6</sup>al-Kalācī, al-Iktifā'. Cairo, 1968.



Jawzī, al-Kalā<sup>c</sup>ī, and up to Ibn Sayyid al-Nās and Ibn Kathīr.

Table key: ~ is something very close to the office.  
 ---- are the offices not found in the below mentioned authorities.

b. Hisham	b. Sa <sup>c</sup> d	al-Baladhuri	b. al-Jawzi	al-Kalā <sup>c</sup> ī	b. al-Nas	b. Kathir	Ṭaḥṭāwī's offices
	✓		✓			✓	Prophet's servants
			✓				Keeper of Prophet's mule
		~					" " " pillow
	✓		✓			✓	" " " siwāk
	✓	✓					" " " slippers
	✓	✓					Man in charge of water coolers
							-----
							al-Wazīr
							al-Ḥijāba
							Hijābat al-bayt
							al-Siqāya
✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	-----
		✓			✓	✓	Imārat al-Hajj
		~			✓	✓	al-Kitāba
	✓					~	Keeper of the seal
							Qādi
							Mufti
							-----
							Imāma of prayers
	✓	✓			✓	✓	Prophet's emissaries for pledges of security
							Prophet's emissaries to kings
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b. Hisham	b. Sa <sup>C</sup> d	al-Baladhuri	b. al-Jawzi	al-Kala <sup>C</sup> i	b. al-Nas	b. Kathir	Tahtawi's offices
~	~			~		~	Prophet's emissaries for reconciliation Prophet's translators " poets
	~			~			The army
							Stipends
							al-Diwān Bayt al-Māl al-Zimām al- <sup>C</sup> Urafā' al-Muḥāsaba
	✓ ✓	✓					Ṣadaqāt collector Teacher of Quran & writing
							Treaties

As we have seen from the table, most of the offices seem to have originated with Ibn Sa<sup>C</sup>d onwards. However, several authorities may refer briefly to a particular function and al-Taḥṭāwī seems to have made use of such descriptions to produce an actual office, which was in fact anachronistic. Through the following analysis of the table this observation will become clear.

For example, al-Taḥṭāwī mentions the Prophet's servants and includes in this category the man in charge



of the Prophet's mule, pillow, slippers, siwāk and water cooler.<sup>1</sup> Tracing this office back, Ibn Hishām does not mention him at all; Ibn Saʿd has the list of servants and slaves which correspond with al-Taḥṭāwī.<sup>2</sup> The man in charge of siwāk presents a slight problem. First Ibn Saʿd tells us that the Prophet attended to his siwāk personally. "أخبرنا عفان بن مسلم . . . أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم كان لا يرقد ليلاً ولا نهارة فيستيفض إلا يتسوك قبل أن يتوضأ . . . 3

"ʿAffān ibn Mussalam narrated: the Prophet left no occasion upon awaking from sleep at day or night but used the siwāk before Wudū." However, a later quotation implies that there must have been someone in charge of the siwāk. The quotation is as follows: "عن سعد بن هشام عن عائشة أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم كان يوضع له السواك من الليل وكان أستاذ السواك فلان إذا قام من الليل استاك ثم توضأ ثم صلى . . . 4

"Saʿd ibn Hishām quoted ʿAīsha as saying, the messenger of Allah, having resumed the siwāk had the siwāk prepared for him, so on awaking at night he would often use it

<sup>1</sup>al-Taḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 351.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Saʿd, Op. cit., V. 1, pt. 2, p. 179 and V. 8, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., V. 1, pt. 2, pp. 169-170.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., V. 1, pt. 2, pp. 169-170.



then perform wuḍū then the Ṣalāt..." It is possible that from the above quotation later Sīra writers might have developed an office for the man in charge of the Prophet's siwāk. In other authorities used for this part, namely al-Balādhurī, Ibn al-jawzī, al-Kalācī and Ibn Sayyid al-Nās there is no such mention Ibn Kathīr mentions the persons in charge of the Prophet's slippers and his camel as a separate category from the servants.<sup>1</sup> Still in Ibn Saʿd, the water cooler is talked about as something that the prophet's servants looked after and not as one particular specialized persons as al-Ṭaḥṭāwī claims.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the subject of the water cooler discussed in Ibn Saʿd comes under the heading of wells used by the prophet.

"لما نزل رسول الله صلعم منزل أبي أيوب كان  
أبو أيوب يخدمه ويستعذب له من بئر أبي أنس مالا فلما صار رسول الله صلعم  
إلى منزله كان أنس يرب ماله ويهند وأسماء أبناء حارثة يحملون قدور الماء إلى بيوت  
نساءه من بئر السفيا ثم كان خادمه رباح . . . يستقي مره من بئر نمرس ومره من  
بيوت السقيا بأمره . " <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibn Kathīr, Op. cit., V. 4, pp. 662, 709.

<sup>2</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 351.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Saʿd, Op. cit., V. 1, pt. 2, p. 184.



"When the Messenger of Allah was at Abū Ayyūb's house Abū Ayyūb served and procured fresh water for him from Anas ibn Mālīk's well. When he was at his house, 'Anas' ibn Malik, Hind and 'Asmā', daughters of Ḥarītha, carried water to his women's houses from the well of Suqīya. His servant, Rabāḥ, brought, upon the Prophet's request, water for him once from the well of Ghars and again from the houses of Suqīya." In al-Balādhurī we find that only the names of the Prophet's servants and his mawālī are listed with no function assigned to them.<sup>1</sup>

As to what al-Ṭaḥṭāwī 'calls the man in charge of the Prophet's mule', al-Balādhurī mentions no such thing but simply states the names of the prophet's horses.<sup>2</sup>

As to the man in charge of the Prophet's pillow, al-Balādhurī does not refer to anything like this. However, the following quotation seems to suggest that such an office might have been interpolated from the following quotation. "كانت قريش بمكة وليس رشي أحب اليها من السرير تنام عليه .

فلما قدم رسول الله صلعم المدينة ونزل منزل أبي أيوب ، قال صلعم : يا أبا أيوب  
 أما لكم سرير ؟ قال لا والله . فبلغ أسعد بن زرارته ذلك ، فبعث الى رسول الله صلعم  
 بسريره له عمود ، وقوائمه ساج ، مرمول بخزم يعني المسد : فكان ينام عليه " <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>al-Baladhuri, Op. cit., p. 467.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 509.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 535.



"At Mecca, Quraysh loved bedsteads more than anything else. When he came at Medina and resided in Abū Ayyūb's house, Allah's messenger, may God have peace and mercy upon him, asked Abū Ayyūb: Haven't you got a bedstead?" "No by Allah" answered Abū Ayyūb. As<sup>Cad</sup> ibn Zurāra, on hearing that, sent a bedstead with a pillow and feet made of Indian oak, and woven with palm fibers. The Prophet slept on it."

As to the water carriers and coolers, al-Balādhurī confirms to us their presence and their function as al-Taḥṭāwī claims.

"... فلما صار الى منزله (أى الرسول) ، كان أنس وعند ودارته بن أسماء الاسلاميان يحملون قدور الماء الى بيوت نسائه من بيوت السقييا... " <sup>1</sup>

"...when he was at his house [i.e. the Prophet] Anas, Hind and Ḥāritha b. 'Asmā' al-Aslamiyan carried water to his women's houses from the wells of Suqīya..."

Unlike the previous authorities in Ibn al-Jawzī, the subject of the Prophet's servants and mawālī is categorized as in al-Taḥṭāwī, i.e. it includes the man in charge of the Prophet's slippers and mule. Ibn al-Jawzī also adds to the list of servants those in charge

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 535.



of the Prophet's ablutions and wash room.<sup>1</sup> Al-Kalācī does not mention anything about the Prophet's servants. But by the 8th century Ibn Sayyid al-Nās does tell us about them<sup>2</sup> and in fact confirms al-Taḥṭāwī's listing of the office.

#### Amīr al-Ḥajj

al-Taḥṭāwī gives Abū Bakr's leadership of the Ḥajj in the 8th H. year the title of Amīr hence identifying Amir al-Ḥajj<sup>3</sup> as a specific office. However, al-Taḥṭāwī does not document this. Ibn Hishām confirms Abū Bakr's title though not the date which lends some substance to it being more or less during the Prophet's lifetime.

4 "....ثم بعث ابا بكر أمير على الحج من سنة تسع ، ليقم للمسلمين حجهم...."  
 "...then [he] sent Abū Bakr Amir of Ḥajj in the year 9, to lead the Muslims to Ḥajj."

Ibn Saʿd does not mention the office of Amīr al-Ḥajj. Instead, Ibn Saʿd tells us that the Prophet appointed Abū Bakr to lead the Ḥajj.

<sup>1</sup>Ibn al-Jawzī, Op. cit., pp. 34-38.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Op. cit., V. 2, p. 390.

<sup>3</sup>al-Taḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 380.

<sup>4</sup>Ibn Hishām, Op. cit., V. 4, p. 139.



1 "....استعمل رسول الله صلعم ابا بكر الصديق .... على الحج ...."

"...the Prophet of Allah, may God be pleased with him, sent Abū Bakr... to the Ḥajj."

Ibn Sayyid al-Nās cites Ibn Saʿd in reference to the office.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Kathīr also refers to the tile.

3 "....ثم بعث ابا بكر أميرا على الحج من سنة تسع ليقم للمسلمين حجهم ...."

"...then [he] sent Abu Bakr Amīr of Ḥajj in the 9th year to lead the Muslims in Ḥajj."

The conclusion, therefore, must be that the office of Amīr al-Ḥajj did exist. Ibn Hishām mentions it and he [or rather Ibn Ishāq] is chronologically the closest to the Prophet's times.

#### Writing

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī tells us that writing originated with the attempt to record the revelations correctly. Those who did so during the Prophet's time were either ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān and Zayd ibn Thābit.

From here, continues al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, developed the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn Saʿd, Op. cit., V. 2, pt. 1, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Op. cit., V. 2, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Kathīr, Op. cit., V. 4, p. 68.



office of writing to kings.<sup>1</sup> However, it must be stated that because the above persons wrote the revelation at one time or another, it does not mean that an office, per se, existed solely for this function.

The 'office' of writing is found in al-Balādhurī,<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī,<sup>3</sup> Ibn Sayyid al-Nās<sup>4</sup> and Ibn Kathīr.<sup>5</sup> They all confirm al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's claim but Ibn Kathīr adds more to explain that the revelation writers were also called سجل sijil, in addition to kutāb al-wahī.<sup>6</sup> Ibn Kathīr supports the usage of the word sijil from a Quranic verse<sup>7</sup> and seems to therefore deduce from it the position of katīb. In confirmation of this opinion Ibn Kathīr even puts the title:

8

"السجل وهل كان كاتباً للنبي ؟"

<sup>1</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 384.

<sup>2</sup>al-Balādhurī, Op. cit., p. 531.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn al-Jawzī, Op. cit., pp. 80-81.

<sup>4</sup>Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Op. cit., V. 2, p. 395.

<sup>5</sup>Ibn Kathīr, Op. cit., V. 4, pp. 669, 671, 675.

<sup>6</sup>Ibn Kathīr, Op. cit., V. 4, p. 683.

<sup>7</sup>"...It is narrated that Ibn ʿAbbās said in this verse: 'the Day that We roll up the heavens like a scroll Rolled up for book,' Sijil: register.

<sup>8</sup>Ibn Kathīr, Op. cit., p. 683.



"al-sijil and was he a kātib for the Prophet?"

Finally, it is surprising that Ibn Hisham and Ibn Saʿd, particularly Ibn Hishām, did not mention anything about the revelation writers considering that they are two of the earliest authorities.

The man in charge of the seal:

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī mentions this office which according to him had existed during the Prophet's time. This is extremely unlikely, since it is not mentioned in any of the authorities. The only one who mentioned it was Ibn Kathīr and as an office. Ibn Kathīr tells us that when the Prophet sent a letter to the Romans it was suggested to him that he should seal it as they, the Romans, did not read anything unsealed.<sup>1</sup> The story does not in any way imply the presence of a man in charge of the seal.

Although al-Ṭaḥṭāwī claims to have taken his material from al-Bukhārī and Ibn al-Baṭṭāl and that the man in charge of the Prophet's seal was al-Muʿaqqab ibn Abī Fāṭima al-Dawsī,<sup>2</sup> there is no confirmation of this in the sources used.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn Kathīr, Op. cit., V. 4, p. 701.

<sup>2</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 388.



The question is, where did the office originate? Maybe, as al-Ṭaḥṭāwī did earlier, he makes use of office descriptions in other sources as al-Bukhārī then blends that with attributes of similar offices in his time to produce an office and title. The result is a new office that seems quite unfamiliar, which has no substantive reality during the Prophet's lifetime.

#### Qāḍī:

The office of a qāḍī is attributed specifically to Muḥadh ibn Jabal by al-Ṭaḥṭāwī.<sup>1</sup> In the authorities used there is no such office existing during the Prophet's time. Therefore, how did the office originate especially as al-Ṭaḥṭāwī gives no documentation to his information? The earliest reference found to the function of qāḍī is in al-Balādhurī who tells us the following:

"قالوا : ولي رسول صلعم عمرو بن حزم الانصاري بخزان وزياد بن ليبيد ...  
 حضرموت ... ومعاذ بن جبل ... الجند والقضاء وتعلم الناس الاسـلام  
 وشرائعه وقراءة القرآن وقبض الصدقة من عمال اليمن ..."

"they said: the Prophet, may peace be upon him, assigned 'Amr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī in Khazan and Ziad ibn Lubayd... Hadramout... and Muḥadh ibn Jabal... the army and al-

<sup>1</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 389.

<sup>2</sup>al-Balādhurī, Op. cit., p. 529.



qadaa' and teaching the people about Islam and its shar<sup>c</sup> and the recitation of Quran and the collection of ṣadaqat from Yemen." The quotation does not imply that the office existed, it simply means that the persons sent by the Prophet had to attend to various functions amongst which was "القضاء".

Muftī:

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī specifies to us, with no documentation, those who exercised iftā' during the Prophet's time namely Abū Bakr, <sup>c</sup>Umar, <sup>c</sup>Uthmān, <sup>c</sup>Alī, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān ibn <sup>c</sup>Awf and Ibn Mas<sup>c</sup>ūd<sup>1</sup> whereas the only authority who mentions that iftā' used to be exercised is Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>d. But Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>d only referred to Abū Bakr and <sup>c</sup>Umar

... "دنا جلوسا عند النبي صلعم فقال اني لست أدري ما قدر بقائي فيكم فإقتدوا بالذين من بعدي وأشار الى ابي بكر وعمر... انه سئل من كان يفتي الناس فسمى  
2 زمن رسول الله صلعم فقال أبو بكر وعمر."

"...When we were sitting with the Prophet he said: "I do not know how long I will stay alive with you, so follow the path of those who follow me referring to Abū Bakr and <sup>c</sup>Umar... asked about that who gave Fatwa in the Prophet's time he said: Abū Bakr and <sup>c</sup>Umar."

<sup>1</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 401.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>d, Op. cit., V. 2, pt. 2, pp. 98-99.



Emissaries sent to kings inviting them to Islam:

Ibn Saʿd,<sup>1</sup> al-Balādhurī<sup>2</sup> and Ibn Sayyid al-Nās<sup>3</sup> confirm al-Ṭaḥṭawī's claim,<sup>4</sup> as documented from Ibn Ishāq and al-Bukhārī, as to the persons sent to kings as 'messengers' or 'sent by the Prophet' أسماء الرسل الى الملوك and respectively ذكر بعثة رسول الله صلعم.

Ibn Kathir refers to these persons as umara' أمراء "بعث رسول الله صلعم الأمراء".<sup>5</sup>

The Prophet's translators:

One cannot help feeling that it is in this office that we see the tendency to create offices which are in fact anachronisms. Al-Ṭaḥṭawī tells us that the Prophet's translator was Zayd ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī and he spoke Persian, Roman, Coptic and Abyssinian.<sup>6</sup> In tracing this office in the sources used there is not the slightest mention of anything close to being the Prophet's translator, except in Ibn Saʿd. Ibn Saʿd tells us that

<sup>1</sup>Ibn Saʿd, Op. cit., V. 1, pt. 2, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>al-Balādhurī, Op. cit., p. 531.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Op. cit., V. 1, p. 149.

<sup>4</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭawī, Op. cit., p. 410.

<sup>5</sup>Ibn Kathīr, Op. cit., V. 4, p. 191.

<sup>6</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭawī, Op. cit., p. 415.



the prophet sent six messengers each speaking the 'tongue' of the people sent to  
 " فخرج ستة نفر منهم في يوم واحد وذلك  
 في المحرم سنة سبع وأصبح كل رجل منهم يتكلم بلسان القوم الذين بعثه اليهم... " 1

"Six persons went out in one day in Muḥarram in the year seven and everyone of them spoke the tongue of the folks he was sent to." The above quotation proves al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's anachronism because for a man to speak the tongue of another does not make him a translator per se. It is possible that the office of translator had only developed out of the hagiographical tradition.

#### The Prophet's Poet:

Here again we see the hagiographical effect on al-Ṭaḥṭāwī and his proving anachronisms quite clearly. Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī tells us about Ḥassan ibn Thābit as being the prophet's poet and a few others.<sup>2</sup> Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī quotes Ibn Ishāq<sup>3</sup> and a ḥadīth narrated by ʿĀisha<sup>4</sup> to confirm the presence of the office of a poet. روى عن عائشة رضي الله تعالى عنها انها وصفت رسول الله صلعم فقالت كان والله كما قال فيه شاعره حسان ابن ثابت .

<sup>1</sup>Ibn Saʿd, Op. cit., V. 1, pt. 2, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 415.

<sup>3</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 417.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 416.



"According to 'Ā'isha, may God be pleased with her, it was narrated that she described the Prophet of Allah and said that he was as described by his poet Hassan ibn Thābit."

In the sources, there is no persons called 'the Prophet's poet.' Only the incident where Hassan ibn Thābit was involved in and was mentioned in al-Taḥṭāwī - that incident is mentioned in Ibn Hishām<sup>1</sup> and Ibn Kathīr<sup>2</sup> also - in the context of a poetic glorification of the Prophet. مفاخرة A 'مفاخرة' glorification for the Prophet does not mean that Hassan ibn Thābit was the Prophet's poet in an institutionalized sense as suggested by al-Taḥṭāwī. Al-Kalācī does mention Hassan ibn Thābit but with no special association to the Prophet.<sup>3</sup>

#### Army payments:

An office dealing with booty distribution is again found only in al-Taḥṭāwī.<sup>4</sup> This office is not found in any of the authorities used except in Ibn Hishām where he makes mention of how the Prophet distributed the money of Banu Qurayza to the Muslims but not as an office.

<sup>1</sup>Ibn Hishām, Op. cit., V. 4, pp. 154-155, '74 ed.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Kathīr, Op. cit., V. 4. pp. 80-81.

<sup>3</sup>al-Kalācī, Op. cit., V. 2, pp. 311 and 338.

<sup>4</sup>al-Taḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 420.



distributed the money of Banū Qurayṣa to the Muslims but not as an office.

"قال ابن اسحاق : ثم ان رسول الله صلعم قسم اموال بنى قريظة . . . على المسلمين"  
1

"Ibn Ishāq said: then the Prophet of Allah distributed the money of Banū Qurayṣa to the Muslims."

This practice of that section of the army, i.e. distributing money to Muslims, is again referred to in al-Kalācī,<sup>2</sup> but not as an office

"ولما فرغ رسول الله صلعم من رد سبايا حنين الى اهلها ركب واتبعه الناس يقولون :  
يا رسول الله افسم علينا فيئنا للابل والغنم . . ."  
3

"When the Prophet of Allah finished sending the female prisoners of Hunain to their folks, rided and the people followed him saying: O' Prophet of God divide for us our booty of camels and sheep."

#### The Sadaqāt collector:

This office, according to al-Taḥṭāwī, was assigned

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn Hishām, Op. cit., V. 3, p. 149, '74 ed.

<sup>2</sup>al-Kalācī. Op. cit., V. 2, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., V. 2, p. 358.



to Muḥādh ibn Jabal at the Prophet's time.<sup>1</sup> This office was mentioned in Ibn Hishām.

"قال ابن اسحاق : وكان رسول الله صلعم قد بعث امراءه وعماله على الصدقات ، الى كل ما اوطأ الاسلام من البلدان ، فبعث المهاجر بن ابي اميه بن المغيرة الى صنعاء • فخرج عليه العنسي وهو بها وبعث على بن ابي طالب ••• الى أهل نجران ليجمع صدقتهم ويقدم عليه بجزيته •"

2

"Ibn Ishāq said: the Prophet, may God have peace upon him, sent his emirs and ṣadaqāt collectors to the newly Islamized regions. He dispatched al-Muhāgīr ibn Umayya ibn el-Mughīra to Sanaa'. But al-Ansī rebelled against him. He sent 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib to the people of Najrān to collect Ṣadaqāt and Jizya from them and bring them back to the Prophet." It is understandable that this function should have developed unto an office very early on.

#### Teachers of Quran and writing:

This office according to al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was assigned to

<sup>1</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 389.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Hishām, Op. cit., V. 4, p. 182, '74 ed.



Muḥād̥h ibn Jabal in the Prophet's time to teach Quran and writing.<sup>1</sup> It is mentioned in Ibn Hishām

”... واستحلف عتاب بن اسيد على مكة ، وخلف معه مداذ بن جبل يفقه الناس في الدين ، ويعلمهم القرآن .“<sup>2</sup>

"Itāb ibn 'Asīd was made in charge of Mecca, along with Muḥād̥h ibn Jabal to instruct the people in religion and teach them Quran."

However, in Ibn Saḍ, it is not mentioned independent of other offices.<sup>3</sup> The rest of the authorities make no mention of it as an office.

Enough has been said to draw into question the degree to which al-Ṭaḥṭāwī succumbed to a hagiographical tradition in parts of his Sira. In regard to the establishing of anachronistic offices, is it possible that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was attempting to institutionalize offices which either actually existed in very embryonic form at the Prophet's time or not at all in order to come out with religion on his side and with an official indisput-

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<sup>1</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Op. cit., p. 389.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Hishām, Op. cit., V. 4, p. 107, '74 ed.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Saḍ, Op. cit., V. 2, pt. 2, p. 114.



able justification of the modernizing process that was going on at the time of Khedive Ismāʿīl?



AL-TAHTĀWĪ'S POLITICAL THEORY IN NIHĀYAT AL-ĪJĀZ  
VIS-A-VIS HIS OTHER WORKS

This chapter will first deal with al-Tahtāwī's  
views on political theory; in particular the relation-  
ship between ruler and subjects in Siḥāyat al-Ījāz.  
Following this will be an exploration as to how far al-  
Tahtāwī goes in giving the ruler privileges in Siḥāyat

C H A P T E R     T H R E E

AL-TAHTĀWĪ'S POLITICAL THEORY IN NIHĀYAT AL-ĪJĀZ  
VIS-A-VIS HIS OTHER WORKS

In section six of Siḥāyat al-Ījāz al-Tahtāwī gives  
a definition of the Islamic imān. The greater imān  
was originally a post for the Prophet.<sup>1</sup> This imān means  
that, subsequently, the khālifa presides over religious  
and worldly matters in succession to the Prophet's role.<sup>2</sup>

The words imān, sovereign absolute ruler, custodian  
and khālifa are used by al-Tahtāwī interchangeably without  
making any specific distinction among them.<sup>3</sup> According  
to al-Tahtāwī Abū Bakr, Umar, Uthmān and ʿAlī are

<sup>1</sup> al-Tahtāwī, op. cit., p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 357.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 374.



# AL-ṬAḤṬĀWĪ'S POLITICAL THEORY IN NIHĀYAT AL-ĪJĀZ

## VIS-A-VIS HIS OTHER WORKS

This chapter will first deal with al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's notions on political theory; in particular the relationship between ruler and subjects in Nihāyat al-Ījāz. Following this will be an exploration as to how far al-Ṭaḥṭāwī goes in giving the ruler privileges in Takhlīs al-ibrīz and Manāhiḥ al-albāb and al-Murshid al-amīn as compared with Nihāyat al-Ījāz.

In section six of Nihāyat al-Ījāz al-Ṭaḥṭāwī gives a definition of the Islamic imāma. The greater imāma was originally a post for the Prophet.<sup>1</sup> This imāma means that, subsequently, the khalīfa presides over religious and worldly matters in succession to the Prophet's role<sup>2</sup>

The words imām, sovereign absolute ruler custodian and khalīfa are used by <sup>al-</sup>Ṭaḥṭāwī interchangeably without making any specific distinction among them.<sup>3</sup> According to al-Ṭaḥṭāwī Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī are

<sup>1</sup>al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, op.cit., p. 357.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p. 357.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 374.



called Caliphs.<sup>1</sup> However, the khalīfa is defined by al-Tahtawī as a man who immediately succeeded the Prophet as imām.<sup>2</sup> The title of Amir al-Mu'minīn is given to those who followed the rightly guided calips.<sup>3</sup>

Now that al-Tahtāwī has defined the imām he enumerates the qualities and conditions of the imām proper. According to al-Tahtāwī the imām ought to be a Muslim, sane, discerning, male, free, mature, just, a Mujtahid, without physical disabilities, with sharp perceptions, with the ability to make initiatives, brave with war experiences and from Quraysh.<sup>4</sup> In all of this, al-Tahtāwī is not deviating in the slightest from the traditional statements made in such works as al-Aḥkām al-Ṣultaniya of al-Mawardī. Al-Tahtāwī mentions that the imām may come from Banū Kināna or Quraysh, descended from Ismaʿīl though not necessarily from Banū Hashīm or be infallible or more meritorious than whoever is currently ruling.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 366.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 366.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 366.

<sup>4</sup>al-Tahtāwī, op.cit., p. 361.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 361.



According to the hadith on p. 361 al-Taḥṭāwī quotes the following reasons for choosing the imām from Quraysh:

1. They worshipped God for 10 years when no one else did.
2. God aided them on the Day of the Elephant when they were polytheists.
3. It was about them that God revealed Sūrat Quraysh.
4. Prophecy, the caliphate, the ḥijāba, and siqāya are vested in them.

The importance and necessity of the khalifa's office, as stated in Nihayāt al-ījāz is attributed to his fulfilling the following requirements: enabling the learned man to spread his knowledge, the judge to execute sentence, the worshipper to worship, the craftsman to work at his craft, the merchant to carry on his trade the sower to harvest his field. In addition, the caliph secures the internal front of the state against any strife within the community and protects the frontiers against incursion or harm.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 357.



The reverence ascribed to the Caliph's office is made clear from al-Taḥṭāwī's quotation of the following ḥadith, "he who has obeyed me had obeyed God and whoever disobeyed me has disobeyed God and whoever obeys the amir has obeyed me and whoever disobeys the amir has disobeyed me and whoever disobeys me his lot is hell-fire."<sup>1</sup> Therefore, according to the ḥadith quoted by al-Taḥṭāwī, caliphs are "God's shadows on earth".<sup>2</sup> This is a position which reflects the theocratization of the office under the Abbassids.

According to al-Taḥṭāwī there can only be one imām at a single time and place.<sup>3</sup> In addition, in the absence of an act of delegation from the preceding imām for the installation of a specific nominee it is necessary to appoint one by consensus. This appointment of the greater imamate is a general charge upon the Muslims. The appointment is binding upon the community by the divine law as a kifā'ī obligation. The people of tying and untying represent the community in the process

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 360.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 358.

<sup>3</sup>In all this, al-Taḥṭāwī is simply following the conventional theory of the imāmate, as found in al-Mawardi, al-Aḥkām al-Ṣultaniya, Cairo, 1966, p. 6 seq.



of choosing an imām and his appointment thus absolving the community from this obligation. If the appointment of an imām is not carried out then it is a sin for Muslims collectively. For a community to be absolved from this obligation "the people of tying and untying" should exercise ra'y, be just and have a knowledgeability of governing the imāmate.

Al-Taḥṭāwī does not specify the conditions governing the imāmate. One of these conditions is the procedural steps of how the process of appointment is carried out. Al-Taḥṭāwī simply states that "the people of tying and untying" immediately give their oath of loyalty "bayCa" by clasping of the hand and their testifying to the one absent as to what transpired.<sup>1</sup> The bayCa is an integral part of the political theory, al-Taḥṭāwī points out, as evident from the companions by giving it to Abū Bakr before burying the Prophet. To them the bayCa was the most important of obligations.

Another possibility, according to the theory for the appointment of an imām is to have the incumbent caliph designate a successor during his life time. Only

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 359.



then is the successor eligible for the pledge of allegiance. Therefore, the assumption of office by the successor is pending upon the death of the current caliph.<sup>1</sup> However, al-Taḥṭāwī fails to list other possibilities of appointing the imām notably the way in which ʿUthmān and ʿAlī were appointed. Again, al-Taḥṭāwī is simply treading the path of conservative theory. On the subject of the imamate of prayer, al-Taḥṭāwī poses two contrasting views: either the Sulṭān or amīr leads the prayer or that the leader of prayer should be a different person designated by the imām.<sup>2</sup>

On the office of the wazīr, al-Tahtawi defines him as one whom the amīr resorts to for his opinion and retreats from the burden of his office.<sup>3</sup> The criteria for an efficient wazīr, as al-Taḥṭāwī says, are: he should be well acquainted with the constituents of the Sharīʿa, and all the articles of faith involved in it. He should be well versed in political affairs and matters related to laws of the world. Al-Taḥṭāwī maintains that the wizāra is part of the imāma because the wazīr ranks with

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 361.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 406.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 375.



the monarch. The wazir represents the real executive authority.<sup>1</sup> At this point, al-Taḥṭāwī seems to be lacking in distinguishing between imām and wazīr and specifying the duties incumbent upon each. The following quotation makes this obvious "the worse thing for a ruler is for his minister to be a good talker and a bad doer. For the ruler would rely on what his minister said would prevail, owing to the minister's neglect and evil deeds".<sup>2</sup> Again at this point, al-Taḥṭāwī does not provide us with enough criteria for the choice of a wazīr to avoid the appointment of an inefficient wazīr.

Next, al-Taḥṭāwī deals with the issue of the community's duty towards the ruler. In case the office of the imām is vacant, it becomes obligatory upon the Muslim community to pursue the issue with the "people of tying and untying" in their capacity as community representatives. Once an imām is appointed, it becomes binding upon the community to obey him, (1) as a duty, (2) as an obligation. It is required for a community to obey as a duty because God commanded obedience to His messenger and the Prophet said, "I commend you to be

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 375.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 375.



pious towards God and to hear and obey."<sup>1</sup> By "to hear" is meant to respond to the words of the one in authority and obedience to his commands. This is required of the umma so long as the imām does not command what is rebellious in "God's view". "For there is no obedience to any created being involving rebellion against the creator."<sup>2</sup>

However, al-Taḥṭāwī presents us at this juncture, with a paradoxical stand on the issue of obedience. The community is required to obey the ruler so long as he does not encourage rebellion against God. But then, the community is also required to obey the ruler if he urges rebellion against the creator. Al-Taḥṭāwī seems to make room in his theory for what we know now as pragmatics; that changes can sometimes be made when necessity calls. Al-Taḥṭāwī's injunction to obey that ruler, even though he might be a slave or someone not entitled to the imāmate, explains the fact that such obedience takes place "out of necessity" to spare Muslim's blood.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 360.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 360.

<sup>3</sup>This last observation is not to be found in the classical expositions of the theory of the imāma.



This part of obedience serves as a good starting point for further discussion of al-Taḥṭāwī's political theory in terms of how "autocratic" or "democratic" a ruler is? If the community were to obey the ruler regardless of his implementing or neglect of God's commands then the community does not have the right to object nor to oppose. "Opposition" as we know is very central to democratic rule. In this way, the ruler is given a free hand to be an autocrat supported by religious injunction, for fear of shedding Muslims' blood.

In further substantiation of the autocracy of the ruler contained in al-Taḥṭāwī's political theory in Nihāyat al-Ījāz, it is to be noted in the part on the Prophet's birth<sup>1</sup> that al-Taḥṭāwī concludes, celebration of al-Mawlid al-Nabawī is not a bidʿa so long as in his view it reflects the joy and happiness of people at each anniversary of the Prophet's birth. From there, al-Taḥṭāwī moves on to say that it is ~~not~~ ḥarām for the ruler whenever he sees fit to suspend the zakāt for reasons of maintaining a good facade for the state.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 36-38.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 36.



There are obvious elements in common between the points being made in Nihayāt al-ījāz and elements dealt with in Manāhiḥ al-albāb and al-Murshid al-amīn, but with varying emphases. The elements are:

1. The appointment of the ruler.
2. The community's role.
3. Prerogatives of the ruler.

Talkhis al-ibrīz since it is concerned with al-Tahtawi's cultural sojourn to France had no direct bearing on the political theory contained in Nihāyat al-ījāz, especially in relation to the above mentioned points. Al-Murshid al-Amīn deals mainly with educational perspectives. In Manāhiḥ al-albāb al-Miṣrīyah fī mābāhiḥ al-ādab al-Casrīya al-Taḥṭāwī's notions on political theory are rather different from those expounded in Nihāyat al-ījāz regarding the three above mentioned points.



Nihāyat al-ījāz regarding the three above mentioned points.

On the appointment of the imām in Nihāyat al-ījāz there was no mention by al-Ṭaḥṭāwī of rule being passed on to descendents of the ruler's family as he does in the Manāhij. It was very specifically stated in Nihāyat al-ījāz that the ruler be from Banū kinana, <sup>Quraysh</sup> or descend from Ismāʿīl though not necessarily from Banū Hāshim, or be infallible or more meritorious than whoever is currently ruling.<sup>1</sup> Although al-Ṭaḥṭāwī did not actually give a criterion in Nihāyat al-ījāz for the choice of more meritorious... etc. but he certainly did not say that the office of an imām be inherited. To justify this position al-Ṭaḥṭāwī adds in al-Manāhij<sup>2</sup> that in order to avoid corruption, sedition and wars over the ruling office, it was decided for the benefit of the majority to choose the system of inheriting the post. In addition to his justifications, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī says that all rulings approved by the previous sovereign which are actually in force should not be repelled by his succes-

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 361.

<sup>2</sup>al-Manāhij, p. 354, 1912 edition.



sor. This argument establishes the principle of the appointment of rule by inheritance. Clearly, one cannot help wondering whether al-Taḥṭāwī was breaking his theory in favour of Khedive Ismāʿīl.

On the community's role in Nihāyat al-Ījāz, al-Taḥṭāwī makes no mention of any positive role on the part of the community vis-a-vis the ruling system. Their role in that book is very marginal and is confined to their being represented by the "people of tying and untying" whose role is subsequently limited to giving their opinion on the appointment of a new khalīfa, imām, ruler, whereas in al-Manāhiḥ the community's role and that of the people of tying and untying is reversed. For example, in p. 355, there is no mention of the community representatives and there is, instead, a pseudo power accredited to the community when al-Taḥṭāwī says that public opinion has an overwhelming power over the hearts of kings and notables. So al-Taḥṭāwī presumes that such psychic powers are the community's contribution in effecting any changes in the ruling system.

The issue of the ruler's prerogatives is approached in al-Manāhiḥ in several ways. The most obvious way is the emphasis on the spiritual role of the caliph. The



magnification of the legislative and executive role of the wālī. Finally, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī encourages Egyptian imperial expansion into Africa. The section on the types of politics in al-Manāhiḥ indicates<sup>1</sup> that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was interested in emphasizing the spiritual role of the Ottoman Sultan and de-emphasizing his temporal role. This is clear when he talks about levels of siyāṣah, each of which is associated with a role in human society except for one which is concerned with a man's internal state. These levels are, in sequence, Prophetic exercised by a Prophet whom God appoints; general, carried out by the Amīr; domestic, exercised by a man who is the head of the family; personal [dhātiyyah] and, finally, monarchic [mulūkiyyah]. In regard to this latter level of politics, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī does not tell us who carries it out. But he does state its functions and they are 'the enjoining of good and forbidding evil, and the preservation of the sharīʿa'. Such functions were, traditionally, a caliph's.

The type of politics which is temporal and executive is that of the amīr or as al-Ṭaḥṭāwī calls him the

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<sup>1</sup>al-Manāhiḥ, p. 343.



wālī. The wālī's role is magnified especially as al-Ṭaḥṭāwī gives it the legislative ability, i.e. taqnīn. Again, this is clear when al-Ṭaḥṭāwī tells us of the three parts of a government, the first legislates and organizes the law, the second is the judiciary and the third is the executive force for the judicial decisions.<sup>1</sup> At this stage, it must be pointed that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī has broken away from an important aspect of his political theory in Nihāyat al-Ījāz in giving the wālī the prerogative of legislation and keeping the caliph at a spiritual level.

It is obvious that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's assertion of the wālī's right and prerogative is related to Ismā'īl's right of legislation and issuing of qawānīn in direct challenge to the Ottoman sultan who has, supposedly, full jurisdiction over Egypt. To put it differently, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī is over-stepping his political theory in Nihāyat al-Ījāz which claims absolute obedience to the Caliph, not the wālī, to suit Ismā'īl. Cole seems to suggest support for this latter opinion. al-Ṭaḥṭāwī who had spent most of the 60s working on a translation of the Code Napoleon which Ismā'īl was later to use as

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 349.



Egypt's civil law, had no doubt that the Khedive was an independent legislator. However, the 1867 firman insisted that Ismā'īl's power is that of regulation and not legislation.<sup>1</sup>

So, for al-Ṭaḥṭāwī to enable the wālī a little prerogative in spite of the firmān, he goes on to say that the ruler is endowed with a further privilege, that of "favouritism". The ruler, according to al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, can appoint whoever he takes a liking to in order to benefit from their opinions.<sup>2</sup> In simple words, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī is providing the ruler with the right to have his retinue to enhance his own position.

To revert a little to the types of 'siyāṣah', al-Ṭaḥṭāwī gives the de facto rulership to Amīrs.<sup>3</sup> It might be suggested that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was attempting to insist on the right of the amīrs to rule over that of the Caliph-Sultan in Istanbul. In addition, the description of the functions of the amīr leaves little doubt that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī saw it as one of fairly independent rulership and

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<sup>1</sup>Cole, op.cit., p. 149.

<sup>2</sup>al-Manāḥij, p. 352.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 343.



not a passive appointee over certain of the caliph's lands.<sup>1</sup> It then follows, naturally, that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī should encourage Egyptian imperial expansion into Africa since the Amīr is given an amount of autonomy to enable him to act according to his own discretion within his realm.<sup>2</sup> Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī adds that the only opposition left is the ruler's conscience. That conscience, according to al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, is the equivalent of parties, house of representatives or whatever you choose to call it, in curbing any over-stepping of the limit on the part of the ruler. In clear political terms, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī is promoting a semi-autocratic and autonomous system of rule and giving prerogatives to the de facto ruler over those of a caliph.

In conclusion, the litmus test given to al-Ṭaḥṭāwī to find out his degree of traditionalism or the real modernity of his intellect is the examination of his political theory in Nihāyat al-Ījāz vis-a-vis his other books. The finding contained in the present chapter is that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's view is a rather traditional one in regard to the omnipotence of the ruler and that he can-

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 343.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 250.



not, in the context of his Islamic political thought, be considered a modernist.

The reasons for this are not far to seek. There is no doubt that there were certain aspects of Ismācīl's reign that had a strong influence on the subject matter of Nihāyat al-Ījāz, particularly the section on political theory. As we have stated already, the theory tends to defend, somewhat incorrectly, the prerogatives of the ruler. The aspects of Ismācīl's reign to which al-Ṭah-ṭāwī had to temper his theories in order to justify them and, therefore, the Khedive's privilege, were in the following spheres:

1. His handling of European loans.
2. His allowing of the economy to be in the hands of foreigners.
3. The emergence of opposition by the Egyptian municipal leaders.
4. His rights to manoeuvre Egyptian policy freely, away from Istanbul.

The Pasha had certainly set a royal example in the matter of taking out loans, and developed a technique of paying for old ones with new ones, allowing him to renew the old ones. The result was the high interest rates of



European financiers indebteding the Egyptian national treasury from a few million pounds to some ninety-one million pounds in the first thirteen years of Ismā'īl's reign. Consequently, the economy fell more and more into the hands of the foreign creditors, thus forming a power force vis-a-vis the native Egyptians who tended to invest their money in land rather than becoming entrepreneurs.<sup>1</sup>

The emergence of this power pull gave rise to an opposition to the Khedive's policies by the Egyptian municipal leaders [Shuyukh al-balad] representing the important land owner from all over Egypt. They demanded a role in local and national fiscal matters, as it affected them and their land property. Hence, these shuyukh formed a consultative assembly, whose first meeting was in 1866. In addition, even though they were watered down as an institution yet the questions about the nature of the Pasha's powers were new in Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Charles Cissawi. "Egypt since 1800: A Study in Lopsided Development". The Journal of Economic History. v. 21, 1961, pp. 11-12.

<sup>2</sup>Ahmad Jamal. The Intellectual Origins of Egyptian Nationalism. London. 1960, pp. 23-24.



As Ismācīl's ambitions required an approval from the Ottoman Sultan of the right to plan Egyptian policy separately from Istanbul, the Khedive's aim, then, was to loosen the authority of the Sultan over him, to escape from the jurisdiction of those Ottoman laws which restricted him. Towards the accomplishment of this aim, he was faced by two successive rounds of negotiations with the Sultan. "The first concerned the granting of Egypt's throne to Ismācīl as hereditary on the basis of primogeniture, rather than on the Turkish system wherein the eldest male member of the family ascends to the throne."<sup>1</sup> Ismācīl was finally granted this request in 1866 after having spent enormous sums in bribes in Istanbul, including the Sultan himself.

The second set of negotiations involves far more difficult issues. First, Ismācīl wanted to be raised to the rank of ʿAzīz-Miṣr - an Ottoman title applied to Mamluk sultans of Egypt. Ismācīl was no more than a Pasha, though a powerful one, but not real royalty. His promotion would mean a significant rise in status, and would strengthen his claims for more autonomy. So Istanbul

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<sup>1</sup>B. Lewis, "ʿAzīz Miṣr", EI 2.



bul did not agree to make him CAzīz-Misr, but did raise him to the level of khedive.<sup>1</sup>

Also, Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl wanted more power over Egypt's internal administration, including the authority to make financial arrangements with foreigners autonomously. The imperial firmān of June 8th, 1867, gave Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl the power to conduct his own administration, financial arrangements, and regulations for the internal governing of Egypt. Moreover, he was given the right to make arrangements with foreign powers in matters of duties, the post, transit, etc..., with the knowledge of the Porté.

Finally, the Khedive wanted to have a voice in any treaty negotiations Istanbul carried out with the European powers. This, Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl achieved and, although he fell short of his maximal goals, emerged with a much stronger diplomatic position in addition to a great deal of autonomy for Egypt within the Empire.<sup>2</sup>

This concept of semi-autonomy is reflected in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's own definition of the respective functions of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 825.

<sup>2</sup>Douin, Georges, Histoire du Regne du Khedive Isma<sup>c</sup>il, Rome, 1933. v. I, p. 416.



the Caliph and the Amīr. This definition and its discussion first appears in al-Manāhiḥ. It reappears in Nihāyat al-Ījāz as a distinct political theory contextualized within his Sīra, thus giving it the effect of relativizing the immediate situation and providing the necessary religious and ideological justification required for political innovations. This is best illustrated in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's defense of the prerogatives of the Khedive and the extent of his authority to deviate from the Ottoman Sultan, on the analogy of an Amīr from a Caliph.

As we have seen in Nihāyat al-Ījāz the political theory subtly and sometimes explicitly stresses the necessity of a people and their leaders to follow the ruler to the furthest extent, even to the point of accepting his being tyrannical, so as to avoid strife. Accordingly, the acceptance of the debt policies of the khedive is beyond reproach and the opposition formed by the municipal leaders is ungrounded. The twist of the theory is best illustrated in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's defense of the prerogatives of the Khedive and the extent of his authority to deviate from the Ottoman Sultan, or in terms of precedent, an Amīr from a Caliph.



A D D E N D U M

A TRANSLATION OF THOSE SECTIONS OF  
NIHAYĀT AL-ĪJĀZ  
DEALING WITH THE INSTITUTIONS OF  
THE ISLAMIC STATE



## S I X T H   S E C T I O N

About Offices and Municipal Functions  
Public & Private, Domestic & Military,  
i.e. the Institutions of the Islamic  
Sultanate & what is Related to it of  
Crafts & Industries & Religious Offices  
During the Prophet's Time







Those who served the Prophet, may Allah have peace and blessings on him, were Abū Ḥamza, Anas ibn Mālik al-Anṣārī, Hind and Asmā', daughters of Ḥāritha from Aslam and Rabī'Ca ibn Ka'Cb al-Aslami.

Anas ibn Mālik was quoted as saying: "I have served the Messenger of Allah for ten years \* never has he said to me 'uff'." Al-Bukharī quoted ibn Shihāb as saying: "I was told by Anas ibn Mālik that he was ten years old when the Prophet emigrated to Medina and he served him ten years, then the Prophet died when he was 20 years of age." \* p. 350

Abū Huraya, Allah be pleased with him, was quoted as having said: "I have never seen Asmā' and Hind daughters of Ḥāritha except as servants of the Prophet. They served him for such a long time keeping close to his door. As for Rabī'Ca ibn Ka'Cb al-Aslamī he was one of the people the Suffa and he kept close to the Prophet both on travel and journeys at home waiting on him, doing what he was ordered by him to do. It was he who asked the Prophet to help him enjoy his company in Paradise, to which the Prophet, may Allah have peace and



blessings on him, replied: 'Help me to do so by your frequent prayers'."

In this respect Abdallāh ibn al-Mubārak composed the following:

What is wrong with your religion, that you are content to defile it whilst your cloak is always washed clean? You hope for salvation, though you have not followed its path. A ship can never float on dry land.

ʿUqba ibn ʿĀmir ibn Abs ibn ʿAmr al-Juhanī was the one who used to lead his mule accompanying him in his travels. He was also well acquainted with the Book of Allah and the religious duties, eloquent and a poet. During the reign of Muʿāwīya he was appointed governor of Egypt in the 44th year of Hijra, he was replaced by Maslama ibn Mukhallad and died in Egypt in the 58th year of the Hijra.

Of his servants, may Allah have peace and blessings on him, were those who did special services to him like that of having charge of his pillow. Al-Bukhārī narrated "ʿAlqama went to Syria and then he came to the mosque and performed two rakʿas and supplicated his Lord saying: 'O God provide me with a good sitting companion.' He sat with Abī al-Dardā', then he asked him about his home town, "Kufa" he replied, "Is there not amongst you



the man who was the Prophet's confident? [meaning Ḥudhayfa]. And is there not amongst you the man whom God protected by the tongue of His Prophet from Satan? [meaning ʿAmmār]. And is there not amongst you the man in charge of the tooth-pick [siwāk] and the pillow? [meaning ibn Masʿūd]. Then he asked him: "How used ʿAbdallah to recite 'By the night enshrouding'." <sup>1</sup> He said: and "the male and the female?" <sup>2</sup> He continued: "They were on the point of doubting me [i.e. in the reciting of them both in the genitive case.] And I had heard them from the messenger of God in the accusative in his reciting of verse three of al-layl. The reading of Ibn Masʿūd was in the genitive and his view point was that the meaning of 'wa ma khalaga etc.' \* was 'wa ma \* p. 351 khalaqahu' i.e. the creation of God then 'al-dhakar wa'l untha' was put as a substitution for it i.e. 'wa makhluq Allah, al-dhakar wa'l-untha'."

ʿAīsha was quoted by Muslim as having said: "the pillow of the Messenger of Allah where on he used to recline was made of skin stuffed with palm fibres." ʿUmar, Allah be pleased with him, was also quoted by

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 92, al-layl 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. verse 3.



Muslim as having said that he was permitted to enter the Prophet's room and when he did so he found the Prophet lying on a mat which left traces on his side and resting his head on a pillow made of skin stuffed with palm fibres - a mark of his complete asceticism may Allah have peace and blessings on him. The Prophet would also draw the pillow a little under his body, the caliphs also used to take pillows to recline against. It was narrated that Salmān once dropped in on ʿUmar who was leaning against a pillow. ʿUmar then threw it to him. Salmān could not help but say, "Allah is most great, Allah and his messenger both are right." ʿUmar then said: "O' Abū Abdāllah, recount to us [about the Prophet]."

Salmān then said: "One day I entered the Prophet's room while he was leaning against a pillow. He then brought it closer to me saying: 'O Salmān, there isn't any Muslim who, when another Muslim drops in on him, does not throw the pillow to him out of generosity to him, without obtaining Allah's pardon."

Ibn Masʿūd was also in charge of the Prophet's slippers. In some ḥadīth books it was stated that Ibn



MasCūd, Allah be pleased with him, used to fit the slippers onto the Prophet's feet.

In Mukhtaṣar al-siyar by Ibn JamāCa it was narrated that ibn MasCūd was in charge of the Prophet's slippers; when he [the Prophet] got up he fitted them onto his feet and when he sat down, he held them in his arms until he got up again. This companion, as previously mentioned, was also in charge of the Prophet's pillow. he was also in charge of procuring water for ablutions for the Prophet. Also he was in charge of the Prophet's tooth-pick and chair.

CUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb had once come across a procession of travellers. Thereupon, he ordered a man to enquire from them where they had come from. Ibn MasCūd was one of the travellers and he answered the man saying: "From the remote spot." "And where to?" asked the man. "To the ancient house." replied ibn MasCūd "which verse of the Quran is the best?" asked the man. "The Chair verse" answered ibn MasCūd. "Which verse of the Quran is most significant?" the man enquired, "Lo Allah enjoys justice and kindness."<sup>1</sup> answered ibn MasCūd. "Which verse of the Quran is most comprehensive?" asked

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 16, al-Nahl, 90.



the man. "And who so does good an atom's weight will see it then."<sup>1</sup> Ibn MasCūd replied "Which verse of the Quran is most hope reviving?" Ibn MasCūd said, "Say: O' my slaves who have been prodigal to their own own hurt."<sup>2</sup>

CUmar then ordered the man to ask them whether the man who answered was ibn MasCūd or not, as such answers can hardly be put forward by other than him. CAlī said that Abdallah was well acquainted with the Quran and the Sunna. Abū Mūsa al-AshCarī said: "Never ask me \* as \* p. 352 long as this most erudite one is amongst you." He also said: "He [ibn MasCūd] would be permitted when we would be forbidden and witness what we could not see." Masrūq said: "CAlī and ibn MasCūd bore the knowledge of the prophet's Companions altogether." When some of the Companions laughed at the thinness of ibn MasCūd's legs, the Prophet, may Allah have peace and blessings on him, said: "By Him in whose hands is my soul, his legs are heavier on the scale<sup>3</sup> than the mountain of Uḥud." A group, on seeing his three sons, admired them to such a

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 99, al-Zalzala, 7.

<sup>2</sup>Sūrat 39, Azzumar, 53.

<sup>3</sup>of the Day of Judgment.



degree that they said: "They are as beautiful as the golden dinars." On hearing that ibn Mas'ūd raised his head looking at the ceiling where a swallow had nested in a corner of it and said: "By Him in whose hand is my soul, that they (his sons) should die and I bury them myself is more preferable to me than that this nest should fall and the eggs smash."

Of his sayings (may Allah have peace and blessings on him): Verily, your days are short and your works are recorded. Death comes unexpectedly, thus he who sows good reaps joy and he who sows evil reaps lamentation. The pious are masters, the fuqahā' are leaders and sitting with them is an increase [of good]. What is little but sufficient is better than what is much and conducive to taking the mind away (from what is more appropriate). The worse misguidedness is that which follows being guided. The best of richness is for the soul to be rich, the best of provisions is piety, the best of what is cast into the heart is certainty, the worse of blindness is that of infidelity, wine is conducive to all sins, women are the ropes of Satan, youthfulness is a branch of insanity. He who behaves humbly will be exalted by Allah, he who behaves arrogantly will be lashed by



Allah. He whose prayers do not lead him to what is good and prevent him from what is bad, his reward will only be more remoteness from Allah. As long as you are at prayer you knock on the door of the king and he who knocks on the door of the king will have it opened."

In al-ihyā' it was stated: "It is prescribed that the one who is about to wear his shoes should shake them before doing so in order to clear them from a possible scorpion, a serpent, a thorn, or the like. It was narrated that the prophet called for his shoes to be brought and when he put on one of them a crow came and carried the other one away and threw it down, upon which a serpent emerged from it. The Prophet then said, "He who believes in Allah and the Last Day should never put on his shoes except after shaking them." Ibn ʿAbbās was quoted by al-Ṭabarānī in al-Awṣaṭ as having said: "The Prophet used, when he wanted to relieve himself, to walk to a far spot. One day having relieved himself under a tree, the Prophet performed his ablutions and, on putting on one of his shoes, a green bird came down and took the other and flew off then threw it down whereupon a black reptile emerged from it. The Prophet then said: "Such is but a blessing bestowed on me by Allah; O God,



I seek refuge in you from the harm of all that moves on its belly."

With respect to his chair, al-Dārquṭnī quoted ʿAlī as saying: "I would, in the morning, come to the Prophet. If he hemmed I would proceed his room and if he kept silent, I would not. One day the Prophet came out of his room to me and said, "Yesterday something occurred: I heard \* a rattle in the house and suddenly found \* p. 353 Gabriel, peace be on him, at the door. "What prevented you from entering?" I enquired. "There is a dog in the house" he replied. Upon which I went into the house and was surprised to see a puppy panting under a chair of ours." Muslim narrated that the Prophet had said: "The angels can never enter a house wherein is a dog or a picture." The learned have explained that the reason why the angels refuse to enter a house that contains a picture is that the picture is a gross act of disobedience as it represents an imitation of Allah's creation, particularly that which represents a perfect imitation. Some pictures are taken as objects for worship instead of Allah. That the angels hold themselves back from entering a house in which there is a dog is attributable to the fact that dogs are of the habit of eating unclean



things and most of them have a hateful smell due to the reason just mentioned and the angels abhor a bad smell. It is, therefore, prohibited to have dogs in houses. The one who violates this prohibition is punished by the angels not entering his house, not saying their prayers, not asking Allah to forgive him and their not spreading their blessings on him. What is meant by the angels who refuse to enter a house containing a dog or a picture are those who spread mercy, blessings and who ask Allah to forgive His servants not those who record the acts; for it is they who do not leave any man or woman in any case or condition because they are ordered to count and record their deeds. Al-Rāghib said: "Blessing is for the Heavenly good to overwhelm a certain thing and the blessed thing is that on which the Heavenly good is spread.

Some of them argue that the angels not entering a house containing a dog or a picture is dependent upon the unlawfulness of adopting certain dogs or pictures. For what is lawful are hunting dogs or plants, cattle and the picture used to adorn a rug or a pillow is not in a living state and is not conducive to preventing them from entering. Therefore, the argument of those



who see it applying to all dogs and all pictures is unfounded. Muslim and al-Nasā'ī, may Allah have mercy on them, narrated, as stated by the former: "Humayd was told by Hilāl that Abū Rifā'a al-Gharawī said: "I came once to the Prophet when he was delivering his sermon. 'O messenger of Allah', I said 'I am a stranger not knowing about your religion' The Prophet then stopped his sermon, came to me, sat on a chair whose legs I guessed to be made of iron and started to teach me of what Allah had taught him."

In al-Kāmil al-Mubarrad stated that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Allah be pleased with him, when he imprisoned al-Ḥuṭay'a as a punishment for instigating enmity between al-Zabraqān and himself by satirising al-Zabraqān and his people and preferring their paternal cousins to them, called for a chair to be brought and when he sat on it called for al-Ḥuṭay'a to be brought to him and he made him sit before [i.e. ʿUmar] and ordered a razor and pretended that he is about to cut out his tongue. "O Amīr of the Believers," al-Ḥuṭay'a said \* "I've satirised even my father and mother and myself in my poetry. \* p. 354  
"Having heard that, ʿUmar smiled and said, "What have



you said?" "I said," he relied, "about my father and mother addressing the latter:

I was offended to see you among women and was offended to see your children's father among men.

I also said to her:

get along with you and take a camel away from me, may Allah take you that the world might rest at ease.

As divulging of secrets as a sieve are you and like a brazier to the talkers.

I said to my wife:

I roam around and then come back to a home whose keeper talks foolishly.

Umar, then, said: "How then have you ridiculed yourself?" "Having seen myself on the surface of a well," he said, "I found it ugly, therefore I poetized:

My lips could not today but sing a verse,  
to whom I know not.  
I have a face made ugly by Allah.  
How ugly it is! and how unsightly is its bearer.

Alī, Allah be pleased with him, took over from him the chair. Abd Khayr, may Allah have mercy on him, was quoted by al-Nasa'i as having said: "I saw Alī when he ordered a chair. He sat on it and ordered water, which was brought to him in a receptacle. He washed his hands three times and with one hand rinsed his mouth and nostrils both three times then he washed his face three



times, then his right hand, then his left hand; both three times, then wiped his head and finally washed his feet three times and said: "That is how the prophet would perform his ablutions."

The Prophet also used the bed CĀ'isha said: "To the people of Quraysh in Mecca nothing was more pleasant than the bed whereon they used to sleep. When the Prophet came to Medina he visited Abū Ayyūb in his house and asked him whether he had a bed nor not. The answer was given in the negative. AsCād ibn Zuwāra, having got word of such, sent to him a bed with the slats and legs made of Indian teak. On this the Prophet used to sleep until he came and resided with me in my house to which the bed was brought, and the Prophet kept on sleeping on it till his demise. His honoured body was placed on it and the funeral prayers were said for his soul while his body was on it. Seeking blessings, people, thereafter, kept on asking for it to carry their deceased on it. It is on it that the honoured bodies of Abū Bakr and Cumar as well as others were carried."

Al-Wāqidī said: "Our Companions gathered in Medina and differed about whether the planks of the Prophet's



bed were brought by Abdallah ibn Ishāq al-Ishāqī, a mawla of Muḥawīya, for four thousand Dirhams. \*

\* p. 355

As for who was in charge of fetching, purifying and cooling water for him, Anas was quoted by Muslim as having said: "With this cup of mine I have brought to the Prophet all kinds of drink: honey, wine, water and milk." Thālabā ibn Abī Mālik was quoted by al-Bukhārī as having said: "ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb once distributed dresses to some of the women of Medina, one to each. A good one remained. Some of those present suggested that he give it to the Prophet's daughter who was in his house at that time, meaning Umm Kalthūm. ʿUmar said, "Um Sulayṭ is more worthy of it" (a woman from al-Anṣār who vowed allegiance to the Prophet.) "as she carried, on the day of Uḥud, skins loaded with water on her back for warriors to quench their thirst."

The Prophet urged for the covering of receptacles and tying the mouth of waterskins. Jābir was quoted by Muslim as having said: "I heard the Prophet say: 'Cover receptacles and fasten skins for there is a night, in the year, when an epidemic leaves neither open receptacle nor unfastened skin without having them infected.'



al-Layth ibn Saʿd said: "The Persians would start protecting themselves from this epidemic in Kānūn al-awal."

ʿĀisha was quoted as saying: "Drinkable water used to be procured for the Prophet from the well of Suqyā about the distance of two days walk from the Medina." Drinkable water is that which is saltless and it is so because it quenches thirst for a long time.

Al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī was quoted as saying: "Cold and pleasant water praises Allah sincerely." Here is an indication of the fact that seeking pleasant water does not run contrary to asceticism nor is it a luxury which is conducive to lowering one's rank in the hereafter? Ibn al-Qayyim said: "Cold and pleasant water represses temperature, keeps the original humidity of the body, restores what was lost of it, and softens food rendering easier its being absorbed. Salty or hot water does the opposite."

Jābir was quoted by Muslim as having said, in his long narrative on the Sīra: "We, having come to the army, the Prophet said: "O Jābir, call for water for us to perform ablutions." I cried out, \* "Isn't there any water for ablutions?, Isn't there any water for ablutions?" I came back to the Prophet and told him that I

\* p. 356



had not found a drop of water with the company. A man of al-Anṣār used to cool water for the Prophet in old skins. The Prophet ordered me to hurry to him and see whether he had any water in his old skins. I went but found only some drops in a skin. He ordered me to bring it. When I did he put his hand into it and murmured inaudibly while moving his fingers. Then he gave it to me ordering me to bring a bowl from the troops. When I did so, the Prophet put his hand into the bottom of the bowl stretching and parting his fingers. He then ordered me to pour the drops of the skin onto the bowl into which he was putting his hand. When I did so, saying "In the name of Allah," I saw water frizzling through the fingers of the Prophet until the bowl was filled up with water. He said: "O Jabir, call anyone in need of water." They all came and quenched their thirst. "Is there any one still thirsty?" the Prophet enquired. He then took his hand out of the bowl, which was still brimful with water." \*

\* p. 357



## CHAPTER TWO:

THE PRIMARY FUNCTIONS RELATING TO  
THE GREAT IMAMATE, SUCH AS THE WAZĪRATE,  
HIJĀBA, RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SACRIFICIAL  
ANIMALS, PROVIDING WATER FOR THE PILGRIMS  
AND THE SECRETARIAT



"The greater imamate was originally the position occupied by the Messenger of God, may the blessing and mercy of God be upon him. It is the duty of general management of the Muslims [affairs]. When the term 'imama' is used, interchangeably with khilafa, with the meaning of general oversight of matters of religion and the world, it is in succession to the Prophet. If subdivided it consists of the imama of revelation such as prophecy; inheritance such as knowledge; and worship such as prayer. It is that imamate which is intended here. The effect of this imamate is that it should be filled after his death, may the blessing and mercy of God be upon him, by successor after successor, until time ends. Some said: Were it not for the imām, the learned man would not have been able to spread his knowledge, nor the judge execute sentence, nor a worshipper worship, nor the craftsman work at his craft, nor the merchant his trade, nor the sower his agriculture. Also, routes would be cut and the frontiers impaired and calamities and harm appear. But it is part of God's kindness to His servants and His mercifulness towards His lands, according to His custom and justice in all times, that He has set for his subjects on earth a sultān to exact



justice from the oppressor for the oppressed, to restrain the evil-doers from injustice \* to arrange for \*p. 357 the subjects all that which is beneficial; to confront each one with what he deserves of good and evil. The prosperity of a land and protection of the lives of the subjects indicate the merits of noble authority. As God has said: "Had not God repelled some men by others, the earth would have become corrupted, but God is the possessor of bounty for the world."<sup>1</sup> The pointer here is that there are those who protect and there are those who benefit and the former are the rulers. Had it not been for the restraint of monarchs, the people would have struggled one against another and become factions and greedy towards each other; the strong taking possession of the weak, the evil doers prevailing over the good, forcing dispersal and isolation and causing thereby the ruin of the land and destruction of its people, because the human race is obliged to gather in mutual affection and social unity in order to fulfil its life and regulate itself and this requires a policy which establishes its affairs soundly. Some have compared the sovereign with the spirit and the subjects with the body, and

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 2. al-Baqara 251.



there is no vigor to a body except with a spirit. Had sovereignty not been a noble and significant notion the prophetic tradition would not have indicated it in his saying, prayer and peace be upon him, "The Sultān is God's shadow on earth, the weak seek his refuge; the oppressed appeal for justice from the unjust and whoever honors God's Sultān in this world God honors him '(in the next)'. Some have said: "Required of the Sultan by necessity is that he should be vested with the finery of justice and impartiality and should relinquish preoccupations or ambition by promoting happiness and relief by satisfying the needs of those who ask and give succour to the ill-treated and the troubled and justice for those who seek it and succour for the oppressed and down-cast. Justice is a means by which the human being seeks equality. It has been said that it consists of the putting of something in its proper place - and this is as applied to us, but in God's justice lies in his rule over the universe.

The Culamā' have said that the righteousness of the world is related to the righteousness of sovereigns and the righteousness of the sovereign with the righteousness of the wazīr. Sovereignty is not proper except to the qualified and the wazīrate is only for those who



deserve it. It is narrated on the authority of the Prophet, may the blessing and mercy of God be upon him, that "the Sultān is God's shadow on earth; if one of you enters a land without a Sultān then do not stay in it." Also, as narrated on the authority of Abū Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh who said, "I heard God's Prophet, may the blessing and mercy of God be upon him, say, do not insult the Sultān, for he is God's shadow on earth." This is an indication of the eminent rank and status of the Sultān. For this reason, the righteous early Muslims such as al-Fudayl b. Ayyād and al-Imām Ahmad b. Hanbal and others used to say; "If we had a plea which was to be gratified we would ask for a Sultān, because in his prospering so do the Muslims prosper, for sovereignty is a bounty from God which he bestows on those to whom is inclined from His creation. It is incumbent on him upon whom God has bestowed this ultimate favour and substantial rank that he take it upon himself with gratitude. As the Prophet has said: "Receive blessings with thanks." He also said, "Thanks for blessings is a surety against losing them, since it increases one's obedience to God and coherence with the shari'ca." Al-Jāhiz has said: "There is nothing sweeter or more de-



lightful than to give orders\* or mastery over enemies, \*p. 358 or the granting of favours to men, for these are portions of the spirit and the good fortune of the mind and the allotment of the soul. And among the essentials that are incumbent on the men in charge, particularly the wuzara' and the Sultans, is justice; it is the cause for the well-being of religion and worldly matters and a means to achieve eternal happiness in the end. Through it is achieved the kingdom's affairs and its finding of the right path to follow; it is an absolute necessity for the ruler. It has been remarked that God Almighty supports a just state even if it be polytheist and does not raise up a tyrannical one even if it be Muslim. A kingdom can survive with justice and unbelief and not survive with injustice and Islam.

It is narrated on the authority of the Prophet, may the blessing and mercy of God be upon him, that he said: "The preferred person, in God's sight on the final day of judgment and the nearest to my presence is the just imam." Some asked which thing is the more exalted to commemorate a monarch? He said, the management of the country with justice.



It is maintained that a Sultan's justice is more beneficial to subjects than times of abundance, and if a king does not administer the affairs of kingdoms on the basis of justice, tyranny will undermine his kingdom. One of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz's governors wrote him complaining of the ruinous state of a city and requesting of him money for restoration work. 'Umar wrote to him, "I read your letter and if you read mine secure your town with justice and rid its roads of tyranny, for that is its true restoration and May Peace be Upon You."

When the greater imamate became a general charge upon the Muslims the appointment of the imam became binding upon the community by the divine law as a fard Kifāya (i.e. filled if discharged by some) such as the implementation of their laws, the carrying out of their ḥadds, the division of their alms and guarding of the frontiers, the equipping of the armies and the control of subject peoples and brigandage, highway robbery and internal strife and the division of booty, should there be any and it be in excess of the stipulated portions. If the 'people of tying and untying' carry out this charge - and they are the 'Ulama and the leaders of the people - the others need not be anxious. There are three



It is maintained that a Sultān's justice is more beneficial to subjects than times of abundance, and if a king does not administer the affairs of kingdoms on the basis of justice, tyranny will undermine his kingdom. One of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's governors wrote him complaining of the ruinous state of a city and requesting of him money for restoration work. ʿUmar wrote to him, "I read your letter and if you read mine secure your town with justice and rid its roads of tyranny, for that is its true restoration and May Peace be Upon You."

When the greater imāmate became a general charge upon the Muslims the appointment of the imām became binding upon the community by the divine law as a Kifā' obligation (i.e. filled if discharged by some) for the safeguarding of their interests and implementation of their legal alms and guarding of the frontiers, the equipping of the armies and the control of subject peoples and brigandage, highway robbery and internal strife and the division of booty, should there be any and it be in excess of the stipulated portions. If the 'people of tying and untying' carry out this charge and they are the ʿUlama and the leaders of the people the others need not be anxious. There are three require-



ments for those of the 'people of tying and untying' when they meet for this purpose - a knowledge of the conditions governing the imāmate and justice and the capacity to exercise rayi', their oath of loyalty immediately by clasping of the hand and their testifying to the one absent (as to what transpired). The ordinary person is absolved (from this obligation) in relation to the Prophet's words: "Whoever dies without having given the bay'Ca dies a jāhilī death." An indication of the importance attached by the Companions (to bay'Ca) was that they made it (i.e. to Abū Bakr) before burying the Prophet, since they regarded it as the most important of obligations. People in subsequent periods continued so doing up to the present. It has been said:

A people do not prosper in a state of anarchy, with no leaders. And there is no leadership when the ignorant among them hold away.

A tent is not erected properly without poles.

And poles are of no use without tent pegs.

And a community only falls one day into baseness if the blame-worthy one amongst them rules.\*

\* p359

It is obligatory upon us, in the absence of a text from God or his Prophet, that someone specific succeed and in the absence of an act of delegation from the preceding imām for the installation of a specific nominee.



If this is so, is it necessary for us to appoint him? Yes, it is necessary, as the ḥadīth aver, thereby to spare the Muslim's blood and as a precaution against strife within the community. As the Prophet, may the blessing and mercy of God be upon him, has said: "I commend you to be pious towards God and to hear and obey even though a slave is appointed over you. Also those who will be alive of you (to see it) will observe a great difference of opinion, so keep to my sunna and sunna of the rightly guided Khulafā' after me and stick doggedly to it and beware of innovations in matters, for each innovation is an error." And what is meant by 'the rightly guided caliphs' is Abū Bak, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī and al-Ḥasan. By 'to hear' is meant to respond to the words of the one in authority and obedience to his commands - this is obligatory so long as he does not command what is rebellious (in God's view) for there is no obedience to any created being involving rebellion against the Creator. There is a saying (of the Prophet), "He who has obeyed me has obeyed God and whoever disobeys me has disobeyed God and whoever obeys the amir has obeyed me and whoever disobeys the amīr has disobeyed me and whoever disobeys me his lot is hell-fire.



The imām is a shield behind which one fights and is protected. If he (the imām) orders piety towards God and justice he is rewarded thereby; if otherwise then he is at fault." By junna is meant shield behind which one fights i.e. we fight with him against the infidels and the oppressors and are protected thereby against the harm of the enemy and the people of corruption and injustice. This obedience is required because God commanded obedience to His messenger and it is an order to obey the amīr. And his (the prophet's) words "if a slave is put in command over you" this is by way of being an example without it actually happening; should it happen his succession would not be binding or sound. Its equivalent is someone who builds a mosque to God, even though it is like a sandgrouse's nest, (expecting God) to build him a house in Paradise (i.e. the whole proposition is ridiculous). Or it is prognostic (i.e. foretelling the unknown) when the structuring of the law becomes so confused that succession devolves upon who have no right to it. The order to obey in that case is a pointer to the lesser of two evils - i.e. patience in the face of the succession of someone which is unlawful, or rebellion to which there is no cure and no redemp-



tion. There is a pointer to this interpretation in what follows: "Whoever of you lives will see great division." This is one of his (the Prophet's) miracles - that he could foretell what was to happen after him by way of dispute and repeated aggression. Or the word 'slave' may refer to the amīrs and governors and not to the caliphs, since "the imāms are from Quraysh" and (the imām) is not deposed for his tyranny nor is he abandoned though he acts tyrannically. <sup>C</sup>Alī has said: "The only thing of benefit to people is an imām, whether pious or profligate." Al-Ḥasan said: "The good which God has wrought through him is greater than the mischief he does." It is said that the Prophet said during the Farewell Pilgrimage: "Trust in God and care for your kin and pray your five prayers and fast your months \* and pay the zakat on your wealth and obey whoever is in authority over you that you may enter the Paradise of your Lord."

\* p. 360

It is narrated that he said: "The best of your imāms are those who you love and who love you and the worst of them are those whom you abhor and they abhor you. It is a condition in regard to the bay<sup>Ca</sup> and succession that the Caliph be a Muslim and male. The Prophet has said: "A people will not prosper who have en-



trusted their rule to a woman." The caliph must be free, adult, just, a mujtahid, have his hearing, sight and speech, be brave, experienced in war, sound of limb in the sense of being able to move and get up rapidly - as opposed to being a youth, an infidel or insane. He must also be from Quraysh because of the Prophet's words, "The imāms are from Quraysh." This was according to consensus, for the Anṣār said on the Day of the Saqifa, "An amīr from us and amīr from you." Abū Bakr prevented them because they were not from Quraysh and no one denied him from among the Companions, for this was a consensus. The Prophet said: "God has preferred Quraysh and their progeny; they worshipped God for ten years when no one else did so. He aided them on the Day of the Elephant whilst they were polytheists; it was concerning them that He sent down Sūrat 'Īlāf Quaraysh.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, in them is vested prophecy, the Caliphate, the ḥijāba and siqāya. If there is no one from Quraysh who embodies the considered characteristics, then a ruler from Banū Kināna (is acceptable) and failing that from the descendants of Ismāʿīl - it is not stipulated that he be from Banū Hāshim, or infallible, or a more

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 106. Quraish.



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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 106. Quraish.



meritorious than whoever rules them (currently). And it is not allowable that there be more than one (imām) at a single time and place, by consensus. This refers to the land whose territories are limited; if far-reaching, this can eventuate.

In addition to the foregoing, it is a condition that the successor eligible for pledge of allegiance be designated by the incumbent Caliph during his life-time, so the assumption of office by the former is pending upon the death of the latter provided he be designated. It is also necessary that the Caliph-designate be sane, discerning and a Muslim. Upon the death of the Prophet, may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, it was imperative to constitute a Caliph. This was Abū Bakr, may Allah be pleased with him, the best of people after the Prophets and the Messengers, Companion of our chosen Prophet in the cave, the first of the umma's men to embrace Islam, to open-handedly give and show altruism, the first successor after him over the Muslims, who kept loyalty to and faith with the Prophet, may the blessings and peace be upon him, during his lifetime and after his death, who became a Muslim and accompanied the Prophet, may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, and



was distinguished by his sincere friendship and strong unshakable belief in the message and unhesitating faith in the Ascension to Heaven (al-miCraj). The Messenger, may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, used to say: "Never have I called anyone to Islam but he had a stumble." Then he looked and considered the attitude of Abu Bakr ibn Abi-Quhafa, nothing of the sort was known of him; he was never hesitant. When he became in charge of the caliphate he stood making an oration, the substance of which was as follows:

"Now then O' people I have become in charge of you though I am not the best of you. The essence of wisdom is piety and the supreme folly is tranny \*. The weak \* p. 361 amongst you is the strongest in my eyes until I have restored his rights to him. O' people I am but a follower (i.e. of the Prophet) and not an innovator, so if I command well support me and if I deviate reform me. Some have maintained, justice is God Almighty's scales on earth, to take thereby for the weak from the strong and for the rightful from the corrupt. If a ruler is, he will be loved. The best times are times of the just imāms. Sometimes it is mentioned that God Almighty loves the just. Alexander sat one day in his court, and



no petition was brought to him, so he said I shall not count this days as being of my reign."

As for the Rafidites view that Abū Bakr and not ʿAlī, it is an unfounded one, for it implies that the Companions who unanimously accepted Abu Bakr as the Prophet's Caliph, were all unjust; and how far are they from that! How can such have occurred when they were the protectors of religion, may Allah be pleased with them! Unfounded, too, is the view that ʿAlī did not give allegiance to Abu Bakr, or did so unwillingly. For had he refrained from doing so, knowing that (the succession of) Abu Bakr was rightful, that would have been sinful and ʿAlī was by no means known to be such. His having refrained, believing that Abu Bakr had no right, is impossible, for had ʿAlī deemed that Abu Bakr had no right, he would have unsheathed his sword and prevented him from assuming the Caliphate, by force. Rather, he respected him and complied with his orders. They, (the Sahaba), may Allah be pleased with them, paid no attention to the blame of the censorious one in relation to God's business. ʿAlī said, "I will punish whoever puts me on a rank higher than Abū Bakr's, with the punishment



of the inventor of falsehood" 'Umar said, "I wish I were a hair on the chest of Abu Bakr."

Abū Bakr was succeeded by 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, who succeeded him, as well, in excellence, in which Abu Bakr comes after the Prophets and the messengers. He was surnamed by the Prophet 'Abu Hafs', that is the lion. The Prophet nicknamed him also 'al-Faruq' for he distinguished truth from falsehood. Therefore, he was one of the noblest forefathers and the best of the earliest Muslims and emigrants. He was also the first to be called 'The Prince of the Believers.' His entry into Islam was a victory and his emigration was a triumph; his imamate was a mercy.

Then there assumed the Caliphate a Companion whose rank in excellence comes next to 'Umar's. He was Uthman, The Prince of the Believers. He had been invited by Abu Bakr to Islam and embraced it before the Prophet's entering al-Arqam's house. He and his wife Ruqayya, the Prophet's daughter, had participated in the two emigrations (i.e. of Abyssinia and Medina). She married him before Prophethood, died during the expedition of Badr in the second year of the Hijra, in Ramadan. He then



married her sister Umm Kalthūm, who died in the ninth year. It is not known, that other than he married two daughters of a Prophet. It is for this reason that he was called Dhū'-l-nūṣayn. The Prophet, praising him and expressing the highest respect he owed him, said: "Had I had a third, I would have married her to him." ʿUthmān made the oath of allegiance to the Prophet before his being sent to Mecca, in what was known as Bayʿat al-Ridwān.<sup>1</sup> \*

\* p. 362

Then Allah delegated the charge of His territories and servants to a man of perfect qualities and lofty rank: the Prophet's cousin, his chaste daughter's husband, The Amīr of Believers, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalīb, of renowned descent, of high standing and regard, the grandfather of the honourable ones and the source of virtue, gratitude and purity. He excelled other venerable Companions by his consanguinity with the Prophet and his being related to him by marriage. He was the first Caliph of Banū Hāshim. He, as well, was one of the ten Companions glad tidings of whose entering Paradise were brought by the Prophet. He was also one of

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<sup>1</sup>See Ibn Hishām Ref. V. 3, p. 364.



the six Companions of Shura<sup>1</sup> with whom the Prophet died pleased. His valour in battle needs not be spoken of. His strength, noble heartedness and virtues are attested to in the authenticated traditions. What is meant by the excellence referred to is that of succession to the Caliphate and reward for good works, irrespective of 'Ali's particularities such as his kinship with the Prophet and brotherhood and other illustrious virtues of his. There is no harm in excessive love for 'Ali on the part of posterity, so long as they do not underrate the Caliphs preceeding him. For that is something apart from the excellence that should be accepted (by all Muslims). The parallel to that is that of a person who may love his father more than he loves the learned one of his time or a man of the nobility. This, assuredly, implies nothing sinful. Much discussion on the same lines has occupied both the learned and ignorant. The outcome is that it is recognized the (first) four Caliphs are worthy of the Caliphate according to the order (of succession) that took place - a matter on which there is a consensus of Muslims. Their rank in meritoriousness is the same as their order in succession

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<sup>1</sup>That is, the Shura of 'Umar



to the Caliphate and their supervision of the affairs of religion, and the Muslims' welfare. The earliest has greater merit and the others follow. It is obligatory upon the Umma to follow and they are prohibited to defy and dispute over the Caliphate the duration of which was determined by the Prophetic tradition, may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, "the Caliphate after me is thirty years then it becomes a tyrannical monarchy."

Al-Azhari asserted, a tyrannical monarchy is that which is oppressive and unjust as if to bite at the subjects. Consequently, Mu<sup>C</sup>awiya and whoever succeeded him are not to be deemed Caliphs but monarchs and princes. Perhaps what is meant by the Prophetic hadith is that the perfect Caliphate which did not allow for opposition or deviation from the path was only 30 years; after that it may and sometimes it may not (exist). It is clear that the (first) four Caliphs were the best of the Companions because that period (of 30 years) was the period of their Caliphates. Some scholars have maintained that Abu Bakr's Caliphate lasted for two years and five months, that of <sup>C</sup>Umar, ten, that of <sup>C</sup>Uthman, thirteen, and that of <sup>C</sup>Ali to four years, giving a total of twenty one years and five months. Imam al-Nawawi, may Allah have mercy on him, was of the opinion that Abu



Bakr's was two years, 'Umar's was ten years, five months and twenty one days \*, 'Uthmān's twelve years less six nights, 'Alī's five years less one month and that of al-Ḥasan was approximately seven months. Accordingly, the whole Caliphate did not complete thirty years except when the term of al-Ḥasan is added. For he succeeded his father 'Alī, upon his being killed, calling for support for himself for six months and some days before leaving it to Mu'āwīya provided that he (i.e. al-Ḥasan) retain it after Mu'āwīya's death. \* p. 363

Their graded superiority was dealt with in what Abū Dharr related: "While the Prophet was sitting alone, I came and sat before him and then came Abū Bakr and gave greeting and sat down followed by 'Umar, by 'Uthman, by 'Alī. The Messenger, may Allah have peace and blessings on him, there were seven pebbles. He took them and placed them on the palm of his hand and they started extolling God until a sound like the humming of bees was discernible. On putting them down on the palm of Abū Bakr they resumed extolling, the sound like the humming of bees was resumed, stopping when put down. Such occurred also with 'Umar then 'Uthmān and finally with 'Alī. The Prophet said (afterwards): "This is the Prophetic



it. Ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>d from Anas (b. Malik) related the same story, with the addition that "then the Prophet placed them on our palms, one by one, but none of the pebbled extolled God." This story refutes the argument of the supporters of <sup>c</sup>Umar who held the view that <sup>c</sup>Umar should have been the first Caliph, and that of al-Rawandiya who were of the opinion al-<sup>c</sup>Abbas ibn Abd al-Muttalib should have been the first Caliph as well as al-Rafida who put forward <sup>c</sup>Ali. They did not recognize Abu Bakr or <sup>c</sup>Umar, and they have different opinions concerning <sup>c</sup>Ali. Some took a position towards him like that of the Christians towards Jesus. These were the Saba'iyya, the followers of <sup>c</sup>Abdullah b. Saba<sup>c</sup>, concerning whom al-Sayyid al-Himyari says: "There are people, may they be fatherless, who went beyond the limit in regard to <sup>c</sup>Ali and carried love of him to excess saying: he is Allah, our creator is too great to be a father or a son." <sup>c</sup>Ali himself had burnt them to death. Among the Rafidites are al-Mughiriya, the followers of al-Mughira ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>d, the ruler of Bujila al-A<sup>c</sup>mash said: "One day I entered upon al-Mughira b. Sa<sup>c</sup>d and asked him about the virtues of <sup>c</sup>Ali. He said, "You can hardly bear to hear it." I said: "On



ʿAlī. He said, "You can hardly bear to hear it." I said: "On the contrary." Then he mentioned Adam saying: "ʿAlī is better than him." He then mentioned the rest of the Prophets succeeding him stating that ʿAlī was better than each \*. When he came to the Prophet he said: "ʿAlī is like him." "You liar!" I retorted. "Didn't I tell you, you could not bear to hear it!" he said. Amongst the Rāfiḍites were those who alleged that ʿAlī was up there in the clouds and that when a cloud shaded any of them they used to say: "Peace be upon you, O' father of al-Ḥasan!" A poet referring to them said:

I wash my hand of al-Khawārij and am not  
one of them, of al-Ghazzāl and Ibn Dābb.  
Of a people who, on mentioning ʿAlī,  
salute the clouds.  
But I love, from the bottom of my heart,  
knowing I am right, Allah's apostle and  
the Ṣiddīq (Abū Bakr).  
With such a love I hope will bring me best  
reward in the Hereafter.

This division of al-Rāfiḍa is called 'al-Manṣūrīya', followers of Abū Manṣūr al-Kisf. He was so called because he misinterpreted the Quranic verse: "And if they were to see a fragment of the Heaven falling they would say: a heap of clouds."<sup>1</sup> saying: "The kisf is ʿAlī and he is in the clouds. al-Mughīra ibn Saʿd was a member

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<sup>1</sup>Ṣūrat 52. al-Tur 44.



say: "If ʿAli wished it, he would restore life to ʿAd, Thamud and many a generation between them. Amongst them was Kuthayyir ʿAzza, the famous poet who, when he was on the point of death, he said to a niece of his: "Your uncle loved that man, meaning ʿAli, so you should love him." She retorted saying: "Your advice is rejected to you. O uncle, I do love him, but not in the way you do." He said, "I renounce you!" Then he composed the verses:

I declare myself innocent of Ibn Arwa, of  
what al-Khawarij all say, of ʿUmar and of  
ʿAttiq (ʿAbu Bakr) on the morning he was  
named Amir of the Believers.

Ibn Arwa, ʿUthman and the Rafidites believed in the Return saying the Hour will not come until al-Mahdi, Muhammad ibn ʿAli, has appeared and spread justice in the length and breadth of the earth, doing away with all inequities, until all those dead or killed because of them have come back to life and people are one community. In this respect a poet says:

The imams are from Quraysh who administer justice, four only: ʿAli and three of his progeny who are by no means unknown: One is reputed for his liberality and righteousness, another fell martyr in Karbala; the third is not to die before leading horses preceded by standards of war.



leading horses preceded by standards of war.

He meant by three progeny al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīya the Maḥdī who, according to their unfounded allegation, will appear at the end of time. Of the leading figures of the Rāfiḍites is al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, for whom pillows were placed in the mosque for him to sit on. He used to believe in the return (of the imām) and recited concerning that:

When a man has youth, he has down upon his cheeks and his diversion is to dress his hair with dye \*.  
But when his joy has gone and perished, then rise and weep for youth lost.  
There is no return for what he has lost for anyone until the Day of Resurrection.

\* p. 365

Another sect belonging to the Rāfiḍites was called al-Ḥusaynīya; they were the companions of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar, who used to roam at night in the alleys of Kufa calling for vengeance for Ḥusayn. That is why they were called so. Ghurābīya was another group of Rāfiḍites. They were called so because they used to say: "ʿAlī resembles the Prophet in such a way as a crow resembles a crow and more so." The least extremist of the Rāfiḍites was a sect called the Zaydīya, companions of Zayd ibn ʿAlī, who was killed in Khurasān. They were of the view that they should 'go forth' with the Khawārij. It



was narrated that al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf once asked al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to tell him how he viewed ʿAlī and ʿUthmān, to which al-Ḥasan answered: "I quote him who is better than me when he answered him who was worse than you. The Pharoah of Moses said: What about the early centuries? Moses replied: Knowledge of that is with my Lord in a book and he does not err or forget. Knowledge of ʿAlī and ʿUthmān rest with God Almighty. Al-Ḥajjāj said to him: You are the best of the learned, O' Father of Saʿīd."

The return (to what I was saying) it ought to be realized from the above that the four Caliphs deserved the Caliphate according to the stated order. It is only by way of generalization that the four are called Caliphs; for this title should only be given to the immediate successor of the Prophet. The rest should be called Amīr al-Mu'minīn. Those who come after them in worth are the rest of the ten Companions promised to enter Paradise and they are Ṭalḥa ibn ʿUbaydallāh, al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām who was the Prophet's cousin, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf; Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqās the most liberal with his money for the cause of Allah, and Saʿīd ibn Zayd and Abu ʿUbayda ibn al-Jarrāḥ, trusted one of the



umma. al-Tirmidhi narrated: "Sa'īd ibn Zayd said: "The Prophet said: ten in Paradise: Abū Bakr in Paradise, 'Umar in Paradise, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, al-Zubayr, Ṭalḥa, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, Abu 'Ubayda ibn al-Jarrāḥ and Sa'īd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ." Having enumerated those nine, Sa'īd stopped short at the tenth. Those present then asked him: "By Allah, who is the tenth?" "Since you've implored me by Allah," he said, "it is me, Sa'īd ibn Zayd." Someone composed the verses:

The guider has brought good tidings of the  
Gardens of Eden to a group of his compa-  
nions whose excellence is well known.  
Namely: Sa'īd, Zubayr, Sa'd, Talha, 'Āmir,  
Abū Bakr, 'Uthmān, Ibn 'Awf, 'Alī and  
'Umar.

That a certain one of them preceeds another in worth can not be ascertained neither by analogy (qiyās) nor by giving an opinion (ra'y) but rather by a saying of the Prophet himself which is not contradicted by any written text. Also, it has nothing to do with kinship to the Prophet, precedence in embracing Islam, or the Hijra. After those six comes those who fought at Badr: that is, whether the fourteen who fell martyrs in it, or otherwise. Next comes those of Mount Uhud including the seventy who fell martyrs and those who survived alike. What is intended here are the Complete Muslims genuine



in their faith \*. Next come those who vowed allegiance \* p. 366 to the Prophet during Bay<sup>ʿ</sup>at al-Raḍwan, in accordance with God's words: "Allah was well pleased with the believers when they swore allegiance unto thee beneath the tree."<sup>1</sup> They numbered 2400, whom the Prophet led to visit the Ka<sup>ʿ</sup>ba but was stopped by the Polytheists. Therefore, he sent ʿUthmān to them to seek conciliation. But when it was circulated that they had killed him, the Prophet said: "We shall not leave until we wage war against them." He then called upon the people to come to the acacia tree to promise to be with him till death and not to turn on their heels; which they all did except al-Jadd ibn Qays, a hypocrite who concealed himself under his she-camel's belly. Bukhārī and Muslim both related: "Jābir narrated: "On the day of Ḥudaybiya the Prophet said: 'You are the best people on earth.' Jābir also narrated: 'The Prophet said, 'None of those who vowed allegiance under the Tree will ever enter hell.'" Whereas all Companions have immunity against the grave offences, they lack it so far as slips and oversights are concerned. Therefore, any quarrel, dispute or conflict which occurred among them should not be spoken of;

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 48. al-Fath 18.



and any story related by historians, ignorant narrators, misled Shī'ites and fabricators imply a disgracing or decrying of any of them should be kept unsaid. What we mean here is not a story of dispute conveyed to us unverified, as such a story is self-refuting. What we are talking about is the dispute which was ascertainedly related either by successive narrators or by well known one. These call for interpretation. Hence the dispute between Fāṭima and Abū Bakr due to the latter's withholding the inheritance from her father, could be interpreted as a result of the fact that she had no knowledge of the ḥadīth narrated to her by Abū Bakr. It was narrated also that Abū Bakr himself had said, "Have care for Muḥammad through his family; protect them and wrong them not." Bukhārī narrated: "Abū Bakr said, 'Muḥammad's relations are dearer to me than mine.' He said so by way of apologizing for denying her what she had demanded of her father's inheritance. By 'relations' it is meant those who had descended from his immediate grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib i.e. those who had seen and accompanied the Prophet, male and female alike; namely: ʿAlī and his children: al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Muḥsin, Umm Kulthūm whose mother was Fāṭima, and Jaʿfar ibn Abī



Ṭalīb and his sons: ʿAbdallah, ʿAwn, Muhammad and ʿUqayl and Ḥamza ibn ʿAbd al-Muttalib \*, and his children, al-ʿAbbās and his children. It was narrated that the Prophet had said, "al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib belongs to me and I belong to him; therefore, wrong him not, or otherwise, you wrong me. He who insults al-ʿAbbās insults me." recorded by al-Baghawī. Here we find that the Prophet makes any wrong done to al-ʿAbbās as if it were done to himself, because he was his kinsman and they were both tied by the bond of consanguinity. The Prophet also had esteemed him highly to the extent of regarding him like his father. For as a son should glorify his father fulfilling all duties due to him, such is the case with his uncle. The Prophet said, "An uncle is like a father." Ibn al-Athīr said, "As two palm trees can grow out of one root, so are al-ʿAbbās and the Prophet's father." The Prophet wanted to say his father and his uncle had but one root. The Prophet once said to al-ʿAbbās: "By Him in whose hand is my soul I swear faith will never enter a heart void of love for you for the sake of Allah and his Messenger." Someone has well put it:

I regard my loyalty to the people of Ṭaha  
as an obligation.

\* p. 367



Although distant and it is my close relatives who inherit from me.

For the Messenger has asked, as reward for the delivery of right guidance, simply loyalty to relatives.

What happened between ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās of rough talk may be interpreted as just a sort of reproach void of any slander or insult the guilty party being subject to taʿzīr and not ḥadd. With respect to the conflict between ʿAlī and Muʿāwīya because of which a considerable number of people were killed as in the battle of Ṣiffīn, good excuses can also be adduced. In that battle ʿAlī did not fight until ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir was killed, upon which he unsheathed his sword, Dhū'l-Faqqār, killing 1600. Here the Prophet's miraculous vision is evident when he said, "Alas for ʿAmmār, he will be killed by an oppressive group." He was killed by some of followers of Muʿāwīya in the battle of Ṣiffīn in which ʿAlī said, "By Allah do I swear even if they (i.e. Muʿāwīya's men) should defeat and chase us till the hills of Hajar, we shall continue to firmly believe we are right and they are wrong." He then had a sip of milk saying, "Now I shall reunite with those whom I love: Muhammad and his party." On this day, he was killed being sixty-four of age. Similarly, in the Battle of the Camel in Iraq



between ʿAlī, Zubayr and Ṭalḥa - ʿAlī had demanded the giving of the oath of loyalty first of all and that the frontiers would not be safe or people's affairs prosper except through an Imām. Muʿāwīya demanded retaliation against those who had murdered ʿUthmān. Objective people have agreed to the view that ʿAlī sought the right thing and he did it, so he will have two kinds of reward and that Muʿāwīya sought the right thing but failed to do it, so he will be awarded with only one kind of reward. hence, this dispute which arose from a difference in viewing the right has made them both nearer the favour of Allah and should not be taken as a reason for decrying the judgement belief or faith of either. For Allah had safe-guarded them against errors and fault and distanced their wills, intentions and works from prejudice, grudge and malice. Therefore, this dispute should be left untold as such may breed hatred against the Companions and may provoke their being subject to defamation and discrediting. We should bear in mind it is those pioneers of religion who were the instructors of our leading imāms and us. He who decries them decries his faith and affiliation to Islam. Imam al-Shāfiʿī and a group of the pious ancestors, may Allah be pleased with



"God purified our hands\* from this bloodshed, so let us \* p. 368  
purify our tongues from it." Hence, what occurred among  
them should be explained in a manner not suggesting any  
depreciation of the highest position they had acquired  
due to their being honoured by the company of the Pro-  
phet. al-Shaybani has said,

Let us not talk of the wars of The Compa-  
nions, for they were but a result of seek-  
ing (the right).

Verified traditions say that the killed and  
the killers among them are eternal resi-  
dents in the Garden of Immortality.

It was narrated that the Prophet, may Allah bless and  
have peace on him, said, "He who is in the right from  
among my Companions has two rewards and he who errs has  
one reward." This does not mean that he will be rewarded  
for errors, but for his endeavour in seeking the right.  
The correct ones among the learned have agreed upon the  
fact that investigating what occurred among the Compa-  
nions is not in line with the Faith nor with the rules  
of doctrinal philosophy, and will not serve religion,  
but rather may impair certainty. Ibn Daqiq al-<sup>C</sup>Id said,  
"In what was narrated about the Companions, 'There is  
that which is futile and groundless and this should be  
neglected, and that which was correct and it is here  
that efforts should be exerted to fetch the best inter-



pretation, for Allah has praised them. A fact which is well known and made sure of is not invalidated by what is doubtful. Decrying Companions is regarded by consensus as completely unlawful, for the Prophet said, "Fear Allah, fear Allah with respect to my Companions, abuse them not, nor take them as targets after my days. He who wrongs them wrongs me and whoever wrongs me wrongs God and whoever wrongs God will soon be seized. As some have said, this ḥadīth in favour of his Companions through making their being loved desirable and their being hated detestable. The ḥadīth also bears a reference to the fact that loving them is a matter of faith. It is a question of what is intended; by saying that, the Prophet wanted to prohibit their being criticized, asserting such through warning of the wrath of Allah if this is done. The Prophet meant to underline the complete impermissibility of such an act. The learned al-Ṭibī, may Allah bless his soul, said in explaining the previously mentioned ḥadīth, "The Prophet wanted to say: fear Allah with respect to what is due my Companions till Judgment Day. Lessen not what they are entitled to and abuse them not. That is, I adjure you by Allah and ask you in His name to observe what is due to them of



glorification and reverence." Al-Qādī ʿAyyād said, "Abusing or decrying any of them is a grave offence." As far as abuse which does not imply calumny is concerned, there is debate. Imām Mālik, may Allah be pleased with him, exercising ijtihād, held the opinion that it depends upon the one who says it and the one about whom the saying is made. The one who says that they (i.e. Companions) were misguided and were unbelievers should be killed." Imām Ṣaḥnūn held that view in respect to abusing the four Caliphs. As for those who abuse other than them, he was of the opinion they should be tortured. In the *Shifāʿa* a different view was stated regarding the one who abuses ʿUthmān or ʿAlī, that he was guilty of kufr. Imām al-ʿIzz ibn ʿAbd al-Sallām stated in his book titled *Amālī*, that he should not be considered an unbeliever. It is related that the Prophet had said, "When my Companions are mentioned, hold your tongues from other than the most favourable comments." Therefore, we are ordered to do so either \* because it is required or an approved action. We are also required to love them. Bukhārī and Muslim both related "Abuse not my Companions! By Him in whose hand is my soul, even if one of you is to be so liberal as to spend, in

\* p. 369



the cause of Allah, as huge an amount of gold as the Hill of Uhud, he will not spend half as much as was spent by any of them."

'Ayyūb Sakhtiyānī, a leading Salaf, said, "He who loves Abū Bakr preserves religion; he who loves ʿUmar makes clear the way; he who loves ʿUthmān is guided by Allah's light, he who loves ʿAlī holds to the right path and he who praises well the Companions of the Messenger is free of hypocrisy, but he who decries any of them is a muṭṭadiʿ - that is, someone who goes against the views of the people of the Sunna and the community. It is narrated that the Prophet said, "My umma will be divided into seventy-three divisions, all are in hell save one; that is, mine and my Companions."

The Right One, be he praised and glorified, has described them: "Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah and those with him are hard against the disbelievers and merciful among themselves. Thou (O Muḥammed) seest them bowing a prostration (in worship), seeking bounty from Allah and (his acceptance).<sup>1</sup> And, "Allah will bring a people whom he loves and who love Him, humble towards." And, "Allah will bring a people whom he loves and who

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 48. al-Fath 29.



love Him, humble towards believers, stern towards disbelievers...<sup>1</sup> when dealing with the unbelievers, with mercy and kindness in treating the righteous." Then He praised them for the numerous good works they made with complete sincerity. The one who looks at any of them is moved to admire his manners and ways owing to his sincere intentions and good works.

Imām Mālik said, "I knew that when the polytheists saw the Companions who conquered Syria they used to say: verily, those are better than the Disciples." They were right, for the Muḥammadan umma, especially the Companions, are highly praised in the Books, as Allah has said, "...the mark of them is on their foreheads from the traces of prostration. Such is their likeness in the Torah and their likeness in the Gospel, like sown corn that sendeth forth its shoot and strengthens it and rises firm upon its stalk, delighting the sowers - that he may enrage the disbelievers with (the sight of) them."<sup>2</sup> So are the Companions of the Prophet. They supported, backed and assisted him as is done with the shoots of a plant. Such will vex the unbelievers. The

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 5. al-Ma'ida 54.

<sup>2</sup>Sūrat 48. al-Fath 29.



fact that Allah praised them and was pleased with them is sufficient proof of their merits. He, praised be His name, has promised them forgiving and considerable reward, and what He promises must materialize because He never goes back on what has been promised and He is the Hearer and Knower. The more so, as they the Companions were chosen by Allah to be with His Messenger and to bear what Allah was revealing of the Quran and what the Prophet was saying of ḥadīths. Therefore, the believers, till Doomsday, owe them innumerable favours and unforgettable good deeds; for they conveyed to use from the Prophet his teachings and preachings, expounding what is lawful and that which is unlawful, elucidating the general and the particular, conquering countries and regions diffusing therein sciences of the Book and those of the Sunna. They led the umma, defeated the people of polytheism and obstinacy, causing heads to bow and annihilating men of deviation. There is no rank higher than that of those whom Allah has accepted \* as Companions and supporters of His Prophet. It was aptly said by the Prophet, "My Companions are like stars, when you seek guidance in any of them you are guided." It has been said:

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The mark of the Prophet's Companions, as has been narrated to us, is that they are like stars guiding the one who seeks guidance.

When you see a light leading to what is right, know that it is from the Companions and follow it, for it is thus that you will be guided.

Allah, praised be His name, says: (this lamp is found) in houses which Allah hath allowed to be exalted and that his name shall be remembered therein. Therein do offer praise to Him at morn and evening. Men whom neither merchandise nor sale beguileth from remembrance of Allah.<sup>1</sup> Here, the fact that they exercise trade, selling and buying, does not distance them from being praised by Allah. Nor their being rich render them unworthy as long as they give what is due to their Lord from their property.

ʿAbdallah ibn ʿUtba said, "On the day ʿUthmān was killed, he was owner of 100,000 Dinars and a million Dirhams, 1,000 horses and 1,000 slaves. al-Zubayr owned 50,000 Dinars, 1,000 horses and 1,000 slaves. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAʿwf was notably wealthy. Never-the-less, worldly riches were only in their hand not in their hearts. They were destitute of them, thankful to Allah

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 24. al-Nūr 36 & 37.



when they had them. Allah had tested them by decreeing their poverty early in their life until their lights were perfected and their inner feelings purified, upon which He altered their state. For had He decreed their being rich previously, it might have been a motive for their being unduly extravagant and they might have frittered their wealth away. But since they were granted it after certainty and firm faith found their way into their hearts, they disposed of it wisely as an honest treasure complying with what the Lord of the World has said: "and spend of what we have made you trustee of."<sup>1</sup> A sufficient proof of that is provided by the fact that ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb gave up half his property; Abū Bakr gave it up altogether; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf gave up a caravan of 700 camels together with their heavy loads and ʿUthmān prepared the army of ʿUsra assuming all expenses, and so forth. The verses have, thus, contained an attestation of the purity of their external and hidden (qualities), and a witness to their good qualities, may Allah be pleased with them. It was related that the Prophet said: "The one who is most merciful to my umma is Abū Bakr, the strongest as to the religion of Allah

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 57. al-Hadid 7.



is Umar, the truest in modesty is ʿUthmān, the best fulfiller of duties is ʿAlī, the best observer of what is imposed is Zayd (b. Thābit), the best reciter (of the Quran) is Ubayy (b. Kaʿb), the most knowledgeable of the lawful and the unlawful is Muʿadh ibn Jabal. Verily, every umma has its trusted one and he of this umma is Abū ʿUbayda ibn al-Jarrāb." Among ʿUthmān's saying is, "He who enters the grave without (moral) provision is like the one who sails the sea without a ship; he who gives up the world will be loved by Allah; he who avoids committing sins will be loved by the angels, and he who stops being covetous of what other Muslims possess will be loved by the Muslims."

It was narrated that the Prophet said: "Poverty to my Companions is happiness, richness to a believer late in his life is happiness." The reason why this is true is the fact that most people nowadays have the world on their mind while those of the early years of Islam had religion on their minds \*. People of knowledge and righteousness have wanted the (things of the) world late in their life for no other reasons than to dispense thereby, with those who covet them, for the one who wants something from them is, consequently, denigrated

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by them. It was narrated that the Prophet said: "Generosity of this world is wealth, generosity of the Hereafter is piety." Some of the Salaf supplicated Allah saying: "O God make them (i.e. the worldly things) in our hands not in our hearts." Some said: "We love it to give, not to withhold." Therefore, the one who convincingly believes in the virtues of the Companions - who are ranked thus after the Prophet; Abū Bakr, ʿUmar al-Fārūq, ʿUthmān Dhū' -l-Nūrayn and then ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib - is one of the men of right and people of the Sunna and has dissociated himself from people of deviation and fabrication. We supplicate Allah to perfect our faith and consolidate our religion. Al-Shihāb al-Khafājī narrated that al-Ḥāfiz ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqālānī said: "None of the Companions was deaf, because the Prophet was to convey to them the commands of his lord which deafness precluded, as opposed to blindness." Al-Ḥāfiz ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqālānī recited:

How fortunate the Companions of the best  
of all creatures are!  
"And forget not those who related his  
traditions  
Those were lucky that He himself had  
reminded them.  
And we are fortunate that his teachings  
have come to us.  
They have provided precedents for us in



supporting Him and here we are followers of his helpers.

Since we are deprived of seeing him

We are now dedicating ourselves to

Preserving his traditions.

Perhaps Allah may bring us altogether through His mercy, in His House."

Al-Qaṣṭālānī, the erudite one, has stated in his book al-Mawāhib, "There is a debate with regard to defining the Companions. Some say: the one who accompanied or saw the Prophet even for an hour. This view was held by al-Bukhārī and earlier by his teacher ibn al-Madā'inī and it is more acceptable. Making it conditional on Islam excludes those who accompanied or saw him of non-Muslims even if the one concerned had embraced Islam after the Prophet's death. But this definition lacks precision, for 'Ubaydallah ibn Jaḥsh, who accompanied and saw the Prophet but apostatized without return to Islam, is unanimously not considered a Companion. Ibn Khaṭṭāb and Rabi'ah ibn Umayya ibn Khalaf al-Jumahī are also not regarded as Companions.

Rabi'ah was one of those who embraced Islam on the day of the Conquest of Mecca, witnessed the last pilgrimage of the Prophet and narrated about the Prophet after his death. But during 'Umar's Caliphate he, most



disgracefully, joined the Roman army and apostatized to Christianity because something had angered him."

Imām Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal) compiled some ḥadīths narrated by him in his work al-Musnad; however, all those ḥadīths are problematic. Imām Aḥmad might not have known of his apostacy. Hence, this definition should include "and died as such" to make it more precise, for if the one concerned had apostatized and returned to Islam but did not see the Prophet after his return, he is regarded as Companion, because the narrators have unanimously considered al-ʿAshʿath ibn Qays and others who had done so, as companions and collected ḥadīths narrated by them in their works. Al-Ḥāfiẓ Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī, never mentioned \* that the definition as such must be considered controversial as Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī both believe that all good deeds are rendered futile by apostacy while al-Rāfiʿī considers it rendering futile only the good deeds made before recantation. Therefore, the one who had apostatized and returned to Islam in the life of the Prophet, like ʿAbdallāh ibn Abī Sarḥ, is not excluded from being a Companion.

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Another controversial point pertaining to the definition of the Companion is whether the condition of



seeing the Prophet should be limited to merely seeing without possessing the ability or otherwise. Some considered Muhammad ibn Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq who was born three months and some days before the death of the Prophet, that is, late in the month of Dhu'l qida of the tenth Hijra year, a Companion; some did not.

Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib said that only the one who stayed with the Prophet at least one year or fought with him at least one battle, was considered a Companion. Some required maturity in the one who saw the Prophet, which is not precise, as such excluded al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī and all Companions who were then juveniles. Making Companionship conditional on seeing the Prophet does not mean that blind people are excluded. For ibn Maktūm, who was blind, is still assuredly considered a Companion. Hence, substituting 'meeting' for 'seeing' is more appropriate in order to include such people as ibn Umm Maktūm.

Al-Ḥafīz Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī says: "With respect to their saying 'the one who saw the Prophet, etc.' is meant that he should have seen the Prophet only during his being a Prophet or at any time of the Prophet's whole life, so that a man like Zayd ibn ʿAmr b. Nufayl,



who saw the Prophet and died before the Call believing in the unblemished faith of Ibrāhīm, may be included? The Prophet said that he (Zayd) will be resurrected constituting alone a whole umma." Abu 'Abdallah ibn Mundah has counted him among the Companions. Included also is he who saw him before the Call and then stayed far from him until the Prophet died and then embraced Islam and died as such; but I haven't come across any discussion about this possibility. A proof that what was meant is seeing after the Call is provided by the fact that they counted the sons of the Prophet who were born after the Call such as Ibrāhīm and 'Abdallah among the Companions, excluding those who were born and died before it, such as al-Qāsim."

As far as jinn are concerned, they are more acceptably included as it is certain the Prophet sent to them and they responded; and among them are the righteous as well as the sinful. However, Ibn al-Athir has groundlessly criticized Abū Mūsā who held this previously mentioned view.

As for angels, their inclusion depends on their having certainly received the Message, which is debat-



able among traditional narrators. Some held the view that they received it, some held the contrary view \*.

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But what about (a person) having seen the Prophet after his death and before his burial?

The preferred opinion is that he is not a Companion otherwise the one who saw his honoured body in his grave even nowadays should be included. The same applies to those saintly ones who see the Prophet (in a vision). Those who advocate including those who saw the Prophet after his death and before his burial, base their argument on the fact that he ceases not to be alive even after his death. But his being alive after his death is subject to laws of the Hereafter and has nothing to do with worldly laws. The one who has seen him in sleep is not included for such is not related to the worldly laws but to non-material things.

Companions, are unanimously regarded, by the learned men of the Salaf as well as later times, as the best of Allah's creatures following the Prophets, the special favourites of the angels. Bukhārī narrated that the Prophet said: "The best of mankind is my 'generation' followed by the next and then the next. cImrān ibn Huṣayn, narrated "(the Prophet said:) The best of my



umma is my 'generation' followed by the next then by the next." ʿImrān said: "I am not sure whether he (the Prophet) mentioned two or three 'generations' after his own." In Faṭḥ al-Bārī, ʿImrān defines the generation as those who live at the same time and take part in one of the affairs intended. It is taken to refer to a specific span of time. They were so lacking in unanimity about it, that some made it to ten, while others 120 years. I have not come across a statement making it 90 or 110. Some gave other than those two estimations. The authors of al-Muḥkam defines a generation as 'the middle period of the ages of those living in the same time' and this is most acceptable. The generation of the Prophet, may Allah bless and have peace on him, means the Companions. The last Companion who died was, as assuredly and unanimously viewed by the leading Ḥuffāẓ, notably Imām Muslim, Abū Ṭufayl ʿĀmir ibn Wā'ila al-Laythī who died in the 100th year of the Hijra, according to what was ascertained. Such is in conformity with what the Prophet had said a month before his death: "After 100 years from now, none of those living now will be alive."

To return to the beginning, it is understood from the aforesaid that the imāmate, which is the most signi-



ficant concern of religion, is (the means) through which the world and its order are maintained; that is because sovereigns are Allah's custodians on His earth. The underlying reason for this is that human beings are urbanites by disposition, seeking communal shelter; they simply cannot do without food and clothes and a dwelling place; food, clothing and housing are not attainable except through crafts. Crafts are a means to obtaining necessities. It is said that the most important crafts are three: cultivation and weaving and commerce. Then branching out from these three are crafts, such as the blacksmith, spinner, a cotton ginner and a shoemaker. Then man's purposes and intentions differed and his greed extended to what is in other people's hand \*. He \* p. 374 was not content with justice and fairness, and began to look to himself; if he takes , he takes to the full and if he gives he cuts back and is not just. Human nature has a natural disposition towards avarice and cowardice and greed and pride; therefore human beings need someone to repel the oppressor from the oppressed and the strong from the weak.

It has been advocated that it is inevitable there be a Şultān at all times to act with justice and bene-



volence and prevent wrong and aggression, since justice is Allah's balance and a characteristic of man. Allah has said, "But observe the measure strictly, for fall short there of."<sup>1</sup> If you realize the inevitability of a ṣultān you will come to recognize that it is also unavoidable that there be leaders and assistants such as wazīrs to a monarch and chamberlains and secretariates. The Arabs assert that wizāra follows monarchy; rather, it is (the real) authority - a wazīr ranks with a monarch. So nobody is suitable for it (i.e. the wizāra) except a person who has gratified and refined his soul, and come to terms with it. A wazīr is someone whom the Amīr resorts to for his opinion and retreat from the burden (of office). He is the shelter, in a real sense the mountain because he (i.e. Amīr) takes refuge in it. So and so is appointed a wazīr and he helps the amīr and shores him up.

ʿĀ'isha was quoted as saying, 'The Prophet said, "If Allah wanted good for an Amīr He would ordain for him a faithful and loyal wazīr who reminds him if he forgets and assists him if he remembers. But if He wanted it otherwise, He would ordain for him a wicked

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 55. al-Raḥman 9.



wazīr who, if he forgets, does not remind him and, if he remembers, does not assist him." The wizāra is a significant position and an important rank through which the supports of Islamic kingdoms are consolidated and by which intrigues of misleading satans are foiled.

Some of the informed men have observed that the most honourable rank held by a man is that of a messenger, then Prophethood then the Caliphate then the Sultanate. It was argued by some philosophers that the best minister is the one who is most sincere in rendering advice, who is strongest in safeguarding the kingdom, who is most enlightened when he obeys. Some have remarked that the king should endeavour, as much as possible, to reform himself, for a king who is incapable of reforming himself would by no means be able to reform his subjects. How could one who is unable to see his own defects, be able to remedy those of others?!

A king should strive hard, doing his best, to protect and safeguard the splendour of the Shari'ca and revere its men, being kind and generous to them. He should reward those who learn it, as well as those who teach it. He should also reward anyone contributing to preserving it. He should order that the children of



learned men occupy themselves with learning. Never has the world, it is remarked, witnessed a kingdom stronger or more glorious or of more days than the Persian and the Greek states. They both glorified knowledge and philosophy and encouraged those occupied with them, so that most of their kings were erudite men and philosophers. (The wazīr) should be well acquainted with the constituents of the Shari'ca and all the articles of faith involved in it and the subdivisions of each that is, the rulings pertaining to practice and the sciences without which those two things (the Shari'ca and the articles) cannot be easily understood. Such sciences are necessary for a state for they are instrumental in fulfilling its functions. Of those (sciences) are medicine, survey and chronology \*.

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Therefore, a state that contains pioneers in every branch of knowledge is destined for prosperity and welfare. How unblest a state destitute of the well-versed in the vital domains of knowledge. Such a state will leave no trace whereby it can be remembered when its days are gone by.

Al-Mu'ctadid bi Allah, when he built his palaces known as al-shamsiya and had them decorated by his ar-



chitects, he ordered that several annexes be constructed wherein the learned people in diverse branches of knowledge and people of worth were to reside. He later gave them much care and patronage, spending considerable sums of money on them. The one who wanted to be taught a certain kind of knowledge used to repair to the one well versed in it at the Royal Palace. The aim was to diffuse knowledge and to spread its virtues. For the learned and the well-versed in religion were always in demand, since it is unacceptable for a Muslim to do a deed or say a word without prior knowledge of the religion's attitude towards it. A Muslim should, therefore, know for sure the five Duties so as to know whether what he has done is approved by Allah or not. A Muslim Amīr should not be aloof from his subjects for a wronged one may resort to him to requite him, or else he would return resentful and full of indignation. Nothing is more conducive to the ruin of a ruler, more leading to disorderliness among citizens, than the king's aloofness and inaccessibility. On the other hand, nothing is more fear-instigating to the king's deputies and those disposed to wrong others than the king's accessibility. Therefore, he should order that no wronged or oppressed



person be kept from entering upon him. Just kings were always headful of such, and ceased not day and night to manage equitably the interests of their subjects. Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Amīr of believers used, unfailingly, to bid his deputies not to close their doors before anyone. Owing to the fact that there are people who are, in some way or the other, unable to come to the ruler to lodge their complaints, a ruler should, every now and then, inspect for himself the conditions of his subjects.

The best tools of a king are good ministers and deputies. Some compared the ruler to a mansion and the minister to its gate, so that the one who is to enter into it through the gate will do so and if he tries some other way he will be seized.

The Ṣultān was also compared to a physician, the subjects to patients and the minister to an intermediary between both. So should the minister lie, management of their affairs would not go as it should.

A minister should, it was argued, enjoy all good qualities; be of good dispositions and handsomeness, have a blend of cheerfulness and gravity, be mild-tempered, respectful, have integrity, honesty, sound argument, eloquence, and quick-wittedness. He should be



well-versed in political affairs, and those related to laws of the world \*. He should be well acquainted with all matters pertinent to the general rule and those of the governmental offices as well as those of specific nature. He should enjoy the ability that enables him to assemble and disperse others to make close or remote, to divide and unite. A good minister should also be of full maturity, loyal, honest, keeper of secrets; his patience stops him, his knowledge makes him speak, with a retentive memory, fluent, brief, reserved when addressing the king elegant in having others acquainted with his dispositions, having an inclination towards moderateness, truthful, faithful, known to be of good qualities, just, thoroughly familiar with all knowledge, having a good command of prose and poetry, enjoying different good properties, having sufficient knowledge of phraseology for messages, competent in considering and dealing with affairs, of weighty proposals and statements in dialogues, expert at calculations, skilled in interviews and filling a vacancy, well versed in mathematics and fulfillment of duties, of pithy words and expressions, highly skilled and interested, trustworthy, having a great love for Islam, with a pure natural disposition, \* p. 376



sharp-witted, with a quick reply, of much rightness, of good address, versatile in philosophy and invention, capable of sound suggestions, alert in managing the affairs of the just state, ceasing not to remember the Prophet and all that happened to him, familiar with history and geometry, of good references and sound analogy, spreading prosperity all over, a good investor of capital, not divulging secrets, alleviating of burdens, sparing no efforts in collecting the money due to the state from the subjects, most economical in spending it. He should do that attired in the dress of piety and Allah always before him so as to be strong. Those are the qualities of the excellent minister who has good merit both here and in the Hereafter. When both the king and his minister enjoy the appropriate qualities and properties, their subjects are ordained by Allah to be happy and their country to be prosperous. Such a state is a pearl in the necklace of time with which Allah is pleased. The worse thing to a king is for his minister to be a good talker and a bad doer, for the king would rely on what he said and disorder would prevail owing to the minister's neglect and evil deeds.



Al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī narrated this Prophetic ḥadīth: "The two divine ministers of mine are Gabriel and Michael and the two human ministers of mine are Abū Bakr and ʿUmar." Muslim quoted Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqās as saying, "I saw, on the day of Uhud to the Prophet's right and left two men clad in white clothes whose like I have never seen (meaning Gabriel and Michael). Some other narrators added that they were fighting violently. This is a proof of the Prophet being supported by Gabriel and Michael. Another proof, beside the reliable ḥadīth narrated by Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī and previously mentioned, is provided by those lines of poetry by Ḥassān ibn Thābit \*:

\* p. 377

O cornerstone on which one depends and for whom one seeks refuge.  
 O you who provides shelter and whose is sought.  
 O you whom Allah choose to guide His human beings and bestowed on him an immaculate disposition and a good temperament.  
 You are the Prophet, the best of Adam's posterity.  
 O you who are copiously liberal.  
 Both Michael and Gabriel were sent by.  
 The Mighty and The Victorious to support you.

It is to be noted that the wizāra is an ancient office and dates back to the years before Islam. The Prophets had ministers a fact substantiated by the Quran



concerning Moses, "Appoint for me a wazīr from my folk"<sup>1</sup> "Aaron, my brother."<sup>2</sup> The first to be called 'wazīr' in Islam is Abū Salama Ḥafṣ ibn Sulaymān who was the wazīr of al-Saffāḥ. The word was not used during the Umayyā period and Cāmīl or ḥakīm were used for the person who assisted the ruler. The minister of Abū Salama was under al-Saffāḥ's rule, a special post seeing to the enforcement of laws and decrees and co-ordinating governmental offices.

As for the Hijāba office,<sup>3</sup> it is certain that Anas ibn Mālik was the Prophet's gate keeper, for Muslim quoted Jābir ibn CAbdallah as having said, "Abū Bakr came to ask permission to see the Prophet but found people sitting at his door without any of them being allowed to enter, then he was given permission and entered, then came Cumar and asked to be permitted to see the Prophet and was allowed to do so." Cumar himself narrated, "The Prophet once ascended to an attic room at whose door stood a servant of his 'ask the Prophet if I may step in,' I said to the servant, who did

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 20. Ṭaha 29.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 30.

<sup>3</sup>Meaning door keeping for the Prophet.



and conveyed to me his permission. When I stepped in, I found the Prophet lying on a mat which left traces on his side and resting his head on a pillow made of skin stuffed with palm fibers." This ḥadith was compiled by al-Bukhārī in his Ṣaḥīḥ in the chapter of marriage. It was narrated that ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb once entered the Prophet's room and found him sleeping on a bed whose rope had left a trace on his side, ʿUmar could not help but weep. "Why are you weeping O ʿUmar?" enquired the Prophet. "I remembered Kisrā and Caesar and their immeasurable luxuries while you, Messenger of the Lord of the world, are so ascetic that the bed's rope has left a mark on your side." ʿUmar said: "Those are people whose luxuries were granted to them in their worldly life while ours are waiting us in the Hereafter." said the Prophet.

The four Caliphs had Ḥujjāb (gate keepers). Abū Bakr's was called Shadīd his mawla. Some argued that he was ʿUmar's Ḥājib and that Abū Bakr's was Surayq his mawla. ʿUmar's was his mawla Yarfā who used to give priority to Ṣuhayb, Bilāl, Khabbāb, ʿAmmār and Salman and allow others in after them according to each one's rank. This act by Yarafā had once angered al-Aqrāʿ ibn



Ḥābis, ʿUyayna ibn Ḥiṣn, Ḥakīm ibn Ḥuzām \* and a number \* p. 378 of the great figures of Quraysh and the leading Arabs. When Suhayl ibn ʿAmr, who was among them, saw them frowning and their color changing he said, "Why are you frowning and your color changing?" (they answered:) "We as well as they were invited, but they hastened in and we lingered." (He said:) "If you are to envy them for that and for what waits for them in Paradise, which is much more, let your envy be endless." Another said, "How would it be if they were invited to Paradise and you were not?"

Al-Bukhari quoted Mālīk ibn Aws ibn al-Ḥadthān as saying, "While I was sitting with my family before noon, a messenger of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb came to me saying that he wanted to see me. I went with the messenger and entered upon him. While I was sitting with him, his Ḥājib Yarafā came and said that ʿUthmān, ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn ʿAwf, al-Zubayr and Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqās wished to be allowed to enter." "Send them in," said ʿUmar and they entered and sat down. ʿUthmān's Ḥājib was a man named Ḥamrān his mawla, who settled in Basra and lived until ʿAbd el-Malīk ibn Marwān's death. Another Ḥājib of ʿUthmān's was Nā'il his mawla. It was narrated that ʿAdi



ibn Ḥātim once came to ʿUthmān during his caliphate but was stopped by his Ḥājib Nā'il. When ʿUthmān came out and met ʿAdi he knew and welcomed him. He complained to him about Nā'il for keeping him saying, "Do not keep him, although we know his merits."

As to ʿAlī's Ḥājib, may Allah bless his face, he was called Quburā his mawla, who succeeded Bishr also his mawla as ʿAlī's Ḥājib. Thus, Ḥijāba was used by monarch to organize the process of getting in to them.

It is appropriate here to mention something about the Ḥijāba of the Kaʿba. This office was held by ʿUthmān ibn Abī Ṭalḥa and Shayba, to whom the Prophet gave the key of the Kaʿba. That was when ʿUthmān ibn Abī Ṭalḥa ibn ʿAbd al-Dār locked the door of the Kaʿba on the Day of the Conquest and ascended its roof. When the Prophet asked him to give him the key to get into it he, not knowing that he was the Prophet, refused. ʿAlī twisted his arm and took it from him. The Prophet entered and said the prayers of two rakʿas and when he came out al-ʿAbbās asked him to give him the key, so as to be in charge of both the Ḥijāba and the water supply. Thereupon the following Quranic verse was revealed to the Prophet, "Lo! Allah commandth you that you restore depo-



sits to their owners."<sup>1</sup> This verse contains all policies conducive to the properness of the world's affairs and those of the Hereafter. The Prophet then ordered ʿAlī to give the key to ʿUthmān ibn Abī Ṭalḥa and apologize to him, which ʿAlī did. The Prophet also said that the Ḥijāba is yours eternally. ʿUthmān, surprised, said, "Even after I have been harsh and rough with you, you come and afford mercy." "Allah," said the Prophet, "has just revealed to me Quranic verses about you." and recited them to him \*.

\* p. 379

ʿUthmān said, "I testify, that there is no God but Allah, and that Muhammad is His Messenger." Then Gabriel descended and conveyed to the Prophet that the Ḥijāba is for ʿUthmān and his kins. So when he died, his brother Shayba received it. Hence, the key and the Ḥijāba are <sup>h</sup>hitherto and until Doomsday theirs. It was narrated that the Prophet had said to ʿUthmān ibn Abī Ṭalḥa, "Take your key, O ʿUthmān, for today is a day of kindness and good faith." It was also narrated that the prophet had said, "Take it and keep it with you eternally till Judgment Day. It is not I who gave it to you O sons of

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 4. al-Nisā 59.



Talḥa. Allah bestowed it on you and it will never be taken from you except by a wrong-doer."

The water supply to pilgrims, effected prior to Islam by the sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and from basins made of skins, was later approved by the Prophet. Al-ʿAbbās was, before Islam, a leading figure in Quraysh and responsible for the care of the ḥarām mosque. He had been responsible for the water supply to pilgrims in the Jahiliya after Abī Ṭālib, and kept it after Islam. He owned a vinyard at Ṭa'if and he used to take his grapes and those of the people in Ṭa'if and press them to make wine to be drunk by pilgrims during the pilgrim season. Ibn ʿAtīya said in his commentary on the Quran, "Muhammad ibn Kaʿb narrated that al-ʿAbbās, ʿAlī and ʿUthmān ibn Ṭalḥa once assembled and each started to enumerate his own qualities and virtues. 'I am the water supplier to the pilgrimage.' al-ʿAbbās said. 'And I am the gate-keeper of the House.' said ʿUthmān. ʿAlī then said, 'And I am one of those who fought the infidels with the Prophet, and I am one of the early believers and emigrants. Thereupon the Quranic verse was revealed.



"Count you the slaking over pilgrims thirst and tendance of the Inviolable Place of Worship."<sup>1</sup>

As to the office of Amīr al-Ḥajj it came about in the eighth Hijra year, the year in which the Prophet captured Mecca, which was a turning point in the history of Islam. The Prophet had assigned (the office) to Ḥattāb ibn Usayd, who led the pilgrims in that year from Medina to Mecca. A year later, they were led by Abū Bakr and the Prophet led them in the tenth Hijra year. In front of 120,000 pilgrims, the Prophet stood and delivered his sermon in which he remarked that they might not see him again and bade them farewell. It is therefore, that this pilgrimage was called the Farewell Pilgrimage. It was indeed his last. It is to be noted that the pilgrims, on hearing him bidding them farewell, grew sorrow-stricken and his words were heart-rendering to them. As for the Prophet, he was ardently desirous of being in his Lord's presence in the highest abode<sup>2</sup> \* p. 380

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 9. al-Tawba 19.

<sup>2</sup>At this point in the text al-Taḥṭāwī introduces a long qasida in praise of the Prophet by a contemporary Egyptian, Naṣir al-Din Muḥammad ibn Ḥabd al-Qawī al-Asnā'ī. This is not relevant to the text and I have not included it.



On the demise of the Prophet and Abū bakr's succession, ʿUmar was appointed to lead the pilgrims. When Abū Bakr died ʿUmar assigned it to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf and kept on performing the pilgrimage every year until he died. Ibn ʿAwf was retained as Amīr al-Ḥajj during ʿUthmān's caliphate. During that of ʿAlī's the pilgrimage was not performed due to his being engaged in battles. The Amīr al-Ḥajj continued to take off from Madina until the Caliphate was shifted to the Umayyads in Syria. Amīr al-Ḥajj continued to depart from it and at a stated spot, receive the pilgrims, who had come from the regions. He then led them according to the regular system. When the Caliphate was shifted to the ʿAbbasids whose seat was in Baghdad, the pilgrimage procession started to set off from there. This continued to be the case until the Fatimids grew strong and Great Cairo was built and they became of considerable power. Therefore, the Amīr al-Ḥajj began to set off from Egypt with the maḥmāl. Though there were other maḥmāls coming from Baghdad and ʿIraq and from elsewhere, they were subsidiary to the one coming from Egypt. Upon the decline of the Fatimid empire, Baghdad was once again the place where the Amīr al-Ḥajj departed from. When the



Turks captured Egypt, the procession has departed from there. The Amīr al-Ḥajj we refer to is appointed by the supreme ruler of the Muslims at that time and takes the Ka<sup>c</sup>ba covering with him and to whom all pilgrims are subordinates.

It is customary that every year during the season of pilgrimage, a covering for the glorious Ka<sup>c</sup>ba, a burqu<sup>c</sup>, a case for its key, a curtain for Ibrahim's shrine are sent with the revered maḥmāl of Egypt to the holy territories. The Egyptian muḥafaza offices are in charge of all of this. It gives great attention to and exerts a lot of effort in beautifying the maḥmāl by every possible means, through the use of fine embroideries and Quranic verses sewed in golden threads.

Previously, there were four maḥmāls - that from <sup>c</sup>Iraq, that from Egypt, that from Syria and that from Yemen. Years ago, one came from Aleppo and another from Karak. As a matter of fact, all Muslim kings still owe the honoured Mecca and the glorified Medina and their residents a considerable respect and veneration. They are also keen to leave therein that which might perpetuate their memories \* and to be a customary procedure \* p. 383 for the generations to come, for which they are to be



rewarded. The pilgrimage is an old ceremony and sublime worship approved by the Prophet's Sharī'ah to be eternally one of the five pillars of Islam.

The one who was in charge of the Prophet's sacrificial animals was Nājiya al-Khazā'ī, who said, "I once asked the Prophet about how to deal with a she-camel that had become exhausted?" 'Slaughter it and dip its hooves in its own blood then leave it for people to eat it.' the Prophet answered." Muslim narrated that the one in charge of the Prophet's sacrificial animals had asked the Prophet about what he could do with those that were exhausted. The Prophet then said, "Slaughter any that has become exhausted and throw its halters in its blood then leave it to be eaten by the people."

As for writing it is the most general index of understanding and is a most useful tool. It is an exclusive gift bestowed only on mankind and a cause for its power. It is thanks to it, that the Revealed Book is now amongst us without the least alteration. It is, as well, a most important means for recording monetary dealings, scheduling, preservation of science and knowledge, passing on traditions from one generation to another, keeping secrets everywhere. The Prophet said,



"seek help in your right hand." That is, as al-Manāwī has said: "That means writing with your right hand, since you write anything you fear that you would forget; that way you may find support for your memory. It is a grace from Allah that people should know how to write. For he conferred on them what might assist in fulfilling the charge assigned to them and guide them to what might dispense with suspicion. Benefits of writing are known only Allah Almighty. Had it not been for it, knowledge, traditions and wise sayings of our forefathers would not have been recorded and conveyed to us. But for it, the affairs of both worlds would not have been as they should be."

Al-Qāḍī Muḥammad ibn Salāma al-Qudaḥī mentioned that ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib used often to write the Revelation. In their absence, Ubayy ibn Kaʿb and Zayd ibn Thābit. The ʿAbd el-Burkān said that Ubayy ibn Kaʿb was one of those who had written the Revelation for the Prophet before Zayd ibn Thābit and along with him. Of all the Companions, Zayd wrote most of the Revelation. In the absence of those four, the Revelation would be written by any one of those present who could write. They were Muḥāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān,



Khālīd ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>īd ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Āṣ, Abān ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>īd, al-<sup>c</sup>Alā' ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and Ḥanzala ibn al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>. Abdallah ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>d ibn Abī Sarḥ \* also wrote the Revelation but later \* p. 384 apostatized and joined the infidels. When the Muslims captured Mecca, <sup>c</sup>Uthmān ibn <sup>c</sup>Affān, <sup>c</sup>Abdallah's foster father, asked the Prophet to pardon him promising Abdallah's recantation. The Prophet then forgave him and he recanted and became a good believer. He was later appointed by <sup>c</sup>Umar as a governor of Egypt. He remained thus during <sup>c</sup>Uthmān's Caliphate until Muḥammad ibn Ḥudhayfa replaced him. He died at <sup>c</sup>Asqalān.

With respect to the messages and fiefs, Ubayy ibn Ka<sup>c</sup>b al-Anṣārī was the first to write them for the Prophet in Madina. He was also the first to write at the end of a written message, "written by..." In his absence the Prophet would often ask Zayd ibn Thābit to write for him. Both Zayd and Ubayy were writers of the Revelation. They wrote, as well, his messages and the fiefs and so on. Of those who frequently wrote his messages was <sup>c</sup>Abdallah ibn al-Arqam al-Zuhri. Zayd ibn Thābit wrote the Revelation and the Prophet's messages to kings. In his absence as well as that of Ibn al-Arqam, the Prophet would often order any of the writers present to write



for him a message to an army commander or to a king, or a fief to someone. After the Prophet's time, Zayd wrote for Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and was the treasurer during ʿUthmān's caliphate. Earlier, Abū Bakr had ordered him to compile the Quran and write it on scrolls. He did so and wrote it all by himself. Hence, the first to see to Quran's compilation after the Prophet was Abū Bakr. ʿAlī said, "It is he who saw to the compilation and arrangement of Allah's Book according to the special arrangement unanimously accepted by the whole umma. It was Zayd, who wrote it at the compilation. He did not write a verse without the testimony of two just witnesses. It was narrated that ʿUmar produced the verses of stoning and he did not write them because ʿUmar was alone in testifying to them.

Zayd was the writer of the Revelation at the time of the Prophet and one of the four Companions who compiled the Quran in the Prophet's days. In al-Jāmiʿ al-Sahih by Muslim it was narrated from Qatāda "I heard Anas saying, 'In the Prophet's life the Quran was compiled by four men from the Anṣār, namely: Muḥd ibn Jabal, Ubayy ibn Kaʿb, Zayd ibn Thābit and Abu Zayd.' "Who is Abū Zayd?" Qatāda asked Anas.



"One of my paternal uncles." answered Anas.

When Abū Bakr assumed the Caliphate he prepared the armies to fight those who apostasized after the Prophet's death. One of those armies was prepared to fight Musaylima the liar and other Arab apostates under the command of Khālīd ibn al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī. The two armies met and heavy fighting went on until the Muslims were defeated \* and 1200 of them fell martyrs; 700 of \* p. 385 them had committed the whole Quran to memory. Zayd ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was one of them. Thereafter, al-Barā' ibn Mālīk took command of the army killing Musaylima himself as well as ten thousand of apostates. Upon the Muslim army's return, Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said to Abū Bakr, "O Abū Bakr, a considerable number of Quran recitors were killed and I fear that the Quran will be lost if its recitors died."

"Should I do what was not done by the Prophet?" Umar said, "Yes, it is a good thing."

Umar continued asking Abū Bakr to agree to the idea until he did so. Then Abū Bakr said to Zayd ibn Thābit, "We know that you wrote the Revelation and we do not suspect your honesty and integrity. Therefore, we ask you to compile the Quran."



"By allah," said Zayd, "you ask me to remove a mountain it is easier to me than that." He was later, under the repeated demand of Abū Bakr, convinced to do the work. He began to collect it from pieces of parchment from ribs and palm leaves, from stones and from the people capable of committing it to memory until he had compiled and arranged it in seven years. Since the Prophet said, "The Quran was revealed in seven ways; each is sufficient and satisfactory, so recite it in the one you wish, Abū ḤAmr once poetized:

The ways of reciting the Book were all revealed and all are correct.  
 I mean the verses revealed in seven most eloquent renderings.  
 Conveyed by Gabriel from his Lord and he said the revelation was expressed especially through them.  
 So recite in any of them, you and your community, for it is an expansion of your Sunna.  
 All are approved and sufficient and to those who seek them efficacious.  
 Whatever whichever of them you wish you will be in the right.  
 But you are not so when not following the verse of reward with that of punishment with that of reward.  
 The Companions had, of old, recited thus until ḤUthman's Caliphate.  
 Thereupon a dispute broke out over the best at that time and the reciters were at odds.  
 On one of the seven, whether they were happy with it or otherwise.



The copy compiled by Zayd had remained with Abū Bakr until he died. It was, thereafter, kept with Ḥafṣa, the prophet's wife. During ʿUthmān's reign he stripped it of six recensions and left it with only one so as to avoid any dispute like that in which each rival claimed\* that his version is current and others are not, and some said that theirs was better than others. On the other hand, when those who survived the Yamama battle and were Quran reciters were killed in battles in Armenia and Azerbaijan, in ʿUmar and ʿUthmān's time, the latter took the initiative and made it one approved copy that is, he rallied the Emigrants and al-Anṣar and sent to Ḥafṣa, who sent to him all the scrolls which Zayd had collected, then he asked about the man best acquainted with the Quran. They said, "Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀs." "Who is the one most capable of writing it?" asked ʿUthmān, "Zayd ibn Thābit." they replied. "Then let Saʿīd dictate and Zayd write." ordered ʿUthmān. He ordered ʿAbdallah ibn al-Zubayr and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥārith ibn Hishām to help them and said, "On differing over a certain dialect let it be in that of Quraysh." The single word that was debatable was in sūrat al-Baqqara, that was 'al-tābūt'. Zayd's version was with "hā'" 'attabuh'

\* p. 386



and others with "tā'" 'attabut'. They wrote it as the latter. In compliance with ʿUthmān's orders they made four copies of it. He sent one to Syria another to Kufa, the third to Baṣra and the fourth remained in Madina. Three additional copies were later made; one was sent to Mecca, another to Yemen and the third to Baḥrain. It is in these copies made by ʿUthmān that a disagreement grew concerning deletion and addition, connectedness and unconnectedness of sentences and about writing marks. It is not permissible to make any alteration in the copies they made. Zayd ibn Thābit was the one who wrote the Quran upon its being revealed to the Prophet, compiled it for Abū Bakr and wrote it for ʿUthmān. None of the Revelation writers was more reliable than Zayd.

Abu ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd al-Barr said, "When, in ʿUthmān's days people differed over the way of reciting the Quran and ʿUthmān, as well as the Companions, came to terms in having it in a single dialect, he adopted that of Zayd. So he ordered him to dictate to people from Quraysh and they wrote it the way we have it now. Hence, the argument that ʿUthmān was the first to see to the compilation of the Quran was not correct; for Abū Bakr had



attended to its compilation on scrolls, which were kept with Ḥafṣa during ʿUthmān's Caliphate. It is to be noted that a group of Companions had earlier compiled the Quran; among them was ʿAbdallah ibn Masʿūd whose copy was left untouched when ʿUthmān ordered the getting rid of all other copies than the one adopted.

Thus, before ʿUthmān's, there were other copies, and the proponents of ʿUthmān's precedence of compiling the Quran might have meant that his was the first to be sent to the metropolises and by which Muslims in all countries were guided \*.

\* p. 387

With respect to his pacts and peace treaties, ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd al-Burkān said that the one who used to draft his pacts and peace treaties was ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. al-Bukhārī quoted al-Barā' as having said, "When the Prophet once wanted to perform the ʿUmra he sent to the Meccans to give him permission. They granted it on condition that he stays only three nights and not enter Mecca except with sheathed swords and to call none of them. He then began to dictate the condition to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and said, 'On such has agreed Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah.' The Meccans then protested saying, 'Had we been sure of your being a Messenger of Allah, we



would not have prevented you and would have vowed allegiance to you so let it be 'On such has agreed Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallah.' 'I am ʿAbdallah and I am, by Allah, the Messenger of Allah.' Then he ordered ʿAlī to delete 'Messenger of Allah' 'By Allah, never shall I do it,' said ʿAlī. 'Then show it to me.' ordered the Prophet who, having taken it, omitted the controversial words."

As far as the holder of his sealing is concerned, al-Bukhārī quoted Anas as having said, "When the Prophet wanted to write to the Romans, some observed to him that they would not read his message unless it was sealed. So he adopted a seal ring made of silver where on 'Muhammad the Messenger of Allah' was engraved. It was as if I looked to white pearl on his finger. On entering the privy, he would often take it off because the most glorious name, Allah, was engraved on it. He wore it on a finger of his right hand. After his demise and departure to the presence of his Lord, his sealing was put on by Abū Bakr, then by ʿUmar, then ʿUthmān, may Allah be pleased with them. But it fell from the latter's hand into the well of Arīs. It is because of this that a state of disorder occurred in ʿUthmān's time like that which occurred in Sulayman's kingdom owing to the loss



of the seal ring. It was remarked that had the Prophet's seal ring not fallen into the well, succession in his umma would have peacefully and regularly continued till the Judgement Day, but otherwise ordained by Allah whose decree is irresistible.

Ibn Baṭṭāl quoted al-Muhallab as saying, "The Prophet ceased not to use his seal ring in writing to the countries vicegerents and commanders. The one who was in charge of the Prophet's seal was al-Muḥayqib ibn Abī Fātima al-Dawsī, an ally of the clan of Sa'd ibn al-Ḍās. He embraced Islam and came to the Prophet in Medina. He was later appointed by Abū Bakr then by ʿUmar as the treasurer - this was alluded to in our account of the Khaybar battle.

As for Muḥawiya's being the first to setting up the Diwan of the Seal, it was in order that he could depend on the disbursal of funds. The reason for this was that he had assigned to a certain person 100,000 (dirhams) and it was written down accordingly \*. The man opened the letter and changed the sum into two hundred thousand. When the account was brought to Muḥawiya he refused to acknowledge it. He then ordered that a Diwan for the Seal should be established. This was also

\* p. 388



adopted by all the Caliphs who succeeded him. "For every work there is a reward" was engraved on his seal.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### OF THE FISH-RELATED OFFICES

AND

WHAT IS ADDED TO THEM



of the Fiqh-related offices is that of the instruc-  
 tion of the Quran. In Kashf Mushkil al-Sahihayn Ibn al-  
 Qayyim mentioned that Qutayba ibn al-Da'iri, Allah be  
 pleased with him, fought all the battles fought by the  
 Prophet and he was teaching the Quran to the people of  
 the tribe and was one of the twelve scribes. He had done

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Qutayba ibn al-Da'iri, having emigrated to Medina,  
 resided in the "Reader's House." Qutayba might  
 have taught in that school Quran as well as writing.  
Abu al-Da'iri (a detailed account on that will be inserted  
 shortly). He, therefore, might have been one of the  
 instructors at the "Reader's House". On the other hand,  
 the literate prisoners (of Bakra) held by the Muslims  
 were able to set themselves at liberty on condition that  
 1/4 of them teach ten Muslims from al-Ansar how to  
 write. As for those whom the Prophet had sent to the  
 districts to teach the Quran, Muhammad ibn Qasim was one



of the Fiqh-related offices is that of the instructor of the Quran. In Kashf Mushkil al-Ṣaḥīḥayn Ibn al-Jawzī mentioned that ʿUḇāda ibn al-Ṣāmīt, Allah be pleased with him, fought all the battles fought by the Prophet and he was teaching the Quran to the people of the Ṣuffa and was one of the twelve naqībs. He had done so in Medina while the Prophet was residing in it. Traditions refer to the fact that the first school for teaching the Quran was established in Medina. It is possible that this school may have been the earliest in Islam. Al-Wāqidī stated that ʿAbdullah stated that ʿAbdullah ibn Umm Maktūm, having emigrated to Medina, had his residence in the "Reader's House." ʿUḇāda might have taught in that school Quran as well as writing. ʿAbdallah ibn Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀs, too, taught writing in Medina (a detailed account on that will be inserted shortly). He, therefore, might have been one of the instructors at the "Reader's House". On the other hand, some literate prisoners (of Bakr) held by the Muslims were able to set themselves at liberty on condition that one of them teach ten Muslims from al-Anṣār how to write. As for those whom the Prophet had sent to the districts to teach the Quran, Mūsā ibn ʿUmayr was one



of them. In Sirat ibn Ishaq, it was stated: "When the prophet left them, meaning those who swore allegiance to him in what was known as the first 'bay'at of Aqaba, who were twelve persons, he sent with them Mūsā ibn Cūmayr ibn Hāshim ibn CAbd Manāf ibn CAbd al-Dār ibn Quṣayy and ordered him to read the Quran to them, teach them about Islam and make them well acquainted with their religion and was called 'the reader' in Madina. MuCādh ibn Jabal was one of them and he was sent by the Prophet to Mecca to help Muslims there understand their religion and to teach them the Quran. He was sent by him as a judge to the soldiers in Yemen as well as an instructor of the Quran and the laws of Islam. He was also appointed to collect al-sadaqat offered by the Muslim officers there; of them was CAmr ibn Ḥazm ibn Zayd al-Khazrajī who is from the Banū Mālik clan and whose assignment was in Najran. A seventeen-year old man called al-Ḥārith ibn KaCab was sent to them to help them understand their religion and to teach them the Quran and receive their Sadaqāt. Such happened in the tenth Hijra year after Khālīd ibn al-Walīd had been sent to them, upon which they converted to Islam.



Among the Fiqh-related offices is that of the writing teacher. ʿAbdallāh ibn Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀs ibn Umayya ibn ʿAbd Shams ibn ʿAbd Manāf held that office. His name before Islam was al-Ḥakam which was changed by the Prophet into ʿAbdallāh \*. The Prophet ordered him to \* p. 389 teach writing in Madina and he was a good writer. Abū Dāʾūd narrated that ʿUbbāda ibn al-Sāmit had said: "I've taught some of the people of the writing and the Quran and one of them had given me a bow as a present then I said: It is not money and I can use it in fighting in the way of Allah. Then I came to the Prophet and said to him: 'One of those whom I was teaching writing and Quran has given me a bow as a present. May I accept it, seeing that it is not money and I can use it in fighting in the way of Allah?' 'If you want to be clasped with a ring of fire then accept it.' the Prophet said. al-Suhaylī mentioned al-Rawḍ al-Unuf in his account of ghazwat Badr that some of the prisoners could write, and not one of al-Anṣār was a good writer. They were unable to set themselves free with money whereas those who could, accepted to teach ten young men of al-Anṣār writing. Hence, it is permissible for the non-Muslim to teach the Muslim.



Writing, observed some of the learned, can be done in two ways: from right to left and of which are the Arabic, Syriac and the Hebrew. Then there are those from left to right, like the Roman, the Greek and the Persian. They justified their way of writing arguing that writing from the left is conducive to making inspiration come from the movement of the heart not to it. The best manner of writing, it is argued, is that of the Chinese as it depends on pictures and engravings. A writer can write only three pages of it a day, some remarked that it was known from some books that the writing of the ʿĀd tribe consisted of engravings. A proof of that was provided by this line from Yazid ibn al-Ḥazm:

If you tied them to something inviolate  
They will be as lasting as the lines of  
ʿĀd.

He meant the rhymes of his poetry, for ʿĀd's writing was engraving on stones. In the Prophet's time, there were, as well, female teachers for reading and writing like al-Shifā' Umm Sulaymān. It is related that the Prophet had asked her to teach Ḥafṣa how to make a charm against the namla just as she taught her how to write. Abū Dardā' quoted al-Shifā' bent ʿAbdallah as having said



"The Prophet had come to me while I was sitting with Hafṣa and said: 'Can you not teach her how to make a charm against the namla just as you taught her how to write. A namla is a dermal disease in which small pustules spread accompanied by swelling; some physicians call it dhubāb. This ḥadīth is evidence of the permissibility of women's learning how to make charms \*.

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Of the fiqh-related offices are the offices of instructing Muslims to fully understand their religion and that of giving legal opinions concerning controversial issues not made clear-cut in the Quran and the Sunna. Fiqh is to be familiar with the practice rulings (of religion). Muḥawīya ibn Abī Sufyān was quoted by Muslim as having said, "He for whom Allah wants good, will be made by Him to be well acquainted with religion; I am only a divider and the giver is Allah." What was meant by good is this ḥadīth is complete good. In the ḥadīth is a prophecy for those engaged in Fiqh that they will be superiors. Knowledge of the religion varies from one to another for Allah gives to everyone of knowledge the amount He wants as such is bounty of Allah who gives it to whom He will. Pertinent to such is Umar's saying: "Know before you are chosen as masters."



al-Fath that this means that one should gain a good knowledge before being a master for such status may dissuade him, out of feeling shameful to be taught thereafter, from asking for knowledge and so he remains ignorant. <sup>C</sup>Alī, Allah be pleased with him, said: "It is enough of an indication of the humour attached to knowledge to say that it is claimed by the one who lacks it and is pleased when it is ascribed to him; and it is enough to prove the shame of ignorance that the one who has it denies responsibility for it. al-Shafī<sup>C</sup>, Allah be pleased with him, said: "Seeking knowledge is better than the supererogatory prayers and nothing succeeds the Farīda in worth except seeking knowledge. It is argued by some of the learned that seeking knowledge is either an individual duty or a collective one and both are better than the supererogatory prayers. The Prophet, too, has said, "Bright will be made by Allah the one who, having listened to a ḥadīth of ours, learned it by heart until he conveys it to others." And it is likely that the one to whom knowledge is conveyed is more knowledgeable than the one who has conveyed it. So that a non-Companion may infer from the Prophetic sayings what was unheeded by a Companion. A proof of that may be



taken from the Prophet's ḥadīth as narrated by another narrator, "Often, the person who reports an item is more detailed than the listener."

Of the proofs which the majority adduced to substantiate the superiority of Fiqh to other knowledges, - after knowledge of Allah, is the Quranic verse saying: "Of every troop of them, a party only should go forth, that they (who are left behind) may gain sound knowledge in religion, and that they may warn their folk, so that they may beware."<sup>1</sup> Since all Muslims going forth to seek knowledge is impossible, Allah made it (incumbent) on only a group of each party. It is thus that they assume this collective duty on behalf of the whole. "To gain sound knowledge" implies that they should endeavour to acquire and absorb it. "To warn their folk" means to spare no pains in using the knowledge they have gained in warning, guiding and advising their folk and to be good examples to Muslims and the protective shield of the Sharī'ah. Once this group has assumed this task all others became free of it.

The Prophet has said: "Seeking knowledge is a duty for both male and female Muslims." It is meant by such

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 9. al-Tawba 122.



knowledge, that by which one can discharge properly the duties imposed on him and which are known to be a duty for all Muslims. The Prophet has said: "Nothing is better for a servant of Allah than a sound knowledge of religion, a single one of those who have gained such knowledge is stronger in regard to Satan than a thousand worshippers." The term 'Faqiḥ' covers, beside those of the Companions, the followers, the four Imams and their followers \* until Judgement Day. One of the learned has \* p. 391 inserted the meaning of the afore mentioned ḥadīth in the following lines:

Learn for knowledge is an adornment to those who have gained it and a mark of merit and a sign of those who enjoy the best qualities.

Leave not a day without covering new ground of knowledge and swimming in the oceans of benefits.

Gain a sound knowledge of religion for it is the best guide to righteousness, piety and just purpose.

It is a knowledge conducive to guided acts and deeds. It is a fortress warding off all adversities.

For simply one expert in Fiqḥ is stronger in regard to Satan than a thousand worshippers.

Such is attributable to the fact that the one who has gained a sound knowledge of religion asks people to believe and obey and expounds for them the way to the mercy of Allah. It is thus that they attain everlasting



joys and high rank, and all that runs contrary to the wish of the Satan. A knowledgeable Muslim, therefore, is stronger and more hateful to him than a worshipper. The ḥadīth and traditions denoting the benefit of knowledge and encouragement in obtaining it are considerable in number. Why not? Seeing that it is the most important of the targets for which efforts are exerted and the highest purpose for which endeavours are made to know its proof and significance. Diverse though knowledge, it has two principal categories: that pertinent to God and that to mankind. The former is more worthy of classification, for it is the highest cause and most upright course. What is meant by Fiqh in the Quranic verse as well as the ḥadīth is understanding (of the laws of religion) and tafahum means to learn (them). It is by learning that understanding occurs. Proof of that is furnished by His saying "to gain sound knowledge" which means to understand and learn what they have been ordered to. Understanding is affected by attempts made to gain it and to know follows the seeking of knowledge. Allah says: "And Allah brought you forth from the wombs of your mothers knowing nothing."<sup>1</sup> He, also, ordered us

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 16. al-Naḥl 78.



to ask questions: "Ask those who remember if ye know not!"<sup>1</sup> Asking is the most crucial step leading to knowledge and learning begins with seeing, and a full knowledge of something comes after a simple knowledge thereof. Therefore, understanding, as a matter of fact, is a divine mysterious power inspired by Allah into the mind of His bondsman whereby he comprehends His orders and the prohibitions of His Book and His Prophet's sunna which are the two principal sources of the religion, which we ordered to understand well and which the Prophet has conveyed to his Community from his Lord. The Prophet was quoted as saying: "Everything has its mainstay, and the mainstay of this religion is knowledge." This is what our Prophet brought to his Community from his Lord - there is no other.

It is related that the Prophet said: "Everything has its support and the support of this religion is Fiqh." The Cimād of something is its support on which it rests and is built and the religion is that which We sent him with, the noblest of His creatures, the Prophet Muhammad, to make it prevail over all (other) religion. The Prophet said: "The best of you in the Jahiliya is

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 16. al-Nahl 43.



the best in Islam, if you follow the laws of religion"; meaning that nobility of descent \* is secondary to its precepts and there is no nobility if it is lacking in Islam, there is no excellence except that of piety and virtue. If it happened that both piety and nobility of descent exist in a Muslim he then becomes of perfect virtue and may excel others. It was narrated that the Prophet said, "He, who has made himself understand well the religion of Allah, will be given by Allah, the exalted, his living and subsistence from where he knows not." For those who occupy themselves with securing means of living such as food and clothes can hardly think of seeking knowledge, of learning the best manners and of gaining the highest things. \* p. 392

It is narrated from the ḥadīth, "The one for whom Allah wants good will be made by Him to understand well the religion." (meaning) that the one not made by Him to understand well the religion is not among those for whom Allah wanted good. What is meant by religion is Islam. Allah, the exalted, says, "Lo! religion with Allah is surrender."<sup>1</sup> (to His will and guidance).<sup>2</sup> The Prophet

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<sup>1</sup>i.e. al-Islam.

<sup>2</sup>Sūrat 3. Al-Imrān 19.



has brought to us guidance and light through what Allah made his tongue convey: of what is permitted and proscribed and injunctions and advice as to good manners; and the lives of the predecessors early and late and of the best stories, coupled with substantiated fact that he ceased not to act according to His orders and His prohibitions.

The five principal Duties of Islam are: the professing of faith, prayers, giving the poor-due, fasting Ramadan, and pilgrimage. The reason why the Prophet has mentioned those five as pillars of religion is that those duties are the main characteristics of Islam and the signs whereby a Muslim is recognized. They are, as well, individual duties and the fundamentals of Fiqh. The two bounds of knowledge are: to know the known as such and ancient knowledge of Allah. The changeable knowledge of the created beings is divided into natural and acquired knowledge. The latter comes through evidence. Fiqh deals with (categories of action such as) required, desirable legally neutral, forbidden and disapproved of wājib means a duty, neglect of is to be punished. Mandūb means commendable; that whose doing is better than leaving it. Mubāh is that which is left for



a Muslim to do or leave, except if he wants to acquire a reward thereby in the Hereafter. Maḥzūr is that which is impermissible. Makrūh is that whose not doing is better.

Such is evidenced by Allah's orders and those of His messenger, may Allah have peace and blessings on him, his works and what he has approved. It is the literal meaning that is concerned, and the figurative meaning can also be involved conditional on the presence of a proof thereof. Imperativeness necessitates incumbency. When it is said with words denoting giving choice then the Duty is undefined, so if discharged by the one on whom it was imposed, it is enough.

To al-Imām al-Shafiʿī 'Farḍ' and 'wajib' are identical except so far as pilgrimage is concerned. To al-Imām Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal) and al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa, the Wajib is 'necessary' and the 'Farḍ' is more necessary. 'Nahy' is opposite to 'Amr'. Generalization is made in the least group upwards, when the definite article is used it is general, involving all Muslims. Similar is the case with the singular when it denotes kind; for example 'ان الانسان لفي خسر' in the verse 'الانسان' example



None of the Prophet's acts should be generalized except with a proof. And takhṣīṣ is to single out some from the whole. Naṭq is a statement made due to a certain reason, connected to (a statement as to) how it came about. A statement is made specific 'Istithnā', Sharṭ and ṭaqiyīd \*. Mujmal is that which is ambiguous and disambiguity comes through particularization. Nazkh means abrogation and it is only permissible in what is related to having creatures not in what is pertinent to the oneness and attributes of the Creator. It is not permissible to abrogate a Quranic verse except with another Quranic verse, or Sunna with another sunna, or act (by the Prophet) except by another act by him. Consensus or analogy can repeal neither a Quranic verse, nor a Prophetic ḥadīth, and if a Companion remarked that a certain verse was abrogated without adducing not mentioning what replaced it, his argument is, therefore, futile and the verse is not regarded as abrogated.

\* p. 393

Islamic law is superior; that which preceded Islam is for us. Deeds of the Prophet and his approvals are part of our law. The ḥadīth has a definite form, of which are those narrated by more than one narrator and those related by only one. There are also the connected



(muttāṣal) and the disconnected (mursal). The Former is that which is narrated by successive narrators, the best of which being those in which the narrator says, "I heard" or "Someone related to me." If someone says "He informed me" then the latter is less reliable than the former, for saying "I was told" may imply a certain amount of licence. As for al-mursal, it is that which was narrated by the one who had listened to it from the Prophet. A narrator, for his story to be accepted, should be of good reputation and not to be a fabricator. All the Companions are of good reputation. A challenger of a certain narrator should put forward the grounds of the challenge and the evidence of challenge preceeds the evidence of modification. It is impermissible to narrate a Prophetic ḥadīth in a summarized form. Some of the learned, however, consider such permissible but only for the learned. An undebatable issue not denied by the Book, a well established sunna, or consensus of Muslims, should not be denied by a ḥadīth narrated by only one narrator. One account may be more reliable than another because of the reliability of the narrator and its conformity with the Quran. Consensus of Muslims is a fundamental element of the Shari'ca. What was said by a Com-



panion preceeds analogy. Analogy is the inference that certain resemblances imply further similarity. It can be made use of in all legal rulings. There is the analogy of cause and effect and the analogy of indication and the analogy of comparability. It comprises four elements: a root, a branch, a cause and a judgment. In Abū Ḥanifa we find (the use of) istiḥsān.<sup>1</sup> Taqlīd is to accept an unsubstantiated argument put forward by another; a practice which is common among the rank and file. Such is impermissible so far as the fundamentals of religion are concerned, except that which was generally conveyed like the number of prayers. It is undesirable in a learned man who can exercise ijtihād.<sup>2</sup> It was narrated that Imān Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal did not neglect it. But it is known from his madhhab that a mujtahid should not follow another mujtahid (in judgment). The mujtahid should be well-versed in the rulings of the Book and the Sunna. The mujtahid should, as well, be well acquainted with sources of language, the literal and figurative meanings, the common and particular of

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<sup>1</sup>That is the judgement by a lawyer that a certain ruling is best.

<sup>2</sup>The use of reason to arrive at a legal decision.



it, repealing and repealed statements, the absolute and the restricted of it, the ambiguous and unambiguous, and significance of words. He should know the fundamentals of Arabic which can clarify meaning for him, of the points whereon there was unanimity among the Salaf and those on which there was a debate; of how to use analogy, of the fundamentals which it is permissible to justify and those whose justification is not permissible, of what to justify with and what not, of how to rank the evidence according to the weight of each item, and ways of weighing. He should be trustworthy, reliable and of known religious zeal. Such a person is granted licence to give legal opinions when asked. In case of his not knowing the language of the one asking, a reliable translator can be trusted to convey his legal opinion.\*

\* p. 394

A seeker of legal opinion should have recourse to none but he who is cautious as to warding off any harm against the religion. As to the foundations of religion, the right has only one side; as to the branches, the same applies except that criticism must be levelled against the erring mufti. If he has it right, his will be a double reward; if not, he will be given a single reward. When a faqih gives two opinions on one question,



it is to be understood that he is not sure about it so he, out of his keenness for the religion, refuses to give one opinion until he has acquired the knowledge sufficient for it. So, it is left for a later mujtahid to decide. When there are two opinions given as to a question, one of them preceeding the other in time, the later one should be acted upon. Al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī was a mujtahid in both the foundations and the branches of fiqh. The classification of the branches of fiqh was made by four trustworthy men whose reliability was asserted by the ʿulamā and they took judgements from them on the basis of the rulings they had arrived at through ijtihad from the Companions and their followers. Namely, Imām Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān, Imām Mālik ibn Anas, Imām Muḥammad al-Shāfiʿī ibn Idrīs and Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. Each had its followers. Therefore, each mujtahid and those who hold his views are on the right path; in that Allah wanted good for him and made him understand well the religion. It was narrated that the Prophet said, "If Allah wanted good for a people, he would increase their men of sound knowledge", i.e. by inspiring them to engage in seeking it and by facilitating its acquisition (and decrease their ignorant men, so that when one of



the learned speaks) i.e. of something worthy of being known such as enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong (he finds supporters and when an ignorant person speaks, he is refuted.) i.e. defeated and his argument invalidated (and if He wanted evil for them He would increase their ignorant people, so that when an ignorant person speaks, he finds supporters, and when one of the learned speaks, he is defeated.)

Difference in the imām's opinions concerning certain questions is a part of the general mercy with which the Prophet was sent. Allah says: "We sent thee only as a mercy for the people."<sup>1</sup> In this respect, al-Shaykh al-Jaʿbarī, may Allah bless his soul, had composed (the following):

On the path of al-Shafiʿī, Ahmad, Mālik and Abū Hanīfa should we walk.  
Of the religion of Allah almighty they were well versed, supporters of the Muhammad of Banū Hashim.  
Their difference in madhahib is simply a mercy and flexibility in religion; so listen, that you may be rightly guided.  
Not out of obstinacy did they differ.  
So hear me and turn away from the ill-intentioned and the transgressor.  
They all narrated about the Prophet what he had received from his Lord.  
They were all guiders and guided.

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 21. al-Anbiyāʾ 107.



They took Allah's Revelations and the reliable and correct traditions.

They distinguished between the reliable and the unreliable and expounded \* the right path for the followers of Ahmad. By them was made clear the guiding road, so tread it for it is thus that you are guided to what is right and joyful.

May Allah bless their souls and be pleased with them for they were men of guidance and most exemplary speech.

\* p. 395

Imām al-ShaCrānī has marked that the "mujtahdin" were only named thus due to the fact that each has done his best in inferring the rulings implied in the Book and the Traditions.

'Ijtiḥād' is a derivative of 'juḥd' which means to rack one's brains in studying much evidence with a view to inferring the implied rulings. They all will be awarded by Allah for what they afford for this Community Had they not inferred the rulings from the Book and the Traditions, none other than them would have been able to do so. Some may ask, where is the proof of the imāms having gone beyond what was exactly stated in the Book and the Sunna represented in the rulings they have inferred? and why have not stayed within their scope, particularly since the Prophet has said, "Never have I left any thing that would make you closer to Allah but I ordered you to do (it) and never have I left anything



that would make you remoter from Him but I ordered you not to do (it)." Answering them, we argue that the proof is provided by the fact that they have followed the path of the Prophet in particularizing the general concepts of the Quran inspite knowledge of the Quranic verse, "We have neglected nothing in the Book."<sup>1</sup> Had he not showed to us how to perform ablutions, prayers, pilgrimage, fasting and the like, none of the umma would have been able to infer such from the Quran, nor would we have known the number of rakat of the Farḍ nor those supererogatory prayers, nor other matters. Therefore, as the prophet had elucidated for us, through his Sunna, the general concepts of the Quran, so is the case with the imāms who have expounded for us the general concepts of the Quran, so is the case with the imāms who have expounded for us the general concepts of the Shari'a-related Traditions. But for such, the Shari'a would have remained but general concepts. Such is the case with every generation, for generalization is still the habit of the Umma's Culamā till Judgement Day. Had it not been for this habit, there would not have been marginal notes for such explanations.

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 6. al-An'ām 38.



Was the Prophet's discourse with his Lord concerning the prayers on 'Isrā night' an act of Ijtihād or not? Answering, we quote what Shaykh Muḥī al-Dīn has said in this respect: "It was, for when Allah imposed on his umma the fifty prayers, he had sent down to Moses, Peace be on him, he did not say anything, object or say: 'Such is too many for my umma.' When Moses said to Him: 'My umma cannot bear that and asked him to ask Allah to decrease it, the Prophet remained perplexed for a while; his compassion for his umma was endless and yet there was no way not to comply utterly with the Lord's decree. Then he started to weigh the two alternatives to find out the weightier and this is nothing but ijtihād. And when he found that it was better to act according to the words of Moses, Peace be upon him, and his umma won the decrease." \*

\* p. 396

There is always a benefit in the mujtahid's differing, especially for themselves, i.e. to revive memory and to gain the promised reward. As to its benefit to the umma, it is represented in rendering the religious duties easier. Allah says: 'Thus we have appointed you a middle nation...'<sup>1</sup> 'Waṣaṭ' in Arabic, remarked al-

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 2. al-Baqqara 143.



Tabarī, means the elite when they say: So and so was 'waṣaṭ' in his folk, then they want to denote his nobility of descent; and the meaning of the word in the verse is the distance between two ends. That is, they were 'waṣaṭ', since they are moderate in their religion, neither going too far like Christians, nor being too neglectful like Jews; rather they are of moderateness and uprightness.

Al-Zamakhsharī observed that taking 'waṣaṭ' to denote the elite is attributable to the fact that the extremes would soon be hit by defectiveness and disorder, whereas the middle parts are protected. It was narrated that the prophet said: "Religion is ease, and none would oppose it but is defeated by it; therefore, guide (your steps) and come close (to what is right)." The Prophet also said, "I was sent with the easy, tolerant and upright (religion)". It is so because it is void of the heavy burdens and hard duties imposed on the Jews. Nor is it so tolerant to dispense with good qualities and manners. The Prophet said, "The religion is strongly established, so penetrate into it gently; for the 'munbitt' would neither cover ground nor would he preserve his rear." Abu Ḥubayda, explaining this ḥadīth



remarked that 'awghal' means 'go into something gently,' the 'munbitt' is the one who has exhausted himself and his riding animal to such a degree that he has not reached his destination, nor has he fulfilled his wish. The Prophet meant the one who exaggerates in worship, so that he grows weary and tired.

In this respect, there is a Quranic verse saying 'He hath chosen you and hath not laid upon you in religion any hardship.'<sup>1</sup> As to the Prophet's saying, "Difference in my umma is a mercy," it was said that the difference meant that of how religion is understood.

It is remarked that al-munkir is one who denies the heavenly laws, one whose mental abilities have grown weary and whose understanding has ceased because of his being enruptured by his improper considering of the rational sciences. It is thus that he grows so confused and matters become so mixed before him that he reaches to no conclusion, finding nothing to be guided by.

It is therefore that many concepts put forward by those who had imperfect knowledge of the rational sciences such as philosophers and most Muslim logicians contradict many ḥadīths and well established traditions.

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 22. al-Hajj 78.



since their understanding of what is reasonable was imperfect, they were misled and thought that the ḥadīths contradict logic. Therefore, they misinterpreted them to conform to their alleged logic. Had they gained sound knowledge of logic, they would have known that the Divine Law is by no means contradictory to reason. al-Imām al-Sibkī, having heard one of those logicians saying that a ḥadīth was inconsistent with logic, told him that such was due to his imperfect knowledge of logic. He later described him as one whose mind had been set. It is remarked that the people's faith today has become denuded of its safe attire except those safeguarded by Allah Almighty \* and the one whose faith is denuded will disesteem his religion. Of faith today nothing has remained but its name and, certainly, nothing left but words. Where is the religion of those who have had their faith denuded of its attire and the beacon of their certainty completely ruined?

It is argued that a ruler is not entitled to give judgements as to lawfulness and unlawfulness contradictory to the rulings the four imams gave, having relied on the Book and consensus. Discretionary judgements in this request are not to be taken into account so long as

\* p. 397



they are inconsistent with their rulings. The ruler should be as complying with orders and inhibitions as the citizens whose interests he safeguards and whose affairs he manages. He should govern his kingdom as justly and equitably as he possibly can, guided by the Shari'ca law based on the Book, the Sunna, consensus, analogy and appropriateness. It is unanimously agreed that that to which there is no clear statement in the Book and the Sunna but there is a consensus as to its being right or wrong should be complied with as such. Similar to that is analogy; that to which there is no statement should not be compared with a similar incident stated. Consensus or analogy-based decisions should only be made by those capable of inferring the judgments from the Book and the Sunna. They are called ahl al-hall wa'l-Caqd i.e. the decision-makers in the sources and it is in this sense that some have explained the words "those in authority"<sup>1</sup> in the Quran saying: Orders and prohibitions of rulers should be in conformity with the opinions given by the learned and the views of men of ijtihād. Such does not preclude the imāra succeeding Prophethood in safeguarding religion and the world, so

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 4. al-Nisā 59.



long as it remains within the bounds made by Allah and His messengers which is supported by His words, i.e. "This day have I perfected your religion."<sup>1</sup> Perfection of religion is to be interpreted as perfection of the required duties and rulings as laid down by a group among which was al-Saddī. Perfection of religion, argued Ibn ʿAbbās, is that the idolators should not share with the Muslims in performing the pilgrimage to the Holy House. That is part of the completeness of the favour bestowed on the believers.

It was narrated that the Arabs before Islam continued to perform some of the remaining rites of Ismāʿīl such as pilgrimage to the House, circumcision and ritual ablution. In any case, the religion of Islam is perfect, wanting neither increase nor decrease to be made by wanting neither increase nor decrease to be made by logical opinions. Allah says, "You are the best community that has been brought forth for mankind you enjoin right conduct and forbid what is abhorred,"<sup>2</sup> for the goodness of any community is dependent upon the perfection of their religion and this is dependent upon the perfection of the Prophet they have followed. It was

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 5. al-Māʿida 3.

<sup>2</sup>Sūrat 3. al-ʿImran 110.



narrated that Bahz ibn Ḥakīm said that his grandfather had heard from the Prophet, commenting on the previously mentioned verse, saying: "Yours is the 70th umma and yours is the best of them and the noblest in the sight of Allah, exalted and glorified be He," Abū Hurayra, commenting on the same verse said, as stated in al-Bukhārī, "You are the best of people for the people, bringing them with chains upon their necks until that they enter Islam." \*

\* p. 398

What is meant by the most beneficial of people for people is that they were the cause of their entering Islam and their securing the joys of this world and the Hereafter. Allah marvelled that there should be people who entered paradise with fetters, meaning the prisoners whom the Muslims brought in fetters and chains; and then they embraced Islam and their innermost feelings and actions were bettered. Therefore, they were purified and thus they became dwellers in Paradise.

This praiseworthy excellence is what is indicated in His words "Commanding what is good and disavowing what is bad." What is meant is that God has never brought forth an umma better than that of Muhammad. On that point, someone has said:



Know for certain that we are from an umma which is conducted to Paradise in chains.

Anas has quoted the Prophet as having said, "My umma is like rain in that it is not known whether the first or the last of it is better." Good is vested in this umma until near the Final Hour. ʿAbdallah ibn Burayda has quoted the Prophet as having said, "dwellers of Paradise are in one thousand and twenty ranks, eighty of them are from this umma." al-Hasan al-Baṣrī has observed that Allah has taken a pledge from rulers not to follow desire, nor to cause fear to people, nor the barter His revelations for a little gain. Then he recited, "O David! we have set you as a viceroy in the earth; therefore judge aright between mankind and follow not desire that it beguile you from the way of Allah. Lo! those who wander from the way of Allah have an awful doom, for as much as they forget the Day of Reckoning."<sup>1</sup> Therefore a ruler who takes the learned men as a tool of perception, the righteous as a support and men of genuine advice as counsellors, so that his kingdom is run by the advice of the learned, the supplications of the righteous and the counsels of sincere advisers, who act only

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 38. Sad 27.



according to the lawful rulings based on the Sharīʿa, he must be one of the revivers of religion and renewers of the world, for he has followed, for spreading justice, the best of ways and has done with unlawful innovation, reviving the approved ways of action. He must be the 'mujtahid' of his time. The wisdom of Allah is continued in what He wished and conveyed by His messengers not in the innovations invented by men of intellect. Allah Almighty says, 'and if you have a dispute concerning any matter, refer it to Allah and the messenger...'¹

It was narrated that the Prophet said, "Go along with the Book of Allah whatever befalls" and he was also quoted as having said: "Fulfill your obligations - there is not a people who have breached a pledge whose enemy was not instigated against them; nor were there those whose rule was run in accordance with other than what was revealed by Allah but poverty has stricken the generality of them; nor were there those among whom indecency has spread but they were haunted by death; nor were there those who gave unfair measures but they were deprived of crops and hit by drought; nor were there those who withheld the zakat without their being con-

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¹Sūrat 4. al-Nisā' 59.



strained. al-Tirmidhī related that al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Muzā-  
him quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, "the one who has enough  
money to perform a pilgrimage or pay the zakat and does  
not do so shall not implore Allah, on his death, for  
resurrection."

It is incumbent upon the resolute ruler should he  
strike off the heads of unlawful innovation with the  
swords of the valiant, accept the treasures of men of  
worth,\* as a replacement thereof, that he may be reward- \* 399  
ed tenfold the like of his good deed. He should turn  
away from what is unlawful, in the world, which is  
little to what is lawful in it, which is much. He should  
dress his subjects in the best attire of justice, have  
their inwardness and outwardness purified from foulness  
and dirt, and direct his endeavour to what is good.  
There is no doubt that the one who has established a  
good way of action is one of those who adapts the reli-  
gion to changing times and conditions and his good deed  
will be, in his scale, enduring for the Prophet has  
said, "He who develops a good way of action will have  
reward and the like of those who acted accordingly till  
Judgement Day, and he who follows a foul way of action



will be punished for it like those who acted accordingly until the Day of Resurrection.

People, used to ask the prophet about affairs of religion, as is shown in the ḥadīths and attested by Revelations. Among such revelations are: "They ask thee (O Muhammad) what is made lawful for them. Say: (all) good things are made lawful for you."<sup>1</sup>

Of the ḥadīths is that which is narrated by Abū Rifāʿa al-ʿAdawī in which he said: "I came to the Prophet while he was delivering a sermon of his and told him, "A stranger has come to you asking about his religion, not knowing about his religion! The Prophet then stopped and came to me. And a chair was brought and he sat teaching me of that which Allah had taught him. Then he went back and resumed his sermon" - narrated by Muslim and al-Nasā'ī.

Women, too, have asked the Prophet; Umm Salīm once came to him and said, "Lo! Allah is not shy of the truth; should a woman have herself bathed if she has had a sexual dream?" This is well known in the fiqh books. ʿĀ'isha said, "May Allah have mercy on the Anṣār women;

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 5. al-Mā'ida 4.



modesty did not prevent them from having a sound knowledge of religion. Someone said:

Long silence is not blindness  
But the perfect blindness is  
The long silence of ignorance.

Umar said, "The one with a weak face is not weak knowledge." "Neither the self-effacing nor the arrogant," remarked Mujahid, "will acquire knowledge."

Sufyān al-Thawrī said, "The essence of knowledge is questioning and effort and absence of both means its death." al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said, "The learned men are the lights of their time whereby their contemporaries are guided. But for them, people would be like beasts." We have previously mentioned an account of those sent by the Prophet to different quarters to teach people how to understand their religion well. As to the sinfulness of withholding knowledge, Ibn Māscūd quoted the Prophet as saying, "He who withholds knowledge from its people, will be bridled, on Judgement Day, with a rein of fire (as if a rein was put on his mouth so as not to speak). The denial of knowledge means all knowledge, although it is frequently applied to the Sharīca specifically. It is underlined by his saying 'from its people' \* implying \* p. 400 the lawfulness and commendableness of withholding if



from those who are not among its people. The Quranic verse, "Give not unto the foolish (what is in) your keeping of their wealth."<sup>1</sup> is a testimony to the fact that knowledge should be kept from those who would abuse it and use it in harming others. Some have considered withholding books of knowledge a kind of withholding of knowledge itself, which is lawful if it is feared that those to whom they are given may abuse them. The more so when books of knowledge are scarce. Ibrāhīm ibn ʿUyayna said, "Of the longest duration of remorse on Judgement Day are those who are unduly proud of their knowledge."

People would often ask the learned Companions in the Prophet's time to give their opinions concerning some religious questions, which they would often do. Among such Companions are Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf, Ibn Māsʿūd, Ubayy ibn Kaʿb, Muʿādh, ʿAmmār, Hudhayfa, Zayd ibn Thābit, Abū'l-Dardā; Abū Mūsā and Salmān, may Allah be pleased with them all. Someone has grouped them together in the following lines:

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 4. al-Nisā' 5.



During the life of our Prophet, the important ones who gave legal opinions along with the rightly guided caliphs were: Muḥadh, Ḥammār, Zayd ibn Thābit, Ubayy ibn Māsūd, Ḥawf, Hudhayfa.

Of them was Abū Mūsā and Salmān was their erudite one and so was Abū'l-Dardā', who brought it to completion.

Abū Bakr gave legal opinions in the Prophet's presence and he accepted his veracity a privilege.

The one to give a legal opinion should, it is argued, take into his account each questioner's turn, not allowing, without the consent of the one whose turn it was, another to take his place. It was narrated that a man of al-Anṣār once came to the Prophet to ask him a question, then a man from Thaqīf came for the same purpose. The Prophet then said, 'O' brother from Thaqīf, this man of al-Anṣār has preceeded you in putting his question, so sit yourself down and wait till his question has been answered." It is remarked that anyone who has come first, may give his turn to a person who is not a local resident. Two ḥadīths in this respect were narrated, one by Ibn Ḥabbās, the other by Ibn Ḥumar. Likewise, it is desirable to advance a person with an urgent question. Other than those two cases, it is not commendable. Ḥabdallah ibn Māsūd said, "The one who



gives legal opinions to people without prior reflection and rumination is exposing himself to Hell."

The only way which the Companions relied on in learning was by questioning and answering; there was neither classification of knowledge nor formal instruction. When something came to the mind of a man or a woman, he or she would ask the Prophet about it, not speaking for the sake of speaking. Thus was learning and teaching at the time the Prophet was sent until he died, and thus it continued in the time of the Caliphs. But later, when Islam covered considerable areas and peoples of different languages entered it, like the Abyssinians, the Persians, the Romans and Berbers, who were unable to understand the meanings of the Book and the Sunna \* as did the Arabs, in whose language the \* p. 401 Book was revealed, and those of previous unrevealed religions entered Islam, and when it was feared that the corruption of religion was due to their ignorance of Arabic, whose masters were able to properly understand the meanings of the Book and the Sunna and by understanding them make firm religion and prosper its adherents, the learned men began to compile and classify the ḥadīths and to use them as well as the Quranic revela-



tions to substantiate the soundness and unchangeability of the religion and to combat the views and acts of the misled and prejudiced aiming at casting suspicion on it. At that time, not far from that of the Companions, a group of scholars had, by the will of Allah, engaged in the previously mentioned classification and teaching of the Sunna with a view to reviving it and preserving the religion - a lawful and commendable innovation. Another, by the will of Allah, occupied himself with matching and studying Allah's gifts to human beings other than the religion-related ones - and with seeking and acquiring knowledge about different phenomena, having been assured that the affairs of religion are going well through those appointed to see to the mentioned classification and teaching and to strive against wrong-doing and its adherents by means of what is right. Both were acting with their Lord's guidance. Those classifications and teaching have protected religion through their classifications and the limits of Shari'ah as is well known from the books of the four madhābib which deal with different rituals and practices, concerning the required duties, the approved ways of action, that which is commended, not commended, factors invalidating worship, pre-requi-



sites of a contract to be concluded in conformity with the Sunna, the reward to be given to the one who complies and the punishment to be inflicted on the one who infringes, the rulings to be given with respect to those who act not in accordance with the accepted practice i.e. killing, beating, imprisonment and other rulings and the like which are well known.

Those who were in charge of the compilation, classification and teaching were doing so with both their hearts and tongues. A proof of such is provided by the fact that the whole umma has benefited from their work. The Prophet said "There are two kinds of knowledge: that which does not exceed the scope of the tongue, on the pretext of which Allah condemns man [in the Hereafter] and that of the heart and it is this kind that is useful. Had their knowledge not been in their heart, this umma would not have found benefit therein. So many are those who have classified and taught after them, whose work was of no use; Allah had rendered it useless and fruitless.

It is observed that the traditions that were unrecorded and unclassified during the Companions' time and the leading followers' was due to their dependence on



their remarkable memories, to the fact that they were ordered not to do so, and to the fact that the majority of them were unable to write. It was ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who first ordered the ḥadīths to be recorded. The first to record them was Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. As to its compilation in sections, it was effected in the second half of the century. The first to compile it thus was Ibn Jurayj in Mecca, Ibn Iṣḥāq in Madina, Hishām in Wāsiṭ, \* Maʿmar in Yemen, Ibn al-Mubārak in Khurasān, al-Rabiʿ ibn Ṣubayḥ or Saʿīd ibn Abī ʿArūba or Ḥammād ibn Salama in Baṣra, Sufyān al-Thawrī in Kufa, al-Awzāʿi in Syria and Jarīr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd in Rayy. Those were all, as viewed by al-Ḥāfiẓ al-ʿIrāqī and al-Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar, contemporaries, so that it is not known who of them had precedence.

\* p. 402

As far as interpretation of dreams is concerned, it is a kind of judgement-giving. In the story of Yūsuf, Allah says, "[the King said:] O notables! expound for me my vision, if ye can interpret dreams."<sup>1</sup> The Prophet said, 'The best dream interpreters of my umma are Abū Bakr and Asmā' bint ʿUmays' - he was ʿUmays ibn Maʿadd ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Tamīm ibn Kaʿb ibn Mālīk ibn Quḥāfa.

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 12. Yusuf 43.



she was one of those who emigrated to Abyssinia among whom was her husband Ja<sup>c</sup>far ibn Abū Ṭālib. She also emigrated to Medina and when her husband was killed, she married Abū Bakr and gave him his son Muḥammad. When Abū Bakr died, she married ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalīb, may Allah be pleased with them all.

Muslim, may Allah bless his soul, narrated that Ibn ʿAbbās related, "A man came once to the Prophet and said 'I saw in my sleep last night a covering [of clouds] dripping clarified butter and honey and people were cupping their hands to it; some of them were taking much, some little. And I saw something extending from the sky to the ground; when I got hold of it, it took me up, and when another got hold of it, it took him up too, but when a third did, it was severed; then it was connected [again] and drew him up.' Abū Bakr then said, 'O messenger of Allah! please allow me to interpret it' 'Do do!' said the Prophet. Then Abū Bakr went on to interpret the vision, saying, 'As to the covering, it is the covering of Islam. As to what was dripping clarified butter and honey, it is the Quran in its delight and gentleness. As to the people who were taking from it, they are those who take from the Quran, some take



much, and some take little. As to the rope extended from the sky to the ground, it is the right, which you adhere to. When you stick to it, Allah uplifts you thereby, then another attaches himself to it and is therefore drawn up, then comes a third and on hanging on to it, it is severed then he has it connected and is pulled up thereby up. Tell me, please, O' messenger of Allah, am I right or not?' The Prophet told him that he had some of it right and some wrong. 'By Allah, O messenger of Allah, tell me that which I had wrong' said Abū Bakr. 'Do not differentiate [between them]' ordered the Prophet."

It was narrated that ʿĀʾisha having seen in her sleep three planets falling onto her apartment, related her vision to her father, "A sign of good omen, O' ʿĀʾisha." he said. When the Prophet died and was buried in her apartment, he said to her, "This is one of your planets, the best one."

The vision materialized and, beside the body of the Prophet, that of Abū Bakr and that of ʿUmar were, too, buried in ʿĀʾisha's apartment.

Abū Layla quoted the Prophet as having said, "I saw in my sleep that I was in a well and then came some \* \* p. 403



black sheep, followed by dust coloured ones, to drink." Abū Bakr then said, "Let me interpret it!" He said something related to it.

Ibn Saʿd quoted Muhammad ibn Sirīn as saying, "The best interpreter of dreams in this umma after the Prophet is Abū Bakr." Ibn Saʿīd quoted Ibn Shihāb as saying, "The Prophet, having seen a vision, related it to Abū Bakr. 'I saw,' the Prophet said, 'that you and I were in a race, I won it by two steps and a half.' 'O' messenger of Allah! I am to live two and a half years after your departure to the abode of mercy and forgiveness.' said Abū Bakr."

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī quote the Prophet as saying, "If one of you has seen a favourable vision, it is only from Allah. Therefore, let him thank Allah for it and recount it. If he has seen an unfavourable one, it is only from Satan. Therefore, let him supplicate Allah to protect him from its possible harm and not mention it lest it harms him." al-Bukhārī related it.

Muslim has a slightly different story, "The vision of evil is from Satan. Therefore, the one who has seen a vision, parts of which he does not like, should spit to



his left and seek refuge in Allah from Satan<sup>1</sup> and not tell it. And if he has seen a favourable vision, he should take it as good tidings, relating it only to those whom he likes."

In the ḥadīth narrated by Abu Razin, in al-Tirmidhī "And do not relate it except to a friendly listener or a man of high opinion." In a third account, "And relate it only to an intelligent man or a close friend." In a fourth, "And relate not your vision except to a learned one or to one of sincere advice." Abū Saʿīd quoted the Prophet as having said, "The truest visions are those occurring in the last portion of night."

Leading interpreters of dreams have remarked that, to avoid unfavourable dreams, one should be truthful in what one says, perform ablutions before going to bed, recite [the Sūras] al-Shams, al-Layl, al-Tīn, Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ and al-Falaq and supplicate Allah saying, "O God! I seek refuge in you from bad dreams and I seek refuge in you from Satan's manoeuvres in both waking and sleeping. O' God, I ask you a good, true useful and unfor-

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<sup>1</sup>By saying, "I seek refuge in Allah from the Satan, the accursed."



gettable vision. O' God, let me see what I wish." and to relate it to an enemy or an ignorant person.

Shaykh <sup>ʿ</sup>Izz al-Dīn ibn <sup>ʿ</sup>Abd al-Sallām has argued that in everybody there are two souls, that of awaking and that of life. On sleeping, the former departs and the latter stays. Such a view is supported by some traditions. It was narrated that during <sup>ʿ</sup>Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's caliphate, remarkable humbleness was shown towards the Companions. He used to ask them for their opinions concerning important issues and to put some puzzling questions for them to reveal their mystery.

It was related that while he was sitting with a group of Companions, among whom was <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, he turned his face towards them and said, "I have some questions to put" and amongst what he asked was, "[what is the significance of] two men loving each other but they have never met? Concerning the two dreams, one is true the other is not?" The people were silent and <sup>ʿ</sup>Umar said, "Nor and you, Abi'l-Ḥasan?" <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī said; "I will tell you the solutions of both. As to the two men who love each other and they have never met," he went on, "souls are like soldiers, \* those of them which have known one another are congruent, and those not knowing one another

\* p. 404



are dissimilar. As to the two visions: one is true, the other is false. A man has two souls: one goes forth in sleep and visits a bosom friend, an acquaintance, be he remote or near. When it is in the domain of the heavens and earth, the vision is true. When it is in the air, then what is seen is nothing but confused dreams. The other soul is for breathing and sleep movements. Have I got it right?" "Yes, you have" answered Cumar.

Therefore, souls roaming in remote spots and far off places is not unlikely, for nearness and remoteness are body-related phenomena. As to souls, nearness and distance are alike, for they are unbounded in their movement and nowhere is too far from them. They can go, in twinkling, from bed to the throne - immeasurably, inconceivably and reasonably. Ibn CAbd al-Sallām said, "In everybody, there are two souls; one is the waking soul which Allah has made customary that when it is in the human body, it is awake and when it leaves it, it is asleep and the soul itself goes wherever it wishes, which represents the vision seen in sleep. The other soul is that of life upon whose departure the body is dead and, when it returns to it, is alive again."



Those two souls are within the human being, none knowing their abode but Allah and those to whom Allah has revealed the secret. They are like two foetuses within one womb. This argument is substantiated by Allah's revelations, "Allah receiveth [men's] souls at the time of their death,"<sup>1</sup> that is the soul of life, "and that [soul] which dieth not [yet] in its sleep."<sup>2</sup> that is the soul of awaking, "He keepth that [soul] for which He hath ordained death."<sup>3</sup> and here both are received.

Muqātil observed that a man has a life, a soul and a spirit. On sleeping, the spirit, whereby he reasons, departs. It does not, however, quit the body completely but it goes out and becomes like a ray-diffusing robe by which visions are seen. The life and the soul remain in the body, which moves and breathes, relying on them. When it awakens, the spirit returns to it more quickly than a wink of the eye. When Allah wants to make him see a vision, He takes hold of that spirit and makes it ascend. When a vision has been seen, it returns to the

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 39. al-Zzumar, 42.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.



body and informs the soul; the soul then informs the heart which becomes, thereby, aware of the vision. The majority of Muslim philosophers are of the view that the soul is a delicate substance as mixed up in the body as water in a green stem.

Al-Imām al-Nawawī remarked that the preceeding view was more acceptable to his Companions. He said: Many are of the opinion that the soul is something whereby a body lives. Their description of it is substantiated by revelations and ḥadīths: it is to terminate its life in the world, it is to be received by Allah, it is to be sent forth, it is to experience delight and punishment, it is to be sent back, it is to enter, it is to be content, it is to move around, it is to hesitate at the barrier between this world and the Hereafter.

It also eats, drinks, wonders, retires, speaks, knows, knows not and so on and so forth \* of the physical properties which are indubitably not present in a spiritual being. It is also aware of its being, reach out to other creatures. These are insights to knowledge and are non-material. Therefore, if the soul which belongs to the realm of the non-material contains knowledge, which belongs to the same dimension, then the

\* p. 405



non-material must have come into existence on the basis of something similar to it, which is totally impossible.

Some philosophers argue that the soul is like blood since when an animal dies, the blood does not pour forth. The soul, it was also argued, is the breathing, whose stoppage causes the death of the body.

It was also remarked that the soul is an ephemeral thing existing in the body.

As for Asmā's interpretation of dreams, it is narrated that ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb had once related a dream to her, saying, "I dreamt that a red cock came and pecked me three times." She then told him that a man from the Persians would stab him three times. The dream materialized and he was actually stabbed by Abu Lu'Lu'a, al-Mughira ibn Shuʿbas' servant, who stabbed him, as attested by traditions, three times.

Of the noblest Fiqh-related offices is the leading of prayers. Therefore, the learned men are of the view that the Sultān should always lead the prayers, unless he allows another to do so. Some argued that the leadership of prayers is a root in itself and a branch of the Imāra. The Amīr appointed by the Prophet was also the leader of prayers. Even when some of the appointed



rulers turned out to be too corrupt to lead the prayers they retained its thanks to their being in authority, by right of conquest or gave it to those who would help in promoting their policies and perpetuating their rule.

The Prophet himself delegated the leadership of prayers to Abū Bakr. Muslim quoted CĀ'isha as saying, "The Prophet ordered Abū Bakr in his illness, to lead the prayers, which Abū Bakr did." Anas ibn Malīk was quoted as saying, "In the last illness of the Prophet, Abū Bakr continued to lead the Muslims in prayers. On Monday, when we were lined in ranks for prayers, the Prophet drew the curtain of his apartment and, standing up, looked upon us, his face being as pale as a leaf of a book; we were in untold pleasure to see him smiling. Abū Bakr then drew backwards expecting, like us, that the Prophet was coming to lead the prayers. The Prophet then waved his hand indicating that we should go on and lowered the curtain. The Prophet died on that very day."

Some remarked that Abū Bakr led the prayers instead of the Prophet seventeen times. CĀ'isha was quoted as saying "The Prophet performed prayers, sitting, behind Abū Bakr in his last illness."



Ibn Rushd said that the Prophet was quoted as having said, "Never has a Prophet died before having performed prayers after a man of his people." It was observed that this ḥadīth \* was narrated by Mālik, and \* p. 406 that he heard it from Rabīʿa. ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn Jamāʿa the qādī in Mukhtaṣar al-Siyar stated that, "The Prophet performed a complete prayer behind Abū Bakr."

In some traditions, there is what can be taken as a proof of that when the Prophet left home, still being sick, and went to the mosque where Abū Bakr was leading the Muslims in prayers, Abū Bakr stepped backwards and the Prophet took the leadership and led them, sitting, in the remaining portion of the prayer.

Some have narrated a story reconciling both the previously mentioned narratives, i.e. he performed two sets of prayers, in one he was an Imām, in the other, led by Abū Bakr. hence, there is no contradiction between the two stories.

As to how the Qiyam prayers in Ramadān were performed, ʿĀʾisha was quoted, as stated in al-Muwattaʾ, as saying "When the Prophet began, one night, to perform the Qiyām prayers alone, some came and took him as imam and performed them after him. On the following night,



those led were much more. On the third or the fourth night, they gathered, waiting for him to come and lead them, but he did not. Asked in the morning, he said, 'I have seen what you have done and I did so for fear that it might be imposed on you as a duty.'

Abū Hurayya was quoted as saying, "The Prophet wanted the Muslims to perform the Qiyām prayers during Ramaḍān, but refrained from making it an order or a duty. He only made it desirable by saying, 'The one who keeps awake during the Ramaḍān nights [worshipping Allah], out of faith and expecting to be rewarded for it in the Hereafter, will have his previous sins pardoned.'"

Ibn Shihāb said, "The Prophet died, the state of things being thus and it continued thus during the Caliphate of Abū Bakr and a portion of that of ʿUmar."

When ʿUmar entered the mosque one day, he found people, here one performing his prayers by himself, there a group having gathered and constituted a rank behind one who, originally, meant to pray by himself. He said, "By Allah, it is better to assemble all those behind one reciter." Then he ordered them to gather and they performed their prayers behind Ubayy ibn Kaʿb. When he entered the mosque, another night, and saw them all



constituting parallel ranks behind their reciter, he said, "What a good innovation [bid'ah] it is, but the time when they are awake." He meant the last portion of the night for they used to keep awake during the first portion. What was meant by his saying, "What a good innovation it is" was that everything introduced after the Prophet's time is an innovation. That which conforms to the Sunna is commendable, and that which is contradictory to any of the constituents of the Sunna is a work of misguidedness.

Pertinent is the view that one who frequently sits with people who are guilty of unlawful innovation, his heart will be extremely impressed by what he hears. Someone has said:

O' my son! avoid any one guilty of bid'ah  
and shun anyone so described.  
Otherwise your nature, you being unaware,  
be superseded by his. \*

\* p. 407

It was said: "Let not one with a misguided heart prevail upon your ear."

A sufficient proof of that is provided by an accident in which some people favoured the fallacious views of Ibn al-Khatib al-Razi so much that they turned to be heretics.



It is noteworthy that there is no sinfulness in abusing such people in their absence, for we are ordered to do so. It was narrated, "Tell of the evil Transgressor [Fāsiq] so that people would know him." When one of such people is to be taken as a witness, those who know him to be a fāsiq should inform the ruler, for Allah wanted not to inflict a punishment on a murderer or a committer of adultery or fornication, depending on a testimony given by an unreliable person like him.

With respect to call to prayers, the Prophet had two, simultaneous callers: Bilāl and Ibn Umm Maktūm. Bilāl ibn Rabbāḥ, mawlā of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq, was the first to call to prayers in the Prophet's time. He set his heart on not doing it after the Prophet. In Abū Bakr's caliphate, Bilāl took the caliph's permission to visit Syria. There, ʿUmar met him and ordered him to call to prayers, justifying his order by saying, "You are not in the place where you used to do it for the Prophet." Bilāl having called to prayers, ʿUmar and all the Muslims present wept and remembered the Prophet. Bilāl died in Damascus in the twentieth year of Hijra and was buried there in a graveyard close to Bab al-saghīr.



Other than Bilāl and Ibn Umm Maktūm, there were those who called to prayers infrequently in the time of the Prophet; among them Abu Maḥdhūra, whose first name was 'Iyās' and he did it only in Mecca and called only to dawn prayers. Of them also is Saʿd al-Qaraz who did so for the Prophet only three times and to whom the Prophet said, "Should Bilāl be absent, do it!" Never had he done so in Medina.

Ziyād ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ṣadāʾī and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Aṣamm were also among his summoners. Muslim has quoted ʿAbdallah ibn ʿUmar as saying, "The Prophet had two callers to prayer at one time, Bilāl and Ibn Umm Maktūm. Abu Maḥdhūra was his Mecca caller. It is narrated that the prophet had, on his departure from Hunayn heard him chanting the words of the call. Having been impressed by his voice, the Prophet ordered him to be bought. When he came to him, he declared his entry into Islam and, ordered by the Prophet, chanted the call before him. Appointed with his son to call to prayers in Mecca, he took his family and headed for it, where they, he and his son, continued to chant the call for a considerable time. Abū Maḥdhūra, remarked al-Zubayr, was the best caller to prayers and his voice was unique-



ly melodious. Al-Zubayr continued saying that ʿUmayr ibn Mūsāʿab, one of the poets of Quraysh, composed the following on the call to prayers of Abū Maḥdhūra:

By the Lord of the inviolable kaʿaba, and  
by the revelations recited by Muhammad.  
And by the chant of Abū Maḥdhūra  
I will perform unforgettable feat.

The Prophet himself, owing to his engagement in the affairs of the umma, had never chanted the call. Nor did ʿUmar, who said, "But for the Caliphate, I would have chanted the call, for a caller should always be alert to time." Had he done it, he might have been imperfect in seeing to the proper managing of the umma. As to the timing of prayers, the Prophet had ordered Bilāl to be attentive to time. \*

\* p. 408

In Mālik's Muwattaʿa it is stated that Ibn Shihāb quoted Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib as saying: "When the Prophet quit Khaybar going back to Yathrib he kept on walking until late in the night; he, then, with his companions, pitched their tents and he ordered Bilāl to await the daybreak for them. The Prophet and his Companions slept and Bilāl kept awake for a while. Having reclined against his she-camel, sleep got the better of him. They all remained asleep till the sun's heat touched them, upon which the Prophet woke up in alarm. 'O' messenger



of Allah," Bilāl hastened to justify himself, "I was overcome as you were." The Prophet then ordered them to go on and they spurred on their mounts. They went on for a while then the Prophet ordered Bilāl and prayers were set up. The Prophet led them and remarked, having wound up, that when a Muslim has forgotten to perform a set of prayers at its time, he should perform it on remembering, for Allah, glorified and exalted be He, says in His Book: "and establish worship for my remembrance."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 20. Taha 14.



The Prophet, observed Ibn Ishāq, had sent some of his companions with messages to kings in order to invite them to embrace Islam. He sent Dihya al-Kalbi to the Roman emperor. Al-Bukhārī, in his *Sahih*, stated that the Prophet sent a message to Caesar inviting him to enter into Islam. The message was carried by Dihya al-Kalbi, whom the Prophet sent to the ruler of Syria, who gave it to Heraclius to convey to Caesar.

C H A P T E R   F O U R

SENDING A MESSENGER TO CALL TO ISLAM OR TO  
MAKE ARRANGEMENTS CONCERNING RECONCILIATION  
OR PLEDGES OF SECURITY, OR FOR SEEING TO  
OTHER MATTERS INVOLVING THE SENDING OF  
EMISSARIES, AND SUCH RELATED FUNCTIONS  
AS TRANSLATION AND THE LIKE

History of the Roman king at the time when Islam came into existence was Heraclius. In the books on the life of the Prophet, it is stated that the king was at the time of the Hijra, Caesar Ibn Marwan. This view does not, indeed, contradict the preceding one for the word *Caesar* was a title of any Roman king. Heraclius took over the rule of the Romans in 610 A.D. i.e. roughly eleven years before the Hijra. Hence, it is most likely that he was the one to whom the Prophet sent the message with Dihya al-Kalbi to invite him to Islam, and that Dihya met him at Hama, while Caesar was on his way from Constantinople. The Heraclius mentioned died approximately 12 years after the Hijra that is, before Islam's entry into Syria. Thus, what was stated by al-Bukhārī that



The Prophet, observed Ibn Iṣḥāq, had sent some of his Companions with messages to kings in order to invite them to embrace Islam. He sent Diḥya al-Kalbī to the Roman emperor. Al-Bukhārī, in his Ṣaḥīḥ, stated that the Prophet sent a message to Caesar inviting him to enter into Islam. The message was carried by Diḥya al-Kalbī, whom the Prophet ordered to hand it to the ruler of Busra, who gave it to Heraclius to convey to Caesar.

It was asserted by those engaged in studying Roman history that the Roman king at the time when Islam came to existence was Heraclius. In the books on the Sīra, however, it is stated that their king was, at the time of the Hijra, Qaysar ibn Nūn. This view does not, indeed, contradict the preceding one for the word Qaysar was a title of any Roman king. Heraclius I took over the rule of the Romans in 610 A.D. i.e. roughly eleven years before the Hijra. Hence, it is most likely that he was the one to whom the Prophet sent the message with Diḥya al-Kalbī to invite him to Islam, and that Diḥya met him at Homs, while Caesar was on his way from Constantinople. The Heraclius mentioned died approximately 19 years after the Hijra; that is, before Islam's entry into Egypt. Thus, what was stated by al-Bukhārī \* that

\* p. 409



Diḥya handed the message to the ruler of Buṣrā, who gave it to Heraclius to hand it to Caesar, is quite possible, for the Heraclius referred to is the ruler of Syria at that time. It is also likely that the aforementioned Heraclius, whose title was also Heraclius, might have replaced his father and stayed in power for several months. We have mentioned that simply in order to substantiate the fact that there is no contradiction between the views held by the chronologists, the historians of the Romans and the narrative related by al-Bukhārī, together with what was stated in the books of the Sīra. An account of Heraclius was given in chapter 14 section 1, article 4, part 1.

Ibn Ishāq narrated that the Prophet had sent ʿAbdallah ibn Hudhāfa al-Sahmī to Chosroes, king of Persia at that time. al-Bukhārī stated that the Prophet had ordered a man to take a message and deliver it to the ruler of Bahrain, who delivered it to Chosroes. Ibn Ishāq related that [the Prophet] had also sent ʿAmr ibn Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus, Emperor of Ethiopia, Ḥāṭib ibn Abī Baltaʿa to Muqawqas ruler of Alexandria and Egypt, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀs al-Sahmī to Jayfar and ʿAyādh sons of al-Julanda from Asd rulers of ʿUmān. He sent



sulayṭ ibn ʿAmr one of Banū ʿĀmir ibn Lu'ayy to Thumāma ibn Athāl and Hawdhā ibn Alī from Hanīfa, rulers of Yamāma, and al-ʿAlā' ibn al-Ḥaḍramī to al-Mundhir, ruler of Bahrain, Shujāʿ ibn Waḥb al-Asadī to al-Ḥārith ibn Abū Shammar, ruler of Balqā' in Syria and to Jabala ibn al-Ayham. He sent al-Muḥājir ibn Abī Umayya al-Makhu-zūmī to al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAbd Kilāl al-Ḥimarī, ruler of Yemen. Ibn Jamāʿa stated in Mukhtasar al-Siyar the Prophet sent six persons on the first day of Muharram in the seventh year of the Hijra, namely ʿAmr ibn Umayya al-Ḍamrī, Daiḥya ibn Khalīfa al-Kalbī, ʿAbdallāh ibn Hudhāfa al-Sahmi, Ḥaṭīb ibn Abī Baltaʿa al-Lakhmī and Shujāʿ ibn Waḥb al-Asadī and Sulṭyṭ ibn ʿAmr al-ʿĀmirī.

It was narrated that Ḥaṭīb ibn Abī Baltaʿa said, "I was sent by the Prophet to al-Muqawqas, king of Egypt and Alexandria in the sixth year of the Hijra, before Heraclius, with a message in which was written after the 'Basmala', from Muhammad, Messenger of Allah to al-Muqawqas, king of the Copts. Peace be upon those who have followed the guidance. I call upon you to have Islam as your religion. If you embrace Islam, you will be safe [in the Hereafter] and have a double reward. But if you turn away, you will answer for the sin of the



Copts for Allah says, "O' people of the Scripture, come to an agreement between us and you..."<sup>1</sup>

He took it and went to Egypt where he was told that he [Muqawqas] was in Alexandria. Having gone there, he found him in a Council chamber overlooking the sea. He took a boat until he came before him. Having read the message, which he presented to him, Ḥaṭīb said: "He lodged me in his house and stayed some nights with him"\* \* p. 410

Having collected his patriarchs, he sent to me and said addressing me, 'I would like to tell you something and I want you to understand what I say.' I said, 'Go ahead!' He said, 'Tell me about your companion, is he really a prophet?' 'Yes, he is the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and bring peace on him.' 'What kept him then from uttering imprecations upon his people who forced him to emigrate from his hometown?' I said, 'And what kept Jesus ibn Maryam, whom I testify to be Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless and have peace on him, from uttering imprecations against those who were at variance with him and against his people who were scheming to crucify him until Allah uplifted him to the Heavens.'" Al-Muqawqas then kept silent for a while and resumed his

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 3. al-ʿImāran 104.



talk asking the same question and I gave him the same answer. Again he kept silent. I took the initiative: "Before your time there was an arrogant man claiming that he was the highest Lord and Allah seized him and made of him an example for the afterlife and for this Allah used him as an instrument for retaliation and then paid him his due. So take warning from what befalls others and let not others take warning from what befalls you. Have a religion you will not quit except for one better, i.e. Islam, which supercedes all others. The good tidings brought by Moses of the coming of Jesus, blessings and peace be on both, are like those brought by Jesus of the coming of Muḥammad, may Allah have blessings and peace on him. Our invitation to you to the Quran is like your invitation to the people of the Torah to the Gospel. We ask you not to turn away from the religion of Jesus, but rather we ask you to turn to it." Al-Muqawqas said: "Are there red veins in his eyes? Is there a seal of Prophethood between his shoulders? Does he ride a donkey?" asked he. "Yes, indeed." "Well done, you're a sage sent by a sage." He then ordered that the message be kept within an ivory box and sealed it and gave me a hundred dinars and five garments [we have al-



luded to such in the 14th chapter of the first section of article four, part one.]

He also wrote e message for the Prophet and sent to him, as a present, three girls two of whom were Mary, Ibrahim's mother, the Prophet's son, and her sister Sīrīn. He also sent a present of Banha honey, a village in Northern Egypt whose honey the Prophet has supplicated Allah to bless, a thousand mishkals of gold, a horse called 'Lizaz', a mule named al-Daldal and a donkey called Cufayr or YaCfūr. The presents reached the Prophet in the seventh or eighth Hijra year. The mule lived on until MuCawiya's time and the donkey died on the way back from the Prophet's Farewell's pilgrimage.

Remaining a Christian, al Muqawqas died during Cumar's Caliphate and was buried in the Abū Maḥlas church.

Having received the presents and seen Mary and her sister Sīrīn, the Prophet admired both but abhorred the idea of taking them both simultaneously for concubines; he made up his mind to take the one who embraced Islam first, and she was Mary, who gave him his son, Ibrāhīm, whose age [when he died] did not exceed, it is argued, eighteen months. The Prophet was quoted as having said,



"Had Ibrāhīm been still alive, I would not have left a Copt without his being released from the jizya."

On the birth of Ibrāhīm, the Prophet remarked, "Umm Ibrāhīm is free thanks to her son." The Prophet also said, "Be beneficent to the Copts for they are related to us with a pledge of protection and a bond of kinship." Hajar \*, Ismā'īl's mother, was one of them. Mary lived \* p. 411 till the fifteenth year of the Hijra. She died in Medina.

ʿĀ'isha would often say, "The only woman I was jealous of was Mary for she was beautiful and with curly hair."

As to Sīrīn, he on whom be blessing and peace, gave her as a gift to Ḥasān ibn Thābit and it was she who was the mother of his son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who would often boast of his being the cousin of Ibrāhīm, the Prophet's son.

It is noteworthy that Sīrīn had narrated one of the Prophetic ḥadīths. She said, "The Prophet having noticed a flaw in the grave of his son, Ibrāhīm, he repaired it and said, "Verily, Allah wishes from his servant when he is to do a thing, to do it perfectly." A reference to



that was given previously in chapter seven, section four, article five, part one.

It was narrated that, when Ḥātib ibn Abi Baltaḥa arrived at Medina and came to the Prophet, he composed the following lines although it is possible that they were invented:

Good morning O Interceder for an umma hoping for salvation on Judgement Day.

I went to the one to whom you sent me travelling through wasteland hazardous road.

Until I saw in Egypt her ruler, whose talk to me was equable.

He read your message after undoing its seal, then he grew awe-stricken and trembled.

The bishops who had assembled said: "Why are you so frightened by a letter from an ignorant one?"

He said: Be silent, woe to you, and be seemly, it is a letter sent by the Prophet of a revealed book.

"You are imagining it," said they, "He said, 'I do not imagine. Rather I know the import of the most truthful of letters.'"

"In every line of the letter of Muhammad there is a true meaning to be understood only by a persevering reader." he said.

This missive, his message to you in humble terms, O best of men by your night it suffices

That I am your messenger who carried the reply to you, surrendering to the will of the most Clement and great Lord.

May my reward be the apartments of paradise, their maids and their bliss, and salvation on the Day of Judgement.

May Allah bless you at every time, when the darkness gets intense, and morn's light



Begins to show, and the morning light illuminates till it be once more extinguished.<sup>1</sup>

Ḥātib narrated about the Prophet that he had said, "He who sees me after my death (in visions) is reckoned to have seen me in my life, and he who dies in either of the Inviolable Houses, will be resurrected on Judgement Day among the saved." He has not narrated other than that ḥadith. The Prophet had supplicated on his behalf on the Day of Uhud, saying, "May Allah be pleased with you, may Allah be pleased with you."

As far as those sent by the Prophet to seek reconciliation are concerned, Ibn Ishāq narrated, "The Prophet once summoned Khiraṣh ibn Umayya al-Khuzā<sup>cī</sup> and sent him to Quraysh on a camel of his called al-Tha<sup>c</sup>lab in order to inform \* their leading figures of the Prophet's wish to make the pilgrimage. They injured the Prophet's riding camel and would have killed Khiraṣh, had the Aḥabīsh not prevented them. The Aḥabīsh were the allies of Quraysh. Their alliance was made beneath a mountain in Mecca called Ḥabashī where they gave mutual pledges of being one hand against other tribes and of no breaching of trust so long as Ḥabashī is standing.

\* p. 412

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<sup>1</sup>meaning the end of the world.



Khira'sh was set free and came back to the Prophet and informed him of what had happened. The Prophet, therefore, asked 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb to go. "O' messenger of Allah," said 'Umar, "I fear that Quraysh may kill me now that none of the posterity of Ka'b ibn 'Adī is there to see to my safety, Quraysh having experienced my enmity towards them and my being harsh to them. However, I can show you one more worthy of it than I am, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān." The Prophet summoned him and sent him to Abū Sufyān and the notables of Quraysh to tell them that the Prophet was not coming to wage war but to visit the House and glorify its inviolability. On the last portion of his way to Mecca, 'Uthmān met Abān ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Ās, who saw to his safety until he met Abū Sufyān and other leading personalities of Quraysh to whom he conveyed the verbal message sent to them by the Prophet. Having rounded off the message, they told him that he might circumambulate the House, but he refused saying that he would never do it before the Prophet.

With respect to those the Prophet sent to convey pledges of security, Ibn Ishāq narrated, "On the day when Mecca fell to the Muslims, Ṣafwān ibn Umayya left Mecca heading for Jiddah whence he was planning to sail



to Yemen. ʿUmayr ibn Wahb then said to the Prophet, 'O' Prophet of Allah, Ṣafwān ibn Umayya is the head of my people and he has run away from you to embark upon the sea so, I implore you to promise to keep him safe." The Prophet gave him the promise. ʿUmayr then asked him to give him something whereby the promise of safety would be sure of. The Prophet gave him the turban he wore on the day he entered Mecca. Having caught up with Ṣafwān when he was about to set sail, ʿUmayr cried, addressing him, " O' Ṣafwān! my father and mother be your ransom [fear] Allah [fear] Allah! Do not destroy yourself; I have brought to you the Prophet's pledge of safety." "Woe to you!", said Ṣafwān, "Go away and do not address me." "May my father and mother be your ransom. He is the best, the most pious, the most clement of mankind. He is your cousin, his pride is yours, his honour is yours, his authority is yours." cried ʿUmayr. "I fear for yourself," Ṣafwān said. ʿUmar said, "He is more clement and more magnanimous than that." So, he returned with him. Having seen the Prophet, he said to him, "This one claims that you have pardoned me." "It is true" the Prophet said. "Then give me a two-month period to make up my mind [concerning embracing Islam]," said



Ṣafwān. "Let it be four months." said the prophet. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr narrated that Ṣafwān had been present before embracing Islam, with the Prophet on the expeditions to Ḥunayn and al-Ṭā'if. On the Day of Ḥunayn, the Prophet asked him to lend him a weapon. "Willingly or compelled" Ṣafwān enquired. "No, willingly \* and with a pledge of its being returned intact." said the Prophet. He did so and received from the Prophet following the battle a considerable amount of the spoils. Ṣafwān said: "By Allah I testify that none but a Prophet could act so." Thereupon, he declared his entrance into Islam. \* p. 413

Of the women who performed a similar function, was Umm Ḥakīm bint al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥishām, wife of ʿIkrima ibn Abī Jahl, who was her paternal cousin. She embraced Islam the day Mecca fell and asked the Prophet to assure her of not harming ʿIkrima, who had previously escaped to Yemen. Assured, she went in search of him and kept on him until he became a Muslim. On seeing him back, the Prophet said to him, "Welcome to the emigrant rider" and said to his Companions, "ʿIkrima has come to you, so on seeing him, abuse not his father, for insulting the dead offends the living."



The Prophet had sent a messenger to the Ethiopian emperor to send back the Muslims who were in his country. The messenger was ʿAmr ibn Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus and he assigned to them two ships and came with them to the Prophet while he was in Khaybar after concluding the agreement of Ḥudaybiya. They were seventeen men among whom was Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib, according to what was narrated by Ibn Ishāq.

The Prophet had sent two messages to the Negus with ʿAmr ibn Umayya al-Ḍamrī. One included an invitation to Islam with verses from the Quran, which the Negus took and put on his eyes and got off his bed and sat on the ground. He then declared his adherence to Islam uttering the creed and said, "Were it possible for me to go to him, I would not linger." The other message was that he marry him to Umm Habība and to send back the Muslims who were residing in his country at that time and to see to their safe voyage across the sea. The Negus did so and placed both letters in a box of ivory, saying: "Will remain prosperous as long as these two letters are within it." according to the story narrated by ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn Jāmāʿa, the qadi. Umm Habība was the daughter of Sufyān ibn Ḥarb who narrated that when the Prophet wrote



his message to the Negus he sealed it and threw it to the dust and there was no question about the one to whom it was sent should embrace Islam and be successful, whereas when he wrote his letter to Chosros, he did not throw it in the dust and therefore he did not embrace Islam, and was not successful. The Prophet said, "Let your letters touch dust for dust is blessed." Someone said:

Having written the letter, and cast it in the dust, that I may, thereby, be fortunate.

For the Prophet said to his Companions, 'Let your letters touch dust so that you may be lucky.'

A letter writer should, before folding it, read it so as to omit or change any word or expression he deems inappropriate.\* He should not be verbose and he should be concise and pithy so as not to enlarge the message unjustifiably. Far-fetched and cumbersome words should be dispensed with for the best to be said, it is justly remarked, is that which is less in words, sublime in meaning, clear in significance and remote from being tedious.

\* p. 414

As to the Prophet's translators, al-Tilmisani in al-CUmda that Zayd ibn Thābit al-Anṣarī al-Najāri was the Companion who used to write the Prophet's messages



to the kings and emperors. He knew and translated from and into Persian, Greek, Coptic and Abyssinian. He had been taught in Medina by native speakers those languages

Ibn Ḥishām mentioned something corresponding to that in al-Bahja. Zayd ibn Thābit had also learned Syriac. Missives in Syriac had come to the Prophet and he ordered him to learn it, which he did in less than twenty days. Al-Tirmidhī quoted Zayd as saying, "The Prophet said to me, 'Learn how to read and write the language of the Jews for, by Allah, I suspect their intentions in what they write: So I learned it in less than a fortnight. I used to write the messages to be sent to them and read theirs.'"

Abū Cīsa remarked that this ḥadīth is quite reliable. As to C'Umar's orders not to learn foreign languages and Mālik's regarding it uncommendable, what was meant is to learn a language in which there is no benefit to the Muslims. However, it is desirable to learn the language the learning of which is beneficial to the Muslims such as knowledge needed by an Imam, by a judge to give his sentence and to authenticate rights, a tax collector collecting dhimis and to address merchants to give their taxes to the Treasury, or in negotiations to



set prisoners free. A proof of the lawfulness as well as commendability of such is furnished by Zayd's having learned foreign languages in compliance with the Prophet's orders.

As for the Prophet's poets, some of these were Ḥasān ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī, ʿAbdallah ibn Rawāḥa and Kaʿb ibn Mālīk. They would, in their poetry, defend the Prophet and the Muslims, ridicule the idolators and refute what was alleged by their poets. Abū ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd al-Barqīl said ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was asked to ridicule in poetry the people who had been ridiculing them. "I will do so if given the Prophet's permission." ʿAlī said. Then they asked the Prophet to do so. The Prophet said, "ʿAlī does not have what is asked of him." Then he said, "What keeps the people who have defended the messenger of Allah militarily from defending him verbally?"

For the purpose of ridiculing the idolators, three Muslim poets were appointed, Ḥasān ibn Thābit, Kaʿb ibn Mālīk and ʿAbdallah ibn Rawāḥa. \* Hasān and Kaʿb would oppose them with similar poems in which they would boast of their alleged exploits and victories, enumerating their shortcomings and disgraceful qualities. ʿAbdallah

\* p. 415



ibn Rawāḥa would often condemn them for disbelieving and worshipping what neither hears nor is useful. More severe to them at that time was the poetry of Ḥasān and Kaʿb rather than that of Abdallah. However, following their embracing of Islam they deemed Abdallah's to be more severe. Abū ʿAmr remarked that a Quranic verse was revealed about (Abdallah) and his fellow poets, Ḥasān and Kaʿb, "Save those who believe and do good works, and remember Allah much, and vindicate themselves after they have been wronged. Those who do wrong will come to know by what a (great) reverse they will be overturned."<sup>1</sup>

Ḥasān was often called the Messenger of Allah's poet. It was narrated that ʿĀ'isha when asked to describe the Prophet had said, "He was, by Allah, as his poet, Ḥasān ibn Thābit said:

When, in the murk obscure, his visage  
shows, shining like the brilliant lamp  
kindled at night  
Where is he who was, is or will be like  
'Ahmad'.  
Vindicator of the right and punisher of  
the heretic.

The best that was composed by Ḥasān is that which he said off hand before the Prophet when the delegation of Tamīm including their orator and their poet came to

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 26 Al-Shuʿarā 227.



him. They called him from the rear of his private apartments to go out to them, upon which Allah Almighty revealed the Quranic verse, "Lo those who call thee from the rear of the private apartments, most of them have no sense."<sup>1</sup>

When the Prophet went out to them, their orator embarked on his boastful speech. Having finished, the Prophet asked Thābit ibn Qays ibn Shammās to give a speech dealing with the points included in their orator's speech. Thabit delivered an outstanding one. Then their poet al-Zabraqān ibn Badr stood up and recited:

Kings we are, no one is our equal, amongst  
us is eminence and transactions concluded.  
Failing the procurement of the meat of  
your camels, we feed guest with the fatty  
meat.

We slaughter our young camels in their  
prime for the guests until they have eaten  
their fill.

Their poet then sat down and the Prophet ordered Ḥasān to stand up and say something in response to him. He then stood up and recited:

Verily, the valiant people of the clan of  
Fihr and their brothers have elucidated  
for people a way to follow.

Each one who has piety towards God in his  
heart is content with them and what they  
have made lawful.

They are a people who wreck harm upon

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 49, al-Hujjurāt, 4.



their enemies and if they attempt to benefit their allies they succeed.

These qualities are innate in them not affected and the worse things for human beings are [innovations] bidCa.\*

\* p. 416

If they are amongst people those who have preceded them, each who draws close to them is simply a follower.

In defence none can raise what they have lowered, nor can anyone lower what they have raised.

Nor are they parsimonious towards a client of theirs, and far from greed are their dispositions.

Abstemious are they, as was attested by the Revelation, by no means niggardly or avid.

Take from them, if they sympathized, forgiveness untold, be not interested in what they have prohibited.

In their war, give up being their enemy it is an evil whereto the most hazardous barriers are crossed.

The most noble of the people of the Messenger of God are their partisans, when persuasions are numerous and sects diverse

Those of Tamīm remarked that the Prophet's orator and poet were better than theirs and that they had been neither just nor objective. They, therefore, declare their submission to Islam and were well rewarded by the Prophet.

It was reliably narrated that Hishām ibn cUrwa quoted his father as having quoted cĀ'isha saying, "The Prophet used to prepare a pulpit in the mosque for Ḥasan ibn Thābit to stand on and boast of the Prophet's qualities. He, blessing of Allah be on him, once said about



him, "Ḥasan is supported by the Holy Spirit as long as he defends the Prophet (poetically). As to what Allah Almighty says, "As for poets, the erring follow them."<sup>1</sup> What was meant were the poets of idolators, who listen to their poems and convey their poetry to others. "Hast thou not seen how they stray in every valley."<sup>2</sup> i.e. deep in every idle talk and falsehood. Valleys were used to symbolize the diverseness of their falsehoods. Then he exempted the Muslim poets in "Save those who believe and do good works."<sup>3</sup> such as Aballāh ibn Rawāḥa, Kaʿb ibn Mālīk and Ḥassān ibn Thābit, who eulogized the Prophet and defended him against those who tried to ridicule him. Hence, there is a kind of poetry, which is lawful and commendable as it contains treasures of language, invented meanings resulting in polishing minds and wisdom which delights hearts. It is thus that the best of treasures are made from their gems. Abū Bakr, too, used Ḥassān ibn Thābit to respond poetically to those who addressed him in poetry, such as Ṣaḥbān ibn Shammār ibn ʿAmr al-Ḥanafī, the chief of his people, who

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 26, Al-Shuʿarā 224.

<sup>2</sup>Sūrat 26, Al-Shuʿarā 225.

<sup>3</sup>Sūrat 26, Al-Shuʿarā 227.



kept firm in his faith during the wave of apostasy in Yamāma people and who was a spy for the Muslims there and a source of vexation for Musaylima, who was helpless against him, due to the nobility of his descent and his clan's obedience to him.

As for Ka'ab ibn Mālik, he was before Islam a good and well known poet. Upon his becoming Muslim, he became one of the Prophet's poets. Al-Zuhri quoted Ka'ab \* as \* p. 417 asking the Prophet, "O' messenger of Allah! How do you view poetry?" "A Muslim," answered the Prophet, "does strive with his tongue as well as himself." He [i.e. Ka'ab] witnessed the second 'Aqaba', was absent at Badr, present at Uhud and all other battles except Tabuk. He was one of the three men of the Anṣār (with Hilāl ibn Umayya and Manāra ibn Rabī'ah) who did not participate in it. Allah later accepted their repentance and forgave them. It is about them that the Quranic verse "And to the three also [did He turn in mercy]..."<sup>1</sup> was revealed. On the Day of Uhud, Ka'ab put on the Prophet's shield which was yellow and the Prophet put on his. Ka'ab was wounded, in that battle, with eleven wounds. Ibn Sīrīn observed that he had been

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 9, Attawba 118.



informed that the tribe of Daws had hastened to Islam after they heard the following poetical lines by Ka'ab:

We've realized our wish for revenge from  
Tihama and Khaybar and then we collected  
the swords.  
Were they given the choice they would say  
we chose to cut at.

Daws said, "Be off and save yourselves, lest what befell Thaqīf befall you!" As for 'Abdallah ibn Rawāḥa al-Anṣārī, he took part in all expeditions except that of the conquest of Mecca as he fell a martyr in the battle of Mu'ta. He was one of the good poets who defended the Prophet with his poetry. Al-Bukhārī narrated that al-Ḥaytham ibn abī Sinān said that he heard Abū Ḥurayra saying that the Prophet said, "A brother of yours, not given to unseemly words [i.e. ibn Rawāḥa] said the following:

Amongst us is Allah's Messenger reciting  
this book as of the first glimmer of day-  
break.  
He has shown us guidance after blindness,  
and in our hearts we are certain that what  
he has foretold must materialize.  
He would spend the night reflecting on his  
couch, when fast asleep in their luxurious  
beds were unbelievers.

Ḥishām ibn 'Urwā quoted his father as saying: "I heard my father say: 'I haven't known a poet like ibn Rawāḥa in improvising poetry. I heard the Prophet say



to him one day: "Compose something now off-hand and while I am looking at you!" He then said:

Whenever I look firmly at you I perceive good, and Allah knows that my sight does not deceive me.

You are the Prophet of whose intercession on the Day of Judgment one is not deprived save those destined to destruction.

May Allah keep the seemliness and the good bestowed by Him upon you as He kept Moses firm, and may He bestow upon you a victory like that bestowed upon them.

The Prophet then said, "and may Allah keep you firm, O' son of Abī Rawāḥa."

With respect to the Prophet's orator, he was Thābit ibn Qays ibn Shammās ibn abī Zuhayr ibn Mālik\* ibn Imri' \* p. 418 el-Qais. He was one of those to whom the Prophet conveyed the glad tidings of being of the dwellers of Paradise. Al-Nasā'ī quoted Anas ibn Mālik as saying: "When the Quranic verse of 'O ye who believe! Lift not up your voices above the voice of the Prophet, nor shout when speaking to him as you shout one to another, lest your works be rendered vain while you perceive not.'<sup>1</sup> Thābit ibn Qays then said, "It is I who lifted up my voice at the Prophet and I feared that Allah might have become angered with me." He, thereupon, grew sorrow-stricken

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<sup>1</sup>Sūrat 49, al-Hujjurat 2.



and turned pale. Having missed him, the Prophet enquired about him. "O Prophet of Allah," they answered, "he says that he fears he might have been destined to Hell since he lifted up his voice when with the Prophet." "He is among the Paradise dwellers," said the Prophet. Hence forth, we used, on seeing him, to say, "Amongst us walks a dweller in Paradise."

It was stated by ibn Ishāq and others that when the Prophet captured Mecca and finished with Tabūk, Thaqīf embraced Islam and vowed allegiance, so many delegations came to him on the ninth Hijra year it was called the year of Delegations. To him came Cuṭārid ibn Hājib ibn Zurāra ibn CAds al-Tamīmī, one of Tamīm's nobility. Having entered the mosque, they called the Prophet from the rear of his apartments for him to go out to them. He, having come out, they said, "We have come to compete in enumerating qualities so grant your permission to our poet and orator." "I permit your orator; so let him start." said the Prophet. Cuṭārid ibn Hājib then stood up and said, "Praise be to Allah, to whom we owe bounties and bestowments, who is the owner of such, who made us kings and gifted us with enormous property from which we do good, who rendered us the most powerful in the



East and the greatest in number and wealth. Therefore, who are like us? Are we not masters of people and owners of favours done to them? Let him who is to compete with us in numbering qualities enumerate such as we have done. We have much more than that to say but we feel ashamed at being lengthy in enumerating what was bestowed on us and we are known for such. I have said that in order for you to say something similar to or better than ours." He having sat down, the Prophet asked Thābit ibn Qays ibn al-Shammās ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj to stand up and answer his speech. He stood up and said, "Praise be to Allah whose creation is in the heavens and the earth. He ordained both to be utterly compliant to His will. His throne includes His knowledge. Nothing is being without his bestowment. His Will has made us supervisors. He selected out of his creatures a messenger, the noblest in descent, the truest in speech, the most honourable in lineage. To him, Allah revealed His book and He entrusted him with His creatures. So he was the pick of Allah out of all beings. Then He called upon people to believe him. The first to comply were the Emigrants of his people and relatives, the noblest in descent, the most handsome and the best in decades. It is



the Anṣār, who followed them in believing.\* It is we the Anṣār, who were among the party of Allah and the assistants of the Prophet. We fight people until they believe. So the one who believes in Allah and His messenger renders his blood unlawful for us to shed and his property sinful for us to seize, whereas he who is an unbeliever is to be eternally fought by us, and to kill him is quite easy for us. Having said that, I supplicate Allah to forgive me and all believers, men and women alike. Peace be upon you."

\* p. 419

We have previously referred in this chapter to the exchanged speeches and poetical lines delivered by Ḥasān ibn Thābit and al-Zabraḡan ibn Badr within our account of Ḥasān.



## CHAPTER FIVE

On The Writing Of The Army Lists And  
Stipends. The Diwān, The Zimām And  
An Indication That Diwān Had Its  
Origin During The Prophet's Time



The Prophet had ordered that people be enrolled and that was done during his era. Al-Bukhārī quoted Hudhayfa ibn al-Yamān as quoting the Prophet, "Enroll for me the names of all those who profess Islam." So we enrolled the names of 1500 men and observed that the number was so small that each one of us was afraid when praying alone." Muslim quoted Ibn ʿAbbās, "I've heard the Prophet say in a sermon of his, 'A man should not be alone with a woman except if her Mahram is present with them, and a woman should not travel except with her husband or a man whose marriage to her is not permissible.'" A man then stood up and said, "O' Messenger of Allah! My wife has gone forth on her way to the pilgrimage and I was enlisted on the expedition of so-and-so. The Prophet then said, 'Run and catch up with her.'" Al-Bukhārī quoted ibn ʿAbbās as saying also, "A man once came to the Prophet and said to him, 'O' messenger of Allah! I was enlisted in the expedition of such-and-such and my wife is going to perform the pilgrimage." The Prophet said, 'Go back and perform the pilgrimage with your wife.'" The afore-mentioned ḥadīth by al-Bukhārī indicated that the man who saw to the enlistment of the army was Hudhayfa ibn al-Yamān, a leading companion of



the Prophet and it was he who was sent by him on the day of the 'trench' to spy on Quraysh and he brought to him the news of their departure. He was, as previously mentioned, the secretary of the Prophet. ʿUmar would often enquire from him about the hypocrites and watch him on the death of a suspected one of them, if Hudhayfa did not join in his funeral, ʿUmar would often do the same.

As for the soliders' pay during the Prophet's era and Abū Bakr's caliphate, Abu Dāūd, may Allah bless his soul, quoted ʿAwf Ibn Mālik, may Allah be pleased with him, as saying, "On receiving the spoils, the Prophet would often divide them immediately, giving the married twice as much as he gave the single. One day we were invited to take our quotas, I being always invited before ʿAmmār as I was then married. I took twice of that which was given to him. Mālik, in al-Muwatṭaʾ, quoted al-Qāsim ibn Muhammad as saying, "When Abū Bakr was about to give each one\* his quota, he would often ask the one to whom he was about to give his quota whether he had enough money to pay the Zakāt. The Zakāt would often be subtracted from the quota of the one whose property was so great as to permit it." It is to be noted

\* p. 420



from the above that the Prophet had ordered Muslims to enlist for the army, that they were enlisted during his time, that he would often distribute the spoils, and that Abū Bakr would give each Muslim his due quota. This does not contradict what was universally agreed upon among notable narrators and those engaged in Islamic traditions and histories that ʿUmar was the first to establish the Diwān in Islam and to impose the system of quota distribution. That may be attributable to the fact that enrolment during the Prophet's time was effected through counting those appointed to be included in a forthcoming expedition without dating or specifying a certain number, because Muslims at that time were not so numerous as they were in ʿUmar's time, nor were the spoils as great as they were then. The need to control the distribution process to such a large number of people had therefore become much more pressing. Hence, the Diwān was adopted by the Prophet and names were to be recorded in it. Al-Tirmidhī quoted Nāfi<sup>c</sup> as quoting ibn ʿUmar as saying: "When I was fourteen years of age I offered myself to the Prophet for the purpose of being enlisted in the army. He accepted me. I having later narrated this story to ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he re-



marked that this age was to be taken as a demarcation line between the age of those to be accepted and those not to be. Then he made it fifteen." Abū ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd al-Barr stated in al-Istīcāb that while the Prophet was re-viewing the young men of the Anṣār, as he used to do every year during his stay in Madina, a young man passed before him and was admitted to be a member in a forthcoming expedition and when another, called Samra ibn Jundub, passed by the Prophet refused to admit him. Samra then said, "O' messenger of Allah! You've admitted a young man whom I would throw down if I wrestled him." The Prophet then asked him to wrestle with him. Having done so and beaten him, Samra was admitted. Al-Bayhaqī in al-Sunan al-Sughra said before the Ḥijra and until the year of the 'Trench', the ruling was based on puberty, as was the case before the Ḥijra. This came to an end in 15 H. when ʿUmar established the Diwān system as narrated, wherein Muslims were to be listed, spoils distributed in accordance with stated rules, and also established a system of book-keeping for the Bayt el-Māl. It was in his era that vast areas had been conquered by triumphant Muslim soldiers, who were to receive their pay from the Bayt el-Māl. The first to



adopt the system of Bayt el-Māl was ʿUmar. However, there is an argument that it was Abū Bakr. The fact is that the Bayt el-Māl grew bigger and more organized in ʿUmar's time. It was remarked by al-Māwardī in al-Aḥkām al-Ṣultānīya that there was a disagreement over the reason that induced ʿUmar to (start the Bayt el-Māl).<sup>\*</sup> Some claim that he was sent on a delegation containing al-Hurmuzān who said to ʿUmar, "That is an expedition each member of which was paid, so should anyone of them be absent we will know. It is better to have a Diwān laid down for them." ʿUmar then enquired from him about the meaning of Diwān. He explained it for him. Others argued that when Abū Hurayra brought to ʿUmar a considerable amount of money with him from Bahrain, ʿUmar asked him, "how much have you brought?" "Five hundred thousand Dirhams," said Abū Hurayra. "Are you aware of what you said?" ʿUmar asked astonished. Abū Hurayra said, 'Yes' and repeated 'five hundred thousand' five times. ʿUmar then ascended the pulpit and, having praised and extolled Allah, and He is worthy of all praise and extollment, said, "O people! a large amount of money has come to us, and it is up to you for it to be distributed among you, either by

\* p. 421



amounts or by number." A man then stood up and said, "O' Amīr of Believers, I have seen the Persians use the Diwān so why don't we use it?" ʿUmar having assembled the leading Companions to make consultation about the matter, ʿAlī said, "The money collected during a year should be distributed altogether before the end of that very year." ʿUthmān said, "I think that the money is enough to suffice all the people and I fear that disorderliness may occur should it not be counted so as to know those who have received their quotas from those who have not." Then Khalīd ibn al-Walīd said, "I have been to Syria and seen their kings using diwāns and recruiting soldiers." ʿUmar then chose to act according to Khālīd's opinion. He, therefore, ordered ʿUqayl ibn Abī Ṭālib, Makhrama ibn Nawfal and Jubayr ibn Muṭʿim, who were young men from Quraysh, to be in charge of the Diwān.

It is to be understood from the above that the Diwān as a system was used in the Prophet's time, but as a term, only in ʿUmar's caliphate, when many different diwāns were made use of. However, during the Ummaya period, diwāns grew much bigger and more diverse. Hence, to say that the first to use diwāns was ʿUmar, Muḥāwiya,



Abdel-Mālik ibn Marwān, al-Walīd or Sulayman ibn ʿAbd al-Mālik or ʿUmar ibn Abd al-ʿAziz and that Sulayman ibn Saʿd were the first to write them is not completely incorrect, for precedence here is nothing but a matter of comparativeness. However, we can argue that precedence may be according to the transference of the idea.

On the other hand, the word 'Diwān' is a Persian noun the origin of which may be found in the following story: Khusraw once ordered all his clerks to assemble in only one chamber to make the counting of his subjects in three days and having looked at them, he found them counting and copying as quickly as they possibly could. He then observed, "What 'Diwān' is this?", meaning that they were like "crackpots". Their chamber was then called a 'divan'. The Arabs later used the term and applied it to any collection of prose or poetry. Ibn ʿAbbas was quoted as saying, "Should you fail to understand any word of the Quran, seek it in the Arabs' poetry as it is their Diwān."

As for the Zimām, it is a kind of agenda wherein issues are listed in order so as to prevent them being forgotten or taking the place of an issue more or less



important. al-Zimām is called a Diwān as it resembles the book wherein prose, poetry and knowledge are recorded\* in order to keep it for future use for learning or other purposes. The word 'Zimām' is taken from the zimām of the camel which prevents it from wandering as it wishes and keeps its movement within the needed course. \* p. 422

Al-Māwardī stated in al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniya that when ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb wanted to enroll people in the Diwān he asked with whom he should start. Abū al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf answered, "With yourself." Then, ʿUmar said, "I can recall that I was with the Prophet when he started with the family of Ḥāshim and the family of al-Muṭṭalib" ʿUmar then chose to act in conformity with the system laid down by the Prophet. So he put them first, followed by the Quraysh families in accordance with the degree of consanguinity with the Prophet's family. Having recorded all Muslims of Quraysh, he began to record those of al-Anṣār, starting with Saʿd ibn Muʿādh family followed by the nearest in kinship and so on. This system was established and used for a long time. Al-Māwardī stated that enrollment in the Diwān was a general and a specific one.



As to the former, it is concerned with race and then with the tribe. Hence, the Arabs were to precede the non-Arabs. If they were all Arabs, those nearest to the Prophet were to be ranked first, that is the posterity of ʿAdnān comes before Qaḥṭān, as the Prophet is from the former. Again, within the posterity of ʿAdnān itself, the clans of Rabīʿa and Muḍar, Muḍar comes before as the Prophet was from it. The clan of Muḍar includes the tribe of Quraysh and other tribes. That of Quraysh takes precedence as the Prophet was from it. And within Quraysh itself, which includes the family of Ḥāshim and other families, the family of Ḥāshim comes first, for the Prophet was from them. As for the non-Arabs, they were ranked according to precedence in embracing Islam and then to consanguinity with the man in authority and then to precedence in obedience.

As to the special way of ranking, it is concerned with enrolling one after another. Precedence in embracing Islam was always ranked first, then come piety, then age, then courage. If they were the same by all those criteria, it was up to the ruler to rank them either through lot-casting or by his discretion.



As for the time of distributing stipends among those entitled to them, al-Shīrāzī quotes in Tabaqat al-fuqaha' that Abū Zinād Abdallah ibn Dhakwān, mawla of Ramla bint Rabī'ca, once brought the Madina Diwān's account to Ḥishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. Ḥishām then asked ibn Shihāb, "In which month were the quotas of the Medinese to be taken out?" Ibn Shihāb answered, "I don't know." When he asked Abū al-Zinād, he answered, "The month of Muḥarram." Then Ḥishām said to ibn Shihāb, "O' Abū Bakr, this is a bit of knowledge you've taken today" Ibn Shihāb then said, "The company of the Amīr of Believers is always useful."\* That is, after \* p. 423  
 ibn Shihāb \* had said that he did not know, he knew, in the majlis, that the time for distribution was in Muḥarram. A poet said, ascribing it to al-Walid ibn al-Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, on his succession:

I assure you that you will as long as I am  
 in power, receive your quotas intact in  
 Muḥarram.  
 So enrage me not for I am as compassionate  
 to you as a loving father.

A stipend was to be given either in money or in goods or in both. Al-Bukhārī quoted al-Miswar ibn Makhrama as saying, "One day my father said to me, 'O my son! I have heard that the Prophet has received a number of cloaks



and that he is now distributing them, so let's go to him.' Having gone, we found the Prophet in his house. 'Call him! my father said, 'Am I to call the messenger of Allah, Allah bless and keep him!' exclaimed I. 'Do so, my son, he is not a tyrant.' Having called him, he came out in a silky cloak embroidered with gold and said, "O Makhrama, we've hidden this for you" and gave it to me." Ibn al-Mundhir stated that <sup>C</sup>Alī ibn Abī Tālib used to collect as the poll tax from every craftsman, a portion of his produce i.e. needles from a needlemaker, ropes from a ropemaker and so on. Then he would invite some of the appraisers and give them the gold and the silver for them to divide. After they had divided it, he would take out a portion and say, "Take that and divide it among you." They would say, "We are in no need of that." Then he would say, "Then you've taken the best of it and left the worse for me to bear."

If a man dies his lot is determined according to the time he has lived. Abū <sup>C</sup>Ubayd said in Kitab al-Amwāl, a man died after the eight month of the year, and <sup>C</sup>Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb gave his heirs two thirds of his yearly lot. Also, that al-Zubayr said to <sup>C</sup>Uthmān following the death of Abdallah ibn Māscūd and he was his



guardian, "Pay out ʿAbdallah's lot, for his children are more in need of it than the Bayt al-Māl. So he gave them 15000. Abū ʿUbayd also stated that ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-Azīz would, when a man died having rendered his lot due, give it to his heirs. Ibn ʿAbd al-Bārr, in al-Is-tiḥāb said that al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār narrated that al-Khansa' bint ʿAmr al-Sulamīya witnessed the battle of Qādisīya, with her four adult sons. On the battle's eve she said to them, "O' my sons! You have entered into Islam of your free will, emigrated without the least obligation. By Allah, other than whom there is no deity, you are sons of one father and one mother. Never have I been unfaithful to your father nor have I been a disgrace for your (maternal) uncle, nor have I blemished your blood, nor have I changed your descent. And do you know how much is the reward kept ready by Allah for the Muslims who have fought unbelievers? Keep in mind that the everlasting abode is much better than this ephemeral one. Allah, Exalted and Glorified be He, says, "O' ye who believe I endure, outdo all others in endurance,\* be ready, and observe your duty to Allah in order that you may succeed." So if, Allah willing, you will be alive tomorrow morning, go enlightened, and engage in the



fight against your enemy, seeking Allah's support against them. When you see the fight has grown fierce and turned to being ferocious, be in the forefront and outdo all other fighters in endurance. It is this that will gain you the honour of dwelling in the mansion of eternity and perpetuity. Complying with her wish and having set their hearts on acting in accordance with her advice, they set forth in the morning, hastening to take up their stations, and the first of them sang:

O my brothers! the old lady, having invited us yesterday, advised us clearly  
And plainly that we should join this very morning, the raging and murderous war.  
You will only be faced, in the moment of the battle cry, by the barking dogs of Sāsān.  
Who are sure of the fall of the calamity, while you are assured of everlasting life.  
(A death to which great gain accrues)

He then advanced towards the battle and kept on fighting until he was killed. Then came the second, and on his going forward to the battlefield he sang:

The old lady is veritably of decisiveness and fortitude, of sound views and deep insight.  
Her advice to us was sincere and right and an act done out of beneficence to one's own children.  
That we should in the morning, go as equipped as possible for either  
A delightful victory or martyrdom, whose recompense is the eternal gain of dwelling in Paradise and relishing a bliss untold.



He fought until he fell a martyr. Then sang the third on his way to battle:

By Allah, we will obey the old lady to the letter for she ordered us to fight because of her being compassionate to us  
 She advised us sincerely and lovingly that we should hasten to the raging battle and fight violently.  
 So as either to utterly encircle the fighters of Chosroes or to drive them away from your sanctuaries  
 Cannot you see that lingering on your part is an act of weakness and that your being killed is a cause of honour and a means of obtaining gain?

He, too, fought till martyrdom, then came the fourth and recited:

Belong we not to al-Khansā' or al-Akhram  
 or 'Amr of deep-rooted nobility.  
 Unless I see, in the war, the army of the Persians suffering the most atrocious horrors of all wars  
 For either an immediate victory or death on the noblest of courses.

He fought till he was killed. When al-Khansā' knew of their being killed, she said, "Praise be to Allah who gave me the honour of their being killed and I hope that Allah may unite me with them in the abode of His Mercy."

'Umar ibn al-Khattāb\* kept on giving al-Khansā' every \* p. 426  
 year the portions of her four sons: two hundred dirhams for each, until she died.



## CHAPTER SIX

### ABOUT THE HEADS OF ARMY UNITS AND THE ACCOUNTANTS



Al-<sup>U</sup>rafā' are the leaders of the troops and their commanders, and it was through them that the higher offices were acquainted with army conditions. A poet said,

Is it not so that whenever a tribe comes  
to <sup>U</sup>kāz they send to me their <sup>C</sup>arīf bear-  
ing an emblem.

The <sup>C</sup>arīf is a naquib (representative) and less than chief commander. Al-Bukhārī quoted Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam and Manṣūr ibn Makhruma as narrating, "When the delegation of Hawāzin came to the Prophet declaring the tribe's entrance into Islam, they asked him to return their property and their relatives taken as prisoners. The Prophet then said to them, "The most favourite talk to me is the truest, so choose one from both: the property or the prisoners." When they made sure of the Prophet's intention to give back only one, they chose the prisoners. The Prophet then stood up and said to the Muslims, having praised Allah who is worthy of all praise, "I say that these brethren of yours have come to us repentant and I have decided to return their prisoners. So the one who wants to give back, willingly, those prisoners he has held, let him do so and the one who prefers to keep them until another bestowment comes from Allah, from which we give them in their stead."



They all agreed to set them free. When the prisoners came to him to be handed to the delegation, the Prophet remarked that he did not know those permitted from those who were not and said, "Go back until you 'Curafā' inform us of your condition." Having talked to them, their 'Curafā' returned to the Prophet and told him that they had all accepted willingly to set them free.

As to accounting, it was reliably narrated that the Prophet had put a man from Asad in charge of the Ṣadaqāt of Sulaym, ibn al-Lutbiya, following his return after having collected the Ṣadaqāt. Muslim quoted Abū Ḥamīd al-Sācī as saying, "The Prophet appointed a man from Asad named ibn al-Lutbiya over the Ṣadaqāt Bani Sulaym. When he came, the Prophet called him to give an account. He said: "This is yours and that is a present to me." The Prophet then said, 'Had you stayed in your father's and mother's house, would it have been given to you?' Then he began to deliver a sermon to us saying after praising and extolling Allah, has occurred that a man of you, having been appointed by me to be in charge of a certain business, came and said, 'This is yours and that is a present for me'\* cannot he stay in his father's and mother's house and wait until his present



came to him, if he is truthful? By Allah, never is there a person who takes from it beyond his due but will meet with Allah on Judgment Day carrying what he has inequitably taken. There I will not recognise him who will meet with Allah carrying a camel grunting, a cow moaning or a sheep bleating.' Then he lifted his hands so high that his armpits were visible and said, 'O' God have I conveyed (your message)? Let my eyes see and my ears hear!'"

That story was previously dealt with in our account of the expedition of Khaybar in Chapter seven, section four, article five, part two.

Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq kept on calling his agents to present accounts. It was narrated that Muḥadh ibn Jabal, having returned from Yemen following the Prophet's death, went to Abū Bakr and greeted him. Abū Bakr then said to him, "Show me your account!" "Is it two reckonings, Allah's and yours? By Allah, never shall I undertake any work of yours again." Muḥadh said. ḤUmar continued to summon his agents every year for accounting. In Kitāb al-Iktifā' Abū Rabiʿa ibn Salīm said that ḤUmar had kept on performing the pilgrimage every year of his caliphate, and that it had been his



custom to summon his agents every pilgrimage in order to prevent them from unjustly treating their subjects, to explore closely their conditions and give the subjects a stated time to lodge their complaints.

Al-Muzaffar stated in his book that when 'Umar called Sa'd to account, Sa'd would be angered. 'Umar would then often say to him, "Please imprecate me not!" trying to make him laugh. When his anger was abated, 'Umar would say to him, "Now let us consider the accounts, for today's reckoning is much easier than tomorrow's." This Sa'd was ibn Abi Waqqas al-Qurashi al-Zuhri and he was one of the ten Companions promised Paradise. He was, as well, the recipient of an answered plea, as the Prophet had supplicated for him saying: "O' God make his arrow always hit its target and answer his prayer." It was for this reason that his invocation was feared as was the answering of it.\*

\* p. 427



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