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Volume ix

The Last Years of the Prophet

translated and annotated
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had gone to the mosque, he returned¹²⁶⁹ and lay down in my lap. A man from the family of Abu Bakr¹²⁷⁰ came to me, and he had a fresh *shak* in his hand. The Messenger of God looked at it in such a way that I knew [that] he wanted it.¹²⁷¹ I took it, chewed it until I had softened it and gave it to him. He rubbed his teeth with it more energetically than I had [ever]¹²⁷² seen him doing it before. Then he put it down, and I found him getting heavy in my lap. When I looked into his face his eyes were fixed while he was saying, "Nay, the most Exalted Companion is that of paradise." I said, "By Him who sent you with the truth, you were given the choice, and you have chosen!" and he died.¹²⁷³

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muhammad b. Ishaq—Yahya b. 'Abbad b. al-Zubayr¹²⁷⁴—his father 'Abbad:¹²⁷⁵ I heard 'A'ishah saying, "The Messenger of God died on my bosom during my turn, and I did not wrong anyone in regard to him.¹²⁷⁶ It was because of my ignorance and youthfulness that the Messenger of God died while he was in my lap. Then I laid his head on a pillow and got up beating my chest and slapping my face along with the women.

An Account of the Day on Which the Messenger of God Died and His Age [1815]

Abu Ja'far [al-Tabari]: There is no disagreement among those knowledgeable about the day on which the Messenger of God died. [They agree that] it was Monday in the month of Rabi' I. They disagree, however, as to which Monday [it was that] he died. [An account of what] some of them said [is as follows].

¹²⁶⁹ To me: Addition in Hisch. and Ibn Ishaq. And entered my room: Addition in Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, II/2, 30.

¹²⁷⁰ In a different version, Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit., states that he was 'A'ishah's brother 'Abd al-Rahman.

¹²⁷¹ I asked, "O Messenger of God, do you want me to give it to you?" "Yes," he replied: Addition in Hisch. and Ibn Ishaq.

¹²⁷² Addition from Ibn Ishaq. Lings, Muhammad, 341.

¹²⁷³ Baladhuri. *Ausab*, I, 548.

¹²⁷⁴ Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, XI, 234-35.

¹²⁷⁵ 'Abbad b. 'Abdallah b. al-Zubayr. *Ibid.*, V, 98.

¹²⁷⁶ Some traditions state that the Messenger of God died on 'Ali's bosom. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, II/2, 30, 49-51.

Hisham b. Muhammad b. al-Sa'ib—Abu Mikhnaf—al-Saq'ab b. Zuhayr—the jurists of al-Hijaz: 'The Messenger of God died at noon on Monday, the second of Rabi' I. The oath of allegiance was given to Abu Bakr on Monday, the very day on which the Prophet died.

Al-Waqidi: [The Messenger of God] died on Monday, the twelfth of Rabi I.¹²⁷⁷ He was buried the following day around midday, after the sun had declined, and this day was Tuesday.¹²⁷⁸

Abu Ja'far [al-Tabari] The Messenger of God died while 'Umar was present and Abu Bakr was in al-Sunh.¹²⁷⁹

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishaq—al-Zuhri—Sa'id b. al-Musayyib¹²⁸⁰—Abu Hurayrah: When the Messenger of God died, 'Umar b. al-Khattab stood up saying, "Some of the hypocrites allege that the Messenger of God is dead. By God, he is not dead, but has gone to his Lord as Moses b. 'Imran went and remained hidden from his people for forty days. Moses returned after it was said that he had died. By God, the Messenger of God will [also] return¹²⁸¹ and will cut off the hands and feet of those who allege that he is dead."

[1816]

When the news [of the Prophet's death] reached Abu Bakr, he came and dismounted near the door of the mosque [where] 'Umar was speaking to the people. He paid no attention to anything and went [straight] to the Messenger of God in 'A'ishah's house where he was lying in a corner covered by a striped garment of the Yemeni fabric. Abu Bakr went close [to the Prophet], uncovered his face, kissed him, then said, "With my father may you be ransomed, and with my mother! Indeed, you have tasted the death which God had decreed for you. No [other] death will ever overtake you." Then he replaced the cloth on [the Prophet's] face and went out as 'Umar was speaking to the people. He said, "Gently, O 'Umar, [and] be silent!" 'Umar refused [to be silent] and kept on speaking. When Abu Bakr saw that he would not listen, he went forward to the people [speaking]. When they heard his

¹²⁷⁷ For different reports, see *Ibid.*, II/2, 57-58; Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 568.

¹²⁷⁸ Some reports state that he was buried on Wednesday. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, II/2, 58; Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 568.

¹²⁷⁹ Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, II/2, 52-53.

¹²⁸⁰ Died ca. 93/711-12. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, IV, 84-88.

¹²⁸¹ As Moses returned: Addition in Hish. and Ibn Ishaq.

words, they came to him and left 'Umar. After praising God and extolling Him, he said, "O people, those who worshipped Muhammad, [must know that] Muhammad is dead; those who worshipped God, [must know that] God is alive [and] immortal." He then recited the verse: "Muhammad is only a messenger; and many a messenger has gone before him. So if he dies or is killed, will you turn back on your heels? He who turns back on his heels will do no harm to God; and God will reward the grateful."¹²⁸² By God, it was as if the people did not know that this verse was revealed to the Messenger of God until Abu Bakr recited it that day. The people took it from him, and it was [constantly] in their mouths. 'Umar said, "By God, as soon as I heard Abu Bakr recite it, my legs betrayed me so that I fell to the ground, and my legs would not bear me. I knew that the Messenger of God had indeed died."¹²⁸³

[1817]

Ibn Iḥumayd—Jarir¹²⁸⁴ Muḡhirah¹²⁸⁵—Abu Ma'shar Ziyad b. Kulayb¹²⁸⁶—Abu Ayyub—Ibrahim: When the Messenger of God died, Abu Bakr was not present, and he came after three [hours].¹²⁸⁷ No one dared to uncover the Messenger of God's face until his exterior turned ashen. [When] Abu Bakr [came, he] uncovered [the Prophet's] face, kissed [his forehead] between his two eyes, and said, "With my father may you be ransomed, and with my mother! How good you were while alive, and how good you are when you are dead!" Then he went out, praised God and extolled Him, saying, "Whoever worships God, God is alive and immortal; whoever worships Muhammad, Muhammad is dead." Then he recited: "Muhammad is only a messenger; and many a messenger has gone before him. So if he dies or is killed, will you turn back on your heels? He who turns back on his heels will do no harm to God; and God will reward the grateful."¹²⁸⁸ 'Umar was telling [the people that] the Prophet was not dead and he was

¹²⁸² Qur'an 3:144.

¹²⁸³ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqat*, II/2, 54-55. See also Baladhuri, *Aḡrib*, I, 563, 565-66.

¹²⁸⁴ Jarir b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Dabbī died in 188/804. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 75-77.

¹²⁸⁵ Muḡhirah b. Miqsam al-Dabbī died ca. 134/751-52. *Ibid.*, X, 269-71.

¹²⁸⁶ Died ca. 120/738. *Ibid.*, III, 382.

¹²⁸⁷ The specification of number (*ṭamyiz*) is missing. It could be three hours, three prayers, or three deputations. See 'Abd al-Muḡṣud, *al-Saḡfah*, 16.

¹²⁸⁸ Qur'an 3:144.

threatening to kill [those who maintained that the Prophet was dead].

The *Ansar* gathered in a roofed building (*saqifah*)¹²⁸⁹ of the Banu Sa'adah to render their oath of allegiance to Sa'd b. 'Ubadah. This news reached Abu Bakr, so he came to them with 'Umar and Abu 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrah., asking [them] why [they had gathered]. They replied, "Let us have a ruler (*amir*) from us and another from you." Abu Bakr said, "The rulers (*umara'*) will be from us, and the viziers (*wuzara'*) from you." Abu Bakr then added, "I am pleased [to offer] you one of these two men: 'Umar or Abu 'Ubaydah. Some people came to the Prophet asking him to send a trustworthy man with them. The Messenger of God said that he would send a truly trustworthy man with them, and he sent Abu 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrah. I am pleased [to offer] you Abu 'Ubaydah." 'Umar stood up saying, "Who among you would be agreeable to leave Abu Bakr whom the Prophet gave precedence?"¹²⁹⁰ and he gave him the oath of allegiance. The people followed ['Umar]. The *Ansar* said, or some of them said, "We will not give the oath of allegiance [to anyone] except 'Ali."

[1818]

Ibn Humayd—Jarir—Mughirah—Ziyad b. Kulayb: 'Umar b. al-Khattab came to the house of 'Ali. Talhah, al-Zubayr, and some of the *Muhajirun* were [also] in the house [with 'Ali]. 'Umar cried out, "By God, either you come out to render the oath of allegiance [to

¹²⁸⁹ A rectangular building of one storey consisting merely of a number of pillars with a clay roof, but open at all sides. It seems to have been the clan's gathering place. Serjeant, "Translation," 10.

Abu Bakr's election took place in this building, hence the event surrounding his election is named "The Saqifah" after it. Following the Prophet's death, the *Ansar*, who had grown resentful of the growing influence of the Quraysh, met there to deliberate on the critical leadership crisis that had arisen. The common view among the early Muslim historians is that the crisis was averted by the resolute action of three prominent *Muhajirun*: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and Abu 'Ubaydah, and that their success was facilitated by the jealousies among the *Ansar*. The sources, as pointed out by Lammens, "Triumvirate," also suggest an alliance between those three *Muhajirun*. Moreover, all of them, being close advisers to the Prophet, carried considerable influence and prestige in the emerging Islamic polity. For an analysis of the early sources and an intelligent reconstruction of the events, see Jafri, *Origins*, 27-57. Shoufani, *al-Riddah*, 48-70, who has reexamined the earlier sources, states that Abu Bakr was elected mainly because he was supported by the newly converted Meccan aristocracy. See also Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 327-28; Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, 18-20.

¹²⁹⁰ The reference is to Abu Bakr's leading the prayer. See n. 1248 above.

Abu Bakr], or I will set the house on fire." Al-Zubayr came out with his sword drawn. As he stumbled [upon something], the sword fell from his hand, so they jumped over him and seized him.¹²⁹¹

Zakariyya' b. Yahya al-Darir—Abu 'Awanah¹²⁹²—Dawud b. 'Abdallah al-Awdi¹²⁹³—Humayd b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Him-yari;¹²⁹⁴ When the Messenger of God died, Abu Bakr was in a detached part of Medina. He came, uncovered [the Prophet's] face, and kissed him, saying, "May my father and mother be your ransom! How good you are both living and dead! [I swear] by the Lord of the Ka'bah that Muhammad is dead." Then he went to the pulpit and found 'Umar b. al-Khattab standing [there], threatening the people and saying, "The Messenger of God is alive and not dead. He will [return], go out after those who spread lies about him, cut off their hands and strike their necks and crucify them." Abu Bakr asked him to be silent, but he refused to listen, so Abu Bakr spoke, saying that God had revealed to His Prophet: "Verily, you will die, and so will they. Then on the Day of Resurrection you will dispute before your Lord."¹²⁹⁵ [Then] he said: "Muhammad is only a messenger; and many a messenger has gone before him. So if he dies or is killed, will you turn back on your heels? He who turns back on his heels will do no harm to God; and God will reward the grateful.¹²⁹⁶ He who [formerly] worshiped Muhammad, [then] the deity whom he worshiped is dead. He who [formerly] worshiped God, Who has no associate, [then] God is alive [and] immortal." Some people from among the companions of Muhammad, whose

[1819]

¹²⁹¹ Although the timing of the events is not clear, it seems that 'Ali and his group came to know about the *Saqifah* after what had happened there. At this point, his supporters gathered in Fatimah's house. Abu Bakr and 'Umar, fully aware of 'Ali's claims and fearing a serious threat from his supporters, summoned him to the mosque to swear the oath of allegiance. 'Ali refused, and so the house was surrounded by an armed band led by Abu Bakr and 'Umar, who threatened to set it on fire if 'Ali and his supporters refused to come out and swear allegiance to Abu Bakr. The scene grew violent and Fatimah was furious. For details, see Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 582-86; Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, II, 116; (Pseudo-) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imamah*, I, 19-20; Tabarsi, *Ihtijaj*, I, 108-9; *Nahj al-halaghah*, II, 21, 45, 46, 47, 50, 56; Jafri, *Origins*, 50-51; Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, 19.

¹²⁹² Died ca. 176/792-93. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, XI, 116-20.

¹²⁹³ *Ibid.*, III, 191.

¹²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 46.

¹²⁹⁵ Qur'an 39:31-32.

¹²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3:144.

time we had reached, affirmed that they did not know that those two verses were revealed until Abu Bakr recited them that day.

Then, a man suddenly came running and said, "Listen to me, the *Ansar* have gathered in a roofed building (*zullah*)¹²⁹⁷ of the Banu Sa'idah to give their oath of allegiance to one of their men. They say: Let us have a ruler from us and let Quraysh have another from them." Abu Bakr and 'Umar rushed away (as though each of them led the other) until they came to them. 'Umar wanted to speak but Abu Bakr stopped him so he said, "I will not disobey the Prophet's successor (*khalifah*) twice in a day." Abu Bakr spoke and did not leave out anything that was either revealed about the *Ansar* or was said by the Messenger of God with regard to their fine qualities. He said, "You know that the Messenger of God said, 'If the people took one way and the *Ansar* another, I would take *Ansar's* path.' O Sa'd, you know that the Messenger of God had said, while you were sitting, that Quraysh were the masters of this authority. The righteous follow their kind, and the wicked follow theirs." Sa'd replied, "You have spoken the truth. We are the viziers and you are the rulers."¹²⁹⁸ 'Umar said, "Stretch out your hand, O Abu Bakr, so that I may give you the oath of allegiance." Abu Bakr replied, "Nay, rather you, O 'Umar. You are stronger than I [to bear the responsibility]." 'Umar was indeed the stronger of the two. Each of them wanted the other to stretch his hand so that he could strike the bargain with him.¹²⁹⁹ 'Umar stretched Abu Bakr's hand saying, "My power is for you with your power," and the people gave their oath of allegiance. They demanded confirmation of the oath, but 'Ali and al-Zubayr stayed away. Al-Zubayr drew his sword (from the scabbard), saying, "I will not put it back until the oath of allegiance is rendered to 'Ali." [When] this news reached Abu Bakr and 'Umar, the latter said, "Hit him with a stone and seize the

[1820]

¹²⁹⁷ Literally, it means a thing which covers or protects one overhead as a building, or a cloud. It is a roofed building, like *Saqifah* (see n. 1289 above). Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. z-l-l. Cf. Fihd, Divination, 136.

¹²⁹⁸ 'Iubab b. al-Mundhir replied [to Abu Bakr's speech], "No. By God, we will never accept that. Let us have a ruler from us and another from you." Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, II/2, 55.

¹²⁹⁹ *Daraba 'ala yadhi* is an idiom meaning to strike a bargain, or to ratify the sale. When two persons were bargaining, it was a custom for one of them to put his hand upon the other's in ratifying the bargain. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. d-r-h.

sword.¹³⁰⁰ It is stated that `Umar rushed [to the scene], brought them forcibly [while] telling them that they must give their oath of allegiance willingly, or unwillingly. So they rendered their oath of allegiance.

An Account of the Saqifah¹³⁰¹

`Ali b. Muslim¹³⁰²—`Abbad b. `Abbad¹³⁰³—`Abbad b. Rashid¹³⁰⁴—al-Zuhri—`Ubaydallah b. `Abdallah b. `Utbah—Ibn `Abbas;¹³⁰⁵ I used to teach `Abd al-Rahman b. `Awf [how] to read the Qur'an. `Umar made the pilgrimage,¹³⁰⁶ and we did so with him. While I was waiting in a station (*manzil*) in Mina, `Abd al-Rahman b. `Awf came to me saying, "Today I saw a man¹³⁰⁷ who came to the Commander of the Faithful [i.e., `Umar] and said, 'I have heard so-and-so¹³⁰⁸ saying: If the Commander of the Faithful is dead I would give my oath of allegiance to so-and-so,¹³⁰⁹ The Commander of the Faithful said that he would get up among the people that evening and warn them against the group of people who want to usurp their power.'" I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, the pilgrimage brings together the riffraff and the rabble; they are the ones who will dominate over your assem-

¹³⁰⁰ Zubayr was in Fatimah's house. See n. 1291 above; Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, II, 116; *Nahj al-balaghah*, II, 56-57.

¹³⁰¹ The following account of the *Saqifah*, especially the speech of `Umar, is analyzed and compared with other sources by Jafri, *Origins*, 29ff. Tabari also gives another account of the *Saqifah* on the authority of Abu Mikhnaf, see I, 1837-45.

¹³⁰² Died in 253/867. Ibn `Ijazar, *Tahdhib*, VII, 382-83.

¹³⁰³ *Ibid.*, V, 95-96.

¹³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 92-93.

¹³⁰⁵ The account of *Saqifah* is reported by Ibn Ishaq, *Sirah*, IV, 307-11, on the following chain of authorities: `Abdallah b. Abi Bakr—al-Zuhri—`Ubaydallah b. `Abdallah—Ibn `Abbas.

¹³⁰⁶ During the last pilgrimage made by `Umar: Ibn Ishaq.

¹³⁰⁷ Ibn Ishaq: I wish you could have seen a man.

¹³⁰⁸ According to Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 581, this was Zubayr, and the person whom he wanted to hail as caliph was `Ali. Ibn Abi al-`Indid, on the other hand, reports that the person who said it, according to al-Jahiz, was `Ammar b. Yasir or, according to *ahl al-hadith*, Talhah; but the person they wanted to hail as caliph was `Ali. It was thus `Ali's name that made `Umar disturbed and caused him to deliver a fiery speech.

¹³⁰⁹ Ibn Ishaq adds: By God, the oath of allegiance given to Abu Bakr was nothing but a *fatah* (an event that happened without consideration), which was ratified [later]. `Umar became angry and said. . . .

bly.¹³¹⁰ I am afraid lest you should say something today which they might neither heed, nor remember, nor put it in its context and spread it everywhere; so wait until you¹³¹¹ come to Medina [which is]¹³¹² the place of refuge [*dar al-hijrah*] and a seat of the *sunnah*. [There] you can confer privately with the Messenger of God's companions,¹³¹³ both the Emigrants and the *Ansar*. You can say what you will with firmness, they will retain your words and interpret them properly." He replied, "By God, I will do it at the first opportunity which I get in Medina."

[1821]

After we arrived in Medina,¹³¹⁴ I journeyed on Friday at midday [to listen to] the report which `Abd al-Rahman had narrated to me. I found that Sa'id b. Zayd had already preceded me [to the mosque],¹³¹⁵ so I sat at his side near the pulpit, my knee to his knee. Immediately after the sun had declined, `Umar came. As he was coming I said to Sa'id, "The Commander of the Faithful will say something today from this pulpit which he has not said¹³¹⁶ before." Sa'id became angry, retorting,¹³¹⁷ "What is he going to say that he has not said before?" When `Umar sat in the pulpit, the muezzin¹³¹⁸ called to prayer. After the muezzin had finished his call to prayer, `Umar stood up. He praised God, extolled Him and said, "Now then: I want to say something which has been decreed that I should say."¹³¹⁹ He who takes heed of it, understands it and will remember it. Let him relate it wherever he goes, [but] he who takes no heed of it, I do not permit him to lie [to someone that I did not say it]. God sent Muhammad with truth and revealed the Book to him. The verse concerning the stoning [of adulterers] was among [the verses] which were revealed to him.¹³²⁰ The Messenger of God stoned [adulterers], and we

¹³¹⁰ Your proximity: Hirsch. and Ibn Ishaq.

¹³¹¹ Kos: We.

¹³¹² Addition from Ibn Ishaq.

¹³¹³ Ibn Ishaq: With the people of knowledge (*ahl al-fiqh*) and the nobles.

¹³¹⁴ Ibn Ishaq: We arrived in Medina toward the end of Dhu al-Hijjah.

¹³¹⁵ Ibn Ishaq: I found Sa'id b. Zayd b. `Amr b. Nufayl sitting in the corner of the pulpit.

¹³¹⁶ Ibn Ishaq: Since he succeeded [to the caliphate].

¹³¹⁷ Ibn Ishaq: Sa'id was annoyed at me and said, "What may he perhaps say that he has not said before?"

¹³¹⁸ As in Kos. Text: Muezzins. It seems that with the increasing population of Medina, especially since `Uthman's caliphate, more than one muezzin were employed. Cf. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rikh*, III, 958ff.

¹³¹⁹ Ibn Ishaq adds: I do not know, perhaps my appointed time (*atal*) is close.

¹³²⁰ Ibn Ishaq adds: We read it; it was taught to us, and we heeded it.

stoned them after him. I am afraid that as time becomes prolonged some people might say that they do not find stoning in God's Book, and [thereby] they might go astray by forsaking an obligatory act (*faridah*) revealed by God.¹³²¹ We used to say:¹³²² 'Do not detest your ancestors for it is infidelity to do so.'¹³²³

"It has reached me that someone¹³²⁴ of you said, 'If the Commander of the Faithful¹³²⁵ is dead, I will give the oath of alle-

¹³²¹ Ibn Ishaq adds: Stoning in the Book of God is a penalty laid on married men and women who commit adultery, if evidence stands, or confession is made, or [it] results in pregnancy.

The alleged verse about stoning read: "Do not detest your ancestors, for it is infidelity to do so. If an adult man (*al-shaykh*) or woman (*al-shaykha*) commit adultery, stone them without exception as a chastisement from God. God is Mighty and Wise." It is suggested that this verse was a part of the Qur'an, and that it originally belonged to *surah* 33, but was later abrogated. See Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, I, 248-52, where older sources are cited. Schacht doubts that the verse is genuine and states that the traditions relating to it and the mention of 'Umar are clearly tendentious. He suggests that stoning was introduced from Jewish law. *Et*¹, s.v. 'Zina'.

Burton (*Collection of the Qur'an*, 72-86, 134ff.) contends that the *hadith* about the stoning penalty for adultery and the stoning verse, classified in the third category of *naskh* (i.e., *naskh al-tilawah duna al-hukm*, the suppression of a Qur'anic verse without prejudice, however, to the continuing validity of its ruling for legal purposes), were most probably fashioned by the dictates of Islamic legal science, *usul al-fiqh*. He further contends that the later has also shaped Islamic accounts of the history of the collection of the Qur'anic texts, in which the Prophet is said to have been deliberately excluded from the task of collecting revelations because *naskh* (withdrawal) was a possibility as long as he lived. In the Qur'an 24:2, scourging is prescribed as a punishment for adultery. It states: "Flog both the adulterous woman and the adulterous man with a hundred lashes, and do not let any pity for either of them deter you from [complying with] God's law, if you believe in God and the Last Day." Both the flogging and stoning remained as a punishment combined with a year's banishment. In some traditions and the system of law, stoning and flogging are separated as punishment (*hadith*) for adultery in two categories of criminals, whether they are *muhsan* (an adult in possession of his faculties, who is free and has had sexual intercourse in a legal marriage) or not. Generally, the non-*muhsan* is flogged, while the *muhsan* is flogged and then stoned, or stoned.

Waqidi, *Mughazi*, II, 439-40, 712-13; III, 1115, states that the Prophet prohibited a man long absent from his home to come to his family at night. One of his followers disobeyed his command and returned to his family, and discovered a man with his wife. The cases mentioned by Waqidi do not suggest that the parties involved were stoned. See also Qur'an 4:15, 225; Tabari, above, I, 1754, n. 772.

¹³²² Ibn Ishaq: We used to read in what we read from the Book of God.

¹³²³ Ibn Ishaq adds: Indeed, the Messenger of God said, "Do not praise me lavishly as Jesus, son of Mary, was praised, and say: The servant of God and His messenger."

¹³²⁴ Baladhuri (*Ansab*, I, 581): Al-Zubayr.

¹³²⁵ Ibn Ishaq: If 'Umar b. al-Khattab. Cf. Baladhuri.

giance to so-and-so.¹³²⁶ Let a man not deceive himself by saying that the oath of allegiance given to Abu Bakr was an event that happened without consideration (*faltah*).¹³²⁷ Admittedly it was so, but God averted its evil. There is none among you like Abu Bakr to whom people would have submitted.¹³²⁸ It is our information that when God took His prophet, 'Ali, al-Zubayr, and those who were with them stayed away from us in the house of Fatimah;¹³²⁹ the *Ansar*, all of them, stayed away from us;¹³³⁰ and the *Muhajirun* gathered round Abu Bakr. I told him that we should go to our brothers the *Ansar*, so we rushed off, making for them. Two pious fellows¹³³¹ who had been present at Badr met us,¹³³² asking where we were going. When we told them that we were going to our brothers the *Ansar*, they asked us to go back¹³³³ and to decide our affair among ourselves. We replied, 'By God, we will go to them.' We came to them as they had gathered in the hall of the Banu Sa'idah. In their midst was a man enwrapped in a cloak. When I asked who he was and what was his position, they said that he was Sa'd b. 'Ubadah and that he was il l.¹³³⁴ Then, a man from them stood up.¹³³⁵ After he had praised God he said, 'We are the Helpers¹³³⁶ (*al-Ansar*) and the squadron of Islam, while you, O men of Quraysh,¹³³⁷ are a family of our Prophet¹³³⁸

[1822]

¹³²⁶ Baladhuri: We will give the oath of allegiance to 'Ali. Indeed, the oath of allegiance given to Abu Bakr was a *faltah*. (*Faltah* means a sudden, unexpected event without deliberation. See *Nahj al-balaghah*, II, 26; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. f-l-l.)

¹³²⁷ Ibn Ishaq adds: But it was ratified.

¹³²⁸ Ibn Ishaq adds: An oath of allegiance rendered by an individual to a man without consulting the Muslims has no validity for either of them; both are in danger of being killed [i.e., subject to the death penalty].

¹³²⁹ See above, n. 1291.

¹³³⁰ Ibn Ishaq: The *Ansar* opposed us and gathered with their nobles in the *Saqifah* of the Banu Sa'idah.

¹³³¹ For their names, see Tabari, below, I, 1824.

¹³³² Ibn Ishaq adds: Telling us what [their] people had decided.

¹³³³ Ibn Ishaq: They said that there was no need for them to approach [the *Ansar*], and they should decide their affair [among themselves].

¹³³⁴ For his speech and as to what was transpiring in that gathering, see Tabari, below, I, 1837-39.

¹³³⁵ Ibn Ishaq: After we had sat down, their speaker [stood up] pronouncing the *shahadah*. According to Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, II, 113, he was Thabit b. Qays b. Shammās.

¹³³⁶ Ibn Ishaq: The Helpers of God.

¹³³⁷ Ibn Ishaq: O *Muhajirun*.

¹³³⁸ Ibn Ishaq: Family of ours.

who have come to us journeying leisurely in search of herbage and sustenance.' [ʿUmar] said: When I saw that they wanted to cut us off from our root and wrest authority from us,¹³³⁹ I wanted to make a speech which I had composed in my mind.¹³⁴⁰ As I used to treat Abu Bakr with gentle courtesy to some extent, [and considered] him more sober and gentler¹³⁴¹ than me, I conferred with him about [the speech]. When I wanted to speak he said, 'Gently!' so I did not like to disobey¹³⁴² him. He stood up, praised God, extolled Him and did not leave anything [from his speech], which I myself had composed in my [own] mind if I had spoken, but that he expressed it, or [expressed it] in a better way [than I would have done].

[1823]

"He said: 'Now then: O men of the *Ansar*, you deserve all the fine qualities that you have mentioned about yourselves, but the Arabs will not recognize this authority except in this clan of Quraysh, for they represent the best in lineage and standing.¹³⁴³ I am pleased [to offer] you one of these two men; render your oath of allegiance to any one of them you like.' [Thus saying,] he took hold of my hand and that of Abu ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrah.¹³⁴⁴ By

¹³³⁹ Ibn Ishaq adds: After [their speaker] had finished, I wanted to speak.

¹³⁴⁰ Ibn Ishaq adds: Which pleased me.

¹³⁴¹ Hirsch.: Knowledgeable.

¹³⁴² Hirsch., Kos, and Ibn Ishaq: To make him angry.

¹³⁴³ Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 582, cites the speech of Abu Bakr which shows how he argued against the *Ansar*. He states: "We are the first people to accept Islam. We are in the center among the Muslims with respect to our position, and we are the noblest with respect to our lineage, and we are the nearest to the Messenger of God in relationship. You are our brethren in Islam and our partners in religion . . . The Arabs will not submit themselves except to this clan of Quraysh. . . You had better not compete against your *Muhajirun* brethren for what God has decreed for them."

¹³⁴⁴ Ibn Ishaq adds: Who was sitting between us. Yaʿqubi, *Taʾrikh*, II, 113-14, adds: Both of them declined and said, "By God, we cannot take precedence over you while you are the companion of the Messenger of God and the second of the two [in the cave at the time of the *hijrah*]." Abu ʿUbaydah put his hand upon Abu Bakr's hand and ʿUmar did the same [in ratifying their bargain]. The Meccans who were with them did the same. Then Abu ʿUbaydah cried, "O people of the *Ansar*, you were the first to help [the Prophet] so do not be the first to change and convert [back to paganism]." Next, ʿAbd al-Rahman b. ʿAwf stood up and said, "O people of the *Ansar*, although you have the merits, you do not have among you [anyone] like Abu Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿAli." [Thereupon] Mundhir b. al-Arqam stood up saying, "We do not deny the merits of those you have mentioned. Indeed, there is among

(Footnote continued on next page)

God, I liked everything he said except the last words. I would have preferred myself to be sent forward and my head struck off—if it were not considered a sin—rather than to be appointed a ruler over a people of whom Abu Bakr was one.

"After Abu Bakr had finished his speech, a man from the *Ansar*¹³⁴⁵ stood up saying, 'I am their much-rubbed little rubbing post and their little palm tree loaded with fruit.'¹³⁴⁶ Let us have a ruler from us and another from you, O men of Quraysh.' [Umar] said,¹³⁴⁷ "Voices rose and clamorous speech waxed hotter. I feared [total] disagreement so I said to Abu Bakr, 'Stretch out your hand [so that] I may give you the oath of allegiance.' He did so and I gave [him] the oath of allegiance; the *Muhajirun* followed and then the *Ansar*. [In so doing] we jumped on Sa'd b. 'Ubadah so someone said that we had killed him. I said, '[May] God kill him!'¹³⁴⁸ By God, nothing was mightier than the rendering of the oath of allegiance to Abu Bakr. We feared that if [we] left [without rendering the oath of allegiance], no agreement would be hammered out later. It was either to follow the *Ansar* in what we did not like, or else to oppose them, which would have led to disorder (*fasad*)."

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muhammad b. Ishaq—al-Zuhri—
'Urwah b. al-Zubayr: One of the two men from the *Ansar* whom
Abu Bakr and 'Umar met on their way to the *Saqifah* was 'Uwaym
b. Sa'idah, whilst the other was Ma'n b. 'Adi, a brother of the Banu

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(Footnote continued from previous page)

you a person with whom, if he seeks this authority, none will dispute [i.e., 'Ali]."
It seems that at this stage Hubab b. Mundhir al-Ansari proposed a compromise
solution as stated by 'Umar.

¹³⁴⁵ He was al-Iubab b. Mundhir. Tabari, I, 1840, 1844; Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 581-82, 584; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti'ab*, I, 316.

¹³⁴⁶ It means: I am one of those by means of whose counsel people seek relief, like the mangy camels seek relief from their mange by rubbing themselves against the post. Freytag, *Arabian Proverbs*, I, 47-48; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. j-dh-l.

¹³⁴⁷ Tabari, I, 1841, records 'Umar's reply to Hubab's proposal as follows: How preposterous! Two [swords] cannot be accommodated in one sheath. By God, the Arabs will nearer accept your rule, since their Prophet is not from you, but they will not reject the rule of one from whom is their Prophet. If anyone refuses our authority, we will [produce] a clear rebuttal and an evident proof. Who would dispute us with regard to Muhammad's authority and rule except the falsely guided one, or the erring one, or the damned one, when we are his close associates and kinsfolk? Cf. also *Nahj al-balaghah*, II, 52-53.

¹³⁴⁸ What follows is omitted from Ibn Ishaq.

al-'Ijlan. As for 'Uwaym b. Sa'idah, we have heard that when the Messenger of God was asked who were the people about whom God said: "Therein [i.e., in a mosque] are men who love to be purified; and God loves those who purify themselves,"¹³⁴⁹ he replied that the best of them was 'Uwaym b. Sa'idah. As for Ma'n, it has reached us that when people wept over the Messenger of God's death and said that they wished that they had died before him because they feared that they would be subjected to temptations after him, he said, "By God, I do not wish to die before him, so that I can bear witness to his truth when he is dead, as I did when he was alive." Ma'n was killed in the battle of al-Yamamah, the battle against Musaylimah, the arch-liar, as a martyr during Abu Bakr's caliphate.

'Ubaydallah b. Sa'id al-Zuhri—his uncle Ya'qub b. Ibrahim—Sayf b. 'Umar—al-Walid b. 'Abdallah b. Abi Zaybah al-Bajali—al-Walid b. Jumay' al-Zuhri: 'Amr b. Hurayth asked Sa'id b. Zayd, "Were you present at [the time of] the Messenger of God's death?" "Yes," he replied. 'Amr asked, "When was the oath of allegiance given to Abu Bakr?" "The [very] day the Messenger of God died," he replied. "People disliked to be left [even] part of the day without being [organized] into a community (*jama'ah*)." 'Amr asked, "Did anyone oppose him?" "No [one] except an apostate (*mu'tadd*), or the one who was about to apostatize," he replied. "It was because God rescued them from the Ansar." 'Amr asked, "Did anyone from the *Muhajirun* stay away?" "No, they followed one another to give their oath of allegiance without being summoned," he replied.

[1825]

'Ubaydallah b. Sa'id [al-Zuhri]—his uncle [Ya'qub]—Sayf [b. 'Umar]—'Abd al-'Aziz b. Siyah¹³⁵⁰—Habib b. Abi Thabit:¹³⁵¹ 'Ali was in his house when he was approached and was told that Abu Bakr had sat to receive the oath of allegiance. He went out immediately in the shirt [worn beneath the clothes] he was wearing without the waist-wrapper, or the outer wrapping garment, out of

¹³⁴⁹ Qur'an 9:108.

¹³⁵⁰ Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VI, 340-41.

¹³⁵¹ Died in 119/737. *Ibid.*, II, 178-80.

dislike that he might be late. He gave the oath of allegiance,¹³⁵² sat with Abu Bakr, and sent for his clothes. When [the clothes] were brought he put them on and stayed in [Abu Bakr's] assembly.

Abu Salih al-Dirari—'Abd al-Razzaq b. Hammam¹³⁵³—Ma'mar¹³⁵⁴—al-Zuhri—'Urwah—'A'ishah: Fatimah and al-rabbas came to Abu Bakr demanding their [share of] inheritance of the Messenger of God. They were demanding the Messenger of God's land in Fadak and his share of Khaybar [his tribute].¹³⁵⁵ Abu Bakr replied, "I have heard the Messenger of God say: 'Our [i.e., the prophets' property] cannot be inherited and whatever we leave behind is alms [i.e., to be given in charity]. The family of Muhammad will eat from it.'¹³⁵⁶ By God, I will not abandon a course which I saw the Messenger of God practicing, but will continue doing it accordingly." Fatimah shunned him and did not speak to him about it until she died. 'Ali buried her at night and did not permit Abu Bakr to attend [her burial].¹³⁵⁷ While Fatimah was alive, 'Ali held respect among the people. After she died, their

¹³⁵² A close scrutiny of the early sources suggests that 'Ali refused to swear allegiance to Abu Bakr for six months, that is, for as long as Fatimah was alive. After her death and with the eruption of rebellion among the Arab tribes, 'Ali might have been compelled to become reconciled with Abu Bakr. Jafri, *Origins*, 59; Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, 20.

¹³⁵³ Died in 211/826-27. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VI, 310-15.

¹³⁵⁴ Ma'mar b. Rashed al-Azdi died ca. 152/769. *Ibid.*, X, 243-46.

¹³⁵⁵ Fadak was allocated to Muhammad, because it had been acquired by treaty. The inhabitants, according to the treaty, were to remain there while giving up half their lands and half the produce. Fatimah maintained that Fadak, like Muhammad's fifth share (*khums*) of the produce from Khaybar, should come to her as her father's heiress. This question of inheritance soon became one of the most debated issues in the conflict between the Shi'is and the Sunnis. For its subsequent history, see *EP*, s.v. Fadak. See also Tabari, above, I, 1759, n. 825.

¹³⁵⁶ Tabrizi, *Atishkat*, III, 209; Mishkat (trans. Robson), II, 1310; transmitted by both Bukhari and Muslim. The Shi'is refute this tradition, saying that it contradicts the Qur'anic teachings on family inheritance. It was the first and most important step taken by both Abu Bakr and 'Umar in their attempts to displace the Banu Hashim, and especially 'Ali, from their prerogatives in the leadership of the Muslim polity. Acceptance of this claim of inheritance based on family ties would have opened the door widely to 'Ali's right to the succession. Moreover, the income from both these sources was considerable, and it would have given some leverage to 'Ali. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rikh*, I, 176-218; Jafri, *Origins*, 14-16, 63. For Fatimah's reply and refutation, see Tabarsi, *Ihtijaj*, I, 119-49.

¹³⁵⁷ Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rikh*, I, 196-97; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, VIII, 29; Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, II, 117; Mes'udi, *Tanbih*, 250.

attention turned away from him.¹³⁵⁸ Fatimah continued to live for six months after the Messenger of God's [death] and then died.

Ma'mar: A man asked al-Zuhri, "Did 'Ali not give his oath of allegiance for six months?" "No, nor anyone of the Banu Hashim until 'Ali rendered his," he replied.¹³⁵⁹ When 'Ali saw that the people's attention had turned away from him, he begged for reconciliation with Abu Bakr. He sent to the latter, [asking him] to visit him, and [requesting] that nobody should accompany him. 'Ali disliked that 'Umar should come with Abu Bakr, for he knew 'Umar's rudeness. 'Umar said [to Abu Bakr], "Don't go alone." Abu Bakr replied, "By God, I will go alone. It is not possible that [the Banu Hashim] might do anything to me," and he went. He entered into 'Ali's presence while the Banu Hashim had gathered with him. 'Ali stood up, praised God and extolled Him with what is due to Him. Then he said, "It is neither the denial of your good qualities nor the rivalry of good, which God has given you, that prevented us from giving you the oath of allegiance, but the fact that we considered that we have a right in this authority which you have monopolized." 'Ali then mentioned his relationship with the Messenger of God and the rights of the Banu Hashim. He continued speaking until Abu Bakr wept. After 'Ali stopped, Abu Bakr pronounced the *shahadah*, praised God, extolled Him with what is due to Him, then said, "By God, the relationship of the Messenger of God is dearer to me [too]. I reach [him] through my relationship [to him]. By God, I did not fall short of doing what was requisite with regard to this property [i.e., the Prophet's inheritance], which became [a dispute] between you and me except for good. I had heard the Messenger of God saying: 'Our [i.e., the prophets' property] cannot be inherited and whatever we leave behind is alms [i.e., to be given in charity]. The family of Muhammad will eat from it.' God forbid that I should recall a thing which the Messenger of God did without doing it, God willing!" 'Ali said that he would render the oath of allegiance that evening. After Abu Bakr had prayed the noon prayers, he approached the people and excused 'Ali with his apology. 'Ali stood up, lauded the right

[1826]

¹³⁵⁸ *Nahj al-balaghah*, II, 22; also reported by Bukhari and Muslim.

¹³⁵⁹ Most of the authorities state that 'Ali did not render his oath of allegiance until after Fatimah's death. Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, II, 116; Mas'udi, *Muruj*, II, 308; *Nahj al-balaghah*, II, 22.

of Abu Bakr by mentioning his fine qualities and his precedence and went to him, giving the oath of allegiance. The people came to 'Ali saying that he had done the right thing.¹³⁶⁰ 'A'ishah said: [1827] The people got close to 'Ali when he came close to what was right [i.e., in rendering his oath of allegiance to Abu Bakr].

Muhammad b. 'Uthman b. Safwan al-Thaqafi¹³⁶¹—Abu Qutaybah¹³⁶²—Malik (that is Ibn Mighwal)—Ibn al-Jar: Abu Sufyan¹³⁶³ said to 'Ali, "What is the matter, that this authority had been vested in a least-known clan of Quraysh?¹³⁶⁴ By God, if you wish, I will fill [the whole space] with men and horses." 'Ali replied, "O Abu Sufyan, for a long time you have been at war with Islam and the Muslims, but you have been unable to do any harm. We find Abu Bakr worthy of this authority."¹³⁶⁵

Muhammad b. 'Uthman al-Thaqafi—Umayyah b. Khalid¹³⁶⁶—Hammad b. Salamah¹³⁶⁷—Thabit¹³⁶⁸ When Abu Bakr succeeded [the Prophet], Abu Sufyan said, "What has Abu Fasil¹³⁶⁹ to do with us? Indeed, the authority belongs to the Banu 'Abd Manaf."¹³⁷⁰ [When his son Yazid became the governor], it was said to

¹³⁶⁰ Cf. Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 586. This report is on the authority of 'A'ishah.

¹³⁶¹ Died ca. 252/866. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, IX, 337-38.

¹³⁶² Died ca. 200/815-16. *Ibid.*, IV, 133-34.

¹³⁶³ Some reports state that, being appointed by the Prophet as his agent over Najran, he was not present in Medina when the Prophet died. Waqidi, on the other hand, affirms that he was in Medina. Cf. Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 529, 589.

¹³⁶⁴ Abu Bakr came from the inconspicuous clan of Taym, which was never a major factor in the power struggle among the rival clans of Quraysh. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 4-8, 16-20.

¹³⁶⁵ 'Ali probably declined Abu Sufyan's offer of support because it would have destroyed the nascent Islamic polity. Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 588; Yn'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, II, 116; *Nahj al-balaghah*, II, 44-45; Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, 19-20.

¹³⁶⁶ Died ca. 200/815-16. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, I, 370-71.

¹³⁶⁷ Died in 167/783-84. *Ibid.*, XI, 11-16.

¹³⁶⁸ Thabit b. Aslam al-Bannani died ca. 127/744-45. *Ibid.*, II, 2-4.

¹³⁶⁹ Literally, it means a young camel when weaned from her mother. Here it implies that the clan to which Abu Bakr belonged was not a distinguished clan of Quraysh.

¹³⁷⁰ Qusayy, the great ancestor of Muhammad, is regarded as the founder of the city of Mecca as distinct from a mere encampment around the sanctuary of the Ka'bah. He was the effective ruler of Mecca during his lifetime and also became the master of the Ka'bah holding all the important offices, such as *sidanah* (guardianship), *rifa'ah* (feeding), and *siqayah* (providing water). His descendants 'Abd al-Dar inherited much of his power, but in the course of time the family was split and challenged by 'Abd Manaf. It nearly led to fighting, but a compromise was reached whereby 'Abd al-Dar retained nominal privileges and 'Abd Manaf was

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him, "Your son has been entrusted with the authority," and he replied, "He made close his ties of kinship by behaving with kindness."¹³⁷¹

I Hisham—'Awanah: When people gathered to give their oath of allegiance to Abu Bakr, Abu Sufyan came while at the same time saying, "By God, I see a cloud of smoke ('*ajajah*'),¹³⁷² which nothing but blood will clear. O family of 'Abd Manaf, where is Abu Bakr that he should be the master of your affairs! Where are 'Ali and al-'Abbas, the two weak (*mustad'afan*)¹³⁷³ and lowly ones (*adhillan*)?" He [then] said [to 'Ali], "O Abu Hasan, stretch out your hand so that I may give you the oath of allegiance," but 'Ali declined, so he began to cite appositely the proverbial verses of al-Mutalammis:

No one remains in a state of ignominy that is intended for him, except the two despicable things: a domestic ass and a wooden peg [of a tent].¹³⁷⁴
The former is turned back to his state of ignominy by a piece of worn-out rope, while the latter's head is broken and no one mourns.

'Ali rebuked him, saying, "By God, you do not intend anything but [to stir up] dissension (*fitnah*). For long you have desired evil for Islam. We do not need your advice."

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given the substance of power. Both the Hashimites and the Umayyads were branches of 'Abd Manaf. Ibn Hisham, *Sirah* 1, 130ff.; Guillaume, *Life*, 52ff.; Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 1, 48ff.; Azraqi, *Akhbar Makkah*, 1, 103ff.; Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 5, 7, 30; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 62-64; Hamidullah, "al-Haf"; Cook, *Muhammad*, 12-13.

¹³⁷¹ Abu Sufyan is said to have made the same remark when 'Umar appointed Mu'awiyah as the governor of Syria after the death of Yazid. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rikh*, III, 837.

¹³⁷² It also means low, ignoble people. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. 'n-j-j.

¹³⁷³ Both the terms (the weak and lowly) are used here sarcastically. *Mustad'af* means literally "one who is deemed weak." It occurs in the Qur'an 4:75, 97-98, 127; 8:26, in the sense of "oppressed." Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 1, 156ff., 197, lists a group of early converts under the title *al-Mustad'afin*, that is, those who were clanless and without protection. The term was thus used for poorly defended lower classes. Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, 1, 339; Guillaume, *Life*, 143; Serjeant, "Translation," 11; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 128-29; Cook, *Muhammad*, 51-52.

¹³⁷⁴ The proverbs state: "More vile than a wooden peg in a plain," "More vile than the ass," "More vile than a chained donkey." Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, I, 511-12, 516; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. w-t-d, 'y-r.

Hisham b. Muhammad—Abu Muhammad al-Qurashi: When the oath of allegiance was rendered to Abu Bakr, Abu Sufyan said to 'Ali and al-'Abbas, "You are two despicable ones," and began reciting the [following] proverbial verses:

A domestic ass knows the disgrace,
but a free man and a well-built camel, soft in the
joints, detest it.
No one bears an unjust state that is intended for him,
except the two despicable things: a domestic ass and a
wooden peg.
The former is turned back to his state of ignominy by a
piece of worn-out rope, while the latter's lead is broken
and no one mourns.

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muhammad b. Ishaq—al-Zuhri—
Anas b. Malik: The following day after Abu Bakr was given the
oath of allegiance in the *Saqifah*, he sat in the pulpit. 'Umar stood
up and spoke before him. After praising God and extolling Him
with what is due to Him, he said, "O people, yesterday I said
something to you that¹³⁷⁵ was based on my own opinion. I nei-
ther found it in God's book¹³⁷⁶ nor was it something by which
the Messenger of God had enjoined me;¹³⁷⁷ but I thought¹³⁷⁸ that
the Messenger of God would conduct our affairs until he was the
last of us [alive]. God has left His book, by which He guided His
Messenger, with you. If you hold fast to it God will guide [you] as
He guided him. God has vested your affairs in the hands of the
best one among you, the companion of the Messenger of God, 'the
second of the two when both of them were in the cave,'¹³⁷⁹ so
arise and give [him]¹³⁸⁰ the oath of allegiance." The people gave

¹³⁷⁵ That . . . opinion: Omitted from Ibn Ishaq. Ibn Sa'd (*Tabaqat*, II/2, 56):
That was not [correct] as I said.

¹³⁷⁶ Ibn Sa'd: The Book revealed by God.

¹³⁷⁷ C: Us.

¹³⁷⁸ Ibn Sa'd: But I had hoped that the Messenger of God would live [as] he had
said, and that he would be the last of us [alive]. God chose for His messenger that
which was with Him rather than that which was with you. Hold fast to this book,
by which God guided your messenger, and you will be guided as the Messenger of
God was guided.

¹³⁷⁹ Qur'an 9:40.

¹³⁸⁰ Addition from Hirsch.

Abu Bakr their oath of allegiance in public after the one rendered in the *Saqifah*.

[1829]

Then Abu Bakr spoke. After praising God and extolling Him with what is due to Him, he said, "Now then: O people, I have been put in charge of you although I am not the best of you. Help me if I do well; rectify me if I do wrong. Truthfulness is loyalty and falsehood is disloyalty. The weak among you shall be strong in my eyes until I ensure his right, God willing; and the strong among you shall be weak in my eyes until I wrest the right from him, God willing. No one from you should refrain from fighting in the cause of God, because if it is forsaken by a people, God will smite them with disgrace.¹³⁸¹ Foul things never become widespread in a people but God brings calamity upon them. Obey me as long as I obey God and His Messenger; if I disobey them, you are not bound to obey me. Perform your prayers. May God have mercy on you!"

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muhammad b. Ishaq—Husayn b. `Abdallah¹³⁸²—Ikrimah—Ibn `Abdallah: I was walking with `Umar during his caliphate while he set about some business of his. He had a whip in his hand, and we were alone. As he was talking to himself he swished the outer side of his leg with his whip. Turning to me he said, "Do you know, O Ibn `Abbas, what prompted me to speak¹³⁸³ as I did when the Messenger of God died?" "No, I do not know, O Commander of the Faithful," I replied. "You know it better." He said, "By God, nothing prompted¹³⁸⁴ me [to utter those words] but that I used to read the following verse: 'We have set you up as a moderate nation so that you may act as witness for mankind, as the Messenger is a witness for you.'¹³⁸⁵ By God, I thought that the Messenger of God would remain among his people until he could witness for them to their last deeds. That was what prompted me to say what I said."¹³⁸⁶

[1830]

¹³⁸¹ Hirsch, C. and Ibn Ishaq: If a people refrain from fighting in the cause of God, God will smite them with disgrace. See also Baladhuri. *Ansab*, I, 590-91.

¹³⁸² Husayn b. `Abdallah b. `Ubaydallah b. `Abbas died ca. 140/757-58, Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, II, 341-42.

¹³⁸³ As in Hirsch, Ibn Ishaq, and Baladhuri (*Ansab*, I, 568). Text: Speak this.

¹³⁸⁴ Hirsch, Ibn Ishaq: What prompted me was that.

¹³⁸⁵ Qur'an 2:143.

¹³⁸⁶ During one of the conversations between `Umar and Ibn `Abbas, the former said, "What prevented `Ali from coming out with us?" Ibn `Abbas replied, "

(Footnote continued on next page)

Abu Ja'far [al-Tabari]: After the oath of allegiance was rendered to Abu Bakr, people came to prepare the Messenger of God's burial. Some [of the authorities] state that the burial took place on Tuesday, that is, the following day of the Messenger of God's death, while the others state that he was buried three days after his death. The report of some of those authorities has already preceded.

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muhammad b. Ishaq—'Abdallah b. Abi Bakr, Kathir b. 'Abdallah,¹³⁸⁷ and others who relate from 'Abdallah b. 'Abbas: 'Ali b. Abi Talib, al-'Abbas b. 'Abd al-Muttalib, al-Fadl b. al-'Abbas, Qutham b. al-'Abbas, Usamah b. Zayd, and Shuqran, freedman of the Messenger of God, were the ones who took charge of the washing of the Prophet. Aws b. Khawli, one¹³⁸⁸ of the Banu 'Awf b. al-Khazraj, said to 'Ali, "I adjure you by God, O 'Ali, [where is] our share in regard to the Messenger of God?" Aws was one [of the companions of the Messenger of God]¹³⁸⁹ who had participated in Badr. 'Ali allowed him to enter, so he came in¹³⁹⁰ and was present at the Messenger of God's washing. tall made the Prophet's body to rest upon his breast and 'Abbas, al-Fadl, and Qutham turned him over along with 'Ali. Usamah and Shuqran were the ones who poured water [over him],¹³⁹¹ while tall washed him, having rested him against his breast. The shirt was still on the Prophet's body; 'Ali rubbed him from the outside without touching the Messenger of God's

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do not know." 'Umar said, "O son of 'Abbas, your father is an uncle of the Messenger of God and you are [the Prophet's] cousin, so what prevented the Quraysh [from supporting] you?" Ibn 'Abbas answered, "I do not know." Then 'Umar said, "But, I know, they dislike your authority." Ibn 'Abbas replied, "[But] why? We are [always] good to them." 'Umar added, "O God, pardon me! They did not like having both the prophethood and the caliphate combined in your family, which would have made you proud and arrogant." This conversation not only reveals 'Umar's attitude toward 'Ali but also clearly indicates that he was aware of the importance of the idea of inherited sanctity. On another occasion, the same subject is discussed between the two, but the second dialogue is more intense and lively. When Ibn 'Abbas answers back, 'Umar loses his temper. See Tabari, I, 2769-71.

¹³⁸⁷ Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VIII, 421-23.

¹³⁸⁸ C: Brother.

¹³⁸⁹ Addition from Hirsch. and Ibn Ishaq.

¹³⁹⁰ And sat down: Addition in Hirsch., Ibn Ishaq, and Baladhuri (*Ansab*, I, 569).

¹³⁹¹ Addition from Hirsch. and Ibn Ishaq.

[body directly] with his hands while he was saying, "With my father may you be ransomed, and with my mother! How excellent you are in life and in death!"¹³⁹² The Messenger of God's body did not look like what an ordinary corpse would look like.

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishaq—Yahya b. 'Abbad—his father 'Abbad [b. 'Abdallah b. al-Zubayr]—'A'ishah: When they wanted to wash the Prophet, they disagreed about it, saying that they did not know whether they should remove his clothes as they do with their dead, or wash him with his clothes on. When they disagreed, slumber overtook them¹³⁹³ so that everyone's chin was sunk on his chest. Then a speaker—it is not known¹³⁹⁴ who he was—spoke from a corner of the house: "Wash the Prophet with his clothes on." They got up and washed the Messenger of God with his shirt on, pouring water on the shirt, and rubbing him with the shirt. 'A'ishah used to say, "Had I known regarding my duty at the beginning what I knew at the end, none but his wives would have washed him."¹³⁹⁵

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishaq—Ja'far b. Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Husayn—his father [Muhammad al-Baqir]—his [father] 'Ali b. Husayn. Ibn Ishaq states that he has [also] received this account on the authority of al-Zuhri—'Ali b. Husayn: After the Messenger of God was washed, he was shrouded in three garments: two of Suhar¹³⁹⁶ make and [the other] a striped cloak (*burd^m hi-baratin*),¹³⁹⁷ one wrapped over the other.¹³⁹⁸

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muhammad b. Ishaq—Husayn b. 'Abdallah—'Ikrimah, freedman of Ibn 'Abbas—'Abdallah b. 'Abbas: Abu 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrah. and Abu Talhah Zayd b. Sahl

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¹³⁹² See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, II/2, 60-63; Lings, *Muhammad*, 344.

¹³⁹³ Ibn Ishaq: God cast a [deep] sleep upon them.

¹³⁹⁴ Ibn Ishaq: None knowing.

¹³⁹⁵ See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, II/2, 59-60; Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 569-70. This sentence is omitted from Ibn Ishaq.

¹³⁹⁶ A seaport on the coast of 'Uman known for its textile industry. *Et¹*, s.v. Suhar. Lane (*Lexicon*, s.v. s-h-r), states that it is a kind of garment made in Suhar, a town in Yemen. Waqidi, *Maghazi*, III, 1090, states that on the Farewell Pilgrimage the Prophet made his *ihram* in two Suhari garments. Other texts, such as Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 571, state that he was dressed in three Sahuli garments instead of Suhari ones. Suhl is a town in Yemen, still known for its clothes. See Bakri, *Mu'jam*, III, 727; Serjeant, "Translation," 10.

¹³⁹⁷ A kind of garment made in Yemen. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. h-b-r.

¹³⁹⁸ See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, II/2, 63-67; Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 572.

were the two men [in Medina]¹³⁹⁹ [who used to dig graves]. The former used to dig [graves] as the Meccans dig them, while the latter, who used to dig for the Medinans, used to make a niche in them. When they decided to dig [a grave] for the Messenger of God, al-'Abbas called two men, told one of them to go to Abu 'Ubaydah and the other to go to Abu Talhah, [saying], "O God, choose for your¹⁴⁰⁰ messenger." The one who had been sent for Abu Talhah found him and brought him, so he dug the grave with the niche for the Messenger of God.

After the preparations for the Messenger of God's burial had been completed on Tuesday, he was laid upon his bed in his house. The Muslims had disagreed about the place of his burial. Some said that they should bury him in his mosque while the others said that [they should bury him]¹⁴⁰¹ with his companions.¹⁴⁰² Abu Bakr said, "I have heard the Messenger of God saying that no prophet died but he was buried where he died," so the bed on which he died was removed, and a grave was dug beneath it.¹⁴⁰³ [Then] the people passed by the Messenger of God praying over him in groups, first the men, then the women, then the children, and¹⁴⁰⁴ [finally] the slaves. No one led the people in prayers over him. The Messenger of God was buried in the middle of the night of Wednesday.¹⁴⁰⁵

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muhammad b. Ishaq—Fatimah bt. Muhammad b. 'Umarah, wife of 'Abdallah (that is, the son of Abu Bakr)—'Amrah bt. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Sa'd b. Zurarah—'A'ishah, Mother of the Faithful: We did not know of the Messenger of God's burial until we heard the sound of the pickaxes (or mattocks) in the middle of the night of Wednesday.¹⁴⁰⁶ [1833]

¹³⁹⁹ Addition from Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, II/2, 74.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Hirsch., Ibn Ishaq: The Messenger of God.

¹⁴⁰¹ As in Hirsch., Ibn Ishaq and Ibn Sa'd (*Tabaqat*, II/2, 71). Text: He should be buried.

¹⁴⁰² Ibn Sa'd adds: In al-Baqi' [cemetery]. For further details, see idem, *Tabaqat*, II/2, 70-72.

¹⁴⁰³ Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 573.

¹⁴⁰⁴ It is omitted from Hirsch., Ibn Ishaq, and Ibn Sa'd (*Tabaqat*, II/2, 68-70).

¹⁴⁰⁵ Some traditions state that he was buried on Tuesday. *Ibid.*, 78-79.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Probably because of this report, Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 328-29, thinks that the Prophet was buried by his family the same night in the house of 'A'ishah. The reason for their hurried action was to avoid any ceremony in which Abu Bakr, leading the funeral rites, might appear as the Messenger of God's appointed successor.

Ibn Ishaq states: Those who descended into the Messenger of God's grave were 'Ali b. Abi Talib, al-Fadl b. al-'Abbas, Qutham b. al-'Abbas, and Shuqran, freedman of the Messenger of God. Aws b. Khawli implored 'Ali in the name of God, asking for his share regarding the Messenger of God. 'Ali permitted him to descend [into the grave] with the others.¹⁴⁰⁷ After the Messenger of God was laid in his grave and the earth was laid over him, Shuqran, the Messenger of God's freedman, took a garment which the Messenger of God used to wear and spread out (for sitting), and tossed it¹⁴⁰⁸ in the grave saying, "By God, no one shall ever wear it after you," so it was buried with the Messenger of God.

Ibn Ishaq states: Al-Mughirah b. Shu'bah used to claim that he was the last man to be with the Messenger of God. He used to say, "I took my ring, threw it in the grave and said, my ring has fallen. I threw it intentionally so that I might touch the Messenger of God and be the last person to be with him."¹⁴⁰⁹

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muhammad b. Ishaq—his father Ishaq b. Yasar—Miqsam, Abu al-Qasim, freedman of 'Abdallah b. al-Iarith b. Nawfal—his master 'Abdallah b. al-Iarith:¹⁴¹⁰ I made a lesser pilgrimage with 'Ali b. Abi Talib during the [caliphate] of 'Umar or 'Uthman. 'Ali stayed with his sister Umm Hani' bt. Abi Talib. After he had finished his lesser pilgrimage, 'Ali returned and I poured [water]¹⁴¹¹ for him [to perform] the major ritual purification, which he did. After he had finished the purification, some Iraqis came to him and said, "O Abu al-Hasan, we have come to ask you about a matter on which we would like you to give us information." He said, "I suppose that al-Mughirah tells you that he was the last person to be with the Messenger of God." They said that, indeed, that was the reason they had come to ask him. 'Ali said that al-Mughirah lied. The last man to be with the Messenger of God was Qutham b. al-'Abbas.¹⁴¹²

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Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishaq—Salih b. Kaysan¹⁴¹³—al-

¹⁴⁰⁷ Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 577. Some traditions add the names of Usamah b. Zayd and Salih, the Messenger of God's freedman, to the list of those who descended into the grave. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, II/2, 76-77.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Hirsch., Kos, and Ibn Ishaq: And buried it.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, II/2, 77-78; Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 578.

¹⁴¹⁰ Died between 79/698-99 and 84/703. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, V, 180-81.

¹⁴¹¹ Hirsch. and Ibn Ishaq: [Water] was poured for him.

¹⁴¹² Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, II/2, 78.

¹⁴¹³ Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, IV, 399-401.

Zuhri—'Ubaydallah b. 'Abdallah—'A'ishah: The Messenger of God was wearing a black cloak (*khamisah*)¹⁴¹⁴ when his pain became severe. Sometimes he would put it over his face, at times he would put it off, saying, "May God fight the people who took the graves of their prophets as places of worship (*masajid*)!", warning his community against such a practice.

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishaq—Salih b. Kaysan—al-Zuhri—Ubaydallah b. 'Abdallah b. 'Utbah—'A'ishah: The last injunction enjoined by the Messenger of God was that no two religions be left in the Arabian Peninsula. The Messenger of God died on the twelfth of Rabi' I/June 7, 632, the very day on which he came to Medina as an emigrant,¹⁴¹⁵ so he completed a full ten years of his migration.

The Disagreements about His Age When He Died

Some [authorities] state that he was sixty-three years old. Those who state that [are as follows].

Ibn al-Muthanna—Hajjaj b. al-Mirhal¹⁴¹⁶—Hammad (that is, Ibn Salamah)—Abu Jamrah¹⁴¹⁷—Ibn 'Abbas: The Messenger of God stayed in Mecca for thirteen years while the revelation came to him and ten years in Medina. He died while he was sixty-three years old.

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Ibn al-Muthanna—Hajjaj b. al-Mirhal—Hammad—Abu Jamrah—his father:¹⁴¹⁸ The Messenger of God lived for sixty-three years.

Ibn al-Muthanna—'Abd al-Wahhab¹⁴¹⁹—Yahya b. Sa'id:¹⁴²⁰ I heard Sa'id b. al-Musayyib say, "The revelation came to the Messenger of God while he was forty-three years old. He stayed ten

¹⁴¹⁴ A garment made of cloth woven from wool and silk with two ornamental or colored borders, or a black cloak; worn by older people. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *khamisah*.

¹⁴¹⁵ His arrival in Medina was on Monday, the twelfth of Rabi' I. Baladhuri, *Ansab*, I, 263.

¹⁴¹⁶ Died ca. 217/832. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, II, 206-7.

¹⁴¹⁷ Died ca. 128/745-46. *Ibid.*, X, 431-32.

¹⁴¹⁸ 'Imran b. 'Isam died ca. 83/702. *Ibid.*, VIII, 134-35.

¹⁴¹⁹ 'Abd al-Wahhab b. 'Abd al-Inkam died ca. 250/864. *Ibid.*, VI, 447.

¹⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, XI, 215-16. For a similar report see Ibn Ishaq, *Kitab al-Mubtada'*, I, 114.