KITAB-uI-SAQIFAH

The true story of succession to

The Messenger of God (peace be upon him)

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INTRODUCTION:

Humanity strived throughout the ages to develop an ideal way of selecting leaders to govern its affairs. A number of modern nations decided that every citizen can cast his vote in a box thus producing a leader selected by the majority in a democratic process. Some thinkers found that the rule of the elites or philosophers was best, because the fate of the nation cannot be entrusted to commoners and laymen. Others believed that certain higher races or designated bloodlines may rule over all others to avoid future chaos or bloody power struggles. However, we came to learn from humanity's experience that all methods and systems developed by man are flawed and imperfect. Indeed, the most perfect form of government we ever reached is one where a divinely chosen individual guided by God rules over the subjects and decides for them, this system is recognized by humanity as "The Prophethood".

{Muhammad is naught but a Messenger; Messengers have passed away before him. Why, if he should die or is slain, will you turn about on your heels? If any man should turn about on his heels, he will not harm God in any way; and God will recompense the thankful} [3:144]

God decreed that prophethood must end with the passing of the seal of prophets, Muhammad son of `Abdullah peace be upon him, in the 11th year of Hijrah (632 AD). It is commonly believed by researchers and followers of Muslim faith that God chose no other divine individual after Muhammad (saw) nor was a specific system of government enforced upon mankind by the good Lord. The last Prophet (saw) left his disciples and followers with the clear message and broad guidelines of the Holy Book in addition to much advice and wisdom from his Sunnah. Thus, humanity would strive once again, based on the teachings of their holy Book and the instructions and guidance of their Prophet (saw) to establish a strong and prosperous state of justice that pleases both mankind and their Almighty Creator.

Abu Bakr bin abi Quhafah, also known as al-Siddiq, was the first Muslim leader to assume authority after prophethood concluded and the first to be referred to as "Khalifah" or "Successor" by the Muslims of the Arabian Peninsula. This book we present to you dear reader is a detailed account of this man's story and how he came to be the head of the earliest Islamic

government, what were the obstacles to his ascension and the consequences it created.

The historical event in which Abu Bakr acquired the Bay`ah (pledge of allegiance) is known as "al-Saqifah" in reference to a location called "Saqifat bani Sa`idah". A Saqifah is a wide structure with a roof and closed walls from three sides. The fourth side (often northern) is open with some pillars while the roofing is made from tree branches and palm leaves then covered with clay. The function of this structure is to serve as a gathering place for tribesmen, where they can discuss matters of concern or just to socialize and bond. The infamous Saqifah we speak of is located in Madinah, on the north-western side of the prophetic mosque between the gardens and houses of the children of Sa`idah, a Khazraji tribe.

Even though this may be just another history book, know that I have placed great efforts to compile a unique and solid piece, filled with benefits and knowledge that the average English reader cannot acquire from any other contemporary books that touch on this subject. We've been blessed in modern times with unlimited access to digital and traditional libraries so praise be to God who made our job easier than that of our ancestors. Through this blessing, we have been able to review some of the major historical works -In the English tongue- covering this period by scholars (e.g `Ali Muhammad contemporary Sunni al-Sallabi) contemporary Shia scholars (e.g Rasul Ja`fariyan). Unfortunately, what we found in these English books concerning the story of successorship was rather disappointing and this was either due to sectarian biases, a twisted methodology or simply lack of research. The reader can easily get a hold of such books in our days, then compare our material to theirs in order to see a vast difference in details, explanations and the richness of historical texts included therein.

This book contains a story, told by the people who witnessed certain events and recorded them, using their own words and expressions. I merely collected their words and narrations then stitched them together; It was more of a collage in this sense where parts of people's narrations and accounts are combined and merged into one full story that is easy to read and understand. This means that none of the material below is written by the pen of the author rather they are texts that are gathered and arranged in chronological order for the benefit of the reader. The original Arabic wording as well as all resources have been provided to make the job of the researchers easier in case they wish to return to the original books or study the chains. Returning to the ancient Arabic books is recommended for all

those who can, since after reading them the researcher will almost certainly reach the same conclusions we listed at the end of our book.

What prompted me to write a book on the subject was the common person's ignorance concerning the matter, generally whether Sunni or Shia. I've seen laypeople from both groups come up with fascinating tales and unrealistic stories that have no historical basis whatsoever. Although I knew that this was mainly due to the fact that people today decided to abandon books and literature in order to provide for their families or simply to indulge themselves in worldly pleasures, yet the biggest shock came from people who did in fact read but were still unfamiliar with the real events that took place in those days.

The simplistic stories propagated by both teams often miss their marks and below I briefly provide the most common narratives so that readers may later reflect on how wrong both versions are and how far Muslims have strayed from the original narrative of the ancient books.

The typical Sunni story goes like this: The Companions planned a gathering where they all discussed and unanimously agreed on Abu Bakr as the best and worthiest leader among them without objections.

On the other hand, the typical Shia story goes the opposite direction: The Companions were evil scoundrels who rushed to conspire and usurp `Ali's divine right, robbing him of his inheritance then tying him up and murdering his wife and kid.

Our methodology was to return to the majority of available early history books. We chose the most popular and widespread books written by major historians and scholars of Hadith taking into special account the earliest of sources. Secondly, we collected all accounts related to the event of Saqifah from all scholars and historians and went through all of it numerous times in order to familiarize ourselves with the variations and differences. Thirdly, we organized various chapters for our story and placed each historical text in its rightful chapter so that we have a chronological flow of events. Fourthly, we researched the main authentic chains and narrations for this event since doing so was critical for the following reason: If we do not rely on the authentic narrations to construct a skeleton for our story, then we will cause ourselves great confusion due to many conflicts in events and contradicting accounts. Let's offer some examples to clarify:

In all authentic and most numerous historical accounts we find `Ali praising Abu Bakr and adhering to his command. Therefore, we cannot include as part of our story some odd tale about how Abu Bakr ordered `Ali's house to

be burned to the ground and that his family be put to death then at the same time include `Ali's praise for Abu Bakr two paragraphs below it unless A- `Ali has a split personality disorder or B- `Ali is lying to save his life. We do not have any evidence the man was mentally ill and we have masstransmitted and authentic texts proving his courage and fearlessness especially in the face of rulers and opponents, so the only logical conclusion is that the story is a lie. The narration of the house burning (also referred to as "the broken rib") in the form that is propagated by Shia today conflicts with most events in all major historical sources as well as the authentic reports so it is dismissed as a fabrication by `Ali's Shia.

Another example is a narration stating that `Ali, upon hearing that Abu Bakr is receiving allegiance in the mosque, hurries outside of his house that he forgets to button his shirt in order to not miss giving Abu Bakr a pledge. This report also conflicts with the authentic narrations and the majority of historical accounts that clearly state `Ali did not attend the gathering at the mosque and was upset at Abu Bakr for not informing Banu Hashim of this matter. This type of story is dismissed as a fabrication by Abu Bakr's Shia or those of Banu Umayyah or Banu `Abbas. In brief, the expertise of a compiler enables him to distinguish between sectarian fabrications by extremists with political motives and what is a legitimate and reasonable report without even scrutinizing the chains. This is a skill only attainable after much reading and research into the books of various Islamic sects.

Another example is, the narratives recorded by the popular historian Sayf bin `Umar al-Tamimi who writes that al-`Abbas was the first man informed of the Ansar's meeting at Saqifah and so he ordered Abu Bakr to go there and resolve the situation. This cannot be included in our story as it conflicts with plenty of reports that declare that `Umar was the first man to hear; `Umar then only informed Abu Bakr so the Hashemites were upset for not being consulted according to authentic traditions. All in all, a study of all the main historical sources and connected narrations helps in detecting odd stories and lies added by storytellers throughout the ages.

After gathering all texts, arranging them in chapters and eliminating any anomalous fabrications and repetitions, the next step was to connect as many texts as possible to create one contiguous story instead of separated narrations with many chains as that will make the events harder to follow and turn this into a traditional book of Hadith instead. With God's help, we managed to piece all of the narrations together in a unique way that we hope pleases God and our readers.

The book will contain the Arabic texts extracted from the various reports, sometimes even the names of the main narrators to help understand who is narrating the story. All the texts below are simply merged narrations and rarely do we find words from the original historians or by the author of this piece. Adding my own explanations and commentary was unavoidable even though the reader is free to dismiss them; Whatever clarification or comments I make will be minimal and preceded with the words "I say".

HISTORICAL SOURCES:

This book is a summary from accounts of Saqifah & Shura available in the following historical sources:

- 1. Al-Riddah wal-Futuh li Muhammad bin `Umar al-Waqidi (d.207 AH)
- 2. Fada'il wa Musnad Ahmad bin Hanbal al-Shaybani (d.241 AH)
- 3. Al-Sunan al-Kubra li Ahmad bin Shu`ayb al-Nasa'i (d.303 AH)
- 4. Al-Musannaf li `Abdullah ibn abi Shaybah al-`Absi (d.235 AH)
- 5. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra li Muhammad ibn Sa`d al-Hashimi (d.230 AH)
- 6. Al-Akhbar al-Muwaffaqiyyat lil Zubayr bin Bakkar al-Qurashi (d.256 AH)
- 7. Ansab al-Ashraf li Ahmad bin Yahya al-Baladhuri (d.279 AH)
- 8. Al-Saqifah wa Fadak li Ahmad bin `Abdul-`Aziz al-Jawhari (d.323 AH)
- 9. Al-Imamah wal Siyasah al-Mansub li `Abdullah bin Qutaybah al-Dinawari (d.276 AH)
- 10. Al-Muntadhim wal-Talbis li `Abdul-Rahman bin `Ali ibn al-Jawzi (d.597 AH)
- 11. Kitab al-Futuh li Ahmad bin A`tham al-Kufi (d.314 AH)
- 12. Tarikh al-Umam wal-Muluk li Muhammad bin Jarir al-Tabari (d.310 AH)
- 13. Fath-ul-Bari li Ahmad bin `Ali ibn Hajar al-`Asqalani (d.852 AH)
- 14. Al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Bashar li Isma`il bin `Ali abi al-Fida' (d.732 AH)
- 15. Al-Sahih al-Jami` li Muhammad bin Isma`il al-Bukhari (d.256 AH)
- 16. Tarikh al-Mas`udi wa Ithbat Imamat `Ali li `Ali bin Husayn al-Mas`udi (d.346 AH)
- 17. Al-Tarikh li Ahmad bin Ishaq al-Ya`qubi al-Shi`i (d.284 AH)
- 18. Al-Bid' wal-Tarikh lil-Mutahhar bin Tahir al-Magdisi (d.355 AH)
- 19. Jami` al-Athar fil-Sirah li Muhammad ibn Nasir al-Din al-Shafi`i (d.842 AH)
- 20. Al-Rawd al-Aniq fi Imamat al-Siddiq li Muhammad ibn Zinjawayh (d.359 AH)
- 21. Al-Kamil fil Tarikh li `Ali ibn al-Athir al-Jazari (d.630 AH)
- 22. Sharh Nahj-ul-Balaghah li `Abdul-Hamid ibn abi al-Hadid al-Mu`tazili (d.656 AH)
- 23. Al-Mubtada' wal-Mab`ath wal-Maghazi li Muhammad bin Ishaq (d.151 AH)
- 24. Mir'at-ul-Zaman li Yusuf Sibt ibn al-Jawzi (d.654 AH)

- 25. Al-`Iqd-ul-Farid li Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Andalusi (d.327 AH)
- 26. Al-Awa'il li Al-Hasan bin `Abdullah al-`Askari (d.395 AH)
- 27. Al-Maghazi li Musa bin `Uqbah al-Madani (d.141 AH)
- 28. Al-Musannaf li `Abdul-Razzaq al-San`ani (d.211 AH)
- 29. Tarikh-ul-Madinah li `Umar ibn Shubah al-Numayri (d.262 AH)
- 30. Tarikh-ul-Khamis lil-Husayn bin Muhammad al-Diyarbakri (d.966 AH)
- 31. Tarikh-ul-Islam wa Siyar-ul-A`lam li Shams-ul-Din al-Dhahabi (d.748 AH)
- 32. Al-Hilyah wa Tathbit-ul-Imamah li Ahmad abi Nu`aym al-Asbahani (d.430 AH)
- 33. Nihayat-ul-Irab li Shihab-ul-Din al-Nuwayri (d.721 AH)
- 34. Sharh ul-Usul li Hibatullah al-Lalika'i (d.418 AH)
- 35. Al-Kuna wal-Asma' li Muhammad abu Bishr al-Dulabi (d.310 AH)
- 36. Al-Sunnah li `Abdullah bin Ahmad bin Hanbal al-Baghdadi (d.290 AH)
- 37. Fada'il al-Siddiq li Muhammad bin `Ali al-`Ushari (d.451 AH)
- 38. Al-Dala'il, al-I'tiqad wal-Sunan li Ahmad bin Husayn bin 'Ali al-Bayhaqi (d.458 AH)
- 39. Al-Mustadrak li Muhammad bin `Abdullah al-Hakim al-Nisaburi (d.405 AH)
- 40. Al-Dala'il wal-Mughni li `Abdul-Jabbar al-Mu`tazili (d.415 AH)

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS:

Below, I answer quick questions I assumed readers might have:

Is this book relying solely on narrations with authentic chains of transmission?

No, the book is not limited to what is known as "Sahih". We have based it on authentic narrations but not every word and sentence is taken from an authentic report. If readers wanted only what is authentic they can simply rely on the large narration in Bukhari then add to it a few other reliable narrations from Tabari, Ahmad or Ibn Sa'd. What we consider "Sahih" in terms of transmission, altogether will not exceed a couple of pages. Authentic material and will leave room to a number of unanswered questions and often drop the most valuable details that enable us to truly understand situations. In order to discover the full story, we included all historical reports in the famous books as long as they don't conflict with what's authentic or the general flow of events. This is the best method to acquire the most benefits so that no reader will finish this book without having a deep understanding of history, the various arguments, the mentalities, the sociopolitical conditions, the context of statements and the order of events.

Have you relied on Twelver Shia history books?

Twelver Shia books have been transmitted in secretive ways among the followers of their sect, thus they cannot be viewed as widespread or popular. Furthermore, Shia in general and especially Twelvers suffer from lack of resources, their sects have not been able to preserve their books and even what survives today is mostly of questionable origins according to their own scholars. Possibly out of all sources we gathered from, the only early historian who was an Imami and maybe even Twelver, is al-Ya`qubi. Logically, we chose to rely mainly on the major scholars of Hadith and historians then utilized what they famously recorded and what became widespread among people. These major books were relied upon by the top leaders of all sects and were approved by nation as a whole. Quite a few early Shia historians were quoted but we do not believe any of them to be Twelver due to the late development of what is known today as "Twelver" Shia. Later Imami Shia included in their books stories that are completely opposed to everything recorded by all Muslims historians (including early

Shia historians). The stories they brought are exclusively narrated by extremist Shia and are unheard of by the top historians at the time or the scholars of Muslim sects. Therefore, all of these oddities are rejected as biased sectarian fabrications.

What story can we find written in the Imami Shia books?

In order to show the vast difference in narrative between the Imami Twelver Shia sect and what the rest of the nation recorded, we briefly quote a summary of their version of events as written in their preferred book "Kitab Sulaym bin Qays":

Ibn `Abbas tells Sulaym that when the Prophet (saw) passed away, `Ali was busy with burial processions and afterwards he began collecting the entire Qur'an as per the will entrusted to him by the Prophet (saw) before death. 'Ali decided to completely ignore all the people since they all apostated, abandoned Islam and betrayed the Prophet (saw). Those people were dazzled by Abu Bakr and 'Umar and united around them except 'Ali, Banu Hashim, Migdad, Salman and a few others. Abu Bakr sent `Umar's cousin Qunfudh to bring 'Ali who in turn refused and claimed he was appointed directly by the Messenger (saw) and that he was busy fulfilling the Prophet's (saw) will (i.e collecting Qur'an). Qunfudh is sent more than once yet 'Ali does not obey. An angry 'Umar leaves with Qunfudh and Khalid; 'Umar burns the door, hits Fatimah with the side of his sword injuring her, so 'Ali jumps on 'Umar and wrestles him and calls him a son of a prostitute. `Ammar, Buraydah, Salman and abu Dharr enter the house to aid `Ali but he finally gets tied up and dragged to Aba Bakr who orders his release. 'Ali reminds Abu Bakr that he had already given him allegiance during the Prophet's (saw) life and thus he has no right to take people's oaths. 'Umar threatens to kill 'Ali, so they argue after Burayd reminds them of their previous pledge of allegiance to 'Ali during the Prophet's (saw) life. Buraydah gets beaten and kicked out of the mosque as a result. 'Ali reminds his followers not to unsheath their swords or cause bloodshed for the sake of honoring the will entrusted to them by the Prophet (saw). 'Umar again orders Abu Bakr to kill 'Ali causing little Hasan and Husayn to cry, so 'Ali hugs them and comforts them. Umm Ayman and Umm Salamah come and shout at Abu Bakr for his betrayal but 'Umar kicks them out of the mosque. Khalid draws his sword but 'Ali beats him up. 'Umar orders 'Ali to offer allegiance, 'Ali extends his hands without opening his palm and Abu Bakr taps it, they consider this a legitimate pledge. Fatimah enters on Abu Bakr requesting Fadak, Abu Bakr gives it to her but 'Umar prevents him by tearing the paper apart. This Imami book also contains two more accounts of Saqifah that resemble this one, in one of them it is stated that the first person who gave allegiance to Abu Bakr was literally Satan himself (disguised as a man).

Who is this book meant for?

This is a book for everybody who didn't or couldn't read the classical history books recorded by our Muslims forefathers yet still wants to learn the full truth of the story of Saqifah. It is for every Sunni and Shia who want to learn true history as opposed to cherry-picking a sentence from this or that book without academic integrity, sincerity or honesty just to back up his or her sectarian position. I guarantee -If God permits- that every Muslim who is truly honest with themselves will change his/her minds concerning their pre-conceived notions and ideas, and will realize the flaws of what they grew up with after reading this book. Muslims need to understand, that if we do not learn our history from the books of our past historians then what other means do we have of knowing what actually transpired other than our imaginations and delusions?

THE TRUE STORY OF SUCCESSION:

1- Thursday, the illness intensifies.

We start our story when the beloved Messenger of God peace and blessings be upon him was in the house of our mother Zaynab bint Jahsh.

لما كَانَ يوم الأربعاء بدئ برسول الله صَلَّى الله عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فحم وصدع ، فلما أصبح يوم الخميس عقد لأسامة لواء بيده ، ثمَّ قَالَ اغز بسم الله في سبيل الله ، فقاتل من كفر بالله فخرج بلوائه معقودا فدفعه إلى بريدة بْن الحصيب الأسلمي وعسكر بالجرف فلم يبق أحد من وجوه المهاجرين الأولين والأنصار إلا انتدب في تلك الغزوة.

On Wednesday, the illness of the Messenger (saw) began when he was struck by a fever and a headache. When the morning of Thursday arrived, he (saw) handed Usamah his flag personally, telling him: "Conquer in God's name and in His cause, fight those who disbelieve!" He (i.e Usamah) marched with his raised banner then passed it to Buraydah bin al-Hasib al-Aslami before they camped at al-Juraf (right outside Madinah). All major figures among the early Muhajirin and Ansar were assigned to participate in that conquest.¹

I say: It appears that all the major figures were supposed to march with the army of Usamah and while there may have been exceptions, the reports mention none. The Prophet (saw) then requested to be moved to `A'ishah's house and his wives accepted.

قال ابن عباس يوم الخميس وما يوم الخميس اشتد برسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وجعه فقال انتوني أكتب لكم كتابا لن تضلوا بعده أبدا فتنازعوا ولا ينبغي عند نبي تنازع قال عمر: إن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قد غلب عليه الوجع وعندكم القرآن. حسبنا كتاب الله. فاختلف أهل البيت واختصموا؛ قالوا ما شأنه أهجر استفهموه فذهبوا يردون عليه فقال دعوني فالذي أنا فيه خير مما تدعوني إليه وأوصاهم بثلاث قال أخرجوا المشركين من جزيرة العرب وأجيزوا الوفد بنحو ما كنت أجيزهم وسكت عن الثالثة.

Ibn `Abbas was asked about that Thursday, he said: Thursday, oh what a Thursday it was! The Prophet's (saw) pain intensified, he (saw) told them: "Bring me writing materials so I may write for you that which will never cause you to go astray." But they quarreled around his bed and it is improper to do so in the presence of a prophet. `Umar said: "The Messenger (saw) is overcome by pain, God's book is sufficient for us." The household split and differed among themselves. Some people said: "Is he

¹ Ibn Sa'd

confused due to illness? Ask him what's wrong?" He (saw) told them: "Leave me be, for the state that I am in is better than what you wish for me." He (saw) then advised them to do three things: "Lead the polytheists outside the Arabian Peninsula, gift the delegations as I used to do." He (saw) remained silent on the third.²

I say: The people of the house were quarreling because one group wanted the document written while others disliked that the Prophet (saw) would over exert himself when he was overcome by pain. The Prophet's (saw) words "The state I am in is better than what you wish" are to inform those present that what God has in store for him is better than spending more time in this worldly-life.

وقَدْ خَطَبَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلامُ فِي يَوْمِ الْخَمِيسِ قبل أَن يقبض عَلَيْهِ السَّلام بِخَمْسَةِ أَيَّامٍ فخرج رَسُول الله عَاصِبًا رَأْسَهُ بِخِرْقَةٍ، فَلَمَّا اسْتَوَى عَلَى الْمِنْبَرِ تَحَدَّقَ النَّاسُ بِالْمِنْبَرِ وَاسْتَكَفُّوا ثُمَّ قَالَ: إِنَّ عَبْدًا مِنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ خُيْرَ بَيْنَ الدُّنْهَا وَبَيْنَ مَا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ فَاحْتَارَ الْعَبْدُ مَا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ فَبَكَى أَبُو بَكْرٍ فَعَجِبْنَا لِلْكَاثِهِ وَقَالَ: بِأَبِي وَأَمْوَالِنَا فَكَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ هُوَ الْمُخَيِّرَ وَكَانَ أَبُو بَكُمْ أَعْلَمُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّم. حَدثنَا جُنْدُبُ، أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّم قَبْلَ بَكُر أَعْلَمَنَا بِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى الله عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّم. حَدثنَا جُنْدُبُ، أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّم قَبْلَ بَكُمْ إِخْوَةٌ وَأَصْدِقَاءُ، وَإِنِي أَبْرَأُ إِلَى كُلُّ خَلِيلٍ مِنْ خُلْتِه، وَلَوْ كُنْ بُكُمْ إِخْوَةٌ وَأَصْدِقَاءُ، وَإِنِي أَبْرَأُ إِلَى كُلُّ خَلِيلٍ مِنْ خُلْتِهِ، وَسَلَّمَ قَبْلَ كُمْ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَبْلَ كُمْ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَبْلَ كُمْ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلَيْهُ وَاللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَبْلَ كُمُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَبْلَ كُلُلُ الْمُولِ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: عَلَي لِمُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: عَلَى رَسُلُكَ يَا أَبْ بَكُر ا انْظُرُوا اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلَيْهُ وَلَا لَكُولُوا اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَالْمَعْدِ وَالْانصار لا تزيد. والأنصار أويت اليها فأكرموا كريمهم وتجاوزوا عن مسيئهم.

That same Thursday, five days before his death, the Prophet (saw) went outside with his head wrapped in bandages to deliver a sermon. As he climbed the pulpit, the people observed with silence. He (saw) started his speech by saying: "A slave of God was given a choice between this world and what God Has in store in the afterlife, so he accepted God's offer." Aba Sa'id al-Khudari said: Upon hearing this, Abu Bakr wept and we did not comprehend, then he said: "May my father and mother be your ransom, we would sacrifice our families, ourselves and our wealth for you!" It turns out the Prophet (saw) was that slave and Abu Bakr was the most knowledgeable among us regarding God's Messenger (saw). Jundub narrated to us that he heard the Messenger (saw) saying this five days prior to his passing: "I had among you brothers and friends but I am free from taking any person as a close and beloved one (Khalil) and if I were to have it would be none other than Aba Bakr. However, my Lord Has taken me as a close beloved friend (Khalil) just as He took Ibrahim (as)." He (saw) continued as Abu Bakr cried: "Calm down O Abu Bakr! O people, look at these doors leading into the mosque, close them all except that of Abi Bakr. I do not know anyone

² Bukhari, Nasa'i

among you who has been a better companion to me than Abu Bakr." Then he (saw) advised people to look-after the Ansar: "O Muhajirin, you have increased while the Ansar dwindle. They were my elites who have sheltered me so honor the kind ones among them and forgive their mistakes." 3

عَنْ سَالِمِ بْنِ عُبَيْدِ (وَكَانَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الصُّفَّةِ) قَالَ: أُغْمِي عَلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى الله عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي مَرَضِهِ فَأَفَاقَ فَقَالَ: أَحْضَرَتِ الصَّلَاةُ؟ قَالُوا: نَعَمْ قَالَ: مُرُوا بِلَالًا فَلَيُوَذَنْ وَمَرُوا أَبَا بَكُر إِذَا قَامَ فِي مَقَامِكَ لَمْ يُسْمِعْ النَّاسَ مِنْ الْبُكَاءِ فَمُرْ عُمَرَ فَلْيُصَلِّ بِالنَّاسِ فَقَالَ: مُرُوا أَبَا بَكُر إِذَا قَامَ فِي مَقَامِكَ لَمْ يُسْمِعْ النَّاسَ مِنْ الْبُكَاءِ فَمُرْ عُمَرَ فَلْيُصَلِّ بِالنَّاسِ قَالَتُ عَائِشَةُ قَقُلْتُ لِحَفْصَةَ قُولِي إِنَّ أَبَا بَكُر إِذَا قَامَ فِي مَقَامِكَ لَمْ يُسْمِعْ النَّاسَ مِنْ الْبُكَاء فَمُرْ عُمَرَ فَلْيُصَلِّ بِالنَّاسِ فَقَعَلَتْ حَفْصَةُ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم : إنَّكُنَّ لأَنْتُنَّ الْنُثَنَّ عَلْمَا عُلْمُ لَكُنْ لَانْتُنَّ وَمَوْمَ لَهُ لِعَلَامُ مِنْ أَمْ لِللهُ عَلِيهِ وَسَلَم : إِنَّكُنَّ لأَنْتُنَّ صَوْمَا وَلَهُ لَا لَنْتُلْ مَنْ وَالْمَالُ بِالنَّاسِ فَقَالَتْ حَفْصَةً لِعَائِشَةَ ذَمَا كُنْتُ لِأَصِيبَ مِنْكِ خَيْرًا.

Salim bin 'Ubayd said: Once during his illness, the Prophet (saw) fainted then re-awoke asking: "Has the time for prayer come?" His wives said: "Yes" He (saw) told them: "Order Bilal to call for prayer and order Abu Bakr to lead the people." 'A'ishah said: "My father is a sensitive man, if he stood in your spot the people won't hear a thing due to his crying; command 'Umar to lead the prayer instead." The Prophet (saw) insisted: "Order Aba Bakr to lead them in prayer!" 'A'ishah tried to persuade him by telling Hafsah: "Ask him to allow 'Umar to lead instead of Aba Bakr because the people won't hear anything due to his crying." However, the Prophet (saw) said: "You (women) are like the female companions of Yusuf (as), ask Abu Bakr to lead them!" After hearing this, Hafsah told 'A'ishah: "You always get me into trouble."

I say: The man who went to ask Abu Bakr to lead was `Abdullah ibn Zam`ah bin al-Aswad as we will see below.

عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَمْعَةً بْنِ الأَسْوَدِ بْنِ الْمُطَّلِبِ بْنِ أَسَدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ قَالَ : لَمَّا اسْتُعِزَ بِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلْيَهُ وَسَلَّمَ ، وَأَنَا عَنْدُهُ فِي نَفَر مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ ، دَعَاهُ بِلالٌ إِلَى الْصَلاقِ ، فَقَالَ : " مُرُوا أَبَا بَكْرٍ يُصلِّي بِالنَّاسِ " قَالَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَمْعَةً : فَخَرَجْتُ ، فَإِذَا عُمْرُ فِي النَّاسِ ، وَكَانَ أَبُو بَكْرِ غَائِبًا ، فَقُلْتُ : يَا عُمَرُ ، قُمْ فَصَلَّ بِالنَّاسِ ، فَقَالَ : " فَلَيْنَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ صَوْتُهُ ، وَكَانَ عُمْرُ رَجُلا جَهِيرًا ، فَقَالَ : " فَأَيْنَ أَبُو بَكُر ، فَحَرَ بُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى الله عَلْمُ وَالْمُسْلِمُونَ " مَرَّتَيْنِ ، فَبَعَثَ إِلَى أَبِي بَكْر ، فَجَاءَ بَعْدَ أَنْ صَلَّى عُمْرُ ، فَصَلَّى بِالنَّاسِ ، قَالَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَمْعَةً : فَقَالَ لِي عُمْرُ : وَيْحَكَ مَاذَا فَعَلْتَ بِي يَا ابْنَ زَمْعَةً ؟ وَاللَّهُ مَا أَمَرُتَنِي إِلاَ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَمْرَكَ بِذَلِكَ ، وَلُولًا ذَلِكَ لَمَا صَلَّي وَاللَّهُ مِن اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَمْرَكَ بِذَلِكَ ، وَلُولًا ذَلِكَ لَمَا صَلَّيْتُ وَاللَّهُ مِنَ عَرَالًا اللَّهُ مَنْ عَشَلَ مِ اللَّهُ مَا أَمَرَئِي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ مَا لَكُ عَمْلُ أَمْ رَأَيْكُ أَحَقَّ مَنْ حَضَرَ بِالصَّلَاةِ مِنَ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَمْرَكَ بِذَلِكَ ، وَلُولًا ذَلِكَ لَمَا صَلَيْتُ اللَّالَ عَمْ وَسَلَّمَ أَمْرَكَ بِنَاكَ أَحَقَّ مَنْ حَضَرَ بِالصَلَاةِ مِنَ النَّاسِ ، قُلْتُ : وَاللَّهِ مَا أَمْرَئِي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ، وَلَكِنْ حِينَ لَمْ أَرَ أَبَا بَكُرٍ رَأَيْتُكَ أَحَقَ مَنْ حَضَرَ بِالصَّلَاةِ مِنَ

Ibn Zam`ah said: When the Messenger's (saw) condition worsened, I was present there with a group of Muslims. Bilal called him to prayer but he (saw) told them: "Order Abu Bakr to lead the prayer." I left and found `Umar among the people when Abu Bakr was absent. I said: "O `Umar, stand and

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³ Bukhari, Ibn Kathir, Ibn abi Shaybah, Ibn Hibban, Ahmad

⁴ Bukhari

lead the prayer." He stood to make Takbir but he had a strong voice so the Messenger (saw) heard his voice and said: "Where is Abu Bakr!? God will not accept this nor will the Muslims!" At this, we sent after Abu Bakr who came right after 'Umar finished praying then began leading our prayers. 'Umar told me: "Woe to you, O ibn abi Zam`ah! What have you done!? I thought the Messenger (saw) had ordered you to ask me to lead and if not I wouldn't have led them." I said: "By Allah he never ordered it, I couldn't find Aba Bakr so I felt you were the most worthy of leading out of those present."

I say: At this point, assuming Abu Bakr was from those previously drafted to head out with Usamah, it seems that upon falling ill and sensing death, the Messenger (saw) had assigned him to another role. Thus, Abu Bakr was officially no longer part of Usamah's expedition while other figures such as `Umar were most likely still part of that army.

قالت عائشة: قال لي رسول الله: ادعي لي اباك واخاك حتى اكتب كتابا فإني اخاف أن يتمنى متمن ويقول قائل: انا اولى. ثم قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم لعبد الرحمان بن أبي بكر: ائتني بكتف ، أو لوح ، حتى اكتب لابي بكر كتابا لا يختلف عليه . فلما ذهب عبد الرحمان ليقوم , قال: ابى الله والمؤمنون أن يختلف عليك يا أبا بكر.

`A'ishah narrated: The Prophet (saw) asked me to call on my father and brother so he may write a document, he said: "I fear that someone may be desirous and claim to be more worthy." So he (saw) asked `Abdul-Rahman bin Abi Bakr: "Bring me a tablet so that I may write for Abu Bakr a book that no one can dispute." When `Abdul-Rahman bin Abu Bakr got up to fetch the writing material, the Prophet (saw) suddenly stopped him and said: "Allah and the believers will reject anyone besides you O Aba Bakr."

وجاء المسلمون الذين يخرجون مع أسامة يودعون رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ويمضون إلى العسكر بالجرف فلما كان يوم الأحد اشتد بالنبي محمد وجعه فدخل أسامة من معسكره والنبي مغمور، فطأطأ أسامة فقبله والنبي لا يتكلم، فجعل يرفع يديه إلى السماء ثم يضعهما على أسامة قال فعرفت أنه يدعو لي، ورجع أسامة إلى معسكره.

Later that day, the Muslim soldiers who were leaving with Usamah stopped by to bid the Messenger (saw) farewell then marched towards their camp in al-Juraf. When Sunday arrived, Prophet Muhammad's (saw) pain intensified so Usamah returned from his camp to find the Prophet (saw) overwhelmed by the illness, he leaned down and kissed him while the Prophet (saw) remained silent, he then began raising his arms towards the sky then placing

⁵ Hakim, Tabarani

⁶ Muslim, Ahmad

them on Usamah. Usamah said: "I realized that he was supplicating God for me." Usamah had to return to camp afterwards.

وعن عبد الله بن كعب بن مالك الأنصاري أن عبد الله بن عباس أخبره أن علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه خرج من عند رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في وجعه الذي توفي فيه فقال الناس يا أبا حسن كيف أصبح رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال أصبح بحمد الله بارنا فأخذ بيده عباس بن عبد المطلب فقال له أنت والله بعد ثلاث عبد العصا وإني والله لأرى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم سوف يتوفى من وجعه هذا إني لأعرف وجوه بني عبد المطلب عند الموت اذهب بنا إلى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فأنسأله فيمن هذا الأمر إن كان فينا علمنا ذلك وإن كان في غيرنا علمناه فأوصى بنا فقال علي إنا والله لنن سألناها رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فمنعناها لا يعطيناها الناس بعده وإني والله لا أسألها رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم.

Ibn `Abbas told `Abdullah ibn Ka`b: `Ali ibn abi Talib came out of the Prophet's (saw) house during his last illness and the people gathered around him asking: "O aba al-Hasan, how does the Messenger (saw) fair this morning?" `Ali replied: "Thank God, he is better this morning." Upon hearing this, al-`Abbas grabbed `Ali by the hand and took him to the side: "By Allah, after three (days) you will be a servant under someone's cane. I know the faces of `Abdul-Muttalib's children when they're near death, the Messenger (saw) will die from this illness." He continued: "Let us go to the Messenger (saw) and ask him who shall be in charge of this affair (i.e leadership), if authority is ours then we will know and if it isn't then he will command them to take care of us." `Ali replied: "By Allah, if we were to ask him and he prevents us, the people would never give it to us after him. By Allah, I will not ask the Messenger (saw) for it."

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⁷ Ibn Sa`d, Ibn al-Jawzi

⁸ Bukhari, Ahmad, Ibn Ishaq, Maqdisi

2- Monday & the death of our Prophet (saw).

"Give thanks for His Grace and come without fear ... What I am now, even so shall you be." (Al-Ghazali)

وعن أنس بن مالك أن أبا بكر كان يصلي لهم في وجع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الذي توفي فيه قال: حتى إذا كان يوم الاثنين وهم صفوف في الصلاة كشف رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ستر الحجرة فنظر إلينا وهو قائم كأن وجهه ورقة مصحف ثم تبسم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ضاحكا قال فبهتنا ونحن في الصلاة من فرح بخروج رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ونكص أبو بكر على عقبيه ليصل الصف وظن أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم خارج للصلاة فأشار إليهم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فأرخى الستر صلى الله عليه وسلم فأرخى الستر ثم رجع وانصرف الناس وهم يظنون أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قد أفاق من وجعه ودخل أبو بكر على ابنته عائشة وقال: قد أصبح رسول الله مفيقا وأرجو ان يكون الله عز وجل قد شفاه ثم ركب فلحق بأهله بالسناح.

Anas narrated how Aba Bakr was leading them during the sickness of the Messenger (saw). On Monday, as they stood in their rows ready for prayer, the Messenger (saw) lowered the curtains of his room and looked at us, his face was like a page of Qur'an as he smiled and laughed. We were surprised during prayer and extremely happy when he came out. Abu Bakr moved back and joined the row thinking that the Messenger (saw) was coming out to join us but he (saw) signaled them to continue their prayer as they are, then went back inside and closed the curtain. The people left after prayer thinking that the Messenger (saw) was healed from his sickness. Abu Bakr entered on his daughter `A'ishah and said: "This morning the Messenger (saw) seems much better, I hope God Has healed him." Then he returned to his house in al-Sunuh (To his wife Habibah bint Kharijah).

ثم دخل يوم الإثنين وأصبح النبي مفيقًا، فقال لأسامة اغد على بركة الله، فودعه أسامة وخرج إلى معسكره فأمر الناس بالرحيل. فبينا هو يريد الركوب إذا رسول أمّه أم أيمن قد جاءه يقول إن رسول الله يموت فأقبل، وأقبل معه عمر وأبو عبيدة فانتهوا إلى النبي وهو يموت.

On Monday, the Prophet (saw) was awake and fully conscious, he (saw) told Usamah: "Go with Allah's blessings." He bid him farewell and ordered the soldiers at the camp to begin their march. As Usamah was about to ride his horse, his mother Umm Ayman sent her messenger with the following message: "You must return, the Messenger of God (saw) is dying." `Umar and abu `Ubaydah returned with him to check on the Prophet (saw). 10

⁹ Bukhari, Bayhaqi

¹⁰ Ibn al-Jawzi, Ibn Sa`d

واشتد برسول الله الوجع فأرسلت فاطمة إلى على بن ابي طالب وأرسلت حفصة إلى عمر بن الخطاب وارسلت كل مرأة الى حميمها فلم يرجعوا حتى توفي رسول الله صلى الله عَلَيْهِ صلاة يحبها ويرضاها على صدر عائشة حين زاغت شمس يوم الاثنين وَأَبُو بَكْرِ بِالسُّنْح، - يَعْنِي بِالعَالِيَة - فَقَامَ عُمرُ يَقُولُ: وَاللهِ مَا كَانَ يَقُعُ فِي نَفْسِي إِلّا ذَكَ، وَمَل يُقُولُ: وَاللهِ مَا كَانَ يَقُعُ فِي نَفْسِي إِلّا ذَك، وَلَيبْعَثَنَهُ اللهُ فَلَيقٌ طَعَن رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّم، وَقَالَ: وَاللهِ مَا كَانَ يَقُعُ فِي نَفْسِي إِلّا ذَك، وَلَيبْعَثَنَهُ الله اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّم عَلَيْه وَسَلَّم فَقَالَا: بِأَبِي أَنْتَ وَأُمِّي، طَبْتَ حَبًّا وَمَيّنًا، وَالَّذِي نَفْسِي بِيدِهِ لاَ يُذِيقُكَ اللهُ المَوتَّتَيْنِ أَبَدًا، ثُمَّ خَرَجَ فَقَالَ: أَيُها الْحَالِفُ عَلَى رِسْلِك، فَلَمْ تَكُلُّع أَبُو بَكْرِ جَلْسَ عُمَرُ، فَحَمِدَ اللهَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ وَأَثْنَى عَلَيْه، وَقَالَ: أَل فَقَالَ: أَيْهُ المَالِكُ وَاللّهُ فَإِنَّ اللهُ عَلَى رَسُلِك، فَلَمْ تَكُلُّع أَبُو بَكْرِ جَلْسَ عُمْر، فَحَمِدَ اللهَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ وَأَثْنَى عَلَيْه، وَقَالَ: أَلْ مَنْ كَانَ يَعْبُدُ اللهَ فَإِنَّ اللّهُ حَيِّ اللهُ المُوتَّ الله عَلْهُ مَنَيْونَ } وَقَالَ: { إِنَّكَ مَيْتُ وَإِنَّهُمْ مَيْثُونَ } وَقَالَ: { إِنِّكَ مَيْتُ وَلَى اللهُ عَلَى مِنْ يَقْلِبُ عَلَى اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ المَالَولُ عَلَى اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ عَلَى الله اللهُ اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ اللهُ

The Messenger's pain worsened so Fatimah sent after 'Ali and Hafsah sent after 'Umar, each woman sent after her husband but they couldn't make it back until the Apostle of God may peace and blessings be upon him passed away while resting on 'A'ishah's chest. It was on the dusk of Monday and Abu Bakr al-Siddiq was still in al-Sunuh (i.e al-'Aliyah). 'Umar bin al-Khattab stood in a state of denial and said: "By Allah, the Messenger of God (saw) did not die!" 'Umar explained: "By Allah, at that time this was what I thought. That God would send him to cut the hands and feet of certain men." When the news reached Abu Bakr he hurriedly returned and came inside the house then unveiled the face of the Messenger (saw) and kissed it, he said: "May my father and mother be sacrificed for you, sweet in death as you have been in life. By He who holds my soul in His hand, God shall not let you taste death twice!" He came out saying: "O oath-taker! Don't be hasty." 'Umar sat as Abu Bakr spoke, he praised God and exalted Him then said: "Whoever used to worship Muhammad (saw) then Muhammad (saw) has died. And whoever worships Allah then know that God is alive, undying." He recited: {Indeed, you are to die, and indeed, they are to die} And he recited: {Muhammad is naught but a Messenger; Messengers have passed away before him. Why, if he should die or is slain, will you turn about on your heels?} Those present wept profusely when they heard the recitation.11

قَالُوا مخاطبين ابا بكر: يَا صَاحِبَ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، أَمَاتَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ؟ قَالَ: نَعَمْ، قَالَ: فَعَلِمُوا أَنَّهُ كَمَا قَالَ قَالُوا: يَا صَاحِبَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: هَلْ نُصَلِّي عَلَي النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ؟ قَالَ: نَعَمْ، قَالُوا: وَكَيْفَ يُصَلَّى عَلَيْهِ؟ قَالَ: يَدْخُلُ قَوْمٌ فَيُكَبِّرُونَ وَيَدْعُونَ ثُمَّ يَخْرُجُونَ وَيَجِيءُ آخَرُونَ.

I say: The people, still under the shock began asking Abu Bakr.

¹¹ Ibn `Uqbah, Bayhaqi, Bukhari

They said: "O Companion of Allah's Messenger (saw), has the Messenger (saw) died?" He (confidently) answered: "Yes." They realized that it was as he said. They asked: "O Companion of the Prophet (saw), do we pray on the Prophet (saw)?" He said: "Yes." They asked "How?" He said: "A group enters and performs Takbir then they exit before others take their place." 12

فلما قبض رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال العباس لعلي بن أبي طالب كرم الله وجهه أبسط يدك أبايعك فيقال عم رسول الله بايع ابن عم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وإنّ مثل هذا الأمر لا يؤخّر فقال له علي كرم الله وجهه ومن يطلب هذا الأمر غيرنا وقد كان العباس رضي الله عنه لقي أبا بكر فقال له مأل ذلك فقال عمر لا فقال هل أوصاك رسول الله بشيء قال لا ولقي العباس أيضا عمر فقال له مثل ذلك فقال عمر لا فقال العباس لعلي رضي الله عنه اخرج حتى أبايعك على أعين الناس، فلا يختلف عليك اثنان فأبى وقال: أو منهم من ينكر حقنا ويستبد علينا؟ فقال العباس: سترى أن ذلك سيكون

When the Messenger (saw) passed, al-`Abbas told `Ali bin abi Talib: "Extend your hand that I may offer you allegiance. This way it will be said the uncle of the Prophet (saw) pledged allegiance to the cousin of the Prophet (saw), matters such as this one cannot be delayed." `Ali told al-`Abbas: "And who else is seeking authority besides us?" `Abbas had previously met with Abu Bakr and asked him: "Has the Messenger of Allah (saw) commanded you with anything?" He said: "No, he has not." and he asked `Umar the same. Al-`Abbas repeated: "Come out in front of all people so I may offer you allegiance then no two people will differ on you." `Ali refused and said: "Would any of them deny us our right without consulting us?" Al-`Abbas said: "You'll see, it shall surely come to be." 13

I say: The banu Hashim believed that leadership should have been handed to them after the death of the Prophet (saw) and considered it their right to inherit authority mainly due to their blood relation and nearness to the Prophet (saw).

¹² Nasa'i

¹³ Ibn Qutaybah, Baladhuri

3- Sa'd bin 'Ubadah addresses the Ansar.

Meanwhile, the heads of the Ansar and their leaders felt they had a responsibility to figure out matters of leadership during these hard times.

واجتمعت الأنصار في سقيفة بني ساعدة فكان أول من تكلم من الأنصار يومئذ خزيمة بن ثابت وقال: يا معشر الأنصار إإنكم إذ قدمتم اليوم وأنتم الأنصار في كتاب الله تعالى وإليكم كانت الهجرة وفيكم قبر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وآله فأجمعوا أمركم على رجل تهابه قريش وتأمنه الأنصار قال :فقالت الأنصار :صدقت يا خزيمة إإن القول لعلى ما تقول، قد رضينا بصاحبنا سعد بن عبادة.

The Ansar gathered at Saqifat Banu Sa`idah on that day and the first of their speakers was Khuzaymah bin Thabit: "O fellow Ansar! You have come today and you are named 'Supporters' in God's Book. You were the destination of the emmigration and between you is the grave of the Prophet (saw). Unite your word on a man respected by Quraysh, a man towards which the Ansar feel safe and secure."

The Ansar said: "You speak truth O Khuzaymah! It is as you say and we are pleased with our companion Sa'd bin 'Ubadah." 14

فقال سعد بن عبادة لابنه قيس: انني لا استطيع ان اسمع الناس كلامي لمرضي، و لكن تلق مني قولي فأسمعهم، فكان سعد يتكلم، و يستمع ابنه و يرفع به صوته ليسمع قومه فكان من قوله.

Sa'd bin 'Ubadah told his son Qays: "I cannot speak loudly enough for people to hear due to my illness. Transmit what I say so they may all hear." Thus, Sa'd spoke and his son would speak louder that his people may hear. 15

قال سعد بعد أن حمد الله وأثنى عليه: يا معشر الأنصار لكم سابقة في الدين وفضيلة في الإسلام ليست لقبيلة من العرب، إن محمدا عليه السلام لبث بضع عشرة سنة في قومه يدعوهم إلى عبادة الرحمن وخلع الأنداد والأوثان، فما آمن به من قومه إلا رجال قليل، وكَانَ ما كانوا يقدرون على أن يمنعوا رسُول الله ولا أن يعزوا دينه، ولا أن يدفعوا عن أنفسهم ضيما عموا به، حَتَّى إذا أراد بكم الفضيلة ساق إليكم الكرامة وخصكم بالنعمة، فرزقكم الله الإيمان به وبرسوله والمنع لمه ولأصحابه، والإعزاز له ولدينه، والجهاد لأعدائه، فكنتم أشد الناس على عدوه منكم وأثقله على عدوه من غيركم، حتَّى استقامت العرب لأمر الله طوعا وكرها، وأعطى البعيد المقادة صاغرا داخرا، حَتَّى أثخن الله عز وجل لرسوله بكم الأرض، ودانت بأسيافكم لمه العرب، وتوفاه الله وهو عنكم راض وبكم قرير عين، استبدوا بهذا الأمر؛ فإنه لكم دون الناس. فأجابوه بأجمعهم أن قد وفقت في الرأي وأصبت في عين، استبدو ما رأيت ونوليك هذا الأمر، فإنك فينا مقنع ولصالح المؤمنين رضا.

After praising God and exalting him, Sa'd said: "O fellow Ansar, you have acquired goodness through early Islam and many virtues in religion that no other Arab tribe possesses. Muhammad (saw) remained ten years between

¹⁴ Ibn A`tham, Waqidi

¹⁵ Jawhari

his people, calling them to disown statues and idols but none believed in him except few. The believers were unable to defend the divine message or raise it to a state of glory, they couldn't even repel harm away from themselves. Then God wished to honor you (i.e Ansar) and grant you virtue, He blessed you with believing in Him, His Messenger (saw) and with defending his Companions. You remained the toughest against God's enemies even if they were from your own people until the Arabs adhered to His command voluntarily or forcefully. The distant enemies were disgraced and defeated, and the land of the Arabs was vanquished through your swords. Then God took his soul while he was pleased with you and proud of you, so consider this matter (i.e leadership) as your own for it does not belong to any other people."

After hearing this they all agreed with Sa'd's opinion and said: "We will not exceed what you told us and we shall place you in charge of this, we find you to be convincing for us and surely pleasing for the rest of the believers." ¹⁶

ثُمَّ إنهم ترادوا الكلام بينهم ، فقالوا : فإن أبت مهاجرة قريش ، فقالوا : نحن المهاجرون وصحابة رسُول الله الأولون ، ونحن عشيرته وأولياؤه ، فعلام تنازعوننا هذا الأمر بعده ؟ فقالت طائفة منهم : فإنا نقول إذا : منا أمير ومنكم أمير ، ولن نرضى بدون هذا الأمر أبدا ، فَقَالَ سعد بن عبادة حين سمعها : هذا أول الوهن.

They discussed this back and forth among each other until some said: "What if the Muhajirun of Quraysh refuse us? And argue: 'We are the emigrants, the early Companions of the Messenger (saw), his kinsmen and friends. How can you dispute with us?'"

A group of Ansar answered: "In this case we tell them: From us a chief and from you a chief, we shall not accept anything less!" Upon hearing this, Sa`d bin `Ubadah said: "This is the beginning of weakness." 17

I say: The Ansar believed that leadership is their right after the death of the Prophet (saw) and that no one may deny them authority mainly due to their strength, their numbers and because Islam was only victorious through them.

¹⁶ Tabari

¹⁷ Tabari

4- News of the Ansar gathering & the decision to meet them.

I say: The Prophet (saw) was being prepared by his family members and servants, 'Ali, 'Abbas, Qutham, Usamah and a few others were in charge of this. In Arabian and Islamic customs and habits, a man's own family is in charge of burial preparations.

روي أنه بينا المهاجرون في حجرة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وقد قبضه الله إليه، وعلى بن أبي طالب والعباس متشاغلان به إذًا رَجُلٌ يُنَادِي مِنْ وَرَاءِ الْجِدَارِ: اخْرُجْ يَا بْنَ الْخَطَّابِ فقال عمر: اني عنك مشغول، فقال: انه لا بد من قيام، فقام معه.

The Muhajirun were in the Prophet's (saw) room, while `Ali and al-`Abbas were busy preparing him (saw). `Umar narrated: As we were in the Prophet's (saw) house, a man called from behind the wall: "Come out O Ibn al-Khattab!" I said: "I'm too busy to deal with you." He shouted again: "You must come out!" So I came out to meet him. ¹⁸

فقال له: ان هذا الحي من الأنصار قد اجتمعوا في سقيفة بني ساعدة، معهم سعد بن عبادة، يدورون حوله و يقولون: انت المرجى، و نجلك المرجى، و ثم أناس من أشرافهم و قد خشيت الفتنة، فانظر يا عمر ماذا ترى، و اذكر لاخوتك من المهاجرين و اختاروا لأنفسكم. فاني أنظر الى باب فتنة قد فتح الساعة الا ان يغلقه الله، ففزع عمر أشد الفزع

The Ansari man said: This group of Ansar had gathered in the Saqifah of banu Sa`idah along with Sa`d bin `Ubadah as they circle around him saying: "You are the leader we hoped for." Among them are men of high status and I fear this may lead to unrest, so look into this O `Umar and mention it to your Muhajirin brethren and choose for yourselves. I am looking at an open door of ordeals that none can shut except Allah!"`Umar was shaken when he heard the news. 19

I say: It is recorded the man was al-Mughirah bin Shu`bah.20

فاتى عمر ابا بكر وأخذ بيده قائلا: قم فقال أبو بكر: أين نبرح حتى نواري رسول الله اني عنك مشغول، فقال عمر: لا بدّ من قيام، و سنرجع ان شاء الله. فقام أبو بكر مع عمر فَقَالَ الأنصاري: إنَّ الْنُصَارَي: إنَّ الْأَنْصَارَي: إنَّ الْأَنْصَارَي: إنَّ الْأَنْصَارَ فَدِ اجْتَمَعُوا فَأَذْرِكُوهُمْ قَبْلُ أَنْ يُحْدِثُوا أَمْرًا يَكُونُ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَهُمْ فِيهِ حَرْبٌ.

'Umar rushed to Aba Bakr, pulling him by the arm and saying: "Get up." Abu Bakr told him: "I'm preoccupied, we mustn't leave before burying the Messenger (saw)" 'Umar said: "This is necessary and we shall return Godwilling."

¹⁸ Baladhuri, Jawhari

¹⁹ Jawhari, Ibn Zinjawayh, Sibt ibn al-Jawzi

²⁰ Maqdisi

Abu Bakr went out and heard the Ansari man say: "The Ansar have gathered so make haste before they do something that causes war between us!" 21

قال عمر: قُلْت لِأَجِي بَكْرِ: يَا أَبَا بَكْرِ انْطَلِقُ بِنَا إِلَى إِخْوَانِنَا هَوُلاَءِ مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ ، فَقُمْتُ وَقَامَ أَبُو بَكْرِ وَأَبُو عُبَيْدَةَ بْنُ الْجَرَاحِ نَحْوَهُمْ فَزِعِينَ أَنْ يُحْدِثُوا فِي الْإسْلَامِ قَثْقٌ، فَلَمّا دَنَوْنَا مِنْهُمْ، لَقِيْنَا مِنْهُمْ رَجُلاَنَ صَالِحَانِ عُويُمُ بْنُ سَاعَدَةَ وَمَعْنُ بَنُ عَدِيٍّ ، فَقَالا: أَيْنَ ثُرِيدُونَ؟ فَقُلْنَا: قَوْمَكُمْ لِمَا بَلَغَنَا مِنْ أَمْرِهِمْ ، فَقَالا: اللهِ مُنْ مُونِهُ وَلَهُ اللهِ اللهِ اللهِ اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ عَلَى وَلَمْ اللهُ يَقُوتُ سَيْعٌ تَكْرَهُونَهُ ، فَأَبَيْنَا إِلَّا أَنْ نَمْضِيَ ، فَمضي أبو بكر، وعمر، وأبو عبيدة بن الجراح حتى جاؤوا السقيفة وَأَنَا أُزَوِّرُ كَلَامًا أُرِيدُ أَنْ أَتَكَلَّمَ بِهِ ، حَتَى انْتَهَيْنَا إِلَى الْقَوْمِ وَلَهُ عَلِيدَةً بِنَ الجراح حتى جاؤوا السقيفة وَأَنَا أُزَوِّرُ كَلَامًا أُرِيدُ أَنْ أَتَكَلَّمَ بِهِ ، حَتَى انْتَهَيْنَا إِلَى الْقَوْمِ وَاللهِ عَبْدَة بَنْ أَعْرَاهُ فَوْتَ هُوالُوا: هَذَا سَعْدُ بْنُ عُبَادَة، وَإِنَّا لَهُ عَلَى رَجُلُّ مُزَمِّلٌ بَيْنَ ظَهْرَانَيْهِمْ، فَقُلْتُ: مَنْ هَذَا؟ فَقَالُوا: هَذَا سَعْدُ بْنُ عُبَادَة، فَقُلْتُ: مَنْ هَذَا؟ فَقَالُوا: هَذَا سَعْدُ بْنُ عُبَادَة، فَقُلْتُ: مَا لَهُ ؟ قَالُوا: يُوعَكُ وَهُو عَلَى سَرِير لَهُ مَريض.

I ('Umar) said to Abi Bakr: "O Aba Bakr, let us head out to meet our Ansari brothers." So I, Abu Bakr and aba 'Ubaydah bin al-Jarrah all headed towards them, fearing that they may cause a rift in Islam. When we approached the Saqifah of banu Sa`idah, we met two righteous men from the Ansar, 'Uwaym bin Sa`idah and Ma`n bin 'Adi, they both said: "Where are you heading?" We said: "To meet your people as we heard what they did." They said: "Go back, you will not be opposed nor will this lead to a thing you dislike." However, we insisted on going and we continued on our way while I ('Umar) prepared a few words to address them.

Finally, we reached the folks as they sat around a man covered with sheets, I asked: "Who is this?" They answered: "Sa`d bin `Ubadah, he's very sick." Sa`d was laying on his bed.²²

I say: Some people ask why didn't Abu Bakr inform the Prophet's (saw) family so they may attend Saqifah? It was a quick decision but it is also very inconsiderate and rude to bother the grieving family of a deceased with worldly matters and politics while they are burdened with funeral preparations.

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²¹ Jawhari, Dhahabi

²² Bukhari, Ibn abi Shaybah, Ibn Nasir-ul-Din

5- Abu Bakr addresses the Ansar.

فَبَيْنَمَا الأَنْصَارُ كَذَلِكَ فِي الْمُحَاوَرَةِ، إِذْ أَقْبَلَ أَبُو بَكْرِ وَعُمِرُ وَأَبُو عُبَيْدَةَ بْنُ الْجَرَّاحِ، وَتَبِعَهُمْ جَمَاعَةٌ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ فَذَهَبَ عُمَرُ "يَتَكَلُّمُ وَكَانَ عُمَرُ يَقُولُ: وَاللَّهِ مَا أَرَدْتُ بِذَلِكَ إِلَّا أَنِّي قَدْ هَيَّأَتُ كَلَامًا قَدْ أَعْجَبَنِي، خَشِيتُ أَنَّ لاَ يَبْلُغَهُ أَبُو بَكْر ا ثُمَّ تَكَلَّمَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ فَتَكَلَّمَ أَبْلَغَ النَّاسِ، فَقَالَ:أَنْصِتْ يَا عُمَرُ و فَحَمِدَ اللَّهَ وَأَثْنَى عَلَيْهِ إِن الله جل تناؤه بعث محمدا صلى الله عليه وسلّم بالهدى ودين الحق فدعا إلى الإسلام فأخذ الله تعالى بنواصينا وقلوبنا إلى ما دعا إليه فكنا معشر المهاجرين أول الناس إسلاما والناس لنا فيه تبع ونحن عشرة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ونحن مع ذلك أوسط العرب أنسابا ليست قبيلة من قبائل العرب إلا ولقريش فيها ولادة، ثُمَّ قَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ الْأَنْصَارِ أَنتُم أَيضًا والله الذين آووا ونصروا وأنتم وزراؤنا في الدين ووزراء رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلمَ وانتم إخواننا في كتاب الله تعالى وشركاؤناً في دين الله عز وجل وفيما كنا فيه من سراء وضراء والله . وَإِنَّا وَاللَّهِ مَا أَصَبْنَا خَيْرًا إِلَّا مَا شَارَكْتُمُونَا فِيَّه فأنتم أحب الناس إلينا وأكرمهم علينا وأحق الناس بالرضا بقضاء الله تعالى والتسليم لأمر الله عز وجل ولما ساق لكم ولإخوانكم المهاجرين رضي الله عنهم إنَّا وَاللَّهِ مَا نُنْكِرُ فَصْلَكُمْ وَلَا بَلاَءَكُمْ في ٱلْإِسْلَام، وَلَا حَقَّكُمُ الْوَاجُبَ عَلَيْنَا وَلَكِنَكُمْ قَدْ عَرَفْتُمْ أَنَ هِذَا الْحِيَّ مِنْ قَرَيْشٍ بِمَنْزِلَةٍ مِنَ الْعَرِب لَيْسَ بِهَا غَيْرُهُمْ ۚ وَأَنَّ الْعَرَابَ لَنْ تَجْتَمِعَ إِلَّا عَلَى رَجُلِ مِنْهُمْ وِ لِأَنَّهُمْ أَفْصَحُ النَّاسِ أَلْسِنَةً ۚ وَأَحْسَنُ النَّاسِ وُجُوهَا . وَأُوْسَطُ الْعَرَبِ دَارًا . وَأَعْرَبُهُمْ أَحْسَابًا وَأَكَّثَرُ النَّاسَ سَجِيَّةً فِي الْعَرَبَ فَنَحْنُ الْأُمَرَاءُ وَأَنْتُمُ اَلْوُزَرَاءُ ِ لانفتات دونكم بمشورة ولا تنقضي دونكم الأمور فَاتَّقُوا اللَّه وَلَا تَصَدَّعُوا الْإِسْلَامَ . وَلَا تَكُونُوا أَوَّلَ مَنْ أَحْدَثَ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ وَلَمْ يَتْرُكُ شَيْئًا أَنْزَلَ فِي الأَنْصَارِ، وَلاَ ذَكَرَهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلْي الله عَلَيهِ وَسَلْمَ مِنْ شَأَنْهِمْ، إِلَّا وَذَكَرَهُ، وَقَالَ: وَلَقَدْ عَلِمْتُمُ أَنَّ رَّسُولَ اللهِ صَلَى الله عَلَيهِ وَسَلَمَ قَالَ: لَوْ سَلَكَ النَّاسُ وَادِيًا، وَسَلَكُتِ الْأَنْصَارُ وَادِيًا، سَلَكُتُ وَادِيَ الأَنْصَارِ. وَلَقَدْ عَلِمْتَ يَا سَعْدُ. أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَى الله عَلَيهِ وَسَلَمَ قَالَ وَأَنْتَ قَاعِدٌ: قُرِيْشٌ وُلاهُ هَذَا الْأَمْر، فَبَرُّ النَّاس تَبَعٌ لِبَرِّ هِمْ، وَفَاجِر هُمْ تَبَعٌ لِفَاجِر هِمْ.

As the Ansar were discussing matters, Abu Bakr, `Umar and aba `Ubaydah were the first who arrived and were later followed by other Muhajirin. `Umar attempted to speak, he tells us: "By God, it was only that I had prepared some words, fearing that Abu Bakr may overlook anything." At that instant, Abu Bakr spoke most eloquently and said: "Listen O `Umar." He turned towards the Ansar, praised God then said: "Allah exalted be His mention sent Muhammad peace be upon him with guidance and a truthful religion. He (saw) called us to Islam and Allah pulled our hearts nearer to His message and so we, the Muhajirin, were the first to embrace Islam whereas everyone else followed behind. We were the Messenger's (saw) close community and we are of a central lineage among Arabs, there exists no Arabian tribe without ties of kinship to Quraysh."

He continued: "O Ansar, you are also those who sheltered and aided, you are our supporters in faith, our brothers in God's Book and our partners in religion as we all faced times of ease and hardship together. By Allah, you shared in every goodness that has befallen us that you became the most beloved of people to us and the most honored in our eyes. This makes you most worthy of accepting God's decree and submitting to His order regarding what He has bestowed upon your brothers from the Muhajirun."

He continued: "By Allah, we do not deny your virtues and merits. We acknowledge your right upon us but you understand that these men of Quraysh hold a status among Arabs unrivaled by any others, you also know that the Arabs will not gather united behind anybody except them since they possess the most eloquent of tongues, the kindest of faces, the best homeland, the purest origin and the strongest moral character among Arabs so we are the chiefs and you are the supporters."

He continued: "We will not decide on a matter without consulting you so fear Allah and do not create a rift in Islam."

'Umar said: Abu Bakr left no praise the Prophet (saw) made for the Ansar unless he repeated it, he said: "We know that the Messenger (saw) said: 'If the Ansar crossed a valley and the rest of the people cross another, I would travel through the valley of the Ansar.' But you also know O Sa`d that the Prophet (saw) said while you were seated: 'Quraysh are in authority over this matter, the best of people shall follow the best of them and the worst of people shall follow the worst of them.'"²³

I say: The experienced Abu Bakr comforted the Ansar in an intelligent and diplomatic manner then paved the way for negotiations by acknowledging their merits. He informed them of the prophetic instructions all the while explaining to them the rationale and wisdom behind such judgement.

The Muhajirun of Quraysh believed that they were entitled to leadership after the death of the Prophet (saw) and considered it their right to acquire authority mainly due to the prophetic traditions pertaining to Quraysh's authority, their closeness to the Prophet (saw), popular virtues, early Islam and their emmigration.

²³ Waqidi, Bukhari, Ibn Qutaybah, Ibn abi Shaybah, Ibn Zinjawayh, Tabari

6-Negotiations in the Saqifah of banu Sa'idah.

The report of al-Faruq `Umar bin al-Khattab is from the most detailed and popular eye witness accounts of what took place inside Saqifah. `Umar has publicly narrated this story during his reign as Caliph and so we begin with an introduction as to how that came to be.

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ، قَالَ: كُنْتُ أَقْرِئُ رِجَالًا مِنَ المُهَاحِرِينَ، مِنْهُمْ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ عَوْف، فَبَيْنَمَا أَنَا فِي مَنْزَلِهِ بِمِنِيّ، وَهُوَ عِنْدَ عُمَرَ بْنِ الخَطَّابِ، فِي آخِرِ حَجَّةٍ حَجَّهَا، إِذْ رَجَعَ إِلَيَّ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ فَقَالَ: لَوْ مَنْ لِكَ فِي الزبيرِ قالِ: لُو قد مات عمر، بايعنا عليا، وإنما كانت بيعة أبي بكر فلته، فَغَضِبَ عُمَرُ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: إِنِّي إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ لَقَائِمٌ العَشْيَةَ فِي النَّاسِ، فَمُحَذَّرُهُمْ هَوُلاءِ الَّذِينَ يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يَغْصِبُوهُمْ أَمُورَهُمْ. قَالَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ: فَقُلْتُ: يَا أَمِيرَ المُؤْمِنِينَ لاَ تَفْعَلْ، فَأَلُ المَوْسِمَ يَجْمَعُ رَعَاعَ النَّاسِ وَعَوْغَاءَهُمْ، فَإِنَّهُمْ هُمُ النِّينَ يَعْلِبُونَ عَلَى قُرْبِكَ حِينَ المُؤْمِنِينَ لاَ تَفْعَلْ، فَأَنَّ المَوْسِمَ يَجْمَعُ رَعَاعَ النَّاسِ وَعَوْغَاءَهُمْ، فَإِنَّهُمْ هُمُ النِّينَ يَعْلِبُونَ عَلَى قُرْبِكَ حِينَ المُؤْمِنِينَ لاَ تَفْعَلْ، فَأَنَّ الْمَوْسِمَ يَجْمَعُ رَعَاعَ النَّاسِ وَعَوْغَاءَهُمْ، فَإِنَّهُمْ هُمُ النِّينَ يَعْلِبُونَ عَلَى قُرْبِكَ حِينَ النَّاسِ، وَأَنَّ الْخُشَى أَنْ تَقُومَ فَتَقُولَ مَقَالُ عُمْنَ اللهُ لِمَا اللهُ فَي عُلْلُونَ عَلَى قُلْ لاَ يَعُومُ هَا فَلُكُ عُلْ مُطَيِّرٍ، وَأَنْ لاَ يَعُومُ اللَّهُ يُطْرَرُهُمْ فَي النَّاسِ، وَقَوْلَ مَا قُلْمَ حَتَّى تَقُدَمُ المُدِينَةَ، فَإِنَّهَا دَارُ الهِجْرَةِ وَاللَّسَانَةِ، فَقَلْصَ بِأَهْلِ الْغِلْمِ وَقَالَ عُمْرُ: وَيَضَعُونَهَا عَلَى مَوَاضِعِهَا، فَقَالَ عُمْرُ: وَلَ سَلَّالَ الْعَلْمُ لِلْهُ وَلَى مَقَالَ عُمْرُ الْعُلْ الْعِلْمُ وَلَالَكُونَ عَلَى مُولَ مَا قَلْكُ مُولُ مَا فَالْعُلُمُ الْعَلْمِ الْقَلْعَ وَاللَّالَةُ لَا عَلَى مُولُ مَا اللَّهُ مِنْ الْعَالَ عُلَى مُولُ مَا عَلَى مُولُ مَا فَالْمُ مُؤْلِكُ وَلَى مَقَامَ أَولُنَ مَقَالَ عُمْرُ الْعَلْمُ لِلْ الْعَلِقُ وَلَى مَا اللَّهُ مُنْ الْعَلْمُ لَعْمَلُ الْعَلْمُ وَلَعْمَ الْمُؤْلِقُهُمْ الْمُولِقُولُ مَا عَلَى مُولُ مَا عَلَى مُولُ وَلَاللَّهُ الْعَلْمُ الْعَلْمُ الْمُؤْمِلُ مَا عُلْمُ الْمُؤْمِلُ الْعَلْمُ الْعَلْمَ الْمُؤْمِلُ عَلَمُ الْمُؤْمِلُ عَلَى الْعَلَامُ الْعَلْمُ الْعَلْمُ الْمُؤْمِلُولُ الْعَلْمُ الْمُؤْمِلُ

Ibn `Abbas narrated: I was reciting Qur'an to some men of the Muhajirin, among them was `Abdul-Rahman bin `Awf and we were in his house at Mina during the time `Umar bin al-Khattab concluded his last pilgrimage. `Abdul-Rahman came to me saying: If only you had seen that man who came to Amir-ul-Mu'minin (i.e commander of faithful) today and said: "O commander of faithful, will you see what al-Zubayr is saying? He says: If `Umar dies then we'll offer `Ali allegiance because Abu Bakr's allegiance was sudden and unplanned."

I say: In another historical account it stated `Ammar bin Yasir instead of al-Zubayr bin al-`Awwam. The word "Faltah" means a matter that happens all of a sudden without any planning.

'Umar got angry and responded: "God-willing, I shall address people tonight and warn them of those who wish to usurp their rights." 'Abdul-Rahman said: I told 'Umar: "O commander of faithful, don't do it. The pilgrimage unites all sorts of laypeople and troublemakers and they will be sitting nearest to you when you deliver your sermon. I fear that you will say something and they will misunderstand it and incorrectly transmit it. Wait until you reach al-Madinah for it is a bastion of Sunnah and the place of Hijrah. There, you will be surrounded by people of knowledge and honor, then you can say openly what you wish so they may understand it in its

rightful context." `Umar said: "God-willing, I will do so, the first chance I get in Madinah."²⁴

I say: Truly, `Abdul-Rahman's advice was sound, as the matter of leadership did not concern the people of the distant lands nor the thugs who may cause trouble.

خطب عمر أهل المدينة قائلا: ثم إنه بلغني قائل منكم يقول والله لو قد مات عمر بايعت فلانا فلا يغترن امرؤ أن يقول إنما كانت بيعة أبي بكر فلتة وتمت، ألا وإنها قد كانت كذلك، ولكن الله وقى شرها، لقد أقامه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم مقامه، واختاره لعماد الدين على غيره، وقال: يأبى الله والمؤمنون إلا أبا بكر وليس فيكم من تقطع الأعناق إليه مثل أبي بكر.

'Umar addressed the people of Madinah: It has reached me that a certain person among you said: "If 'Umar died I would pledge allegiance to so and so." Don't be deceived by the fact that Abu Bakr's pledge succeeded even though it was quick and without planning, for truly it was so but God protected us from its harms. It was the Prophet (saw) who placed him (i.e Abu Bakr) in his position and selected him over others to support the pillar of faith. It was he (saw) who said: "Allah and the believers will refuse anyone except Abu Bakr." None among you were as admired and respected as Abi Bakr.²⁵

I say: `Umar was wise not to publicly mention the name of the person who wished to pledge allegiance to avoid getting them into harm's way. He will also give a warning as we shall soon see below. Additionally, his words regarding the pillar of the religion are in reference to leading the prayers as the Imam.

`Umar tells the people the story of Saqifah and below is some of what he said mixed with the stories of other Companions, Followers and historians.

تشَهَّدَ خَطِيبُ الأنصارُ ، فَأَثْنَى عَلَى اللَّهِ بِمَا هُو أَهْلُهُ ، ثُمُّ قَالَ: أَمَّا بَعْدُ ، فَنَحْنُ أَنْصَارُ اللَّهِ وَكَثِيبَةُ الإسلامِ وَأَنْتُمْ مَعْشَرَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ رَهْطَ، وَقَدْ دَفَّتُ دَافَةٌ مِنْ قَوْمِكُمْ ، فَإِذَا هُمْ يُريدُونَ أَنْ يَخْتَزِلُونَا مِنْ أَصُلِنَا ، وَأَنْتُم مَعْشَرَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ رَهْطَ، وَقَدْ دَفَّتُ دَافَةٌ مِنْ قَوْمِكُمْ ، فَإِذَا هُمْ يُريدُونَ أَنْ يَخْتَزِلُونَا مِنْ الْمُلِنَا ، وَأَنْ يَعْفِرُ وَالْإِيمَ يُحِبُونَ مَنْ هَاجِمُ يَحِبُونَ مَنْ هَاجَدُونَ فِي صُدُورِهِمْ حَاجَةً مِمَّا أُوتُوا وَيُؤْثِرُونَ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَلَوْ كَانَ بِهِمْ خَصاصَةً } ، وَغَيْرَهَا فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ مَا لا يُنْكِرُهُ لَنَا مُنْكِرٌ ، وَأَخْرَى، فَإِنَّكُمْ قَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ مَا ذَكَرَهُ النَّا مِنْ الْدُنْيَا وَلَمْ يَسْتَغُلِفُ رَجُلا بِعَيْنِهِ وَلَلْهُ وَسَلَّمَ فِينَا مِنَ الْفَضَائِلِ الشَّرِيفَةِ، وَقَدْ خَرَجَ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا وَلَمْ يَسْتَغُلِفْ رَجُلا بِعَيْنِهِ وَأَنْ مَا وَكَلَ النَّاسَ، إنِّمَا وَكُلَ النَّهَ عَزَ وَجَلَّ مِنَ الْكِتَابِ وَالسَّاتِ اللَّهِ عَنْ وَجَلَّ مَنَ الْكِتَابِ وَالسَّنَةِ الْجَامِعَةِ وَاللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَلَى لا يَجْمَعُ هَذِهِ وَأَنْ الْإِمَامَةُ فِي النَّاسِ، فَهَاتُوا مَا عَنْدَكُمْ يَا مَعْشَرَ الْمُهَمْ وَاللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَلَى لا يَجْمَعُ هَذِهِ وَاللَّهُ تَبَارَكُ وَلَتَعَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَى الضَّلَامُ.

The speaker of the Ansar Thabit bin Qays bin Shammas responds to the Muhajirun, he says after bearing witness that there is no God except Allah and praising Him in a way that befits His majesty: "To proceed: We the

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²⁴ Bukhari, Baladhuri

²⁵ Ibn Ishaq, Ahmad, Baladhuri, Bukhari

Ansar are the battalions of Islam while you O Muhajirun are a few in number, yet a party of you came all the way here to uproot us from position of power and prevent us from claiming reigns of authority. We are those concerning whom God revealed: {Those who entered the city and the faith before them love those who flee unto them for refuge, and find in their breasts no need for that which hath been given them, but prefer (the fugitives) above themselves though poverty become their lot. And whoso is saved from his own avarice - such are they who are successful} Among other verses that no denier can deny. Secondly, you recognize the virtue and honor awarded to us by the Messenger (saw) who left this world without having appointed a specific individual as successor, yet we know God will never unite this nation upon falsehood. Based on this, we say the leadership is ours. Now let us hear what you came to say O Muhajirun may peace be upon you."²⁶

فقلب المهاجرون ونظر بعضهم إلى بعض، فَلَمَّا فَرَغَ ثَابِتُ بْنُ قَيْسٍ مِنْ كَلامِهِ أَقْبَلَ عَلَيْهِ أَبُو بِكْر رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، فَقَالَ: يَا تَابِتُ، أَنْتُمْ لَعَمْرِي كَمَا وَصَفْتٌ بِهِ قَوْمَكَ، لا يَذْفَعُهُمْ عَنْ ذَلِكَ دَافِعٌ وَنَحْنُ الَّذِينَ أَنْزَلَ ٱللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ فِينَا: {لِلْفُقُراءِ الْمُهاجَرَيْنَ الَّذِينَ أُخْرِجُوا مِنْ دِيار هِمْ وَأَمُوالِهِمْ يَبْتَغُونَ فَضْلًا مِنَ اللَّهِ وَرَصْواناً وَيَنْصُرُونَ الله وَرَسُولَه أُولئِكَ أَهُمُ الصَّادِقُونَ } ، فِي كِتَابَ اللهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ، وَقَدْ أَكْرَمَكُمُ الله أن تَكُونُواْ مَعَ الصادقينَ لقوله تعالَى: {يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُواْ اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَكُونُوا مَعَ الصَّادِقِينَ} ثم و ثب أسيد بن حضير الأنصاري الأوسى - وكان مقبول القول عند الأنصار وأهل الطاعة فيهم - فقال: يا معشر الأنصار! إنه قد عظمت نعم الله عليكم إذ سماكم (الأنصار) وجعل إليكم الهجرة، وفيكم قبض الرسول محمد عليه السلام، فاجعلوا ذلك شكرا لله فإن هذا الأمر في قريش دونكم، فمن قدموه فقدموه ومن أخروه فأخروه. قال: فوثب إليه نفر من الأنصار فأغلظوا له في القول وسكتوه فسكت، ثم وثب بشير بن سعد الأنصاري الأعور - وكان أيضا من أفاضل الأنصار - فقال: يا معشر الأنصار! إنما أنتم بقريش وقريش بكم، ولو كان ما تدعون حقا لما اعترض عليكم فيه، فإن قلتم بأنا أوينا ونصرنا فما أعطاهم خير مما أعطيتم، فلا تكونوا كالذين بدلوا نعمة الله كفرا وأحلوا قومهم دار البوار. قال: ثم وثب عويم بن ساعدة الأنصاري - وهو من النفر الذين أنزل الله عز وجل فيهم هذه الآية في مسجد قباء {فيه رجال يحبون أن يتطهروا والله يحب المطهرين} - فقال يا معشر الأنصار! إنكم أول من قاتل عن هذا الدين فلا تكونوا أول من قاتل أهله عليه، فإن الخلافة لا تكون إلا لأهل النبوة فاجعلوها حيث جعلها الله عز وجل، فإنلهم دعوة إبراهيم عليه السلام، قال: ثم وثب معن بن عدى الأنصاري فقال يا معشر الأنصار! إن كان هذا الأمر لكم من دون قريش فخبروهم بذلك حتى يبايعوكم عليه، وإن كان لهم من دونكم فسلموا لهم، فوالله! ما مات رسول الله (صلى الله عليه وسلم وعلى آله) حتى صلى بنا أبو بكر رضى الله عنه فعلمنا أنه قد رضيه لنا، لأن الصلاة عماد الدين.

The Muhajirun looked at one another after Thabit bin Qays finished, then Abu Bakr went towards him and said: "O Thabit, I swear that it is as you described and none will deny but remember what God also revealed concerning us: {For the poor emigrants who were expelled from their homes and their properties, seeking bounty from Allah and [His] approval and supporting Allah and His Messenger. Those are the truthful.} So God Has indeed honored you through us by making you with the truthful ones:

²⁶ Bukhari, Waqidi, Maqdisi

{O you who have believed, fear Allah and be with those who are truthful.}" Usayd bin Hudayr al-Awsi suddenly stepped forward -A man whose opinion was accepted by the Ansar and their masters- He said: "O fellow Ansar! God's blessings upon you have truly been bountiful. He has called you The Supporters! He made you the destination of emmigration and the Messenger (saw) departed this world while being in your midst. All of this should be a reason for us to be thankful even though leadership is only for Quraysh, we approve of whoever they approve and we refuse whoever they refuse." However, a group of Ansar jumped at the man and silenced him in a harsh manner. Bashir bin Sa'd al-Ansari known as al-A'war stood up -He was a virtuous man from the Ansar- saying: "O fellow Ansar! You are strong with Quraysh and Quraysh is strong with you. If what you demand is true, then you'd have faced no opposition. If you are to say: 'We sheltered and supported' then God Has still favored them over you, do not be like those who exchanged the favor of Allah for disbelief and led their people down to the Abode of Loss." 'Uaym bin Sa'idah al-Ansari also stood -he was from those in Masjid Qiba' who were described as {Wherein are men who love to purify themselves. Allah loveth the purifiers}- he said: "O Ansar! You were the first to fight for this religion, do not be the first to fight its people for it! Succession of leadership must remain with the people of prophet-hood, so make it where Allah made it as per the supplication of Ibrahim (as)." Ma'n bin 'Adi al-Ansari then stood and said: "O Ansar! If this matter was yours to claim, then let them (i.e Muhajirun) know so they may pledge their allegiance but if it was theirs then hand it to them! By Allah, the Messenger (saw) never passed until Abu Bakr led us in prayer may Allah be pleased with him and we knew that prayer was the pillar of religion."27

I say: It is clear the Ansar were not united and some of their major figures knew that Quraysh had more of a right to it. As for the section on the supplication of Ibrahim (as), it is referring to the Qur'anic verse where Ibrahim (as) asks his Lord {He said, 'Behold, I make you a leader for the people.' Said he, 'And of my seed?' He said 'My covenant shall not reach the evildoers.'} Quraysh are descendants of Ibrahim (as).

فقام الحباب بن المنذر بن زيد بن حرام رضي الله عنه فقال يا معشر الأنصار املكوا عليكم أيديكم فإنما الناس في فيئكم وظلالكم ولن بيجترئ مجترئ على خلافكم ولن يصدر الناس إلا عن رأيكم أنتم أهل العز والثروة وأولوا العدد والنجدة وإنما ينظر الناس ما تصنعون فلا تختلفوا فيفسد عليكم رأيكم وتقطع أموركم.

Al-Hubab bin al-Mundhir al-Khazraji al-Sulami said: "O fellow Ansar! Take charge of your own affairs. Are the people not shaded under your (vast) shadow? No one will dare to oppose you nor will they go against your

²⁷ Ibn A`tham, Waqidi, Ibn Nasir-ul-Din

opinion. You are the people of glory and wealth, you are the possessors of numbers and courage thus people look up to you. Do not differ among yourselves and ruin a matter that is going well for you."²⁸

قال عمر: إِنَّ سَعْدًا لا يَصْلُحُ لَهَا فأجاب ثَابِتٌ: بَلَى يَا عُمَرُ، سَعْدٌ لَهَا أَصْلَحُ مِنْ غَيْرِهِ وَأَوْلَى بِهَا، لأَنَّ الدَّارَ دَارُهُ، وَأَنْتُمْ نَازِلُونَ عَلَيْهِ. ثُمُّ وَثَبَ حَسَّانُ بْنُ ثَابِتٍ فَأَنشد:

إِنْ كَانَ عِنْدَكُمُ عَهْدٌ لَهُ سَبَبٌ... بَعْدَ الرَّسُولِ فَمَا قُلْنَاهُ بِالْفَندِ

أَوْ لا يَكُنْ عِنْدَكُمْ عَهْدٌ فإنَّ لَه... أَصْحَابَ بَدْرٍ وَأَهْلَ الشَّعب من أحد
ثم قام أبو عبيدة فقال با معشر الأنصار أنتم أول من نصر و آوى فلا تكونوا أول من ببدل و يغير

'Umar rebutted: "Sa'd is not fit for it." Thabit replied: "Sa'd is more fit than any other O 'Umar and he has the greatest claim to it since this land is his home and you are here only as his guests."

Hassan bin Thabit recited long poetry at this point, where he addressed the Muhajirin saying: "If you (i.e Muhajirun) have a command from the Messenger (saw) concerning this (i.e identity of successor) then we shan't speak corrupt words. However, if you have no such command then the worthiest are the people of Badr and Uhud (i.e Ansar)."

Abu `Ubaydah bin al-Jarrah spoke back: "O fellow Ansar, you were the first to shelter and support so don't be the first to change and alter (religious tradition)."²⁹

'Umar bin al-Khattab said: "O fellow Ansar, do you not know that the Messenger (saw) ordered Aba Bakr to lead the people (in prayer)? If so, who among you finds it pleasing to place themselves in front of him?" The Ansar replied: "We seek refuge in God that we'd ever precede him." 30

فَقَالَ حُبَابُ بْنُ المُنْذِرِ: أنا جَنيلها المحَكَّك وعُنيقَها المرَجَّب، مِنَّا أَمِيرٌ، وَمِنْكُمْ أَمِيرٌ فقام عمر رضي الله عنه فقال هيهات لا يجتمع سيفان في غمد واحد إنه والله لا يرضي العرب أن تؤمركم ونبيها من غيركم ولكن العرب لا ينبغي أن تولي هذا الأمر إلا من كانت النبوة فيهم وأولوا الأمر منهم لنا بذلك على من خالفنا من العرب الحجة الظاهرة والسلطان المبين من يناز عنا سلطان محمد وميراثه ونحن أولياؤه وعشيرته إلا مدل بباطل أو متجانف لإثم أو متورط في هلكة.

²⁸ Ibn Qutaybah

²⁹ Waqidi, Ibn Qutaybah, Ya`qubi

³⁰ Ahmad, Ibn Zinjawayh, Diyarbakri

Al-Hubab bin al-Mundhir said: "We are that trunk at which it is eased and we are its magnificent branch! From us a chief and from you a chief!"

I say: Al-Hubab used an Arabic expression which means: "I am recognized for my sound views and respected among my people."

'Umar replied: "Preposterous! Two swords cannot be accommodated into one sheath! By Allah, Arabs will not submit themselves except to the Prophet's (saw) own tribe, they mustn't select other than the people of prophet-hood and leadership. We have a clear rebuttal and an evident proof over all other Arabs who argue or wish to compete for Muhammad's (saw) authority and inheritance. Truly, we are his kinfolks and close associates, none shall reject us unless they're corrupt, falsely guided or those destined to perish."³¹

I say: Anas has explained that the meaning of "From us a chief and from you a chief" does not mean that both men rule at once, rather it alternates between a Qurashi and an Ansari back and forth as recorded by Ibn Zinjawayh. In this fashion, each man picks up from where the last left-off then corrects his predecessor's mistakes.

فقام الحباب بن المنذر رضي الله عنه فقال يا معشر الأنصار لا تسمعوا مقالة هذا وأصحابه فيذهبوا بنصيبكم من هذا الأمر فإن أبوا عليكم ما سألتم فأجلوهم عن بلادكم وتولوا هذا الأمر عليهم فأنتم والله أولى بهذا الأمر منهم فإنه دان لهذا الأمر ما لم يكن يدين له بأسيافنا أما والله إن شئتم لنعيدنها جذعة والله لا يرد على أحد ما أقول إلا حطمت أنفه بالسيف قال عمر بن الخطاب فلما كان الحباب هو الذي يجيبني لم يكن لي معه كلام لأنه كان بيني وبينه منازعة في حياة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فنهاني عنه فحلفت أن لا أكلمه كلمة تسوؤه أبدا.

Al-Hubab answered back: "O Ansar! Do not listen to him or his companions lest they should take your share. If they refuse our demand, then send them away from your lands and take charge of their affairs. By God, you have a greater claim to this than they do for no one would have embraced this matter if it weren't for our swords and if you wish we'd return it to its previous state! I swear to God if someone contested what I'm saying I'll smash his nose with my sword." 'Umar said: "Since al-Hubab was the one talking back to me, I couldn't continue as there was a conflict between us during the life of the Prophet (saw) and he had prohibited me from dealing with him so I had sworn not to utter a word he dislikes." "32

I say: We notice here that arguments got very heated at certain points and that tribalism was a prevalent factor during negotiations, such was the

³¹ Ibn Qutaybah, Bukhari, Ibn abi al-Hadid

³² Tabari, Waqidi, Ibn Qutaybah

nature of Arabia at the time. It was by the grace of God that the voices of wisdom were present to resolve this critical situation.

قال أبو بكر: نحن أول الناس إسلاماً، وأوسطهم داراً، وأكرمهم أنساباً. وأمسهم برسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم رحماً. وأنتم إخواننا في الإسلام، وشركاؤنا في الدين. نصرتم، وأويتم، وآسيتم، فجزاكم الله خيراً. فنحن الأمراء، وأنتم الوزراء، ولن تدين العربُ إلا لهذا الحيّ من قريش. فقد يعلم ملأ منكم أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: " الأئمة من قريش " وهم أحق الناس فلا تحسدوهم وأنتم المؤثرون على أنفسهم حين الخصاصة وأنتم أحق الناس ألا يكون هذا الأمر واختلافه على أيديكم وأبعد أن لا تحسدوا إخوانكم على خير ساقه الله تعالى إليهم. فقال الحباب: إنّا والله ما نَنفَسُ هذا الأمر عَليكم أَيْها الرَّهطُ، ولَكِنًا نَخافُ أَن يَليَها، أو قال: يَليَهُ أقوامٌ قَتَلنا آباءَهُم وإخوتَهُم.

Abu Bakr spoke: "We (i.e Muhajirun) are the first to embrace Islam and the best in lineage and homeland. We are also the closest in relation to the Messenger (saw) but you O Ansar are our brothers in Islam and partners in faith. You have granted us victory, you have sheltered us and endured hardship so may God reward you the best reward. However, we are the chiefs and you are the supporters because the Arabs will not bow in obedience except to this clan of Quraysh. A few of you know that the Messenger (saw) said: "The leaders are from Quraysh." They are truly most deserving so do not bear jealousy towards them when you had previously favored them over yourselves even though you were in a state of privation. You are the last people who would cause a fight for a matter such as this one and the last people to have jealousy towards your brethren for the goodness that God bestowed upon them." When al-Hubab heard this, he said: "By Allah, we do not bear you any jealousy but we fear the ascent of certain people into authority after we had killed their fathers and brothers."33

قالت الأنصار والله ما نحسدكم على خير ساقه الله إليكم وإنا لكما وصفت يا أبا بكر والحمد لله ولا أحد من خلق الله تعالى أحب إلينا منكم ولا أرضى عندنا ولا أيمن ولكنا نشفق مما بعد اليوم ونحذر أن يغلب على هذا الأمر من ليس منا ولا منكم فلو جعلتم اليوم رجلا منا ورجلا منكم بايعنا ورضينا على أنه إذا هلك اخترنا آخر من الأنصار فإذا هلك اخترنا آخر من المهاجرين أبدا ما بقيت هذه الأمة كان ذلك أجدر أن يعدل في أمة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم وأن يكون بعضنا يتبع بعضا فيشفق القرشي أن يزيغ فيقبض عليه القرشي.

The Ansar agreed, they said: "By Allah, we are not jealous of a good thing given to you by God. We are as you described O Aba Bakr, thank God. None of God's creations are more beloved or pleasing to us than you (i.e Muhajirun). However, we feel fearful for ourselves from tomorrow, we need to be cautious that this matter doesn't fall into the hands of those who are neither from us nor from you folks. If you would allow it, on this day a man from us and another from you shall be chosen, then when each dies we

³³ Baludhuri, Ibn Qutaybah, Ibn Sa`d

replace him with another in a similar fashion as long as this nation lasts, with this condition we will pledge and accept. This is an adequate way for the nation of Muhammad (saw) to settle their affair; when the Qurashi strays the Ansari corrects him and similarly when the Ansari strays the Qurashi will correct."³⁴

ثم قال بشير بن سعد: الأمر بيننا وبينكم كشق الأبلمة. فأجاب عمر: وأنت أيضاً يا أعور؟ نشدتك بالله، هل سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: " الأئمة من قريش " قال: اللهم نعم، فرغم أنفي. قلتُ ففيم الكلام؟

Bashir bin Sa'd said to the Muhajirun: "The matter will be split between us like a seed." I ('Umar) said: "You too O A'war!? I ask you by Allah, have you not heard the Messenger (saw) say: 'The leaders are from Quraysh?'" Bashir said: "By God yes, it shall be so in spite of my nose." I said: "Then why are we even disputing!?"³⁵

I say: The Ansar did not believe they were opposing the prophetic-narration by saying that both tribes can rule in that order. The Arabic expression "in spite of my nose" is used to show that the Prophet's (saw) orders overrule all other opinions.

فَجَعَلَ مِنْهُمْ (الأنصار) مَنْ يَقُولُ: يَا مَعْشَرَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ, إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلِى الله عَليه وَسَلم كَانَ إِذَا اسْتَعْمَلَ رَجُلاً مِنْكُمْ قَرَٰنَ مَعَهُ رَجُلاً مِنَّا. فَنَرَى أَنْ يَلِيَ هَذَا الأَمْرَ رَجُلان. أَحَدُهُمَا مِنْكُمْ, وَالْأَخَرُ مِنًّا. قَالَ: فَتَثَابَعَتْ خُطَبَاءُ الْأَنْصَار عَلَى ذَلِكَ قَالَ: فَقَامَ زَيَّدُ بْنُ ثَابِتٍ فَقَالَ: إَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَى الله عَليه وَسَلَم كَانَ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ. وَإِنَّ الإِمَامَ إِنَّمَا يَكُونُ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ. وَيَحْنُ أَنْصَارُهُ. كَمَا كُنًّا أَنْصَارَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَى الله عَليه وَسَلَم فَقَلَمَ أَبُو بَكُر فَقَالَ: جَزَاكُمُ اللهُ خَيْرًا مِنْ حَيِّ يَا مَعْشَرَ الأنْصَار وَثَبَّتَ قَائِلَكُمْ قَالَ: وَاللَّهَ لَوْ فَعَلْتُمْ غَيْرَ ۚ ذَٰلِكَ لَمَا صَالَّخُنَاكُم إن الله تعالى بعث محمداً صلى الله عليه وسلَم رسو لا إلى خلقه وشهيدا على أمته ليعبدوا الله ويوحدوه وهم إذ ذاك يعبدون آلهة شتى يزعمون أنها لهم شافعة و عليهم بالغة نافعة وإنما كانت حجارة منحوتة وخشبا منجورة فاقرؤوا إن شئتم { إنكم وما تعبدون من دون الله } { ويعبدون من دون الله ما لا يضرهم ولا ينفعهم ويقولون هؤلاء شفعاؤنا عند الله } وقالوا { ما نعبدهُم إلا ليقربونا إلى الله زلفي } فعظم على العرب أن يتركوا دين آبائهم فخص الله تعالى المهاجرين الأولين رضى الله عنهم بتصديقه والإيمان به والمواساة له والصبر معه على الشدة من قومهم وإذلالهم وتكذيبهم إياهم وكل الناس مخالف عليهم زار اهم فلم يستوحشوا لقلة عددهم وإزراء الناس بهم واجتماع قومهم عليهم فهم أول من عبد الله في الأرض وأول من آمن بالله تعالى ورسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهم أولياؤه وعشيرته وأحق الناس بالأمر من بعده لا ينازعهم فيه إلا ظالم وأنتم يا معشر الأنصار من لا ينكر فضلهم ولا النعمة العظيمة لهم في الإسلام رضيكم الله تعالى أنصارا لدينه ولرسوله وجعل إليكم مهاجرته فليس بعد المهاجرين الأولين أحد عندنا بمنزلتكم فنحن الأمراء و أنتم الو ز ر اء

Some of them began saying: "O fellow Muhajirin, when the Messenger (saw) used to appoint a man from among you he'd pair him with one of us. This is why we see that two men should be in charge of this affair, one from

³⁴ Ibn Qutaybah, Ibn Zinjawayh, Diyarbakri

³⁵ Baladhuri

us and another from you." Zayd bin Thabit al-Ansari stood and said: "The Messenger (saw) was from the Muhajirin, thus the leader is from the Muhajirin and he will surely have our support as the Prophet (saw) once did." Abu Bakr stood and said: "May God reward you with goodness, a blessed group you are O Ansar and may He make your speaker steadfast. By God, if you had done anything else we would not take it." Abu Bakr then addressed the Ansar: "Allah has sent Muhammad (saw) as messenger to His creation and witness over His nation so that they may worship God alone at a time when they believed in various gods, claiming these gods were intercessors on their behalf and that they could offer beneficence and aid. They were nothing more than sculpted rocks and carved wood, read if you wish His words (Surely you, and that you were serving apart from God, are fuel for hell} and {They serve, apart from God, what hurts them not neither profits them, and they say, 'These are our intercessors with God.' and {And those who choose protecting friends beside Him (say): We worship them only that they may bring us near unto Allah.} It was certainly a great thing for Arabs to abandon their fathers' faith yet God has given this special blessing to the early Muhajirin, that they may believe in this Prophet (saw) while they tolerated and suffered with him through adversities and injuries inflicted upon them by their own folk who disbelieved them. All people opposed them and alienated them yet they never felt estranged due to their small number, they are the first to worship God on earth, the first to believe in God most-high and his Prophet (saw), they were his kinsmen, near friends and the worthiest of receiving authority after him. No one disputes it with them except an oppressor. As for you O Ansar, your virtues and merits are undeniable in Islam, God was pleased with you as supporters of His religion and made you a destination for those emmigrating in His cause. In our eyes, no one after the early Muhajirun is of your (high) station so we are the chiefs and you are the supporters."36

قال عمر: إنا والله ما وجدنا فيما حضرنا من أمر أقوى من مبايعة أبي بكر خشينا إن فارقنا القوم ولم تكن بيعة أن يبايعوا رجلا منهم بعدنا فإما بايعناهم على ما لا نرضى وإما نخالفهم فيكون فساد فمن بايع رجلا على غير مشورة من المسلمين فلا يتابع هو ولا الذي بايعه تغرة أن يقتلا.

'Umar, still telling the story of Saqifah on the pulpit says the following: "By Allah, apart from the great tragedy that had befallen us (i.e. the death of the Prophet), there was nothing harder than the pledge to Abu Bakr because we were afraid that if we left the people without selecting a leader, they might give the pledge after us to one of their own, in which case we would have given them our consent for something against our real wish, or would have opposed them and caused great trouble. Whoever among you pledges

³⁶ Ahmad, Dhahabi, Ibn Qutaybah

allegiance to anyone without having consulted the Muslims, then neither he nor the one agreeing with him should be followed as they risk being killed because of it."³⁷

I say: While it did seem the Muhajirun succeeded in convincing the Ansar of the legitimacy of their claim to authority, yet it was risky to leave the Ansar without having chosen any of the Muhajirun present at the spot. It was very possible that certain individuals among the Ansar would reverse the decision in the absence of the Muhajirin and convince the rest of their comrades to select an Ansari.

³⁷ Bukhari

7-The conclusion of Sagifah & the agreement on Abu Bakr.

لما رأى بشير بن سعد الخزرجي، ما اجتمعت عليه الأنصار من تأمير سعد بن عبادة، و كان حاسدا له و كان من سابقة، فانا لم نرد بجهادنا و كان من سابقة، فانا لم نرد بجهادنا و السلامنا إلا رضى ربنا و طاعة نبينا، و لا ينبغي لنا ان نستطيل بذلك على الناس، و لا نبتغي به عوضا من الدنيا؛ إن محمدا صلّى الله عليه و آله و سلّم رجل من قريش، و قومه أحق بميراثه، و أيم الله لا يراني الله أناز عهم هذا الأمر، فاتقوا الله و لا تناز عوهم، و لا تخالفوهم.

When Bashir bin Sa'd saw that the Ansar were pushing for Sa'd bin 'Ubadah, -He also had some jealousy towards him as they were both masters from al-Khazraj- He got up and said: "O Ansar, even though we had great deeds in the early days yet we did not seek by our struggle and submission except the pleasure of our Lord and the obedience to our Prophet (saw). We mustn't keep bringing this up for long nor should we ask for worldly rewards in exchange; Muhammad (saw) was a man from Quraysh, his own people have every right to be his heirs. By God I swear, I shall not be disputing with them over this matter, so be wary of God and do not oppose them." 38

فقام أبو بكر، و قال: قَدْ رَضِيتُ لَكُمْ أَحَدَ هَذَيْنِ الرَّجُلَيْنِ، فَبَايِعُوا أَيِّهُمَا شَنْتُمْ، فَأَخَذَ بِيَدِي وَبِيدِ أَبِي عُبيَدَةَ بِن الجَرَّاحِ، وَهُوَ جَالِسٌ بَيْنَنَا، فَلَمْ أَكْرَهُ مِمَّا قَالَ عَيْرِهَا، كَانَ وَاللَّهِ أَنْ أَقَدَّم قَتْضْرَبَ عُنْقِي، لا يُغَرِّبُنِي ذَكَ مِنْ أَثْ أَتَامَرَ عَلَي قَوْمٍ فِيهِمْ أَبُو بَكُر فَقَلت (أي عُمَرُ): بَلْ نُبَايِعُكَ أَنْتَ، فَأَلْتَ سَيَّدُنَا، وَخَيْرُنَا، وَأَحَبُنَا إِلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَى الله عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فقالا (عمر و أبا عبيدة) ابسط يدك نبايعك فلما بسط يده و ذهبا يبايعانه، سبقهما بشير بن سعد، فبايعه فناداه الحباب بن المنذر : يا بشير بن سعد، عقت عقاق ما أحوجك إلى ما صنعت ! أنفست على ابن عمك الإمارة ؟ فَقَالَ : لا والله ولكني كرهت أن أنازع قوما حقا جعله الله لهم.

At this moment, Abu Bakr stood up and said: "I have accepted for you one of these two men, so pledge to whomever you wish." 'Umar said: "He grabbed both our hands as he sat between us. I was happy with everything he had said up until this point except this, for I would rather have my head chopped-off, should it not count as a sin, than to lead a people with Abu Bakr in their midst!" Aba 'Ubaydah rejected and so did 'Umar. Ibn al-Khattab said: "We would rather pledge our allegiance to you. You are our master, the best of us and the most beloved to the Messenger (saw) out of all of us." Both men said: "Extend your hand so we may offer our pledge." However, Bashir bin Sa'd al-Ansari beat them to it and tapped Abu Bakr's hand so al-Hubab screamed: "O Bashir bin Sa'd, may your own son be ungrateful to you! Why did you have to do this!? Is it out of jealousy for

³⁸ Jawhari

your cousin!?" Bashir replied: "No, by God I detest to dispute with those people over a right given to them by Allah."³⁹

لما رأت الأوس ما صنع بشير بن سعد ، وما تدعو إليه قريش وما تطلب الخزرج من تأمير سعد بن عبادة ، قَالَ بعضهم لبعض ، وفيهم أُسَيْدُ بن حضير وَكَانَ أحد نقباء الأوس : والله لئن وليتها الخزرج عليكم مرة لا زالت لهم عليكم بذلك الفضيلة ، ولا جعلوا لكم معهم فيها نصيبا أبدا فقوموا فبايعوا أبا بكر.

When al-Aws (tribe) saw what Ibn Sa`d did, what Quraysh called to and what al-Khazraj demanded concerning Sa`d bin `Ubadah, they said to each other -among them was Usayd bin Hudayr an Awsi chieftain- they said: "By God, if the Khazraj were to rule over you even once then they shall always exceed you in virtue, they would never share it with you so rise and pledge to Aba Bakr."⁴⁰

فقام الحباب بن المنذر إلى سيفه فأخذه فبادروا إليه فأخذوا سيفه منه فجعل يضرب بثوبه وجوههم حتى فرغوا من البيعة فقال فعلتموها يا معشر الأنصار أما والله لكأني بأبنائكم على أبواب أبنائهم قد وقفوا يسألونهم بأكفهم ولا يسقون الماء قال أبو بكر أمنا تخاف يا حباب قال ليس منك أخاف ولكن ممن يجيء بعدك قال أبو بكر فإذا كان ذلك كذلك فالأمر إليك وإلى أصحابك ليس لنا عليكم طاعة قال الحباب هيهات يا أبا بكر إذا ذهبت أنا وأنت جاءنا بعدك من يسومنا الضيم.

Al-Hubab angrily reached to his sword and grabbed it but they stopped him and stripped him of his weapon, he then began hitting their faces with his clothes until they all finished giving allegiance. Al-Hubab said: "Now you've done it O Ansar! It is as if I see your children waiting outside the doors of their children begging them for water without being given a drop!" Abu Bakr turned towards him and said: "Are you really afraid we'd do this O Hubab?" Hubab answered: "My fear is not of you doing such a thing but I fear those who will later succeed you!" Abu Bakr said: "If this ever happens then you take charge of your own affairs and do not obey a word we say." Hubab replied: "Ha! O Aba Bakr, when we both pass away leaders will emerge afterwards that will make us taste bitter torment."⁴¹

I say: Al-Hubab, looking out for his own people and tribesmen, anticipated that when that pious generation of Muhajirun dies, they shall be succeeded by impious rulers who will show mercy to no one.

و وطىء الناس فراش سعد، واز دحموا على أبي بكر. فقالت الأنصار: قتاتم سعدا. وقد كادوا يطأونه. فقال عمر: اقتلوه، فإنه صاحب فتنة. فبايع الناسُ أبا بكر فلما بويع أبو بكر، قال العباس: ألم أقل لك يا علي؟ وعن ابن أبي ليلى قال :سمعت عليا يقول بعد ذلك : يا ليتني أطعت عباسا ، يا ليتني أطعت عباسا

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³⁹ Tabari, Bukhari, Jawhari

⁴⁰ Tabari

⁴¹ Ibn Qutaybah

People started stepping over Sa`d's bed as they crowded around Abu Bakr until it was said: "You killed Sa`d!" They had almost stepped all over him so `Umar said: "Kill him, he's a troublemaker!" The people gave Abu Bakr allegiance and it was then that al-`Abbas told `Ali: "Did I not tell you O `Ali?" Ibn abi Layla reported that he later heard `Ali say: "I wish I had obeyed `Abbas, I wish I had obeyed `Abbas."

⁴² Baladhuri, Ibn Hajar

8-Sa'd's decision & death.

بايع الناس جميعا حتى كادوا يطؤون سعدا فقال سعد قتلتموني فَقُلْتُ(أي عمر) وَأَنَا مُغْضَبُ: قَتَلَ اللَّهُ سَعْدًا، فَإِنَّهُ صَاحِبُ فِنْنَةٍ وَشَرِّ قال سعد احملوني من هذا المكان فحملوه فأدخلوه داره وترك أياما ثم بعث إليه أبو بكر رضي الله عنه أن أقبل فبايع فقد بايع الناس وبايع قومك فقال أما والله حتى أرميكم بكل سهم في كنانتي من نبل وأخضب منكم سناني ورمحي وأضربكم بسيفي ما ملكته يدي وأقاتلكم بمن معي من أهلي وعشيرتي و لا والله لو أن الجن اجتمعت لكم مع الإنس ما بايعكم حتى أعرض على ربي وأعلم حسابي.

All those present gave him (i.e Abu Bakr) allegiance and they almost trampled Sa'd, he said: "You killed me!" I ('Umar) said angrily: "May God kill Sa'd, he is a bringer of trouble and evil." Sa'd said: "Carry me out of this place!" They carried him back home and he was left for days before Abu Bakr called on him: "Come to us and offer your allegiance. The people have all pledged and so did your tribe." Sa'd said: "Not until I throw at you every arrow in my quiver and strike you with my spear and sword for as long as I can hold them. I shall fight you alongside my family and tribesmen and by God if humanity and Jinn gathered behind you I shall not offer my pledge until I meet my Lord and learn my punishment."⁴³

فلما أتى بذلك أبو بكر من قوله قال عمر لا تدعه حتى يبايعك فقال لهم بشير بن سعد إنه قد أبى ولج وليس يبايعك حتى يقتل وليس بمقتول حتى يقتل معه ولده وأهل بيته وطائفة من عشيرته، فلا تفسدوا على أنفسكم أمرا قد استقام لكم فاتركوه فليس تركه بضاركم وإنما هو رجل واحد فتركوه وقبلوه مشورة بشير بن سعد واستنصحوا لما بدا لهم منه فكان سعد لا يصلي بصلاتهم ولا يجمع بجمعتهم ولا يفيض بإفاضتهم ولو يجد عليهم أعوانا لصال بهم ولو بايعه أحد على قتالهم لقاتلهم فلم يزل كذلك حتى توفي أبو بكر رحمه الله وولي عمر بن الخطاب فخرج إلى الشام فمات بها ولم يبايع لأحد رحمه الله.

When Sa'd's response reached Abu Bakr, 'Umar said: "Don't leave him until he gives the pledge." But Bashir bin Sa'd advised the opposite: "He is refusing stubbornly, he shall not offer it until he's killed and he won't be killed until his children, household and a bunch of his kinsmen are killed alongside him. This matter has now been settled so don't ruin it for yourselves. Leave him, it won't harm you as he is only one man." On this, they left him be and accepted Bashir's advice on the issue. Sa'd bin 'Ubadah used to never pray in congregation with them, nor did he join in their Fridays or pilgrimage rituals. If Sa'd had found supporters he would have risen against them and if anyone were to pledge allegiance to him in order to fight he would have fought and so he remained as such until Abu Bakr passed away may God have mercy on him and then when 'Umar bin al-

⁴³ Dhahabi, Tabari

Khattab ascended to authority he left to Syria and died there without having given anybody his allegiance may God rest his soul.⁴⁴

I say: This was the conclusion of the matter of Saqifah and the events of Monday night. On the next day the people will head towards the mosque to give an official oath in public.

⁴⁴ Tabari, Ibn Qutaybah

9-Tuesday, Abu Bakr's public pledge of allegiance.

لَمّا بُويعَ أَبُو بَكُرٍ فِي السَّقِيفَةِ وَكَانَ الْغَدُ اجتمعت بني هاشم عند بيعة الأنصار إلى علي بن أبي طالب ومعهم الزبير بن العوام رضي الله عنه وكانت أمه صفية بنت عبد المطلب وإنما كان يعد نفسه من بني هاشم وكان على كرم الله وجهه يقول ما زال الزبير منا حتى نشأ بنوه فصر فوه عنا واجتمعت بنو أميه إلى عثمان واجتمعت بنو زهرة إلى سعد وعبد الرحمن بن عوف فكانوا في المسجد الشريف مجتمعين فلما أقبل عليهم أبو بكر وأبو عبيدة وقد بايع الناس أبا بكر قال لهم عمر أيُّها النَّاسُ إنِّي قَدْ كُنْتُ قُلْتُ لُكُمْ بِالأَمْسِ مَقَالَةٌ مَا كَانَتْ إلا عَنْ رَأْيِي وَمَا وَجَدْتُهَا فِي كِتَابِ اللهِ ، وَلا كَانَتْ عَهْدًا عَهِدَهُ إليَّ وَسُولُ اللهِ مَنْكُمْ وَلَا كَانَتْ عَهْدًا عَهِدَهُ إليَّ وَلَكُمْ وَلَا كَانَتْ عَهْدًا عَهَدُهُ إلي كَنَابُ اللهِ وَلَكُمْ وَلَا كُنْ مَنْكُمْ اللهِ عَلَى يَكُونَ آخِرَنَا ، وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ قَدْ جَمَعَ أَمْرَكُمُ كَنَابُهُ اللّهِ وَلَكِنَّي هَذَى كُنْتُ أَرَى اللهِ الْعَنْ عَهْدَهُ إلي كَانَتْ هَذَاهُ لَهُ ، وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ قَدْ جَمَعَ أَمْرَكُمُ عَلَيْ كَنْ مِنْ وَمَن معه من بني أمية فبايعوه وقام سعد وعبد الرحمن بن عوف ومن معهما من بني عثمان بن عفان ومن معه من بني أمية فبايعوه وقام سعد وعبد الرحمن بن عوف ومن معهما من بني زهرة فبايعوا.

On the next day, after Abu Bakr received the people's allegiance in the Saqifah, Banu Hashim united behind 'Ali bin abi Talib and so did al-Zubayr bin al-'Awwam. Zubayr's mother was Safiyyah bint 'Abdul-Muttalib and he considered himself a part of Banu Hashim that even 'Ali used to say: "Zubayr had always been from us until his children grew up and turned him away."

I say: This is because Zubayr was son of Safiyyah but he later married Abu Bakr's daughter Asma' and she gave birth to children who obviously leaned more towards their grandfather Abu Bakr than `Ali. In some reports Talhah's name is mentioned alongside Zubayr's.

Banu Umayyah similarly gathered around `Uthman bin `Affan, while Banu Zuhrah gathered around Sa`d and `Abdul-Rahman bin `Awf. As they sat inside the blessed mosque, Abu Bakr and abu `Ubaydah showed up so `Umar said to the people: "Yesterday, I had told you something that was nothing more than an opinion. It was not a thing I found in God's Book nor a command I was given by His Messenger (saw) but I simply thought that he will oversee our affairs and remain until he's our last." He continued: "God Has left with you the Prophet's (saw) Book of guidance, if you hold onto it then God will guide you to what He Has guided His Prophet (saw). God Has united you around the best man among you; why do I see you scattered in rings? Stand and offer Aba Bakr your pledge for I have and so did the Ansar." On this, Banu Zuhrah and Banu Umayyah all stood up to offer an oath of fidelity. 45

فَجَلَسَ أَبُو بَكْرِ عَلَى الْمِنْبَرِ ، فَقَامَ عُمَرُ فَتَكَلَّمَ قَبْلَ أَبِي بَكْرِ ، فَحَمِدَ اللَّهَ وَأَثْنَى عَلَيْهِ بِمَا هُوَ أَهْلُهُ ، ثُمَّ قَالَ : صَاحِبَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ، وَتَأْنِيَ الْنُيْنِ إِذْ هُمَا فِي الْغَارِ فَقُومُواْ فَبَايِغُوا.

⁴⁵ Ibn Qutaybah, Tabari, Maqdisi

Abu Bakr sat in the pulpit while `Umar praised God and exalted Him in a manner befitting His majesty and told the people: "Companion of the Messenger of God and Second of the two when they were in the Cave, Get up and pledge!" He said to the people while referring to Abu Bakr.⁴⁶

كثر الناس على أبي بكر، فبايعه معظم المسلمين في ذلك اليوم وعن سعيد بن المسيب، قال أول من بايع أبا بكر المهاجرون إلى الظهر، ثم الأنصار في دورهم إلى العصر، ثم رجع المسجد فبايعه البقايا، وجاء أهل الجرف فيما بين ذلك إلى الصباح. قال أبو بكر الخزاعي: ثم ان أسلم أقبلت بجماعتها حَتَّى تضايق بهم السكك ، فبايعوا أبا بكر ، فكان عمر ، يقول : ما هو إلا أن رأيت أسلم فأيقنت بالنصر.

Again people crowded around Abi Bakr and most Muslims offered their pledge on that same day. Sa'id bin Musayyib says: The first who pledged their allegiance were the Muhajirun in the morning, followed by the Ansar from noon until late after-noon while in their houses. After returning to the mosque, he received it from the others as well as the people of al-Juraf until morning. The tribe of Aslam came in its entirety to the extent that roads were overflowing with them so they pledged to Aba Bakr, 'Umar used to say: "It's not until I saw Aslam that I was certain of success."

لمَّا اجْتَمَعَ النَّاسُ عَلَى بَيْعَةِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ، أَقْبَلَ أَبُو سُفْيَانَ ، وَهُوَ يَقُولُ : وَاللَّهِ إِنِّي لأَرَى عَجَاجَةً لا يُطْفِئُهَا إلا دَمْ يَا آلَ عَبْدِ مَنَافٍ ، فِيمَ أَبُو بَكْرِ مِنْ أَمُورِكُمْ ؟ أَيْنَ الْمُسْتَضْعَفَانِ ؟ أَيْنَ الأَذْلانِ عَلِيٍّ وَالْعَبَّاسُ ؟ وَقَالَ : أَبَا حَسَنٍ ابْسُطْ يَدَكَ حَتَّى أَبَايِعَكَ ، فَأَبَى عَلِيٍّ عَلَيْهِ فَجَعَلَ يَتَمَثَّلُ بِشِعْرِ الْمُتَلَمِّسِ : وَلَنْ يُقِيمَ عَلَى خَسْفٍ يُرَادُ بِهِ إلا الأَذَلانِ عِيرُ الْحَيِّ وَالْوَتَدُ هَذَا عَلَى الْخَسْفِ مَعْكُوسٌ بِرُمَّتِهِ وَذَا يُشَعَ فَلا يَبْكِي لَهُ أَحَدُ قَالَ : فَرَادُ بِهِ إلا الأَذَلانِ عِيرُ الْحَيِّ وَاللَّهِ مَا أَرَدْتَ بِهَذَا إلا الْفِتْنَةَ ، وَإِنَّكَ وَاللَّهِ طَالَمَا بَغَيْتَ الإسلامَ شَرًا ، لا حَاجَةً فَلَا فِي نَصِيدَتِكَ.

When people united upon Abi Bakr, abu Sufiyan had just returned, he began saying: "I see a billow of smoke that can only be put out by blood. O Children of `Abd-Manaf, why's Abu Bakr handling your affairs? Where are the two weaklings? Where are the two humiliated ones, `Ali and `Abbas?" Aba Sufiyan then told `Ali: "O aba al-Hasan, extend your hand that I may pledge allegiance." But `Ali refused his offer so abu Sufiyan recited poetry depicting the pitiful situation of the two men which led `Ali to rebuke him: "By Allah you only seek to cause trouble and you've always wished harm to befall Islam. Leave us, we are not in need of your advice."

ثم قدم خالد بن سعيد بن العاص من ناحية اليمن بعد وفاة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فأتى علياً وعثمان فقال أرضيتم يا بني مناف أن يلي أمركم عليكم غيركم؟ فقال علي أو غلبة تراها؟ إنما هو أمر الله يضعه حيث يشاء . فاحتبس عن أبي بكر فلم يبايعه أياما، و قد بايع الناس.

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⁴⁶ Tabari

⁴⁷ Jawhari, Ibn al-Jawzi, Tabari

⁴⁸ Tabari, Ibn abi al-Hadid

Meanwhile, Khalid bin Sa'id bin al-'As had arrived from Yemen and directly met with 'Ali and 'Uthman: "O Children of 'Abd-Manaf, do you accept to be ruled by others?" 'Ali responded: "Do you think of it as dominance? It's God's affair, He places it with whomever He wishes." Khalid bin Sa`id did not offer Abi Bakr his allegiance for days even though the people did.⁴⁹

لما بويع أبو بكر، قال سلمان يومئذ: أصبتم ذا السن منكم، و أخطأتم أهل بيت نبيكم لو جعلتموها فيهم ما اختلف عليكم اثنان، و لاكلتموها رغدا.

When Abu Bakr received public allegiance, Salman al-Farisi said to the people: "You've chosen a man of wisdom (in leadership) but you missed your mark concerning our Prophet's (saw) household. If you had awarded it to them then no two would have disputed over it and you'd have prospered."50

قال طلحة بن مصرف: قلت لهذيل بن شرحبيل انّ الناس يقولون: إن رسول الله صلّى الله عليه و آله أوصىي الى على عليه السّلام، فقال: ابو بكر يتأمر على وصبى رسول الله صلّى الله عليه و آله؟ ودّ ابو بكر انه وجد من رسول الله صلّى الله عليه عهدا فخزم أنفه.

Many years later, a Follower in Kufah called Talhah bin Musarrif asked another senior Follower al-Hudhayl bin Shurahbil: "Some people are claiming the Prophet (saw) designated 'Ali in his will (as leader)?" Hudhayl replied: "Abu Bakr would never accept to lead a man who was promised such a thing by the Messenger (saw). Abu Bakr often wished he could find a command from the Messenger (saw) (concerning the identity of the successor) so that he may follow and obey like a camel."51

I say: There appeared rumours and exaggerations concerning 'Ali bin abi Talib's status and knowledge during his reign as Caliph. Early Companions who died in the time of the Prophet (saw) as well as those who died in the time of the first three successors had no knowledge of such tales. A lot of the foreign beliefs coming from the distant lands have crept into the minds of 'Ali's staunchest early supporters (a.k.a Shi'at-'Ali) and morphed their beliefs little by little until it produced the various religious Shia sects.

⁴⁹ Jawhari, Baladhuri

⁵⁰ Jawhari

⁵¹ Ibn Hajar, Jawhari

10-Banu Hashim & offering allegiance to a new leader.

سمع العباس وعليّ التكبير في المسجد، ولم يفرغوا من غسل رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم. فقال عليّ: ما هذا؟ فقال العباس: ما ردّ مثلُ هذا قط. لهذا قلتُ لك الذي قلتُ.

'Abbas and 'Ali heard the loud Takbir coming from the direction of the mosque before they had finished the Prophet's (saw) washing rituals. 'Ali asked: "What's this?" 'Abbas said: "That's what I had told you would happen and this kind of thing can never be reversed."⁵²

I say: It is narrated that Al-Bara' bin `Azib then came knocking on the door of Banu Hashim to confirm the news.⁵³

فقال له قائل من بني هاشم: فأخبر الناس أن رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلم جعلها في بني هاشم، فقال رضي الله عنه: والله لئن كنت أول من آمن به فلا اكون اول من كذب عليه.

A Hashemite suggested to `Ali: "Tell the people that the Prophet (saw) ordered it to be an exclusive right for Banu Hashim." `Ali replied: "If I was the first to believe in him I won't be the first to attribute lies to him." ⁵⁴

لما بويع لأبي بكر، كان الزبير، و المقداد، يختلفان في جماعة من الناس الى عليّ، و هو في بيت فاطمة، فيتشاورون و يتراجعون امورهم، فصعد أبو بكر المنبر فنظر في وجوه القوم فلم ير الزبير وكان قد اخْتَرَطَ الزَّبيْرُ سَيْفَهُ ، وَقَالَ : لا أُغْمِدُهُ حَتَّى يُبْايَعَ عَلِيٌّ . فَبَلَغَ ذَلِكَ أَبَا بَكْرٍ فدعا بالزبير وخرج عمر حتى دخل على فاطمة عليها السّلام ثم قال يا بنت رسول الله ما من احد من الخلق احب الينا من أبيك، و ما من أحد أحب الينا منك بعد أبيك، و أيم الله ما ذاك بمانعي ان اجتمع هؤلاء النفر عندك ان أمر بتحريق البيت عليهم، فلما خرج عمر جاءوها فقالت: تعلمون ان عمر جاءني و حلف لي بالله ان عدتم ليحرقن عليكم البيت، و أيم الله ليمضين لما حلف له، فانصر فوا عنا راشدين. وجاء الزبير فَقَالَ عَمَرُ : خُذُوا سَيْفَ الزُبيرُ فَاضْرِبُوا بِهِ الْحَجَرَ فقال له أَبُو بَكْرٍ: قلت ابن عمة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وسلم وحواريه أردت أن تشق عصا المسلمين فقال: لا تثريب يا خليفة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقام فبايعه.

When the homage went to Abu Bakr, a group of people including al-Zubayr and al-Miqdad sought after 'Ali while he was in the house of Fatimah to consult among themselves and revise their issue, so when Abu Bakr climbed the pulpit he looked at the people's faces but never saw al-Zubayr. At that point al-Zubayr had unsheathed his sword and began to say: "It shall not be sheathed until 'Ali is given allegiance!" When this news reached Aba Bakr and 'Umar, he told him to call on al-Zubayr. 'Umar got up and went to Fatimah's house and said: "O daughter of Allah's Messenger, nobody is dearest to us than your father (saw) and no one is dearer to us after him

⁵² Baladhuri

⁵³ Ya`qubi

^{54 `}Abdul-Jabbar

than you. Yet I swear by Allah, if these people gathered in your house then nothing will prevent me from burning the house on top of them." So when 'Umar left, they ('Ali and Zubayr) returned but Fatimah stopped them saying: "Do you know that 'Umar came here and swore by God to burn the house if you gathered here? I swear by God, that he ('Umar) will execute his oath, so please leave wisely and take a decision." When al-Zubayr came to the mosque, 'Umar said: "Take al-Zubayr's sword and strike it against the wall (to break it)." Abu Bakr then addressed him: "You say 'I'm the son of the Prophet's (saw) aunt and his disciple' Do you wish to split the body of the Muslims?" Zubayr replied: "No reproach O successor of Allah's Messenger." Zubayr then offered his allegiance.⁵⁵

Ibrahim bin `Abdul-Rahman bin `Awf narrated that his father `Abdul-Rahman was in the company of `Umar on that day and it was Muhammad bin Maslamah who broke Zubayr's sword.⁵⁶

I say: In order for al-Zubayr to not break his promise (of sheathing his sword), `Umar ordered that the sword itself be broken instead.

Abu Bakr looked at the people again but never saw `Ali, he called on him so `Umar went to fetch `Ali. When `Umar met him, he said: "Are you avoiding Abi Bakr's allegiance?" `Ali responded: "I swore when the Prophet (saw) passed away, I would not get dressed or leave my house except to perform the prescribed prayers until I gather (or memorize) the Qur'an. I feared God's Book may be lost." ⁵⁷

I say: Although it seems 'Ali bin abi Talib did intend to collect the Qur'an, yet that was not the real reason he avoided the matter as will be clear below. It appears that 'Ali wished to avoid 'Umar's harshness, so he said what he said to avoid upsetting him. When 'Ali reaches the mosque afterwards, he will openly announce his excuse to Abu Bakr who is more understanding. Concerning the collection of the Qur'an, Abu Bakr would later give an official order to gather the divine texts which is a move that was surely approved and supported by 'Ali.

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⁵⁵ Jawhari, Bayhagi, Baladhuri, Tabari

⁵⁶ Dhahabi

⁵⁷ `Abdul-Razzaq, Bayhaqi

Note: The text does not state that it was the Prophet (saw) who tasked him with this nor does it state that `Ali managed to gather the Qur'an rather he only had the intention to. Additionally, the wording of the narration can be easily understood as "until I memorize the Qur'an".

فجاء فقال له أبو بكر فإن لم تبايع فلا أكرهك فقال أبو عبيدة بن الجراح لعلي كرم الله وجهه يا بن عم إنك حديث السن وهؤلاء مشيخة قومك ليس لك مثل تجربتهم ومعرفتهم بالأمور ولا أرى أبا بكر إلا أقوى على هذا الأمر منك وأشد احتمالا واضطلاعا فسلم لأبي بكر هذا الأمر فإنك إن تعش ويطل بك بقاء فأنت لهذا الأمر خليق وبه حقيق في فضلك ودينك وعلمك وفهمك وسابقتك ونسبك وصهرك فقال علي كرم الله وجهه يَا أَبَا عُنيْدَةَ، أَنْتَ أَمِينُ هَذِهِ الأُمّةِ، فَاتَّقِ اللَّهَ فِي نَفْسِكَ الله الله يا معشر المهاجرين لا علي كرم الله وجهه يَا أبا عُنيْدَةَ، أَنْتَ أَمِينُ هَذِهِ الأُمّةِ، فَاتَّقِ اللَّه فِي نَفْسِكَ الله الله يا معشر المهاجرين لا تخرجوا سلطان محمد في العرب عن داره وقعر بيته إلى دوركم وقعور بيوتكم ولا تدفعوا أهله عن مقامه في الناس وحقه فوالله يا معشر المهاجرين لنحن أحق الناس به لأنا أهل البيت ونحن أحق بهذا الأمر منكم ما كان فينا القاريء لكتاب الله الفقيه في دين الله العالم بسنن رسول الله المضطلع بأمر الرعية المدافع عنهم الأمور السيئة القاسم بينهم بالسوية والله إنه لفينا فلا تتبعوا الهوى فتضلوا عن سبيل الله فتزدادوا من الحق بعدا فقال بشير بن سعد الأنصاري لو كان هذا الكلام سمعته الأنصار منك يا على قبل بيعتها لأبي بكر ما اختلف عليك اثنان.

When 'Ali came to the mosque, Abu Bakr said to him: "If you do not wish to declare allegiance then I shall not force you." At this, abu 'Ubaydah bin al-Jarrah advised `Ali: "O cousin, you are young still and these are the elders of your kinsfolk, you do not possess their experience and knowledge of matters. I see Abu Bakr as being stronger in running our affairs, he's more resilient and well-prepared to undertake these responsibilities so submit to him since you will live long and then at that point you're more than worthy of being in this position due to your virtue, faith, knowledge, understanding, early deeds and blood relation." 'Ali responded: "O aba 'Ubaydah, you are the trustee of this nation so be wary of God. O fellow Muhajirin, do not remove Muhammad's (saw) rule over the Arabs from the center of his house then place it in your own houses, do not push his family away from the station he held among the people or from his rightful position. O fellow Muhajirin, we have the greatest claim to him (saw) because we are his household and thus we have more right to it than you as long as we have in our midst a reciter of God's Book, well-learned about God's religion and the traditions of the Messenger (saw), caring about the subjects, defending them from evil and dividing between them in equity. By Allah, among us is such a person so do not follow desires and become misguided then stray further from the path of truth." Bashir bin Sa'd al-Ansari told 'Ali: "If the Ansar had heard this from you O 'Ali before pledging to Abu Bakr then no two would have differed on you."58

⁵⁸ Ibn Qutaybah

I say: Notice dear reader that 'Ali's argument revolves around his right due to virtue and closeness to the Messenger (saw) without mentioning any previous appointment as some misguided sects claim in our days.

فقال له أبو بكر: قلت ابن عم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وختنه على ابنته أردت أن تشق عصا المسلمين قال: لا تثريب يا خليفة رسول الله ثم قال: يا أبا بكر، ألم تر لنا حقاً في هذا الأمر؟ قال: بلي، ولكني خشيتُ الفتنة، وقد قلدتُ أمراً عظيماً. أمَا وَاللهِ مَا حَمَلْنَا عَلَى إِبْرَامٍ ذَلِكَ دُونَ مِنْ عَابَ عَنْهُ إِلَا مَخَافَةُ الْفِتْنَةِ وَتَفَاقُمُ الْحِدْثَانِ وَإِنْ كُنْتُ لَهَا لَكَارِ هَا لَوْلاَ ذَلِكَ مَا شَهِدَهَا أَحَدٌ كَانَ أَحَبُ إلَيَ أَنْ يَشْهِدَهَا مَنْكَ إِبْرَامٍ ذَلِكَ مَا شَهِدَهَا أَحَدٌ كَانَ أَحَبُ إِلَيَ أَنْ يَشْهِدَهَا مَنْكَ عَلَى مَنْ أَمْرِ مَنْ أَمْرِ فَ كَلَى النَّاسِ فَقَالَ: أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، هَذَا عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ فَلا بَيعَةً لِي فِي عُنْقِهِ وَهُو بِالْخِيَارِ مِنْ أَمْرِهِ أَلا وَأَنْتُمْ بِالْخِيَارِ جَمِيعًا فِي بيْعَتِكُمْ إِيَّانَ وَإِنْ رَأَيْتُمْ لَهَا غَيْرِي فَأَنا أَوَل مِنْ يُبَايِعُهُ، فَلَمَا سَمِعَ ذَلِكَ عَلِي عَلِي وَسلم أمرك بالصلاة، وأنك ثاني اثنين في الغار، وكان لنا حق ولم علمتُ أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أمرك بالصلاة، وأنك ثاني اثنين في الغار، وكان لنا حق ولم تستشر، والله يغفر لك. وبايعه.

When Abu Bakr heard this, he responded to 'Ali: "You say 'I'm the Prophet's (saw) cousin and husband to his daughter.' Do you wish to split the body of Muslims?" 'Ali said: "No reproach O successor of Allah's Messenger (saw). However, did you not see that we had a right to this matter?" Abu Bakr replied: "Certainly, but I feared that chaos may ensue and I've certainly been burdened with a great task. By God, the only reason we did it there while you were absent is out of fear from chaos and if it hadn't been for that, I would have loved for nothing more than a person of your high-rank to be present." Abu Bakr then looked at the people and repeated: "O people, this is 'Ali bin abi Talib and he has the freedom to give me his allegiance or withhold it and so are all of you. If you find one who is more suited, then I shall relinquish and be the first to pay my allegiance to them." Upon hearing this, 'Ali said: "We see no one other than you. I know that the Messenger (saw) ordered you to lead the prayers and that you're the second of the two in the cave. Still, we had a right and you did not consult, may God forgive you." He then offered his allegiance. 59

I say: 'Ali's oath of fidelity came very late and most people had left the mosque thinking 'Ali boycotted. 'Ali would later be preoccupied with the final burial preparations of the Messenger (saw), followed by the problems of prophetic-inheritance that increased tensions between the Caliph and banu Hashim and finally the sickness of Fatimah peace be upon her. All of this caused some people to assume that 'Ali did not pledge allegiance or that he disapproves of Abu Bakr's leadership. However, 'Ali's early pledge of allegiance is authentically reported and widely transmitted in popular history books therefore it cannot be denied.

كان ابن عباس يقول: كان علي رضي الله عنه لسابقته وقرابته يرى أنه لا يخالف ولا يريد أمرا إلا بلغه، فلم يكن كما ظن.

⁵⁹ Bayhaqi, Baladhuri, Ibn Ishaq, Mas`udi

Ibn `Abbas used to say: "`Ali thought he would not be opposed and that nothing was beyond his reach due to his early Islam and family ties. However, things were not as he imagined." 60

عاد أبا سفيان إلى علي عليه السلام، فقال يا علي: بايعتم رجلاً من أذل قبيلة من قريش اما والله، لئن شئتم لأملائها عليه خيلاً ورجلاً. فقال: لست أشاء ذلك؛ ويحك يا أبا سفيان إن المسلمين نَصر بعضهم لبعض وإن نأت دار هم وأرحامهم وإن المنافقين غششة بعضهم لبعض وإن قربت ديار هم وأرحامهم طالما غششت الاسلام و أهله، فما ضررتهم شيئا لا حاجة لنا الى خيلك و رجلك. لو لا انا رأينا ابا بكر لها أهلا لما تركناه

When Aba Sufiyan heard of this, he came to `Ali saying: "You offered your allegiance to the weakest clan of Quraysh? By Allah, if you wish I'll fill it with soldiers and riders!" `Ali said: "I do not wish for this. Woe to you O Aba Sufiyan, Muslims are supporters of one another even if they were from distant lands and lineage. As for the hypocrites, they always cheat one another even if they're close neighbors and relatives. You've always cheated Islam and its people yet it hasn't harmed them one bit, we need not your soldiers or riders. If we hadn't seen Aba Bakr as worthy we wouldn't leave it for him."

I say: `Ali made it clear in some historical accounts that if he did not find Abu Bakr to be fitting for position of leadership he would not have allowed him to reach authority. We also notice the careful manner in which `Ali dealt with the situation by not rallying the tribes for a rebellion against Abu Bakr's much weaker clan nor did he accept offers of allegiance. This is because for `Ali, the well-being of the religion and Muslims is more important than the seat of power.

عن سعيد بن المسيب قال: لما قبض رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، ارتجّتْ مكة. فقال أبو قحافة: ما هذا؟ قالوا: قبض رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم. قال: فمن ولي أمر الناس بعده؟ قالوا: ابنك. فقال: أرضي بذلك بنو هاشم، وبنو عبد شمس، وبنو المغيرة؟ قالوا: نعم. قال: فإنه لا مانع لما أعطى الله، ولا معطي لما منع.

Sa`id bin al-Musayyib narrated: When the Messenger (saw) passed away Makkah was shaken. Abu Quhafah asked: "What is this?" They said: "The Messenger (saw) died." He asked: "Who took charge of people's affairs after him?" `Abd Rabbih bin Qays al-Makhzumi responded to him: "Your son." Aba Quhafah asked: "Did Banu Hashim, Banu `Abd-Shams and Banu Mughirah approve?" They said: "Yes." Then Abu Quhafah finally said:

^{60 `}Abdul-Jabbar

⁶¹ Baladhuri, Jawhari

"Verily, no one can stop what God offers and no one can offer what God prevents." 62

After heads cooled down, `Ali and al-Zubayr were questioned by people about their actions, they said: "We were only angry for being cast aside during the consultation. Out of all people, we see Aba Bakr as being the most deserving to attain it after the Messenger (saw), he is the Companion in the cave, we know of his good character, honor and the fact that our Prophet (saw) appointed him to lead prayers during his life." 63

I say: Even though `Ali and Zubayr viewed Abu Bakr as most deserving of such a position out of all people yet they still thought they had more of a right to it than him. Therefore, if they as Hashemites were not able to hold the reigns of authority at least the man they viewed as most deserving out of all other people could hold them.

عن عبد الله بن معاوية بن عبد الله بن جعفر، قال: كان إياس لي صديقا، فدخلنا على عبد الرحمن بن القاسم بن محمد بن أبي بكر و عنده جماعة من قريش فتذاكروا السلف، ففضل قوم أبا بكر، وآخرون عمر، وآخرون علي بن أبي طالب، فقال إياس، إن عليا رحمه الله كان يرى أنه أحق الناس بالأمر، فلما بايع الناس أبا بكر ورأى اجتماعهم عليه وأن قد صلح العامة اشترى صلاح العامة بتقصية الخاصة، يعني بني هاشم، قال: ثم ولي عمر ففعل مثل ذلك، فلما قتل عثمان اختلف الناس، وفسدت العامة والخاصة، ووجد أعوانا فقام بالحق ودعا إليه.

'Abdullah bin Mu'awiyah bin 'Abdullah bin Ja'far al-Tayyar said: Iyas was a friend of mine and we both entered on 'Abdul-Rahman bin al-Qasim bin Muhammad bin Abi Bakr al-Siddiq while a group from Quraysh were seated. They mentioned the predecessors so some people favored Aba Bakr, some favored 'Umar and others favored 'Ali. Iyas said: "'Ali used to see that he had the most right out of all people to succeed authority. However, when people pledged allegiance to Aba Bakr and he saw how they united behind the man, he dismissed his close ones (i.e Banu Hashim) for the benefit of the general public. Then 'Umar received authority so he did the same but when 'Uthman got killed and the people differed, the conditions of the general public as well as his close ones deteriorated. 'Ali found supporters so he stood up and called for the truth."⁶⁴

⁶² Baladhuri

⁶³ Dhahabi, Bayhaqi, Ibn Zinjawayh, Diyarbakri

⁶⁴ Baladhuri

عن عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ أَبِي بَكْرَةَ، أَنَّ عَلِيًّا أَتَاهُمْ عَائِدًا، فَقَالَ: مَا لَقِيَ أَحَدٌ من هَذِه الأُمَّةَ مَا لَقِيتُ، تُوفُقِّيَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَأَنَا أَخَقُ النَّاسِ بِهَذَا الأُمْرِ، فَبَايَعَ النَّاسُ أَبَا بَكُرٍ، فَاسْتَخْلَفَ عُمَرَ، فَبَايَعْتُ وَرَضِيتُ وَسَلَّمْتُ، ثُمَّ بَايَعَ النَّاسُ عُثْمَانَ، فَبَايَعْتُ وَسَلَّمْتُ وَرَضِيتُ، وَهُمُ الأَنَّ يَمِيلُونَ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَ مُعَاوِيَةً.

`Abdul-Rahman bin abi Bakrah al-Thaqafi narrated: `Ali returned to us and said: "Nobody from this nation had to deal with what I dealt with, the Messenger (saw) died and I had the most right to this matter out of all people. However, people declared allegiance to Aba Bakr who in turn appointed `Umar, so I also pledged, accepted and submitted. Then people gave a pledge to `Uthman and I too pledged, accepted and submitted so today they're undecided between me and Mu`awiyah?"⁶⁵

وعن يَحْيَى بْنِ عُرُوَةَ الْمُرَادِيِّ، قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ عَلِيًّا، رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، يَقُولُ: قُبِضَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَاجْتَمَعَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ عَلَي أَبِي بَكْرٍ، قُلْتُ: أَرَى أَنَّهُ لا يَعْدِلُهَا عَنِّي، فَوَلاهَا عُمَرَ، فَسَمِعْتُ وَأَطَعْتُ، ثُمَّ حَضَرَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ، قُلْتُ: أَرَى أَنَّهُ لا يَعْدِلُهَا عَنِّي فَوَلاهَا عُمَرَ، فَسَمِعْتُ وَأَطَعْتُ، ثُمَّ إِنَّ عُمَرَ أُصِيبَ، فَظَنَنْتُ أَنَّهُ لا يَعْدِلُهَا عَنِّي فَجَعَلَهَا فِي سِتَّةٍ، أَنَا مِنْهُمْ، فَوَلَوْهَا عُثْمَانَ، فَسَمِعْتُ وَأَطَعْتُ، ثُمُّ إِنَّ عُثْمَانَ قُتِلَ، فَجَاءُوا يُبَايِعُونِي طَائِعِينَ عَيْرَ مُكْرَهِينَ، ثُمَّ خَلَعُوا بَيْعَتِي، فَوَاللَّهِ مَا وَجَدْتُ إِلا السَّيْفَ، أُو الْكُفْرَ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ النَّبِيِّ.

Yahya bin `Urwah bin al-Zubayr bin al-`Awwam said: I heard `Ali say: The Messenger (saw) passed away and the Muslims united around Abi Bakr, so I listened and I obeyed. Then when Abu Bakr was dying I said: "I don't think he'll choose anyone over me." But he chose `Umar so I listened and I obeyed. When `Umar was injured I thought he wouldn't choose anybody over me yet he nominated six including myself and they chose `Uthman so I listened and I obeyed. When `Uthman was killed, they came to me voluntarily offering their pledge without compulsion but they broke their oaths so by God I found only two options: The sword or disbelief in what God revealed to Muhammad (saw).

I say: In the time of `Ali the people were different groups: Those who viewed `Ali as most deserving and best for this religion so they offered him allegiance such as `Ammar bin Yasir. Those who participated in assassinating `Uthman then joined `Ali's army for protection and because they assumed `Ali owed them for granting him authority such as Hurqus bin Zuhayr. Those who were forced to offer a pledge to `Ali and were harassed by his Shia such as Talhah bin `Ubaydullah. Those who recognized the danger of the great Fitnah so they remained on the sidelines until the ordeal was over such as `Abdullah bin `Umar. Those who accused `Ali of assassinating `Uthman or at least harboring his assassins such as Mu`awiyah bin abi Sufiyan. Those who were staunch supporters of `Ali in his wars yet turned on him and accused him of disbelief after negotiating with his opponents such as `Abdul-Rahman bin Muljam.

⁶⁵ Baladhuri, `Abdullah bin Ahmad

⁶⁶ Abu Nu`aym

Just like `Umar, `Ali is a man who is well known for being strict in applying God's laws and he would never fear anyone's reproach when fulfilling God's command. When he became the Caliph he quickly moved to discipline those who separated from the majority of Muslims and sought to return them to the fort of Islam under his leadership and guidance.

11-Abu Bakr's first official public speech.

خطب الصديق فقال: أيُّهَا النَّاسُ، إنِّي وُلِّيتُ أَمْرَكُمْ وَلَسْتُ بِخَيْرِكُمْ ,وليت هذا الأمر وأنا له كاره، والله لوددت أن بعضكم كفانيه والله ما كنت حريصا على الإمارة يوماً ولا ليلة قط ولا كنت راغبًا فيها ولا سَلْتها الله في سر ولا علانية ولكني أشفقت من الفتنة ومالى في الإمارة من راحة يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّمَا أَنَا مِثْلُكُمْ ، وَإِنِّي لا أَدْرِي لَعَلَّكُمْ سَتُكَلِّفُونَنِي مَا كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللّه عَلَيْهِ وَسَلّمَ يُطِيقُ ، إنَّ اللّهَ اصْطَفَى مُحَمَّذًا عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ وَعَصَمَهُ مِنَ الآفَاتِ لقد قلدت أمرًا عظيمًا ما لي به من طاقة و لا يد إلا بتقوية الله نزل القرآن، و سنت السنن، و علمنا فتعلمنا إن اكيس الكيس التقي، و أحمق الحمق الفجور ،إنَّ لِي شَيْطَانًا يَعْتَرينِي، فَإِيَّاكُمْ وَإِيَّايَ إِذَا غَضِبْتُ، لا أُوثِرُ فِي أَشْعَارِكُمْ، وَأَبْشَارِكُمْ اعْتَبرُوا عِبَادَ اللَّهِ بِمَنْ مَاتَّ مِنْكُمْ وَتَقَكَّرُوا قِيمَنُ كَانَ قَبْلَكُمْ ، أَيْنَ كَانُوا أَمْسَ وَأَيْنَ هُمُ الْيَوْمَ ۚ؟ أَيْنَ الْجَبّارُونَ ؟ وَأَيْنَ الَّذِينَ كَانَ لَهُمْ ذِكْرُ الْقِتَالِ وَالْغَلَبَةُ فِي مَوَاطِنِ الْحُرُوبِ؟ قَدْ تَضَعْضِعَ بِهِمُ الدَّهْرُ وَصِارُواْ رَمِيمًا ، قَدْ تُرِكَّتْ عَلَيْهِم الْقَالَاتُ ، الْخَبِيثَاتُ لِلْخَبِيثِينَ وَالْخَبِيثُونَ لِلْخَبِيثَاتِ ، وَأَيْنَ اَلْمُلُوكُ الَّذِينَ أَثَارُوا الْأَرْضَ وَعَمَّرُوهَا . أَيْنَ الَّذِينَ بَنَوُا الْمَدَائِنَ وَحَصَّنُو هَا بِالْحَوَائِطُ وَجَعَلُوا فَبِهَا الْأَعَاجِيبَ ؟ قَدْ تَرَكُو هَا لَمَنْ خَلْفَهُمْ ، فَتَلْكَ مَسَاكنُهُمْ خَاوِيَةً ، وَهُمْ فِي ظُلُمَاتِ الْقُبُورِ ، هَلْ تُحِسُّ مِنْهُمْ مِنْ أَحَدٍ أَوْ تَسْمَعُ لَهُمْ رِكْزًا ؟ قَدْ بُعِدُوا وَنُسِيَ ذِكْرُهُمْ وَصَارُوا كَلاْ شَيْءَ ، أَلا إِنَّ اللَّهَ قَدْ أَبْقَى عَلَيْهِمُ التَّبَعَاتَ وَقَطَعَ عَنْهُمُ الشَّهَوَاتِ ، وَمَضَوْا وَالأَعْمَالُ أَعْمَالُهُمْ ، وَالدُّنْيَا تُنْيَا غَيْرِ هِمْ . أَيْنَ الْوُضَّاءُ الْحَسٰنَةُ وَجُو هَهُمْ الْمُعْجَبُونَ بشَبَابِهمْ ؟ صَارُوا تُرَابًّا وَصَارَ مَا فَرَّطُوا فِيهِ حَسْرَةً عَلَيْهُمْ ، أَيْنَ مَنْ تَعْرِفُونَ مِنْ أَبْنَائِكُمْ وَإِخْوَانِكُمْ ؟ قَدِ أَنْتَهَتْ بِهِمْ آجَالُهُمْ فَوَرَدُوا عَلَى مَا قَدَّمُوا فَحَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ ، وَأَقَامُوا لِلشُّقْوَةِ وَالسَّعَادَةِ فِيمَا بَعْدَ الْمَوْتِ وَبَقِينَا خَلَفًا بَعْدَهُمْ ، فَإِنْ نَحْنُ اعْتَبَرْنَا بهمْ ؛ نَجَوْنَا ، وَإِن اغْثَرَرْنَا ؛ كُنَّا مِثْلَهُمْ ، أَلا إِنَّ اللَّهَ لا شَرِيكَ لَهُ لَيْسَ بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ أَحَدَ مِنْ خَلْقِهِ سَبَبّ يُعْطِيه به خَيْرًا ، وَلا يَصْر فُ عَنْهُ به سُو ءًا إلا بِطَاعَته وَانِّبَاعَ أَمْرٍ ه ، وَاعْلَمُو ا أَنَّكُمْ عَبيدٌ مَدينُونَ ، وَأَنَّ مَا عِنْدُهُ لا يُدْرَكُ إلا بِطَاعَتِهِ ، أَمَا أَنَّهُ لا خَيْرَ بَخَيْر بَعْدَهُ النَّارُ ۖ ، وَلا شَرَّ بشَرِّ بَعْدَهُ الْجَنَّةُ الصَّدْقُ أَمَانَةً ، وَالْكَذِبُ خِيَانَةٌ، فَالْضَّعِيفُ مِنْكُمْ قَويٌّ حَتَّى أَرُدَّ إِلَّيْهِ حَقَّهُ، وَالْقَوْيُّ ضِعِيفٌ حَتَّى آخُذَ الْحَقَّ مِنْهُ، ايها الناس انما انا متبع و لست بمبتدع، أذا أحسنت فأعينوني، و اذا زُغت فقومّوني إنَّهُ لا يَدَعُ قَوْمٌ الْجهَاد إلا ضَرَبَهَمُ اللَّهُ بِالَّذَٰلِّ، وَلا تَشْبِعُ فِي قَوْمِ الْفَاحِشَةُ إلا عَمَّهُمُ الْبَلاءُ، أَطيعُونِي مَا أَطَعْتُ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ ، فَإِذَا عَصَيْتُ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ ؛ فَلا طَاعَةَ لِيَّ عَلَيْكُمْ ، قُومُوا إِلَى صَلاتِكُمْ رَحِمَكُمُ اللَّهُ.

Abu Bakr's first sermon to the Muslims was as follows: "O people, I've been put in charge of your affairs though I am not the best of you and I was assigned to this task although I detest it. By God, I wished some of you would take my place for I was never a seeker of authority by day or by night, nor did I desire it or ask God for it publicly or secretly. I feared turbulence would engulf us yet I still do not feel comfort in being chief. O people, I am only a man like you and I am unsure whether you expect me to fulfill what only the Messenger (saw) could accomplish. God has sent Muhammad (saw) to the worlds and protected him from defects, while I was burdened with a great task I cannot bear except with God's help. Verily, Qur'an was revealed, traditions were set and we learned that the cleverest of things is being wary of God whereas the most idiotic of things is lewdness. Surely there is a devil about me who troubles me, you must keep away from me if I am angry so that I may not cause you harm. Take heed O slaves of God and think about those who preceded you, where were they yesterday and where are they today? Where are the tyrants? Where are the famous warriors and

conquerors? The times passed and decomposed them to nothing more than rumours. Where are the kings who ravaged the lands, constructed fortified cities and built marvelous monuments? They've left it all to those behind them, observe their deserted houses as they dwell in the darkness of the graves unable to make a sign or produce a sound. They're long gone, forgotten as if they were nothing. God will hold them to account by consequence of their actions and prevent them from fulfilling further desires. They left the realm of the living, carrying their deeds while leaving their world behind for others. Where are the handsome youth who were proud of their beauty? They've become sand, regretful of what they overlooked. Where are your children and brethren? Their lives expired and soon they will rise to meet their judgement whether a joyful or wretched after-life. If we are to benefit from their example, we shall be saved but if we're arrogant then our fate will not be any different from theirs. Truly, God has no partner so there isn't a way for you to acquire His reward or avoid His wrath except by obeying His command and know that what He Has in store for you can only be attained through adhering to His orders. I swear that there is no goodness in anything good if it leads to fire nor is there an evil that leads to paradise. Truthfulness is synonymous with fulfilling the trust, and lying is equivalent to treachery, thus the weak among you is deemed strong by me, until I return to them that which is rightfully theirs. And the strong among you is deemed weak by me, until I take from them the rights of others. O people, I am only a follower not an innovator so if I do well, then help me; and if I act wrongly, then correct me. No group of people abandons struggle in the path of God, except that He makes them suffer humiliation. And mischief does not become widespread among a people, except that God inflicts them with widespread calamity. Obey me so long as I obey God and His Messenger (saw). And if I disobey God and His Messenger (saw), then I have no right to your obedience. Stand up now to pray, may God have mercy on you."67

⁶⁷ Zubayr, Ibn Sa`d, Bayhaqi, `Abdul-Razzaq, Tabari, Ibn Nasir-ul-Din

12-The evening of Wednesday & the burial of the Prophet peace be upon him.

An important question needs to be clarified before we move on to the burial: Did Abu Bakr and `Umar miss the funeral? The answer is No, both men were present in our mother `A'ishah's house along with the family and close friends of the Prophet (saw) before `Umar was alerted about Saqifah. They did not attend the washing as it is done only by the relatives of the Prophet (saw) according to Islamic customs. They also attended the funeral prayer and Abu Bakr was the one who gave special instructions on how the prayer is performed. It is said that both men missed the burial due to being preoccupied with the affairs of the Ansar.

As for why the burial was delayed for our Prophet (saw)? That is because they wanted to give all people the chance to visit him and pray for him before his departure. His family went first and they were followed by the Muhajirin, the rest of the Ansar and finally the women and children got a chance.

قال موسى بن محمد بن إبراهيم بن الحارث التيمي: وجدت هذا في صحيفة بخط أبي فيهما: لما كفن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ووضع على سريره دخل أبو بكر وعمر فقالا: السلام عليك أيها النبي ورحمة الله و بركاته ومعهما نفر من المهاجرين و الأنصار قدر ما يسع البيت، فسلموا كما سلم أبو بكر وعمر وصفوا صفوفا لا يؤمهم عليه أحد.

Musa bin Muhammad bin Ibrahim al-Taymi said: I found written in my father's book with his handwriting: When the Messenger (saw) was shrouded and placed on his bed, Abu Bakr and `Umar entered the house and said: "Peace and mercy be upon you O Prophet." Along with them came a group of Muhajirin and Ansar as much as the (small) house can accommodate. They sent their salutations as Abu Bakr and `Umar did then stood in rows without being led by anyone.⁶⁸

قال عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ عَبَاسِ: " لَمَّا أَرَادُوا أَنْ يَحْفِرُوا لِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَكَانَ أَبُو عُبَيْدَةَ بْنُ الْجَرَّاحِ يَصْرَحُ كَحَفْرُ أَهْلِ مَكَةً ، وَكَانَ أَبُو طَلْحَةً زَيْدُ بْنُ سَهْلٍ هُوَ الَّذِي يَخْفِرُ لأَهْلِ الْمَدِينَةِ وَكَانَ يَلْحَدُ ، فَذَعَا الْعَبَّاسُ رَجُلَيْنَ ، فَقَالَ لأَحْدِهِمَا : اذْهَبْ إلِي أَبِي عُبَيْدَةَ ، وَلِلآخَرِ اذْهَبْ إلِي أَبِي طَلْحَةً اللَّهُمَّ خِرْ لَوسُولِكَ ، قَالَ : فَوَجَدَ صَاحِبُ أَبِي طَلْحَةً أَبَا طَلْحَةً ، فَجَاءَ بِهِ فَلَحَدَ لِرَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَوْمَ الثَّلاثَاءِ وُضِعَ عَلَى سَرِيرهِ فِي بَيْتِهِ ، وَقَدْ كَانَ فَلَمْ فَرَغْ مِنْ جِهَاذِ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَوْمَ الثَّلاثَاءِ وُضِعَ عَلَى سَرِيرهِ فِي بَيْتِهِ ، وَقَدْ كَانَ اللهُ سُلِيرِهِ فِي بَيْتِهِ ، وَقَدْ كَانَ اللهُ سُلِيرِهِ فِي بَيْتِهِ ، وَقَدْ كَانَ اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَوْمَ الثَّلاثَاءِ وُضِعَ عَلَى سَرِيرهِ فِي بَيْتِهِ ، وَقَدْ كَانَ اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَوْمَ الثَّلاثَاءِ وُضِعَ عَلَى سَرِيرهِ فِي بَيْتِهِ ، وَقَدْ كَانَ اللهُ عَلَيْهُ وَسَلَّمَ يَوْمَ الثَّلاثَاءِ وَسَلَّمَ يَوْمَ الثَّلاثَاءِ وَسَلَّمَ يَوْمَ اللهُ اللهُ يَدُونُ مَعْ أَصْحَالِهِ . فَقَالَ أَبُو مَنْ فِي اللهُونَ الْقَوْلُ عَيْدُ إِلَى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ : " مَا قُبِضَ نَبِيٌّ إِلا يُدْفَلُ حَيْثُ فَبُونَ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ : " مَا قُبِضَ نَبِيٍّ إِلا يُدْفَلُ حَيْثُ فَنِ مَا اللهَالِ فَيُولَ : " مَا قُبِضَ نَبِيًّ إِلا يُدْفَلُ حَيْثُ فَيْضَ اللهَ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ اللهِ عَلَى اللهُ اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ اللهُ اللّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَاللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ عَلَى اللهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ عَلَى اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ عَلَى اللهُ اللّهِ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللهُ اللّهُ ا

`Abdullah bin `Abbas said: When they wished to bury the Messenger (saw) there were two people, aba `Ubaydah bin al-Jarrah who used to dig flat graves after the pattern of the people of Makkah and abu Talhah Zayd bin

⁶⁸ Ibn Sa`d

Sahl who used to dig vaulted graves for the people of Madinah. Al-`Abbas bin `Abdul-Muttalib sent after two men and tasked one to call abu `Ubaydah and the other to call abu Talhah, then he supplicated: "O God, select whatever is best for Your Messenger." They stumbled upon aba Talhah al-Ansari first so he dug for the Prophet (saw) and when the preparations were finished on Tuesday, he (saw) was placed on his bed in the house (so people may pray for him). However, the Muslims had differed on where to bury him, a man said: "Let's bury him in his mosque." Another said: "Nay, he shall be buried with his Companions (in Baqi`)." Abu Bakr told them: "I heard the Messenger (saw) say: A prophet is always buried where he dies."

قَالُوا: يَا صَاحِبَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ (أي ابي بكر)، هَلْ يُدْفَنُ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ؟ قَالَ: نَعُمْ قَالُوا: وَأَيْنَ يُدْفَنُ؟ قَالَ: فِي الْمَكَانِ الَّتِي قَبَضَ اللهُ فِيهَا رُوحَهُ فَإِنَّهُ لَمْ يَقْبِضْ رُوحَهُ إِلَّا فِي مَكَانِ طَيِّبَةٍ قَالَ: فَعَلِمُوا أَنَّهُ كَمَا قَالَ.

A group of them asked Abu Bakr: "O Companion of the Prophet, can we bury the Prophet (saw)?" He said: "Yes." They said: "Where do we bury him?" He answered: "In the location where God took his soul, He surely took it in a blessed spot." They knew at that point that it is as he said.⁷⁰

رُفِعَ فِرَاشُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ الَّذِي تُوفِّيَ عَلَيْهِ فَحُفِرَ لَهُ تَحْتَهُ ، وَدَخَلَ النَّاسُ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ يُصَلُّونَ عَلَيْهِ أَرْسَالًا ، حَتَّى إِذَا فَرَغَ النَّسَاءُ ، أَدُخِلَ الْعَبِيدُ . أَرْسَالًا ، حَتَّى إِذَا فَرَغَ النَّسَاءُ ، أَدُخِلَ الْعَبِيدُ . وَلَمْ يَوُمَّ النَّسَاءُ ، أَدُخِلَ النَّسَاءُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَدُدِلَ النِّسَاءُ ، أَدُخِلَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ وَلَمْ يَوُمُ النَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَحَدٌ . ثُمَّ دُفِنَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ وَسَلِّمَ اللَّهُ الأَرْبِعَاءِ.

The Messenger's (saw) bed was lifted so a hole can be made under it. The people prayed in small groups, when men finished the women entered and finally the children and servants. Nobody led that funeral prayer and the Prophet (saw) was buried in the middle of Wednesday evening.⁷¹

Hisham bin `Urwah narrated from his father that Aba Bakr and `Umar did not witness the burial of the Prophet (saw): "They were preoccupied with the Ansar and he was buried before their return."⁷²

71 Tabari

⁶⁹ Tabari, Ibn Ishaq

⁷⁰ Nasa'i

⁷² Ibn abi Shaybah

13-The expedition of Usamah.

لْمًا بُويِعَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ وَجَمَعَ الأَنْصَارَ فِي الأَمْرِ الَّذِي افْتَرَقُوا فِيهِ ، قَالَ : لَيُتَمَّ بَعْثُ أَسَامَةَ وَقَدِ ارْتَدَّتِ الْعَرَبُ أَمَّا عَاْمَةً وَإِمَّا خَاصَّةً فِي كُلِّ قَبْيَلَةٍ ، وَنَجَمَ النَّفَاقُ وَاشْرَأَبَّتِ الْيَهُودُ وَالنَّصَارَى ، وَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ كَالْغَنَم فِي اللَّيْلَةِ الْمُطِيرَةِ الشَّاتِيَةِ لِفَقْدِ نَبِيِّهُمْ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ، وَقِلَّتِهمْ وَكَثْرَةٍ عَدُوُّهِمْ ، فَقَالَ لَهُ النَّاسُ : إِنَّ هَؤُلاءِ جُلُّ الْمُسْلِمِينَ ، وَالْعَرَبُ عَلَى مَا تَرَى قَدِ انْتُقِضَتْ بِكَ ، فَلَيْسَ يَنْبُغِي لَكِ تَقُرقَ عَنْكَ جَمَاعَةً الْمُسْلِمِينَ . فَقَالَ أَبُو ۖ بَكْر ۚ : وَالَّذِي نَفْسُ أَبَى بَكْر ۚ بيَدِهِ لَوْ ظَنَنْتُ أَنَ الْسِّبَاعَ تَّخَطَّفَهِ لأَنْفَذْتُ بَعْثَ أَسَامَةً كَمَا أَمَرَ بِهِ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ، وَلَوْ لَمْ يَبْقَ فِي الْقُرَى غَيْرَي لأَنْفَذْتُهُ فنَادَى مُنَادِي أَبِي بَكْرٍ مِنْ بَعْدٍ الْغَدِ مِنْ مُتَوَقِّي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لِيُثَمَّ بَعْثُ أَسَامَةً : ألا لا يَبْقَيَنَّ بِالْمَدِينَةِ أَحَدٌ مِنْ جُنْدِ أَسَامَةَ إلا خَرَجَ إلَى عَسْكَرهِ بِالْجُرْفِ ثُمَّ خَرَجَ أَبُو بَكْر حَتَّى أَتَاهُمْ فَأَشْخَصَهُمْ وَشَيَّعَهُمْ ، وَهُوَ مَاشِ وَأَسَامَةُ رَاكِبٌ ، وَعَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنَ بْنُ عَوْفِ يَقُودُ دَابَّةَ أبي بَكْر ، فَقَالَ لَهُ أَسَامَةُ : يَا خَلِيفَةَ رَٰسُولِ اللَّهِ ، وَاللَّهِ لَتَرْكَبَنَّ أَوْ لأَنْزِلَنَّ . فَقَالَ : َوَاللَّهِ لا تَنْزَلُ وَوَاللَّهِ لاَ أَرْكَبُ ، وَمَا عَلَىَّ أَنْ أُغَبِّرَ قَدَمَى في سَبيلِ الله سَاعَة ، فَإِنَّ لِلْغَارِي بِكُلِّ خُطْوة يَخْطُوهَا سَبْعَ مِائَةٍ حَسَنَةٍ تُكْتَبُ لَهُ ، وَسَبْعَ مِائَةٍ دَرَجَةٍ تُرْفَعُ لَهُ ، وَتُرْفَعُ عَنْهُ سَبْعُ مِانَةٍ خَطِيئَةٍ. ولما همّ ابو بكر بالخروج عن المدينة والمسير الي اصل الردة، اخذ امير المؤمنين على بعنان فرسه وقال له: اقول لك كما قال لك رسول الله صلَّى الله عليه وسلم يوم أحد: شمّ سيفك، وارجع مكانك، ومتعنا بنفسك، وأنا أقول لك: أنفذ جيشك وارجع الى المدينة، فإنك إن هلكت لم يكن للاسلام بعدك نظام، فقبل رأيه حَتَّى إذَا انْتَهَى ، قَالَ لأسامة : إنْ رَأيت أَنْ تُعِينَنِي بِعُمَرَ فَافْعَلْ فَأَذِنَ لَهُ . ثُمَّ قَالَ : يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ قِفُوا أُوصِكُمْ بِعَشْر فَاحْفَظُوهَا عَنِّي : لا تَخُونُوا ، وَلا تَغِلُوآ ، وَلا تَغْدِرُوا ، وَلا تُمَثِّلُوا ، وَلا تَقْتُلُوا طِفْلاَ صَغِيرًا ، وَلا شَيْخًا كَبيرًا ، وَلا أَهْرَأَةً ، وَلا تَعْقِرُوا نَخْلا وَلا تُحَرِّقُوهُ ، وَلا تَقْطَعُوا شَجَرَةً مُثْمِرةً ، وَلا تَنْبَحُوا شَاةً وَلا بَقَرَةً وَلا بَعِيرًا إلا لِمَأْكَلةِ ، وَسَوْفَ تَمُرُّونَ بِأَقْوَامَ قَدْ فَرَّغُوا أَنْفُسِهُمْ فِي الصَّوَامِعِ ، فَدَعُوهُمْ وَمَا فَرَّغُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ لَهُ ، وَسَوْفِ تَقْدَمُونَ عَلَى قَوْم يَأْتُونَكُمْ بِآنِيَّة فِيهَا أَلْوَانُ الطُّعَامْ ، فَإِذَا أَكُلَّتُمْ مِنْهَا شَيِّنًا بَعْدَ شَيْء ؛ فَاذْكُرُوا اسْمَ اللَّه عَلَيْهَا ، وَتَلْقُونَ أَقْوَامًا قَدْ فَحَصُوا أَوْسَاطَ رُءُوسِهِمْ وَتَرَكُوا حَوْلَهَا مِثْلَ الْعَصَائِبِ، فَاخْفِقُوهُمْ بِالسَّيْفِ خَفْقًا ، انْدَفِعُو ا بِاسْمِ اللَّهِ أَقْنَاكُمُ اللَّهُ بِالطَّعْنِ وَ الطَّاعُونِ لِـ

After Abu Bakr united the Ansar, he said: "Let us dispatch Usamah's expedition." However, the Arabs had apostated and some tribes abandoned the matter partially while others abandoned it altogether. Hypocrisy spread, the Jews and Christians grew powerful while the Muslims were like sheep on a rainy night after losing their Prophet (saw) and having their numbers reduced compared to their enemies. The people told Abu Bakr: "They (i.e Usamah's army) are the majority of Muslims and the Arabs have revolted around us as you see. You musn't scatter the bulk of Muslims from around you." Abu Bakr responded: "By He who holds my soul in His Hand, were the city swarming round with packs of ravenous wolves, and I was left solitarily and alone, I will still dispatch this expedition exactly as the Messenger (saw) instructed."

Abu Bakr then ordered a man on the next day to begin calling: "Let those who were assigned to Usamah's unit head to their camp in al-Juraf, none of you can remain in Madinah!" Abu Bakr then went to prepare them and meet them in their camp. He walked while Usamah was riding and `Abdul-Rahman pulled the reigns of Abu Bakr's steed so Usamah said: "O successor

of Allah's Messenger (saw), by God either you ride or I'll dismount!" Abu Bakr said: "Why wouldn't I soil my feet in Allah's cause for a while? Truly, every step trodden in the way of God is equal to the merit of manifold good works, and wipes out a large number of sins."

Abu Bakr had resolved to confront the renegades but `Ali took hold of his horse's reigns and said: "I say to you what the Messenger (saw) said to you during Uhud: 'Put down your sword, turn back and let us enjoy your company (while we live).' And I say to you similarly, dispatch the army then head back to Madinah."

When they finally reached the point of departure, Abu Bakr asked Usamah: "If you find it acceptable to leave `Umar behind so he may aid me then I am grateful." On this, Usamah excused `Umar and permitted him to remain in Madinah.

Abu Bakr wished to advise the army, he said: "Halt O people that I may advise you about ten things so memorize: You shall not engage in treachery; you shall not act unfaithfully with regards to spoils; you shall not back-stab; you shall not indulge in mutilation; you shall kill neither a child, an elder nor a woman; you shall not fell palm trees or burn them, you shall not cut down any fruit-bearing tree; you shall not slaughter a sheep or a cow or a camel save for needful sustenance. You will pass people who occupy themselves in monks' cells; leave them alone, and ignore what they busy themselves with. You will come to a people who will bring you vessels in which are varieties of food; if you eat anything from those dishes, mention the name of God over them. You will meet a people who have shaved the middle of their head and have left around it a ring of hair like turbans; tap them lightly with the sword. Go ahead, in God's name; may God make you perish through wounds and plague!"⁷³

⁷³ Tabari, Abu al-Fida', `Abdul-Jabbar

14-Banu Hashim & their demand for prophetic properties.

عَنْ عَائِشَةَ ۚ أَنَّ فَاطِمَةَ ۚ وَالْعَبَّاسَ ۚ أَتَيَا أَبَا بَكْرِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا يَلْتَمِسَانِ مِيرَاتَهُمَا مِنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَهُمَا حِينَنِذٍ يُطِلْبَانِ أَرْضَهُ مِنْ فَدَكِ وَسَهْمَهُ مِنْ خَيْبَرَ ، فَقَالَ لَهُمَا أَبُو بَكُر : سَمَعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ : " لا نُورَثُ مَا تَرَكْنَا صَدَقَةٌ إِنَّمَا يَأْكُلُ آلُ مُحَمَّد صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ : " لا نُورَثُ مَا تَرَكُنَا صَدَقَةٌ إِنَّمَا يَأْكُلُ آلُ مُحَمَّد صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَصْنَعُهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَصْنَعُهُ وَاللَّهِ لا الْحُ أَمْرًا رَأَيْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَصْنَعُهُ فِي ذَلِكَ حَتَّى مَاتَتُ وَ فَدَفَنَهَا عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ لَيْلا وَلَمْ يَوْدَ وَلَهُ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ لَيْلا وَلَمْ يَوْدَ وَلَهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَعْهُ لَيْلا اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمُ فِي ذَلِكَ حَتَّى مَاتَتُ وَ فَذَنَهَا عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ لَيْلا وَلَمْ مُونَ وَلَهُ مُنْ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ لَيْلا اللَّهُ عَنْهُ لَيْلا فَهُمَا أَبُو بَكُر. وَلَا لَهُمَا اللَّهُ عَلْهُ مُنْ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمُ فَلَا اللَّهُ عَلْهُ لَهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ فَلَكُ وَاللَّهُ عَلْهُ عُلْمَ لَهُ وَلَا اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَلَاللَهُ عَلَيْهُ وَلَالَهُ عَلَيْهُ وَلَا اللَّهُ عَلْهُ لَمُ اللَّهُ عَلْهُ لَوْلَ كَا عَلَى مُا اللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ اللَّهُ عَلْهُ لُو مُنْ وَلَهُ اللَّهُ عَلْهُ اللَّهُ عَلْهُ اللَّهُ عَلْهُ اللَّهُ عَلْهُ اللَّهُ عَلْمُ اللَّهُ عَلْهُ لَاللَهُ عَلَيْهُ اللْهُ عَلَيْهُ اللَّهُ عَلْهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ اللْهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ اللَّهُ عَلْهُ اللْهُ الْعُلْمُ لُولُولُهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ عَلَيْهُ عَلَيْهُ عَلَيْهُ عَلَيْهُ عَلَيْهُ الْعَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ الْهَالِكُ وَلَوْمَ لَاللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ اللْهُ الْمُولِمُ لَا اللْمُ الْعُلِهُ اللْهُ الْمُؤْمِلُولُ اللْهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ الْمُؤْمِلُولُولُ اللْهُ اللَّهُ عَلْهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللْمُ اللَّهُ اللْهُ اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمِلُولُولُولُ الللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَ

'A'ishah narrated an event that took place a few days after Abu Bakr was appointed as Caliph, she said: Fatimah and 'Abbas came to Abu Bakr seeking the inheritance of the Messenger (saw). At that time, they both asked for the land of Fadak and his share from Khaybar so Abu Bakr responded: "I heard the Messenger (saw) saying: 'We're not to be inherited, what we leave behind is charity.' Muhammad's (saw) family may only eat from this property. And by God, I will not leave a thing I saw the Prophet (saw) do while managing these properties unless I do it as well." She said: So Fatimah left him and never talked to him about it until she died. 'Ali then buried her at night-time and Abu Bakr did not lead her prayer.

روى عَمْرِو بْنِ الْحَارِثِ، عَنْ جُوَيْرِيَةً بِنْتِ الْحَارِثِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا، قَالَتْ وَاللَّهِ مَا تَرَكَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ عِنْدَ مَوْتِهِ دِينَارًا وَلا دِرْهَمَا وَلا عَبْدًا وَلا أَمَةً، إلا بَغْلَتُهُ وَسِلاحَهُ، وَأَرْضًا تَرَكَهَا صَدَقَةً .

`Amr bin al-Harith narrated from his sister, our mother Juwayriah bint al-Harith: "By Allah, the Messenger of Allah (saw) when he died left neither Dinar nor Dirham, not a slave man or woman, except his (white) mule, a weapon, and a land he left as charity."⁷⁴

I say: This incident not only raised tensions between Banu Hashim and Caliph Abu Bakr but it was also utilized by opponents of religion to cast doubt on the righteousness of the Prophet's (saw) Companions and later caused a divide among the gullible naive masses in the Prophet's (saw) nation.

⁷⁴ Hakim

15-A brief period of tension between Quraysh and the Ansar.

While Abu Bakr was preoccupied by Usamah's army and preparing for an evil that bared its fangs posing a serious threat to the Islamic community as a whole, some individuals in Makkah and Madinah were preoccupied with rants and criticizing each-other's political decisions.

We report this entire chapter as found in the book of al-Zubayr bin Bakkar al-Qurashi.

When Bashir bin Sa'd pledged to Aba Bakr then a crowd encircled him, Abu Sufiyan bin Harb went to 'Ali bin abi Talib's house and recited poetry.

In his poetry he advised Hashimites to not let the clans of Taym bin Murrah and `Adi be greedy and take their shares. He said: "This matter is only for you and to you O Hashimis. Only aba al-Hasan is capable of running it." He then advised `Ali to be decisive.⁷⁵

فَقَالَ عَلِيٍّ لأَبِي سُفْيَانَ: إِنَّكَ تُرِيدُ أَمْرًا لَسْنَا مِنْ أَصْحَابِهِ، وَقَدْ عَهِدَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَهْدًا فَأَنَا لَهُ قَتَرَكَهُ أَبُو سُفْيَانَ، وَعَدَلَ إِلَى الْعَبَّاسِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمُطَلِبِ فِي مَنْزِلِهِ، فَقَالَ: يَا أَبَا الْفَضْلِ، أَنْتَ أَحْقُ بِمِيرَاثِ أَخِيكَ، امْدُدْ يَدَكَ لأَبَابِعَكَ، فَلا يَخْتَافُ عَلَيْكَ النَّاسُ بَعْدَ بَيْعَتِي إِيَّاكَ فَضَحِكَ الْعَبَّاسُ، وَقَالَ: يَا أَبَا سُفْيَانَ، يَذْفَعُهَا عَلِيٍّ وَيَطْلُبُهَا الْعَبَّاسُ! فَرَجَعَ أَبُو سُفْيَانَ خَائِبًا.

'Ali told abi Sufiyan: "We do not desire what you desire. The Prophet (saw) had given a command and I shall abide by it."

I say: What is meant here is that the Prophet (saw) must have offered advice, most likely to Banu Hashim as a whole or to `Ali especially and he decided to follow it.

⁷⁵ Ya`qubi

Abu Sufiyan abandoned `Ali and went to al-`Abbas's house saying: "O aba al-Fadl, you've more right to your brothers' inheritance (i.e authority), give me your hand that I may offer the oath then none can dispute with you afterwards." Al-`Abbas laughed and said: "O aba Sufiyan, `Ali pushes it away and you expect al-`Abbas to demand it?" Abu Sufiyan finally returned in disappointment.

اجْتَمَعَ قَوْمٌ مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ، وَقَوْمٌ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ، قَتَعَاتَبُوا فِيمَا بَيْنَهُمْ فَقَالَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ عَوْفِ: يَا مَعْشَرَ الأَنْصَارِ، إِنَّكُمْ وَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ أُولِي فَضْلُ وَنَصْرِ وَسَابِقَةٍ، وَلَكِنْ لَيْسَ فِيكُمْ مِثْلُ أَبِي بَكْرٍ وَلا عُمَرً وَلا عُمَرً وَلا عَلَيٍّ وَلا أَبِي عُبَيْدَةَ فَقَالَ زَيْدُ بْنُ أَرْفَةٍ: " إِنَّا لا نَنْكِرُ فَضْلُ مَنْ ذَكَرْتَ يَا عَبْدَ الرَّحْمَنِ، وَإِنَّ مِنَّا لَسَيّدَ الأَنْصَارِ سَعْدَ بْنَ عُبَادَةً، وَمَنْ أَمْنَ اللَّهُ رَسُولُهُ أَنْ يُقْرِئَهُ السَّلامَ، وَأَنْ يَأْخُدُ عَنْهُ الْقُرُآنَ أَبِيَ بْنَ كَعْبٍ، وَمَنْ أَمْضَى رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، وَمَنْ يَجِيءُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ إِمَامَ الْعُلَمَاءِ مُعَاذَ بْنَ جَبْلٍ، وَمَنْ أَمْضَى رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، شَهَادَة بِرَجُوبُهُ مِنْ لَوْ طَلَبَ هَذَا الأَمْرَ لَمْ يَتَابِعُ مِنْ لَوْ طَلَبَ هَذَا الأَمْرَ لَمْ يَتْ مِنْ فَرَيْشٍ مَنْ لَوْ طَلَبَ هَذَا الأَمْرَ لَمْ يَتَا لِيَا لَنَعْلَمُ أَنَّ مِمَّنْ سَمَّيْتَ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ مَنْ لَوْ طَلَبَ هَذَا الأَمْرَ لَمْ يَتَابِعُ فِيهِ أَحَدً

After things were settled, a group of Ansar and Muhajirin gathered and reproached one another. 'Abdul-Rahman bin 'Awf said: "O fellow Ansar, even though you acquired the virtue and honor of supporting (religion) but you do not have among you the likes of Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Ali or abi 'Ubaydah." Zayd bin Arqam responded: "We do not deny the virtue of those whom you mentioned O 'Abdul-Rahman, although we have on our side the master of the Ansar Sa'd bin 'Ubadah. We have the man that God ordered our Prophet (saw) to greet and ordered that Qur'an be taken from him, he is Ubay bin Ka'b. We also have the leader of all scholars on the day of judgement, he is Mu'adh bin Jabal. And a man whom the Prophet (saw) counted his testimony as that of two, Khuzaymah bin Thabit. As for those you named from Quraysh, we know a man among them that no one would dispute with if he were to ask for it, 'Ali bin abi Talib."

قَالَ ابْنُ أَبِي عَزَّةَ الْقُرَشِيُّ

شُكْرًا لِمَنْ هُوَ بِالثَّنَاءِ حَقِيقُ ... ذَهَبَ اللَّجَاجُ وَبُويِعَ الصَّدِيقُ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا زَلَّتْ بِسَعْدٍ نَعْلُهُ ... وَرَجَا رَجَاءً دُونَهُ الْعَيُّوقُ حَقَّتْ بِهِ الأَنْصَارُ عَاصِبَ رَأْسِهِ ... فَأَتَاهُمُ الصَّدِّيقُ وَالْفَارُوقُ وَأَبُو عُبَيْدَةَ وَالَّذِينَ إِلَيْهِمُ ... نَفْسُ الْمُوَمِّلِ لِلَّقِاءِ تَتُوقُ كُنَّا نَقُولُ لَهَا عَلِيٍّ وَالرِّضَا ... عُمرٌ وَأَوْلاهُمْ بِذَاكَ عَتِيقُ فَدَعَتْ قُرَيْشٌ بِاسْمِهِ فَأَجَابَهَا ... إِنَّ الْمُنَوَّهُ بِاسْمِهِ الْمَوْثُوقُ قُلْ لِلأَلْى طَلَبُوا الْخِلافَةَ زِلَّةٌ ... لَمْ يَخْطُ مِثْلَ خُطَاهُمُ مَخْلُوقُ

⁷⁶ Check for similar text recorded by al-Ya'qubi

إِنَّ الْخِلافَةَ فِي قُرَيْش مَالَكُمْ ... فِيهَا وَرَبِّ مُحَمَّدٍ مَعْرُوقُ

Ibn abi `Azzah al-Qurashi recited the following poetry in response, he praised Abu Bakr greatly and described how the Ansar's efforts to push for Sa`d failed. He then recited: "We (i.e Quraysh) used to say: `Ali is suitable for it, `Umar also is pleasing for us (as leader) and the worthiest of them is `Atiq (a.k.a Abu Bakr)." He ended his poetry with this verse: "Successorship is only for Quraysh. By Muhammad's Lord you (i.e Ansar) have not even the slightest share in it."

I say: We can see clearly that both Quraysh and the Ansar were boasting about how great their candidates were. The Qurashi poet, was praising Abu Bakr, `Umar and `Ali and announcing to the Ansar that they had no share in authority as per prophetic traditions.

كَانَ عَامَةُ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَجُلُّ الأَنْصَارِ لا يَشْكُونَ أَنَّ عَلِيًّا هُوَ صَاحِبُ الأَمْرِ بَعْدَ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ، فَقَالَ الْفَصْلُ بْنُ الْعَبَّاسِ: يَا مَعْشَرَ قُريْشِ، وَخُصُوصًا يَا بَنِي تَيْمٍ، إِنَّكُمْ، إِنَّمُ الْخِلْفَةَ بِالنُّبُوَةِ وَ نَحْنُ أَهْلُهُ لَكَانَتْ كَرَاهَةُ النَّاسِ لَنَا أَعْظَمَ مِنْ كَرَاهَةِ النَّاسِ لَنَا أَعْظَمَ مِنْ كَرَاهَتِهِمْ لِغَيْرِنَا، حَسَدًا مِنْهُمُ لَنَا وَحِقْدًا عَلَيْنَا، وَإِنَّا لَنَعْلَمُ أَنَّ عِنْدَ صَاحِبِنَا عَهْدًا هُوَ يَنْتَهِي إِلَيْهِ.

Generally, the Muhajirun and most Ansar had no doubt that `Ali would be awarded authority after the Messenger (saw). However, when Aba Bakr received it al-Fadl bin al-`Abbas said: "O people of Quraysh and especially you O bani Taym, you had received Caliphate because of Prophethood. However, we are its (i.e prophethood's) possessors not you and if we were to ask for that (i.e leadership) then the people would dislike us more so than others, due to jealousy and grudges. We know well that our companion received a command and he shall see the end of it."

I say: Al-Fadl is the son of al-`Abbas and the cousin of `Ali. He told Quraysh and Banu Taym (Abu Bakr's clan) that the only reason they received authority was due to being from the Prophet's (saw) tribe, yet Banu Hashim are the Prophet's (saw) family so they are even nearer and thus are the rightful successors according to al-Fadl. He says that if Banu Hashim were to ask for leadership the people would detest them more due to jealousy since they'll possess both Prophethood and political leadership. Finally, he mentions that `Ali received some instructions in this regard which he will stick to. It is unclear what those instructions were but they seem to pertain to matters of political successorship and general advice for how Banu Hashim should react after the Prophet's (saw) passing.

The report hints that people predicted leadership would most likely go to 'Ali, obviously due to him being a husband to Fatimah and a close blood

⁷⁷ This was also reported by al-Ya'qubi

relative of God's Apostle (saw), yet people still viewed Abu Bakr, `Umar and `Uthman as ideal for such a position. Recall the narration which states that `Ali was given the utmost respect during Fatimah's life but after her passing he was viewed as a man of the Muslims and they reproached him for delaying his allegiance. In several historical reports, `Ali is confronted with this and he states that he was busy memorizing the Qur'an for the sake of preserving it.

عن سالم عن ابن عمر قال: إنكم لتعلمون أنا كنا نقول على عهد رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم -: أبو بكر و عمر و عثمان يعني في الخلافة.

Salim reported from Ibn `Umar that he said: "You know that we (i.e Companions) used to say during the time of the Prophet (saw) that it was Abu Bakr, `Umar and `Uthman who were the best candidates for succeeding authority."

روى ابن أبي مليكة: سمعت عائشة وسئلت من كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم مستخلفا لو استخلفه قالت أبو المبدئه قالت أبو عبيدة بن الجراح ثم انتهت إلى هذا.

Similarly, Ibn abi Mulaykah heard `A'ishah answer when she was asked by the people: "If the Messenger (saw) were to appoint a successor, who would it be?" She said: "Abu Bakr." They asked: "Then who?" She said: "`Umar." They asked again and she answered aba `Ubaydah and stopped at that.

As for those who twist texts and spread rumors that 'Ali was appointed whether publicly or secretly, they were refuted by 'Ali himself in many reports. Let us not get distracted by this however and return to our story.

وَقَالَ بَعْضُ وَلَدِ أَبِي لَهَبِ بْن عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ بْن هَاشِم شِعْرًا

مَا كُنْتُ أَحْسَبُ أَنَّ الأَمْرَ مُنْصَرِفٌ ... عَنْ هَاشِمٍ ثُمَّ مِنْهَا عَنْ أَبِي حَسَنِ

اللَّيْسَ أَوَّلَ مَنْ صَلَّى لِقِبْلَتِكُمْ ... وَأَعْلَمَ النَّاسِ بِالْقُرْآنِ وَالسُّنَن

وَأَقْرَبَ النَّاسِ عَهْدًا بِالنَّبِيِّ وَمَنْ ... جِبْرِيلُ عَوْنٌ لَهُ فِي الْغُسْلِ وَالْكَفَنِ

مَا فِيهِ مَا فِيهِ مَا فِيهِ مَا فِيهِمُ لا يَمْتَرُونَ بِهِ ... وَلَيْسَ فِي الْقَوْمِ مَا فِيهِ مِنَ الْحَسَنِ

مَاذَا الَّذِي رَدَّهُمْ عَنْهُ فَتَعْلَمُهُ ... هَا إِنَّ ذَا عَبْنُنَا مِنْ أَعْظَمَ الْغَبَنِ

مَاذَا الَّذِي رَدَّهُمْ عَنْهُ فَتَعْلَمُهُ ... هَا إِنَّ ذَا عَبْنُنَا مِنْ أَعْظَمَ الْغَبَنِ

'Utbah bin abi Lahab bin 'Abdul-Muttalib bin Hashim recited poetry: "I did not think that this matter (i.e leadership) would be given to other than the tribe of Hashim and especially abi al-Hasan." He continued: "Was he not the

first to pray to your Qiblah, the most knowledgeable in Qur'an and traditions?" He continued: "The last to be in the presence of the Prophet when Jibril aided him in washing and shrouding?"

`Ali heard the poetry so he requested him to refrain from saying such things, he said: "The safety of this religion is more beloved to us than anything." 78

I say: The son of abu Lahab was wrong, the last man in the presence of the Prophet (saw) according to `Ali bin abi Talib was Qutham bin al-`Abbas. We also notice `Ali prohibiting some angry Hashemites from saying anything that can cause trouble or division in the nation.

وَكَانَ خَالِدُ بْنُ الْوَلِيدِ شِيعَةً لأَيِي بَكْرٍ، وَمِنَ الْمُنْحَرِفِينَ عَنْ عَلِيٍّ فَقَامَ خَطِيبًا، فَقَالَ: أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، إِنَّا رُمِينَا فِي بَدْءِ هَذَا النَّينِ بِأَمْرٍ، ثَقُلَ عَلَيْنَا وَاللَّهِ مَحْمَلُهُ، وَصَعُبَ عَلَيْنَا مُرْتَقَاهُ، وَكُنَّا كَأَنَّا فِيهِ عَلَى أَوْتَارٍ، ثُمَّ وَاللَّهِ مَا لَيَثْنَا أَنْ خَفَ عَلَيْنَا ثِقَلُهُ، وَذَلَّ لَنَا صَعْبُهُ، وَعَجِبْنَا مِمَّنْ شَكَكَ فِيهِ بَعْدَ عُجْبِنَا مِمَّنْ آمَنُ بِهِ حَنَّى أُمِرْنَا مِمَّنْ شَكَك فِيهِ بَعْدَ عُجْبِنَا مِمَّنْ آمَنَ بِهِ حَنَّى أُمِرْنَا مِمَّا كُنَّا نَأْمُلُ بِهِ، وَلا وَاللَّهِ مَا اللَّيْهِ بِالْعُقُولِ، وَلَكِنَّهُ التَّوْفِيقُ أَلا وَإِنَّ الْمُوحْيَ لَمْ وَنَعْلَ بُعْدَ الْوَحْيِ الْوَيْقُ أَلا وَإِنَّ اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَى الْمُعْمُولِ عَنْهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى اللْمُعْمَلِ عَلَى الْمُعْمُولِ عَلَى الْمُعْمُولِ عَلَى الْمُعْمَلِ عَلَى الْمُعْلِى اللْمُعْلِى عَلَى الْمُعْمَلِ عَلَى اللللَّهُ عَلَى الْمُعَلِّمُ اللْمُ لَا الْمُعْمَلِ عَلَى الْمُعْمَلِكُ اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَى الْمُعْلَى اللْمُعِلَى عَلَى الْمُعْلِى اللْمُعْلِي عَلَى الْمُعْمِلُولِ عَلَا اللْمُعْمَلِ اللْمُعَلِّى اللْمُعْمِ

Khalid bin al-Walid was from Abu Bakr's supporters and he did not favor `Ali. He stood and delivered a speech in favor of Quraysh: "O people, in the beginning we found this matter (i.e Islam) very heavy to carry and too difficult to ascend. Then with time, its weight lightened and the matter eased to the extent that we began to marvel at those who doubted it (i.e. Islam) just as we had previously marveled from those who believed in it. We were soon ordered to do what we used to prohibit and to prohibit from what we used to do. By Allah, we did not adopt this matter due to our superior intellect but because of the success granted by God. Truly, revelation did not stop until the religion was perfected so we did not require a prophet after the passing of our Prophet (saw) nor did we need a revelation to replace his revelation. Today, we are more numerous than what we were yesterday however we were better yesterday than what we are today. Whoever enters this religion shall be rewarded according to his actions and we shall bring back whoever abandons it. By Allah, the one in charge of this affair (i.e Abu Bakr) is not of questionable background nor is he differed upon." The people were surprised (by his honesty and eloquence).

I say: Khalid was from those who did not get along with `Ali as we recall from the narration of Buraydah about the events of Yemen. Both men were

 $^{^{78}}$ The identity of the person is recorded by Abu al-Fida'

strong warriors who met as opponents on battlefields then turned into competitors on the same side.

وَمَدَحَهُ حَزْنُ بْنُ أَبِي وَهْبِ الْمَخْزُومِيُّ، وَهُوَ الَّذِي سَمَّاهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ سَهْلا وَهُوَ جَدُّ سَعِيدِ بْنِ الْمُسَيِّبِ الْفَقِيهِ، وَقَالَ وَقَالَمَتْ رِجَالٌ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ كَثِيرَةٌ ... فَلَمْ يَكُ مِنْهُمْ فِي الرِّجَالِ كَخَالِدِ

Khalid was praised by Hazn bin abi Wahb al-Makhzumi who was renamed by the Messenger (saw) to "Sahl", he was the grandfather of the jurist Sa`id bin Musayyib, he recited: "Many men from Quraysh stood (to speak), none of them were like Khalid!"

لمَّا بُويِعَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ وَاسْتَقَرَّ أَمْرُهُ، نَدِمَ قَوْمٌ كَثِيرٌ مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ عَلَى بَيْعَتِهِ، وَلاَمَ بَعْضُهُمْ بَعْضًا، وَذَكَرُوا عَلِيَ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِب وَهَتَفُوا بِاسْمِهِ، وَإِنَّهُ فِي دَارِهِ فَلَمْ يَخْرُجُ إِلَيْهِم، وَجَزَعَ لِذَلِكَ الْمُهَاجِرُونَ، وَكَثْرَ فِي ذَلِكَ الْكَلامُ، وَكَانَ أَشَدَّ قُرَيْشِ عَلَى الأَنْصَارِ نَفَرَّ فِيهِمْ، وَهُمْ: سُهَيْلُ بْنُ عَمْرٍ وَ أَحَدُ بَنِي عَامِرِ بْنِ لَوْيَيْ، وَالْمَحْرُوبَ فَيْ الْمَحْرُوبَ وَهُمْ: سُهَيْلُ بْنُ عَمْرٍ وَأَحَدُ بَنِي عَامِرِ بْنِ لَوْيَيْ، وَالْمَحْرُوبُ وَيُومُ وَلَاهِ أَشْرَافُ قُرِيْشٍ الَّذِينَ حَارَبُوا النَّبِيَ وَالْمِالُام، وَكُلُّهُمْ مَوْتُورٌ قَدْ وَتَرَهُ الأَنْصَارُ.

It's not until matters settled down for Abu Bakr that many of the Ansar regretted giving him the oath and reproached each-other; they mentioned `Ali bin abi Talib then chanted his name near his house but he never came out to them. The Muhajirun became fearful of this and there was much talk but the harshest people on the Ansar from Quraysh were: Suhayl bin `Amr from Bani `Amir bin Lu'ayy, then al-Harith bin Hisham and `Ikrimah bin abi Jahl both of whom are Makhzumi. These men were masters of Quraysh and fought the Prophet (saw) before accepting Islam, they all had grudges against the Ansar.

أَمَّا سُهَيْلُ بْنُ عَمْرٍو فَأَسَرَهُ مَالِكُ بْنُ الدَّخْشَمِ يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ، وَأَمَّا الْحَارِثُ بْنُ هِشَامٍ فَضَرَبَهُ عُرْوَةُ بْنُ عَمْرو فَجَرَحَهُ يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ، وَهُوَ فَارٌ عَنْ أَخِيهِ، وَأَمَّا عِكْرِمَةُ بْنُ أَبِي جَهْلٍ فَقَتَلَ أَبَاهُ ابْنَا عَفْرَاءَ، وَسَلَبَهُ دِرْعَهُ يَوَّمَ بَدْرٍ زِيَادُ بْنُ لَبِيدٍ، وَفِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ ذَلِكَ.

As for Suhayl bin `Amr, he was imprisoned by Malik bin al-Dakhsham on Badr; As for al-Harith he was wounded by `Urwah bin `Amr on Badr as he escaped and as for `Ikrimah bin abi Jahl, his father was killed by the two sons of `Afra', his armor was also looted by Ziyad bin Lubayd in Badr. This was the cause of their grudges.

فَلَمَّا اغْتَزَلَتِ الأَنْصَارُ تَجَمَّعَ هَوُلاءِ فَقَامَ سُهَيْلُ بْنُ عَمْرٍو، فَقَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ فُرَيْشٍ، إِنَّ هَوُلاءِ الْقَوْمَ قَدْ سَمَّاهُمُ اللَّهُ الأَنْصَارَ، أَثْنَى عَلَيْهِمْ فِي الْقُرْآنِ فَلَهُمْ بِذَلِكَ حَظِّ عَظِيمٌ وَشَأْنٌ غَالِبٌ، وَقَدْ دَعَوْا إِلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَإِلَى عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَعَلِيٍّ فِي بَيْبِهِ لَوْ شَاءَ لَرَدَّهُمْ، فَادْعُوهُمْ إِلَى صَاحِبِكُمْ وَإِلَى تَجْدِيدِ بَيْعَتِهِ، فَإِنْ أَجَابُوكُمْ وَإِلاَ قَاتِلُوهُمْ، فَوَاللَّهِ إِنِّي لأَرَجُو اللَّهَ أَنْ يَنْصُرَكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ كَمَا نُصِرْتُمْ بِهِم.

These men gathered in a meeting, Suhayl began by saying: "O fellow Quraysh, those men (i.e Ansar) were named by God 'The Supporters', He praised them in the Qur'an and so they've scored a mighty fortune and a

grand status. They called people to themselves and now they're calling to 'Ali bin abi Talib; And 'Ali is in his house doing nothing to stop them. Let's call them again towards renewing their pledge of allegiance to our companion (i.e Abu Bakr) and if they refuse then we fight them; I am hoping Allah will support us against them just as He Had supported us with them."

نُثَعَ قَامَ الْحَارِثُ بْنُ هِشَامٍ، فَقَالَ: إِنْ يَكُنِ الأَنْصَالُ تَبَوَّأَتِ الدَّارَ وَالإِيمَانَ مِنْ قَبْلُ، وَنَقَلُوا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ الْمَ وُلَايِمَانَ مِنْ قَالَمُونَا الأَمْوَالَ، وَكَفَوْنَا اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ الْمَعْوَلَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ مَنْ أَنَّهُ وَاللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ مَعَالَبَةً اللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ مُعَاتَبَةً اللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ مُعَاتَبَةً إِلاَّ السَّيْفَ، وَإِنْ نَزَعُوا عَنْهُ فَقَدْ فَعَلُوا الأَوْلَى بِهِمْ، وَالْمَظْلُونَ مَعَهُمْ.

Al-Harith bin Hisham said: "The Ansar settled in the city and adopted the faith before us, they transported the Messenger (saw) from our houses to theirs and so they sheltered and aided while sharing with us wealth and strength. Today, they took a path that will drive them away from all this and thus there won't be any reproach left between us except the sword! If they turn back from this path however then they've done what is expected of them and we think nothing less of them."

ثُمَّ قَامَ عِكْرِمَةُ بْنُ أَبِي جَهْلِ، فَقَالَ: وَاللَّهِ لَوْلا قَوْلُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: الأَئْمَةُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ ، مَا أَكْرَنْ إَمْرَةَ الأَنْصَارِ، وَلَكَانُوا لَهَا أَهْلا، وَلَكَنَّهُ قَوْلٌ لا شَلَكَ فِيهِ وَلا خَيَارَ، وَقَدْ عَجَلَتِ الأَنْصَارُ عَلَيْنَا، وَاللَّهِ مَا قَبَضْنَا عَلَيْهُمُ الأَمْرَ وَلا أَخْرَجْنَاهُمْ مِنَ الشُّورَى، وَإِنَّ الَّذِي هُمْ فِيهِ مِنْ فَلَتَاتِ الأَمُورِ وَنَزَعَاتِ الشَّهِرَى الشَّورَى، وَإِنَّ اللَّهُ مِنَ الشَّورَ وَنَرَعَاتِ اللَّمُورِ وَنَزَعَاتِ الشَّهُ مَا اللَّمْرَ وَلا يَحْمِلُهُ الأَمْلُ، أَعْذِرُوا إِلَى الْقَوْمِ فَإِنْ أَبُوا قَاتِلُوهُمْ، فَوَاللَّهِ لَوْ لَمْ يَبْقَ مِنْ قُرَيْشَ مَنْ قُولًا يَكُولُوا اللَّهُ مَنْ اللَّهُ مَا يَبْقُ مِنْ أَبُوا اللَّهُ لَوْ اللَّهُ لَوْ لَمْ يَبْقَ مِنْ اللهُ عَلَى اللّهُ عَلَى اللّهُ الْأَمْلُ، وَعَلَيْتُ اللّهُ مَا اللّهُ مَا اللّهُ مَا اللّهُ مَا اللّهُ مَا فَوَ اللّهِ لَوْلُولُوا اللّهُ الْمُعْرَ اللّهُ مَا اللّهُ الْمُلْمُ اللّهُ اللّهُ مَا اللّهُ مَا لَهُ اللّهُ الْمُعْلَى اللّهُ مَا اللّهُ مَا لَا يَقُولُ اللّهُ اللّهُ مَا اللّهُ مَا اللّهُ اللّهُ مَا اللّهُ الْمُلُّ الللللّهُ الللللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ الللللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ مَا اللّهُ الللّهُ اللّهُ اللللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ الللّهُ اللّهُ الللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ الللّهُ اللّهُ اللللّهُ الللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ الللللّهُ الللّه

'Ikrimah bin abi Jahl said: "By God, if the Messenger (saw) hadn't said: 'The leaders are from Quraysh.' we wouldn't have denied the leadership of the Ansar and they would've been more than worthy of it; There is no doubt about these words. The Ansar hastened towards this matter (i.e leadership) without including us although we never kept them away from things nor did we exclude them from consultation. They're behaving irresponsibly and following their devils so present your view to the folks and if they refuse then fight; By Allah if only a man from Quraysh remained alive, God will bestow upon him this position."

وَحَضَرَ أَبُو سُفْيَانَ بْنُ حَرْبِ، فَقَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرُيْشٍ، إِنَّهُ لَيْسَ لِلأَنْصَارِ أَنْ بِتَفَضَّلُوا عَلَى النَّاسِ حَتَّى يُقِرُوا بِفَضْ إِنَّا عَلَيْهِمْ، فَإِنْ تَفَضَّلُوا، فَحَسْبُهُمْ حَيْثُ انْتَهَى بِهِمْ، وايْمُ اللَّهِ لَئِنْ بَطُرُوا الْفَعِيشَةَ وَكَفَرُوا النَّعْمَةُ، لَنَصْرِبَتَهُمْ عَلَى الإسلامِ كَمَا ضَرَبُوا عَلَيْهِ، فَأَمَّا عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ فَأَهُلُ وَاللَّهِ وَلَيْهِ الْأَنْصَارُ. فَأَهْلُ وَاللَّهِ أَنْ يَسُودَ عَلَى قُرَيْشِ وَتُطِيعَةُ الأَنْصَارُ.

Abu Sufiyan bin Harb attended this, he said: "O Quraysh, the Ansar have no right to speak of their superiority over people until they submit to our superiority over them. I swear by God if they persist in arrogance and ungratefulness then we will strike them in the name of Islam like they struck

others in its name. As for `Ali bin abi Talib, By God he is worthy of ruling Quraysh and acquiring the obedience of the Ansar."

فَلَمَّا بَلَغَ الأَنْصَارَ قَوْلُ هَوُّلَاءِ الرَّهْطِ، قَامَ خَطِيبُهُمْ ثَابِتُ بْنُ قَيْسِ بْنِ شَمَّاس، فَقَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ الأَنْصَارِ، إِنَّمَا يِكْبُرُ عَلَيْكُمْ هَذَا الْقَوْلُ لَوْ قَالَهُ أَهْلُ الدِّينِ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ، فَأَمَّا إِذَا كَانَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الدُّنْيَا لا سِيَّمَا مِنْ أَقْوَامٍ كُلُّهُمُ مَوْثُورٌ فَلا يَكْبُرَنَّ عَلَيْهِمْ، إِنَّمَا الرَّأْيُ وَالْقَوْلُ مَعَ الأَخْيَارِ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ، فَإِنْ تَكَلَّمَتْ رِجَالُ قُريْشٍ الَّذِينَ هُمْ أَهْلُ الأَخِرَةِ مِثْلُ كَلَّم هَوُلاءٍ، فَعِنْدَ ذَلِكَ قُولُوا مَا أَحْبَيْثُمْ وَإِلا فَأَمْسِكُوا.

The news reached the ears of the Ansar so their speaker Thabit bin Qays bin Shammas said: "O fellow Ansar, do not make a big deal out of this as it was not said by pious folks from Quraysh rather by people who hold grudges. The opinion is only that of the Muhajirin so when they begin speaking in the same manner then stand and say what you wish, otherwise exercise restraint."

لمَّا اجْتَمَعَ جُمْهُورُ النَّاسِ لأَبِي بَكْرِ أَكْرَمَتْ قُرَيْشٌ مَعْنَ بْنَ عَدِيٍّ، وَعُويْمَ بْنَ سَاعِدَةَ، وَكَانَ لَهُمَا فَصْلُلٌ قَدِيمٌ فِي الإسْلامِ فَاجْتَمَعَتِ الأَنْصَارُ لَهُمَا فِي مَجْلِسٍ وَدَعَوْهُمَا، فَلَمَّا أَحْضَرَا أَقْبَلَتِ الأَنْصَارُ عَلَيْهِمَا، فَعَيْرُ وهُمَا بِانْطِلاقِهِمَا إِلَى الْمُهَاجِرِينَ، وَأَكْبَرُوا فِعْلَهُمَا فِي ذَلِكَ.

When most people united behind Abu Bakr, Quraysh honored Ma`n bin `Adi and `Uwaym bin Sa`idah who were two men of virtue and early merits in Islam. Afterwards, the Ansar gathered for the two and invited them to a meeting then criticized them for alerting the Muhajirin and blew it out of proportion.

تَكَلَّمَ مَعْنٌ، فَقَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ الأَنْصَارِ، إِنَّ الَّذِي أَرَادَ اللَّهُ بِكُمْ خَيْرٌ مِمَّا أَرَدْتُمْ بِأَنْشِكُمْ، وَقَدْ كَانَ مِنْكُمْ أَمْرٌ عَظِيمُ الْبَلاءِ، وَصِغَرْتُهُ الْعَاقِبَةُ، فَلَوْ كَانَ لَكُمْ عَلَى قُرَيْشٍ مَا لِقُرَيْشٍ عَلَيْكُمْ ثُمَّ أَرَدْتُمُو هُمْ لِمَا أَرَادُوكُمْ بِهِ، لَمْ آمَنْ عَلَيْهِمْ مِثْكُمْ مِثْلَ مَا آمَنُ عَلَيْكُمْ مِنْهُمْ، فَإِنْ تَعْرِفُوا الْخَطَأَ فَقَدْ خَرَجْتُمْ مِنْهُ وَإِلاَ فَأَنْتُمْ فِيهِ.

Ma`n spoke: "O fellow Ansar, Allah desires for you better than what you desire for yourselves. What you did was catastrophic and it leads to nothing but disgrace. If Quraysh owed you what you owed them I wouldn't feel safe for them from you as I feel safe for you from them. Recognize your error so you may avoid it otherwise you're stuck in it."

ثُمَّ تَكَلَّمَ عُوَيْمُ بْنُ سَاعِدَةَ، فَقَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ الأَنْصَارَ، إِنَّ مِنْ نِعَمِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ أَنَّهُ تَعَالَى لَمْ يُرِدْ مَا أَرَدُتُمْ بِأَنْفُسِكُمْ، فَاحْمَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَى حُسْنِ الْبَلاءِ وَطُولِ الْعَافِيَةِ، وَصَرْفِ هَذِهِ الْبَلِيَةِ عَنْكُمْ، وَقَدْ نَظَرْتُ فِي أُوّلِ فِتُنْتِكُمْ، وَآخِرِهَا فَوَجَدْتُهَا جَاءَتُ مِنَ الأَمَانِيِّ، وَالْحَسَدِ، وَاحْذَرُوا النَّعْمَ، فَوَدِدْتُ أُنَّ اللَّهَ صَيَّرَ إِلَيْكُمْ هَذَا الأَمْرَ بِحَقِّهِ فَكُنَّا نَعِيشُ فِيهِ

'Uwaym then spoke: "O fellow Ansar, it is from God's blessings upon you that He prevented you from fulfilling what you planned. Praise God for your sound decision, wellbeing and for pushing away this catastrophe from you. I've observed the beginning of this issue you caused and thought about its outcome and saw that it only came as result of jealousy and desires. I too

wished that Allah Had made this matter rightfully yours so that we can enjoy life with it."

فَوَتَبَتْ عَلَيْهِمَا الأَنْصَارُ، فَأَغْلَظُوا لَهُمَا وَفَحْشُوا عَلَيْهِمَا، وَانْبَرَى لَهُمْ فَرْوَةُ بْنُ عَمْرو، فَقَالَ: أَنَسِيتُمَا قَوْلَكُمَا لِقُرْنُشِ: إِنَّا قَدْ خَلَقْنُ وَرَاءَنَا قَوْمًا قَدْ خَلَّتْ دِمَاؤُ هُمْ بِفِتْنَتِهِمْ، هَذَا وَاللَّهِ مَا لا يُغْفَرُ وَلا يُنْسَى، وَقَدْ تُصْرَفُ الْحَيَّةُ عَلَى وَجْهِهَا وَسُمُّهَا فِي نَابِهَا.

The Ansar jumped on them and addressed them harshly. Farwah bin `Amr took it upon himself to respond: "Did you forget your words to Quraysh: 'We've left behind us folks who spilled their own blood by causing civil-strife.' By God this will not be forgiven nor forgotten. You acted like a snake with its face turned but its fangs beared poison!"

وَقَالَ فَرْوَةُ بْنُ عَمْرٍ و وَكَانَ مِمَّنْ تَخَلَّفَ عَنْ بَيْعَةِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ، وَكَانَ مِمَّنْ جَاهَدَ مَعَ رَسُولِ اللهِ عليه الله عليه وسلم، وَقَادَ فَرَسَيْنِ فِي سَبِيلِ اللهِ، وَكَانَ يَتَصَدُّقُ مِنْ نَخْلِهِ بِأَلْفِ وَسْقِ فِي كُلِّ عَامٍ، وَكَانَ سَيَدًا، وَكَانَ سَيَدًا، وَكَانَ وَيُعَرِّفُو مِنْ أَصْدَابِ عَلِيٍّ، وَمِمَّنْ شُهِدَ مَعَهُ يَوْمَ الْجَمَلِ، قَالَ: فَذَكَرَ مَعْنًا وَعُويْمًا وَعَاتَبَهُمَا عَلَى قَوْلِهِمَا.

This Farwah was from those who avoided Abi Bakr's allegiance, he was from those who fought alongside the Messenger (saw) and rode two horses in God's cause; He spent a thousand portions yearly from his date trees; He was a master and a companion of `Ali as he witnessed Jamal. Farwah reproached Ma`n and `Uwaym for their words.

أَلا قُلْ لِمَعْنِ إِذَا جِئْتَهُ ... وَذَاكَ الَّذِي شَيْخُهُ سَاعِدَة بِأَنَّ الْمَقَالَ الَّذِي قُلْتُمَا ... خَفِيفٌ عَلَيْنَا سِوَى وَاحِدَة مَقَالَكُمُ إِنَّ مَنْ خَلْفَنَا ... مِرَاضٌ قُلُوبُهُمُ فَاسِدَة حَلالُ الدِّمَاءِ عَلَى قَتْنةٍ ... فَيَا بِنِسْمَا رَبَّتِ الْوَالِدَة

He finally recited poetry blaming the two men for speaking words that called for the spilling of their blood, concluding with the verse "A terrible upbringing your mothers gave."

ثُمَّ إِنَّ الأَنْصَارَ أَصْلَحُوا بَيْنَ هَنَيْنِ الرَّجُلَيْنِ وَبَيْنَ أَصْحَابِهِمَا، ثُمَّ اجْتَمَعَتْ جَمَاعَةٌ مِنْ قُرَيْشِ يَوْمًا وَفِيهِمْ نَاسٌ مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ، وَأَخْلاطٌ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ، وَذَلِكَ بَعَدَ انْصِرَافِ الأَنْصَارِ عَنْ رَأْيِهَا وَسُكُونِ الْفَتْنَةِ فَاتَفُقَ ذَلِكَ عِنْدَ قُذُومٍ عَمْرُو بْنِ الْعَاصِ مِنْ سَفَر كَانَ فِيهِ، فَجَاءَ النَّهِمَ فَأَفَاضُوا فِي ذِكْرَ يَوْمِ السَّقِيفَةِ وَسَعْدِ وَدَعُواهُ الأَمْرَ، فَقَالَ عَمْرُو بْنُ الْعَاصِ وَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ وَفَعَ اللَّهُ عَنَّا مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ عَظْيِمَةً، وَلَمَّا دَفَعَ اللَّهُ عَنَّا مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ عَظْيِمَةً، وَلَمَّا دَفَعَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ أَعْظَمَ، كَادُوا وَاللَّهِ أَنْ يَجِلُّوا حَبْلِ الإسلامِ كَمَا قَاتُلُوا عَلَيْهِ، وَيُخْرِجُوا مِنْهُ مَنْ أَدْخُلُوا فِيهِ وَاللَّهِ لَنِنْ عَنْهُمْ أَعْظُمَ، كَادُوا وَاللَّهِ لَئِنْ مُعْوَلِكَ اللهِ لَيْنَ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ اللهِ لَيْنِ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ اللهِ لَنْنِ عَلَى اللهِ لَعْتَلَقُوا الْمَلْمِقُولُوا وَأَهْلَكُوا، وَإِنْ كَانُوا المَرْيَانَةُ كَمَكَةً، وَلَقَدْ هَاتُلُونَا أَمْسِ فَعَلَبُونَا كَالُوا الْمَدْيِنَةُ كَمَكَةً، وَلَقَدْ قَاتَلُونَا أَمْسِ فَعَلَبُونَا عَلَى اللهُ عَلَى الْعَلَقُونَ وَاللهُ لَعْلُوا عَلَى اللّهُ عَلَى الْعَلَى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَاللّهُ مَلْ الْمَالِينَةُ كَمَكَةً، وَلَقَدْ قَاتَلُونَا أَمْسِ فَعَلَمُونَ اللّهُ وَلَا الْمَدْيِنَةُ كَمَكَةً، وَلَقَدْ قَاتَلُونَا أَمْسِ فَعَلَبُونَا عَلَى الْعَلَاقِيَةِ إِلَى الْمَدْ عَلَى الْعَلَونَةُ وَلَقَلَ فَاللّهُ وَلَا الْمَالِينَةُ كَمَكَةً، وَلَوْ قَاتُلُونَا أَمْسِ فَعَلَى الْعَلَى الْمَالِمُ عَلَى الْعَلَى الْمَالِقَلَامُ الْمُؤْمَ لَعُلُوا اللّهُ الْمُعْمَا عَلَى الْعَلَيْمَةُ عَلَى الْعَلَيْدُ الْمَالِي الْمَالِيقِيْ وَاللّهُ الْعِلْمَ الْمَالِقُولُوا الْعَلَى الْعَلْمُ عَلَى الْمُ الْمُؤْمَ عَلَى الْعَلَيْمَ الْمَالِقُونَ الْمَالِعُونَ الْمُولُ الْمُؤْمَ الْمُؤْمَ الْمُؤْمَ الْمُؤْمَ الْمُؤْمَ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمَ الْمُؤْمِلُولُ الْمُؤْمِلُولُ الْمُؤْمِلُ الْمُؤْمِلُولُ الْمُؤْمِلُولُ الْمُؤْمِلُولُ الْمُؤْمِلُ الْمُؤْمَ الْمُؤْمِلُولُ الْمُؤْمَلُولُ الْمُؤْمِلُولُ الْمُؤْمَ

The Ansar later made peace with the two men and reconciled between them and their companions. After the Ansar were persuaded to drop their opinion and things calmed down, a meeting of Quraysh occurred. It was attended by a mixture of Muhajirin and Ansar. The meeting coincided with the return of `Amr bin al-`As from his travels so there were lengthy talks about Saqifah and Sa`d's claim to authority. `Amr bin al-`As said: "God has repelled a disaster away from us and He repelled what is even greater away from the Ansar. By God, they almost untied the knot of Islam and abandoned the faith just as they had previously entered into it. By God, if they had heard the Prophet's (saw) saying: 'The leaders are from Quraysh' then still claimed it, they would have perished and caused us all to perish. By God, if they never heard it then they cannot compare themselves to the Muhajirin, Sa`d is not like Abu Bakr nor is Madinah like Makkah. They fought us yesterday and beat us at the beginning but if we fight them today we will beat them in the end."

فَلَمْ يُجِبْهُ أَحَدٌ وَانْصَرَفَ إِلَى مَنْزِلِهِ وَقَدْ ظَفِرَ، فَقَالَ:

أَلا قُلْ لأَوْسٍ إِذَا جِئْتَهَا ... وَقُلْ مَا إِذَا جِئْتَ للْخَزْرَجِ تَمَنَّيْتُمُ الْمُلْكَ فِي يَثْرِبٍ ... فَأُنْزِلَتِ الْقِدْرُ لَمْ تُنْضَج

No one was able to respond to `Amr and he returned home victorious while reciting poetry: "Tell al-Aws when you meet them and tell al-Khazraj as well, you hoped for a kingdom in Yathrib but what you've cooked in your pot was not yet ready."

قَلَمَا بَلَغَ الأَنْصَارَ مَقَالَتُهُ وَشِعْرُهُ بَعَثُوا إِلَيْهِ لِسَانَهُمْ وَشَاعِرَهُمُ النَّعْمَانَ بْنَ الْعَجْلانِ، وَكَانَ سَيِّدًا فَخْمًا، فَأَتَى عَمْرًا وَهُوَ فِي جَمَاعَةٍ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ فَقَالَ: وَاللَّهِ يَا عَمْرُو مَا كَرِهْتُمْ مِنْ مَرْبِنَا إِلا مَا كَرِهْنَا مِنْ حَرْبِكُمْ، وَمَا كَانَ اللَّهُ لِيُخْرِجَكُمْ مِنَ الْإسْلامِ بِمَنْ أَذْخَلَكُمْ فِيهِ، إِنْ كَانَ النَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَالِهِ، قَالَ: الأَنْمَةُ مِنْ قُرِيشٍ ، فَقَدْ قَالَ: لَوْ سَلْكَ النَّاسُ شِعْبًا، وَسَلْكَ الأَضَارُ شِعْبًا، النَّهُ مَنْ قُرِيشٍ ، فَقَدْ قَالَ: لَوْ سَلْكَ النَّاسُ شِعْبًا، وَسَلْكَ الأَضَارُ شِعْبًا، لَسَلْكَ النَّاسُ شِعْبًا، وَسَلْكَ الأَضَارُ شِعْبًا، لَسَعْدًا فِي الأَمْرِ إِذْ قُلْنَا: مِنّا أَمِيرٌ وَمِنْكُمْ أَمِيرٌ وَأَمّا اللَّهُ الْحَرْرُنَ مَنْ سَعْدً، لَكُ النَّاسُ أَلْوَلَكِ بَا الْمُورَ إِذْ قُلْنَا: مِنّا أَمِيرٌ وَمِنْكُمْ أَمِيرٌ وَأَمَّا الْمُهَاجِرُونَ وَالْأَنْصَارُ مَنْ سَعْدٍ، لَكِنَّ سَعْدًا فِي الأَنْصَارِ أَطْوَعُ مِنَ أَبِي بَكُر فِي قُرَيْشٍ فَأَمًا الْمُهَاجِرُونَ وَالأَنْصَارُ فَعْرُ مِنْ سَعْدٍ، لَكِنَّ سَعْدًا فِي الأَنْصَارِ أَطْوَعُ مِنَ أَبِي بَكُر فِي قُرَيْشٍ فَأَمًا الْمُهَاجِرُونَ وَالأَنْصَارُ فَا فَرْقَ بَيْبُهُمْ أَبَدًا، وَلَكَنَّكَ يَا ابْنَ الْعَاصِ، وَتَرْتَ بَنِي عَدْدِ مِنَافَ بِمَسِيرِكَ إِلَى الْحَبْشَةِ لِقَتْلُ جَعْفَرِ وَأَصْحَارُهُ مُؤْمَ بَيْنَاهُمْ أَبُدًا، وَلَكُ الْمَاسُونَ عُمْنَ وَالْمَرَوْنَ وَالْمَاسُونَ وَالْمَالِكِ عُمَارَةً بْنِ الْوَلِيدِ، ثُمَّ انْصَرَفَ، فَقَالَ

When his poetry reached al-Ansar, they selected their poet al-Nu`man bin al-`Ajlan, he was a short white man, not much to look at yet he was one of their fancy masters. He came to `Amr while the latter was with a group of Qurashies, he told him: "By God O `Amr, you hated our war with us as we hated our war with you. God will not lead you out of Islam by the hands of those who brought you into it. Even if the Prophet (saw) said: 'The leaders are from Quraysh.' know that he also said: 'If the people took a route and the Ansar took another, I'd follow the path of the Ansar.' By Allah, we did not exclude you when we said: 'From us a chief and from you a chief.' As for what you mentioned, then surely Abu Bakr is better than Sa`d bin `Ubadah

however Sa'd possesses more obedience from the Ansar than Abu Bakr does from Quraysh. As for the Muhajirun and Ansar, there's no difference between them, but you O Ibn al-'As have caused pain for Bani 'Abd-Manaf when you marched for Abyssinia to kill Ja'far and his companions; You've also caused similar pain for Bani Makhzum by killing 'Umarah bin al-Walid."

فَقُلُ لِقُرَيْشٍ : نَحْنُ أَصْحَابُ مَكَةٍ ... وَيَوْمِ حُنَيْنٍ وَالْفَوَارِسُ فِي بَدْرِ وَأَصْحَابُ أُحْدٍ وَالنَّضِيرِ وَخَيْبَرٍ ... وَنَحْنُ رَجَعْنَا مِنْ قُرَيْظَةَ بِالذَّكْرِ نُقَاسِمُكُمْ أَمْوَالْنَا وَبُيُوتَنَا ... كَقِسْمَةِ أَيْسَارِ الْجَزُورِ عَلَى الشَّطْرِ وَنَكْفِيكُمُ الأَمْرَ الَّذِي تَكْرَهُونَهُ ... وَكُنّا أَنَاسًا نُذْهِبُ الْعُسْرَ بَالْيُسْرِ وَقُلْتُمُ : حَرَامٌ نَصْبُ سَعْدٍ وَنَصْبُكُمْ ... عَتِيقُ بْنُ عُثْمَانٍ حَلالٌ أَبَا بَكْرِ وَقُلْتُمْ : حَرَامٌ نَصْبُ سَعْدٍ وَنَصْبُكُمْ ... عَتِيقُ بْنُ عُثْمَانٍ حَلالٌ أَبَا بَكْرِ وَقُلْتُمْ نَصْبُ سَعْدٍ وَنَصْبُكُمْ ... وَإِنَّ عَلِيًّا كَانَ أَخْلُقَ بِالأَمْرِ وَقُلْتُهُ مَانَ هَوَانًا فِي عَلِيٍّ وَإِنَّهُ ... لَأَهْلُ لَهَا يَا عَمْرُو مِنْ حَيْثُ لا تَدْرِي وَكَانَ هَوَانًا فِي عَلِيٍّ وَإِنَّهُ ... لَأَهْلٌ لَهَا يَا عَمْرُو مِنْ حَيْثُ لا تَدْرِي وَكَانَ هَوَانًا فِي عَلِيٍّ وَإِنَّهُ ... لَأَهْلٌ لَهَا يَا عَمْرُو مِنْ حَيْثُ لا تَدْرِي وَكَانَ هَوَانًا فِي عَلِيٍّ وَإِنَّهُ ... لَأَهْلُ لَهَا يَا عَمْرُو مِنْ حَيْثُ لا تَدْرِي وَكَانَ هَوَانًا فِي عَلِيٍّ وَإِنَّهُ ... لَأَهْلُ لَهَا يَا عَمْرُو مِنْ حَيْثُ لا تَدْرِي وَكَانَ هَوَانًا فِي عَلِيٍّ وَإِنَّهُ ... لَاهُمْلُ لَهَا يَا عَمْرُو مِنْ حَيْثُ لا تَدْرِي وَكَانَ هَوْنِ اللَّهِ يَدْعُو إِلَى الْهُدَى ... وَيَنْهَى عَنِ الْفَحْشَاءِ وَالْبَغْي وَالنَّكُو وَصِيُّ النَّذِي الْمُصْطَفَى وَابْنُ عَمِّهِ ... وَقَاتِلُ فُرْسَانِ الصَّلَالَةِ وَالْكُفْرِ وَمِنَ الْمُعْ فِي الْعَلَى مِنَ الْعَمَى ... وَيَقْتَحُ آذَانًا نُقِلْنَ مِنَ الْوقِقِ الْمُعْ لِلْعَلَى مَلْ الْمُعْلِ السَّلْونِ اللَّهُ لِمُ الْمُعْرِ اللَّهِ فِي الْعَلَى وَحْدَهُ ... وَصَاحِبُهُ الصَدِيقُ فِي سَالِفِ الدَّهْرِ فَوْلًا اللَّهُ لِلْ النَّهُ لِلْ اللَّهُ لَمْ لَلْ الْمُرُولِ فِي الْمُ الْمَرْ الْمُعْلَى الْمَالِلَةُ وَلَا الْمُعْلَى الْمُعْلَى الْمَلْولِ اللَّهُ لِلْ الْمُعْلَى الْمُعْلِلَ الْمُعْلَى الْمَعْ لِلْمَالِلَهُ لَالْمُ لَلْمُ لَلْهُ لَمْ الْمُولُ لِلْمُ اللْمُ الْمُعْ الْمَالِلَةُ الْمُعْلِلَ الْمُعْلِلُ الْمُ الْمُلُولُ الْمُعْلِلِلْ الْمُعْلِلُ الْمُعْلِلُ الْمُعْلِلِ الْمُعْلِلِ اللْمُ لِلْم

Nu'man left reciting long verses of poetry, his poetry contained boasting about how the Ansar won battles of Khaybar, Badr, Hunayn and others. He also boasted about how the Ansar shared their money and food with the emmigrants and how they were easy going. He recited: "You claimed that our appointment of Sa'd was forbidden but that your appointment of 'Atiq bin 'Uthman (a.k.a Abu Bakr) was permissible." He continued: "Abu Bakr is truly worthy of it and a good leader but 'Ali was better suited." He then praises 'Ali by reciting: "He, with God's support, calls to guidance and prohibits from wickedness and evil. He is the executor of the Prophet's will and his cousin, the vanquisher of misguided warriors." Then he praises Abu Bakr by reciting: "He, praise be to God, guides from blindness and opens deaf ears. He alone is the helper of the Messenger in the cave and his old truly believing friend." He finally recited verses to threaten 'Amr: "If not for fear of God, you (i.e Quraysh) would not have been permitted to take it (i.e leadership). However, this goodness we reached requires patience."

الْعَاصِ مِنَ الْنَهْمَانِ وَكَالُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم اسْتَعْمَلُهُ عَلَيْهَا، وَلَكَانَ لَهُ وَلَا خِيهِ أَثَرٌ عَظِيمٌ فِي الْعَاصِ مِنَ الْلَيْمَنِ، وَكَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم اسْتَعْمَلُهُ عَلَيْهَا، وَكَانَ لَهُ وَلاَ خِيهِ أَثَرٌ عَظِيمٌ فِي الإسْلامِ، وَهُمَا أُوَّلُ مَنْ أَسْلَمَ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ إِنَّ عَمْرًا دَخَلَ فِي الإسْلامِ حِينَ لَمْ يَجِدُ بُدًّا مِنَ الدُّخُولِ فِيهِ، فَلَمَّا لَمْ الْعُلَمِ، وَقَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ إِنَّ عَمْرًا دَخَلَ فِي الإسْلامِ حِينَ لَمْ يَجِدُ بُدًّا مِنَ الدُّخُولِ فِيهِ، فَلَمَّا لَمْ يَسْتَطِعْ أَنْ يَكِيدَهُ بِيدِهِ كَادَهُ بِلِسَانِهِ، وَإِنَّ مِنْ كَيْدِهِ الإسْلامَ تَقْرِيقَهُ وَقَطْعَهُ بَيْنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالأَنْصَارِ وَاللَّهُ مَا حَارَبُنَاهُمْ اللَّمْ عَلَى الْفَقَرِ، وَحَرَمْنَاهُمْ عَلَى الْغَقْ بَيْنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالأَنْصَارِ وَاللَّهُ مِنْ عَنْ جَفُوةٍ السُلْطَانِ، فَأَعُودُ بِاللَّهِ عَلَى الْخِنَى، وَلَقَدْ وَصَى رَسُولُ اللَّهُ صَلَى اللهُ عَلَى الْخَلَفَ الْمُصَيَّع، وَلَقَرْ الْمُعَلَى فَاللَهُ مَلْ اللَّهُ الْمَلْ اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ عَلْ الْخَلْقَ الْمُصَلَقِ وَاللَّهُ مُ وَمَا فَعَلْنَا مِثْلُ بَهِمْ، وَقَرْاهُمْ عَنْ جَفُوةٍ السُلْطَانِ، فَأَعُودُ بِاللَّهِ أَنْ أَنُونَ وَإِيَّاكُمُ الْخَلْفَ الْمُصَيِّعَةُ وَاللَّهُ عَلْمَ اللَّهُ الْمَانَ الْمُالَى اللَّهُ اللَّهُ أَلُولُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ مَنْ الْمُصَلِّقِ السُلُطَانَ الْجَانِي .

When Nu man's poetry reached Quraysh it enraged many of them. At the time, Khalid bin Sa'id bin al-'As had returned from Yemen after the Messenger (saw) made him its governor. Both Khalid and his brother had great achievements in Islam, they were from the first to embrace Islam from Quraysh and were worshippers so they became angry for the sake of the Ansar. Khalid hurled verbal abuse at 'Amr and said: "O Quraysh, 'Amr accepted Islam only after realizing he had no other choice. When he couldn't harm us with his sword he resorted to harm us with his tongue. From his schemes is the attempt to divide the Muhajirin and Ansar. By Allah, they sacrificed for us in God's cause and we could not repay them with the same; They shared with us their wealth and homes and we couldn't do the same; They chose to live in poverty for our sake and the Prophet (saw) commanded us to treat them well and informed them of the mistreatment they shall endure by a Sultan. I seek refuge in God that we'd be the successors who betray the trust and turn into that oppressive Sultan."

I say: Khalid bin Sa`id being from Quraysh spoke fairly of the Ansar. He mentioned the Prophet's (saw) will and how he instructed Muslims to be good to the Ansar. He also mentioned the narrations of the Prophet (saw) where he warns the Ansar of certain rulers after him who will be cold and unjust towards them.

وَقَالَ خَالِدُ بْنُ سَعِيدِ بْنِ الْعَاصِ فِي ذَلِكَ:

Khalid bin Sa'id bin al-'As bin Umayyah recited the following poetry at this occasion: "'Amr uttered something we disliked and announced to the Ansar his grudge and hatred, if the Ansar have erred then we pardon and do not wrong them like they wronged us."

ثُمَّ رَجَعَ الْفَضْلُ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ فَحَدَّثُهُ، فَغَضِيبَ وَشَنَّمَ عَمْرًا، وَقَالَ: آذَى اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ، ثُمَّ قَامَ فَأَتَى الْمَسْجِدَ، فَاجْتَمَعَ إِلَيْهِ كَثِيرٌ مِنْ قُرَيْشِ وَتَكَلَّمَ مُغْضِيًا، فَقَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، إِنَّ حُبَ الأَنْصَارِ إِيمَانٌ وَبُغْضَهُمْ نِفَاقٌ، وَقَدْ قَضَوْا مَا عَلَيْهِمْ وَبَقِيَ مَا عَلَيْكُمْ وَاذْكُرُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ رَغَّبَ لِنَيِبِّكُمْ عَنْ مَكَةً فَقَقَلُهُ إِلَى الْمُدِينَةِ، وَكَرَةً لَهُ قُرَيْشًا فَتَقَلَهُ إِلَى الأَنْصَارِ، ثُمَّ قَدَمْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ دَارَهُمْ، فَقَاسَمُونَا الأَمْوَالُ وَكُفُوْنَا الْعَمَلَ، فَصِرْنَا مِنْهُمْ بَيْنَ بَنْ لِلْغَنِيِ وَإِيثَارِ الْفَقِيرِ، ثُمَّ حَارَبْنَا النَّاسَ فَوَقُوْنَا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ، وَقَدْ أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى فِيهِمْ آيَةً مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ، جَمَعَ لَهُمْ فِيها بَيْنَ خَمْسَةِ نِعَمِ، فَقَالَ: {وَالَّذِينَ تَبَوَّعُوا الدَّارَ وَالإِيمَانَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ يُحِبُونَ مَنْ هَاجَرَ إِلَيْهِمْ وَلا يَقْوَلُ فِي وَلا يَعْمَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَلَوْ كَانَ بِهِمْ خَصَاصَةٌ وَمَنْ يُوقَ شُحَّ يَجُدُونَ فِي صُدُورٍ هِمْ حَاجَةً مِمَّا أُوتُوا وَيُؤْثِرُونَ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَلَوْ كَانَ بِهِمْ خَصَاصَةٌ وَمَنْ يُوقَ شُحَّ يَجُدُونَ فِي صَدُورٍ هِمْ حَاجَةً مِمَّا أُوتُوا وَيُؤْثِرُونَ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَلَوْ كَانَ بِهِمْ خَصَاصَةٌ وَمَنْ يُوقَ شُحَّ وَمَنْ يُوقَ شُحَا فَقُلُوا وَلَوْ كَانَ بِهِمْ خَصَاصَةٌ وَمَنْ يُوقَ شُحَ اللَّهُ وَمَنْ يَعْمَ مُ وَلَا مَنْهُمْ فَيَقُلُهُ إِلَى الْمَثْلِكُونَ } . أَلا وَإِنَّ عَمْرَو بْنِ الْعَاصِ قَدَقَامَ مَقَامًا آذَى فِيهِ الْمَثِيَّ وَالْحَيْ اللَّهُمُ وَلَا اللَّهُ الْمُعْلِقُ وَلَا اللَّهُ مِنْ الْمُعْلِمِ فَلَوْ اللَّهُ وَلَا اللَّهُ وَلَا اللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ مَا الْمُؤْتُونَ وَلَا عَلَى أَنْفُسُهُ فَيْمُ وَلَوْ اللَّولَ اللَّهُ وَلَا اللَّهُ اللَّهُ إِلَى عَمْرُو بْنِ الْعَاصِ، فَقَالُوا: وَرَسُولُهُ أَمْ الْذَي فَقِلَ الْمَالَعُونَ عَلَمْ وَلَوْ اللَّهُ وَالْمُوا اللَّهُ وَلَا اللَّهُ وَلَا الْمُؤْلُونَ الْهُوا اللَّهُ وَلَا اللَّهُ عَلَى الْمُسْتَعِ الْمُعْلَى الْمُعْلِقَ الْمَالَ الْمُعْتَى الْمُوا الْمُعْلِقُ اللْمُعْلَى الْمُعْمِولِ الْمُمَالَ وَلَوْلُولُونَا اللَّهُ اللَّهُ الْمُوا الْمُوا الْمُعْلِقَ الْمُعْلَى الْمُنْ الْمُعْتُولُ الْمُوا الْمُعْلِقُ الْمُعْلَى الْمُعْلَى الْمُولِي الْمُولِ الْمُعْلَى الْمُعْلَى الْمُعْلَى الْمُعْلَى الْمُعْلَى الْمُولِ اللَّوْلِ الْمُعْلَى الْمُوا الْمُؤْلِقُ اللْمُولِلِ الْمُعْلَى الْمُولِلِقُ الْمُولِلِ

Al-Fadl returned to 'Ali and informed him of what had transpired which upset him greatly that he verbally abused 'Amr: "He hurt God and his Messenger!" He left to the mosque where many from Quraysh gathered around him and he spoke angrily: "O Quraysh, loving the Ansar is a sign of belief and hating them is a sign of hypocrisy. They fulfilled their part, now it's our turn and remember that God transferred your Prophet (saw) from Makkah to Madinah and disliked Quraysh's company for him so he moved towards the Ansar. We came to their homes so they split their money with us and saved us much work whether they were rich or poor. Then we fought those people when they shielded us with their bodies so God revealed a verse for them combining five blessings: {And those who made their dwelling in the abode, and in belief, before them; love whosoever has emigrated to them, not finding in their breasts any need for what they have been given, and preferring others above themselves, even though poverty be their portion. And whoso is guarded against the avarice of his own soul, those -- they are the prosperers.} `Amr bin al-`As took a position that hurt the living and the dead, pleasing those who held grudges and so he deserves a response from those present and resentment from those who are absent. Whoever loves God and His Messenger must love the Ansar; 'Amr should spare us (i.e Quraysh) from his problems!" After 'Ali finished, Quraysh hastened to 'Amr and told him: "Now that 'Ali is angry, you must stop."

> وَقَالَ خُزَيْمَةُ بْنُ ثَابِتٍ الأَنْصَارِيُّ يُخَاطِبُ قُرَيْشًا أَيْالَ قُرَيْشِ أَصْلِحُوا ذَاتَ بَيْنِنَا ... وَبَيْنِكُمُ قَدْ طَالَ حَبْلُ التَّمَاحُكِ

In turn, Khuzaymah bin Thabit al-Ansari addressed Quraysh with his poetry urging them to reconcile between themselves and the Ansar as the conflict had lasted long enough.

وَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ لِلْفَضْلِ: يَا فَضْلُ، انْصُرِ الأَنْصَارَ بِلِسَانِكَ وَيَدِكَ، فَإِنَّهُمْ مِنْكَ وَإِنَّكَ مِنْهُمْ ، فَقَالَ الْفَضْلُ:

قُلْتَ يَا عَمْرُو مَقَالاً فَاحِشًا ... إِنْ تَعُدْ يَا عَمْرُو وَاللَّهِ فَلَكْ

إِنَّمَا الأَنْصَارُ سَيْفٌ قَاطِعٌ ... مَنْ تُصِبْهُ ظُبَةُ السَّيْفِ هَلَكْ

'Ali told al-Fadl: "O Fadl, support the Ansar with your tongue and arms, they are from you and you are from them." Al-Fadl then recited poetry warning 'Amr of making any more wicked speeches since the Ansar are like a sharp sword and whoever messes with them perishes.

وَدَخَلَ الْفَضْلُ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ فَأَسْمَعَهُ شِعْرَهُ، فَفَرِحَ بِهِ وَقَالَ: وَرَيْتُ بِكَ زِنَادِي يَا فَضْلُ، أَنْتَ شَاعِرُ قُرَيْشٍ وَقَالَا: وَرَيْتُ بِكَ زِنَادِي يَا فَضْلُ، أَنْتَ شَاعِرُ قُرَيْشٍ وَقَاهَا، فَأَظْهِرْ شِعْرَكَ، وَابْعَثْ بِهِ إِلَى الأَنْصَارِ.

Al-Fadl entered on `Ali and recited his poetry which made `Ali thrilled and proud, he said: "O Fadl, you are the poet of Quraysh and its youth, present your poem to the Ansar!"

فَلَمَّا بَلَغَ ذَلِكَ الأَنْصَارَ، قَالَتْ: لا أَحَدَ يُجِيبُ إلا حَسَّانُ الْحُسَامُ فَبَعَثُوا إِلَى حَسَّان بْن ثَابِتٍ، فَعَرَضُوا عَلَيْهِ شَعْرَ الْفَضْلِ، فَقَالَ: كَيْفَ أَصْنَعُ بِجَوَابِهِ! إِنْ لَمْ أَتَحَرَّ قَوَافِيَهُ فَضَحَذِي، فَرُوَيْدًا حَتَّى أَقْفُوا أَثَرَهُ فِي الْقَوَافِي. فَقَالَ لَهُ خُزَيْمَةُ بْنُ ثَابِتٍ: اذْكُرْ عَلِيًّا وَيَكُفِكَ عَنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ، فَقَالَ

The Ansar heard the poetry and said: "None except Hassan the sword should respond!" They sent after Hassan bin Thabit and presented the poetry to him, he said: "Let me analyse the rhymes of his poetry so that I don't sound weak in front of him." Khuzaymah bin Thabit advised him: "Just mentioned `Ali in your poetry and that should be sufficient."

جَزَى الله عَنّا وَالْجَزَاءُ بِكَفّهِ ... أَبَا حَسَنٍ عَنّا وَمَنْ كَأَبِي حَسَنْ سَبَقْتَ قُرْ بِشًا بِالَّذِي أَنْتَ أَهْلُهُ ... فَصَدْرُكَ مَشْرُوحٌ وَقَلْبُكَ مُمْتَحَنْ تَمَنَّتُ رِجَالٌ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ أَعِزَةٌ ... مَكَانَك، هيْهَاتَ الْهُزَالُ مِنَ السّمَنْ وَأَنْتَ مِنَ الْإِسْلامِ فِي كُلِّ مَوْطِنٍ ... بِمَنْزِلَةِ الدَّلُو الْبَطِينِ مِنَ الرَّسَنْ عَضِبْتَ لَنَا إِذْ قَامَ عَمْروٌ بِخُطْبَةٍ ... أَمَاتَ بِهَا النَّقُوى وَأَحْيَا بِهَا الإحن فَكُنْتَ الْمُرَجَّى مِنْ لُوْيً بْنِ غَالِبٍ ... لِمَا كَانَ مِنْهُمْ وَالَّذِي كَانَ لَمْ يَكُنْ حَفِظْتَ رَسُولَ اللهِ فِينَا وَعْهَدَهُ ... إلَيْكَ وَمَنْ أَوْلَى بِهِ مِنْكَ مَنْ وَمَنْ أَلْسُتَ أَخَاهُ فِي الْهُدَى وَوَصِيتَهُ ... وَأَعْلَمَ مِنْهُمْ بِالْكِتَابِ وَبِالسَّنَنْ وَمَنْ أَلْسُتَ أَخَاهُ فِي الْهُدَى وَوَصِيتَهُ ... وَأَعْلَمَ مِنْهُمْ بِالْكِتَابِ وَبِالسَّنَنْ

Hassan recited poetry praising `Ali and mentioning his superiority and how others from the masters of Quraysh would wish to be in his status: "Men of glory from Quraysh hoped for your status but the skinny will never be like the fat." and "You got angry for our sake when `Amr delivered a sermon wherein he buried goodness and revived animosity." and "You've preserved the Messenger's (saw) will with regards to us (i.e Ansar) and who has greater claim to him than you? Weren't you his brother in guidance,

executor of his will and the most knowledgeable of them concerning the Book and traditions?"

وَبَعَثَتِ الْأَنْصَالُ بِهَذَا الشَّعْرِ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، فَخَرَجَ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ، وَقَالَ لِمَنْ بِهِ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ وَغَيْرِهِمْ: يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، إِنَّ اللَّهَ جَعَلَ الأَنْصَارَ أَنْصَارًا، فَأَثْنَى عَلَيْهِمْ فِي الْكِتَابِ، فَلا خَيْرَ فِيكُمْ بَعْدَهُمْ، إِنَّهُ لا يَزَالُ سَفِيةٌ مِنْ سُفَهَاءِ قُرَيْشٍ وَتَرَهُ الإسْلامُ، وَدَفَعَهُ عَنِ الْحَقِّ، وَأَطْفَأ شَرَفَهُ، وَفَضَلَ عَيْرهُ عَلَيْهِ، يَقُومُ مَقَامًا فَاحِشًا فَيَذْكُرُ الأَنْصَارَ، فَاتَقُوا اللَّهْ وَارْعَوْا حَقَّهَمْ، فَوَاللَّهِ لَوْ زَلُوا لَزُلْتُ مَعَهُمْ لأَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ قَالَ لَهُمْ: أَزُولُ مَعَكُمْ حَيْثُمَا زُلْتُمْ، فقَالَ: الْمُسْلِمُونَ جَمِيعًا: رَحِمَكَ اللَّهُ يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ، قُلْتَ قَوْلا صَادَقًا

The Ansar delivered their poetry to `Ali bin abi Talib who in turn went to the mosque and informed all those in it from Quraysh and others: "O Quraysh, God made the Ansar supporters, praising them in His Book so there is no goodness left for you after they're gone. An insolent man from Quraysh bearing a grudge against Islam and against truth due to the dishonor that befell him still takes an abhorrent stance towards the Ansar. Be wary of God and guard their right, by Allah if they are gone then so will I since the Prophet (saw) said: "I go with you (i.e Ansar) wherever you go." The Muslims all said: "May God have mercy on you O aba al-Hasan, you've said a truthful saying."

`Amr bin al-`As was pressured to leave Madinah and he never returned to it until `Ali and the emmigrants forgave him.

I say: It's very clear from such texts that `Ali was a respected and honored personality in society to the extent that `Amr bin al-`As couldn't return to Madinah except after `Ali accepted his return. Certain groups who claim to follow `Ali in our days have painted a portrait of a cowardly man who hid in his house and could not say a word to oppose Quraysh out of fear. We also see the great closeness and love `Ali had for the Ansar whereas those same folks who claim to be his followers have accused the Ansar of conspiring to take `Ali's right and of having betrayed him which led them to constantly curse and abuse the Ansar. `Amr bin al-`As was a great war strategist and remarkable military leader and it is no surprise he'd lean more towards Mu`awiyah bin abi Sufiyan against `Ali bin abi Talib during the Fitnah.

ثُمَّ إِنَّ الْوَلِيدَ بْنَ عُقْبَةً بْنِ أَبِي مُعَيْطٍ، وَكَانَ يُبْغِضُ الأَنْصَارَ، لأَنَّهُمْ أَسَرُوا أَبَاهُ يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ، وَضَرَبُوا عُنْقَهُ بَيْنَ يَدَيْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَى الله عليه وسلم، قَامَ يَشْتُمُ الأَنْصَارَ وَذَكَّرَهُمْ بالْهُجْرِ، فَقَالَ: إِنَّ الأَنْصَارَ لَتَرَيِ لَهَا مِنْ الْحَقِّ عَلَيْنَا مَا لا نَرَاهُ، وَاللَّهِ لِيْنْ كَانُوا آوَوْا لَقَدْ عَزَوا بِنَا، وَلَيْنَ كَانُوا آمَوْا لَقَدْ مَنُوا عَلَيْنَا، وَاللهِ مَا لَكُوا آمَوْا لَقَدْ مَوْتَانَا مَا لَمُدِينَةٍ، وَلا يَنْفَكُونَ يُعَيِّرُونَ مَوْتَانَا وَيَوْا لَقَدْ مَوْتَانَا وَلَيْنَ أَمْدِينَةٍ، وَلا يَنْفَكُونَ يُعَيِّرُونَ مَوْتَانَا وَيَوْا لَعْدَى عَلَى عَارِبِهَا، وَلَكِنْ قَدْ هَوَّنَ عَلَيَّ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ وَيَقِيطُونَ أَحْدَاءَنَا، فَإِنْ أَجَبْنَاهُمْ قَالُوا: عَضِيَتُ قُرَيْشٌ عَلَى عَارِبِهَا، وَلَكِنْ قَدْ هَوَّنَ عَلَيَّ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ وَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ عَلَى الدِّينِ أَمْسِ، وَاعْتِذَارُهُمْ مِنَ الذَّنْبِ الْيَوْمَ، ثُمَّ قَالَ Al-Walid bin 'Utbah bin abi Mu'ayt was a hater of the Ansar because they imprisoned his father at Badr then executed him. He stood insulting the Ansar and mentioning them negatively: "The Ansar think they have a right upon us but we don't! They talk about sheltering us but we honored them by our presence! And if they've helped us in the past then they've also boasted unjustly! By God, we cannot love them as long as their speakers mention our disgrace in Makkah and the glory we acquired in Madinah! They persist in shaming our dead and infuriating our living; If we respond, they say: 'Quraysh is angry at their supporters.' What eased things down for me was their care towards religion yesterday and their apology from their fault today."

وَإِنْ تَكُنِ الأَنْصَارُ آوَتْ وَقَاسَمَتْ ... مَعَايِشِهَا مَنْ جَاءَ قِسْمَةً جَازِرِ
فَقَدْ أَفْسَدَتْ مَا كَانَ مِنْهَا بِمَنِّهَا ... وَمَا ذَاكَ فِعْلُ الأَكْرَمِينَ الأَكَايِرِ
إِذَا قَالَ حَسَّانٌ وَكَعْبٌ قَصِيدَةً ... بِشَتْم قُريْشٍ غُنِّيتَ فِي الْمُعَاشِرِ
وَسَارَ بِهَا الرُّكْبَانُ فِي كُلِّ وِجْهَةٍ ... وَأَعْمَلَ فِيهَا كُلُّ خُفٍّ وَحَافِرِ

Al-Walid recited poetry saying that if the Ansar had sacrificed in the past yet they ruined everything for themselves by boasting repeatedly and that is not the conduct of kind noblemen. He criticized Hassan and Ka`b for their offensive poetry that spread between the Arabs.

افَقَشَا شِعْرُهُ فِي النَّاسِ، فَعَضِبَتِ الأَنْصَارُ وَغَضِبَ لَهَا مِنْ قُرَيْشِ قَوْمٌ، مِنْهُمْ ضِرَارُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ، فَقَالَ: الْفِهْرِيُّ، وَزِيدُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ، وَيَزِيدُ بْنُ الْخِلَابِ، فَقَالَ: عَابْنَ عُقْبَةً بْنِ أَلِي مُعَيْطٍ، أَمَا وَاللَّهِ لُو كُنْتَ مِنَ الْفَقَرَاءِ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ الَّذِينَ أَخْرِجُوا مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ وَأَمُو لِلهِمْ يَبْتَغُونَ فَضْلا مِنَ اللَّهُ وَرَضْوَانًا، لأَحْبَبْتَ الأَنْصَارَ، وَلَكِنَكَ مِنَ الْجُفَاةِ فِي الْإسلامِ، اللهُطَاءِ عَنْهُ، الَّذِينَ يَتَغُونَ فَضْلا مِنَ اللهِ وَمُهُم كَارِهُونَ إِنَّا نَعْلَمُ أَنَّا أَتَيْنَاهُمْ وَنَحْنُ فَقْرَاءُ فَأَخُونَا، ثُمَّ أَصَبَنَا الْغِنَي يَتَغُونَ فَقْرَاءُ فَأَخُونَا، ثُمَّ أَصَبَنَا الْغِنَي فَكُولُوا فِيهِ بَعْدَ أَنْ ظَهَرَ أَمْرُ اللهِ وَهُمْ كَارِهُونَ إِنَّا نَعْلَمُ أَنَّا أَتَيْنَاهُمْ وَنَحْنُ فَقْرَاءُ فَأَخُونَا، ثُمَّ أَصَبَنَا الْغِنَي فَكُولُوا فِي الْمُولِينَةِ فَكَذَلِكَ كُنَّاوَكَذَلِكَ قَالَ اللهُ تَعَلَى وَالْمُولِينَةِ فَكَذَلِكَ كُنَاوَكَذَلِكَ قَالَ اللهُ يَعَلَى إَوْلَا لُولَ اللهُ اللهُ عَصَبُكَ لَوْرَيْشِ فَانًا لا نَنْصُرُ كَافِرًا، وَلا نُولَا لُولَ مُلْكَ مُدِينَتِهِمْ وَأُمَّا غَصَبُكَ لِفُرَاهُ فَالًا لاَنْصُرُكَ اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ اللهُو

Al-Walid's poetry was on every tongue which angered the Ansar as well as a group from Quraysh such as Dirar bin al-Khattab al-Fihri, Zayd bin al-Khattab and Yazid bin abi Sufiyan who all sent after al-Walid reproaching him. Zayd bin al-Khattab (`Umar's brother) spoke first: "O Ibn `Uqbah bin abi Mu`ayt, if you were from the poor emmigrants who were chased out of their homes and lost their wealth to seek God's pleasure, then you'd have also loved the Ansar. However, you are from those disloyal to Islam; Those who reluctantly embraced it later, only after God's message was victorious. We appreciate that we came to them in poverty so they enriched us; And when we became

rich they never asked us. As for mentioning the disgrace of Quraysh in Makkah and their glory in Madinah, then it is as they described, God says in His Book {And remember when you were few and abased in the land, and were fearful that the people would snatch you away} Allah granted this victory through them and protected us in their city. As for your anger for Quraysh's dead, then know that we do not aid a disbeliever nor do we love a pagan or sinner. You've said what you wished and their speakers and poets silenced you, do not mention yesterday's events and leave the Muhajirin and Ansar be, they do not think of you highly nor will we shield you from their anger."

وَتَكَلَّمَ يَزِيدُ بْنُ أَبِي سُفْيَانَ، فَقَالَ :يَا ابْنَ عُقْبَةً، الأَنْصَارُ أَحَقُّ بِالْغَضَبِ لِقْتَلَى أُحُدٍ، فَاكْفُفْ لِسَانَكَ، فَإِنَّ مَنْ قَتَلُهُ الْحَقُّ لا يُغْضَبُ لَهُ.

Then Yazid bin abi Sufiyan spoke: "O Ibn `Uqbah, the Ansar have more right to be angry for the martyrs of Uhud so hold your tongue. Those who were killed by the God of Truth do not deserve our sympathy and anger."

وَتَكَلَّمَ ضِرَارُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ، فَقَالَ: أَمَا وَاللَّهِ، لَوْلا أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، قَالَ: الأَئِمَّةُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ ، لَقُلْنَا: الأَئِمَّةُ مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ ، وَلَكِنْ جَاءَ أَمْرٌ غَلَبَ الرَّأْيَ، فَأَقْمِعْ شِرَّتَكَ أَيُّهَا الرَّجُلُ وَلا تَكُنِ امْرَأَ سَوْءٍ، فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ لَمُ يُقَرِّقْ بَيْنَ الأَنْصَارِ وَالْمُهَاجِرِينَ فِي الْذُنْيَا، وَكَذَلِكَ اللَّهُ لا يُقَرِّقُ بَيْنَهُمْ فِي الآخِرَةِ.

Dirar al-Fihri said: "By God, if the Messenger (saw) hadn't said: 'Leaders are from Quraysh.' then we would have said: 'Leaders are from the Ansar.' But the divine order overrules any opinion. Suppress your evil O man and do not be a wicked fellow! God did not differentiate between the Muhajirun and Ansar in this life and He shall not separate them in the after-life."

وَ أَقْبَلَ حَسَّانُ بْنُ تَابِتٍ مُغْضَبًا مِنْ كَلامِ الْوَلِيدِ بْنِ عُقْبَةً، وَشِعْرِه، فَدَخَلَ الْمَسْجِدَ وَفِيهِ قَوْمٌ مِنْ قُريش، فَقَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ قُريشٍ، إِنَّ أَعْظَمَ ذَنْبِنَا اللَّيْكُمْ قَتَلْنَا كُفَّارَكُمْ، وَحِمَايَتُنَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّم، وَإِنْ كُنْهُ تَنقِمُونَ مِنَّا مِثْنَعُنَا مِنْ قَتَالِكُمُ الْجُبْنُ، كُنْنُهُ تَقَوْمُونَ مِنَّا مِثَةً كَانَتْ بِالأَمْسِ فَقَدْ كَفَى اللَّهُ شَرَّهَا، فَمَالْنَا وَمَالَكُمْ، وَاللَّهِ مَا يَمْنَعُنَا مِنْ قَتَالِكُمُ الْجُبْنُ، وَلا مِنْ جَوَالِكُمُ الْجُبْنُ، وَلا مِنْ جَوَالِكُمُ الْجُبْنُ، فَأَعْضَيْنَا عَلْمُ مِنْ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ وَلَكُمْ الْجُبْنُ، عَلَيْكُمْ الْجُبْنُ، عَلَيْكُمْ الْجُبْنُ، عَلَيْكُمْ الْجُبْنُ، عَلَيْنَا عُلْمُ مِنْكَنَا، وَسَكَنَّمُ سَكَثْنَا.

An angered Hassan bin Thabit came and entered the mosque while folks from Quraysh were inside: "Fellow Quraysh, is our biggest sin that we killed your pagans? Or that we guarded the Messenger of God? If you're still upset due to our boasting yesterday, then God has averted this evil (today). We've no animosity towards you so that we may fight and we're not cowards. We don't have a deficiency in speech and we can respond if we wish since we're people of actions and words. However, we said to ourselves: This war shall begin in shame and end in disgrace, so we turned away our gaze and stepped back that we may all reflect on our positions. Therefore, if you speak we will speak and if you cease so shall we!"

فَلَمْ يُجِبْهُ أَحَدٌ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ، ثُمَّ سَكَتَ كُلِّ مِنَ الْفَرِيقَيْنِ عَنْ صَاحِبِهِ، وَرَضِيَ الْقَوْمُ أَجْمَعُونَ، وَقَطَعُوا الْخلافَ وَالْعَصَبَيَّةَ.

None of the Quraysh wished to respond to Hassan and peace returned as both teams showed acceptance and exercised restraint, thus ending the conflict and stopping tribal extremism.⁷⁹

I say: Those Arabs were still affected by tribalism and tribal affiliations as is apparent to all, such is the nature of man and their society is no more than a product of their times. Thankfully, Islam played a great role as the reader can see in lowering tensions and weakening tribal inclinations. They all understood God's commands and prohibitions which made them think twice before engaging in any armed combat against their brothers in faith. On top of that, men of wisdom from among the two camps (e.g Zayd bin al-Khattab & Khuzaymah bin Thabit) helped in rounding the corners and speaking some sense into more hard-headed individuals so praise be to God for His protection.

⁷⁹ Zubayr (The entire chapter is from his book)

16-Returning to the Godly path and resolving the disputes.

The poor daughter of the Prophet (saw), Fatimah bint Muhammad may God's peace be upon her was in a terrible situation. She had seen her siblings pass away before her and was now left in a state of great grief after losing her father as well. This caused her to fall ill quickly after her father had died (saw) and she would pass away six months later.

عن الشعبي أنه قال: لما مرضت فاطمة أتاها أبو بكر الصديق فاستأذن عليها، فقال علي: يا فاطمة هذا أبو بكر يستأذن عليك؟ فقالت: أتحب أن آذن له؟ قال: نعم، فأذنت له فدخل عليها يترضاها، فقال: والله ما تركت الدار والمال، والأهل والعشيرة، إلا إبتغاء مرضاة الله، ومرضاة رسوله، ومرضاتكم أهل البيت، ثم ترضاها حتى رضيت.

'Amir told us that: When Fatimah fell ill, Abu Bakr al-Siddiq came to her desiring permission to visit. 'Ali said: "O Fatimah, this is Abu Bakr asking to visit you." She said: "Would you like me to permit him?" 'Ali said: "Yes." He then entered on her, intending her pleasure and said: "By God, I did not abandon my home, wealth and kinfolk except to seek the pleasure of God, His Messenger and you O prophetic-household." He continued to talk to her until she was pleased.⁸⁰

وَكَانَ لِعَلِيَّ وَجُهٌ مِنَ النَّاسِ حَيَاةَ فَاطِمَةَ ، فَلَمَّا ثُوُفِّيَتُ انْصَرَ فَتْ وُجُوهُ النَّاسِ عَنْ عَلِيٍّ انْصِرَافَ وُجُوهِ النَّاسِ عَنْهُ سِنَّةَ أَشْهُرٍ بَعْدَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسلَّمَ ثُمَّ تُوفَيِّتُ . وَلَمَّا رَأَى عَلِيٍّ انْصِرَافَ وُجُوهِ النَّاسِ عَنْهُ ضَرَعَ إِلَى مُصَالَحَةٍ أَبِي بَكُرٍ ، فَأَرْسَلَ إِلَى أَبِي بَكُرٍ أَنِ انْتِنَا وَلا يَأْتِنَا مَعَكَ أَحَدٌ ، وَكَرِهَ أَنْ يَأْتِهُهُ عُمَرُ لِمَا عَلَى عَلِيهُ عَمْرُ وَلا نَالْتِنَا وَلا يَأْتِنَا مَعْكَ أَحَدٌ ، وَكَرِهَ أَنْ يَأْتِيهُهُ عُمَرُ وَلا نَالْتَنَا وَلا يَأْتِنَا مَعْكَ أَجُدٌ ، فَقَالَ عَمْرُ : لا تَأْتِهِمْ وَحْدَكُ . قَالَ أَبُو بَكُر وَاللَّهِ لاَتِيَنَّهُمْ وَحْدِي وَمَا عَسَى أَنْ وَاللَّهِ مِعْدَ اللَّهَ وَأَلْهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ وَكُنَّا نَرَى لِقُوالَ اللَّهِ يَكُم وَاللَّهُ اللَّهُ وَكُنَّا نَرَى لِقُرَابَتَنَا مِنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ نَصِيبًا حَتَّى فَاضَتَ عَيْنَا أَبِي وَاللَّهُ مَا لَكُمُ مَا اللَّهُ وَلَكُنَا أَلُو صُلِيلًا اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ وَسَلَّمُ ، يَقُولُ : " لا نُورَتُ ، مَا تَرَكُنَا فَهُو صَدَقَةٌ ، إِنَّمَا يَلُكُلُ الْ مُحَدِّ فِي هَذَا الْمَالِ " وَإِنِي عَلَى اللَّهُ وَسَلَمَ ، يَقُولُ : " لا نُورَتُ ، مَا تَرَكُنَا فَهُو صَدَقَةٌ ، إِنَّمَا يَلُكُلُ الْ مُحَدِّ فِي هَذَا الْمَالِ " وَإِنِي عَلَى اللَّهُ وَسَالِمَ اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ وَمَا عَلَى عَلَى اللَّهُ وَسَلَمَ ، يَقُولُ : " لا نُورَتُ ، مَا تَرَكُنَا فَهُو صَدَقَةٌ ، إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى عَلَيْ عَلَى الْمَنْ عَلِي وَاللَّهُ وَسَالِكَ أَلُو مَلَى عَلَى اللَّهُ عَى الْبَيْعَةِ وَعُذْرَهُ وَلَكُ الْعَلْ عَلَى عَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَى الْمَالُ الْ وَلَوْ الْمَعْرُ وَفَ الْمَعْرُ وَفَ . قَالَتُ : فَكَانَ النَّاسُ إِلَى عَلَيْ عَلَى عَلَى الْمَنْ عَلَى الْمَاسُ الْمَالُ اللَّهُ عَلَى الْمَالُ الْمَالُ الْمَالُ الْمَالُ الْمَالُ الْمَالُ الْمَالُ اللَّهُ الْمَالُ الْقَالُ الْمَالُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ الْمَالُ الْمَالُ اللَّالُ اللَّ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّا اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ ا

When Fatimah was alive, 'Ali had much respect from the people but after her death he quickly noticed a change in their attitude towards him. Upon seeing this, 'Ali sought to reconcile with Abi Bakr so he sent after him: "Come to us and bring no one else with you." 'Ali knew of 'Umar's

⁸⁰ Bayhaqi

harshness so he disliked for him to accompany Abu Bakr. 'Umar heard the news and told Abu Bakr: "Don't go there on your own." Abu Bakr replied: "By God, I'll go to them alone. It's not as if they'll harm me." Abu Bakr went and entered on 'Ali who had gathered all of Banu Hashim at his house. 'Ali stood and thanked God, praising Him as He deserves to be praised, then said: "To proceed, our decision to not offer you allegiance was not out of denial for your superiority nor out of jealousy from this goodness that God Has bestowed upon you. We had seen for ourselves a right due to our close blood-relation to the Messenger (saw)." Abu Bakr's eyes became teary as he listened, he then spoke: "To proceed, doing good to the relatives of the Prophet (saw) is more beloved to me than doing good to my own relatives. By God, I only intended good regarding those properties that caused an issue between us for I have heard the Messenger (saw) say: 'We leave no inheritance; What's left is for charity and Muhammad's family may only eat from these properties.' I seek refuge in God should I manage them differently than the Messenger (saw) managed them." Upon hearing this, 'Ali said: "Tonight, I give you a (public) pledge." So when Abu Bakr finished the noon prayer, he climbed the pulpit and testified to God's oneness then mentioned 'Ali and his absence from attending the (first) public pledge, he excused 'Ali and pardoned him. 'Ali then stood up and greatly praised Abu Bakr's right, he mentioned his virtues and early deeds then proceeded to offer his oath of allegiance. When 'Ali did this, the people surrounded him and said: "You did well!" The people were closer to 'Ali when he was close to the truth.81

I say: From this text we sense that the main reason why the common Muslims held 'Ali in high esteem was primarily due to his marriage from the Prophet's (saw) daughter Fatimah. 'Ali spoke about why the Hashemites decided to boycott the public pledge and why he never showed up to the mosque except after Abu Bakr had called on him. He states that he does believe Abu Bakr to be suited for the position yet Banu Hashim had a right as well since they were blood relatives. Abu Bakr responds and brings mention of the matter of inheritance which had apparently increased tensions between the tribes of Hashim and Taym, he further explains his stance and intentions. 'Ali accepts Abu Bakr's excuse and position then promises to renew his allegiance to him in the evening while everyone is present. The intention of 'Ali to renew his allegiance in public was to stop any people from spreading malicious rumours that 'Ali does not approve of Abu Bakr's leadership. Abu Bakr then explained the whole situation to the people in his sermon, he told them about 'Ali's delay from offering allegiance on that day and listed his excuses. 'Ali returned the favor by greatly praising al-Siddig then he gave the pledge so the people rejoiced.

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^{81 `}Abdul-Razzaq

عوانة وابن جعدبة قالا: لم يبايع خالد بن سعيد أبا بكر إلا بعد سنة أشهر، ثم أتى بني هاشم، فقال: أنتم الظهر و البطن و الشعار دون الدثار. و العصا دون اللحا. فاذا رضيتم رضينا و اذا سخطتم سخطنا، حدثوني، و ان كنتم قد بايعتم هذا الرجل؟ قالوا: نعم، قال: على برد و رضا من جماعتكم قالوا: نعم، قال: فأنا أرضى و ابايع اذا بايعتم أما و الله يا بني هاشم انكم الطوال الشجر الطيب الثمر فمر به أبو بكر وهو قاعد في سقيفة، فقال له: يا خالد ما رأيك في البيعة؟ قال: أبايع يا أبا بكر. فأتاه أبو بكر. فأدخله خالد الدار وبايعه.

`Awanah and Ibn Ju`dubah both reported that Khalid bin Sa`id bin al-`As never gave his oath until after six months. He later returned to consult Banu Hashim and began by praising them: "You folks are at the forefront and you are (like) the cover that gives warmth. If you are pleased, then we are pleased and if you're angry then so are we. Tell me, have you declared allegiance to this man?" Banu Hashim replied: "Yes." He said: "Out of acceptance or out of compulsion?" They said: "We were pleased." Upon hearing this, Khalid bin Sa`id said: "Then I too am pleased and I shall pledge. By God, you O Banu Hashim are high trees bearing sweet fruits." While Khalid sat in a shed, Abu Bakr passed by him and said: "O Khalid, have you changed your mind regarding the pledge?" He answered: "I shall give it O Abu Bakr." They both went inside his house and Khalid gave an oath of allegiance.

فلما تمت البيعة لأبي بكر أقام ثلاثة أيام يقيل الناس ويستقيلهم يقول قد أقلتكم في بيعتي هل من كاره هل من مبغض فيقوم علي في أول الناس فيقول والله لا نقيلك ولا نستقيلك أبدا قد قدمك رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم لتوحيد ديننا من ذا الذي يؤخرك لتوجيه دنيانا.

When the affair of allegiance was finally settled for Abu Bakr, he remained for three days attempting to convince the people to allow him to step-down and resign. Abu Bakr would say: "You are all free from any pledge you made to me, do you accept?" And 'Ali would be from the first people to stand and say: "By God, we will never let you resign or step-down! The Messenger (saw) placed you ahead of us to unify our religion so who has the audacity to push you back for worldly reasons?"⁸³

روى أن رافع بن أبي رافع الطائي ، قال : والله لأختارن في هذه الغزاة لنفسي رجلا من أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ، استمد به فاني لست استطيع اتيان المدينة ، فاخترت أبا بكر ، ولم آل وكان له كساء فدكى يخله عليه إذا ركب ، ويلبسه إذا نزل ، وهو الذي عيرته به هوازن بعد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ، وقالوا : لا نبايع ذا الخلال ، قال :لما قضينا غزاتنا قلت له: يا أبا بكر ، اني قد صحبتك و إني لي عليك حقا ، فعلمني شيئا انتفع به ، فقال :قد كنت اريد ذلك لو لم تقل لي: تعبد الله لا تشرك به شيئا ، و تقيم الصلاة المكتوبة و تؤدي الزكاة المفروضة ، و تحج البيت ، و تصوم شهر رمضان و لا نتأمر على رجلين ، فقات: اما العبادات فقد عرفتها ، أرأيت نهيك لي عن الامارة ، و هل يصيب الناس الخير و الشر إلا بالامارة ، فقال: انك مستجهد في فجهدت لك ، إن الناس دخلوا في يصيب الناس الخير و الشر إلا بالامارة ، فقال: انك مستجهد في فجهدت الك ، إن الناس دخلوا في الاسلام طوعا و كرها فأجار هم الله من الظلم فهم جيران الله و عواد الله و في ذمة الله ، فمن يظلم منكم

⁸² Jawhari, Baladhuri

⁸³ Ibn Qutaybah, Ibn Nasir-ul-Din, Diyarbakri

انما يحقر ربه، و الله ان أحدكم ليأخذ شويهة جاره او بعيره، فيظّل عمله بأسا بجاره، و الله من وراء جاره، قال: فلم يلبث الا قليلا حتى اتتنا وفاة رسول الله عليه و سلم، فسألت: من استخلف بعده، قيل: أبو بكر، قلت: اصاحبي الذي كان ينهاني عن الامارة؟ فشددت على راحلتي: فأتيت المدينة، فجعلت اطلب خلوته، حتى قدرت عليها، فقلت: أتعرفني، انا فلان بن فلان؛ أتعرف وصية اوصيتني بها، قال: نعم ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم قبض، و الناس حديثو عهد بالجاهلية، فخشيت ان يفتتنوا، و أن أصحابي حملونيها، فما زال يعتذر الي حتى عذرته، و صار من أمري بعد ان صرت عريفا.

Below is an interesting story in relation to ours by Rafi` bin abi Rafi` al-Ta'i who was sent on a military expedition alongside Abu Bakr and a couple of others. As they returned Rafi` thought to himself: During this conquest I will pick for myself a man from the Companions of the Messenger (saw) to teach me as I myself am unable to travel to Madinah. Rafi` says: After contemplation I decided on Aba Bakr who wrapped a Fadaki cloak around himself as he rode and wore it whenever he dismounted. This was the same cloak that the Hawazin tribe mocked when they said: "We do not offer allegiance to the one who wraps himself." When we were done with the expedition I told Abu Bakr: "O Aba Bakr, I have a right upon you due to my good companionship so please teach me a beneficial thing." He replied: "I wanted to even if you hadn't asked: Worship God without associating partners, pray the obligatory prayer, pay what you owe of charity, make pilgrimage to the House, fast your month and do not strive to become the leader of anybody." I said: "As for matters of worship I understand but why prohibit people from seeking authority? Isn't leadership necessary for running people's affairs?" He replied: "You've made an effort to seek out my advice and I made an effort to give you the best advice. People embraced Islam voluntarily while others disliked it but God helped them escape the darkness so they became His neighbors who seek Him to be under His safeguard. Whoever oppresses has degraded his Lord; A man among you snatches his neighbor's lamb or camel, harming his neighbor while God encompasses you from behind." Rafi` continues: After some times passed the news of the Prophet's (saw) death reached me so I asked: "Who succeeded him?" They said: "Abu Bakr." I said: "My companion!? Who prohibited me from leadership!?" I mounted my camel and left for Madinah requesting a private audience with him until I finally got a hold of him, I asked: "Do you recognize me? I'm so and so son of so and so; Remember the advice you gave me?" He answered: "Yes, the Messenger (saw) passed away while people were still newcomers from an era of ignorance so I feared they would face a trial then my companions charged me with this duty." He kept apologizing to me until I pardoned him and as

for me, my story continued thus until one day I myself became a corporal in the army.⁸⁴

I say: The beauty of this story is to understand that taking leadership and appointing a leader means that a man is responsible for every action and decision in front of God almighty. Abu Bakr's advice for the man was to avoid being in such a situation as much as possible, he disliked the leadership and warned from it but God in His wisdom awarded it to him. The man then reproached Abu Bakr for this until he himself was awarded a high position in the army even though he also hated it. The story also shows that some of the best leaders are those who do not desire leadership nor ask for it.

<u>NOTE</u>: This is the end of the book of Saqifah, it will be followed by the book of Shura.

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⁸⁴ Ibn Ishaq

KITAB-uI-SHURA

By Hani al-Tarabulsi

{And those who have responded to their lord and established prayer and whose affair is [determined by] consultation among themselves, and from what We have provided them, they spend.} [42:38]

THE TRUE STORY OF CONSULTATION:

I-The successor of the Prophet's (saw) successor.

Abu Bakr took a bath on a cold night and quickly became feverish. He was bedridden for around fifteen days.

المدانني قال: لما أستعر بأبي بكر الوجع أرسل إلى على وعثمان ورجال من المهاجرين والأنصار فقال: إنه قد نزل بي ما قد ترون ولا أظنني إلا مبت لما بي ولا بد من قائم بأمركم. وقد أطلق الله أيمانكم من بيعتي، وحل عنكم عقدتي، ورد عليكم أمركم. فأمروا عليكم من أحببتم فإنكم إن أمرتم في حياة مني كان أجدر أن لا تختلفوا بعدي. فقاموا في ذلك وخلوا عليه فلم تستقم لهم، فرجعوا إليه، فقالوا: رأينا يا خليفة رسول الله رأيك. قال: فلعلكم تختلفون. قالوا: لا. قال: فعليكم عهد الله على الرضى، قالوا: نعم. قال: فأمهلوني حتى أنظر لله ولدينه ولعباده.

Al-Mada'ini said: When Abu Bakr's pain became unbearable, he sent after 'Ali, 'Uthman and other men from the Muhajirin and Ansar then said: "Verily, as you can see I am afflicted with an intense illness, and I sense that, due to its severity I will soon die. Alas, there must be a man in charge to run your affairs. It seems that God Has released you from your pledges, and my covenant with you has reached its end as well. God returned the decision to you, so appoint over yourselves whomsoever you wish. Indeed, if you choose a leader while I am alive, it's less likely that you'll differ among yourselves after I die." The Muslims then went and attempted to select a man but things didn't work out for them and soon they returned to Abu Bakr saying: "O successor of God's Messenger (saw), our opinion is your opinion." He replied: "What if you differ?" They reassured him, so he said: "Give me an oath to God that you will be accepting." So they did, and he told them: "Then give me some time, so that I can see what is best in God's view and what is best for God's religion and slaves." "85

^{85 `}Askari, Ibn Shubah, Tabari

دَعَا أَبُو بَكُرَ عَبُدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنَ عَوْف، فقال: أَخْبِرْنِي عَنْ عُمَرَ بْنِ الْخَطَّابِ، فقال: مَا سَأَلْتَنِي عَنْ أَمْرٍ إلا وَأَنْتَ أَعْلَمُ بِهِ مِنِّي، فقال أَبُو بَكْرٍ: وَإِنْ، فقال عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ: هُوَ وَاللَّهِ أَفْضَلُ مَنْ رَأَيْكَ فِيهِ، ثَمَّ دَعَا عُثْمَانَ بْنَ عَقَالَ: أَخْبِرُنِي عَنْ عُمِّرَ بْنِ الْخَطَّابِ، فقال: أَنْتَ أَخْبَرُنَا بِهِ، فقال: عَلَى ذَلِكَ يَا أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، فقال: عَلَى ذَلِكَ يَا أَبًا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، فقال: عَلَى ذَلِكَ يَا أَبًا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، فقال أَبُو بَكْر: يَرْحَمُكَ فقال عُثْمَانُ: اللَّهُمَّ عِلْمِي بِهِ أَنَّ سَرِيرَتَهُ خَيْرٌ مِنْ عَلانِيتِهِ، وَأَنَّهُ لَيْسَ فِينَا مِثْلُهُ، فقال أَبُو بَكْر: يَرْحَمُكَ اللَّهُ، وَاللَّهُمَ عَلَى مَثْلُورَ بَعْدَهُ سَعِيدَ بْنَ زَيْدٍ وَأُسَيْدَ بْنَ الْحُضَيْرِ وَعَيْرُهُمَا مِنَ الْمُهَامِرِينَ اللَّهُ وَسُلُور أَبُو بَعْدَهُ سَعِيدَ بْنَ زَيْدٍ وَأُسَيْدَ بْنَ الْحُضَيْرِ وَعَيْرُهُمَا مِنَ الْمُهَامِرِينَ وَاللَّهُمَ وَاللَّهُمَ وَالْأَبُصَارِ فقال أسد: اللهم أعلمه الخيرة بعدك يرضي للرضي ويسخط للسخط الذي يسر خير من الذي يعلن، ولم يل هذا الأمر أحد أقوى عليه منه.

He began by summoning Ibn `Awf, to whom he said: "Can I ask you about `Umar bin al-Khattab?" `Abdul-Rahman said: "You always had more knowledge than I in regard to what you ask me." Abu Bakr said: "Even so." Ibn `Awf said: "By God, he's even better than what you think." Abu Bakr then summoned for `Uthman and asked: "O aba `Abdillah, what can you tell me about `Umar?" Ibn `Affan responded: "You know him better than we do." Abu Bakr insisted, so `Uthman said: "By the Lord, I know that he is better in private than what he is in the open; and that among us, no one is equal to him." Abu Bakr said: "May God have mercy on you, had I not chosen, it would have surely gone to you." Then he consulted with Sa`id bin Zayd, Usayd bin Hudayr and others from the Muhajirun and Ansar, so Usayd said: "After you, he is the best of us. He is happy when we're happy, and he is angry when the condition calls for anger. That which he keeps secret is better than what he displays in the open. No one is stronger and more capable to take on this responsibility than he is."

بينا طلحة، والزبير، وعبد الرحمن بن عوف، وسعد جلوسا عند أبي بكر في مرضه عوادا. فقال أبو بكر: ابعثوا إلى عمر. فلما دخل أحست أنفسهم أنه خيرته، تفرقوا عنه وخرجوا وتركوهما. فالتوى عمر وقال: لا أطيق القيام بأمر الناس، فقال ابو بكر: هاتوا سيفي وتهدده، فانقاد عمر. فجلس القوم في المسجد وأرسلوا إلى علي ونفر معه، فوجدوا عليا في حائط فتوافوا إليه واجتمعوا. وقالوا: يا علي يا فلان ويا فلان، إن خليفة رسول الله مستخلف عمر. وقد علم وعلم الناس أن إسلامنا كان قبل إسلام عمر، وفي عمر من التسلط على الناس ما فيه ولا سلطان له. فادخلوا بنا عليه نسأله فإن استعمل عمر، كلمناه فيه فأخبرناه عنه.

While Talhah, Zubayr, `Abdul-Rahman and Sa`d were visiting Abi Bakr during his illness, he ordered them: "Summon `Umar." When `Umar entered, they sensed that he favored him so they left the two to their privacy. `Umar turned his face and said: "I am unable to manage people's affairs." Upon this, Abu Bakr said: "My sword!" And he threatened him so `Umar submitted. Certain people sat at the mosque and sent after `Ali and a few others, they found him in a garden so they went to him and gathered. A man said: "O `Ali, O so and so, the successor of God's Messenger (saw) is going to pick `Umar. He knows well that some of us embraced Islam before `Umar and that `Umar is authoritative even without having authority over

⁸⁶ Ibn Shubah

people. What if we go inside and ask him, if he's truly intending then we can inform him."87

قَالَتْ أَسْمَاءَ ابْنَةَ عُمَيْسِ: دَخَلَ طَلْحَةُ بْنُ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَى أَبِي بَكْرٍ، فَقَالَ: اسْتَخْلَفْتَ عَلَى النَّاسِ عُمَرَ وَقَدْ رَأَيْتَ مَا يَلْقَى النَّاسُ مِنْهُ وَأَنْتَ مَعَهُ، فَكَيْفَ بِهِ إِذَا خَلا بِهِمْ وَأَنْتَ لاقِ رَبِّكَ فَسَائِلْكَ عَنْ رَعِيَّتِكَ؟ فَقَالَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ وَكَانَ مُضْطَحِعًا: أَجْلِسُونِي فَأَجْلَسُوهُ. فَقَالَ لِطَلْحَةُ: هَلْ تُقَرِّقُنِي إِلاَّ باللهِ؟ فَإِنِّي أَقُولُ إِذَا لَقِيتُهُ: اسْتَخْلَفْتُ عَلَيْهِمْ خَيْرٍ أَهْلِكَ.

Asma' bint `Umays said: Talhah bin `Ubaydullah entered on Abu Bakr and said: "You're nominating `Umar yet you're aware of what people endure due to his harsh demeanor. Imagine if you pass away and meet your Lord while having left us with him?" Abu Bakr requested help to be seated straight on his bed then told Talhah: "You're frightening me with God!? If I meet my Lord I will say that I have chosen the best of God's slaves as successor."

I say: When Abu Bakr said "You're scaring me from God?" He meant: "How dare you claim that I do not fear God when all I am doing is for God's sake, as opposed to you?" Since the people disliked `Umar due to his strictness in following God's divine laws.

كان أبو بكر قد أشرف على الناس، وقال: أترضون بمن استخلفت عليكم؟ فإني ما استخلفت عليكم ذا قرابة، وإني استخلفت عليكم عمر، فاسمعوا له وأطبعوا، فإني والله ما ألوت من جهد الرأي، فقالوا: سمعنا وأطعنا. فقال لعثمان أكتب: هذا ما عهد أبو بكر بن أبي قحافة في آخر عهده بالدنيا خارجاً منها، وأول عهده بالآخرة داخلاً فيها حيث يتوب الفاجر ويؤمن الكافر ويصدق الكاذب. عهد وهو يشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وأن محمداً عبده ورسوله وقد استخلف - ثم رهقته غشية - فكتب عثمان عمر بن الخطاب، فقال: رحمك الله أما أنك لو لتنبت نفسك كنت لها أهلاً. فاكتب قد استخلفت عمر بن الخطاب بعدي ورضيته لكم، فإن عدل فذلك كتبت نفسك كنت لها أهلاً. فاكتب قد استخلفت عمر بن الخطاب بعدي ورضيته لكم، فإن عدل فذلك ظني فيه، وإن بدل فلكن نفس ما كسبت، والخير أردت ولا أعلم الغيب وسيعلم الذين ظلموا أي منقلب يتقلبون ثم أمر بالكِتَاب في هَذَا الْكِتَاب؟ قال بابعت لمن فيها.

Abu Bakr had peaked out (from a window) and addressed the people: "Will you accept the man I nominate? Verily, I did not pick a relative but I selected 'Umar so listen to him and obey. By God, I withheld no effort in listening to opinions." They replied: "We listen and we obey!" Abu Bakr then told 'Uthman to write: "This is the last command of Abu Bakr bin abi Quhafah as he exists this world and heads to the hereafter. A place where the wicked becomes repentant, the pagan turns faithful and even a compulsive liar speaks the truth. After testifying that there is no god except God, and that Muhammad is his messenger and slave, I command that my successor be..." -Abu Bakr fainted- At this point, 'Uthman wrote 'Umar bin al-Khattab. When

⁸⁷ Ibn Shubah, `Askari

⁸⁸ Tabari, `Abdul-Razzaq

Abu Bakr woke up, he asked: "Have you written anything?" `Uthman told him what he did, so Abu Bakr said: "May God have mercy on you, had you written your own name you would have been suitable. Now write: I have chosen as successor `Umar bin al-Khattab and accepted him for you; if he rules justly then that is what I expect of him but if he strays then every soul shall reap its rewards. I intend only goodness... I know not the unseen but the oppressors will surely come to know to what return they will be overturned." Aba Bakr then ordered the document to be sealed and told `Uthman to pass it to the people, so `Uthman left the house and began asking the Muslims: "Will you pledge allegiance to the man whose name is on this paper?" They all said: "Yes we do." Until the document finally reached to `Ali bin abi Talib who said: "I pledge my allegiance to the name written therein." 89

I say: After the people requested Abu Bakr to choose, he consulted and discussed his point of view with the people of opinion and influence. After deciding on the identity of his successor, Abu Bakr made sure to announce it but then he fainted while the will was being written so a fearful `Uthman decided to take matters into his own hands and write the name of `Umar.

⁸⁹ Tabari, Ibn Shubah, Diyarbakri

II-The passing of Abu Bakr al-Siddiq.

قال عبد الرحمن بن عوف: دخلت على أبي بكر أعوده في مرضه الذي مات فيه فسلمت عليه و سألته كيف به فاستوى جالسا فقال : والله إني الشديد الوجع ولما ألقى منكم يا معشر المهاجرين أشد علي من وجعي إني وليت أمركم خيركم في نفسي فكلكم ورم أنفه إرادة أن يكون هذا الأمر له وذلك لما رأيتم الدنيا قد أقبلت ثم قال: ما آسي إلا على ثلاث خصال صنعتها ليتني لم أكن صنعتها ، وثلاث لم أصنعها ليتني كنت صنعتها ، وثلاث ليتني كنت سألت رسول الله عنها ، فأما الثلاث التي صنعتها ، ليتني لم أفتش بيت فاطمة بنت رسول الله وأدخله الرجال ، ولو كان أغلق على حرب، و وددت اني يوم سقيفة بني ساعدة كنت قذفت الأمر في عنق احد الرجلين، عمر أو ابو عبيدة، فكان اميرا و كنت وزيرا

On his deathbed, Abu Bakr shows regret for some decisions he made. `Abdul-Rahman bin `Awf reports in a long narration: I entered on Abu Bakr during his last illness to inquire about his health so he rose up and said: "By God, I am in deep pain but what's worse is what I saw from you Muhajirin when I strived to choose the best of you as leader. Everybody's nostrils suddenly expanded when they realized the pleasures of this world were nearly in their grasp and became desirous of this position." `Abdul-Rahman tried comforting Abu Bakr but the latter said: "I feel sorry for three things I did that I wish I hadn't, for three things I didn't do but I wish I had done and for three other matters I wished to ask the Messenger (saw) about. As for the three I did: I regret having sent men to search Fatimah's house even if they had closed it and declared war on me. I regret not having deflected this matter on the day of Saqifah towards one of the two (i.e. `Umar & aba `Ubaydah), then I'd be a supporter and he'd be a chief (etc...)"

I say: The long narration continues with matters irrelevant to our book. However, we're interested in the part regarding investigating Fatimah's house. This was a search for any belongings of the Prophet (saw) that were left behind so they may be given as charity. Abu Bakr now regrets having done so and is still regretful even after having apologized to Fatimah; He states that such a decision is unacceptable under any circumstance even if 'Ali's household had declared war on him. Secondly, we see him upset for accepting the position of political successor and wishing for anyone else who could have taken his place.

When news of Abu Bakr's passing reached `Ali's ears, he rushed to his house then stood outside the door and spoke these words as he cried:

قال علي: رحمك الله أبا بكر، كنت والله أول القوم إسلاما وأصدقهم إيمانا، وأشدهم يقينا، وأعظمهم غنى، وأحفظهم على رسول الله (صلى الله عليه وسلم)، وأحد بهم على الإسلام، وأحماهم عن أهله، وأنسبهم برسول الله خلقا وفضلا، وهديا وسمتا، فجزاك الله عن الإسلام، وعن رسول الله، وعن

⁹⁰ Ibn Shubah, Jawhari, Mas`udi, Ibn abi al-Hadid

المسلمين خيرا، صدقت رسول الله حين كذبه الناس، وواسيته حين بخلوا، وقمت معه حين قعدوا، وسماك الله في كتابه صديقا فقال: {والذي جاء بالصدق وصدق به}، يريد محمدا ويريدك، كنت والله للإسلام حسنا، وللكافرين ناكبا، لم تفلل حجتك، ولم تضعف بصيرتك، ولم تجبن نفسك، كنت كالجبل لا تحركه العواصف، ولا تزيله القواصف، كنت كما قال رسول الله (صلى الله عليه وسلم): ضعيفا في بدنك، قويا في دينك، متواضعا في نفسك، عظيما عند الله، جليلا في الأرض، كبيرا عند المؤمنين، لم يكن لأحد عندك مطمع ولا هوى، فالضعيف عندك قوي، والقوي عندك ضعيف، حتى تأخذ الحق من القوي، وترده للضعيف، فلا حرمك الله أجرك، ولا أضلنا بعدك.

"O Aba Bakr, may God have mercy on you. You were the first of those folks to embrace Islam, the most truthful in faith, wealthier than the rest in terms of what enlightenment you acquired from this religion, the best at guarding the secrets of the Messenger (saw) and at protecting Islam and its people. You resembled the Messenger (saw) most in terms of his guidance and demeanor may God reward you in return for your service to him, to Islam and to Muslims. When the people disbelieved in the Messenger (saw), you believed in him then comforted him when he was alone. God Has named you truthful in His book when He said: {And the one who has brought the truth and [he who] believed in it - those are the righteous.} He addressed Muhammad (saw) and yourself. By God, you were good for Islam and a calamity upon disbelievers. You possessed an undefeated argument and unfaltering vision. Indeed, you were a mountain that no storm or thunder could uproot. The Messenger (saw) rightly described you: 'Weak in body; strong in faith; humble in yourself, but lofty in your ranking with God and well-esteemed in the eyes of believers.' Never were you greedy or a follower of desires. You have always treated the weak and humble as if they were strong and honorable, making sure you returned to them what was rightfully theirs. May God not deprive you of this reward or misguide us in vour absence."91

عن ابن عباس، قال: مرّ عمر بعليّ، و انا معه فناء دار سلمه فسلم عليه، فقال له علي: اين تريد؟ قال؛ البقيع قال علي أفلا نصل جناحك ونقوم معك؟ قال: بلى، فقال لي عليّ: قم معه، فقمت فمشيت الي جانبه فشبك أصابعه في أصابعي، و مشينا قليلا حتى اذا خلفنا البقيع قال لي: يا أبن العباس، أما و الله أن صاحبك هذا لأولى الناس بالأمر بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم، الا أنا خفنا، على الثنين، قال ابن العباس: فجاء بكلام لم أجد بدا من مسألته عنه، فقلت: ما هما يا أمير المؤمنين؟ قال: خفناه على حداثة سنه، و حبه بنى عبد المطلب.

During the reign of `Umar bin al-Khattab, this conversation took place. Ibn `Abbas reports: As `Ali and I were seated in front of Salamah's house, `Umar passed us by and greeted `Ali. `Ali asked: "Where are you headed?" `Umar replied: "To al-Baqi`." `Ali said: "Should we do our duty and accompany you?" `Umar said: "Sure." `Ali then told me: "Please go with him." I got up and walked besides him while holding his hand until we left Baqi`, he then

⁹¹ Andalusi, Ibn al-Jawzi, Lalika'i

turned to me and said: "O Ibn `Abbas, by God your friend (i.e `Ali) had the greatest claim to authority after the Messenger (saw) but we feared two things." Ibn `Abbas said: `Umar spoke these words and I couldn't resist asking: "What are they O commander of faithful?" He said: "We feared his young age and his love for Bani `Abdul-Muttalib."92

I say: This shows that they did discuss 'Ali's leadership as an option at some point and there was talk about how suitable he was for the position. Recall the words abu `Ubaydah said to `Ali when Abu Bakr summoned him for Bay'ah. 'Ali's inexperience at a young age was a major factor when compared to other candidates such as Sa'd or Abu Bakr. As for 'Umar's words about 'Ali favoring his relatives, this was also one of the reasons 'Umar did not push for 'Uthman as his successor for fear that he would favor his relatives. 'Umar had a strict policy against giving any advantage to family members. 'Ali ended up appointing a group of relatives such as his paternal cousins: `Ubaydullah as governor of Yemen, `Abdullah over Basarah, Qutham and Ma'bad over Makkah and Madinah, he appointed his nephew Ja'dah bin Hubayrah over Khurasan as well as his adopted son Muhammad over Egypt.

عن سَالِم بْن أَبِي الْجَعْدِ ، قَالَ : قُلْتُ : لِمُحَمَّدِ ابْن الْحَنْفِيَّةِ : هَلْ كَانَ أَبُو بَكْر رَضِي اللَّهُ عَنْهُ أَوَّل الْقَوْم إِسْلَامًا ؟ ۚ قَالَ : ۖ لا ، قُلْتُ : فَلَأَيُ شَيْءٍ سَبَقَ عَلْنِهِمْ حَتَّى لا يَذْكُرَ فِيهِمْ عَيْرُهُ ، قَالَ : لأَنَّهُ كَانَ أَفْضَلَهُمْ إِسْلَامًا ؟ فَالَّ : لأَنَّهُ كَانَ أَفْضَلَهُمْ إِسْلَامًا حِينَ أَسْلَمَ ، فَلَمْ يَزَلْ كَذَلِكَ حَتَّى قَبْضَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى.

Salim bin abi al-Ja'd asked Muhammad bin al-Hanafiyyah (i.e 'Ali's son): "Was Abu Bakr the first to embrace Islam?" He replied: "No." He asked: "Then why is he always given precedence over everyone else to the extent that they don't compare anyone to him?" Muhammad replied: "Because he was the best of them when he embraced Islam and he remained as such until God took his soul."93

روى جعفر ابن محمد عن أبيه عن عبد الله ابن جعفر رضى الله عنهما قال : ولينا أبو بكر رضى الله عنه فكان خير خليفة والله أرحمه بنا و أحناه علىنا

Abdullah ibn Ja`far al-Tayyar (i.e `Ali's nephew) said: "Abu Bakr may Allah be pleased with him became in charge of us and he was the best of successors, always merciful and kind towards us."94

عن ابن مسعود قال ما رأى المسلمون حسنا فهو عند الله حسن ، و ما رآه المسلمون سبئا فهو عند الله سيء و قد رأى الصحابة جميعا أن يستخلفوا أبا بكر

⁹² Jawhari

⁹³ Ibn abi Shaybah, Abu Nu`aym

⁹⁴ Hakim, Daragutni

'Abdullah bin Mas'ud said: "What the Muslims saw as good was good in the sight of Allah, and what the Muslims saw as bad was bad in the sight of Allah; And all the Companions saw that they should make Abu Bakr the successor." ⁹⁵

سأل ابن الكواء وقيس بن عباد عَلِيًا رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ عن مَسِيرَه وَبَيْعَةَ الْمُهَاحِرِينَ أَبَا بَكْرِ، فَقَالَ: أما أن يكون عندي عهد من النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في ذلك ولا والله إن كنت أول من صدق به فلا أكون أول من كذب عليه ولح كان عندي من النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في ذلك عهد ما تركت أخا تيم بن مرة و عمر بن الخطاب يقومان على منبره ولقاتلتهما بيدي ولو لم أجد إلا بردي هذا إنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ لَمْ يَمُتْ فَجْأَةً، مَرِضَ لَيَالِي، يَأْتِيهِ بِلَالٌ فَيُؤْذِنُهُ بِالصَّلَاةِ، فَيَقُولُ: " مُرُوا أَبَا بَكْرٍ بِالصَّلَاةِ "، فَأَرَادَتِ امْرَأَةً مِنْ نِسَائِهِ أَنْ تَصْرِفُهُ إِلَى غَيْرِهِ، فَغَضِبَ وَقَالَ: " إِنَّكُنَّ صَوَاجِبُ يُوسُفَ "، فَلَمَا قُبِضَ رَسُولُ اللهِ لِنَامِهُ أَنْ اللهِ اللهِ لَذِينِهِمْ، وَكَانَتِ الصَّلَاةُ عِظَمَ اللهِ اللهِ اللهِ لِينِيهِمْ، وَكَانَتِ الصَّلَاةُ عِظَمَ الْمُرْوَا وَالْمُسْلِمُونَ لِدُنْيَاهُمْ مَنِ اخْتَارَهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ لِينِيهِمْ، وَكَانَتِ الصَّلَاةُ عِظَمَ الْمُرْوَا وَالْمُسْلِمُونَ لِدُنْيَاهُمْ مَنِ اخْتَارَهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ لِينِيهِمْ، وَكَانَتِ الصَّلَاةُ عِظَمَ الْمُرْوَا وَالْمُسْلِمُونَ لِدُنْيَاهُمْ مَنِ اخْتَارَهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ لِينِيهِمْ، وَكَانَتِ الصَّلَاةُ عِظَمَ اللهُ لِينِيهِمْ، وَكَانَتِ الصَّلَاةُ عِظَمَ اللهُ لِينِيهِمْ، وَكَانَتِ الصَّلَاةُ عَظَمَ اللهُ لِينِيهِمْ، وَكَانَتِ الصَّلَاةُ عِظَمَ اللهُ لِينِيهِمْ، وَكَانَتِ الصَّلَاةُ عِظَمَ اللهُ لِينِيهِمْ، وَكَانَتِ الصَّلَاةُ عَظَمَ اللهُ لِينِيهِمْ، وَكَانَتِ الصَّلَاةُ عَلَى اللهِ لِينِيهِمْ وَقَامَ الدِّينِ

Ibn al-Kawwa' and Qays bin 'Ubad asked 'Ali to explain much of this during his days, he was asked about his decision to march (towards Syria) and about the allegiance the Muhajirin gave to Aba Bakr. 'Ali replied: "In truth, the Prophet (saw) never commanded us with anything in this regard, I was the first to believe so I won't be the first to lie. If I had any such command, I would not have allowed the fellow from Taym bin Murrah nor Ibn al-Khattab to climb the pulpit; I would have fought them with my bare hands if I found no weapon. The Messenger (saw) did not die suddenly, he was sick for several nights while Bilal came to him calling for prayer. He would say: 'Order Aba Bakr to lead the prayer.' Then one of his wives attempted to change his mind but he became angry, and said: 'You're like the female companions of Yusuf (as).' Then when the Messenger (saw) died, we and the Muhajirun chose for our worldly affairs the man our Messenger (saw) picked for our religious affairs. Be mindful that prayer is the pillar of this religion."

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⁹⁵ Hakim

⁹⁶ Dhahabi, Ibn Nasir-ul-Din, `Abdul-Jabbar

III-The six men nominated for succession.

The most popular and detailed narrations for the events that took place after `Umar's passing are those of `Amr bin Maymun. No historian can overlook the different reports attributed to `Amr when it comes to this section and most will rely solely on his report. Thus, we have heavily relied on what he had to say in addition to reports by others in support.

وصف حارثة بن مضرب حال الناس قائلا: حججت في إمارة عمر فلم يكونوا يشكون أن الخلافة من يعده لعثمان

Harithah bin Mudarrib describes the people's general condition during the reign of `Umar: "I have traveled on pilgrimage under the command of `Umar and the people (at the time) had no doubts that the Caliph after him shall be `Uthman."⁹⁷

خَطَبَ عمر النَّاسَ يَوْمَ جُمُعَة فَذَكَرَ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَأَبَا بَكْر ، ثُمَّ قَالَ : إِنِّى رَأَيْتُ كَأَنَّ دِيكًا نَقُرْنِي وَلا أَرَاهُ إِلا حُضُورَ أَجَلِي فَقِيلَ لَهُ : يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ، لَوِ اسْتَخْلَفْتَ . قَالَ : مَنْ أَسْتَخْلِفُ ؟ لَوْ كَانَ أَبُو عُبَيْدَةَ بُنُ الْجَرَّاحِ حَيًّا اسْتَخْلَفْتُهُ ، فَإِنْ سَأَلْنِي رَبِّي . قُلْتُ : سَمِعْتُ نَبِيَكَ يَقُولُ : إِنَّهُ أَمِينُ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةُ ، وَلَوْ كَانَ سَالِمٌ مَوْلَى أَبِي حُذَيْفَةَ حَيًّا اسْتَخْلَقْتُهُ ، فَإِنْ سَأَلْنِي رَبِّي . قُلْتُ : سَمِعْتُ نَبِيكَ يَقُولُ: إِنَّ سَالِمٌ مَوْلَى أَبِي حُذَيْفَةً حَيًّا اسْتَخْلَقْتُهُ ، فَإِنْ سَأَلْنِي رَبِّي . قُلْتُ : سَمِعْتُ نَبِيكَ يَقُولُ: إِنَّ سَالِمٌ اللَّهِ مَوْلَى أَبِي حُذَيْفَةً عَيَّا السَّخَلْفَتُهُ فَإِذَا قدمت على ربي فسألني من وليت على أمة محمد قلت أي ربي سمعت عبدك ونبيك يقول إن معاذ بن جبل يأتي بين يدي العلماء يوم القيامة ولو أدركت خالد بن الوليد لوليته فإذا قدمت على ربي فسألني من وليت على أمة محمد قلت أي ربي سمعت عبدك ونبيك يقول خالد بن الوليد سيف من سيوف الله سله على المشركين.

'Umar bin al-Khattab delivered a sermon on Friday (few days before he was stabbed), he mentioned the Prophet (saw) and Aba Bakr then said: "I saw as if a rooster had pecked me, I feel as this is a sign that my demise is near." They told him: "O commander of faithful, how about you select your successor?" He said: "Who do you people suggest? If aba `Ubaydah bin al-Jarrah still lived, I would choose him then tell my Lord when He asks: 'I heard your Apostle (saw) say: He is the trustee of this nation.' If Salim the servant of abi Hudhayfah still lived, I would choose him then tell my Lord when He asks: 'I heard your Apostle (saw) say: Salim has extreme love for God.' If Mu`adh bin Jabal still lived, I would choose him then tell my Lord when He asks: 'I heard your Apostle (saw) say: Mu`adh shall lead the scholars on judgement day.' And if Khalid bin al-Walid still lived, I would choose him then tell my Lord when He asks: 'I heard your Apostle (saw) say: Khalid is a sword that God unsheathed against pagans.'"98

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⁹⁷ Ibn abi Shaybah

⁹⁸ Tabari, Ibn Qutaybah

فَقَالَ لَهُ الْمُغِيرَةُ بْنُ شُعْبَةَ: أَدُلُّكَ عَلَيْهِ: عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عُمْرَ ، فَقَالَ عمر: قَاتَلُكَ اللَّهُ ، وَاللَّهِ مَا حَمِدْتُهَا فَأَرْ غَبُ وَيِحْكَ ، كَيْفَ أَسْرَحُوْ وَبُحْكَ ، كَيْفَ أَسْرَحُوْ اللَّهُ مَا حَمِدْتُهَا فَأَرْ غَبُ فِيهَا لأَحْدِ مِنْ أَهْلِ بَيْتِي ، إِنْ كَانَ خَيْرًا فَقَدْ أَصَبْنَا مِنْهُ ، وَإِنْ كَانَ شَرَّا فَسَرْعُنَا آل عُمْرَ ، يحسب آل فِيها لأحدِ مِنْ أَهْلِ بَيْتِي ، إِنْ كَانَ خَيْرًا فَقَدْ أَصَبْنَا مِنْهُ ، وَإِنْ كَانَ شَرَّا فَشَرْعُنَا آل عُمْرَ ، يحسب آل عُمْرَ أَنْ يُحَاسَبَ مِنْهُمْ رَجُلٌ وَاحِدٌ ، ويُسْلَلَ عَنْ أَمْرِ أُمَّةٍ مُحَمَّدٍ ، أَمَا لَقَدْ جَهِدْتُ نَفْسِي ، وَحَرَّمْتُ أَهْلِ بَيْعها أحس بالموت ثم قال لابنه اذهب إلى عائشة وأقرئها مني السلام واستأذنها أن أقبر في بيتها مع رسول الله ومع أبي بكر فأتاها عبد الله بن عمر فأعلمها فقالت نعم وكرامة ثم قالت يا بني أبلغ عمر سلامي وقل له لا تدع أمة محمد بلا راع استخلف عليهم ولا تدعهم بعدك هملا فإني أخشى عليهم الفتنة ثم قال ابْنِ عُمْرَ: دَخَلْتُ عَلَي حَفْصَةً ، فَقَالَتْ: عَلِمْتَ أَنَ أَبَاكُ غَيْدُ مُسْتَخْلِفُ وَقَلْتُ عَمْ عَمْر أَنْ أَبْلُكُ عَمْرَ اللهِ بَعْرَ وَالْ أَنْرُكُ فَقَدْ الرَكَ مَنْ هُوَ خَيْرٌ مِنِي رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَأَتْنُوا عَلْي يُضَالَعُ اللهُ عَلَيْه وَسَلَمَ وَأَبَا بَكْرٍ ، وَإِنْ أَنْرُكُ فَقَدْ تَرَكَ مَنْ هُوَ خَيْرٌ مِنِي رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَأَتْنُوا عَلَيْه وَسَلَمْ وَأَبَا بَكْرٍ ، فَعَلِمْتُ أَنَّهُ لَمْ يَكُنْ لِيَعْدِلَ بِرَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَمَ وَأَبَا بَكْرٍ ، فَعَلِمْتُ أَنَّهُ لَمْ يَكُنْ لِيَعْدِلَ بِرَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَى الله عَلَيْه وَسَلَمْ وَأَبَا بَكْرٍ ، فَعَلِمْتُ وَلَكُ عَيْرُ مُسْتَخْلِف .

Al-Mughirah bin Shu'bah interrupted: "Let me point him out to you! It is none other than 'Abdullah son of 'Umar." Upon this, 'Umar said: "May God punish you! By God you did not say that purely for Allah's sake! You wish that I select a man who was incapable of divorcing his wife? We do not wish to be involved in your affairs (any longer), I did not enjoy it so that I may desire it for my household. If this was good then we have obtained enough, but if it was bad then better for 'Umar's family to avoid it; It is sufficient for 'Umar's family that only one of them be taken to account and guestioned about Muhammad's (saw) nation (on judgement day). Truly, I have given my best effort in depriving my family of any luxuries." When 'Umar felt that death was near he told his son: "Go to `A'ishah's house and give my greeting then ask her for permission to allow me to be buried in her house next to the Messenger (saw) and Abi Bakr." 'Abdullah bin 'Umar went to ask and received a positive reply: "I would be honored (she said). O son, greet `Umar for me and tell him: Do not leave Muhammad's (saw) nation without a caretaker nor abandon them, for I am fearful of coming ordeals." Next, Ibn 'Umar entered on his sister Hafsah, she told him: "Did you know your father does not intend to appoint anyone?" Ibn `Umar said: "He wouldn't do that." She said: "He will." So Ibn 'Umar swore to bring this up to him. Upon hearing the message, 'Umar replied: "If I were to appoint one then somebody who was better than I (i.e Abu Bakr) did so, and if I leave the matter undecided, it is true that somebody who was better than I (i.e God's Apostle) did so." On this, the people praised him. 'Umar said: "People are of two kinds: Either one who is keen to take over the Caliphate or one who is afraid of assuming such a responsibility. I wish I could be free from its responsibility in that I would receive neither reward nor retribution; I won't bear the burden of the Caliphate in my death as I did in my life and God will surely safeguard His religion." Ibn 'Umar remarked: "When I heard him mentioning the Prophet (saw) and Abu Bakr, I knew he would not equate anybody with the Messenger (saw) and he wouldn't appoint."99

قال عَمْرِو بْنِ مَيْمُونِ: كُنْتُ شَاهِدًا لِعُمَرَ يَوْمَ طُعِنَ قال يا ابن عباس انظر من قتلني فجال ساعة ثم جاء فقال غلام المغيرة قال الصنع قال نعم قال قاتله الله لقد أمرت به معروفا الحمد لله الذي لم يجعل مينتي بيد رجل يدعى الإسلام قد كنت أنت وأبوك تحبان أن تكثر العلوج بالمدينة وكان العباس أكثرهم رقيقا فقال عمر: هذا من عمل أصحابك ، كنت أريد أن لا يدخلها علج من السبي فغلبتموني وكان قد قال عمر: لا تدخلوا علينا من السبي إلا الوصفاء فأجابه العباس إن عمل المدينة شديد لا يستقيم إلا بالعلوج. حينها ظن عمر أن له ذنبا إلى الناس لا يعلمه فدعا ابن عباس - وكان يحبه ويدنيه - فقال : الحب أن تعلم عن ملأ من الناس كان هذا؟ فقالوا : معاذ الله ، ما علمنا ولا اطلعنا. فخرج لا يمر بملأ أحب أن تعلم عن ملأ من الناس كان هذا؟ فقالوا : معاذ الله ، ما علمنا ولا اطلعنا. فخرج لا يمر بملأ أقير وَ الْمِنْبَرِ ، يَقُولُ لَكُمْ عُمَرُ: أَنْشُدُكُمْ بِاشِّه، أَكَانَ هَذَا عَنْ رِضًى مِنْكُمْ؟ فَتَلَكًا الْقَوْمُ، فَقَالَ عَلِي رَضِي النَّهُ عَنْهُ اللَّهُمُ لا وَدِدْنَا أَنَا زِدْنَا فِي عُمُرِكَ مِنْ أَعْمَارِنَا قال ابن عباس : فرأيت البشر في وجهه (أي الله عمر).

'Amr bin Maymun speaks of 'Umar's martyrdom, he says: I was a witness the day 'Umar was struck. 'Umar said to Ibn 'Abbas: "Find out who did it." Ibn 'Abbas left for a while and returned saying: "It was the slave of al-Mughirah." `Umar said: "The craftsman?" He said: "Yes." `Umar said: "May God curse him! I told his master to treat him well. Praise be to God who has not caused my death to be at the hands of a man who claimed Islam. Do you and your father (i.e al-`Abbas) still wish to bring more infidel foreigners to Madinah!" Al-`Abbas was the one with the most slaves and `Umar told him: "This is the work of your friends, I wanted to prevent those foreign infidel captives from entering but you forced me." `Umar had previously told them: "Do not let any captive enter our city except the official representatives." but 'Abbas objected saying: "There's much hard work to be done in Madinah, it won't be done without them." After 'Umar was struck, he feared the people were unhappy and thus plotted to kill him. He called on Ibn `Abbas -He used to like him and keep him near- He told him: "I want you to find out if the people were aware of this." Those present said: "We seek refuge in God! We never knew or witnessed." Ibn 'Abbas went out and every time he'd pass by a group he'd find them weeping as if they lost their young children until he reached some Badri men sitting in a circle between the grave and the pulpit. Ibn `Abbas addressed the group: "`Umar asks: By God, were you folks pleased with this?" The people were at a loss for words but 'Ali spoke: "Lord no! We hope that we could take from our lives and add to yours." Ibn 'Abbas said: "I saw happiness on 'Umar's face when he heard the news."100

⁹⁹ Tabari, `Abdul-Razzaq, Ibn al-Athir

¹⁰⁰ Ibn abi Shaybah, Bukhari, Tabarani, Daraqutni

رجع الناس إلى عمر عندما أفاق فَقَالُوا : يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُوْمِنِينَ لَوْ عَهِدْتَ عَهْدًا . فَقَالَ : قَدْ كُنْتُ أَجْمَعْتُ بَعْدُ مَقَالَتِي لَكُمْ ، أَنْ أَنْظُرَ فَأُولِّيَ رَجُلا أَمْرَكُمْ ، هُوَ أَحْرَاكُمْ أَنْ يَحْمِلَكُمْ عَلَى الْحُقِّ ، وَأَشَارَ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ ، وَرَهَقَّتِي عَشْيَةً ، فَرَأَيْتُ رَجُلا دَخَلَ جَنَّةً قَدْ غَرَسَهَا ، فَجَعَلَ يَقْطِفُ كُلَّ عَضَّةٍ وَيَانِعَةٍ ، فَيَضُمُّهُ إِلَيْهِ وَيُنْ يَعْدُ عُمَرَ فَلُمَّ فَعَلَى يَقْطِفُ كُلَّ عَضَّةٍ وَيَانِعَةٍ ، فَيَضُمُّهُ إلَيْهِ وَيُعْرَفُونَ عَمْرَ فَلُو هَا اللَّهُ عَمْرَ فَلُو هَا اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَمْرَ فَمُا يَمْنَعُكَ مِنْهُ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنينَ ؟ قَالَ : أَكْرَهُ أَنْ أَتَحَمَّلَهَا حَيًّا اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ الْعَلَىٰ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ الْعَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ لَالْمُونُ مِنْ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ الْعَلَىٰ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ؟ قَالَ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ الْعَلَىٰ اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اللَّهُ الْعَلَىٰ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اللَّهُ الْعَلَىٰ اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اللَّهُ الْعَلَىٰ اللَّهُ الْعَلَى اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ الْعُلِيْ اللَّهُ اللَ

The people returned to `Umar after he regained consciousness, they requested: "O commander of faithful, if only you would instruct us (with regards to leadership)." He responded: "I had decided after I said what I said that I shall look to select one of you who is most entitled to carry you on the path of truth -He pointed to `Ali- However, when I fainted I saw a man entering a garden he planted; the man began plucking every tender and ripe fruit so I realized that God's affair will come to pass and death will come." After the men left in disappointment, `Umar said: "If they elect the bald one he will guide them through the path." Ibn `Umar asked: "What prevents you from choosing him then?" He said: "I detest to be burdened by it in death as I was burdened in life."

I say: The bald man was `Ali bin abi Talib as specified in multiple narrations and this shows that `Ali was `Umar's favorite candidate but he couldn't shoulder it in death as he did in life.

قَالَ عمر: ما أجد أحدا أحق بهذا الأمر من هؤلاء النفر أو الرهط الذين توفي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهو عنهم راض سَعِيدُ بْنُ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَمْرو بْنِ نَفْيْلِ مِنْهُمْ ، وَلَسْتُ مُدْخِلَهُ -هو ابن عم عمر فلم يسمه عمر فيهم و وَكِنِ السَّنَّةُ: عَلِيٍّ وَعُثْمَانُ ابْنَا عَبْدِ مَنَاف ، وَعَيْدُ الرَّحْمَن وَسَعْدٌ خَالا رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلِّى الله عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ، وَابْنُ عَمَّتِهِ ، وَابْنُ عَمَّدِهِ ، وَالْذُبِيْرُ بْنُ الْعَوَّامِ حَوَارِيُّ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى الله عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ، وَابْنُ عَمِّدً ، وَابْنُ عَمَّدٍ ، وَالْمُ عَيْدِ اللهِ وَعُثْمَانَ ، وَسَعْدًا ، وَعَيْدَ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنَ عَوْف ، وَالزُّبِيْرُ بْنُ الْعَوَّامِ و وكان طلحة يومئذ غانبا في ماله بالسراة - فَدخل الرهط على الرَّحْمَنِ بْنَ عَوْف ، وَالزُّبِيْرَ بْنَ الْعَوَّامِ - وكان طلحة يومئذ غانبا في ماله بالسراة - فَدخل الرهط على عمر ، فنظر إليهم وقال : إني قد نظرت في أمر الناس فلم أجد عند الناس شقاقا ولا نفاقا فإن يكن عدى شقاق ونفاق فهو فيكم ، وإنما الأمر إليكم وَقَدْ قُبِضَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى الله عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَهُو عَنْكُمْ ، فَيَحْتَلِف رَاض ، إنِّي لا أَخَافُ النَّاسَ عَلْيُكُمْ إن اسْتَقَمْتُمْ ، وَلَكِنِّى أَخَافُ عَلْيَكُمْ اخْتِلافَكُمْ فِيمَا بَيْنَكُمْ ، فَيَخْتَلِف رَاض ، إنِّى لا أَخَافُ النَّاسَ عَلْيَكُمْ الْتَوْلُولُ عَلْمُ وَيِمَا بَيْنَكُمْ ، فَيَخْتَلِفَ الله عَلْمُ وَيُعَا الله ولم عَمْرو بْن النَّاسُ ، فَانْهَمْنُوا إلَى حُجْرَةِ عَائِشَةً بِإِنْ مِنْهَا ، فَتَشَاوَرُوا ، وَاخْتَارُوا رَجْلا فِيها أَحَدًا حمل السلاح اليعاس ليدخل فِي الشورى فَقَالَ لَهُ عُمْر : اطمئن كَمَا وضعك الله ، لا أجعل فِيها أحدًا حمل السلاح على نبي الله ثمَّ وَالَ : لا تَدْخُلُوا حُجْرة عَائِشَة وَلَكِنْ كُونُوا قَرِيبًا . ووَضَعَ رَأْسَهُ ، وَقَدْ نَزَ فَهُ الدَّهُ .

'Umar finally made up his mind, he said: "I cannot find anyone more deserving of this matter than a group of men with whom the Prophet (saw) was pleased before his death. Sa'id bin Zayd bin 'Amr bin Nufayl is one of them and I will not include him -He was 'Umar's cousin so he never named him- It is only for these six: 'Ali bin abi Talib and 'Uthman bin 'Affan the sons of 'Abd-Manaf; 'Abdul-Rahman bin 'Awf and Sa'd bin abi Waqqas the

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¹⁰¹ Ibn al-Athir, Ibn Sa'd

maternal-uncles of the Prophet (saw); Al-Zubayr bin al-`Awwam the disciple of God's Messenger (saw) and son of his paternal-aunt, and finally the good man Talhah bin 'Ubaydullah. On the next morning, 'Umar called on the five men -Talhah was absent because he was taking care of his properties in al-Sarat- He looked at them as they entered and said: "I looked at the people and observed no division or dissent so if any division or dissent take place after me then it is your fault. This matter is yours because the Prophet (saw) died while pleased with you. I do not fear the people for you if you act justly but I fear that you yourselves may fight and cause a conflict between the people so leave to 'A'ishah's room with her permission and consult among yourselves." At this point 'Amr bin al-'As tried to include himself but 'Umar stopped him, he said: "Be comfortable with the position wherein God placed you, I will not include anyone who drew a weapon against God's Apostle (saw)." 'Umar then changed his mind, he told the men: "Do not enter her room but be close-by." He rested his head as he continued to bleed.¹⁰²

¹⁰² Bukhari, Tabari, Ibn Qutaybah, Baladhuri

IV-`Umar's final instructions and his will.

فَدَخَلُوا فَتَنَاجَوْا ، ثُمَّ ارْقَفَعَتْ أَصْوَاتُهُمْ . فَقَالَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ : سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ ، إِنَّ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لَمْ يَمُتْ بَعْدُ . فَأَسْمَعُهُ فَانْتَبَهَ ، فَقَالَ : أَلا أَعْرِضُوا عَنْ هَذَا أَجْمَعُونَ ، فَإِذَا مِثُّ فَتَسْاَوَرُوا ثَلاثَةً أَيَامٍ ، وَلِيُصِلً بِالنَّاسِ صُهيْبٌ ، وَلا يَأْتِينَ الْيُوْمُ الرَّالِعُ إلا وَعَلَيْكُمْ أَمِيرٌ مِنْكُمْ وَلَٰيُخُلَ هَوُلاءِ النَّقُورُ فِي بَيْتٍ ، فَإِذَا اجْنَمَعُوا عَلَى رَجُلٍ مِنْهُم فَمَنْ خَالْفَهُمْ فَاضْرِبُوا رَأْسَهُ و من تأمر منكم على غير مشورة من المسلمين فاضربوا عنقه، وأحضروا معكم الحسن بن علي وعبد الله بِن عباس فإن لهما قرابة وأرجو لكم البركة في حضور هما وليس لهما من أمركم شيء وَيَحْضُرُ عَبْدُ اللهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ مُشِيرًا وَلا شَيْءَ لَهُ مِنَ الأَمْرِ ثم قال يا عبد الله إياك ثم إياك لا تتلبس بها وَطُلْحَةُ شَرِيكُكُمْ فِي الأَمْرِ ، فَإِنْ قَوْمَ فِي الأَيَّامُ الثَّلاَئَةُ قَبْلَ قُدُومِهِ فَاقْضُوا أَمْرَكُمْ ، وَمَنْ لِي بِطَلْحَةَ ؟ فَقَالَ سَعْدُ اللهَ يَوالِ مَوْ إِنْ مَنَاتِ الأَيَّامُ الثَّلاَئَةُ قَبْلَ قُدُومِهِ فَاقْضُوا أَمْرَكُمْ ، وَمَنْ لِي بِطَلْحَة ؟ فَقَالَ سَعْدُ ابْنِ قَبِي وَقَاصٍ : أَنَا لَكَ بِهِ ، وَلا يُخَالِفُ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ . فَقَالَ عُمَرُ : أَرْجُو أَلا يُخَالِفَ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ . فَقَالَ عُمَرُ : أَرْجُو أَلا يُخَالِفَ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ . فَقَالَ عُمَرُ ذَا لَو يُخَالِفَ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ .

The men left and began their discussions, the voices soon got louder so `Abdullah bin `Umar said: "Praise be to God! The commander of faithful is not even dead yet." 'Umar noticed, he quickly ordered: "Cease immediately all of you! If I die, then consult together for a period of three days; Suhayb al-Rumi shall lead the prayers so do not let the fourth day come unless you have a leader over you. If you six agree on a man, then strike the neck of whoever opposes you and the neck of anyone who assumes authority without consulting the Muslims. Bring with you al-Hasan bin 'Ali and 'Abdullah bin 'Abbas, they possess a close relation (through blood) to the Messenger (saw) so their attendance might bring upon us blessings. I wish for 'Abdullah bin 'Umar to attend too as an adviser but he has no right to acquire authority." 'Umar looked at his son 'Abdullah and said: "I warn you, do not to take it." He then looked back and said: "Talhah is also your partner in this matter, if he should return in the next three days then let him attend but do not wait if he does not show up." 'Umar asked: "Who will represent Talhah?" Ibn abi Waggas responded: "I shall speak for him and God willing he won't object." 'Umar said: "God willing, he won't." 103

وَقَالَ لِلْمِقْدَادِ بْنِ الأَسْوَدِ : إِذَا وَضَعْنُمُونِي فِي حُفْرَتِي ، فَاجْمَعْ هَوُلاءِ الرَّهْطَ فِي بَيْتِ ، حَتَّى يَخْتَارُوا رَجُلا مِنْهُمْ وما أَظِن أَن يلي هذا الأمر إلا علي أو عثمان. إن ولي علي فستختلف عليه الناس ثم التفت إلى علي بن أبي طالب فقال لعل هؤلاء القوم يعرفون لك حقك وشرفك وقرابتك من رسول الله وما آتك الله من العلم والفقه والدين فيستخلفوك فإن وليت هذا الأمر فاتق الله يا علي فيه ولا تحمل أحدا من بني هاشم على رقاب الناس وما يمنعني منك يا علي إلا حرصك عليها فإن ولي عثمان فرجل فيه لين ثم التفت إلى عثمان فقال يا عثمان لعلى هؤلاء القوم يعرفون لك صهرك من رسول الله وسنك وشرفك وسابقتك فيستخلفوك فإن وليت هذا الأمر فلا تحمل آل أبي مُعَيْطٍ عَلَى رقابِ النَّاسِ ما يمنعني منك يا عثمان إلا عصبيتك وحبك قومك وأهلك. فإن أصابت الإمرة سعدا فهو ذاك وإلا فليستعن به أيكم ما أمر فإني لم أعزله عن عجز ولا خيانة وَنِعْمَ ذُو الرَّأْي عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ عَوْفٍ مُسَدَدٌ رَشِيدٌ، لَهُ مَن اللهِ مَا فَلهُ فَاسْمَعُوا مِنْه.

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¹⁰³ Tabari, Ibn al-Athir, Ibn Qutaybah, Bukhari

'Umar started instructing al-Migdad bin al-Aswad: "When you have placed me in my grave, bring this group of men together in a house until they elect one of their number. I do not think anyone other than 'Ali or 'Uthman will be chosen for it. If it goes to 'Ali the people will differ on him." 'Umar then turned towards 'Ali and said: "Maybe these folks will acknowledge your right, honor, close relation (to the Messenger) and what God Has bestowed upon you from knowledge and understanding then appoint you. If that happens, fear God O 'Ali and do not let Banu Hashim step over people's necks; what prevented me from appointing you was your strong desire to acquire authority. On the other hand, if 'Uthman is chosen then he is a lenient man." 'Umar then turned towards 'Uthman and said: "Maybe these folks will acknowledge your family ties to the Messenger (saw), your wisdom, your honor and the deeds you accomplished in early Islam then appoint you. If that happens, do not allow the family of Abi Mu'ayt to step over people's necks; what prevents me from appointing you is your extreme love for your tribe and relatives." `Umar continued: "If leadership is given to Sa'd then he is worthy but if not then let whoever is chosen seek his aid as I did not remove him from his past position due to any treachery or because he is incapable. As for Ibn `Awf, what a man `Abdul-Rahman bin `Awf is, guided, wise and protected by God, so listen to him."104

I say: `Uqbah bin abi Mu`ayt is `Uthman's step-father. `Uthman was also a husband to two of the Prophet's (saw) daughters. However, `Ali was the Prophet's (saw) cousin and also a husband to one of his daughters. In some reports, `Umar criticizes `Ali for joking around often. Although those reports are weak and may seem strange at first, yet there is historical backing to this story. `Amr bin al-`As used to criticize `Ali for this same reason during the civil-war and used it to prove he isn't fit to be ruler, he was also described as such by aba al-Harith when asked by Ibn `Ayyash, Zadhan al-Kindi narrated that `Ali was joking around during his Caliphate, and remember also `Ali's response in the narration where the Prophet (saw) tried to wake him for prayer.

فقالوا قل فينا يا أمير المؤمنين مقالة نستدل فيها برأيك ونقتدي به فقال والله ما يمنعني أن أستخلفك يا سعد إلا شدتك وغلظتك مع أنك رجل حرب وما يمنعني منك يا عبد الرحمن إلا أنك فرعون هذه الأمة وما يمنعني منك با زبير إلا أنك مؤمن الرضا كافر الغضب وما يمنعني من طلحة إلا نخوته وكبره ولو وليها وضع خاتمه في إصبع امرأته. إذا اجتمع ثلاثة على رأي فحكموا عبد الله بن عمر ، فإن لم ترضوا بحكمه فقدموا من معه عبد الرحمن بن عوف ثم قال لأبي طلحة زيد بن سهل الخزرجي ، اختر خمسين رجلا من الأنصار يكونون معك فإذا توفيت فاستحث هؤلاء النفر حتى يختاروا لأنفسهم وللأمة أحدهم ولا يتأخرن عن أمرهم فؤق تلاث.

¹⁰⁴ Ibn al-Athir, Ibn Qutaybah, Ibn abi Shaybah, Tabari

The men said: "O commander of faithful, tell us what you think of us so we may be familiar with your opinions and follow." 'Umar said: "By God, what hinders me from appointing you O Sa'd is your harshness for you are a man of war. O 'Abdul-Rahman what prevents me from you is that you are the pharaoh of this nation. As for you O Zubayr, you're a believer when happy but a disbeliever when in anger. As for Talhah, it was arrogance and haughtiness; if he gets it he'll place his ring (i.e seal) in his wife's finger. Consequently, if each three of you unite upon a different man, let 'Abdullah bin 'Umar be a mediator but if you reject his judgement then refer to the three among whom is 'Abdul-Rahman." After this, 'Umar turned to Abi Talhah Zayd bin Sahl al-Khazraji and said: "Pick fifty men of the Ansar to urge this group until they choose a man from among their number and do not allow them to delay it beyond three."

I say: `Umar's reasons for not responding to the request of those who asked him to choose a successor were listed above and even though these minor flaws he saw in the six noble personalities were insignificant, yet in `Umar's head they became exaggerated due to fear from God's wrath in case his chosen successor fails. Although `Umar himself was a harsh man, he realized that with harshness alone one cannot rule. As for referring to `Abdul-Rahman as the pharaoh, that is due to his great wealth and rich properties.

أوصى الخليفة من بعدي بالمهاجرين الأولين أن يعرف لهم حقهم ويحفظ لهم حرمتهم وأوصيه بالأنصار خيرا الذين تبوءوا الدار والإيمان من قبلهم أن يقبل من محسنهم وأن يعفى عن مسيئهم وأوصيه بأهل الأمصار خيرا فإنهم ردء الإسلام وجباة المال وغيظ العدو وأن لا يؤخذ منهم إلا فضلهم عن رضاهم وأوصيه بالأعراب خيرا فإنهم أصل العرب ومادة الإسلام أن يؤخذ من حواشي أموالهم ويرد على فقرائهم وأوصيه بذمة الله وذمة رسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم أن يوفى لهم بعهدهم وأن يقاتل من ورائهم ولا يكلفوا وأحسنوا مؤازرة من يلي أمركم وأعينوه وأدوا إليه الأمانة إلا طاقتهم. وكان عمر قد سأل حذيفة: من ترى قومك يؤمرون بعدي؟ قال: قد نظر الناس إلى عثمان وأشهر وهلها

After instructing everyone, 'Umar left some advice for his successor: "I advise the Caliph after me to treat the early Muhajirin well and to recognize their rights. I advise you to treat the Ansar well, those who adopted the faith and lived in the city, to show approval of those of them who do well and forgive those among them who committed faults. I advise you to treat the dwellers of the outlying regions justly for they are our shield against enemies, conduits of tax and a thorn on the side of the opponents. Do not collect from them except whichever is surplus to their needs. I recommend for you to treat the desert wanderers well as they are the original Arabs and guardians of religion. Take from the surplus of their fortunes then spend it

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Qutaybah, Ibn Hajar, Ibn Shubah

on their poor. I urge you to treat those in God's protection well, defend them against any threats and do not overburden them with what they cannot bear. O Muslims, support whoever is in authority over you and offer them what they entrusted." `Umar had also asked Hudhayfah bin al-Yaman: "Who do you think your people will choose after me?" Hudhayfah replied: "The people look up to `Uthman and promote him for it." ¹⁰⁶

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¹⁰⁶ Bukhari, Ibn Hajr, Abu Nu`aym

V-The passing of al-Faruq, 'Umar bin al-Khattab.

لما قبض خرجنا به فانطلقنا نمشي إلى عائشة فسلم عبد الله بن عمر يستأذن عمر بن الخطاب قالت أدخلوه فأدخل فوضع هنالك مع صاحبيه.

When `Umar passed away, people left to `A'ishah's house. Ibn `Umar asked for permission to allow his father to be placed next to his two Companions, `A'ishah said: "Let him in." ¹⁰⁷

عن ابْنَ عَبَّاسِ: وُضِعَ عُمَرُ عَلَى سَرِيرِهِ، فَتَكَنَّفَهُ النَّاسُ يَدْعُونَ وَيُصَلُّونَ قَبْلَ أَنْ يُرْفَعَ، وَأَنَا فِيهِمْ، فَلَمْ يَرُعْنِي إِلاَّ رَجُلُ آخِذٌ مَنْكِبِي، فَإِذَا عَلِيٌّ فَتَرَحَّمَ عَلَى عُمَرَ، وَقَالَ مَا خَلَّفْتَ أَحَدًا بِمِثْلِ عَمَلِهِ مِنْكَ، وَايْمُ اللَّهِ، إِنْ كُنْتُ لأَظُنُ أَنْ يَجْعَلْكَ اللَّهُ مَعَ صَاحِبَيْكَ، وَحَسِبْتُ أَنِّي كُنْتُ كَثِيرًا أَسْمَهُ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَقُولُ ذَهَبْتُ أَنَا وَأَبُو بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرُ، وَدَخَلْتُ أَنَا وَأَبُو بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرُ، وَخَلْتُ أَنَا وَأَبُو بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرُ، وَخَمَرُ.

Ibn `Abbas narrates: When (the body of) `Umar was put on his deathbed, the people gathered around him and invoked God and prayed for him before the body was taken away, and I was amongst them. Suddenly I felt somebody taking hold of my shoulder so I turned to find `Ali bin abi Talib. `Ali invoked God's Mercy for `Umar and said: "O `Umar! You have not left behind you a person whose deeds I like to imitate and meet Allah with more than yours. By God, I always thought that God would keep you united with your two companions, for very often I used to hear the Prophet (saw) say: 'I, Abu Bakr and `Umar went (somewhere); I, Abu Bakr and `Umar entered (somewhere); and I, Abu Bakr and `Umar left (somewhere).'"

قال عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ مَالِكِ بْنِ عُنَيْنَةَ الأَزْدِيَ حَلِيفَ بَنِي الْمُطَّلِبِ: لَمَّا انْصَرَفْنَا مَعَ عَلِيٍّ رَضِي اللَّهُ عَنْهُ مِنْ جِنَازَةِ عُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ مَنْ الْمُطَّلِبِ: لَمَّا انْصَرَفْنَا مَعَ عَلْهُ دَوْلَ فَاغْتَسَلَ، ثُمَّ خَرَجَ إِلَيْنَا فَصَمَتَ سَاعَةً، ثُمُّ قَالَ: '' لِلَّهِ بَلاءُ نَادِيَةٍ عُمَرَ لَقُدْ صَدَقَتِ النَّهُ أَبِي حَثْمَةَ جِينَ، قَالَتْ: وَاعُمَرَاهُ، أَقَامَ الأَوَدَ وَأَنْدِاً الْعَهْدَ، وَاعُمَرَاهُ، ذَهَبَ نَقِيَ الْثَوْبِ، وَاعُمَرَاهُ أَقَامَ السُّنَةَ وَخَلَفَ الْفِئْنَةَ ''، ثُمَّ قَالَ: '' وَاللَّهِ مَا دَرَتْ هَذَا وَلَكِنَّهَا قُولَتْهُ وَصَدَقَتْ، وَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ أَصَابَ عُمَرَ اهُ أَقَامَ السُّنَةَ وَخَلَفَ الْفِئْنَةُ ''، ثُمَّ قَالَ: '' وَاللَّهِ مَا دَرَتْ هَذَا وَلَكِنَّهَا قُولِتُهُ وَصَدَقَتْ، وَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ أَصَابَ عُمَرَ خَيْرَهَا وَخَلْفَ الْفَيْتَةُ لَا يَدْرِي الضَّالُ وَلا يَسْتَيْقِلُ الْمُهْتَدِي.

'Abdullah bin Malik bin 'Uyaynah al-Azdi the ally of banu al-Muttalib said: When we left with 'Ali from 'Umar's funeral, he entered his house and bathed then came out. 'Ali remained silent for a while then said: "May God reward the woman who grieved for 'Umar's passing, the daughter of Abu Hathmah spoke the truth when she said: O 'Umar! He straightened the curve and fulfilled the oath. O 'Umar! He departed (from this world) with

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¹⁰⁷ Bukhari

¹⁰⁸ Bukhari

untarnished clothes and little shortcomings. O `Umar! He established the Sunnah and abandoned mischief." He then said: "By God, she didn't know of these matters but she was taught to say them yet she spoke the truth. By God, he achieved the goodness (of this world) and remained safe from its evils; he had looked at his companion (i.e Abu Bakr) and followed the path wherever it was straight. The riders (i.e Prophet, Abu Bakr & `Umar) left them in dividing ways wherein the misled cannot obtain guidance and the guided cannot attain certainty." 109

فَلَمَّا أُخْرِجَتُ جِنَازَتُهُ ، تَصَدَّى عَلِيٍّ وَعُثْمَانُ أَيُّهُمَا يُصَلِّي عَلَيْهِ ، فَقَالَ عَيْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ : كِلاكُمَا يُحِبُّ الإمْرَةَ لَسْتُمَا مِنْ هَذَا فِي شَيْءٍ ، هَذَا إِلَى صُهيْبٍ اسْتَخْلَفُهُ عُمَرُ يُصَلِّي بِالنَّاسِ ثَلاثًا ، حَتَّى يَجْتَمِعُ النَّاسُ عَلَى إِمَامٍ . فَصَلَى عَلَيْهِ صُهَيْبٌ.

When `Umar's Janazah was conducted, both `Ali and `Uthman competed to lead the prayer on his body but `Abdul-Rahman prevented them by saying: "You both desire leadership so step aside, it is Suhayb's job because `Umar left him in charge (of prayer) for three days until we unite on a chief." Thus, Suhayb led the Janazah prayer. 110

I say: Leading the prayer on `Umar's body was a significant symbolic task one would expect from the coming Caliph. `Abdul-Rahman, knowing this, did not find it fair to give one of the candidates an advantage over others so he requested Suhayb to take his rightful role as Imam of prayer.

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¹⁰⁹ Ibn Shubah

¹¹⁰ Tabari, Ibn Shubah

VI-The consultation.

قَالَ عَلِيٌّ لِقَوْمِ كَانُوا مَعَهُ مِنْ بَنِي هَاشِمِ: إِنْ أُطِيعُ فِيكُمْ قَوْمَكُمْ لَمْ تُوَمَّرُوا أَبَدًا . وَتَلَقَّاهُ الْعَبَاسُ ، فَقَالَ : عَلَاتَ عَنَا . فَقَالَ : وَمَا عِلْمُكَ؟ قَالَ: قَرَنَ بِي عُثْمَانَ وَعَالَ : كُونُوا مَعَ الأَكْثَرِ ، إِن سعدًا لا يخالف ابْن عمه عَبْد الرَّحْمَنِ ، وعَبْد الرَّحْمَنِ نظير عُثْمَان وصهره ، فأحدهما لا يخالف صاحبه لا محالة ، وإن كانَ الزُبير وطلحة معي فلن أنتفع بِذَلِكَ إِذ كَانَ ابْن عوف فِي الثلاثة الآخرين إِنِّي لا أَرْجُو إلا أَحَدَهُمَا كَانَ النَّرِبير وطلحة معي فلن أنتفع بِذَلِكَ إِذ كَانَ ابْن عوف فِي الثلاثة الآخرين إِنِّي لا أَرْجُو إلا أَحَدَهُمَا . فقالَ لَهُ الْعَبَاسُ ما قدّمتك إلا تأخرت، قلتُ لك وقد احتضر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم: تعالى، فاسأله عن هذا الأمر لمن هو بعده، فقلت: أكره أن لا يقول لكم فلا نستخلف أبداً. ثم توفي، فقلت: أبايعك، فلا يختلف عليك اثنان فأبيتَ. ثم توفي عمر، فقلتُ: قد أطلق الله يدك، وليس عليك تبعه. فلا تدخل في الشورى فأبيت، فما الحيلة؟

'Ali told some Hashemites who accompanied him: "It seems that if I obey your people, you folks will never become leaders." `Abbas asked: "What happened?" He said: "They placed me on the same footing as `Uthman then ordered us to go with the majority." 'Ali added: "Sa'd will not differ with his cousin `Abdul-Rahman. Whereas `Abdul-Rahman has family ties with 'Uthman so one of them will side with the other no doubt. Even if Talhah and Zubayr are with me I won't benefit if 'Abdul-Rahman is on the other side. I really hope to bring one of them to my side." Upon hearing this, al-`Abbas reproached `Ali: "Everytime I push you forward you step back and retreat! I told you when the Prophet (saw) was dying: 'Come, let's ask him who's in charge after him.' You replied: 'I dislike asking, if we're rejected we may lose it forever.' After he passed away I told you: 'Let me pledge to you and no two shall differ on us.' But you refused until 'Umar passed away, then I told you: 'God has given you absolute liberty and you won't bear the consequence, do not join the consultation.' You still refused so what can I possibly do!?"111

I say: It seems the relationship between `Ali and his uncle al-`Abbas later deteriorated due to the former's decisions and reluctance.

Ibn al-Kalbi explained the family tie between the two men: "`Abdul-Rahman is husband to Umm Kulthum daughter of `Uqbah bin abi Mu`ayt, her mother is Arwa bint Kurayz and she is `Uthman's mother." 112

¹¹¹ Tabari, Ibn Shubah

¹¹² Baladhuri

I say: `Ali was overly cautious over this issue because `Abdul-Rahman is a man from Banu Zuhrah who are also maternal-uncles of the Prophet (saw). Therefore, `Abdul-Rahman had family ties with Banu Hashim and `Ali that are just as strong as his ties with `Uthman.

لَمَّا دُفِنَ عُمَرُ ، خَرَجَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ حَتَّى دَخَلَ بَيْتَ زَوْجَتَهُ فَاطِمَةَ ابْنَةِ قَيْسِ الْفهْرِيَّةِ أُخْتِ الضَّحَاكِ بْنِ قَيْسِ الْفهْرِيِّ وَكَانَتْ نَجُودًا ، يُرِيدُ ذَاتَ رَأْي فَتِبِعُوهُ فَقَالَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ: يا قوم أراكم تتشاحون عَلَيْهَا وَتُوخرون إبرام هذَا الأمر ، أفكلكم رحمكم الله يرجو أن يكُون خليفة ؟ أَيُّكُمْ يَطِيبُ نَفْسًا أَنْ يُخْرِجَ نَفْسَهُ مِنْ هَذَا الأَمْر، وَيُوَلِّيهُ عَيْرَهُ قَالَ : فَأَمْسَكُوا عَنْهُ قَالَ : فَاتَى أَخْرِجُ نَفْسِي ، وَابْنَ عَمِّي (سَعْدٍ). فَجَمَعَ الْمُقْدَادُ أَهْلَ الشُّورَي فِي حُجْرَةِ عَائِشَةً بِإِذْنِهَا وَطَلْحَةُ غَائِبٌ ، وَأَمْرُوا أَبَا طَلْحَةً أَنْ يَحْجِبَهُمْ ، وَجَاءَ عَمْرُو بْنُ الْعَاصِ وَالْمُغِيرَةُ بْنُ شُعْبَةً فَجَلَسًا بِالْبَابِ ، فَحَصَبَهُمَا سَعْدٌ وَأَقَامَهُمَا ، وَقَالَ : ثُويدَانٍ أَنْ تَقُولا عَمْرُو بْنُ الْعَاصِ وَالْمُغِيرَةُ بْنُ شُعْبَةً فَجَلَسًا بِالْبَابِ ، فَحَصَبَهُمَا سَعْدٌ وَأَقَامَهُمَا ، وَقَالَ : ثُويدَانٍ أَنْ تَقُولا حَضَرَنَا ، وَكُثَا فِي أَهْلِ الشُّورَي . فَتَنَافَسَ الْقَومُ فِي الأَمْرِ ، وَكُثُر بَيْنَهُمُ الْكَلامُ ، فبكي أَبُو طَلْحَة عندما رأى ما هم فيه وقال: أَنَا كُنْتُ لأَنْ ثَنْفُعُوهَا ، أَخْوَف مَنِي يُثِي فَأَنْظُر مَا تَشَافَسُوهُا ، لا وَالَذِي ذَهَبَ بِنَفْسٍ عُمَرَ لا أَنْ يَلُومُ اللهُ وَلَا أَيْا لِلْتُورِ اللّهُ عَلَى الْأَيْامِ النَّلُومُ اللهُ عَلَى الْأَيْامِ النَّلُومُ اللّهُ عَلَى الْأَيْامِ النَّلُومُ اللّهُ عَلَى الْأَيْامِ النَّلُومُ اللّهُ عَلَى الْأَيْامِ النَّهُ عَلَى الْأَيْامِ النَّهُ وَالَ اللهُ عَلَى الْأَيْامِ النَّلُومُ مَا عَلَى الْأَيْامِ النَّلُومُ الْمَالَامُ اللّهُ الْفَالُومُ عَلَى الْأَيْامِ اللَّهُ وَقَالَ اللّهُ وَلَالِ الْمُؤْمِ مُ أَلْكُلامُ الللهُ وَالَى اللّهُ وَالْمُعُونَ الْمُؤْمُ عَلَى الْأَيْامِ اللّهُ عَلَى الْمُنْهُمَ الْعَلَى الْمُلْمَ اللّهُ الللهُ اللهُ وَلَالَ اللّهُ الْمُ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُعْلِقُ الْمُؤْمِلُ مَا تُصَامِعُونَ اللّهُ الللْهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللّهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ الْمُؤْمُ اللّهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللّهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللّهُ اللهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ اللّهُ الللهُ اللهُ اللّهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللّهُ ال

After 'Umar's burial, 'Abdul-Rahman headed to the house of his wife Fatimah bin Qays al-Fihriyyah the sister of al-Dahhak bin Qays al-Fihri and she was a wise woman so the other five followed him. `Abdul-Rahman addressed his comrades: "O people, I see you disputing over it and delaying this matter. May God Have mercy on you, do you all wish to be successors? Who among you accepts to step back and offer it to another?" The men did not answer so he took the initiative again and declared: "I for one, will step back and so will my cousin (i.e Sa'd)." Al-Migdad interrupted and summoned the five to 'A'ishah's room after getting permission so they asked aba Talhah al-Ansari to ensure privacy. Meanwhile, 'Amr bin al-'As and al-Mughirah bin Shu'bah came and sat near the door but Sa'd chased them away and hurled a stone at them saying: "You two plan to claim that you attended as members of the consultation!?" At this time, the men were competing over the matter and there was a lot of back and forth; aba Talhah cried upon witnessing their dispute and said: "My fear of you rejecting it was greater than my fear of you fighting over it. By the one Who took 'Umar's soul, I shall not grant you more than the three days you were given. I will sit in my house and await your decision." 113

Below we translate a few words from the eloquent speeches made by the men during their consultation and all of it is taken from the book of Ibn Jarir al-Tabari.

فَبَدَأُ عَبُدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بِالْكَلامِ ، فَقَالَ : يَا هَوُلاءِ إِنَّ عِنْدِي رَأْيًا ، وَإِنَّ لَكُمْ نَظَرًا ، فَاسْمَعُوا تَعْلَمُوا ، وَأَجِيبُوا اتَّفُقَهُوا ، فَانَّ حَدِيبُ مَوْ بَ أَنْتُمْ أَئِمَةٌ بُهُتَدَى تَقْفَهُوا ، فَانَّ حَدِيبُ مَوْ بَ أَنْتُمْ أَئِمَةٌ بُهُتَدَى بِالاَخْتِلافِ بَيْنَكُمْ ، وَلا تَغْمِدُوا السَّيُوفَ عَنْ أَعْدَائِكُمْ ، وَكُلِّ مَعْمُدُوا السَّيوفَ عَنْ أَعْدَائِكُمْ ، فَلَا تَقُلُوا الْمَدَى بِالاَخْتِلافِ بَيْنَكُمْ ، وَلا تَغْمِدُوا السَّيوفَ عَنْ أَعْدَائِكُمْ ، فَلَا نَقُلُوا الْمَدَى بِالاَخْتِلافِ بَيْنَكُمْ ، وَلا تَغْمِدُوا السَّيوفَ عَنْ ، قَلْدُوا فَقُوتِرُوا ثَأْلُ كُمْ وَتُؤْلِتُوا أَعْمَالُكُمْ ، لِكُلِّ أَجَلِ كِتَابٌ ، وَلِكُلِّ بَيْتٍ إِمَامٌ بِأَمْرِهِ يَقُومُونَ وَبِفَهِهِ يَرْ عَوْنَ ، قَلْدُوا

¹¹³ Tabari, Baladhuri, Ibn Shubah

أَهْرَكُمْ وَاحِدًا مِنْكُمْ ، تَمْشُوا الْهُوَيْنَى ، وَتَلْحَقُوا الطَّلَبَ ، لَوْلا فِتْنَةٌ عَمْيَاءُ ، وَضَلالَةٌ حَيْرَاءُ يَقُولُ أَهْلُهَا مَا يَروْنَ وَتَحِلُهُمُ الْحَبُوثُورَى ، مَا عَدَتْ نِيَاتُكُمْ مَعْرِفَتَكُمْ ، وَلا أَعْمَالُكُمْ نِيَاتِكُمْ ، احْذَرُوا نَصِيحَةَ الْهَوَى وَلِسَانَ الْفُرْقَةِ ، فَإِنَّ الْحِيلَةَ فِي الْمَنْطِقِ أَبْلَغُ مِنَ السُّيُوفِ فِي الْكَلِم ، عَلَقُوا أَمْرَكُمْ رَحْبَ الذِّرَاعِ فِيمَا حَلَّ ، وَلَمُنُونُ فِي الْكَلِم ، عَلَقُوا أَمْرَكُمْ رَحْبَ الذِّرَاعِ فِيمَا حَلَّ ، مَأْمُونُ الْغَيْبِ فِيمَا نَرَلَ ، رِضًا مِنْكُمْ ، وكَلَكُمْ رِضًا وَمُقْتَرَعًا مِنْكُمْ وَكُلُكُمْ مُنْهَى ، لا تُطِيعُوا مُفْسِدًا يَنْتَصِرُ ، أَقُولُ قَوْلِي هَذَا وَأَسْتَغْفِرُ اللَّهَ لِي وَلَكُمْ .

The consultation began with eloquent words from `Abdul-Rahman: "I have an opinion and you are people of vision, so listen to learn and respond wisely." And: "You are leaders of guidance, and reliable scholars so do not dispute until the end of time." And: "Dwellers of every home have a leader, they fulfill his orders and care for his prohibitions. Submit your affairs to one among you so that your journey would be easy and your goal would be within reach." Among other things he mentioned.

ثُمَّ تَكَلَّمَ عُثْمَانُ بْنُ عَفَّانَ ، قَالَ : الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي اتَّخَذَ مُحَمَّدًا نَبِيًّا ، وَبَعَثُهُ رَسُولا ، صَدَقَهُ وَعْدَهُ ، وَوَهَبَ لَهُ نَصْرَهُ عَلَى كُلِّ مَنْ بَعُدَ نَسَبًا ، أَوْ قَرُبَ رَحِمًا صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ، جَعَلْنَا اللَّهُ لَهُ تَابِعِينَ ، وَبِأَمْرِهِ مُهْتَدِينَ ، فَهُوَ لَنَا نُورٌ ، وَنَحْنُ بِأَمْرِهِ نَقُومُ عِنْدَ تَقَرُقُ الأَهْوَاءِ ، وَمُجَادَلَةِ الأَعْدَاءِ ، جَعَلْنَا اللَّهُ بِفَضْلِهِ أَنِمَّةُ ، وَنَحْلُ اللَّهُ بِفَضْلِهِ أَنِمَّ ، وَنَكْلَ عَنِ الْقَصْدِ ، وَنَكْلَ عَن الْقَصْدِ ، وَنَكَلَ عَن الْقَصْدِ ، وَنَكَلَ عَن الْقَصْدِ ، وَلَكُن عَن الْقَصْدِ ، وَأَحْرَلُ بِهَا أَنْ تُكُونَ إِنْ خُولِفَ أَمْرُكَ وَتُرِكَ دُعَاوُكَ ، فَأَنَا أَوَّلُ مُ وَأَحْدِم بِهَا يَابُنَ عَوْفِ أَنْ تُتُرْكَ ، وَأَجْدَرُ بِهَا أَنْ تَكُونَ إِنْ خُولِفَ أَمْرُكَ وَتُرِكَ دُعَاوُكَ ، فَأَنَا أَوَّلُ مُحِيبٍ لَكَ وَدَاعِ إِلْيُكَ ءَ وَكُلِ بِمَا أَقُولُ زَعِيمٌ ، وَأَسْتَغْفِرُ اللَّهَ لِي وَلَكُمْ.

'Uthman also delivered an eloquent speech: "Praise be to the God who took Muhammad as his prophet and sent him as a messenger. Praise be to Him Who is truthful in His promise in granting victory over the close relative as well as the distant stranger. Praise be to Him who made us followers of His prophet, obeying his orders and fulfilling his commands in spite of all desires; He is our guiding light as through him we became leaders to be followed and chiefs." Among other things he mentioned.

ثُمَّ تَكَلَّمَ الزُّبِيْرُ بْنُ الْعَوَّامِ بَعْدُهُ ، فَقَالَ : أَمَّا بَعْدُ ، فَانَّ دَاعِيَ اللَّهِ لا يُجْهَلُ ، وَمُجِيبَهُ لا يُخْذَلُ عِنْدَ نَقَرُقِ اللَّهُوَاءِ وَلَيَّ اللَّهُ إِلا شَقِيٍّ ، لَوْلا حُدُودً الأَهْوَاءِ وَلَيَّ الأَعْنَاقِ ، وَلَنْ يَتْرُكَ مَا دَعَوْتُ اللَّهِ إِلا شَقِيٍّ ، لَوْلا حُدُودً لِللَّهُ وَرَضَتُ ، وَقَرَائِضٌ لِللَّهِ إِلا شَقِيٍّ ، لَوْلا حُدُودً لِللَّهُ وَرَضَتُ ، وَقَرَائِضٌ لِللَّهِ حَدَّتُ ، ثُرَاحُ عَلَى أَهْلِهَا ، وَتَحْبَا لا تَمُوتُ ، لَكَانَ الْمَوْثُ مِنَ الإمَارَةِ نَجَاةً ، وَالْفِرَارُ مِنَ الْوِلاَيَةِ عَصْمَةً ، وَلَكِنْ لِللَّهِ عَلَيْنَا إِجَابَةُ الدَّعْوَةِ ، وَإِظْهَارُ السُّنَةِ ، لِئلا نَمُوتَ مُعِينُكَ عَلَى مَا أَمَرْتَ ، وَلا حَوْلَ وَلا قُوَّةً إِلا وَلا يَعْمَى عَمَى جَاهِلِيَّةٍ ، فَأَنَا مُجِيبُكَ إِلَى مَا دَعَوْتَ ، وَمُعِينُكَ عَلَى مَا أَمَرْتَ ، وَلا حَوْلَ وَلا قُوَّةً إِلا يَاللَّهِ ، وَالْمَدُونَ اللَّهُ لِي وَلَكُمْ.

Al-Zubayr followed with an eloquent speech: "Verily, whosoever shall call (upon God) will be known and the One to answer him will not disappoint especially in times of strife." And: "If God's eternal laws had not been established then avoiding leadership and authority would be a means of salvation and guarding the self. However, we need to submit to God's call and reveal the prophetic-traditions so as to not die a blind death." Among other things he mentioned.

ثُمُّ تَكَلَّمَ سَعْدُ بْنُ أَبِي وَقَاصِ ، فَقَالَ : الْحَمْدُ شِّهِ بَدِينًا كَانَ ، وَآخِرًا يَعُودُ ، أَحْمَدُهُ لِمَا نَجَانِي مِنَ الضَّلَالَة ، وَبِمُحَدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلْيُهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَارَتِ الطُّرُقُ ، وَاسْتَقَامَتِ السُّبُلُ ، وَظَهَرَ كُلُّ حَقٌ ، وَمَاتَ كُلُّ بَاطِلٍ ، إِيَّاكُمْ أَيُّهَا النَّقُرُ وَقَوْلَ الزُّورِ ، وَأَمْنِيَةُ أَهْلِ الْغُرُورِ ، فَقَدْ سَلَبَتِ الأَمَانِيُّ قَوْمًا قَبْلَكُمْ ، وَرِثُوا مَا وَرِثْتُمْ ، وَنَالُوا مَا نِلْتُمْ ، وَقُولَ الزُّورِ ، وَأَمْنِيَةُ أَهْلِ الْغُرُورِ ، فَقَدْ سَلَبَتِ الأَمَانِيُّ قَوْمًا قَبْلَكُمْ ، وَرِثُوا مَا وَرِثْتُمْ ، وَنَالُوا مَا نِلْتُمْ ، فَاتَّا كَبِيرًا ، قَالَ اللَّهُ عَزَ وَجَلَّ : لَمِنَ الْفِينَ كَفُرُوا مِنْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ عَلَى اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ عَدُولًا ، وَلَعْنَهُمْ لَعْنًا كَبِيرًا ، قَالَ اللَّهُ عَزْ وَجَلَّ : لَعِنَ الْفِينَ كَفُرُوا مِنْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ عَلَى اللهِ اللهُ عَلَولَ اللهُ عَدُولً ، وَلَعْنَهُمْ لَعْنًا كَبِيرًا ، قَالَ اللَّهُ عَزْ وَجَلَّ : لَعِنَ اللهِ اللهُ عَلَولُ اللهُ وَاللهُ اللهُ عَلَولُ اللهُ وَعَلَى اللهُ عَلَولُ اللهُ عَلَولُ اللهُ اللهُ عَلَولُ اللهُ اللهُ عَلَولُ اللهُ اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ وَاللهُ اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ وَاللهُ اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ قَصْدُ الللهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ اللهُ وَالْمَالُولُ عَلَى اللهُ وَلَكُمْ ، وَالْمُولُ اللهُ لِي اللهُ اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ وَاللهُ عَلَى اللهُ قَصْدُ اللّهُ اللهُ وَاللّهِ الرُّجُوعُ ، وَأَسْتَغْفِرُ اللّهُ لِي وَلَكُمْ ، وَأَعُودُ بِاللّهِ مِنْ مُخَالَقَتِكُمْ .

Sa'd followed with an eloquent speech: "I have discarded my quiver after picking the winning arrow and I've accepted for Talhah what I accepted for myself. I am responsible for what I choose on his behalf and the matter is now up to you O Ibn 'Awf." Among other things he mentioned.

ثُمَّ تَكَلَّمَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِب رَضِيَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَنْهُ ، فَقَالَ : الْحَمُدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي بَعَثَ مُحَمَّدًا مِنَا نَبِيًّا ، وَبَعَتُهُ الْنِنَا رَسُولًا ، فَنَحْنُ بَيْتُ النَّبُوَّةِ ، وَمَعْدِنُ الْحِكْمَةِ ، وَأَمَانُ أَهْلِ الأَرْض ، وَنَجَاةٌ لِمَنْ طَلَبَ ، لَنَا حَقَّ إِنْ نُعْطَهُ نَأْخُذُهُ ، وَإِنْ نُمُنَعْهُ نَرُكَبُ أَعْجَازَ الإلِي وَلَوْ طَالَ السُّرَى لَوْ عَهِدَ الْمِيْنَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَهْدًا الْمُنْفَقَّةُ ، وَلُو قَالَ لَنَا قَوْلاً لَجَادَلْنَا عَلَيْهِ حَتَّى نَمُوتَ ، لَنْ يُسْرِعَ أَحَدٌ قَلِي ، إلى دَعْوَةٍ وَسَلَّمَ عَهْدًا الْمُنْفِقي عَسَى أَنْ تَرُوا هَذَا مَقْ ، وَصُولَ مَنْطِقِي عَسَى أَنْ تَرُوا هَذَا الْمُرْمِ مِنْ بَعْدِ هَذَا الْمُجْمَع تُنْتَضَى فِيهِ السُّيُوفُ ، وَتُخَانُ فِيهِ الْعَهُودُ ، حَتَّى تَكُونُوا جَمَاعَةً ، وَيَكُونُ الْمُرْمَ مِنْ بَعْدِ هَذَا الْمُجْمَع تُنْتَضَى فِيهِ السُّيُوفُ ، وَتُخَانُ فِيهِ الْعَهُودُ ، حَتَّى تَكُونُوا جَمَاعَةً ، وَيَكُونُ اللَّمُ الْمَالِقَ وَالْمَلْ الْجَمْرَ مِنْ بَعْدِ الْمَنْهُ وَالْمَالِقِ ، قَلْ الْهَوْلَ عَلَيْلًا فَيْهِ اللَّهُ وَالْمَ وَلَا عَلَالًا فَعَلَتْ فَإِنِّي بِمَا فَعَلَتْ بَعُولَا : فَانْ تَكُ جَاسِمٌ هَلَكَتُ فَإِنِي بِمَا فَعَلَتُ بَعُولُ : فَانْ تَكُ جَاسِمٌ هَلَكَتُ فَإِنِي بِمَا فَعَلَتُ بَوْ عَبْدِ بْنِ ضَخْمُ عُلُولًا الْمَجْمَعِ فِي الْهُولَ عِلَى الْمَالِقَ عَلَى مِنْ كُلُّ نَجْمِ

Finally, 'Ali spoke eloquently and we translate his full sermon: "Praise be to God who chose Muhammad (saw) from among us as a prophet, then sent him to us as a messenger. We are the household of prophethood and the essence of wisdom; we act as a safety for the people and we aid whoever seeks us. We will accept our right if it is given to us but if we're prevented then we will exercise patience no matter how long the wait. If the Messenger (saw) had commanded us (to assume authority) we would have fulfilled his command and if he had given us instructions, we would have argued against everyone till we die. I will not allow anyone to surpass me in calling for truth or honoring kinship and there is no strength save with God Almighty. So, hear my word and preserve what I say. Maybe you will see soon after today, that over this matter, swords will be drawn and pledges will be broken, so much so that you will become united but some of you will be leaders of misguided people and followers of ignorant ones." Then he recited some poetry. 114

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¹¹⁴ Tabari

I say: `Ali openly declares that Banu Hashim still believe leadership to be their exclusive right. He says the Prophet (saw) never instructed or commanded regarding the matter and this is the reason he is not fighting to retrieve what he believes is rightfully his. He states that if the Messenger (saw) had clearly announced that leadership was their right, then he would be the first to call people towards this truth and honor the Prophet's (saw) words.

فتشاوروا حتى قال عبد الرحمن قد طال التناجي وتطلع النّاس إلَى معرفة خليفتهم وإمامهم واحتاج من أقام لانتظار ذَلِكَ من أهل البلدان إلَى الرجوع إلَى أوطانهم أيكما تبرأ من هذا الأمر فنجعله إليه والله عليه والإسلام لينظرن أفضلهم في نفسه فأسكت الشيخان فقال عبد الرحمن أفتجعلونه إلى والله على أن لا آل عن أفضلكم فَقَالَ: مَا تَقُولُ يَا أَبَا الْحَسَن ؟ قَالَ: أَعْطِنِي مَوْثِقًا ، لَثُوْثِرُنَّ الْحَقَّ ، وَلا تَلُّو الْمُمَّة . فَقَالَ : أَعْطُونِي مَوَاثِيقَكُمْ ، عَلَى أَنْ تَكُونُوا مَعِي عَلَى مَنْ الْهَوَى ، وَلا تَلُو الْمُمَّة . فَقَالَ : أَعْطُونِي مَوَاثِيقَكُمْ ، عَلَى أَنْ تَكُونُوا مَعِي عَلَى مَنْ بَدَّلُ وَ غَيَرً ، وَأَنْ تَرْصَوْا مَنِ اخْتَرْتُ لَكُمْ عَلَى مِيثَاقُ اللَّهِ ، أَلا أَخُصَ ذَا رَحِم لِرَحِمِهِ ، وَلا اللَّو الْمُسْلِمِينَ . فَأَخْذَ مِنْهُمْ مِيثَاقًا ، وَأَخْلَفُهُمْ عِنْدَ الْمِنْبَرِ ، فَخَلْفُوا لَيْبَايِعَنَّ مَنْ بَايَعَ ، وَإِنْ بَايَعَ بِإِحْدَى يَدَيْهِ الأُخْرَى، فَقَلَدُهُ الْقَوْمُ الْأَمْرَ.

Through the skillful navigation of `Abdul-Rahman bin `Awf, members of the council managed to limit candidacy to two individuals but the negotiations were still ongoing.

'Abdul-Rahman said: "Our private conversation has gone long enough. The people impatiently await their new Caliph and leader, and those who have temporarily settled here (after pilgrimage) need to go back to their lands. Which of you two would disassociate himself from the matter on the condition of picking the most suitable figure for this position?" The two Sheiks remained silent (i.e 'Uthman & 'Ali) So 'Abdul-Rahman said: "Will you then accept me as judge if I promise that I won't hold back any effort in choosing the best of you? What's your thought on this O aba al-Hasan?" 'Ali said: "Give me a solid oath to prioritize truth, reject desires and not give advantage to a near relative nor withhold any effort for the nation's sake." `Abdul-Rahman accepted and told the men: "Give me your oaths to stand by me against any renegade and to be pleased with whomever I choose for God's sake. In turn, I will surely not give precedence to relatives nor reserve any effort in choosing (what's best)." He gave them his oath then took their oaths near the pulpit and they agreed to submit to the man he selects even if he tapped with one hand over the other. 115

I say: Tapping with one hand over the other means even if he chooses himself as Caliph. Thus, it has now become `Abdul-Rahman's job to choose the next Caliph out of two candidates both of whom are from the honorable Banu

¹¹⁵ Baladhuri, Ibn al-Athir, Ibn Shubah

`Abd-Manaf. `Abd-Manaf's children are Hashim (`Ali's great grandfather), `Abd-Shams (`Uthman's great grandfather), Nawfal and al-Muttalib.

وأَقَامَ نَلاثًا فِي دَارِهِ الَّتِي عِنْدَ الْمُسْجِدِ الَّتِي يُقَالُ لَهَا الْيُوْمَ رَحْبَةُ الْقَضَاءِ ، وَبِذَلِكَ سُمِّيتْ رَحْبَةُ الْقَضَاءِ تَقُولُ إِنِّي أَحَقُّ مَنْ حَضَرَ بِالأَمْرِ ، لِقَرَائِتِكَ ، وَسَابِقَتِكَ ، وَحُسْنِ أَثْرِكَ فِي الدِّينِ وَأَمْ تُبْعَدْ ، وَلَكِنْ أَرَأَئِتَ لَوْ صُرِفَ هَذَا الأَمْرُ عَنْكَ فَلَمْ تَحْضُرْ ، مَنْ كُنْتَ تَرَى مِنْ هَوُلاءِ اللَّهِ هِلِ أَحقُ بِالأَمْرِ ؟ قَالَ : عُثْمَانُ . وَخَلا بِعُثْمَانَ ، فَقَالَ : تَقُولُ شَيْخٌ مِنْ بَنِي عَبْدِ مَنَافٍ ، وَصِهْرُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَابْنُ عَمِّهِ ، لِي سَابِقَةٌ وَفَصْلُ لَمْ تُبْعَدْ ، فَلَنْ يُصْرَفُ هَذَا الأَمْرُ عَنِي ، وَلَكِنْ لَوْ لَمْ تَحْضُرْ ، فَأَنْ يُصْرَفُ هَذَا الأَمْرُ عَنِي ، وَلَكِنْ لَوْ لَمْ تَحْضُرْ ، فَأَنْ يُصْرَفُ هَذَا الأَمْرُ عَنِي ، وَلَكِنْ لَوْ لَمْ تَحْضُرْ ، فَأَنِي هُوَ اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَيْ اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّكُ عَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّوْ اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ مَا اللَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى اللَّهُ ا

`Adbul-Rahman remained in his house near the mosque which is called the courtyard of justice and that's mainly why it is called Rahbat-ul-Qada'. During this time, he consulted with 'Ali and asked him: "You say: 'I have more right to it than anyone' due to your blood relation, your early Islam and your good deeds as Muslim. No one rejects this, however if you are not to be chosen then which of the men do you see as most fitting for such a position?" `Ali replied: "`Uthman." `Abdul-Rahman then spoke privately with 'Uthman and asked him similarly: "You say: 'I am the elder of Banu 'Abd-Manaf, husband to the Messenger's (saw) daughters and his cousin; I have an early Islam in addition to my virtues.' No one rejects this, however if you are not to be chosen then which of the men do you see as most fitting for such a position?" 'Uthman replied: "'Ali." Next, 'Abdul-Rahman dismissed the two and went to discuss privately with al-Zubayr at the backside of the mosque near the arbour adjacent to Marwan's house. He told al-Zubayr: "Let's leave this to the two sons of `Abd-Manaf, who do you recommend?" Zubayr replied: "`Uthman." Finally, he met privately with Sa'd and told him: "As for me and you, we do not desire it so who do you recommend?" Sa'd bin abi Waqqas also said: "`Uthman."116

فَلَقِيَ عَلِيٌّ سَعْدًا فَقَالَ بِيا أَبِا إِسْحَاقِ إِنِي لا أَسْأَلُكُ أَن تدع حق ابْن عمك بحقي أَوْ تؤثرني عَلَيْهِ فتبايعني وتدعه ، ولكن إن دعاك إِلَى أَن تكون لَهُ ولعثمان ثالثًا فانكر ذَلِكَ فإني أدلي إليك من القرابة والحق بِمَا لا يدلي بِهِ عُثْمَان ، وناشده بالقرابة بينه وبين الْحَسَن والحسين وبحق آمنة أَم رَسُول اللهِ صَلَى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَمَ ، فَقَالَ لَهُ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ : هلم فلنجتمع ، فَقَالَ سَعْد : إِن اخْتَرْتَ نَفْسَكَ فَنَعَمْ ، وَإِن اخْتَرْتَ عُثْمَانَ فَعَلِيٍّ أَحَبُ إِلَيٍّ ، أَيُّهَا الرَّجُلُ بَايِعْ لِنَفْسِكَ وَأَرِحْنَا وَارْفَعْ رُعُوسَنَا قَالَ : يَا أَبَا إِسْحَاقَ إِنِّي قَدْ خَلَعْتُ نَفْسِي مِنْهَا عَلَى أَنْ أَخْتَارُ ، وَلُو لَمْ أَفْعِلُ وَجُعلَ الْخِيَارُ وَارْفَعْ رُعُوسَنَا قَالَ : يَا أَبَا إِسْحَاقَ إِنِّي قَدْ خَلَعْتُ نَفْسِي مِنْهَا عَلَى أَنْ أَخْتَارُ ، وَلُو لَمْ أَفُعِلُ وَجُعلَ الْخِيَارُ وَلَوْ لَمْ أَوْعَلُ وَجُعلَ الْخِيَارُ الْمَاقَ اللّهَ عُلْ وَجُعلَ الْخِيَارُ وَلَمْ اللّهُ وَلَمْ أَرَ فَحْلا وَجُعلَ الْخِيَارُ وَلَى اللّهُ وَلَى اللّهُ وَلَمْ أَلَوْ وَسَعَةً عَلَى اللّهُ وَلَا مَعْقَلُ عَلَى اللّهُ وَلَى اللّهُ وَلَى اللّهُ وَلَعْ لَكُونُ اللّهُ وَلَى اللّهُ وَلَى اللّهُ وَلَى اللّهُ وَلَكَ عَلْقَ وَلَمْ اللّهُ وَلَهُ اللّهُ وَلَمْ اللّهُ وَلَعْمُ اللّهُ وَلَوْ وَاللّهُ يَلْوَلُو اللّهُ اللّهُ وَلَمْ اللّهُ وَسُمَ وَلَا عَلَى اللّهُ وَلَيْ وَلَوْ مُنَاقًا فِي الرَّوْضَةِ ، وَلا يَقُومُ مَقَامَ اللّهُ وَلَلْ وَاللّهِ لا أَكُونُ الرَّالِعَ ، وَلا يَقُومُ مَقَامَ اللّهُ وَلِي وَالْوَالِينَ حَتَى خَرَجَ مِنَ الرَّوْضَةِ ، وَلا يَقُومُ مَقَامَ الْوَلِيلَ حَتَى خَرَجَ مِنَ الرَّوْمَ الْمَالِمُ الْمَالُولُ اللّهُ لِلْ اللللّهُ وَلَى الللّهُ اللّهُ وَلَا وَاللّهِ لا أَكُونُ الرَّالِعَ ، وَلا يَقُومُ مَقَامَ اللّهُ وَلا أَلْوَلُو الللّهِ لا أَكُونُ الرَّالِعَ ، وَلا يَقُومُ مَقَامَ الللللهُ عَلَى اللللهُ اللللهُ الللهُ الللهُ اللهُ الللهُ اللّهُ اللللهُ الللهُ اللللهُ الللهُ اللّهُ الللهُ اللهُ الللهُ اللللهُ اللللهُ اللهُ اللللهُ اللهُ الللهُ الللهُ اللهُ اللّهُ اللهُ اللّهُ اللهُ الللهُ اللللهُ الللهُ اللهُ الللهُ الللهُ اللهُ الللهُ اللهُ الللهُ الله

¹¹⁶ Tabari, Ibn Shubah

أَبِي بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرَ بَعْدَهُمَا أَحَدٌ ، فَيَرْضَى النَّاسُ عَنْهُ ، قَالَ سَعْدٌ : فَإِنِّي أَخَافُ أَنْ يَكُونَ الضَّعْفُ قَدْ أَدْرَكَكَ ، فَامْض لِرَأْلِكَ ، فَقَدْ عَرَفْتَ عَهْدَ عُمَرَ.

Later, 'Ali met with Sa'd and attempted to persuade him: "O aba Ishaq, I do not ask you to exchange your cousin's best interest for mine or to place me ahead of him by giving me your pledge. However, if he asks you to be on his side along with 'Uthman then refuse because I have a greater right upon you than 'Uthman especially in kinship." 'Ali appealed to Sa'd through his relation to Hasan, Husayn and Aminah the mother of the Messenger (saw) so Sa'd accepted: "You shall be given what you ask." Sa'd then went to meet `Abdul-Rahman and told him: "If you choose yourself then I am pleased, but if you choose 'Uthman then know that 'Ali is dearer to me. O brother, just choose yourself and relieve us from all of this, that we may raise our heads (without shame)." `Abdul-Rahman responded: "O aba Ishaq, I had myself removed so that I can pick, had I not done so and it were up to me then I would have chosen myself. I saw (in a vision) a green garden full of lush grass, a stallion entered it and I had never seen a kinder creature; he passed across like an arrow without turning left, right or tripping. He was followed by a camel who traced his steps until he crossed it. Then, a magnificent stallion dragging his halter entered the garden, looking left and right as he followed the two till he crossed. Finally, a fourth camel entered and dwelled comfortably in the garden. By God, I shall not be that fourth one; I know that the people will never be pleased with anyone after Abi Bakr and 'Umar." Sa'd said: "I fear you might become weak, carry on since you're familiar with what 'Umar entrusted."117

I say: `Ali succeeded in shifting Sa`d to his side by mentioning the Prophet's (saw) mother and grandchildren. Aminah's father was the brother of Sa`d's grandfather. As for the dream, the first three were the Prophet (saw), Abu Bakr and `Umar who left this world without being swayed by materialistic distractions.

فلما ولوا عبد الرحمن أمرهم مال الناس على عبد الرحمن حتى ما أرى أحدا من الناس يتبع أولئك الرهط ولا يطأ عقبه ومال الناس على عبد الرحمن يشاورونه تلك الليالي وخرج يتلقى الناس في أنقاب المدينة متلثما لا يعرفه أحد فما ترك أحدا من المهاجرين والأنصار وغيرهم من ضعفاء الناس ورعاعهم إلا سألهم واستشارهم أما أهل الرأي من أمراء الأجْناد ، وَأَشْرَافِ النَّاسِ فأتاهم مستشيرا وَلا يَخْلُو بِرَجُلٍ إلا أَمَرهُ بِعُثْمَانَ حَتَّى إِذَا كَانَتِ اللَّيلَةُ الَّتِي يَسْتَكُمِلُ فِي صَبِيحَتِهَا الأَجْلُ قال المسور بن مَخْرَمَةً طرقني عبد الرحمن بعد هجع من الليل فضرب الباب قُلْتُ : لَبَيْكَ. قَالَ : إنَّكَ لَنَائِمٌ ، وَاشِّم مَا أَدْتَكُ لِنَائِمٌ فَالَ : قُلْتُ : يَا خَالُ بِأَيُهِمَا أَبْدَأُ ؟ وَاللَّهِ مَا الْجَلُ قالَ : فَخَرَجْتُ ، فَأَتَيْتُ عَلِيًا وَكَانَ هَوَايَ فِيهِ ، فَقُلْتُ : أَحِبْ خَالِي. فناجاه حتى ابهار قَالَ : فَقَالَ : قَالَ : فَذَرَجْتُ ، فَأَتَيْتُ عَلِيًا وَكَانَ هَوَايَ فِيهِ ، فَقُلْتُ : أَحِبْ خَالِي. فناجاه حتى ابهار

¹¹⁷ Baladhuri, Ibn al-Athir

الليل ثم قام على من عنده و هو على طمع وقد كان عبد الرحمن يخشى من على شيئا (خاف إن بايع لغيره أن لا يطاوعه) ثم قال ادع لى عثمان فدعوته فناجاه حتى فرق بينهما المؤذن بالصبح.

The moment those men placed `Abdul-Rahman in charge, the people altogether turned away from them and rushed towards him to consult during those nights. `Abdul-Rahman would sometimes disguise his face and head out to the far corners of Madinah to learn public opinion. He never left anyone from the Muhajirin, Ansar or the laymen unless he asked him. As for the people of repute and opinion as well as the commanders of the battalions, he sought them privately to discuss and every single one of them recommended `Uthman.

Al-Miswar bin Makhramah said: The stipulated period was about to end so `Abdul-Rahman knocked at nightfall. I said: "I am at your service." He told me: "Are you asleep? By God, my eyes did not taste sleep since three days. Go and call for `Ali and `Uthman." I inquired: "O uncle, whom do I call first?" He said: "Whomever you wish." I went in `Ali's direction because I leaned towards him and favored him. I told `Ali: "Will you answer my uncle's call?" The two spoke privately until the middle of the night, then `Ali left the house while having no doubt he's the chosen one. `Abdul-Rahman was concerned about `Ali, he told me to call on `Uthman next, then they too spoke privately till the dawn's call to prayer separated them. 118

I say: It seems the vast bulk of texts suggest that people favored `Uthman. As for `Ali, `Abdul-Rahman was concerned that `Ali would refuse to pledge allegiance to the other man in case he was not chosen.

¹¹⁸ Bukhari, Ibn Qutaybah, Tabari

VII-The believers chose 'Uthman bin 'Affan.

وفي الرواية: نَهَضْنَا حَتَّى دَخَلْنَا الْمَسْجِد ، وَصَاحَ صَائِحٌ : الصَّلاةُ جَامِعَةٌ. فقَالَ عُثْمَانُ : قَنَاخَرْتُ وَاللَّهِ مَيَاءً ، لِمَا رَأَيْتُ مِنْ إِسْرَاعِهِ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ ، فَكُنْتُ فِي آخِرِ الْمَسْجِدِ فلما صلى للناس الصبح واجتمع أولئك الرهط عند المنبر فأرسل إلى من كان حاضرا من المهاجرين والأنصار وأرسل إلى أمراء الأجناد وكانوا وافوا تلك الحجة مع عمر فلما اجتمعوا خَرَجَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَن بْنُ عَوْف وَعَلَيْهِ عِمَامَتُهُ ، الَّتِي عَمَّمَهُ بِهَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلِّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ، مُتَقَلِّدًا سَيْفُهُ فَقَالَ : أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ ، إِنَّ النَّاسَ قَدْ أَحَبُوا أَنْ يَلْحَقَ أَهُلُ الأَمْصَارِ بِأَمْصَارِهِمْ ، وَقَدْ عَلِمُوا مَنْ أَمِيرُهُمْ . فَقَالَ سَعِيدُ بْنُ زَيْد : إِنَّا نَرَاكَ لَهَا أَهْلا . فَقَالَ : أَشِيرُوا عَلَيَّ بِغَيْرٍ هَذَا . فَقَالَ الْمُقَدَادُ بْنُ أَشِيرُوا عَلَيَّ بِغَيْرٍ هَذَا . فَقَالَ عَمَّارٌ ، إِنْ بَايَعْتَ عَلِيًّا ، فَلُنَا : سَمِعْنَا وَأَطَعْنَا . قَالَ ابْنُ أَبِي سَرْح : إِنْ أَرَدْتَ أَلا يَخْتَلفَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ فَهَايِعْ عَلَيًّا ، فَقَالَ الْمُقَدَادُ بْنُ الْسَعْفَ عَمَّارٌ ، إِنْ بَايَعْتَ عَلَيًّا ، قُلْنَا : سَمِعْنَا وَأَطَعْنَا . قَالَ ابْنُ أَبِي سَرْح : إِنْ أَرَدْتَ أَلا يَخْتَلفَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ ؟ فَتَكَلَمْ بَنُو هَاشِمِ وَبَئُو أُمَيَّة ، وَقَالَ عَمَّارٌ ابْنَ أَبِي سَرْح ، وقَالَ : مَتَّى كُنْتَ تَثْصَحُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ ؟ فَتَكَلَمْ بَنُو هَاشِمِ وَبَئُو أُمَيَّة ، وَأَعْرَنَا بِدِينِهِ ، فَأَلَ سَعْدُ بْنُ أَبِي سَرِّح ، وقَالَ : مَتَى كُنْتَ تَثْصَحُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ ؟ فَتَكَلَمْ بَنُو هَالْمَ مُن بَنِي مَخْزُومٍ : لَقَدْ عَدُونَ طَوْرَكَ يَابِنَ سُمَيَة ، وَمَا أَنْتَ وَتَأْمِيرُ قُرَيْشٍ أَوْلُ سَعْدُ بْنُ أَبِي وَقَالَ رَجُلُ مِنْ بَنِي مَخْزُومٍ : لَقَدْ عَدُونَ طَوْرَكَ يَابِنَ سُمَيَةً ، وَمَا أَنْتَ وَتَأْمِيرُ قُرْيُسٍ الْمَالِي النَّاسُ.

On that fateful morning, everyone left towards the mosque as the caller called: "Unite for prayer!" `Uthman remarked: "By God, I came late out of shyness after I noticed him prioritizing 'Ali. So I stood at the back of the mosque." Suhayb led the people in the morning prayer and the council members gathered near the pulpit, they called on all those present from Muhajirin, Ansar and the military commanders who remained in Madinah after witnessing the pilgrimage alongside 'Umar. When all was ready, 'Abdul-Rahman came wearing a sword and the turban given to him by the Prophet (saw), he spoke to us: "O Muslims, everyone wishes for the people of distant lands to return to their homes after knowing who their chief is." Sa`id bin Zayd al-`Adwi said: "We see you as fitting for this position!" `Abdul-Rahman answered: "Suggest something else." `Ammar said: "If you don't wish for the Muslims to differ then select 'Ali." al-Migdad said: "'Ammar speaks truth. If 'Ali is chosen we shall listen and obey." But Ibn abi al-Sarh said: "Rather, if you don't wish for Quraysh to differ, choose `Uthman." `Abdullah bin abi Rabi`ah agreed: "True, we will listen and obey if `Uthman is chosen." `Ammar then verbally abused Ibn abi al-Sarh and said: "Since when do you care about the well-being of Muslims?" So Banu Hashim and Banu Umayyah disputed, and 'Ammar said: "O people, God Has honored us through His prophet and strengthened us through His religion. Why do you still choose other than your Prophet's (saw) household?" A man from Banu Makhzum answered him: "You crossed your boundaries O son of Sumayyah, who are you to select for Quraysh their leaders!?" At this point, Sa'd bin abi Waqqas intervened: "O `Abdul-Rahman, please settle this before it gets any worse." 119

قَامَ إِلَيْهِ عَلِيٍّ وَقِعْلِ أَبِي بَكْرِ وَعُمَرَ؟ قَالَ : اللَّهُمَّ لا ، وَلَكِنْ عَلَى جَهْدِي مِنْ ذَلِكَ وَطَاقَتِي. قَالَ : فَأَرْسَلَ وَسُنَّة نَبِيَّهِ ، وَفِعْلِ أَبِي بَكْرِ وَعُمَرَ؟ قَالَ : اللَّهُمَّ لا ، وَلَكِنْ عَلَى جَهْدِي مِنْ ذَلِكَ وَطَاقَتِي. قَالَ : فَأَرْسَلَ يَدَهُ ، ثُمَّ نَادَى : قُمْ إِلَيْ يَكُرُ وَعُمَرَ ؟ قَالَ : اللَّهُمَّ لا ، وَلَكِنْ عَلَى جَهْدِي مِنْ ذَلِكَ وَطَاقَتِي. قَالَ : هَلْ أَنْتَ مُبَايِعِي عَلَى كَتَابِ اللَّهِ ، وَسُنَّة نَبِيِّهِ ، وَفِعْلِ أَبِي بَكْرِ وَعُمَر ؟ قَالَ : اللَّهُمَّ النَّهُ أَلَى : اللَّهُمَّ النَّهُ أَلَى يَسَقَفِ الْمُسَعِدِ وَيَدُهُ فِي يَدِ عُثْمَانَ ، ثُمَّ قَالَ : اللَّهُمَّ السُمْعُ وَاشْهَدِ اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي قَدْ جَعَلْتُ مَا فِي رَقَبَتِي مِنْ ذَاكَ فِي الْمَسْتِدِ وَيَدُهُ فِي يَدِ عُثْمَانَ ، ثُمَّ قَالَ : اللَّهُمَّ السُمْعُ وَاشْهَدِ اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي قَدْ جَعَلْتُ مَا فِي رَقَبَتِي مِنْ ذَاكَ فِي الْمُسْتَعِلَى عَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْكَ فَتَشَهِد عبد الرحمن ثم قال أما بعد المُسْتَعَانُ عَلَى مَا تَصِفُونَ وَاللَّهِ مَا وَلَيْتَ عُثْمَانَ إلا لِيُرَدِّ الأَمْرَ إِلَيْكَ فَتَشَهِد عبد الرحمن ثم قال أما بعد يا على النَّه فَي اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ فَي اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ عِلَى اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ عِلَى اللهُ عَلَى الْمَ أَبِيهِ ، قَالَ : " رَأَيْتُ أَوَّلَ مَنْ بَايَعَ عُثْمَانَ : عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ عَوْفٍ ثُمَّ عَلِي بُنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهُ عَلْ إِلْكَ اللَّهُ عَلَى اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ عَلَى الْمَالِكِ الْمَالِكِ اللّهُ عَلَى الْمَلْ عَلْ الْمَالِكُ عَلَى الْمُ عَلْ الْمُعَلَى الْمُعْمَلِ اللّهُ عَلْمَانَ : عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ عَوْفٍ ثُمَّ عَلَى الْمُ عَلْ إِلَى الْمَلْ عَلْ الْكَوْمِ عَلَى الْمَلْ الْمُ عَلْمُ اللْمُمَانَ : عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ عَوْفٍ ثُمَّ عَلَى اللْهُ الْمُ الْمُ الْمُ الْمُ الْمُ الْمُ الْمُونَ عَلَى الْمُ الْمُلْ الْمُ الْمُ الْمُ الْمُلْمُ الْمُ الْمُ الْمُ الْمُ الْمُ الْمُ الْمُعَلِي الْمُ الْمُ الْم

'Ali got up and walked till he stood under the pulpit, 'Abdul-Rahman held 'Ali's hand and asked: "Will you O 'Ali accept my allegiance, on the condition that you work in accordance to the Book of God, the prophetictradition and the example of Abi Bakr and 'Umar?" 'Ali responded: "By God no, however I'll try my utmost ability to do so." `Abdul-Rahman let go of 'Ali's hand and called: "Come to me O 'Uthman." He grabbed his hand and asked: "Will you O 'Uthman accept my allegiance, on the condition that you work in accordance to the Book of God, the prophetic-tradition and the example of Abi Bakr and 'Umar?" 'Uthman responded: "By the Lord, yes." `Abdul-Rahman looked up at the ceiling of the mosque with his hand still in 'Uthman's then said: "O Lord bear witness that I removed what's around my neck and placed it around 'Uthman's neck." With this, 'Ali became upset and said: "You gave him the gift of a lifetime, this isn't the first instance you united against us. But come sweet patience! And God is the one sought for help against that which you describe. You gave it to 'Uthman so he could later hand it to you." Upon hearing 'Ali's words, 'Abdul-Rahman testified to God's oneness and said: "Now then, O 'Ali, I have looked at the people's tendencies and noticed that they do not equate anybody with `Uthman, so you should not incur blame by disagreeing." Ibn 'Awf recited: {Then whosoever breaks his oath breaks it but to his own hurt; and whoso fulfills his covenant made with God, God will give him a mighty wage.}

Salamah bin `Abdullah bin `Abdul-Rahman bin `Awf narrated from his father `Abdullah: "I saw the first man who declared allegiance to `Uthman: `Abdul-Rahman bin `Awf and then `Ali bin abi Talib." ¹²⁰

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¹¹⁹ Tabari, Nuwayri

¹²⁰ Tabari, Nuwayri, Baladhuri

I say: Some historians say the first is `Abdul-Rahman while others say the first is `Ali. This can be reconciled since Ibn `Awf was the one tasked with choosing so he by default is the first to give an oath and he was followed by `Ali who is considered the first of the people to offer his. In some narrations `Ali mentions that he was tricked by `Amr bin al-`As; he had asked him for advice and `Amr instructed him to answer Ibn `Awf with humbleness so `Ali assumed that was why he wasn't chosen as he sounded unconfident.

و خَرَجَ عَلِيٌّ ، وَهُوَ يَقُولُ : سَيَبْلُغُ الْكِتَابُ أَجَلَهُ . فَقَالَ الْمَقْدَادُ : يَا عَبْدَ الرَّحْمَنِ أَمَا وَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ بَرَكْتُهُ مِنَ الْفَيْنَ يَقْضُونَ بِالْحَقِّ ، وَبِهِ يَعْدِلُونَ . فَقَالَ : يَا مِقْدَادُ ، وَاللَّهِ لَقَدِ اجْتَهَدْتُ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ . قَالَ : إِنْ كُنْتَ أَرَدْتَ بِلَلْكَ اللَّهُ ، فَأَتَابَكَ اللَّهُ تَوَابُ اللَّهُ حُسِنِينَ . فقالَ معروف بن سويد: كنت بالمدينة أيام بويع عثمان، فرأيت رجلا في المسجد جالسا و هو يصفن باحدى يديه على الاخرى، و الناس حوله. و يقول: و اعجبا من قريش و استنثار هم بهذا الأمر على أهل هذا البيت، معدن الفضل، و نجوم الأرض و نور البلاد، و الله وسلّم أولى منه بالحق، و لا أقضى أن فيهم لرجلا ما رأيت رجلا بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله و سلّم أولى منه بالحق، و لا أقضى بالعدل، و لا آمر بالمعروف، و لا أنهى عن المنكر، فسألت عنه فقيل: هذا المقداد، فقدمت إليه و قلت: أصلحك الله من الرجل الذي تذكره، فقال: ابن عم نبيك رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله و سلّم، علي بن أصلحك الله من الرجل الذي تذكره، فقال: ابن عم نبيك رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله و سلّم، علي بن الي طالب. قال: فلبثت ما شاء الله، ثم اني لقيت أباذر رحمه الله، فحدثته ما قال المقداد، فقال: صدق، قلت: فما يمنعكم أن تعينوهم قال: مه وقل: مه لا تقل هذا، اياكم و الفرقة و الاختلاف فقال عَلِي " إنَّ النَّاسَ يَنْظُرُونَ إلى قُرَيْشٍ ، وَقُرَيْشٌ تَنْظُرُ إلى عَرْيُشٍ . فَتَقُولُ : إِنْ وُلُي عَلَيْكُمْ بَنُو هَاشِمٍ لَمْ تَخُرُجُ مِنْهُمْ أَبَدًا ، وَمَا كَانَتْ فِي غَيْرِهِمْ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ بَيْنَكُمْ.

An upset `Ali left while saying: "The decreed period will reach its end." So al-Migdad said: "O `Abdul-Rahman, you left a man who judges with truth and equity." Ibn `Awf replied: "O Migdad, by God I strived for the sake of the Muslims." Migdad said: "If you truly did this for God's sake then may He grant you the best reward." Ma'ruf bin Suwayd witnessed these events, he said: I was in al-Madinah when `Uthman was given allegiance, I saw a man sitting in the mosque surrounded by people. The man said: "It is truly mind boggling that Quraysh would keep that household away from this matter. They are the essence of virtue, the stars that light the lands and by God there is among them a man that I see as most truthful after the Messenger (saw), the best at passing just judgement and the best at encouraging the good deeds and prohibiting from wrong-doing." I asked who the man was and they said he was al-Migdad, I said to him: "May God fix your affair, who is this man you speak of?" He answered: "Your Prophet's (saw) cousin, 'Ali bin abi Talib." After a long time, I met up with aba Dharr and told him what I heard from al-Miqdad, he said: "That's true." I asked: "What prevents you from giving them authority?" He said: "Their own people refuse." I asked: "Why not strive to help them?" abu Dharr said: "No, don't say that! Never create division nor cause conflict." 'Ali used to say: "The people revere Quraysh while Quraysh seek their own well-being. They say: 'If Banu Hashim

took authority they will forever hold the reins of power but if others from Quraysh receive authority then it will pass from one house to the next.""¹²¹

I say: Companions such as aba Dharr, Miqdad, `Ammar and Salman had much love towards the Messenger (saw) that they preferred his household over all the rest. They viewed `Ali as deserving of leadership due to his virtue, his knowledge and his close relation to the Messenger (saw).

وَقَدِمَ طَلْحَةُ فِي الْيَوْمِ الَّذِي بُويِعَ فِيهِ لِعُثْمَانَ ، فَقِيلَ لَهُ : بَايعْ عُثْمَانَ . فَقَالَ : أَكُلُّ قُرَيْسُ رَاصَ بِهِ ؟ قَالَ : نَعْمُ . فَأَلَّ : نَعْمُ . فَأَلَّ : نَعْمُ . فَأَلَّ : نَعْمُ . فَأَلَ : نَعْمُ . قَالَ : نَعْمُ . عَلَى مَنْ طَلْحَةً مَا كَانَ مِنْ طَلْحَةً مَا كَانَ فَوَ اللَّهُ بِنُ اللَّهُ فِيلَ الْمُغْيِرَةُ بُنُ فُوصِلته رحم. ثُمَّ انْصَرَفَ بِعُثْمَانَ إِلَى بَيْتِ فَاطِمَةُ البُنَةِ قَيْسٍ ، فَجَلَسَ وَالنَّاسُ مَعْهُ وَقَالَ الْمُغْيِرَةُ بُنُ شُعْبَةً لِعَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ : يَا أَبَا مُحَمِّدٍ قَدْ أَصَبْتَ إِذْ بَايَعْتُ عُثْمَانَ . وَقَالَ لِعُثْمَانَ : لَوْ بَايَعْ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ عَثْمَانَ . وَقَالَ لِعُثْمَانَ : لَوْ بَايَعْ مَعْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ : كَذَبْتَ يَا أَعُورُ ، لَوْ بَايَعْتُ غَيْرَهُ لَبَايَعْتَهُ ، وَلَقُلْتَ عَبْدُ الْمَقَالَةَ الْمُقَالَةَ الْمُقَالَةً الْمُقَالَةَ الْمُقَالَةَ الْمُقَالَةَ الْمُقَالَةَ الْمُقَالَةُ الْمُعْلِمُ الْمُقَالَةُ الْمُقَالَةُ الْمُقَالَةُ الْمُقَالَةُ الْمُقَالَةُ الْمُؤْلُ الْمُقَالِقُولُ الْمُؤْلُ الْمُؤْلُ الْمُؤْلُ الْمُؤْلُ الْمُؤْلُ الْمُؤْلُ الْمُولُ اللَّذُ الْمُؤْلُ الْمُؤْلُ الْمُقَالَ الْمُؤْلُ اللَّذُ الْمُؤْلُ اللَّذُالُ الْمُؤْلُ اللْمُؤْلُ اللَّذُالُولُ الْمُؤْلُ اللَّذِي الْمُؤْلُ اللَّذُ الْمُؤْلُ اللَّذُالُ اللَّهُ الْمُؤْلُ

Talhah bin `Ubaydullah returned on the day `Uthman became Caliph so they told him: "Go offer your pledge." He asked: "Is Quraysh pleased?" They said: "Yes." Thus, he went to meet 'Uthman. When he arrived, 'Uthman said: "It's entirely up to you, if you reject me I will step-down." Talhah asked: "Would you give it up?" He said: "Yes." Talhah asked: "Have they all pledged?" He said: "Yes." Talhah said: "Then I am pleased with their agreement, I won't be the odd one out." And he offered his allegiance. 'Abdullah bin Sa'd bin abi Sarh said: "I was fearful that everything would collapse until Talhah did what he did so I in turn did good to him through familial bonds." Afterwards, the people accompanied 'Uthman to the house of Fatimah bint Qays and they all sat together. As they were seated, al-Mughirah bin Shu`bah told `Abdul-Rahman: "O aba Muhammad, you did well by choosing 'Uthman." And he told 'Uthman: "If 'Abdul-Rahman chose anyone else we wouldn't accept." He said this in 'Ali's presence so 'Abdul-Rahman said: "Wrong O A'war! You would have accepted anyone I picked and said the same thing."122

وسار عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ مَسْعُودٍ مِنَ الْمُدِينَةِ إِلَى الْكُوفَةِ حِينَ اسْتُثْلِفَ عُثْمَانُ فِي ثَمَانِ فَحَمِدَ اللَّهَ وَأَثْنَى عَلَيْهِ ثُمَّ قَالَ : أَمَّا بَعْدُ ، فَإِنَّ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عُمَرَ بْنَ الْخَطَّابِ مَاتَ فَلَمْ نَرَ يُومًا كَانَ أَكْثَرَ نَشِيجًا مِنْ يَوْمِهِ ، وَإِنَّا اجْتَمَعْنَا مَعْشَرَ أَصْحَابِ مُحَمَّدٍ فَلَمْ نَالُ عَنْ خَيْرِنَا ذَا فَوْق فَبَايَعْنَا عُثْمَانَ بْنَ عَفَّانَ ، فَبَايِعُوهُ.

During those days, 'Abdullah bin Mas'ud walked to Kufah from Madinah, he praised God and told the people there: "We never heard more cries than on

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¹²¹ Abu al-Fida', Ibn al-Athir, Jawhari, Ibn Shubah

¹²² Tabari, Baladhuri

the day the commander of faithful `Umar bin al-Khattab died. However, we the Companions of Muhammad (saw) gathered and spent a great deal of effort to select the best of us; a man of superiority `Uthman bin `Affan. O people, offer him your obedience."¹²³

فكان عثمان رضي الله عنه ست سنين في ولايته وهو أحب إلى الناس من عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه وكان عمر رجلا شديدا قد ضيق على قريش أنفاسها لم ينل أحد معه من الدنيا شيئا إعظاما له وإجلالا وتأسيا به واقتداء فلما وليهم عثمان ولي رجل لين قال الحسن البصري شهدت عثمان وهو يخطب وأنا يومئذ قد راهقت الحلم فما رأيت قط ذكرا ولا أنثى أصبح وجها ولا أحسن نضرة منه ثم أنكر الناس على عثمان أشياء أشرا وبطرا قال ابن عمر لقد عيبت عليه أشياء لو فعلها عمر ما عيبت عليه وقال مُضارب بْنِ حَزْنٍ، قَالَ: قِيلَ لِعَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ الله عَنْهُ: " مَا حَمَلَهُمْ عَلَى قَتْلِ عُثْمَانَ؟ قَالَ: الْحَسَدُ

During the first six years, `Uthman was more beloved to the people than `Umar. The second Caliph was a strong man and he was very strict against Quraysh that no one could enjoy any luxuries due to their reverence and love for him. So when `Uthman was placed in authority, he was a lenient and easy-going man to the extent that al-Hasan al-Basri described: "I witnessed `Uthman deliver a sermon when I was a teenager, I did not see a man or woman with a more radiant complexion nor a purer face." Later on, the people were enraged because of certain things out of greed and jealousy that Ibn `Umar said: "`Uthman was reproached for things that if `Umar had done they wouldn't have reproached him." Mudarib bin Hazn said: "It was said to `Ali: 'What caused them to murder `Uthman?' `Ali replied: 'Jealousy.'"124

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¹²³ Ahmad

¹²⁴ Ibn Qutaybah, `Abdullah bin Ahmad

VIII-The passing of al-'Abbas bin 'Abdul-Muttalib and his final will to 'Ali.

عن ابن عباس قال: كان بين العباس و على مباعدة، فلقى ابن عباس عليا فقال: ان كان لك في النظر الى عمّك حاجة فأته، و ما أراك تلقاه بعدهاً فوجم لها، و قال تقدمني و استأذن فتقدمته و استأذنت له، فاذن فدخل، فاعتنق كل واحد منهما صاحبه، و أقبل على عليه السّلام على يده و رجله يقبلهما و يقول يا عم: ارض عنى رضى الله عنك قال: قد رضيت عنك ثم قال: يا ابن الحي قد أشرت عليك باشياء ثلاثة فلم تقبل، و ر أيت في عاقبتهما ما كرهت، و ها أناذا اشير عليك برأي ر ابع فان قبلته، و إلا نالك ما نالك مما كان قبله، قال: و ما ذاك يا عم، قال: اشرت عليك في مرض رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، ان تسأله فان كان الأمر فينا أعطاناه، و ان كان في غيرنا أوصى بنا، فقلت: اخشى ان منعناه لا يعطيناه أحد بعده. فمضت تلك، فلما قبض رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، أتانا ابو سفيان بن حرب تلك الساعة فدعوناك الى ان نبايعك و قلت لك: ابسط يدك ابايعك، و ببايعك هذا الشيخ فانا ان بايعناك لم يختلف عليك احد من بني عبد مناف، و اذا بايعك بنو عبد مناف لم يختلف عليك أحد من قريش، و اذا بايعتك قريش لم يختلف عليك احد من العرب فقلت: هذا امر المسلمين، وما كنت لأفتات عليهم بأمر، فإن ارادوني فقد عرفوا مكاني وإن لنا بجهاز رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، شغل و هذا الأمر فليس نخشى عليه فلم نابث أن سمعنا التكبير من سقيفة بني ساعدة, فقلت يا عم ما هذا قلت: و ما دعوناك اليه فأبيت قلت: سبحان الله أو يكون هذا قلت: نعم، قلت: أفلا يرد، قلت لك و هل ردّ مثل هذا قط ثم أشرت عليك حين طعن عمر فقات: لا تدخل نفسك في الشوري، فانك ان اعتزلتهم قدموك و ان ساويتهم تقدموك فدخلت معهم فكان ما رأيت ثم الان اشير عليك برأى رابع، فان قبلته و إلا نالك ما نالك مما كان قبله، اني أرى هذا الرجل- عثمان- قد أخذ في امور، و الله لكأني بالعرب قد سارت اليه حتى ينحر في بيته كما ينحر الجمل، و الله ان كان ذلك و أنت بالمدينة ألزمك الناس به، و اذا كان ذلك لم تنل من الأمر شيئا الا من بعد شر لا خير معه.

`Abdullah bin `Abbas narrated: I met `Ali bin abi Talib at a time when `Ali and (his uncle) al-'Abbas were very distant and told him: "If you wish to say anything to your uncle now is the time as I do not think you will ever meet afterwards." Upon hearing this, 'Ali desired to go and asked me to take permission from 'Abbas. When he got permission he entered on his uncle and they embraced each-other; 'Ali began kissing his hands and feet while saying: "O uncle, I ask you to be pleased with me, may God be pleased with you." 'Abbas answered: "Now I am pleased with you." He continued: "O nephew, I had advised you to do three things but you did not accept and you saw the consequence of your poor decisions. Now I shall advise you a fourth time so either you accept or you will suffer once more." 'Ali said: "What would that be O uncle?" `Abbas reminded him: "I advised you to ask the Prophet (saw) during his illness that if this matter belonged to us then he should hand it to us but if it wasn't then he should command them to take care of us but you refused saying: 'If he prevented us then we will never receive it.' The Prophet (saw) passed away and abu Sufiyan bin Harb visited at that moment and we both begged you to accept our allegiance. I told you: "Allow me and this elder (i.e abu Sufiyan) to offer the oath so that nobody from Banu 'Abd-Manaf can reject you, and if 'Abd-Manaf accepts then Quraysh accepts and so will all the Arabs afterwards but you refused saying: 'It is up to the Muslims to decide this matter, I would not make a

decision without them, if they want me then they know where to find me. Furthermore, we're busy preparing the Prophet (saw) and I've no fears concerning leadership.' Little time passed before we heard the Takbir from the Courtyard of Banu Sa'idah so you asked: 'O uncle, what's the commotion?' I replied: 'This is what we warned you of.' You said: 'Glory be to God, can it really be so?' I said: 'Yes it can.' You said: 'Can this not be reversed?' I said: 'Since when is this kind of thing reversed?' Later on, when 'Umar got stabbed I advised you: 'Do not participate in the consultation. If you leave them, they will place you ahead of them but if you act as their equal they will precede you.' You refused and saw what happened, so now listen to this fourth opinion: I see that 'Uthman got himself into some trouble and I sense that the Arabs will march against him then slaughter him in his own house like a camel. By God, if this happens while you are present in Madinah, people will accuse you of spilling his blood and you won't receive authority (after his death) except along with it will be much evil, it is devoid of goodness."125

قال عبد الله بن عباس: فلما كان يوم الجمل عرضت له و قد قتل طلحة. و قد أكثر أهل الكوفة في سبه و غمصه، فقال علي عليه السّلام: اما و الله ائن قالوا ذلك. لقد كان كما قال الجعدي: فَتى كانَ يُدنيهِ الغِنى مِن صَدِيقِهِ إِذَا مَا هُوَ استَغنَى ويُبعِدُهُ الفَقرُ ثم قال: و الله لكأن عمّي كان ينظر من وراء ستر دقيق، و الله ما نلت من هذا الأمر شيئا إلا بعد شرّ لا خير معه.

`Abdullah bin `Abbas said: On the day of Jamal I went to meet `Ali after Talhah was slain. At that time, the people of Kufah began to scorn and abuse him, so `Ali said: "Now that it's come to this, it is truly as al-Ja`di said." He then recited poetry by abu Layla al-Ja`di: "A young man whose wealth brought his friend closer to him when he was rich while poverty drove them further apart." He continued: "It is as if my uncle (i.e `Abbas) was looking through a thin veil (to the future). By God, I only received it after much evil and no goodness." 126

I say: Without a doubt, al-`Abbas was a wise elder from Banu Hashim, he lived amongst Quraysh's masters and knew the ins and outs of Arabian politics.

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¹²⁵ Ibn abi al-Hadid, Jawhari, `Abdul-Jabbar, `Abdul-Razzaq

¹²⁶ Ibn abi al-Hadid, Jawhari

IX-The passing of `Ali bin abi Talib and how he remembered his predecessors.

Finally, it was in God's decree that `Ali bin abi Talib would become the leader after the martyrdom of `Uthman bin `Affan in a time of turmoil. This great Companion spent his days trying to overcome numerous trials and tribulations. `Ali faced many problems not only because of his opponents but often times they were caused by his own supporters.

قال سويد بْن غفلة: مررت بنفر من الشيعة يتناولون أبا بَكْر وعمر رَضِيَ الله عَنْهُمَا، وينتقصونهما فدخلت عَلَى علي بْن أبي طالب، فقلت: يا أمير المؤمنين، مررت بنفر من أصْحَابِكَ يَذْكُرُونَ أَبَا بَكْر وَعُمَر رَضِيَ الله عَنْهُمَا، بِغَيْر الَّذِي هُمَا لَهُ أَهْلٌ وَلَوْلا أَنْهُمْ يَرَوْنَ أَنَّكَ تُضْمِرُ لَهُمَا عَلَى مِثْلِ مَا أَعْلَنُوا مَا اجْتَرَ وُوا عَلَى ذَلِك، قَالَ عَلِي مِثْلِ مَا أَعْلَنُوا مَا اجْتَرَ وُوا عَلَى ذَلِك، قَالَ عَلِيٍّ: أَعُوذُ بِاللهِ، أَلا وَخَيْرُ هَذِهِ الأُمَّةِ بَعْدَ نَبِيِّهَا أَبُو بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرُ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُمَا، ثُمَّ اللهُ بَالْخَيْرِ أَيْنَ هُو أَقُولُ قَوْلِي وَأَسْتَغْفِرُ اللهَ لَي وَلَكُمْ.

'Ali's companion Suwayd bin Ghaflah narrates: I passed by a few Shia ('Ali's supporters in Kufah) while they were criticizing Abu Bakr and 'Umar may Allah be pleased with them, so I entered on 'Ali bin abi Talib and said: "O commander of faithful, I passed by some of your companions mentioning Abu Bakr and 'Umar in an unfitting way, if they did not believe that you shared their opinion they would not have dared to do it, 'Ali said: "I seek refuge in Allah, the best of this nation after its Prophet (saws) are Abu Bakr and 'Umar may Allah be pleased with both, then Allah knows best where the goodness is, I say this and ask Allah for forgiveness for me and you." 127

قال أَبِي حُكَيْمَةً: كُنَّا فِي الْمَسْجِدِ فَجَاءَ رَجُلُّ قَتَنَقَّصَ أَبَا بَكْرِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، وَعُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، وَعُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، وَعُمَرَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ اللَّا يَكُرِ وَعُمَرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، هَذَا رَجُلٌ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ تَنَقَّصَ أَبَا بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرَ وَأَظْهَرَ لِحُثْمَانَ الشَّيْبِمَةَ فَقَالَ: عَلَيَّ بِهِ، فَقَالَ: مَنْ يَشْهَدُ عَلَى هَذَا؟ قَالَ: فَشَهْدتُ وَمَنْ مَعِي، فَأَمَرَ بِهِ فَدِيسَ ثُمَّ قَالَ: اخْرِجُوا هَذَا إِلَى السُّوقِ حَتَّى يَرَاهُ النَّاسُ فَيَعْرِفُوا ثُمَّ الْحُرْجُوةُ فَلَا يُسْمَعِي، فَلَمْ وَقُمْنَا مَعَهُ حَتَّى صَحِدَ الْمُثْبَرَ فَحَمِدَ اللَّهُ وَأَثْنَى عَلَيْهِ ثُمَّ قَالَ: " إِنَّ خَيْرَ هُوا اللَّهُ وَالْآمَةِ بَعْدَ نَبِيّهَا أَبُو بَكُرٍ وَعُمَرُ وَلُو شِنْتُ أَنْ أُسْمَى الثَّالِثَ لَسَمَيْتُهُ.

'Ismah al-Basri narrated: We were in the mosque when a man came and belittled Abu Bakr and 'Umar then verbally abused 'Uthman, so I entered on 'Ali bin abi Talib and said: "O commander of faithful, there is a man in the mosque who belittled Abu Bakr and 'Umar then insulted 'Uthman." So he said: "Bring him to me!" After they brought him the man, he said: "Who testified against him?" I and those who were with me all testified, so he ordered that he be stepped on then said: "Take this one to the markets so that the people might see him and recognize him. Then send him away as he must not live near me." 'Ali stood up and we stood with him and he climbed on the pulpit and praised God and thanked him then said: "The best

¹²⁷ Ibn al-Jawzi, Lalika'i

of this nation after its Prophet (saw) are Abu Bakr and 'Umar and if I wished to name the third I would name him."128

ر وي الْحَسَنُ بْنُ كَثْير ، عَنْ أَبِيه ، قَالَ : أَتَى عَلِيًّا رَجُلٌ فَقَالَ : أَنْتَ خَبْرُ النَّاسِ ، فَقَالَ : هَلْ رَ أَبْتَ النَّبِيّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ؟ قَالَ : لَا ، قَالَ : أَمَا رَأَيْتَ أَبَا بَكْرٍ ؟ قَالَ : لا ، قَالَ : فَمَا رَأَيْتَ عُمَرَ ؟ قَالَ : لا ، قَالَ : أَمَا إِنَّكَ لَوْ قُلْتَ إِنَّكَ رَأَيْتَ النَّبِيَّ صَلِّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ ۗ وَسَلَّمَ لَقَتَلْتُكَ ، وَلَوْ قُلْتُ رَأَيْتَ أَبَّا بَكْر وَعُمَرَ

Kathir al-Ahmasi al-Bajali said: A man came to 'Ali and said: "You are the best of people!" So 'Ali asked: "Have you met the Prophet (saw)?" The man said: "No." He said: "Have you met Abu Bakr?" he said: "No." he said: "Have you met 'Umar?" he said: "No." he said: "If you had said that you met the Prophet (saw) I would have killed you, and if you had met Abu Bakr and 'Umar I would have whipped you." 129

عن علقمة بن قيس قال وضرب بيده على منبر الكوفة فقال خطبنا على على هذا المنبر فذكر ما شاء الله أن يذكر ثم قال ألا إنه بلغني أن ناسا يفضلوني على أبي بكر و عمر ولو كنت تقدمت في ذلك لعاقبت ولكن أكره العقوبة قبل التقدم من أتيت به بعد مقامي هذا قد قال شيئا من ذلك فهو مفتري عليه ما على المفتري ثم قال إن خير الناس بعد رسول الله (صلى الله عليه وسلم) أبو بكر ثم عمر أحبب حبيبك هونا ما عسى أن يكون بغيضك يوما ما وأبغض بغيضك هونا ما عسى أن يكون حبيبك يوما

'Ali's companion 'Algamah bin Qays hit his hand on the pulpit of al-Kufah and said: 'Ali ibn abi Talib gave us a sermon on this very pulpit, he mentioned what Allah willed for him to mention, then said: "It had reached me that some people prefer me over Abu Bakr and 'Umar, if I had clarified this matter previously I would have punished them, but I hate punishing before warning. After this moment in which I stand before you, whosoever shall be brought to me, claiming anything of the sort, then he is a slanderer; his punishment is that of a slanderer." Then he said: "The best of people after the Messenger of Allah (saws) is Abu Bakr then 'Umar. Love not thy friend extremely, as one day they might be your worst enemy, and loathe not thy enemy with extremism, as one day he might be your loved one."130

I say: `Ali had to constantly deal with the deviance of the Iraqi Kufans as long as he lived. Throughout his life, he confronted the exaggerators and extremists from those who claimed him to have absolute knowledge to those who went as far as to say he's a god. Then there emerged from those same people a group of Khawarij accusing him of hypocrisy and disbelief leading to a bloody war. The narrations of 'Ali announcing the superiority of Abu Bakr and `Umar are mass transmitted and authentic.

¹²⁸ Dulabi

^{129 `}Ushari

¹³⁰ Lalika'i

قال عمرو بن سفيان: لما ظهر على على الناس قال: يا أيها الناس إن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم لم يعهد اليُّنا في هذه الإمارة شيئا حَّتي رأينا من الرأي أن يستخلف أبا بكر، فأقام واستقام حتى مضى

`Amr bin Sufiyan narrated: When `Ali was given reigns of authority, he said: "O people, the Messenger (saw) never entrusted us with any command with regards to this matter of leadership. We (i.e Companions) saw in our opinion that Abu Bakr should succeed and he ruled with uprightness until he passed on his way."131

قال مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ حَاطِبِ: سَأَلْتُ عَلِيًّا عَنْ عُثْمَانَ، فَقَالَ: هُوَ مِنَ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا ثُمَّ اتَّقَوْا ثُمَّ اتَّقَوْا وقال حَنْ اللَّهُ عَبَّادٍ، قَالَ: قَالَ عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ لائنِهِ الْحَسَنَ يَوْمَ ٱلْجَمَلِ: " يَا حَسَنُ، لَيْتَ أَبَاكَ مَاتَ مِنْ عَبْلَانِهِ الْحَسَنُ عَنْهُ كَنْتُ أَنْهَاكَ عَنْ هَذَا، قَالَ: يَا بُنَيَّ، لَمْ أَرَ الأَمْرَ يَبْلُغُ هَذَا عِشْرِينَ سَنَةً، قَالَ: يَا بُنَيَّ، لَمْ أَرَ الأَمْرَ يَبْلُغُ هَذَا وَلِي مَعْفِرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، قَالَ: قَالَ عَلِيٍّ: إِنِّي لأَرْجُو أَنْ أَكُونَ، وَطِلْحَةُ، وَالزُّبَيْرُ مِنَ النَّإِينَ قَالَ وَالْ اللَّهُ : وَنَزَعْنَا َمَا فِي صُدُورِ هِمْ مَنْ غِلِّ إِخْوَانًا عَلَى سُرُر مُتَقَابِلِينَ. وَكَانَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، بَرِيئًا مِنْ قَتْل عُثْمَانَ، يَقُولُ: وَاللَّهِ مَا قَتَلْتُ وَلا أَمَرْتُ وَلاً رَضِيتُ وَلا شَارَكْتُ فِي قَتْلِ عُثْمَانَ.

Muhammad bin Hatib asked 'Ali regarding 'Uthman, so 'Ali said: "He was from the faithful ones who feared their Lord. Then he increased in faith and piety." Qays bin 'Abbad narrated that 'Ali told his son al-Hasan on the day of the Camel: "O Hasan, your father wishes he died twenty years ago." Al-Hasan said: "Dear father, I used to advise you against this." `Ali said: "O son, I didn't know it would reach this!" And Ja`far bin Muhammad narrated from his father that 'Ali said: "I hope that I, Talhah and Zubayr would be from those mentioned in this verse {And We will remove whatever is in their breasts of resentment, [so they will be] brothers, on thrones facing each other.}" And the commander of the faithful was innocent from `Uthman's blood, he used to say: "By God, I did not kill, nor give an order, nor was I pleased and I did not participate in `Uthman's murder."132

قال أبي وائل: قيل لعلى ابن أبي طالب: ألا تستخلف علينا؟ فقال: ما استخلف رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فَأستخلف، ولكنَّ إن يردُّ الله بالناس خيرا فسيجمعهم بعدي على خيرهم، كما جمعهم بعد نبيهم على خير هم.

Abi Wa'il informs us of what people requested from 'Ali after he was fatally struck by Ibn Muljam: It was said to 'Ali bin abi Talib: "Will you not appoint a successor?" He said: "The Messenger (saw) never appointed one so I may do so. If God wishes goodness for the people, He will gather them around the best man after me just as He gathered them around the best man after their Prophet (saw)."133

¹³¹ Bayhaqi

¹³² Ahmad, `Abdullah bin Ahmad, Bayhaqi, Abu al-Fida'

¹³³ Abu Nu`aym, Hakim

CONCLUSION:

We have reached the end of our story and what remains is to list the major things we learned and the benefits we derived from this long story then conclude by invoking God's mercy upon all believers.

-Firstly, the Prophet (saw) passed away unexpectedly without having appointed a successor for the position of Caliphate. We learn this through numerous statements, some are clear and explicit while others just hint towards this. Therefore, it is unanimously agreed upon in all history books through many authentic and weak traditions that no leader was chosen for this nation by name. As for 'Ali bin abi Talib's alleged appointment at "Ghadir Khum", we find no mention of it by 'Ali or anyone else which clearly implies that it was not understood in the context some of 'Ali's later Shia believed.

-Secondly, the Muhajirin were able to persuade the Ansar to drop their demand for authority and Abu Bakr was selected as leader on the spot by agreement of the vast majority who were present except Sa'd and Hubab. Abu Bakr's pledge was sudden and unplanned, it happened in a state of emergency and could have led to dangerous consequences thus 'Umar warned people to not take that path ever again. Abu Bakr would receive a public pledge from everybody on the next day with only select individuals refusing such as Khalid but nobody was forced.

-Thirdly, the stories about the house of `Ali being burned and the killing of his wife and child are baseless sectarian fabrications and none of that took place. `Ali and Zubayr gave their pledge on Thursday but it was very late and caused certain folks to think that `Ali did not approve and accept so they began chanting his name. `Ali did not pay attention to those who encouraged his Caliphate nor did he participate much in political life since the event of inheritance until the death of his wife. After six months, `Ali felt it was important to clear the air and speak honestly about what he thought and why Banu Hashim were upset. Abu Bakr showed good will and apologized then accepted `Ali's apology. `Ali insisted on renewing his allegiance to Abu Bakr in front of everybody to prevent further rumours from spreading.

-Fourthly, tribal affiliations affected the process in a way that tribes competed for the position as they knew much benefit would befall their tribesmen and families if they succeeded. People boasted about their virtues, merits, lineage and accomplishments in Islam to claim the right of successorship. The dispute regarding superiority with the Ansar offended some of the leaders of Quraysh who later embraced Islam and this led to much tension in the city. The most pious of people were those least affected by any tribal extremism which shows the great influence Islam had over their lives since they embraced it.

-Fifthly, it should be clear to all how great are the teachings of Islam and how loyal were the Companions of Muhammad (saw) for had it not been for the light of Islam, these Arabs would have surely fought for honor and power just like they did in times of ignorance. It took true divine intervention to transform those simple desert Arabs into guided folks who act to please the Lord Almighty even if it conflicts with their past ideologies. The past Arabs would have never accepted to select a weak man from a weak tribe such as Abu Bakr to rule over them but Islam has made this possible. With the power now in the hands of righteous leaders and enlightened individuals, the Arabs flourished and accomplished great feats by God's blessing.

-Sixthly, history reveals the superiority of certain individuals, the best of whom are Abu Bakr and `Umar. These two elders proved their detachment from the materialistic world and their pure understanding of Islam. They did not seek authority nor did they gather wealth, instead they deprived their own families and never allowed those of blood relation to rule even though they both were more than capable with the power, respect and love they obtained throughout their lives. They had the best of teachers and followed the best example without faltering thus setting a high standard for all those to come after them. We found it very hard to argue that anybody could reach the high status of these two selfless and pious elders after browsing the history books.

-The seventh benefit we acquire, is that the Islamic sources contain vast amounts of information and a large amount of detail can be collected by diving into the hearts of the large books. The information recorded by all of these historians may vary in minor details and the different versions will have their differences but the overall flow of events is similar and the outcomes are unanimous. The story we recorded above is a useful summary, it merges most of the details into one text and the result would be as if the reader went back to the original resources listed at the top and went through them one by one.

In the end we ask our Lord to forgive us and our brothers who preceded us in faith. We ask Him to raise us and our brothers and sisters to the highest levels of paradise. Lastly, may the most Merciful benefit us through what we read and push us to learn from the mistakes of the past in order to organize and unite for a better Islamic government.

The end of the books of Saqifah & Shura by Hani al-Tarabulsi, 15th of December 2016.

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