

Charitable Foundation for the
Prophet`s family and Companions

Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ

رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنْهُ

ترجمة كتاب

بذل الإخلاص في سيرة عمرو بن العاص رضي الله عنه

اللغة الانجليزية

By:

Walīd Muḥammad Sālim ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq

Translated by:

The Mahajjah Research Institute

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In the Name of Allāh,
the Most Beneficent,
the Most Merciful

Contents

Contents 3

Foreword 10

Gratitude and Appreciation 13

Introduction 15

Motivations for choosing this Topic 18

Earlier Researches 20

Preface 26

Discussion One 27

The Status of the Ṣaḥābah in Islam and an Overview of the Islamic Belief Regarding Them 27

The Status of the Ṣaḥābah 28

Status of the Ṣaḥābah in the Qur'ān 30

Verse 1 31

Verse 2 31

Verse 3 32

Verse 4 32

Verse 5 33

Verse 6 33

Status of the Ṣaḥābah in Ḥadīth 34

Ḥadīth 1 34

Ḥadīth 2 35
Ḥadīth 3 36
Ḥadīth 4 37
Ḥadīth 5 38
Status of the Ṣaḥābah according to the scholars 39
Statement 1 39
Statement 2 39
Statement 3 40
Statement 4 42
Statement 5 43
Statement 6 44
Statement 7 44
A Quick Glance at the Fundamentals of a Muslim's Creed regarding the Ṣaḥābah 50
Discussion Two 66
The Fitnah that broke out between the Ṣaḥābah 66
Causes of the Fitnah 67
What has been transmitted of some regarding others during the Fitnah 81
Some of these reports are listed hereunder: 83
The Stance of a Muslim concerning the Fitnah that occurred between the Ṣaḥābah 103
Section One 118
A Brief Biography of the Eminent Ṣaḥābī ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ 118

Name & Lineage 119
Agnomen 121
Upbringing 121
Father 122
Mother 127
Agnate Siblings 128
Uterine Siblings 130
Wives 133
Children 136
Islam 138
External and Internal Characteristics 143
Bravery 144
Competence and Perception in War 150
Astuteness and political genius 154
Nobility, piety, and honesty 161
Forbearance 164
His Virtues 166
His Works and Services 169
His Jihād 173
His Integrity and Credibility 176
His Humility 180
His Worship 182
His Narrations 183
His Rhetoric, Poetry, Wisdom, and Sayings 185
Poetry 192
Sayings and adages 198
His Business and Estate 203
His Death 212

Section Two 218

Doubts cast against the eminent Ṣaḥābī Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ 218

Preamble 218

Misconceptions related to the lineage of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ 222

Misconception 1: The verses of Sūrah al-Kawthar was revealed about his father 222

Answer 222

Misconception 2: What has been said regarding his mother in that she was a harlot 236

Answer 237

Misconceptions related to his integrity 254

Misconception 1: Characterising him as treacherous 254

Answer 258

Misconception 2 - His admitting to following his desires and being inclined towards the world at his death 300

Answer 305

Misconception 3 - The fortune he left behind after his death 324

Answer 327

Misconceptions related to his relationship with Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ 336

Misconception 1 - Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ cursed him when he ridiculed the Prophet صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ 336

Answer 336

Misconception 2 - Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ prayed against him 343

Answer 343

Misconception 3 - Rasūlullāh ﷺ warned against the coalition of ʿAmr and Muʿāwiyah and that their coalition would bring no good 355

Answer 356

Misconceptions related to his relationship with the Ṣaḥābah 364

Misconception 1 - Inciting the murder of ʿUthmān 364

Answer 366

Misconception 2 - Being partial to the camp of Muʿāwiyah in hopes of materialistic gain. 374

Answer 376

Misconception 3 - Saving himself from ʿAlī رضي الله عنه in combat by revealing his private regions 394

Answer 394

Misconception 4 - His killing and burning of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr 404

Answer 404

Misconceptions relating to his conquest of Egypt, his governance, his relation with its people, and more specifically the Copts 415

Preface 415

1. A quick primer regarding the Copts, their origin, domicile, and religious persuasion. 415

Their origins and domicile 415

Their religious persuasion 417

2. Reasons for the Islamic conquest of Egypt. 419

Misconception 1 - Seizing the wealth of the Copts and humiliating them. 422

Answer 424

Misconception 2 - Portraying the people of Egypt in a negative and unseemly manner in a letter to Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿUmar 449
Answer 449
Misconception 3 - ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ burnt the library of Alexandria .. 459
Answer 461
Misconception 4 - Refraining from demolishing the Sphinx of Giza and the pyramids 476
Answer 476
Epilogue 491
Conclusions 491
Advices 494
Bibliography 495

Transliteration key

أ إ - ’	ض - ḍ Ḍ
آ – ā Ā	ط - ṭ Ṭ
ب - b	ظ - ẓ
ت - t	ع - ʿ
ث - th	غ - gh
ج - j	ف - f
ح - ḥ Ḥ	ق - q
خ - kh	ک - k
د - d	ل - l
ذ - dh	م - m
ر - r	ن - n
ز - z	و - w, ū
س - s	ه - h
ش - sh	ی - y, ī
ص - ṣ	

Foreword

All praise belongs solely to Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى. May the choicest of salutations and peace be upon the Messenger of Allah, his family, his Companions, and those who befriend him.

After praises and salutations, the book in your hands *Badhl al-Ikhlāṣ* forms part of the pioneer series *Siyar: al-Āl wa al-Aṣḥāb* (Biographies of the Family and Companions). The al-Mabarrah Institute has shouldered the responsibility of enlightening people on the biographies of the beloved family and blessed Companions of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ and presenting it in a fashion; which incorporates fluency, ease of comprehension, an adherence to an academic approach, as well as adopting language which is inoffensive and does not give rise to sentiments of sectarianism.

This book falls within the framework of al-Mabarrah's policy of academic collaboration with other institutions in attaining its ultimate goal, i.e. highlighting the history of the beloved family and blessed Companions رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ and eliminating all blemishes that have clouded it by the Orientalists and the enemies of Islam who are of their ilk. Our vision is to present a pristine and unadulterated record of history of the beloved family and blessed Companions رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ which portrays their true and factual image, while at the same time, corrects many misconceptions and false ideologies about them which have spread among the Muslims.

Among the many Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ who have been the target of oppression, injustice, and prejudice is the eminent Ṣaḥābī, Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. Him being the target of substantial injustice has necessitated that a book be prepared specifically about him; a book which eliminates falsehood and establishes the truth. Many statements, stances, and suspicions that have been levelled against him collapse in the face of academic scrutiny and objective history.

Further, the books which do contain these corrupt complaints are few and do not meet the standards of authenticity and reliability.

The reality is that the personality of Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ is of particular significance for a thorough examination and deep study. He is the great sage, renowned—in the era prior to, and after Islam—for his outstanding wisdom, high intellect, and far-sightedness. He is the sincere believer with a submissive heart—as attested to by Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. He is the intrepid leader and audacious commander who is unequalled. He is the just governor who conquered and ruled over Egypt, the heart of the world at the time.

When you add to this his participation in the incidents of the fitnah between the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ and the prominent part he played which reached its peak in the well-known arbitration episode, we realise that we stand before a prosperous personality, abounding with proficiency in various fields; an individual of many excellences. An individual worthy of being explored and researched in accordance to a fair and objective scholastic methodology, which is not misinformed by spurious unverified historical accounts and not driven by claims devoid of proof, while at the same time not considering the value of intellect invalid as well as individual assessment and deduction worthless.

The book in your hands endeavours to defend the prominent Ṣaḥābī Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ by highlighting his virtues, merits, and excellences; in addition to tackling the misconceptions propagated about him, all in a composed scholarly manner. The researcher, brother Walīd Muḥammad Sālim ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, has done an excellent job, and endeavoured generously for which he is to be congratulated. After his primary role, comes the role played by his brothers in the field of research in the capacity of examiners, advisors, and consultants. Finally, painting the task with the colour

of al-Mabarrah, in its academic approach and unique and outstanding philosophy.

So there you have it. At the end, Mabarrat al-Āl wa al-Aṣḥāb renews its vision and its willingness to pool resources with all researchers and seekers of knowledge determined to accomplish its objective of defending the family and Companions رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ.

Muḥammad Sālim al-Khiḍr

Head of Markaz al-Buḥūth wa al-Dirāsāt

(Department of Research and Study)

Gratitude and Appreciation

All praises belong to Allah, as numerous as the number of His creation, abundant to His desire, equal to the weight of His Throne, and as plentiful as the amount of His words. To Him belongs praise appropriate to His Perfect Countenance and Magnificent Dominion. I praise Him for His immense bounties and enormous favours. Every bounty and favour we enjoy is from Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ alone. Whoever endeavours to count the favours of Allah will never be able to enumerate them.

I am dutifully grateful and thankful to Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ for facilitating the writing of this treatise for me and for His continuous assistance till its completion. Praise belongs to Him at the beginning and at the end for empowering me and guiding me. I beg Him سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ for an increase in His grace and generosity and to accept this humble action for His pleasure.

Adhering to Prophetic practice and the conduct of the Messenger صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ:

لا يشكر الله من لا يشكر الناس.

> *He has not been grateful to Allah who has not expressed appreciation to people.* [1]

Firstly, I express my heartfelt appreciation to my benevolent parents who, after Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ, played the most prominent part in my seeking, acquisition, and dedication to knowledge. Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ alone do I invoke to protect them, nurture them, and make them the

[1] *Musnad Aḥmad,* vol. 13, Ḥadīth: 7938.

coolness of my eyes in the world and the Hereafter. He is the patron of this and All-Powerful to make it a reality.

Secondly, I express gratitude to Markaz al-Buḥūth wa al-Dirāsāt at Mabarrat alĀl wa al-Aṣḥāb for their participation in preparing this book, from proposing the idea, supervision of the project, sourcing and referencing, emendation of few discussions, to communication of valuable considerations until the book reached completion. Appreciation is expressed to al-Mabarrah Institute for their interest in the book and administering its printing and publishing.

At the same time, I am thankful to every person who taught me, guided me, or apprised me of a mistake.

Finally, this is the effort of one lacking proficiency. Everything correct is from Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ and any error is from me and Shayṭān. Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ has reserved perfection for His mighty Book. Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ announces:

﴿إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُواْ بِٱلذِّكۡرِ لَمَّا جَآءَهُمۡۖ وَإِنَّهُۥ لَكِتَٰبٌ عَزِيزٞ * لَّا يَأۡتِيهِ ٱلۡبَٰطِلُ مِنۢ بَيۡنِ يَدَيۡهِ وَلَا مِنۡ خَلۡفِهِۦۖ تَنزِيلٞ مِّنۡ حَكِيمٍ حَمِيدٖ﴾

> *Indeed, those who disbelieve in the message after it has come to them... And indeed, it is a Mighty Book. Falsehood cannot approach it from before it or from behind it; [it is] a revelation from a [Lord who is] Wise and Praiseworthy.* [(2)]

Walīd Muḥammad Sālim ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq

01/01/1435 A.H.

Kuwait, may Allah protect it.

[(2)] Sūrah Fuṣṣilat: 41 – 42.

Introduction

In the Name of Allah, the Excessively Compassionate, Exceedingly Merciful.

Certainly, praise belongs solely to Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ. We praise Him, seek help from Him, and seek His forgiveness. We seek protection in Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ from the evil of ourselves and our misdeeds. Whoever Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ guides cannot be led astray and whoever He misguides can never attain guidance. I testify that there is no deity besides Allah, He is alone with no partner, and I testify that Muḥammad صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ is His bondsman and Messenger.

Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ declares:

﴿يَـٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ ٱتَّقُواْ ٱللَّهَ حَقَّ تُقَاتِهِۦ وَلَا تَمُوتُنَّ إِلَّا وَأَنتُم مُّسْلِمُونَ﴾

O you who have believed, fear Allah as He should be feared and do not die except as Muslims [in submission to Him]. [3]

Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ states:

﴿يَـٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّاسُ ٱتَّقُواْ رَبَّكُمُ ٱلَّذِى خَلَقَكُم مِّن نَّفْسٍ وَٰحِدَةٍ وَخَلَقَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا وَبَثَّ مِنْهُمَا رِجَالًا كَثِيرًا وَنِسَآءً ۚ وَٱتَّقُواْ ٱللَّهَ ٱلَّذِى تَسَآءَلُونَ بِهِۦ وَٱلْأَرْحَامَ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ كَانَ عَلَيْكُمْ رَقِيبًا﴾

O mankind, fear your Lord, who created you from one soul and created from it its mate and dispersed from both of them many men and

[3] Sūrah Āl ʿImrān: 102.

women. And fear Allah, through whom you ask one another, and the wombs. Indeed, Allah is ever, over you, an Observer. [4]

﴿يَـٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ ٱتَّقُواْ ٱللَّهَ وَقُولُواْ قَوْلًا سَدِيدًا * يُصْلِحْ لَكُمْ أَعْمَـٰلَكُمْ وَيَغْفِرْ لَكُمْ ذُنُوبَكُمْ ۗ وَمَن يُطِعِ ٱللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُۥ فَقَدْ فَازَ فَوْزًا عَظِيمًا﴾

O you who have believed, fear Allah and speak words of appropriate justice. He will [then] amend for you your deeds and forgive you your sins. And whoever obeys Allah and His Messenger has certainly attained a great attainment. [5]

Dīn (religion) is one of the five necessities, the protection of which is incumbent upon a Muslim. A man's fortune in this world and the Hereafter is dependent on his Dīn. The more he guards his Dīn, the more honour and respect will be conferred upon him.

Sayyidunā Ibn ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا reports that Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ stated:

وجعل الذل والصغار على من خالف أمري

Contempt and ignobility are the lot of those who oppose my command. [6]

The honour of the Ummah is preserved on account of its adherence to Dīn. Sayyidunā ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ proclaimed:

إنا كنا أذل قوم فأعزنا الله بالإسلام، فمهما نطلب العز بغير ما أعزنا الله به أذلنا الله

[4] Sūrah al-Nisā': 1.
[5] Sūrah al-Aḥzāb: 70, 71.
[6] *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 9, Ḥadīth: 5668; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, (chainless), book on Jihād, chapter on arrows, Vol. 3 pg. 1066; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, Ḥadīth: 4031; al-Albānī: *al-Irwā'*, vol. 5 pg. 109. Al-Albānī classified it ḥasan.

> We were the most debased nation. Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى conferred honour upon us by awarding us Islam. No sooner we seek honour in anything besides that with which Allah has honoured us, Allah will dishonour us. [7]

For our honour and admiration to be sustained and for us to reach the summit of our reputation and domination as a Muslim nation, it is incumbent upon every Muslim to preserve his Dīn and uphold its foundation. Preservation of Dīn is achieved by adopting and applying its injunctions, unshackling it from everything that is not part of it, and challenging everything that violates or denigrates it.

One of the most disastrous ways of attacking Islam is to attack the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ for they are our link to Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. They are the transmitters of his Dīn and the carriers of his responsibility. They are trusted, reliable, and dependable in the understanding of Dīn and comprehension of its *aḥkām* (laws). They hold the greatest superiority over every generation of the Ummah that succeeds them. It comes with no surprise, that appreciation of their struggles is mandatory, by way of loyalty to them and defence of their honour through every avenue and means available.

Authoring books in this field is of critical importance and one of the most momentous channels to preserve the Dīn, since it is connected to the very foundation of true pristine Islam. I therefore desired that I secure my share in this field and put my shoulder to the wheel, exhausting all my efforts, so that I may accomplish my objective of defending the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, owing to my love for these chosen individuals. Here is my humble treatise which centres around the eminent Ṣaḥābī, Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, which I have

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[7] *Al-Mustadrak*, vol. 1 pg. 130. Al-Ḥākim declared it ṣaḥīḥ on the standard of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Al-Dhahabī concurs. Al-Albānī declared it ṣaḥīḥ in *al- aḥīḥah*, vol. 1 pg. 50.

marked *Badhl al-Ikhlāṣ fī Sīrat ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ* رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ (Surrendering Loyalty in the Biography of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ).

After the introduction, I have gathered his biography and life story. That is followed by misconceptions spread about him, coupled with their refutation and underlining their corruption in the light of the principles of absolute scholarship, while adhering to the standard analytical inductive method of reasoning.

I hope that Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى accepts it solely for His pleasure, makes it a means of obliterating sins and acquiring salvation from His punishment and anger. I desire that Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى makes it beneficial for the writer, reader, and one studying it. He is the Patron and All Powerful to accomplish this.

Motivations for choosing this Topic

There are many factors that prompted me to research this subject, some of which are listed hereunder:

1. I have not come across a detailed research on this topic.
2. I have witnessed an abundance of unsound narrations which have blemished the image of this esteemed and celebrated personality. These reports attack his integrity, biography, and prudency; whereas he was one of the trusted men of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ who served as a governor and military leader under his command. It is sufficient as a badge of honour for him that he is the recipient of the lofty accolade announced from the prophetic institute (may Allah's choicest salutations, peace, and greetings be upon him):

أسلم الناس وآمن عمرو بن العاص

People entered the fold of Islam whereas ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ believed with sincerity.

This declaration will appear later in this treatise. This ḥadīth acted as one of the convincing inspirations to me getting down to thoroughly examine conflicting narrations so that the true image of this illustrious Companion becomes manifest and the flawed notions which have taken root in the minds of some—due to unsound reports—may be removed.

3. This theme is considered a primary block from the fundamentals of Dīn. It is of considerable importance because the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ are the transmitters of Dīn to us. Criticising them is akin to criticising Dīn, in fact, akin to criticising the Being who selected them for His Messenger صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ—and we declare Allah's سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى purity from that. Examining these (unsound) reports and pointing out their corruption is a shield from the attacks on the Companions of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ, which emanated from those who rely on such flawed reports.
4. Defending the honour of the Muslims is recognised as a great act of worship and obedience, as highlighted in the ḥadīth of Sayyidah Asmā' bint Yazīd رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا, which she heard from Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ:

من ذب عن لحم أخيه بالغيبة كان حقا على الله أن يعتقه من النار

The person who protects the flesh of a believer from [being eaten through] backbiting, Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى assumes responsibility to free him from Hellfire. [8]

[8] *Musnad Aḥmad,* 45, Ḥadīth: 27536; al-*Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 24 pg. 176. The wording is Aḥmad's. Al- Albānī declared it ṣaḥīḥ in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pg. 246.

What a lofty level will be attained by defending the Companions of Muḥammad ﷺ and protecting their honour!

Earlier Researches

The early and contemporary scholars of Islam have been extremely solicitous to write about the Beloved Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم by enumerating their virtues, highlighting our duty towards them, and composing their biographies. Some books are exclusively regarding them while others include their mention, coupled with a host of other themes. The books which deal exclusively with the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم are divided into two categories. Books of the first category discuss the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم in general like *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥambal (d. 241 A.H.) and *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah* of al-Nasā'ī (d. 303 A.H.). The second category focuses on a particular Ṣaḥābī, like *Faḍā'il Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq* of al-ʿUshārī (d. 451 A.H) and *Manāqib Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib* of Ibn al-Maghāzilī (d. 483 A.H).

At present, I am not going to list the books authored about the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم in general. Rather, I intend to list the books about the eminent Ṣaḥābī, Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه, and more specifically those books which have examined the reports which taint the image and legacy of this renowned Ṣaḥābī. I have come across several books which have collected his biography, pre and post Islam.

Some of them are listed hereunder:

1. *ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ* by ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAqqād

The author speaks about Sayyidunā ʿAmr's رضي الله عنه life from the time of his involvement in trade before Islam right up until his second reign over Egypt during the reign of Sayyidunā Muʿāwiyah رضي الله عنه. He analyses the reports about Sayyidunā ʿAmr رضي الله عنه to realise his true

nature and psychology. He then connects those incidents and events which match his nature and psychology. The author has analysed these reports thoroughly and is convinced with his conclusions to the extent supporting the truth of a certain event due to its harmony with Sayyidunā ʿAmr's رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ nature, despite the historians declaring it unsound.

2. *Tārīkh ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ* by Ḥasan Ibrāhīm

This is a treatise was presented to the Faculty of Arts of the Egyptian University in the year 1921 in which many issues were discussed. It also earned a doctorate in arts. The book is inclusive of the biography of Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ from birth to death. The author has embedded firmly in his book the need to examine the personality of Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ saying:

وقد امتاز عمرو بين قومه بمزايا عديدة ظهر أثرها في أعماله ظهوراً بيناً، وتجلت صورتها للناس كلما ذكر اسمه، فكانت ذات أثر كبير في أحوال الأمة الإسلامية: الدينية والسياسية والحربية والاجتماعية. وبتحليل نفس عمرو يعرف المرء الصلة بين مواهبه وبين هذه الأحوال، تلك النفس التي حللناها فيما مررنا به من استقصاء أخباره وتتبع آثاره وذكر أقواله المأثورة وحكمه التالدة.

ʿAmr was distinct among his nation with an abundance of specialities, the effects of which became manifestly apparent in his actions. His distinctions loom large every time his name is mentioned. He has had a huge impact in the development of the Muslim ummah; on a religious, political, military, and social level. By analysing Sayyidunā ʿAmr, a person realizes the connection between his talents and these occurrences. A personality whom we have understood in the light of the

narrations concerning him, by delving into his life, and through quoting his statements and wisdom. [9]

His book is distinct in the sense that he judges between the controversial reports of the historians by comparing them and favouring the most reasonable one.

3. *Al-Qā'id al-Muslim wa al-Safīr al-Amīn* by Major general Maḥmūd Shīt Khaṭṭāb

The author concentrates on the military domain, which is a significant aspect of his life. Quite fitting too, since he is the Major general.

4. *ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ al-Qā'id wa al-Siyāsī* by Dr ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ʿAlī

The author focuses on the leadership and military expertise of Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was his motivation in writing this book as stated in the introduction. You will find him quoting narrations and analysing them thereby deducing the personality of Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

5. Ḥayāt ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ by Maḥmūd Shalbī

The author uses an eloquent narrative pattern. He journeys through his virtues, military expeditions, the conquests he participated in, and the administrative powers at his disposal. He then speaks on him joining the ranks of Sayyidunā Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ when the conflict between the latter and Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ broke out. He ends the book with his death.

6. *Mashāhīr al-ʿArab (ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ Fātiḥ Miṣr)* of ʿAbd al-Salām al-ʿUsharī

[9] *Tārīkh ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ*, pg. 284.

The author uses the fluent narrative style. He begins the book with the *Fuḍūl Confederacy* [10] and then discusses him being despatched to Abyssinia by the Quraysh to challenge al-Najāshī to return those Muslims who emigrated to his land. Further, he discusses his Islam, his appointment by Rasūlullāh ﷺ as commander in chief of the *Dhāt al-Salāsil* expedition, and his dispatchment to the King of Bahrain to present Islam to him. This is followed by the Conquests of Syria and the Conquest of Egypt during the reigns of Sayyidunā Abū Bakr and Sayyidunā ʿUmar رضي الله عنهما. Towards the end, he talks about him joining the ranks of Sayyidunā Muʿāwiyah رضي الله عنه when the conflict arose between him and Sayyidunā ʿAlī رضي الله عنه. He ends with his demise.

All the above books are wonderful and useful. As they say: no book is bereft of benefit. However, due to lack of focus on the authenticity of reports in some of the books and the lack of scrutiny in others, these books contain certain narrations which portray the distinguished Ṣaḥābī in a negative light or characterise him with things that are in disagreement with the exalted nature of the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم.[11]

It is appropriate, rather mandatory, for one who intends studying the personality of a Ṣaḥābī from historical reports to analyse those narrations and contextualise them in the context of their civilisation, not our civilisation or culture.

7. *ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ al-Amīr al-Mujāhid* by Dr Munīr Muḥammad al-Ghaḍbān

[10] A confederacy formed at Makkah for suppressing violence and injustice and protecting the rights of the weak and the poor. This historical confederacy was attended by Rasūlullāh ﷺ as well. *[The Sealed Nectar, pg. 77.]*

[11] For example, accusing him of stirring up fitnah against Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رضي الله عنه, that he joined the ranks of Sayyidunā Muʿāwiyah رضي الله عنه for worldly gains, he deceived in the arbitration, and that Sayyidunā Abū Mūsā رضي الله عنه was duped. The refutation of all these falsities will appear in section two.

The best author I have come across who pays special attention to authentic material when penning the life story of this distinguished Ṣaḥābī, coupled with calling out the unsound narrations which have tainted his biography, is Dr Munīr Muḥammad al-Ghaḍbān in his book *ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ al-Amīr al- Mujāhid*. However, the focus of the book does not allow the collection of all unsound narrations and their analysis, since the author's object is to present the correct historical image of this eminent Ṣaḥābī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

Throughout my preparation of this treatise, I was unable to locate a book which tackled the angle I intended, i.e. to thoroughly examine unsound narrations. Only after completing my treatise did I stumble upon the book ***Dar' al-Intiqāṣ ʿan ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ*** by Muḥammad Kamāl.[12] This is a beneficial book. However, my treatise is much broader as I present the misconceptions and then refute them. Before doing this, I set up an introduction wherein I emphasise the lofty status of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ and present a quick glance on the fundamentals of a Muslim's creed. I discuss the fitnah that took place during the era of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ and a Muslim's stance on it. Then, in section one, I give a brief account of the life of Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ so that I may highlight his true personality and nature and so that, together with the introduction, it serves as a basis for the reader to drive away misconceptions on a whole, before entering into section two (where refutation of the common misconceptions about him are taken up in detail).

In this treatise, I have adhered to the following methodology:

1) Presentation of a brief biography of the prominent Ṣaḥābī under discussion, relying on sound reliable sources.

[12] I have extracted and referenced from this book at three places of my treatise.

2) Listing of misconceptions spread about the Ṣaḥābī Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, considering their authenticity, and refuting them.
3) Refutation of these misconceptions in one of the following ways:
   A. Scrutinising the *sanad* (chain) of the narration and classifying it as either authentic or weak, with the support of the statements of the scholars.
   B. Close examination of the text of the narration (from the angle of authenticity or inaccuracy) using the ensuing manners of examination.
      - ❖ Some words of the text itself indicating to its falseness.
      - ❖ Historical investigation.
      - ❖ Comparing several reports and exposing the inconsistency between them—if found—which leads to their authenticity falling away.
   C. Interpretation of the narration in the best possible manner when the sanad is authentic or hypothetically taken as authentic.
   D. Highlighting the stance a Muslim ought to observe towards an error of a Ṣaḥābī, if the report is taken as authentic.

Preface

Discussion One: The status of the Ṣaḥābah in Islam and an overview of the Islamic belief regarding them.

- The Status of the Ṣaḥābah
- A Quick Glance at the Fundamentals of a Muslim's Belief regarding the Ṣaḥābah

Discussion Two: The fitnah that occurred between the Ṣaḥābah.

Discussion One

The Status of the Ṣaḥābah in Islam and an Overview of the Islamic Belief Regarding Them

The Status of the Ṣaḥābah

Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ selected His pure Messengers for the guidance of mankind, so that humankind may attain guidance and harmony. Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ sealed the succession of Messengers with His beloved, the leader of creation صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ. Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ assisted and supported him and was, thus, showered with grace and divine favour. Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ then selected the best of mankind after him for his companionship who believed in him, supported him, and championed his cause till the end.

Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ declares:

﴿وَإِن يُرِيدُوٓاْ أَن يَخۡدَعُوكَ فَإِنَّ حَسۡبَكَ ٱللَّهُۚ هُوَ ٱلَّذِيٓ أَيَّدَكَ بِنَصۡرِهِۦ وَبِٱلۡمُؤۡمِنِينَ﴾

But if they intend to deceive you, then sufficient for you is Allah. It is He who supported you with His help and with the believers.[13]

Al-Ṭabarī mentions a fine point on the authority of Sayyidunā Ibn ʿAbbās رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُمَا and al-Thawrī رَحِمَهُٱللَّهُ, that the *selected servants* mentioned in the following verse of the glorious Qur'ān refer to the Ṣaḥābah of Muḥammad صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ:

﴿قُلِ ٱلۡحَمۡدُ لِلَّهِ وَسَلَٰمٌ عَلَىٰ عِبَادِهِ ٱلَّذِينَ ٱصۡطَفَىٰٓۗ﴾

Say, [O Muḥammad], "Praise be to Allah, and peace upon His servants whom He has chosen." [14]

Al-Ṭabarī comments:

[13] Sūrah al-Anfāl: 62.
[14] Sūrah al-Naml: 59.

اجتباهم لنبيه محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم فجعلهم أصحابه ووزراءه على الدين الذي بعثه بالدعاء إليه دون المشركين به الجاحدين نبوة نبيه.

Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ selected them for His Messenger Muḥammad صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ and made them his Companions and ministers for the Dīn with which He sent him to call towards, to those who ascribed partners with Him and denied the Nubuwwah of His Messenger. [15]

They were the vanguard who attained precedence in Dīn and obtained the honour of companionship which no honour can equal.

Sayyidunā ʿAbd Allah ibn Masʿūd رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ reports:

إن الله نظر في قلوب العباد فوجد قلب محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم خير قلوب العباد فاصطفاه لنفسه فابتعثه برسالته، ثم نظر في قلوب العباد بعد قلب محمد فوجد قلوب أصحابه خير قلوب العباد فجعلهم وزراء نبيه يقاتلون على دينه، فما رأى المسلمون حسنا فهو عند الله حسن، وما رأوا سيئا فهو عند الله سيئ.

Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ looked into the hearts of his servants and He found the heart of Muḥammad صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ to be the best from His servants. So, he chose Muḥammad صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ for Himself and sent him with His message. Thereafter Allah looked once again to the hearts of His servants. He found the hearts of the Ṣaḥābah to be the best of hearts. So, He made them the vicegerents of His Messenger صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ in striving for His Dīn. Therefore, whatever the Muslims regard as noble is noble in

[15] *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 19 pg. 482; *Tafsīr Ibn Abī Ḥātim*, vol. 9 pg. 2906.

the sight of Allah and what they regard as evil is evil in the sight of Allah. [16]

Sayyidunā Ibn Masʿūd رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ proclaims:

من كان منكم متأسيا فليتأس بأصحاب محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم، فإنهم كانوا أبر هذه الأمة قلوبا، وأعمقها علما، وأقلها تكلفا، وأقومها هديا، وأحسنها حالا، قوما اختارهم الله لصحبة نبيه صلى الله عليه وسلم وإقامة دينه، فاعرفوا لهم فضلهم واتبعوهم في آثارهم، فإنهم كانوا على الهدي المستقيم.

Whoever desires emulation should emulate the Companions of Muḥammad صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ for they possessed the purest of hearts, the deepest knowledge, and the least formalities. They were rightly guided and the best of this Ummah. They were a nation handpicked by Allah to accompany His Messenger صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ and establish His Dīn. Recognise their virtue and emulate their ways, for indeed, they were upon true guidance.[17]

Status of the Ṣaḥābah in the Qur'ān

The Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ assume a lofty position in Islam. Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى has described this in His Book and Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ has highlighted it for his Ummah, so their worth may be realised and they be emulated. Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى praised them in a manner He never

[16] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 3600; *Musnad al-Bazzār*, vol. 5 pg. 212; *Musnad al-Ṭayālisī*, vol. 1 pg. 199. The wording is Aḥmad's. Al-Ḥākim classified the isnād ṣaḥīḥ in *al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3 pg. 83. and al-Dhahabī concurred. Classified as ḥasan by al-Sakhāwī in *al-Maqāṣid al-Ḥasanah*, pg. 431 and al-Albānī in *al- Ḍāʿīfah*, vol. 2 pg. 17.

[17] *Musnad Aḥmad, Ḥadīth: 3600; Abū Nuʿaym: Ḥilyah al-Awliyā', vol. 1 pg. 305–306; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: Jāmiʿ Bayān al-ʿIlm, vol. 2 pg. 97 – 98. The wording is Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr's. Al-Arnā'ūṭ classified the isnād ḥasan.*

praised any other nation besides them, in numerous verses, some of which are listed hereunder:

Verse 1

﴿لَّقَد تَّابَ ٱللَّهُ عَلَى ٱلنَّبِيِّ وَٱلۡمُهَٰجِرِينَ وَٱلۡأَنصَارِ ٱلَّذِينَ ٱتَّبَعُوهُ فِي سَاعَةِ ٱلۡعُسۡرَةِ مِنۢ بَعۡدِ مَا كَادَ يَزِيغُ قُلُوبُ فَرِيقٖ مِّنۡهُمۡ ثُمَّ تَابَ عَلَيۡهِمۡۚ إِنَّهُۥ بِهِمۡ رَءُوفٞ رَّحِيمٞ﴾

Allah has already forgiven the Prophet and the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār who followed him in the hour of difficulty after the hearts of a party of them had almost inclined [to doubt], and then He forgave them. Indeed, He was to them Kind and Merciful. [18]

Verse 2

﴿كُنتُمۡ خَيۡرَ أُمَّةٍ أُخۡرِجَتۡ لِلنَّاسِ تَأۡمُرُونَ بِٱلۡمَعۡرُوفِ وَتَنۡهَوۡنَ عَنِ ٱلۡمُنكَرِ وَتُؤۡمِنُونَ بِٱللَّهِۗ وَلَوۡ ءَامَنَ أَهۡلُ ٱلۡكِتَٰبِ لَكَانَ خَيۡرٗا لَّهُمۚ مِّنۡهُمُ ٱلۡمُؤۡمِنُونَ وَأَكۡثَرُهُمُ ٱلۡفَٰسِقُونَ﴾

You are the best nation produced [as an example] for mankind. You enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong and believe in Allah. If only the People of the Scripture had believed, it would have been better for them. Among them are believers, but most of them are defiantly disobedient. [19]

[18] Sūrah al-Tawbah: 117.
[19] Sūrah Āl ʿImrān: 110.

Verse 3

﴿وَٱلسَّٰبِقُونَ ٱلۡأَوَّلُونَ مِنَ ٱلۡمُهَٰجِرِينَ وَٱلۡأَنصَارِ وَٱلَّذِينَ ٱتَّبَعُوهُم بِإِحۡسَٰنٖ رَّضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنۡهُمۡ وَرَضُواْ عَنۡهُ وَأَعَدَّ لَهُمۡ جَنَّٰتٖ تَجۡرِي تَحۡتَهَا ٱلۡأَنۡهَٰرُ خَٰلِدِينَ فِيهَآ أَبَدٗاۚ ذَٰلِكَ ٱلۡفَوۡزُ ٱلۡعَظِيمُ﴾

And the first forerunners [in the faith] among the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār and those who followed them with good conduct, Allah is pleased with them and they are pleased with Him, and He has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow, wherein they will abide forever. That is the great attainment. [20]

Verse 4

﴿مُّحَمَّدٞ رَّسُولُ ٱللَّهِۚ وَٱلَّذِينَ مَعَهُۥٓ أَشِدَّآءُ عَلَى ٱلۡكُفَّارِ رُحَمَآءُ بَيۡنَهُمۡۖ تَرَىٰهُمۡ رُكَّعٗا سُجَّدٗا يَبۡتَغُونَ فَضۡلٗا مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ وَرِضۡوَٰنٗاۖ سِيمَاهُمۡ فِي وُجُوهِهِم مِّنۡ أَثَرِ ٱلسُّجُودِۚ ذَٰلِكَ مَثَلُهُمۡ فِي ٱلتَّوۡرَىٰةِۚ وَمَثَلُهُمۡ فِي ٱلۡإِنجِيلِ كَزَرۡعٍ أَخۡرَجَ شَطۡـَٔهُۥ فَـَٔازَرَهُۥ فَٱسۡتَغۡلَظَ فَٱسۡتَوَىٰ عَلَىٰ سُوقِهِۦ يُعۡجِبُ ٱلزُّرَّاعَ لِيَغِيظَ بِهِمُ ٱلۡكُفَّارَۗ وَعَدَ ٱللَّهُ ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ وَعَمِلُواْ ٱلصَّٰلِحَٰتِ مِنۡهُم مَّغۡفِرَةٗ وَأَجۡرًا عَظِيمَۢا﴾

Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah; and those with him are forceful against the disbelievers, merciful among themselves. You see them bowing and prostrating [in prayer], seeking bounty from Allah and [His] pleasure. Their mark is on their faces from the trace of prostration. That is their description in the Tawrāh. And their description in the Injīl is as a plant which produces its offshoots and strengthens them so they grow firm and stand upon their stalks, delighting the sowers, so that Allah may enrage by them the

[20] Sūrah al-Tawbah: 100.

disbelievers. Allah has promised those who believe and do righteous deeds among them forgiveness and a great reward. [21]

Verse 5

﴿لِلْفُقَرَآءِ ٱلْمُهَٰجِرِينَ ٱلَّذِينَ أُخْرِجُوا۟ مِن دِيَٰرِهِمْ وَأَمْوَٰلِهِمْ يَبْتَغُونَ فَضْلًا مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ وَرِضْوَٰنًا وَيَنصُرُونَ ٱللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُۥٓ ۚ أُو۟لَٰٓئِكَ هُمُ ٱلصَّٰدِقُونَ * وَٱلَّذِينَ تَبَوَّءُو ٱلدَّارَ وَٱلْإِيمَٰنَ مِن قَبْلِهِمْ يُحِبُّونَ مَنْ هَاجَرَ إِلَيْهِمْ وَلَا يَجِدُونَ فِى صُدُورِهِمْ حَاجَةً مِّمَّآ أُوتُوا۟ وَيُؤْثِرُونَ عَلَىٰٓ أَنفُسِهِمْ وَلَوْ كَانَ بِهِمْ خَصَاصَةٌ ۚ وَمَن يُوقَ شُحَّ نَفْسِهِۦ فَأُو۟لَٰٓئِكَ هُمُ ٱلْمُفْلِحُونَ﴾

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, [there is also a share]. Those are the truthful. And [also for] those who were settled in al-Madīnah and [adopted] the faith before them. They love those who emigrated to them and find not any want in their breasts of what the Emigrants were given but give [them] preference over themselves, even though they are in privation. And whoever is protected from the stinginess of his soul, it is those who will be the successful. [22]

Verse 6

﴿وَمَا لَكُمْ أَلَّا تُنفِقُوا۟ فِى سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ وَلِلَّهِ مِيرَٰثُ ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتِ وَٱلْأَرْضِ ۚ لَا يَسْتَوِى مِنكُم مَّنْ أَنفَقَ مِن قَبْلِ ٱلْفَتْحِ وَقَٰتَلَ ۚ أُو۟لَٰٓئِكَ أَعْظَمُ دَرَجَةً مِّنَ ٱلَّذِينَ أَنفَقُوا۟ مِنۢ بَعْدُ وَقَٰتَلُوا۟ ۚ وَكُلًّا وَعَدَ ٱللَّهُ ٱلْحُسْنَىٰ ۚ وَٱللَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرٌ﴾

[21] Sūrah al-Fatḥ: 29.
[22] Sūrah al-Ḥashr: 8 – 9.

And why do you not spend in the cause of Allah while to Allah belongs the heritage of the heavens and the earth? Not equal among you are those who spent before the Conquest [of Makkah] and fought [and those who did so after it]. Those are greater in degree than they who spent afterwards and fought. But to all Allah has promised the best [reward]. And Allah, with what you do, is Acquainted. [23]

This verse contains glad tidings for all the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, the forerunners as well as those who embraced the faith at a later stage. Although they differ in levels of superiority and excellence due to the varied favours and approvals Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى awarded them, all of them have attained companionship, integrity, praise, and the promise of Jannah. [24]

Status of the Ṣaḥābah in Ḥadīth

Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ has highlighted their status in numerous narrations, some of which are mentioned hereunder:

Ḥadīth 1

Sayyidunā Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ reports that Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ warned:

لا تسبوا أصحابي، لا تسبوا أصحابي، فوالذي نفسي بيده لو أن أحدكم أنفق مثل أحد ذهبا ما أدرك مد أحدهم ولا نصيفه.

[23] Sūrah al-Ḥadīd: 10.
[24] *Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī*, vol. 3 pg. 264 and vol. 17 pg. 242, with slight variation in ording.

Do not revile my companions. Do not revile my companions. By the Being in whose control is my life, if any of you were to spend gold equivalent [in weight] to mount Uḥud, you will not reach [the reward] of their mudd[25], not even half of it. [26]

Ḥadīth 2

He also reports that Rasūlullāh ﷺ prophesised:

يأتي على الناس زمان يغزو فئام من الناس، فيقال لهم: فيكم من رأى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم؟ فيقولون: نعم. فيفتح لهم، ثم يغزو فئام من الناس فيقال لهم: فيكم من رأى من صحب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم؟ فيقولون: نعم. فيفتح لهم، ثم يغزو فئام من الناس فيقال لهم: هل فيكم من رأى من صحب من صحب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم؟ فيقولون: نعم. فيفتح لهم.

A time will come when a huge army[27] will wage war.

They will be asked, "Is anyone who saw Rasūlullāh ﷺ among you?"

They will reply in the affirmative. And they will be victorious.

Then a huge army will wage war.

They will be asked, "Is anyone who saw someone who accompanied Rasūlullāh ﷺ among you?"

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[25] A unit of measurement equivalent to approximately 750 ml.

[26] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on virtues, chapter on Rasūlullāh's ﷺ statement: Had I taken a bosom friend, Ḥadīth: 3470; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on the virtues of the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم, chapter on the impermissibility of cursing the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم, Ḥadīth: 2540. The wording is Muslim's.

[27] *Fi'ām*: Group [Al-Nawawī: *Sharḥ Muslim*, vol. 16 pg. 83].

They will reply in the affirmative. And they will be victorious.

Thereafter a huge army will wage war.

They will be asked, "Is anyone who saw someone who accompanied someone who accompanied Rasūlullāh ﷺ among you?"

They will reply in the affirmative. And they will be victorious.[28]

Ḥadīth 3

Sayyidunā Abū Burdah reports from his father رضي الله عنه who in turn reports from Rasūlullāh ﷺ:

النجوم أمنة للسماء، فإذا ذهبت النجوم أتى السماء ما توعد، وأنا أمنة لأصحابي، فإذا ذهبت أتى أصحابي ما يوعدون، وأصحابي أمنة لأمتي، فإذا ذهب أصحابي أتى أمتي ما يوعدون.

The stars are a protection[29] for the sky. [30] When the stars disappear, what the sky was promised will approach. I am a

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[28] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on jihād and expeditions, chapter on one seeking help through the blessings of the weak and pious in war, Ḥadīth: 3399; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on the virtues of the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم, chapter on the merit of the Ṣaḥābah and those who follow them and those who follow them, Ḥadīth: 2532. The wording is Muslim's.

[29] *Al-Qurṭubī* said: amanah means safety, security. This meaning is found in Allah's سبحانه وتعالى statement:

﴿إِذْ يُغَشِّيكُمُ ٱلنُّعَاسَ أَمَنَةً مِّنْهُ﴾

[Remember] when He overwhelmed you with drowsiness [giving] security from Him. [Sūrah al-Anfāl: 11]

[30] The meaning of 'the stars are a protection for the sky' is that as long as the stars are present in the sky, the sky will not change by splitting asunder or cracking. As soon as the stars scatter and the sun loses its light, this will come. And this is what it has been promised.

protection for my Companions, [31] when I leave, what my Companions were promised will come. And my Companions are a protection for my Ummah, [32] when my Companions leave, what my Ummah was promised will come. [33]

Ḥadīth 4

Sayyidunā ʿAbd Allah ibn Masʿūd رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ reports that Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ stated:

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[31] *The* meaning here is that Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى lifted trials, tribulations, and punishment from his Ṣaḥābah for the duration of his (Rasūlullāh's صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ) stay with them just as Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى states:

﴿وَمَا كَانَ ٱللَّهُ لِيُعَذِّبَهُمْ وَأَنتَ فِيهِمْ﴾

But Allah would not punish them while you, [O Muḥammad], are among them. [Sūrah al-Anfāl: 33]

After Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ left, trials appeared, tribulations increased, disbelief and hypocrisy surfaced, and division and discord increased. Had Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى not safeguarded this Dīn with the second of the two, Abū Bakr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, it would have become a remnant after being a reality. And this is what they were promised.

[32] The meaning of my Companions are a protection for my Ummah is that so long as his Companions are present, Dīn will be maintained, the truth will remain manifest, and assistance against the enemies will be achieved. As soon as his Companions leave the Ummah, fickleness will overwhelm, enemies will be given the upper hand, and the matter of Dīn will continue deteriorating until not a single person will remain on the surface of the earth to say Allah. This is what his Ummah has been promised. And Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى knows best. *[Al-Qurṭubī: al-Mufhim limā ushkila min Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,* vol. 6 pg. 485.*]*

[33] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,* book on the virtues of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, chapter on the fact that Rasūlullāh's صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ subsistence is protection for his Companions and the subsistence of his Companions are protection for the Ummah, Ḥadīth: 2531.

خير الناس قرني، ثم الذين يلونهم، ثم الذين يلونهم، ثم يجيء أقوام: تسبق شهادة أحدهم يمينه ويمينه شهادته.

The best people are those of my era, then the subsequent era, and then the subsequent era. Thereafter, such nations will surface, their testimony will precede their oath and their oath will precede their testimony. [34]

Ḥadīth 5

Sayyidunā Ibn ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا relates that Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ warned:

من سب أصحابي فعليه لعنة الله والملائكة والناس أجمعين.

Whoever reviles my Companions courts the curse of Allah, the angels, and all mankind. [35]

[34] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,* book on merits, chapter on not giving evidence upon false evidence when asked for the same, Ḥadīth: 2652; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on the virtues of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, chapter on the virtue of the Ṣaḥābah, then those who follow them and those who follow them, Ḥadīth: 2534. The wording is *al-Bukhārī's.*

[35] *Musnad al-Bazzār,* Ḥadīth: 5753; *al-Ṭabarānī: al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr,* Ḥadīth: 12709. The wording is *al- Ṭabarānī's.* Al-Albānī classified it ḥasan in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmiʿ,* Ḥadīth: 11230.

Status of the Ṣaḥābah according to the scholars

Statement 1

Ibn al-Qayyim رَحِمَهُ ٱللَّهُ relates:

قال الشافعيُّ: وقد أثنى الله على الصحابة في التوراة والإنجيل والقرآن، وسبَقَ لهم على لسان نبيِّهم صلى الله عليه وسلم من الفضل ما ليس لأحدٍ بعدهم.

Al-Shāfiʿī stated, "Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ has complimented the Ṣaḥābah in the Tawrāh, the Injīl, and the Qur'ān; and such compliments have been uttered on the tongue of their Nabī صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ which no one after them enjoys."

Statement 2

Ibn al-Qāsim reports that he heard Mālik رَحِمَهُ ٱللَّهُ stating:

لما دخل أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الشام نظر إليهم رجل من أهل الكتاب فقال: ما كان أصحاب عيسى ابن مريم الذين قطعوا بالمناشير وصلبوا على الخشب بأشد اجتهادا من هؤلاء. وقد شهد لهم الصادق المصدوق الذي لا ينطق عن الهوى: بأنهم خير القرون على الإطلاق. كما شهد لهم ربهم تبارك وتعالى بأنهم خير الأمم على الإطلاق.

After the Companions of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ entered Syria, a man from the adherents of the Scripture observed them and commented, "The companions of ʿĪsā ibn Maryam عَلَيْهِ ٱلسَّلَامُ who were cut into pieces with scissors and crucified were not burdened with more exertion than these men. The truthful and verified being, who does not speak from his desire, testified to

their era being the best without restriction just as their Rabb سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ testified to them being the best of nations unrestrictedly." [36]

Why should they not be the choicest of creation when their mentor and educator was the most superior of creation and the master of the children of Ādam, Muḥammad صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. They learnt decorum, knowledge, practice, and sacrifice for the sake of Dīn from him and they scattered in the various cities after his demise to convey the Dīn of Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ and to make people understand their Dīn.

Statement 3

Ibn al-Qayyim رَحِمَهُ ٱللَّهُ states:

والعلم إنما انتشر في الآفاق عن أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، فهم الذين فتحوا البلاد بالجهاد، والقلوب بالعلم والقرآن، فملؤوا الدنيا خيرا وعلما، والناس اليوم في بقايا آثار علمهم.

قال الشافعي في "رسالته" –وقد ذكر الصحابة فعظمهم وأثنى عليهم، ثم قال: وهم فوقنا في كل علم واجتهاد، وورع وعقل، وأمر اُستُدرِك به علم واُستُنبِط به، وآراؤهم لنا أحمد وأولى بنا من آرائنا، ومن أدركنا ممن نرضى أو حكي لنا عنه ببلدنا صاروا فيما لم يعلموا فيه سنة إلى قولهم؛ إن اجتمعوا، أو قول بعضهم إن تفرقوا، وكذلك نقول ولم نخرج من أقاويلهم كلهم... وعلماؤهم وتلاميذهم هم الذين ملئوا الأرض علما، فعلماء الإسلام كلهم

[36] *Ibn* al-Qayyim: *Hidāyat al-Ḥayārī,* pg. 243, with slight variation. The quotation is from Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ: *Muqaddamat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ,* vol. 1 pg. 171 and Ibn al-Qayyim: *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn,* vol. 1 pg. 80.

تلاميذهم وتلاميذ تلاميذهم وهلم جرا. وهؤلاء الأئمة الأربعة الذين طبق علمهم الأرض شرقا وغربا هم تلاميذ تلاميذهم. وخيار ما عندهم ما كان عن الصحابة، وخيار الفقه ما كان عنهم، وأصح التفسير ما أخذ عنهم.

وأما كلامهم في باب معرفة الله وأسمائه وصفاته، وأفعاله، وقضائه وقدره؛ ففي أعلى المراتب؛ فمن وقف عليه وعرف ما قالته الأنبياء عرف أنه مشتق منه مترجم عنه، وكل علم نافع في الأمة فهو مستنبط من كلامهم ومأخوذ عنهم... وهذه تآليف أئمة الإسلام التي لا يحصيها إلا الله، وكلهم -من أولهم إلى آخرهم- يقر للصحابة بالعلم والفضل، ويعترف بأن علمه بالنسبة إلى علومهم كعلومهم بالنسبة إلى علم نبيهم.

Knowledge spread to the corners of the globe only from the Companions of Rasūlullāh ﷺ. They were the ones who conquered the cities through Jihād and conquered the hearts with knowledge and Qur'ān. They filled the world with goodness and knowledge. People, to this very day, are benefitting from their knowledge. Al-Shāfiʿī رَحِمَهُ ٱللَّهُ in his treatise, after speaking magnificently and admirably about the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, mentions: "They surpassed us in all branches of knowledge, analytical reasoning, piety, and intelligence, as well as in derived knowledge and substantiation. Their opinions are more praiseworthy and better for us than our own. And Allah knows best. We adhere to the statements of those of them we have met—with whom Allah is pleased—or what has been narrated from them in our city, if they have consensus and the practice of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ is not known. If they differ in opinion, then we will act on one or the other.

Thus, we say: If they have consensus then we will act upon their consensus, if one of them expresses an opinion and it is

not opposed by the others then we will act upon his opinion, and if they differ with each other then we will adopt one of their views, so that we do not discard all of them entirely."

The scholars amongst them and their students are responsible for filling the earth with knowledge. All the scholars of Islam are their students or the students of their students, and it continues. The four Imāms, whose knowledge has covered the east and west of the earth, are the students of their students. The finest of their knowledge is what is taken from the Ṣaḥābah. The best fiqh is from them. The most authentic Tafsīr is taken from them. As regards to their statements in the aspect of recognition of Allah, His names, His qualities, His actions, His decisions, and His judgements are at the pinnacle of excellence. Whoever studies their statements and comprehends what the Ambiyā' have stated will realise that it is taken from the Ambiyā' and simply a paraphrase of theirs. Every beneficial knowledge in the Ummah is deduced from their speech and realised from them.

The books authored by the Imāms of Islam—which cannot be enumerated except by Allah—all of them from the first to the last attest to the knowledge and virtue of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ. Each author acknowledges that his knowledge in comparison to their knowledge is like the comparison of their knowledge to the knowledge of their Nabī صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.[37]

Statement 4

ʿAṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ states:

[37] Ibn al-Qayyim: *Hidāyat al-Ḥayārī,* pg. 243–245, with slight variation; al-Bayhaqī: *al-Madkhal ilā al- Sunan al-Kubrā,* pg. 45.

ما رأيت مجلسا قط أكرم من مجلس ابن عباس، أكثر فقها، ولا أعظم جفنة، أصحاب القرآن عنده يسألونه، وأصحاب العربية عنده يسألونه، وأصحاب الشعر عنده يسألونه، فكلهم يصدر في رأي واسع.

I have never seen any gathering more noble, with more fiqh and more participants, than the gathering of Ibn ʿAbbās رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا. The seekers of Qur'ān were by him, the leaners of Arabic were at his side, and those interested in poetry were by him asking him. All were being quenched from a massive spring. [38]

Statement 5

Nāfiʿ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ relates:

كان عبد الله بن عمر، وعبد الله بن عباس يجلسان للناس عند قدوم الحاج. قال: كنت أجلس إلى هذا يوما، وإلى هذا يوما، فكان ابن عباس يجيب ويفتي في كل ما يسأل عنه، وكان ابن عمر يرد أكثر مما يفتي.

ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿUmar and ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAbbās رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ would present themselves in front of the people when the *Ḥujjāj* (pilgrims) arrived. I would sit with each of them on alternate days. Ibn ʿAbbās would answer every question posed to him whereas Ibn ʿUmar would decline (answering) more than he would answer. [39]

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[38] Ibn al-Mubārak: *al-Zuhd*, vol. 1 pg. 414; al-Fākihī: *Akhbār Makkah*, vol. 4 pg. 285; al-Ājurrī: *al-Sharīʿah*, Ḥadīth: 1754; Abū Nuʿaym: *Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥābah*, vol. 3 pg. 1703.
[39] Al-Bayhaqī: *al-Madkhal ilā al-Sunan al-Kubrā,* pg. 151; Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq,* vol. 31 pg. 167.

Statement 6

Mālik رَحِمَهُ ٱللَّهُ says:

قد أقام ابن عمر بعد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ستين سنة يفتي الناس في الموسم وغير ذلك، وكان من أئمة الدين رضي الله عنه.

Ibn ʿUmar lived after the Nabī صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ for sixty years, issuing verdicts to the people with regards to the rituals of Ḥajj and other issues. He was one of the leaders of Dīn. [40]

Statement 7

Wakīʿ reports from Hishām ibn ʿUrwah رَحِمَهُ ٱللَّهُ:

رأيت لجابر بن عبد الله حلقة في المسجد يعني المسجد النبوي، يؤخذ عنه.

I saw a gathering of students around Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allah in the Masjid—i.e. Masjid al-Nabawī—learning from him.[41]

The Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ are the choicest generation produced from the Prophetic Institute. They are the lanterns of guidance in every time, the models for populaces of every generation, and the leaders of mankind in rendering every sphere of their life favourable; be it religious, worldly, educational, philosophical, moral, ethical, or sacrificial. They were the lions of the forest (in bravery) and the rain of the clouds (in benevolence). They only desired that much of the

[40] Al-Fasawī: *al-Maʿrifah wa al-Tārīkh,* vol. 1 pg. 264; *al-Madkhal ilā al-Sunan al-Kubrā,* pg. 152; al-Baghdādī: *Tārīkh Baghdād,* vol. 1 pg. 172; *Tārīkh Dimashq,* vol. 31 pg. 164.
[41] *Al-Madkhal ilā al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, pg. 58; *Tārīkh Dimashq,* vol. 11 pg. 233.

world which could convey them to the Hereafter. Owing to this, they were not desirous of the world, so fortune was destined for them. They did not show off their actions, so history preserved it forever. They cared not of their mention being perpetuated, so the subsequent generations preserved it. Their biographies influence the ears, capture the eyes, and stir the chords of the heart. They stimulate silent tongues and awaken sleeping hearts. We quote their aḥādīth to extract lessons and morals. Certainly, every stance and happening brings forth marvellous lessons and spectacular wisdom. In fact, its trace remains novel every time a vibrant heart contemplates over it.[42]

While highlighting the era of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ—their struggle in spreading Islam and anchoring its pillars—Sayyidunā Ibn ʿAbbās رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا stated:

إن الله جل ثناؤه وتقدست أسماءه خص نبيه محمداً صلى الله عليه وسلم بصحابة آثروه على الأنفس والأموال، وبذلوا النفوس دونه في كل حال، ووصفهم الله في كتابه فقال: رُحَمَاء بَيْنَهُمْ [الفتح:29]، قاموا بمعالم الدين، وناصحوا الاجتهاد للمسلمين، حتى تهذبت طرقه، وقويت أسبابه، وظهرت آلاء الله، واستقر دينه، ووضحت أعلامه، وأذل بهم الشرك، وأزال رؤوسه ومحا دعائمه، وصارت كلمة الله هي العليا وكلمة الذين كفروا هي السفلى، فصلوات الله ورحمته وبركاته على تلك النفوس الزاكية، والأرواح الطاهرة العالية، فقد كانوا في الحياة لله أولياء، وكانوا بعد الموت أحياء، وكانوا لعباد الله نصحاء، رحلوا إلى الآخرة قبل أن يصلوا إليها، وخرجوا من الدنيا وهم بعد فيها.

[42] ʿAbd al-Bārī al-Thabītī: *Nafaḥāt min Minbar Rasūlillāh* صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ, vol. 1 pg. 349 – 350 with slight variation.

> Certainly, Allah—exalted is His praise and pure are His names—selected for His Messenger Muḥammad ﷺ Companions who favoured him over their own lives and wealth and sacrificed their existences for him whenever the need arose. Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ described them in His book with the words: *merciful among themselves*. They established the landmarks of Dīn and sincerely applied their ijtihād for the believers until its paths and channels became refined, the favours of Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ became manifest, the Dīn of Allah became established, and its landmarks became clear. Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ disgraced shirk through them, removed its leaders, and demolished its pillars, which resulted in the word of Allah reigning supreme and the word of the disbelievers becoming humiliated. May the salutations, mercy, and blessings of Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ be upon those pure personalities and elevated virtuous souls. They lived this life as friends of Allah and are alive after their deaths. They were well-wishers for the servants of Allah. They departed for the Hereafter prior to reaching it and exited the world while still living in it. [43]

When Sayyidunā Ibn ʿAbbās رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُمَا—a distinguished Companion among the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُمْ—looks at them with these eyes of honour and reserves for them this lofty pedestal in his heart, then it is becoming of us to honour them, befriend them, and seek proximity to Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ by loving them. [44]

Here you have Amīr al-Mu'minīn Sayyidunā ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ speaking highly of the Companions of Rasūlullāh ﷺ, comparing them with those who abandoned him:

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[43] Al-Masʿūdī: *Murūj al-Dhahab,* vol. 1 pg. 371.
[44] *Maḥmūd ʿĪdān: al-Ṣaḥābah wa Makānatuhum ʿind al-Muslimīn, pg. 28.*

لقد رأيت أصحاب محمد صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم فما أرى أحداً يشبههم لقد كانوا يصبحون شعثاً غبراً وقد باتوا سجداً وقياماً يراوحون بين جباههم وخدودهم ويقفون على مثل الجمر من ذكر معادهم كأن بين أعينهم ركب المعزي من طول سجودهم إذا ذكر الله هملت أعينهم حتى تبل جيوبهم ومادوا كما يميد الشجر يوم الريح العاصف خوفاً من العقاب ورجاء للثواب.

Indeed, I have seen the Ṣaḥābah of Muḥammad صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ and I do not see anyone amongst you who resembles them. They would rise in the morning, unkempt and covered with dust, after spending the night in prostration and standing. They would alternate between their foreheads and their cheeks, while it felt as if they were standing on coals thinking of their return to the Hereafter. It is as if between their eyes were marks like knees of goats due to the length of their prostration. When they would remember Allah, their eyes would tear until their bosoms became wet. They would shake as a tree shakes on a terribly windy day, fearing punishment and hoping for reward. [45]

He speaks impressively about them, remorseful over their departure from this world:

أين القوم الذين دعوا إلى الإسلام فقبلوه، وقرءوا القرآن فأحكموه، وهيجوا إلى الجهاد فولهوا وله اللقاح إلى أولادها، وسلبوا السيوف أغمادها، وأخذوا بأطراف الأرض زحفاً زحفاً وصفاً صفاً، بعض هلك وبعض نجا، لا يبشرون بالأحياء ولا يعزون عن الموتى، مرة

[45] *Nahj al-Balāghah,* vol. 1 pg. 189; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd: *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah,* vol. 7 pg. 77.

العيون من البكاء، خمص البطون من الصيام، ذبل الشفاه من الدعاء، صفر الألوان من السهر، على وجوههم غبرة الخاشعين، أولئك إخواني الذاهبون، فحق لنا أن نظمأ إليهم ونعض الأيدي على فراقهم.

> Where are the men who were invited to Islam and accepted it, who recited the Qur'ān and mastered it, who were provoked to fight and became mad with passion, like nursing camels[46] upon their children. They unsheathed their swords and set out to the corners of the globe in battalions and ranks. Some embraced martyrdom while other survived. They were not elated with those alive nor did they mourn the dead. Eyes white[47] from continuous crying, stomachs empty through constant fasting, lips dry owing to intense supplication, skin pale from wakefulness, with the dust of the fearful on their faces. Those are my brothers who have departed. It is befitting that we yearn for them and are remorseful over their separation. [48]

This is the elevated status of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ in the sight of the scholars of the Ummah. He awarded them Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ and selected them for him. He enabled them to lay the foundation of Islam and erect its pillars by emulating Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ,

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[46] Al-walah: grief. And it is said: it is madness and bewilderment from extreme anger, grief, or fear. Al-liqāḥ with a kasrah [on the lām]: camels. The singular is laqūḥ. It refers to a suckling camel. Abū ʿAmr explains, "When it (the camel cow) gives birth, it is referred to as laqūḥ for two to three months. Thereafter, it is called a labūn." The meaning here is that their passion and enthusiasm for jihād was as intense as a camel's passion for its child. (al-Jawharī: *al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī al-Lughah,* vol. 1 pg. 401; Ibn Manẓūr: *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. 13 pg. 561)

[47] Al-Azharī says, "Al-marah and al-murhah: whiteness which the onlooker dislikes. ʿayn marhā': when the eye is leaning towards whiteness." (al-Azharī: *Tahdhīb al-Lughah,* vol. 6 pg. 160.)

[48] *Nahj al-Balāghah,* vol. 1 pg. 235; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd: *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah,* vol. 1 pg. 291.

believing in him, fighting alongside him, and sacrificing their lives and wealth. This is the grace of Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى which He awards to whom He desires.

Undoubtedly, when the scholars honour and revere every individual upon whom the word *Companion* may be attached, they are treading the footsteps of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ who regarded companionship as a virtue unequalled by any other. [49]

[49] *Al-Ṣaḥābah wa Makānatuhum ʿind al-Muslimīn,* pg. 30, with variations.

A Quick Glance at the Fundamentals of a Muslim's Creed regarding the Ṣaḥābah

The aforementioned establishes a few fundamentals and essentials, which we need to focus upon and understand as part of our *ʿaqīdah* (creed):

1. Loving all the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ and being pleased with them. This is mandatory for several reasons:

• **Fact 1:** Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى divinely selected them for the companionship of the benevolent Nabī صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى united the pure with the pure. This divine selection demands love for them. May Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى be pleased with them.

• **Fact 2:** Certainly, Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى honoured them with the companionship of Muḥammad صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. Blessed are those who saw Muḥammad صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ once, even with a passing glance. The virtue of companionship is unequalled by any other virtue.

• **Fact 3:** Their support of the Dīn of Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى. This generation enjoys the unique pearl of precedence in supporting the Dīn of Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى and sacrificing their lives in its defence:

﴿وَيَنصُرُونَ ٱللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُۥٓ﴾

And supporting Allah and His Messenger. [50]

[50] Sūrah al-Ḥashr: 8.

Glory belongs to Allah! How many precious and valuable things they sacrificed in support of His Dīn and fighting His enemies, whether it be fighting the disbelievers and renegades on the battlefield or removing misconceptions in the academic field. They presented their souls as a bargain in the path of Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ. The eminent Ṣaḥābī, Sayyidunā Khubayb رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ, recited:

فَلَسْتُ أُبَالِي حِينَ أُقْتَلُ مُسْلِمًا — عَلَى أَيِّ جَنْبٍ كَانَ لله مَصْرَعِي

وَذَلِكَ فِي ذَاتِ الْإِلَهِ وَإِنْ يَشَأْ — يُبَارِكْ عَلَى أَوْصَالِ شِلْوٍ مُمَزَّعِ

I pay no consideration, now that I be killed as a Muslim,

On which side I fall for the sake of Allah.

This is for the pleasure of the Supreme Deity and if He so desires,

He will bless the severed joints of a corpse. [51]

This is an indication of how they regarded themselves as insignificant when sacrificing their lives in the path of Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ, bargaining with it to attain Allah's سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ pleasure. Those who willingly sacrifice their lives for Allah's pleasure do not consider themselves of any importance. May Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ, thus, be pleased with them. How many lives they sacrificed and what a great amount of wealth they spent! The sacrifice of Sayyidunā ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥarām رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ in the Battle of Uḥud will never leave my memory; an image that comes alive in my mind. Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ said to his son Sayyidunā Jābir رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ:

[51] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on tawḥīd, chapter on narrations on the being, qualities, and names of Allah, Ḥadīth: 2880.

أفلا أبشرك بما لقي الله به أباك؟ قال: بلى يا رسول الله. قال: "ما كلم الله أحدا قط إلا من وراء حجاب، وكلم أباك كفاحا، فقال: يا عبدي، تمن علي أعطك. قال: يا رب، تحييني فأقتل فيك ثانية. فقال الرب سبحانه: إنه سبق مني أنهم إليها لا يرجعون. قال: يا رب، فأبلغ من ورائي. قال: فأنزل الله تعالى: {ولا تحسبن الذين قتلوا في سبيل الله أمواتا بل أحياء عند ربهم يرزقون}

"Should I not convey to you the happy news of how Allah greeted your father?"

"Most definitely," he replied, "O Messenger of Allah."

Rasūlullāh ﷺ related, "Allah never spoke to anyone except behind a veil. Yet he spoke to your father directly."

Allah announced, 'O my servant, desire from Me, I will grant you.'

He (ʿAbd Allāh) requested, 'O my Rabb, give me life so that I may be killed for Your sake a second time.'

Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى declared, 'I have already passed the verdict that they will not return to the world.'

He said, 'O Rabb, convey to those behind me.'

Allah, thus, revealed, *Never think of those martyred in the cause of Allah as dead*, till the end of the verse. [52]

[52] *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī,* books on the exegesis of Qur'ān from Rasūlullāh ﷺ, chapter on Sūrah Āl ʿImrān, Ḥadīth: 3010; *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, book on īmān, virtues of the Ṣaḥābah, and knowledge, chapter on what the Jahmiyyah have rejected, vol. 1 pg. 68. The wording is *Ibn Mājah's*. Al-Albānī classified it ṣaḥīḥ in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmiʿ*, Ḥadīth: 7905. The ḥadīth of his martyrdom appears in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Ḥadīth: 1187 and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Ḥadīth: 2471. In this narration, Sayyidunā Jābir

This was his expression of love and support for the Dīn of Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى and to make Allah's word reign supreme.

• **Fact 4:** Their perseverance in the face of persecution meted out by the polytheists. The Companions of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ remarkably endured the severe persecution of the polytheists. May Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى be pleased with them.

• **Fact 5:** Leaving their homelands. The Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ emigrated from their homes, abandoned their wealth, and left their families for the sake of this Dīn. Owing to this, Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى has destined for them a magnificent reward. May Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى be pleased with them.

• **Fact 6:** Giving preference to the love of Allah and His Messenger صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ over everything. Was Zayd ibn al-Dathinah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ not asked when taken to the gallows:

يا زيد أنشُدك الله، أتُحبُّ أنّكَ الآن في أهلك وأنّ محمّدًا عندنا مكانَك نضرب عنقه؟ قال: لا والله ما أحبّ أنّ مُحمّدًا يُشاك في مكانه بشوكة تؤذيه وأنّي جالسٌ في أهلي: قال: يقول أبو سفيان والله ما رأيتُ من قوم قطّ أشدّ حُبًّا لصاحبهم من أصحاب محمّدٍ له.

"O Zayd! I implore you in the name of Allah. Would you not like to be with your family at this present moment while Muḥammad be with us in your place and we execute him instead?"

رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ says, "After my father was killed, I began uncovering his face and crying. People prevented me, but Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ did not prevent me. Fāṭimah, my aunt, began to cry. Upon this, Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ said, "Whether you cry or not, the angels continued shading him with their wings until you lifted him."

> Zayd retorted, "Never, by Allah! I will not tolerate Rasūlullāh ﷺ being harmed with the prick of a thorn in his present place while I sit happily with my family members."
>
> Hearing this, Abū Sufyān commented, "I have never seen any nation possess such intense love for their master as the Companion of Muḥammad possess for him." [53]

This proves that they sacrificed their blood and lives for Rasūlullāh ﷺ owing to their intense love for him.

• **Fact 7:** Their precedence to Islam. Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ spoke highly of them in more than one verse due to their precedence to Islam. Whenever a person has precedence to good, he enjoys a higher status.

• **Fact 8:** The spreading of the Dīn of Allah at their hands. [54] They are the link between Rasūlullāh ﷺ and his Ummah and the Ummah received the Sharīʿah via them. [55]

• **Fact 9:** They spread salient qualities among the Ummah—like truthfulness, good will, noble character, and decorum—which were not found by others. The one who reads about them casually will not be cognisant of this. Only the one who lives in their history and recognises their virtues and excellences, giving precedence to others over themselves, and responding to Allah and His Messenger, will realise this. [56]

• **Fact 10:** They are the best generation among all the nations as stated emphatically by Rasūlullāh ﷺ:

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[53] *Ibn Saʿd: al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,* vol. 2 pg. 56.
[54] *Shaykh ʿUmar al-ʿĪd: Sharḥ Lāmiyyah Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah,* pg. 13, with variations.
[55] *Ibn ʿUthaymīn: Sharḥ al-Wāsiṭiyyah,* vol. 2 pg. 248.
[56] *Ibn ʿUthaymīn: Sharḥ al-Wāsiṭiyyah,* vol. 2 pg. 248.

خير الناس قرني ثم الذين يلونهم، ثم الذين يلونهم.

The best people are those of my era, then the subsequent era, and then the subsequent era. [57]

• **Fact 11:** We love them because loving them is dīn, īmān, and virtue. Al-Ṭaḥāwī رَحِمَهُ ٱللَّهُ states:

ونحب أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، ولا نفرط في حب أحد منهم، ولا نتبرأ من أحد منهم. ونبغض من يبغضهم، وبغير الخير يذكرهم. ولا نذكرهم إلا بخير. وحبهم دين وإيمان وإحسان، وبغضهم كفر ونفاق وطغيان.

We love all the Companions of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ yet do not cross the limits into extremism in loving any of them. We do not dissociate from any of them. We hate those who hate them or speak negatively of them. We only speak positively of them. Loving them is dīn, *īmān* (faith), and *iḥsān* (beneficence). Conversely, hating them is kufr, hypocrisy, and oppression. [58]

Ibn Taymiyyah states:

يا سائلي عن مذهبي وعقيدتي	رزق الهدى من للهداية يسأل
اسمع كلام محقق في قوله	لا ينثني عنه ولا يتبدل
حب الصحابة كلهم لي مذهب	ومودة القربى بها أتوسل

[57] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,* book on merits, chapter on not giving evidence upon false evidence when asked for the same, Ḥadīth: 2652; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on the virtues of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, chapter on the virtue of the Ṣaḥābah, then those who follow them and those who follow them, Ḥadīth: 2534. The wording is al-Bukhārī's.

[58] *Al-Ṭaḥāwī: Matan al-Ṭaḥāwīyyah,* pg. 81.

ولكلهم قدر وفضل ساطع لكنما الصديق منهم أفضل

O questioner as regards my doctrine and creed,

The one seeking guidance will be favoured with the same.

Listen to the proclamation of one well-grounded in his declaration,

One who neither retracts nor changes.

Loving the Ṣaḥābah, all without exception, is my policy.

And I seek proximity by loving the family (of Rasūlullāh ﷺ).

Each of them enjoys a lofty status and a magnificent virtue.

However, al-Ṣiddīq is the most virtuous of them all. [59]

2. Among the fundamentals of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamāʿah regarding the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم is that they:

Do not believe that all the Ṣaḥābah are infallible to major and minor sins. Rather, they it is possible for them to have sinned. At the same time, they enjoy precedence and excellent virtues which mandate the forgiveness of their errors, if any. In fact, some of their errors are pardoned which are not pardoned for those after them since they have performed those marvellous good deeds which erase bad deeds, good deeds not performed by others. It is established from Rasūlullāh ﷺ that they are the best generation and that a mudd[60] which one of them donates in charity is far superior to Mount Uḥud of gold donated by those after them. Moreover, if perchance any of them had committed a sin; he repented from the same, or carried out such good deeds which wiped it out, or was forgiven by the grace of his precedence or by the intercession of

[59] *Al-Ālūsī: Jalā' al-ʿAynayn fī Muḥākamat al-Aḥmadayn,* pg. 73.
[60] A unit of measurement equivalent to approximately 750 ml.

Muḥammad صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيۡهِوَسَلَّمَ —and they are most deserving of his intercession—or was afflicted with an adversity in the world which expiated his sin. [61] When this is the case with factual sins, then what about affairs in which they are at liberty to apply analytical reasoning? If they are correct, they receive double reward and if they err, they receive a single reward and their error is forgiven. Furthermore, the number of undesirable actions committed by some of them is insignificant in front of the plentiful virtues and excellent deeds of the entire group, like belief in Allah سُبۡحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ and His

[61] Ibn Taymiyyah says:

ما أصاب العبد من عافية ونصر ورزق فهو من إنعام الله عليه وإحسانه إليه فالخير كله من الله؛ وليس للعبد من نفسه شيء بل هو فقير لا يملك لنفسه نفعا ولا ضرا ولا موتا ولا حياة ولا نشورا: وما أصابه من مصيبة فبذنوبه والله تعالى يكفر ذنوب المؤمنين بتلك المصائب ويأجرهم على الصبر عليها ويغفر لمن استغفر ويتوب على من تاب قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم {ما يصيب المؤمن من نصب ولا وصب ولا هم ولا غم ولا حزن ولا أذى حتى الشوكة يشاكها؛ إلا كفر الله بها من خطاياه} {ولما أنزل الله تعالى قوله: {من يعمل سوءا يجز به} قال أبو بكر: يا رسول الله قد جاءت قاصمة الظهر وأينا لم يعمل سوءا؟ قال: يا أبا بكر ألست تنصب؟ ألست تحزن؟ ألست تصيبك اللأواء؟ فذلك ما تجزون به}

All safety, support, and sustenance obtained by a bondsman is the favour of Allah upon him and His kindness towards him. Goodness in totality is from Allah. A bondsman owns nothing. Rather, he is hopelessly and helplessly dependent. He owns neither benefit, nor harm, nor death, nor life, nor resurrection. The adversities that afflict him are on account of his sins. Allah سُبۡحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ expiates the sins of the believers by virtue of those adversities and He rewards them for their perseverance upon them. He forgives the one who seeks forgiveness and relents to the one who repents. The Nabī صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيۡهِوَسَلَّمَ stated, "No fatigue, disease, sorrow, sadness, grief, or harm afflicts a believer, not even a thorn prick, except that Allah expiates his sins by virtue of it." When Allah سُبۡحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ revealed, "*Whoever commits evil will be recompensed accordingly,*" Abū Bakr commented, "O Messenger of Allah! This has come as a back breaker. Who of us does not commit evil?" Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيۡهِوَسَلَّمَ replied, "O Abū Bakr, do you not feel distressed at times? Do you not experience grief? Are you not afflicted with hardships? This is what you are recompensed with." (*Majmūʿ al-Fatāwā*, vol. 35 pg. 375 – 376)

Messenger ﷺ, waging war in His path, emigration, assistance, beneficial knowledge, and noble deeds. [62]

3. The Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم are human. They lived their lives just like others, with happiness, sadness, and mutual differences in viewpoints. They were unlike others, however, in that their differences did not lead to mutual rancour.

They were leaders to the subsequent generations in every aspect—in their peace and war, in their seriousness and humour, and in their happiness and anger—because Allah سبحانه وتعالى selected them and appointed them to the position of leadership. The one who studies the history of the noble Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم—who desires not to be trapped in muddy water—realises well this reality. [63]

Here is Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib رضي الله عنه. While walking amid the slain at Jamal, he spots Sayyidunā Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allah رضي الله عنه. He begins wiping the sand off the latter's face and remarks:

رحمة الله عليك أبا محمد، يعز علي أن أراك مجدولا تحت نجوم السماء

> May the mercy of Allah descend upon you, O Abū Muḥammad! It is burdensome for me to see you lying slain under the stars of the sky.

He then said:

إلى الله أشكو عجري وبجري، والله لوددت أني كنت مت قبل هذا اليوم بعشرين سنة.

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[62] *Majmūʿ al-Fatāwā*, vol. 3 pg. 155.

[63] Maḥmūd ʿĪdān: *Al-Ṣaḥābah wa Makānatuhum ʿind al-Muslimīn*, pg. 35, with variation.

To Allah alone do I complain of my worries and distresses[64]. By Allah, how I wish that I had died twenty years before this day.[65]

Ibn Kathīr mentions:

وثبت عنه أيضا من غير وجه أنه قال: إني لأرجو أن أكون أنا وطلحة والزبير وعثمان ممن قال الله عز وجل فيهم: {ونزعنا ما في صدورهم من غل إخوانا على سرر متقابلين}

It is established from more than one chain that he (Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ) remarked, "I have high hope that Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, ʿUthmān, and I will be from those concerning whom Allah declared: *We will remove whatever bitterness they had in their hearts. In a friendly manner, they will be on thrones, facing one another.*" [66]

4. One of the fundamentals of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamāʿah is keeping their hearts and tongues pure from demeaning the Ṣaḥābah of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ, as described by Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى in His statement:

﴿وَٱلَّذِينَ جَآءُو مِنۢ بَعْدِهِمْ يَقُولُونَ رَبَّنَا ٱغْفِرْ لَنَا وَلِإِخْوَٰنِنَا ٱلَّذِينَ سَبَقُونَا بِٱلْإِيمَٰنِ وَلَا تَجْعَلْ فِى قُلُوبِنَا غِلًّا لِّلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ رَبَّنَآ إِنَّكَ رَءُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ﴾

[64] Ibn al-Athīr says, "*ʿUjarī wa bujarī*: worries and distresses. The origin of *al-ʿujrah* is a blow in the back. When it is in the navel then it is *bujrah*. It is said: *al-ʿujar*: veins knotted in the back and *al-bujar*: veins gathered in the stomach. They were later used for worries and distresses. He means that he complains to Allah about all his affairs, those apparent and those hidden. (*al-Nihāyah*, vol. 2 pg. 163)

[65] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 25 pg. 115; *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 2 pg. 45; *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 2 pg. 165; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 10 pg. 476.

[66] *Al-Ṣaḥābah wa Makānatuhum ʿind al-Muslimīn*, pg. 35 with variation; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 10 pg. 334; Imām Aḥmad: *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah*, vol. 2 pg. 747; Ibn Saʿd: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3 pg. 113.

And those who come after them will pray, "Our Lord! Forgive us and our fellow brothers who preceded us in faith, and do not allow bitterness into our hearts towards those who believe. Our Lord! Indeed, You are Ever Gracious, Most Merciful." [67]

And in obedience to the Nabī ﷺ who instructed:

لا تسبوا أصحابي

Do not revile my Companions.

The Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamāʿah accept those virtues and merits which are mentioned by the Qur'ān, the Sunnah, and *Ijmāʿ* (Consensus). They declare: Those narrations which are transmitted about their mistakes: Some are completely false while others contain additions and subtractions and have been distorted from their original image. As regards the authentic narrations, they (the Ṣaḥābah) are excused; either they are mujtahidīn who reached the correct conclusion or they are mujtahidīn who erred. [68]

Ibn ʿAbbās رضي الله عنهما states:

لا تسبوا أصحاب محمد، فإن الله عزوجل قد أمر بالاستغفار لهم وهو يعلم أنهم سيقتتلون

Do not revile the Companions of Muḥammad ﷺ because Allah—the Mighty and Majestic—commanded forgiveness be sought on their behalf while He was aware that they will soon fight each other. [69]

ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz رحمه الله was questioned with regards to ʿAlī, ʿUthmān, Jamal, and Ṣiffīn and the differences among them to which he replied:

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[67] Sūrah al-Ḥashr: 10.
[68] *Majmūʿ al-Fatāwā*, vol. 3, pg. 152 – 155.
[69] Aḥmad: *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1 pg. 59; al-Ājurrī: *al-Sharīʿah*, Ḥadīth: 1979.

تلك دماء كف الله يدي عنها وأنا أكره أن أغمس لساني فيها

That is blood which Allah protected my hand from. I, therefore, dislike immersing my tongue in it. [70]

Imām Aḥmad declares:

ومن السنة الواضحة البينة الثابتة المعروفة ذكر محاسن أصحاب رسول اللهَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم كلهم أجمعين، والكف عن ذكر مساوئهم والذي شجر بينهم، فمن سب أصحاب رسول اللهَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم، أو أحدًا منهم أو طعن عليهم، أو عرض بعيبهم أو عاب أحدًا منهم بقليل أو كثير، أو دق أو جل مما يتطرق إلى الوقيعة في أحد منهم، فهو مبتدع ... لا يقبل اللهَّ منه صرفا ولا عدلا، بل حبهم سنة، والدعاء لهم قربة، والاقتداء بهم وسيلة، والأخذ بآثارهم فضيلة.

وخير الأمة بعد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أبو بكر، وعمر بعد أبي بكر، وعثمان بعد عمر، وعلي بعد عثمان. ووقف قوم على عثمان، وهم خلفاء راشدون مهديون، ثم أصحاب محمد بعد هؤلاء الأربعة خير الناس، لا يجوز لأحد أن يذكر شيئًا من مساويهم، ولا يطعن على أحد منهم بعيب، ولا بنقص، فمن فعل ذلك فالواجب على السلطان تأديبه وعقوبته ليس له أن يعفو بل يعاقبه ثم يستتيبه، فإن تاب قبل منه، وإن لم يتب أعاد عليه العقوبة ثم خلده الحبس حتى يموت أو يراجع.

Among the fundamentals that are distinct, definite, determined, and documented, is speaking favourably of Rasūlullāh's صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيۡهِوَسَلَّمَ Companions رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنۡهُمۡ, all of them without

[70] Ibn Saʿd: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 5 pg. 394; *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, vol. 9 pg. 114. The wording is Ibn Saʿd's.

exception, and refraining from listing the conflicts that occurred between them. The one who vilifies, devalues, accuses, reveals the defects, or searches for the faults of Rasūlullāh's ﷺ Companions رضي الله عنهم, or any one of them, is a *mubtadiʿ* (innovator). Allah will neither accept his optional nor obligatory actions. Loving them is Sunnah, supplicating for them is worship, emulating them is a means towards proximity, and treading their footsteps is a virtue. The most virtuous of the Ummah after the Nabī ﷺ is Abū Bakr, followed by ʿUmar, then ʿUthmān, and then ʿAlī. Some have stopped at ʿUthmān. They are the khulafā' who were Rightly Guided. The rest of the Companions of Rasūlullāh ﷺ, after these four, are the most superior of mankind. It is not permissible for anyone to mention any of their flaws or criticise any of them for any defect or shortcoming. Whoever is guilty of this should necessarily be disciplined and punished by the sulṭān who does not have the right to forgive him. He should punish him and compel him to repent. If the blameworthy person repents, the sulṭān should accept it. On the contrary, if the perpetrator remains adamant, he should punish him again and jail him forever until he either dies or retracts.[71]

Ibrāhīm ibn Āzar al-Faqīh says:

حضرت أحمد بن حنبل، وسأله رجل عما جرى بين علي ومعاوية، فأعرض عنه، فقيل له: يا أبا عبد الله، هو رجل من بني هاشم، فأقبل عليه، فقال: اقرأ {تِلْكَ أُمَّةٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ لَهَا مَا كَسَبَتْ وَلَكُمْ مَا كَسَبْتُمْ وَلا تُسْأَلُونَ عَمَّا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ}

[71] Imām Aḥmad: *al-ʿAqīdah*, the narration of Abū Bakr al-Khallāl, pg. 80, with variation.

I was present by Aḥmad ibn Ḥambal when a man asked him about what transpired between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah. Aḥmad turned away from him.

He was told, "O Abū ʿAbd Allah, he is a man from the Banū Hāshim."

Hearing this, he turned his attention to the man and said, "Recite: *That was a community that had already gone before. For them is what they earned.*" [72]

Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab رَحِمَهُ ٱللَّهُ reports:

أن رجلا كان يقع في علي وطلحة والزبير، فجعل سعد ينهاه ويقول: لا تقع في إخواني، فأبى، فقام سعد: وصلى ركعتين ودعا، فجاء بختي يشق الناس، فأخذه بالبلاط، فوضعه بين كركرته والبلاط حتى سحقه، فأنا رأيت الناس يتبعون سعدا يقولون: هنيئا لك يا أبا إسحاق! استجيبت دعوتك.

A man began to pass nasty remarks about ʿAlī, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr. Saʿd[73] prohibited the man saying, "Do not speak evil about my brothers." But the man insisted. So Saʿd stood up, performed two rakʿāt of ṣalāh and prayed. Suddenly, a bukhtī[74] camel appeared on the scene and ran through the people. It lifted the offender from the pavement[75], placed him between the mill and earth, and crushed him.

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[72] Ibn Abī Yaʿlā: *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, vol. 1 pg. 94; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 6 pg. 44; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 59 pg. 141.

[73] Saʿd ibn Mālik is Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

[74] *Al-bukht*: a Khurasānī camel, produced from a mix between an Arab and foreign camel. (*Tahdhīb al-Lughah*, vol. 7 pg. 312).

[75] *Al-balāṭ*: Paved stone. It is said: a house furnished with wood or stone. (al-Azharī: *Tahdhīb al-Lughah*, vol. 13 pg. 352).

Subsequently, I saw the people walking behind Saʿd saying, "Congratulations to you, O Abū Isḥāq! Your supplication was answered." [76]

The Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ were balanced when judging things; they would not discuss another's errors to lower his integrity. [77]

5. From the fundamentals of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamāʿah is that all the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ are trustworthy. The demand of their integrity is that they will not be evaluated on the scales of *al-jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl* (disapproval and approval) which is observed by the masters of ḥadīth. This is agreed upon by the consensus of the scholars of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamāʿah in general. The one who criticises the Ṣaḥābah of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ, only does so due to sickness in his heart and filth in his temperament.

One of the reasons of not assessing them under the scope of *al-jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl* is that Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى declared their integrity in His glorious Book:

﴿لَا يَسْتَوِي مِنكُم مَّنْ أَنفَقَ مِن قَبْلِ ٱلْفَتْحِ وَقَٰتَلَ ۚ أُو۟لَٰٓئِكَ أَعْظَمُ دَرَجَةً مِّنَ ٱلَّذِينَ أَنفَقُوا۟ مِنۢ بَعْدُ وَقَٰتَلُوا۟ ۚ وَكُلًّا وَعَدَ ٱللَّهُ ٱلْحُسْنَىٰ ۚ وَٱللَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرٌ﴾

Not equal among you are those who spent before the Conquest [of Makkah] and fought [and those who did so after it]. Those are greater in degree than they who spent afterwards and fought. But to all Allah has promised the best [reward]. And Allah, with what you do, is Acquainted. [78]

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[76] *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 10 pg. 139; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 20 pg. 348, 349; *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 3 pg. 88; al- Ṭabarānī: *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 1 pg. 140, Ḥadīth: 307, with similar wording.

[77] *Al-Ṣaḥābah wa Makānatuhum ʿind al-Muslimīn*, pg. 35.

[78] Sūrah al-Ḥadīd: 10.

Furthermore, Rasūlullāh ﷺ has vouched for their integrity. In fact, Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى erected around them an impenetrable shield so that none may ever dare to attack them[79], warning:

لا تسبوا أصحابي، لا تسبوا أصحابي، فوالذي نفسي بيده لو أن أحدكم أنفق مثل أحد ذهبا ما أدرك مد أحدهم ولا نصيفه.

> Do not revile my companions. Do not speak ill of my companions. By the Being in whose control is my life, if any of you were to spend gold equivalent [in weight] to mount Uḥud, you will not reach [the reward] of their mudd, not even half of it. [80]

This, O benevolent brother, was a quick glance at the fundamentals of the creed of a Muslim concerning the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم. It is befitting that every Muslim pays special attention to them so that they become the barometer for him to review the misconceptions troubling him.

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[79] *Sharḥ al-Lāmiyyah*, pg. 10, with modifications.

[80] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on virtues, chapter on Rasūlullāh's ﷺ statement: had I taken a bosom friend, Ḥadīth: 3470; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on the virtues of the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم, chapter on the impermissibility of swearing the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم, Ḥadīth: 2540. The wording is Muslim's.

Discussion Two

The Fitnah that broke out between the Ṣaḥābah

- Causes of the Fitnah
- What the Tongues transmitted of some regarding others during the Fitnah
- The stance of a Muslim concerning the Fitnah that occurred between the Ṣaḥābah

Causes of the Fitnah

To summarise the fitnah: During the latter years of the khilāfah of Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, signs of disorganisation and unrest in the Islamic community began appearing on the horizon which were the outcome of certain factors. These factors led to a major fitnah emerging between the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ. Some of these factors are listed hereunder:

1. The emergence of zeal and eagerness among individuals and assemblies of freed slaves, who outwardly expressed Islam but concealed their old dogmas in their hearts, with the distinct purpose of demolishing the Islamic State from inside and stirring up fitnah and disunity between the Muslims. This was to be accomplished by circulating corrupt ideologies and spreading rumours among the masses and was motivated by personal or tribal grudges.

2. The bedouins, in whose hearts faith did not enter, joined the first class. The bedouins hailed from various tribes. Among them were those whose Islam was sincere, those who entered the fold out of fear and hypocrisy, and those who held onto Islam with sternness in viewpoint and extremism in dīn; these were the reciters of the Qur'ān, the predecessors of the Khawārij.

3. Nations entering the fold of Islam with deviant ideologies and doctrines. This surfaced after the Islamic conquests. These nations consisted of the Christian Arabs of Iraq and Shām, the Persians, the Copts, and other cultural groups. There were a group among these ethnic groups who harboured rancour in their hearts for Islam, the likes of the one who martyred Sayyidunā ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. They lived scattered all over the Islamic State waiting for an opportunity to attack the glory of Islam.

4. Youth who were fanatical about Islam and those who did not understand Islam the way the Ṣaḥābah, and more specifically the senior Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, understood it. They could not comprehend the ijtihādī decisions of Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ regarding political Sharʿī affairs. Sayyidunā ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, and prior to him Sayyidunā Abū Bakr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, had applied their ijtihād and practiced in the same fashion as Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ had practiced. Sadly, certain sects, and chief among them were these fanatical youth, did not understand this. [81]

5. The nature of universal change in the era of Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. The khilāfah of Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ witnessed dangerous evolutionary phases in the life of the Islamic State. Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ held the reigns of the Islamic State after it had transformed from a state with a limited domain—established in al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah and spread over the Arabian Peninsula—to a universal state, the sovereignty of which extended over Iraq, Shām, Egypt, Africa, Armenia, the lands of the Persians, and some islands of the Mediterranean. The time frame was not sufficient for Islamic teachings to take root in the hearts of many of its newcomers. This—along with other factors—supported the existence of an unusual ideology and a negative notion of the Islamic system, which had the impact to impede the stability of the Islamic State.

6. Affluence and its adverse effect on the Muslim populace during the era of Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. Owing to the considerable number of conquests, the world fell at the feet of the Muslims and the chests of the treasury were overflowing with booty and spoils of war, above and beyond the amount allocated specifically to the

[81] *Ṣaḥīḥ Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, footnotes of the *muḥaqqiq* (researcher), vol. 3 pg. 357, 358.

warriors. Affluence had its destructive effects on the populace—for engrossment in the world and being entrapped in it are the general consequences of wealth, just as it is the source of competition and enmity—especially those in whose souls īmān was not embedded, like the nomadic Arabs and uncouth folk.

7. The difference in the disposition of Sayyidunā ʿUmar and Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا. This led to the variance in their style of dealing with the populace. Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was naturally more lenient and softer in character. He was preferred in the first leg of his khilāfah to the extent that his love became proverbial:

أحبك والرحمن حب قريش عثمان

I love you, by Raḥmān,

The way the Quraysh love ʿUthmān. [82]

Thereafter, the riff raff became audacious against him due to his soft nature, which he himself attests to:

أتدرون ما جرأكم علي؟ ما جرأكم علي إلا حلمي.

> Do you know what made you daring against me? Nothing but my tolerance. [83]

Certain Jews waited eagerly for the opportunity of an emergence by capitalizing on these factors, while observing Taqiyyah and

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[82] Ibn Abī al-Dunyā: *Kitāb al-ʿIyāl*, vol. 1 pg. 435, through his chain to al-Shaʿbī who says:

> كانت قريش تحب عثمان حتى إن المرأة كانت ترقص ابنها فتقول: أحبك والرحمن، حب قريش عثمان.
>
> The Quraysh loved ʿUthmān so intensely that a woman would sing for her son, "By Raḥmān, I love you, the way Quraysh love ʿUthmān."

[83] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4 pg. 251.

outwardly displaying Islam. Among them was the Jew, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saba', with the title Ibn al-Sawdā', who expressed his Islam during the reign of Sayyidunā ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. He became more well-known than others. This was due to him outwardly embracing Islam at a later stage and being active in the cities of Shām, Iraq, and Egypt particularly; just as it became manifest from the Khawārij and hostile avengers. He conceived plans and voiced destructive opinions which majority of the early historians have recorded in their books.[84] Their chief, Imām al-Ṭabarī, considered him (Ibn Saba') the head of the fitnah and the basis of the adversity.

The gist of his conspiracy is that he presented factual premises upon which he built false ideologies which teased the tastebuds of the naïve, extremists, and those enslaved by passions. He treaded crooked paths in this regard, confusing those around him, until they rallied around him. He began knocking on the door of the glorious Qur'ān, to interpret it in accordance with his warped ideology. He claimed Rasūlullāh's صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ reappearance by saying:

> Amazing indeed that one who believes that ʿĪsā will reappear is incorrect when he claims that Muḥammad will reappear, whereas Allah—the Mighty and Majestic—has promised:
>
> ﴿إِنَّ ٱلَّذِى فَرَضَ عَلَيْكَ ٱلْقُرْءَانَ لَرَآدُّكَ إِلَىٰ مَعَادٍ﴾
>
> *Most certainly, the One Who has ordained the Qur'ān for you will (ultimately) bring you back home (to Makkah).* [85]
>
> Muḥammad is, thus, more deserving of reappearing than ʿĪsā.

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[84] Briefly. For more information, study Sulaymān al-ʿAwdah: *Kitāb ʿAbd Allah ibn Saba' wa Atharuhū fī Aḥdāth al-Fitnah fī Ṣadr al-Islām*, Master of Arts treatise, year 1402, from the University of Imām Muḥammad ibn Saʿūd al-Islāmiyyah, Riyadh.
[85] Surah al-Qaṣaṣ: 85.

His warped ideology was accepted and the doctrine of *Rajʿah* (reappearance) was concocted for them which they began propagating.

He told them, "There were one thousand Messengers and each Messenger had a *waṣī* (successor), and ʿAlī is the waṣī of Muḥammad." He then said, "Muḥammad is the seal of the Ambiyā' and ʿAlī is the seal of the *awṣiyā*' (successors)." When this matter settled in the hearts of his followers, he set into motion his planned target: rebellion against the khalīfah, Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. This met the approval of the passion of many people. He announced, "Who is more oppressive than the one who did not sanction the bequest of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ, pounced on Rasūlullāh's صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ waṣī, and usurped authority over the ummah." He then told them, "'Uthmān took hold of it unlawfully. This man (with reference to ʿAlī) is the waṣī of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. Rise up for this matter and give it movement. Begin by criticising your governors. Express enjoining good and forbidding evil, attracting people and inviting them to this cause."

He found among the bedouins the perfect element to execute his conspiracy. He attracted the *Qurrā*' among them from the angle of enjoining good and forbidding evil and those with ulterior motives by stirring their emotions with biased fabricated propaganda against ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, e.g. him preferring his relatives and bestowing liberally upon them wealth from the treasury of the Muslims, securing the pasture for himself, coupled with a number of other allegations against Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, which stirred the emotions of the hooligans. [86]

[86] Muḥammad Amḥazūn: *Taḥqīq Mawāqif al-Ṣaḥābah fī al-Fitnah*, vol. 1 pg. 325 – 363, with brevity and adaptation.

Majority of these accusations are lies and allegations which they falsely attributed to Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. Some are ijtihādī matters, which deal with administrative issues. Moreover, a number of these accusations were believed to be initiated and practiced by the Khulafā' before him. Nonetheless, they exploited Sayyidunā ʿUthmān's رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ clemency. He did not have the nature of Sayyidunā ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ so they became bold towards him. [87] The prejudiced were not content with this. They began forging letters in the names of senior Ṣaḥābah, like Sayyidunā ʿAlī, Sayyidunā Ṭalḥah, Sayyidunā Zubayr, and Sayyidah ʿĀ'ishah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ which they sent to various cities, commanding the residents to advance and kill Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.[88]

The fury of the hoodlums was aggravated and they advanced from their respective cities towards Madīnah, thinking that dīn had reached its limit of evil. As soon as they reached Madīnah, they laid siege to Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and put forward their demands which included him relinquishing the khilāfah or death. Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ refused to step down due to Rasūlullāh's صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ command:

> يا عثمان، إن الله مقصمك قميصا، فإن أرادك المنافقون على أن تخلعه فلا تخلعه لهم، ولا كرامة.
>
> O ʿUthmān, certainly, Allah will clothe you with a throbe. If the hypocrites intend to remove it, do not ever remove it for their sake.

Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ told him this twice or thrice. In another narration, Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ told him:

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[87] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 1 pg. 320.
[88] *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 10 pg. 282, with variation.

يا عثمان، إن الله عز وجل عسى أن يلبسك قميصا، فإن أرادك المنافقون على خلعه فلا تخلعه حتى تلقاني، يا عثمان، إن الله عسى أن يلبسك قميصا فإن أرادك المنافقون على خلعه، فلا تخلعه حتى تلقاني.

O ʿUthmān, indeed Allah—the Mighty and Majestic—will probably clothe you with a garment. Should the hypocrites force you to remove it, do not remove it until you meet me. O ʿUthmān, indeed Allah will probably clothe you with a garment. Should the hypocrites force you to remove it, do not remove it until you meet me. [89]

A large group of Ṣaḥābah, the likes of Sayyidunā Abū Hurayrah, Sayyidunā Ibn ʿUmar, Sayyidunā Ḥasan, Sayyidunā Ḥusayn, and Sayyidunā Ibn al-Zubayr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, gathered by Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to protect and defend him. When the siege grew intense, Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ commanded them with determination to drop their weapons, leave his presence, and remain put in their homes in order to protect the blood of Muslims. [90]

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir ibn Rabīʿah said:

كنت مع عثمان في الدار فقال: أعزم على كل من رأى أن عليه سمعا وطاعة، إلا كف يده وسلاحه، وجاءه زيد بن ثابت فقال له: إن هؤلاء الأنصار بالباب يقولون: إن شئت كنا أنصار الله، مرتين قال: لا حاجة لي في ذلك كفوا. وعرف رضي الله عنه أنه مقتول، وقد أسر له صلى الله عليه وسلم بهذه الفتنة، ولما استئذن على النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وهو في حائط من حيطان المدينة قال لأبي موسى: افتح له وبشره بالجنة، على بلوى تصيبه.

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[89] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 24566. Al-Albānī classified it ṣaḥīḥ in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmiʿ*, Ḥadīth: 7947.
[90] *Tārīkh Khilāfah ibn Khayyāṭ*, pg. 39.

I was with ʿUthmān in the house when he announced, "I make a determination upon everyone who regards my obedience mandatory upon him to restrain his hand and weapon.

Zayd ibn Thābit approached him and said, "Here are the Anṣār at the door announcing that if you wish, they will become the Anṣār of Allah twice."

ʿUthmān said, "I do not have any need for this. Hold your weapons!"[91]

He, may Allah be pleased with him, knew that he was going to be killed. Rasūlullāh ﷺ had secretly informed him of this fitnah. Moreover, when he sought permission to enter Rasūlullāh's ﷺ presence when the latter was in one of the orchards of Madīnah, Rasūlullāh ﷺ commanded Abū Mūsā, "Open for him and give him glad tidings of Jannah after a calamity befalls him." [92]

Ibn Taymiyyah affirms:

ومن المعلوم بالتواتر أن عثمان كان من أكف الناس عن الدماء، وأصبر الناس على من نال من عرضه، وعلى من سعى في دمه فحاصروه وسعوا في قتله، وقد عرف إرادتهم لقتله، وقد جاءه المسلمون من كل ناحية ينصرونه ويشيرون عليه بقتالهم، وهو يأمر الناس بالكف عن القتال، ويأمر من يطيعه أن لا يقاتلهم. وروي أنه قال لمماليكه: من كف يده فهو حر. وقيل له: تذهب إلى مكة؟ فقال: لا أكون ممن ألحد في الحرم. فقيل له: تذهب إلى الشام؟ فقال: لا

[91] *Al-ʿAwāṣim min al-Qawāṣim*, pg. 132, 133.
[92] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on virtues, chapter on the Nabī's statement: had I taken a friend, vol. 3 pg. 1350; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on the virtues of the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم, chapter on the virtues of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān رضي الله عنه, Ḥadīth: 2403.

أفارق دار هجرتي. فقيل له: فقاتلهم. فقال: لا أكون أول من خلف محمدا في أمته بالسيف.

فكان صبر عثمان حتى قتل من أعظم فضائله عند المسلمين.

It is known through tawātur that ʿUthmān was the most cautious of people from spilling blood and the most perseverant upon those who attacked his honour and worked towards assassinating him, by besieging him and endeavouring to kill him. He was well-aware of their intention to kill him. Meanwhile, Muslims from every corner had come to him to support him and indicated to him to fight the rebels. He, on the other hand, would order the people to desist from fighting and command those who obeyed him not to fight them.

It is reported that he said to his slaves, "Whomsoever withholds his hand is emancipated."

He was told to go to Makkah, to which he said, "I will not be one to commit ilḥād (heresy) in the ḥaram."

He was told to go to Shām, to which he replied, "I will not separate from the abode of my emigration."

He was told to fight them, hearing which he retorted, "I will not be the first to succeed Muḥammad ﷺ in his ummah with the sword."

Thus, ʿUthmān's perseverance till martyrdom is among the greatest of his virtues according to the Muslims. [93]

Thereafter, the Ṣaḥābah who were in Madīnah pledged allegiance to Sayyidunā ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib رضي الله عنه as khalīfah and no one disputed with him over it.

Ibn Ḥazm says:

[93] *Minhāj al-Sunnah*, vol. 6 pg. 286.

وأما أم المؤمنين والزبير وطلحة رضي الله عنهم ومن كان معهم فما أبطلوا قط إمامة علي ولا طعنوا فيها، ولا ذكروا فيه جرحة تحطه عن الإمامة، ولا أحدثوا إمامة أخرى، ولا جددوا بيعة لغيره، هذا ما لا يقدر أن يدعيه أحد بوجه من الوجوه، بل يقطع كل ذي علم على أن كل لك لم يكن فإذ لا شك في كل هذا فقد صح صحة ضرورية لا إشكال فيها أنهم لم يمضوا إلى البصرة لحرب علي ولا خلافا عليه ولا نقضا لبيعته ولو أرادوا ذلك لأحدثوا بيعة غير بيعته هذا ما لا يشك فيه أحد ولا ينكره أحد، فصح أنهم إنما نهضوا إلى البصرة لسد الفتق الحادث في الإسلام من قتل أمير المؤمنين عثمان رضي الله عنه ظلما.

وكان علي رضي الله عنه يرى تأخير القصاص حتى يستتب له الأمر لاسيما وأن اشترك في قتله كثير، فكان يقول لَهُمْ: يَا إخوتاه، إني لست أجهل مَا تعلمون، ولكنى كيف أصنع بقوم يملكوننا وَلا نملكهم! ها هم هَؤُلاءِ قَدْ ثارت معهم عبدانكم، وثابت إِلَيْهِم أعرابكم، وهم خلالكم يسومونكم مَا شاءوا، فهل ترون موضعا لقدرة عَلَى شَيْء مما تريدون؟ قَالُوا: لا، قَالَ: فلا وَاللهِ لا أَرَى إلا رأيا ترونه إِنْ شَاءَ اللهُ.

Regarding Umm al-Mu’minīn, Zubayr, Ṭalḥah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, and those with them, they never falsified ʿAlī’s leadership, nor criticised it, nor mentioned any flaw in him which makes him unworthy of leadership, nor undertook another leadership, nor pledged bayʿah to someone besides him. This is something which no one can ever claim from any angle. To the contrary, every man of knowledge will declare with conviction that none of this happened. When there is not the slightest of doubt in this, then it is undoubtedly and definitely correct to assert that they did not travel to Baṣrah with the intention to fight ʿAlī, oppose him, or break his bayʿah. Had they intended this; they would have undertaken another bayʿah besides his. This is a fact which no one can doubt nor reject. Thus, it is evident that they

travelled to Baṣrah to fill the crack caused in Islam by the unjust murder of Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.[94]

ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ opined to delay the qiṣāṣ until everything was settled, especially since countless entities had participated in his killing. He would say to them [those demanding qiṣāṣ], "O my beloved brothers! I am not ignorant of what you know. However, how do I deal with a nation who control us and we do not control them? Here they are, your slaves have joined them and your bedouins have reinforced them. They are amidst you and can do to you as they please. Do you see any opportunity to enforce anything you want?"

They replied, "No."

He said, "By Allah, I only hold the same view as you, Allah willing." [95]

Ibn Taymiyyah writes:

ولم يكن ممكنا من أن يعمل كل ما يريده من إقامة الحدود ونحو ذلك لكون الناس مختلفين عليه وعسكره وأمراء عسكره غير مطيعين له في كل ما كان يأمرهم به.

He was unable to implement everything he intended, like establishing the ḥudūd, etc., since the people were in disagreement over him and his army and the leaders of his army were not obeying him in everything he ordered them to do. [96]

Amīr al-Mu'minīn Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ would curse the killers of Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah states:

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[94] *Al-Faṣl fī al-Milal wa al-Ahwā' wa al-Niḥal*, vol. 4 pg. 153.
[95] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4 pg. 437.
[96] *Majmūʿ al-Fatāwā*, vol. 27 pg. 377.

سمعت أبي ورفع يديه حتى يرى بياض إبطيه، وقال: «اللهم العن قتلة عثمان في البر والبحر والسهل والجبل».

I heard my father, after lifting his hands extensively until the whiteness of his armpits could be seen, supplicating, "O Allah, curse the killers of ʿUthmān on land and water, in the plains and mountains." He repeated this thrice. [97]

Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ went to meet Sayyidunā Ṭalḥah and Sayyidunā Zubayr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا with the intention of reconciliation, unity, and agreement. War was not intended from either side. The peace deal was about to conclude between Sayyidunā Ṭalḥah and Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا prior to the Battle of Jamal. They slept the night, resolute upon reconciliation, and peacefully like never before, due to the security they aspired for and steering clear from what those who desired evil desired. On the other hand, those who incited against Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ spent the worst night they had ever spent, among them was Ibn Saba', the Jew. [98] They were apprehensive of destruction. They began consulting each other through the night until they settled to ignite the flames of war secretly before both parties decided to kill them in retaliation. [99] They concealed this out of fear that their evil efforts be exposed.

The next morning, while their fellow men were unaware of them, they began to carry out their sinister plan stealthily under the cover of darkness. The members of Muḍar of one army went to the members of Muḍar of the other army, and so did the people of Rabīʿ and the people of Yemen, and then attacked them with weapons. The people of Baṣrah countered the attack. Every tribe countered

[97] Ibn Shabbah: *Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah*, vol. 4 pg. 1267.
[98] Ibid.
[99] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4 pg. 506, 507, with brevity.

their counterparts who had attacked them. The people of Baṣrah fought those men until they pushed them back to their army. Meanwhile, Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and the people of Kūfah heard the noise. The conspirators had placed a man close to Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to inform him of what they wanted. When Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ asked as to what was happening, the person said, "We woke up to the sudden night attack of the other army. We, thus, repulsed them whence they came. We found them on foot so we mounted. And the people attacked." [100] The killers of Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ made both sides think that the other had deceived them, and, thus, the fitnah, the Battle of Jamal, broke out whereas it was not the intention of either side. A large number of people were killed including Sayyidunā Ṭalḥah and Sayyidunā Zubayr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا.

Sayyidunā Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was stationed in Shām. He demanded the killers of Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and refused to enter the bayʿah until his demand was fulfilled. He did not contest Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ over the khilāfah. He only placed the condition of handing over the killers for he deemed himself the *walī* (guardian) of his blood. Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ joined him and did not participate in the Battle of Jamal as he was in Palestine at the time. Thereafter, the major fitnah, the Battle of Ṣiffīn, took place.

The gist is that this fitnah had involved the best of men after Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. Their views and ijtihād differed. Some of them considered Amīr al-Mu'minīn Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to be in the right. Others viewed Sayyidunā Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to be correct in demanding the killers of Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. There was a

[100] Like Saʿd ibn Abi Waqqāṣ, Muḥammad ibn Maslamah, Zayd ibn Thābit, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, and Ibn ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ. *Taḥqīq Mawāqif al-Ṣaḥābah fī al-Fitnah*, vol. 2 pg. 167.

third group, large in number, who distanced themselves from fighting for they understood it to be a fitnah, and the one seated is better than the one standing. Thereafter, some of those who remained aloof joined Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ in the fight after Sayyidunā ʿAmmār رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was martyred due to the declaration of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ:

ويح عمار، تقتله الفئة الباغية.

Woe for ʿAmmār. The rebellious party will kill him. [101]

It becomes evident from this explanation, O benevolent brother, that the matter was an ijtihādī affair; the one correct in judgement will receive double reward and the one who erred will obtain a single reward. The one who erred did so according to his interpretation. May Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى be pleased with them all.

[101] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on Ṣalāh, chapter on mutual assistance in building a Masjid, Ḥadīth: 436.

What has been transmitted of some regarding others during the Fitnah

It is an acknowledged fact that the dispute between the two factions in the era of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ resulted in widespread evil and a major fitnah, some of the unpleasant results of which were: the Battle of Jamal and the Battle of Ṣiffīn. These are two major clashes which claimed the souls of the best of mankind after the Ambiyā' عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ.

Had what transpired between them not been documented in our history and not been transmitted from generation to generation, we would have brushed it off as a fantasy and a tale from the older generations, since it is an unforeseeable occurrence. In fact, they themselves never expected the matter to lead them to battle in which limbs and lives were lost. [102]

Though this event is established and archived in our history, our hearts wither, nay shatter, by reading it. We, nevertheless, pacify ourselves by affirming that it was a matter decreed by Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى and there is none to thwart His decree. At the end, they were human and as such had occasional lapses in judgement. They were two huge factions, as described by the Nabī صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ in his statement in favour of his grandson Sayyidunā Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا:

إن ابني هذا سيد، ولعل الله أن يصلح به بين فئتين عظيمتين من المسلمين.

[102] It has passed in the section: the background of the fitnah, that some who harboured rancour for Islam outwardly embraced Islam and concealed their old beliefs, in an attempt to demolish the Islamic State.

This grandson of mine is a leader. Probably, Allah will unite through him two major factions of Muslims. [103]

And his صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ statement:

تمرق مارقة في فرقة من الناس، فيلي قتلهم أولى الطائفتين بالحق.

A group will disaffiliate at a time of dissension among the people; the party, among two parties, which is closer to the truth, will fight them.[104]

Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ—who does not speak of his own desire—described both factions as *huge* and *believers*. He also affirmed that the one closer to the truth is the one that fights the Khawārij, and that faction is undoubtedly the army of Amīr al-Mu'minīn Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ. Hence, both factions exercised ijtihād and resolved to fight—may Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَى forgive them all. It is common custom that when dissension leads to war, it results in each faction labelling the other erroneous and invoking curses upon

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[103] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on reconciliation, chapter on the Nabī's صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ statement about Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُمَا, Ḥadīth: 2557, the ḥadīth of Sayyidunā Abū Bakrah رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ.

[104] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on zakāh, chapter on describing the Khawārij and their characteristics, Ḥadīth: 1064, the ḥadīth of Sayyidunā Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ. Al-Nawawī states, "One narration has the wording: the closer of the two factions to the truth. Another narration reads:

تكون أمتي فرقتين فتخرج من بينهما مارقة، تلي قتلهم أولاهما بالحق.

My ummah will be divided into two factions. Another group will secede from them and will be killed by the faction closer to the truth.

These narrations are emphatic that Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ was correct and upon the truth and that the other faction, the companions of Sayyidunā Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ, were nonconformists and acting on ijtihād. It is also categorical that both factions are believers. Due to fighting, they are not bereft of īmān nor are they transgressors. This is our stance and the stance of those who agree with us. (*Sharḥ Muslim*, vol. 7 pg. 167)

the other. In fact, due to human demands, sometimes the matter leads to profanity at the time of an outburst of anger. Accordingly, reports of this nature have reached us, and I have avoided listing them among the misconceptions, since something greater transpired between the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, i.e. war. Nonetheless, the reports which contain the statements of some about others have been supplemented with nasty additions and crammed with words not part of it. It was, thus, necessary to examine some of these reports to identify the authentic from the faulty and to learn of their suitable interpretations.

Some of these reports are listed hereunder:

1. The report that Amīr al-Mu'minīn Sayyidunā ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ criticised Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ:

Al-Ṭabarī narrates this with missing links in the beginning of the chain from **Abū Mikhnaf**—from ʿ**Abd al-Malik ibn Abī Ḥarrah.** [105]

Abū Mikhnaf

He is Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā.

• Al-Dhahabī states, "A historian, destroyed. He is unreliable."

• Abū Ḥātim discarded him.

• Al-Dāraquṭnī declared him *ḍaʿīf* (weak).

• Ibn Maʿīn said about him, "He is worthless." [106]

[105] *Al-Tārīkh,* vol. 3 pg. 115 – 116.
[106] Al-Dhahabī: *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, vol. 3 pg. 420.

• Abū ʿUbayd al-Ājurrī says, "I asked Abū Ḥātim about him, at which he snapped his hand and commented surprisingly, 'Someone asks about this man?'"

• Al-ʿUqaylī listed him among the weak narrators. [107]

ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Ḥarrah

• He is *majhūl al-ʿayn* (unknown).

• Ibn Abī Ḥātim lists him in *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* with neither disapproval nor approval. [108]

• ʿAbd Allah ibn al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd Allah ibn Maʿqil al-Muzanī narrates from him.

A similar narration is reported by al-Ṭabarī with missing links in the beginning of the chain in which Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ criticises those who rebelled against him and describes them as deceptive and deceitful. This narration is from **Abū Mikhnaf**—from **Mālik ibn Aʿyan**—from Zayd ibn Wahb.

Abū Mikhnaf

• He has been discussed above.

Mālik ibn Aʿyan al-Juhanī

• He is *majhūl* (unknown).

[107] Ibn Ḥajar: *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. 4 pg. 492.
[108] *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, vol. 5 pg. 348.

• He reports from Zayd ibn Wahb and Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā reports from him. Abū Ḥātim mentioned this. [109]

Hence, the report has no authentic chain.

The complete refutation of the decision of deposition in the arbitration episode will appear shortly.

2. The report of Amīr al-Mu'minīn Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ praying qunūt against Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and cursing him:

This has been reported in the arbitration and deposition episode on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf. Both the isnād and text of the incident are *ḍaʿīf* (weak). The reason for its rejection will appear when discussing the arbitration.

Yes, there are reports asserting that Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ prayed qunūt against Sayyidunā Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ during the war, as appears in *Musnad Abī Ḥanīfah*:

حدثنا محمد بن أحمد، ثنا بشر بن موسى، ثنا المقرئ، ثنا أبو حنيفة، عن حماد، عن إبراهيم، عن علقمة، قال: «ما قنت أبو بكر، ولا عمر، ولا عثمان، وما قنت علي حتى حارب أهل الشام، وكان يقنت على معاوية».

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad narrated to us—Bishr ibn Mūsā narrated to us— al-Muqri' narrated to us—Abū Ḥanīfah narrated to us—from Ḥammād—from Ibrāhīm—from ʿAlqamah who said:

[109] *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, vol. 8 pg. 206; *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. 5 pg. 3.

> Qunūt was not prayed by Abū Bakr, nor ʿUmar, nor ʿUthmān, and nor ʿAlī, except after he fought the people of Shām. He would pray qunūt upon Muʿāwiyah." [110]

There are other chains of the report. [111] Thus, it is ḥasan in the lowest standard.

Interpretation

Sayyidunā ʿAlī's رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ qunūt upon Sayyidunā Muʿāwiyah or Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا or criticising them—if accepted as authentic—is not detested since Sayyidunā Muʿāwiyah and Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا were outside of his obedience. However, they are excused since they exercised ijtihād. May Allah forgive them all.

What is established from Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ is him praying qunūt upon Sayyidunā Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, not cursing him. The Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ were most covetous to hold firmly to dīn owing to their knowledge of Rasūlullāh's صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ statement:

> من حلف بملة غير الإسلام كاذبا فهو كما قال، ومن قتل نفسه بشيء عذب به في نار جهنم، ولعن المؤمن كقتله، ومن رمى مؤمنا بكفر فهو كقتله.

> Whoever swears an oath falsely upon a religion other than Islam, it is as he said. Whoever kills himself with something will be punished with the same in the fire of Jahannam. Cursing a believer is like killing him. Accusing a believer of disbelief is like killing him. [112]

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[110] *Musnad Abī Ḥanīfah*, pg. 83.
[111] *Muṣannaf ʿAbd al-Razzāq*, vol. 3 pg. 107; *Muṣannaf Ibn Abī Shaybah*, vol. 2 pg. 103; al-Ṭabarānī: *al-Muʿjam al-Awsaṭ*, vol. 7 pg. 274.
[112] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on etiquette, chapter on whoever excommunicates his brother without any interpretation, it is as he said, Ḥadīth: 5754; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*,

And his صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ statement:

ليس المؤمن بالطعان ولا اللعان ولا الفاحش ولا البذيء.

A believer is never a slanderer, nor does he frequently curse, nor is he immoral, nor shameless. [113]

And his صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ statement:

لا يكون اللعانون شفعاء ولا شهداء يوم القيامة.

Those accustomed to cursing will neither be intercessors nor witnesses on the Day of Qiyāmah. [114]

It is reported about Sayyidunā ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ that when he walked around the slain in Jamal, he spotted Sayyidunā Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. He began wiping the dust of his face, remarking:

رحمة الله عليك أبا محمد، يعز علي أن أراك مجدولا تحت نجوم السماء.

May the mercy of Allah descend upon you, O Abū Muḥammad! It is burdensome for me to see you felled under the stars of the sky.

He then declared:

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book on īmān, chapter on the gravity of the impermissibility of a person committing suicide and the one who kills himself with something will be punished with the same in the Fire and that only a believing soul will enter Jannah, Ḥadīth: 110. The wording is al-Bukhārī's.

[113] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 3839; *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*, chapter on piety and maintaining ties from Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ, the chapter on the reports on cursing, Ḥadīth: 1977. The wording is al-Tirmidhī's. al-Albānī classified it ṣaḥīḥ in *al-Ṣaḥīḥah*, vol. 1 pg. 319.

[114] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on kindness, maintaining ties, and etiquette, chapter on the impermissibility of cursing animals etc., Ḥadīth: 2598.

إلى الله أشكو عجري وبجري، والله لوددت أني كنت مت قبل هذا اليوم بعشرين سنة.

To Allah alone do I complain of my worries and distresses. By Allah, how I wish that I had died twenty years before this day. (115)

Ibn Kathīr states:

وثبت عنه أيضا من غير وجه أنه قال: إني لأرجو أن أكون أنا وطلحة والزبير وعثمان ممن قال الله عز وجل فيهم: {ونزعنا ما في صدورهم من غل إخوانا على سرر متقابلين}.

It is established from more than one chain that he (Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ) remarked: "I desire that Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, ʿUthmān, and I be from those concerning whom Allah declared: *We will remove whatever bitterness they had in their hearts. In a friendly manner, they will be on thrones, facing one another.*" (116)

In fact, al-Dīnawarī mentioned:

أنه بلغ عليا أن حجر بن عدى وعمرو بن الحمق يظهران شتم معاوية، ولعن أهل الشام، فأرسل إليهما أن كفا عما يبلغني عنكما. فأتياه، فقالا: يا أمير المؤمنين، ألسنا على الحق، وهم على الباطل؟، قال: بلى، ورب الكعبة المسدنة، قالوا: فلم تمنعنا من شتمهم ولعنهم؟، قال: كرهت لكم أن تكونوا شتامين لعانين، ولكن قولوا: اللهم احقن دماءنا ودماءهم، وأصلح ذات بيننا وبينهم، واهدهم من ضلالتهم، حتى يعرف الحق من جهله، ويرعوي عن الغي من لجج به.

(115) *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 25 pg. 115; *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 2 pg. 45; *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 2 pg. 165; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 10 pg. 476.
(116) *Al-Ṣaḥābah wa Makānatuhum ʿind al-Muslimīn*, pg. 35 with variation; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 10 pg. 334; Imām Aḥmad: *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah*, vol. 2 pg. 747; Ibn Saʿd: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3 pg. 113.

News reached ʿAlī that Ḥujr ibn ʿAdī and ʿAmr ibn al-Ḥumq were openly swearing Muʿāwiyah and cursing the people of Shām. He sent word to them, "Stop the action that has reached me about you."

They approached him and submitted, "O Amīr al-Mu'minīn, are we not upon truth and they upon falsehood?"

He said, "Most definitely, by the Rabb of the cloaked[117] Kaʿbah."

They asked, "Then why do you prevent us from swearing and cursing them?"

He replied, "I dislike that you become swearers and cursers. Rather say, 'O Allah, spare our blood and their blood, unite us, and guide them from their nonconformity so that the ignorant recognise the truth and those bent on aggression desist from the same.'" [118]

3. The report that Umm al-Mu'minīn Sayyidah ʿĀ'ishah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا cursed Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ:

The details are as follows:

روي عن مسروق أنه كان عند عائشة فذكر عندها أن عليا رضي الله عنه قتل ذا الثدية، فقالت لي: «إذا أنت قدمت الكوفة فاكتب لي ناسا ممن شهد ذلك ممن تعرف من أهل البلد» ، فلما قدمت وجدت الناس أشياعا فكتبت لها من كل شيع عشرة ممن شهد ذلك قال: فأتيتها بشهادتهم فقالت: «لعن الله عمرو بن العاص، فإنه زعم لي أنه قتله بمصر».

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[117] Ibn Fāris explains: "*Sīn*, *dāl*, and *nūn* are one basis for a specific item. It is said: *al-sadānah* means covering; *sadanat al-bayt*: the curtains of the house. They say: *al-sadan* means veil. (*Muʿjam Maqāyīs al-Lughah*, vol. 3 pg. 150).

[118] *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, vol. 1 pg. 242.

It is reported from Masrūq that he was in the presence of ʿĀ'ishah when she was told that ʿAlī رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ killed Dhū al-Thadiyyah.

She told me, "When you go to Kūfah, write the testimony of those individuals of the city you know who witnessed this."

When I arrived, I found the people in diverse groups. I, thus, wrote the testimonies of ten men of each group who witnessed the event and brought their testimonies to her.

She commented, "May Allah curse ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. He claimed to me that he killed him in Egypt." [119]

This report is documented by al-Ḥākim:

من طريق جرير بن عبد الحميد، عن الأعمش، عن أبي وائل، عن مسروق، قال: قالت لي عائشة رضي الله عنها: إني رأيتني على تل، وحولي بقر تنحر، فقلت لها: لئن صدقت رؤياك، لتكونن حولك ملحمة. قالت: أعوذ بالله من شرك وبئس ما قلت. فقلت لها: فلعله إن كان أمرا سيسوئك. فقالت: والله لئن أخر من السماء، أحب إلي من أن أفعل ذلك، فلما كان بعد، ذكر عندها أن عليا رضي الله عنه قتل ذا الثدية، فقالت لي: إذا أنت قدمت الكوفة، فاكتب لي ناسا ممن شهد ذلك ممن تعرف من أهل البلد. فلما قدمت، وجدت الناس أشياعا، فكتبت لها من كل سبع عشرة ممن شهد ذاك. قال: فأتيتها بشهادتهم، فقالت: لعن الله عمرو بن العاص، فإنه زعم لي أنه قتله بمصر.

From the chain of **Jarīr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd**—from al-Aʿmash—from Abū Wā'il—from Masrūq who said:

[119] Al-Majlisī: *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 33 pg. 332, Murtaḍā al-ʿĀṣkarī: *Aḥādīth Umm al-Mu'minīn ʿĀ'ishah*, vol. 1 pg. 364.

ʿĀ'ishah said to me, "I saw myself (in a dream) on a hill and around me were cattle being slaughtered."

I said to her, "If your dream is true, a major battle will take place around you."

"I seek protection in Allah from your evil," she retorted. "Evil indeed is what you said."

I said to her, "Probably, if it is some major matter, it will sadden you."

She said, "By Allah, me falling from the sky is more beloved to me than that."

Sometime thereafter, mention was made in her presence that ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ had killed Dhū al-Thadiyyah.

She told me, "When you go to Kūfah, write the testimony of those individuals of the city you know who witnessed this."

When I arrived, I found the people in several groups. I, thus, wrote the testimonies of ten men of each group who witnessed the event and brought their testimonies to her.

She commented, "May Allah curse ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. He alleged to me that he killed him in Egypt. [120]

Important to note is that Ibn Abī Shaybah documents it from the chain of Abū Muʿāwiyah from al-Aʿmash, without mentioning the killing of Dhū al- Thadiyyah and the cursing of Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

Ibn Abī Shaybah reports:

[120] Al-Ḥākim: *al-Mustadrak*, vol. 4 pg. 14. Al-Ḥākim comments, "This ḥadīth is ṣaḥīḥ, on the standard of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, yet they have not recorded it."

حدثنا أبو معاوية عن الأعمش عن شقيق عن مسروق عن عائشة قالت: رأيتني على تل كأن حولي بقرا تنحر، فقال مسروق: إن استطعت أن لا تكوني أنت هي فافعلي، قال: فابتليت بذلك رحمها اللهَّ.

Abū Muʿāwiyah narrated to us—from al-Aʿmash—from Shaqīq—from Masrūq—from ʿĀ'ishah who narrated:

I saw myself in a dream on a hill and around me were cattle being slaughtered.

Masrūq said, "If you are able not to be the one, then do so."

He adds: "She was befallen with that; may Allah have mercy upon her." [121]

Abū Muʿāwiyah

• Muḥammad ibn Khāzim al-Ḍarīr.

• He is the scale in the aḥādīth of al-Aʿmash.

• He is the best preserver of his aḥādīth and reports, preceding everyone else.

• Ayyūb ibn Isḥāq says, "I asked Aḥmad and Yaḥyā about Abū Muʿāwiyah and Jarīr to which they replied, 'Abū Muʿāwiyah is more liked by us i.e. in relation to al-Aʿmash.'"

• ʿAbd Allah ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥambal says: I heard my father declaring, "When Abū Muʿāwiyah would be asked about the aḥādīth of al-Aʿmash, he would say: 'The ḥadīth of al-Aʿmash have become a colocynth or like a colocynth in my mouth,' due to the abundant repetition of the aḥādīth of al-Aʿmash."

[121] *Muṣannaf Ibn Abī Shaybah*, vol. 11 pg. 77, Ḥadīth: 31153.

• Abū Zurʿah al-Dimashqī says, "I heard Abū Nuʿaym saying, 'Abū Muʿāwiyah remained devoted to al-Aʿmash for twenty years.'"

• Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī says that al-Wakīʿ said to him, "We have not met anyone more knowledgeable of the aḥādīth of al-Aʿmash than Abū Muʿāwiyah." [122]

• Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar states, "He is the scale of the reports of al-Aʿmash."[123]

The narrator from al-Aʿmash in al-Ḥākim's report:

Jarīr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd

• It is said that towards the end of his life, he would err when narrating from memory. [124]

Nuʿaym ibn Ḥammād has documented other narrations about Sayyidah ʿĀ'ishah's رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا dream which corroborate Abū Muʿāwiyah's report and do not mention anything of her cursing Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

From the chain of **Hushaym ibn Bushayr**—from Ḥuṣayn. [125]

Hushaym ibn Bushayr

• Hushaym is infamous for tadlīs and he has not clearly mentioned hearing.

From the chain of Hushaym ibn Bushayr—from **Mujālid**—from al-Shaʿbī.

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[122] Al-Mizzī: *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 25 pg. 128 – 131.
[123] *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 12 pg. 286.
[124] *Al-Taqrīb*, Biography: 916.
[125] Nuʿaym ibn Ḥammād: *Kitāb al-Fitan*, Ḥadīth: 181.

Hushaym has been corroborated by Abū Usāmah in the report of Ibn Abī Shaybah[126] and by Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd in the report of Ibn Abī al-Dunyā. [127]

These last three narrations contain **Mujālid ibn Saʿīd.**

Mujālid ibn Saʿīd

• Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar said, "He is not *qawī* (reliable)."

• He changed at the end of his life. [128] [Meaning: his memory weakened.]

• ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥātim reports—Aḥmad ibn Sinān narrated to them saying—I heard ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī highlighting, "The aḥādīth of Mujālid by the youngsters Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd and Abū Usāmah are worthless. Yes, the reports of Shuʿbah, Ḥammād ibn Zayd, and Hushaym (are reliable). These are the early students." He meant that his memory changed at the end of his life. [129]

Al-Shaʿbī

• Al-Shaʿbī hearing directly from Sayyidah ʿĀ'ishah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا is disputed.

The preferred view is the confirmation of him hearing directly from her. And confirmation is preferred over negation.

• Al-Ḥākim says, "Many a times one assumes that al-Shaʿbī did not hear from Umm Salamah. However, that is not the case. He entered

[126] *Muṣannaf Ibn Abī Shaybah*, vol. 11 pg. 72, Ḥadīth: 31140.
[127] *Al-Ishrāf fī Manāzil al-Ashrāf*, vol. 1 pg. 273 – 274.
[128] *Al-Taqrīb*, Biography: 6478.
[129] *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 27 pg. 221 – 224.

the presence of both ʿĀ'ishah and Umm Salamah and narrates plenty from both of them." [130]

• In addition to this, al-Shaʿbī was born after six years of the khilāfah of Sayyidunā ʿUmar ibn al-Khattab رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ had passed, according to what is popular, the year 19 A.H. or during 20 A.H. Sayyidah ʿĀ'ishah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا passed away during the khilāfah of Sayyidunā Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ in 57 or 58 A.H. [131] Therefore, al-Shaʿbī's age at her demise would be close to 27 years which is the age of an adult, sufficient to establish contemporaneous.

There is another narration in which the curse is ambiguous, with the wording:

لعن الله فلانا

May Allah curse so and so.

Al-Bayhaqī says in *al-Dalā'il*:

أخبرنا أبو عبد الله الحافظ أخبرنا الحسين بن الحسن بن عامر الكندي بالكوفة من أصل سماعه حدثنا أحمد بن محمد بن صدقة الكاتب قال: حدثنا عمر بن عبد الله بن عمر بن محمد بن أبان بن صالح قال: هذا كتاب جدي: محمد بن أبان فقرأت فيه حدثنا الحسن بن الحر قال: حدثنا الحكم بن عتيبة وعبد الله بن أبي السفر، عن عامر الشعبي، عن مسروق، قال: قالت عائشة، فذكر بنحو ما وقع عند الحاكم.

Abū ʿAbd Allah al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us—Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿĀmir al- Kindī informed us in Kūfah—Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad

[130] *Al-Mustadrak*, vol. 1 pg. 700.
[131] Ibn Khallikān: *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, vol. 3 pg. 16; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 14 pg. 28.

ibn Ṣadaqah al-Kātib narrated to us saying—(ʿUmar ibn) [132] ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad ibn Abān ibn Ṣāliḥ narrated to us saying: This is the book of my grandfather **Muḥammad ibn Abān** in which I read—Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥurr narrated to us saying—al-Ḥakam ibn ʿUtaybah and ʿAbd Allah ibn Abī al-Safar narrated to us—from ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī—from Masrūq who reported that ʿĀ'ishah said:

And he then narrated a similar narration to the one al-Ḥākim documented. [133]

This isnād is ḍaʿīf. **Muḥammad ibn Abān ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿUmayr al-Juʿfī al-Kūfī**, Abū ʿUmayr, is present in the isnād.

Muḥammad ibn Abān

• Yaḥyā said, "*Ḍaʿīf* (Weak). His aḥādīth should not be written."

• He once said, "He is worthless."

• Al-Bukhārī said, "He is not *qawī* (reliable)."

• Aḥmad, Abū Dāwūd, and al-Nasa'ī classified him ḍaʿīf.

• Ibn Ḥibbān said, "He was among those who twisted reports. He has many *wahm* (assumptions) in reports." [134]

Interpretation

[132] It appears like this in *al-Dalā'il*, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah print. I have not found any biography of his. Probably, it is an error and the correct name is ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿUmar, the grandson of Muḥammad ibn Abān who is truthful. (*al-Taqrīb*, Biography: 3493).
[133] *Al-Dalā'il*, vol. 6 pg. 434 – 435.
[134] Ibn Ḥibbān: *al-Majrūḥīn*, vol. 2 pg. 260; Ibn al-Jawzī: *al-Ḍuʿafā' wa al-Matrūkīn*, vol. 3 pg. 37; Ibn Ḥajar: *Taʿjīl al-Manfaʿah*, vol. 2 pg. 165.

Now, if hypothetically the narration in which mention of cursing Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ is accepted as authentic, Sayyidah ʿĀ'ishah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا, despite her lofty status, enormous virtue, and deep knowledge, can err like other humans. Infallibility belongs to none after Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. Everyone else's statements are accepted or rejected besides his صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

This fitnah comprised of something greater than cursing i.e. killing. At the same time, sometimes a person utters a word which he ought not to have uttered, due to intense anger and fury upon the person being addressed. A man of dignity sometimes speaks something which he chides himself for after returning to his senses. He was constrained to utter that word or blurt out that statement due to anger, or emotion. The ḥadīth of Mālik ibn Aws recorded by al-Bukhārī and Muslim indicates to this. He narrates:

أرسل إلي عمر بن الخطاب، فجئته حين تعالى النهار قال: فوجدته في بيته جالسا على سرير مفضيا إلى رماله، متكئا على وسادة من أدم، فقال لي: يا مال، إنه قد دف أهل أبيات من قومك، وقد أمرت فيهم برضخ، فخذه فاقسمه بينهم. قال: قلت: لو أمرت بهذا غيري؟ قال: خذه يا مال. قال: فجاء يرفا فقال: هل لك يا أمير المؤمنين في عثمان، وعبد الرحمن بن عوف، والزبير، وسعد ؟ فقال عمر: نعم، فأذن لهم فدخلوا، ثم جاء فقال: هل لك في عباس، وعلي ؟ قال: نعم، فأذن لهما، فقال عباس: يا أمير المؤمنين، اقض بيني وبين هذا الكاذب الآثم الغادر الخائن، فقال القوم: أجل يا أمير المؤمنين، فاقض بينهم وأرحهم... الحديث

ʿUmar ibn al-Khattab sent word to me so I came to him when the day had advanced. I found him in his house seated on his bare bedstead, reclining on a leather pillow. He told me, "O Māl(ik), some people of your tribe have hastened to me (with a

request for help). I have ordered a little money for them. Take it and distribute it among them."

I said, "Had you ordered someone other than me."

He instructed, "Take it, O Māl(ik)!"

Just then, Yarfa' came and submitted, "O Amīr al-Mu'minīn, do you permit ʿUthmān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf, Zubayr, and Saʿd to enter?"

"Yes," ʿUmar replied. He awarded them permission and they entered.

Yarfa' then returned and asked, "Do you permit ʿAbbās and ʿAlī to enter." He replied in the affirmative, awarding them permission.

ʿAbbās grumbled, "O Amīr al-Mu'minīn, judge between me and this fake, sinful, deceitful, treacherous man."

Those present recommended, "Yes, O Amīr al-Mu'minīn, decide between them and grant them comfort from one another." [135]

Have a look at Sayyidunā ʿAbbās رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ as he describes Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ as a fake, sinful, deceitful, and treacherous man. He declares this in the presence of the rightly guided khalīfah and those promised Jannah, yet none of them rebukes him for this. They understood it to be the result of Sayyidunā ʿAbbās's رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ intense fury and anger at Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

[135] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on the share of the fifth, Ḥadīth: 2927; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on jihād and expeditions, chapter on the ruling of Fay', Ḥadīth: 1757. The wording is Muslim's.

Rasūlullāh ﷺ has supported this meaning and supplicated for the disengagement of every servant from it. Rasūlullāh ﷺ said:

أيما رجل من أمتي سببته سبة أو لعنته لعنة في غضبي، فإنما أنا من ولد آدم أغضب كما يغضبون، وإنما بعثني رحمة للعالمين، فاجعلها عليهم صلاة يوم القيامة.

Whichever individual of my ummah I swore or cursed in anger—I am only from the progeny of Ādam, I become angry just like them. He سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى has sent me only as a mercy for the worlds—translate it as mercy upon them on the Day of Qiyāmah. [136],[137]

The implication is that swearing, cursing, or its like coming from Rasūlullāh ﷺ is not intended, but only the product of custom. Rasūlullāh ﷺ feared that some of it might be accepted, so he begged Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى to convert it into mercy, expiation, proximity, purification, and reward. Anyways, this would happen very seldom from Rasūlullāh ﷺ since he was not obscene nor accustomed to cursing. And Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى knows best. [138]

Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ is a renowned Ṣaḥābī. It is not possible

except to attribute his statement to his belief that he killed Dhū al-Thadiyyah, which in fact was an inaccuracy due to confusion. Man is

[136] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 23706; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, book on Sunnah, chapter on the impermissibility of swearing the Ṣaḥābah of Rasūlullāh ﷺ, Ḥadīth: 4659. The wording is Abū Dāwūd's. al-Albānī classified it ṣaḥīḥ in *al-Ṣaḥīḥah*, vol. 4 pg. 257.
[137] Muḥammad Kamāl: *Dar' al-Intiqāṣ*, pg. 90 – 93, with brevity.
[138] Al-Ābādī: *ʿAwn al-Maʿbūd*, vol. 12 pg. 271.

prone to assumptions and forgetfulness. This does not make him deserving of being cursed or cussed. May Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ forgive her, him, us, and all the Muslims.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr elucidates in *al-Istidhkār* on the ḥadīth of the Nabī's صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ slipup in ṣalāh:

> وفي هذا الحديث بيان أن أحدا لا يسلم من الوهم والنسيان لأنه إذا اعترى ذلك الأنبياء فغيرهم بذلك أحرى.
>
> This ḥadīth asserts that none is saved from assumption or forgetfulness. When the Ambiyā' are not free from it, then others are all the more prone to it. (139)

Take for instance Sayyidunā Ibn ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا who kept close to Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ and accompanied him on all his trips for ʿUmrah. When questioned on the amount of ʿUmrahs performed by the Nabī صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ, he answers, "Four, including one in Rajab." When Sayyidah ʿĀ'ishah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا is informed of this, she comments, "May Allah shower mercy upon Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ never performed any ʿUmrah except that he was present, yet he never ever performed ʿUmrah in Rajab." (140)

Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar explains:

> وفي هذا الحديث أن الصحابي الجليل المكثر الشديد الملازمة للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قد يخفى عليه بعض أحواله وقد يدخله الوهم والنسيان لكونه غير معصوم.

(139) Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *al-Istidhkār*, vol. 1 pg. 521.

(140) *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on Ḥajj, chapter on the amount of ʿUmrahs the Nabī صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ performed, Ḥadīth: 1685; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on Ḥajj, chapter on the number of the Nabī's صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ʿUmrahs and their time, Ḥadīth: 1255. The wording is al-Bukhārī's.

> In this report, we have a celebrated Ṣaḥābī—prolific in transmission, renowned for keeping close to the Nabī ﷺ —being unaware of an aspect of his biography. He is also susceptible to assumption and forgetfulness due to him being fallible. [141]

A human's intrinsic quality is forgetfulness. In fact, he is the centre of forgetfulness. The first to forget is the first man, our father Sayyidunā Ādam عَلَيْهِ السَّلَام. Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى states:

﴿وَلَقَدْ عَهِدْنَآ إِلَىٰٓ ءَادَمَ مِن قَبْلُ فَنَسِيَ وَلَمْ نَجِدْ لَهُۥ عَزْمًا﴾

> *And indeed, We once made a covenant with Ādam, but he forgot, and We did not find determination in him.* [142]

Rasūlullāh ﷺ elucidated:

فجحد آدم فجحدت ذريته، وخطئ آدم فخطئت ذريته، ونسي فنسيت ذريته.

> Ādam denied, and so did his progeny. Ādam erred, and so did his progeny. He forgot, and so did his progeny. [143]

Ibn ʿAbbās says so beautifully:

إنما سمي الإنسان إنسانا لأنه عُهد إليه فنسي.

> Human is only called *insān* (human) because he was given a covenant and he forgot. [144]

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[141] *Al-Fatḥ*, vol. 3 pg. 602.
[142] Sūrah Ṭāhā: 115.
[143] *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*, chapters on the tafsīr of the Qur'ān from Rasūlullāh ﷺ, chapter on Sūrah al- Aʿrāf, Ḥadīth: 3076; *al-Mustadrak*, vol. 1 pg. 123, Ḥadīth: 214. The wording is al-Tirmidhī's. Al-Albānī classified it ṣaḥīḥ in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmiʿ*, Ḥadīth: 9339.

Abū Tamām says:

لا تنسين تلك العهود فإنما سميت إنسانا لأنك ناسي

Never forget these covenants for,

You are only called insān (human) because you are forgetful. [145]

The poet says:

وما سمي الإنسان إلا لنسيه وما القلب إلا أنه يتقلب

Man is only named al-insān due to his forgetfulness

And the heart is called al-qalb because it changes. [146]

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[144] Al-Ṭabarānī: *al-Muʿjam al-Ṣaghīr*, vol. 2 pg. 140, Ḥadīth: 925; Ibn Mandah: *al-Tawḥīd*, vol. 1 pg. 94, Ḥadīth: 72; al-Bayhaqī: *al-Asmā' wa al-Ṣifāt*, vol. 2 pg. 357, Ḥadīth: 786. The wording is al-Ṭabarānī's.

[145] Al-Nuwayrī: *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, vol. 2 pg. 11. Al-Nuwayrī discusses the diversity of views of the scholars in relation to why man is called *insān*. Is it from *al-uns* (familiarity), the opposite of *alwaḥshah* (strangeness); *al-naws* (dangling), the opposite of *al-sukūn* (calmness, peace); *al-īnās* (sociability), the meaning of *al-ibṣār* (discern); or *al-nisyān* (forgetfulness), the opposite of *al-dhikr* (remembrance). The view of the Kūfiyyīn has been preferred, that it is derived from *al-nisyān* (forgetfulness).

[146] Al-Zabīdī: *Tāj al-ʿUrūs*, vol. 1 pg. 124.

The Stance of a Muslim concerning the Fitnah that occurred between the Ṣaḥābah

Realise that it is our mandatory obligation to keep silent about the conflicts that occurred between the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ and to be pleased with them all. This is due to the fact that Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى selected them for the companionship of the most superior creation and to transmit His Sharī'ah. Only a handful of the reports that list their errors are authentic. Moreover, the authentic reports either deal with an ijtihādī matter—the executor is either a mujtahid acting correctly who receives twofold reward or a mujtahid who errs and receives a single reward. The other authentic reports which do not deal with ijtihādī matters are an insignificant amount. We do not claim infallibility for the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ and besides their errors are negligible in comparison to the ocean of their good deeds. We should not forget that they enjoy precedence in good deeds which expiates this insignificant amount.

It is binding upon us to spread the good and conceal the wrong. Islam's yearning to conceal (the faults) of the general masses is well-known. So are the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ—who sacrificed their wealth and lives to exalt the word of Allah—not most deserving of the same? Definitely, they are most deserving and worthy. Spreading their mistakes is a major cause of corruption. Sufficient corruption is your heart having reservations for those you have been ordered to love and be pleased with. What will your situation be if you doubt the transmitters of this dīn?

Owing to this, Rasūlullāh ﷺ erected around them an impenetrable shield so that they dare never ever be attacked, warning:

لا تسبوا أصحابي، لا تسبوا أصحابي، فوالذي نفسي بيده لو أن أحدكم أنفق مثل أحد ذهبا ما أدرك مد أحدهم ولا نصيفه.

Do not revile my companions. Do not speak ill of my companions. By the Being in whose control is my life, if any of you were to spend gold equivalent [in weight] to mount Uḥud, you will not reach [the reward] of their mudd, not even half of it. [147]

The Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم and the subsequent generations of Tābiʿīn and scholars enforced this fundamental and stressed on it due to the dangerous consequence of imperfection in dīn of the one who does not adhere to it.

Ibn ʿAbbās رضي الله عنهما states:

لا تسبوا أصحاب محمد، فإن الله عزوجل قد أمر بالاستغفار لهم وهو يعلم أنهم سيقتتلون.

Do not revile the Companions of Muḥammad ﷺ because Allah—the Mighty and Majestic—commanded that forgiveness be sought on their behalf while He was fully aware that they will soon fight one another. [148]

Abū ʿAmmār al-Hamdānī ʿUrayb ibn Ḥumayd recalls:

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[147] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on virtues, chapter on Rasūlullāh's ﷺ statement: Had I taken a bosom friend, Ḥadīth: 3470; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on the virtues of the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم, chapter on the impermissibility of cursing the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم, Ḥadīth: 2540. The wording is Muslim's.

[148] Aḥmad: *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1 pg. 59; al-Ājurrī: *al-Sharīʿah*, Ḥadīth: 1979.

جاء رجل إلى علي فوقع في عائشة فقام عمار فقال: اخرج مقبوحا منبوحا، والله إنها لزوجة رسول الله في الدنيا والآخرة.

A man came to ʿAlī and began disparaging ʿĀ'ishah in his presence. Hearing this, ʿAmmār stood up and yelled, "Get lost, disgracefully and reprehensibly. By Allah, certainly she is the wife of Rasūlullāh ﷺ in the world and the Hereafter." (149)

Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was questioned about their war to which they replied:

قتال شهده أصحاب محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم وغبنا، وعلموا وجهلنا، واجتمعوا فاتبعنا، واختلفوا فوقفنا.

A war at which the Companions of Muḥammad ﷺ were present while we were absent, they knew while we were ignorant. When they are united, we follow and when they differ, we refrain from passing a judgment. (150)

Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Fasawī states:

حدثنا سعيد بن عفير حدثني يعقوب عن أبيه أن عبد العزيز بن مروان بعث ابنه عمر بن عبد العزيز إلى المدينة يتأدب بها فكتب إلى صالح ابن كيسان يتعاهده، «فكان عمر يختلف إلى عبيد الله بن عبد الله يسمع منه العلم، فبلغ عبيد الله أن عمر ينتقص علي بن أبي طالب، فأتاه عمر فقام يصلي، فجلس عمر فلم يبرح حتى سلم من ركعتين، ثم أقبل على عمر بن عبد العزيز فقال: متى بلغك أن الله سخط على أهل بدر بعد أن رضي عنهم؟ قال: فعرف عمر ما أراد،

(149) Aḥmad: *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah*, vol. 2 pg. 870.
(150) Al-Qurtubi: *al-Jāmiʿ li Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, vol. 16 pg. 321.

فقال: معذرة إليك والله لا أعود. قال: فما سمع عمر بن عبد العزيز بعد ذلك ذاكرا عليا إلا بخير».

Saʿīd ibn ʿUfayr narrated to us—Yaʿqūb narrated to me—from his father that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān sent his son ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to Madīnah to receive a fine education. He wrote to Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān to take care of him. ʿUmar would frequent the gatherings of ʿUbayd Allah ibn ʿAbd Allah to listen to his academic discourses. It reached ʿUbayd Allah that ʿUmar was disparaging ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. After some time, ʿUmar came to him and stood up to pray. ʿUbayd Allah sat and waited until ʿUmar made salām after two rakʿāt. ʿUbayd Allah then turned to ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al- ʿAzīz and asked, "When did it reach you that Allah became angry at the participants of Badr after being pleased with them?"

ʿUmar realised his implication so he submitted, "I apologise to you. By Allah, I will never commit that mistake again."

Subsequent to this, ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was only heard speaking favourably of ʿAlī. [151]

Later, when ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz would be questioned about Sayyidunā ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, Sayyidunā ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, Jamal, Ṣiffīn, and the disputes between them, he would answer:

تلك دماء كف الله يدي عنها وأنا أكره أن أغمس لساني فيها

That is blood from which Allah protected my hand. I, therefore, dislike immersing my tongue in it. [152]

[151] *Al-Maʿrifah wa al-Tārīkh*, vol. 1 pg. 315.
[152] Ibn Saʿd: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 5 pg. 394; *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, vol. 9 pg. 114. The wording is Ibn Saʿd's.

Al-ʿAwwām ibn Ḥawshab states:

اذكروا محاسن أصحاب محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم تأتلف عليه قلوبكم، ولا تذكروا غيره فتحرشوا الناس عليهم.

Highlight the distinctions of the Companions of Muḥammad ﷺ, your hearts will agree with it. Do not discuss anything besides this, or else you will sow discord in the hearts of people for them. [153]

Abū Bakr al-Marwadhī states:

قيل لأبي عبد اللهَّ ونحن بالعسكر، وقد جاء بعض رسل الخليفة، وهو يعقوب؛ فقال: يا أبا عبد اللهَّ، ما تقول فيما كان من علي ومعاوية رحمهما اللهَّ؟ فقال أبو عبد اللهَّ: ما أقول فيها إلا الحسنى، رحمهم الله أجمعين.

We were in the army when Yaʿqūb, one of the messengers of the khalīfah, had arrived and enquired, "O Abū ʿAbd Allah, what is your view regarding the dispute between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah, may Allah have mercy on them both?"

Abū ʿAbd Allah replied, "I only speak positively about it. May Allah shower mercy on them all." [154]

Abū Yaʿqūb ibn al-ʿAbbās reports:

كنا عند أبي عبد الله سنة سبع وعشرين، أنا وأبوجعفر بن إبراهيم، فقال له أبو جعفر: أليس نترحم على أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم كلهم: معاوية، وعمرو بن العاص،

[153] Al-Khallāl: *al-Sunnah*, Ḥadīth: 829; al-Ājurrī: *al-Sharīʿah*, Ḥadīth: 1910; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *Jāmiʿ Bayān al-ʿIlm wa Faḍlihī*, Ḥadīth: 1136.
[154] *Al-Sunnah*, vol. 2 pg. 460.

وعلى أبي موسى الأشعري والمغيرة؟ قال: " نعم، كلهم وصفهم الله في كتابه فقال: {سيماهم في وجوههم من أثر السجود}.

Abū Jaʿfar ibn Ibrāhīm and I were in the company of Abū ʿAbd Allah in the year 27 A.H. Abū Jaʿfar asked him, "Do we not seek mercy for all the Companions of Rasūlullāh ﷺ including Muʿāwiyah, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, ʿAlī, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, and Mughīrah?"

"Yes," he replied, "Allah has described all of them in His book with the words: *Their mark is on their faces from the trace of prostration.* [155],[156]

Abū Zurʿah announces:

إذا رأيت الرجل ينتقص أحدا من أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فاعلم أنه زنديق، وذلك أن الرسول عندنا حق، والقرآن حق، وإنما أدى إلينا هذا القرآن والسنن أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، وإنما يريدون أن يجرحوا شهودنا ليبطلوا الكتاب والسنة، والجرح بهم أولى وهم زنادقة.

When you see a man disparaging any of the Companions of Rasūlullāh ﷺ, then realise he is a heretic. This is because Rasūlullāh ﷺ is true according to us and the Qur'ān is true. Only and only the Companions of Rasūlullāh ﷺ transmitted the Qur'ān and Sunnah practices to us. They (those who disparage the Ṣaḥābah) only seek to declare our witnesses unreliable so that they may abolish the Book and

[155] Sūrah al-Fatḥ: 29.
[156] *Al-Sunnah*, vol. 2 pg. 476.

Sunnah. Declaring them (those who disparage the Ṣaḥābah) unreliable is more befitting and they are heretics. [157]

Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī affirms:

أما ما شجر بين الصحابة من الأمور وحدث في زمانهم من اختلاف الآراء فإنه باب كلما قل التسرع فيه والبحث عنه كان أولى بنا وأسلم لنا، ومما يجب علينا أن نعتقد في أمرهم أنهم كانوا أئمة علماء، قد اجتهدوا في طلب الحق وتحروا وجهته وتوخوا قصده، فالمصيب منهم مأجور والمخطئ معذور، وقد تعلق كل منهم بحجة وفزع إلى عذر، والمقايسة عليهم والمباحثة عنهم اقتحام فيما لا يعنينا. والله تعالى يغفر لنا ولهم برحمته.

With regards to the disagreements of the Ṣaḥābah and the diverse views that developed in their era, that is a door; the less we hasten to it and discuss it, the more befitting and safer for us. What is necessary for us to believe about them is that they were leaders and scholars. They exercised ijtihād to seek the truth, investigated it thoroughly, and aimed for its target. The one who reached the correct conclusion is rewarded while the one mistaken is excused. Each of them clasped on to a proof and took refuge in a justification. Making comparisons between them and discussing them is embarking boldly into a terrain that does not concern us. May Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ forgive us and them through His mercy. [158]

Al-Bāqillānī says:

ويجب أن يعلم أن أخير الأمة أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، وأفضل الصحابة العشرة الخلفاء الراشدون الأربعة رضي الله عن الجميع وأرضاهم، ونقر بفضل أهل بيت

[157] Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī: *al-Kifāyah fī ʿIlm al-Riwāyah*, vol. 1 pg. 49.
[158] Al-Khaṭṭābī: *al-ʿAzlah*, Ḥadīth: 23.

رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، وكذلك نعترف بفضل أزواجه رضي الله عنهن، وأنهن أمهات المؤمنين، كما وصفهن الله تعالى ورسوله، ونقول في الجميع خيراً... ويجب الكف عن ذكر ما شجر بينهم والسكوت عنه... وروي عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما أنه قيل له: ما تقول فيما شجر بين الصدر الأول؟ فقال: أقول كما قال الله تعالى: ﴿رَبَّنَا ٱغۡفِرۡ لَنَا وَلِإِخۡوَٰنِنَا ٱلَّذِينَ سَبَقُونَا بِٱلۡإِيمَٰنِ وَلَا تَجۡعَلۡ فِي قُلُوبِنَا غِلّٗا لِّلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ﴾ وسئل عن ذلك جعفر بن محمد الصادق عليه السلام فقال: أقول ما قال الله: عِلْمُها عِنْدَ رَبِّي فِي كِتابٍ لا يَضِلُّ رَبِّي وَلا يَنْسى.

It is compulsory to know that the cream of the ummah are the Companions of Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيۡهِوَسَلَّمَ. The most superior of the ten Ṣaḥābah are the four Khulafā'. May Allah be pleased with them all and make them happy. We affirm the excellence of the Ahl al-Bayt of Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيۡهِوَسَلَّمَ. We similarly acknowledge the virtue of His wives رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنۡهُنَّ. They are the Mothers of the Believers just as Allah سُبۡحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ and His Messenger صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيۡهِوَسَلَّمَ described them. We speak favourably of them all.

It is obligatory not to discuss their disagreements and to remain silent about it.

It is reported that Ibn ʿAbbās رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنۡهُمَا was asked, "What do you say about the disputes in the first era?"

He replied, "I declare just as Allah سُبۡحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ declared: *Our Lord! Forgive us and our fellow brothers who preceded us in faith, and do not allow bitterness into our hearts towards those who believe.* [159]

[159] Sūrah al-Ḥashr: 10.

Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq ibn Muḥammad was asked the same question to which he replied, "I declare what Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ declared: *The knowledge thereof is with*

my Rabb in a record. My Rabb neither errs not forgets." [160],[161]

Al-Qurṭubī asserts:

وقد تعبدنا بالكف عما شجر بينهم، وألا نذكرهم إلا بأحسن الذكر، لحرمة الصحبة ولنهي النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عن سبهم، وأن الله غفر لهم، وأخبر بالرضا عنهم. هذا مع ما قد ورد من الأخبار من طرق مختلفة عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أن طلحة شهيد يمشي على وجه الأرض، فلو كان ما خرج إليه من الحرب عصيانا لم يكن بالقتل فيه شهيدا. وكذلك لو كان ما خرج إليه خطأ في التأويل وتقصيرا في الواجب عليه، لأن الشهادة لا تكون إلا بقتل في طاعة، فوجب حمل أمرهم على ما بيناه. ومما يدل على ذلك ما قد صح وانتشر من أخبار علي بأن قاتل الزبير في النار. قال ابن فورك: ومن أصحابنا من قال إن سبيل ما جرت بين الصحابة من المنازعات كسبيل ما جرى بين إخوة يوسف مع يوسف، ثم إنهم لم يخرجوا بذلك عن حد الولاية والنبوة، فكذلك الأمر فيما جرى بين الصحابة.

We have been commanded as a form of worship to keep silent with regards to their disputes and not to mention them except in glowing terms, due to the honour of companionship and Rasūlullāh's صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ prohibition from reviling them and owing to Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ forgiving them and notifying of being pleased with them. All of this coupled with the narrations from various chains from the Nabī صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ that Ṭalḥah is a martyr walking on the face of the earth. Had his departure for the war

[160] Sūrah Ṭāhā: 52.
[161] Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī: *al-Inṣāf fīmā Yajibu Iʿtiqāduhū*, pg. 65.

been disobedience, he would not have been a martyr by being killed therein. Similar would be the case if his departure had been a mistake in interpretation and a shortcoming in his mandatory duty. This is because martyrdom cannot be attained except by being killed in obedience. Hence, it is necessary to attribute their matter to what we have explained. What indicates to this is the authentic and famous reports of ʿAlī that the killer of Zubayr is in Hell. Ibn Fūrak says: Among our scholars are those who say, "The path of disputes between the Ṣaḥābah is like the path between the brothers of Yūsuf with Yūsuf. They, by this, did not exit the border of leadership and nubuwwah. Similar is the matter between the Ṣaḥābah. [162]

Al-Nawawī explains:

واعلم أن الدماء التي جرت بين الصحابة رضي الله عنهم ليست بداخلة في هذا الوعيد، ومذهب أهل السنة والحق إحسان الظن بهم والإمساك عما شجر بينهم، وتأويل قتالهم وأنهم مجتهدون متأولون لم يقصدوا معصية ولامحض الدنيا، بل اعتقد كل فريق أنه المحق ومخالفه باغ فوجب عليه قتاله ليرجع إلى أمر الله، وكان بعضهم مصيبا وبعضهم مخطئا معذورا في الخطأ؛ لأنه لاجتهاد والمجتهد إذا أخطأ لا إثم عليه وكان علي رضي الله عنه هو المحق المصيب في تلك الحروب، هذا مذهب أهل السنة وكانت القضايا مشتبهة حتى أن جماعة من الصحابة تحيروا فيها فاعتزلوا الطائفتين ولم يقاتلوا ولم يتيقنوا الصواب ثَم تأخروا عن مساعدته.

Know that the wars that occurred between the Ṣaḥābah are not included in this warning. The stance of the Ahl al-Sunnah and those of truth is to entertain good thoughts about them, withhold from their disagreements, provide suitable

[162] *Al-Jāmiʿ li Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, vol. 16 pg. 321.

interpretation to their clashes, and to acknowledge that they are mujtahids who exercised ijtihād without intending disobedience or hankering after the world. Instead, each faction believed himself to be on the truth and his opposition as rebels, hence fighting the opposition was binding in order for him to return to the decree of Allah. Some of them acted correctly while some of them erred and are excused for their error since it was on the basis of ijtihād. When a mujtahid errs, there is no sin upon him. ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was upon the truth and acted correctly in those wars. This is the stance of the Ahl al-Sunnah. The matters were obscure to the extent that a group of Ṣaḥābah pondered deeply about it and detached from both factions without participating in the fighting, as they were not convinced of what was right, thus desisted from assisting [any group]. [163]

Ibn Taymiyyah states:

ما ينقل عن الصحابة من المثالب فهو نوعان: أحدهما: ما هو كذب، إما كذب كله، وإما محرف قد دخله من الزيادة والنقصان ما يخرجه إلى الذم والطعن. وأكثر المنقول من المطاعن الصريحة هو من هذا الباب يرويها الكذابون المعروفون بالكذب، مثل أبي مخنف لوط بن يحيى، ومثل هشام بن محمد بن السائب الكلبي وأمثالهما من الكذابين.

النوع الثاني: ما هو صدق. وأكثر هذه الأمور لهم فيها معاذير تخرجها عن أن تكون ذنوبا، وتجعلها من موارد الاجتهاد التي إن أصاب المجتهد فيها فله أجران وإن أخطأ فله أجر. وعامة المنقول الثابت عن الخلفاء الراشدين من هذا الباب، وما قدر من هذه الأمور ذنبا

[163] *Sharḥ al-Nawawī*, vol. 18 pg. 11.

محققا فإن ذلك لا يقدح فيما علم من فضائلهم وسوابقهم وكونهم من أهل الجنة ; لأن الذنب المحقق يرتفع عقابه في الآخرة بأسباب متعددة.

The shortcomings of the Ṣaḥābah that are reported are of two types. One type is pure falsehood. Either it is a complete lie or it is contaminated with additions or subtractions plunging it into a form of censure and disparagement. The majority of clear-cut blemishes that are reported are of this type, reported by liars notorious for falsehood like Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā, Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī, and their like of fabricators.

The second type is true. Majority of these are such matters for which they have justifiable excuses which remove them from being sins and enter them into the domain of ijtihād wherein if the mujtahid is correct, he receives a twofold reward and if he errs, he receives a single reward. The general established reports about the Rightly Guided Khulafā' are of this type. Those matters that are decreed as proper sins, cannot censure their renowned virtues, precedences, and them being from the inhabitants of Jannah, for the punishment of a proper sin is waived in the Hereafter due to a host of reasons. [164]

He also declares:

ويمسكون عما شجر بين الصحابة. ويقولون: إن هذه الآثار المروية في مساويهم منها ما هو كذب ومنها ما قد زيد فيه ونقص وغير عن وجهه والصحيح منه: هم فيه معذورون إما مجتهدون مصيبون وإما مجتهدون مخطئون وهم مع ذلك لا يعتقدون أن كل واحد من الصحابة معصوم عن كبائر الإثم وصغائره؛ بل تجوز عليهم الذنوب في الجملة ولهم من

[164] *Minhāj al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah*, vol. 5 pg. 43.

السوابق والفضائل ما يوجب مغفرة ما يصدر منهم إن صدر حتى إنه يغفر لهم من السيئات ما لا يغفر لمن بعدهم لأن لهم من الحسنات التي تمحو السيئات ما ليس لمن بعدهم، وقد ثبت بقول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم " إنهم خير القرون " " وإن المد من أحدهم إذا تصدق به كان أفضل من جبل أحد ذهبا ممن بعدهم ".

And they (the Ahl al-Sunnah) withhold from speaking about the disagreements of the Ṣaḥābah. They declare: These reports narrated about their flaws; some are lies while others have been added to or subtracted from and changed from their original. With regards to the authentic reports, they (the Ṣaḥābah) are excused for they are either mujtahids that acted correctly or mujtahids that erred. Coupled with this, they (the Ahl al-Sunnah) do not believe that all the Ṣaḥābah are infallible to major and minor sins. Rather, they are susceptible to sin. At the same time, they enjoy precedence and excellent virtues which mandate the forgiveness of their errors, if any. In fact, such evil deeds of theirs are pardoned which are not pardoned for those after them since they have performed those marvellous good deeds which erase evil deeds, good deeds not performed by others. It is established on the strength of Rasūlullāh's ﷺ statement that they are the best generation and that a *mudd* which one of them donates in charity is far superior to Mount Uḥud of gold donated by those after them. [(165)]

He avows:

ما علم بالكتاب والسنة والنقل المتواتر، من محاسن الصحابة وفضائلهم، لا يجوز أن يدفع بنقول بعضها منقطع، وبعضها محرف، وبعضها لا يقدح فيما علم، فإن اليقين لا يزول

[(165)] *Matan al-ʿAqīdah al-Wāsiṭiyyah*, vol. 1 pg. 13; *Majmūʿ al-Fatāwā*, vol. 3 pg. 155.

بالشك، ونحن قد تيقنا ما دل عليه الكتاب والسنة وإجماع السلف قبلنا، وما يصدق ذلك من المنقولات المتواترة من أدلة العقل، من أن الصحابة رضي الله عنهم أفضل الخلق بعد الأنبياء، فلا يقدح في هذا أمور مشكوك فيها فكيف إذا علم بطلانها؟ ! .

The good qualities and excellences of the Ṣaḥābah that are authenticated in the Qur'ān, Sunnah, and mutawātir narrations cannot be dumped by a handful of reports, some of which are munqaṭiʿ, others adulterated, and others not condemnatory as far as knowledge is concerned. This is owing to the principle that certainty does not disappear due to doubt. We are convinced by the declarations of the Qur'ān, the Sunnah, the consensus of the pious predecessors before us, and those mutawātir narrations and intellectual evidences which support that the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ were the cream of creation after the Ambiyā'. Matters which are doubtful cannot overshadow these, so what about when their falsehood is recognised?[166]

The statements of the Salaf (learned pious predecessors) and scholars of the ummah on this topic are innumerable. I have sufficed by quoting few as a sample to elucidate on the stance of the noble predecessors of the ummah. Otherwise, the matter is unanimously agreed upon and does not have scope for ijtihād. Ibn Ḥajar has recorded consensus upon this. Ibn Ḥajar declares:

واتفق أهل السنة على وجوب منع الطعن على أحد من الصحابة بسبب ما وقع لهم من ذلك ولو عرف المحق منهم لأنهم لم يقاتلوا في تلك الحروب إلا عن اجتهاد وقد عفا الله تعالى عن المخطئ في الاجتهاد، بل ثبت أنه يؤجر أجرا واحدا وأن المصيب يؤجر أجرين.

[166] *Minhāj al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah*, vol. 6 pg. 195.

> The Ahl al-Sunnah are unanimous on the compulsion of prohibiting criticism against any of the Ṣaḥābah due to what happened in this regard, although the accurate entity is recognised. This is because they did not fight in those wars except on the basis of ijtihād and Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ has pardoned the one who errs in ijtihād. In fact, it is established that he is awarded one reward while the accurate one is awarded two rewards. [(167)]

These statements quoted from the Salaf on this topic—if they indicate anything— indicate the seriousness of this matter. The one who steps in this domain, steps in at the peril of his own life. Whoever desires safety should adopt the stance of the pious predecessors of the Ummah: protecting the tongue from criticising them, withholding his tongue from discussing the disagreements between them, and not delving into these issues except with a praiseworthy objective like gaining deep understanding of dīn if any fiqhī ruling is attached to it, defending them, or exposing the faulty narrations which describe them with characteristics not befitting for the best of creation after the Nabī of mankind (may the choicest salutations, peace, and greetings be upon him).

O benevolent reader! You are now aware of the stance of the pious predecessors concerning this fitnah, i.e. preserving the tongue from disparaging them, not discussing their disagreements, loving them all, and being pleased with them all. Hold firmly to it, for it is the straight path and the sound method. Whoever treads another path, treads a ruined path. If he is compassionate, then his own soul is most deserving of the same, before being forced to regret at a juncture when there will be no time for regret.

[(167)] *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 13 pg. 34.

Section One

A Brief Biography of the Eminent Ṣaḥābī ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ

- Name & Lineage
- Agnomen
- Upbringing
- Family
- Islam
- External and Internal Characteristics
- Virtues
- Actions
- Jihād
- Worship
- Aḥādīth
- Eloquence, Poetry, Words of Wisdom, and Parables
- Business & Inheritance
- Demise

He is the Companion of Rasūlullāh ﷺ before everything else. He is the experienced and wise leader, one of the smart and astute Arabs, the conqueror and governor of Egypt. He is Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه

Name & Lineage

He is ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ ibn Wā'il ibn Hāshim ibn Suʿayd[168] ibn Sahm[169] ibn ʿAmr ibn Huṣayṣ ibn Kaʿb ibn Lu'ayy al-Qurashī al-Sahmī. [170]

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[168] Suʿayd: diminutive form. (*al-Iṣābah*, vol. 4 pg. 650)

[169] One of the tribes of Quraysh. Part of the *ḥalf al-aḥlāf* with Banū ʿAbd al-Dār, Banū Makhzūm, Banū Jumḥ, and Banū ʿAdī ibn Kaʿb. Their opposition is *ḥalf al-muṭibīn* which comprised of Banū ʿAbd Manāf, Banū Asad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā ibn Quṣayy, Banū Zahrah ibn Kilāb, Banū Taym ibn Murrah, and Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Fihr ibn Mālik ibn al-Naḍr. This division was a result of the conflict between Banū ʿAbd Manāf and Banū ʿAbd al-Dār about the duties of *al-ḥijābah* (office of gatekeeper), *al-siqāyah wa alrifādah* (feeding and giving water to the pilgrims), *al-nadwah* (the council), and *al-liwā'* (the standard). These duties were shouldered by Quṣayy. Quṣayy grew old and weak. ʿAbd al-Dār was his eldest son, but he was weak. ʿAbd Manāf, on the other hand, had become a chieftain in the lifetime of his father and so did his brothers ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā and ʿAbd Quṣayy. Quṣayy told ʿAbd al-Dār, "By Allah, I will most certainly unite you with them." He, thus, awarded him *dār al-nadwah* (the council) and *al-ḥijābah* i.e. gatekeeper of the Kaʿbah and *al-liwā'*. A dispute arouse among his children after his demise. The sons of ʿAbd Manāf ibn Quṣayy viz. ʿAbd Shams, Hāshim, al-Muṭṭalib, and Nawfal agreed to take *al-rifādah wa al-siqāyah* from the sons of ʿAbd al-Dār due to their nobility and virtue over them. Quraysh, thus, split upon this. A faction joined the sons of ʿAbd Manāf while another faction sided with the sons of ʿAbd al-Dār and they prepared for war. They subsequently called for a reconciliation on condition that they hand over *al-siqāyah* and *al-rifādah* to the Banū ʿAbd Manāf and they were happy with this. *Al-ḥijābah*: the gatekeeper of the Kaʿbah. No one will open its door besides him. He is responsible for cleaning it and cloaking it.
Siqāyat al-Ḥājj: They would fill ponds with water for the ḥujjāj and sweeten it with some dates and raisons from which people would drink when arriving by the Kaʿbah.
Rifādat al-Ḥājj: Food prepared for the ḥujjāj as a form of hospitality. Quṣayy had stipulated upon the Quraysh a stipend which they would give from their wealth to him during the pilgrimage season. From this fund, he would prepare food for the ḥujjāj. Everyone who was not wealthy or had no provisions could partake from it.
Dār al-Nadwah: They would consult here concerning major matters that befell them. They would get their daughters married here and the flags would be knotted here.

Al-Liwā': They would not knot any flag or standard to wage war against another tribe besides their own except at the hand of Quṣayy or the hand of one of his children. (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 1 pg. 77; *al-Kāmil*, vol. 1 pg. 155; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 3 pg. 243- 244; *al-Raḥīq al-Makhtūm*, vol. 1 pg. 17).

Sahm would vie with the sons of ʿAbd Manāf for leadership and honour. It is reported that the reason behind the revelation of "The competition in worldly increase diverts you," was due to their competition in boasting and bragging with the Banū ʿAbd Manāf. Muqātil and al-Kalbī say, "Sūrah al- Takāthur was revealed about few tribes of Quraysh, viz. Banū ʿAbd Manāf and Banū Sahm. They were close in relationship, so the leaders and honourables competed with each other, who of them had more. Banū ʿAbd Manāf proclaimed, "We have more leaders, are more honourable, and have a greater assembly." Banū Sahm made similar proclamations. The Banū ʿAbd Manāf beat them in numbers. They then said, "We will count our dead and visit the graves." They, thus, counted their dead and Banū Sahm beat them in number since they had larger numbers during the period of ignorance. (al-Wāḥidī: *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*, pg. 305) Similarly, they had a door in al-Masjid al-Ḥarām among 23 doors. (al-Azraqī: *Akhbār Makkah*, vol. 2 pg. 628) Al-Fāsī says in *Shifā' al-Gharām*, vol. 1 pg. 230, "It is the door of the Masjid which is now commonly known as the door of ʿUmrah. It is reported that the Nabī ﷺ prayed facing their door.

فعن سفيان بن عيينة، قال: حدثني كثير بن كثير بن المطلب بن أبي وداعة، سمع بعض أهله يحدث، عن جده، أنه رأى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يصلي مما يلي باب بني سهم والناس يمرون بين يديه، وليس بينه وبين الكعبة سترة.

> Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah says—Kathīr ibn Kathīr ibn al-Muṭṭalib ibn Abī Wadāʿah narrated to me—he heard one of his family members narrating—from his grandfather that he saw the Nabī ﷺ praying next to the door of the Banū Sahm while people passed in front of him and there was no barrier between him and the Kaʿbah. (*Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 27241; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, Ḥadīth: 2016).

The report is weak due to the unknown link between Kathīr and his grandfather and due to the inconsistency in the isnād. (*al-Ḍaʿīfah*, Ḥadīth: 928).

Sahm had assumed responsibility of significant community duties in Makkah. They were in charge of the court (deciding between disputes and cases), and stone wealth. It was the duty of Ḥārith ibn Qays ʿAdī al-Sahmī. The meaning of *taḥjīr al-amwāl* (stone wealth) is: administering charities and vows which were gifted to the idols. (*al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 1 pg. 29; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 24 pg. 118; *al-Raḥīq al-Makhtūm*, pg. 17). Al-ʿAqqād says: They are similar to *awqāf* (endowments) in the Islamic times. Their leaders from the Banū Sahm were a group of managers of

Agnomen

Abū ʿAbd Allah, and it is said: Abū Muḥammad.

Upbringing

Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was born in Makkah, a Qurashī from the Banū Sahm. It has passed that the Banū Sahm assumed responsibility of significant community duties like leadership of the court (judging between disputes and cases) and stoned wealth and that they would compete with the Banū ʿAbd Manāf. This indicates to the tribe's status and domination in Makkah. Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ grew up and thrived among a community which enjoyed status and authority. A tribe which enjoys authority and position leaves effects on their individuals. What if the father is the same, one who enjoys leadership and position? His father was among the renowned figures and leaders in the period of ignorance. This lofty station was a strong cause to develop this unique individual. What if this is supplemented with learning knighthood? He was one of the knights and heroes. Add to this his eloquence, expressiveness, and cleverness—qualities bestowed upon him. The man's personality and prestige is perfect with his affluence and his independence of the wealth of others. His father was so affluent that he would wear garments of silk brocade as appears in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ did not suffice on his father's legacy, however, instead he travelled for business. A profusion of wealth awards the possessor with independence of his self and view. Hence, he does not flatter

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awqāf known for their good or evil deeds with which the managers of *awqāf* are characterised in all ages. (*ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ*, pg. 4).

(170) *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 22 pg. 78; al-Dhahabī: *al-Siyar*, vol. 3 pg. 54; Ibn Ḥajar: *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 4 pg. 650.

anyone, avaricious for his generosity and does not hesitate to confront him, out of fear of the cessation of his benevolences.

These factors made Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ distinctive from everyone else and granted him prominence in the pre-Islam and post-Islam community. During ignorance, he would be sent as an ambassador to the Kings and Emperors. The Quraysh sent him to the King of Abyssinia to speak to him concerning those Muslims who emigrated there. Only a man of lofty status is chosen for such mammoth tasks. If we look at Islam, Nabī صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ appoints him as army general of the expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsil despite the presence of Sayyidunā Abū Bakr and Sayyidunā ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا and despatches him to the King of Oman to deliver his invitation. He then assumes positions of leadership from the Khulafā'. You should ponder over Sayyidunā ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ comment he made after observing Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ walking:

لا ينبغي لأبي عبد الله أن يمشي في الأرض إلا أميرا.

> It is not appropriate for Abū ʿAbd Allah to walk on earth except as a commander. [171]

Father

ʿĀṣ (or al-ʿĀṣī) [172] ibn Wā'il. ʿĀṣ was one of the significant leaders in the period of ignorance and the commander of the Banū Sahm in the

[171] Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 155.

[172] Ibn al-Jawzī says: "The general muḥaddithīn read ibn al-ʿĀṣ without a yā'. This is an error. What we have memorised from the linguists, the likes of Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Khashāb, is the inclusion of the *yā'*." Ibn Ḥajar explains, "Al-ʿĀṣ is with two letters without diacritical marks [dots] (i.e. *ʿayn* and *ṣād*). From *al-ʿawaṣ* (difficult, abstruse), not from *al-ʿiṣyān* (disobedience). The *ṣād* will thus have a *raf* (u consonant at the end) whereas *kasrah* (i consonant at the end) is also

Second Fujjār War. Owing to him, the Fuḍūl Confederacy was contracted. -Zubayr ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib invited to it - for his refusing to return the belongings of al-Zabīdī. Consequently, Hāshim, Zuhrah, and Taym ibn Murrah gathered at the house of ʿAbd Allah ibn Jadʿān and came to a mutual agreement and pledged that they will unite as one force with the oppressed against the oppressor until the former's right is returned. Then they went to ʿĀṣ ibn Wā'il and snatched the commodity of al-Zabīdī and returned the same to its rightful owner.

He was among the affluent. He would wear a *ḥibarah*[173] garment and throbs embroidered with silk. He would wear a qabā' of silk brocade.[174] He lived till the advent of Islam but remained obstinate upon shirk until his death. He is reckoned among the first to contest the invitation of the Nabī ﷺ and one of his most violent enemies. Notwithstanding this, he had a few fair stances with his opposition. He is the one to face up to the Quraysh when they nearly killed Sayyidunā ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رضي الله عنه after he publicly announced his Islam in their midst. [175]

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permitted. It is said: It is from *al-ʿiṣyān* (disobedience) in which case it will definitely be with a *kasrah*. Including the *yā'* is permissible like the word *al-qāḍī*." Al-ʿAynī says, "Al-ʿĀṣ with a *ḍammah* on the *ṣād*. Its origin is *al-ʿawaṣ*. It is permissible with a *kasrah* on the *ṣād* since its original form is *al-ʿĀṣī* like *al-qāḍī*, however the *yā'* has been omitted for ease. (*Kashf al-Mushkil*, vol. 4 pg. 109; *al-Fatḥ*, vol. 7 pg. 178; *ʿUmdat al-Qārī*, vol. 25 pg. 38).

[173] *Ḥibarah*: on the scale of *ʿinabah*. A Yemeni garment from cotton or striped flax. (al-Fayūmī: *al-Miṣbāḥ al-Munīr*, vol. 1 pg. 118).

[174] *Al-Qabā'*: al-Qurtubi explains: "A garment with narrow sleeves. The centre of the back has a slit. It is worn on journey and during war, for it supports movement." Ibn Baṭṭāl explains, "*Al-qabā'* is from the clothes of the non-Arabs. And *al-dībāj* is a type of silk." (*Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 6 pg. 576; *ʿUmdat al-Qārī*, vol. 31 pg. 448).

[175] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 3 pg. 1403; al-Samʿānī: *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2 pg. 781; Ibn al-Athīr: *al-Kāmil*, vol. 1 pg. 208; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 3 pg. 457; al-Zarkalī: *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 3 pg. 247.

Ibn Isḥāq reports:

حدثني نافع عن ابن عمر قال: لما أسلم عمر بن الخطاب قال: أي أهل مكة أنقل للحديث؟ قالوا: جميل بن معمر الجمحي، فخرج عمر، وخرجت وراء أبي وأنا غليم أعقل كلما رأيت، حتى أتاه، فقال: يا جميل هل علمت أني أسلمت؟ فو الله ما راجعه الكلام حتى قام يجر رداءه، وخرج عمر معه، وأنا مع أبي، حتى إذا قام على باب المسجد (الكعبة) صرخ بأعلى صوته: يا معشر قريش إن عمر قد صبا، فقال عمر: كذبت ولكني أسلمت، فبادروه فقاتلهم وقاتلوه حتى قامت الشمس على رؤوسهم وبلح، فجلس وعرشوا على رأسه قياماً وهو يقول: اصنعوا ما بدا لكم فأقسم بالله لو قد كنا ثلاثمائة رجل لقد تركتموها لنا أو تركناها لكم، فبينا هم على ذلك إذ أقبل شيخ من قريش عليه حلة حبره وقميص قومسي، فقال: مه؟ فقالوا: خيراً، عمر بن الخطاب صبا، فقال فمه؟! رجل اختار لنفسه ديناً أترون بني عدي بن كعب يسلمون لكم صاحبهم هكذا عن الرجل. فو الله لكأنما كان ثوب كشف عنه، فلما قدمنا المدينة قلت: يا أبه من الرجل صاحب الحلة الذي صرف القوم عنك؟ قال: ذاك العاص بن وائل السهمي.

Nāfiʿ narrated to me—from Ibn ʿUmar who recollects:

When ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb embraced Islam, he enquired, “Which of the residents of Makkah carries tales the fastest?”

“Jamīl ibn Maʿmar al-Jumaḥī,” they said.

ʿUmar, thus, left and I went behind my father. I was a young boy and understood what I saw.

ʿUmar approached him and said, “O Jamīl, are you aware that I have embraced Islam?”

By Allah, he did not even respond to him and jumped up, hastening and dragging his shawl. ʿUmar left with him and I

was with my father. As soon as he stood at the door of the Masjid (al-Kaʿbah), he screamed at the top of his voice, "O gathering of Quraysh, ʿUmar has renounced his religion!"

ʿUmar interrupted, "You are lying. Instead, I have embraced Islam."

They rushed at him and he began fighting them. They beat him until the sun rose above their heads. He stopped out of exhaustion[176] and sat down, and they stood towering above him. He began saying, "Do as you please! I swear by Allah, had we been three hundred strong, you would have vacated the city for us or we would have vacated it for you."

While they were in this commotion, an old man of Quraysh approached wearing a ḥibarah garment and a Qawmasī throbe. He asked, "What is going on?"

"Goodness," they replied, "Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb has turned renegade."

"So what," he retorted, "a man has chosen a religion for himself. Do you feel that Banū ʿAdī ibn Kaʿb will hand their man over to you? Get away from the man."

By Allah, it was as if a garment had been taken off him [as they dispersed]. When we arrived in Madīnah, I asked, "O beloved father, who was the man in the garment who turned the people away from you?"

"That was ʿĀṣ ibn Wā'il al-Sahmī," he explained. [177]

It is regarding him that Allah's سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى statement was revealed:

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[176] *Balaḥa*: He stopped out of exhaustion and was not able to move. (Ibn Fāris: *Maqāyīs al-Lughah*, vol. 1 pg. 297).
[177] Ibn Isḥāq: *al-Sīrah*, pg. 185.

﴿أَفَرَءَيْتَ ٱلَّذِى كَفَرَ بِـَٔايَـٰتِنَا وَقَالَ لَأُوتَيَنَّ مَالًا وَوَلَدًا﴾

Then, have you seen he who disbelieved in Our verses and said, "I will surely be given wealth and children [in the next life]?" (178)

عن خباب قال: كنت قينا بمكة، فعملت للعاصي بن وائل السهمي سيفا، فجئت أتقاضاه، فقال: لا أعطيك حتى تكفر بمحمد، قلت: لا أكفر بمحمد صلى الله عليه وسلم حتى يميتك الله ثم يحييك، قال: إذا أماتني الله ثم بعثني ولي مال وولد، فأنزل الله: {أفرأيت الذي كفر بآياتنا وقال لأوتين مالا وولدا. أطلع الغيب أم اتخذ عند الرحمن عهدا}.

Khabbāb reports:

I worked as a blacksmith in Makkah. I had designed a sword for ʿĀṣ ibn Wā'il al-Sahmī. I later approached him to demand my due, to which he retorted, "I will not give you until you belie Muḥammad."

"I will never disbelieve in Muḥammad even after Allah gives you death and then life again," shouted I.

He said, "When Allah gives me death and then resurrects me and I have wealth and children."

Upon this, Allah revealed: *Then, have you seen he who disbelieved in Our verses and said, "I will surely be given wealth and children [in the next life]?" Has he looked into the unseen or has he taken from the Most Merciful a promise?* (179)

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(178) Sūrah Maryam: 77.

(179) *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on the tafsīr of the Qur'ān, chapter on His statement: Has he looked into the unseen or has he taken from the Most Merciful a promise, Ḥadīth: 4456; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on the description of Qiyāmah, Jannah, and Hell, chapter on the Jews' questioning the Nabī ﷺ about the soul and His

He was from the main mockers of our Nabī ﷺ. Therefore, the following incident is related about his death:

لما نزل قوله تعالى إِنَّا كَفَيْنَاكَ الْمُسْتَهْزِئِينَ أرسل الله عزوجل جبريل عليه السلام لينتقم ممن تطاول على النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، وكان منهم العاص بن وائل، فلما مر به العاصي بن وائل فأشار إلى أخمص رجله فركب إلى الطائف على حمار فربض به على شبرقة، فدخلت في أخمص رجله شوكة فقتلته.

After Allah's سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى statement was revealed: *Indeed, we are sufficient for you against the mockers*, [180] Allah—the Mighty and Majestic—sent Jibrīl عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ to take revenge from those who attacked the Nabī ﷺ. ʿĀṣ ibn Wā'il was one of them. When ʿĀṣ ibn Wā'il walked by him, Jibrīl pointed to the hollow of his foot. Subsequent to this, ʿĀṣ journeyed to Ṭā'if on a donkey. He was dropped on a *shabraqah* (ononis), and a thorn pierced the hollow of his foot and claimed his life. [181]

Mother

Al-Nābighah[182] from the Banū Jallān ibn ʿAnazah ibn Asad[183] ibn Rabīʿah ibn Nazār. [184] She is al-Nābighah bint Ḥuraymalah[185]. It is

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statement: And they ask you concerning the soul, Ḥadīth: 2795. The wording is al-Bukhārī's.

[180] Sūrah al-Ḥijr: 95.

[181] Ibn Isḥāq: *al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah*, pg. 273.

[182] The historians mention that a man was paid a thousand silver coins to ask Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al- ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ about his mother while he was on the pulpit. He took up the challenge and enquired about his mother. Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ explained, "My mother is Salmā bint Ḥarmalah, with the title al- Nābighah, from the Banū ʿAnazah, then one of the individuals of the Banū Jallān. The spears of the Arabs afflicted her [i.e. she was captured] and she was sold at ʿUkāẓ. Fākih ibn

said: bint Khuzaymah. It is said: Salmā bint al-Nābighah, a slave girl from ʿAnazah. [186]

Agnate Siblings

Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ has an agnate brother, viz. Hishām ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. His mother is Ḥarmalah bint Hishām ibn al-Mughīrah and Abū Jahl is his maternal uncle. Hishām رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ accepted Islam in the early days and emigrated to Abyssinia in the second round. He then returned to Makkah to emigrate to Madīnah. He had planned with Sayyidunā ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ that they will travel to Madīnah together. He said to him, "Wait for me at the marsh of the Banū Ghifār." Before he could depart, his father seized him and shackled him. He remained shackled in Makkah until his father ʿĀṣ ibn Wā'il died at the end of the first year of hijrah. His tribe then kept him shackled after the demise of his father, and he continued attempting to escape until he finally did. He arrived by Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ after the Battle of Khandaq. He was among the best Muslims. He had the agnomen Abū al-ʿĀṣ. Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ gave him the agnomen Abū al-Muṭīʿ. He was younger than his brother, Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. Hishām رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ left with the detachments Sayyidunā Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ despatched to Shām. He was martyred in the Battle of

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al-Mughīrah purchased her and ʿAbd Allah ibn Jadʿān purchased her from him. She then fell into the possession of ʿĀṣ ibn Wā'il. She gave birth to his child. If they had stipulated something for you, take it." (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 1 pg. 367; Ibn al-Athīr: *Usd al-Ghābah,* vol. 4 pg. 244).

[183] Usayd (*Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥābah*); Asad (*al-Istīʿāb* and other references).

[184] Abū Nuʿaym: *Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1 pg. 1987; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 1 pg. 126.

[185] Ḥarmalah instead of Ḥuraymalah. (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 1 pg. 367).

[186] Al-Mizzī: *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 22 pg. 79.

Ajnādayn[187] according to al-Kalbī and at Yarmūk according to al-Wāqidī. Hishām ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ had no offspring. [188]

أخبرنا عليّ بن عبد الله بن جعفر قال: قال سفيان بن عُيينة: قالوا لعمرو بن العاص أنت خير أم أخوك هشام بن العاص؟ قال: أُخْبِركم عنى وعنه، عرضنا أنفسَنا على الله فقَبِلَه وتركنى. قال سفيان: وقُتل في بعض تلك المشاهد، اليرموك أو غيره.

ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allah ibn Jaʿfar informed us saying—Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah said:

They asked ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, "Are you greater or your brother Hishām ibn al-ʿĀṣ?"

He replied, "Let me tell you about me and him. We presented ourselves to Allah. Allah accepted him and left me."

Sufyān continues, "He was martyred in one of those battle, either Yarmūk or another battle." [189]

The Nabī صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ has testified to his īmān and his brother's īmān. Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ declared:

ابنا العاص مؤمنان: عمرو وهشام.

The sons of al-ʿĀṣ, viz. ʿAmr and Hishām, and believers. [190]

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[187] *Ajnādayn*: in the dual form, as if it is the dual form of Ajnād, an area of Jordan in Shām. It is said: Rather, it is a land in Palestine between Ramlah and Jayrūn. (Abū ʿUbayd al-Undulusī: *Muʿjam mā istaʿjama min Asmā' al-Bilād wa al-Mawāḍiʿ*, vol. 1 pg. 114).

[188] Al-Samʿānī: *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 1 pg. 92; vol. 10 pg. 282.

[189] Ibn Saʿd: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4 pg. 192.

[190] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 8042; Ibn Saʿd: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra*, vol. 4 pg. 191; al-Hakim: *al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3 pg. 452. The wording is Aḥmad's. al-Albānī classified it ṣaḥīḥ in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmiʿ*, Ḥadīth: 45.

Uterine Siblings

1. ʿUrwah[191] ibn Abī Uthāthah ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā ibn Ḥirthān ibn ʿAwf ibn ʿUbayd ibn ʿUwayj ibn ʿAdī. He is among the emigrants to Abyssinia.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr elucidates, "ʿUrwah accepted Islam in the early stages of Makkah. Ibn Isḥāq has not listed him among those who emigrated to the land of Abyssinia. Mūsā ibn ʿUqbah and Abū Maʿshar al-Wāqidī have, however, listed him." [192]

2. ʿUqbah ibn Nāfiʿ ibn ʿAbd Qays ibn Laqīṭ from the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Fihr. His father is Nāfiʿ. He is mentioned in *al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah*, for he was in the group who assaulted Sayyidatunā Zaynab رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا, the daughter of the Nabī صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

Al-Balādhurī says:

> فاعترضها رجال من قريش بذي طوى. فبدر إليها هبار بن الأسود بن المطلب بن أسد بن عبد العزى، ونافع بن عبد قيس بن لقيط بن عامر الفهري، وهو أبو «عقبة بن نافع»، صاحب المغرب.
>
> Few men of Quraysh intercepted her at Dhū Ṭuwā. Habbār ibn al-Aswad ibn al-Muṭṭalib ibn Asad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā and Nāfiʿ

[191] It is said: ʿAmr ibn Abī Uthāthah. It is reported as: Ibn Uthāthah ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā al-Qurashī al- ʿAdawī as Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr has clearly penned it. Due to the numerous narrations in determining his name, some biographers have repeated his biography in more than one place, in accordance to the various reports. As you can see, these are the diverse names of one individual.
[192] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 1 pg. 327.

ibn ʿAbd Qays ibn Laqīṭ ibn ʿĀmir al-Fihrī rushed at her. Nāfiʿ is the father of ʿUqbah ibn Nāfiʿ, the man of the West. [193]

It is reported that the Nabī ﷺ permitted his blood at the Conquest of Makkah. Ibn Isḥāq reports:

حدثني يزيد بن أبي حبيب، عن بكير بن عبد الله بن الأشج، عن سليمان بن يسار، عن أبي إسحاق الدوسي. عن أبي هريرة. قال: بعث رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم سرية أنا فيها. فقال لنا: "إن ظفرتم بهبار بن الأسود، أو الرجل الآخر الذي سبق معه إلى زينب. قال ابن هشام: وقد سمى ابن إسحاق الرجل في حديثه وقال: هو نافع بن عبد قيس- فحرقوهما بالنار" قال، فلما كان الغد بعث إلينا. فقال: "إني كنت أمرتكم بتحريق هذين الرجلين إن أخذتموهما. ثم رأيت أنه لا ينبغي لأحد أن يعذب بالنار إلا الله، فإن ظفرتم بهما فاقتلوهما".

Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb narrated to me—from Bukayr ibn ʿAbd Allah ibn al- Ashajj—from Sulaymān ibn Yasār—from Abū Isḥāq al-Dawsī—from Abū Hurayrah who reports:

Rasūlullāh ﷺ sent an expedition in which I was included. He instructed, “If you capture Habbār ibn al-Aswad or the other man who rushed at Zaynab—Ibn Hishām clarifies: Ibn Isḥāq named the man in his report and said: He is Nāfiʿ ibn ʿAbd Qays —then burn them.”

The following day, Rasūlullāh ﷺ summoned us and stated, “I had commanded you to burn these two men if you capture them. I then realized that it is not befitting for anyone

[193] Al-Samʿānī: *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 1 pg. 176; Ibn Kathīr: *al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah*, vol. 2 pg. 519.

to punish with fire except Allah. So if you apprehend them, kill them." [194]

Ibn Kathīr says:

تفرّد به ابن إسحاق، وهو على شرط السّنن ولم يخرجوه. وقال البخاريّ: ثنا قتيبة، ثنا اللّيث، عن بكيرٍ، عن سليمان بن يسارٍ، عن أبي هريرة، رضي اللهَّ عنه، أنّه قال: بعثنا رسول اللهَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم في بعثٍ، فقال: "إن وجدتم فلانًا وفلانًا فأحرقوهما بالنار". ثم قال حين أردنا الخروج: "إنّي أمرتكم أن تحرقوا فلانًا وفلانًا، وإنّ النار لا يعذّب بها إلّا اللهَّ، فإن وجدتموهما فاقتلوهما".

Ibn Isḥāq is the only narrator of the report. The report meets the standards of the Sunan, but none of the authors have documented it.

Al-Bukhārī relates—Qutaybah narrated to us—al-Layth narrated to us— from Bukayr—from Sulaymān ibn Yasār—from Abū Hurayrah who relates:

Rasūlullāh ﷺ sent us on an expedition with the command, "If you find so and so and so and so, then burn them."

As we intended to leave, he instructed, "I had commanded you to burn so and so and so and so. However, only Allah may punish with fire. So if you find them, kill them." [195]

3. Arnab bint ʿAfīf ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ ibn Umayyah ibn ʿAbd Shams. [196] Qays ibn ʿAmr ibn al-Mu'ammal married her. [197]

[194] Ibn Hishām: *al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah*, vol. 3 pg. 208.
[195] Ibn Kathīr: *al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah*, vol. 2 pg. 519.

These are the three uterine siblings of Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

Wives

1. Rīṭah bint Munabbih ibn al-Ḥajjāj ibn ʿĀmir ibn Ḥudhayfah ibn Saʿd ibn Sahm. Her mother is Zaynab bint Wā'il ibn Hishām ibn Saʿīd ibn Sahm. Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ married her in his adolescence. She gave birth to his son ʿAbd Allah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. It is reported that she embraced Islam on the Day of the Conquest and pledged allegiance to Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

Sayyidunā ʿAbd Allah ibn al-Zubayr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا reports:

لما كان يوم الفتح أسلمت ريطة بنت منبه بن الحجاج، وهي أم عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص، وأتت رسول الله فبايعته.

> On the Day of the Conquest, Rīṭah bint Munabbih ibn al-Ḥajjāj embraced Islam. She is the mother of ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. She then came to Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ and pledged allegiance to him.

It is reported that the Nabī صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ spoke in glowing terms about her and her household:

نعم أهل البيت عبد الله، وأم عبد الله

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(196) Ibn Ḥazm: *Jamharat Ansāb al-ʿArab*, vol. 1 pg. 163; Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 52 pg. 136; Ibn Ḥajar: *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 13 pg. 118. The ḥadīth appears in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 4 pg. 61.

(197) Ibn Ḥazm: *Jamharat Ansāb al-ʿArab*, vol. 1 pg. 163; Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī: *Nasab Quraysh*, vol. 1 pg. 136.

What a wonderful household: ʿAbd Allah and his mother. [198]

She has no narrations to her name.

2. Umm Kulthūm bint ʿUqbah ibn Abī Muʿayṭ ibn Abī ʿAmr ibn Umayyah ibn ʿAbd Shams ibn ʿAbd Manāf ibn Quṣayy. Her brothers are Walīd ibn ʿUqbah and ʿAmmārah ibn ʿUqbah. She is the uterine sister of Sayyidunā ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. She embraced Islam and pledged allegiance in Makkah prior to the hijrah. She is the first woman to emigrate after Rasūlullāh's صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ emigration to Madīnah. [199]

Ibn Isḥāq states:

> وهاجرت إلى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أم كلثوم بنت عقبة بن أبي معيط في تلك المدة، فخرج أخواها عمارة والوليد ابنا عقبة، حتى قدما على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يسألانه أن يردها عليهما بالعهد الذي بينه وبين قريش في الحديبية، فلم يفعل، وقال: أبى الله ذلك.

> Umm Kulthūm bint ʿUqbah ibn Abī Muʿayṭ emigrated to Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ after the truce of Ḥudaybiyyah. Her brothers ʿAmmārah and Walīd, sons of ʿUqbah, left and arrived by Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ to demand her return to them in accordance with the treaty concluded between him and

[198] Ibn Saʿd: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 8 pg. 269; Ibn al-Athīr: *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 3 pg. 355; al-Nawawī: *Tahdhīb al-Asmā' wa al-Lughāt*, vol. 1 pg. 399; Ibn Ḥajar: *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 7 pg. 661. The ḥadīth appears in *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 1381 from the chain of Ibn Abī Mulaykah who in turn reports on the authority of Sayyidunā Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. Al-Tirmidhī points out, "Ibn Abī Mulaykah did not meet Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allah." (*Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 6 pg. 170.) The ḥadīth is, thus, munqaṭiʿ.

[199] Ibn Saʿd: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 10 pg. 219; Ibn al-Jawzī: *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwah*, vol. 2 pg. 55 – 58.

Quraysh at Ḥudaybiyyah. Rasūlullāh ﷺ refused and declared: Allah rejects this. [200]

The following verse was revealed concerning her:

﴿يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوٓاْ إِذَا جَآءَكُمُ ٱلۡمُؤۡمِنَٰتُ مُهَٰجِرَٰتٖ فَٱمۡتَحِنُوهُنَّۖ ٱللَّهُ أَعۡلَمُ بِإِيمَٰنِهِنَّۖ﴾

O you who have believed, when the believing women come to you as emigrants, examine them. Allah is most knowing as to their faith. [201]

Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr says:

يقولون: إنها مشت على قدميها من مكة إلى المدينة، فلما قدمت المدينة تزوجها زيد بن حارثة، فقتل عنها يوم مؤتة، فتزوجها الزبير بن العوام، فولدت له زينب، ثم طلقها، فتزوجها عبد الرحمن بن عوف، فولدت له إبراهيم وحميدا، ومنهم من يقول: إنها ولدت لعبد الرحمن إبراهيم، وحميدا، ومحمدا، وإسماعيل، ومات عنها، فتزوجها عمرو بن العاصي، فمكثت عنده شهرا وماتت، وهي أخت عثمان لأمه.

The historians say that she walked from Makkah to Madīnah. After reaching Madīnah, Zayd ibn Ḥārithah married her. He was martyred on the Day of Mu'tah. Subsequent to this, Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām married her and she bore him Zaynab. He then divorced her and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf married her and she mothered Ibrāhīm and Ḥumayd for him. Some of the historians say that she gave birth to 4 sons of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, viz. Ibrāhīm, Ḥumayd, Muḥammad, and Ismāʿīl. He died, after

[200] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 2 pg. 134.
[201] Ibn Saʿd: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 8 pg. 130: al-Qurṭubī: *al-Jāmiʿ li Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, vol. 18 pg. 49.

which ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ married her. She passed away a month later. She is ʿUthmān's uterine sister." [202]

3. Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb al-Baghdādī mentions that ʿAmr married ʿĀtikah bint Zayd ibn ʿAmr ibn Nufayl al-Qurashiyyah. [203]

It is said: ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr proposed to her but she declined both of them. [204]

Children

1. ʿAbd Allah

ʿAbd Allah—one of the forerunners—was born to ʿAmr when he was twelve years of age. He embraced Islam before his father. He was a *fāḍil* (man of culture and refinement), a *ḥāfiẓ*, and an *ʿālim* (scholar) who recited the Qur'ān. He is one of the prolific narrators of ḥadīth among the Ṣaḥābah and one of the ʿAbd Allāhs who are jurists. His mother is Rīṭah bint Munabbih ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Sahmī. [205]

Sayyidunā ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا had the following offspring: Muḥammad—with whom is his agnomen and his mother is Bint Maḥmiyyah ibn Jaz' al-Zabīdī; Hishām, Hāshim, ʿImrān, Umm Iyās, Umm ʿAbd Allah, and Umm Saʿīd—their mother is Umm Hāshim al-Kindiyyah from the Banū Wahb ibn al-Ḥārith. [206]

Ibn Ḥazm says:

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[202] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 2 pg. 135; Ibn Saʿd: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 8 pg. 231.
[203] Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb: *al-Muḥabbar*, vol. 2 pg. 437.
[204] Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī: *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah fī Manāqib al-ʿAsharah*, pg. 382.
[205] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 3 pg. 86; Ibn Ḥajar: *al-Taqrīb*, Biography: 3499.
[206] Ibn Saʿd: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4 pg. 261.

لعبد الله بالوهط ومكة عقب كثير، يناهزون المائة: منهم كان المحدث عمرو، وأخواه عمر، وشعيب، بنو شعيب بن محمّد بن عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاصي، واختهم عابدة: أمها عمرة بنت عبد الله بن العباس بن عبد المطلب، وكان زوجها الحسين بن عبد الله بن عبيد الله بن العباس وبسببها ردّت أموال عمرو بن العاصي، بعد أن قبضها بنو العباس.

ʿAbd Allah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ had many descendants in Waḥṭ[207] and Makkah, close to hundred in number. Among them is the muḥaddith ʿAmr and his brothers ʿUmar and Shuʿayb, the sons of Shuʿayb ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and their sister ʿĀbidah, her mother is ʿAmrah bint ʿAbd Allah ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. Her husband was Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿUbayd Allah ibn al-ʿAbbās. Owing to her, the Banū al-ʿAbbās returned the wealth of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ after they had seized it. [208]

2. Muḥammad

Ibn Ḥajar says: Al-ʿAdawī mentioned in al-Ansāb that Muḥammad accompanied Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ when he was young. Ibn Saʿd adds, "His mother is Balawiyyah." Ibn al-Barqī clarifies, "Her name is Khawlah bint Ḥamzah ibn al-Salīl." [209] Muḥammad had no offspring.[210]

[207] *Al-Waḥṭ*: An orchard of ʿAmr's رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ situated in Ṭā'if which will be mentioned in future.
[208] Ibn Ḥazm: *Jamharat Ansāb al-ʿArab*, vol. 1 pg. 163 – 164.
[209] Ibn Ḥajar: *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 6 pg. 61.
[210] Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī: *Nasab Quraysh*, vol. 1 pg. 137.

Islam

There are various views regarding the year in which Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ embraced Islam. Between Ḥudaybiyyah and Khaybar is one view which is not correct. The accurate view is the one held by al-Wāqidī and others that he entered the faith in the 8th year. He, Sayyidunā Khālid ibn al-Walīd, and Sayyidunā ʿUthmān ibn Ṭalḥah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ arrived in Madīnah as believers. As they entered the presence of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ, he gazed at them and remarked:

قد رمتكم مكة بأفلاذ كبدها.

Makkah has thrown you its hidden treasures. [211]

Al-Ṭabarī informs us:

وكان سبب إسلام عمرو بن العاص، ما حدثنا ابن حميد، قال: حدثنا سلمة، عن ابن إسحاق، عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب، عن راشد مولى ابن أبي أوس، عن حبيب بن أبي أوس، قال: حدثني عمرو بن العاص من فيه إلى أذني، قال: لما انصرفنا مع الأحزاب عن الخندق، جمعت رجالا من قريش كانوا يرون رأيي، ويسمعون مني، فقلت لهم: تعلمون والله أني لأرى أمر محمد يعلو الأمور علوا منكرا وإني قد رأيت رأيا فما ترون فيه؟ قالوا: وماذا رأيت؟ قلت: رأيت أن نلحق بالنجاشي، فنكون عنده، فإن ظهر محمد على قومنا كنا عند النجاشى، فلان نكون تحت يديه أحب إلينا من أن نكون تحت يدي محمد، وإن يظهر قومنا فنحن من قد عرفوا، فلا يأتينا منهم الا خير فقالوا: إن هذا لرأي قلت:

[211] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 3 pg. 268 – 269 with variation; Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 16 pg. 219.

فاجمعوا له ما نهدي إليه- وكان أحب ما يهدى إليه من أرضنا الأدم- فجمعنا له أدما كثيرا، ثم خرجنا حتى قدمنا عليه، فو الله إنا لعنده، إذ جاءه عمرو بن أمية الضمري- وكان رسول الله ص قد بعثه إليه في شأن جعفر بن أبي طالب وأصحابه- قال: فدخل عليه ثم خرج من عنده قال: فقلت لأصحابي: هذا عمرو بن أمية الضمري، لو قد دخلت على النجاشي وسألته إياه، فأعطانيه فضربت عنقه! فإذا فعلت ذلك رأت قريش أني قد أجزأت عنها حين قتلت رسول محمد فدخلت عليه، فسجدت له كما كنت أصنع، فقال: مرحبا بصديقي! أهديت لي شيئا من بلادك؟ قلت: نعم، أيها الملك، قد أهديت لك أدما كثيرا، ثم قربته إليه، فأعجبه واشتهاه، ثم قلت له: أيها الملك، إني قد رأيت رجلا خرج من عندك، وهو رسول رجل عدو لنا، فأعطنيه لأقتله، فإنه قد أصاب من أشرافنا وخيارنا قال: فغضب، ثم مد يده فضرب بها أنفه ضربة ظننت أنه قد كسره- يعني النجاشي- فلو انشقت الأرض لي لدخلت فيها فرقا منه ثم قلت: والله أيها الملك لو ظننت أنك تكره هذا ما سألتكه، قال: أتسألني أن أعطيك رسول رجل يأتيه الناموس الأكبر الذي كان يأتي موسى، لتقتله! فقلت: أيها الملك، أكذاك هو؟ قال: ويحك يا عمرو! أطعني واتبعه، فإنه والله لعلى الحق، وليظهرن على من خالفه كما ظهر موسى على فرعون وجنوده.

قال: قلت: فتبايعني له على الإسلام؟ قال: نعم، فبسط يده، فبايعته على الإسلام، ثم خرجت إلى أصحابي، وقد حال رأيي عما كان عليه، وكتمت أصحابي إسلامي، ثم خرجت عامدا لرسول الله لأسلم، فلقيت خالد ابن الوليد- وذلك قبل الفتح- وهو مقبل من مكة، فقلت: إلى أين يا أبا سليمان؟

قال: والله لقد استقام المنسم، وإن الرجل لنبي، أذهب والله أسلم، فحتى متى! فقلت: والله ما جئت إلا لأسلم، فقدمنا على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، [فتقدم خالد بن الوليد

فأسلم وبايع، ثم دنوت فقلت: يا رسول الله، إني أبايعك على أن تغفر لي ما تقدم من ذنبي، ولا أذكر ما تأخر! فقال رسول الله ص: يا عمرو، بايع فإن الإسلام يجب ما قبله، وإن الهجرة تجب ما قبلها فبايعته ثم انصرفت].

The reason prompting Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ to embrace Islam is what Ibn Ḥumayd has narrated to us saying—Salamah narrated to us—from Ibn Isḥāq—from Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb—from Rāshid mawlā ibn Abī Aws—from Ḥabīb ibn Abī Aws who said: ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ narrated to me from his mouth to my ear:

When we returned with the confederates from the Trench, I gathered few men from Quraysh—who valued my view and listened to me—and said to them, "You realise, by Allah, that I feel that Muḥammad's affair will rise above all other affairs in a nasty way. I have a view, let me know what you feel about it."

They said, "What is your view?"

I said, "I feel we should join up with Najāshī and stay by him. If Muḥammad is victorious over our nation, we will be safe by Najāshī. Being under his authority is more beloved to us than being under the authority of Muḥammad. And if our people are victorious, then we are those who are recognised, so it will bring us nothing but goodness."

They said, "This is a beautiful plan."

I said, "Collect for him gifts we can favour him with." The most prized gift to him of our land was leather. We, thus, collected a good amount of leather. We then left and reached his land. By Allah, we were by him when ʿAmr ibn Umayyah al-Ḍamurī came to him. Rasūlullāh ﷺ had sent ʿAmr to him concerning Jaʿfar ibn Abi Ṭālib and his companions. He entered upon Najāshī and then left his court after a while.

I told my cronies, “This is ʿAmr ibn Umayyah al-Ḍamurī. If only I go to Najāshī and ask him for this man, and he hands him over to me and I behead him—If I am able to accomplish this, the Quraysh would feel that I have covered up by killing Muḥammad’s envoy.”

So saying, I entered his presence and prostrated before him as was my practice. He said, “Welcome to my friend. Have you brought any gifts from your land for me?”

“Yes, O king,” I replied, “I have brought for you plenty of leather.” I then presented the same to him and it really impressed him and satisfied his passion.

I said to him, “O king! I saw a man leaving your presence just now. He is the envoy of a man who is our enemy. Hand him over to me so that I may kill him as he has claimed the lives of our noblemen.”

Hearing this, Najāshī reddened with wrath and fury. He lifted his hand and struck my nose so fiercely that I thought he broke it. Had the earth split for me, I would have entered it to be safe from his wrath. I blurted, “By Allah, O king, had I known that you would dislike this, I would not have asked you such.”

He said, “Do you ask me to hand over to you the envoy of a man to whom the great angel attends, who would visit Mūsā, so that you may kill him?”

“O king, is he like that?” I asked in amazement.

“Woe to you, O ʿAmr” he snapped, “obey me and follow him for by Allah he is on the truth and he will most definitely vanquish those who oppose him just as Mūsā vanquished Firʿawn and his armies.”

I said, “Will you accept my allegiance to him upon Islam?”

He replied in the affirmative and stretched out his hand. I, thus, pledged allegiance to him upon Islam. I left to my companions and my view had changed, but I concealed my Islam from my friends. Subsequent to this, I departed towards Rasūlullāh ﷺ to embrace Islam. I met Khālid ibn al-Walīd *en route* while he was leaving Makkah, and this was before the Conquest.

"Where are you off to, O Abū Sulaymān?" I enquired.

He announced, "By Allah, the path has become clear[212] and the man is definitely a Nabī. By Allah, I am going to embrace Islam. Otherwise, until when will I wait?"

I said, "By Allah, I only came to enter the faith."

We arrived by Rasūlullāh ﷺ. Khālid ibn al-Walīd stepped forward, embraced Islam, and pledged allegiance. I then drew close and submitted, "O Messenger of Allah, I pledge allegiance to you on condition that you forgive me my past sins and I do not speak about what has passed."

Rasūlullāh ﷺ explained, "O ʿAmr, pledge allegiance for Islam wipes out everything before it, and hijrah wipes out everything before it."

I, thus, pledged allegiance and left. [213]

[212] The path has become clear. (Ibn al-Athīr: *al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5 pg. 119)

[213] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3 pg. 31. The ḥadīth is ḥasan. *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 29 pg. 312, Ḥadīth: 17777; al-Ḥākim: *al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3 pg. 337; *Musnad al-Ḥārith*, Ḥadīth: 1029, as in Bughyat al-Ḥārith; al- Ṭabarānī: *al-Ṭiwāl,* vol. 1 pg. 218. Al-Albānī has declared it ḥasan in *Irwā' al-Ghalīl*, vol. 5 pg. 123 and so has al-Arnā'ūṭ in the takhrīj of the ḥadīth in *al-Musnad*.

External and Internal Characteristics

Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam says:

> وكانت صفة عمرو بن العاص كما حدثنا سعيد بن عفير، عن الليث بن سعد، قصيرا عظيم الهامة، ناتئ الجبهة، واسع الفم، عظيم اللحية، عريض ما بين المنكبين، عظيم الكفّين والقدمين. قال الليث يملأ هذا المسجد.

> The external features of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ as narrated to us by Saʿīd ibn ʿUfayr—from Layth ibn Saʿd:
>
> He was short, with a large crown, protruding forehead, wide mouth, large beard, broad shoulders, large palms, and large feet.
>
> Layth said: He would fill this Masjid. [214]

Buḥayr ibn Dhākhir al-Muʿāfirī recalls:

> فقام عمرو بن العاص على المنبر، فرأيت رجلا ربعة قصد القامة وافر الهامة، أدعج أبلج، عليه ثياب موشيّة، كأنّ به العقيان، تأتلق عليه حلّة وعمامة وجبّة.

> ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ ascended the pulpit. I saw a man proportionately built[215], short in stature, with a large forehead, deep black and large eyed, fair in complexion. Upon him were embroidered garments, flashing, as if gold were upon him. He was wearing a garment, a turban, and a jubbah. [216]

With regards to his internal qualities, Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was from the knights and heroes of the Quraysh in the period

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[214] *Futūḥ Miṣr*, vol. 1 pg. 66.
[215] Evenly proportioned. (Ibn Sayyidah: *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, vol. 1 pg. 184.
[216] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam: *Futūḥ Miṣr wa Akhbāruhā*, pg. 98; al-Dāraquṭnī: *al-Mu'talaf wa al-Mukhtalaf*, vol. 2 pg. 1003.

of ignorance as well as Islam. He was celebrated for this. [217] He was one of the influential men of Quraysh in bravery, judgement, smartness, determination, efficiency, and insight in warfare; a nobleman and leader of the Arabs. He was unique with lofty qualities and superior morals. Add to this all communal categories like family, friends, and servants. I will mention some of his stances which indicate to the qualities that he had imbibed within himself:

Bravery

• **During the Battle of Uḥud:** The Quraysh advanced with all their might and fury, together with their families and servants, and reinforced by their allies from the Banū Kinānah and the people of Tihāmah. They departed on their journey seeking vengeance and determined not to flee. Among them was ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ who proceeded with Rīṭah bint Munabbih ibn al-Ḥajjāj, the mother of his son ʿAbd Allah. ʿAmr was a polytheist at the time. [218]

• **On the Day of Aḥzāb:** Sayyidunā Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا reports:

> لقد رأيتني أحرس الخندق، وخيل المشركين تطيف بالخندق وتطلب غرة ومضيقا من الخندق فتقتحم فيه، وكان عمرو بن العاص وخالد ابن الوليد هما اللذان يفعلان ذلك، يطلبان الغفلة من المسلمين.

> I remember myself safeguarding the trench while the horses of the polytheists surrounded the trench, searching for heedlessness [from the Muslims] and a narrow spot of the trench so they may leap over it. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Khālid ibn

[217] *Al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 1 pg. 368.
[218] Ibn Kathīr: *al-Bidāyah*, vol. 5 pg. 342.

al-Walīd were the ones carrying this out, waiting for the Muslims' inattentiveness. [219]

• **On the Day of Aḥzāb:** After Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَى humiliated the polytheists and defeated the Confederates singlehandedly, the polytheists retreated with their detachments and associates. Their commander was Abū Sufyān who feared that Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ might pursue them, so he commanded ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ:

يا أبا عبد الله نقيم في جريدة من الخيل بإزاء محمد وأصحابه، فإنا لا نأمن أن نطلب، فقال عمرو: أنا أقيم، وقال لخالد بن الوليد: ما ترى أبا سليمان؟ فقال: أنا أيضا أقيم، فأقام عمرو وخالد في مائتي فارس.

"O Abū ʿAbd Allah, we will stay with a handful of cavalries to confront Muḥammad and his Companions, for we are not safe from being pursued."

ʿAmr said, "I will stay."

Abū Sufyān said to Khālid ibn al-Walīd, "What do you feel, O Abū Sulaymān?"

"I will also stay," he replied.

Thus, ʿAmr and Khālid remained behind with 200 horsemen while the rest of the army travelled. [220]

Bravery was an intrinsic quality of Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ from before Islam. Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ had declared:

فخياركم في الجاهلية خياركم في الإسلام إذا فقهوا.

[219] Al-Wāqidī: *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 2 pg. 465.
[220] Al-Ḥalabī: *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 2 pg. 653.

The best of you in ignorance are the best of you in Islam, on condition they understand. [221]

After embracing Islam, his target in war became either assistance or martyrdom. This section of his biography is replete with incidents of bravery. Among the testimonies to this are:

• **What transpired between him and Musaylamah al-Kadhāb** while passing the latter the day he returned from Oman to Madīnah after Rasūlullāh's ﷺ demise. Sayyidunā ʿAmr رضي الله عنه relates:

فأقبلت حتى مررت على مسيلمة فأعطاني الأمان ثم قال إن محمدا أرسل في جسيم الأمور وأرسلت في المحقرات وقلت أعرض علي ما تقول فقال يا ضفدع نقي فإنك نعم ما تنقين لا زادا تنقرين ولا ماء تكدرين ثم قال يا وبر يا وبر إنما أنت إبراد وصدر وسائرك حفر نقر ثم أتى بأناس يختصمون إليه في نخلات قطعها بعضهم لبعض فتسجى قطيفة ثم كشف رأسه ثم قال والليل الأدهم والذئب الأصحم ما جاء ابن أبي مسلم من محرم ثم تسجى الثانية فقال والليل الدامس والذئب الهامس ما حرمته رطبا إلا كحرمته يابس. قوموا فلا أرى عليكم في ما صنعتم بأسا. قال عمرو: أما والله إنك لكاذب وإنا لنعلم أنك لمن الكاذبين فتوعدني.

I advanced until I passed by Musaylamah. He awarded me protection and then said, "Certainly, Muḥammad was sent in major affairs while I was sent in trivial matters."

I told him, "Present to me what you say."

He recited, "O frog, you clean what you want to clean. Neither do you drink, nor do you disturb the mud."

[221] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on the aḥādīth of the Ambiyā', chapter on: were you witnesses when death faced Yaʿqūb, Ḥadīth: 3374.

He then said, "O hyrax! [222] O hyrax! You are only a fluffy coat[223] and a chest. And you are a personification of disgrace[224]."

Thereafter, some persons were brought to him who disputed over few date palms belonging to one party which the other party had cut. He covered his head with a velvet cloth. He then

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[222] *Al-wabar*: with a fatḥah on the wāw and a sukūn on the bā'. A vermin smaller than a cat, brownish in colour, without a tail, which lives in homes. The plural is *wubūr*, *wibār*, and *wibārah*. The feminine is *wabarah*. The meaning of al-Jawharī's statement that it has no tail is that it does not have a long tail. A hyrax has a noticeably short tail. People call the hyrax the sheep of Banī Isrā'īl and believe that it was transformed, since its tail with its shortness looks like the rear of a lamb. This is an obscure view, however, which should not be considered. (Abū al-Baqā' al-Dimyarī: *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān al-Kubrā*, vol. 2 pg. 533).

[223] It appears like this in *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 154, Dār al-Fikr print, research of ʿAmr al-ʿAmrawī. Some sources have it as: *yadān wa ṣadar* (two hands and a chest) as in al-Baghawī: *Muʿjam al-Ṣaḥābah*, vol. 5 pg. 91; *al-Siyar*, vol. 3 pg. 69. Others have: *udhunān wa ṣadar* (two ears and a chest) as in *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, vol. 1 pg. 203; *al-Bidāyah,* vol. 9 pg. 474; *Rawā'iʿ al-Tafsīr* (*al-Jāmiʿ li Tafsīr al-Imām Ibn Rajab*), vol. 1 pg. 132. Some have: *minkabān* (shoulders) like Abū al-ʿAlā' al-Tannūkhī: *Risālat al-Ṣāhil wa al-Shājiḥ*, vol. 1 pg. 445.

[224] The researcher says: What was originally *wāw mīm*: "The gist of its creation is disgraceful." The positive method: Your entire being is disgraceful, from *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*. In *Siyar Aʿlām al- Nubalā'*, it appears: *wa bayan khalqihī ḥafar* (mentioning its creation is digging).

Probably, the accurate wording is *haqrun naqrun* as appears in *al-Bidāyah*, vol. 9 pg. 474, Ḥajar print, research by al-Turkī; *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*—at some places—vol. 4 pg. 356, Dār Ṭaybah print, research by Sāmī Salāmah. Ibn Durayd says: *al-ḥaqr* is the origin of *ḥaqartu al-rajul* (I disgraced a man), *aḥqarahū ḥaqran wa muḥaqqaratan fa ana ḥāqir wa al-rajul maḥqūr wa ḥaqīr*. The Arabs say: A hyrax and a rabbit quarrelled. The hyrax told the rabbit, "A nose and two ears and you are wholly two trunks." The rabbit re-joined, "Two shoulders and a chest and you are wholly disgraced." It seems as if *naqar* just follows since they say: *ḥaqīr naqīr*. The Arabs say: *ḥaqran li fulān*, *muḥaqqaratan lahū, ḥaqaratan*, *wa ḥaqāratan*. (Ibn Durayd: *Jamharat al-Lughah*, vol. 1 pg. 591).

Al-Liḥyānī says: It is said that the hyrax told the rabbit, "Ears, ears! Weak with two shoulders and you are wholly two morsels." The rabbit retorted, "Hyrax, Hyrax! Feebleness and a chest, and you are wholly disgraced." (al-Maydāynī: *Majmaʿ al-Amthāl*, vol. 2 pg. 393).

uncovered his head and recited, “By the deep black night and yellowish black wolf. Ibn Abī Muslim did not come from Muḥarram.” He then covered his head a second time and said, “By the gloomy night and the mumbling wolf, its honour while fresh is similar to its honour while dry. Stand up, I do not see any problem in what you perpetrated.”

ʿAmr said, “Harken, by Allah, you are definitely a liar. We know with certainty that you are from the liars. Now you wish to threaten me?”

• **In Yarmūk:** ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ said:

يا أيُّها المسلمون غُضّوا الأبصارَ، واجثوا على الرُّكَب، واشرعوا الرماحَ، فإذا حملوا عليكم فأمهلوهم حتى إذا ركبوا أطراف الأسنَّة فثبوا إليهم وَثْبة الأسدِ، فوالذي يرضى الصدق ويُثيبُ عليه ويمقتُ الكذب ويجزي بالإحسان إحسانًا، لقد سمعتُ أن المسلمين سيفتحونها كَفْرًا كَفْرًا وقَصْرًا قَصْرًا، فلا يهولنَّكم جموعُهُم ولا عددُهم، فإنكم لو صدقتموهم الشد تطايروا تطاير أولاد الحَجَل.

O Muslims, lower your gazes, kneel down, and point your arrows. When they attack you, allow them to advance. As soon as they reach the edges of the blades, pounce upon them like lions. By the Being who is pleased with truthfulness and rewards it, who despises falsehood, and who repays goodness with goodness, I have heard that the Muslims will conquer it village by village and palace by palace. Let not their crowds and numbers scare you. If you are sincere towards them in the tug of war, they will disperse like the chicks of partridges.[225]

[225] Ibn Kathīr: al-Bidāyah, vol. 9 pg. 555.

• A group of Romans attacked Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِیَ اللّٰہُ عَنْہُ. His comrades dispersed yet he remained resolute. He attacked ferociously and fought the enemy for a long while, until his comrades returned.[226]

• The Azd and Daws struck on the Day of Yarmūk and subjugated the polytheists in one subjugation. In response to this, the polytheists launched a formidable attack which caused the Muslims to scatter. At the time, the carrier of their standard was ʿIyāḍ ibn Ghanam al-Ashʿarī رَضِیَ اللّٰہُ عَنْہُ. He fled in retreat with standard in hand. The people shouted at him, "The resoluteness of the nation and the warriors are by their banners." Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Sayyidunā Khālid ibn al-Walīd رَضِیَ اللّٰہُ عَنْہُمَا both rushed and raced to grab it. ʿAmr managed to grab hold of it first. He continued fighting with it in his hand until the Romans met defeat and Allah سُبْحَانَہٗ وَتَعَالٰی granted victory and triumph at the hands of the Muslims. [227]

Another narration states that when Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِیَ اللّٰہُ عَنْہُ spotted the carrier of the flag retreating, he grabbed hold of the flag and began advancing, shouting, "O gathering of Muslims!" He began transfixing with it his position and proclaiming, "Do as I do." When finally, he raised it, it was as if upon it were drops of rain, i.e. thick blood. [228],[229]

• Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِیَ اللّٰہُ عَنْہُ possessed a sword called: al-Lujj. He recited the following couplets in the wars in Shām:

أضربهم باللج حتى يخلوا الفرج لمن مشى ودج

[226] Al-Kalāʿī: *al-Iktifā' bimā taḍammannahū min Maghāzī Rasūlillāh wa al-Thalāthah al-Khulafā'*, vol. 3 pg. 268.
[227] Al-Wāqidī: *Futūḥ al-Shām*, vol. 1 pg. 201.
[228] *Al-ʿalaq*: thick blood. (al-Azharī: *Tahdhīb al-Lughah*, vol. 1 pg. 243; al-Jawharī: *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, vol. 4 pg. 1529).
[229] Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 157.

I strike them with the Lujj until they leave;

A space for the one who walks resolute. [230],[231]

Competence and Perception in War

Qualities of an experienced major commander were present in Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, including strength, bravery, insight in war, and knowledge of the sciences of battle. These qualities were apparent from his personality. Owing to this, fingers would point in his direction when appointing a leader. The following are indications towards this:

• Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ appointed him commander over a detachment towards Shām. He sent him towards his father's, ʿĀṣ ibn Wā'il, maternal uncles residing in Balī. Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ entered Madīnah in Ṣafar 8 A.H. [as a Muslim] and Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ despatched him in Jumādā al-Ākhirah of the same year towards al-Salāsil of the lands of Quḍāʿah with a detachment of three hundred warriors, according to al-Wāqidī and others. [232]

Ibn Saʿd reports from ʿAbd Allah ibn Buraydah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ:

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[230] *Dajja*: to walk slowly with short steps. It is said: it is to advance and retreat. It is said: it is the same as *dabba* (to crawl/move slowly). (Ibn Sayyidah: *al-Muḥkam wa al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, vol. 7 pg. 189).

[231] Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb: *al-Munammaq fī Akhbār Quraysh*, pg. 522.

[232] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 17802; al-Bukhārī: *al-Adab al-Mufrad*, vol. 1 pg. 112; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd al- Ṭayālisī*, Ḥadīth: 1061; *Musnad Abī Yaʿlā*, Ḥadīth: 7336; *Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān*, Ḥadīth: 3211. The wording is Aḥmad's. Al-Ḥākim classified it ṣaḥīḥ in *al-Mustadrak*, vol. 2 pg. 3, on the standard of Muslim and al- Dhahabī concurred. Al-Albānī classified in ṣaḥīḥ in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, vol. 1 pg. 454.

قال عمر لأبي بكر، لما لم يدع عمرو بن العاص الناس أن يوقدوا نارا ألا ترى إلى هذا ما صنع بالناس يمنعهم منافعهم؟ قال: فقال أبو بكر: دعه، فإنما ولاه رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، علينا لعلمه بالحرب.

ʿUmar said to Abū Bakr when ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ did not allow the people to burn fires, "Do you not see what this man has done to the people? He prevented them from their benefits."

Abū Bakr replied, "Let him be for indeed Rasūlullāh ﷺ appointed him leader over us owing to his knowledge of warfare." [233]

As a result, Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه declared:

ما عدل بي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وبخالد بن الوليد في حربه منذ أسلمنا أحدا من أصحابه

Rasūlullāh ﷺ did not equate any of his companions with me or Khālid ibn al-Walīd in war since we embraced the faith. [234]

• Sayyidunā Abū Bakr رضي الله عنه took interest in Shām and turned his attention to it. He had returned Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه to his occupation which Rasūlullāh ﷺ had assigned to him, i.e. collecting the ṣadaqāt of Saʿd Hudhaym, ʿAdharah, etc., prior to his departure to Oman. Rasūlullāh ﷺ had promised to assign to him his previous responsibility after his return from Oman and

[233] *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 5 pg. 55, al-Khānjī print. The sanad is ṣaḥīḥ until ʿAbd Allah ibn Buraydah. However, he did not meet Abū Bakr رضي الله عنه.
[234] *Musnad Abī Yaʿlā*, Ḥadīth: 7347. The researcher Ḥusayn Salīm Asad commented, "The narrators are reliable."

Sayyidunā Abū Bakr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ fulfilled this promise of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

When he turned his attention to Shām, Sayyidunā Abū Bakr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ wrote to the latter:

إني كنت قد رددتك على العمل الذي ولاك رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم مرة، ووعدك به أخرى؛ إنجازا لمواعيد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وقد وليته، وقد أحببت أن أفرغك لما هو خير لك في الدنيا والآخرة، إلا أن يكون الذي أنت فيه أحب إليك.

I had returned you to the occupation Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ had assigned to you once and promised you a second time, in order to fulfil the promises of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ which I have been assigned to fulfil. I would love to free you for something far better for you in the world and the Hereafter, except if the occupation you are currently in is more beloved to you.

Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ wrote back:

إني سهم من سهام الإسلام، وأنت بعد الله الرامي بها والجامع لها، فانظر أشدها وأخشاها وأفضلها فارم به.

I am nothing but one of the arrows of Islam and you, after Allah, are the marksman and collector. So observe which is the strongest, the most fearsome, and the most superior target and shoot [me] towards it.

Accordingly, Sayyidunā Abū Bakr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ assigned to him coupled with Sayyidunā Walīd ibn ʿUqbah—who had been collecting the ṣadaqāt of Quḍāʿah—the responsibility of mobilising the Arabs which they carried out.

Sayyidunā Abū Bakr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ sent some of the men who had gathered by him to Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and commanded him to follow a path which he had sketched out for him towards Palestine. He commanded Sayyidunā Walīd رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to head to Jordan and assigned a portion of the warriors to him. He appointed Sayyidunā Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا over a massive army, majority of whom were volunteers for the cause, among whom were Sayyidunā Suhayl ibn ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and his kind from the residents of Makkah. He bid him farewell, while on foot, and instructed him and other leaders beside him. [235]

As soon as the Muslim armies advanced towards Shām in the reign of Sayyidunā Abū Bakr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, the Romans gained intelligence of this and wrote to Hiraql who left [the capital] and settled in Ḥimṣ, preparing armies and mobilising troops to face the Muslims. He intended to keep some troops busy while others relax, due to the large number of his troops and soldiers. Towards Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, he sent his true brother, Tadhāruq, who set out with 90,000 men. He also sent someone to lead them until the leader of the rear guard settled in Thaniyyat Jillaq, at the top of Palestine. Jarajah ibn Tūdhrā was sent by him towards Sayyidunā Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and he camped directly in front of him. He despatched Darāqiṣ who faced Sayyidunā Shuraḥbīl ibn Ḥasanah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. Fīqār ibn Nasṭūs was despatched with 60,000 men towards Sayyidunā Abū ʿUbaydah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. The Muslims were intimidated by these massive and impressive armies. All the Muslim troops numbered 21,000 besides Sayyidunā ʿIkrimah's detachment which consisted of 6000 fighters. They all hastened to write letters and send envoys to Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ asking him the way forward. He responded to them all declaring, "The idea is to unite. This is because when we are united,

[235] *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2 pg. 249; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 9 pg. 541.

we will never be overpowered due to lack of numbers and when we are divided, not a man from us will remain among others prepared to meet those who we faced in battle and ready for every group among us." They chose Yarmūk as the junction they will gather at. They had written to Sayyidunā Abū Bakr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ the same letter they had written to ʿAmr and his letter returned with the same advice as Sayyidunā ʿAmr's[236]. Sayyidunā Abū Bakr's and Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا view corresponding indicates to his bravery, astuteness, and perception of war.

Astuteness and political genius

Perhaps the astuteness and political genius of Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was amongst his most notable qualities, for which he was renowned, prior to and after his acceptance of Islam; a product of his intelligence and brilliance. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ tapped into this well and dug deep in serving the faith. Hereunder is an illustration of his astuteness:

—When ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ wrote to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to march on Aelia (Jerusalem), he was faced with a Byzantine army at al-Ramlah, where the Battle of Ajnadayn took place. The following events preceded the battle.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ had marched with his army, the right wing under the command of his son ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAmr, the left wing under Junādah ibn Tamīm al-Mālikī [of the tribe of Mālik ibn Kinānah] and with him at the vanguard was Shuraḥbīl ibn Ḥasanah. He had appointed Abū al-Aʿwar al-Sulamī to govern Jordan in his stead.

[236] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3 pg. 392.

When he reached al-Ramlah, he was faced with a Byzantine army under the command of *al-Arṭabūn* (a Tribune) [237] the most cunning of the Byzantines, the most farsighted, and the most harmful. He had encamped at al-Ramlah with a huge army and had placed another huge army at Aelia. ʿAmr wrote to ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا informing him the news. When the letter of ʿAmr reached him, he said:

قد رمينا أرطبون الروم بأرطبون العرب، فانظروا عما تنفرج.

> We have sent the Arṭabūn of the Arabs to confront the Arṭabūn of the Byzantines. Let us see what the outcome will be!

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ appointed ʿAlqamah ibn Ḥakīm al-Furāsī and Masrūq ibn Bilal al-ʿAkkī to fight the army at Aelia and Abū Ayyūb al-Mālikī to al-Ramlah, which was ruled by Theodore [the brother of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius] to tie down their forces in order to preoccupy and prevent them from fighting ʿAmr and his army. When reinforcements would come from ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ would send battalions to both groups.

ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ stayed in Ajnadayn, without being able to cause al-Arṭabūn to make a mistake. Nor did the envoys bring him satisfaction (either), so he took the matter upon himself and went to al-Arṭabūn as if he were an envoy. He told al-Arṭabūn what he wanted and listened to what he said until he knew what he wanted to know.

Al-Arṭabūn said to himself, "By God, it is ʿAmr or a man whose advice ʿAmr follows. Nothing I could do would harm the Muslims more grievously than killing this man."

[237] Tribune was the title of various elected officials in ancient Rome. The two most important were the tribunes of the plebs and the military tribunes.

Then he called in a member of his guard and secretly spoke to him about killing ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

He said, "Go out and stand in such-and-such a place, and when he passes near you, kill him."

ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ became aware of this and said, "You have heard from me and I have heard from you, and I have been impressed by what you have said. I am one of ten men whom ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb sent with this governor in order that we might assist him and he might make us aware of his affairs. I shall return and bring them to you forthwith as I would like them to hear what you have to say and take into cognisance your views."

Al-Arṭabūn said, "Yes, go and bring them to me."

He then called a man, spoke to him quietly and said, "Go to so-and-so and send him back to me."

ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ left and went to his army. Al-Arṭabūn then understood that it had actually been ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and said, "The man has deceived me; he is the most astute of the Arabs."

ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ came to know about it and said, "How excellent is ʿAmr!"

ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ then moved against him and they clashed at Ajnadayn. The two armies fought a heavy battle, like the battle of Yarmūk, in which many were killed. Then the rest of the Muslim forces joined ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ after the people of Aelia fled to take refuge within their walled city.

Al-Arṭabūn wrote to ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ saying, "You are my friend and counterpart; the position you hold among your people is comparable to my position among mine. By God, you will not conquer any part of Palestine after Ajnadayn. Go back and do not be deceived, lest you be defeated like those before you."

ʿAmr summoned a man who spoke Greek, sent him to al-Arṭabūn and instructed him saying, "Listen to what he says and come back and inform me".

He also wrote to al-Arṭabūn, saying, "I have received your letter. You are my counterpart among your people. If you were not in possession of excellent qualities, you would not be aware of my virtues; but you do know that I am the man destined to conquer this land. Read this letter of mine in the presence of your companions and advisors."

When the letter reached him, he gathers his advisors and read the letter to them. They said to al-Arṭabūn, "How do you know that he is not the man destined to conquer this land?"

Al-Arṭabūn replied, "The name of the man who destined for it has three letters."

The envoy returned to ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and conveyed to him what al-Arṭabūn had said. ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ wrote to ʿUmar, asking his assistance and said, "I am conducting a difficult and fierce war and struggling for a land that has been held and preserved for you. I desire your opinion."

When the letter reached ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, he understood that ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was speaking out of knowledge and so ʿUmar decided to go to the Levant and conquer Bayt al- Maqdis. [238]

Hereunder is another incident that displays his astute mind and political acumen:

—When some Copts[239] had come to the tent of ʿAmr he was informed that they had been saying, "How worn out these Arabs

[238] Ibn al-Kathīr: *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 9 pg. 655.

look, how little care they take of themselves; we are of the opinion that people like us should not be obedient to people like them."

So ʿAmr رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ feared that this appearance of the Arab warriors would prompt the Copts to rebellion. Therefore, he ordered that several camels be slaughtered and cooked in water and salt. Then he ordered the army commanders to assemble, after they had notified their troops to do likewise. ʿAmr رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ sat down and beckoned to the people of Miṣr (Egypt) to join him. Then the meat and the broth were served to the Muslims who began to eat in typically Arab fashion, tearing at the meat with their teeth and slurping the broth, dressed in their woolen cloaks and unarmed. After a while, the people of Miṣr dispersed with their ambitions and courage boosted.

The next day, ʿAmr رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ sent word to the army commanders to come (i.e. to his tent again) with their troops. He ordered them to come dressed in Egyptian clothes and footwear, bidding them that they order their troops to do likewise. They complied. Then ʿAmr رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ invited the people of Miṣr again who saw something completely different from what they had seen the previous day: erect figures dressed in Egyptian colors standing by, the Arabs eating Egyptian food, behaving in an Egyptian manner. The Copts dispersed, perturbed this time, muttering, "We have been made fools of!"

ʿAmr رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ sent word to his army that they had to arm themselves for the roll call to be held the next day. Then he went to the parade and permitted the Copts to be present. He showed his troops to them and said:

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[239] The indigenous people of Egypt. See, al-Farāhīdī: *Al-ʿAyn*, vol. 5 pg. 109; Al-Azharī: *Tahdhīb al-Lughah*, vol. 9 pg. 33; Al-Zabīdī: *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, vol. 5 pg. 20.

إني قد علمت أنكم رأيتم في أنفسكم أنكم في شيء حين رأيتم اقتصاد العرب وهون تزجيتهم، فخشيت أن تهلكوا، فأحببت أن أريكم حالهم، وكيف كانت في أرضهم، ثم حالهم في أرضكم، ثم حالهم في الحرب، فظفروا بكم، وذلك عيشهم، وقد كلبوا على بلادكم قبل أن ينالوا منها ما رأيتم في اليوم الثاني، فأحببت أن تعلموا أن من رأيتم في اليوم الثالث غير تارك عيش اليوم الثاني، وراجع إلى عيش اليوم الأول فتفرقوا وهم يقولون: لقد رمتكم العرب برجلهم.

I am aware that you considered yourselves to have panache when you saw the frugality of the Arabs and their simple life style. But I fear lest you perish. Therefore, I wanted to show you what sort of people they really are, under what circumstances they lived in their own country, then what they have come to in yours, and how ready they are for war. They have defeated you, warfare is their life. They were anxious to take possession of your country even before they appropriated its customs as you saw on the second day. And I also wanted you to realize that those you saw on the third day will not abandon the life you saw depicted on the second day, nor will they resume the lifestyle you saw depicted on the first day.

Thereupon the people of Miṣr dispersed saying to one another, "The Arabs have smitten you with this one hero of theirs."

News of these events reached ʿUmar, who said to his companions:

والله إن حربه للينة ما لها سطوة ولا سورة كسورات الحروب من غيره، إن عمرا لعض.

By Allah, ʿAmr's military campaign has become truly easy, no more attacks or assaults like the ones in battles against others. ʿAmr is indeed a cunning fellow!

Then he installed ʿAmr as governor of Miṣr, where he stayed. [240]

—Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ once asked to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ:

ما بلغ من دهائك يا عمرو؟ قال عمرو: لم أدخل في أمر قط فكرهته إلا خرجت منه.

"How cunning are you really?"

ʿAmr replied, "I have always managed to remove myself from any situation I wanted out of." [241]

He was the political genius of the Quraysh, whose intellect, cunning ability, and resolve was proverbial. [242] Al-Shaʿbī says:

دهاة العرب أربعة: معاوية، وعمرو، والمغيرة، وزياد، فأما معاوية: فللأناة والحلم؛ وأما عمرو: فللمعضلات؛ والمغيرة: للمبادهة؛ وأما زياد: فللصغير والكبير.

The 'political genius' amongst the Arabs are four: Muʿāwiyah, ʿAmr, Mughīrah, and Ziyād. Muʿāwiyah for his patience and forbearance, ʿAmr for his ability to extract himself from difficult situations, Mughīrah for his improvisational ability, and Ziyād for any matter; minor or major. [243]

When Sayyidunā ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ wanted to point out the feeble mindedness of a person he would say:

أشهد أن خالقك وخالق عمرو واحد.

I testify that your creator and the creator of ʿAmr is one.

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[240] Al-Ṭabarī: *Tārīkh al-Rusul*, vol. 4 pg. 110; Al-Kalāʿī: *Al-Iktifā'*, vol. 4 pg. 41.
[241] Ibn Qutaybah: *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, vol. 1 pg. 394; Al-Balādhurī: *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 5 pg. 40.
[242] Al-Dhahabī: *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, vol. 3 pg. 55.
[243] Al-Dhahabī: *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, vol. 3 pg. 58.

Intending the creator creates opposites. [244]

Qabīṣah ibn Jābir says:

صحبت عمرو بن العاص فما رأيت رجلا أبين أو قال أنصع طرفا منه ولا أكرم جليسا ولا أشبه سريرة بعلانيته منه.

I accompanied ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and I have not seen anyone more articulate, nor someone with nobler character, nor one whose inner state conformed so greatly to his outer state; than him.[245]

Nobility, piety, and honesty.

From amongst the traits of this great experienced leader is his nobility, piety, and honesty. Anyone perusing the biography of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ will find these traits evident throughout. Hereunder are some examples:

—When ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was on his deathbed, he called for his guard and asked him:

أي صاحب كنت لكم؟ قالوا: كنت لنا صاحب صدق تكرمنا وتعطينا وتفعل وتفعل.

"How was my character in relation to you?"

He replied, "You were, for us, a man of truth. You honored us, were generous to us, and went above and beyond." [246]

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[244] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *Al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 3 pg. 269; Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2 pg. 3.
[245] Al-Fasawī: *Al-Maʿrifah wa al-Tārīkh*, vol. 1 pgs. 458; Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 179.
[246] Ibn Saʿd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 5 pg. 80; Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pgs. 198-199.

—Some words were exchanged between ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ regarding al-Waḥṭ[247]. Mughīrah cussed at him at which ʿAmr called out, "O Family of Haṣīṣ! Will Ibn Shuʿbah cuss at me?!"

His son ʿAbd Allah said, "To Allah do we belong and to him is our return. You have called unto tribalism whereas Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ prohibited calling unto tribalism."

He thus freed thirty slaves. [248]

—Abū ʿImrān al-Falasṭīnī says:

بينا امرأة عمرو بن العاص تفلي رأسه إذ نادت جارية لها فأبطأت عنها فقالت يا زانية فقال عمرو رأيتيها تزني قالت لا قال والله لتضربن لها يوم القيامة ثمانين سوطا فقالت لجاريتها وسألتها تعفو فعفت عنها فقالت هل يجزي عني فقال لها وما لها ألا تعفو وهي تحت يدك فأعتقيها فقالت هل يجزئ عني ذلك قال فلعل.

Whilst the wife of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was removing lice from his hair, she called for her slave who delayed in responding. She then said, "O adulteress!"

ʿAmr said, "Have you seen her commit adultery?"

She replied, "No."

He said, "By Allah you will be lashed eighty times on the Day of Qiyāmah for this [slander]."

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[247] Al-Waḥṭ: A garden of ʿAmr at Ṭā'if. Further discussion regarding it will follow.
[248] Al-Bayhaqī: *Shuʿab al-Imān*, vol. 4 pg. 292; Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 182.

She addressed her slave girl seeking her pardon. The slave girl pardoned her. She then asked, "Will this suffice for me [in being saved]?"

He replied, "Of course she will pardon you since she is under your ownership. Free her."

She asked, "Will that suffice for me?"

He said, "Perhaps." [249]

—When ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was at war with the Byzantine Empire at Alexandria and on a day when the fighting had intensified, a Roman called out a challenge to duel. Maslamah ibn Makhlad رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ responded to his challenge but was defeated by the Roman and was thrown of his horse. The Roman pounced to kill him but he was protected by one of his companions and so Maslamah was unable to defeat him. The Romans took delight at this occurrence and the Muslims were miffed. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was angered by this—and Maslamah was a large heavy man—and said, "Why does the man with a large behind, which resembles that of a woman, involve himself in the matters of men and attempt to be like them."

Maslamah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was angered at this quip but did not respond... After some time ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ sought his pardon and said, "Do seek forgiveness on my behalf for that which I said to you." He thus sought forgiveness on his behalf.

ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ said:

[249] Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 181.

والله ما أفحشت قط إلا ثلاث مرات، مرتين فى الجاهلية وهذه الثالثة، وما منها مرة إلا وقد ندمت واستحييت وما استحييت من واحدة منهن أشد مما استحييت مما قلت لك والله إنى لأرجو أن لا أعود إلى الرابعة ما بقيت.

By Allah, I have not been vulgar expect on three occasions. Twice during the time of ignorance and this is the third. I have regretted each time and have not been ashamed more than on this occasion in relation to what I said to you. By Allah, I hope I will not add to it a fourth as long as I live. [250]

Forbearance

We have discussed the traits of a great experienced leader is nobility, piety, and honesty; which are all found in Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. We can now add to this, his forbearance.

—During the ʿAmwās pandemic when the disease became widespread Sayyidunā Abū ʿUbaydah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ stood up among his men and delivered the following speech:

أيها الناس، إن هذا الوجع رحمة ربكم ودعوة نبيكم محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم، وموت الصالحين قبلكم، وإن أبا عبيدة يسأل الله أن يقسم له منه حظه.

Men, this sickness is a mercy from your Lord, a request from your Prophet Muḥammad صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ and it has caused the death of the pious before you; I, Abū ʿUbaydah, ask Allah that He assign to me my share thereof.

[250] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam: *Futūḥ Miṣr*, pg. 60; Al-Kalāʿī: *Al-Iktifā'*, vol. 4 pgs. 25-26; Al-Nuwayrī: *Nihāyah alarab fī funūn al-adab*, vol. 19 pg. 104: Al-Maqrīzī: *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa al-Iʿtibār*, vol. 1 pg. 463.

He was then affected by this disease, as a result of which he died.

Sayyidunā Muʿādh ibn Jabal رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was appointed as his successor over the people. Muʿādh رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ delivered a speech in which he said:

أيها الناس، إن هذا الوجع رحمة ربكم، ودعوة نبيكم، وموت الصالحين قبلكم، وإن معاذا يسأل الله أن يقسم لآل معاذ منه حظهم.

Truly, men, this sickness constitutes a mercy from your Lord, a request from your Prophet and it has caused the death of the pious before you; I, Muʿādh, ask Allah that He assign thereof a share to my family.

Then his son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿādh رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, suffered of the plague as a result of which he died. Then Muʿādh رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ stood up and prayed for a share of the disease for himself, after which it smote him in the palm of his hand. Indeed, I saw him looking at his palm, then he kissed the back of his hand and said:

ما أحب أن لي بما فيك شيئا من الدنيا.

I prefer not to have anything of this world in place of this

When he had died, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was made his successor over the people. ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ stood up to address the people and said:

أيها الناس، إن هذا الوجع إذا وقع فإنما يشتعل اشتعال النار، فتجبلوا منه في الجبال.

Men, when this sickness strikes, it spreads like wildfire, so scatter to the mountains.

Then Abū Wāthilah al-Hudhalī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ said to Amr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, "I am a person who accompanied Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ, and I testify by Allah that you're wrong! In fact, I say you are more misguided than my donkey!"

ʿAmr replied, “By Allah, I will not respond to what you say. I swear by Allah; we should not stay here.”

Then he departed and the people went with him and scattered in all directions. Eventually Allah took the plague away from them. When ʿUmar ibn Khaṭṭāb رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was informed, he did not find this policy to be incorrect. [251]

~ These are some of the praiseworthy traits of Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. Characteristics of nobility acquired from prophetic teaching ~

His Virtues

It is sufficient to list his companionship of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ as his virtue. It is no doubt a standalone virtue that cannot be equalled by any other; companionship holds a status that no other virtue or merit can rival. Some of the verses and narrations regarding the virtue of companionship have already been mentioned in the foreword to this book. However, there are some virtues which are specific to Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. Amongst them are the following:

1. ʿUqbah ibn ʿĀmir رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ narrates that Nabī صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ said:

أسلم الناس وآمن عمرو بن العاص.

The people submitted whilst ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ has believed.[252]

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[251] Al-Ṭabarī: *Tārīkh al-Rusul*, vol. 4 pg. 62; Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 68 pg. 108; Ibn al-Athīr: *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 6 pg. 319.

[252] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 17413; Al-Tirmidhī: *Al-Sunan*, Ḥadīth: 3844. The wording is of the latter. He says, “This ḥadīth is Gharīb, we do not know of it expect from the ḥadīth of Ibn Lahīʿah—from **Musharraḥ**. Its chain of transmission is not strong.” Al-Albānī has deemed it sound in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmiʿ*, Ḥadīth: 971. He

2. Abū Hurairah رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ narrated that the Nabī صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ said:

ابنا العاص مؤمنان هشام وعمرو.

The two sons of al-ʿĀṣ: Hishām and ʻAmr are believers. [253]

3. Ṭalḥah رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ said:

ألا أحدثكم عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بشيء؟ إني سمعته يقول: إن عمرو بن العاص من صالحي قريش.

Shall I not tell you that which I heard from Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ? Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ said, "ʻAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ is from among the pious men of Quraysh." [254]

4. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ said:

«كان فزع بالمدينة، فجعل الناس يذهبون هكذا وهكذا، فدخلت المسجد فإذا سالم مولى أبي حذيفة محتب بحمائل سيفه عند المنبر – منبر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، قال: فقعدت مع سالم، وجاء النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فصعد المنبر فقال: يا أيها الناس، ألا كان مفزعكم إلى الله ورسوله، ألا فعلتم ما فعل هذان الرجلان المؤمنان؟.

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says in *al-Saḥīḥah* under Ḥadīth: 155, "Musharraḥ ibn Hāʿān has been deemed authentic by Ibn Maʿīn and others. His ḥadīth is sound according to me. And though Ibn Lahīʿah is weak due to weakness in his memory, the narrations of the ʿAbādilah—from him is authentic as is outlined in his biography. And this narration is from two of them viz. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān whose name is ʿAbd Allah ibn Yazīd al-Muqrī and the other is ʿAbd Allāh ibn Wahab.

[253] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 8042; Ibn Saʿd: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra*, vol. 4 pg. 191; al-Hakim: *al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3 pg. 452. The wording is Aḥmad's. al-Albānī classified it ṣaḥīḥ in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmiʿ*, Ḥadīth: 45.

[254] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 1382; Al-Tirmidhī: *Al-Sunan*, vol. 2 pg. 316; Al-Ṭabarānī: *Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 1 pg. 13. Al-Albānī has deemed it authentic taking into consideration its supporting narrations. See, *Al-Saḥīḥah*, vol. 2 pg. 152.

On one occasion the people of Madīnah were overcome with panic and fear causing people to disperse. I went to the masjid and I saw that Sālim, the freed slave of Abū Ḥudhayfah, was sitting by the pulpit of Nabī ﷺ armed with his sword. I sat with Sālim. Rasūlullāh ﷺ came out and thereafter addressed the people saying, "Why did you not come to Allah and His Rasūl at the time of panic? Why did you not do as these two believers have done?" [255]

5. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه narrates:

قال لي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: " يا عمرو اشدد عليك سلاحك وثيابك وأتني " ففعلت فجئته وهو يتوضأ، فصعد في البصر وصوبه، وقال: " يا عمرو، إني أريد أن أبعثك وجها، فيسلمك الله ويغنمك، وأزعب لك من المال زعبة صالحة " قال: قلت: يا رسول الله، إني لم أسلم رغبة في المال، إنما أسلمت رغبة في الجهاد والكينونة معك. قال: " يا عمرو، نعما بالمال الصالح للرجل الصالح ".

Rasūlullāh ﷺ said to me, "O ʿAmr collect your weapons and clothing and come to me. I came to him when he was performing ablution. He looked at me and approved."

He then said, "I sent for you, ʿAmr, to dispatch you on a matter in which Allah will keep you safe and grant you booty, and I shall make you an allotment from the spoil."

[255] *Al-Ṭayālisī*, vol. 2 pg. 315 and the wording is his; *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 1781; Al-Nasa'ī: *Sunan al- Kubrā*, Ḥadīth: 8301; Ibn Ḥibbān: Ḥadīth: 7092. Al-Haythamī said in *al-Majmaʿ*, vol. 9 pg. 494, "The chain of narrators is authentic." Shuʿayb al-Arnā'ūṭ said, "The chain of transmission fulfills the conditions of Muslim."

I replied, "O Rasūlullāh! I did not accept Islam with the hopes of attainting wealth. I entered the fold of Islam with the intent of fighting in the path of Allah and to be in your company."

He said, "How excellent is pure wealth for a pious man."[256]

His Works and Services

Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ spearheaded many projects and took on numerous positions at the directive of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ and the Khulafā' after him. Hereunder are some examples:

—Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ appointed him to lead an expedition to Shām.[257] The maternal family of his father resided in that area. His mission was to invite them to Islam and after embracing Islam, to call them to wage jihad in the path of Allah. He, thus, dispatched ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ for this mission. He returned to Madinah in Ṣafar 8 A.H and Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ dispatched him in Jumādā alĀkhirah of the same year as the General in the Battle of al-Salāsil to the city of Quḍāʿah with three hundred soldiers.

ʿAmr's رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ maternal grandmother hailed from Balī and so Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ dispatched him to the lands of Balī and ʿUdhrah in order to create a harmonious relationship with them and invite them to Islam. He set forth until he reached Judhām at a place called al-Salāsil; the reason for this campaign being named the Battle of al-

[256] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 17802 and the wording is his; Al-Bukhārī: *Al-Adab al-Mufrad*, vol. 1 pg. 112; *Al-Ṭayālisī*, Ḥadīth: 1061; *Abū Yaʿlā*, Ḥadīth: 7116; *Ibn Ḥibbān*, Ḥadīth: 3211. Al-Ḥākim has authenticated it, vol. 2 vol. 3 and said, "It is according to the conditions of Muslim." Al-Dhahabī has concurred with him. Al-Albānī has authenticated it in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, vol. 1 pg. 454.

[257] At this campaign, Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ praised him by saying, "How excellent is pure wealth for a pious man". The complete narration has passed.

Salāsil. He was apprehensive of the enemy numbers and wrote to Rasūlullāh ﷺ requesting reinforcements. Rasūlullāh ﷺ sent two hundred riders in which there were many senior Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم, amongst them; Abū Bakr and ʿUmar رضي الله عنهما. He appointed Abū ʿUbaydah رضي الله عنه over them.

When they came to ʿAmr رضي الله عنه, he said, "I am your leader and you are my reinforcements."

Abū ʿUbaydah رضي الله عنه replied, "Rather, you are the leader of your troops and I am the leader of my troops."

ʿAmr refused to concede to this.

Abū ʿUbaydah رضي الله عنه said, "O ʿAmr! Rasūlullāh ﷺ instructed me with the following, 'When you reach ʿAmr, be united and do not differ.' Thus, if you oppose me I will obey you."

ʿAmr said, "I am opposing you."

Abū ʿUbaydah رضي الله عنه thus submitted to his leadership and the entire army prayed behind him. The army numbered five hundred. [258] They encountered severe cold; however, ʿAmr instructed them not to light any fires. Thereafter they fought the enemy [and scored victory causing havoc among enemy camps].

When they returned to Madinah [victorious], some complained to Rasūlullāh ﷺ. ʿAmr explained his strategy to Rasūlullāh ﷺ saying, "We were a few in number and I feared the enemy would see our low numbers and I prohibited them from following the enemy fearing they would be ambushed." This explanation of strategy pleased Rasūlullāh ﷺ. [259]

[258] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *Al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 3 pg. 268.
[259] Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 144.

—When Makkah was conquered, Rasūlullāh ﷺ sent him to destroy the idol name Suwāʿ at the tribe of Hudhayl. Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه narrates:

When I arrived, there was an attendant present at the idol.

He said, “With what intention have you come?”

I replied, “Rasūlullāh ﷺ commanded me to destroy it.”

The attendant answered, “You will not have the ability to do it.”

I asked him why and he responded, “This idol will defend itself.”

I said, “You still have baseless thoughts; can this idol hear or can it see anything?”

I then advanced and destroyed it. I then commanded my companions to destroy the treasure room as well, but they did not find anything inside. I then said to the attendant, “What do you think now?”

He said: “I submit to Allah.” [260]

—In the same year Rasūlullāh ﷺ sent ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه to Jayfar and ʿAmr, the sons of Julandā, in Oman—Jayfar was the King and they were both of the al-Azd. The two believed in Rasūlullāh ﷺ and affirmed what he had brought. He exacted the zakāt from their rich and distributed it amongst their poor and collected tax (jizyah) from the Zoroastrians that resided there. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه remained in Oman until the passing away of Rasūlullāh ﷺ. [261] He then returned to Madinah and Abū Bakr رضي الله عنه sent

[260] Ibn Saʿd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 9 pg. 499; Al-Ṭabarī: *Tārīkh al-Rusul*, vol. 3 pg. 66.
[261] Al-Ṭabarī: *Tārīkh al-Rusul*, vol. 3 pg. 95; Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 1 pg. 640.

him as one of the generals to the Levant where he conquered many cities and fought at Yarmūk. [262]

Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was also one of the generals in the armies that marched on the Levant during the reign of ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. He was the one who conquered Qinnasrin and he enacted a peace treaty with the people of Aleppo, Manbij, and Antioch. [263] After the death of Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ appointed Sayyidunā ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ as governor of Palestine and Jordan, Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ as governor of Baʿlabak and al-Balqā', and Saʿīd ibn ʿĀmir ibn Ḥidhyam رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ as governor of Ḥimṣ. Thereafter he appointed Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ as the governor of the entire Levant.

He wrote to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ upon which he marched on Egypt and conquered it. He remained as governor there until ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ passed away. ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ kept him as the governor of Egypt for a further four years or so and then relieved him. He appointed ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd al-ʿĀmirī in his stead. [264]

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ returned to Madinah and settled there. When people began meddling in the affairs of ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ he left for the Levant and settled on an estate of his in al-Sabʿ, Palestine until ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was murdered. He then went to Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and stayed there seeking to avenge the blood of ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. He took part in Ṣiffīn with him after which Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ appointed him as governor of Egypt. He built a home there and remained there as governor until he passed away. [265]

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[262] Ibn Saʿd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 9 pg. 499.
[263] Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 5 pg. 2.
[264] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *Al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 3 pg. 268.
[265] Ibn Saʿd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 9 pg. 499.

Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ being appointed to these positions of leadership and rendering the above-mentioned services upon the directives of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ and the Khulafā' after him, pays homage to his virtue, political acumen, ability, and genius. ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ recognized these salient traits of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

Once ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ looked at ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ walking and commented:

ما ينبغي لأبي عبد الله أن يمشي على الأرض إلا أميرا.

> It is not appropriate for Abū ʿAbd Allah to walk on earth except as a leader. [266]

His Jihād

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was passionate about jihād, with which he was everoccupied, in his ambition of bringing triumph to Islam and to realize his wish of being afforded martyrdom by Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى. This comes as no surprise as he was a brave, valiant, and heroic horseman of the Quraysh prior to and after accepting Islam.

His astute military acumen was the reason for his appointment as General in the Muslim armies. When he accepted Islam in the 8th year, Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ appointed him as General over the army to Dhāt al-Salāsil. An appointment which he fulfilled with distinction. In this expedition there was a striking exposition of his military acumen through the orders he issued, though many of the Ṣaḥābah were initially disgruntled, unable to comprehend his expediency. When the army returned and made their complaints

[266] Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 155.

clear to Rasūlullāh ﷺ, he explained his decisions in preventing them from lighting fires in the bitterly cold weather and stopping them from following the retreating enemy by saying:

يا نبي الله، كان في أصحابي قلة فخشيت أن يرى العدو قلتهم، ونهيتهم أن يتبعوا العدو مخافة أن يكون لهم كمين.

We were a few in number and I feared the enemy would see our low numbers and I prohibited them from following the enemy fearing they would be ambushed.

This explanation of strategy pleased Rasūlullāh ﷺ.[267]

—At the Conquest of Makkah Rasūlullāh ﷺ sent him to deal with the idol of Hudhayl—Suwāʿ—which he demolished.

—He was with Rasūlullāh ﷺ at Ḥunayn and at the siege of al-Ṭā'if. When Saʿd ibn ʿUbayd ibn Asīd ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿIlāj al-Thaqafī called out:

ألا إن الحي مقيم. قال: يقول عيينة بن حصن: أجل والله، مجدة كرام! فقال عمرو بن العاص: قاتلك الله، تمدح قوما مشركين بالامتناع من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وقد جئت تنصره؟ فقال: إني والله ما جئت معكم أقاتل ثقيفا، ولكن أردت أن يفتح محمد الطائف فأصيب جارية من ثقيف فأطأها لعلها تلد لي رجلا، فإن ثقيفا قوم مباركون. فأخبر عمر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بمقالته، فتبسم صلى الله عليه وسلم ثم قال: هذا الحمق المطاع.

"Is it not the tribe established."

[267] Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 144.

ʿUyaynah ibn Ḥiṣn said, “Indeed, by Allah, a noble glory!”

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said, “May Allah destroy you, you praise a polytheistic community calling them undefeatable to Rasūlullāh ﷺ whilst you have come to assist him?”

He replied to ʿAmr, “By Allah, I did not come with you to fight the Thaqīf, but that Muḥammad captures al-Ṭā’if so that I may take a slave girl from the Thaqīf and impregnate her, and perhaps she will give birth to my son. Indeed, the Thaqīf are a fortunate community.”

ʿUmar رضي الله عنه informed Rasūlullāh ﷺ of his words. Rasūlullāh ﷺ smiled and said, “Such obedient folly!” [268]

—He took part in fighting the apostates and in the conquest of the Levant during the reign of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar رضي الله عنهما. He was one of the Generals in their armies and he fulfilled his duties most notably.

—He also participated at the Battle of Yarmūk wherein he kept the band of Muslims together when the enemies stormed them.

On one occasion when fighting the Romans, he was deserted and exposed. He stood firm, fighting, yielding his weapon with might and vigour until his companions returned

When the Muslims were exposed to an attack, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Khālid ibn Walīd رضي الله عنهما both vied for the flag. ʿAmr captured it and fought with it until the Romans were defeated and Allah سبحانه وتعالى caused the Muslims to be victorious. [269]

—He was the one to influence ʿUmar رضي الله عنه to conquer Egypt, entering the region with four thousand soldiers.

[268] Al-Wāqidī: *Al-Maghāzī*, vol. 1 pg. 937.
[269] Al-Wāqidī: *Futūḥ al-Shām*, vol. 1 pg. 201.

His character, political acumen, bravery, and military prowess has already been mentioned. Hence, there is no need to repeat it.

Dr. Ibrāhīm Ḥasan has eloquently described ʿAmr's love for jihād. He says:

أما حبه للجهاد فقد كان يفوق الوصف – ذلك الحب الذي استولى على قلبه وسائر جوانحه استيلاء عظيما، حتى كان يتسابق إليه غير مبال بمجموع أعدائه مهما كثرت وقوة جنده مهما قلت، وإن محاولته فتح مصر باربعة آلاف مقاتل أو أقل لأقوى دليل وأسطع برهان على صحة ما نقول.

His intense love for jihād is beyond description. Love that went deep into his soul and showed itself—intense—on his limbs. He would jump at the opportunity giving no attention to the great numbers of the enemy nor the strength of his army. Conquering Egypt with a mere four thousand soldiers or less is a testament to this. [270]

His Integrity and Credibility

Throughout his tenure as leader of the regions under his rule, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was known for his leniency and concern for his subjects. Tyranny was not a trait associated with him. He was further held in confidence by Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, due to which the latter appointed him as governor of Egypt as long as he lived. If he had seen any sign of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ being unfit for the position of leadership, he would have dismissed him as he had other governors.

[270] Dr. Ibrāhīm Ḥasan: *Tārīkh ʿAmr*, pg. 247.

His impartiality can be assessed by his delay in claiming the kharāj tax from the Egyptians under his rule. ʿUmar رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ wrote to him regarding this delay to which he replied with the following:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. لعمر بن الخطاب من عمرو بن العاص، سلام عليك، فإنى أحمد إليك الله الذي لا إله إلا هو؛ أما بعد، فقد أتانى كتاب أمير المؤمنين يستبطئنى فى الخراج، ويزعم أني أعند عن الحقّ، وأنكب عن الطريق؛ وإني والله ما أرغب عن صالح ما تعلم؛ ولكنّ أهل الأرض استنظروني إلى أن تدرك غلّتهم؛ فنظرت للمسلمين؛ فكان الرفق بهم خيرا من أن يخرق بهم، فيصيروا إلى بيع ما لا غنى بهم عنه. والسلام.

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

To ʿUmar ibn Khaṭṭāb, from ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ.

Peace be upon you. I praise Allah, besides whom there is no God. The letter of the Amīr al-Mu'minīn has come to me with regards to my delay in sending forth the kharāj tax, perhaps thinking I am being obstinate or that I have deviated. By Allah, I have not deviated in the slightest from what you know of me; however, the people of the land have sought respite from me until they may harvest their lands. I gave the Muslims respite; considering leniency with them to be far better than forcefully extracting tax which would lead them to selling off their essential items.

Peace be with you.

—Hereunder is another case in point.

After he married his son ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAmr رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُمَا off, he heard that his son was not fulfilling the rights of his wife. He scolded him and complained to Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ about his son's shortcoming in doing so. His son relates the incident himself. He says:

زوجني أبي امرأة من قريش، فلما دخلت علي جعلت لا أنحاش لها، مما بي من القوة على العبادة، من الصوم والصلاة، فجاء عمرو بن العاص إلى كنته، حتى دخل عليها، فقال لها: كيف وجدت بعلك؟ قالت: خير الرجال، أو كخير البعولة، من رجل لم يفتش لنا كنفا، ولم يعرف لنا فراشا! فأقبل علي، فعذمني، وعضني بلسانه، فقال: أنكحتك امرأة من قريش ذات حسب، فعضلتها، وفعلت وفعلت! ثم انطلق إلى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، فشكاني، فأرسل إلي النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، فأتيته، فقال لي: " أتصوم النهار؟ " قلت: نعم، قال: " وتقوم الليل؟ " قلت: نعم، قال: "لكني أصوم وأفطر، وأصلي وأنام، وأمس النساء، فمن رغب عن سنتي، فليس مني".

My father married me to a woman of the Quraysh. When she came to my home, I paid her little attention exerting myself in worship, fasting, and praying. One day ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ came to visit his daughter-in-law and asked her, “How do you find your husband?”

She replied, “The best of men—or she said—the best of husbands, except he has not held my hands nor does he know of our matrimonial bed.”

He (my father) came to me, berating, and scolding me saying, “I gave you to a noble woman of the Quraysh yet you show no interest in her and do such and such!”

He then complained of me to Nabī ﷺ. Nabī ﷺ sent for me and I came to him.

He asked, “Do you fast in the day?”

I said, “Yes.”

He asked, “And you stand in prayer at night?”

I replied, “Yes.”

He then said, “But I fast at times and do not fast at other times, I stand in prayer, I sleep, and I lay with my wives. He who deviates from my sunnah, is not from me.” [271]

—He believed those most deserving of his integrity were the men and women who served under him. Consider the following incident, a matter of the home, which brings to the fore his justice and integrity.

Muʿāwiyah ibn Ṣāliḥ narrated from — Abū ʿImrān al-Falasṭīnī who said:

بينا امرأة عمرو بن العاص تفلي رأسه إذ نادت جارية لها فأبطأت عنها فقالت يا زانية فقال عمرو رأيتيها تزني قالت لا قال والله لتضربن لها يوم القيامة ثمانين سوطا فقالت لجاريتها وسألتها تعفو فعفت عنها فقالت هل يجزي عني فقال لها وما لها ألا تعفو وهي تحت يدك فأعتقيها فقالت هل يجزئ عني ذلك قال فلعل.

Whilst the wife of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ was removing lice from his hair, she called for her slave who delayed in responding. She then said, “O adulteress!”

ʿAmr said, “Have you seen her commit adultery?”

She replied, “No.”

He said, “By Allah you will be lashed eighty times on the Day of Qiyāmah for this [slander].”

She addressed her slave girl seeking her pardon. The slave girl pardoned her. She then asked, “Will this suffice for me [in being saved]?”

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[271] *Musnad Aḥmad*: Ḥadīth: 6477. Al-Arnā’ūṭ said, “The chain of narration is according to the conditions of Shaykhayn.” This narration is found in the Ṣaḥīḥayn albeit with brevity.

He replied, “Of course she will pardon you since she is under your ownership. Free her.”

She asked, “Will that suffice for me?”

He said, “Perhaps.” [272]

The true bastions of justice are those in positions of power and influence[273]

His Humility

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī narrates:

قال رجل لعمرو بن العاص: أرأيت رجلا مات رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهو يحبه، أليس رجلا صالحا؟ قال: بلى. قال: قد مات رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهو يحبك وقد استعملك. فقال: قد استعملني، فوالله ما أدري أحبا كان لي منه، أو استعانة بي، ولكني سأحدثك برجلين مات رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهو يحبهما: عبد الله بن مسعود، وعمار بن ياسر.

A man said to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, “Do you think a man to be pious whom Rasūlullāh ﷺ left this world loving him?”

He replied, “Yes, why not.”

The man said, “Rasūlullāh ﷺ left this world whilst he loved you and appointed you as a governor.”

He answered, “He appointed me as a governor yes. By Allah I do not know if this was a result of his love for me or as a way of putting my abilities to use; however, I will tell you of two men

[272] Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 181.
[273] ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ: *Al-Amīr al-Mujāhid*, pg. 436.

whom Rasūlullāh ﷺ left this world loving them; ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir." [274]

Muḥammad ibn al-Aswad ibn Khalaf ibn Bayaḍah al-Khuzāʿī says:

إنا لجلوس في الحجر وناس من قريش، إذ قيل: قدم الليلة عمرو بن العاص من مصر، فما أكبر بأن دخل، فابتدرناه بأبصارنا، فلما طاف دخل الحجر، وصلى ركعتين، ثم قال: كأنكم قد قرضتموني بهنت، فقال القوم: لم نذكر إلا خيرا، ذكرناك وهشاما، فقال بعضنا: هذا أفضل. وقال بعضنا: هذا أفضل. فقال عمرو: سأخبركم عن ذلك، إنا أسلمنا فأحببنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ، وناصحناه ، فذكر يوم اليرموك ، فقال: أخذ بعمود الفسطاط حتى اغتسل وتحنط ، وتكفن ، ثم أخذ بعمود الفسطاط حتى اغتسلت ، وتحنطت ، وتكفنت ، ثم اعترضنا على الله تبارك وتعالى، فقبله ، فهو خير مني. قبله ، فهو خير مني. قبله ، فهو خير مني.

We were sitting amongst some people of the Quraysh in the ḥaṭīm area when it was said, "ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ has come from Egypt this evening." Soon after he came and we peeked at him. He performed ṭawāf, entered the ḥaṭīm and prayed two rakʿāt of ṣalāh. He then addressed us saying, "It seems as though you lot were speaking ill of me."

The people replied, "We spoke only good. We recalled you and Hishām, some said he is better while others said you are."

ʿAmr said, "Let me better inform you. We both accepted Islam and loved Rasūlullāh ﷺ, becoming well-wishers for him."

[274] *Musnad Aḥmad*: Ḥadīth: 17807 with a chain of reliable narrators up to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, though it is munqatiʿ as stated by al-Arnāwūt in his research of the ḥadīth.

He then spoke of the Battle of Yarmūk and said, "He took to the tent, bathed, applied *ḥanūṭ*[275] to his body, and donned his shroud. I then took to the tent, bathed, applied ḥanūṭ to my body, and donned my shroud. We then presented our lives to Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ. Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ accepted him and, thus, he is better than me. Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ accepted him and, thus, he is better than me. Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ accepted him and, thus, he is better than me." [276]

His Worship

The sincerity and devotion of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُمْ in acts of worship, according to the extent of their exertion, are proverbial. Just as ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ was a stalwart of leadership and a warrior par excellence, he was well known for his devotions in other acts of worship as well. Consider the following as narrated by Abū Qays, the freed slave of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ:

أن عمرو بن العاص كان يسرد الصوم، وقلما كان يصيب من العشاء أول الليل، أكثر ما كان يصيب من السحر، قال: وسمعته يقول: سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: " إن فصلا بين صيامنا وصيام أهل الكتاب، أكلة السحر".

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ would continuously fast. He would hardly eat in the early portion of the night preferring to eat at the time of suḥūr. He would say, "I heard Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ saying, 'The

[275] A substance that is applied to the body of the deceased.
[276] Ibn al-Mubārak: *Kitāb al-Jihād*: 115 and 114 from another chain of narrators in brief; Al-Bayhaqī: *Al- Madkhal ilā al-Sunan al-Kubrā*: 631.

difference between our fasts and the fasts of the Jews is the eating of suḥūr.'" [277]

His Narrations

We have already outlined the passion ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ had for jihād and being placed in positions of leadership by Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ right from the inception of his Islam; a testament to his political acumen and military genius. Thus, neither was his sojourn with Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ a lengthy one, nor was his stay in Madinah permanent. In fact, when Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ left this worldly abode, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was at Oman fulfilling a mission assigned to him by Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ al-Sahmī truly was an arrow in the quiver of Islam. He himself attested to this at the time when Abū Bakr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ charged him with the leading the armies to the Levant; he said:

إني سهم من سهام الإسلام، وأنت بعد الله الرامي بها والجامع لها، فانظر أشدها وأخشاها وأفضلها فارم به.

I am naught but an arrow of the arrows of Islam and you, after Allah, are the marksman and collector. So, observe which is the strongest, the most fearsome, and the most superior target and shoot [me] towards it. [278]

[277] *Musnad Aḥmad*: Ḥadīth: 17771. Shuʿayb al-Arnā'ūṭ said, "The chain of narration is authentic according to the conditions of Imām Muslim. The narration is in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Book of Fasting: Chapter on the virtue of suḥūr: Ḥadīth:1096 without mention of the continuous fast of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ.

[278] *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2 pg. 249; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 9 pg. 541.

It is quite evident that one who is preoccupied with such undertakings would not excessively narrate aḥādīth. Some scholars have enumerated his narrations which amount to thirty-nine, with repetitions. Three have been narrated by both al-Bukhārī and Muslim whilst al-Bukhārī has singled out another one and Muslim two more.[279]

From amongst his narrations, there are those which display his *fiqh* (deep understanding) and sharp intellect, even though he was relatively new to the faith. For instance, he made Tayammum for major ritual impurity at the expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsil fearing destruction due to severe cold. Abū Dāwūd and others have narrated from ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ who said:

احتلمت في ليلة باردة في غزوة ذات السلاسل فأشفقت أن اغتسل فأهلك، فتيممت، ثم صليت بأصحابي الصبح، فذكروا ذلك للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، فقال: "يا عمرو، صليت بأصحابك وأنت جنب؟ " فأخبرته بالذي منعني من الاغتسال، وقلت: إني سمعت الله يقول: {ولا تقتلوا أنفسكم إن الله كان بكم رحيما} [النساء: 29]، فضحك رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم –ولم يقل شيئا.

I had a nocturnal emission on a cold night in the battle of Dhāt al-Salāsil. I was afraid, if I bathed, I would die. I, therefore, performed Tayammum and led my companions in the morning prayer. They mentioned this to the Messenger of Allah صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

He said, "'Amr, you led your companions is prayer while you were in the state of major ritual impurity?"

[279] Al-Jawzī: *Kashf al-Mushkil*, vol. 4 pg. 109; Al-Dhahabī: *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, vol. 3 pg. 45.

I informed him of the cause which impeded me from washing. And I said, "I heard Allah say, "And do not kill yourselves [or one another]. Indeed, Allah is to you ever Merciful."

Rasūlullāh ﷺ laughed and did not say anything.[280]

His Rhetoric, Poetry, Wisdom, and Sayings

Sayyidunā ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه was blessed with rhetoric that was effective, speech that was eloquent, and poetry that was poised. This was quite evident in the speeches he gave and the letters he wrote. He was an articulate orator and an eloquent speaker. Consider the following narrated by Buḥayr ibn Dhākhir al- Muʿāfirī who said:

I went with my father for the Friday prayer, the *muaddhin* sounded the call to prayer after which ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه took his place, standing on the pulpit. He praised Allah سبحانه وتعالى and sent salutations upon Nabī ﷺ. He counselled the people, advising them to do good and discouraging them from evil. I heard him exhorting people to give alms, join family ties, and adopt moderation. He discouraged them from extravagance and too great an increase of their household. He said:

معشر الناس، إيّاى وخلالا أربعا، فإنها تدعو إلى النصب بعد الراحة، وإلى الضيق بعد السعة، وإلى المذلّة بعد العزّة، إيّاى وكثرة العيال، وإخفاض الحال، وتضييع المال، والقيل بعد القال، فى غير درك ولا نوال، ثم إنه لا بدّ من فراغ يؤول إليه المرء فى توديع جسمه، والتدبير لشأنه، وتخليته بين نفسه وبين شهواتها، ومن صار إلى ذلك فليأخذ بالقصد والنصيب الأقلّ،

[280] *Sunan Abū Dāwūd*: 334; *Muṣannaf ʿAbd al-Razzāq*: 878; *Musnad Aḥmad*: 17812; *Al-Mustadrak ʿalā al- Ṣaḥīḥayn*: 629 and others.

ولا يضيع المرء فى فراغه نصيب العلم من نفسه فيحور من الخير عاطلا، وعن حلال الله وحرامه غافلا.

يا معشر الناس، إنه قد تدلّت الجوزاء، وذكت الشعرى، وأقلعت السّماء، وارتفع الوباء، وقلّ الندى، وطاب المرعى ووضعت الحوامل، ودرّجت السخائل، وعلى الراعى بحسن رعيّته حسن النظر، فحىّ لكم على بركة الله إلى ريفكم، فنالوا من خيره ولبنه، وخرافه وصيده، وأربعوا خيلكم وأسمنوها وصونوها وأكرموها، فإنّها جنّتكم من عدوّكم، وبها مغانمكم وأثقالكم، واستوصوا بمن جاورتموه من القبط خيرا، وإيّاي والمشمومات والمعسولات، فإنهنّ يفسدن الدّين ويقصّرن الهمم.

حدثني عمر أمير المؤمنين، أنه سمع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، يقول: إن الله سيفتح عليكم بعدى مصر، فاستوصوا بقبطها خيرا فإن لكم منهم صهرا وذمّة.

فعفّوا أيديكم وفروجكم، وغضّوا أبصاركم، ولا أعلمنّ ما أتى رجل قد أسمن جسمه، وأهزل فرسه، واعلموا أنى معترض الخيل كاعتراض الرجال، فمن أهزل فرسه من غير علّة حططتّه من فريضته قدر ذلك، واعلموا أنكم في رباط إلى يوم القيامة، لكثرة الأعداء حوالكم وتشوّق قلوبهم إليكم وإلى داركم، معدن الزرع والمال والخير الواسع والبركة النامية.

وحدثني عمر أمير المؤمنين، أنه سمع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، يقول: «إذا فتح الله عليكم مصر، فاتخذوا فيها جندا كثيفا، فذلك الجند خير أجناد الأرض» فقال له أبو بكر: ولم يا رسول الله؟ قال: «لأنهم وأزواجهم في رباط إلى يوم القيامة». فاحمدوا الله معشر الناس على ما أولاكم، فتمتّعوا في ريفكم ما طاب لكم؛ فإذا يبس العود، وسخن العمود، وكثر الذباب،

وحمض اللبن، وصوّح البقل، وانقطع الورد من الشجر، فحيّ على فسطاطكم، على بركة الله، ولا يقدمنّ أحد منكم ذو عيال على عياله إلا ومعه تحفة لعياله على ما أطاق من سعيه أو عسرته، أقول قولي هذا وأستحفظ الله عليكم.

O assembly of the people, beware of four faults; for they bring to trouble after ease, and poverty after plenty, and degradation after prosperity! Beware of increasing your households, and of luxury, and of wasting your wealth, and of many words in an affair you cannot compass. It is true, a man does need some leisure, to give rest to his body and see to its interests, and to allow his soul free scope for its desires. Whoever takes to this path, let him use moderation and content himself with a little and let not a man in his leisure time let go his portion of knowledge; so should he pass his life in neglect of good, and in ignorance of what Allah has permitted and what he has prohibited.

O assembly of the people! Verily the constellation of Gemini has arisen, and Sirius has set, and the heavens have become clear, and the epidemic has passed, the dew has decreased, the pasture has come to maturity, the pregnant ewes have brought forth, and the lambs have taken their first uncertain steps. The shepherd must keep a fair watch over his fair flocks. Go forth, then, with the blessing of Allah, to your fields: enjoy all the blessings they afford, the milk, the sheep, and the hunt.

Put your horses to grass and let them grow fat, and guard them well, and treat them with all honour: for they are your defence from your foes, and on them depends your booty and your spoil.

Treat with kindness the Copts who are your neighbours: and beware of the sugary speech and sweet smell of the strange women: for verily they corrupt the faith and destroy the

energies. I was told by the Commander of the Faithful, ʿUmar, that he heard the Rasūl ﷺ say, "Verily after my time, Allah shall lay open Egypt before you. Treat you, therefore, its Copts with kindness: for they are your kin and your subjects." Therefore, I say, keep off your hands, and restrain your passions, and veil your glances.

And let me not know of a man who returns having fattened his own body and let his horse grow lean. Know that I shall pass the horses in review, even as the men: and he who lets his horse grow lean, without a sufficient excuse, his pay shall I reduce in proportion. And know that you are encamped on the enemy's borders, until the Day of Judgment; so many are the foes that surround you, and so fixed are their hearts upon you and your lands; a source of increase, wealth, plenteous possessions, and blessings.

I have been told by ʿUmar, Commander of the Faithful, that he heard the Rasūlullāh ﷺ say, "When Allah shall open before you the land of Egypt, host there a large force for that force is the best of the forces of the earth."

Abū Bakr asked, "Why so, O Prophet of Allah?"

He replied, "Because they and their wives are in camp on the enemy's borders until the Day of Judgment."

Therefore, O Assembly of the people, praise Allah for what he hath given you, and enjoy in your fields that which your souls desire: and when the branch is dry, and the water is warm, and the flies increase, and the milk is sour, and the herb is parched, and the rose falls from its stem; then arise, return to your city, with the blessing of Allah. And let no one of you who hath a family return without bringing some present to his family, in

proportion as his wealth or poverty permits him. I have said my say and I commit you to the protection of Allah.[281]

I memorized his sermon and when I recited it to my father upon our return home, he said, "O my son, people will flock to securing the border as they would flock to fertile lands."

His eloquence, rhetoric, strength of visualisation, and power of imagination shines through in his letter to the Amīr al-Mu'minīn in his portrayal of Egypt.

Some historians state that when ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ settled in as the governor of Egypt, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ wrote to him seeking a depiction of the lands of Egypt. He replied with the following:

ورد كتاب أمير المؤمنين أطال الله بقاءه يسألني عن مصر: اعلم يا أمير المؤمنين أن مصر قرية غبراء، وشجرة خضراء؛ طولها شهر، وعرضها عشر؛ يكنفها جبل أغبر، ورمل أعفر؛ يخطّ وسطها نيل مبارك الغدوات، ميمون الروحات؛ تجري فيه الزيادة والنقصان كجري الشمس والقمر؛ له أوان يدرّ حلابه، ويكثر فيه دبابه، تمده عيون الأرض وينابيعها حتى إذا ما اصلخم عجاجه، وتعظمت أمواجه، فاض على جانبيه فلم يمكن التخلص من القرى بعضها إلى بعض إلا في صغار المراكب، وخفاف القوارب، وزوارق كأنهن في المخايل ورق الأصائل؛ فإذا تكامل في زيادته، نكص على عقبيه كأول ما بدأ في جريته، وطما في درته؛ فعند ذلك تخرج أهل ملة محقورة، وذمة مخفورة، يحرثون بطون الأرض ويبذرون بها الحب، يرجون بذلك النماء من الرب؛ لغيرهم ما سعوا من كدهم، فناله منهم بغير جدهم؛ فإذا أحدق الزرع وأشرق، سقاه الندى وغذاه من تحته الثرى؛ فبينما مصر يا أمير المؤمنين لؤلؤة

[281] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam: *Futūḥ Miṣr wa Akhbārihā*, pg. 99; al-Dārquṭnī: *Al-Mu'talif wa al-Mukhtalif*, vol. 1 pg. 1003.

بيضاء، إذا هي عنبرة سوداء، فإذا هي زمردة خضراء، فإذا هى ديباجة رقشاء، فتبارك الله الخالق لما يشاء. الذي يصلح هذه البلاد وينميها ويقر قاطنيها فيها، ألّا يقبل قول خسيسها في رئيسها، وألا يستأدى خراج ثمرة إلا في أوانها، وأن يصرف ثلث ارتفاعها، في عمل جسورها وترعها؛ فإذا تقرر الحال مع العمال في هذه الأحوال، تضاعف ارتفاع المال؛ والله تعالى يوفق في المبدأ والمآل.

I have received the letter of the Amīr al-Mu'minīn—May Allah lengthen his life—asking of Egypt. Egypt is a sandy land, with lush green trees. Its length is a month's journey and breadth is travelled in ten days.

It is flanked by dusty mountains. The Nile runs in the middle of the land which is blessed in its nourishment and auspicious in its replenishment. It rises and falls with the cycles of the sun and moon, at times its flow increases and so does its aquatic insects. The springs and streams of the earth furthers its reach. And when its starts to gush forth with a fervour and its waves crash with might along its sides, small boats and light vessels are the only way to reach the villages that dot its edge. These skiffs resemble floating leaves rocking from side to side under a red-hazy sunset.

After reaching its peak it begins to decrease to its earlier flow, streaming along its path. At this point the masters of land excavation instruct the ploughing of the land and sowing of the seeds with hope from the Lord for a productive harvest. The farmers' toil is credited to the masters who make no toil. When the harvest comes into view and begins shining, dew saturates the crop and fertile soil gives it the nutrients needed.

Egypt, O Amīr al-Mu'minīn, at times resembles a white pearl, at times dark amber, at times a vivid emerald, and at times it

appears as a murky silken cloth. So blessed is Allah, who creates as he wishes.

The interest of the land, its growth, and its dwellers lies in the following mandates: The opinions of dastardly should not be considered in view of the noble, tax should only be collected at its assigned time, and a third of the revenue should be re-invested in infrastructure; in building bridges and canals. If these mandates take hold and become policy, the economy will flourish.

And Allah Taʿālā is the lender of assistance in the beginning and at the end.

When this letter was read by ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ he exclaimed, "Oh ibn al- ʿĀṣ, how excellent! Your description has brought it to my eyes." [282]

Similar was a letter of his to ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ when the latter asked him about dispatching a naval fleet; a result of Muʿāwiyah's رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ insistence to launch a naval attack on Cyprus from Ḥimṣ citing its close proximity saying, "Cyprus is so close to us that we can hear its dogs barking and its roosters crowing." This drew the excitement of ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and he was captivated by it.

He wrote to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and asked him to describe it, the sea. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ responded

إني رأيت خلقا كبيرا يركبه خلق صغير، إن ركن خرق القلوب، وإن تحرك أزاغ العقول،

يزداد فيه اليقين قلة، والشك كثرة، هم فيه كدود على عود، إن مال غرق، وإن نجا برق.

I have seen numerous people, going upon the sea, overpowered by a few. There is nothing there but sky and water. When it is

[282] Ibn Taghrībirdī: *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fi Mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah*, vol. 1 pg. 33.

calm the hearts are uneasy, and when it is rough the senses are lost. It weakens confidence and strengthens doubt. People at sea are like a worm in a log of wood. If their boat inclines, they sink, and if they survive, they are dazed.

When ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ read this, he wrote to Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ saying, "By the One who sent Muḥammad with the truth! I will never send a single Muslim to sea." [283]

This eloquence and rhetoric of ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ is not unexpected, considering he is a famed poet and a celebrated orator. His poetry and speech held a particular harmony. Many incidents of note survive by way of his poetry being memorized.

Poetry

إذا المرء لم يترك طعاما يحبه ... ولم ينه قلبا غاويا حيث يمما

قضى وطرا منه وغادر سُبة ... إذا ذكرت أمثالها تملأ الفما

Addressing ʿUmārah ibn al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah in the court of al-Najāshī, ʿAmr said the following couplets:

A man not giving up the food [read: wine] he loves;

Nor preventing his wayward heart from its intent,

Attains his desire but becomes a disgrace;

Brings forth a mouthful, the memory of such folk. [284]

[283] Al-Ṭabarī: *Tārīkh al-Rusul*, vol. 2 pg. 600; Al-Kalāʿī: *Al-Iktifā*, vol. 4 pg. 45; Al-Nuwayrī: *Nihāyah al-Arab*, vol. 19 pg. 261.
[284] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *Al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 1 pg. 368.

From his poetry on the Day of Uḥud when he was not yet a Muslim is the following:

خرجنا من الفيفا عليهم كأننا — مع الصبح من رضوى الحبيك المنطق

تمنت بنو النجار جهلا لقاءنا — لدى جنب سلع والأماني تصدق

فما راعهم بالشر إلا فجاءة — كراديس خيل في الأزقة تمرق

أرادوا لكيما يستبيحوا قبابنا — ودون القباب اليوم ضرب محرق

وكانت قبابا أو منت قبل ما ترى — إذ رامها قوم أبيحوا وأحنقوا

كأن رءوس الخزرجيين غدوة — وأيمانهم بالمشرفية بروق

We came upon them from al-Fayfā'[285] *as though;*

One with dawn, a belt, along the sandy path of Mount Raḍwā[286]*.*

Banū Najjār wished to meet us in ignorance;

Alongside Mount Sal'[287]*,Hopes seemingly coming true.*

They observed a sudden outbreak;

Of cavalry squadrons piercing through the narrow pass.

They pressed hoping to upturn our camps;

A fiery attack launched today, though not on the camps.

The camps, were as you'd see, safe;

When those, attacked and enraged, let loose their arrows.

[285] Al-Fayfā is a spacious land between the al-Jamāwāt mountain range to the west of al-Madīnah. It used to have high peaks, valleys, and terraces of trees until recently. Its development and infrastructure has almost included it into al-Madīnah itself. Today it is known as Al-Duʿaythah.

[286] Al-Raḍwā Mount is located in one of the Yanbūʿ villages, west of al-Madīnah.

[287] A mountain in al-Madīnah.

As though the heads of the Khazraj tribe;

And their allegiance turning to asphodel[(288)]*, a result of the swinging swords.*[(289)]

This is also from his poetry on the Day of Uḥud

لما رأيت الحرب ينـ	ـزو شرها بالرضف نزوا
وتناولت شهباء تلحو	الناس بالضراء لحوا
أيقنت أن الموت حق	والحياة تكون لغوا
حملت أثوابي على	عتد يبذ الخيل رهوا
سلس إذا نكبن في الـ	ـبيداء يعلو الطرف علوا
وإذا تنزل ماؤه	من عطفه يزداد زهوا
ربذ كيعفور الصريمة	راعه الرامون دحوا
شنج نساه ضابط	للخيل إرخاء وعدوا
ففدى لهم أمي غداة	الروع إذ يمشون قطوا
سيرا إلى كبش الكتيبة	إذ جلته الشمس جلوا

When I saw the battle raging;

Attacks hot, as fire heated stone.

And the heavily armed forces crushing,

Wrecking; people injured.

I was convinced of certain death;

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(288) Translators note: Asphodel (Asphodelus ramosus) is a relative of the lily and native to Europe. Some cultures associated it with the death and the underworld.
(289) Ibn Hishām: *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah*, vol. 4 pg. 99.

And life had become meaningless.

I hauled myself onto a blistering steed;

Flying past one horse after another.

Fluid in the wilderness under distress;

In stature, athletic and burly.

When its sweat drips down;

Its flank, it struts with purpose.

Quick like a lone antelope;

Startled; throwing out its forelegs.

Lean, its legs muscular;

Galloping hard, without having to spur it on.

May my mother be sacrificed for them;

Tomorrow when their strides are short and brisk.

As they trot amongst the throngs;

Of armies, shining under the brilliant sun. [290]

When he returned from Oman after the demise of Rasūlullāh ﷺ, a group of seventy horseman of the nobles from Oman had come out to see him off. Amongst them were Abū Ṣufrah Ẓālim ibn Sarrāq, Jufayr ibn Jaʿfar, and ʿIbādah ibn al-Jalandī. ʿUqbah ibn Nuʿmān al-ʿAtkī recited some poetry, of which the opening lines are:

وفينا لعمرو يوم عمرو كأنه　　طريد نفته مذحج والسكاسك

[290] Ibn Hishām: *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah*, vol. 4 pg. 101; al-Suhaylī: *Al-Rawḍ al-Unuf*, vol. 3 pg. 337. Ibn Hishām says: some scholars of poetry think its attribution to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ as incorrect.

رسولِ رسول الله أعظِم بحقه علينا ومن لا يعرف الحق هالك

We remained faithful to ʿAmr at the day when ʿAmr was like;

A tracked (enemy), pursued by the Banū Mudhḥij[291] and Sakāsik[292].

The messenger of the Messenger of Allah, O what right he has;

Upon us, and he who does not recognise this right is destroyed.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ commended them with the following:

أَقُولُ وَحَوْلِي آلُ فِهْرِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ جَزَى اللهُ عَنِّي الأَزْدَ خَيْرَ جَزَاءِ

أَتَيْتُ عُمَانًا وَالْحَوَادِثُ جَمَّةٌ وَلَيْسَتْ بِأَرْضٍ لِي وَلا بِسَمَاءِ

فَحَيَّ هَلا بِالأَزْدِ أَرْبَابِ نِعْمَةٍ وَأَهْلِ حِبَاءٍ صَادِقٍ وَوَفَاءِ

تَضَمَّنَنِي مِنْهُمْ عِبَادٌ وَجَيْفَرٌ وَظَالِمٌ الدَّاعِي لِكُلِّ علاء

أَتَيْتُ إِلَى أَهْلِ الْمَدِينَةِ سَالِمًا أُجَرْجِرُ فِيهَا مِئْزَرِي وَرِدَائِي

عَلَى حِينِ أَنْ جَاشَتْ مَعَدٌّ بِرِدَّةٍ وَأَوْبَاشُ هَذَا الْحَيِّ حَيٍّ ضِبَاءِ

فَمَا بَيْنَنَا إِلا سُيُوفٌ وَتَارَةً بِهَسْمٍ وَأُشْطَانِ الْجُزُورِ ظِمَاءِ

مُقَرَّبَةُ الآجَالِ مِنَّا وَمِنْهُمُ عَلَى كُلِّ حَالٍ لَيْسَ ذَا بِخَفَاءِ

تَدُورُ رَحَا الآجَالِ فِينَا وَفِيهِمُ بِدَوْرِ فَنَاءٍ أَوْ بِدَوْرِ بَقَاءِ

I speak, with the clan of Fihr ibn Mālik around me;

May Allah reward the Azd abundantly in my behalf.

[291] Mudhḥij: Ibn al-ʿArabī said, "He is from the sons of Udud ibn Zayd ibn Yashjub and his mother is Dhillah bint Dhī Minshajān al-Ḥimyarī. Yaqūt: *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. 5 pg. 89.

[292] Sakāsik is the name of a tribe of Yemen, named in attribution to Sakāsik ibn Ashras ibn Thawr. Yaqūt: *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. 3 pg. 229.

I came to Oman at a tumultuous time;

I had no one in this land or sky.

I must begin my mention with Azd, leaders of hospitality;

A tribe of honesty and integrity, always gifting.

From them ʿIbād and Jufayr rallied around me;

And Ẓālim, the caller greatness too.

I came to the people of al-Madīnah safe;

Dragging along my cloak and loin cloth.

At a time when Maʿd [293] *began simmering with apostasy;*

And the riffraff of this community, the community of Ḍibā'.

Thus, there only remains between us the sword;

At times braking, at others, slaughtering.

Death. Ours and theirs have come close;

Whatever the situation may be, no doubt.

The grinding stone of death passes over us and them;

Some ground to death, others live another day. [294]

[293] Azd: One of the biggest and most famous Arab tribes. They are attributed to Al-Azd ibn al-Gawth ibn Nabt ibn Mālik ibn Kahlān. They split into four branches. Azd Shanū'ah, Azd Ghassān, who reside in the Arabian Peninsula and in The Levant, Azd al-Sarāt who live at a mountain with the same name. And Azd ʿUmmān who live in ʿUmmān. ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥālah: *Muʿjam Qabā'il al- ʿArab al-Qadīmah wa al- Ḥadīthah*, vol. 1 pg. 15.

[294] Al-Wāqidī: *Al-Riddah* pgs. 57,58.

Sayings and adages

His saying and adages are filled with practical and applicable advices.

1.Abandonment

لا أَمَلُّ ثَوْبِي ما وَسِعَنِي، ولا أَمَلُّ زَوْجَتِي ما أَحْسَنَتْ عِشْرَتِي، ولا أَمَلُّ دَابَّتِي ما حَمَلَتْ رِجْلِي؛ إنَّ المَلَالَةَ من سَيِّءِ الأَخْلَاقِ.

I don't replace my clothes as long as they fit me. I don't give up on my wife as long as our relationship remains amicable, and I don't abandon my conveyance as long as it carries me. Giving up [on people and things] form part of ill character.

2. He said to his son ʿAbd Allah رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ

يا بني سلطان عادل خير من مطر وابل، وأسد حطوم خير من سلطان ظلوم، وسلطان غشوم ظلوم خير من فتنة تدوم، يا بني زلة الرجل عظم يجبر، وزلة اللسان لا تبقي ولا تذر. يا بني استراح من لا عقل له فأرسلها مثلا.

O my son, a just ruler is better than torrential rain, a ferocious wild lion is favoured over an oppressive ruler, and a tyrannical dictatorship fares better than endless turmoil and tribulations. Son! The slip of a foot is nothing more than a broken bone which can be mended but a slip of the tongue lets nothing remain and spares none. O my son, a person without intelligence is at ease indeed (a saying which was then taken as a proverb after this).

3. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said to Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُمَا

يا أمير المؤمنين لا تكونن لشيء من أمر رعيتك أشد تعمدا منك لخصاصة الكريم حتى تعمل في سدها، ولطغيان اللئيم حتى تعمل في قمعه، واستوحش من الكريم الجائع، ومن اللئيم الشبعان، فإن الكريم يصول إذا جاع، واللئيم يصول إذا شبع.

O Amīr al-Mu'minīn! Let no matter be more important to you with regard to your constituents than being vigilant in curbing the hunger of the noble and crushing the dissent of the wicked. Be wary of the noble going hungry and the wicked being fulfilled. The noble attack when hungry and the wicked when fulfilled.

4. Muʿāwiyah asked ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا

من أبلغ الناس؟ قال: من اقتصر على الإيجاز وسلب الفضول. قال فمن أصبر الناس؟ قال: أردهم لجهله بحلمه.

"What defines eloquence and rhetoric?"

He replied, "Concision of expression without wasting words."

He asked, "What then defines patience"?

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ replied, "Countering ignorance with forbearance."

5. ʿAmr said to Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا

ما بطن قوم قط إلا فقدوا عقولهم، وما قضيت عزيمة رجل مات بطينا.

Obesity in a nation leads to a lowering of their intellect and an obese person dies without having achieved his goals.

6. Intelligence

ليس العاقل الذي يعرف الخير من الشر، ولكن العاقل الذي يعرف خير الشرين.

An intelligent person is not one who can differentiate between good and evil. Rather, an intelligent person is one who can perceive the lesser of the two evils.

7. Forbearance

ليس الحليم من يحلم عن من يحلم عنه ويجاهل من جاهله، ولكن الحليم من يحلم عن من يحلم عنه ويحلم من جاهله.

A forbearing person is not one who is forbearing with those forbearing with him. Rather a forbearing person is one who is forbearing with those forbearing with him and with those intolerant to him.

8.Three types of people

الرجال ثلاثة: فرجل تام، ونصف رجل، ولا شيء، فأما الرجل التام: فالذي يكمل الله له دينه وعقله، فإذا أراد أمرا لم يمضه حتى يستشير أهل الرأي والألباب، فإذا وافقوه حمد الله وأمضى رأيه فلا يزال ذلك مضيا موفقا. والنصف رجل: الذي يكمل الله له دينه وعقله، فإذا أراد أمرا لم يستشر فيه أحدا، وقال: أي الناس كنت أطيعه أو أترك رأيي لرأيه فيصيب ويخطئ. والذي لا شيء: الذي لا دين ولا عقل ولا يستشير، فلا يزال ذلك مخطئا مدبرا. قال عمرو: والله إني لأستشير في الأمر الذي أردته حتى أستشير خدمي وما علي بعرض عقولهم وأسمع.

Mankind fall into three categories:

- Complete
- Half
- Those that amount to nothing

As for the complete, Allah has blessed them with complete faith and intellect. When they intend something, they seek counsel from people of understanding and wisdom. If their advice coincides with their own, they praise Allah and fulfil the task they set out to do under the guidance of Allah.

The second category are those whom Allah has blessed with complete faith and intellect. However, when they intend doing something, they take no one's counsel citing their own inability of taking the opinions of others over their own. Such people win some and lose some.

As for the third category, they are those who have no faith or intellect. Neither do they seek counsel. Such people are always regressing in life.

ʿAmr said, "By Allah! I seek counsel in matters I intend to the extent of seeking the counsel of my servants."

9. Distress and comfort

قال عمرو بن العاص رضي الله عنه لجلسائه وتذاكروا شيئا من أمر الدنيا أي شيء رأيتم أحسن؟ فذكروا النساء المرأة الحسنة والدابة؟ فقال عمرو: وما شيء أحسن من غمرات ثم تنجلي.

Whilst discussing the bounties of this world ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ asked what they thought the best bounty was. They mentioned, women, a beautiful maiden, and conveyances. ʿAmr said, "There is nothing better than the comfort that follows distress."

10. Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān asked ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُمَا:

ما ألذ الأشياء؟ قال: يا أمير المؤمنين مر أحداث قريش فليقوموا، فلما قاموا قال: إسقاط المروءة، يريد أن الرجل إذا لم يهمه مروءته تلذذ وعمل ما يشتهي ولم يلتفت إلى لوم لائم.

"What is the most pleasurable of things? "

He said, "Amīr al-Mu'minīn! Ask the Qurayshī youngsters to take their leave."

When they had left, he said, "Losing one's sense of honour."

By this he meant, when one has no care for his honour, he will seek pleasures and do as he wishes without a care for censure.

11. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ said:

نكح العجز التواني فولد منه الندامة.

Inability married negligence and gave birth to regret.

12. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ said:

لا وجع إلا العين، ولا حزن إلا الدين.

There's no pain like eye pain and no worry like the worry of debt.

13. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ said:

ما وضعت سري عند أحد فأفشاه فلمته عليه، أنا كنت أضيق به حين استودعته.

I do not blame one who betrays my secret that I shared with them. Handing it into their care meant I was unable to keep the secret myself.

14. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ said:

انتهى عجبي إلى ثلاث: المرء يفر من القدر وهو لاقيه، ويبصر في عين أخيه القذى فيعيبه، ويكون في عينه الجذع فلا يعيبه، ويكون في دابته الصعر فيقومها بجهده، ويكون فيه الصعر فلا يقوم نفسه.

My astonishment knows no bounds when it comes to three types of people:

a. A man fleeing from his destiny, yet heading to it.
b. A man criticizing his brother for a speck in his eye whilst living with tree stump in his own without bother.
c. A man who forces his conveyance to stand despite it being ill, though when ill himself, is unable to stand. [(295)]

His Business and Estate

We have already mentioned that the father of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, al-ʿĀṣ was wealthy man who used to don clothes of fine silk brocade. His son, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, though was a self-made man. He was an entrepreneur who began his business ventures with the Qurayshī caravans.

—In Jerusalem they took turns to pasture their camels on the hills around the city. One day, when it was ʿAmr's turn, he came across a deacon, wandering the hills. It was extremely hot and the deacon was half dead from thirst. ʿAmr gave him to drink from his waterskin bag and the deacon then lay down and went to sleep. As he lay there, a huge snake emerged from a hole next to where he lay. ʿAmr saw the snake and shot it with and arrow, killing it. When the deacon awoke, he asked what had happened. When ʿAmr explained, the

[(295)] All of the sayings that have passed were reported by Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 46/183-189.

deacon was overwhelmed and kissed the head of the man who had saved his life, not once but twice, both from dying of thirst and from the snake. He asked why ʿAmr had come to this land and ʿAmr explained that he was trading, hoping to make enough money to acquire a third camel to add to his two existing ones. The deacon asked how much blood money would be offered amongst his people for saving another man's life, and was told it would be one hundred camels. The deacon stated they had no camels in his country, but what would that be in gold coins? One thousand was the answer.

The deacon explained that he was a stranger to the country. That he had come to pray at the church of the Holy Sepulchre and to spend a month in the wilderness in accordance with an oath he had taken. He was now going home and he invited ʿAmr to come with him, promising that he would be given double blood money when he got there since Allah had saved his life through him two times.

ʿAmr asked him, "Where do you hail from?"

He replied, "A city in Egypt called Alexandria."

ʿAmr said, "I do not know this land and neither have I been there."

The deacon mused, "If you come, you would enter a land such that you've never seen before."

ʿAmr asked him, "Are you willing to take an oath that you will fulfil the promise you made to me?"

The deacon promised, "You have my word and I will also return you to your companions."

ʿAmr asked, "How long will my stay be?"

He replied, "A month. Our journey there will be ten days, your stay with us will be for ten days, and your return will be in ten days. Your protection on our journey will be my responsibility and I will ensure a safe passage back for you with a guide."

ʿAmr said to him, "Give me some time to consult my companions about it."

ʿAmr went to his companions, and told them what the deacon had promised and said to them, "If you await my return, I will give you half of what I receive provided that a man of you accompany me."

They agreed and sent one of them with him and, thus, ʿAmr and his companion set out with the deacon until they reached Alexandria.

ʿAmr was taken aback by its architecture, the large number of its people, its wealth, and goodness. He commented, "I've never experienced a city with such opulence quite like this."

The money, architecture, the quality of its construction, and the abundance of its people, amazed him further. His arrival had coincided with their day of celebration in which their royals and nobles gathered. They had a resplendent gold ball that the royals tossed to each other catching it in their sleeves. The one who caught and steadied the ball in his sleeve would be foreshadowed as their next leader—a proven custom of old.

When ʿAmr reached Alexandria, the deacon honoured him well, clothing him in a fine brocade dress. ʿAmr and the deacon sat with the people in the council where the gold ball was being flung. A man threw the ball and it soared through the air falling into the sleeve of ʿAmr. They were stunned by this and said, "This ball has never lied to us except for this time. Can you fathom this Bedouin ruling over us? An impossibility."

The deacon walked through Alexandria informing its folk that ʿAmr had saved his life twice over and that he had promised him two thousand gold coins. He asked them to raise the funds for him which they did and paid it to ʿAmr.

ʿAmr and his companion then set out, with the deacon sending along with them a guide and a messenger who provided for their needs

and honoured them until he and his friend returned to their companions.

Thus, ʿAmr came to know of Egypt and saw what he knew to be the finest and wealthiest country. When ʿAmr returned to his companions, he gave them a thousand gold coins to be shared among them and kept a thousand for himself.

ʿAmr said, "This was the first wealth I came to own." [296]

ʿAmr also owned a vast garden at Ṭā'if, before his Islam, which was said to be the envy of Kings.

After the Battle of the Trench, ʿAmr reflected:

والله ليظهرن محمد على قريش، فلحقت بمالي بالوهط، وأقللت من الناس.

> By Allah, Muḥammad is going to defeat the Quraysh. I, thus, went to my garden at al-Waḥṭ and remained aloof from the people. [297]

ʿAmr ibn Dīnār narrates from—the freed slave of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ—that ʿAmr ibn al- ʿĀṣ entwined a million vine branches at al-Waḥṭ, each vine costing one dirham. [298]

Ibn al-Aʿrābī says:

عرش عمرو بن العاص بالوهط ألف ألف عود كرم على ألف ألف خشبة ابتاع كل خشبة بدرهم، فحج سليمان بن عبد الملك فمر بالوهط فقال: أحب أن أنظر إليه، فلما رآه قال: هذا

[296] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam: *Futūḥ Miṣr*, pg. 47; also see, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa al-Iʿtibār*, vol. 1 pgs. 444-447.
[297] Al-Wāqidī: *Al-Maghāzī*, vol. 2 pf. 741; Ibn Kathīr in *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 6 pg. 400.
[298] Al-Fākihī: *Akhbār Makkah*, vol. 3 pg. 205; Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 182.

أكرم مال وأحسنه ما رأيت لأحد مثله لولا أن هذه الحرة في وسطه، فقيل له: ليست بحرة ولكنها مسطاح الزبيب، وكان زبيبه جمع في وسطه فلما رآه من البعد ظنه حرة سوداء، وقال ابن موسى: الوهط قرية بالطائف على ثلاثة أميال من وجّ كانت لعمرو بن العاص.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ bound a million vine branches to poles, purchasing each vine for one dirham. During the Ḥajj travels of Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, he passed by al-Waḥṭ and desired to see it. Upon seeing it he commented, "I haven't seen anyone possess a garden as beautiful and as precious as this. If only there wasn't a black stony tract at its centre."

It was said to him, "Those aren't back stones. It is the raisins heap".

Looking from afar at the raisins heap in its centre, he had thought it to be a black stony tract.

Ibn Mūsa says, "Al-Waḥṭ was a suburb of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ at Ṭā'if three miles from Wajj[299]."[300]

As the Islamic Empire grew and prospered so too did his wealth. Al-Dhahabī comments in *al-Siyar*, "He left behind much wealth, slaves, and land." [301]

However, I have been unable to locate any authentic narration that speaks of him leaving behind great wealth, or any narration that enumerates his wealth. The best that I found on this issue are the following two narrations:

[299] Wajj: A valley in the direction of al-Ṭā'if. Ibn Qutaybah: *Ta'wīl Mukhtalaf al-Ḥadīth*, pg. 309.
[300] Yaqūt: *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. 5 pg. 444.
[301] Al-Dhahabī: *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, vol. 3 pg. 77.

The first is narrated by Abū ʿUmar al-Kindī al-Miṣrī in *Kitāb al-Wulāt wa Kitāb al- Quḍāt*:

حدثنا ابن قديد قال: حدثنا يحيى بن عثمان بن صالح قال: حدّثني نعيم ابن حماد عن ابن المبارك عن حرملة بن عمران عن أبي فراس قال: مات عمرو بن العاص ولم يترك إلا سبعة دنانير. وكانت وفاة عمرو ليلة الفطر سنة ثلاث وأربعين واستخلف ابنه عبد الله على صلاتها وخراجها.

Ibn Qudayd narrated from — Yaḥyā ibn ʿUthmān ibn Ṣāliḥ from — **Nuʿaym ibn Ḥammād** from — Ibn al-Mubārak from — Ḥarmalah ibn ʿImrān from — Abū Firās who said:

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ passed away leaving behind only seven dīnār. ʿAmr left this world on the night of ʿĪd the year 43 A.H. His son, ʿAbd Allah prayed his funeral and led the procession. [302]

Nuʿaym ibn Ḥammād al-Khuzāʿī Abū ʿAbd Allah

Al-Bukhārī has narrated from him ... as well as Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Mājah. They have differed regarding him. Some have deemed him reliable whilst others have considered him weak.[303]

Ibn Ḥajar said:

صدوق، يخطئ كثيرًا، فقيه، عارف بالفرائض ... ، وقد تتبَّع ابن عدي ما أخطأ فيه، وقال: باقي حديثه مستقيم.

[302] Abū ʿUmar al-Kindī al-Miṣrī: *Kitāb al-Wulāt wa Kitāb al-Quḍāt*, pg. 28.
[303] Al-Mizzī: *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 29 pg. 472.

Truthful, makes many mistakes. A jurist, knowledgeable in the science of al-Farā'iḍ. Ibn ʿAdī has highlighted those narrations in which he has made mistakes and said, "The rest of his narrations are fine". [304]

Al-Dhahabī said:

أحد الأئمة الأعلام على لين في حديثه.

One of the erudite scholars, though slightly weak in his narrations. [305]

The second is narrated by Ibn ʿAsākir in *Tārīkh Dimashq*:

أنبأنا أبو القاسم علي بن إبراهيم نا عبد العزيز بن أحمد أنا أبو محمد بن أبي نصر نا أبو علي الحسن بن حبيب نا يزيد بن عبد الصمد نا أبو سهل نا هقل بن زياد حدثني الأوزاعي حدثني رجل من قريش قال: لما حضرت عمرو بن العاص الوفاة قال عبد الله له: يا أبتاه أوص في مالي ومالك ما بدا لك، قال: فدعا كاتبا، فقال: اكتب، فجعل يكتب، قال: فلما أسرع في المال قال: يا أبة لا أحسبك إلا قد أتيت على مالي ومال إخوتي، فلو بعثت إلى إخوتي فتحلل ذلك منهم، قال عمرو للكاتب: اقرأه، فقرأه، فقال عبد الله بن عمرو: بخ بخ، قال فقال له عمرو: يا عبد الله أتشكر هذا، فوالله لامرأة من المهاجرات أقبلت تتغير في صرحو تقوده إلى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يحمله عليه في سبيل الله خير من هذا كله، جاء ذاك

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[304] Ibn Ḥajar: *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*: 7166. Ibn ʿAdī comments thus:

وعامة ما أنكر عليه هو هذا الذي ذكرته، وأرجو أن يكون باقي حديثه مستقيما

Most of what they penalize him for are these narrations I have mentioned. I have hope that the rest of his narrations are fine. [Ibn ʿAdī: *Al-Kāmil fī Ḍuʿafā al-Rijāl*, vol. 8 pg. 256.]

[305] Al-Dhahabī: *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, vol. 4 pg. 267.

من حيث جاء، وجاء هذا من حيث جاءنا عبد الله، والله لقد هلكنا إلا أنا معتصمين بلا إله إلا الله.

Abū al-Qāsim ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm informed us from — ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Aḥmad from — Abū Muḥammad Abū Naṣr from — Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥabīb from — Yazīd ibn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad from — Abū Sahl from — Haql ibn Ziyād narrated from — al-Awzāʿī from — **a man of the Quraysh** who said:

When ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was close to leaving this world, his son ʿAbd Allah said to him, "Father! Make your bequest for my wealth and your wealth as you see fit."

ʿAmr called for a scribe and instructed him to write. He began writing his bequests. When he began making bequests regarding his wealth, ʿAbd Allah said, "O father, you are spending the wealth, my wealth and the wealth of my brothers. Why do you not send for them and attain their approval."

ʿAmr said to the scribe, "Read it."

When he read it ʿAbd Allah praised and approved of it.

ʿAmr commented, "O ʿAbd Allah, do you deem this praiseworthy? By Allah! An emigrating woman, changed by travel bringing such to Rasūlullāh ﷺ who spends it in the path of Allah is better than all of this. ʿAbd Allah! That came from where it came and this came from where we came. By Allah! We were to be destroyed had it we not been saved by our faith." [306]

The chain of narration is weak due to the unknown, man of the Quraysh.

[306] Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 49 pg. 132.

If the narrations are to be considered authentic, it would mean he gave most his cash wealth in charity until only seven dīnār remained. His heirs inherited his slaves and land.

His most prized possession was his vineyard at the al-Waḥṭ estate which he acquired before Allah guided him to Islam. He gave it as an endowment at his death, charity in the path of Allah; rewards that continue to multiply and accrue for him after his death.

ʿAmr ibn Dīnār said:

كتب عمرو بن العاص-رضي الله عنه-في وصيته في الوهط،وجعلها صدقة لا تباع ولا توهب ولا تورث، وهي إلى الأكبر من ولدي، المتّبع فيها عهدي وأمري، فإن لم يقم بعهدي ولا أمري، فليس لي بولي حتى يرثه الله قائما على أصوله.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ addressed the al-Waḥṭ estate in his bequest. He made it an endowment of charity that could not be sold, gifted, or inherited. It is now in the charge of my eldest son which he regulates according to my instruction. If he does not do so, I will have no association with him and Allah will appoint a garden over its interests.[307]

[307] Al-Fākihī: *Akhbār Makkah*, vol. 3 pg. 205. The chain of narration for this report is as follows:
Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī from — Sufyān from — ʿAmr ibn Dīnār.
The assertion of the al-Waḥṭ estate being an endowment is upheld by it being a commonly known fact during the golden era of Islam. Al-Ḥumaydī, the teacher of al-Bukhārī said:

وتصدق أبو بكر الصديق رضي الله عنه بداره بمكة على ولده، فهي إلى اليوم، وتصدق عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه بربعه عند المروة وبالثنية على ولده، فهي إلى اليوم، وتصدق علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه بأرضه بينبع، فهي إلى اليوم،... وعثمان بن عفان رضي الله عنه برومة، فهي إلى اليوم، وعمرو بن العاص رضي الله عنه بالوهط من الطائف وداره بمكة على ولده، فذلك إلى اليوم.

Though ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was blessed with affluence and wealth, it did not distract him from the hereafter nor did he pay much attention to it. He looked at his wealth with an eye of indifference which is why he gave most of it away in ṣadaqah.

This was the character of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ. They were not taken aback by wealth. Those who were wealthy amongst the Ṣaḥābah, kept the wealth in their hand and did not let it enter his heart.

His Death

His time to leave this temporary abode came whilst he was the governor of Egypt. Ibn Shamāsah al-Mahrī relates the following as recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*:

عن ابن شماسة المهري قال: « حضرنا عمرو بن العاص وهو في سياقة الموت، فبكى طويلا، وحول وجهه إلى الجدار، فجعل ابنه يقول: يا أبتاه، أما بشرك رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بكذا؟ أما بشرك رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بكذا؟ قال: فأقبل بوجهه، فقال: إن أفضل ما نعد شهادة أن لا إله إلا الله وأن محمدا رسول الله، إني قد كنت على أطباق ثلاث: لقد رأيتني وما أحد أشد بغضا لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم مني، ولا أحب إلي أن أكون قد

Abū Bakr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ endowed his house at Makkah to his children, and it stands the same today. ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ endowed his residence at Marwah and Thaniyyah to his children, and it stands the same today. ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ endowed his land at Yambuʿ, and it stands the same today.... And ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ endowed Rūmah, and it stands the same today. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ endowed his estate of al-Waht at Ṭā'if and his house in Makkah to his children, and it stands the same today...

This narration has been recorded by al-Bayhaqī through the chain of Saʿīd Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Maharjānī al-Khaṭīb from — Abū Baḥr al-Barbharī from — Bishr ibn Mūsā from — Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allah ibn al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī. [Al-Bayhaqī: *Al-Sunan al-Kubra*, vol. 6 pg. 266.]

استمكنت منه فقتلته فلو مت على تلك الحال لكنت من أهل النار، فلما جعل الله الإسلام في قلبي أتيت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، فقلت: ابسط يمينك فلأبايعك، فبسط يمينه. قال: فقبضت يدي، قال: ما لك يا عمرو؟ قال: قلت: أردت أن أشترط. قال: تشترط بماذا؟ قلت: أن يغفر لي، قال: أما علمت أن الإسلام يهدم ما كان قبله، وأن الهجرة تهدم ما كان قبلها، وأن الحج يهدم ما كان قبله؟ وما كان أحد أحب إلي من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، ولا أجل في عيني منه، وما كنت أطيق أن أملأ عيني منه إجلالا له، ولو سئلت أن أصفه ما أطقت لأني لم أكن أملأ عيني منه، ولو مت على تلك الحال لرجوت أن أكون من أهل الجنة، ثم ولينا أشياء ما أدري ما حالي فيها؟ فإذا أنا مت، فلا تصحبني نائحة ولا نار، فإذا دفنتموني فشنوا علي التراب شنا، ثم أقيموا حول قبري قدر ما تنحر جزور ويقسم لحمها حتى أستأنس بكم، وأنظر ماذا أراجع به رسل ربي ».

We went to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ when he was about to die. He wept for a long time and turned his face towards the wall. His son said, "Did Rasūlullāh ﷺ not give you tidings of such? Did Rasūlullāh ﷺ not give you tidings of such?"

He turned his face (towards the audience) and said, "The best thing which we can count upon is the testimony that there is no god but Allah and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah. Verily I have passed through three phases. The first one in which I found myself averse to none else more than I was averse to the Rasūlullāh ﷺ and there was no other desire stronger in me than the one that I should overpower him and kill him. Had I died in this state, I would have been definitely one of the denizens of Fire. When Allah instilled the love of Islam in my heart, I came to the Nabī ﷺ and said, 'Stretch out your right hand so that may pledge my

allegiance to you.' He stretched out his right hand, I withdrew my hand.

He said, 'What has happened to you, O ʿAmr?'

I replied, 'I intend to lay down some conditions.'

He asked, 'What condition do you intend to put forward?'

I said, 'I should be granted pardon.'

He observed, 'Are you not aware of the fact that Islam wipes out all the previous misdeeds? Verily migration wipes out all the previous misdeeds, and verily the pilgrimage wipes out all the previous misdeeds?'

And then no one was as dear to me other than the Rasūlullāh ﷺ and none was more sublime in my eyes than he. Never could I pluck courage to catch a full glimpse of his face due to its splendour. So, if I am asked to describe his features, I cannot do that for I have not eyed him fully. Had I died in this state had every reason to hope that I would have been among the dwellers of Paradise.

Then we were given leadership roles in the light of which I am unable to know what is in store for me. When I die, let neither female mourner nor fire accompany me. When you bury me, fill my grave well with earth, then stand around it for the time within which a camel is slaughtered and its meat is distributed so that I may take solace in your company and (in your company) ascertain what answer I can give to the angels of Allah." [308]

Imām Aḥmad narrated what followed:

[308] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 1 pg. 112: Ḥadīth: 121.

وضع يده موضع الأغلال من ذقنه، وقال: اللهم أمرتنا فتركنا، ونهيتنا فركبنا، ولا يسعنا إلا مغفرتك. فكانت تلك هجيراه حتى مات.

He placed his hand under his chin and he said, "O Allah, you instructed us but we did not comply, you prohibited us yet we faltered. It is only your forgiveness that can save us."

He remained in this condition till he passed away. [309]

Another narration mentions the following prayer of his:

اللهم إنك أمرتنا فركبنا ونهيتنا فأضعنا فلا بريء فأعتذر، ولا عزيز فأنتصر، ولكن لا إله إلا الله. ما زال يقولها حتى مات.

O Allah, you instructed us but we did not comply, you prohibited us yet we faltered, I don't have an excuse to present nor any might to defend myself. But (my hope is in) *Lā ilāha illa Allah*. He continued saying this until he passed away. [310]

Abū Zurʿah said:

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[309] *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 4 pg. 199. The chain of narration for this report is as follows:

ʿAffān from — al-Aswad ibn Shaybān from — Abū Nawfal ibn Abī ʿAqrab.

Shuʿayb al-Arnā'ūṭ said, "The chain of transmission is authentic in accordance with the requirements of Muslim."

[310] Ibn Saʿd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4 pg. 260. The chain of narration for this report is as follows:

ʿUbayd Allah ibn Abī Mūsa from — Isrā'īl from — **ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Mukhtār** from — Muʿāwiyah ibn Qurrah al-Muzanī from — Abū Ḥarb ibn Abī al-Aswad from — ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAmr.

The chain is sound as ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Mukhtār is a narrator of Muslim. Ibn Maʿīn and al-Nasa'ī have deemed him reliable. Abū Ḥātim said, "There is no issue with him." See, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 16 pg. 112.

مات عمرو بن العاص بمصر في يوم عيد، وصلى عليه ابنه عبد الله بن عمرو، كما حدثني عبد الله بن صالح قال: حدثني الليث حدثني يزيد بن أبي حبيب حدثني ربيعة بن لقيط أن عبد الله لما تقدم ليصلي عليه قال: والله ما أحب أن لي بأبي أبا رجل من العرب، وما أحب أن الله يعلم أن عيني دمعت عليه جزعا، وأن لي حمر النعم، ثم كبر.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ passed away in Egypt on the day of ʿĪd and his son, ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAmr, performed his funeral prayer as narrated to me by ʿAbd Allah ibn Ṣāliḥ from — al-Layth from — Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb from — **Rabīʿah ibn Laqīṭ** who said, "When ʿAbd Allāh stepped forward to perform his funeral prayer he said, 'By Allah! I would not like any Arab man in lieu of my father and I am averse to Allah knowing that my tears have flowed in terror and I be given red camels.' He then began the prayer with the takbīr." [311]

[311] *Tārīkh Abū Zurʿah al-Dimashqī*, pg. 594. This narration has been recorded with a sound chain of transmission. Abū Zurʿah ʿAbd Allah ibn Ṣāliḥ: He is Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Miṣrī, the scribe of al-Layth. Al-Ḥāfiẓ has recounted differences of the scholars regarding his reliability as a narrator in *Fatḥ al-Bārī*. He then comments:

ظاهر كلام هؤلاء الأئمة أن حديثه في الأول كان مستقيما، ثم طرأ عليه فيه تخليط، فمقتضى ذلك أن ما يجيء من روايته عن أهل الحذق، كيحيى بن معين والبخاري، وأبي زرعة، وأبي حاتم، فهو من صحيح حديثه، وما يجيء من رواية الشيوخ عنه فيتوقف فيه، والأحاديث التي رواها البخاري عنه في الصحيح بصيغة حدثنا، أو قال لي، أو قال المجردة قليلة.

The purport of the views held by the erudite scholars is that his earlier narrations are sound. Later on his narrations became muddled. Accordingly, those narrations of his that are narrated by those skilled and proficient in matters of narration such as Abū Zurʿah and Abū Ḥātim will be considered as his authentic narrations. As for those that come from others, judgement should be reserved. Further those narrations that are recorded by al-Bukhārī in his al-Ṣaḥīḥ with the form '*ḥaddathanā*', '*qāl lī*' or '*qāl*' are minimal. [Ibn Ḥajar: *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 1 pg. 414.]

This was on the day of ʿĪd al-Fiṭr the year 43 A.H. Other opinions are the year 42, 48, and 51 A.H. The first is the most authentic opinion.

He lived for more than 80 years. Al-Dhahabī says, "He used to say, 'I remember the night ʿUmar was born.' And he lived for 20 years after ʿUmar. Thus, I calculate his lifespan to have been more than 80 years, in fact closer to 90." [312]

Rabīʿah: He is Ibn Laqīṭ ibn Ḥārithah ibn ʿUmayrah al—Tajībī. He lived in Egypt and disseminated ḥadīth there, narrating from Muʿāwiyah, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, ʿAbd Allah ibn Ḥawālah, and Mālik ibn Hadm. Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb, and others have narrated from him. Abū Saʿīd ibn Yūnus said, "He was at Ṣiffīn with Muʿāwiyah." Al-ʿIjlī said, "A Tābiʿī, reliable." Ibn Ḥibbān has recounted him amongst the reliable. See, *Taʿjīl al-Manfaʿah*, vol. 1 pg. 530. Al-Ḥākim has authenticated his narration in *al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3 pg. 108. Al-Dhahabī has concurred with him. Al-Haythamī has deemed him reliable in *al-Majmaʿ*, vol. 7 pg. 334. Al-Albānī has, after relating the narration 'Whoever is saved from three things are truly saved', comments, "The chain of transmission is authentic with reliable narrators. The narrators are those of Shaykhayn except for Rabīʿah ibn Laqīṭ al-Tajībī, and he is reliable. Ibn Ḥibbān and al-ʿIjlī has deemed him reliable. A group narrated from him." See, *Al-Sunnah* of Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim with the annotations of al-Albānī: Ḥadīth: 1177.

[312] Al-Dhahabī: *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, vol. 3 pg. 77.

Section Two

Doubts cast against the eminent Ṣaḥābī Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ

Preamble

One assessing the doubts and suspicions cast against the eminent Ṣaḥābī, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ will notice they fall into one of five categories:

1. Misconceptions that relate to his lineage

2. Misconceptions that relate to his relationship with Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ

3. Misconceptions that relate to his relationship with the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, principally in regarding the fitnah during the era of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ. We have already discussed this fitnah in the introduction and the perspective a Muslim ought to adopt. [313]

4. Misconceptions that relate to his conquest of Egypt and his governorship.

[313] Most of those who seek to raise their tongues in vilifying this eminent Ṣaḥābī fall into issues related to this category. I have already stated in the introduction, the viewpoint a Muslim should adopt in relation to the fitnah that occurred between the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ in a way that will protect the individual from falling into vilifying the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ. May Allah guide me and you to the truth.

5. Misconceptions that relate to his integrity. The aim of casting this suspicion is to bring into question his faith. Far be it for his faith be questioned whereas Rasūlullāh ﷺ said referring to him:

أسلم الناس وآمن عمرو بن العاص.

The people submitted whilst ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ has believed. [314]

Such declaration is beyond reproach, and accusations after such an attestation is unfathomable! May Allah save us from the evil of the self and the whispers of Shayṭān.

It is important to take note of some rudimentary principles at this juncture which would illuminate the path to correct suppositions. Every Muslim ought to keep these principles in reaching distance in order to save one from falling into the sin of defaming Muslims; keeping Muslims safe from his words and actions.

Before passing a verdict on another, a Muslim should place any statement that reaches him onto the scale of verification and impartiality in the following manner and sequence:

1. Consider the veracity of the statement. The unverified holds the same weight as the unfounded. Ascribing something to a *layman* without clear evidence is an injustice, so what can be said of the same done to a Ṣaḥābī!

[314] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 17413; Al-Tirmidhī: *Al-Sunan*, Ḥadīth: 3844. The wording is of the latter. He says, "This ḥadīth is Gharīb, we do not know of it expect from the ḥadīth of Ibn Lahīʿah—from **Musharraḥ**. Its chain of transmission is not strong." Al-Albānī has deemed it sound in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmiʿ*, Ḥadīth: 971. He says in *al-Saḥīḥah* under Ḥadīth: 155, "Musharraḥ ibn Hāʿān has been deemed authentic by Ibn Maʿīn and others. His ḥadīth is sound according to me. And though Ibn Lahīʿah is weak due to weakness in his memory, the narrations of the ʿAbādilah—from him is authentic as is outlined in his biography. And this narration is from two of them viz. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān whose name is ʿAbd Allah ibn Yazīd al-Muqrī and the other is ʿAbd Allāh ibn Wahab.

2. If the attribution holds weight, then consider; is it an issue of ijtihād which gives way to differences of opinion? Matters of ijtihād have the capacity for differences of opinion and, thus, the issue allows for a wide berth. The view of one mujtahid is not objectively more correct than another's, since both are a product of a thorough exertion of the mujtahids mental faculty in finding a solution. Besides, independent reasoning is a result of thought patterns and mental aptitudes which differ from person to person. It is therefore commonly said:

لا إنكار في مسائل الاجتهاد.

There is no reproach in matters of ijtihad

This adage refers to those matters wherein there is no implicit text, consensus of opinion, or clear logical conclusion. [315]

3. If it is an issue that cannot accept difference of opinion; however, the statement under consideration can be qualified in a positive light, then an excuse should be sought and it ought to be considered in the most positive manner possible. Judging the words and action of a Muslim in a positive light is always the best course of action; more so if it is a person of integrity and virtue.

4. If none of the above apply, then judgement can be passed. However, at times, some judgments such as *takfīr* (excommunication

[315] Al-Nawawī states in his commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*:

وكذلك قالوا ليس للمفتي ولا للقاضي أن يعترض على من خالفه إذا لم يخالف نصة أو إجماعا أو قياسا جليا، والله أعلم.

It is for this reason they say, "It is not becoming of a Muftī or a Qāḍī to be critical of another who opposes his view as long as it does not oppose implicit text, consensus, or clear logical conclusion." And Allah knows best.

A similar statement has been issued by Ibn Taymiyyah and his student Ibn al-Qayyim. See, *al-Fatāwā al-Kubra*, vol. 6 pg. 92; *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn*, vol. 3 pg. 288.

from Islam) or *tabdīʿ* (accusation of innovation) are passed on the act and not on the perpetrator. This is to rule out the possibility of it being done in view of a different interpretation, out of sheer ignorance, under coercion, or simply by mistake. If such an act is done under the impression of a different interpretation, out of sheer ignorance, under coercion, or by mistake then the act will be branded as an act of disbelief or innovation not the perpetrator due to these aforementioned preventative barriers.

Beyond this we also have an agreed upon fundamental principle of fiqh which says, 'That which is established by way of conviction can only be dismissed by way of conviction'. Accordingly, whoever's Islam, excellence, and integrity has been proven by way of conviction cannot by relegated from their position of Islam, excellence, and integrity, except by way of conviction.

Al-Sarakhsī says:

> إن التمسك باليقين وترك المشكوك فيه أصل في الشرع، فإن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أمر الشاك في الحدث بأن لا ينصرف من صلاته حتى يستيقن بالحدث، لأنه على يقين من الطهارة وهو في شك من الحدث.
>
> Considering conviction and disregarding doubt is a principle of the sharīʿah. Rasūlullāh ﷺ instructed the one in doubt of his purity to not break his ṣalāh unless he has conviction of his purity being nullified. This is because he had conviction of his purity whilst he had but a doubt of it being nullified. [316]

Taking into consideration these above-mentioned principles, we will delve into the five discussions included in this chapter.

[316] Uṣūl al-Sarakhsī, vol. 2 pg. 116.

Misconceptions related to the lineage of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ

Misconception 1: The verses of Sūrah al-Kawthar was revealed about his father

It is said that the following verse was revealed regarding al-ʿĀṣ ibn Wā'il the father of ʿAmr:

﴿إِنَّ شَانِئَكَ هُوَ ٱلْأَبْتَرُ﴾

Indeed, your enemy is the one cut off. [317]

Al-Amīnī said, "This is attributed to his father and is the view of the majority of mufassirīn and scholars." [318]

Answer

This blessed sūrah, i.e. Sūrah al-Kawthar, will be discussed from three angles:

1. Is it a Makkī or Madanī sūrah?

2. Who was it revealed regarding?

3. What does *al-abtar* mean?

[317] Sūrah al-Kawthar: 3.
[318] Al-Amīnī: *Al-Ghadīr*, vol. 2 pg. 120. Also see, al-Majlisī: *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 22 pg. 166.

Is it a Makkī or Madanī sūrah?

The scholars have differed regarding this. Some have opined it to be a Makkī sūrah. This is the view of Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Kalbī, and Muqātil.[319] This is also the view of al-Jazrī[320], al-Zamakhsharī[321], Ibn ʿAṭiyyah[322], and al-Zarkashī[323]. They have adopted this view based on the narration of Ibn ʿAbbās رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ in which he specifies the Makkī and Madanī sūrahs. They also hold this view relying on the narrations recorded from some Tābiʿīn, such as Qatādah, Jābir Ibn Zaid, and others.

Al-Zarkashī has listed the Makkī sūrahs according to the narrations in which he includes Sūrah al-Kawthar. He said, "This is the list of those portions of the Qur'ān which were revealed in Makkah. This is based on reports from the reliable narrators and they are in total, eighty-five chapters." [324]

Some have opined it to be a Madanī sūrah. This is the view of al-Ḥasan, ʿIkrimah, Mujāhid, and Qatādah. [325] This is also the view of Ibn Kathīr[326], which al-Suyūṭī has deemed to be correct. He states, "Al-Nawawī has given preference to this view in his commentary of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, the based on the following narration:

عن أنس قال: « بينا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ذات يوم بين أظهرنا إذ أغفى إغفاءة، ثم رفع رأسه متبسما. فقلنا: ما أضحكك يا رسول الله؟ قال: أنزلت علي آنفا سورة. فقرأ بسم

[319] *Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī*, vol. 20 pg. 216.
[320] *Al-Nashr*, vol. 1 pg. 322.
[321] *Al-Kashshāf*, vol. 4 pg. 811.
[322] *Al-Baḥr al-Madīd*, vol. 5 pg. 530.
[323] *Al-Burhān*, vol. 1 pg. 193.
[324] Ibid
[325] *Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī*, vol. 20 pg. 216.
[326] *Tafsīr ibn Kathīr*, vol. 8 pg. 498.

الله الرحمن الرحيم {إنا أعطيناك الكوثر * فصل لربك وانحر * إن شانئك هو الأبتر} ثم قال: أتدرون ما الكوثر؟ فقلنا: الله ورسوله أعلم. قال: فإنه نهر وعدنيه ربي عز وجل...

One day Rasūlullāh ﷺ was sitting amongst us and he dozed off. He then raised his head and he was smiling.

We asked, "What makes you smile, O Messenger of Allah?"

He said, "A sūrah has just been revealed to me, and then recited:

﴿إِنَّآ أَعۡطَيۡنَٰكَ ٱلۡكَوۡثَرَ * فَصَلِّ لِرَبِّكَ وَٱنۡحَرۡ * إِنَّ شَانِئَكَ هُوَ ٱلۡأَبۡتَرُ﴾

Indeed, We have granted you, [O Muḥammad], al-Kawthar. So, pray to your Lord and offer sacrifice [to Him alone]. Indeed, your enemy is the one cut off.

Then he asked, "Do you know what al-Kawthar is?"

We said, "Allah and His Messenger know best."

He said, "It is a stream which my Lord, the Exalted and Glorious has promised me..."[327]

Ibn ʿĀshūr said, "The opinions and narrations regarding it being Makkī or Madanī are varied, in which there is a great difference of opinion. The majority of scholars opine it to be a Makkī sūrah, most of the mufassirīn also hold this stance."

Al-Khafājī, reproduced the following quote from *al-Nashr*, "Those who we know are unanimous on it being a Makkī sūrah." [328] He then

[327] *Al-Itqān fī ʿUlūm al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1 pg. 55. The narration is recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 1 pg. 300; Ḥadīth: 400.
[328] Ibn al-Jazrī said, "Some indications do show this sūrah to be a Madanī sūrah; however, those who we know—who are masters in the science of circumstances

comments. “This is questionable since there is a difference of opinion in the matter.”

Anas رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ came into the fold of Islam in the initial stages after the hijrah and since the words of the narration state just (been revealed to me), it shows that the verse had been revealed a short time ago, if the apparent meaning is taken. This would mean the sūrah had been revealed a short time before seeing that dream.

What has been recorded regarding the tafsīr of

﴿ إِنَّ شَانِئَكَ هُوَ ٱلْأَبْتَرُ﴾

Indeed, your enemy is the one cut off. [329]

Implies that the sūrah is Makkī. While looking at what has been recorded regarding the tafsīr of (wanḥar) [sacrifice in the days of Ḥajj or on the days of ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā], implies that the sūrah is Madanī. If this is considered, then the verse:

﴿ إِنَّ شَانِئَكَ هُوَ ٱلْأَبْتَرُ﴾

Indeed, your enemy is the one cut off. [330]

Would not be in reference to the comments of al-ʿĀṣ ibn Wā’il. The obvious conclusion is that this sūrah is in fact, a Madanī sūrah due to the above considerations. [331] Further, Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ asking, “Do you know what al- Kawthar is” and the reply of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, “Allah and His Messenger know best” also strengthens the claim of those who consider it to be a Madanī sūrah. This is because if it were revealed in Makkah, there would have been those present

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of revelation—opine it to be a Makkī sūrah. And Allah Taʿālā knows best.” [*Al-Nashr*, vol. 1 pg. 223.]

[329] Sūrah al-Kawthar: 3.

[330] Sūrah al-Kawthar: 3.

[331] Ibn ʿĀshūr: *Al-Taḥrīr wa al-Tanwīr*, vol. 30 pgs. 501-502. With brevity.

who would have known of al-Kawthar. Thus, the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ asking Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ of it and they being unaware of the same implies that the sūrah would have been revealed shortly before their discussion.

My personal inclination is that the sūrah is Madanī because the narration of Anas رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ is authentic and explicit in it being a Madanī sūrah. We infer this from the fact that Anas ibn Mālik رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ is an Anṣārī ṣaḥābī from the Khazraj tribe. He himself says as recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*:

قدم النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وأنا ابن عشر ومات وأنا ابن عشرين، وكن أمهاتي يحثني على خدمته.

Nabī صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ came to Madīnah when I was 10 years old and he passed away when I was 20. My mother would exhort me to serve him.[332]

This view is further supported by the statement of Saʿīd ibn Jubayr رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ who said:

كانت هذه الآية، يعني قوله: (فَصَلِّ لِرَبِّكَ وَانْحَرْ) يوم الحديبية، أتاه جبريل عليه السلام فقال: انحر وارجع، فقام رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، فخطب خطبة الفطر والنحر ثم ركع ركعتين، ثم انصرف إلى البُدن فنحرها، فذلك حين يقول: (فَصَلِّ لِرَبِّكَ وَانْحَرْ) .

This verse *So, pray to your Lord and offer sacrifice [to Him alone]*, was revealed on the day of Ḥudaybiyyah. Jibrīl عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ came to him and said, "Slaughter and return". Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ then stood up and addressed the people with the khuṭbah of al-Fiṭr and al-Naḥr and performed two rakʿāt of prayer.

[332] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 3 pg. 1603; Ḥadīth: 2029.

Thereafter he turned to his sacrificial animal and slaughtered it saying, *So, pray to your Lord and offer sacrifice [to Him alone].* [333]

Another aspect to take note of is the determination of the various chapters, by way of narrations, into Makkī and Madanī sūrahs still remain an issue of contention. This is of course if we even assume the narrations to be authentic.

Further, some chapters which aren't mentioned in the narrations are determined to be Makkī or Madanī which goes to show that the determinations themselves aren't concrete.

Therefore, the sūrah under review should be considered as a Madanī sūrah based on the narration of Anas رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. Except of course, if it is established that it was revealed in Makkah, it would mean the sūrah was revealed twice, one in Makkah and once in Madīnah; a phenomenon that is encountered in various other chapters of the Qur'ān.

Who was it revealed regarding?

The scholars have differed on this issue. Hereunder are some of their views:

1. It was revealed regarding al-ʿĀṣ ibn Wā'il. This is the view of Ibn ʿAbbās, Mujāhid, Saʿīd ibn Jubayr, Qatādah, and ʿIkrimah. Al-Rāzī has inferred this view to be the general view of scholars of tafsīr.

This view is based on the following narration:

أنه صلى الله عليه وسلم كان يخرج من المسجد، والعاص بن وائل السهمي يدخل فالتقيا

فتحدثا، وصناديد قريش في المسجد فلما دخل قالوا من الذي كنت تتحدث معه؟ فقال: ذلك

[333] *Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī*, vol. 24 pgs. 654-655.

الأبتر، وروي أيضا أن العاص بن وائل كان يقول: إن محمدا أبتر لا ابن له يقوم مقامه بعده، فإذا مات انقطع ذكره واسترحم منه، وكان قد مات ابنه عبد الله من خديجة .

Rasūlullāh ﷺ was exiting the masjid and al-ʿĀṣ ibn Wā'il al-Sahmī was entering. They met and spoke with each other whilst the chiefs of the Quraysh were in the masjid. When he entered, they asked him, "Who was it that you were conversing with?"

He replied, "That *abtar*"

It has also been reported that al-ʿĀṣ ibn Wā'il would say, "Muḥammad is *abtar*, he has no son to take his place after him. Thus, when he dies his mention will cease."

His son, ʿAbd Allah, whom Khadījah رضي الله عنها had born for him had passed away. [334]

2. It was revealed regarding ʿUqbah ibn Abī Muʿayṭ. This is the view of Shimr ibn ʿAṭiyyah. [335]

3. It was revealed regarding Kaʿb ibn Ashraf and a group of disbelievers of the Quraysh. This is also the view of Ibn ʿAbbās, and ʿIkrimah. Ibn Kathīr said:

وقال البزار: حدثنا زياد بن يحيى الحَسَّاني، حدثنا ابن أبي عدي، عن داود، عن عكرمة، عن ابن عباس قال: قدم كعب بن الأشرف مكة فقالت له قريش: أنت سيدهم ألا ترى إلى هذا

[334] *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 24 pgs. 654-655; al-Māwardī: *Al-Nukat wa al-ʿUyūn*, vol. 6 pg. 356, Al-Rāzī: *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, vol. 32 pgs. 123-124; and *Tafsīr ibn Kathīr*, vol. 8 pg. 504.
[335] *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 24 pg. 657; Al-Rāzī: *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, vol. 32 pg. 124; *Tafsīr ibn Kathīr*, vol. 8 pg. 504.

الْمُصَنْبِر المنبتر من قومه يزعم أنه خير منا، ونحن أهل الحجيج، وأهل السدانة وأهل السقاية؟

فقال: أنتم خير منه. قال: فنزلت: {إِنَّ شَانِئَكَ هُوَ الْأَبْتَرُ}.

Al-Bazzār narrated from — Ziyād ibn Yaḥyā al-Ḥassānī from — Ibn Abī ʿAdī from — Dāwūd from — ʿIkrimah from — Ibn ʿAbbās who said: Kaʿb ibn al- Ashraf came to Makkah and the Quraysh said to him, "You are the leader of them (the people). What do you think about this worthless man who is ***cut off*** from his people? He claims that he is better than us while we are the people of the place of pilgrimage, the people of custodianship (of the Kaʿbah), and the people who supply water to the pilgrims."

He replied, "You all are better than him."

So, Allah revealed:

﴿ إِنَّ شَانِئَكَ هُوَ ٱلْأَبْتَرُ﴾

Indeed, your enemy is the one cut off.

This is how al-Bazzār has narrated it. Its chain of transmission is authentic. [336]

4. It was revealed regarding Abū Lahab. This view has been recorded from ʿAṭā who said:

وذلك حين مات ابن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فذهب أبو لهب إلى المشركين وقال: بُتِرَ محمد الليلة. فأنزل الله في ذلك: {إِنَّ شَانِئَكَ هُوَ الْأَبْتَرُ}.

[336] *Tafsīr ibn Kathīr*, vol. 8 pg. 504. This narration is found in *Sunan al-Nasa'ī al-Kubrā*: Book of Tafsīr: Chapter of the Verse, "Indeed, your enemy is the one cut off." Ḥadīth: 11643. It has also been recorded in *Kashf al-Astār ʿan Zawā'id al-Bazzār*, vol. 3 pg. 83 with the following chain of transmission: al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Wāsitī from —Yaḥyā ibn Rāshid from — Dāwūd.

When a son of the Rasūlullāh ﷺ died. Abū Lahab went to the polytheists and said, "Muḥammad has been ***cut off*** (i.e., from progeny) tonight." So, concerning this Allah revealed:

﴿ إِنَّ شَانِئَكَ هُوَ ٱلْأَبْتَرُ﴾

Indeed, your enemy is the one cut off. [337]

5. It was revealed regarding Abū Jahl. This view has been narrated from Ibn ʿAbbās. [338]

6. It is also narrated from him that this verse means, 'Your enemy'. Thus, it would include all those who were his enemy who have been mentioned and others likewise. Al-Rāzī said:

واعلم أنه لا يبعد في كل أولئك الكفرة أن يقولوا مثل ذلك فإنهم كانوا يقولون فيه ما هو أسوأ من ذلك، ولعل العاص بن وائل كان أكثرهم مواظبة على هذا القول فلذلك اشتهرت الروايات بأن الآية نزلت فيه.

It is not far-fetched that all of the disbelievers said the same thing as they had said much worst regarding him. Perhaps al-ʿĀṣ ibn Wā'il had been relentless with this particular insult which is why the narrations refer to him as being the target of this verse. [339]

7. It was revealed regarding ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, before he became a Muslim. Al- Bayhaqī said:

وأخبرنا أبو عبد الله، قال: حدثنا أبو العباس، قال: حدثنا أحمد، قال: حدثنا يونس، عن أبي عبد الله الجعفي، عن جابر، عن محمد بن علي، قال: كان القاسم بن رسول الله، صلى الله عليه

[337] Ibid.; al-Māwardī; *Al-Nukat wa al-ʿUyūn*, vol. 6 pg. 356.
[338] Ibid.
[339] Al-Rāzī: *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, vol. 32 pg. 124.

وآله وسلم، قد بلغ أن يركب الدابة، ويسير على النجيب، فلما قبضه الله عز وجل، قال عمرو بن العاص: لقد أصبح محمد أبتر من ابنه. فأنزل الله تعالى على نبيه صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم إنا أعطيناك الكوثر عوضا يا محمد بن نصيبك بالقاسم فصل لربك وانحر، إن شانئك هو الأبتر. قال البيهقي: كذا روي بهذا الإسناد، وهو ضعيف. والمشهور أن الآية نزلت في أبيه.

Abū ʿAbd Allah narrated to us from — Abū al-ʿAbbās from — Aḥmad from — Yūnus from — **Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Juʿfī Jābir**[340] from — **Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī** who said, "Al-Qāsim ibn Rasūlullāh ﷺ reached the age where he could alight a conveyance and travel to al-Najīb. When Allah ﷻ took him away, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said, 'Muḥammad has been cut off from his son.' Upon this Allah Taʿālā revealed to His Messenger ﷺ, "*Indeed, We have granted you, [O Muḥammad], al-Kawthar, i.e., in lieu of al-Qāsim. So, pray to your Lord and offer sacrifice [to Him alone]. Indeed, your enemy is the one cut off.*"

Al-Bayhaqī said, "It has been narrated such with this chain of transmission. And it is weak. The more famous view is that it was revealed regarding his father. [341]

This view is weak as stated by al-Bayhaqī. There are two issues in its chain of transmission, viz.

• **Jābir al-Juʿfī:** He is weak as mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar in *al-Taqrīb*. [342]

• There is a break (*Inqitāʿ*) in the narration. **Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī** is al-Bāqir, the grandson of al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī رضي الله عنه. Abū Zurʿah said,

[340] Number: 878.
[341] Al-Bayhaqī: *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah*, vol. 2 pg. 69.
[342] Ibid.

"Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn from — ʿAlī is *Mursal*[343].[344] Al-ʿAlā'ī said, "He narrates mursal narrations from his grandfathers, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, as well as from his great grandfather ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ." [345]

If the narrations of al-Bāqir from his grandfathers, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا is not acceptable without a link, whilst they are all the children of Madīnah Munawwarah, then what of his narration from ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ before even the hijrah of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ to Madīnah?

What does al-abtar mean?

The scholars have five opinions on this matter:

1. Humiliated and wretched. This is the view of Qatādah.

2. Alone and lonely. This is the view of ʿIkrimah.

3. One who possesses no good until he is as though he is cut off. This is the view of Ma'thūr.

4. The Quraysh would use this term in referencing those whose male offspring died. They would say "So and so has become *abtar*." When Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ lost his son, al-Qāsim, in Makkah and Ibrāhīm in Madīnah, they said, "Muḥammad has become *abtar* and there is no one who will take on his mission after him. Upon these comments the verse was revealed. This is the view of Al-Suddī and Ibn Zayd.

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[343] A mursal ḥadīth is when a transmitter cites someone or the Prophet صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ without actually having met him.
[344] Ibn Abī Ḥātim: *Al-Marāsīl*, pg. 185.
[345] *Jāmiʿ al-Taḥṣīl*, pg. 266.

5. When Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ sent down revelation to Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ, and he invited the Quraysh to īmān, they said (*ibtatara*) Muḥammad has opposed us and been cut off from us. Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ then informed His Messenger that in fact, it is them who are cut off. This is the view of ʿIkrimah and Shahr ibn Ḥawshab. [346]

Ibn ʿĀshūr said:

والأبتر: حقيقته المقطوع بعضه وغلب على المقطوع ذنبه من الدواب، ويستعار لمن نقص منه ما هو من الخير في نظر الناس تشبيها بالدابة المقطوع ذنبها تشبيه معقول بمحسوس... ويقال للذي لا عقب له ذكورا هو أبتر على الاستعارة تشبيه متخيل بمحسوس، شبهوه بالدابة المقطوع ذنبها لأنه قطع أثره في تخيل أهل العرف... ولكن لما كان وصف الأبتر في الآية جيء به لمحاكاة قول القائل: «محمد أبتر» إبطالا لقوله ذلك، وكان عرفهم في وصف الأبتر أنه الذي لا عقب له تعين أن يكون هذا الإبطال ضربا من الأسلوب الحكيم وهو: تلقي السامع بغير ما يترقب بحمل كلامه على خلاف مراده تنبيها على أن الأحق غير ما عناه من كلامه... وذلك بصرف مراد القائل عن الأبتر الذي هو عديم الابن الذكر إلى ما هو أجدر بالاعتبار وهو ناقص حظ الخير، أي ليس ينقص للمرء أنه لا ولد له لأن ذلك لا يعود على المرء بنقص في صفاته وخلائقه وعقله.

Al-Abtar: Literally it means a part of something that is cut off. Its general use is for an animal's tail that has been cut off. It is also metaphorically used for one who has lost favour with people due to his own lack of good; the similitude of an animal with a tail cut off to a man cut off from good. A person who does not have any male offspring is also referred to as abtar; like an animal with no tail. Looking at the verse, the word abtar

[346] Al-Māwardī; *Al-Nukat wa al-ʿUyūn*, vol. 6 pg. 356.

was used citing what had been said i.e., Muḥammad has become abtar due to having no male offspring. The verse used the same word to denote a different meaning turning the attention to the more appropriate meaning of the word; one who lacks all good.

This was to refute the idea of judging a man by the gender of his offspring but rather by the content of his character, since having no male offspring does not decrease a man's traits, character, or intellect.[347]

From the above discussion, we can infer that the early scholars differed regarding the sūrah being Makkī or Madanī, who was the target of its revelation, and regarding the meaning of *abtar*.

Taking the view of it being a Madanī sūrah, which is more likely, it is far-fetched that its target be al-ʿĀṣ. The narrations clearly state this insult of his directed at Rasūlullāh ﷺ occurred in Makkah before the hijrah.

And if we take the view of it being a Makkī sūrah then we cannot say with conviction the target was al-ʿĀṣ due to the differing views of the scholars. If we, for argument`s sake, accept that its target was al-ʿĀṣ and also adopt the view of its meaning to be one who has no male offspring, it does not make sense as al-ʿĀṣ had male offspring as established; ʿAmr and Hishām. Further, ʿAmr himself had two sons, ʿAbd Allāh and Muḥammad. Ibn Ḥazm states, "ʿAbd Allah had close to one hundred dependents in Makkah and al-Waḥṭ." [348] If the meaning of 'one who is bereft of any good and is humiliated' is taken then this does not affect ʿAmr in the least. It is in relation to his father and it has nothing to do with ʿAmr!

[347] Ibn ʿĀshūr: *Al-Taḥrīr wa al-Tanwīr*, vol. 30 pg. 505.
[348] Ibn Ḥazm: *Jamharah Ansāb al-ʿArab*, vol. 1 pg. 163 – 164.

If the sin of the father were to be taken as an insult to the son, then will we defame Khalīl Allāh Ibrāhīm عَلَيۡهِ ٱلسَّلَامُ for the disbelief of his father? Or Nabī Nūḥ عَلَيۡهِ ٱلسَّلَامُ for the disobedience of his son? Placing the burden of one's sin on another is madness and injustice. It goes against the values of justice and the demands logic. Further what of the clear proofs and repeated verses of the Qur'ān that prohibit this? Allah سُبۡحَانَهُۥ وَتَعَالَىٰ says:

﴿أَلَّا تَزِرُ وَازِرَةٌ وِزۡرَ أُخۡرَىٰ ۞ وَأَن لَّيۡسَ لِلۡإِنسَٰنِ إِلَّا مَا سَعَىٰ﴾

That no bearer of burdens will bear the burden of another. And that there is not for man except that [good] for which he strives.[349]

How many of the Ṣaḥābah and eminent personalities of the Ahl al-Bayt came into the fold of Islam whilst their families remained on disbelief and ignorance. The Qur'ān is clear on the destruction of Abū Lahab whilst he is the uncle of our Master and Prophet صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيۡهِ وَسَلَّمَ. One assessing the situation impartially will need to look no further.

The extremists on the other hand, grovel to search for any connection, no matter how implausible. They are akin to a one drowning searching for something to grasp onto, even grabbing at the algae. The principal reason for this is they make assumptions, believe in it, and then seek evidences to back up their claims; no matter how flimsy.

The correct method in ascertaining the truth is for one to look firstly at the evidence and then reach a conclusion. To assess authentic proofs and then build their views based on the inferences of the proofs. This will result in a view built on a strong and sturdy foundation. Allah سُبۡحَانَهُۥ وَتَعَالَىٰ says:

[349] Sūrah al-Najm: 38-39.

﴿أَفَمَنۡ أَسَّسَ بُنۡيَٰنَهُۥ عَلَىٰ تَقۡوَىٰ مِنَ ٱللَّهِ وَرِضۡوَٰنٍ خَيۡرٌ أَم مَّنۡ أَسَّسَ بُنۡيَٰنَهُۥ عَلَىٰ شَفَا جُرُفٍ هَارٖ فَٱنۡهَارَ بِهِۦ فِي نَارِ جَهَنَّمَۗ وَٱللَّهُ لَا يَهۡدِي ٱلۡقَوۡمَ ٱلظَّٰلِمِينَ﴾

Then is one who laid the foundation of his building on righteousness [with fear] from Allah and [seeking] His approval better or one who laid the foundation of his building on the edge of a bank about to collapse, so it collapsed with him into the fire of Hell? And Allah does not guide the wrongdoing people. [350]

Misconception 2: What has been said regarding his mother in that she was a harlot

Al-Aṣbahānī said:

ومسألة خبث ولادته معروفة في كثير من الكتب، ككتاب إنسان العيون في سيرة الأمين المأمون، وكتاب المستطرف، وكتاب سبط ابن الجوزي ومحصلها: أن أمه كانت بغياً عند عبد الله بن جدعان فوطئها في طهر واحد أبو لهب، وأمية بن خلف، وأبو سفيان بن حرب، والعاص بن الوائل، وادعى كلهم عمرو، فألحقته أمه بالعاص. وقيل لها: لما اخترت العاص؟ قالت: لأنه كان ينفق على بناتي.

The issue of the immorality of his mother is well documented in many books such as, *Insān al-ʿUyūn fī Sīrah al-Amīn wa al-Maʾmūn, Kitāb al- Mustaṭraf*, and the book of Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī. The summary of what has been mentioned is as follows: His mother was a harlot of ʿAbd Allah ibn Judʿān and in a single period of purity slept with Abū Lahab, Umayyah ibn Khalaf, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, and al-ʿĀṣ ibn Wāʾil. All of them claimed

[350] Sūrah al-Najm: 38-39.

paternity of ʿAmr. She chose to be with al-ʿĀṣ. When asked why she had chosen al-ʿĀṣ, she replied, "Because he would spend on my daughters." [351]

After reproducing the incident of Abū Sufyān's acknowledgment that Ziyād was his child from Sumayyah, after being impressed by his perfect rhetoric, al-Amīnī comments:

لو كان معاوية استلحق زيادا بهذا الخبر لكان استلحاقه عمرو بن العاص أولى؛ إذ ادعاه أبو سفيان يوم ولادته قائلا: أما إني لا أشك أني وضعته في رحم أمه. واختصم معه العاص. غير أن النابغة أبت إلا العاص؛ لما زعمت من الشح في أبي سفيان.

If Muʿāwiyah avowed the paternity of Ziyād based on this, the paternity of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ should be avowed to a greater degree since Abū Sufyān claimed him the day he was born and disagreed with al-ʿĀṣ. However, al- Nābighah preferred al-ʿĀṣ due to her assumption of Abū Sufyān being miserly. [352]

Answer

This allegation will be dealt with in five ways:

1. This narration is worthless and is not authentic in any way. It is found in some books of literature such as *Rabīʿ al-Abrār* of al-Zamakhsharī[353], *Nihāyah al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* of al-Nuwayrī[354], *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihī al-Andalūsī[355], *al-Tadhkirah al-*

[351] *Al-Qawl al-Ṣirāḥ fi al-Bukhārī wa Saḥīḥuhu al-Jāmiʿ*, pg. 224.
[352] Al-Amīnī: *Al-Ghadīr*, vol. 10 pg. 219.
[353] Vol. 1 pg. 363.
[354] Vol. 6 pg. 48.
[355] Vol. 1 pg. 16.

Ḥamdūniyyah of Ibn Ḥamdūn[356], and *al-Mustaṭraf fi kull Fan Mustaẓraf* of al-Abshīhī[357].

I have not found it with a chain of transmission except in the book *Akhbār al-Wāfidāt min al-Nisā' ʿalā Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān* authored by **al-ʿAbbās ibn Bakkār**[358]. He has recorded it with the following chain:

عبد الله بن سليمان المديني عن قتادة قال دخلت أروى بنت الحارث بن عبد المطلب على معاوية وهي عجوز كبيرة فلما رآها قال مرحبا بك يا خالة... وذكرت كلاما في النيل من معاوية فقال لها عمرو بن العاص: كفي ايتها العجوز، وغضي طرفك واقصري من شر لفظك فإنه أمير المؤمنين، قالت له: إيه عنك يا ابن النفيرة فوالله لعهدي بأمك بأبيات مكة وهي باكية من الخطيئة من كل عبد لنا عاهر، ولقد احتكم فيك خمسة من قريش كلهم يدعيك ابنه، وغلب عليك جزار قريش...

ʿAbd Allah ibn Sulaymān al-Madīnī from — **Qatādah** who said, "Arwā bint al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib came to Muʿāwiyah when she was of advanced age.

When he saw her, he said, "Welcome Aunt!" She then spoke at length vilifying Muʿāwiyah.

So ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said to her, "'Enough old woman. Lower your gaze and stop your drivel. He is the Amīr al-Mu'minīn."

She said to him, "Be silent Ibn Nafīrah! By Allah it wasn't long ago that your mother was in Makkah crying from the sin of our slaves; prostitution. There were five men of the Quraysh who

[356] Vol. 1 pg. 174.
[357] Vol. 1 pg. 408.
[358] Vol. 1 pg. 13.

claimed you to be theirs and you were overcome by the butcher of the Quraysh."

This incident is a fabrication. The following narrators are in its chain of transmission:

Al-ʿAbbās ibn Bakkār al-Ḍabbī al-Baṣrī:

• Al-Dāraquṭnī said, "He is a *kadhāb* (liar)."

• Al-ʿUqaylī said, "Most of his narrations are *wahm* (delusions) and *manākīr* (rejections)." [359]

• Al-Dhahabī said, "He is Matrūk (suspected of forgery)." [360]

ʿAbd Allah ibn Sulaymān al-Madīnī:

I did not find any bibliographical entry for him. [361]

Qatādah ibn Diʿāmah al-Sadūsī:

Even though he is reliable, of high status, and a ḥāfiẓ of his era, he is renowned for *tadlīs*[362]. He also narrated by way of *irsāl*[363] a lot from

[359] Al-Dhahabī: *al-Mīzān* vol. 2 pg. 382.
[360] Al-Dhahabī: *al-Muqtanā fi Sird al-Kunā*, vol. 2 pg. 138.
[361] In some books the following chain of transmission has been recorded from ʿAbbās ibn Bakkār from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd from — his father from — ʿIkrimah. So perhaps it is Ibn Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Farrā' al-Madanī who is the problem. Abū Ḥātim said regarding his father Sulaymān, "I do not know him as one ought to." Al-Azdī said, "His reliability has been questioned." *Al-Jarḥ wa al- Taʿdīl*, vol. 4 pg. 111; Al-Dhahabī: *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, vol. 2 pg. 206.
[362] *Tadlis*: Transmitting with obfuscation in his transmission; either intentionally or unintentionally narrating a Ḥadīth in manner that obscures or omits transmitters in the isnād.

the likes of al-Nuʿmān ibn Muqrin, Safīnah, and others. Aḥmad ibn Ḥambal said, "I do not know of Qatādah having heard from any of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ except for Anas ibn Mālik." [364]

Thus, he did not meet Muʿāwiyah, forget ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. Muʿāwiyah passed away in Rajab in the year 60 A.H, according to the correct view, whilst Qatādah was born in the year 60 or 61 A.H. [365] Accordingly, he was born the year, or the year after Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ had passed away.

The incident is therefore a fabrication. Neither sharīʿah nor logic allows attribution to a person by one whose veracity is unknown, so what of one who is a known liar and whose narrations the Imāms of ḥadīth discarded? [366]

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[363] *Irsal*: Citing someone or the Prophet صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ without actually having met him.

[364] Al-ʿAlāʾī: *Jāmiʿ al-Taḥṣīl*, vol. 1 pg. 254; also see, Ibn Ḥajar: *Taʿrīf ahl al-Taqdīs*, vol. 1pg. 43.

[365] Al-Mizzī: *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 23 pg. 517.

[366] After writing the above, I came across another chain of transmission in *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* of Ibn Saʿd — Khanjī print — vol. 6 pg. 384 which reads as follows:

أخبرنا يزيد بن هارون، قال: أخبرنا حريز بن عثمان، قال: حدثنا عبد الرحمن بن أبي عوف الجرشي، قال: لما بايع الحسن بن علي معاوية قال له عمرو بن العاص وأبو الأعور السلمي عمرو بن سفيان: لو أمرت الحسن فصعد المنبر فتكلم عيي عن المنطق فيزهد فيه الناس... فصعد الحسن المنبر فحمد الله وأثنى عليه ثم قال: أيها الناس إن الله هداكم بأولنا وحقن دماءكم بآخرنا وإني قد أخذت لكم على معاوية أن يعدل فيكم، وأن يوفر عليكم غنائمكم، وأن يقسم فيئكم فيكم، ثم أقبل على معاوية، فقال: كذاك؟ قال: نعم. ثم هبط من المنبر وهو يقول ويشير بإصبعه إلى معاوية {وإن أدري لعله فتنة لكم ومتاع إلى حين} [سورة الأنبياء: 111]. فاشتد ذلك على معاوية، فقالا: لو دعوته فاستنطقته فقال: مهلا فأبوا، فدعوه، فأجابهم. فأقبل عليه عمرو بن العاص، فقال له الحسن أما أنت فقد اختلف فيك رجلان: رجل من قريش، وجزار أهل المدينة، فادعياك فلا أدري أيهما أبوك.

Yazīd ibn Hārūn narrated to us from — Ḥarīz ibn ʿUthmān — from **ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī ʿAwf al-Jurashī** who said: When al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī took

allegiance at the hand of Muʿāwiyah, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, Abū al-Aʿwar al-Sulamī, and ʿAmr ibn Sufyān said to Muʿāwiyah, "Why don't you instruct al-Ḥasan to ascend the pulpit so that people may become averse to him after hearing his speech..."

Al-Ḥasan ascended the pulpit, praised Allah and said, "O people! Verily Allah has guided you through the first of us and has spared your blood through the last of us. I have taken a covenant from Muʿāwiyah that he rules you with justice, be bountiful in your booty, and he distribute the fay' amongst you."

He then turned to Muʿāwiyah and asked, "Is that it?"

Muʿāwiyah said, "Yes".

Whilst descending from the pulpit he pointed to Muʿāwiyah and commented with the following verse:

﴿وَإِنْ أَدْرِى لَعَلَّهُۥ فِتْنَةٌ لَّكُمْ وَمَتَٰعٌ إِلَىٰ حِينٍ﴾

And I know not; perhaps it is a trial for you and enjoyment for a time. [Al-Ambiyā: 111]

Muʿāwiyah was troubled by this.

They said to him, "Why don't you call al-Ḥasan and question him."

He refused but they insisted and called for him. When al-Ḥasan came he was faced by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ.

Al-Ḥasan said, "O you! Two men, one from the Quraysh and a butcher of Madīnah both claimed your paternity. I don't know which is your father."

Though the chain of transmission appears to be authentic, the content is highly objectionable due to the following reasons:

1. It is impossible for one who was raised and lived in the Prophetic household to doubt another's lineage.

2. Al-Ḥasan was renowned for being well spoken and tolerant. Consider the following narration of *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl:*

ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAwn narrates from — ʿUmayr ibn Isḥāq who said:

ما تكلم عندي أحد كان أحب إلي إذا تكلم أن لا يسكت من الحسن بن علي، وما سمعت منه كلمة فحش قط إلا مرة فإنه كان بين حسين بن علي وعمرو بن عثمان خصومة في أرض، فعرض حسين أمرا لم يرضه عمرو، فقال الحسن: فليس له عندنا إلا ما يرغم أنفه، قال: فهذه أشد كلمة فحش سمعتها منه قط.

No one spoke in my presence and I wished they would continue speaking except al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī. I never heard him utter an indecent word. Once there was a land dispute between Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī and ʿAmr ibn ʿUthmān. Ḥusayn presented a solution that ʿAmr was not happy with. On this al-Ḥasan said, "Besides this, we don't have any other solution for him that he will like." This was the worst I've ever heard him say.

3. Al-Ḥasan would not have doubted the lineage established by his Grandfather ﷺ who said:

ابنا العاص مؤمنان؛ عمرو وهشام.

The two sons of al-ʿĀṣ, ʿAmr and Hishām are believers.

4. Al-Ḥasan was born after Uḥud and ʿAmr was born in Makkah before the prophethood of Rasūlullāh ﷺ. So, how then could he make such a comment, especially since none of the senior Ṣaḥābah nor his father, who was on the opposing side of ʿAmr at Ṣiffīn, made such comments.

5. Al-Ḥasan stepped down from his claim to khilāfah in order to prevent Muslim bloodshed and to forge unity between the Muslims. It would be highly inappropriate to make such comments at a time of reconciliation.

6. The reconciliation was witnessed by a large portion of the populous and if he had really said such, his statement would have caused waves and would have become infamous. The addition of a reliable narrator under such circumstances would cause a defect (*ʿillah*) in the ḥadīth, as attested to by the ḥadīth scholars. Add to this the highly objectionable content of the narration and the addition would be completely unacceptable (*mardūd*), even though it may come from a reliable narrator. Thus, we find the following text of some ḥadīth scholars:

إسناده صحيح أو صالح، ومتنه منكر.

The chain of transmission is authentic or sound but the content is objectionable. [See: al-Zarkashī: *al-Nukat ʿalā Muqaddimah ibn al-Ṣalāh*, vol. 1 pg. 368.]

The early ḥadīth scholars paid attention to the content of the narration just as they did to the chain of transmission. Accordingly, one of the conditions laid down by them in considering a ḥadīth to be authentic is that it should be free from ʿillah and it should not be anomalous (*Shādh*).

Abū Dāwūd wrote in his *Risālah li ahl-Makkah* pg. 29:

والأحاديث التي وضعتها في كتاب السنن أكثرها مشاهير وهي عند كل من كتب شيئا من الحديث إلا أن تمييزها لا يقدر عليه كل الناس والفخر بها أنها مشاهير فإنه لا يحتج بحديث غريب ولو كان من رواية مالك ويحيى بن سعيد والثقات من أئمة العلم.

> Most of the narrations that I have placed in *Kitāb al-Sunan* are *Mashāhīr*, and they are found with everyone who has written any ḥadīth, except that not all are able to distinguish between them. And an aspect of pride with these narrations being mashāhīr is that a gharīb ḥadīth is not used as a proof, even if it is from the narration of Mālik, Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd, and the Thiqāt from the Imāms of knowledge.

Ibn Rajab wrote in his commentary on *ʿIlal al-Tirmidhī* pg. 216:

وأما أكثر الحفاظ المتقدمين فإنهم يقولون في الحديث إذا تفرد به واحد – وإن لم يرو الثقات خلافه –: إنه لا يتابع عليه، ويجعلون ذلك علة فيه، اللهم إلا أن يكون ممن كثر حفظه واشتهرت عدالته وحديثه كالزهري ونحوه، وربما يستنكرون بعض تفردات الثقات الكبار أيضا، ولهم في كل حديث نقد خاص، وليس عندهم لذلك ضابط يضبطه.

Most of the early ḥadīth masters would say regarding the sole additions of a ḥadīth—even if reliable transistors did not narrate in opposition to it—it is not corroborated. They would deem this a defect in the narration. Unless of course if it was transmitted by a narrator who was famed for his ḥadīth, memory, and righteousness; the likes of al-Zuhrī. At times they would consider the addition of a reliable narrator objectionable too. Their criticism in this matter was nuanced rather than rule-driven.

Al-Muʿallimī wrote in his forward to *al-Fawā'id al-Majmūʿah* of al-Shawkānī, pg. 7:

إذا استنكر الأئمة المحققون المتن وكان ظاهر السند الصحة فإنهم يتطلبون له علة، فإذا لم يجدوا علة قادحة مطلقا، حيث وقعت، أعلوه بعلة ليست بقادحة مطلقا، ولكنهم يرونها كافية للقدح في ذلك المنكر، فمن ذلك: إعلاله بأن راويه لم يصرح بالسماع هذا، مع أن الراوي غير مدلس، أعل البخاري بذلك خبرا رواه عمرو بن أبي عمرو مولى المطلب عن عكرمة. تراه في ترجمة عمرو من التهذيب.

When the erudite scholars would find the content of a narration objectionable whilst the chain of transmission appeared authentic, they would search for a defect. If they did not find an overshadowing defect, they would consider other finer defects. They would deem this sufficient to brand the narration as defective. An example of this is, considering the irsāl of a narrator who is not a *mudallis*, a defect in the case of not explicitly using narrator words that establish having heard it from the transmitter above. Imām al-Bukhārī has signaled a defect of this sought in a ḥadīth narrated by ʿAmr ibn Abī ʿAmr mawlā al-Muṭṭalib from — ʿIkrimah. This can be seen under the biographical entry of ʿAmr in *al-Tahdhīb*.

It is clear to me that the defect in this narration is irsāl. Even though al-Mizzī has mentioned in *al-Tahdhīb* that **Al-Jurashī** has narrated from ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Muʿāwiyah; however, after much searching and investigating, I have not found him narrating from them except in this incident. Yes, I have found him narrating from Muʿāwiyah through Abū Hind al-Bajalī who is unknown as attested to by Ibn al-Qaṭṭān. See, *Bayān al -Wahm wa al-Īhām fī Kitāb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 3 pg. 258. It is, thus, plausible that he has taken this narration from him or from other entities which was widespread during the days of the fitnah as established in the foreword. My conclusion of this chain of transmission being defective and the statement of al-Ḥasan رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ being a falsity is further strengthened when

2. His mother being a slave of war is not a factual matter. We have explained the differences of opinion regarding his mother's lineage. Neither have any of the books of war mention which battle the mother of ʿAmr was taken as slave.

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considering the narrations regarding the reconciliation come from varied sources. None of these sources mention the comment of al-Ḥasan to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ regarding his lineage. These sources are as follows:

1. Al-Ṭabarānī: *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3 pg. 46; Al-Ḥākim: *Al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3 pg. 792; Abū Nuʿaym: *Maʿrifah al-Ṣaḥābah*, vol. 2 pg. 659; Al-Bayhaqī: *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah*, vol. 6 pg. 444. These sources have it recorded with the following chain of transmission: Hushaym and Sufyān from — **Mujālid** from — **al-Shaʿbī** who said, "I was present when al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī .... Al-Haythamī said, "Al-Ṭabarānī has recorded it in *al-Kabīr*. In the chain is **Mujālid** regarding whom comments have been made. He has also been deemed reliable. The other narrators are of Ṣaḥīḥ. There is explicit mention of the transmitters of this chain having heard directly from each other. See *Majmaʿ al-Zawā'id wa Mambaʿ al-Fawā'id*, vol. 4 pg. 208. **Al-Shaʿbī** is ʿĀmir ibn Sharāḥīl al-Kūfī. His narrations from al-Ḥasan are found in the Ṣaḥīḥayn and his narrations from Muʿāwiyah can be found in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. See Al-Mizzī: *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 14 pg. 29. The following chain of transmission supports this one:
2. ʿAbd al-Razzāq: *Al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 11 pg. 452 and with his chain *al-Ṭabarānī* vol. 3 pg. 147 and with the chain of Maʿmar from — Ayyūb from — Ibn Sīrīn. This is an authentic chain of Ibn Sīrīn. Al-Haythamī states in *al-Majmaʿ*, "The narrators are of Ṣaḥīḥ." Ibn Saʿd has recorded it in *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 6 pg. 384 with the following chain: Hawdhah ibn Khalīfah narrated to us from — ʿAwf from — Muḥammad. This chain is sound. Ibn Sīrīn is one of the leading scholars of the Tābiʿīn. See, *Jāmiʿ al-Taḥṣīl* pg. 264.
3. Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 13 pg. 274 with his chain to ʿAmr ibn Dīnār. ʿAmr ibn Dīnār al-Makkī is one of the leading scholars of the Tābiʿīn. Many narrations explicitly mention his having heard from Ibn ʿUmar, Jābir, and others. This can be found in the Ṣaḥīḥayn as well. See, *Jāmiʿ al-Taḥṣīl* pg. 243.
4. Al-Ṭabarī: *Tārīkh*, vol. 3 pg. 167; Al-Balādhurī: *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 1 pg. 444; Al-Bayhaqī: *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah*, vol. 6 pg. 444. All these are from different chains of transmissions from al- Zuhrī.

The different sources that have been reproduced, from al-Shaʿbī, Ibn Sīrīn, ʿAmr ibn Dīnār, and al- Zuhrī all have one thing in common. They do not mention the addition of al-Jurashī, i.e., the attack on the lineage of ʿAmr. This demonstrates that the addition has no standing of authenticity. And Allah Taʿālā knows best.

3. The reliable books of history make no mention of his mother being a harlot. The most that is mentioned is her being a slave of war from the Banī Jallān ibn ʿAnazah ibn Asad ibn Rabīʿah ibn Nizār tribe. [(367)] The following incident is mentioned in *Usd al-Ghābah*:

ذكروا أنه جعل لرجل ألف درهم على أن يسأل عمرو بن العاص عن أمه وهو على المنبر، فسأله، فقال: أمي سلمى بنت حرملة، تلقب النابغة، من بني عنزة، ثم أحد بني جلان، أصابتها رماح العرب، فبيعت بعكاظ، فاشتراها الفاكه بن المغيرة، ثم اشتراها منه عبد الله بن جدعان، ثم صارت إلى العاص بن وائل، فولدت، فأنجبت، فإن كان جعل لك شيء فخذه.

The historians mention that a man was paid a thousand silver coins to ask ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ about his mother while he was on the pulpit. He took up the challenge and enquired about his mother.

He explained, "My mother is Salma bint Ḥarmalah, with the title al -Nābighah, from the Banū ʿAnazah. The spears of the Arabs afflicted her [i.e. she was captured] and she was sold at ʿUkāẓ. Fākih ibn al-Mughīrah purchased her and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Judʿān purchased her from him. She then fell into the possession of al-ʿĀṣ ibn Wā'il. She gave birth to his child. If they had stipulated something for you, take it."[(368)]

Even if we accept this incident to be true, the only thing we learn from it is that his mother was the slave-girl of his father, al-ʿĀṣ. Buying slave girls, having relations with them, and having children with them was a norm amongst the Arabs, both during the period of ignorance and in Islam. Many of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ and those that came after them during the golden era had *Umm Walad* (slave-girl who has borne her master a child). Consider Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿAlī

[(367)] *Al-Ṭabaqāt li Khalīfah*, vol. 1 pg. 25; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr: *Al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 3 pg. 266.
[(368)] Vol. 4 pg. 232.

ibn Ṭālib رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. He had a slave-girl by the name of Khawlah bint Jaʿfar ibn Qays ibn Maslamah ibn Thaʿlabah ibn Yarbūʿ ibn Thaʿlabah ibn Duwal ibn Ḥanafiyyah. She was from the war prisoners of Yamāmah, whom Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ had taken as slaves.

Some opine she was a slave of the Banū Ḥanīfah but not of the tribe.[369] She gave birth to a child for the Amīr al-Mu'minīn; Muḥammad, famously known as Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah.

Similarly, there is ʿUmar ibn ʿAlī and Ruqayyah, twins. Their mother was al-Ṣahbā'. It is said, her name was Umm Ḥabīb bint Rabīʿah from the Banū Taghlib tribe. She was from the war prisoners of Khālid ibn Walīd. ʿUmar was the last child of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.[370]

Consider the two leaders of the youth in Jannah, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. They too had children from slave-girls. Al-Ḥusayn had ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn from an Umm Walad. He was with his father during the days of Karbala and had taken ill when al-Ḥusayn was slain. He was twenty-three years of age at the time. ʿUmar ibn Saʿd discouraged the people from informing him of the terrible news during his illness. [371]

Besides these personalities, there are many other Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ and those that came after them in the golden era of Islam who had children from slave-girls.

4. Disparaging someone on the basis of their lineage is a characteristic consistent with the pre-Islamic days; an act of ignorance that the sharīʿah has prohibited. [372] Refuting or doubting

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[369] Al-Mizzī: *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 26 pg. 147.
[370] Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī: *Nasab Quraysh*, vol. 1 pg. 18.
[371] Ibid., vol. 2 pg. 58.
[372] Consider the following narration of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3/3220. Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ said:

the lineage of a person is a matter of grave concern as establishing such needs to be done by evidence that is both clear and true; something that does not exist here. Not to mention the fact that Rasūlullāh ﷺ recognised the lineage of the polytheists without asking them about the manner of their marriages. This is notwithstanding marriages during the era of ignorance was done in one of four ways. ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubayr narrates from ʿĀ'ishah رضي الله عنها, the wife of Rasūlullāh ﷺ, the following:

أن النكاح في الجاهلية كان على أربعة أنحاء: فنكاح منها نكاح الناس اليوم: يخطب الرجل إلى الرجل وليته أو ابنته، فيصدقها ثم ينكحها. ونكاح آخر: كان الرجل يقول لامرأته إذا طهرت من طمثها أرسلي إلى فلان فاستبضعي منه، ويعتزلها زوجها ولا يمسها أبدا، حتى يتبين حملها من ذلك الرجل الذي تستبضع منه، فإذا تبين حملها أصابها زوجها إذا أحب، وإنما يفعل ذلك رغبة في نجابة الولد، فكان هذا النكاح نكاح الاستبضاع. ونكاح آخر: يجتمع الرهط ما دون العشرة، فيدخلون على المرأة، كلهم يصيبها، فإذا حملت ووضعت، ومر عليها ليال بعد أن تضع حملها، أرسلت إليهم، فلم يستطع رجل منهم أن يمتنع، حتى يجتمعوا عندها، تقول لهم: قد عرفتم الذي كان من أمركم وقد ولدت، فهو ابنك يا فلان، تسمي من أحبت باسمه فيلحق به ولدها، لا يستطيع أن يمتنع منه الرجل. ونكاح الرابع: يجتمع الناس الكثير، فيدخلون على المرأة، لا تمتنع ممن جاءها، وهن البغايا، كن ينصبن على أبوابهن رايات تكون علما، فمن أرادهن دخل عليهن، فإذا حملت إحداهن ووضعت حملها جمعوا لها، ودعوا

أربع في أمتي من أمر الجاهلية، لا يتركونهن: الفخر في الأحساب، والطعن في الأنساب، والاستسقاء بالنجوم، والنياحة.

Among my people there are four characteristics belonging to the pre-Islamic period which they do not abandon: boasting of high rank, reviling other peoples' lineage, seeking rain by stars, and wailing.

لهم القافة، ثم ألحقوا ولدها بالذي يرون، فالتاط به، ودعي ابنه، لا يمتنع من ذلك فلما بعث محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم بالحق، هدم نكاح الجاهلية كله إلا نكاح الناس اليوم.

There were four types of marriage during the pre-Islamic period of Ignorance. One type was similar to that of the present day, i.e. a man used to ask somebody else for the hand of a girl under his guardianship or for his daughter's hand, and give her dowry and then marry her.

The second type was that a man would say to his wife after she had become clean from her period. "Send for so-and-so and have sexual intercourse with him." Her husband would then keep away from her and would never sleep with her till she got pregnant from the other man with whom she was sleeping. When her pregnancy became evident, the husband would sleep with her if he wished. Her husband did so (i.e. let his wife sleep with some other man) so that he might have a child of noble breed. Such marriage was called as *Al-Istibḍāʿ*.

Another type of marriage was that a group of less than ten men would assemble and enter upon a woman, and all of them would have sexual relations with her. If she became pregnant and delivered a child and some days had passed after delivery, she would send for all of them and none of them would refuse to come, and when they all gathered before her, she would say to them, "You (all) know what you have done, and now I have given birth to a child. So, it is your child so-and-so!" naming whoever she liked, and her child would follow him and he could not refuse to take him.

The fourth type of marriage was that many people would enter upon a lady and she would never refuse anyone who came to her. Those were the prostitutes who used to fix flags at their doors as sign, and he who wished, could have sexual

intercourse with them. If any of them got pregnant and delivered a child, then all those men would be gathered for her and they would call the *Qā'if* (persons skilled in recognizing the likeness of a child to his father) to them and would let the child follow the man (whom they recognized as his father) and she would let him adhere to him and be called his son. The man would not refuse all that.

But when Muḥammad ﷺ was sent with the Truth, he abolished all the types of marriages observed in the pre-Islamic period of Ignorance except the type of marriage the people recognize today. [373]

With the coming of Islam, all types of marriages were abolished except for the nikāḥ which the Muslims practice today. Even though this was the case, Rasūlullāh ﷺ recognised their lineages without investigating the manner in which the marriage had taken place.

Rasūlullāh ﷺ, addressing Ghaylān ibn Salamah al-Thaqafī who had ten wives when he accepted Islam, said:

خذ منهن أربعة.

Take four from them. [374]

Besides, there is no one who can claim purity of lineage by way of marriage, except for the Best of creation, may my father and mother be sacrificed for him and may the salutations of my Lord continue to rain upon him ﷺ, who said:

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[373] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 9/5127.

[374] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 5027; Al-Tirmidhī: *Al-Sunan*, Ḥadīth: 1128; *Ibn Mājah*, Ḥadīth: 1953. The wording is of *Musnad Aḥmad* and *Ibn Mājah*. Al-Albānī has deemed it sound in *al-Mishkāt*, vol. 2 pg. 220, Ḥadīth: 3176.

خرجت من لدن آدم من نكاح غير سفاح.

> My lineage from Ādam has been by way of marriage in which there has been no adultery. [375]

Al-Suyūṭī affixed the following chapter heading under which he brought the above mentioned ḥadīth, 'Chapter regarding the specialty of the pure lineage of Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ in which there was no adultery from Ādam.'

The following is written in *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah* after the mention of this ḥadīth:

أن المرأة كانت تسافح الرجل مدة ثم يتزوجها إن أراد، فكانت العرب تستحل الزنا إلا أن الشريف منهم كان يتورع عنه علانية وإلا بعض أفراد منهم حرمه على نفسه في الجاهلية.

> A woman would fornicate with a man for a period of time, marrying him thereafter if they wished. The Arabs deemed fornication permissible though the noble would make their apparent aversion to it known. Yes, some had made it impermissible upon themselves in the pre-Islamic period as well. [376]

Notwithstanding this, lineage would be recognised.

Al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī رَحِمَهُٱللَّهُ said:

وأما مسألة إقرارهم بأنسابهم وأن هذا ولد هذا وأخوه ونحوه، فالظاهر أن قبولهم في هذا ثابت في عصر النبوة مستفيض، وأنه ولو بقا أهل الملل على ما هم عليه من إقرارهم بأنسابهم،

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[375] Ibn Saʿd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 1 pg. 61. Al-Albānī has deemed it authentic in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmiʿ*: 5534.
[376] Al-Ḥalabī: *Sīrah al-Amīn wa al-Maʾmūn*, vol. 1 pg. 68.

ودعاهم وبذلك، وهذا شيء معلوم من ضرورة من يعرف أحواله وسيره، كما أنه كان يقبل قطعة مثل إخبارهم بأن ما تحت أيديهم ملك لهم، فإنه كان يتعامل مع اليهود والمشركين قطعة ويأخذ منهم، ويبيع ويقبض، بل مات ودرعه مرهون عند أبي الشحم اليهودي كما هو معروف في البخاري وغيره.

The issue of recognising their lineage, so and so to be the brother of so and so etc., was accepted during the prophetic era. This is a well-known fact. Rasūlullāh ﷺ recognised the lineage of the various religious denominations and addressed them in a manner that was in line with this recognition.

This wasn't dissimilar to how he accepted their word in matters pertaining to ownership. He had business dealings with the Jews and polytheists and would accept their goods. In fact, when he passed away his armour was mortgaged to one Abū al-Shaḥm[377], the Jew. This is recorded by al-Bukhārī and others.[378]

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[377] The name of this Jew has been explicitly mentioned by al-Shafiʿī as recorded in *Tartīb al-Musnad*, vol. 2 pg. 164; Ibn Saʿd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 1 pg. 488; and Al-Bayhaqī: *Al-Sunan*, vo. 6 pg. 37. The narration is a mursal one from Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad — from his father that Nabī ﷺ mortgaged his armour by Abū al-Shaḥm, the Jew who was a man from the Banū Ẓafar. Al-Bayhaqī has stated, "This is munqaṭiʿ". See, *Al-Talkhīṣ al-Ḥabīr*, vol. 3 pg. 81; and *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 5 pg. 174.

[378] The author refers the ḥadīth of ʿĀ'ishah رضي الله عنها which has been recorded by al-Bukhārī, 3/61; and Muslim, 3/1226. The wording of al-Bukhārī is as follows:

عن عائشة رضي الله عنها قالت: اشترى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من يهودي طعاما بنسيئة، ورهنه درعه.

ʿĀ'ishah رضي الله عنها reports that Rasūlullāh ﷺ purchased some grain from a Jew and mortgaged his armor to him.

Thus, their lineage will be accepted and recognised as they declare it to be. We know that there were four types of marriage in vogue amongst them of which our sharīʿah only recognizes one. Then too, Rasūlullāh ﷺ recognized their lineage and did not investigate any person's marriage in order to establish his lineage. Further the narration:

الولد للفراش وللعاهر الحجر.

> The child is to be attributed to one on whose bed he is born, and for an adulterer there is stoning. [379]

Was only presented at the conquest of Makkah at the dispute of Zamʿah's son, when Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqās رضي الله عنه claimed paternal right due to the bequest of his brother who claimed the child to be his own.[380]

Based on the above, the lineage of ʿAmr رضي الله عنه will be to his father, no matter the manner of his parents' marriage. The statement of Rasūlullāh ﷺ further testifies to his lineage:

ابنا العاص مؤمنان؛ هشام وعمرو.

The two sons of al-ʿĀṣ: Hishām and ʻAmr are believers. [381]

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[379] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Ḥadīth: 2053; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Ḥadīth: 1457. Al-Nawawī states in *Sharḥ Muslim*, vol. 10 pg. 290:

> قال العلماء: العاهر الزاني، وعهر زنى، وعهرت نت، والعهر الزنا، ومعنى له الحجر: أي الخيبة ولا حق له في الولد، وعادة العرب أن تقول: له الحجر وبفيه الأثلث (وهو التراب) ونحو ذلك، يريدون ليس له إلا الخيبة.
>
> Scholars said: Al-ʿĀhir means the adulterer. And al-ʿAhr means adultery. The meaning of stoning is that he will be subject to humiliation and will have no paternity to the child.

[380] Al-Ṣanʿānī: *Ḥukm Shahādah al-Kuffār*, pgs. 36-38.

[381] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 17413; Al-Tirmidhī: *Al-Sunan*, Ḥadīth: 3844. The wording is of the latter. He says, "This ḥadīth is Gharīb, we do not know of it

In this statement, Rasūlullāh ﷺ recognised his lineage to his father. The Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم too, recognised his lineage to his father. There is no single statement of the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم doubting his lineage. The fables related in later books are just that; fables.

5. It seems as though doubting a person's lineage and accusations of adultery has become the go to for those whose pipes nor theories hold any water. The Jews accused the mother of ʿĪsā عليه السلام of adultery and Umm al-Mu'minīn ʿĀ'ishah رضي الله عنها was accused of the same. Similarly, lineage of ʿUmar al-Fārūq رضي الله عنه and other eminent personalities were also doubted.

6. The statements presented to support the argument of doubt contradict each other. They mention the mother of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ to be a cheap prostitute. What sense does it make for the nobles of the Quraysh to look for and sleep with the cheapest prostitute? These narrations are illogical; the cheapest prostitute sleeping with nobles!

Even if this was the case and his mother was a prostitute, what fault is it of ʿAmr? Is one taken to task for the sins of their parents? Will Allah ask him on the Day of Qiyāmah for the deeds of his parents? Did he not pledge allegiance to Rasūlullāh ﷺ without being held to ridicule for the deeds of his parents? What was said in the previous discussion can be repeated here: even if the verse of Abtar was revealed regarding his father, what does that have to do with ʿAmr?

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expect from the ḥadīth of Ibn Lahīʿah—from **Musharraḥ**. Its chain of transmission is not strong." Al-Albānī has deemed it sound in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmiʿ*, Ḥadīth: 971. He says in *al-Saḥīḥah* under Ḥadīth: 155, "Musharraḥ ibn Hāʿān has been deemed authentic by Ibn Maʿīn and others. His ḥadīth is sound according to me. And though Ibn Lahīʿah is weak due to weakness in his memory, the narrations of the ʿAbādilah—from him is authentic as is outlined in his biography. And this narration is from two of them viz. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān whose name is ʿAbd Allah ibn Yazīd al-Muqrī and the other is ʿAbd Allāh ibn Wahab.

Misconceptions related to his integrity

Misconception 1: Characterising him as treacherous

This is an issue that has been perpetuated and propagated in the books of those who seek to disparage ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

The author of *al-Miʿyār wa al-Muwāzanah* writes:

وإنما تراجع الناس إليه بعد الحكمين حين انكشف للناس غدر عمرو بن العاص.

> People fell back on him when they came to know of the deceit of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ at the arbitration. [382]

Muḥsin al-Amīn said:

وبهذا انتهت مهزلة تحكيم الحكمين التي دبرها عمرو بن العاص وشرى دينه بإمارة مصر.

> And with this, the farce of arbitration, which ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ engineered, came to an end. He sold his faith in this process for the governorship of Egypt. [383]

These statements are based on what has been recorded regarding the arbitration carried out by Abū Mūsā and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا on the issue of the differences between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا. It has been narrated by Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim in his book *Ṣiffīn* — from **ʿUmar ibn Saʿd** — from **Abū Janāb al-Kalbī** as follows:

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[382] *Al-Miʿyār wa al-Muwāzanah*, pgs. 196-197.
[383] *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah*, vol. 1 pg. 517. See, al-Amīnī: *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1 pg. 336.

أن عمراً وأبا موسى حيث التقيا بدومة الجندل أخذ عمرو يقدم عبد الله بن قيس في الكلام ويقول: إنك قد صحبت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قبلي وأنت أكبر منى فتكلم ثم أتكلم. وكان عمرو قد عود أبا موسى أن يقدمه في كل شيء وإنما اغتره بذلك ليقدمه فيبدأ بخلع علي... قال فأخبرني ما رأيك يا أبا موسى؟ قال رأيي أن أخلع هذين الرجلين عليا ومعاوية، ثم نجعل هذا الأمر شورى بين المسلمين يختارون لأنفسهم من شاءوا ومن أحبوا. فقال له عمرو: الرأي ما رأيت ... فأقبلا إلى الناس وهم مجتمعون، فتكلم أبو موسى فحمد الله وأثنى عليه فقال: إن رأيي ورأي عمرو قد اتفق على أمر نرجو أن يصلح الله به أمر هذه الأمة.

قال عمرو: صدق! ثم قال: يا أبا موسى فتكلم. فتقدم أبو موسى ليتكلم فدعاه ابن عباس فقال: ويحك، إني لأظنه قد خدعك، إن كنتما قد اتفقتما على أمر فقدمه قبلك فيتكلم بذلك الأمر قبلك ثم تكلم أنت بعده فإن عمراً رجل غدار، ولا آمن أن يكون قد أعطاك الرضا فيما بينك وبينه، فإذا قمت به في الناس خالفك، وكان أبو موسى رجلاً مغفلاً فقال: إيها عنك إنا اتفقنا. فتقدم فحمد الله وأثنى عليه ثم قال: يأيها الناس إنا قد نظرنا في أمر هذه الأمة فلم نر شيئا هو أصلح لأمرها وألم لشعثها من ألا تتباين أمورها، وقد أجمع رأيي ورأي صاحبي عمرو على خلع علي ومعاوية، وأن نستقبل هذا الأمر فيكون شورى بين المسلمين، فيولون أمورهم من أحبوا. وإني قد خلعت علياً ومعاوية، فاستقبلوا أمركم وولوا من رأيتم لها أهلا، ثم تنحى فقعد. وقام عمرو بن العاص مقامه فحمد الله وأثنى عليه ثم قال: إن هذا قال ما قد سمعتم وخلع صاحبه، وأنا أخلع صاحبه كما خلعه، وأثبت صاحبي معاوية في الخلافة فإنه ولي عثمان والطالب بدمه، وأحق الناس بمقامه. فقال له أبو موسى: مالك لا وفقك الله، قد

غدرت وفجرت. وإنما مثلك مثل الكلب (إن تحمل عليه يلهث أو تتركه يلهث) إلى آخر الآية قال: فقال له عمرو: إنما مثلك مثل الحمار يحمل أسفاراً إلى آخر الآية...

When ʿAmr and Abū Mūsā met at Dawmat al-Jandal, ʿAmr at first gave ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qays (Abū Mūsā) precedence in speaking, saying himself, "You are the Companion of Rasūlullāh ﷺ and you are my senior. Speak and then I will speak!"

ʿAmr had accustomed Abū Mūsā to think that he would give him precedence in everything, wishing thus to make him go first so he would take the initiative in deposing ʿAlī.

ʿAmr then said to Abū Mūsā, "Tell me what you think."

He answered, "I think we should depose these two men, ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah, and make the matter consultative between the Muslims, who will choose for themselves whomever they like.

ʿAmr said to him, "I agree".

They went toward the people who were gathered together. Abū Mūsā spoke and said, "I and ʿAmr have agreed on something by which we hope Allah will bring about peace to this Ummah!"

ʿAmr said, "You have spoken the truth and kept your word, Abū Mūsā, go ahead and speak."

Abū Mūsā went forward to speak, but Ibn ʿAbbās said to him, "Woe to you, I suspect that he has tricked you. If you have both agreed on something, let him go first and speak about that thing before you, and then you speak after him. ʿAmr is a treacherous man and I am not sure that he has perhaps given you satisfaction when it was just the two of you, but, when you stand among the people, he will oppose you!"

But Abū Mūsā was a heedless man. He said, "We have agreed."

Abū Mūsā went forward, praised Allah, extolled Him, and then said, "People, we have considered the affairs of this community and we do not think that there is anything that will be more beneficial for it or more conducive to resolving its difficulties than that upon which I and ʿAmr have agreed. That is, that we should depose ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah and that this community should confront the issue and appoint over themselves from among themselves whomever it is that they want. I have accepted the deposition of ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah, and now you confront the issue and give power over you to whomever you think is fitting for this matter!" He then stood aside and sat down.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ stood, took his place, praised Allah and extolled Him, then said, "This fellow has spoken as you have heard and declared the deposition of the one whom he represents. Similarly, I declare that he is deposed and I confirm my support for my candidate Muʿāwiyah. He is the next-of-kin of ʿUthmān and the one who seeks vengeance for his blood. Of all the people, he has most right to take his place!"

Abū Mūsā said, "What are you doing, may Allah foil you? You have acted treacherously and wickedly. Your similitude is like that of the dog: *if you chase him, he pants, or if you leave him, he [still] pants.*"

ʿAmr responded, "Your similitude is like that of *a donkey who carries volumes [of books].*" [(384)]

[(384)] *Waqʿah Ṣiffīn*, vol. 1 pgs. 544-545; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd: *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 1 pg. 255.

Answer

The incident of the arbitration carried out by Abū Mūsā and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in the differences between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ is famed; recorded in books of history and literature. [385]

Additionally, due to its association with the politics of the Islamic State, it has garnered much significance. It therefore needs to be put under the microscope for further study and analysis. This is especially so since some—regarding it to be true—fall into maligning the stars of the Ummah, the Companions of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. Whereas he said:

> لا تسبوا أصحابي، لا تسبوا أصحابي، فوالذي نفسي بيده لو أن أحدكم أنفق مثل أحد ذهبا ما أدرك مد أحدهم ولا نصيفه.
>
> Do not curse my Ṣaḥābah! Do not curse my Ṣaḥābah! For by Him Who controls my life, if any of you were to spend the weight of Mount Uḥud in gold, it still would not equal a mudd of one of them nor even one-half of it. [386]

Studying and analyzing this incident brings to the fore the invalidity of it. The fallaciousness of this story can be established in the following four ways:

1. Studying The Chains of Transmission

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[385] Like, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5 pg. 71; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 172; *ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pgs. 93-94; *Nihāyah al-Arab fī funūn al-Adab*, vol. 20 pg. 156.

[386] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on virtues, chapter on Rasūlullāh's صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ statement: Had I taken a bosom friend, Ḥadīth: 3470; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on the virtues of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, chapter on the impermissibility of cursing the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, Ḥadīth: 2540. The wording is Muslim's.

This incident has been narrated by **Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim** in his book *Waqʿah Ṣiffīn* — from **ʿUmar ibn Saʿd** — from **Abū Janāb al-Kalbī**, that ʿAmr and Abū Mūsā met at Dawmat al-Jandal... This chain of transmission is extremely weak due to four defects:

I. Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim al-Manqarī

The author of the book, Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, is accused of forgery.

Abū al-Farj ibn al-Jawzī recorded the following statements of the ḥadīth scholars regarding Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim al-Manqarī al-Kūfī al-ʿAṭṭār:

• Abū Khaythamah said, "He was a liar."

• Yaḥyā said, "His narrations amount to naught."

• Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī said, "His narrations are weak and discarded."

• Al-Dārquṭnī said, "Weak."

• Ibrāhīm ibn Yaʿqūb al-Jūzajānī said, "He was astray from the truth."

• Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad said, "He narrated many discarded narrations from weak transmitters."

• Abū al-Fatḥ al-Azdī said, "He was an extremist and his narrations weren't praiseworthy." [387]

II. ʿUmar ibn Saʿd

His teacher, ʿUmar ibn Saʿd, is also unreliable. Abū Ḥātim said, "Suspected of forgery in Ḥadīth." [388]

[387] Al-Jawzī: *Al-Ḍuʿafā' wa al-Matrūkīn*, vol. 3 pg. 160.
[388] Ibn Abī Ḥātim: *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, vol. 6 pg. 112.

III. Abū Janāb al-Kalbī

Abū Janāb al-Kalbī is Yaḥyā ibn Abū Ḥayyah al-Kalbī, famously known as Abū Janāb. They have deemed him weak due to his common practice of tadlīs. [389]

IV. *Inqitāʿ*: Abū Janāb narrated the incident of arbitration whilst he passed away in the year 150 A.H. which is incidentally the same year Imām Abū Ḥanīfah and Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Yasār, the historian[390], passed away. Thus, between him and the incident is a gap of numerous years. [391]

This narration has also been recorded by al-Ṭabarī, without a chain of transmission [*taʿlīqan*], from **Abū Mikhnaf** — from **Abū Janāb al-Kalbī** that ʿAmr and Abū Mūsā met at Dawmat al-Jandal ... He then mentioned the incident just as the other narration goes. At the end though, the following addition appears:

ثم انصرف عمرو وأهل الشام إلى معاوية وسلموا عليه بالخلافة ورجع ابن عباس وشريح بن هانئ إلى علي وكان إذا صلى الغداة يقنت فيقول: اللهم العن معاوية، وعمراً وأبا الأعور السلمي وحبيباً، وعبد الرحمن بن خالد والضحاك بن قيس والوليد، فبلغ ذلك معاوية فكان إذا قنت لعن علياً وابن عباس والأشتر وحسناً وحسيناً.

Then ʿAmr and the Syrians went back to Muʿāwiyah and greeted him as Khalīfah, while Ibn ʿAbbās and Shurayḥ ibn Hāni' went to ʿAlī. Whenever he was making the early morning

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[389] Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Taqrīb*: 7537. *Tadlīs*: The practice whereby a transmitter (sometimes) transmits with obfuscation in his transmission; either intentionally or unintentionally narrating a Ḥadīth in manner that obscures or omits transmitters in the isnād.

[390] Sulaymān al-Ribʿī: *Tārīkh Mawlid al-ʿUlamā wa Wafayātihim*, vol. 1 pg. 351.

[391] Translators Note: The arbitration occurred in the year 38 A.H.

prayers, ʿAlī would stand in supplication and say, "O Allah, put a curse on Muʿāwiyah, ʿAmr, Abū al-Aʿwar al-Sulamī, Ḥabīb, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid, al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays, and al-Walīd."

Muʿāwiyah heard about that, and when he himself made supplication, he cursed ʿAlī, Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Ashtar, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn. [392]

This chain of transmission is also extremely weak. Using it as evidence is not possible due to the following two defects:

I. Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā

Al-Dhahabī said about him, "A ruined historian. Not to be relied upon." [393]

II. Abū Janāb al-Kalbī

We have already discussed him under the first narration.

There is another chain of transmission for this incident:

Ibn Saʿd has recorded in *al-Ṭabaqāt*[394] and by way of his transmission Ibn ʿAsākir in *Tārīkh Dimashq*[395] as follows:

أنا محمد بن عمر، حدثني أبو بكر بن عبد الله بن أبي سبرة عن إسحاق بن عبد الله بن أبي فروة، عن عمرو بن الحكم قال: لما التقى الناس بدومة جندل فذكر نحوه، وفيه فقال سعد بن أبي وقاص: ويحك يا أبا موسى ما أضعفك عن عمرو ومكائده! فقال أبو موسى: فما أصنع جامعني على أمر ثم نزع عنه.

[392] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5 pg. 71.
[393] Ibn Ḥajar: Lisān al-Mīzān, vol. 4 pg. 492.
[394] *Al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 4 pg. 256.
[395] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 172.

Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar narrated — from **Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Saburah** — from **Isḥāq ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Farwah** — fromʿAmr ibn al-Ḥakam who said: When the people gathered at Dawmat al-Jandal ... he then mentioned the incident as the other narrations.

There is the following addition in this narration:

Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqās said, "Woe to you Abū Mūsā! How weak you have proven to ʿAmr and his deception!"

Abū Mūsā replied, "What can I do? We agreed on an issue and then he betrayed me."

This chain of transmission is extremely weak due to the following three defects:

I. Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Wāqidī

Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Wāqidī al-Aslamī al-Wāqidī al-Madanī, Judge, and resident of Baghdad. Though knowledgeable with [regards to history], he is suspected of forgery as established by al-Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar. [(396)]

II. Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Saburah

His teacher, Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Saburah ibn Abū Rahm ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā al-Qurashī al-ʿĀmirī al-Madanī. It is said his name is ʿAbd Allāh whilst others have opined it to be Muḥammad. He is sometimes attributed to his grandfather.

• Aḥmad ibn Ḥambal said, "He amounts to nothing. He used to fabricate ḥadīth."

• Al-Nasa'ī said, "Suspected of forgery in Ḥadīth."

[(396)] Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Taqrīb*: 6175.

• Abū Aḥmad ibn ʿAdī said, “Most of what he narrates are anomalous. He is from amongst those who would fabricate ḥadīth.” [397]

• Al-Ḥākim said, “He brings about fabricated ḥadīth attributing it to reliable narrators such as Hishām ibn ʿUrwah, Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, and others.” [398]

III. Isḥāq ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Farwah

The teacher of Ibn Abī Saburah, **Isḥāq ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Farwah** is unreliable as well.

• Ibn Saʿd said, “Isḥāq narrated many ḥadīth. He would narrate discarded ḥadīth. His narrations cannot be presented as evidence.”

• Baqiyyah ibn al-Walīd narrated — from ʿUtbah ibn Abī Ḥakīm who said:

جلس إسحاق بن عبد الله بن أبي فروة بالمدينة في مجلس الزهري قريبة منه فجعل يقول: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم. فقال له الزهري: قاتلك الله يا ابن أبي فروة ما أجرأك على الله ألا تسند أحاديثك، تحدثنا بأحاديث ليس لها خطم ولا أزمة.

Isḥāq ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Farwah sat close to the learning circle of al-Zuhrī in Madīnah and began saying, “Rasūlullāh ﷺ said..., Rasūlullāh ﷺ said...”

Al-Zuhrī snapped, “May Allah destroy you, Ibn Abī Farwah! Oh, how audacious you think yourself to be in relation to Allah, that you relate aḥādīth to us without a chain of transmission!

[397] Al-Mizzī: *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 33 pg. 106.
[398] *Su’ālāt al-Sajzī*, pg. 153.

• Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥakam narrated — from Muḥammad ʿĀṣim ibn Ḥafṣ al-Miṣrī — who was amongst our reliable companions and a truthful narrator — who said:

حججت ومالك حي، فلم أر أهل المدينة يشكون أن إسحاق بن عبد الله بن أبي فروة متهم،

قلت له: فيما ذا؟ قال: في الإسلام: وفي رواية: على الدين.

> I performed Ḥajj, and Mālik was alive at that time. I did not see the people of Madīnah having any doubt that Isḥāq ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Farwah was accused." I said to him [i.e. Mālik], "In what (is he accused)?"
>
> He replied, "In Islam." And in another narration, it is reported that he said, "In Dīn."

• Al-Bukhārī said, "They have discarded him [due to suspecting him of forgery]."

• Aḥmad ibn Ḥambal prohibited his narrations.

• Ibrāhīm ibn Yaʿqūb al-Jūwzajānī said, "I heard Aḥmad ibn Ḥambal saying, 'I do not permit narrations from Isḥāq ibn Abī Farwah.' He also said, 'He is not fit to take nor narrate from.'"

• Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn said, "A liar."

• Murrah said, "His narrations don't amount to much. His narrations aren't to be written."

• ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī said, "He transmits Munkar[399] reports."

• Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmmār said, "Extremely Weak."

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[399] A Munkar ḥadīth in the early period of hadith criticism meant a hadith that was either uncorroborated or broken. In the later period, it came to mean a hadith that had only one chain of transmission without that isnād being strong enough to justify accepting it. [translator's note]

• ʿAmr ibn ʿAlī, Abū Zurʿah, Abū Ḥātim, and al-Nasa'ī said, "Suspected of forgery in Ḥadīth."

• Abū Bakr ibn Khuzaymah said, "His narrations are not fit to present as evidence."

• Al-Dāraquṭnī and al-Barqānī said, "Suspected of forgery."

• Abū Aḥmad ibn ʿAdī said, "His narrations that I have recorded here with its chains of transmission aren't corroborated by anyone else; neither the chains of transmission nor the content of the narrations. Those narrations that I have not included here are similar to the ones I have. Its weakness is quite clear." [400]

• Ibn Ḥajar said, "Isḥāq ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Farwah al-Umawī Mawlāhum al-Madanī he is suspected of forgery." [401]

Dear reader, the above discussion makes it quite clear that both the aforementioned chains of transmission do not establish anything. Further, they are not fit to be presented as evidence.

2. Studying the Content of the Narration

After concluding the invalidity of the chain of transmission attached to the incident, it should be borne in mind that there are other issues relating to the content of the narration that additionally indicate to its fallaciousness and invalidity. It proves how far from the truth the incident actually is. Consider the following points:

I. Looking at the context of the incident one finds the manner of dialogue recorded does not reflect the language of a normal believer forget that of the eminent Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ. Such language, in such a

[400] Al-Mizzī: *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 2 pg. 446.
[401] Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Taqrīb*: 368.

manner goes against the grain of the Ṣaḥābah's رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُمْ noble character.

Al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī writes in *al-ʿAwāṣim min al-Qawāṣim:*

> قد تحكم الناس في التحكيم فقالوا فيه مالا يرضاه الله، وإذا لحظتموه بعين المروءة دون الديانة رأيتم أنها سخافة حمل على تسطيرها في الكتب في الأكثر عدم الدين، وفي الأقل جهل متين ... هذا كله كذب صراح ما جرى منه حرف قط، وإنما هو شيء أخبر عنه المبتدعة ووضعته التاريخية للملوك، فتوارثه أهل المجانة والجهارة بمعاصي الله والبدع ... ثم ذكر أن الذي رواه الأئمة الثقات الأثبات كخليفة بن خياط والدارقطني أنهما لما اجتمعا للنظر في الأمر عزل عمرو معاوية.

> People have developed certain ideas regarding the arbitration which go against the divine pleasure. Considering these ideas through a moralistic looking glass, one realizes they are merely feeble utterings, penned by irreligiosity or sheer ignorance. Such details are all clear fabrications, nothing of this sort occurred. Innovators and story-tellers fabricated these details and shameless men of notoriety brought it to light. Yes, the reliable scholars, such as Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ and al-Dāraquṭnī, have recorded ʿAmr deposing Muʿāwiyah to be the conclusion of the arbitration. [(402)]

II. Assessing the incident leads one to believe that the difference between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُمَا revolved around the issue of who had a more rightful claim to the khilāfah. The issue is not as presented. The subject of difference, which the historians have a consensus on, was regarding the qiṣāṣ of ʿUthmān رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ. Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ thought that ʿAlī رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ had not fulfilled his duty in bringing

[(402)] *Al-ʿAwāṣim min al-Qawāṣim*, pg. 179.

the killers of ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to justice. He had, thus, not obliged to his pledge nor his instruction. He opined the qiṣāṣ to be more pressing than the pledge since he, as the relative of ʿUthmān, was the rightful seeker of retribution in the matter.

Due to the stance of Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ in postponing the pledge until qiṣāṣ would take place and further not implementing the dictates of ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ in the Levant, he and the people of the Levant became, according to ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, rebels to the office of khilāfah. ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was of the view that the pledge to his khilāfah had been affected by the sanction of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār at Madīnah. An establishment that duty-bound the rest of the Muslims within the Islamic realms to the pledge. Considering himself the Imām, he regarded Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and his band in the Levant to be rebels to the office of khilāfah which was reason enough to reel them back into unity, be it by force.

Understanding the difference in this manner—which reflects the reality— brings to the fore the fallaciousness of the 'narration of arbitration'. It further destroys the notion which has been presented that the difference was regarding the office of khilāfah and the arbitration of a tussle to determine who it rightfully belonged to. In reality, it was to wrap up the issue of the qiṣāṣ of ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. If the arbitrators had absconded this principle issue to the issue of khilāfah, as alluded to by the scattered narrations, it would imply that they had not understood the issue of difference and had not comprehended the claim being made; a truly implausible notion. [403]

Ibn Ḥazm says in this regard:

[403] Muḥammad Amḥazūn: *Taḥqīq Mawāqif Ṣaḥābah*, vol. 2 pg. 224.

إن عليا قاتل معاوية لامتناعه من تنفيذ أوامره في جميع أرض الشام، وهو الإمام الواجب طاعته، ولم ينكر معاوية رضي الله عنه قط فضل علي رضي الله عنه واستحقاقه الخلافة، لكن اجتهاده أداه إلى أن رأى تقديم أخذ القود من قتلة عثمان على البيعة، ورأى نفسه أحق بطلب دم عثمان والكلام فيه من أولاد عثمان وأولاد الحكم بن أبي العاص؛ لسنه وقوته على الطلب بذلك، وأصاب في هذا وإنما أخطأ في تقديمه ذلك على البيعة فقط.

ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ fought Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ due to him refusing to carry out his orders in the entire region of Shām despite him being the Imām obedience to whom was incumbent. Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ on the other hand never denied the merits of ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and the fact that he was deserving of the Khilāfah. However, his Ijtihād induced him to give preference to seeking retribution from the killers of ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ over giving his pledge. He saw himself more deserving of seeking the blood of ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and of discussing the matter than even the children of ʿUthmān and the children of al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ, due to his seniority and ability to seek. He was correct in this matter; however, he was incorrect in giving preference to it over pledging. [404]

The following three points strengthen this further:

Firstly, Yaḥyā ibn Sulaymān al-Juʿfī, one of the teachers of al-Bukhārī, narrates in *Kitāb Ṣiffīn* from Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī that he had the following conversation with Muʿāwiyah:

أنت تنازع عليا في الخلافة أو أنت مثله؟ قال: لا. وإني أعلم أنه أفضل مني وأحق بالأمر ولكن ألستم تعلمون أن عثمان قتل مظلوما وأنا ابن عمه ووليه أطلب بدمه، فأتوا عليا

[404] Ibn Ḥazm: *al-Faṣl fi al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, vol. 4 pg. 160.

فقولوا له يدفع لنا قتلة عثمان، فأتوه فكلموه فقال: يدخل في البيعة ويحاكمهم إلي، فامتنع معاوية، فسار علي في الجيوش من العراق حتى نزل بصفين، وسار معاوية حتى نزل هناك.

"Are you disputing with ʿAlī regarding the Khilāfah or are you his equal?"

He said, "No. I know that he is more virtuous than me and much more deserving of the matter. But don't you know that ʿUthmān has been unjustly killed and I am his cousin and his guardian who is seeking retribution for his blood? So, go to ʿAlī and tell him to hand over the killers of ʿUthmān to me."

They, thus, came to him and spoke to him to which he responded saying, "He should enter the allegiance first and thereafter institute legal proceedings against them by me."

Muʿāwiyah refused.

Thus, ʿAlī moved with his army from Iraq until he landed at Ṣiffīn. And Muʿāwiyah moved until he too landed there.[405]

Secondly, the narration recorded by Ibn Abī Shaybah — from Wakīʿ — from Mūsa ibn Qays — from Qays ibn Rumānah — from Abū Burdah — from Muʿāwiyah who said:

ما قاتلت عليا إلا في أمر عثمان.

I did not fight ʿAlī, except for the cause of ʿUthmān. [406]

Thirdly, the narration al-Sharīf, Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Musawī has recorded in his book, *Nahj al-Balāghah* that Amīr al- Mu'minīn ʿAlī رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ said in his sermon:

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[405] Ibn Ḥajar: *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 13 pg. 86. Al-Ḥāfiẓ has deemed its chain of transmission to be sound.
[406] *Al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 11 pg. 92.

وبدء أمرنا أنا التقينا والقوم من أهل الشام، والظاهر أن ربنا واحد ونبينا واحد، ودعوتنا في الإسلام واحدة، ولا نستزيدهم في الإيمان بالله والتصديق برسوله، ولا يستزيدوننا، الأمر واحد إلا ما اختلفنا فيه من دم عثمان ونحن منه براء...

> We faced off with the people of the Levant. Though it is clear that our Lord is one, our Prophet is one, and our call to Islam is one. We do not claim to have greater levels of faith in Allah and His Prophet and neither do they. We are unified. The only difference we have is regarding the blood of ʿUthmān, of which we are free. [407]

III. The personality of both Abū Mūsā and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُمَا. The notion that Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī fell victim to the treachery of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ at the arbitration goes against historical actualities that speak of his eminence, intelligence, jurisprudic abilities, and deep faith. Abilities that were given recognition by appointments to governorship and the judiciary in various capacities from the era of Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ.

Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ appointed him as governor of Zabīd, ʿAdn, and other regions of Yemen. When Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ passed away he came to al- Madīnah and took part in the conquests of the Levant where he witnessed the passing of Abū ʿUbaydah. After deposing al-Mughīrah, ʿUmar رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ appointed him as governor of Baṣrah. He was the one to conquer al-Ahwāz and Aṣbahān. ʿUthmān رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ kept him on for a time and then replaced him with ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ. He then remained in Kūfah where the people benefited from

[407] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd: *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 17 pg. 141.

his knowledge and after the deposition Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, was instated as governor. [408]

It is unfathomable to assume a man whom Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ had relied upon and the Khulafā' after him, would be duped in the manner related in the 'narration of arbitration'.

Many of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ[409] and scholars of the Tābiʿīn attested to his deep-seeded knowledge, competency in enacting laws, intelligence, and astuteness in passing judgments.

Is it then possible for him to have been obtuse to the degree of not understanding the principal matter under discussion? And further passing a judgment that bears no harmony to the case, i.e. deposing the lawful khalīfah without an actionable basis whilst at the same time deposing Muʿāwiyah? And then there's the matter of the exchange of words between him and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ; an argument loaded with profanities and vulgarities. A nonsensical assertion that goes against all that has been authentically related regarding the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ and their exemplary character.

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[408] Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 4 pg. 120.

[409] From amongst them, Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. Anas رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ said:

> Al-Ashʿarī sent me to ʿUmar. ʿUmar asked me, "In what condition did you leave al-Ashʿarī?
> I replied, "I left him whilst he was teaching the people Qur'ān."
> ʿUmar commented, "He is an intelligent person. Don't mention this to him though."

ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ praised him too, saying:

> He is a man immersed in knowledge. [Ibn Saʿd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2 pgs. 345-346]

Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, a man inspired [*mulham*], whose opinions the Qur'ān matched on various occasions, attesting to his intellect leaves nothing more to be said. The praise of ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ as mentioned above only serves to further drive this point.

When the fact of the matter is that the knowledge and judicial expertise of Abū Mūsā رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ could not have led him to making a blunder of such magnitude in the matter presented to him, the same can be said regarding ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ; a man deemed to be an intellectual force amongst the Arabs. In fact, Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ had instructed him to pass a judgment between a claimant and a defendant in his very presence. When he asked, "O Prophet of Allah, how can I pass judgment in your presence?" He was given the glad tidings of a twofold reward in the case of making a correct decision and a single reward if he faltered. Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ said:

إذا حكم الحاكم فاجتهد ثم أصاب فله أجران، وإذا حكم فاجتهد ثم أخطأ فله أجر.

> When a judge passes a decision after exercising Ijtihād and reaching the correct conclusion he gets two rewards, and when he passes a decision after exercising Ijtihād and reaching the wrong conclusion he gets one reward. (410)

So, accepting this narrative would entail that ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was a man who was driven by his ego in fulfilling his responsibilities. Owing to which his ego would override not only his intellect and experience, but also his piety and abstinence. Whereas he was from the senior Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ and their notables and enjoyed many merits and virtues. (411)

Ibn Taymiyyah said:

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(410) Al-Ḥākim: *Al-Mustadrak*, # 7004. On the authority of Farj ibn Fuḍālah — from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Aʿlā — from his father — from ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAmr, "Two men brought their dispute to Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ..." and he mentioned the narration. Al-Ḥākim said, "This narration is authentic; however, al- Bukhārī and Muslim did not record it in this manner. Al-Dhahabī said, "They have deemed Farj weak."

(411) Muḥammad Amaḥzūn: *Taḥqīq Mawāqif Ṣaḥābah*, vol. 2 pgs. 226 -230.

" معاوية، وعمرو بن العاص، وأمثالهم " من المؤمنين؛ لم يتهمهم أحد من السلف بنفاق؛ بل قد ثبت في الصحيح أن {عمرو بن العاص لما بايع النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: على أن يغفر لي ما تقدم من ذنبي. فقال: يا عمرو أما علمت أن الإسلام يهدم ما كان قبله} ومعلوم أن الإسلام الهادم هو إسلام المؤمنين؛ لا إسلام المنافقين. وأيضا فعمرو بن العاص وأمثاله ممن قدم مهاجرا إلى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بعد الحديبية هاجروا إليه من بلادهم طوعا لا كرها، والمهاجرون لم يكن فيهم منافق؛ وإنما كان النفاق في بعض من دخل من الأنصار؛ وذلك أن الأنصار هم أهل المدينة؛ فلما أسلم أشرافهم وجمهورهم احتاج الباقون أن يظهروا الإسلام نفاقا؛ لعز الإسلام وظهوره في قومهم. وأما أهل مكة فكان أشرافهم وجمهورهم كفارا فلم يكن يظهر الإيمان إلا من هو مؤمن ظاهرا وباطنا؛ فإنه كان من أظهر الإسلام يؤذى ويهجر.

Muʿāwiyah, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, and their like from the believers have not been criticized with the epithet of hypocrisy by the early scholars. Rather, it has been authentically narrated that when ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ pledged allegiance to Rasūlullāh ﷺ, he placed the condition of forgiveness for his previous sins upon which Rasūlullāh ﷺ remarked, "O ʿAmr, do you not know that accepting Islam wipes out everything done before it." It is quite evident that the Islam which wipes all out, is the Islam of a true believer. Not the fictitious acceptance of the hypocrites.

Besides, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and his like who migrated to Rasūlullāh ﷺ after al-Ḥudaybiyyah, did so willingly and not under duress. Further, there were no hypocrites amongst the immigrants. Hypocrisy was to be found amongst some of those who pretended to enter the fold of Islam from the people of Madīnah. When their leaders as well as the majority of their

people became Muslim, the rest needed to join their ranks too—considering the might and widespread acceptance of Islam—by pretending to accept Islam. As for the Makkan folk, their leaders and the general community were disbelievers. Thus, only those made their Islam known who were truly believers, inside and out, since whoever did so was persecuted and banished. [412]

IV. Ibn Jarīr has recollected at the beginning of this incident and the remarks of ʿAmr to Abū Mūsā wherein he said, "Do you not know that Muʿāwiyah and the family of Muʿāwiyah are his closest kin [*awliyā'*]?" He answered, "Yes, indeed." Amr continued, "Allah has said:

﴿وَمَن قُتِلَ مَظْلُومًا فَقَدْ جَعَلْنَا لِوَلِيِّهِۦ سُلْطَٰنًا فَلَا يُسْرِف فِّى ٱلْقَتْلِ ۖ إِنَّهُۥ كَانَ مَنصُورًا﴾

And whoever is killed unjustly - We have given his heir authority, but let him not exceed limits in [the matter of] taking life. Indeed, he has been supported [by the law]. [413]"

He then spoke at length regarding the right of Muʿāwiyah to the seat of khilāfah. Abū Mūsā answered his queries in a satisfying manner but did not respond to the verse he presented; he accepted that claim.

Besides it is plainly evident that this verse cannot be presented as evidence in the claim of khilāfah for Muʿāwiyah due to several reasons.

Consider the verse itself. Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ says, "*Let him not exceed limits in [the matter of] taking life. Indeed, he has been supported [by the law].*" Oh, what excess and what kind of support was there in the battles that left forty-five thousand dead in his army and in the army

[412] *Majmūʿ al-Fatāwā*, vol. 35 pg. 62.
[413] Sūrah Isrā': 33.

of ʿAlī twenty-five thousand. Oh, what excess and what kind of support was he extended when the only way he side-stepped the annihilation of his army was by making a show of the Qur'anic manuscripts?

It is, thus, sheer ignorance for one to claim the validity of his khilāfah based on this verse. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, a scholar amongst the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, advocating such is implausible. If for argument's sake, we accept that he did, then Abū Mūsā رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was more knowledgeable, as can be understood from his engagement on the issue. [414]

V. The comment they have attributed to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ wherein he said, "I confirm my support for my candidate Muʿāwiyah..." raises two pertinent questions.

Firstly: Is he supporting the candidacy of Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ for the khilāfah? This is the natural conclusion one comes to by the context. This though is false through and through. No one from the house of Islam has claimed Muʿāwiyah to be the khalīfah before the arbitration so that he could be appointed to that position after the arbitration. In fact, he himself did not claim the khilāfah before or after the arbitration and neither did he oppose ʿAlī's رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ claim to it.

Secondly: Is he supporting the governorship of Muʿāwiyah over Shām which he already had? Even though the narration is not authentic in the least, this alternative can be understood from studying the narration. However, this is *Taḥṣīl al-Ḥāṣil*, [obtaining what has already been obtained]. How would this in any way go to silencing Abū Mūsā or one-upping him? Would this have given

[414] Taḥdhīr al-ʿAbqarī min Muḥāḍarāt al-Khaḍarī, vol. 2 pg. 89.

Muʿāwiyah a position he didn't have before? Or would ʿAlī lose out on a position he held before?[415]

VI. This *treachery* did not demean ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ or his followers in the least. Neither did Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ gain anything from it. Thus, to make this incident one of political manipulation is worthless. The incident as presented reeks of child's play; fruitless amusement from which Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى protected the Companions of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. [416]

VII. In the narration of Isḥāq ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Farwah, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqās said, "Woe to you Abū Mūsā! How weak you have proven to ʿAmr and his deception!" To which Abū Mūsā replied, "What can I do? We agreed on an issue and then he betrayed me."

This also proves the fallaciousness of the incident as Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqās did not attend the arbitration as recorded by Ibn Jarīr in his *Tārīkh*[417] and attested to by Ibn Muzāḥim in *Waqʿah al-Ṣiffīn*[418], Ibn Kathīr in *al-Bidāyah*[419], al- Dhahabī in *al-Siyar*[420], and others. Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqās remaining detached from the fitnah is a matter that is well-known and authentically proven.

VIII. ʿAmr's statement to Abū Mūsā saying, "You are my senior" and in some narrations, "You are older than me" is fictitious. Abū Mūsā passed away between the years 44 and 52 A.H at sixty-odd years of

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[415] Ibid., 2/90.
[416] Ibid.
[417] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 3/111.
[418] *Waqʿah al-Ṣiffīn*, 1/538.
[419] *Al-Bidāyah iwa al-Nihāyah*, 10/573.
[420] *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalā'*, 1/122.

age whilst ʿAmr was over 80 at the arbitration! So how could he have been older than Abū Mūsā? [421]

3. Other Narrations of Note

There are other narrations, some in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, which paint a clearer picture for us in a manner that is in harmony with the personalities and character of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ. In these narrations, there is mention of promises to meet the following year for reconciliation. As such, Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and the people of the Levant came whilst ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was preoccupied in battle with the Khawārij. He, thus, sent Ibn ʿAbbās رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا and the arbitration was between Abū Mūsā from his side and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا was appointed from the other side. They differed and could not reconcile, thus leaving each other without deposing either party as recorded in the narrations that have passed. Hereunder are the other narrations of note by which the inconsistencies of the previous ones can be gleamed.

I. Al-Ṭabarī:

> فكتب كتاب القضية بين علي ومعاوية– فيما قيل– يوم الأربعاء لثلاث عشرة خلت من صفر سنة سبع وثلاثين من الهجرة، على أن يوافي علي ومعاوية موضع الحكمين بدومة الجندل في شهر رمضان، مع كل واحد منهما أربعمائة من أصحابه وأتباعه فحدثني عبد الله بن أحمد، قال: حدثني أبي، قال: حدثني سليمان بن يونس بن يزيد، عن الزهري، قال: قال صعصعة

[421] Al-Mizzī: *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 15 pg. 452; ʿAlī al-Shuḥūd: *Min Mashāhīr al-Ṣaḥābah*, pg. 213.

بن صوحان يوم صفين حين رأى الناس يتبارون: ألا اسمعوا واعقلوا، تعلمن والله لئن ظهر علي ليكونن مثل أبي بكر وعمر رضي الله عنهما، وإن ظهر معاوية لا يقر لقائل بقول حق.

قال الزهري: فأصبح أهل الشام قد نشروا مصاحفهم، ودعوا إلى ما فيها، فهاب أهل العراقين، فعند ذلك حكموا الحكمين، فاختار أهل العراق أبا موسى الأشعري، واختار أهل الشام عمرو بن العاص، فتفرق أهل صفين حين حكم الحكمان، فاشترطا أن يرفعا ما رفع القرآن، ويخفضا ما خفض القرآن، وأن يختارا لأمة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم، وأنهما يجتمعان بدومة الجندل، فإن لم يجتمعا لذلك اجتمعا من العام المقبل بأذرح.

فلما انصرف علي خالفت الحرورية وخرجت- وكان ذلك أول ما ظهرت- فآذنوه بالحرب، وردوا عليه: أن حكم بني آدم في حكم الله عز وجل، وقالوا: لا حكم إلا لله سبحانه! وقاتلوا، فلما اجتمع الحكمان بأذرح، وافاهم المغيرة بن شعبة فيمن حضر من الناس، فأرسل الحكمان إلى عبد الله بن عمر ابن الخطاب وعبد الله بن الزبير في إقبالهم في رجال كثير، ووافى معاوية بأهل الشام، وأبى علي وأهل العراق أن يوافوا، فقال المغيرة بن شعبة لرجال من ذوي الرأي من قريش: أترون أحدا من الناس برأي يبتدعه يستطيع أن يعلم أيجتمع الحكمان أم يتفرقان؟ قالوا: لا نرى أحدا يعلم ذلك، قال: فو الله إني لأظن أني سأعلمه منهما حين أخلو بهما وأراجعهما فدخل على عمرو بن العاص وبدأ به فقال: يا أبا عبد الله، أخبرني عما أسألك عنه، كيف ترانا معشر المعتزلة، فإنا قد شككنا في الأمر الذي تبين لكم من هذا القتال، ورأينا أن نستأني ونتثبت حتى تجتمع الأمة! قال: أراكم معشر المعتزله خلف الأبرار، وأمام الفجار! فانصرف المغيرة ولم يسأله عن غير ذلك، حتى دخل على أبي موسى فقال له مثل ما قال لعمرو، فقال أبو موسى: أراكم أثبت الناس رأيا، فيكم بقية المسلمين، فانصرف المغيرة ولم يسأله عن غير ذلك، فلقي الذين قال لهم ما قال من ذوي الرأي من قريش، فقال: لا يجتمع

هذان على أمر واحد، فلما اجتمع الحكمان وتكلما قال عمرو بن العاص: يا أبا موسى، رأيت أول ما تقضي به من الحق أن تقضي لأهل الوفاء بوفائهم، وعلى أهل الغدر بغدرهم، قال أبو موسى: وما ذاك؟ قال: ألست تعلم أن معاوية وأهل الشام قد وفوا، وقدموا للموعد الذي واعدناهم إياه؟ قال: بلى، قال عمرو: اكتبها، فكتبها أبو موسى، قال عمرو: يا أبا موسى، أأنت على أن نسمي رجلا يلي أمر هذه الأمة؟ فسمه لي، فإن أقدر على أن أتابعك فلك علي أن أتابعك، وإلا فلي عليك أن تتابعني! قال أبو موسى: أسمي لك عبد الله بن عمر، وكان ابن عمر فيمن اعتزل، قال عمرو: إني أسمي لك معاوية بن أبي سفيان، فلم يبرحا مجلسهما حتى استبا، ثم خرجا إلى الناس، فقال أبو موسى: إني وجدت مثل عمرو مثل الذين قال الله عز وجل: «واتل عليهم نبأ الذي آتيناه آياتنا فانسلخ منها» ، فلما سكت أبو موسى تكلم عمرو فقال: ايها الناس وجدت مثل أبي موسى كمثل الذي قال عز وجل: «مثل الذين حملوا التوراة ثم لم يحملوها كمثل الحمار يحمل أسفارا» ، وكتب كل واحد منهما مثله الذي ضرب لصاحبه إلى الأمصار.

قال ابن شهاب: فقام معاوية عشية في الناس، فأثنى على الله جل ثناؤه بما هو أهله، ثم قال: أما بعد، فمن كان متكلما في الأمر فليطلع لنا قرنه، قال ابن عمر: فأطلقت حبوتى، فأردت أن أقول قولا يتكلم فيه رجال قاتلوا أباك على الإسلام، ثم خشيت أن أقول كلمة تفرق الجماعة، أو يسفك فيها دم، أو أحمل فيها على غير رأي، فكان ما وعد الله عز وجل في الجنان أحب إلي من ذلك فلما انصرف إلى المنزل جاءني حبيب بن مسلمة فقال: ما منعك أن تتكلم حين سمعت الرجل يتكلم؟ قلت: أردت ذلك، ثم خشيت أن أقول كلمة تفرق بين جميع، أو يسفك فيها دم، أو أحمل فيها على غير رأي، فكان ما وعد الله عز وجل من الجنان أحب إلي من ذلك قال: قال حبيب: فقد عصمت.

The document regarding the matter between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah was written, according to a report, on Wednesday, thirteen days having elapsed of Ṣafar in the year 37 A.H. It was agreed that ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah would come to the place of the two arbitrators at Dawmat al-Jandal in the month of Ramaḍān and each of them would bring 400 companions and followers.

According to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad — from his father — from **Sulaymān ibn Yūnus ibn Yazīd** — from **al-Zuhrī** who said, when **Ṣaʿṣaʿah ibn Ṣawḥān** saw the men contending with one another on the day of Ṣiffīn, he said, "Hear and understand! Know well, by Allah, if ʿAlī is triumphant, he will be like Abū Bakr and ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا, but, if Muʿāwiyah wins, he will not acknowledge any man's word as truth!"

Al-Zuhrī said, "So it was that the people of the Levant displayed their Maṣāḥif and appealed to what they contained. The men of al-Kūfah and al- Baṣrah were filled with awe, and at that time they appointed the two arbitrators. The men of Iraq chose Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and those of Shām ʿAmr ibn al- ʿĀṣ. When the two had been appointed, the men at Ṣiffīn dispersed, and the two arbitrators stipulated that they should elevate what the Qur'ān elevates and put down what the Qur'ān puts down, that they should make a choice for the Ummah of Muḥammad صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ, and that they would meet together at Dawmat al-Jandal[422] or, if they did not meet for that, they should meet the next year at Adhruḥ[423].

[422] Dawmat al-Jandal is a place between Madinah and al-Shām, closer to the latter. It is the border between al-Shām and Iraq. The '*dāl*' is with a *dhamm* whilst the muḥaddithīn say it with a *fatḥ*. Ibn Durayd said, "*Fatḥ* is a mistake." *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Munīr*, vol. 1 pg. 277.

[423] Adhruḥ is a city at the end of al-Shām. Al-Bakrī: *Muʿjam mā Istaʿjam*, vol. 1 pg. 130.

When ʿAlī went back the Ḥarūriyyah opposed him and rebelled. That was the first manifestation (of their movement). They exhorted him to fight (against Muʿāwiyah) and rejected his giving authority in arbitration to men in something that was a matter for Allah. They said, "Authority belongs to Allah alone." and fought against ʿAlī.

When the two arbitrators met at Adhruḥ, al-Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah came to them among those of the men who were present there. The two sent for ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar and ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr asking them to come with many men. Muʿāwiyah came with the people of the Levant, but ʿAlī and the Iraqis refused to come.

When the two arbitrators met and debated, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said, "Abū Mūsā, I think that the first part of the truth we should determine is to decide in favour of those who fulfill their undertakings according to their fulfillment and against those who are perfidious according to their perfidy."

Abū Mūsā asked, "What do you mean?"

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said, "Do you not know that Muʿāwiyah and the people of the Levant have fulfilled their undertaking and come at the time and to the place upon which we pledged them?"

"Indeed yes;" said Abū Mūsā. ʿAmr told him to write that down, and he did so.

ʿAmr said, "Abū Mūsā, do you accept that we should name a man who will have authority over the affairs of this Ummah? Give me a name, and, if I can accept your suggestion, I undertake to do so; otherwise, you must accept mine!"

Abū Mūsā said, "I suggest ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar" (Ibn ʿUmar was one of those who had stayed away from the fitnah).

ʿAmr replied, "I suggest Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān."

Their meeting ended in mutual vilification.

Then they went out to the people, and Abū Mūsā said to them, "I have found ʿAmr to be like those of whom Allah says:

﴿وَٱتۡلُ عَلَيۡهِمۡ نَبَأَ ٱلَّذِيٓ ءَاتَيۡنَٰهُ ءَايَٰتِنَا فَٱنسَلَخَ مِنۡهَا﴾

And recite to them, [O Muḥammad], the news of him to whom We gave [knowledge of] Our signs, but he detached himself from them.

When Abū Mūsā fell silent, ʿAmr spoke and said, "People, I have found Abū Mūsā to be like those of whom Allah says:

﴿مَثَلُ ٱلَّذِينَ حُمِّلُواْ ٱلتَّوۡرَىٰةَ ثُمَّ لَمۡ يَحۡمِلُوهَا كَمَثَلِ ٱلۡحِمَارِ يَحۡمِلُ أَسۡفَارَۢاۚ﴾

The example of those who were entrusted with the Torah and then did not take it on is like that of a donkey who carries volumes [of books].

And each one of them wrote down the simile he had coined regarding the other (to be sent to) the garrison towns.

Ibn Shihāb said, "One evening Muʿāwiyah stood and addressed the people. He praised Allah in suitable terms and then said, "Whoever has something to say on this matter, let him show himself to us!"

Ibn ʿUmar said, "I released my ḥabwah for I wanted to say, "Men who fought your father in the cause of Islam have something to say about it; but then I was afraid to say anything that would divide the community, or about which blood would be shed, or in which I might become carried away, for what Allah promised regarding the gardens (of paradise) is dearer to me than that. When Muʿāwiyah had returned to his dwelling place, Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah came to me and asked, 'What stopped you speaking when you heard what the man was saying?' I replied, I wanted to do so but then was afraid to say anything that would be divisive, or about which blood would be

shed, or in which I might become carried away. What Allah promised of the gardens is dearer to me than that!"

Ḥabīb said, "You have been preserved by Allah from evil!"[424]

[This chain too suffers from weakness:]

Sulayman ibn Yūnus ibn Yazīd

I could not find his bio-data and neither did I find any narrations from him in the books of *Sunan* or *Masānīd*. Similarly, I did not find any other narrations in *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* from him besides this one.

Al-Zuhrī

He was born at the end of the khilāfah of Muʿāwiyah. The scholars differ on the exact year of his birth. They put it between 50 and 58 A.H. [425] And Muʿāwiyah passed away, according to the correct opinion, in Rajab in the year 60 A.H. [426]

Ṣaʿṣaʿah

He lived to the khilāfah of Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah. This has been supported by al-Bukhārī[427] and Ibn ʿAsākir[428]. Al-Ḥāfiẓ said, "He

[424] Al-Ṭabarī: *Tārīkh al-Rusul*, vol. 5 pg. 57.
[425] Al-Mizzī: *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 26 pg. 440.
[426] Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 6 pg. 114.
[427] Al-Bukhārī: *Al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, vol. 4 pg. 319.
[428] Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 24 pg. 85.

passed away during the khilāfah of Muʿāwiyah[429].” Al-Zarkalī said, “He passed away the year 56 A.H. [430]

Taking the view that al-Zuhrī was born in the year 50 A.H and Ṣaʿṣaʿah lived to the khilāfah of Yazīd, the possibility of the former having narrated from the latter exists. However, al-Zuhrī is a *mudallis* narrator [omits people he heard from] and he hasn’t been explicit in having heard it from him. As such, his narrations are not accepted unless he explicitly mentions having heard it.

Even though there are these weaknesses in this narration, it is still better than the narrations of Abū Mikhnaf and his ilk.

II. Ibn ʿAsākir:

من طريق الأسود بن شيبان عن عبد الله بن مضارب عن حصين بن المنذر قال لما عزل معاوية عمرو بن العاص عن مصر ضرب فسطاطه قريبا من فسطاط معاوية ثم جعل يتربع له، يقول معاوية قال فأرسل إليه فقال: إنه بلغني عن عمرو بعض ما أكره فائته فاسأله عن الأمر الذي اجتمع هو وأبو موسى فيه كيف صنعا، قال فأتيته فقلت أخبرني عن الأمر الذي اجتمعتما فيه أنت وأبو موسى كيف صنعتما فيه، قال قد قال الناس ولا والله ما كان قالوا ولكن لما اجتمعت أنا وأبو موسى قلت له: ما ترى في هذا الأمر؟ قال: أرى أنه في النفر الذي توفي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهو عنهم راض. قال فقلت: أين تجعلني من هذا الأمر أنا ومعاوية فقال: إن يستعن بكما ففيكما معونة وإن يستغن عنكما فطال ما استغنى أمر الله عنكما، قال فكانت هذه هي التي نحيل منها معاوية نفسه، قال: فبعث إلى أبي الأعور الذكواني فأتاه في خيله قال فبعثه إلى عمرو وهو يقول: أين عدو الله، أين هذا الفاسق مرتين،

[429] Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Taqrīb*: 2927.
[430] Al-Zarkalī: *Al-Aʿlām*, vol. 3 pg. 205.

قال فلما رأى عمرو أنه إنما يريد حوباء نفسه، عمد إلى فرس له مشدود بطنب الفسطاط، فرفع رفرف الفسطاط وركبه عريا ثم ركضه إلى فسطاط معاوية وجعل يقول يا معاوية إن الصخور قد تحتلب العلية قال يقول معاوية نعم وقد يزين الحالب فيدق أنفه ويكفأ أباه قال ثم أمر بالأعور فوزع عنه نقول رد عنه.

Ibn ʿAsākir records from the chain of transmission of al-Aswad ibn Shaybān — from ʿ**Abd Allāh ibn Muḍārib** — from Ḥuḍayn ibn al-Mundhir who said:

When Muʿāwiyah deposed ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ from Egypt, he came and erected his tent close to the tent of Muʿāwiyah in an growling angrily.[431] His news reached Muʿāwiyah and, thus, he summoned him.

He said, "Such and such has reached me regarding this person (referring to ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ) which I dislike. Go to him and ask him about the matter which he and Abū Mūsā took charge of."

So, I came to him and said, "Inform me regarding this matter which you and Abū Mūsā took charge of, what did the two of you do about it?"

He said, "The people have said whatever they have said regarding it, by Allah the matter was not as they have said. But I asked Abū Mūsā, 'What do you feel about this matter?' He replied, 'I see it to be the prerogative of those individuals whom Nabī ﷺ was pleased with when he passed away.' I asked, 'So where do you place me and Muʿāwiyah?' He replied,

[431] In *Tārīkh Ibn ʿAsākir* it appears with the word *yataraba*ʿ; however, the correct word is *yatazaba*ʿ, as has been elucidated in some Ḥadīth commentaries and dictionaries. The meaning of the word is to become enraged and/or to growl angrily. Refer to Ibn Salām: *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, vol. 9 pg. 193; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. 8 pg. 140.

'If he seeks your assistance then you will surely be of assistance, and if he does not utilise you then the matter of Allah has always been independent from you.'"

ʿAmr then said, "This is the reality of that which has caused Muʿāwiyah discomfort."

Muʿāwiyah then sent for Abū al-Aʿwar al-Dhakwānī who came to him on horseback. He sent him off to ʿAmr where he reached saying, "Where is the enemy of Allah? Where is this fāsiq?"

When ʿAmr saw that all he wanted was to seek harmony within himself, he took to his horse that was tied to the peg of his tent and rode it bareback to the tent of Muʿāwiyah. Reaching there, he said, "O Muʿāwiyah, the shecamels that grumbles much on being milked is sometimes milked with ease. [432]

Muʿāwiyah remarked, "Yes, and sometimes the milker makes it seem easy until his nose breaks and his dish topples over."

He then instructed Aʿwar to leave. [433]

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḍārib:

• Ibn Ḥajar said, "He is from amongst the junior Tābiʿīn and is not known." [434]

• He said in *al-Taqrīb*, "It is actually ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Muḍārib. He is *Maqbūl* (accepted)." What he means by Maqbūl, is that he is accepted

[432] A proverb with one of two meanings:
One: Applied to miserly person from whom property is obtained by degrees, notwithstanding his miserliness.
Two: It is said regarding a normally difficult person who can be easy, sometimes.
[433] Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 175.
[434] Ibn Ḥajar: *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. 3 pg. 363.

when corroborated. Otherwise, he is considered weak as outlined in his foreword.

III. Al-Bukhārī:

عن ابن عمر قال: دخلت على حفصة ونسواتها تنطف، قلت: قد كان من أمر الناس ما ترين، فلم يجعل لي من الأمر شيء. فقالت: إلحق فإنهم ينتظرونك، وأخشى أن يكون في احتباسك عنهم فرقة. فلم تدعه حتى ذهب، فلما تفرق الناس خطب معاوية، قال: من كان يريد أن يتكلم في هذا الأمر فليطلع لنا قرنه، فلنحن أحق به منه ومن أبيه. قال حبيب بن مسلمة: فهلا أجبته؟ قال عبد الله: فحللت حبوتي، وهممت أن أقول: أحق بهذا الأمر منك من قاتلك وأباك على الإسلام، فخشيت أن أقول كلمة تفرق بين الجمع، وتسفك الدم، ويحمل عني غير ذلك، فذكرت ما أعد الله في الجنان. قال حبيب: حفظت وعصمت.

Ibn ʿUmar said, "I went to Ḥafṣah while water was dripping from her twined braids.

I said, 'The condition of the people is as you see, and no authority has been given to me.'

Ḥafṣah said, (to me), 'Go to them, and as they (i.e. the people) are waiting for you, and I am afraid your absence from them will produce division amongst them.'"

So Ḥafṣah did not leave him until we went to them. When the people differed.

Muʿāwiyah addressed the people saying[435], "If anybody wants to say anything in this matter of the khilāfah, he should come

[435] Ibn Ḥajar commenting on 'when the people differed' said, "Meaning after the two arbitrators, Abū Mūsā from the camp of ʿAlī and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ from the

camp of Muʿāwiyah differed. The narration of ʿAbd al-Razzāq — from Maʿmar qualifies this explanation and establishes its occurrence to be at Ṣiffīn. Others have stated that this occurred at the last meeting between Muʿāwiyah and al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī.

The narration of ʿAbd al-Razzāq refutes this notion."

Ibn Ḥajar then reproduced the statement of Ibn al-Jawzī from his book *Kashf al-Mushkil* wherein he states this occurrence have taken place during the era of Muʿāwiyah when he intended to nominate his son Yazīd.

Commenting on this assertion Ibn Ḥajar said, "He has said this without any backing. What can be relied upon in this matter is the explicit qualification found in the narration of ʿAbd al-Razzāq. I also found the narration of Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit—from Ibn ʿUmar wherein he said, 'On the day Muʿāwiyah came to Dawmat al-Jandal, Ḥafṣah said to me, 'It is not becoming of you to be absent from the reconciliation that Allah has allowed between the ummah of Muḥammad ﷺ seeing that you are his brother-in-law and the son of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.' Muʿāwiyah came on that day with two huge she-camels and said, 'Whoever desires this office, wishes for it, or wants to stretch his hands to it...' and the rest of the narration goes on. It has been recorded by al-Ṭabarānī." See *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 7 pg. 403.

Al-Haythamī states in *Majmaʿ al-Zawā'id*, vol. 4 pg. 207, "Al-Ṭabarānī has recorded it in *al-Kabīr* and its narrators are *Thiqāt*. Evidently, he intended the reconciliation of al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī but a narrator erred."

In actual fact, the narrator did not err. Rather, this speech of his was after the two arbitrators differed as qualified in the narration of ʿAbd al-Razzāq. See *Muṣannaf ʿAbd al-Razzāq*, vol. 5 pg. 456. He has recorded it — from Maʿmar — from al-Zuhrī — from Sālim — from Ibn ʿUmar. He has also recorded it — from Maʿmar — from Ibn Ṭā'ūs — from ʿIkrimah ibn Khālid — from Ibn ʿUmar which is the very chain of transmission that al-Bukhārī narrated from but from Hishām ibn Yūsuf — from Maʿmar.

ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī is more accurate (*awthaq*) than Hishām as ʿAbd al-Razzāq is Thiqah and Ḥāfiẓ whilst Hishām is Thiqah. Refer to *al-Taqrīb*, 4064 and 7309.

ʿAbd al-Razzāq is also more accurate in narrating from Maʿmar than Hishām.

- Ibn Maʿīn said, "'ʿAbd al-Razzāq is more accurate in the narrations of Maʿmar compared to Hishām ibn Yūsuf. And Hishām with regards to Ibn Jurayj was well read. (*Aqra' li al-Kutub*). ʿAlī ibn Madīnī said to me, 'Hishām ibn Yūsuf, though ʿAbd al-Razzāq was the most knowledgeable amongst us and the one with the best memory.'" See *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 6 pg. 312.
- Ibn ʿAskar said, "I heard Aḥmad ibn Ḥambal saying, 'If the students of Maʿmar differ, take the ḥadīth of ʿAbd al-Razzāq.'"

- Yaʿqūb ibn Shaybah said, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq is more accurate in the narrations of Maʿmar and holds better recollection. See, *Sharḥ ʿIlal al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 2 pg. 702.

There is another narration recorded by Ibn ʿAsākir in *Tārīkh Dimashq,* vol. 31 pg. 182 which strengthens the narration of ʿAbd al-Razzāq. The narration with its chain of transmission is as follows:

أخبرنا أبو طالب علي بن عبد الرحمن أنبأ أبو الحسن علي بن الحسن الخلعي انا أبو محمد بن النحاس أنبأ أبو سعيد بن الأعرابي نا أبو يحيى زكريا بن يحيى الناقد نبأ صالح بن عبد الله الترمذي نا محمد بن الحسن عن العوام بن حوشب عن جبلة بن سحيم عن ابن عمر قال لما كان أمر الحكمين قالت لي حفصة إنه لا يجمل بك إلا الصلح يصلح الله بك بين هذه الأمة.

From Abū Ṭālib ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān — from Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Khalʿī — from Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Nuḥās — from Abū Saʿīd ibn al-Aʿrabī — from Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Nāqid — from Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAbd Allah al-Tirmidhī — from **Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan** — from **ʿAwwām ibn Ḥawshab** — from **Jabalah ibn Suhaym** — from ibn ʿUmar who said:
When there was the matter of the two arbitrators, Ḥafṣah said to me, "It is not becoming of you expect reconciliation that Allah may reconcile by you the ummah..." and the narration goes on.

The narrators of this chain of transmission are authentic.

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan:
He is Ibn ʿImrān al-Muzanī al-Wāsitī al-Qāḍī, originally hailing from al-Shām. He is accurate and reliable as in *al-Taqrīb*, 5818.

ʿAwwām ibn Ḥawshab:
He is ibn Yazīd al-Shaybānī, Abū ʿĪsā al-Wāsitī. He is accurate, reliable, and noble as in *al-Taqrīb*, 5211.

Jabalah ibn Suhaym:
Kūfī, reliable. His narrations from Ibn ʿUmar are found in the Ṣaḥīḥayn as in *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 4 pg. 498.

The view of Ibn Ḥajar is supported by al-ʿAynī in *ʿUmdat al-Qārī*, vol. 17 pg. 185, it is also the more famous view in the books of history such as *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5 pg. 58; *Tārīkh ibn ʿAsākir*, vol. 31 pg. 183; and *Tārīkh al-Islam* of al-Dhahabī, vol. 3 pg. 553.

Perhaps those that have taken it to have been during the reconciliation between al-Ḥasan and Muʿāwiyah have been led to this conclusion based on the narration recorded by Ibn Abī Shaybah in his *Muṣannaf*. It is as follows:

forward and not conceal himself, for we are more rightful to be a khalīfah than he and his father."

من طريق أبي معاوية، عن الأعمش، عن حبيب، عن هذيل بن شرحبيل، قال: خطبهم معاوية فقال: يا أيها الناس، إنكم جئتم فبايعتموني طائعين ; ولو بايعتم عبدا حبشيا مجدعا لجئت حتى أبايعه معكم، فلما نزل عن المنبر قال له عمرو بن العاص: «تدري أي شيء جئت به اليوم؟ زعمت أن الناس بايعوك طائعين، ولو بايعوا عبدا حبشيا مجدعا لجئت حتى تبايعه معهم»، قال: فندم فعاد إلى المنبر فقال: أيها الناس، وهل كان أحد أحق بهذا الأمر مني، وهل هو أحد أحق بهذا الأمر مني، قال: وابن عمر جالس، قال: فقال ابن عمر: هممت أن أقول: أحق بهذا الأمر منك من ضربك وأباك عن الإسلام، ثم خفت أن تكون كلمتي فسادا ; وذكرت ما أعد الله في الجنان، فهون على ما أقول ".

From Abū Muʿāwiyah — from Aʿmash — from **Ḥabīb** — from Huzayl ibn Shuraḥbīl who said: Muʿāwiyah addressed them and said, "O people. You have come to pledge allegiance to me willingly. If you had come to pledge allegiance to a maimed Ethiopian slave, I would have pledged allegiance to him with you."

When he descended from the pulpit ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said to him, "Do you know what you have done today? You think people are pledging allegiance to you willingly and if they pledge allegiance to a maimed Ethiopian slave you will have to come and pledge allegiance to him too."

Muʿāwiyah regretted his earlier statement, ascended the pulpit once again and said, "O people. Was there anyone who had more of a right to this office than me? Is there anyone who has more of a right to this office than me?"

Ibn ʿUmar was sitting there. [later] Ibn ʿUmar said, "I intended to say, the one more rightful to your claim is the one who fought you and your father and brought you into Islam. But then I feared my speech would lead to turmoil and recounted what Allah has prepared in the gardens of paradise; an easier option than speaking."

The chain of this transmission is weak.

Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit:

He makes much irsāl and tadlīs. He is from the third category of narrators and thus his narrations would not be accepted unless he explicitly mentions having heard the narration. See, *al-Taqrīb*, 1084; and *Ṭabaqāt al-Mudallisīn* of Ibn Ḥajar, pg. 38.

Even if we accept it to be authentic, it would be two different occasions and not a mistake of the narrator.

On that, Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah said (to Ibn ʿUmar), "Why didn't you reply to him?"

ʿAbd Allāh said, "I untied my garment that was going round my back and legs while I was sitting and was about to say, 'He who fought against you and against your father for the sake of Islam, is more rightful to be a Khalīfah,' but I was afraid that my statement might produce differences amongst the people and cause bloodshed, and my statement might be interpreted not as I intended. (So, I kept quiet) remembering what Allah has prepared in the Gardens of Paradise."

Habib said, "You did what kept you safe and secure." [436]

This narration emphasises what has already been recorded in the narration of al-Zuhrī — from Ṣaʿṣaʿah and in the narration of Ibn ʿAsākir — from Ḥuḍayn [which is the best of the weak narrations], that ʿAlī did not attend due to being preoccupied with the Khawārij rebellion and that ʿAmr did not depose the Amīr al-Mu'minīn and instate Muʿāwiyah as has been attributed to him. The content of those narrations is in conformity to this one and shows no discrepancy—besides the ill speech recorded in the narration of al-Zuhrī.

How then can we give precedence to the narrations of deposition which are evidently much weaker and do not tally up with the character of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ?

This discussion makes it abundantly clear that the claim of deposing ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and instating Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ at the arbitration holds no water due to the inauthenticity of the chains of transmission; it is a claim that is fallacious and fabricated.

[436] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on battles, chapter of Ghazwah Khandaq: 3882.

4. For Arguments Sake

Establishing the matter of deposition is impossible as explained. However, if you insist and maintain it did happen then you must ask yourself, what outcome do you wish to achieve by this insolence? And are you comfortable attacking the honour of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ?

It is imperative we take cognizance of the status and honourable position afforded to the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ together with loving and praying for them for their service to this faith by way of their wealth and lives.

Yes, we do not consider them infallible from major and minor sins, yet we safeguard our tongue from attacking their honour. We say, 'Their precedence of faith and status effaces such sins'. We further state:

﴿تِلْكَ أُمَّةٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ ۖ لَهَا مَا كَسَبَتْ وَلَكُم مَّا كَسَبْتُمْ ۖ وَلَا تُسْـَٔلُونَ عَمَّا كَانُوا۟ يَعْمَلُونَ﴾

That was a nation which has passed on. It will have [the consequence of] what it earned, and you will have what you have earned. And you will not be asked about what they used to do. [437]

We also ruminate over the verse:

﴿وَٱلَّذِينَ جَآءُو مِنۢ بَعْدِهِمْ يَقُولُونَ رَبَّنَا ٱغْفِرْ لَنَا وَلِإِخْوَٰنِنَا ٱلَّذِينَ سَبَقُونَا بِٱلْإِيمَٰنِ وَلَا تَجْعَلْ فِى قُلُوبِنَا غِلًّا لِّلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ رَبَّنَآ إِنَّكَ رَءُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ﴾

And [there is a share for] those who come after them, saying, "Our Lord, forgive us and our brothers who preceded us in faith and put not

[437] Sūrah al-Baqarah: 134.

in our hearts [any] resentment toward those who have believed. Our Lord, indeed You are Kind and Merciful." [438]

Really though, I have only mentioned this fourth point—for arguments sake— otherwise it is quite evident, as you dear reader have read, that there is no way it is established. The issue of deposing ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and instating Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ in his stead at the arbitration, as mentioned, is fallacious and a fabrication. The chains of transmission of those narrations are feeble and the narration repugnant.

There is another incident that some have mentioned in order to brand ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ as treacherous. It is the incident of him allegedly back-stabbing ʿUmārah ibn al-Walīd in the court of al-Najāshī after the latter attempted to have his way with his wife. This resulted in al-Najāshī instructing the magicians to bind him with a spell which left him insane and in the wilderness until he died.

Hereunder is the narration:

Ibn Abī Shaybah has recorded in his *Muṣannaf*[439], ʿAbd ibn Ḥumayd in his *Musnad*[440], and al-Rūyānī in his *Musnad*[441] all with the chain of **ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Mūsā** who said:

أخبرنا إسرائيل، عن أبي إسحاق، عن أبي بردة، عن أبي موسى، قال: أمرنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أن ننطلق مع جعفر بن أبي طالب إلى أرض النجاشي، قال: فبلغ ذلك قومنا، فبعثوا عمرو بن العاص وعمارة بن الوليد...

[438] Sūrah al-Ḥashr: 10.
[439] Vol. 7 pg. 350.
[440] Pg. 193.
[441] Vol. 1 pg. 331.

قال: وكان عمرو بن العاص رجلا قصيرا، وكان عمارة بن الوليد رجلا جميلا، قال: فأقبلا في البحر إلى النجاشي، قال: فشربوا، قال: ومع عمرو بن العاص امرأته، فلما شربوا الخمر قال عمارة لعمرو: مر امرأتك فلتقبلني، فقال له عمرو: ألا تستحيي، فأخذه عمارة فرمى به في البحر فجعل عمرو يناشده حتى أدخله السفينة، فحقد عليه عمرو ذلك، فقال عمرو للنجاشي: إنك إذا خرجت خلف عمارة في أهلك، قال: فدعا النجاشي بعمارة فنفخ في إحليله[442] فصار مع الوحش ".

Isrā'īl narrated to us — from Abū Isḥāq — from Abū Burdah — from Abū Mūsā who said, "Rasūlullāh ﷺ instructed us to migrate with Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib to the land of al-Najāshī. The news of this reached our people and so they sent ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and ʿUmārah ibn al-Walīd after us.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was a short person and ʿUmārah was a handsome man. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ had his wife with him on this trip. When they boarded the ship, they drank. When they became intoxicated with wine ʿUmārah said to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, "Tell your wife to kiss me."

ʿAmr answered, "Do you not have any shame?"

ʿUmārah grabbed him and pushed him overboard. ʿAmr implored him until he pulled him back onto the ship. ʿAmr developed feelings of resentment towards him over this.

[Sometime later] ʿAmr said to al-Najāshī, "'Umārah has betrayed your trust with regards to your family."

[442] [Translator: Some have said this refers to them injecting mercury into his generative organ which lead him to insanity]

Al-Najāshī, thus, called the magicians who bound him with a spell after which he lost his mind, and he lived with the wild beasts.

Al-Būṣīrī said, "The narrators in this chain of transmission are reliable." [443]

This incident which is at the end of the narration, is only found in the narrations of **ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Mūsā**. Though the man is reliable, he has been accused of harboring ill for the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ. Abū Dāwūd, Yaʿqūb ibn Sufyān, and al-Sājī have labelled him as extreme.

Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Maymūnī said:

وذكر عنده، يعني: عند أحمد بن حنبل – عُبَيد اللهَّ بْن موسى فرأيته كالمنكر لَهُ، قال: كَانَ صاحب تخليط وحدث بأحاديث سوء أخرج تلك البلايا فحدث بِهَا. قيل لَهُ: فابن فضيل؟ قال: لَمْ يكن مثله، كَانَ أستر منه، وأَمَّا هُوَ فأخرج تلك الأحاديث الردية.

ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Mūsā was mentioned in the presence of Aḥmad ibn Ḥambal and I noticed signs of aversion to him. He commented, "He was a man who changed accounts and related evil narrations. He would take out those evils and narrate them to people."

He was asked, "And what about Ibn Fuḍayl?"

He replied, "He was not like him. He was not extreme and removed those worthless narrations."

Al-Jūzajānī said:

عبيد بن موسى أغلى، وأسوأ مذهبا، وأروى للعجائب.

[443] *Itḥāf al-Khiyarah al-Maharah bi Zawā'id al-ʿAsharah*, vol. 5 pg. 29.

ʿUbayd ibn Mūsā was an extremist with a most evil dogma who related astonishing things more than anyone else.

Faḍl ibn Ziyād said:

سألت أبا عبد الله. قلت: يجري عندك ابن فضيل مجرى عبيد الله بن موسى؟ قال: لا، كان ابن فضيل أستر، وكان عبيد الله صاحب تخليط، وروى أحاديث سوء.

I asked Abū ʿAbd Allāh, "Is Abū Fuḍayl the same as ʿUbayd ibn Mūsā in your opinion?"

He replied, "No. Ibn Fuḍayl was not extreme. ʿUbayd Allāh would change accounts and relate evil narrations."

It is for this reason Ibn Taymiyyah said:

وكان عبيد الله بن موسى في نفسه صدوقا روى عنه البخاري لكنه معروف بالغلو، فكان لغلوه يروي عن غير الثقات ما يوافق هواه، كما روى عن مطر بن ميمون هذا، وهو كذب، وقد يكون علم أنه كذب ذلك، وقد يكون لهواه لم يبحث عن كذبه.

ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Mūsā was, himself, truthful such that al-Bukhārī narrated from him. However, he was well known for his extremism. He would, thus, narrate from unreliable narrators that would suit his bias. Just as he narrated fabrications from Maṭr ibn Maymūn, knowing well it is a lie. But he did not investigate the issue due to his bias. [444]

And, thus, the authenticity of the narration can be questioned due to the anomaly of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Mūsā and his known extremism.

If we were to accept this narration as authentic, the doubt arising from it could be answered in the following two ways:

[444] *Minhāj al-Sunnah*, vol. 7 pg. 356.

1. The incident alludes to ʿUmārah wanting to kill and strip him of his honour which he was saved from on the journey to Abyssinia. He had no guarantee of safety on the journey back to Makkah and, thus, saved himself in the manner which he did.

2. If we discard the first explanation, then know well this was before his acceptance of Islam. There is no doubt that Islam effaces what came before it. He accepted Islam and was received positively by Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيۡهِوَسَلَّمَ who held him in esteem and appointed him to positions of leadership as established.

Note:

1. Some weak narrations[445] state that ʿUmārah had drank wine, had become intoxicated, and told ʿAmr to instruct his wife to kiss him which he did and she did. Besides this narration being weak, the text itself makes no sense. The Arabs were renowned for their *ghayrah* (protective jealousy) and even for burying their daughters alive. Allah سُبۡحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ says regarding them:

﴿وَإِذَا بُشِّرَ أَحَدُهُم بِٱلۡأُنثَىٰ ظَلَّ وَجۡهُهُۥ مُسۡوَدًّا وَهُوَ كَظِيمٌ * يَتَوَٰرَىٰ مِنَ ٱلۡقَوۡمِ مِن سُوٓءِ مَا بُشِّرَ بِهِۦٓۚ أَيُمۡسِكُهُۥ عَلَىٰ هُونٍ أَمۡ يَدُسُّهُۥ فِي ٱلتُّرَابِۗ أَلَا سَآءَ مَا يَحۡكُمُونَ﴾

And when one of them is informed of [the birth of] a female, his face becomes dark, and he suppresses grief. He hides himself from the people because of the ill of which he has been informed. Should he keep it in humiliation or bury it in the ground? Unquestionably, evil is what they decide. [446]

And Allah سُبۡحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ says:

[445] See, Ibn Isḥāq: *Al-Sīrah*, vol. 2 pg. 148.
[446] Sūrah al-Naḥl: 58-59.

﴿وَإِذَا ٱلْمَوْءُۥدَةُ سُئِلَتْ * بِأَيِّ ذَنۢبٍ قُتِلَتْ﴾

And when the girl [who was] buried alive is asked. For what sin she was killed.[447]

2. Al-Suhaylī records the following in al-Rawḍ al-Unf:

أن عمراً سافر بامرأته، فلما ركبوا البحر، وكان عماراً قد هوي امرأة عمرو وهويته، فعزما على دفع عمرو، أو كان ذلك من عمارة على غير قصد فدفع عمراً.

ʿAmr journeyed with his wife on the ship. ʿUmārah had taken a liking to his wife and she had taken a liking to him. They, thus, either decided to overthrow ʿAmr or it was ʿUmārah who had done so without intending it. [448]

[447] Sūrah al-Takwīr: 8-9.

[448] Al-Suhaylī: *al-Rawḍ al-Unf*, vol. 2 pg. 107. He has recorded this from Abū al-Farj al-Aṣbahānī. I found the following in *Kitāb al-Aghanī*:

فلما انتشى عمارة قال لامرأة عمرو بن العاص قبليني فقال لها عمرو قبلي ابن عمك فقبلته وحذر عمرو على زوجته فرصدها ورصدته فجعل إذا شرب معه أقل عمرو من الشراب وأرق لنفسه بالماء مخافة أن يسكر فيغلبه عمارة على أهله، وجعل عمارة يراودها على نفسها فامتنعت منه.

When ʿUmārah became intoxicated, he said to the wife of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, "Kiss me." ʿAmr said to her, "Kiss your cousin." She, thus, kissed him. ʿAmr was alarmed for his wife and they watched each other. When ʿAmr drank with him, he lowered the potency of the alcohol with water fearing he may become inebriated. ʿUmārah tried to seduce her but she refused to be enticed.

This narration mentions nothing of her having a liking for him. Besides, there are two issues with the chain of transmission too. Al-Wāqidī who is discarded as already established and Abū ʿAwn. Perhaps he is Ibn Abī Ḥāzim. Abū Zurʿah said, "Madīnī, we do not know him." Ibn Abī Ḥaṭīm has mentioned him in *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, vol. 9 pg. 414 and said, "He narrated from ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar al-Makhramī narrated from him."

This narration is also incorrect. It contradicts authentic narrations. And if his wife was the mother of ʿAbd Allāh, then she accepted Islam. Rasūlullāh ﷺ said regarding her and her household:

نعم أهل البيت عبد الله وأم عبد الله.

What a wonderful household: ʿAbd Allāh and his mother.[449]

3. Some have regarded the death of ʿUmārah in Abyssinia as dubious as he is one of the seven Rasūlullāh ﷺ prayed against in Makkah after they had unloaded the innards of a camel onto his back while he was in prostration.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd said:

فوالذي نفسي بيده لقد رأيت الذين عند رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم صرعى في القليب قليب بدر.

By the one in whose control my life lies, I saw those whom Rasūlullāh ﷺ had counted off strewn in the well of Badr. [450]

This issue has been explained by Ibn Ḥajar. He writes:

أن كلام ابن مسعود في أنه رآهم صرعى في القليب محمول على الأكثر، ويدل عليه أن عقبة بن أبي معيط لم يطرح في القليب وإنما قتل صبرا بعد أن رحلوا عن بدر مرحلة، وأمية بن خلف لم يطرح في القليب كما هو بل مقطعا.

[449] Ibn Saʿd: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 8 pg. 269; Ibn al-Athīr: *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 3 pg. 355; al-Nawawī: *Tahdhīb al-Asmā' wa al-Lughāt*, vol. 1 pg. 399; Ibn Ḥajar: *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 7 pg. 661. The ḥadīth appears in *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 1381.
[450] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 1 pg. 94; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 3: 1418.

The comment of Ibn Masʿūd in that he saw them strewn in the well will be considered as a statement referring to the majority of them. This is supported by the fact that ʿUqbah ibn Abī Muʿayṭ was not thrown in the well but was killed after having left Badr. Similarly, Umayyah ibn Khalaf was not thrown in as he was, but was dismembered. [451]

Misconception 2 - His admitting to following his desires and being inclined towards the world at his death

This is based on the accounts recorded by Ibn ʿAsākir regarding the regret ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ displayed at the time of his death and his continued sobbing when faced with the realities of the next world.[452]

Amongst those accounts are the following narrations:

Narrated by ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, who said:

دخلت على عمرو بن العاص وقد احتضر. فقلت: يا أبا عبد الله إنك كنت تقول: أشتهي أن أرى عاقلا يموت حتى أسأله كيف يجد، فكيف تجدك؟ فقال: أجد السماء كأنها مطبقة على الأرض وأنا بينهما، وأراني كأني أتنفس من خرق إبرة. ثم قال: لا بريء فأعتذر، ولا قوي فأنتصر، ولكن لا إله إلا الله، فجعل يرددها حتى فاض.

I came to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ when he was in the pangs of death and I said to him, "You used to say, 'I would like to be present at the

[451] Ibn Ḥajar: *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 1 pg. 351.
[452] Al-Maḥmūdī: *Nahj al-Saʿādah*, vol. 8 pg. 362.

death of an intelligent person so I may inquire of him, his condition.'"

He commented, "I feel as though the sky has become one with the earth and I am between the two trying to breathe through a pin-hole." He then said, "I am not infallible that I may be excused nor strong that I be of help. Yes, there is (hope) in the testimony that there is no god but Allah and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah." He continued repeating it until he passed away.

Narrated from Ibn Shamāsah al-Mahriyy who said:

حضرنا عمرو بن العاص، وهو في سياقة الموت، يبكي طويلا، وحول وجهه إلى الجدار، فجعل ابنه يقول: يا أبتاه، أما بشرك رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بكذا؟ أما بشرك رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بكذا؟ قال: فأقبل بوجهه، فقال: إن أفضل ما نعد شهادة أن لا إله إلا الله، وأن محمدا رسول الله، إني قد كنت على أطباق ثلاث، لقد رأيتني وما أحد أشد بغضا لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم مني، ولا أحب إلي أن أكون قد استمكنت منه، فقتلته، فلو مت على تلك الحال لكنت من أهل النار، فلما جعل الله الإسلام في قلبي أتيت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، فقلت: ابسط يمينك فلأبايعك، فبسط يمينه، قال فقبضت يدي، قال: ما لك يا عمرو؟ قال: قلت: أردت أن أشترط، قال: تشترط بماذا؟ قلت: أن يغفر لي، قال: أما علمت أن الإسلام يهدم ما كان قبله؟ وأن الهجرة تهدم ما كان قبلها؟ وأن الحج يهدم ما كان قبله؟ وما كان أحد أحب إلي من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، ولا أجل في عيني منه، وما كنت أطيق أن أملأ عيني منه إجلالا له، ولو سئلت أن أصفه ما أطقت؛ لأني لم أكن أملأ عيني منه، ولو مت على تلك الحال لرجوت أن أكون من أهل الجنة، ثم ولينا أشياء ما أدري ما حالي فيها، فإذا أنا مت فلا تصحبني نائحة، ولا نار، فإذا دفنتموني فشنوا علي التراب شنا، ثم

أقيموا حول قبري قدر ما تنحر جزور ويقسم لحمها، حتى أستأنس بكم، وأنظر ماذا أراجع به رسل ربي.

We went to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ when he was about to die. He wept for a long time and turned his face towards the wall. His son said, "Did Rasūlullāh ﷺ not give you glad tidings of such? Did Rasūlullāh ﷺ not give you glad tidings of such?"

He turned his face (towards the audience) and said, "The best thing which we can count upon is the testimony that there is no god but Allah and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah. Verily I have passed through three phases. The first one in which I found myself averse to none else more than I was averse to Rasūlullāh ﷺ and there was no other desire stronger in me than the one that I should overpower him and kill him. Had I died in this state, I would have been definitely one of the occupiers of the Fire. When Allah instilled the love of Islam in my heart, I came to the Nabī ﷺ and said, 'Stretch out your right hand so that may pledge my allegiance to you.' He stretched out his right hand, I withdrew my hand.

He said, 'What has happened to you, O ʿAmr?'

I replied, 'I intend to lay down some conditions.'

He asked, 'What condition do you intend to put forward?'

I said, 'I should be granted pardon.'

He observed, 'Are you not aware of the fact that Islam wipes out all the previous misdeeds? Verily migration wipes out all the previous misdeeds, and verily the pilgrimage wipes out all the previous misdeeds?'

And then no one was as dear to me other than the Rasūlullāh ﷺ and none was more sublime in my eyes than he. Never could I pluck the courage to catch a full glimpse of his face due to its splendor. So, if I am asked to describe his features, I cannot do that for I have not eyed him fully. Had I died in this state I had every reason to hope that I would have been among the dwellers of Paradise.

Then we were given leadership roles in the light of which I am unable to know what is in store for me. When I die, let neither female mourner nor fire accompany me. When you bury me, fill my grave with earth, then stand around it for the time within which a camel is slaughtered and its meat is distributed so that I may take solace in your company and (in your company) ascertain what answer I can give to the angels of Allah.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said:

فإن قلت: فما الذي يقوله أصحابك المعتزلة في عمرو بن العاص؟ قلت: إنهم يحكمون على كل من شهد صفين، بما يحكم به على الباغي الخارج على الإمام العادل، ومذهبهم في صاحب الكبيرة إذا لم يتب معلوم.

فإن قلت: أليس في هذه الأخبار ما يدل على توبته، نحو قوله: ولا مستكبر بل مستغفر، وقوله: اللهم خذ مني حتى ترضى. وقوله: أمرت فعصيت، ونهيت فركبته. وهذا اعتراف وندم، وهو معنى التوبة؟ قلت: إن قوله تعالى: ﴿وَلَيْسَتِ ٱلتَّوْبَةُ لِلَّذِينَ يَعْمَلُونَ ٱلسَّيِّـَٔاتِ حَتَّىٰٓ إِذَا حَضَرَ أَحَدَهُمُ ٱلْمَوْتُ قَالَ إِنِّى تُبْتُ ٱلْـَٰٔنَ﴾ يمنع من كون هذا توبة، وشروط التوبة وأركانها معلومة، وليس هذا الاعتراف والتأسف منها في شيء.

If you were to ask, “What do you, the Muʿtazilah, say regarding ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ?”

I would say, "They say regarding those who took part at Ṣiffīn what they say regarding those who rebel against a just ruler. And their view regarding the one who commits a major sin and does not repent is well known."

If you were to ask, "Doesn't the narrations indicate his repentance? Such as his saying, 'not haughty but seeking forgiveness', 'Oh Allah take from me until you are pleased', and 'you instructed but I disobeyed and you prohibited but I did'. These are words of confession and regret which is the crux of repentance.

I would say the following verse prevents this from being regarded as repentance:

﴿وَلَيۡسَتِ ٱلتَّوۡبَةُ لِلَّذِينَ يَعۡمَلُونَ ٱلسَّيِّـَٔاتِ حَتَّىٰٓ إِذَا حَضَرَ أَحَدَهُمُ ٱلۡمَوۡتُ قَالَ إِنِّي تُبۡتُ ٱلۡـَٰٔنَ﴾

But repentance is not [accepted] of those who [continue to] do evil deeds up until, when death comes to one of them, he says, "Indeed, I have repented now," [453]

The conditions and elements of repentance are well known. This kind of confession and regret form no part of it. [454]

Al-Maḥmūdī said:

وما أشبه بفرعون حين أيقن بالهلاك، فقال: آمنت بالله الذي آمنت به بنو إسرائيل. فأخذ جبرئيل كفا من حمأ البحر وأدخله في فيه وقال له: الآن وقد عصيت قبل وكنت من المفسدين

[453] Sūrah al-Nisā': 18.
[454] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd: *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 6 pgs. 323-325.

أو ما كان يدري أنه أشهر مصاديق قوله تعالى ﴿وَلَيۡسَتِ ٱلتَّوۡبَةُ لِلَّذِينَ يَعۡمَلُونَ ٱلسَّيِّـَٔاتِ حَتَّىٰٓ إِذَا حَضَرَ أَحَدَهُمُ ٱلۡمَوۡتُ قَالَ إِنِّي تُبۡتُ ٱلۡـَٰٔنَ﴾.

He greatly resembles Firʿawn. When the latter faced imminent death he said, "I believe in the Allah that the Banī Isrā'īl believe in." Jibrīl then took a handful of sea sand and filled his mouth with it saying, "Now? And you had disobeyed [Him] before and were of the corrupters?" Did he not know that he was to be the manifestation of the verse:

﴿وَلَيۡسَتِ ٱلتَّوۡبَةُ لِلَّذِينَ يَعۡمَلُونَ ٱلسَّيِّـَٔاتِ حَتَّىٰٓ إِذَا حَضَرَ أَحَدَهُمُ ٱلۡمَوۡتُ قَالَ إِنِّي تُبۡتُ ٱلۡـَٰٔنَ﴾

But repentance is not [accepted] of those who [continue to] do evil deeds up until, when death comes to one of them, he says, "Indeed, I have repented now," [455]

Answer

First Narration

The first narration, that of Ibn ʿAbbās is weak. Ibn Saʿd[456], al-Ḥākim[457], and Ibn ʿAsākir[458] have narrated it with the following chain of transmission:

Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī — from **ʿUwānah ibn al-Ḥakm** — from ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ.

There are three defects in this chain of transmission:

[455] Al-Maḥmūdī: *Nahj al-Saʿādah*, vol. 8 pg. 3662.
[456] Ibn Saʿd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4 pg. 260.
[457] Al-Ḥākim: *Al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3 pg. 514.
[458] Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 192.

The first defect

ʿUwānah ibn al-Ḥakm

He is ʿUwānah ibn al-Ḥakm ibn ʿUwānah ibn ʿIyāḍ al-Akhbārī al-Kūfī. He narrated much from the Tābiʿīn with very few, if any, reaching to Rasūlullāh ﷺ (*Musnad*). ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muʿtaz narrated — from al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlīl al-ʿAnzī who said regarding ʿUwānah ibn al-Ḥakm, "He was an ʿUthmānī who would fabricate narrations in favour of the Banū Umayyah. He died the year 158 A.H. [459]

The second defect

Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī

• Aḥmad ibn Ḥambal said, "He was a story teller and a genealogist. I don't think anyone narrated from him."

• Al-Dāraquṭnī and others said, "He is suspected of forgery." [460]

The third defect

Inqitāʿ

There is a break between ʿUwānah ibn al-Ḥakm and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. We have already stated he passed away the year 158 A.H.

Second Narration

[459] Ibn Ḥajar: *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. 4 pg. 386.
[460] Al-Dhahabī: *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, vol. 4 pg. 304; Al-Jawzī: *Al-Ḍuʿafā' wa al-Matrūkīn*, vol. 3 pg. 176.

As for the narration of Ibn Shamāsah al-Mahriyy, it is recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. However, there is nothing therein by which the claims they make can be substantiated. In fact, it refutes their claim. The convoluted substantiations they make can be answered in the following six ways:

1. In the narration, there is mention of the glad-tidings of Rasūlullāh ﷺ. Rasūlullāh ﷺ would only give glad-tidings to a believer.

2. His honesty with regards to his condition before and after his acceptance of Islam removes the possibility of hypocrisy.

3. The narrations have elements of confession and regret which is the essence of repentance. Further, the door of repentance remains open until the soul begins to emerge from the body. Ibn ʿUmar رضي الله عنه reports that Rasūlullāh ﷺ said:

إن الله يقبل توبة العبد ما لم يغرغر.

> Indeed, Allah accepts the repentance of a slave as long as the soul does not reach his throat. [461]

The Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم were not infallible. Every human errs. It is incorrect to say though that he repented at seeing the punishment, since there is no evidence of this and this too is supposing he had been committing major sins. Both aforementioned suppositions are baseless. How do they know that he had seen the angels of punishment and how could it be said regarding one whom Rasūlullāh ﷺ attested to in so far as faith and piety and whom the Khulafā' appointed to positions of leadership to have been preoccupied in committing major sins? And do we attribution the commission of major sins to every such person who turns to Allah in

[461] *Musnad Aḥmad*: 60160. Al-Albānī has authenticated it in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmiʿ*: 2784.

repentance? What would we then say of the repentance of Rasūlullāh ﷺ? Is he not the one who said:

إنه ليُغان على قلبي، وإني لأستغفر الله في اليوم مائة مرة.

> Sometimes I perceive a shadow over my heart, and I supplicate Allah for forgiveness a hundred times in a day. [462]

4. The narration indicates the fear of ʿAmr for Allah and in facing Him. Consider his profuse sobbing, turning to the wall, his instruction to wait at his grave and pray for him, his placing his face in hand, and so on.

Fear is one of the greatest motivators of forgiveness. Ibn Taymiyyah said:

الكلام الصادر عن خوف العبد من الله يدل على إيمانه بالله، وقد غفر الله لمن خافه حين أمر أهله بتحريقه وتذرية نصفه في البر ونصفه في البحر، مع أنه لم يعمل خيرا قط. وقال: «والله، لئن قدر الله علي ليعذبني عذابا لا يعذبه أحدا من العالمين ; فأمر الله البر فجمع ما فيه، وأمر البحر فجمع ما فيه. وقال: ما حملك على ما صنعت؟ قال: من خشيتك يا رب، فغفر له»، أخرجاه في الصحيحين.

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[462] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on remembrance, prayer, repentance, and forgiveness. Ḥadīth: 2702.
The shadow or covering of the heart has been explained by those moments wherein Rasūlullāh ﷺ becoming unmindful of the remembrance of Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى which he was otherwise continuously preoccupied with and, thus, considered it a wrong and repented. Others have stated it refers to those moments wherein Rasūlullāh ﷺ was informed of the future condition of the Ummah and thus he would fall into worry and seek forgiveness on their behalf. See, *Ikmāl al-Muʿallim Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 8 pg. 197.

فإذا كان مع شكه في القدرة والمعاد، إذا فعل ذلك غفر له بخوفه من الله، علم أن الخوف من الله من أعظم أسباب المغفرة للأمور الحقيقية، إذا قدر أنها ذنوب.

The speech of a slave that is driven by the fear of Allah is an indication of his faith in Allah. A man was forgiven due to his fear of Allah even though he failed to do a single act of good. He instructed his family to cremate him and spread his ashes over the earth and sea and said, "I swear, if Allah takes hold of me, he will punish me such that he hasn't punished any other in the worlds."

Allah instructed the earth and the sea to gather his remains and asked him, "What led you to doing this?"

He replied, "Your fear my Lord."

Allah, thus, forgave him. This narration is recorded in the Ṣaḥīḥayn. Look, he had doubts regarding the power of Allah and the afterlife but he was still forgiven due to his fear for Allah.

We learn from this that the fear of Allah is one of the greatest motivators of forgiveness. [463]

5. His desire to be in complete adherence to the sunnah of Rasūlullāh ﷺ even after death is an indicator of his passing in a good state.

Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ commented on his statement, "When I die, let neither female mourner nor fire accompany me" by saying, "This was said in accordance to the prohibition of Rasūlullāh ﷺ as reported by

[463] Ibn Taymiyyah: Minhāj al-Sunnah, vol. 5 pg. 484.

Abū Hurayrah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, 'The bier should not be followed by wailing or fire.'" [464]

Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ commented on his statement, "When you bury me, fill my grave with earth" by saying, "This is the sunnah method in throwing earth over the body in the grave." [465]

Al-Nawawī commented on his statement, "Then stand around it for the time within which a camel is slaughtered and its meat is distributed so that I may take solace in your company and (in your company) ascertain what answer I can give to the angels of Allah" by saying, "There are several lessons we learn from this. Amongst them, the reality of the punishment of the grave and the questioning of the two angels which is the view of the true scholars. We also learn the desirability of waiting for a few moments at the grave after the burial as has been mentioned." [466]

The desire to adhere and implement the sunnah at such a precarious time indicates Divine aid (*tawfīq*). There are very few who would give the instruction to adhere to the sunnah or still be preoccupied in spreading knowledge whilst facing death.

6. His statement, "Then we were given leadership roles in the light of which I am unable to know what is in store for me" is qualified by the narration recorded in *Musnad Aḥmad* which goes as follows, "Then I associated closely with the Sulṭān and acted in those avenues, I do not know if those actions will be recorded in my favour or against me."

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[464] *Ikmāl al-Muʿallim Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. The narration has been recorded by Aḥmad: 9515; and Abū Dāwūd: 3173. The wording is of Abū Dāwūd. Al-Albānī said, "There is a narrator not named in the chain of transmission but the narration is corroborated by other marfūʿ and mawqūf narrations." Shuʿayb al-Arnā'ūt said, "The narration is ḥasan li-ghayrihī"

[465] Ibid.

[466] *Sharḥ al-Nawawī al-Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 2 pgs. 138-139.

By this he meant the governorship and the wars that took place between Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. His statement was not due to his admittance of committing a major sin, it was due to his abundance of piety. It should not be misconstrued that he had evil intent, rather his fear of Allah and knowledge of the reckoning that lies on the shoulders of leaders should shine through. Similarly, one should take full cognizance that the wars that occurred between Muʿāwiyah and ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا and the role he played was based on ijtihād and a mujtahid may be correct or may err.

One researching the lives of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ and the Tābiʿīn after them will find them fearful of facing Allah. They don't consider themselves secure due to their actions, no matter how great, they don't make claims of greatness, nor do they regard themselves pure. Rather, they go to great lengths in doing good acts and in that precarious moment they are fearful of not having fulfilled their dues to Allah and are also fearful of the rejection of their acts in the Divine court.

Hereunder are some cases in point:

— Amir al-Mu'minīn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ:

When he was stabbed and was in severe pain, Ibn ʿAbbās رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ tried to comfort him by saying:

يا أمير المؤمنين، ولئن كان ذاك، لقد صحبت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فأحسنت صحبته، ثم فارقته وهو عنك راض، ثم صحبت أبا بكر فأحسنت صحبته، ثم فارقته وهو عنك راض، ثم صحبتهم فأحسنت صحبتهم، ولئن فارقتهم لتفارقنهم وهم عنك راضون، قال: أما ما ذكرت من صحبة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ورضاه، فإنما ذاك من من الله تعالى من به علي، وأما ما ذكرت من صحبة أبي بكر ورضاه، فإنما ذاك من من الله جل ذكره

من به علي، وأما ما ترى من جزعي، فهو من أجلك وأجل أصحابك، والله لو أن لي طلاع الأرض ذهبا، لافتديت به من عذاب الله عز وجل قبل أن أراه.

O Amīr al Mu'minīn, never mind what has happened to you, you have accompanied Rasūlullāh ﷺ and you kept good relations with him. You then parted with him while he was pleased with you. Thereafter you were in the company of Abū Bakr رضي الله عنه and kept good relations with him. You parted with him while he was pleased with you. Then you were in the company of the Muslims, and you kept good relations with them, and if you leave them, you leave them while they are pleased with you.

ʿUmar said, "Regarding what you mentioned about Rasūlullāh's ﷺ companionship and pleasure, this is the special favour of Allah which He bestowed upon me. Concerning what you mentioned about Abū Bakr's companionship and pleasure, it is a special favour of Allah which He favoured me with. And with regards to my anxiety; what you see, it is because of you and your companions. By Allah, had I possessed the earth filled with gold, I would have ransomed myself from the punishment of Allah before I meet Him." [467]

— The eminent Ṣaḥābī Salmān al-Fārsī رضي الله عنه:

وهذا الصحابي الجليل سلمان الفارسي رضي الله عنه اشتكى فعاده سعد بن أبي وقاص، فرآه يبكي، فقال له سعد: ما يبكيك يا أخي؟ أليس قد صحبت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم؟ أليس أليس. فقال سلمان: ما أبكي واحدةً من اثنتين، ما أبكي ضنا للدنيا، ولا كراهية

[467] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on merits, chapter on the merits of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb: 3692.

للآخرة، ولكن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عهد إلي عهدًا، فما أراني إلا قد تعديت. قال: وما عهد إليك؟ قال: عهد إلي أنه يكفي أحدكم مثل زاد الراكب، ولا أراني إلا قد تعديت، وأما أنت يا سعد فاتق الله عند حكمك إذا حكمت، وعند قسمك إذا قسمت، وعند همك إذا هممت».

قال ثابت: فبلغني أنه ما ترك إلا بضعةً وعشرين درهمًا مع نفقةٍ كانت عنده.

When he took ill Saʿd visited him and saw him crying.

Saʿd asked him, "What makes you cry? Brother, did you not accompany Rasūlullāh ﷺ, did you not do such and such?"

Salmān replied, "I am not crying out of eagerness for this world, nor out of aversion to the next. However, Rasūlullāh ﷺ had advised me and I see myself having gone beyond his advice."

Saʿd asked, "And what did he advise you to do?"

Salmān said, "That I should only collect what is sufficient as provision for a traveler. I see myself having accumulated more than this. As for you Saʿd, Fear Allah when you pass judgments, distribute wealth, and make decisions."

Thābit said, "It has reached me that he only left behind some twenty odd dirhams which he owned." [468]

— The eminent ṣaḥābī Abū Hurayrah رضي الله عنه:

[468] *Ibn Mājah*: 4104 and the words are of it; *Ibn Abī Sahybah*: 35453; Ibn Abī al-Dunyā in *al-Muḥtaḍarīn*, vol. 1 pg. 175.

He is one of those who narrated the most ḥadīth from Rasūlullāh ﷺ. He was crying in his final sickness. It was said to him, "What makes you cry?" He replied:

«أما إني لا أبكي على دنياكم هذه، ولكني أبكي على بعد سفري، وقلة زادي، وإني أمسيت في صعود مهبطة على جنة ونار، لا أدري إلى أيتهما يؤخذ بي».

I am not crying over this world of yours, rather I am crying over this long journey of mine and my lack of provisions. I will soon alight a conveyance that goes to paradise or the fire and I don't know which way it will take me. [469]

— The grandson of Rasūlullāh ﷺ and the leader of the youth of paradise, al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib رضي الله عنهما:

لما حضرته الوفاة بكى بكاء شديدا، فقال له الحسين: ما يبكيك يا أخي وإنما تقدم على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وعلى علي وفاطمة وخديجة وهم ولدوك، وقد أجرى الله لك على لسان نبيه أنك «سيد شباب أهل الجنة»، وقاسمت الله مالك ثلاث مرات، ومشيت إلى بيت الله على قدميك خمس عشرة مرة حاجا؟ وإنما أراد أن يطيب نفسه. قال: فوالله ما زاده إلا بكاء وانتحابا، وقال: «يا أخي، إني أقدم على أمر عظيم وهول لم أقدم على مثله قط».

He cried profusely at the time of his death. Al-Ḥusayn said to him, "What makes you cry brother? You are going to Rasūlullāh ﷺ, ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, and Khadījah. They are your forefathers. Besides, Allah has given you the glad tidings on the tongue of his Nabī that you are the leader of the youth of paradise. You distributed all of your wealth [amongst the needy] on three occasions and you walked fifteen times to the House of Allah for pilgrimage."

[469] *Al-Zuhd*: Ibn al-Mubarak, vol. 2 pg. 38; *al-Zuhd*: Aḥmad, vol. 1 pg. 153.

He intended to console him with these words. But by Allah, this caused him to cry and lament even more. He said, "My brother, I am facing a momentous moment and a terrifying time such that I have never faced before." [470]

These are few examples of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ which demonstrates their fear at facing Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى. This condition wasn't restricted to the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, the Tābiʿīn too were the same.

Hereunder are some instances of the pious:

— Masrūq ibn al-Ajdaʿ:

His wife said:

ما كان يوجد إلا وساقيه قد انتفختا من طول الصلاة، قالت: وإن كنت والله لأجلس خلفه فأبكي رحمة له، فلما احتضر بكى، فقيل له: ما هذا الجزع؟ فقال: ومالي لا أجزع وإنما هي ساعة، ثم لا أدري أين يسلك بي.

His calves would always be inflamed due to standing in ṣalāh for lengthy periods of time. By Allah, I would sit behind him crying out of sympathy for him. When he was on his deathbed he was crying. It was said to him, "What is this weeping?"

He replied, "Why should I not weep. I only have this moment after which I know not how my Lord will deal with me." [471]

—ʿUmar and Abū Bakr the two sons of Ibn al-Munkadir:

[470] *Al-Muḥtaḍarīn*: ibn Abī al-Dunyā: vol. 1 pg. 175.
[471] *Ḥadīth Abī Faḍl al-Zuhrī*, vol. 2 pg. 99 Ḥadīth: 598.

لما حضر أحدهما الموت بكى، فقيل له: ما يبكيك؟ إن كنا لنغبطك بهذا اليوم، قال: أما والله ما أبكي أن أكون ركبت شيئا من معاصي الله اجتراء على الله، ولكني أخاف أن أكون أتيت شيئا هينا وهو عند الله عظيم.

When one of them was on his deathbed it was said to him, "Why do you weep? We are envious of you this day."

He said, "By Allah! I am not crying because I have committed some major sin. Rather I am fearful of having done something thinking it to be insignificant whereas in the sight of Allah it was something of grave consequence."

قال: وبكى الآخر عند الموت، فقيل له مثل ذلك، فقال: إني سمعت الله يقول لقوم: ﴿وَبَدَا لَهُم مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ مَا لَمْ يَكُونُواْ يَحْتَسِبُونَ﴾ فأنا أنتظر ما ترون والله ما أدري ما يبدو لي.

Another wept at his death bed and was asked about it. He said, "I have heard Allah saying:

﴿وَبَدَا لَهُم مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ مَا لَمْ يَكُونُواْ يَحْتَسِبُونَ﴾

And there will appear to them from Allah that which they had not taken into account

I lie in wait now. By Allah, I do not know what will appear before me.[472]

— Imām al-Shafi'ī

I conclude these accounts with that of Imām al-Shafi'ī. Al-Muzanī said:

[472] Al-Muḥtaḍarīn: ibn Abī al-Dunyā: vol. 1 pg. 236.

دخلت على الشافعي في مرضه الذي مات فيه، فقلت: يا أبا عبد الله! كيف أصبحت؟ فرفع رأسه، وقال: أصبحت من الدنيا راحلا، ولإخواني مفارقا، ولسوء عملي ملاقيا، وعلى الله واردا، ما أدري روحي تصير إلى جنة فأهنيها، أو إلى نار فأعزيها، ثم بكى وأنشأ يقول:

وَلَمَّا قَسَا قَلْبِي وَضَاقَتْ مَذَاهِبِي	جَعَلْتُ رَجَائِي دُوْنَ عَفْوِكَ سُلَّمَا
تَعَاظَمَنِي ذَنْبِي فَلَمَّا قَرَنْتُهُ	بِعَفْوِكَ رَبِّي كَانَ عَفْوُكَ أَعْظَمَا
فَمَا زِلْتَ ذَا عَفْوٍ عَنِ الذَّنْبِ لَمْ تَزَلْ	تَجُوْدُ وَتَعْفُو مِنَّةً وَتَكَرُّمَا
فَإِنْ تَنْتَقِمْ مِنِّي فَلَسْتُ بِآيِسٍ	وَلَوْ دَخَلَتْ نَفْسِي بِجِرمِي جَهَنَّمَا
وَلولَاكَ لَمْ يُغْوَى بِإِبْلِيْسَ عَابِدٌ	فَكَيْفَ وَقَدْ أَغوَى صَفِيَّكَ آدَمَا
وَإِنِّيْ لآتِي الذَّنْبَ أَعْرِفُ قَدْرَهُ	وَأَعلَمُ أَنَّ اللهَ يَعْفُو تَرَحُّمَا

I came to al-Shafiʿī during his final illness and asked, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh! How are you this morning?"

He raised his head and replied, "I awoke journeying from this world, separating from my brothers, meeting my ill-actions, and arriving to Allah. I do not know if my soul will be taken towards paradise that I may congratulate it, or hell, that I may console it. He then wept and said the following couplets:

When my heart became stiff and my path narrow;

I took my hope to Your pardon as an escape.

My sins appeared great, but when I compared them to your forgiveness;

I found your forgiveness to be much greater.

You are and still remain the One who forgives sins;

You provide and forgive out of Your benevolence and generosity.

Indeed, I will not despair if You avenged me;

Or due to my sins into the hell You brought my soul.

Were it not for You, no worshipper would withstand Satan;

How and he already has lured your chosen Adam.

I know the weight of my sins;

Just as I know Allah forgives by his mercy.

Al-Dhahabī said, "The chain of transmission is established from him."[473]

This fear, panic, and weeping that one finds in the lives of the pious predecessors; amongst the Ṣaḥābah, Tābiʿīn, and those after is a manifestation of the verse:

﴿وَٱلَّذِينَ يُؤۡتُونَ مَآ ءَاتَواْ وَّقُلُوبُهُمۡ وَجِلَةٌ أَنَّهُمۡ إِلَىٰ رَبِّهِمۡ رَٰجِعُونَ﴾

And they who give what they give while their hearts are fearful because they will be returning to their Lord. [474]

It is narrated from ʿĀ'ishah رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنۡهَا that she asked Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيۡهِوَسَلَّمَ regarding the verse:

﴿وَٱلَّذِينَ يُؤۡتُونَ مَآ ءَاتَواْ وَّقُلُوبُهُمۡ وَجِلَةٌ أَنَّهُمۡ إِلَىٰ رَبِّهِمۡ رَٰجِعُونَ﴾

And they who give what they give while their hearts are fearful because they will be returning to their Lord. [475]

She asked:

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[473] Al-Dhahabī: *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, vol. 10 pg. 76.
[474] Sūrah al-Mu'minūn: 60.
[475] Sūrah al-Mu'minūn: 60.

أهم الذين يشربون الخمر ويسرقون؟ قال: " لا يا بنت الصديق، ولكنهم الذين يصومون ويصلون ويتصدقون، وهم يخافون أن لا تقبل منهم {أولئك يسارعون في الخيرات وهم لها سابقون}.

Does this verse refer to those who drink wine and steal?

He replied, "No, O daughter of al-Ṣiddīq. It refers to those who fast, pray, and give alms yet they fear it may not be accepted from them.

﴿أُوْلَٰٓئِكَ يُسَٰرِعُونَ فِي ٱلْخَيْرَٰتِ وَهُمْ لَهَا سَٰبِقُونَ﴾

It is those who hasten to good deeds, and they outstrip [others] therein." (476)

It is this prayer of acceptance that Allah speaks of regarding his Khalīl, Ibrāhīm عَلَيْهِ ٱلسَّلَامُ:

﴿وَإِذْ يَرْفَعُ إِبْرَٰهِـۧمُ ٱلْقَوَاعِدَ مِنَ ٱلْبَيْتِ وَإِسْمَٰعِيلُ رَبَّنَا تَقَبَّلْ مِنَّآ﴾

And [mention] when Abraham was raising the foundations of the House and [with him] Ishmael, [saying], "Our Lord, accept [this] from us." (477)

Ibn Abī Ḥātim recorded from the narration of Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Khanīs al-Makkī — from Wuhayb ibn al-Ward that he recited:

﴿وَإِذْ يَرْفَعُ إِبْرَٰهِـۧمُ ٱلْقَوَاعِدَ مِنَ ٱلْبَيْتِ وَإِسْمَٰعِيلُ رَبَّنَا تَقَبَّلْ مِنَّآ﴾

(476) *Musnad Aḥmad*: 25263; *al-Tirmidhī*: Book of Tafsīr, chapter of Sūrah al-Mu'minūn: 3175. The wording is his; *Ibn Mājah*: Book of Abstinence: 1404. Al-Albānī has authenticated it in *al-Saḥīḥah*, vol. 1 pg. 304.
(477) Sūrah al-Baqarah: 127.

And [mention] when Abraham was raising the foundations of the House and [with him] Ishmael, [saying], "Our Lord, accept [this] from us." [478]

He wept and said, "O Khalīl of al-Raḥmān! You raise the foundations of the House of al-Raḥmān and yet you are fearful it may not be accepted from you. [479]

Note:

There are some other weak narrations recorded by Ibn Saʿd, Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, and Ibn ʿAsākir regarding the passing of ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ which some have regarded as dubious considering the lengthy narration of al-Barā' as it bears similarity to the death of the sinful when their souls are being extracted. This doubt is a result of not differentiating between the illness of death and the moment of soul extraction. The condition mentioned of ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ is that of *sakrāt* (pangs of death) which precedes actual death. It is the illness and severity that comes before the soul is extracted. This is quite obvious since one is unable to advise of the sunnah rites and speak of their condition whilst in the very throes of death at which one loses their sanity[480]. These conditions are established by way of the Qur'ān and Sunnah.

Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى says:

﴿وَجَآءَتْ سَكْرَةُ ٱلْمَوْتِ بِٱلْحَقِّ ۖ ذَٰلِكَ مَا كُنتَ مِنْهُ تَحِيدُ﴾

[478] Sūrah al-Baqarah: 127.
[479] *Al-Tafsīr*, vol. 1 pg. 233.
[480] *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*, vol. 5 pg. 141.

And the intoxication of death will bring the truth; that is what you were trying to avoid. [481]

The leader of mankind and the most beloved ﷺ did not escape the sakrāt of death. At the time of his death, he ﷺ would place his hands in water and wipe his face saying:

لا إله إلا الله، إن للموت لسكرات.

There is none worthy of worship but Allah, surely death has agonies.

This narration is recorded by al-Bukhārī on the authority of ʿĀ'ishah رضي الله عنها.[482] In another narration she said:

مات النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وإنه لبين حاقنتي وذاقنتي، فلا أكره شدة الموت لأحد أبدا بعد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم.

Nabī ﷺ died lying between my breast and my collarbone. I will never feel bad about anyone having a painful death after what I saw Nabī ﷺ suffer. [483]

In yet another narration she said:

ما أغبط أحدا بهون موت بعد الذي رأيت من شدة موت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم.

I do not envy an easy death after having seen the severity of the death of Rasūlullāh ﷺ.[484]

Al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar comments:

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[481] Sūrah Qāf: 19.
[482] *Al-Bukhārī*: Book of Maghāzī, chapter on the illness and death of Nabī ﷺ: 6145.
[483] *Al-Bukhārī*: 4181.
[484] *Al-Tirmidhī*: Book of Janā'iz, chapter of the difficulty of death: 979.

إن شدة الموت لا تدل على نقص في المرتبة بل هي للمؤمن إما زيادة في حسناته، وإما تكفير لسيئاته.

The narration shows that experiencing severity at the time of death does not indicate a lesser stage. Rather, for a believer, it is a means of the increase of their status or a means for the forgiveness of their sins.[485]

Al-Qurṭubī said:

فأحب الله أن يبتليهم -أي الأنبياء- تكميلا لفضائلهم، ورفعة لدرجاتهم عنده، وليس ذلك في حقهم نقصا ولا عذابا، بل هو كما قال كمال رفعة مع رضاهم بجميل ما يجزي الله عليهم، فأراد الحق سبحانه أن يختم لهم بهذه الشدائد مع إمكان التخفيف والتهوين عليهم ليرفع منازلهم ويعظم أجورهم قبل موتهم.

Allah wished to test them–the Prophets–in order to complete their virtue and raise their status. This is in no way an indication of a lesser stage nor a punishment for them. But, as explained, a manner to raise their status with them being desirous for the reward. Though Allah could have brought an end to their worldly abode with ease, He chose to do so with difficulty in order to raise their status and increase their rewards before their deaths. [486]

Al-Mubārakpūrī said:

[485] Ibn Ḥajar: *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 11 pg. 363.
[486] Al-Tadhkirah, vol. 1 pg. 20.

لما رأيت شدة وفاته علمت أن ذلك ليس من المنذرات الدالة على سوء عاقبة المتوفى، وأن هون الموت وسهولته ليس من المكرمات، وإلا لكان صلى الله عليه وسلم أولى الناس به، فلا أكره شدة الموت لأحد ولا أغبط أحدا يموت من غير شدة.

When I saw the difficulty of his passing, I knew this is not of the warnings issued of ill-death and evil. I also understood that an easy death is not necessarily a sign of goodness. If this was the case, Rasūlullāh ﷺ would have been most deserving of it. I, thus, do not dislike a difficult death for anyone and neither am I envious of anyone who has an easy death. [487]

When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr رضي الله عنه passed away at Ḥubshīy—a mountain in the lower region of Makkah—a few miles from Makkah, Ibn Ṣafwān brought him to Makkah for his burial. When ʿĀ'ishah رضي الله عنها heard of her brothers passing she said:

ما آسى من أمره إلا على خصلتين إنه لم يعالج ولم يدفن حيث مات.

I have but two regrets over his passing. He did not suffer the pangs of death[488] and he was not buried where he passed away.

Nāfiʿ said:

وكان مات فجأة.

He died a sudden death. [489]

ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz said:

ما أحب أن تهون علي سكرات الموت إنه آخر ما يكفر به عن المرء المسلم.

[487] Tuḥfah al-Aḥwadhī, vol. 3 pg. 37.
[488] Thereby being a means of his forgiveness.
[489] Ibn ʿAsākir: Tārīkh Dimashq, vol. 35 pg. 38.

I do not wish for the pangs of my death to be easy. It is the last condition by which a Muslims sins are forgiven. [490]

Misconception 3 - The fortune he left behind after his death

The objective of those levelling this accusation against him is to bring into question the character and integrity of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. It is a further attempt to stain his legacy by insinuating he had pilfered the wealth of Egypt after becoming its governor.

ʿAlī al-Kūrānī said:

وجمع عمرو ثروة طائلة من الفتوحات، وكان شديد الحرص على الولاية، وقد ظهرت ثروته مبكرة في عهد عمر.

ʿAmr had amassed a fortune from the conquests. He was exceedingly ambitious for positions of leadership and his opulence became apparent during the early years of ʿUmar. [491]

Al-Rīshahrī said:

وخلف ثروة طائلة، ودراهم ودنانير وافرة، وذكر أن أمواله المنقولة بلغت سبعين رقبة جمل مملوءة ذهبا.

He left behind a great fortune with much gold and silver. It has been mentioned that his movable assets amounted to seventy camel loads of gold. [492]

[490] Aḥmad: *al-Zuhd*, col. 1 pg. 298; Abū Nuʿaym: *al-Ḥilyah*, vol. 5 pg. 317.
[491] Qirā'ah Jadīdah fi al-Futūḥāt, vol. 2 pg. 170.

The evidence they present in this regard is as follows:

Mustadrak al-Ḥākim

The narration of al-Ḥākim in *al-Mustadrak* on the authority of Qatādah who said:

لما احتضر عمرو بن العاص، قال كيلوا مالي، فكالوه، فوجدوه اثنين وخمسين مدا، فقال: من يأخذه بما فيه؟ يا ليته كان بعرا.

When ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was on his death bed he said, "Weigh my wealth."

They weighed it and found it to come to fifty-two mudd[493].

He said, "Who will take all what it holds? If only it were dung."[494]

Al-Muḥtaḍarīn lī Ibn Abī al-Dunyā

The narration of Ibn Abī al-Dunyā on the authority of al-Ḥasan who said:

لما احتضر عمرو ابن العاص، نظر إلى صناديق، فقال: من يأخذها بما فيها؟ يا ليته كان بعرا، ثم أمر الحرس، فأحاطوا بقصره، فقال بنوه: ما هذا؟ فقال: ما ترون هذا يغني عني شيئا.

When ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was on his death bed, he looked at the coffers and said, "Who will take what it holds? If only it were dung."

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[492] Mawsūʿah al-Imām ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, vol. 5 pg. 313.
[493] *Mudd*: A unit of measurement equal to approximately 797 grams.
[494] Al-Ḥākim: *Al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3 pg. 513.

He then instructed the guards and they surrounded his palace. His sons asked him, "What is the meaning of this?"

He replied, "Do you see any of this helping me in any way." [495]

Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalā'

The narration of al-Dhahabī in *al-Siyar* in which he said:

خلف –أي عمراً– من الذهب سبعين رقبة جمل مملوءة ذهبا.

The estate of gold left by ʿAmr was seventy camel loads. [496]

Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa al-Iʿtibār

The narration of al-Maqrīzī in *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa al-Iʿtibār*, wherein he said:

إنه خلف سبعين بهارا دنانير، والبهار: جلد ثور، ومبلغه أردبان بالمصري، فلما حضرته الوفاة أخرجه، وقال: من يأخذه بما فيه؟ فأبى ولده أخذه، وقالا: حتى ترد إلى كل ذي حق حقه، فقال: والله ما أجمع بين اثنين منهم، فبلغ معاوية، فقال: نحن نأخذه بما فيه.

He left behind seventy *buhār* of gold coins. Buhār refers to the hide of a bull each of which equals to two Egyptian ardebs[497]. When he was on his death bed, he instructed it all to be taken out.

He then said, "Who will take what it holds?"

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[495] *Al-Muḥtaḍarīn*: ibn Abī al-Dunyā: pg. 94.
[496] Al-Dhahabī: *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, vol. 3 pg. 78.
[497] Translators note: The ardeb is equivalent to approximately 76 Kgs.

His sons refused and they said, “Not until you return it to its rightful owners.”

He replied, “That is an impossibility.”

News of this reached Muʿāwiyah who commented, “We will take what it holds.” [498]

Answer

This doubt can be answered in the following five ways:

1. Studying The Chains of Transmission

All of the narrations that recount and approximate the wealth of ʿAmr are not authentic. Hereunder is a detailed exposition:

Chain of Mustadrak al-Ḥākim

Al-Ḥakīm narrated it from **Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAṣamah al-ʿAdl** — from al-Sariy ibn Khuzaymah — from Mūsa ibn Ismā’īl — from **Abū Hilāl al-Rāsibī** — from **Qatādah**.

Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAṣamah al-ʿAdl al-Nīsāpūrī

He is the shaykh of al-Ḥakīm.

• Al-Dhahabī said, “They interpolated his book by adding ḥadīth to it, though he himself is truthful.” [499]

[498] Al-Maqrīzī: *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa al-Iʿtibār*, vol. 1 pg. 830
[499] Al-Dhahabī: *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, vol. 1 pg. 48.

• Ibn Ḥajar said, “This man is from the teachers of al-Ḥakīm. He writes in his *Tārīkh*, ‘I met him when he was advanced in age. He heard from his father and others before 280 A.H.’ His original manuscript and narrations were authentic. Some copyists made additions to it. Allah exonerated Abū Isḥāq from their acts.” [500]

Abū Hilāl al-Rāsibī, Muḥammad ibn Salīm

Abū Bakr al-Athram said:

> سألت أبا عبد الله أحمد بن حنبل عن أبي هلال يعني الراسبي قال: قد احتمل حديثه إلا أنه يخالف في حديث قتادة وهو مضطرب الحديث عن قتادة.
>
> I asked Abū ʿAbd Allāh, Aḥmad ibn Ḥambal regarding Abū Hilāl al-Rāsibī. He said, “His ḥadīth are to be considered; however, he contradicts others in the narrations from Qatādah. His narrations from Qatādah are *Muḍtarib* (unresolvably problematic).” [501]

This particular narration of his is from Qatādah.

Qatādah ibn Diʿāmah al-Sadūsī

Though he is reliable and of high status[502] he did not hear from ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and, thus, his narration from him is *mursal* (broken). The status such has already been explained.

Chain of Al-Muḥtaḍarīn

[500] Ibn Ḥajar: *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. 1 pg. 80.
[501] Ibn Abī Ḥātim: *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, vol. 7 pg. 273.
[502] Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Taqrīb*: 5518.

This narration is also weak. Ibn Abī al-Dunyā narrated it from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣāliḥ — from Ḥafṣ ibn Ghayāth — from **Ashʿath** — from al-Ḥasan.

Ashʿath

In this chain of transmission Ashʿath could be Ibn Sawār who is weak. Or it could be others whose narrations are accepted such as Ashʿath ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jābir al-Ḥuddānī who is truthful. It could also be referring to Ashʿath ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ḥumrānī who is reliable and a jurist. All three of the above narrate from al- Ḥasan al-Baṣrī whilst Ḥafṣ ibn Ghayāth narrates from them all. [503]

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī

He narrated much with tadlīs and he hasn't specified having heard here. As such his narrations will not be accepted until he specifies having heard. A discussion regarding his mursal narrations has already passed.

Chain of Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalā'

What al-Dhahabī has mentioned in *al-Siyar* has no chain of transmission. It is naught but hearsay.

Chain of al-Mawāʿiẓ wa al-Iʿtibār

[503] See, *Suālāt al-Barqānī li al-Dāraquṭnī,* pg. 17; Al-Mizzī: *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6 pg. 99; and Ibn Ḥajar: *Taqrīb al-Tahdhib*, pg. 113.

Similarly, the statement of al-Maqrīzī has been mentioned without a chain of transmission. This shows the inauthenticity of it. [504]

2. The Children Refusing Any Inheritance

These narrations tell us that his children refused to take of the seventy loads of gold coins when they were presented with it. This contradicts other narrations such as the narration of *Tārīkh Dimashq* which is as follows:

لما حضرت عمرو بن العاص الوفاة قال له ابنه عبد الله: يا أبتاه أوص في مالي ومالك ما بدا لك، قال: فدعا كاتبا فقال: اكتب، فجعل يكتب، قال: فلما أسرع في المال قال: يا أبة لا أحسبك إلا قد أتيت على مالي ومال إخوتي، فلو بعثت إلى إخوتي فتحلل ذلك منهم، قال عمرو للكاتب: اقرأه فقرأه فقال: عبد الله بن عمرو بخ بخ، قال: فقال له عمرو: يا عبد الله

[504] I found some Christian sources on the net which mention ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ to have taken possession of ʿAsqalān—an area of Palestine—and all it held as it was an endowment of ʿAmr for his children. They have referenced this to the book, *al-Mughrib fī Ḥulī al-Maghrib*, the Egyptian chapter, authored by Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalūsī. A portion of this book has been published whilst the location of the rest in unknown. A part of the Egyptian chapter has been published under the name *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Ḥulī Ḥaḍrat al-Qāhirah*. I did not find this claim in the book. If it is found in the future or in another book, it will not be accepted without an authentic chain on of transmission, which is impossible.
The conqueror of ʿAsqalān was Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ as recorded in *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* (vol. 4 pg. 241). Other reports suggest ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ conquered it but its people did not take hold of it at which it fell to Romans. Muʿāwiyah re-conquered it. See, al-Balādhurī: *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pg. 144. Does it make sense to conquer a city and leave it bare without any personnel? That too during the era of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb?
Anyone who knows anything about warfare, even a fair non-Muslim, would laugh at this assertion.
We will reproduce, in chapter five, some laws regarding jihād, the impartiality of ʿUmar ibn al- Khaṭṭāb, and the praise of the Christians in favour of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ.

أتشكو هذا؟ فوالله لامرأة من المهاجرات أقبلت تتغير في صرحو تقوده إلى رسول الله ويحمله عليه في سبيل الله خير من هذا كله، جاء ذاك من حيث جاء، وجاء هذا من حيث جاءنا عبد الله، والله لقد هلكنا إلا أنا معتصمين بلا إله إلا الله.

When ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was close to leaving this world, his son ʿAbd Allāh said to him, "Father! Make your bequest for my wealth and your wealth as you see fit."

ʿAmr called for a scribe and instructed him to write. He began writing his bequests. When he began making bequests regarding his wealth ʿAbd Allāh said, "O father, you are spending the wealth, my wealth and the wealth of my brothers. Why do you not send for them and attain their approval."

ʿAmr said to the scribe, "Read it."

When he read it ʿAbd Allāh praised and approved of it.

ʿAmr commented, "O ʿAbd Allāh, do you deem this praiseworthy? By Allah! An emigrating woman, changed by travel bringing such to Rasūlullāh ﷺ who spends it in the path of Allah is better than all of this. ʿAbd Allāh! That came from where it came and this came from where we came. By Allah! We were to be destroyed had it we not been saved by our faith." [505]

3. His Father Was Wealthy

We have already established when discussing his bio-data that his father was a wealthy man and he would wear silk and silk brocade. We also discussed the entrepreneurial abilities of ʿAmr رضي الله عنه and his

[505] Ibn ʿAsākir: Tārīkh Dimashq, vol. 49 pg. 132.

substantial estate at al-Ṭā'if called al-Waḥṭ which Kings sought out. The estate boasted a million vine branches, each costing a dirham.

4. Prosperity of the Islamic State

The Islamic State was, at its inception, without any material wealth. Many of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُمْ would not even find anything to eat and many would have a lower garment whilst being unable to afford an upper garment. As Allah favoured them with conquests, material wealth started flowing in. Consider the following narration:

صلى جابر في إزار قد عقده من قبل قفاه وثيابه موضوعة على المشجب، قال له قائل: تصلي في إزار واحد؟ فقال: إنما صنعت ذلك ليراني أحمق مثلك، وأينا كان له ثوبان على عهد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم.

> Once Jabir prayed with his lower garment tied around his neck whilst his clothes were lying beside him on a wooden peg. Somebody asked him, "Do you offer your prayer in a single garment?"
>
> He replied, "I did so to show it to a fool like you. Had anyone of us two garments in the lifetime of the Prophet?" [506]

This portrayed the general state. If we were to look at individual incidents, we would find many cases of adversity as well.

Consider Abū Hurayrah رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ losing consciousness due to hunger during the era of Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ. Yes, when the Islamic Empire grew, Allah opened the doors of prosperity.

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[506] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book of ṣalāh: chapter of tying a garment around the neck in ṣalāh. Ḥadīth: 345.

ʿUmar رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ had appointed him as governor of Bahrain and he returned with four hundred thousand.

ʿUmar asked him:

> ما جئت به لنفسك؟ قال: عشرين ألفا، قال: من أين أصبتها؟ قال: كنت أتجر، قال: انظر رأس مالك ورزقك فخذه، واجعل الآخر في بيت المال.

> How much of this is yours?
>
> He replied, "Twenty thousand."
>
> ʿUmar enquired, "How did you come by it."
>
> He answered, "I would do business."
>
> ʿUmar said, "Take your capital and stipend and deposit the rest into the Bayt al-Māl." [507]

The firmness and reckoning of ʿUmar رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ with his governors in wealth they accrued is well known.

Another example of attaining wealth with conquests is that of Zubayr ibn al- ʿAwwām رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ. His total estate as opined by al-Dhahabī amounted to 50.2 million in that time.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr said:

> وقتل الزبير ولم يدع دينارًا ولا درهمًا إلا أرضين بالغابة، وإحدى عشرة دارًا بالمدينة، ودارين بالبصرة، ودارًا بالكوفة، ودارًا بمصر... وما ولي إمارة قط، ولا جباية، ولا خراجًا، ولا شيئًا إلا أن يكون في غزو مع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، أو مع أبي بكر، وعمر، وعثمان رضي الله عنهم.

[507] Al-Dhahabī: *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, vol. 4 pg. 44.

> Zubayr was martyred and he left no money, but he left certain lands, two of them in al-Ghābah, eleven houses in al-Madīnah, two in Baṣrah, one in Kūfah and one in Egypt... He never accepted a governorship, or revenue office, or any public office. All he got was from fighting along with Messenger of Allah ﷺ and Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān رضي الله عنهم.[508]

Many of the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم had no material wealth in the initial stages. Allah سبحانه وتعالى then graced them with wealth.

As such, if those who had nothing, prospered, then for a business man to have prospered is hardly farfetched.

5. Opportunity

The relationship ʿUmar رضي الله عنه had with his governors was maintained by compliance to him and assisting him in the greater aims of the khilāfah. We have already established the firmness and reckoning of ʿUmar رضي الله عنه. He would take a keen interest in their affairs and in the manner, they dealt with the populous; the rights of the people and omissions of the governors was foremost in his mind. His gaze was not far off from their wealth and the avenues by which they received wealth. If he had the slightest misgiving, he would instruct them to distribute it. [509]

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[508] Ibn Saʿd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3 pg. 108.

[509] *Dirāsah Najdiyyah fi al-Marwiyyāt fi Shakṣiyyah ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb*, vol. 2 pg. 1157. As for the narration which suggests ʿUmar رضي الله عنه sent Muḥammad ibn Maslamah to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in order to distribute his wealth, has glaring holes. The author of this book writes the following in, vol. 2 pg. 660: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam recorded this in *Futūḥ Miṣr*, pg. 146; al-Balādhurī in *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pgs. 220-221 and *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* pgs. 270-271; and al-ʿAskarī in *Al-Awā'il*.
There is in its chain of transmission **ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz** for whom I found no bio-data entry. His student Muḥammad ibn Samāʿah al-Ramlī has deemed him

Taking the above into consideration, I find it nigh-impossible for him to have taken any wealth from the state coffers in an illegitimate manner.

As for opportunities during the khilāfah of ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, well he was relieved of his post during the khilāfah of ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

He was a governor for Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ after that for a period of three years.

Thus, the accusation levelled against him cannot be imagined during the era of ʿUmar or ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا and neither does misappropriating the entire Egyptian economy during the three years as governor for Muʿāwiyah make any sense.

Dear reader, it becomes quite evident that these doubts and accusations are naught but fairy tales which have no—not even a distant—relationship to the truth.

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reliable and he himself is reliable from the tenth category. See, *Taqrīb*, pg. 482. He said, ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz narrated to me and he is a shaykh and reliable. However, it is a *muʿḍal* narration (narration having two narrators missing) from ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

The chain of transmission recorded by al-Balādhurī is from **ʿAbd Allah ibn al-Mubārak** — from ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. He is reliable from the eight category, however his narrating from ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ is muʿḍal.

In the chain of transmission recorded by al-ʿAskarī, there is the narrator **ʿAbd Allah ibn Shabīb**. Al- Dhahabī said, "Akhbārī knowledgeable but worthless." Al-Dhahabī: *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, vol. 2 pg. 438. It is also muʿḍal from the narration Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm who is reliable from the sixth category. His narration from ʿUmar is muʿḍal. Thus, the account is weak.

Misconceptions related to his relationship with Rasūlullāh ﷺ

Misconception 1 - Rasūlullāh ﷺ cursed him when he ridiculed the Prophet ﷺ

This doubt is based on the narration recorded wherein ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ ridiculed Rasūlullāh ﷺ with some stanzas of poetry. Upon hearing this Rasūlullāh ﷺ said:

اللهم إني لا أحسن أن أقول الشعر فالعن عمراً بكل بيت لعنة.

O Allah, I am unable to recite poetry, so curse ʿAmr with a curse for every stanza. [510]

Answer

This doubt can be answered in two ways:

1. Studying The Chains of Transmission

[510] Ibn al-Dimashqī: *Jawāhir al-Maṭālib fi Manāqib al-Imām ʿAlī*, vol. 2 pg. 219; al-Aḥmadī al-Miyānjī: *Mawāqif al-Shīʿah*, vol. 2 pg. 383.

Ibn Qutaybah[511] has recorded it with a chain of transmission from Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Ziyād ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ḥassān — from Sahl ibn Ḥammād Abū ʿItāb al-Dallāl.

Ibn Abī Ḥātim[512], al-Rūyānī in his *Musnad*[513], Al-Jawzaqānī[514] and Ibn ʿAsākir[515] have also recorded it with a chain of transmission from Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannā — from Sahl ibn Ḥammād Abū ʿItāb al-Dallāl.

Al-Ṭaḥāwī has recorded it with a chain of transmission from Aḥmad ibn al- Mufaḍḍal al-Ḥafrī.

All the narrators record from **ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān** — from ʿAdī ibn Thābit — from Barā ibn ʿĀzib who reports, Rasūlullāh ﷺ said:

اللهم إن عمرو بن العاص هجاني، وهو يعلم أني لست بشاعر، فاهجه والعنه عدد ما هجاني، أو مكان ما هجاني.

O Allah, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ ridiculed me knowing well I do not say poetry.

Ridicule and curse him in lieu of what he has ridiculed me.

The ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān under discussion here could be **al-Zarqī** as explicitly recorded by al-Jawzaqānī in *al-Abāṭīl*. Ibn Qutaybah in *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, and Ibn Abī Ḥātim have opined him to be **al-Sulamī**. We will discuss both.

[511] *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, vol. 1 pg. 287.
[512] *ʿIlal al-Ḥadīth*, vol. 2 pg. 444.
[513] Ḥadīth: 382.
[514] *Al-Abāṭīl*, vol. 1 pg. 321.
[515] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 118.

I. **ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Abū ʿUbādah or Abū ʿUbbād al-Zarqī:**

- Ibn Ḥajar said, "ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Farwah or ibn Saburah al-Anṣārī, Abū ʿUbādah al-Zarqī is discarded from the seventh category[516]."
- Al-Jawzaqānī said, "This narration is *Bāṭil* (false). I do not know anyone who has narrated it except ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Farwah al-Zarqī al-Madīnī. He is *Munkar al-Ḥadīth (one who reports unacceptable reports).*
- Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī said, "ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Farwah is Munkar al-Ḥadīth, weak in ḥadīth, and is likened to a *Matrūk* narrator (one who is suspected of forgery)."
- Abū Zurʿah al-Rāzī said, "ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Farwah is not strong." [517]

II. **ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī**, reliable from the sixth category.[518]

Perhaps the more correct is that it is al-Sulamī since he has been explicitly recorded on another chain of transmission:

Ibn Abī Ḥātim said, and Abū Zurʿah narrated to us — from Abū Naʿīm — from ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī — from ʿAdī ibn Thābit who reported — from Rasūlullāh ﷺ who said. This is a mursal narration. [519]

Even though al-Sulamī is reliable, the chain of transmission is defective by it being mursal.

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[516] *Al-Taqrīb*: 5306.
[517] *Al-Abāṭīl*, vol. 1 pg. 322.
[518] *Al-Taqrīb*: 5308.
[519] Ibn Abī Ḥātim: *ʿIlal al-Ḥadīth*, vol. 2 pg. 344.

Ibn Abī Ḥātim said, "I asked my father regarding the narration of Sahl ibn Ḥammād — from ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān — from ʿAdī — from al-Barā' — from al-Nabī ﷺ."

My father replied, 'This is incorrect. He narrates — from ʿAdī — from al- Nabī ﷺ as a mursal narration without Barā'.'" [520]

Thus, the narration is not authentic due to it being mursal and mursal is a type of weak narrations.

There is another chain of transmission for this ḥadīth:

Ibn Abī Ḥātim said, and I heard Abū Zurʿah — Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad al-Jurmī — from Abū Tumaylah — from Abū Ḥamzah al-Sukūnī — from **Jābir al-Juʿfī** — from ʿAdī ibn Thābit from Zir ibn Ḥubaysh — from Ḥudhayfah. [521]

This chain of transmission is despotic since there is **Jābir ibn Yazīd al-Juʿfī** in it.

Jābir ibn Yazīd al-Juʿfī

- Ibn Maʿīn, Zā'idah, Layth ibn Abī Sulaym, Ayyūb, and Ibn ʿUyaynah have all called him a liar.
- Abū Ḥanīfah said, "I have not met anyone who is a greater liar than Jābir al-Juʿfī. He brought forth a narration for anything I said to him. He claimed to have thirty thousand narrations which he had not made apparent."
- Abū Ḥātim quotes Aḥmad ibn Ḥambal who said, "They, i.e. Yaḥyā and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, suspected him of forgery."
- Al-Nasa'ī said, "His narrations are discarded."

[520] Ibid.
[521] Ibid.

❖ Al-Ḥākim Abū Aḥmad said, "His narrations are worthless." [522]

This is besides the fact that he, as established, does tadlīs and did not specify hearing here.

Ibn Ḥajar said, "Al-Thawrī, al-ʿIjlī, and Ibn Saʿd have characterized him as one who does tadlīs."

Ibn Ḥajar has placed him in the fifth category amongst those who are weak even after overlooking their penchant for tadlīs. Thus, their narrations are rejected even if they explicitly mention having heard it. [523]

Ibn ʿAsākir[524] has recorded this with another chain from Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭālib ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad — from my father — from Abū ʿAmr Muḥammad ibn Marwān ibn ʿUmar al-Qurashī — from Jaʿfar ibn Aḥmad ibn Maʿdān — from al- Ḥasan ibn Jahūr — from Al-Qāsim ibn ʿUrwah — from **Ibn Da'b** who said:

قدم أبو الأسود الديلي على معاوية بن أبي سفيان بعد مقتل علي بن أبي طالب وقد استقامت له البلاد فأدني معاوية مجلسه وأعظم ... فقال: يا أمير المؤمنين إن هذا الذي ترى هجا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بأبيات من الشعر، فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: اللهم إني لا أحسن أن أقول الشعر فالعن عمراً بكل بيت لعنة.

Abū al-Aswad al-Dīlī came to Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān after the martyrdom of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib when the matter of leadership had settled in his favour. Muʿāwiyah brought him close and welcomed him with esteem... He said, "Amīr al-Mu'minīn, this person that you see ridiculed Rasūlullāh ﷺ with some stanzas of poetry. Rasūlullāh ﷺ

[522] See, Al-Mizzī: *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 4 pgs. 468- 469.
[523] Ibn Ḥajar: *Taʿrīf ahl al-Taqdīs*, vol. 1 pg. 53: 133.
[524] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 25 pg. 177.

countered him by saying, 'O Allah I am unable to recite poetry, so curse ʿAmr for every stanza a curse.'"

This chain is not authentic as well, since it has in it **Ibn Da'b**.

Ibn Da'b, ʿĪsā ibn Yazīd ibn Bakr Da'b al-Laythī al-Madanī

- Al-Ḥāfiẓ said, "He was an historian, knowledgeable, and a genealogist. His ḥadīth though are worthless."
- Khalaf al-Aḥmar said, "He would fabricate ḥadīth."
- Al-Bukhārī and others have said, "His ḥadīth are discarded (due to being suspected of forgery)."
- It is said that he enjoyed the good graces of al-Mahdī and al-Hādī who one day gave him thirty thousand gold coins.
- Abū Ḥātim said, "His ḥadīth are discarded." [525]

Abū al-Aswad al-Dīlī or al-Du'ali or al-Baṣrī

His name is Ẓālim ibn ʿAmr ibn Sufyān or ʿAmr ibn Ẓālim or ʿAmr ibn ʿUthmān ibn ʿAmr. He is reliable, worthy, a Mukhaḍram. [526]

Based in this, it is evident that the narration is mursal and mursal is a category of weak narrations. This is besides Ibn Da'b, who is in the chain of transmission, being suspected of forgery.

2. Studying the Content of the Narration

If we were to, for arguments sake, accept the narration to be true and established. The answer would be that this was during his era of ignorance after which he accepted Islam. He had laid down the

[525] Ibn Ḥajar: *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. 4 pg. 408.
[526] Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Taqrīb*: 7940.

condition of forgiveness for himself when accepting Islam at the hands of Rasūlullāh ﷺ at which point Rasūlullāh ﷺ informed him that Islam wipes out all that came before it. Rasūlullāh ﷺ then accepted his pledge and praised him much, as already explained.

Ibn Qutaybah said:

نرى هذا من قول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم كان قبل إسلام عمرو بن العاص رضي الله عنه.

This was said by Rasūlullāh ﷺ before ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه accepted Islam.

Ibn ʿAsākir said:

في إسناده مقال وهذا قبل إسلامه والإسلام يجب ما قبله.

There is an issue with its chain of transmission. And this was before his acceptance of Islam. Islam wipes out all that came before it.

Al-Dhahabī said after mentioning this narration:

يعني قبل أن يسلم والحديث منكر.

This was before his acceptance of Islam. The ḥadīth itself is Munkar.[527]

[527] Al-Dhahabī: *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, vol. 5 pg. 382.

Misconception 2 - Rasūlullāh ﷺ prayed against him

This doubt is based on the narration wherein Rasūlullāh ﷺ heard the voices of two men singing. They were saying:

لا يزال حواري يزول عظامه زوى الحرب عنه أن يجن ويقبرا

My bosom friend continues to lose his limbs;

But for war, he refuses to die and be buried.

He asked who were the two and was told it was Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. He said:

اللهم أركسهما في الفتنة ركسا ودعهما إلى النار دعا.

May Allah throw them in *fitnah* (sedition) and push them towards hell.[528]

Answer

This doubt can be answered in five ways:

1. Studying the Chains of Transmission

This narration is extremely weak.

[528] Al-Amīnī: *al-Ghadīr*, Vol. 10 pg. 140; Murtaḍā ʿAskarī: *Aḥādīth Umm al-Mu'minīn ʿĀ'ishah*, vol. 1 pg. 295.

Al-Ṭabarānī[529] has recorded it by way of **ʿĪsā ibn Sawādah al-Nakhaʿī** — from Layth — from Ṭā'ūs — from Ibn ʿAbbās رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ who said, "Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ heard the voices of two men..."

ʿĪsā ibn Sawādah al-Nakhaʿī

- Al-Haythamī said in *al-Majmaʿ*, [530] "Al-Ṭabarānī has recorded it. In its chain is **ʿĪsā ibn Sawādah al-Nakhaʿī** who is a liar. The narration is inauthentic."
- Abū Ḥātim said, "His narrations are *Matrūk* (suspected of forgery)."
- Ibn Maʿīn said, "I deem him a liar." [531]

This is also recorded from the narration of Abū Barzah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ which has been narrated by Ibn Abī Shaybah[532], and from the same chain Aḥmad[533] and Abū Yaʿlā[534].

Al-Bazzār[535] has also narrated it as well as Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Majrūḥīn*[536] and from the same chain Ibn al-Jawzī[537].

All of them have narrated it from the chain of Muḥammad ibn Fuḍayl — from **Yazīd ibn Abī Ziyād** — from **Sulaymān ibn ʿAmr ibn al-Aḥwaṣ** — from **Abū Hilāl al-ʿAkkī** — from Abū Barzah with the same text. In it is Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ said:

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[529] Al-Ṭabarānī: *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*: 1097.
[530] *Al-Majmaʿ*, vol. 8 pg. 121.
[531] Al-Dhahabī: *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, vol. 3 pg. 312.
[532] *Al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 15 pg. 232-233: 38875.
[533] *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 4 pg. 421.
[534] *Musnad Abī Yaʿlā*, number: 7436.
[535] *Musnad al-Bazzār*, vol. 2 pg. 69.
[536] *Al-Majrūḥīn*, vol. 3 pg. 101.
[537] *Al-Mawḍuʿāt*, vol. 2 pg. 270.

انظروا من هما قال فقالو فلان وفلان قال فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم.

Go and see who are those two. They went and said, "It is so and so." Al-Nabī ﷺ then said...

Yazīd ibn Abī Ziyād

- Ibn al-Jawzī said, "He would be corrected when narrating towards the end of his life."
- ʿAlī and Yaḥyā said, "His narrations cannot be cited as evidence."
- Ibn al-Mubārak said, "Throw him away."
- Ibn ʿAdī said, "All of his narrations are not corroborated." [538]

Sulaymān ibn ʿAmr ibn al-Aḥwaṣ

- Ibn al-Qaṭṭān said, "He is unknown." [539]

Abū Hilāl al-ʿAkkī:

- Al-Bazzār said, "He is not well known."

Note:

1. In all of the chains of Abū Barzah, the two men that Rasūlullāh ﷺ prayed against are not named with exception of the chain of Ibn Ḥibbān.

[538] Al-Mizzī: *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 32 pg. 138.
[539] *Bayān al-Wahm wa al-Īhām fī al-Aḥkām*, vol. 4 pg. 287.

2. In *Musnad al-Bazzār* the following appears:

نظر إلى رجلين يوم أحد، يتمثلان بهذا الشعر في حمزة.

He looked towards two men on the Day of ʿUhūd who were saying these couplets in reference to Ḥamzah.

In *Muṣannaf ibn Abī Shaybah* and *Musnad Abī Yaʿlā* the following appears:

وذلك قبل أن تحرم الخمر.

And that was before the prohibition of wine.

It has been narrated by al-Muṭṭalib ibn Rabīʿah wherein the two men have also been left unidentified. Hereunder is this report:

Al-Ṭabarānī narrated in *al-Awsaṭ*[540] from Muḥammad ibn Ḥafṣ ibn Bahmard — from Isḥāq ibn al-Ḥārith al-Rāzī — from **ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd al-Ghaffār al-Faqīmī** — from Nuṣayr ibn Abī al-Ashʿath and Sharīk and Abū Bakr ibn ʿAyyāsh — from **Yazīd ibn Abī Ziyād** — from ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Nawfal — from Muṭṭalib ibn Rabīʿah who said:

بينما رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في بعض أسفاره يسير في بعض الليل إذ سمع صوت ...

فإذا رجل يطارح رجلا للغناء...

Whilst Rasūlullāh ﷺ was on one of his travels, he heard a voice at night... it was two men singing to each other.

Al-Ṭabarānī said, "This narration has only been recorded from Nuṣayr ibn al- Ashʿath by **ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd al-Ghaffār.**"

[540] *Muʿjam al-Awsaṭ*, number: 7080.

ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd al-Ghaffār

• Abū Ḥātim said, “His narrations are Matrūk.”

• Ibn ʿAdī said, “He is not reliable in ḥadīth. He narrated many Matrūk ḥadīth relating to the virtues of ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ... He falls under the suspicion of fabrication when narrating virtues. The predecessors accused him of fabricating virtues for the Ahl al-Bayt and criticism for those besides them.” [541]

Yazīd ibn Abī Ziyād

His weakness has already been discussed.

Dear reader, this discussion makes it clear that this ḥadīth is in no way authentic from any of its chains of transmission.

Al-Dhahabī has considered the ḥadīth—wherein there is mention of ʿAmr and Muʿāwiyah—as Matrūk. [542] Al-Albānī holds the same view[543]

Ibn al-Qayyim said:

كذب مختلق. وذكر أن كل حديث ورد في ذم عمرو بن العاص ومعاوية بأنه كذب.

> A lie. Fabricated. All the narrations that disparage ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Muʿāwiyah are lies. [544]

2. Studying the Content of the Narration

[541] Ibn Abī Ḥātim: *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, vol. 7 pg. 246; Ibn ʿAdī: *Al-Kāmil*, vol.5 pg. 146-147.
[542] Al-Dhahabī: *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā’*, vol. 6 pg. 131.
[543] *Al-Silsilah al-Ḍaʿīfah*: 6567.
[544] *Al-Manār al-Munīf*, vol. 1 pg. 118.

The content of the narration is *Muḍṭarib* (unresolvably problematic) together with the weakness of its chain of transmission. In some of the narrations there is mention of the two who Rasūlullāh ﷺ prayed against as ʿAmr ibn Rifāʿah ibn al-Tābūb and Muʿāwiyah ibn Rāfiʿ; both hypocrites. This has been recorded by Ibn Qāniʿ[545] and Ibn ʿAdī who both narrate it with the following chain:

From ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar — from **Shuʿayb ibn Ibrāhīm** — from **Sayf ibn ʿUmar** — from Abū ʿUmar Mawlā Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭalḥah — from Zayd ibn Aslam — from Ṣāliḥ Shaqrān who said:

بينا نحن ليلة في سفر، إذ سمع النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم صوتا، فقال: ما هذا؟ فذهبت أنظر، فإذا معاوية بن التابوب، وعمرو بن رفاعة بن التابوب، ومعاوية بن رافع يقول:

لا يزال حواري تلوح عظامه روى الحرب عنه ان يموت فيقبرا

فأتيت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فأخبرته فقال: اللهم أركسهما ركسا ودعهما إلى نار جهنم، فمات رفاعة قبل أن يقدم النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من ذلك السفر.

One night whilst travelling, al-Nabī ﷺ heard a voice.

He enquired, "What is this voice?"

I went to look and it was Muʿāwiyah ibn al-Tābūb and ʿAmr ibn Rifāʿah ibn Tābūb.

Muʿāwiyah ibn Rāfiʿ was saying:

My bosom friend continues to lose his limbs;

But for war, he refuses to die and be buried.

I came to Nabī ﷺ and informed him.

[545] *Muʿjam al-Ṣaḥābah*: 466.

He said, "May Allah throw them in *fitnah* (sedition) and push them towards hell."

Rifāʿah died before Nabī ﷺ returned from that journey.

Al-Suyūṭī said, "This narration removes the qualms and clarifies the mistake that occurred in the first narration was but in one word; that of 'ibn al-ʿĀṣ'. Rather it was Ibn al-Rifāʿah who was one of the hypocrites. Similarly, Muʿāwiyah ibn Rāfiʿ was from amongst the hypocrites. And Allah knows best." [546]

That being said, this narration cannot be deemed authentic either. The chain of transmission has in it **Sayf ibn ʿUmar al-Tamīmī**.

Sayf ibn ʿUmar al-Tamīmī

- Al-Dhahabī[547] said, "He has *Tawālīf* (extremely weak narrations) and is Matrūk by consensus.

The one narrating from him is **Shuʿayb ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī**.

Shuʿayb ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī

- Ibn ʿAdī[548] has recorded this narration when discussing him. He states, "Shuʿayb ibn Ibrāhīm has narrated aḥādīth and historical traditions. He is not well known and the number of aḥādīth and traditions he has narrated don't amount to much. There remains some erroneousness therein *nakarah* (anomalies) as the traditions and aḥādīth he relates contain prejudice against the predecessors."

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[546] *Al-La'ālī al-Maṣnūʿah fi al-Aḥādīth al-Mawḍuʿah*, vol. 1 pg. 391.
[547] *Al-Mughnī fi al-Ḍuʿafā*, vol. 1 pg. 419.
[548] *Al-Kāmil*, vol. 5 pg. 7.

- ❖ Al-Dhahabī said, “The narrations of the books of Sayf are from him. He is unfamiliar.” [549]

Note:

Ibn Qāniʿ has the name Saʿīd Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Taymī. The correct name is Shuʿayb ibn Ibrāhīm as in the *al-Kāmil* of Ibn ʿAdī.

3. The Law of Contradictory Reports

Dear reader, the weakness of the narration through both its chains have become evident to you. It is quite clear that the narration cannot be established by way of its chain of transmission.

We have already discussed that the two persons specified in one of the narrations are Muʿāwiyah ibn al-Tābūb and ʿAmr ibn Rifāʿah al-Tābūb who were both hypocrites. The other narration deems them to be Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr ibn al- ʿĀṣ, the Companions of Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيۡهِوَسَلَّمَ.

If for arguments sake, we were to accept the narration as established, it would be said that the narrator was confused or misunderstood.

وإذا تطرق الاحتمال المساوي بطل الاستدلال به على الشيء المراد.

> And when both contradictory possibilities are equally acceptable, neither can be presented as evidence.

Why then would one choose this over the other? Beyond that, to identify them as the Ṣaḥābah of Rasūlullāh صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيۡهِوَسَلَّمَ is an arbitrary decision which holds no weight!

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[549] Al-Dhahabī: *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, vol. 3 pg. 377.

This is all of course if we deem the narration established, which it clearly is not. There is no way to establish its authenticity.

4. The incident occurred more than once

If it be said, it is possible that similar incidents occurred on more than one occasion. Then the answer would be as follows: In the narrations that mention the names of Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا there is also the specification of the incident occurring before the prohibition of wine whilst another narration specifies it to have occurred at the Battle of Uḥud.

This illustrates it to have occurred before both of them accepted Islam since ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ accepted Islam six months prior to the Conquest of Makkah and Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ accepted Islam at the Conquest of Makkah.

Further, when they both presented themselves to accept Islam, Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ accepted their pledge. In fact, ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ laid down the condition of forgiveness for his previous misdeeds before pledging allegiance at the hand of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. The Prophet صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ responded to this saying:

Are you not aware of the fact that Islam wipes out all the previous misdeeds? Verily migration wipes out all the previous misdeeds, and verily the pilgrimage wipes out all the previous misdeeds? [550]

Beyond this Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ praised him by saying:

أسلم الناس وآمن عمرو بن العاص.

[550] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Book of Faith: chapter regarding Islam wiping out previous misdeeds and similarly migration and ḥajj. Ḥadīth: 121.

The people submitted whilst ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ believed. [551]

Additionally, Rasūlullāh ﷺ appointed him as the leader of the expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsil. [552]

As for Muʿāwiyah, Rasūlullāh ﷺ appointed him as his scribe as reported by Ibn ʿAbbās رضي الله عنهم. [553] The Prophet of Allah ﷺ prayed for him saying:

اللهم اجعله هاديا مهديا واهد به.

O Allah, make him a beacon of guidance, guide him, and guide through him. [554]

5. Was it the practice or teachings of Rasūlullāh ﷺ to pray against his companions with sedition or hell-fire?

How can this be when he had addressed Umm Sulaym saying:

يا أم سليم أما تعلمين أن شرطي على ربي أني اشترطت على ربي فقلت: إنما أنا بشر أرضى كما يرضى البشر، وأغضب كما يغضب البشر، فأيما أحد دعوت عليه من أمتي بدعوة ليس لها بأهل أن تجعلها له طهورا وزكاة وقربة يقربه بها منه يوم القيامة.

[551] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 17413; Al-Tirmidhī: *Al-Sunan*, Ḥadīth: 3844.
[552] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Book of Expeditions, chapter regarding the expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsil. Ḥadīth: 3462; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Book of the virtues of the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم, chapter regarding the merits of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq رضي الله عنه. Ḥadīth: 6328.
[553] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Book of the virtues of the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم, chapter regarding the merits of Abū Sufyān ibn al-Ḥarb رضي الله عنه. Ḥadīth: 6565.
[554] *Musnad Aḥmad*: 17895; *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, Book of virtues, chapter on the merits of Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān رضي الله عنه. Ḥadīth: 3842. He said the narration is Ḥasan Gharīb. Al-Albānī has authenticated it. See, *al-Saḥīḥah*: 1969.

> Umm Sulaym, don't you know that I have made the following pact with my Lord: I am a human being and I am pleased just as a human being is pleased and I become displeased just as a human being becomes displeased, so for any person from amongst my Ummah whom I curse and he in no way deserves it, let that, O Lord, be made a source of purification and purity and nearness to (Allah) for him on the Day of Resurrection. [(555)]

Anas ibn Mālik رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ said:

> لم يكن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم سبابًا ولا فحاشًا ولا لعانًا، كان يقول لأحدنا عند المعتبة: ما له ترب جبينه.

> The Prophet صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ was not one who would abuse others or say obscene words, or curse and if he wanted to admonish anyone of us, he used to say: "What is wrong with him, may dust be on his forehead." [(556)]

In fact, when Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ prayed against some of the polytheists such as Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah, Suhayl ibn ʿAmr, and al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām the following verse was revealed:

﴿لَيْسَ لَكَ مِنَ ٱلْأَمْرِ شَيْءٌ أَوْ يَتُوبَ عَلَيْهِمْ أَوْ يُعَذِّبَهُمْ فَإِنَّهُمْ ظَٰلِمُونَ﴾

(555) *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Book of doing good, joining ties, and sublime conduct, chapter regarding the one Nabī صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ cursed or prayed against and was undeserving of such, it would be a means for his purification, reward, and mercy. Ḥadīth: 2603.
(556) *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on character, chapter on Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ not being obscene. Ḥadīth: 5684.

Not for you, [O Muḥammad, but for Allah], is the decision whether He should [cut them down] or forgive them or punish them, for indeed, they are wrongdoers. [(557)]

Abū Hurayrah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ narrates, "Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ was asked to pray against the polytheists. He said:

إني لم أبعث لعانا وإنما بعثت رحمة.

I have not been sent as a curser. Rather, I have been sent as a mercy.[(558)]

Note:

Ibn Ḥajar said:

حكى ابن بطال أن الدعاء للمشركين ناسخ للدعاء على المشركين، ودليله قوله تعالى: ليس لك من الأمر شيء، قال: والأكثر على أن لا نسخ، وأن الدعاء على المشركين جائز، وإنما النهي عن ذلك في حق من يرجى تألفهم ودخولهم في الإسلام، ويحتمل في التوفيق بينهما أن الجواز حيث يكون في الدعاء ما يقتضي زجرهم عن تماديهم على الكفر، والمنع حيث يقع الدعاء عليهم بالهلاك على كفرهم.

Ibn Baṭṭāl has related the view that praying against the polytheists is abrogated due to the verse *Not for you, [O Muḥammad, but for Allah], is the decision.* However, most of the

[(557)] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on expeditions, chapter on the verse *Not for you, [O Muḥammad, but for Allah], is the decision whether He should [cut them down] or forgive them or punish them, for indeed, they are wrongdoers*. Ḥadīth: 3842; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Book of ṣalāh, chapter regarding the qunūt being recommended in every ṣalāh when the Muslims face a difficulty. Ḥadīth: 675.

[(558)] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Book of doing good, joining ties, and sublime conduct, chapter regarding the prohibition of cursing animals and anything else. Ḥadīth: 2599.

scholars are of the view of permissibility, The prohibition in this verse is regarding those whose acceptance of Islam can be reasonably expected. Another way of reconciliation is that the prohibition is for praying for their death on disbelief whilst the permissibility is based on a warning for them so they take lesson and abate. [559]

Misconception 3 - Rasūlullāh ﷺ warned against the coalition of ʿAmr and Muʿāwiyah and that their coalition would bring no good

This is based on the following narration:

عن زيد بن أرقم أنه دخل على معاوية فإذا عمرو بن العاص جالس معه على السرير، فلما رأى ذلك زيد جاء حتى رمى بنفسه بينهما، فقال له عمرو بن العاص: أما وجدت لك مجلسا إلا أن تقطع بيني وبين أمير المؤمنين؟ فقال زيد: إن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله غزا غزوة وأنتما معه فرآكما مجتمعين فنظر إليكما نظرا شديدا ثم رآكما اليوم الثاني واليوم الثالث، كل ذلك يديم النظر إليكما فقال في اليوم الثالث: إذا رأيتم معاوية وعمرو بن العاص مجتمعين ففرقوا بينهما فإنهما لن يجتمعا على خير.

Zayd ibn Arqam came to see Muʿāwiyah, and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was sitting with him on a bed. When Zayd saw this, he squeezed himself between the two of them.

[559] Ibn Ḥajar: *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 11 pg. 196. The statement of ibn Baṭṭāl can be found in his commentary on the Ṣaḥīḥ vol. 10 pg. 127.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said to him, "Did you not find any other place that you had to put yourself between the Amīr al-Mu'minīn and I?"

Zayd replied, "Rasūlullāh ﷺ went on an expedition with the both of you accompanying him. He noticed the two of you together and looked at the both of you with a steely gaze. He then noticed the two of you together on the second and third day. He would stare at the two of you for a long time. On the third day he said, 'If you see Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ together, then separate them as a coalition between them will bring no good.'" [560]

Answer

This doubt can be answered in three ways:

1. Studying the Chains of Transmission

This narration is extremely weak.

Ibn Muzāḥim has recorded it[561] from — Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān — al-ʿAlā ibn Yazīd al-Qurashī — from **Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad** who said, "Zayd ibn Arqam came to see Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was sitting with him on a bed..."

This chain of transmission has two defects"

1. Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim. We have already discussed him.

[560] *Waqʿah Ṣiffīn*, pgs. 218-219; al-Amīnī: *al-Ghadīr*, al-Amīnī: *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 2 pg. 128.
[561] *Waqʿah Ṣiffīn*, pgs. 218-219.

2. A break (*Inqitāʿ*) in the chain. **Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad** is Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Hāshimī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh and famously known as al-Ṣādiq.

Truthful, and Imām and a jurist. He passed away the year 148 A.H. [562] at the age of 58 and he was born in the year 80 A.H. [563] This means he was born at least 30 years after the death of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, since the latter passed away around 40 or as some have opined after 50 A.H.[564]

The narration has another chain of transmission as recorded by both al-Ṭabarānī[565] and Ibn ʿAsākir[566] who narrated from Yaḥyā ibn ʿUthmān ibn Ṣāliḥ — from Saʿīd ibn ʿUfayr — from **Shaddād ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān**[567] from the offspring of Shaddād ibn Aws — from his **father** — from Yaʿlā ibn Shaddād — from his father who said:

أنه دخل على معاوية رضي الله عنه وهو جالس، وعمرو بن العاص على فراشه، فجلس شداد بينهما وقال: هل تدريان ما يجلسني بينكما؟ إني سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: إذا رأيتموهما جميعا ففرقوا بينهما، فوالله ما اجتمعا إلا على غدرة، فأحببت أن أفرق بينكما.

He came to Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ whilst he was sitting on a bed with ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. Shaddād sat between the two and said, "Do you know why I have sat between the two of you? I heard Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ say, 'When you see the two of them together then separate them. By Allah! They will only act treacherously together.' I thus wished to separate both of you."

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[562] Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Taqrīb*: 950.
[563] Al-Mizzī: *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 5 pg. 97.
[564] Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Taqrīb*: 5053.
[565] Al-Ṭabarānī: *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 7 pg. 289.
[566] Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 169.
[567] In *Tārīkh Dimashq* and *Lisān al-Mīzān* the name is recorded as 'Saʿīd' ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. However, the correct name is Shaddād as found in the other books of reference.

Ibn ʿAsākir said, "**Saʿīd ibn ʿ Abd al-Raḥmān** and his **father** are unknown. Al- Ḥāfiẓ has concurred with him. [568]

Ibn Abī Ḥātim whilst discussing Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Shaddād said, "I asked my father regarding him and he said, '**Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al- Raḥmān** and his father are unknown. Further. His narrations from his father — from his grandfather Shaddād ibn Aws is Munkar.'" [569]

Al-Haythamī said, "Al-Ṭabarānī has narrated it. In its chain is, ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Yaʿlā ibn Shaddād. I do not know him. The remainder of the narrators are reliable."

Dear reader, it has become quite evident to you that this narration is extremely weak. It is not permissible to attribute to Rasūlullāh ﷺ. How can it be so whilst Rasūlullāh ﷺ had praised ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه by saying:

ابنا العاص مؤمنان؛ هشام وعمرو.

The two sons of al-ʿĀṣ: Hishām and ʿAmr are believers.

Rasūlullāh ﷺ held him in a position of trust. He was one of the governors and tax collectors for Rasūlullāh ﷺ. As far as Muʿāwiyah رضي الله عنه is concerned, Rasūlullāh ﷺ had enough trust in him to appoint him as his scribe and prayed for his guidance as already explained.

2. Treacherous nature

[568] Ibn Ḥajar: *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. 3 pg. 36.
[569] Ibn Abī Ḥātim: *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, vol. 7 pg. 315.

The statement, 'They will only act treacherously together' means that both of them had treacherous natures, i.e. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was a treacherous person and Muʿāwiyah ibn Sufyān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was likewise treacherous, an impossible accusation.

And if ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was by himself a pious and trustworthy individual, then what would be the issue of two trustworthy pious individuals being together? Where would the treachery emerge from? This is like pure water meeting pure water. Where would the dirt come from?

Further, understand the following statements of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ in the context of leadership:

Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ said as recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*:

ما من أمير يلي أمر المسلمين ثم لا يجهد لهم وينصح إلا لم يدخل معهم الجنة.

> A ruler who, having obtained control over the affairs of the Muslims, does not strive for their betterment and does not serve them sincerely shall not enter Paradise with them.

In another narration he states:

ما من عبد يسترعيه الله رعية يموت يوم يموت وهو غاش لرعيته إلا حرم الله عليه الجنة.

> Any governor in charge of Muslim subjects who dies while acting dishonestly towards them will be excluded by Allah from Paradise. [570]

These two narrations demonstrate the qualities of a leader as far as striving for the betterment of the Muslims and being sincere in serving them is concerned. Amongst the greatest demonstrations of sincerity is electing governors who are trustworthy and able.

[570] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Ḥadīth: 142.

On the other hand, one of the greatest forms of deceit and dishonesty is electing leaders who are treacherous. Yet we see Rasūlullāh ﷺ having elected ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه as leader over the army at the expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsil notwithstanding Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's رضي الله عنه presence in the army. He then dispatched him as leader to ʿUmmān where he governed till the passing of Rasūlullāh ﷺ.

Thus, no person of sound mind and intellect can claim that the advice of Rasūlullāh ﷺ in the context of leadership roles is in complete contrast to his actions. He took the matter of leadership seriously, to the extent of prohibiting Abū Dharr رضي الله عنه from any positions of leadership citing his meek nature. How could he then appoint someone as governor and military leader; a de-facto leader in worldly and religious matters whose nature was treacherous. Further, Rasūlullāh ﷺ lived under divine rectification in the instance of an error of judgment. Accordingly, had Rasūlullāh ﷺ misjudged him, Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ would have notified him and rectified the affair just as Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ had notified him of the hypocrite individuals. The question must then be asked again; can any person of sound mind and intellect fathom ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه to be a treacherous person who was appointed to—and remained in—positions of leadership by Rasūlullāh ﷺ?

The matter of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه went beyond just appointing him as governor and tax collector. He was praised by the sacred prophetic words. And the Khulafā' after the Prophet you ask? They too kept him in the positions of leadership following the prophetic tradition.

Once this has become clear to you, it ought to be understood that it is impossible and impermissible to harbour ill thoughts of Rasūlullāh ﷺ and the Khulafā' after him by accusations of biased and

treacherous appointments. Any person who has his head screwed on correctly and his heart in the right place will attest to this.

In reality, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was a man of impeccable character which was the reason for his appointment without doubt or reservation. The attestations to his nobility are his own actions; his jihād and his tireless efforts in spreading Islam lands, near and distant.

Add to this, the attentions of the Prophet صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ himself! Al-Tirmidhī and others have reported Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ saying:

أسلم الناس وآمن عمرو بن العاص.

> People entered the fold of Islam whereas ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ believed with sincerity.

And:

ابنا العاص مؤمنان؛ هشام وعمرو.

The two sons of al-ʿĀṣ: Hishām and ʻAmr are believers. [571]

3. Invalid Narration Content

The narration states ‘They will only act treacherously together’. This is invalid. Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا formed a coalition of goodness.

They were together at the expedition of Ḥunayn after the Conquest of Makkah, at Tabūk after that, at Hajjah al-Widāʿ, and at the expeditions to the Levant. No narrations state them to have fallen back from these monumental occasions.

[571] See, Muḥammad Kamāl, *Dur’ al-Intiqāṣ ʿan ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ*, pgs. 46-48.

Yaqūt al-Ḥamawī states:

وفتحت عكة في حدود سنة 15 على يد عمرو بن العاص ومعاوية بن أبي سفيان.

ʿUkka was conquered around the 15th year at the hands of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān. [572]

Ibn Kathīr writes in *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*:

فبينما عمر في الجابية إذا بكردوس من الروم بأيديهم سيوف مسللة، فسار إليهم المسلمون بالسلاح فقال عمر: إن هؤلاء قوم يستأمنون، فساروا نحوهم فإذا هم جند من بيت المقدس يطلبون الأمان والصلح من أمير المؤمنين حين سمعوا بقدومه فأجابهم عمر رضي الله عنه إلى ما سألوا، وكتب لهم كتاب أمان ومصالحة، وضرب عليهم الجزية، واشترط عليهم شروطا ذكرها ابن جرير، وشهد في الكتاب خالد بن الوليد، وعمرو بن العاص، وعبد الرحمن بن عوف، ومعاوية بن أبي سفيان، وهو كاتب الكتاب.

When ʿUmar was at al-Jābiyah there was an approaching detachment of Roman horsemen with unsheathed swords. ʿUmar said, "These are people looking for an assurance of safety."

They continued to them and found them to be from Bayt al-Maqdis who were seeking to enact a peace treaty with the Amīr al-Mu'minīn since they heard of his arrival. ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ responded to their request and had a peace treaty drawn up for them. He also imposed a tax upon them and stipulated certain other conditions which have been recorded by Ibn Jarīr. The witnesses to this document were, Khālid ibn al-Walīd, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf, and Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān.

[572] Yaqūt: *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. 4 pg. 144.

And he, i.e. Muʿāwiyah, wrote out the peace treaty. This was in the year 15 A.H. [573]

[573] Muḥammad Kamāl, *Dur' al-Intiqāṣ ʿan ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ*, pg. 50.

Misconceptions related to his relationship with the Ṣaḥābah

Misconception 1 - Inciting the murder of ʿUthmān

This is based on a narration of Abū ʿAwn, the mawlā of Miswar:

كان عمرو بن العاص على مصر عاملا لعثمان، فعزله عن الخراج واستعمله على الصلاة، استعمل عبد الله بن سعد على الخراج، ثم جمعهما لعبد الله بن سعد، فلما قدم عمرو بن العاص المدينة جعل يطعن على عثمان... فكان يأتي عليا مرة فيؤلبه على عثمان، ويأتي الزبير مرة فيؤلبه على عثمان، ويأتي طلحة مرة فيؤلبه على عثمان، ويعترض الحاج فيخبرهم بما أحدث عثمان، فلما كان حصر عثمان الأول خرج من المدينة حتى انتهى إلى أرض له بفلسطين يقال لها السبع فنزل في قصر له يقال له العجلان... فبينا هو جالس في قصره ذلك ومعه ابناه محمد وعبد الله وسلامة بن روح الجذامي،... فلما بلغه مقتل عثمان، قال: أنا أبو عبد الله قد يضرط العير والمكواة في النار، فلم يبرح مجلسه ذلك حتى مر به راكب آخر فناداه عمرو ما فعل الرجل يعني عثمان، قال: قتل، قال: أنا أبو عبد الله إذا حككت قرحة نكأتها، إن كنت لأحرض عليه حتى إني لأحرض عليه الراعي في غنمه في رأس الجبل، فقال له سلامة بن روح: يا معشر قريش إنه كان بينكم وبين العرب باب وثيق فكسرتموه، فما حملكم على ذلك؟ فقال: أردنا أن نخرج الحق من حافرة الباطل، وأن يكون الناس في الحق شرعا سواء، وكانت عند عمرو أخت عثمان لأمه كلثوم بنت عقبة بن أبي معيط ففارقها حين عزله.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ had been ʿUthmān's governor in Egypt. He had stripped him of authority over the tax revenues (*kharāj*) and put him in charge of the public prayers. ʿUthmān assigned

authority over the tax revenues to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd and then combined both offices under ʿAbd Allāh. When ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ arrived in Madīnah, he launched vitriolic attacks upon ʿUthman. At one point he came to ʿAlī to incite him against ʿUthmān. Then he approached al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥah in succession to incite them. He confronted the Pilgrimage caravan to inform them of ʿUthmān's wrongful innovations.

When ʿUthmān was besieged for the first time, he went from Madinah until he reached a property that he owned in Palestine called al-Sabʿ, and took up residence in a castle of his named al-ʿAjlān. While he was seated in that castle of his, with Salamah ibn Rūḥ al-Judhāmī and his two sons Muḥammad and ʿAbd Allāh... When the news of the murder of ʿUthmān reached him, he said, "I am Abū ʿAbd Allāh. Perhaps the jackass is breaking wind and the flatiron is in the fire. [574]"

He had not left his seat before a second rider passed by. ʿAmr called out to him, "What has that man done?" i.e. ʿUthmān.

"He has been killed," he replied.

ʿAmr said, "I am Abū ʿAbd Allāh. When I rub a scab, I scrape it off. I have been inciting people against him, even the shepherd on the mountaintop with his flock."

Then Salamah ibn Rūḥ said to him, "O leaders of Quraysh, verily there was a strong gate between you and the Arabs and you have broken it down.

Whatever led you to do that?"

[574] A rather crude way of saying that the crisis is imminent and that "Uthman's too weak and frightened to oppose it effectively.

ʿAmr said, "We wanted to draw the truth out of the pit of falsehood and to have the people be on an equal footing as regards the truth."

ʿUthmān's half-sister on his mother's side, Umm Kulthūm bint ʿUqbah ibn Abī Muʿayṭ, was married to ʿAmr; then he separated from her when ʿUthmān deposed him. [575]

Answer

This doubt can be answered in four ways:

1. Studying the Chains of Transmission

Al-Ṭabarī has recorded this incident in his *Tārīkh*[576] with the chain of transmission from **al-Wāqidī** that — ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar narrated to him — from **Abū ʿAwn the mawlā Miswar** who said, "'ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ had been..."

This incident cannot be established due to two defects in its chain of transmission:

Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Wāqidī

- Al-Wāqidī, Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar. He is *Matrūk* (suspected of forgery). [577]

[575] Ibn Muzāḥim: *Waqʿah Ṣiffīn*, pg. 38; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd: *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 1 pg. 136.
[576] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4 pg. 357.
[577] We have already discussed him.

Abū ʿAwn, the mawlā of Miswar

Perhaps he is Ibn Abī Ḥāzim.

- Abū Zurʿah said, "Madīnī, we do not know him."
- Ibn Abī Ḥātim has mentioned him in *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*.[578] He said, "He narrated from ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar al- Makhramī narrated from him."

2. Studying the Content of the Narration

Anyone studying the content of this narration as reported by Ibn ʿAwn, will no doubt conclude its invalidity even without considering the weakness of its chain of transmission. This is due to the following reasons:

Firstly, the narration speaks of ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ inciting all and sundry against ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. from the senior Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, like ʿAlī and Ṭalḥah, to the masses at Ḥajj, and even the shepherds on the mountains. This demonstrates his opposition and incitement was wide-spread and common knowledge. While on the otherhand, it is well known that ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ joined Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ in seeking retribution for the blood of ʿUthmān! If this narration and the issue of his incitement was in any way true, the people of the Levant would have started the retribution for ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ by killing him first; the principal instigator in his murder.

Secondly, the narration determines ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to have approached ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ in order to incite him against ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. If this was true, then the Amīr al- Mu'minīn ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ would have no doubt exposed his incitement and the result thereof.

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[578] *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, vol. 9 pg. 414.

Thirdly, the narration mentions his son, ʿAbd Allāh, to have been with him at the time of his utterances. We have already noted ʿAbd Allāh's acceptance of Islam was before his father. Additionally, he was a noble and erudite scholar who narrated many aḥādīth. He was also one of the jurists who are referred to as the ʿAbādilah. How is it possible for us to accept his agreement with his father on these utterances? This is notwithstanding his history in correcting his father on issues lighter than this. Consider the following narration which has already been mentioned in chapter one:

> Some words were exchanged between ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ regarding al-Waḥṭ[579]. Mughīrah cussed at him at which ʿAmr called out, "O Family of Haṣīṣ! Will Ibn Shuʿbah cuss at me!"
>
> His son ʿAbd Allāh said, "To Allah do we belong and to him is our return. You have called unto tribalism whereas Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ prohibited calling unto tribalism."
>
> He [i.e. ʿAmr] thus freed thirty slaves. [580]

How can one fathom ʿAbd Allāh رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to have called out his father on an issue of tribalism but remained silent when his father incited the masses to murder the khalīfah, on the basis of having simply deposed him from the governorship of Egypt?

Fourthly, the narration ends with a statement that leaves no doubt of its invalidity. The narration states, "'Uthmān's half-sister on his mother's side, Umm Kulthūm bint ʿUqbah ibn Abī Muʿayt, was married to ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ; then he separated from her when ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ deposed him."

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[579] *Al-Waḥṭ*: A garden of ʿAmr at Ṭā'if.
[580] Al-Bayhaqī: *Shuʿab al-Imān*, vol. 4 pg. 292; Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 182.

The narration is clear in stating ʿAmr رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ had separated from Umm Kulthūm when ʿUthmān رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ had deposed him. When looking at the biographical books, however, we find that ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ had married her after the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf and she herself had passed away whilst married to ʿAmr رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ. In fact, some sources comment on the time-period of their marriage stating, "She was married to him for a few months after which she passed away."

Dear reader, after applying your mind to the above, it no doubt becomes quite clear that the narration is a falsity, without even considering the weakness of its chain of transmission.

3. Contradiction

There is another narration that contradicts this one and is in line with the status of the magnanimous ṣaḥābī, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ. In fact, it demonstrates the invalidity of this narration and how impossibly farfetched it is.

Al-Ṭabarī states:

> وفي هذه السنة أعني سنة ست وثلاثين بايع عمرو بن العاص معاوية ووافقه على محاربة علي، وكان السبب في ذلك ما كتب به إلي السري، عن شعيب عن سيف عن محمد وطلحة وأبي حارثة وأبي عثمان قالوا: لما أحيط بعثمان رضي الله عنه خرج عمرو بن العاص من المدينة متوجها نحو الشام، وقال: والله يا أهل المدينة ما يقيم بها أحد فيدركه قتل هذا الرجل إلا ضربه الله عز وجل بذل، من لم يستطع نصره فليهرب. فسار وسار معه ابناه عبد الله ومحمد، وخرج بعده حسان بن ثابت، وتتابع على ذلك ما شاء الله.

قال سيف: عن أبي حارثة وأبي عثمان قالا: بينا عمرو بن العاص جالس بعجلان ومعه ابناه إذ مر بهم راكب فقالوا: من أين؟ قال: من المدينة، فقال عمرو: ما اسمك؟ قال: حصيرة، قال عمرو: حصر الرجل، قال: فما الخبر؟ قال: تركت الرجل محصورا، قال عمرو: يقتل ثم مكثوا أياما فمر بهم راكب فقالوا: من أين؟ قال: من المدينة، قال عمرو: ما اسمك؟ قال: قتال، قال عمرو: قتل الرجل، فما الخبر؟ قال: قتل الرجل قال: ثم لم يكن إلا ذلك إلى أن خرجت، ثم مكثوا أياما فمر بهم راكب فقالوا: من أين؟ قال: من المدينة، قال عمرو: ما اسمك؟ قال: حرب، قال عمرو: يكون حرب فما الخبر؟ قال: قتل عثمان بن عفان رضي الله عنه وبويع لعلي بن أبي طالب، قال عمرو: أنا أبو عبد الله تكون حرب من حك فيها قرحة نكأها، رحم الله عثمان ورضي الله عنه وغفر له، فقال سلامة بن زنباع الجذامي: يا معشر قريش إنه والله قد كان بينكم وبين العرب باب فاتخذوا بابا إذ كسر الباب، فقال عمرو: وذاك الذي نريد ولا يصلح الباب إلا أشاف تخرج الحق من حافرة البأس ويكون الناس في العدل سواء ثم تمثل عمرو في بعض ذلك.

يا لهف نفسي على مالك	وهل يصرف اللهف حفظ القدر!
أنزع من الحر أودى بهم	فأعذرهم أم بقومي سكر!

ثم ارتحل راجلا يبكي كما تبكي المرأة ويقول وا عثماناه أنعى الحياء والدين حتى قدم دمشق، وقد كان سقط إليه من الذي يكون علم فعمل عليه.

In this year, i.e. the year 36, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ pledged allegiance to Muʿāwiyah and made an agreement with him to fight ʿAlī. The reason for this according to the writing of al-Sarī — from **Shuʿayb** — from **Sayf** — from Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, Abū Ḥārithah, and Abū ʿUthmān who said:

When ʿUthmān was surrounded ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ left Madīnah and headed for the Levant.

"By Allah! People of Madīnah!" he said. "Anyone who stays here until this man is killed will be smitten by Allah the Almighty and Glorious with ignominy. Anyone who cannot help him had better flee!"

Off he then set, accompanied by his two sons, ʿAbd Allāh and Muḥammad. Ḥassān ibn Thābit also left a little later, and many others followed suit.

Sayf narrated — from Abū Ḥārithah and Abū ʿUthmān who said:

While ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was camped at ʿAjlān with his two sons a rider passed.

"Where have you come from?" they asked.

"Madīnah," he replied.

"What's your name?" asked ʿAmr.

"Ḥaṣīrah."

"The man has been besieged," retorted ʿAmr. "What's the news?"

"I left the man surrounded," replied the rider.

"He'll be murdered," said ʿAmr.

They waited a few days; then another rider passed. "Where have you come from?" they asked.

"Madīnah," was the reply.

"What's your name?" asked ʿAmr.

"Qattāl."

"The man has been killed," retorted ʿAmr. "What's the news?"

“The man has been killed,” replied the rider, “but nothing else occurred before I left.”

They waited a few more days; then another rider passed. “Where have you come from?” they asked.

“Madīnah,” he said.

“What’s your name?” asked ʿAmr.

“Ḥarb.”

“It’s war,” retorted ʿAmr. “What’s the news?”

“ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān has been killed,” replied the rider, “and allegiance has been given to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib.”

“I am Abū ʿAbd Allāh!” said ʿAmr. “There will be a war, in which whoever scrapes a wound in it will open it right up! May Allah have mercy on ʿUthmān and may He forgive him!”

“Men of Quraysh!” spoke up Salamah ibn Zunbāʿ al-Judhāmī. “By Allah! There was a door between you and the other Arab tribes. You must take on another door because the first one is now broken.”

“That’s what we want to do,” replied ʿAmr, “but the door will be mended only by augers that can drill out the truth from the root of the problem, so that men will be equal before the law.” Referring to the situation ʿAmr then recited:

I am heartbroken over Mālik,

But can grief deflect what has been stored up by divine decree?

Is it heatstroke that has felled them?

If so, I excuse them, or is it that my people are drunk?

Then he set off on foot, weeping like a woman and saying: “I mourn for ʿUthmān! I lament for modesty and religion!” He

went to Damascus, for he had received some information about what was going to happen and acted on it. [581]

However, this narration does not hold up to scrutiny either. It cannot be deemed established as the chain of transmission has **Sayf ibn ʿUmar al-Tamīmī,** who is suspected of forgery.

The one narrating from him is **Shuʿayb**. He is ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī.

Ibn ʿAdī has reproduced this narration when discussing him and has said:

> Shuʿayb ibn Ibrāhīm has narrated aḥādīth and historical traditions. He is not well known and the number of aḥādīth and traditions he has narrated don't amount to much. There remains some erroneousness therein as the traditions and aḥādīth he relates contain prejudice against the predecessors. [582]

Al-Dhahabī said, "The narrations of the books of Sayf are from him. He is unfamiliar." [583]

Dear reader, the narration that supposes the incitement of ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ against ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ is definitively unreliable; by way of its weak chain of transmission and by way of the inconsistencies within its content. It is a narration that defiles the honorable character of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ who received accolades of magnanimity from beyond the seven heavens.

Over and above this, take into consideration the other contradictory narration, though weak in itself, paints a conflicting picture, is in conformity to the principal character of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, and

[581] Al-Ṭabarī: *Tārīkh al-Rusul*, vol. 4 pg. 558; Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 55 pg. 28.
[582] *Al-Kāmil*, vol. 5 pg. 7.
[583] Al-Dhahabī: *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, vol. 3 pg. 377.

poses no inconsistencies. Which narration is worthier of consideration then, I ask?

4. Popular Doesn't Mean True

This narration was popular on the tongues of people with no attention being paid to its authenticity. This is why Abū ʿAwn mawlā Miswar narrated it without knowing its inauthenticity. A phenomenon not far-fetched in an era where fitnah bred: obscurity, murkiness, and dubiousness reigned supreme.[584] This is further emphasized when considering he had no idea who he had narrated from.

Dear reader, taking into cognizance these four expositions, know well that ascribing such to this eminent Ṣaḥābī cannot be fathomed. In fact, ascribing anything to anyone without authentic and true evidence is incorrect. Then what do you think of ascribing an unverifiable, inconsistent, and inauthentic matter to a Ṣaḥābī who was lauded by Rasūlullāh ﷺ?

Misconception 2 - Being partial to the camp of Muʿāwiyah in hopes of materialistic gain.[585]

This doubt is based on what has been narrated by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr — from **our teachers** ... he mentions:

[584] Muḥammad Kamāl, *Dur' al-Intiqāṣ ʿan ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ*, pg. 84.
[585] Ibn Muzāḥim: *Waqʿah Ṣiffīn*, pg. 38; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd: *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 1 pg. 136.

أن عمرو بن العاص استشار ابنيه –بعد الجمل– إلى أي الفريقين يعمد: فقال له عبد الله ابنه: إن كنت لا بد فاعلا فإلى علي، فقال له عمرو: ثكلتك أمك إني إن أتيت علياً قال لي: إنما أنت رجل من المسلمين، وإن أتيت معاوية يخلطني بنفسه ويشركني في أمره، فأتي معاوية.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ sought counsel from his son, after Jamal, asking him which camp he should join. His son, ʿAbd Allāh said to him, "If you are going to do so, then join the camp of ʿAlī."

ʿAmr said, "May you perish! If I join ʿAlī, he would say to me, 'You are just a man from the Muslims'. Whereas if I go to Muʿāwiyah, he would draw me close and involve me in his matters. I will therefore go to Muʿāwiyah."

Another incident go as follows:

أن علي بن أبي طالب كتب إلى عمرو بن العاص، فلما أتى عمراً الكتاب أقرأه معاوية الكتاب، وقال: قد ترى ما كتب إليَّ علي بن أبي طالب، فإما أن ترضيني وإما أن ألحق به، فقال له معاوية: فما تريد؟ قال أريد مصر مأكلة، فجعلها له معاوية كما أراد، فاتخذ عمرو بن العاص أربعة.

ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib wrote to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. When he received the letter, he read the letter to Muʿāwiyah and then said, "You can see what ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib has written to me. So, either please me or I will join his camp."

Muʿāwiyah asked, "What is it you want?"

He replied, "I want Egypt as my personal pecking ground."

Muʿāwiyah handed it to him as he wished and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ took it as his territory.

Answer

This doubt can be answered in five ways:

1. Studying the Chains of Transmission

Incident Number One

The first incident has been recorded by Ibn ʿAsākir in his Tārīkh as follows with two chains of transmission:

1. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad narrated to us — from Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Khayrūn — from al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm — from Aḥmad ibn Isḥāq ibn Nīkhāb — from Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī — Yaḥyā ibn Sulaymān al-Juʿfī and Zayd ibn Ḥabbāb al-ʿAklī narrated to me — from Juwayriyyah ibn Asmā' al-Ḍabʿī — from **ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Yaḥyā** ...
2. Ibrahim ibn al-Ḥusayn narrated — from Yaḥyā ibn Sulaymān — from **Ibrāhīm ibn al-Jarrāḥ** who said: he then reverts to the narration of Abū Yūsuf — from **Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq** — from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubayr — from his father or from someone else who said, "When the news of the pledge of people to ʿAlī reached ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, he called his sons ʿAbd Allāh and Muḥammad and consulted them... and he mentioned the second incident.

Both chains of transmission are weak.

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Yaḥyā

The first chain has **ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Yaḥyā** ibn ʿAbbād ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al- Zubayr.

- Al-Ḥāfiẓ said, "He is acceptable (*Maqbūl*).[586] Meaning if he is corroborated, if not then weak as explained by the author in his forward to the book.

Furthermore, his teachers are unknown.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Jarrāḥ

The second chain has **Ibrāhīm ibn al-Jarrāḥ**.

- Ibn Ḥibbān said, "Ibrāhīm ibn al-Jarrāḥ is from the *aṣḥāb al-ray'* (those who based religious verdicts on their own reasoning). He lived in Egypt and narrated from Abū Yūsuf, others, and the people of Iraq. Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Kindī narrated from him. He makes mistakes." [587]

Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq

This is Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Yasār Abū Bakr al-Muṭṭalibī mawlāhum al- Madanī. A dweller of Iraq. Imām of the Maghāzī genre. Truthful but does tadlīs. He has not specified having heard in this chain of transmission and his narrations are not accepted unless he specifies having heard.

Incident Number Two

The second incident has also been recorded by Ibn ʿAsākir[588] as follows:

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[586] Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Taqrīb*: 4265.
[587] Ibn Ḥibbān: *Al-Thiqāt*, vol. 8 pg. 69.
[588] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 46 pg. 170.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Balkhī narrated to us — from Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Ayyūb — Abū ʿAlī ibn Shādhān — from Aḥmad ibn Isḥāq ibn Nīkhāb — from Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī — Yaḥyā ibn Sulaymān al-Juʿfī. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ziyād narrated to me — from **Abū al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Anṣārī al-Wāsitī** — from Abū Hishām al-Rumānī — **from whom he narrates** — **from who said**, "'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib wrote to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ..."

This incident, like the previous one is weak since it has in its chain, **ʿAbd al- Ghafūr Abū al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Wāsitī**.

ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Abū al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Wāsitī

- Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn said, "His narrations do not amount to much."
- Ibn Ḥibbān said, "He is amongst those who would fabricate aḥādīth."
- Al-Bukhārī said, "They have discarded him (due to suspecting him of forgery)."
- Ibn ʿAdī said, "Weak, his narrations are Matrūk." [589]

In *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*[590] there is another chain which goes up to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī who narrates it, but it is mursal. The chain is as follows:

Aḥmad ibn Ibrahim al-Dawraqī narrated to us — from Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī — from Bashīr ibn ʿUqbah Abū ʿAqīl — from **al-Ḥasan** who said:

[589] *Al-Mīzān*, vol. 4 pg. 381.
[590] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 1 pg. 320.

لما كان من أمر علي ومعاوية ما كان؛ دعا معاوية عمرو بن العاص إلى قتال علي فقال: لا والله لا أظاهرك على قتاله حتى تطعمني مصر، فأبى عليه فخرج مغضبا، ثم إن معاوية ندم وقال: رجل طلب إلي في شيء على هذه الحال فرددته، فأجابه إلى ما سأل.

When ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah had their issues, Muʿāwiyah called on ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ to fight against ʿAlī.

ʿAmr said, "No. By Allah, I will not lend you assistance in fighting him until you give me governorship of Egypt."

Muʿāwiyah refused and so, in anger, he left. Muʿāwiyah then regretted and mused, "A man asked me for something in these precarious times and I refused him?"

He then gave him what he wanted.

Ibn Saʿd has the following:

Muʿādh ibn Muʿādh narrated to us — from Abū ʿAwn ibn al-Ḥasan who said:

كان الحكمان أبو موسى وعمرو بن العاص، وكان أحدهما يبتغي الدنيا والأخر يبتغي الآخرة.

The two arbitrators were Abū Mūsā and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. One had materialistic desires whilst the other desired the afterlife.[591]

The chain to **al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī** is authentic, however he did not witness the incident. he was, at that time, still young in Madinah whilst Muʿāwiyah was in Shām.

[591] *Ṭabaqāt ibn Saʿd*, vol. 4 pg. 113.

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī

Abū Zurʿah was asked:

لقي الحسن أحداً من البدريين؟ قال رآهم رؤية، رأى عثمان بن عفان وعلياً، قلت: سمع منهما حديثا؟ قال: لا، وكان الحسن البصري يوم بويع لعلي رضي الله عنه ابن أربع عشرة، ورأى علياً بالمدينة ثم خرج علي إلى الكوفة والبصرة، ولم يلقه الحسن بعد ذلك.

"Did al-Ḥasan meet any of the Badriyyīn?"

He replied, "He saw them. He saw ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān and ʿAlī."

"Did he narrate from them?"

He responded, "No. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was fourteen when ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was given the pledge. He saw ʿAlī in Madinah. Then ʿAlī left for Kūfah and Baṣrah after which al-Ḥasan did not see him."

The scholars have passed a ruling of weakness on the mursal narrations of al- Ḥasan. Ibn Saʿd said:

وكان ما أسند من حديثه وروى عن من سمع منه فحسن حجة، وما أرسل من الحديث فليس بحجة.

Those narrations of his which have a full chain of transmission and he narrates from those whom he heard from, are upheld as worthy of evidence. However, his mursal narrations cannot be presented as evidence.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥambal said:

ليس في المرسلات شيء أضعف من مرسلات الحسن وعطاء بن أبي رباح، فإنهما كانا يأخذان عن كل أحد.

Amongst the mursal narrations, there is none that are weaker than the mursal narrations of al-Ḥasan and ʿAṭāʾ ibn Abī Rabāḥ. They would take from all and sundry.

Al-ʿIrāqī said:

مراسيل الحسن عندهم شبه الريح.

They deemed the mursal narrations of al-Ḥasan like the wind.

Al-ʿAlāʾī said:

كثير التدليس وهو مكثر من الإرسال.

He does much tadlīs and narrated much with irsāl[592].

ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī said:

رأى الحسن أم سلمة ولم يسمع منها ولا من أبي موسى الأشعري.

Al-Ḥasan saw Umm Salamah but did not narrate from her. Neither did he hear from Abū Mūsa al-Ashʿarī. [593]

From the above discussion we learn that al-Ḥasan was not present at the exchange between ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا regarding which he narrates. We have already explained that fabrications regarding the Ṣaḥābah had become widespread during that tumultuous period; the period of fitnah. It is possible that al-Ḥasan heard some of this and thinking it to be true, transmitted it as he heard it. Based on this the comment was then made of one of the

[592] I.e. Omitting those who he heard from. [Translator]
[593] See, Ibn Saʿd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 7 pg. 157; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī: *Al-Marāsīl*, pg. 8; *Jāmiʿ al-Taḥṣīl*, pg. 90 and 160; *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, vol. 1 pg. 204.

arbitrators seeking material gain. The incident is in no way established. [594]

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[594] It has been narrated that ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir came to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ on the day of Ṣiffīn and said to him:

يا عمرو بعت دينك بمصر تبا لك تبا طالما بغيت في الإسلام عوجاً.

O ʿAmr, you have sold your faith in lieu of Egypt. Woe to you! What mischief and evils you have roused against Islam!

This has been narrated by al-Ṭabarī (vol. 3 pg. 98) from the chain of **Manṣūr ibn Abī Nuwayrah** — from **Abū Mikhnaf** — from **Mālik ibn Aʿyān al-Juhanī** — from Zayd ibn Wahb al-Juhanī — from ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir...

Ibn Mazāḥim has recorded it in *Waqʿah Ṣiffīn* pg. 261 from the chain of ʿ**Umar** — from ʿ**Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Jundub** — from Jundub ibn ʿAbd Allah who said, "ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir stood at Ṣiffīn and said..."

Both of these chains of transmission are extremely weak. In the chain of al-Ṭabarī there is:

Manṣūr ibn Yaʿqūb ibn Abū Nuwayrah

- Ibn ʿAdī said, "There is in his narrations many uncorroborated things." See, *Al-Kāmil fi al- Ḍuʿafā*, vol. 6 pg. 392.

Abū Mikhnaf, Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā

- Al-Dhahabī said, "A historian, destroyed. Not to be relied upon."

Mālik ibn Aʿyān al-Juhanī

- Unknown. We have already discussed him.

In the other chain there is:

Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, the author, who is *Matrūk* (suspected of forgery).

ʿ**Umar ibn Saʿd**, his teacher, is also Matrūk; as stated by Abū Ḥātim and previously discussed.

ʿ**Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Jundub**

- Ibn Ḥajar has stated in *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. 3 pg. 408, "He is unknown."

In *Ṭabaqāt ibn Saʿd* (vol. 4 pg. 258) there is another chain which is also extremely weak. It is as follows:

Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar narrated to us — from Mufaḍḍal ibn Fuḍālah — **Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb** who said, ʿAbd Allah ibn Jaʿfar narrated to me — from ʿ**Abd al-Wahid ibn Abī ʿAwn** who said:

لما صار الأمر في يدي معاوية استكثر طعمة مصر لعمرو ما عاش ورأى عمرو أن الأمر كله قد صلح به وبتدبيره وعنائه وسعيه فيه، وظن أن معاوية سيزيده الشام مع مصر فلم يفعل معاوية...

When the reins of leadership came into the hands of Muʿāwiyah, ʿAmr's longing for governing Egypt kept increasing. ʿAmr regarded the arbitration to be successful and to have played into the hands of Muʿāwiyah due to his

2. The context is not in conformity with the character and life of ʿAmr; it makes no sense

The context of this narration suggests the character under discussion, who was an army general in the prime of his youth, has dreams of wealth and leadership to the extent that makes him oblivious of the hereafter in his old age.

This characterisation does not conform to the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ who were nurtured by Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ and learnt from him disdain of material wealth and gains.

And to speak of ʿAmr! An eminent Ṣaḥābī and conqueror! Whose righteousness and faith was attested to by Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ himself. When he appointed him as leader to the expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsil he said to him:

يا عمرو اشدد عليك سلاحك، وثيابك، واتني ففعلت فجئته وهو يتوضأ، فصعَّد في البصر وصوبه، وقال: يا عمرو، إني أريد أن أبعثك وجها، فيسلمك الله ويغنمك، وأزعب لك من المال زعبة صالحة، قال: قلت: يا رسول الله إني لم أسلم رغبة في المال، إنما أسلمت رغبة في الجهاد، والكينونة معك، قال: يا عمرو، نعما بالمال الصالح للرجل الصالح.

"O ʿAmr collect your weapons and clothing and come to me."

I came to him when he was performing ablution. He looked at me and approved.

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planning and effort. He, thus, thought Muʿāwiyah would give him the Levant as well as Egypt. But Muʿāwiyah did not do so.

This chain has two defects:

Al-Wāqidī

• He is Matrūk, as already discussed.

Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb and **ʿAbd al-Wahid ibn Abī ʿAwn**

Both of these narrators, narrate from the Tābiʿīn; thus, irsāl is found here. See, their bio-data in Al- Mizzī: *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 18 pg. 463 and vol. 32 pg. 103.

He then said, "I sent for you, ʿAmr, to dispatch you on a matter in which Allah will keep you safe and grant you booty, and I shall make you an allotment from the spoil."

I replied, "O Rasūlullāh! I did not accept Islam with the hopes of attainting wealth. I entered the fold of Islam with the intent of fighting in the path of Allah and to be in your company."

He said, "How excellent is pure wealth for a pious man." [595]

If the inner condition of ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ contradicted his outer appearance, Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى would have undoubtedly informed his Prophet صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

Besides, at the time when this alleged incident took place ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was already 80 somewhat years of age. The age where a person turns away from material things and does not wish to amass wealth even in permissible ways, forget doing so by spilling blood and in impermissible ways.

The life of ʿAmr bears testament to his character.

3. His decision was based on ijtihād not seeking worldly gains

This is supported by his reaction to the killing of ʿAmmār رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. When he heard of the killing of ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ he became frightfully alarmed and went to Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ with the news. The following appears in *Musnad Aḥmad* from Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm — from his father who said:

[595] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 17802 and the wording is his; Al-Bukhārī: *Al-Adab al-Mufrad*, vol. 1 pg. 112; *Al- Ṭayālisī*, Ḥadīth: 1061; *Abū Yaʿlā*, Ḥadīth: 7116; Ibn Ḥibbān, Ḥadīth: 3211. Al-Ḥākim has authenticated it, vol. 2 vol. 3 and said, "It is according to the conditions of Muslim." Al-Dhahabī has concurred with him. Al-Albānī has authenticated it in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, vol. 1 pg. 454.

لما قتل عمار بن ياسر دخل عمرو بن حزم على عمرو بن العاص، فقال: قتل عمار، وقد قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: تقتله الفئة الباغية، فقام عمرو بن العاص فزعا يرجع حتى دخل على معاوية، فقال له معاوية: ما شأنك؟ قال: قتل عمار، فقال معاوية: قد قتل عمار، فماذا؟ قال عمرو: سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: تقتله الفئة الباغية، فقال له معاوية: دحضت في بولك، أونحن قتلناه؟ إنما قتله علي وأصحابه، جاءوا به حتى ألقوه بين رماحنا –أو قال: بين سيوفنا.

When ʿAmmār was killed, ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm came to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and said, "'ʿAmmār has been killed and Rasūlullāh ﷺ had said, 'The rebellious group will kill him.'"

Then ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ stood up anxiously saying, "To Allah we belong and unto Him shall we return," until he went to see Muʿāwiyah.

Muʿāwiyah said to him, "What is the matter with you?"

He said, "'ʿAmmār has been killed."

Muʿāwiyah said, "What is it if ʿAmmār was killed?"

ʿAmr said, "I heard the Rasūlullāh ﷺ saying, 'The rebellious group will kill ʿAmmār.'"

Then Muʿāwiyah said to him, "You have slipped! Did we kill him? Rather, ʿAlī and his companions killed him. They brought him here and threw him between our arrows or swords." [596]

[596] *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 29 pg. 317.
Note: The following appears in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 1 pg. 97:
ويح عمار تقتله الفئة الباغية، يدعوهم إلى الجنة، ويدعونه إلى النار.

Question: Why did Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا not pledge allegiance to ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ after the killing of ʿAmmār رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ if they wanted to be on the truth?

Answer: They did not pledge allegiance to ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ due to their inability to bring the killers of ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to justice just yet. On the other hand, ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ had opined to shelve the matter of putting the heads of ʿUthmān's killers to the block considering the volatile climate and the large number of people involved. He wanted to quell the fitnah before attending to it.

ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ requested their pledge but they were disinclined to acquiesce to his request. He, thus, turned his full attention to them

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Poor ʿAmmār, the rebel group will kill him. He will be inviting them to Jannat and they will be inviting him to Jahannam.

Ibn Ḥajar comments:

فإن قيل كان قتله بصفين وهو مع علي والذين قتلوه مع معاوية وكان معه جماعة من الصحابة فكيف يجوز عليهم الدعاء إلى النار؟

فالجواب: أنهم كانوا ظانين أنهم يدعون إلى الجنة، وهم مجتهدون لا لوم عليهم في اتباع ظنونهم، فالمراد بالدعاء إلى الجنة الدعاء إلى سببها وهو طاعة الإمام، وكذلك كان عمار يدعوهم إلى طاعة علي وهو الإمام الواجب الطاعة إذ ذاك، وكانوا هم يدعون إلى خلاف ذلك لكنهم معذورون للتأويل الذي ظهر لهم.

If the question be asked, He was killed at Ṣiffīn whilst with the camp of ʿAlī. And those who killed him were with Muʿāwiyah who also had a group of Ṣaḥābah with him. How could it then be said that they were inviting towards Jahannam?

Answer: They thought that they were inviting towards Jannah. They exercised their right of ijtihād and will not be censured for following their view. The meaning of inviting to Jannah is inviting towards the means in attaining Jannah, i.e. following the Imām whose obedience is binding. Similarly, ʿAmmār was calling them to this obedience whilst they were inviting towards something else, but, as mentioned, they are excused in this affair due to the interpretation they based their actions upon. See, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 1 pg. 542.

in order to solicit their pledge; however, they refused to accede and so ʿAlī had no choice but to confront them since they were, in his view, rebels to the office of khilāfah. Thus, the Battle of Ṣiffīn came to be.

Whereas, they had conviction that they were championing the truth since they were seeking justice for the killing of ʿUthmān and acting in accordance to the Qur'anic injunction. Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ says:

﴿وَمَن قُتِلَ مَظْلُومًا فَقَدْ جَعَلْنَا لِوَلِيِّهِۦ سُلْطَٰنًا فَلَا يُسْرِف فِّى ٱلْقَتْلِ ۖ إِنَّهُۥ كَانَ مَنصُورًا﴾

And whoever is killed unjustly, We have given his heir authority, but let him not exceed limits in [the matter of] taking life. Indeed, he has been supported [by the law]. [(597)]

Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was his cousin and the strongest heir to seek justice for his murder and the killers had joined the camp of ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

They were also aware that Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ had instructed ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to not give up the khilāfah when the hypocrites want to snatch it from him. Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ also informed him that he would be killed unjustly.

The following appears in *Musnad Aḥmad*:

يا عثمان إن الله مقمِّصك قميصا، فإن أرادك المنافقون على أن تخلعه فلا تخلعه لهم، ولا كرامة.

O ʿUthmān, Allah is surely going to adorn you with a garment, if the hypocrites want from you that you remove it, then do not remove it.

Jubayr ibn Nufayr relates:

[(597)] Sūrah Isrā: 33.

كنا معسكرين مع معاوية بعد قتل عثمان، فقام كعب بن مرة البهزي فقال: لولا شيء سمعته من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ما قمت هذا المقام، فلما سمع بذكر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، أجلس الناس، فقال: بينما نحن عند رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، إذ مر عثمان بن عفان مرجلاً قال: فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: لتخرجن فتنة من تحت قدمَي – أو من بين رِجلَي– هذا، هذا يومئذ ومن اتبعه على الهدى، قال: فقام ابن حوالة الأزدي من عند المنبر، فقال: إنك لصاحب هذا؟ قال: نعم، قال: والله إني لحاضر ذلك المجلس، ولو علمت أن لي في الجيش مصدقا كنت أول من تكلم به.

We were with the army of Muʿāwiyah after the murder of ʿUthmān. Kaʿb ibn Murrah al-Bahzī stood and addressed us saying, "Were it not for what I heard from Rasūlullāh ﷺ, I would not have stood here."

When they heard the mention of Rasūlullāh ﷺ, the people sat down.

He continued, "Whilst we were by Rasūlullāh ﷺ ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān walked past. Rasūlullāh ﷺ said, 'Civil strife will sprout from under my feet—or under my legs—this one and whoever follows him will be safe from it.'"

Ibn Ḥawālah al-Azdī stood up by the pulpit and said, "Did you witness this?"

He said, "Yes."

Ibn Ḥawālah said, “By Allah! I was present at that gathering and if I knew someone in this army would endorse me, I would have been the first to say it.” [598]

In any case, when ʿAmmār رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was killed, it was as though a lightning bolt had struck them. Since, how could they be the rebellious group whereas they were seeking justice for the murder of ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and the killers of ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ were within the camp of ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, whom Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ had branded hypocrites. Beyond this, they weren’t the ones who had begun the confrontation, rather it was ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ who had come with the people of Iraq and ʿAmmār رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. It is for these reasons that Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ interpreted the ḥadīth by saying, “They threw him onto our swords and spears.”

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was hurt[599] at the death of ʿAmmār رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and gave glad-tidings of hell-fire to the one who killed him and took his

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[598] *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 29 pg. 608; Al-Ṭabarānī: *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 20 pg. 316. Al-Albānī said, “The chain of Aḥmad is authentic according to the conditions of Muslim. See, *al-Silsilah al-Saḥīḥah*, vol. 7 pg. 319.

[599] The narration which states he expressed joy at the death of ʿAmmār is invalid and extremely weak (*Bāṭil Munkar*). Ibn ʿAsākir has recorded it in *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 68 pg. 28 and Ibn al-ʿAdī in *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fi Tārīkh Ḥalab*, vol. 10 pg. 4671. Both have recorded it — from Ibrāhīm ibn Dayzīl — from Yaḥyā ibn Sulaymān al-Juʿfī — from Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim— from ʿAmr ibn Shamr — from Jābir al-Juʿfī who said:

سمعت الشعبي رجع إلى حديثه عن الأحنف بن قيس قال: ثم حمل عمار بن ياسر عليهم فحمل عليه ابن حوي السكسكي وأبو الغادية الفزاري قال: فأما أبو الغادية فطعنه، وأما ابن حوي فاحتز رأسه، وقد كان ذو الكلاع سمع قبل عمرو بن العاص يقول: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم لعمار بن ياسر: تقتلك الفئة الباغية، وآخر شربة تشربها ضياح لبن، فكان ذو الكلاع يقول لعمرو: ويحك ما هذا يا عمرو، فيقول له عمرو: أنه سيرجع إلينا فأصيب عمار بعد ذي الكلاع مع علي، وأصيب ذو الكلاع مع معاوية قبل ذلك، فقال

عمرو بن العاص لمعاوية: والله يا معاوية ما أدري بقتل أيهما أنا أشد فرحا بقتل عمار أو ذي الكلاع، والله لو بقي ذو الكلاع حتى يقتل عمار؛ لمال بعامة أهل الشام، ولأفسد علينا جندنا....الخ.

I heard al-Shaʿbī—who narrated from the ḥadīth al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays—saying, then ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir attacked them whilst Ibn Ḥuway al-Saksakī and Abū al-Ghādiyah attacked him. Abū al-Ghādiyah speared him and Ibn Ḥuway severed his head.

Dhū al-Kalaʿ had heard ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ narrating the ḥadīth of Rasūlullāh ﷺ wherein he addressed ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir saying, "A rebellious group will kill you and the last drink you will have will be a drink of milk".

Dhū al-Kalaʿ used to say to ʿAmr, "Woe to you! What is this I see?"

ʿAmr would respond, "ʿAmmār will return to our camp."

ʿAmmār was killed whilst supporting ʿAlī and Dhū al-Kalaʿ was killed before that whilst supporting Muʿāwiyah.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said to Muʿāwiyah, "I do not know in whose death I find more joy, that of ʿAmmār or Dhū al-Kalaʿ. By Allah! Had Dhū al-Kalaʿ survived until after ʿAmmār had been killed, he would have swayed the opinion of the people of the Levant and he would have corrupted our army..."

The chain of transmission for this narration is ruined. It has three defects:

1. **Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim al-Minqarī**:

   Matrūk (suspected of forgery). We have already discussed him.

2. **ʿAmr ibn Shamr al-Juʿfī al-Kūfī Abū ʿAbd Allah:**

   - Yahya said, "He amounts to nothing."
   - Al-Jūwzajānī said, "Astray, a great liar."
   - Ibn Ḥibbān said, "He narrated fabrications with reliable chains of transmissions."
   - Al-Bukhārī said, "His narrations are Munkar."
   - Al-Nasa'ī, al-Dāraquṭnī, and others have said, "He is Matrūk al-Ḥadīth (suspected of forgery in Ḥadīth)."
   - Ibn Abī Ḥātim said, "I asked my father regarding him. He said, '*Munkar al-Ḥadīth Jiddan* (he is extremely unacceptable in Ḥadīth). Weak in ḥadīth. Do not bother with him. They have discarded him (due to suspicion of forgery).' This is all he said." See, *Lisān al-Mīzān*. vol. 4 pg. 367.

3. **Jābir ibn Yazīd al-Juʿfī:**

   A large number of scholars have deemed him a liar. We have already discussed him.

armor. On the authority he deemed the sin to be on the individual who killed him. Consider the following narration of *Musnad Aḥmad* on the authority of Abū Ghādiyah who said:

قتل عمار بن ياسر فأخبر عمرو بن العاص، قال سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: إن قاتله، وسالبه في النار، فقيل لعمرو: فإنك هو ذا تقاتله، قال: إنما قال: قاتله، وسالبه.

ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir was killed and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was informed of it. He said, "I heard Rasūlullāh ﷺ saying, 'The one who kills him and takes his armor is in the fire.'

It was said to ʿAmr, 'Well you were the one to fight against him.'

He replied, 'The Prophet ﷺ said, the one who kills him and takes his armor.'" [600]

In any case, the pain of his death remained with ʿAmr رضي الله عنه; however, he did not count himself responsible due to the aforementioned explanations. Perhaps this is what he was referring to when he said on his death bed, "Verily I have passed through three phases." The first was the phase of disbelief, the second was the phase of Islam where he fought alongside and was in the company of Rasūlullāh ﷺ and the third where he said, "Then we were given leadership roles in the light of which I am unable to know what is in store for me; will it be counted in my favour or against me."

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[600] *Al-Musnad*, vol. 29 pg. 311. From the chain of ʿAffān — from Ḥammād ibn Salamah — from Abū Ḥafṣ and **Kulthūm ibn Jabr** — from Abū Ghādiyah.
Kulthūm ibn Jabr:
Truthful, makes mistakes. He is from the narrators of Muslim. See, *Al-Taqrīb*: 5653. Al-Albānī has deemed this chain authentic in *al-Saḥīḥah*, vol. 5 pg. 19.

Thus, he was not convinced that he had erred; however, he was fearful that he may have committed an error in exercising his ijtihād. And Allah knows best.

4. Both Groups received accolades

The ḥadīth establishes the praise of Rasūlullāh ﷺ regarding both groups who were engaged in battle against each other. Rasūlullāh ﷺ also described them as two great groups. The narration of Abū Bakrah رضي الله عنه with regards to al- Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī رضي الله عنه as recorded by *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* is as follows:

إن ابني هذا سيد، ولعل الله أن يصلح به بين فئتين عظيمتين من المسلمين.

> This son of mine is a leader, perhaps Allah will bring about reconciliation at his hands between two great groups of the Muslims.

It is well known that Muʿāwiyah رضي الله عنه was the leader of the other group with ʿAmr رضي الله عنه as his advisor.

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī رضي الله عنه reports, as recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*:

تمرق مارقة في فرقة من الناس، فيلي قتلهم أولى الطائفتين بالحق.

> A group will disaffiliate at a time of dissension among the people; the party, among two parties, which is closer to the truth, will fight them.

Thus, we see Rasūlullāh ﷺ—who does not speak of his own whim— characterising them as two great groups who are both Muslims and from whom the closest to the truth will fight the Khawārij. This being the group of Amīr al- Mu'minīn ʿAlī رضي الله عنه.

This fight between the two groups was a prophecy which Rasūlullāh ﷺ foretold on the basis of divine revelation; it remains a sign of the truth of his prophethood.

How can it then be said that, ‘Amr fought to amass wealth or Muʿāwiyah fought for leadership? Whereas Rasūlullāh ﷺ characterized their camp to be great and to be on the truth; the leader of which was Muʿāwiyah with ʿAmr as his second in command?

5. The Audacity

How can anyone have the audacity to characterize a Companion of Rasūlullāh ﷺ to have joined the camp of Muʿāwiyah رضي الله عنه for paltry gains of this world instead of on the basis of true ijtihād? Notwithstanding the illegitimacy of the incident! Should we not be held to the principle of verification before amplification?

Attributing anything to anyone without true evidence is discrimination and injustice, what then of doing the same to a Ṣaḥābī!

Respected reader, if someone relates something evil to you regarding your senior or close friend without any evidence or with illegitimate evidence, will you accept it?

Any person of intellect will surely reject such accusations a thousand times over. How then can we accept it with regards to the Companions of Rasūlullāh ﷺ? Is this justice?

Ask yourself this question, and ponder deeply over it.

Misconception 3 - Saving himself from ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ in combat by revealing his private regions

This is based on some narrations wherein ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ said to Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ:

أتجبن عن علي وتتهمني في نصيحتي إليك والله لأبارزن عليا ولو مت ألف موتة في أول لقائه، فبارزه عمرو فطعنه علي فصرعه فاتقاه بعورته فانصرف عنه علي وولى بوجهه دونه.

وكان علي رضي الله عنه لم ينظر قط إلى عورة أحد حياءا وتكرما وتنزها عما لا يحل ولا يجمل بمثله كرم الله وجهه.

"Are you scared of ʿAlī and have doubts regarding my allegiance to you? By Allah! I will face ʿAlī in one-on-one combat even if I have to die a thousand deaths at our first encounter."

ʿAmr faced him off and ʿAlī threw a spear which caused him to fall down. He saved himself by exposing his private regions and ʿAlī turned away.

ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ never looked at the nakedness of any person as a token of respect and religiosity. [601]

Answer

This doubt can be answered in seven ways:

1. Source

[601] *Waqʿah Ṣiffīn*, pg. 424; *Murawwaj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2 pg. 405; al-Amīnī: *al-Ghadīr*, vol.1 pg. 66.

This incident has only been recorded with a chain of transmission in the book *Al- Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*[602] which has been [falsely] attributed to Ibn Qutaybah. Many historians and erudite scholars have refuted its attribution to Ibn Qutaybah.

Shākir Muṣṭafā states, "As for the book *al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*... it is a book that has been published more than once. It investigates the history and conditions of khilāfah beginning at the passing of Rasūlullāh ﷺ and ending at the reign of al-Ma'mūn.

Scholars have disputed its attribution to Ibn Qutaybah. The first that sounded the alarm and pointed out its glaring machinations was Pascual de Gayangos at the beginning of his book about Spain in 1881 C.E. Dozy and others followed suit. [603]"

Dr ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm ʿUways states regarding the book, "It is filled with irregularities regarding the Banū Umayyah. The author is prejudiced against them though he mentions no source nor chain of transmission. Those that have studied the life of Ibn Qutaybah highly doubt its attribution to him. He was more of a historian than a literary... He was impartial when discussing personalities of the Umawī period in his book *al-Maʿārif*. This is in complete contradiction to the authors manner in the book *al-Imāmah*. Besides being doubtful of its attribution, even the narrating of it is questionable." [604]

The scholars that refuted its attribution to Ibn Qutaybah have done so with clear cut evidence that portray the impossibility of the attribution. This is clear to anyone who has even the slightest grasp of understanding history. Hereunder are some examples:

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[602] *Al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*, vol. 1 pg. 89.
[603] *Al-Tārīkh al-ʿArabī wa al-Muarrikhūn*, vol. 1 pg. 246.
[604] *Banū Umayyah fi al-Tārīkh*, pg. 14.

1. Those that have complied the bio-data of Ibn Qutaybah have not counted this book amongst his works.
2. The book states that the author resided in Damascus whilst Ibn Qutaybah left Baghdad only once to Dīnawar.
3. The book is narrated from Ibn Abī Laylah who was a judge in Kūfah the year 148 A.H, which is 65 years prior to the birth of Ibn Qutaybah.
4. The author narrated the incident of the Andalusian conquest from a woman who witnessed it whilst the conquest of Andalus had occurred about 120 years before the birth of Ibn Qutaybah. [(605)]
5. The author speaks of the conquest of Marrakesh at the hands of Mūsa ibn Nuṣayr whereas this city was founded by the Murābṭ Sulṭān, Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn the year 455 A.H. Ibn Qutaybah passed away the year 276 A.H.
6. The author of *Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah* narrated much from two senior scholars of Egypt whereas Ibn Qutaybah never went to Egypt and neither did he study under these two scholars.

   All these evidences indicate that the book was falsely attributed to him. [(606)]

7. There are historical inaccuracies in the book that would have been impossible for Ibn Qutaybah to have missed. Examples of this include, considering Abū al-ʿAbbās and al-Saffāḥ as two different people, citing al- Rāshid as the successor to al-Mahdī, and mentioning his son ʿAbd Allāh had poisoned him whereas al-Mahdī had no son by this name.
8. The teachers of Ibn Qutaybah whom he normally narrated from in his books are not featured in the book at all.

[(605)] *Tharwat ʿUkkāshah*: Foreword to *Kitāb al-Maʿārif* of Ibn Qutaybah, pg. 56.
[(606)] Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, gloss on *Al-ʿAwāṣim*, pg. 262.

9. The author is of the Mālikī persuasion whilst Ibn Qutaybah was a Ḥanafī.
10. The literary style of the book is unlike the known literary style of Ibn Qutaybah. It takes a special interest in stories and narrations. [607]

Aḥmad Ṣaqr states, "A famous book, *Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*, has been attributed to Ibn Qutaybah, a view that is clearly worthless. Can any sane person accept this attribution knowing what the author of *al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*...?"

After mentioning the 4th and 5th evidence we have listed. He states, "Just this alone refutes the attribution of the book to Ibn Qutaybah notwithstanding other evidences and indications that clearly expose this lie." [608]

After this expose we have firm conviction that the book *al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah* cannot be attributed to Ibn Qutaybah. The invalidity of this attribution to him is as clear as day.

2. Studying the Chain of Transmission

If we were to, for arguments sake, accept the attribution of the book, then the incident itself is inauthentic.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim said, Ibn Abī Maryam and ibn ʿUfayr narrated to us — from **Ibn ʿAwn** — from **al-Khawl ibn Ibrāhīm** and **Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī**. Some of the narrators have additions but the subject matter is one. I thus gathered it all and narrated the meaning of what was intended — from **ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn** who said, "When

[607] *Al-Tārīkh al-ʿArabī wa al-Muarrikhūn*, pg. 241.
[608] Forward to his gloss on *Ta'wīl Mushkil al-Qur'ān*, pg. 32. For further reading on the invalid attribution of this book to Ibn Qutaybah, see, *Ulā'ika Mubarra'ūn: Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allah* رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

people began harbouring ill against ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, he ascended the pulpit and praised Allah....”

Ibn ʿAwn

He is ʿUmar ibn ʿAwn ibn ʿAmr ibn Tamīm al-Anṣārī, Abū ʿAwn.

- Ibn Abī Ḥātim said, “He narrated from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abū ʿAmrah al-Anṣārī and Saʿīd ibn Kathīr ibn ʿUfayr al-Miṣrī narrated from him. I asked my father regarding him. He said, ‘He is unknown.’” [609]

Al-Khawl ibn Ibrāhīm:

- I found no bio-data entry for him.

Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī

- He is Thābit ibn Abī Ṣafiyyah al-Thumālī, Abū Ḥamzah. The name of his father is Dīnār or Saʿīd. He is weak. He passed away during the reign of Abū Jaʿfar as recorded by al-Ḥāfiẓ. [610]

ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn

He is ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Hāshimī, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn.

[609] Ibn Abī Ḥātim: *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, vol. 6 pg. 252.
[610] *Al-Taqrīb*: 818.

- ❖ Reliable, strong, devout ascetic, jurist, and eminent personality. [611] He did not see ʿUthmān. In fact, Abū Zurʿah said, "He did not see his grandfather ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ."

Thus, the narration is *munqaṭiʿ* (broken), in addition to the weakness of some of its narrators.

3. Reprehensibility

The context of the incident suggests reprehensibility that does not line up with the character of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ. Such acts cannot be expected from those who are beneath the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ in status, far from it the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ.

4. Contradiction

The fallaciousness of this incident is further solidified when considering the life and times of ʿAmr. It is a complete contradiction of the established facts of his life. He was famed for his bravery in pre and post Islamic times. During his period of ignorance, he not only fought at the Battle of Uḥud, he brought along his wife too so he may have no misgivings of deserting the battlefield.

On the day of the Battle of Aḥzāb, the horses of the polytheists roamed the trenches seeking a narrow point to launch through. This prowling and searching was done by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Khālid ibn al-Walīd. Further, when the army departed, he together with Abū Sufyān and two hundred horsemen stood sentry so that the Muslim army may not pursue them.

[611] *Al-Taqrīb*: 4715.

There are many incidents after his acceptance of Islam that depict his valour and heroism. Hereunder are some examples:

1. Rasūlullāh ﷺ appointed him as commander of the army heading towards Shām. This army comprised of the early Muhājirīn and Anṣār; amongst them Abū Bakr and ʿUmar رضي الله عنهما. He led them wonderfully.
2. Falsifying Musaylamah publicly after the passing of Rasūlullāh ﷺ at his return from ʿUmmān saying:

   أما والله إنك لكاذب، وإنا لنعلم أنك لمن الكاذبين.

   By Allah! You are an imposter. We are convinced beyond doubt that you are an imposter.

3. He was one of the leaders during the conquest of the Levant. When Abū Bakr intended sending ʿAmr to conquer the Levant, he gave him the option of staying on as governor of ʿUmmān or mobilising towards the Levant.

   ʿAmr wrote to him saying:

   إني سهم من سهام الإسلام، وأنت بعد الله الرامي بها والجامع لها، فانظر أشدها وأخشاها وأفضلها فارم به.

   I am nothing but one of the arrows of Islam and you, after Allah, are the marksman and collector. So, observe which is the strongest, the most fearsome, and the most superior target and shoot [me] towards it.

4. On the day of Yarmūk when ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ spotted the carrier of the flag retreating, he grabbed hold of the flag and began advancing, shouting, "O gathering of Muslims!" He began spearing with it and proclaiming, "Do as I do." When finally,

he raised it, it was as if upon it were drops of rain, i.e. thick blood.

5. He was the one who went to al-Arṭabūn as an envoy telling what he wanted and listening to what he said until he knew what he wanted to know, amongst other instances of bravery in that incident.

Considering these examples of his bravery and valour, one must conclude that the allegations made against ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ in the narration under discussion is in complete contradiction to his life and times. In fact, it goes against the Arabian will and character that they prided themselves on even during the pre-Islamic era. They lived with honour or died with honour. They were averse to a life of indignity as supported by their history.

5. It Insinuates Incompetence of ʿAlī

If we take this incident to be true, it would insinuate the incompetence of Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ in his inability to neutralize ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ; a threat central to his opposition—as they theorize. This would depict his inability to lead and his political ineptitude. An allegation far from the truth.

6. Repetitions and Fabrications

The repetitions and various incidents with a central theme of ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ in one-onone combat gaining the upper hand but giving in due to a show of nudity from his opposition indicate its fallaciousness.

— Ibn Hishām states, **Maslamah ibn ʿAlqamah al-Māzinī** narrated to me:

لما اشتد القتال يوم أحد جلس رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم تحت راية الأنصار وأرسل إلى علي أن قدم الراية، فتقدم علي وهو يقول: أنا أبو القصم فناداه أبو سعد بن أبي طلحة، وهو صاحب لواء المشركين.

هل لك يا أبا القصم في البراز من حاجة؟ قال: نعم، فبرزا بين الصفين فاختلفا ضربتين فضربه علي فصرعه، ثم انصرف عنه ولم يجهز عليه. فقال له بعض أصحابه: أفلا أجهزت عليه؟ فقال: إنه استقبلني بعورته، فعطفتني عليه الرحم وعرفت أن الله عز وجل قد قتله، وقد فعل ذلك.

When the fight became fierce on the day of Uḥud, Rasūlullāh ﷺ sat underneath the flag of the Anṣār and sent for ʿAlī to move forward with the flag and he advanced while saying "I am Abū al-Qaṣm".

Abū Saʿd ibn Abī Ṭalḥah, the flag bearer of the polytheists, called out, "Would you engage in swordfight with me, 0 Abu Al-Qaṣm?"

ʿAlī said, "Yes."

He came out between the rows and they exchanged blows. ʿAlī struck him and he fell.

ʿAlī turned away and did not finish him off. His companions asked him. "Why did you not finish him off?"

He replied, "He faced me with his private parts and kinship made me turn away from him. And I knew Allah had killed him. And so it was."

— ʿAlī رضي الله عنه faced Busr ibn Arṭāt on the day of Ṣiffīn. When he launched an attack to kill him, Busr exposed his nudity and, thus, ʿAlī left him.

— A similar incident concerning ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ on the day of Ṣiffīn is recorded. He exposed his nudity and ʿAlī left him too. [612]

Maslamah ibn ʿAlqamah al-Māzinī

Maslamah ibn ʿAlqamah al-Māzinī Abū Muḥammad al-Baṣrī: Truthful, some of his narrations are conjecture (*Awhām*). He is from the eighth category which means he is from amongst the middle category of the successors to the Tābiʿīn. Where is he narrating of Uḥud? Between him and Uḥud is a multitude of eras. Thus, the narration is munqatiʿ.

7. A clink in his armour

If exposing nudity was a way to avoid being killed, everyone would have used it against ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. This vulnerability of his would have become famed and he would have failed at every combat. This would have been a clink in his armour and a military strategy failure.

Dear reader, after studying the above discussions, it becomes quite clear that attributing such to the eminent Companion, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ is not possible nor permissible. The fallaciousness of it needs no further elucidation.

Note:

Some have used this incident to show the strategic prowess of ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and speak of it when discussing him. This is a huge blunder on their part when considering the fallaciousness of it.

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[612] Ibn al-Kathīr in *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5 pg. 368; Ibn Hishām: *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah*, vol. 2 pg. 73.

Misconception 4 - His killing and burning of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr

This doubt is based on the narration wherein there is mention that when the killing of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr reached ʿĀ'ishah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا, she read qunūt and prayed against Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا after every ṣalāh. [613]

Answer

This doubt can be answered in two ways:

1. Studying the Chain of Transmission

This incident has been recorded by al-Ṭabarī[614] as follows:

قال أبو مخنف فحدثني محمد بن يوسف بن ثابت الأنصاري عن شيخ من أهل المدينة قال: كتب محمد بن أبي بكر إلى معاوية بن أبي سفيان جواب كتابه:

أما بعد فقد أتاني كتابك تذكرني من أمر عثمان أمرا لا أعتذر إليك منه، وتأمرني بالتنحي عنك كأنك لي ناصح، وتخوفني المثلة كأنك شفيق، وأنا أرجو أن تكون لي الدائرة عليكم فأجتاحكم في الوقعة، ...وخرج محمد في ألفي رجل، واستقبل عمرو بن العاص كنانة وهو على مقدمة محمد، فأقبل عمرو نحو كنانة، فلما دنا من كنانة سرح الكتائب كتيبة بعد كتيبة، فجعل كنانة لا تأتيه كتيبة من كتائب أهل الشام إلا شد عليها بمن معه فيضربها حتى يقربها

[613] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd: *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 6 pg. 72; al-Amīnī: *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 2 pg. 133.
[614] Al-Ṭabarī: *Tārīkh al-Rusul*, vol. 3 pg. 131.

لعمرو بن العاص، ففعل ذلك مرارا فلما رأى ذلك عمرو بعث إلى معاوية بن حديج السكوني فأتاه في مثل الدهم فأحاط بكنانة وأصحابه، واجتمع أهل الشام عليهم من كل جانب، فلما رأى ذلك كنانة بن بشر؛ نزل عن فرسه ونزل أصحابه وكنانة يقول: وما كان لنفس أن تموت إلا بإذن الله كتابا مؤجلا ومن يرد ثواب الدنيا نؤته منها ومن يرد ثواب الآخرة نؤته منها وسنجزي الشاكرين، فضار بهم بسيفه حتى استشهد رحمه الله. وأقبل عمرو بن العاص نحو محمد بن أبي بكر وقد تفرق عنه أصحابه؛ لما بلغهم قتل كنانة حتى بقي وما معه أحد من أصحابه، فلما رأى ذلك محمد خرج يمشي في الطريق حتى انتهى إلى خربة في ناحية الطريق فأوى إليها، وجاء عمرو بن العاص حتى دخل الفسطاط، وخرج معاوية بن حديج في طلب محمد حتى انتهى إلى علوج في قارعة الطريق فسألهم هل مر بكم أحد تنكرونه؟ فقال أحدهم: لا والله إلا أني دخلت تلك الخربة فإذا أنا برجل فيها جالس. فقال ابن حديج هو هو ورب الكعبة، فانطلقوا يركضون حتى دخلوا عليه فاستخرجوه وقد كاد يموت عطشا، فأقبلوا به نحو فسطاط مصر، قال: ووثب أخوه عبد الرحمن بن أبي بكر إلى عمرو بن العاص وكان في جنده فقال: أتقتل أخي صبرا؟ ابعث إلى معاوية بن حديج فانهه، فبعث إليه عمرو بن العاص يأمره أن يأتيه بمحمد بن أبي بكر، فقال معاوية: أكذاك! قتلتم كنانة بن بشر وأخلي أنا عن محمد بن أبي بكر هيهات أكفاركم خير من أولئكم أم لكم براءة في الزبر.

فقال لهم محمد: اسقوني من الماء، قال له معاوية بن حديج: لا سقاه الله إن سقاك قطرة أبدا إنكم منعتم عثمان أن يشرب الماء حتى قتلتموه صائما محرما فتلقاه الله بالرحيق المختوم، والله لأقتلنك يا ابن أبي بكر... فغضب معاوية فقدمه فقتله ثم ألقاه في جيفة حمار ثم أحرقه بالنار،

فلما بلغ ذلك عائشة جزعت عليه جزعا شديدا وقنتت عليه في دبر الصلاة تدعو على معاوية وعمرو.

وذكر الواقدي أنه لما قتل كنانة بن بشر بن عتاب التجيبي، فهرب عند ذلك محمد بن أبي بكر فاختبأ عند جبلة بن مسروق فدل عليه فجاء معاوية بن حديج وأصحابه فأحاط به فخرج إليهم محمد بن أبي بكر فقاتل حتى قتل..

According to **Abū Mikhnaf** — from **Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Thābit al- Anṣārī** — from **a shaykh of the people of al-Madīnah**:

Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr wrote to Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān in reply to his letter:

I have received your letter in which you remind me of the matter of ʿUthmān, and I make no apology to you regarding that. You tell me to withdraw from you, as if you were a sincere adviser, and you try to frighten me with reference to an exemplary punishment (*al-muthlah*) as if you were sympathetic to me. I hope that fortune will raise me up again over you and that I will sweep you away in battle...

Muḥammad went out with two thousand men whilst ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ went to meet Kinānah, who was over the vanguard of Muḥammad, and he proceeded toward him. When he drew near to Kinānah, he dispatched the squadrons, one after another. Whenever one of the Syrian squadrons approached him, Kinānah would attack it with the men he had with him and assail it so as to force it to draw near again to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. He did that several times and ʿAmr, seeing it, sent for Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥudayj al- Sakūnī, who came with a sizable force and surrounded Kinānah and his men. Then the Syrians gathered against them on all sides and, when Kinānah ibn Bishr perceived that, he dismounted together with his men, saying:

And it is not [possible] for one to die except by permission of Allah at a decree determined. And whoever desires the reward of this world - We will give him thereof; and whoever desires the reward of the Hereafter - We will give him thereof. And We will reward the grateful. [615]

And he fought the Syrians with his sword until he fell a martyr, may Allah have mercy upon him.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ advanced toward Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, whose men had deserted. When Muhammad perceived that, he went off on foot along the road until he came to a ruined place close to it and sought shelter there.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ proceeded to occupy al-Fusṭāṭ while Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥudayj went off in pursuit of Muḥammad. He came upon some local non-Arabs on the highway and asked them, "Did anyone unknown to you pass by?"

One of them replied, "No, by God, but I went in to this ruined place and I saw a man sitting in it."

Ibn Ḥudayj said, "By the Lord of the Kaʿbah, that is he;"

He rushed forward and went to him. They brought him out almost dead of thirst and took him off toward Fusṭāṭ of Egypt.

Muḥammad's brother, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr, who was part of the army of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, hurried to ʿAmr and said, "Will you kill my brother in chains? Send to Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥudayj and forbid him to do that."

So ʿAmr sent to him, telling him to bring Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr to him, but Muʿāwiyah said, "Really! You have killed Kinānah ibn Bishr and I should let Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr go! What an idea!

[615] Sūrah Āl ʿImrān: 145.

Are your disbelievers better than those, or have you immunity in the scriptures?

Muḥammad said to them, "Give me some water to drink." but Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥudayj answered him, "May Allah not give him anything to drink if he ever gives you a drop. You prevented ʿUthmān from drinking water until you had killed him, while he was fasting and in a state of ritual purity, and Allah received him with 'choice sealed wine' By Allah! I will kill you, Ibn Abī Bakr."

Muʿāwiyah became angry, had him brought forward, and killed him. Then he cast him into the corpse of a donkey and set fire to it. When ʿĀ'ishah heard about that, she mourned for him greatly and made qunūt for him at the end of the prayers, appealing to Allah against Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr.

According to al-Wāqidī:

When Kinānah ibn Bishr ibn ʿAttāb al-Tujībī was killed and he could find no more men, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr fled and tried to hide with Jabalah ibn Masrūq. But Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥudayj was led to him and surrounded him, and Muḥammad then came out and fought until he was killed. [(616)]

This incident is extremely weak.

Abū Mikhnaf, Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā

- Al-Dhahabī said, "A Historian, destroyed. Not to be relied upon."

[(616)] Ibn al-Kathīr in *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 10 pg. 661.

Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Thābit ibn Qays ibn Shammās

He is mentioned in the books of biographical collections as Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad.

- Abū Dāwūd said in his *Sunan* under the ḥadīth, "Remove the harm, O Lord of men," "Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad is correct." (and not Muḥammad bin Yūsuf). [617]
- Ibn Abī Ḥātim has recorded him in *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* without criticism or praise. [618]
- Al-Dhahabī states in *al-Mīzān*, "His state is not known. ʿAmr ibn Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmārah narrates from him." [619]
- Ibn Ḥajar said, "Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn Thābit ibn Qays ibn Shammās ... *Maqbūl* (accepted) when corroborated. Otherwise, he is considered weak as outlined in his foreword. From the seventh category. Some have said he is Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf.[620]

Shaykh of the people of al-Madīnah

This is the person narrating from Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr in the chain. 'A Shaykh' is ambiguous. And ambiguity is a type of weak narration, since the narrator is not known at all, forget his status as a narrator.

Thus, the narration is extremely weak and is not fit to be presented as evidence.

2. For Arguments Sake

[617] Abū Dāwūd: *al-Sunan*: 3887.
[618] *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, vol. 9 pg. 222.
[619] *Al-Mīzān*, vol. 4 pg. 472.
[620] *Al-Taqrīb*: 7879.

If, for arguments sake, we accept the narration then the following issues need to be considered:

Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥudayj killed him in retaliation for killing ʿUthmān. Yes, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr did enter the house of ʿUthmān but he did not kill him.

Ibn Kathīr said:

> الصحيح أن الذي فعل ذلك غيره، وأنه استحيى ورجع حين قال له عثمان: لقد أخذت بلحية كان أبوك يكرمها. فتذمم من ذلك وغطى وجهه ورجع وحاجز دونه فلم يفد وكان أمر الله قدراً مقدوراً، وكان ذلك في الكتاب مسطوراً.
>
> The truth of the matter is that others committed the heinous crime and he was not involved. He felt ashamed and went back when ʿUthmān addressed him saying, "You have grabbed a beard which your father used to honour." He felt ashamed and went back, and he regretted his actions and covered his face, and he tried to defend him, but to no avail. [621]

— If we consider ʿĀ'ishah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا praying against Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا for the killing of her brother to be a factual, then that would have been a natural, human reaction. Any person would feel pain on hearing the news of their brother or dear one being killed and resort to praying against them. That being said, the one to kill Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr was Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥudayj. This is supported by the following narration of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* on the

[621] Ibn Kathīr: *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 10 pg. 308. This narration has been recorded with a complete chain (*Musnad*) by ibn Abī Shaybah in *al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 15 pg. 219; Khalīfah: *Al-Tārīkh*, vol. 1 pg. 39; Ibn Ḥambal: *Al-Faḍā'il*, vol. 1 pg. 472; Ibn Shabbah: *Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah*, vol. 4 pg. 1285; and Al-Ṭabarī: *Tārīkh al-Rusul*, vol. 1pg. 384.

authority of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Shamāsah. She asked him when he came to her:

ممن أنت؟ فقلت رجل من أهل مصر. فقالت: كيف كان صاحبكم لكم في غزاتكم هذه؟ فقال: ما نقمنا منه شيئا إن كان ليموت للرجل منا البعير فيعطيه البعير، والعبد فيعطيه العبد، ويحتاج إلى النفقة فيعطيه النفقة، فقالت: أما إنه لا يمنعني الذي فعل في محمد بن أبي بكر أخي أن أخبرك ما سمعت من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول في بيتي هذا: اللهم من ولي من أمر أمتي شيئا فشق عليهم فاشقق عليه، ومن ولي من أمر أمتي شيئا فرفق بهم فارفق به.

"Where are you from?"

He replied, "From the people of Egypt."

She said, "How did your leader treat you in this war?"

He replied, "We did not disapprove any action of his. If any of our men's camel died, he would give him a camel. If a slave died, he would give him a slave. If anyone needed money, he would give him the same."

She said, "Harken! His treatment of Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr, my brother, will not prevent me from informing you of what I heard from the Messenger of Allah ﷺ which he pronounced in this house of mine, 'O Allah, whoever gains authority of any portion of my Ummah and is harsh towards them, then display harshness towards him. And if anyone gains authority of any portion of my Ummah and treats them compassionately, then treat him with compassion.'" [622]

[622] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Kitāb al-Imārah, chapter regarding the virtue of a just leader and the punishment of an oppressive ruler: 1828.

His name is mentioned unequivocally in *Musnad Abī ʿUwānah*.[623]

The narration of *al-Bayhaqī* is as follows, "How did ibn Ḥudayj treat you in this war?"[624]

— If this narration is taken at face value, it shows ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ making attempts to save the life of Muḥammad and, thus, he cannot be censured.

— Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ had exercised his ijtihād in fighting ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. He saw himself to be in the right, seeking to avenge the blood of ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ as his relative. And since Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr was amongst those who entered the house of ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, he would have been liable, according to Muʿāwiyah and his camp, for the murder of ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ as well.

— According to ʿĀ'ishah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا, Muḥammad was killed unjustly by the camp of Muʿāwiyah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. If she prayed against him, then she is a Ṣaḥābīyyah and he is a Ṣaḥābī. What benefit would we derive from discussing the matter and involving ourselves in it?

— The reality of the matter will be unveiled on the Day of Qiyāmah. Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى says:

﴿ثُمَّ إِنَّكُمْ يَوْمَ ٱلْقِيَـٰمَةِ عِندَ رَبِّكُمْ تَخْتَصِمُونَ﴾

> *Then indeed you, on the Day of Resurrection, before your Lord, will dispute.*[625]

This wasn't the first difference of opinion between the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ. They were human and not infallible. That being said, it is not

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[623] *Musnad Abī ʿUwānah*, vol. 4 pg. 381.
[624] *Al-Sunan*, vol. 9 pg. 43.
[625] Sūrah al-Zumar: 31.

up to us to judge them. All of their matters will be presented before Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ:

﴿إِنَّ إِلَيْنَآ إِيَابَهُمْ * ثُمَّ إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا حِسَابَهُم﴾

Indeed, to Us is their return. Then indeed, upon Us is their account. (626)

Our responsibility is to revere and respect them. Sure, they may have erred but we do not delve into it, nor do we seek to censure them for it due to the status they enjoy in the sight of Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ. Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ chose them to be the Companions of his Messenger صَلَّىٰٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ. He has praised them thus:

﴿مُّحَمَّدٌ رَّسُولُ ٱللَّهِۚ وَٱلَّذِينَ مَعَهُۥٓ أَشِدَّآءُ عَلَى ٱلْكُفَّارِ رُحَمَآءُ بَيْنَهُمْۖ تَرَىٰهُمْ رُكَّعًا سُجَّدًا يَبْتَغُونَ فَضْلًا مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ وَرِضْوَٰنًاۖ سِيمَاهُمْ فِى وُجُوهِهِم مِّنْ أَثَرِ ٱلسُّجُودِۚ ذَٰلِكَ مَثَلُهُمْ فِى ٱلتَّوْرَىٰةِۚ وَمَثَلُهُمْ فِى ٱلْإِنجِيلِ كَزَرْعٍ أَخْرَجَ شَطْـَٔهُۥ فَـَٔازَرَهُۥ فَٱسْتَغْلَظَ فَٱسْتَوَىٰ عَلَىٰ سُوقِهِۦ يُعْجِبُ ٱلزُّرَّاعَ لِيَغِيظَ بِهِمُ ٱلْكُفَّارَۗ وَعَدَ ٱللَّهُ ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ وَعَمِلُواْ ٱلصَّٰلِحَٰتِ مِنْهُم مَّغْفِرَةً وَأَجْرًا عَظِيمًا﴾

Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah; and those with him are forceful against the disbelievers, merciful among themselves. You see them bowing and prostrating [in prayer], seeking bounty from Allah and [His] pleasure. Their sign is in their faces from the effect of prostration [i.e., prayer]. That is their description in the Torah. And their description in the Gospel is as a plant which produces its offshoots and strengthens them so they grow firm and stand upon their stalks, delighting the sowers, so that He [i.e., Allah] may enrage by them1 the disbelievers. Allah has promised those who believe and do righteous deeds among them forgiveness and a great reward. (627)

(626) Sūrah al-Ghāshiyah: 26.
(627) Sūrah al-Fatḥ: 29.

Rasūlullāh ﷺ also praised them. He anointed their era the best of all eras and prohibited from censuring and reviling them. [628]

[628] See the foreword of the book for further reading.

Misconceptions relating to his conquest of Egypt, his governance, his relation with its people, and more specifically the Copts.

Preface

Before beginning the discussion, I wish to present two important points as a preamble to some of the misconceptions.

1. A quick primer regarding the Copts, their origin, domicile, and religious persuasion.

Their origins and domicile

Ibrāhīm ibn Waṣīf Shāh al-Kātib writes:

> أن القبط تنسب إلى قبطيم ابن مصرايم بن مصر بن حام بن نوح، وأن قبطيم أول من عمل العجائب بمصر وأثار بها المعادن وشق الأنهار لما ولي أرض مصر بعد أبيه مصرايم، وأنه لحق بلبلة الألسن، وخرج منها وهو يعرف اللغة القبطية، ... وقيل: بل قفط بن حام بن نوح نكح

بخت بنت يتاويل بن ترسل بن يافث بن نوح، فولدت له بوقير، وقبط أبا قبط مصر ... وقيل القبط من ولد قبط بن مصر بن قفط بن حام ابن نوح، وبمصر هذا سميت مصر.

> The Copts hail from Qibṭīm ibn Miṣrāyim ibn Miṣr ibn Ḥām ibn Nūḥ. Qibṭīm was the first to do wonders in Miṣr [Egypt]; he worked the mines, and dug water-courses while ruling the land of Miṣr, after his father Miṣrāyim. He lived until the *Confusion of Tongues*, and from it came the Coptic language which he knew... Another opinion is that Qifṭ ibn Ḥām ibn Nūḥ married Bukht bint Yatāwīl ibn Tursil ibn Yāfith ibn Nūḥ. Būqīr and Qibṭ were born to her, Qibṭ becoming the father of Miṣr... Another view is that the Copts are of the children of Qibṭ ibn Miṣr ibn Qifṭ ibn Ḥām ibn Nūḥ and that is why Miṣr is named Miṣr. [629]

Dear reader, this makes it quite evident that the original dwellers of Egypt were the Copts. Thereafter, others such as the Arabs, the Israelites, the Greeks, and the Romans settled in Egypt. Some were of the armies that stayed back, some stayed on after arriving for business, and so on.

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[629] *Al-Mawāʿiẓ*, vol. 3 pg. 257. The scholars have differed with regards to the reason Miṣr was called Miṣr. hereunder are some of the views:

1. It is a proper noun derived from the name of a man. The person referred to here is also subject to difference of opinion, though most historians opine it to be after Miṣr ibn Bayṣar ibn Ḥām ibn Nūḥ عَلَيْهِ ٱلسَّلَامُ.
2. It is called Miṣr since it is the border between the east and the west.
3. It is derived from the Arabic *Maṣarat al-Shāt*, when a sheep is milked. This is due to the great amount of goodness they lay in the sheep by which one takes benefit, from its milk, wool, and lambs. Similar is the case of Egypt in its goodness.

Their religious persuasion

After Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ saved Nabī Nūḥ عَلَيْهِٱلسَّلَامُ and those who were with him in the ark, He scattered his children throughout the lands. Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ says:

﴿وَجَعَلْنَا ذُرِّيَّتَهُۥ هُمُ ٱلْبَاقِينَ﴾

And We made his descendants those remaining [on the earth]. [630]

Thereafter Nabī Nūḥ عَلَيْهِٱلسَّلَامُ passed away and his children continued on the true faith. Shayṭān came to them with the intent of leading them astray and called them to idolatry, just as he had beguiled their predecessors. Eventually, Egypt became a land of polytheism. [631]

With the spread of polytheism and its acceptance the beliefs of people changed. In this climate, there were some individuals, few and far between, who believed in the Islamic creed though they were forced to hide their faith. They were influenced by the teachings of the Prophets who had inhabited Egypt such as Yūsuf, his father Yaʿqūb, and Mūsā عَلَيْهِمُٱلسَّلَامُ. This is clearly elucidated in the Qur'ān where Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ speaks of the pious man of faith from the house of Firʿawn and the advice he gave to his people:

﴿وَقَالَ رَجُلٌ مُّؤْمِنٌ مِّنْ ءَالِ فِرْعَوْنَ يَكْتُمُ إِيمَٰنَهُۥٓ أَتَقْتُلُونَ رَجُلًا أَن يَقُولَ رَبِّىَ ٱللَّهُ وَقَدْ جَآءَكُم بِٱلْبَيِّنَٰتِ مِن رَّبِّكُمْ ۖ وَإِن يَكُ كَٰذِبًا فَعَلَيْهِ كَذِبُهُۥ ۖ وَإِن يَكُ صَادِقًا يُصِبْكُم بَعْضُ ٱلَّذِى يَعِدُكُمْ ۖ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِى مَنْ هُوَ مُسْرِفٌ كَذَّابٌ * يَٰقَوْمِ لَكُمُ ٱلْمُلْكُ ٱلْيَوْمَ ظَٰهِرِينَ فِى ٱلْأَرْضِ فَمَن يَنصُرُنَا مِنۢ بَأْسِ ٱللَّهِ إِن جَآءَنَا ۚ قَالَ فِرْعَوْنُ مَآ أُرِيكُمْ إِلَّا مَآ أَرَىٰ وَمَآ أَهْدِيكُمْ إِلَّا سَبِيلَ ٱلرَّشَادِ * وَقَالَ ٱلَّذِىٓ ءَامَنَ يَٰقَوْمِ إِنِّىٓ أَخَافُ عَلَيْكُم مِّثْلَ يَوْمِ

[630] Sūrah al-Ṣāffāt: 77.
[631] *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa al-Iʿtibār*, vol. 4 pg. 389.

ٱلۡأَحۡزَابِ * مِثۡلَ دَأۡبِ قَوۡمِ نُوحٖ وَعَادٖ وَثَمُودَ وَٱلَّذِينَ مِنۢ بَعۡدِهِمۡۚ وَمَا ٱللَّهُ يُرِيدُ ظُلۡمٗا لِّلۡعِبَادِ * وَيَٰقَوۡمِ إِنِّيٓ أَخَافُ عَلَيۡكُمۡ يَوۡمَ ٱلتَّنَادِ * يَوۡمَ تُوَلُّونَ مُدۡبِرِينَ مَا لَكُم مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ مِنۡ عَاصِمٖۗ وَمَن يُضۡلِلِ ٱللَّهُ فَمَا لَهُۥ مِنۡ هَادٖ *وَلَقَدۡ جَآءَكُمۡ يُوسُفُ مِن قَبۡلُ بِٱلۡبَيِّنَٰتِ فَمَا زِلۡتُمۡ فِي شَكّٖ مِّمَّا جَآءَكُم بِهِۦۖ حَتَّىٰٓ إِذَا هَلَكَ قُلۡتُمۡ لَن يَبۡعَثَ ٱللَّهُ مِنۢ بَعۡدِهِۦ رَسُولٗاۚ كَذَٰلِكَ يُضِلُّ ٱللَّهُ مَنۡ هُوَ مُسۡرِفٞ مُّرۡتَابٌ﴾

And a believing man from the family of Pharaoh who concealed his faith said, "Do you kill a man [merely] because he says, 'My Lord is Allah,' while he has brought you clear proofs from your Lord? And if he should be lying, then upon him is [the consequence of] his lie; but if he should be truthful, there will strike you some of what he promises you. Indeed, Allah does not guide one who is a transgressor and a liar. And he who believed said, "O my people, indeed I fear for you [a fate] like the day of the companies. Like the custom of the people of Nūḥ and of ʿĀd and Thamūd and those after them. And Allah wants no injustice for [His] servants. And O my people, indeed I fear for you the Day of Calling. The Day you will turn your backs fleeing; there is not for you from Allah any protector. And whoever Allah sends astray - there is not for him any guide. And Joseph had already come to you before with clear proofs, but you remained in doubt of that which he brought to you, until when he died, you said, 'Never will Allah send a messenger after him.' Thus does Allah leave astray he who is a transgressor and sceptic. [(632)]

However, most were polytheists and remained such until Christianity spread in Egypt and became the state religion. [(633)]

Thus, the Copts remained Christians until Allah سُبۡحَانَهُۥوَتَعَالَىٰ sent Muḥammad صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيۡهِوَسَلَّمَ as the seal of Prophets to all of humanity. He

[(632)] Sūrah Ghāfir: 28-34.
[(633)] *Tārīkh ibn Khaldūn*, vol. 2 pg. 89.

abrogated all other beliefs and invited all to the faith of Islam. There were those who accepted and those who rejected. And then there were those who responded in a beautiful manner, such as Muqawqis, the King of the Copts who had gifted Māriyah al-Qibṭiyyah to Rasūlullāh ﷺ. Rasūlullāh ﷺ had given the glad tidings of the Egyptian conquest to the Ṣaḥābah رضي الله عنهم before his passing and advised them to deal with the people of Egypt in a good manner. As Allah willed, it was conquered during the reign of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رضي الله عنه, with his consultation, under the command of the magnanimous Companion, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه. Thus, Egypt became an Islamic state through the grace of Allah. For this great achievement, we first express our gratitude to Allah سبحانه وتعالى and then to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنه for his unyielding faith, bravery, intellect, and military prowess.

2. Reasons for the Islamic conquest of Egypt.

The Muslims conquered Egypt during the khilāfah of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رضي الله عنه at the behest of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رضي الله عنهما due to various considerations. Amongst the considerations were the following:

1. In fulfilling the responsibility of preaching and calling to Allah in accordance with the divine injunction:

﴿يَـٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَآ أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ ۖ وَإِن لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُۥ ۚ وَٱللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ ٱلنَّاسِ ۗ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِى ٱلْقَوْمَ ٱلْكَـٰفِرِينَ﴾

O Messenger, announce that which has been revealed to you from your Lord, and if you do not, then you have not conveyed His message. And

Allah will protect you from the people. Indeed, Allah does not guide the disbelieving people. [634]

2. In order to create an Islamic discipline and lifestyle that covers the entire land of Allah; amongst it the land of Egypt. Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ says:

﴿هُوَ ٱلَّذِىٓ أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُۥ بِٱلْهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ ٱلْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُۥ عَلَى ٱلدِّينِ كُلِّهِۦ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ ٱلْمُشْرِكُونَ﴾

It is He who has sent His Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth to manifest it over all religion, although they who associate others with Allah dislike it. [635]

And Allah says:

﴿وَمَآ أَرْسَلْنَٰكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعَٰلَمِينَ﴾

And We have not sent you, [O Muḥammad], except as a mercy to the worlds.[636]

The Muslims understood the concern of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ to be their concern. This was eloquently elucidated by Rabīʿ ibn ʿĀmir رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنْهُ addressing Rustam, the Persian general:

إن الله ابتعثنا لنخرج العباد من عبادة العباد إلى عبادة الله الواحد القهار، ومن جور الأديان إلى عدل الإسلام.

[634] Sūrah al-Mā'idah: 67.
[635] Sūrah al-Tawbah: 33.
[636] Sūrah al-Ambiyā': 107.

> Allah has sent us to bring mankind out of the worship of mankind to the worship of Allah and from the oppression of religions to the justice of Islam.

This was the exact words by which ʿUbādah ibn Ṣāmit رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ addressed Muqawqis, the King of the Copts.

3. It had become all the more vital, now, to expel the occupying Roman forces from Egypt and North Africa to prevent enemy attacks on the Levant and Arabian Peninsula from the southern and western regions. This would also effectively bar the enemy from crossing the Egyptian, Alexandrian, and Libyan borders and attacking the Islamic Levant. Further, Egypt would serve as a base for conquering Spain and beyond.

4. As a realization of the prophecy of Nabī Muḥammad صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ:

> إنكم ستفتحون مصر وهي أرض يسمى فيها القيراط، فإذا فتحتموها فأحسنوا إلى أهلها، فإن لهم ذمة ورحماً.
>
> You would soon conquer Egypt, that is a land in which the Qīrāṭ is used. So, when you conquer it, treat its inhabitants well. For they have upon you the right of protection in view of the blood-relation or relationship of marriage you have with them.[637] ,[638]

[637] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*: 2543.
[638] Dr Jamāl ʿAbd al-Hādī: *Fatḥ Miṣr*, pg. 29.

Misconception 1 - Seizing the wealth of the Copts and humiliating them.

This is based on what has been mentioned by John of Nikiû, the Egyptian Coptic Bishop, in his book *Tārīkh al-ʿĀlam* chapter 113. He states:

> أن عمرو بن العاص... قبض على القضاة الرومان وقد أيديهم وأرجلهم بالسلاسل، والأوتاد الخشبية، ونهب أموالا كثيرة، وقام بمضاعفة الضرائب على الفلاحين، وأجبرهم على إحضار العلف لخيوله، وبالإجمال مارس كل أعمال العنف.
>
> ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ captured the Roman judiciary, shackling their hands and feet with iron fetters and wooden fastenings. He plundered much wealth, imposed numerous taxes on the farmers, and forced them to bring fodder for his horses. In short, he oversaw many merciless acts.[639]

In chapter 121 he writes:

> وأنا لعاجز عن أن أصف مدى الحزن والأنين الذي أصاب المدينة بعد ذلك، فقد بلغ الضيق بالسكان إلى درجة سلموا أبناءهم في مقابل المبالغ الضخمة التي كان عليهم دفعها شهريا.
>
> I am unable to describe the extent of grief and despair that afflicted the city after that. The inhabitants faced austerity to the point of selling their children into slavery in order to pay the exorbitant monthly taxes. [640]

Similar is what Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam has recorded in his book, *Futūḥ Miṣr*:

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[639] *Tārīkh al-ʿĀlam*, pg. 209.
[640] Ibid., pgs. 233-234.

إن عمرو بن العاص لما فتح مصر قال لقبط مصر: من كتمني كنزا عنده فقدرت عليه قتلته. وسمع عمرو أن أحد أهالي الصعيد اسمه بطرس كان عنده كنز، فلما سأله أنكر ولما تبين لعمرو صحة ما سمع أمر بقتله، فبدأ القبط بإخراج (إظهار) ثرواتهم؛ خوفا من القتل.

When ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ conquered Egypt, he addressed the Copts saying, "If I come to know of anyone hiding any treasure from me, I will kill him."

ʿAmr heard that someone in Upper Egypt, who went by the name of Baṭras, had some treasure. When he asked him about it, he denied possessing any. When ʿAmr came to know of the legitimacy of the initial information, he had him killed. Thus, the Copts began taking out and presenting their fortunes in fear of being killed. (641)

In the same book Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam writes:

أن بعض الأقباط ذهبوا لعمرو بن العاص طالبين أن يخبرنا ما على أحدنا من الجزية فيصير لها، فأجاب عمرو: لو أعطيتني من الأرض إلى السقف ما أخبرتك ما عليك. إنما أنتم خزانة لنا إن كتر علينا كثرنا عليكم وإن خفف علينا خففنا عليكم.

Some Copts went to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ asking him to definitively stipulate their tax. He said to them, "If you give me from the floor to the ceiling, I still would not inform you what taxes you owe. You are a treasure to us. If we are in dire straits, we will ask more of you, and if we require less, we will ask less of you."(642)

(641) *Futūḥ Miṣr*, pg. 87.
(642) Ibid., pg. 153.

Answer

This misconception can be answered in eight ways:

1. Fairytales

What has been mentioned of the oppression by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ as far as humiliating the Copts, plundering their wealth, and forcing them to sell their children due to the exorbitant monthly taxes are all just stories and tales that have no chain of transmission.

2. The Three Options Before Waging War and Was Egypt Conquered Peacefully or Through War? The implications of each.

The teachings of Islam[643] instruct Muslims to give the disbelievers three options before waging war, viz.:

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[643] As recorded in the ḥadīth of Buraydah ibn al-Ḥuṣayb رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ who said:

كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إذا أمر أميرا على جيش أو سرية أوصاه في خاصته بتقوى الله ومن معه من المسلمين خيرا ثم قال: اغزوا باسم الله في سبيل الله، قاتلوا من كفر بالله، اغزوا ولا تغلوا ولا تغدروا ولا تمثلوا ولا تقتلوا وليدًا، وإذا لقيت عدوك من المشركين فادعهم إلى ثلاث خصال: فأيتهن ما أجابوك فاقبل منهم وكف عنهم.

When Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ appointed a commander over an army or a detachment he instructed him to fear Allah and consider the welfare of the Muslims who were with him. He would say, "Go forth in Allah's name in Allah's path and fight with those who disbelieve in Allah. Go forth and do not be unfaithful regarding booty, or treacherous, or mutilate anyone, or kill a child. When you meet the polytheists who are your enemy summon them to three things, and accept whichever of them they are willing to agree to, and refrain from them..."

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim: Kitāb al-Jihād wa al-Siyar: 1731.

1. **Islam:** The first hope for the disbelievers is to take them out of darkness and bring them into the light. The Prophets were sent for this very reason. If they enter the fold of Islam, it will be accepted of them and they will become subjects of the Islamic State. They will be expected to follow Islamic injunctions now.

2. **Jizyah:** If they refuse to accept Islam, they will be asked to pay Jizyah.

3. **War:** If they refuse the second option as well, then the option of war, is left. The assistance of Allah will be sought in fighting them. If Allah grants the Muslim army victory, then their wealth and weapons will be taken as booty. The fate of the prisoners of war will be left to the discretion of the Leader, who will act according to what is most prudent at the time. The following verse serves as evidence of his discretionary authority:

﴿فَإِذَا لَقِيتُمُ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُواْ فَضَرۡبَ ٱلرِّقَابِ حَتَّىٰٓ إِذَآ أَثۡخَنتُمُوهُمۡ فَشُدُّواْ ٱلۡوَثَاقَ فَإِمَّا مَنَّۢا بَعۡدُ وَإِمَّا فِدَآءً حَتَّىٰ تَضَعَ ٱلۡحَرۡبُ أَوۡزَارَهَاۚ﴾

So, when you meet those who disbelieve [in battle], strike [their] necks until, when you have inflicted slaughter upon them, then secure [their] bonds, and either [confer] favor afterwards or ransom [them] until the war lays down its burdens. [644]

The narrations that depict how Rasūlullāh ﷺ and the al-Khulafā' al-Rāshidīn dealt with the prisoners of war are further evidence of this discretionary authority.

Was Egypt conquered peacefully or through war? Or some of it peacefully and other parts through war?

[644] Sūrah Muḥammad: 4.

The scholars have differing opinions on the matter[645]. Ibn Taymiyyah has reconciled between the different views in the following manner:

فتحت أولا صلحا، ثم نقض أهلها العهد فبعث عمرو بن العاص إلى عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه يستمده فأمده بجيش كثير فيهم الزبير بن العوام ففتحها المسلمون الفتح الثاني عنوة.

> Initially, it was conquered peacefully but the Egyptians broke the treaty. Thus, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ sought reinforcements from ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. The latter sent a large army, which boasted the likes of al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām. The Muslims then conquered it a second time through war.

This is why we find the request of al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ narrated from many sources. He requested ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to distribute the spoils of war amongst the army just as Bilāl رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ had requested the distribution at al- Shām. ʿUmar consulted the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ on the matter and the senior Ṣaḥābah, such as ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Muʿādh ibn Jabal رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا, advised him to keep it as fay' for the Muslims by which the current and future generations will benefit. ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and some who had opposed it concurred with their view. Others who opposed the view passed away and thus the matter was settled. [646]

In any case, if we say it was conquered by war, then it would have been booty for the Muslims. However, ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ prohibited its distribution and regarded its allocation as fay' to be more prudent, by which generations of Muslims will benefit. And if we say it was conquered peacefully, then this wouldn't be in line with what is known and recorded since they initially refused submission. The

[645] See Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam: *Futūḥ Miṣr*, pgs. 97-104.
[646] *Aḥkām ahl al-Dhimmah*, vol. 3 pgs. 117-118.

leader of Alexandria agreed to pay the jizyah only after the prisoners had already been dispersed to Makkah and Yemen. A treaty was then agreed to, in which the prisoners on hand would be returned. As for those who had been dispersed off, they were considered as spoils of war which the sharīʿah had permitted.

After the treaty was enacted, the Muslims honoured the treaty and treated them in an amicable manner as attested to by the Christians themselves. More on this in the eighth answer.

If we were to say that some parts of Egypt were conquered peacefully and others through war, then the matter under discussion would have occurred in those territories that were conquered through war, or in those that were conquered peacefully before a treaty was signed. Whatever was taken during this time would have been permissible for the Muslims under Islamic Law as spoils of war and cannot be termed as plundering oppression.

As for the incident wherein ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ is said to have killed the one who concealed his treasure, then this would have been following the precedent of how Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ dealt with Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq when he concealed the purse of Ḥuyayy ibn Akhṭab. The incident is as follows:

إن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قاتل أهل خيبر فغلب على النخل والأرض وألجأهم إلى قصرهم فصالحوه على أن لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الصفراء والبيضاء والحلقة، ولهم ما حملت ركابهم على أن لا يكتموا ولا يغيبوا شيئا، فإن فعلوا فلا ذمة لهم ولا عهد، فغيبوا مسكا لحيي بن أخطب، وقد كان قتل قبل خيبر كان احتمله معه يوم بني النضير حين أجليت النضير، فيه حليهم، قال فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لسعية: أين مسك حيي بن أخطب؟ قال أذهبته الحروب والنفقات. فوجدوا المسك فقتل ابن أبي الحقيق وسبى نساءهم وذراريهم

وأراد أن يجليهم، فقالوا يا محمد دعنا نعمل في هذه الأرض ولنا الشطر ما بدا لك ولكم الشطر.

Nabī ﷺ fought with the people of Khaybar, and captured their palm trees and land, and forced them to remain confined to their fortresses. So, they concluded a treaty of peace providing that gold, silver and weapons would go to the Nabī ﷺ, and whatever they took away on their camels would belong to them, on condition that they would not hide and carry away anything. If they did so, there would be no protection for them and no treaty with Muslims.

They carried away a purse of Ḥuyayy ibn Akhṭab who was killed before the battle of Khaybar. He took away the ornaments of Banū al-Naḍīr when they were expelled.

Nabī ﷺ asked Saʿyah, "Where is the purse of Ḥuyayy ibn Akhṭab?"

He replied, "The contents of this purse were spent on battles and other expenses."

Later on, they found the purse. So, he executed Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq, captured their women and children, and intended to deport them.

They said, "Muhammad, leave us to work on this land; we shall have half (of the produce) as you wish, and you will have half."[647]

ʿAmr رضي الله عنه having them bring him feed for the horse's forms part of the treaty. The Imām may enact whatever clauses he deems fit. Some of the treaties that were enacted during the era of the Ṣaḥābah

[647] *Abū Dāwūd*: Kitāb al-Kharāj wa al-Imārah wa al-Fay: 3008.

رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ included hosting the Muslims who pass through for three days.

As for ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ refusing to inform them of the jizyah that is due on them, this can be answered by bearing in mind the following two considerations:

1. The narration has a weak chain of transmission.

It has been reported by **Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam** who said, Ḥaywah ibn Shurayḥ narrated — from al-Ḥasan ibn Thawbān — from Hishām ibn Abī Ruqayyah al-Lakhmī who said:

أن صاحب إخنا قدم على عمرو بن العاص فقال له: أخبرنا ما على أحدنا من الجزية فيصبر لها فقال عمرو: وهو يشير إلى ركن كنيسة لو أعطيتني من الأرض إلى السقف ما أخبرتك ما عليك، إنما أنتم خزانة لنا إن كثر علينا كثرنا عليكم وإن خفف عنا خففنا عنكم، فغضب صاحب إخنا فخرج إلى الروم فقدم بهم فهزمهم الله وأسر النبطي فأتي به عمرو فقال له الناس: اقتله، فقال: لا بل انطلق فجئنا بجيش آخر.

The ruler of Ikhnā (a city of old near Alexandria) came to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and asked him, "Tell us how much we owe the state in Jizyah so we may endure it."

ʿAmr whilst pointing to a pillar replied, "If you give me from the floor to the ceiling, I still would not inform you what taxes you owe. You are a treasure to us. If we are in dire straits, we will ask more of you, and if we require less, we will ask less of you."

Angered, the ruler of Ikhnā left for Rome and came back with an army. Allah caused their defeat and the Copt was imprisoned.

When he was brought to ʿAmr, the people said to him, "Kill him".

ʿAmr responded, "No, let him go and bring another army."

Saʿīd ibn Sābiq said:

كان اسمه طلما وإن عمراً لما أتي به، سوره وتوجه وكساه برنس أرجوان وقال له: إيتنا بمثل هؤلاء فرضي بأداء الجزية، فقيل لطلما: لو أتيت ملك الروم فقال لو أتيته لقتلني وقال قتلت أصحابي.

His name was Ṭalamā. When he was brought to ʿAmr, the latter treated him well and gave him a reddish hooded cloak to wear.

He said to him, "Why don't you resurrect another army like this?"

He understood and agreed to pay jizyah.

It was said to Ṭalamā, "Why don't you go to the Roman Emperor?"

He replied, "If I went to him, he would kill me and say that I killed my people."

The chain of this narration is munqatiʿ since the narrator between ʿAbd al- Ḥakam and Ḥaywah is not known. If we deem it to be authentic, then this incident would have occurred after the treaty was broken, since ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam has deemed the disinclination of ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to acquiesce the Copts request of determining the jizyah as the reason for the Alexandrians breaking the pact during the era of ʿUthmān رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. The peace treaty and determination of the jizyah was fixed during the era of ʿUmar as noted by the letters written. This demonstrates the breaking of the pact and reconquering by ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ for a second time and as such they were then treated as those who were conquered by the sword. Further,

the leader is not bound to determine a stipulated amount of jizyah, he may affect any amount necessary according to the needs of the state. Besides, the narration states he treated him well, gave him a hooded cloak, and allowed him to leave whereas he had attached himself to the Romans. In any case, the Copt thereafter agreed to pay the jizyah and remained there, refusing to return to the Roman Emperor though they shared the same faith out of fear of being taken to task. Where then will you find such character?

2. This is refuted by the narration which states ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ had in fact determined a stipulated jizyah for them. Amongst these narrations is the following as recorded by al-Ṭabarī which outlines the treaty between ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and the Egyptians:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، هذا ما أعطى عمرو بن العاص أهل مصر من الأمان على أنفسهم وملتهم وأموالهم وكنائسهم وصلبهم وبرهم وبحرهم، لا يدخل عليهم شيء من ذلك ولا ينتقص، ولا يساكنهم النوب، وعلى أهل مصر أن يعطوا الجزية إذا اجتمعوا على هذا الصلح، وانتهت زيادة نهرهم خمسين ألف ألف، وعليهم ما جنى لصوتهم، فإن أبى أحد منهم أن يجيب رفع عنهم من الجزاء بقدرهم وذمتنا ممن أبى بريئة، وإن نقص نهرهم من غايته إذا انتهى رفع عنهم بقدر ذلك، ومن دخل في صلحهم من الروم والنوب فله مثل ما لهم وعليه مثل ما عليهم، ومن أبى واختار الذهاب فهو آمن حتى يبلغ مأمنه أو يخرج من سلطاننا، عليهم ما عليهم أثلاثا في كل ثلث جباية ثلث ما عليهم، على ما في هذا الكتاب عهد الله وذمته وذمة رسوله وذمة الخليفة أمير المؤمنين وذمم المؤمنين، وعلى النوبة الذين استجابوا أن يعينوا بكذا وكذا رأسا وكذا وكذا فرسا على ألا يغزوا ولا يمنعوا من تجارة صادرة ولا واردة، شهد الزبير وعبد الله ومحمد ابناه، وكتب وردان وحضر، فدخل في ذلك أهل مصر كلهم وقبلوا الصلح.

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

This is the text of the covenant that ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ has granted the people of Miṣr concerning immunity for themselves, their religion, their possessions, churches, crucifixes, as well as their land and their waterways. Nothing of these will be interfered with or decreased and Nubians will not be allowed to share their homesteads. It is incumbent upon the people of Miṣr, if they agree on the terms of this covenant and when the rise of the Nile water comes to a halt, to afford the jizyah, to give fifty million (dirhams) They will have to account for the crimes committed by robbers from among them.

If anyone refuses to comply with the terms of this treaty, obligations will be lifted from them commensurate with their numbers, and we will be exempt from awarding protection to those who do so. If their river fails to reach the highest point when the rise of the water has come to a halt, then, commensurate with the losses suffered, their jizyah payments will be reduced.

Those Byzantines and Nubians who are willing to accept the same terms as in the covenant with the people of Miṣr will have the same privileges and duties as the latter. He who refuses to accept these terms and chooses to depart will enjoy immunity, until he has reached his destination where he can be safe, or has moved out of the territory where our authority prevails. It is incumbent upon them to comply with the following terms: in three installments, every third part of the year, they will have to afford one third of what they have to pay.

For the terms of this document the covenant of Allah and His protection, as well as that of His Messenger, that of the Khalīfah, the Commander of the Faithful, as well as the protection awarded by all the Muslims, are guarantees.

> It is incumbent upon the Nubians who have accepted the terms of this treaty that they assist with so many men and so many horses, in the understanding that no raids will be mounted against them and that they will not be prevented from trade, export or import.
>
> Al-Zubayr, his sons—ʿAbd Allāh and Muḥammad, have witnessed the concluding of this covenant.
>
> All the people of Miṣr entered into this covenant and accepted the peace treaty. [(648)]

Muqawqis, the Egyptian ruler, is recorded to have accorded a treaty with ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ upon two gold coins due from each Copt whilst exempting the elderly, the children, and the women. This has been recorded by Ibn Zanjawayh in *al-Amwāl*, vol. 1 pg. 326; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam in *Futūḥ Miṣr*, pg. 92; Al-Balādhurī in *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pg. 216; and al-Lālakā'ī in *al-Iktifā*, vol. 2 pg. 335.

3. Their Jizyah Was Less Than the Zakāt of the Muslims

The jizyah system institutionalized by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ upon the Copts who had not accepted the Islamic faith, was far less than the obligatory zakāt which was being discharged by the Muslims, notwithstanding the exemption of the elderly, the children, the women, and the poor.

During the Byzantine reign, the Egyptians were subjected to exorbitant amounts of tax which bore them down heavily. Most of the Egyptian farmers, under this law, were effectively slaves of the state. English historians such as Allan Chester Johnson and Edward Rochie Hardy in their respective books, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic*

[(648)] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabar*, vol. 4 pg. 109.

Studies and *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* have provided much detail of the tragedies that were prevalent during this disastrous era. They have outlined the Roman attitude towards the Egyptian farmers; one of animalistic slavery, which left them with zero rights. This tragedy came to an end by the Islamic conquest. The Egyptians found the character and temperament of the Muslims to be in complete opposition to their previous Roman overlords. This is why they hoped for Muslim domination over Rome and the destruction of the oppressive Byzantine Empire under which Egypt had languished.[649]

4. Jizyah: A Boon

Taking the jizyah from them was in lieu of their residency within the Islamic State which secured them safety and Muslim protection. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ said to Abū Miryām prior to entering Egypt:

فنحن ندعوكم إلى الإسلام، فمن أجابنا إليه فمثلنا ومن لم يجبنا عرضنا عليه الجزية وبذلنا له المنعة.

> We call you to Islam. Whoever accepts our call will enjoy the same rights as we do. Those that do not, we will present to them the opportunity to pay jizyah in lieu of which they will enjoy our protection.

This can also be understood from the incident of Yarmūk. When Heraclius gathered his armies to fight the Muslims, the Muslims returned the tax they had taken from the people of Ḥimṣ citing their inability to protect them during this time of battle. [650]

[649] Muḥammad al-Maḥāmī: *Al-Jizyah fi al-Islam*, pg. 24.
[650] Al-Balādhirī: *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, vol. 1 pg. 162.

Further, taking jizyah from them was a great boon for them since it is a law that accepts material loss in order to mitigate a higher loss; a common theme of the sharīʿah law. [651] So, even though jizyah may apparently seem to be an exercise in humiliation, in fact it is a result of the mercy of Allah سُبْحَانَهُوَتَعَالَىٰ. Consider, had they all been killed, the door of faith would have forever been shut on them and they would have suffered eternal damnation to the fire. On the other hand, paying jizyah and living amongst the Muslims allowed for a greater purpose. They would observe the beauty of Islam in contrast to the dark twisted nature of disbelief, which would become a catalyst for their acceptance of the faith and eternal salvation.

Additionally, they were not oppressed by the institution of jizyah. They were treated in an amicable manner based on sharʿī guidelines wherein the old and weak were exempt.

5. Nothing New

Neither did Islam nor did the Muslims introduce the novel idea of jizyah. The religions and people of old would take jizyah from those who were brought under their dominion. This is a noted fact which human history bears testimony to which cannot be disputed. The Bible recalls the conversation wherein Jesus said to Simon:

> ماذا تظن يا سمعان؟ ممن يأخذ ملوك الأرض الجباية أو الجزية، أمن بنيهم أم من الأجانب؟
>
> قال له بطرس من الأجانب، قال له يسوع: فإذا البنون أحرار.

> "What do you think, Simon? From whom do the kings of the earth receive toll or tribute? From their children, or from strangers?"

[651] Al-Qarāfī: *Al-Furūq*, vol. 3 pg. 21.

Peter said to him, “From strangers.”

Jesus said to him, “Therefore the children are exempt.” [652]

The Old Testament also speaks of jizyah and the Prophets who had taken jizyah from the conquered territories:

فلم يطردوا الكنعانيين الساكنين في جازر. فسكن الكنعانيون في وسط أفرايم إلى هذا اليوم، وكانوا عبيدا تحت الجزية.

And they drove not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer: but the Canaanites dwell among the Ephraimites unto this day, and serve under tribute. [653]

They were thus slaves and payed jizyah.

The Christians note the instruction of Jesus to his followers in paying jizyah to the Romans. And he, himself went to hand it over. The Bible remembers Peter saying to Simon:

اذهب إلى البحر وألق صنارة، والسمكة التي تطلع أولا خذها، ومتى فتحت فاها تجد إستارا، فخذه وأعطهم عني وعنك.

So go cast a line into the lake and pull out the first fish you hook. Open its mouth, and you will find a coin. Use it to pay your taxes and mine.[654]

The Bible also speaks of Matthew asking:

أيجوز أن تعطى جزية لقيصر أم لا؟.. فقال لهم لمن هذه الصورة والكتابة؟ قالوا له: لقيصر. فقال لهم: أعطوا إذا ما لقيصر لقيصر، وما لله لله.

[652] Matthew 17: 25-26.
[653] Joshua 16:10.
[654] Matthew 17:27.

"Tell us then, what is your opinion? Is it right to pay the imperial tax to Caesar or not?"

He said to them "Whose image is this? And whose inscription?"

"Caesar's," they replied.

Then he said to them, "So give back to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's." [655]

The New Testament also considered discharging jizyah a legal right of the leader which should be given in reverence and faith. Paul said:

لتخضع كل نفس للسلاطين، السلاطين الكائنة هي مرتبة من الله، حتى إن من يقاوم السلطان يقاوم ترتيب الله، والمقاومون سيأخذون لأنفسهم دينونة ...إذ هو خادم الله، منتقم للغضب من الذي يفعل الشر، لذلك يلزم أن يخضع له ليس بسبب الغضب فقط، بل أيضا بسبب الضمير، فإنكم لأجل هذا توفون الجزية أيضا، إذ هم خدام الله مواظبون على ذلك بعينه، فأعطوا الجميع حقوقهم، الجزية لمن له الجزية، الجباية لمن له الجباية، والخوف لمن له الخوف، والإكرام لمن له الإكرام.

Let everyone be subject to the governing authorities... the authorities that exist have been established by God. Consequently, whoever rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted, and those who do so will bring judgment on themselves. They are God's servants, agents of wrath to bring punishment on the wrongdoer. Therefore, it is necessary to submit to the authorities, not only because of possible punishment but also as a matter of conscience. This is also why you pay taxes, for the authorities are God's servants, who give their full time to governing. Give to everyone what

[655] Matthew 22: 17-21.

you owe them: If you owe taxes, pay taxes; if revenue, then revenue; if respect, then respect; if honour, then honour. [656]

6. Misrepresentation of Historical Actualities

What they have mentioned regarding the oppression and suppression of the Copts by ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ is not only unfounded, it is a direct misrepresentation of historical actualities. Anyone studying history will note its fallacy. If history could speak, it would say, Exalted are You, Allah this is a great slander! And if the land of Egypt was given a tongue, it would speak its truth and bridle the mouths of slanderers with irrefutable evidences.

Historians[657] have noted that Egypt came under Roman rule from the year 30 A.D. to the year 295 A.D. During this time, from the era of Nero, Christianity began its spread throughout Egypt and more so after the travels of Mark the Evangelist to Alexandria. This new faith garnered hostility from the pagan Byzantine Emperors, especially during the era of Diocletian (284-305 A.D.) whose reign saw the last major persecution of Christians. This lasted until Constantine came to power and became the sole emperor. He accepted Christianity and adopted it as the state religion in the year 323 A.D.

The Copts though were not kept at bay for long, they quite quickly began discussing, debating, and arguing the nature and attributes of Christ and so the Egyptian Church settled on the notion of a single nature in Christ. However, the state declared them two after Council of Chalcedon issued the Chalcedonian Definition, which repudiated

[656] Romans 13: 1-7. Refer to ʿAlī ibn Nayef al-Shaḥūd: *Al-Mufaṣṣal fi Sharḥ Āyah Lā Ikrāh fi al-Dīn*, vol. 1 pg. 448.

[657] See, Severus ibn al-Muqaffa: *Tārīkh Miṣr*, pg. 573; Yacoub Rufila, *Tārīkh al-Ummah al-Qibṭiyyah*, pgs. 24-38; Samīr Adīb: *Tārīkh wa Ḥaḍarah Miṣr al-Qadīmah*, pgs. 309-318; Dr. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Razzāq: *Tārīkh wa Āthār Miṣr al-Islāmiyyah*, pgs. 13-14.

the notion of a single nature in Christ, and declared that he has two natures in one person and hypostasis. The state deemed anyone who believed in the former a deviant and an apostate.

In the year 610 A.D. Heraclius came to power as emperor and a few years later in the year 616 A.D. the Persian Empire conquered Egypt. Egypt remained under their control for a decade or so in which they persecuted the Egyptians to no end.

Heraclius then managed to gather some might and defeated them. After freeing Egypt from the clutches of the Persians, he turned his attention to unifying the Christian belief by ordering the drowning of all those who deemed the Chalcedon decree to be false whilst allowing those who accepted it to go free. [658] Thus the monks and priests fled to the mountains, monasteries, and caves so not to be killed, imprisoned, or tortured by the state.

This precarious situation remained for a time, until Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ liberated the Egyptians at the hands of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ and his forces which landed in Egypt around the year 641 A.D. during the reign of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. The Egyptian bishops and monks were overjoyed and returned from the desserts and caves they had taken to. Upon their arrival ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ guaranteed their safety.

7. The Justice of Sayyidunā ʿUmar and His Governors

ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was not acting in his individual capacity, he was appointed at the stead of the Khalīfah whose instructions he carried out. ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, the khalīfah, in turn was acting at the stead of the

[658] This purge wasn't only directed to the Copts who weren't on his beliefs. He came down hard on the Jews as well for their inciting the Persians against the Christians. He sanctioned the Christian killings of Jews, pillaging their wealth, and enslaving their women. *Tārīkh al-Ummah al-Qibṭiyyah*, pg. 36.

khalīfah of Rasūlullāh ﷺ, whose biography sketches his strict adherence to the boundaries of Allah. Justice and impartiality are synonymous with his khilāfah, it was the era of differentiating between truth and falsehood. The old, the young, good and the evil alike were all in awe of him.

There are many incidents that depict the absolute justice that prevailed during his era. Hereunder are some examples:

• Qatādah narrates from Saʿīd who said:

شخص رجل من الدهاقين إلى عمر بن الخطاب في مظلمة له، فلما قدم المدينة سأل عن عمر فقيل: هو ذاك وإذا هو مستلق قد جمع إزاره تحت رأسه، ودرته إلى جنبه، فقال: إني أريد أمير المؤمنين، قيل: فذاك أمير المؤمنين عمر، فقال في نفسه: لقد غررت بنفسي وذهبت بنفقتي، ثم دنا من عمر فأخبره بقصته، فأخذ قطعة جلد فكتب فيها بخطه: لينصفن هذا الدهقان، أو لأبعثن من ينصفه. فقال الدهقان: لقد خبت وخسرت، أنفقت مالي وأتعبت نفسي، وتجشمت هذا السفر البعيد الشديد، ثم رجعت بقطعة جلد من صحيفة، وهم أن يلقيها، فلما صار إلى العامل ودفعها إليه قام على رجليه فلم يجلس حتى أنصفه، فقال الدهقان: هذا والله الملك، وهذه الطاعة لا ما كنا فيه.

A man from the Dehqan[659] journeyed to ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in order to seek justice in a matter of oppression. When he came to al-Madīnah, he asked regarding the whereabouts of ʿUmar and was directed to his whereabouts. He saw a man lying down with his loincloth gathered under his head and his whip by his side. He said, “I am looking for the Amīr al-Mu’minīn.”

The reply was, “Well, there is the Amīr al-Mu’minīn, ʿUmar.”

[659] The dehqān or dehgān, were a class of land-owning magnates during the Sasanian and early Islamic period, found throughout Iranian-speaking lands.

He thought to himself, I am a fool and have wasted my money coming this far. He came closer to ʿUmar and informed him of the injustice carried out against him. ʿUmar took a piece of leather and wrote, "Give justice to this Dehqan or I will send someone who will mete out justice."

The Dehqan thought, I was disillusioned to come here. I spent my wealth and exhausted myself by a lengthy journey and I am given a piece of leather? He even thought to throw it away.

When he returned to his governor, he gave him the piece of leather. The governor stood and did not sit until he had meted out justice in his case.

The Dehqan said, "By Allah! This is a true king and this is compliance unlike anything we have seen." [660]

• ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ sent Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān and ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا to survey the land of al-Sawād and calculate the Kharāj tax. He cautioned them against imposing exorbitant taxes on people that they cannot afford by saying:

تخافا أن تكونا حملتما الأرض ما لا تطيق. فقال عثمان: لو شئت لأضعفت، وقال حذيفة: لقد حملت الأرض أمراً هي له مطيقة، وما فيها كبير فضل، فجعل عمر يقول: انظر ما لديكما أن تكونا حملتما الأرض ما لا تطيق.

Have you imposed taxes on land at a rate the people find too high?

ʿUthmān replied, "[I set taxes on their land that is at a level affordable to them and] I can easily raise it."

[660] Al-Balādhurī: *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 4 pg. 408.

Ḥudhayfah said, “I impose taxes on land that the people can afford and not only that, they still have plenty left after tax.”

ʿUmar responded, “Be mindful and ensure that you don’t set taxes at a level that cannot be borne by the land.” [661]

• Amongst the incidents of ʿUmar’s رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ sympathy towards the Ahl al- Dhimmah is the following:

مر عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه بباب قوم وعليه سائل يسأل، شيخ كبير، ضرير البصر، فضرب عضده من خلفه، وقال: من أي أهل الكتاب أنت؟ فقال: يهودي. قال: فما ألجأك إلى ما أرى؟ قال: أسأل الجزية والحاجة والسن. فأخذ عمر بيده، وذهب به إلى منزله، فرضخ له بشيء من المنزل ثم أرسل إلى خازن بيت المال، فقال: انظر هذا وضرباءه، فوالله ما أنصفناه أن أكلنا شبيبته ثم نخذله عند الهرم.

ʿUmar passed by a door at which there was a beggar who was an old blind man. ʿUmar touched his arm from behind and asked, “To which People do you belong?”

He said, “I am a Jew.”

ʿUmar said, “What has compelled you to begging?”

The Jewish man replied, “I am begging in order to pay for jizyah and for my needs, as I am old”.

ʿUmar held his hand, and took him to his house and gave him some for his needs. ʿUmar then sent for the treasurer and instructed him to take care of this man and whoever was like him.

[661] Ibn Saʿd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3 pg. 337.

ʿUmar added, “We have not done justice to him, as we took jizyah from him when he was young, but we forsook him when he was old.” (662)

• ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ wrote to the governor of Egypt:

(662) *Dirāsah Naqdiyyah fi al-Marwiyyāt fi Shakhṣiyyah ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb*, vol. 2 pg. 1055. The author writes in the marginalia, regarding this incident:
“Abū Yūsuf narrated it *al-Kharāj*, pg. 139 with the chain of **ʿUmar ibn Nāfiʿ** — from Abū Bakr. Ibn Zanjawayh narrated it in *al-Amwāl*, Ḥadīth: 165 and the common narrator is **ʿUmar ibn Nāfiʿ al- Thaqafī**. Kūfī narrator, weak. He is from the sixth category, *al-Taqrīb*, Entry: 417. Al-Mizzī has stated that he is the narrator from Abū Bakr al-ʿAbsī. As for al-ʿAdawī, he is *Thiqah*, (reliable). Thus, the narration is weak.”
Al-Mizzī has recorded in *al-Tahdhīb* that he narrated from Abū Bakr al-ʿAbsī. This is an indication of precedence though it cannot be a deciding factor. There is another narration that corroborates it as recorded by Abū ʿUbayd in *al-Amwāl*, Ḥadīth: 119 with the chain of **Muḥammad ibn al-Kathīr** — from **Abū Rajā’ al-Khurāsānī** — from **Jisr Abī Jaʿfar** who said, “I was present at the letter reading of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz which was read to us at Baṣrah. It said, it has reached me that Amīr al-Mu’minīn ʿUmar passed by an old man of the Ahl al-Dhimmah who was begging at the doors of people. He commented, “We have not been just to you. We took jizyah from you when you were young and have forsaken you in your old age.” He then stipulated a stipend for him from the treasury.’”
— **Muhamad ibn Kathīr** ibn Abī ʿAṭā al-Thaqafī al-Ṣanʿānī, Abū Yusuf. A resident of Maṣīṣah: Truthful (Ṣadūq) but erred a lot. *Al-Taqrīb*, Entry: 6251.
— Maṭr ibn Ṭahmān **Abū Rajā’** al-Sulamī Mawlāhum al-Khurāsānī:
Truthful (Ṣadūq) but erred a lot. His narrations from ʿAṭā are weak. *Al-Taqrīb*, Entry: 6699.
— **Jisr** ibn Farqad al-Qaṣṣāb Abū Jaʿfar Baṣrī:
Al-Bukhārī said, “He is not considered much according to them.”
Ibn Maʿīn said, “He doesn’t amount to much.”
Al-Nasa’ī said, “Weak.” He said, “Saʿīd ibn ʿĀmir Jisr ibn Farqad, may Allah have mercy on him. Reliable and trustworthy. He was a pious man.”
Abū Ḥātim said, “He is not strong, he was a pious man.”
See, Ibn Abī Ḥātim: *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, vol. 2 pg. 539; Ibn Ḥajar: *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. 2 pg. 104.

واعلم يا عمرو أن الله يراك ويرى عملك، فإنه قال تبارك وتعالى في كتابه: ﴿وَاجْعَلْنَا لِلْمُتَّقِينَ إِمَامًا﴾ [الفرقان: 74] يريد أي من المؤمنين أن يقتدى به، وأن معك أهل ذمة وعهد، وقد أوصى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بهم، وأوصى بالقبط فقال: استوصوا بالقبط خيرا، فإن لهم ذمة ورحما، ورحمهم أن أم إسماعيل عليه السلام منهم، وقد قال صلى الله عليه وسلم: من ظلم معاهدا أو كلفه فوق طاقته فأنا خصمه يوم القيامة، احذر يا عمرو أن يكون رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم لك خصما، فإنه من خاصمه خصمه.

Know well ʿAmr! Allah sees you and your actions. Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ says in His book:

﴿وَٱجْعَلْنَا لِلْمُتَّقِينَ إِمَامًا﴾

This refers to any believer who is in a position of leadership. You have under you those with whom you have made a pact and the Ahl al-Dhimmah. Rasūlullāh صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ has advised regarding treating them well. He also advised regarding the Copts, "Treat the Copts well. They have a pact and they are family." They are family in consideration to the mother of Ismā'īl عَلَيْهِ ٱلسَّلَامُ who hailed from them. Rasūlullāh صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ also said, "Whoever wrongs one with whom a covenant has been made or burdens him with more than he is able to bear, I will be his adversary on the Day of Judgment."

Beware ʿAmr that Rasūlullāh صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ be your adversary on the Day of Judgment, since whoever Rasūlullāh صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ challenges will be defeated. [663]

[663] Al-Muttaqī al-Hindī: *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, Ḥadīth: 14304.

• ʿUmar رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ made a bequest on his death bed to his would-be successor to treat the Ahl al-Dhimmah well, to give them their rights, and to be sympathetic towards them.

He said:

وأوصيه بذمة الله وذمة رسوله أن يوفي لهم بعهدهم، وأن يقاتل من ورائهم، ولا يكلفوا فوق طاقتهم.

> I advise him of the covenant of Allah and His Messenger and to adhere to it. To secure their safety and not to burden them beyond their capability. (664)

Consider, if justice had reached such levels, can one even fathom that he would oppress the Copts? And would the Ṣaḥābah and others have remained silent if ʿAmr رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ had truly pillaged their wealth?

8. The Christians Own Testimony

This misconception is uprooted when one considers the positive testimony of the Christians themselves with regard to the treatment and leadership of ʿAmr رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ.

• The Christians of Ḥimṣ wrote to Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ stating:

لولايتكم وعدلكم أحب إلينا مما كنا فيه من الظلم والغشم، ولندفعن جند هرقل عن المدينة مع عاملكم.

(664) *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Ḥadīth: 2887.

> Your leadership and justice is more beloved to us than the oppression and tyranny we were subjected to. We will expel the army of Heraclius from the city with your governor. [665]

They then shut the door of the city to the Romans, with whom they shared the same faith.

• John of Nikiū says:

ʿAmr instructed the churches to be exempt from taxation that was imposed upon them. He did not take anything from the churches nor did he make any advances to pillage them. In fact, he made provisions to ensure their safety during his time in office. [666]

• Severus ibn al-Muqaffa states after speaking of the differences that occurred between the Christians regarding the nature of Jesus:

Heraclius imprisoned St. Mennas, the brother of Pope Benjamin I of Alexandria and tortured him by burning him and removing his teeth. Heraclius had advised his governors saying, "If anyone agrees to the two natures of Jesus then leave him. As for those who oppose it, drown him in the sea." Thus, they drowned him too.

When ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ conquered Egypt he issued a safe conduct to Benjamin to return. He wrote to his governors of Egypt saying, "Wherever Pope Benjamin is, he is safe and I guarantee his safety. He should present himself with the knowledge of his safety and discuss the issues of his people."

When Benjamin heard of this, he returned, overjoyed, to Alexandria after being in exile for thirteen years. Hiding for ten from Hercules of Rome and another three years before the Islamic conquest.

[665] Al-Balādhurī: *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pg. 139.
[666] *Tārīkh al-ʿĀlam al-Qadīm*, pg. 233.

The Copts were ecstatic with these reforms, just as a child is when reunited with his mother. [667]

This leads us to the discussion of Yacoub Rufila and his comments regarding the favorable treatment of the Copts by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. His recollection is based on the honour, clemency, and ease of taxation adopted by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ in relation to the Copts. The Copts in return loved him and were distraught at his death.

He says:

When the Arabs gained a foothold in Egypt, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ made efforts to pacify their fears and gain their trust. He worked closely with their leaders and wise men, answering to their needs. The first resolve he undertook in this order was to grant a safe accord to Pope Benjamin who had been in exile for many years, hiding from Heraclius. When Benjamin came to ʿAmr, the latter honoured him and personally guaranteed his safety. He also deposed the Pope that had been instated by Heraclius and returned Benjamin to his headquarters of old. He also took his counsel regarding matters of importance relating to the country. The general Copt populous looked upon this in a favorable light and considered it a great boon of ʿAmr.

ʿAmr then turned his attention to the administration and development of the country. Knowing well that the indigenous populous knew their lands much better, he sought counsel from the intelligent and wise Copts in administering the land in a fair and impartial manner that would keep the layman and governing bodies happy. He demarcated areas to be run under Copt rule by way of his instruction. They would see to the issues of the public and magistrate cases that arose. This allowed them a freedom and

[667] Severus: *Tārīkh Miṣr*, pgs. 573-595.

independence that had been snatched from them during the Roman regime.

He taxed them in a fair manner with the revenue collectors being appointed from amongst their own ranks. He developed record keeping and tax collecting in a manner that did not burden its residents with the Copts themselves being in possession of the ledgers. All this was in Coptic. ʿAmr collected twelve million gold coins per year in this manner whereas Muqawqis during the Roman reign demanded no less than eighteen million. In short, the Copts found themselves in ease which they hadn't experienced in a long time.

When the khalīfah, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb passed away and ʿUthmān ascended to the khilāfah, the latter deposed ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and appointed ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī al-Sarḥ in his stead. He had previously served under ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ as governor of Upper Egypt.

When ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ returned during the khilāfah of Muʿāwiyah, they were delighted. And when he passed away they were distraught. Their sadness was not misplaced since no governor had treated them in the way ʿAmr had. He saw to their needs, governed in a fair manner, administered the country appropriately, and did not seek any more tax than they had initially agreed upon throughout his tenure. [(668)]

The orientalist, Sigrid Hunke, writes regarding the impartiality and clemency of the Muslims during their conquests in her book *Shams al-ʿArab Tasṭiʿ ʿalā al-Gharb*.

She notes:

In the ninth century the patriarch of Jerusalem wrote to his brother the patriarch of Alexandria. He said regarding the Arabs. They are

[(668)] Yacoub Rufila, *Tārīkh al-Ummah al-Qibṭiyyah*, pgs. 54-64.

unequalled in their justice; they do not oppress us in the least and neither do they deal with us in a harsh manner. [669]

Dear reader, based on what has been presented before you, it becomes abundantly clear that the allegations of oppression that are plastered to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ are naught but falsities and fabrications. He was an exemplary leader upon whose return the populous were ecstatic and upon whose death they were distraught.

Misconception 2 - Portraying the people of Egypt in a negative and unseemly manner in a letter to Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿUmar

In summary, this misconception is based on what has been said regarding ʿAmr's portrayal of the Egyptians in an unseeingly manner by, allegedly, stating:

أكيس الناس صغاراً، وأحمقهم كباراً.

Laziest in their youth and stupidest in their old age. [670]

Answer

This misconception can be answered in four ways:

1. The Narration is Unverifiable

[669] *Shams al-ʿArab Tasṭiʿ ʿalā al-Gharb*, pg. 364.
[670] Al-Fasawī: *Al-Maʿrifah wa al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, pg. 364; Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 1 pg. 385.

This attribution to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ is unfounded. This allegation has been recorded in some books of history as follows:

He was asked to describe the various cities and he described each. When describing the people of Egypt, he said, "Their youth are the laziest and their elderly are the stupidest."

This has been recorded by al-Fasawī in *Al-Maʿrifah wa al-Tārīkh*[671] and from his chain ibn ʿAsākir[672]. The chain is as follows:

From Naʿīm ibn Ḥammād — from **Rishdīn** — from ʿAmr ibn al-Ḥārith — from **Bukayr ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashaj** who said:

سئل عمرو بن العاص ... قالوا: فأهل مصر؟ قال: أكيس الناس صغاراً وأحمقهم كباراً.

> ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was asked ... they asked, "And the people of Egypt?"
>
> He replied, "Laziest in their youth and stupidest in their old age."

This chain of transmission has two defects:

a. Rishdīn ibn Saʿd ibn Mufliḥ al-Mahrī, Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Miṣrī

• Aḥmad said, "He is not particular regarding who he narrated from. There is no issue with him in al-Riqāq." He also said, "I hope he is *Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥadīth* (satisfactory in Ḥadīth)."

• Ibn Maʿīn said, "*Laysa bi Shay'* (he amounts to nothing)."

• Abū Zurʿah said, "Ḍaʿīf."

• Al-Jawzjānī said, "He has many *Munkar* (unacceptable) narrations."

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[671] Op. Cit.
[672] Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 1 pg. 385.

• I say, "He was a pious worshipper of weak memory, unreliable."

• Qutaybah said, "Rishdīn would read anything that was placed in his hands."

• Al-Nasa'ī said, "*Matrūk* (suspected of forgery)." [673]

b. Inqiṭā'

There is inqitāʿ (break) within the chain since **Bukayr ibn ʿAbd Allāh** did not meet ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ as stated by Ibn ʿAsākir. [674]

Alternate transmission

There is another chain of transmission for this narration which has been recorded by Abū Bakr ibn al-Muqri'[675] and from his chain Ibn ʿAsākir. The chain is as follows:

From Aḥmad ibn Zakariyyā — from Abū Bakr Ismāʿil ibn Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Mahrān al-Thaqafī al-Nīsāpūrī the year ninety-two — from ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar — from **Abū Umayyah ibn Yaʿlā** who had met Nāfiʿ — from **ʿAlī ibn Zayd ibn Judʿān** who said:

قال رجل لعمرو بن العاص: صف لي الأمصار قال: فذكره نحوه.

> A man said to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, "Describe the cities to me." The rest of the narration is similar.

This chain of transmission has three defects.

a. Abū Umayyah ibn Yaʿlā, Ismāʿīl:

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[673] Al-Dhahabī: *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, vol. 2 pg. 49.
[674] Ibid.
[675] *Muʿjam ibn al-Muqri'*, pg. 174.

• Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn said, "He is Ḍaʿīf, *Laysa bi Shay'* (amounts to nothing)."

• Abū Zurʿah said, "*Wāhī al-Ḥadīth* (feeble in ḥadīth), Ḍaʿīf in Ḥadīth, *Laysa bi Qawī* (he is not strong)."

• Al-Nasa'ī said, "*Matrūk al-Ḥadīth* (suspected of forgery in Ḥadīth)."

• Abū Ḥātim said, "Ḍaʿīf in ḥadīth, his narrations are *munkarah* (unacceptable)."

• Ibn Ḥibbān said, "He narrates muʿḍal[676] narrations from reliable narrators. Those who are of the fraternity of knowledge are convinced of it being a fabrication when hearing it. It is not permissible to present his narrations as evidence nor to narrate them except for study."

• Al-Haythamī said, "Very weak." [677]

b. ʿAlī ibn Zayd ibn Judʿān

• Shuʿbah said, "ʿAlī ibn Zayd narrated to us, he would elevate Ḥadīth to Nabī ﷺ which were suspended on a Ṣaḥābī." He also said, "ʿAlī narrated to us before he became confused."

• Ibn ʿUyaynah deemed him Ḍaʿīf.

• Ḥammād ibn Zayd said, "He would invert narrations."

• Aḥmad said, "Ḍaʿīf."

• Yaḥyā said, "Not that strong."

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[676] Muʿḍal report refers to a ḥadīth with an isnād that contains two or more missing consecutive links.

[677] Ibn Abī Ḥātim: *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, vol. 2 pg. 203; Al-Nasa'ī: *Al-Ḍuʿafā' wa al-Matrūkīn*, pg. 113; Ibn Ḥibbān: *Al-Majrūḥīn*, vol. 3 pg. 147-148; *Majmaʿ al-Zawā'id wa Mambaʿ al-Fawā'id*, vol. 10 pg. 268.

• Murrah said, “Laysa bi Shay’. (he amounts to nothing).”

• Al-Bukhārī and Abū Ḥātim said, “He cannot be used as evidence.”

• Al-Fasawī said, “He became confused in his old age.”

• Ibn Khuzaymah said, “I do not use him as evidence due to the weakness of his memory.” [678]

c. Inqitāʿ

Ibn ʿAsākir said, “‘Alī ibn Zayd ibn Jadʿān has been deemed weak when narrating from those whom he met, what can be said when he narrates from those who he did not meet? He did not meet ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, neither did he see him.” [679]

Ibn ʿAsākir states:

> قد روي معنى هذا عن ابنه عبد الله بن عمرو، ثم أسنده إلى الإمام مالك، قال: قال عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص ... ولأهل مصر أكيسهم صغاراً وأحمقهم كباراً.
>
> A similar narration has been recorded from his son ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr from whom Imām Mālik narrated who said, “‘Abd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said, ‘The people of Egypt are the laziest in their youth and most stupid in old age.’”

Ibn ʿAsākir comments, “This is munqaṭiʿ since Mālik did not meet ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr. [680]

Thus, it becomes evidently clear that the attribution of this comment to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ or his son, ʿAbd Allāh, is unfounded.

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[678] Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 1 pg. 358.
[679] Ibid.
[680] Ibid.

This has also been narrated with an unauthentic chain of transmission from Ibn al-Kawwā'[681] wherein he said:

أكلة من غلب.

Lowly one's, conquered.

And from Ibn al-Lisān al-Ḥummarah[682] with the words:

عبيد من غلب.

Slaves, conquered.

This has been recorded by Ibn ʿAsākir in his *Tārīkh*. He comments on both these narrations by saying:

وعبد الله بن الكواء لا يعتمد على ما يرويه فكيف يعتمد على ما يقوله عن نفسه ولا عن غيره

ويحكيه، والاحتجاج بما قاله ابن لسان الحمرة من الاحتجاجات الباطلة المنكرة.

> ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Kawwā' cannot be relied upon when narrating from others, so how can he be relied upon when making statements of his own; and presenting the statement of Ibn Lisān al-Ḥummarah as evidence is a baseless contradictory substantiation. [683]

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[681] He is ʿAbd Allah ibn al-Kawwā', from the leaders of the Khawārij as stated by al-Dhahabī in *al-Mīzān*. Ibn Ḥajar states, "Al-Bukhārī said, 'His narrations are not authentic.' I say, he has many incidents with ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. He would be in constant companionship of him and tire him with many questions. He left the Khawārij and came into the companionship of ʿAlī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. Ibn Ḥajar: *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. 3 pg. 329.

[682] He is Wafāʿ ibn al-Ashʿar al-Tamīmī, known as Ibn al-Lisān al-Ḥummarah. He was well known for his eloquence. His teknonym is Abū Kilāb and he is recorded amongst the *Mu'ammarīn* (Those who lived longer than most). See, Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 6 pg. 495.

[683] Ibn ʿAsākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 1 pg. 360.

Some biographers have recorded similar statements from Ayyūb ibn al-Qirriyyah, without any chain of transmission. When Ḥajjāj asked him regarding the character of people from the various regions, he mentioned the regions and characterized them. [684]

Al-Dhahabī speaking of this individual, Ayyūb says:

أعرابي أمي فصيح، مفوه يضرب ببلاغته المثل، وفد على عبد الملك، وعلى الحجاج، فأعجب بفصاحته، ثم بعثه رسولا إلى ابن الأشعث إلى سجستان، فأمره أن يخلع الحجاج، ويقوم بذلك ويشتمه، فقال: إنما أنا رسول. فقال: لتفعلن أو لأضربن عنقك، ففعل فلما انتصر الحجاج جيء بابن القرية فسأله عن البلدان والقبائل، ومآثر العرب والآفات، فأجابه عما أراد فقال: فما آفة الحجاج بن يوسف؟ قال: لا آفة لمن كرم حسبه وطاب نسبه وزكا فرعه فقال: أظهرت نفاقا ثم قال: اضربوا عنقه فلما رآه قتيلا ندم.

An eloquent unlettered bedouin whose eloquence had become proverbial. He came as a delegate to ʿAbd al-Malik and to al-Ḥajjāj. The latter was impressed by his 'gift of the gab' and sent him as an envoy to Ibn al- Ashʿath at Sijistān. Ibn al-Ashʿath instructed him to renounce al-Ḥajjāj and to vilify him. He tried excusing himself by saying, 'I am just an envoy'. Ibn al-Ashʿath gave him an ultimatum, 'Do it or I will chop your neck off.' He thus did as he was instructed. When al-Ḥajjāj triumphed, Ibn al-Qirriyyah was brought to him. [685] Al-Ḥajjāj asked him to describe the feats of Arabia, its regions, tribes, and their evils and he responded as requested. He was then asked, "What are the evils of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf?"

[684] See, Ibn Khallikān: *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, vol. 1 pg. 252; Al-Dhahabī: *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, vol. 4 pg. 346- 347; Ibn al-ʿImād: *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, vol. 1 pg. 93.
[685] Al-Dhahabī: *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, vol. 4 pg. 346.

He replied, “There is no evil for the one whose life is honourable, lineage pure, and issue unblemished.”

Al-Ḥajjāj said, “You have displayed hypocrisy.” He then ordered his neck to be sliced.

When he saw him lay dead, he regretted. [686]

Dear reader, this elucidation would leave no doubt in your mind that the allegation of spewing such statements is nought but falsities. The last, mentioned by Ibn al-Qirriyyah has been recorded without any chain of transmission and in all that has been recorded, not one speaks of the women of Egypt.

2. The Opposite is Recorded

An eloquent and well-thought-out celebration of the Egyptian lands has been recorded and established from ʿAmr رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ. In this description, he speaks of the blessed Nile that runs through it and the auspiciousness of it, amongst other acclamations, as reproduced in chapter one.

3. ʿAmr Admired the Copts.

When ʿAmr intended entering Egypt with his forces, he saw that Muqawqis had prepared an army to face them. He sent the following message to him:

لا تعجلونا لنعذر إليكم وترون رأيكم بعد، فكفوا أصحابهم وأرسل إليهم عمرو إني بارز

فليبرز إلي أبو مريم وأبو مريام، فأجابوه إلى ذلك وأمن بعضهم بعضا، فقال لهما عمرو أنتما

[686] Ibn al-ʿImād: *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, vol. 1 pg. 94.

راهبا هذه البلدة فاسمعا إن الله عز وجل بعث محمداً صلى الله عليه وسلم بالحق، وأمره به وأمرنا به محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم وأدى إلينا كل الذي أمر به، ثم مضى صلوات الله عليه ورحمته وقد قضى الذي عليه، وتركنا على الواضحة، وكان مما أمرنا به الإعذار إلى الناس، فنحن ندعوكم إلى الإسلام فمن أجابنا إليه فمثلنا، ومن لم يجبنا عرضنا عليه الجزية وبذلنا له المنعة، وقد أعلمنا أنا مفتتحوكم وأوصانا بكم حفظا لرحمنا فيكم، وإن لكم إن أجبتمونا بذلك ذمة إلى ذمة، ومما عهد إلينا أميرنا: استوصوا بالقبطيين خيراً، فإن رسول الله أوصانا بالقبطيين خيراً، لأن لهم رحماً وذمة.

Do not prompt us to come down heavily upon you; in a moment you will realize what you can do best. Thereupon they held their fighters back. ʿAmr sent them another message that said, "I shall come forward, let Abū Maryam and Abū Miryām approach me." They consented to this and they granted one another safe-conduct.

Then ʿAmr said to the two Christian prelates, "You two are the ecclesiastics of this region. Listen. Allah sent Muḥammad with the truth and He ordered him to hold to it. Muḥammad conveyed to us every command he was given, then he passed away. May Allah have mercy upon him-having accomplished everything he had been told to do. The instructions that he left us are crystal clear: among the things he enjoined upon us is that we should do our utmost in warning the people with whom we come into contact. Therefore, we call upon you to embrace Islam. He who is willing to do so will be like one of us. To him who refuses, we suggest that he pay the jizyah and we will give him ample protection. Our Prophet informed us that we would conquer your lands and he has determined that we keep you from harm because of our family ties among you. If you accept our proposition, we will give you constant

protection. Among the orders we received from our Commander was the order, 'Take the interest of the Copts to heart, for the Messenger of Allah enjoined their best interests upon us, because they have ties of kinship with us and are therefore entitled to our protection.'" [687]

It is impossible that ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ recounted the advice of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ in front of them and the Muslims only to characterize them in the manner alleged. In fact, he continued advising good treatment of the Copts even after the conquest of Egypt. This is evident from his famed sermon at al-Fusṭāṭ wherein he said:

استوصوا بمن جاورتموه من القبط خيراً.

I advise you to treat your neighbouring Copts well.

His son, ʿAbd Allāh رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, narrates from him saying:

قبط مصر أكرم الأعاجم كلها، وأسمحهم يدا، وأفضلهم عنصرا، وأقربهم رحماً بالعرب عامة، وبقريش خاصة.

The most noble of the non-Arabs are the Egyptian Copts. They are most generous, have the best pedigree, and are benevolent to the Arabs, especially to the Quraysh. [688]

4. Historical Awareness

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ knew well what Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى had recounted regarding the magicians of Firʿawn, their belief in Mūsa عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ and

[687] Al-Ṭabarī: *Tārīkh al-Rusul*, vol. 2 pg. 514; Ibn Kathīr: *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 10 pg. 90.
[688] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam: *Futūḥ Miṣr*, pg. 24.

their steadfastness in front of Firʿawn notwithstanding his threats of severing their limbs and crucifying them to palm tree trunks. He also knew the resoluteness of Firʿawn's wife and that of his daughter's hairdresser, even in the face of torture and anguish. He was the one who informed the Copts of the advice of Rasūlullāh ﷺ with regards to treating them well and protecting them; a result of kinship by way of our mother Hājar and Māriyah al-Qibṭiyyah. How can anyone with a modicum of common sense then still believe the allegations of uncouth speech in relation to them by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ? In fact, not a single Ṣaḥābī would blemish their tongue with such.

After studying this discussion, dear reader, it is evident that the alleged statements cannot be in any way attributed to any Ṣaḥābī. Yes, it has been attributed to Ibn al-Qirriyyah, though that too is without a chain of transmission. And if it were to be established that Ibn al-Qirriyyah had indeed uttered these statements then so be it. He was an unlettered Bedouin, though eloquent in speech, during the era of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, an orator not a scholar.

Misconception 3 - ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ burnt the library of Alexandria

This is based on what has been mentioned by Ibn al-ʿAnbarī in his book. He states:

وفي هذا الزمان اشتهر بين الإسلاميين يحيى المعروف عندنا بغرماطيقوس أي النحوي. وكان اسكندرياً يعتقد اعتقاد النصارى اليعقوبية ويشيد عقيدة ساوري، ثم رجع عما يعتقده النصارى في التثليث، فاجتمع إليه الأساقفة بمصر وسألوه الرجوع عما هو عليه فلم يرجع. فأسقطوه عن منزلته، وعاش إلى أن فتح عمرو بن العاص مدينة الإسكندرية، ودخل على

عمرو، وقد عرف موضعه من العلوم، فأكرمه عمرو وسمع من ألفاظه الفلسفية –التي لم تكن للعرب بها أنسة– ما هاله ففتن به، وكان عمرو عاقلاً حسن الاستماع صحيح الفكر فلازمه وكان لا يفارقه، ثُمَّ قال لَهُ يحيى يوماً: إنك قَدْ أحطت بحواصل الإسكندرية وختمت عَلَى كل الأصناف الموجودة بِها فأما مَا لك به انتفاع فلا أعارضك فيه، وما لا انتفاع لك به فنحن أولى به، فقال له عمرو: وما الذي تحتاج إليه؟ قال: كتب الحكمة في الخزائن الملوكية فقال له عمرو: لا يمكنني أن آمر بأمر إلا بعد استئذان أمير المؤمنين عمر ابن الخطاب، وكتب إلى عمر وعرفه بقول يحيى الذي ذكر واستأذنه ما الذي يصنعه فيها فورد عليه كتاب عمر يقول فيه: وأما الكتب التي ذكرتها فإن كان فيها ما يوافق كتاب الله ففي كتاب الله عنه غنى، وإن كان فيها ما يخالف كتاب الله تعالى فلا حاجة إليها، فتقدم بإعدامها فشرع عمرو بن العاص في تفريقها على حمامات الإسكندرية وإحراقها في مواقدها، وذكرت عدة الحمامات يومئذ وأنسيتها فذكروا أنها استنفدت في مدة ستة أشهر فاسمع ما جرى واعجب.

In this era John the grammarian became famous amongst the Muslims. He was a Jacobite Coptic priest and disciple of Severus but he was deprived of his office owing to his rejection of the dogma of the Trinity. He lived and saw the capture of Alexandria by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. ʿAmr was impressed by the erudition and intellect of John and listened to his philosophical opinions that were yet unknown to the Arabs. John one day remarked, “You have examined the whole city and have set your seal on every object of value. I make no claim for aught that is useful to you; but things of no use to you may be of service to us.”

ʿAmr asked him, “What is it you wish for?”

He replied, “The books of wisdom in the Royal Treasuries.”

ʿAmr's reply was that he could not dispose of the books without asking for permission from the Khalīfah ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. A letter was dispatched and the answer soon came: "Regarding the books you mention, if what is written in them agrees with the Book of Allah then they are not required but if it disagrees, they are not desired. Destroy them therefore."

Accordingly, ʿAmr ordered the books to be distributed among the baths of Alexandria and used as fuel for it. It took six months to consume them. Listen and wonder. [689]

Answer

This misconception can be answered in seven ways:

1. No Chain of Transmission Exists

The incident mentioned has no chain of transmission. It has been recorded by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī [d. 629 A.H. 1231 A.D.][690], ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf al-Qafṭī [d. 646 A.H. 1248 A.D.], [691] Gregory Bar Hebraeus, Abū al-Farj commonly known as Ibn al-ʿAbarī —a Miaphysite Christian — [d. 685 A.H. 1286 A.D.] [692], and lastly by al-Maqrīzī [d. 845 A.H. 1441 A.D.] [693].

Not one of them has recorded a chain of transmission.

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[689] Ibn al-ʿAbarī: *Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, pg. 176; see his bio-data in Al-Zirkilī: *Al-Aʿlām*, vol. 5 pg. 117.
[690] Shawqī Abū Khalīl: *Al-Isqāṭ fi Manāhij al-Mustashriqīn*, pg. 124; Jack Ressler: *Al-Ḥaḍarah al-ʿArabiyyah*, pgs. 106-107.
[691] *Akhbār al-ʿUlamā bi akhbār al-Ḥukamā'*, vol. 1 pg. 266.
[692] Ibn al-ʿAbarī: *Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, pg. 172. Dr Shawqī Abū Khalīl states that the incident of burning the library by ʿAmr has been omitted from the latest edition. See the marginalia of *al-Isqāṭ*, pg. 125.
[693] *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa al-Iʿtibār*, vol. 1 pg. 99.

2. Inaccuracies

There are a number of inaccuracies within the incident which clearly depict it to be a fabrication. These are explained here:

I. The 'John' that is mentioned in the incident who asked ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ for the books died forty-three years prior to the conquest. Alfred Joshua Butler has emphasized this by saying, "It is a factual matter that cannot be disputed." [(694)]

II. For arguments sake, if we were to accept that the library was burnt, it would make more sense to have burnt the books on a hillock at the castle. But the story wants us to believe that the entire library was carried away by people and dispersed to various public baths in an arduous exercise that lasted six months.

~ An incident sewn together by threads of deceit ~

If these books were ordered burnt, they would have been burnt exactly where they were. Besides, ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ had refused to give it to his friend. To hand it over to the owners of various public baths over a period of six months would only allow for 'John' and his ilk to rescue a large number of books at a trifling cost. [(695)]

III. There is no doubt that most of the books in Egypt in the seventh century were made from vellum, which will not burn as fuel and all the khalīfah's orders could not make it burn. What then became of all these manuscripts? And when one has deducted all the writings on vellum, how can it be seriously imagined that the remainder of the books would have kept the 4,000 bath-furnaces of Alexandria

[(694)] Alfred: *Fatḥ al-ʿArab li Miṣr*, pg. 422.
[(695)] Ibid.

alive for 180 days? The tale, as it stands, is ridiculous. One may indeed listen and wonder. [696]

IV. The story could refer to two great public Libraries, a. the Museum Library which perished in the conflagration caused by Julius Caesar, or, if not, then at a date not less than four hundred years anterior to the Arab conquest; while b. the Serapeum Library either was removed prior to the year 391, or was then dispersed or destroyed, so that in any case it disappeared two and a half centuries before the conquest.[697]

V. If, nevertheless, it had existed when Cyrus set his hand to the treaty surrendering Alexandria, yet the books would almost certainly have been removed under the clause permitting the removal of valuables during the eleven months' armistice which intervened between the signature of the convention and the actual entry of the Arabs into the city.

The conclusion of the whole matter can be no longer doubtful. The suspicion of Renaudot and the skepticism of Gibbon are more than justified. One must pronounce that the story of Abū al-Farj is a mere fable, totally destitute of historical foundation.

3. No Early Mention

The early historians have failed to mention the incident, notwithstanding the importance it holds. This also depicts the falsity of the library's presence at the conquest. The incident has creeped in in the later years without any verifiable reference. It is not far-fetched that this fabrication is a product of the enemies of Islam who wish to scar its face.

[696] Ibid.
[697] Ibid.

Butler states:

> Fifth, sixth, and early seventh century literature contains no mention of the existence of any such Library. [(698)]

He further says:

> If the Library had been removed, or if it had been destroyed by the Arabs, the almost contemporary historian and man of letters, John of Nikiou, could not have passed over its disappearance in total silence. [(699)]

He was after all the Archbishop of Lower Egypt who died during the Umayyad dynasty. If the incident was true, then the contemporary historian on the Islamic Egyptian conquest, Ortega, would have surely mentioned it; the man who has termed the conquest of Egypt redundant. [(700)]

Jack Ressler states:

> Before concluding this study of libraries, it seems prudent and fair to present that ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ has been slandered by those who say he carried out the instruction of the khalīfah ʿUmar and destroyed the Library of Alexandria.
>
> The truth of the matter is quite the opposite. It should be borne in mind that the first library perished in the conflagration caused by Julius Caesar in the year 48 B.C. Further, the Christians destroyed another similar library during the era of Pope Theophilus the year 392. Many battles took place between 392 and 642 which resulted in the alleged destruction. Over and above this, consider how many books would have gone to tatters during these 250 years as a result of abandonment and exposure.

[(698)] Alfred: *Fatḥ al-ʿArab li Miṣr*, pg. 441.
[(699)] Ibid.
[(700)] Shawqī Abū Khalīl: *Al-Isqāṭ fi Manāhij al-Mustashriqīn*, pg. 126.

Another issue to contend with is that the occurrence of the alleged incident and the revelation of it leaves a gap of five and a half centuries. No, then, contemporary man brought this to attention. Even Pope Macarius of Alexandria who described Alexandria in the year 933 failed to make any mention of it.

This goes against what we know about ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and his mode of governance. He was a resurrector of cities, not a destroyer of them. He went against the old customs and allowed for religious freedom. [701]

4. Non-Muslim Concurrence

Many non-Muslim historians have stated their case which concludes that the conflagration occurred before the Muslim conquest.

Sigrid Hunke writes:

The truth of the matter is that the Academy of Sciences established by Ptolemy I Soter in the year 300 B.C. was an institution of Hellenic teachings. It boasted an enormous library which contained around one million manuscripts. It is said that it contained every book written in Greek and covered all the sciences known to man at the time. It was engulfed in flames in the year 47 B.C. when Julius Caesar laid siege to Alexandria. Cleopatra reconstructed the library thereafter and introduced a large number of manuscripts from the libraries of Pergamum.

The third century A.D. then saw the destruction once again.

— The Roman Emperor Caracalla canceled the Academy and mascaraed its scholars in an animalistic fashion.

— The Pope closed the academy and dispersed the scholars, instructing them to burn the blasphemous writings. Religious

[701] Jack Ressler: *Al-Ḥaḍarah al-ʿArabiyyah*, pgs. 106-107.

fundamentalists thus set fire to the library. In the year 391 A.D. Patriarch Theophilos obtained the permission of Emperor Theodosios to destroy the Temple of Serapis in Alexandria and to set fire to the annexed library which at that time, contained three hundred thousand scrolls, in order to found a church and a monastery in its place.

— As for what remnants remained and those who remained became targets of extremism which had spread in Alexandria during the 5th century. An undertaking to destroy of what remained was green lit and thus all of the remnants, its scholars, its philosophy, and centres were razed to the ground. This has been clearly noted by Severus al-Anṭakī who had thereafter become the Patriarch of the Copts.

This is what had become of the old libraries in Egypt. Nothing of it remained when the Arabs came into Alexandria in the year 642 A.D.[(702)]

Butler states:

But if the great Serapeum Library had continued in existence into the seventh century, how come that not a single writer in the fifth or sixth century can be cited to establish the fact in clear and unmistakable language? Take one particular instance. I have already related the visit of John Moschus and his friend Sophronius to Egypt not many years before the Arab conquest; and I have shown the keen intellectual interest of the two scholars and their fondness for anything in the shape of a book but though they were both fairly voluminous writers, and though they travelled and resided a great deal in Egypt, their pages will be searched in vain for any allusion to other than private libraries in the country. Two centuries of silence, ending in the silence of

[(702)] *Allah Laysa Kadhālik*, pgs. 73-74.

> John Moschus and Sophronius, seem to render it impossible that any great public library can have existed when the Arabs entered Alexandria. [703]

Gibbon states:

> For my own part, I am strongly to deny both the facts and the consequences. And the solitary report of a stranger like Abū al-Farj, who wrote of it six hundred years later, is unacceptable. His report is overbalanced by the silence of two annalists of a more early date, both Christians, both natives of Egypt, and the most ancient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, has amply described the conquest of Alexandria. [704]

ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAqqād writes:

> The most important thing to note here regarding the issue of the library is that those who absolve ʿUmar of sacking it are European historians who have no interest in helping the cause of Islam. They based their conclusions on their own findings.

He then reproduced the case of Butler and Gibbon. He further states:

> The orientalist Cassanova deems this incident a fairy tale. He states, "This incident was born six hundred years after the fact and is refuted by what Butler has offered." He goes on to say, "There is another issue that needs to be dissected. What has been said regarding John the Grammarian has been taken from *al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm who lived towards the end of the tenth century. He has recorded John to have lived up to the conquest of Egypt and to have been a close associate of ʿAmr. However, he has not mentioned anything of the Library at Alexandria. The incident of

[703] Alfred: *Fatḥ al-ʿArab li Miṣr*, pg. 438.
[704] Naẓmī Lūqā: *ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ*, pg. 149.

the library is thus a delusion of al-Qafṭī. He was influenced by the myths circulating in his era."

Based on the views cited regarding this, we can confidently say, the scale of falsity far outweighs any truth it may contain. It was fabricated in the century it was first written in, without any authentic chain of transmission to the earlier times. If there is any chain, that too has been fabricated by the latter historians in order to vilify the khalīfah and to arouse negative sentiment against him and against Islam.

Since this incident is a result of evil intent, it cannot be traced to any book before the sixth century wherein it found place in certain books. This clarifies any ambiguity one may find with regards to the incident. The fabrication of this incident is a no-brainer since it contains elements that span multiple centuries before the sixth century.

We also learn from this that Egypt and the incidents of Egypt are a target of fabrication. Egypt was not a focus of international attention as it was during the Crusades when it became a strategic location for military policy. This was also a time when Islam and its opponents came under scrutiny. We thus understand why this fabricated narration did come to fore in the years before al-Qafṭī, al-Baghdādī, and Abū al-Farj. Its fabrication during the Crusades makes perfect sense considering the climate of the time. [705]

5. Some Historians Visited the Library Before the Conquest and Found It Bare.

Orazius visited Alexandria in the early part of the fifth century. He mentions that the shelves of the library were bare of books and filled

[705] *ʿAbqariyyah ʿUmar*, pg. 590.

with owls hooting. This was twenty years after it had been sacked by Theodosis upon the instruction of the Emperor. [706]

6. Islam Has Never Been an Enemy of Knowledge

Islam has always celebrated knowledge. This faith started with the divine instruction of '*Read*' and the instruments of knowledge, i.e. the pen and what it writes are subjects of an oath within the Qur'ān. The acts of the Khulafā' from the Banū Umayyah and Banū al-ʿAbbās in as far procuring and preserving books of Persian, Roman, Greek, and Syrian are second to none. Some of the Khulafā' made efforts to procure books from Europe and other far-off places too by spending exorbitant amounts. They further labored to have them translated into Arabic and benefited from the sciences. They held dear, books of medicine, astrology, mathematics, botany, and others. They paid special attention to the books of Greek Philosophy by studying it and introducing within its ambit Islamic philosophy; a counter measure to materialism and paganism within the science.

Treating books and libraries with this immense amount of respect was an innate Islamic characteristic. The Muslims learnt this from the Sunnah of Rasūlullāh ﷺ. When the forts of Khaybar were conquered, they found some pages of the Tawrāh which the Jews came back to seek. Rasūlullāh ﷺ instructed they be handed over. Even though they were at literal war and there was much animosity, the Muslims treated their books with respect. Even the Banū al-Naḍīr were allowed to carry off their books after the Battle of Uḥud when they were being expelled from al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah. [707]

[706] Shawqī Abū Khalīl: *Al-Isqāṭ fi Manāhij al-Mustashriqīn*, pg. 127.
[707] Ibid, pg. 130.

In fact, Rasūlullāh ﷺ said:

بلغوا عني ولو آية، وحدثوا عن بني إسرائيل ولا حرج، ومن كذب علي متعمدا فَلْيَتَبَوَّأْ مقعده من النار.

Convey from me even a verse of the Qur'ān; relate traditions from Banū Isrā'īl, for there is no restriction; but he who deliberately forges a lie against me let him have his abode in the Hell. [708]

Therefore, some Ṣaḥābah such as Ibn Masʿūd, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr, and Ibn ʿAbbās رضي الله عنهم would sometimes relate views of the Ahl al-Kitāb which had been sanctioned by Rasūlullāh ﷺ in this ḥadīth.

Ibn Kathīr states:

ولهذا كان عبد الله بن عمرو يوم اليرموك قد أصاب زاملتين من كتب أهل الكتاب، فكان يحدث منهما بما فهمه من هذا الحديث من الإذن في ذلك. ولكن هذه الأحاديث الإسرائيلية تذكر للاستشهاد، لا للاعتضاد، فإنها على ثلاثة أقسام: أحدها: ما علمنا صحته مما بأيدينا مما يشهد له بالصدق، فذاك صحيح. والثاني: ما علمنا كذبه بما عندنا مما يخالفه. والثالث: ما هو مسكوت عنه لا من هذا القبيل ولا من هذا القبيل، فلا نؤمن به ولا نكذبه، وتجوز حكايته لما تقدم.

That is why ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr had taken two camel loads of books of the Ahl al-Kitāb on the Day of Yarmūk. He would narrate from them as per his understanding of permission granted in this ḥadīth.

[708] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Ḥadīth: 3274.

However, these Isrā'īlī narrations are mentioned for supporting evidences, not to be relied on in and of themselves, and are of three categories:

1. That which we find to be correct because our sources (the Qur'ān and Sunnah) testify to its truthfulness, so that is correct.

2. That which we know its false because our sources contradict it.

3. That about which no position is taken, it is not of either type, so we do not believe in it, nor do we reject it, while it is permissible to cite due to what has preceded. [709]

7. The Christians Were Enemies of Knowledge

Christianity of the west remained enemies of knowledge for ten odd centuries. They stayed far away from knowledge and avoided it like the plague. When one ponders over this, it leaves one with second-hand embarrassment. Europe didn't benefit from the knowledge and expertise they may have possessed until they intermingled with the Muslims. The clergy branded apostate, killed, and burnt anyone who studied anything besides what their monasteries held. Inhumanity at its worst. [710]

Consider the following: When the Christians of Spain overthrew Cordoba, they burnt every book and page of the Muslims that they could lay their hands on. In total they destroyed 1.5 million volumes which they burnt in a single day. They then turned their attention to the seventy libraries in Andalus and destroyed every work of the Arabs. One of their historians writes, the books that the Spanish burnt of Andalus numbered 1.5 million volumes. Some historians

[709] *Tafsīr ibn Kathīr*, vol. 1 pgs. 8-9.
[710] Shawqī Abū Khalīl: *Al-Isqāṭ fi Manāhij al-Mustashriqīn*, pg. 127.

have stated that one of the Catholicos instructed the burning of eighty thousand volumes at Granada after they took hold of it. They went as far as capturing three ships headed for Marrakesh which held items of value to the Muslims and had its contents thrown at El Escorial where they burnt it all. [711]

8. For Arguments Sake

If we were to say, for arguments sake that ʿUmar ibn Khaṭṭāb truly did order the burning of the Library of Alexandria, then too, this would not blemish his legacy. Why was it impermissible for him to issue this instruction and why was it necessary for him to preserve it? Why was it necessary for him to know that it would contain matters that would benefit the Muslims and others and that it was an invaluable treasure? Does being unaware of Greek philosophy fault a person? Were the benefits of those books so clear that the people whose books these were had preserved it? If they had at all?

The condition of the Romans and the Copts in those days did not present any evidence of them preserving their intellectual heritage. They were in a pitiless state of weakness, corruption, ignorance, lowliness, and involved in all matters of absurdity. As such, ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ being unaware of Greek philosophy doesn't blemish him in the slightest. And since the people whose heritage this was were in the state of obliviousness to its value, then what fault was it of ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to think along the lines alleged?

Yes, one can be faulted for being an enemy of knowledge; however, ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was not such. He had applied his mind and made a decision based on what he saw, whether it came from his people or from others.

[711] Ibid.

He would seek counsel from people of far-off lands in codifying public administration and with regards to the manufacturing industry. He would not prevent the study of anything unless it was deemed harmful or disadvantageous. Yes, of course, he would give preference to the study of the Qur'ān such that Muslims may study and understand its purport. This was no doubt his primary obligation. ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ was the first to impress this obligation as the khalifah since the Muslims had dispersed to regions far and wide and he was fearful of them undoing the knot that tied them together and made them leaders of the world.

Amongst the incidents mentioned in this regard is the following:

أن رجلا أنبأه أنهم لما فتحوا المدائن أصاب كتابا فيه كلام معجب، فسأل: أمن كتاب الله ؟ قال لا فدعا بالدرة فجعل يضربه بها وهو يقرأ: الَر تِلْكَ ءَايٰتُ الْكِتٰبِ الْمُبِينِ إِنَّآ أَنزَلْنٰهُ قُرْءٰنًا عَرَبِيًّا لَّعَلَّكُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ ثم قال: إنما أهلك من كان قبلكم أنهم أقبلوا على كتب علمائهم وتركوا التوراة والإنجيل حتى درسا وذهب ما فيهما من العلم.

A man informed him of procuring a book which contained marvels at the conquest of al-Madā'in.

ʿUmar asked, "Is it from the Book of Allah?"

The man said, "No."

ʿUmar called for his whip and hit him while reciting:

﴿الٓرۚ تِلۡكَ ءَايَٰتُ ٱلۡكِتَٰبِ ٱلۡمُبِينِ * إِنَّآ أَنزَلۡنَٰهُ قُرۡءَٰنًا عَرَبِيّٗا لَّعَلَّكُمۡ تَعۡقِلُونَ﴾

Alif, Lām, Rā. These are the verses of the clear Book. Indeed, We have sent it down as an Arabic Qur'ān that you might understand. [712]

[712] Sūrah Yūsuf: 1-2.

ʿUmar then said, "Those of the past were destroyed due to studying the books of their scholars and discarding the Tawrāh and the Injīl. Thus, the knowledge of these divine books were lost.

This narration has been recorded from ʿUmar ibn Maymūn — from his father. The incident does not contain anything that goes against sound intellect, even if we overlook the laws of the faith, for a moment, and consider what is learnt through experience. Experience taught ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ that the Muslims were taken from darkness into light by their divine Book. It was through their Book that they were able to overcome their enemies who had every other book.

Further, the general Muslim populous had perhaps barely completed complete recitations of the Qur'ān and were still in the early stages of studying its purport, how could ʿUmar رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ then, at this critical juncture allow for external influence which would result in factions and groups forming with differences galore? The various regions had not even been united on the modes of recitation with work yet to be done in that area. So, we ask, was the instruction of ʿUmar based on enmity for knowledge? Or was it based on giving preference to knowledge? If preference to the divine Book was not to be given in these early years then when? When would the Qur'ān be given its right of study to extract its juridical purport if not in these early days? And which book would the spiritual effulgence come from if not from the divine Book?

In any case, if we were to accept this, slanderous, allegation then too ʿUmar's رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ instruction would have made complete sense. He was a man who had his finger on the pulse of the time and understood the happenings around him. It was permissible for him to issue the instruction of burning the library at Alexandria, but it is far from possible for a just and impartial person to think him an enemy of literacy based on this. He had evaluated the benefit which was clear

and plain to him in relation to the benefit which was unknown. He cannot be censured from preferring the former over the latter, more-so when considering the negative spiritual, intellectual, and material space the people of the latter occupied. Saying he did not consider all angles or that he was incorrect in his decision would be fallacy; his decisions, as he, were on the straight path. [713]

Conclusion

To conclude, dear reader, this fairy tale which has been attributed to the Muslims has not been recorded by the early historians who were contemporaries to the conquest. Neither has it been recorded by any other historian up to the 6th century. If there was any truth to it, they would have recorded it. John of Nikiû the Egyptian chronicler who lived during the Umayyad dynasty and was prejudiced in his views against ʿAmr رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ, characterizing him in an unbefitting manner in an attempt to muddy the true incident of the conquest, would have most definitely mentioned ʿAmr رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ having burnt it! Even he understood this allegation so far from the truth and having occurred such a long time before the conquest, that he too could not stick it to ʿAmr رَضِيَٱللَّهُعَنْهُ. The burning of the library having occurred long before is supported by the facts we have elucidated. Just consider the following two:

1. Reports of those who saw the library bare *before* the conquest.
2. A large number of *non-Muslim* historians who studied this incident deemed it to have occurred many years prior to the conquest.

There remains nothing for us now but to conclude, correctly, that the burning of the library occurred before the Muslim conquest. The

[713] ʾAqqād: *ʾAbqariyyah ʿUmar*, pgs. 82-184.

Muslims are absolved from this allegation just as the wolf is absolved from the blood of Yūsuf.

Misconception 4 - Refraining from demolishing the Sphinx of Giza[714] and the pyramids[715]

This misconception is based on the allegation that ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ desisted from demolishing the Sphinx of Giza and the Pyramids at the conquest of Egypt. This proves that there is no obligation to demolish statues that are not worshipped. [716]

Answer

This misconception can be answered in eight ways:

1. Lack of Evidence.

[714] The Sphinx lays close to the Khafre Valley Temple in a depression in the eastern rim facing from west to east and appears to represent the pharaoh Khafre. Cut from the bedrock, it is a momentous piece of limestone which was used as a quarry for the construction of the Pyramids. The workers left it since thinking it to be unsuitable. However, the engineers of pharaoh Khafre thought of redefining its use and created a mythical creature with the head of a man, and the body of a lion the face of which represented Khafre. Atop its head sits a royal headpiece with a cobra on its forehead and a long beard to boot. The name Abū al-Hawl perhaps dates back to the old Egyptian '*bar hawl*' which means house of lion. Samīr Adīb: *Tārīkh wa Ḥaḍarah Miṣr*, pg. 80. Its dimensions are as follows: 66 feet tall, 240 feet long, the ears are 4 feet, nose 5 feet mouth, 7 feet, and face 13 feet across. See, Dr. Salīm Ḥasan: *Abū al-Hawl*, pg. 86.

[715] The largest pyramid which is also called the Great Pyramid was 146 meters high, now standing at 137 meters. It was 230 meters across and now 170 meters. See, *Tārīkh wa Ḥaḍarah Miṣr al-Qadīmah*. pgs. 59-71.

[716] Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Turkī, *Maqāl fī Ṣaḥīfah al-Waṭn*, number 179. Dated, 2/1/1422 A.H. as in the book *Maʿābid al-Kuffār* by Ibrāhīm al-Fahīd, pg. 187.

One needs to present evidence to conclude the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ saw it and left it as is. There is no evidence that supports this conclusion.

2. When there are two opposing probabilities

Did ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ or any other ṣaḥābī see them? Both possibilities are equally likely; however, one is unable to confidently determine which is more likely. The principle in matters such as these is:

When there is a likelihood of two possibilities, the one with a greater likelihood is taken and when both are equally likely then both possibilities are discarded. In this case one ought to look for external evidence in making a determination.

Looking at external evidences, the possibility of them not seeing these monuments seems more likely due to the following factors:

1. None of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ or Tābiʿīn spoke of them. If it was something that had been noticed, questions would have been asked and the answers would have filtered down to us.

2. In the book, *Āthār Miṣr al-Qadīmah*[717] there is mention that the first to record the pyramids was Ibn al-Faqīh who visited Egypt during the 3rd century A.H./ 9th century A.D. As for the Sphinx, the first to record it was al- Maqdisī al-Bashārī who visited Egypt during the 4th century A.H./10th century A.D. Writing of Giza he states, "There is an idol whom they think to be the devil. He entered it and damaged it until he broke its nose and lips." [718] However, this doesn't explicitly state it to be the Sphinx.

Ibn Jubayr, who visited Egypt during the 18th century A.D. has explicitly mentioned it in his book *al-Riḥlah*.

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[717] Jaylān ʿAbbās: *Āthār Miṣr al-Qadīmah fī Kitābāt al-Raḥḥālah al-ʿArab wa al-Ajānib*, pg. 53.
[718] Ibid., pg. 87.

ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, who visited Egypt during the 7th century A.H./ 13th century A.D., records in his book *al-Ifādah* which fits the description of the head and neck of the Sphinx. He writes, "They say its body is buried underground. Basing the size of its body on its head, it would be 70 arm spans." [719]

Thus, it seems quite possible that during the 1st century Hijrī, when the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ entered Egypt, it was yet buried under the sand.

3. Consider Other Similar Situations

When making a determination, it is prudent to consider other similar situations. This will aid one in reaching a correct and true conclusion.

The stance of Islam regarding statues is well known. [720] Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ broke the idols when he entered Makkah at the conquest

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[719] Ibid., pgs. 87-88.

[720] As for the bounty which Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى had granted Sulaymān عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ as recorded in the Qur'ān:

﴿يَعْمَلُونَ لَهُۥ مَا يَشَآءُ مِن مَّحَٰرِيبَ وَتَمَٰثِيلَ﴾

They made for him what he willed of elevated chambers, statues...

The scholars of tafsīr write:

وقيل كانت من زجاج ونحاس ورخام تماثيل أشياء ليست بحيوان. وذكر أنها صور الأنبياء والعلماء، وكانت تصور في المساجد ليراها الناس. فيزدادوا عبادة واجتهادا، قال صلى الله عليه وسلم: إن أولئك كان إذا مات فيهم الرجل الصالح بنوا على قبره مسجدا وصوروا فيه تلك الصور، أي ليتذكروا عبادتهم فيجتهدوا في العبادة، وهذا يدل على أن التصوير كان مباحا في ذلك الزمان، ونسخ ذلك بشرع محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم. وعن ابي العالية لم يكن اتخاذ التصاوير إذ ذاك محرماً.

These were made from glass, copper, and marble. They were inanimate statues. Some have mentioned that they were depictions of the Prophets and scholars which were placed in the Masjids and would serve as reminders of their devotion in the hope that it might enable the people too

and instructed the depictions be effaced. These were depictions of Ibrāhīm, Ismāʿīl, and Maryam عَلَيۡهِمُ ٱلسَّلَامُ as recorded by al-Bukhārī. [721] The claim that he excluded the depictions of ʿĪsā ibn Maryam and his mother is inauthentic. [722]

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to devote likewise. This shows that depictions were permissible in that sharīʿah and had become abrogated in the sharīʿah of Muḥammad صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيۡهِ وَسَلَّمَ. Abū al-ʿĀliyah says, "Making of pictures was not impermissible in that era."

See, al-Wāḥidī: *al-Tafsīr al-Wāsiṭ*, vol. 3 pg. 489; *Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī*, vol. 14 pg. 272; al-Khaṭīb al-Shirbīnī: *Al-Sīraj al-Munīr*, vol. 3 pg. 286.

[721] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Ḥadīth: 1524.

[722] Those narrations that suggest Rasūlullāh صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيۡهِ وَسَلَّمَ instructed the depictions of ʿĪsā ibn Maryam and his mother be left are weak due to several reasons. Amongst them, weakness of chains of transmission and discrepancies of the content. Besides, it has been narrated from a number of Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنۡهُمۡ that Rasūlullāh صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيۡهِ وَسَلَّمَ instructed every depiction, without exception, be effaced within the Ka'bah at the conquest of Makkah.

Ibn ʿAbbās رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنۡهُمَا narrates:

أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم لما قدم أبى أن يدخل البيت وفيه الآلهة، فأمر بها فأخرجت فأخرجوا صورة إبراهيم وإسمعيل.

When Rasūlullāh صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيۡهِ وَسَلَّمَ came to Makkah, he refused to enter the Kaʿbah with the idols in it. He ordered they be taken out and they were removed. The people also removed pictures of Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl. [*Al-Bukhārī*, vol. 4 pg. 156]

Jābir رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنۡهُ narrates:

أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أمر عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه زمن الفتح وهو بالبطحاء أن يأتي الكعبة فيمحو كل صورة فيها، ولم يدخل البيت حتى محيت كل صورة فيه.

Rasūlullāh صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيۡهِ وَسَلَّمَ instructed ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنۡهُ during the Conquest of Makkah when they were at al-Baṭḥā' to go to the Kaʿbah and remove all the depictions therein. He did not enter the Kaʿbah until all the depictions were effaced. [*Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 15109. Shuʿayb al- Arnā'ūṭ says, "Its chain of transmission is authentic according to the conditions of Muslim."]

Usāmah ibn Zayd رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنۡهُمَا narrates:

دخلت على رسول الله صل الله عليه وآله وسلم في الكعبة ورأى صورا قال: فدعا بدلو من ماء فأتيته به فجعل يمحوها ويقول: قاتل الله قوما يصورون ما لا يخلقون.

I came to Rasūlullāh ﷺ whilst he was in the Kaʿbah wherein he saw some pictures. He called for a bucket of water which I brought. He then began effacing them whilst saying, "May Allah curse such people who make pictures of things they cannot create." [*Al-Ṭayālisī*, Ḥadīth: 623. Al-Albānī has deemed it authentic in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmiʿ*, Ḥadīth: 7741]

In number four we will further delve into the severe prophetic warnings for pictures and his anger when he saw pictures in his house. He informed us that angels do not enter homes wherein there are pictures. How could he then condone pictures remaining in the House of Allah! A number of explanations can be given for the traditions that suggest some Tābiʿīn having seen them. Hereunder are some:

1. It is possible that the depictions of Maryam and ʿĪsā were buried within the substructure of the Kaʿbah due to which they were not washed away. It, thus, remained unearthed until the Kaʿbah caught fire during the era of Ibn al-Zubayr.
2. It is possible that they were dyed with a permanent dye such that water did not efface it or some of it was washed away when water was poured over during the era of Rasūlullāh ﷺ whilst some traces remained.
3. It is possible that some Christians placed it in the Kaʿbah after the time of Rasūlullāh ﷺ and the Khulafā' Rāshidīn. This would be quite probable at the time of fitnah during the era of Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah when some Christians made a show of accepting Islam. It would not be farfetched for them to have planted depictions of Maryam and ʿĪsā عليه السلام in the Kaʿbah in order to beguile the Muslims into thinking that Rasūlullāh ﷺ had left it so. This could also have been done by Christians who had accepted Islam after the era of Rasūlullāh ﷺ and the Khulafā Rāshidīn.

The existence of the depictions of Maryam and ʿĪsā عليه السلام within the Kaʿbah after the era of Rasūlullāh ﷺ does not necessitate the approval of it by Rasūlullāh ﷺ. Rasūlullāh ﷺ would not approve of wrong nor would he be pleased with it. Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى says regarding him:

﴿ٱلَّذِينَ يَتَّبِعُونَ ٱلرَّسُولَ ٱلنَّبِيَّ ٱلْأُمِّيَّ ٱلَّذِى يَجِدُونَهُۥ مَكْتُوبًا عِندَهُمْ فِى ٱلتَّوْرَىٰةِ وَٱلْإِنجِيلِ يَأْمُرُهُم بِٱلْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَىٰهُمْ عَنِ ٱلْمُنكَرِ﴾

In any case, he instructed them effaced even though there is no record of these depictions being subjects of worship. He also sent the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ to destroy idols. He sent Saʿd ibn Zayd al-Ashhalī رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to destroy Manāt, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to destroy Suwāʿ, and Khālid ibn al-Walīd رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ to destroy ʿUzzā. [723] Thus, destroying idols and effacing them had become an innate characteristic of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, whether they were subjects of worship or not.

Take Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ impressing the same upon those who did not attain the companionship of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. Abū al-Hayāj al- Asadī says, "ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib said to me:

> ألا أبعثك على ما بعثني عليه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم؟ أن لا تدع تمثالا إلا طمسته ولا قبرا مشرفا إلا سويته.
>
> I am sending you on the same mission as Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ sent me. Do not leave an image without effacing it or a high grave without levelling it. [724]

We find in this ḥadīth, the word *timthāl* and *qabr* are in an indefinite (*Nakirah*) form after a prohibition (*Nafī*). This sentence structure gives the meaning of generality (*ʿUmūm*). As such we have been instructed to efface **every** image and level **every** high grave. As for

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Those who follow the Messenger, the unlettered prophet, whom they find written [i.e., described] in what they have of the Torah and the Gospel, who enjoins upon them what is right and prohibits them from what is wrong. [Sūrah al-Aʿrāf: 157]
The point being driven here is that it is not permissible for one to entertain thoughts of approval or instruction from Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ for the retention of the depictions. Anyone entertaining such thoughts has entertained unsuitable thoughts of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. For further reading, see what al- Tuwaijirī has written in the *Majallah* of al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah at Madīnah al-Munawwarah. Number: 41 under the heading 'A warning regarding baseless reports of Makkah'.

[723] Ibn Saʿd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2 pgs. 146-147.

[724] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Ḥadīth: 969.

those who strike a difference between depictions of worship and those that are not subjects of worship make a claim without any evidence. Rather the evidences are stacked against them as we will further elucidate.

4. The Instruction is General for Depictions of Worship or Otherwise

Rasūlullāh ﷺ prohibited depictions of animate objects and instructed their effacement, be it a subject of worship or not. The following narrations elucidate this:

ʿĀ'ishah رضي الله عنها reports:

> دخل علي النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وفي البيت قرام فيه صور، فتلون وجهه ثم تناول الستر فهتكه، وقالت قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم: إن من أشد الناس عذابا يوم القيامة الذين يصورون هذه الصور.
>
> The Prophet ﷺ entered the house while there was a curtain with animate pictures in the house. His face turned red in anger, and he got hold of the curtain and tore it down. The Prophet ﷺ said, "Such people who paint these pictures will receive the severest punishment on the Day of Resurrection." [725]

Abū Zurʿah reports:

[725] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on etiquettes, Ḥadīth: 5758; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on clothing and beauty, Ḥadīth: 2107.

دخلت أنا وأبو هريرة دارا تبنى بالمدينة لسعيد او لمروان فرأى مصورا يصور في الدار فقال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: قال الله عز وجل ومن أظلم ممن ذهب يخلق خلقا كخلقي فليخلقوا ذرة أو ليخلقوا حبة.

I, in the company of Abū Hurayrah visited a house in Madinah that was being built for Marwan or Sa'īd and he found pictures there whereupon he said, "I heard Allah's Messenger ﷺ as saying: Allah, the Glorious and Exalted, said, 'Who is a greater oppressor than one who tries to create creation like my creation. Let him create an atom or a grain of wheat.'" (726)

Abū Hurayrah رضي الله عنه reports from Rasūlullāh ﷺ who said:

تخرج عنق من النار يوم القيامة لها عينان تبصران وأذنان تسمعان ولسان ينطق يقول: إني وكلت بثلاثة، بكل جبار عنيد، وبكل من دعا مع الله إلها آخر، وبالمصورين.

A neck will rise from the fire on the Day of Judgment. It will have two eyes that will see, two ears that will hear, and a tongue that will speak. It will say, "I have been entrusted to deal with three types of people. Every obstinate oppressor, every person who called out to other Gods with Allah, and those who made pictures." (727)

These proofs specify the impermissibility of all animate depictions.(728) No person with any amount of common sense will

(726) *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on monotheism, Ḥadīth: 5609; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on clothing and beauty, Ḥadīth: 2111. The wording is of Muslim.
(727) *Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 8430; Al-Tirmidhī: *Al-Sunan*, vol. 4 pg. 282. The wording is of al-Tirmidhī. Al-Albānī has deemed it authentic in *al-Saḥīḥah*: 512.
(728) Exclusions will be made of pictures taken for necessity such as for identity documents, visas, and wanted posters. These exclusions are discussed at length in the books of fiqh.

opine that the curtain torn down by Rasūlullāh ﷺ was placed as an object of worship. He became angry and tore it down with his own hands even though they were mere hand drawings that were attached to the curtain. This too was included in the prohibition and warning. Carving statues would no doubt, fall within the warning and prohibition with greater reason.

Further, it should not be said that this prohibition was due to the close proximity of the polytheistic era since the evidences of impermissibility are general and do not have any indication that may restrict its purport. Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd al-Mālikī al-Shafiʿī has penned the following in this regard in a most wonderful fashion:

وقد تظاهرت دلائل الشريعة على المنع من التصوير والصور. ولقد أبعد غاية البعد من قال: إن ذلك محمول على الكراهة، وإن هذا التشديد كان في ذلك الزمان، لقرب عهد الناس بعبادة الأوثان. وهذا الزمان حيث انتشر الإسلام وتمهدت قواعده لا يساويه في هذا المعنى، فلا يساويه في هذا التشديد –هذا أو معناه– وهذا القول عندنا باطل قطعا، لأنه قد ورد في الأحاديث: الإخبار عن أمر الآخرة بعذاب المصورين، وأنهم يقال لهم: أحيوا ما خلقتم، وهذه علة مخالفة لما قاله هذا القائل، وقد صرح بذلك في قوله عليه السلام: المشبهون بخلق الله، وهذه علة عامة مستقلة مناسبة، لا تخص زمانا دون زمان، وليس لنا أن نتصرف في النصوص المتظاهرة المتضافرة بمعنى خيالي، يمكن أن يكون هو المراد، مع اقتضاء اللفظ التعليل بغيره، وهو التشبه بخلق الله.

The evidences of the sharīʿah are replete with prohibition of pictures and picture making. Indeed the one that says, 'This prohibition is understood as undesirability and that the severity of the prohibition was for that time due to the closeness of the era of the people to idol-worship and, since Islam has spread in this age and its principles have been laid

out, the prohibition of picture-making is not equivalent to this in severity anymore' is removed far beyond the truth... This statement according to us is absolutely false because it is narrated in the aḥādīth and reports in regards to the reality of the afterlife that picture-makers will be punished and it will be said to them, 'Bring to life what you have created!' This is a rationale contrary to what this speaker says. He clarified this in his صَلَّىٱللَّهُعَلَيْهِوَسَلَّمَ statement, 'the imitators of Allah's creation,' and this rationale is general, independent and applicable for all times and is not qualified by one period and not another period. It is not appropriate for us to use our own discretion in the face of demonstrable concatenated evidences, using a fanciful interpretation taking other meanings when the rationale is imitating the creation of Allah. [729]

5. Pictures of Animate Objects Are Impermissible by Consensus

Ibn al-ʿArabī states:

حاصل ما في اتخاذ الصور أنها إن كانت ذات أجسام حرم بالإجماع.

The sum-total of the discussion regarding pictures is that if it is of an animate object then it is impermissible by consensus. [730]

Al-Nawawī states:

وأجمعوا على منع ما كان له ظل ووجوب تغييره.

They have reached a consensus regarding the impermissibility of that which has a shadow. It becomes obligatory to change it.[731]

[729] *Iḥkām al-Aḥkām Sharḥ ʿUmdah al-Aḥkām*, vol. 1 pgs. 371-372.
[730] Ibn Ḥajar: *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 10 pg. 391.

The scholars have not delved into the differences of it being a subject of worship, or if kept as a remembrance, or if one is in close proximity to a polytheistic age when declaring the consensus of impermissibility.

6. Certainty Is Not Dispelled by Doubt

Our sharīʿah has an important maxim: *Certainty is not dispelled by doubt*. We know with certainty that the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ broke idols and statues during the era of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. As for what has been said regarding the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ not demolishing statues in the conquered lands, well they can be subject to various interpretations. Leaving them be could have been part of the treaties they had signed[732], or they could have at that time still been buried, or it may have been impossible to demolish them due to their colossal size. These are three possibilities, each one as likely as the next. Thus, what is known by way of certainty cannot be dispelled by a doubt.

7. Demolishing These Colossal Artifacts Was Not Possible

If we were to agree to their presence and the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ having left them be, it does not mean they agreed to leave them contentedly. Rather, they left them be being incapable of demolishing them. We have already described the colossal size and impregnable construction of the pyramids and the sphinx. Ibn

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[731] *Sharḥ al-Nawawī al-Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 14 pg. 82.

[732] They would then have been left as long as they were not taken out and displayed beyond the churches. See, Ibrāhīm al-Fahīd: *Maʿābid al-Kuffār wa Aḥkāmihā*, pg. 192.

Khaldūn, under the chapter heading: *The Greatest of Structures Are Not Built by One State on Its Own*, writes:

ويشهد لذلك أيضا أنا نجد آثارا كثيرة من المباني العظيمة تعجز الدول عن هدمها وتخريبها مع أن الهدم أيسر من البناء بكثير؛ لأن الهدم رجوع إلى الأصل الذي هو العدم، والبناء على خلاف الأصل. فإذا وجدنا بناء تضعف قوتنا البشرية عن هدمه مع سهولة الهدم علمنا أن القدرة التي أسسته مفرطة القوة وأنها ليست أثر دولة واحدة، وهذا مثل ما وقع للعرب في إيوان كسرى لما شرع الرشيد في هدمه وجمع الأيدي عليه واتخذ له الفؤوس وحماه بالتار وصب عليه الخل حتى إذا أدركه العجز ثم أقصر عن هدمه، وكذلك اتفق للمأمون في هدم الأهرام التي بمصر وجمع الفعلة لهدمها فلم يحل بطائل، وشرعوا في نقبه فانتهوا إلى جو بين الحائط والظاهر وما بعده من الحيطان وهنالك كان منتهى هدمهم.

What this attests to is that we find plenty traces of the ancient buildings which later nations cannot even destroy or demolish although demolition is much easier than construction, for demolition is a return to the origin which is nothingness while construction is different from the origin. If we see a building whose destruction is beyond our human abilities to destroy, then we know that those who constructed it had great abilities and that it is not the trace of one nation.

An example of this took place for the Arabs with the Arch of Ctesiphon when al-Rashīd was determined to demolish it, he began with this project and employed hands for it and used axes, heated it with fire, and poured vinegar on it, but once he realized his incapability, he abandoned the project. The same happened to al-Ma'mūn in the demolition of the pyramid of Egypt, for he gathered workmen and ended to a space between

the apparent wall and the walls after it, and this is where their demolition ends. [733]

Dear reader, now that you have understood the colossal size of these artefacts and its impregnable structure, how could we have wanted the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ to have demolished it? Is it with their silver swords and early age weapons? Do we not know of them laying siege to their enemies for days on end unable to penetrate their walls? If we look to recent history and see what labours the Taliban went through in demolishing the Bamiyan Buddhas during our age of technology, what can be said of early age weaponry?

8. We Have Been Restricted by Ability

The personality that instructed us to demolish statues and idols is the very same who bound it to our abilities. Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ said:

وإذا أمرتكم بأمر فأتوا منه ما استطعتم.

When I instruct you, then carry out my instruction according to your ability. [734]

This is the magnanimity of our Islamic creed.

Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى says:

﴿لَا يُكَلِّفُ ٱللَّهُ نَفْسًا إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا﴾

Allah does not charge a soul except [with that within] its capacity. [735]

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[733] *Tārīkh ibn Khaldūn*, vol. 1 pg. 13.
[734] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, book on holding firm to the Book and the Sunnah, Ḥadīth: 6858; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book on virtues, Ḥadīth: 1337.
[735] Sūrah al-Baqarah: 286.

And:

﴿وَمَا جَعَلَ عَلَيۡكُمۡ فِي ٱلدِّينِ مِنۡ حَرَجٖۚ﴾

He has not placed upon you in the religion any difficulty. [736]

Allah سُبۡحَانَهُۥ وَتَعَالَىٰ has made standing an integral of ṣalāh without which ṣalāh is not valid, even if done by mistake. Yet, a person unable to stand is given the concession to sit. Similarly, an aged person unable to fast and a chronically ill person have been absolved from fasting. Ḥajj too has been restricted to one's ability.

If Allah hasn't charged a person above his ability in matters pertaining to the pillars of Islam, then what can be said regarding other subsidiary matters?

The discussions of this chapter leave one without doubt of the weakness of the narrations that attempt to blemish the life and times of the eminent Ṣaḥābī, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنۡهُ. Any person with deep and true knowledge of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنۡهُمۡ would be convinced of the baselessness of what has been attributed to him, even before studying its falsities.

The Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنۡهُمۡ are the most noble of humanity after the Prophets عَلَيۡهِمُ ٱلسَّلَامُ. Allah سُبۡحَانَهُۥ وَتَعَالَىٰ selected them for the companionship of His Messenger صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيۡهِ وَسَلَّمَ. They were the most pious of the Ummah, the most knowledgeable, unperturbed by formalities, the most guided, and lived the most noble of lives. They are the leaders of every generation and the guiding stars in matters of faith, knowledge, wisdom, character, and in matters pertaining to this life and the next. How can it not be then that their teacher and guide was the best of all creation and the master of the Banī Ādam, Muḥammad صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيۡهِ وَسَلَّمَ. Sufficient is the proclamation of Allah

[736] Sūrah al-Ḥajj: 78.

سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى to their purity and His promise for their abode in paradise.[737]

ʿAmr رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, a Ṣaḥābī, promised paradise by Allah. Anyone who has doubts or misconceptions regarding this eminent Ṣaḥābī should recall the statement of Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ:

أسلم الناس وآمن عمرو بن العاص.

The people submitted whilst ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ believed. [738]

[737] The status of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ has been discussed at the beginning of the book.
[738] *Musnad Aḥmad*, Ḥadīth: 17413; Al-Tirmidhī: *Al-Sunan*, Ḥadīth: 3844.

Epilogue

After this humble offering, I express my gratitude to my Helper سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَىٰ for granting me the ability to delve into this prestigious domain, the domain of defending the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ. All praise is to Allah for granting me the ability and keeping me true. I ask Him to increase His blessings and benevolence upon me and to make this work solely for His pleasure.

It seems befitting to conclude this book by recounting its more important conclusions followed by some advices in relation to our subject matter.

Conclusions

— Praise worthy characteristics and nobility are innate as much as they are a product of a person's environment and family.

— It is a grave injustice to judge or define a child by the sins of their parents.

— A person whose faith, reliability, or nobility has been established with certainty, cannot be relegated except by another certainty.

— It is an injustice to attribute something to a person without authentic evidence.

— A Muslim yearning to practice upon the sunnah in his last moments is an indication of Divine aid.

— Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ appointing a Ṣaḥābī to a significant undertaking is an indication to the reliability and nobility of that Ṣaḥābī.

— All of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ are *ʿudūl* with differences in status.

— Anyone wishing to come to a true and accurate conclusion whilst studying history, must study the dispositions of the era under discussion.

— The dispositions of societies change with a change of environment and leadership.

— Understanding the disposition and character of a society lends a great deal of insight in understanding the reports of that era.

— Sedition can be a result of incorrect understanding, ignorance, jealousy, or hatred.

— In times of *Fitan*, safeguarding one's tongue is the best way to secure salvation.

— There are many misconceptions regarding individuals of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ due to the fitnah that occurred. Amongst them is ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. The misconceptions relating to him can be grouped into five categories:

1. Misconceptions related to his lineage رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.
2. Misconceptions related to his integrity رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.
3. Misconceptions related to his relationship with Rasūlullāh صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.
4. Misconceptions related to his relationship with the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ.
5. Misconceptions relating to his conquest of Egypt, his governance, his relation with its people, and more specifically the Copts.

All of these misconceptions, which amount to 16 in total, are at odds with this eminent Ṣaḥābī and carry no weight. They are either products of weak chains of transmission or are misunderstood and misplaced by individuals who either have no knowledge or are unware of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ; a group deemed pure and true by

Allah سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى. How apt was ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak رَحِمَهُ ٱللَّهُ in saying:

الإسناد من الدين، ولولا الإسناد لقال من شاء ما شاء.

> Chains of transmission are part of din, and if it were not chains of narration then anyone would say whatever they wished.

And:

بيننا وبين القوم قوائم.

> Between us and the innovators are pillars [referring to the Isnād]. [739]

In conclusion I say, it is possible that I may have not addressed all the misconceptions and allegations that have sought to blemish the eminent Ṣaḥābī ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنْهُ. However, if you do find any other misconception then treat it as I have treated these. I have placed a blueprint before you in this study to follow in determining the truth.

I must admit my inadequacy in defending this unique personality. It is but an attempt to ward off those who wish to attack his immortal biography and historical utterings. I ask of Allah by way of His beautiful names to keep us on the path of His favour and friends. He is sufficient for me and a most wonderful protector.

~ Exalted is your Lord, the Lord of might, above what they describe. And peace upon the messengers. And praise to Allah, Lord of the world's ~

[739] *Muqaddimah Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pg. 15.

Advices

— I advise the scholars and researchers to assist each other in penning studies regarding the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ by recounting their virtues, the reciprocatory praise between them, and by refuting allegations that are made against them.

— I advise the scholars to critically study books of history and biographical collections in order to clarify the weak and fabricated narrations and incidents contained therein regarding the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ.

— Every author and orator, when writing and speaking of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ, must be wary of recounting weak and fabricated narrations and incidents regarding the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ that seek to disparage them.

— I advise the Muslim Ummah to inculcate within themselves the love of the Ṣaḥābah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ. To elucidate their virtue and warn of the severity of disparaging them. To enact seminars, write books, and broadcast programs with this sole aim.

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