The SCRIBES of the PROPHET

كُتَّابُ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ



M. MUṢṬAFĀ AL-AʿẒAMĪ

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

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MUḤAMMAD MUṢṬAFĀ AL-AʿẒAMĪ

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To all who believe in

Muḥammad ﷺ

as forever Allah's final messenger



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PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD

In the Name of Allah, Most Merciful and Compassionate

I bear witness that there is no god but Allah, alone without partners; and that Muḥammad ﷺ is His servant and Messenger. I invoke the blessings of Allah and His peace upon His final Messenger, his family and Companions, along with all those who follow them in goodness until the Day of Rising.

The importance of better acquainting ourselves with the *Sīrah* (biography) of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ cannot be underestimated as the prism through which we are granted understanding of the revealed *Dīn* of Allah. Likewise, the details of the lives of those who were privileged to be his ﷺ Companions afford us a vital insight into what it means to truly follow Allah's Messenger. This is certainly the case in regard to those who had the honour of acting as his scribes, whether as recorders of the Revelation, or secretaries in administering the affairs of the Muslim State.

This work synthesises an extensive array of sources from our Islamic heritage, and showcases the work involved in interpreting them. My thanks go to its author, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Aʿẓamī, for producing this extremely beneficial piece of research and granting us the opportunity to publish it. I would also like to thank Anas al-Aʿẓamī for his highly readable translation and Mariam Madge Conlan for her contribution to its editing. May Allah accept it from us all and unite us with His Messenger ﷺ in *Jannah* along with his Companions.

For further reading on the *Sīrah*, Turath have published *The Prophet of Mercy* by Shaykh Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Nadwī; *Bidāyat as-Sūl*

fī Tafḍīl ar-Rasūl (*The Beginning of the Quest for the High Esteem of the Messenger*) by Sulṭān al-ʿUlamā', Imam ʿIzz ʿAbd as-Salām; and *Nūr al-ʿUyūn* (*The Light of the Eyes*) by Imam Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, the latter being a shorter work by the author of *ʿUyūn al-Athar* which is cited in the work at hand.

Many of the readers many not be aware that *Maghāzī ʿUrwah* by ʿUrwah ibn az-Zubayr (d. 93/712) is one of the earliest work on *Sīrah*. This book is long lost and there is no hope of ever finding it. Shaykh Aʿẓamī was able to recreate some of its text by extracting it from various quotations in different books. Turath will publish its English translation, *in shā' Allāh*.

Yahya Batha
London 2016

PREFACE

In the Name of Allah, Most Merciful and Compassionate

There is a renewed interest in Islam, and all things related to it. No doubt, Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ is a central figure. The last messenger of Allah, who was entrusted to pass the believers the final revelation of Allah. The Prophet himself was an unlettered man, who had never learned how to read and write, "Before this, you did not read any book, nor did you write anything with your hands" (Qur'an, 29:48). No one challenged this verse, including his contemporary opponents, and they all knew he was unlettered. The inability to read and write does not mean ignorance by any means. In fact, the Prophet had many dedicated Companions who knew how to read and write. Some of the Companions wrote only once for the Prophet, and others wrote many times. In this work we compile a list of all those who wrote for the Prophet. There are other authors who wrote on this subject, but—*al-ḥamdu l'illāh*—I was able to dig out many new names who were not listed by earlier authors. For the last seven hundred years, no author managed to add new names to the list, which remained steady at 45 scribes, and I was—with Allah's blessing—able to extend the list to 65 scribes.

The first edition of this book was published back in 1974. Since then it has undergone many changes and additions, and the current Arabic edition is the 7th. In the early 1990 we decided to translate this book into English. I entrusted this task to Anas, my son, who at the time was a student at Fairview High School in Boulder, Colorado. For this, he was rewarded $1000, thanks to Dr Aḥmad Totonjī, who bore the translation cost. The translation was

ready collecting dust as I was busy pursuing many other interests, especially my lifelong project of computerisation of hadith. A decade later, Anas fully revised the translation. This time I was busy working on History of the Qur'ānic Text. It took ten more years to push myself into committing to publish this important work.

I must extend tremendous gratitude to my family for their unwavering assistance throughout the many stages of this effort: to my elder son Aqil for his continuous help with manuscript preparation (originally in Latex then MS-Word). Both he, and my daughter-in-law, Ruqaiyya Akbar, for transliteration and compiling bibliography. A particular tribute to my wife for tolerating me through sixty years of marriage and suffering through the many sacrifices she has had to bear with extraordinary patience and a loving smile. Finally, I would like to thank Yahya for bringing this book out to the world. May Allah reward all of them for their kindness and generosity.

M.M.A.

INTRODUCTION

In the Name of Allah, Most Merciful and Compassionate

From the nucleus of one man blossomed a nation and an ideal, a timeless religion richly enrobed, transforming a landscape of ignorant idolatry into a pool of radiance proclaiming the Oneness of Allah. Prophet Muḥammad's ﷺ legacy touches our lives in myriad ways, just as it touched the lives of every Muslim and non-Muslim generation preceeding us, the course of history amended by a visionary who is still held in the highest esteem. From the dawn of Islam, Muslim scholars have poured their efforts into capturing the broad and subtle shades of his life: the particulars of his demeanour and habits, his piety and supplications, his policies and their underlying wisdom *etc.* Were I to furnish only the topic headings, the sum total would occupy dozens of pages. My concern here, however, is solely with the secretarial aspects of the newly founded Muslim state as envisaged and executed by that most capable of leaders.

Since ancient times the Prophet's correspondences have attracted special attention; even among the Companions we find ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm, Ibn ʿAbbās and others expressing a fascination with his letters. Their heirs in this field included ad-Dibalī, aṭ-Ṭabarānī in his *Letters of the Prophet*,[1] Ibn Ṭūlūn in *I'lām as-Sā'ilīn*, and others. Our own times have witnessed Prof. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh's monumental work *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah*.

Not limited to the documents themselves, this interest extended

1 As quoted by as-Samʿānī, in *At-Taḥbīr fī'l-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, 2:140–142.

to the scribes who penned them under the Prophet's dictation and direction. Ibn Abī'l-Ja'd, Ibn Shabbah,[1] al-Quḍā'ī, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Anṣārī and others all compiled books on this subject, this last author completing his work *ca.* 779/1377. Others, rather than dedicating books to these scribes, chose to incorporate them into the *Sīrah* (biography of the Prophet), including Ibn Isḥāq, Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, aṭ-Ṭabarī, as-Suhaylī and al-Ya'qūbī, while still others alluded to them in the course of writing the Companions' biographies, such as Ibn Ḥajar. Lately I came across a facsimile of *Al-Intiṣār li'l-Qur'ān* by al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) containing the identities of the Prophet's scribes, and while most of these can be found in other sources, there are some new names as well. In fact, the biographies behind a few of these names remain a mystery to me[2], though the fault may lie with a lack of thoroughness in my search, or to an error committed by *Al-Intiṣār's* copyist.

A very stimulating phenomenon in these works is that each author, building on earlier books, strived to add new names from fresh sources instead of simply regurgitating the same list, and this is a real measure of their dedication to the principles of research in general. For example, al-Ya'qūbī mentions only 13 scribes, al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) and 'Umar ibn Shabbah (d. 262/876) increase this to 16 and 23 respectively, al-'Irāqī (d. 806/1404) records 42 and al-Anṣārī (d. 783/1381) supplements this to 44. In a similar way, I have been fortunate enough during the course of my endeavours for this book to uncover and add several new names to this list, *al-ḥamdu lillāh*, such that the tally of scribes now exceeds 60.

The scribes listed in this work can be subdivided into three groups:

1 As-Suhaylī in his *Ar-Rawḍ al-Unf*, 2:230, mentions 'Umar ibn Shabbah and his book *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*.

2 These include 'Abdullāh ibn Maslamah, Asad ibn aṣ-Ṣāmit, Khālid ibn Asad (or Khālid ibn Usayd), and Mālik ibn al-'Ajlān.

1. Those who have received a great deal of attention already, being well recognised in their role as scribes.
2. A group which has garnered less attention, perhaps because they were less active.
3. Companions whose names I have gathered from such works as *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah*, but whose names have not been cited in the classical sources in this regard.

Undoubtedly there was much disparity between the outputs of these various scribes, some taking up their duties regularly while others lent their skill only once or twice. In *At-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*,[1] al-Mas'ūdī states that he omitted the names of those who wrote only a meagre sum for the Prophet, one letter or two or three, claiming that the title of 'the Prophet's scribe' does not befit such individuals. I find his attitude baffling; surely the best reasoning is that everyone who had the privilege of serving the Prophet as a scribe be granted the honour this title confers. As a consequence, I have gone against his approach, as have my predecessors, and listed all the scribes regardless of their output. In fact, I went even further by including two people who I do not believe wrote for the Prophet—'Abdullāh ibn Khaṭal and as-Sijil (whose very existence I doubt)—since they were mentioned by some of those who wrote on this subject before me. Rather than discard their names, I kept them in for the sake of completeness and to make the reader aware of all the information housed within the classical references.

By no means do I claim to have gathered a full list of all the Prophet's scribes; there may yet be relevant manuscripts not in our possession, hidden beneath a centuries-old blanket of darkness, cobwebs and dust waiting to be discovered.

The names are listed alphabetically without any heed to the person's chronology or importance,[2] but I have refrained from

1 pp. 245–6.

2 All of the biographies are alphabetised by first name unless the nickname is

entering into great depth about their biographies since my aim here is to introduce them from a distinctly secretarial and administrative aspect. The more renowned personalities (such as Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Khālid, and others) already enjoy extensive biographical libraries, and how could I possibly fit their accomplishments with any justice into the space of a few lines?

Recently I have had the good fortune of acquiring facsimiles of some of the Prophet's original letters, written on parchment or leather and held for centuries in Turkey. Whether they are indeed the originals, and what evidence exists for and against this view, has already been touched upon by Prof. Ḥamīdullāh. Whatever the verdict (if there is one), I have opted to include these facsimiles as an appendix to this book, in full colour but without further commentary, to gain Allah's pleasure foremost and also to provide some visual references that will crystallise these scribes' accomplishments in the reader's mind.

Thanks are due to the late Prof. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, who brought to my attention one of my blunders in the first Arabic edition; to my son Anas for undertaking this translation whilst still a student in high school, *mā shā' Allāh*, revising it as necessary a few years afterwards; and to my elder son ʿAqīl for the strenuous task of transliteration.

Finally, I pray to the Almighty Allah (*subḥānahu wa taʿālā*) to benefit the ummah with this work by adding to their appreciation of the Prophet's triumphs as statesman, to accept it as a sincere effort in His Name and to reward all those involved in its gestation from beginning to end, according to His Mercy and Generosity. *Allahumma, āmīn.*

MUḤAMMAD MUṢṬAFĀ AL-AʿẒAMĪ
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Shaʿbān 20, 1394/1974, revised Ṣafar 1424/April 2003

better known (such as Abū Bakr, Abū Salamah, Abū Sufyan *etc.*), in which case they are listed under that moniker.

THE PROPHET ﷺ: HIS ARCHIVES AND SCRIBES

Even in the era of ignorance preceeding Islam the Arabs realised the importance of the pen; according to Ibn Sa'd it was one of the three pillars, along with swimming and archery, which signified the maturity of a man and honoured him with the title of '*al-kāmil*' (the complete).[1] But this pillar was not a fixture in the lives of most Arabs, nor did they make much of an effort to learn the art, probably because writing appeared useless to them in their daily routines. As a consequence, those who could read and write were extremely few. Some reports suggest that, at the time of Islam's first appearance, only 17 people from the entire tribe of Quraysh possessed this skill.

Al-Balādhurī narrates this with a chain extending to Abū Bakr ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Abī Jahm al-'Adawī: "Islam appeared at a time when seventeen men in Quraysh were literate: 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ, Ṭalḥah and Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān, Abū Ḥudhayfah ibn 'Utbah ibn Rabī'ah, Ḥāṭib ibn 'Amr (the brother of Suhayl ibn 'Amr al-'Āmirī) of Quraysh, Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī, Abān ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ ibn Umayyah, his brother Khālid ibn Sa'īd, 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī as-Sarḥ al-'Āmirī, Ḥuwayṭib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā al-'Āmirī, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb ibn Umayyah, Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, and Juhaym ibn aṣ-Ṣalt ibn Makhramah ibn al-Muṭṭalib ibn 'Abd Manāf; and from the allies of Quraysh al-'Alā' ibn al-Ḥaḍramī."[2]

1 Ibn Sa'd, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqat*, iii/2: 91.

2 Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pp. 660–1.

ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿUqbah relates that the Prophet ﷺ asked ash-Shifāʾ bint ʿAbdullāh al-ʿAdawiyyah if she would teach Ḥafṣah the incantation for a scorpion's bite, just as she had taught her how to write; this latter was a skill that ash-Shifāʾ acquired before the coming of Islam, but she was certainly not the only woman. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn Saʿd narrates that Ḥafṣah, the Prophet's wife, was literate, while Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn Thawbān states the same for Umm Kulthūm bint ʿUqbah. ʿĀʾishah bint Saʿd says that her father taught her the pen, Karīmah bint al-Miqdād says that she too possessed the skill, and Ibn Mayyāh recalls that ʿĀʾishah (the Prophet's wife) could read the Qurʾan but was unable to write, a statement which Umm Salamah echoes about herself.[1]

Al-Wāqidī narrates from his teachers that the first person to write for the Prophet after his arrival in Madīnah was Ubayy ibn Kaʿb al-Anṣārī, and that if he was not at hand the Prophet would call upon Zayd ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī to fill in for him, so that the two of them recorded the revelations as well as the Prophet's correspondences. Al-Wāqidī adds, "The first tribesman from Quraysh to write for the Prophet was ʿAbdullāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī as-Sarḥ, who subsequently deserted Islam and fled back to Makkah. He told Quraysh that he could write words which were just as alluring as those spoken by the Prophet, and went on to compose fabricated verses for them by changing '*aẓ-ẓālimīn*' (the wrongdoers) to '*al-kāfirīn*' (the unbelievers), '*samīʿun ʿalīm*' (Hearing and Knowing) to '*ghafūrun raḥīm*' (Forgiving and Merciful) and so on. Hence Allah revealed a verse denouncing him for his iniquities. On the day of Makkah's conquest, the Prophet ordered his death but ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān pleaded for clemency on his behalf, since the two of them had been raised together. By that time ʿAbdullāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī as-Sarḥ had openly re-embraced Islam and so the Prophet directed that he should be left unharmed. When ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān became

1 From a narration by Sālim Sabalān on the authority of Umm Salamah.

the Caliph he appointed him as governor of Egypt. Others who wrote for the Prophet include ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, Shuraḥbīl ibn Ḥasanah, Juhaym ibn aṣ-Ṣalt ibn Makhramah, Khālid ibn Saʿīd, Abān ibn Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ and al-ʿAlā' ibn al-Ḥaḍramī. And Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, embracing Islam in the year of the conquest, wrote for him as well. One day the Prophet called upon Muʿāwiyah while he was eating and he proved slow to respond, so the Prophet ﷺ exclaimed, "May Allah never satisfy your stomach." Muʿāwiyah would say that the Prophet's supplication had caught up with him, for he used to eat, more or less, seven meals a day.

Al-Wāqidī states that Ḥanẓalah ibn ar-Rabīʿ ibn Rabāḥ al-Usaydī from the tribe of Banū Tamīm wrote for the Prophet once, for which he earned the nickname *'al-kātib'* (the writer).

Al-Wāqidī also narrates, "There were very few amongst the Aws and Khazraj [the two prevalent tribes in Madīnah] who could write. Some of the Jews had learned to write in Arabic, and the younger generation in Madīnah had learned just prior to the revelations. So at the dawn of Islam the tribes of Aws and Khazraj boasted a group which possessed this skill: Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah ibn Dulaym, al-Mundhir ibn ʿAmr, Ubayy ibn Kaʿb, Zayd ibn Thābit (who was able to write both Arabic and Hebrew), Rāfiʿ ibn Mālik, Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr, Maʿn ibn ʿAdī al-Balawī (an ally of Madīnah), Bashīr ibn Saʿd, Saʿd ibn ar-Rabīʿ, Aws ibn Khawlah and ʿAbdullāh ibn Ubayy al-Munāfiq. The people who were deemed complete, the ones who were skilled in swimming and archery as well as writing, were Rāfiʿ ibn Mālik, Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah, Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr, ʿAbdullāh ibn Ubayy and Aws ibn Khawlah. Those from Madīnah who were proficient in all three before Islam were Suwayd ibn aṣ-Ṣāmit and Ḥuḍayr al-Kātib."[1]

Undoubtedly these narrations, and the lists within them, are of great importance even though they cannot be considered exhaus-

1 For all these narrations see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pp. 660–664.

tive. As a centre of trade and religious activity, Makkan society was always in flux and no single report can encompass within it the dynamic nature of a city at the crossroads of caravans, poets and pilgrims. What is clear from these accounts, however, is that Arabia was gripped by widespread illiteracy—so much so that Allah described the Arabs as being unlettered, and the man who was sent to guide them as being the unlettered Prophet.

Not a year had passed since the Prophet's *Hijrah*[1] when he composed the '*dustūr*' or, as some scholars have named it, the earliest written constitution in the world. This was a document defining the relationship between the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār[2] on one side, and the relationship between Muslims and Jews on the other.[3] From that point on the new state possessed its own statutes, and the machinery of government required the allotment of administrative tasks and the setting up of an efficient educational policy. So fruitful did this policy prove to be that the ranks of the literate began to rise quickly within Madīnah, and the Prophet himself enjoyed the help of almost 60 scribes. By referring to our current references, we can draw some broad conclusions about the secretarial and administrative activities during the Prophet's lifetime.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIWAN ARCHIVES: THE SECRETARIAT DURING THE TIME OF THE PROPHET

The Arabic word '*dīwān*' refers to a sitting room, where scribes can sit and attend to their work[4]; it can also mean a collection of notebooks, or a ledger, containing the names of those who are registered

1 The Prophet's migration from Makkah to Madīnah, which served as both the true beginning of the Muslim state as well as the start of the Muslim calendar.

2 The Anṣār (supporters) were the Muslim citizens of Madīnah, as distinguished from the Makkan expatriates who were designated the Muhājirūn (emigrants).

3 M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah*, document no. 1.

4 Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 1:89.

in the military or who receive grants from the government.[1] Three different types of ledgers were used during Islam's formative years:

- A record of letters dispatched and received by the government, called *Dīwān al-Inshā'*
- A military file listing those who were registered in the military, called *Dīwān al-Jaysh*
- An account of the treasury, bearing the relevant income and expenditure figures.

Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb is generally credited with establishing this system. Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī says, "The first to set up diwans was 'Umar."[2] But this view is not unanimously held. Al-Qalqashandī argues that *Dīwān al-Inshā'* (the registry of correspondences) was initially put together by the Prophet himself, and is the first recording system to come into use in Islam, while the military archive was founded by 'Umar during his caliphate.[3]

Abū Yūsuf says that on the day of the battle of Jamājim, certain people burned the archives and all was lost for posterity. Some of Madīnah's elders informed him, however, that the archives had shown that 'Umar had annexed all the property of Kisrā (the Persian king), and Kisrā's kin, and everyone who fled the land during the course of the Persian campaign.[4] This illustrates the existence of a ledger system during 'Umar's reign. Discussing the military and treasury registries, Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan claims that 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb founded them after a Persian official advised him to do so, at a time when the Islamic state had experienced swift expansion.

But this topic requires further probing, for it appears that the Prophet initiated, albeit in a simplified format, the usage of records. This is supported by al-Qalqashandī's comment regarding *Dīwān*

1 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (d-w-n).

2 'Askarī, *Al-Awā'il*, p. 133.

3 Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 1:91.

4 Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *An-Nuẓum al-Islāmiyyah*, p. 170.

al-Inshā'. In the military arena, al-Bukhārī mentions in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* on Ḥudhayfah's authority that the Prophet ﷺ requested a list of all those who had embraced Islam; the final tally was 1500.[1] Writing the names of those heading off into battle seems to have been routine. Al-Bukhārī narrates that Ibn 'Abbās heard the Prophet ﷺ say, "Women should not be left alone with men who are strangers, and a woman must not travel unless she has a maḥram to protect her." Here a man stood up and told the Prophet that he had enlisted his name for a particular battle and that his wife had gone off to perform pilgrimage.[2] Such a list is certainly the beginning of a military record.

As for the treasury account we have those amongst the Prophet's scribes who were tasked with recording all acquired booty, which was among the state's major sources of income at the time. What the Prophet did with the booty of Banū al-Muṣṭalaq was, according to as-Sarakhsī, the nucleus for establishing a treasury system. There the Prophet appointed Maḥmiyyah ibn Jaz' az-Zubaydī on the *khums*[3] of the Banū al-Muṣṭalaq tribe, for he was the man responsible for collecting the *khums* on such occasions. *Ṣadaqāt* (charities) were collected separately and had their own recipients, and *fay'*[4] had its own recipients. From the allotment for charity the Prophet gave to the orphans, the feeble and the poor. After passing puberty and reaching an age when he could partake in jihad, an orphan's name was transferred to the *fay'* ledger so that the state would continue providing his livelihood. If he disliked participating in jihad, this

1 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Al-Jihād, p. 181.

2 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Al-Jihad, p. 140.

3 *Khums*, literally meaning one-fifth, was the practice of allocating one-fifth of all the collected booty to the treasury prior to distributing the remainder among those who had participated in battle. This sum served as a means of income, a sizeable portion of which went to the poor and needy and thereby anchored the welfare system.

4 An index listing all acquired booty as well as individuals financially supported by the government for reasons not involving charity.

monetary assistance was discontinued and he was expected to earn for himself.[1]

From these strands we can deduce that during the Prophet's life ledgers for correspondences, and military and monetary affairs, were already in place. A few years later, coming to power at a time of rapid expansion, 'Umar found it necessary to further refine this system. The tale of the Persian official and his advice to 'Umar is superfluous at best, and given that *Dīwān al-Jaysh* (for example) was nothing more than a book cataloguing all active personnel in the military, the notion that this scheme had to be borrowed from the Persians is nonsensical.

THE SECRETARIAT AND ITS BRANCHES

By filtering the scribes through the prism of what they usually wrote, we find that a particular group specialised in recording the Qur'an[2] while another noted sundry matters of concern to the state.[3] Among this latter some wrote to kings, such as Zayd ibn Thābit; others penned treaties, such as 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, or recorded the Prophet's ﷺ personal necessities, such as al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah, or wrote contracts, such as 'Abdullāh ibn al-Arqam, or catalogued the booty, such as Mu'ayqīb ibn Abī Fāṭimah ad-Dawsī, or documented the estimated date production of the state, such as Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān. There was additionally a scribe named Ḥanẓalah al-Kātib (Ḥanẓalah the writer) whose task, to fill in for any scribe absent from his post, earned him his nickname.

1 As-Sarakhsī, *As-Siyar al-Kabīr*, Chapter 105.

2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 9:22; see also: A'ẓamī, *The History of the Qur'anic Text*.

3 Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, pp. 13–14.

I. TRANSLATIONS

Zayd ibn Thābit recalls that the Prophet ﷺ told him he wanted to set up a correspondence with the Jews. "I will be corresponding with a people who I fear may add or delete [portions of my letters]," he said, "so learn Hebrew." Zayd learned it in a mere 17 days, after which he would communicate with them and translate their letters if they wrote back to him.[1]

II. RESPONDING IN A TIMELY MANNER

Al-Jahshiyārī mentions that the Prophet ﷺ told Ḥanẓalah al-Kātib to stay with him and remind him of any task that was three days overdue. Could this mean that the Prophet ordered his scribes to respond to letters (either independently or via his dictation) within three days? This is quite possible. In any case it indicates how much work the Prophet had to attend to, and his desire to give all matters the amount of time and attention they deserved without forgetting his other responsibilities.

III. THE DESIGNATED WORKPLACE FOR SCRIBES

Was there a special area designated for scribes to work in? Answering this with a definite yes or no is difficult, but evidence does suggest that there was a spot allocated for recording the Qur'an, so perhaps the same applied to other scribal duties as well.

Ibn 'Abbās says, "Copies of the Qur'an were not sold; rather a person would approach the Prophet with some parchment and a scribe would begin transcribing the Qur'anic verses onto this, seeking nothing but Allah's reward [i.e. not charging any money]. This

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:561. Zayd may have limited his studies to the Hebrew script only, since Jews have often used their script to communicate in the local language of the country they reside in.

first scribe then taking a break, a second would take over the task, and so on until the Qur'an had been copied."[1] This does imply a special area for this sort of work, close to where the Prophet ﷺ sat.

IV. MAKING DRAFTS

Mālik relates that the Prophet ﷺ, discovering that a letter had arrived for him, enquired who would respond on his behalf. 'Abdullāh ibn al-Arqam volunteered and, writing a response, he presented it to the Prophet for his approval, who was impressed by it and ordered that it be dispatched.[2] In light of this we can say that drafts were composed first, unless the Prophet himself was dictating the message of course, and that naturally he had the right to amend these drafts as necessary until they met with his approval.

V. REVISION

There is also evidence of proofreading after dictation. Once the task of recording the latest Qur'anic verses was complete, Zayd ibn Thābit would read them back to the Prophet ﷺ to ensure that no scribal errors had crept in.[3] This practice may also have been applied to non-Qur'anic documents and correspondences penned via dictation.

VI. RETAINING DUPLICATES

I have not found any explicit reports regarding whether duplicates were made of each letter and held as a reference, but there are narrations which confirm this for certain documents.

The al-Ḥudaybiyyah Treaty was present in two copies, one

1 Bayhaqī, *As-Sunan al-Kubrā*, 6:16.

2 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:172.

3 Ṣūlī, *Adab al-Kuttāb*, p. 165.

for the Prophet and another for Suhayl ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Shams al-Qurashī. Al-Wāqidī narrates that when the treaty was drawn up both men wanted possession of it, so a copy was prepared for Suhayl while the Prophet ﷺ kept the original.[1] Now, ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿUmar states that the first document he copied was the al-Ḥudaybiyyah Treaty.[2] Given that he was not among the scribes who penned the original at al-Ḥudaybiyyah, he must mean that he was duplicating the treaty which was in the Prophet's custody (or perhaps a copy thereof which was being held by some of the Companions), and this points to the duplication of certain official records.

Additionally a few Companions kept their own private copies of some of the Prophet's letters to different tribes and people; these included Ibn ʿAbbās,[3] Abū Bakr ibn Ḥazm and (from the ranks of the Successors) ʿUrwah ibn az-Zubayr.[4] Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq retained the Prophet's written directives regarding *ṣadaqāt* (charities)[5] while ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb kept all the treaties signed by dignitaries.[6] Moreover it was barely a quarter of a century after the Prophet's death that a storehouse, Bayt al-Qarāṭīs, was set up next to ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān's residence in Madīnah to house the state's official archives—an impossible feat had the Companions not made duplicate copies of these letters before they were sent.[7]

VII. STYLISTIC FEATURES

The Headings

The Prophet's ﷺ letters began with '*Bismillāh ar-Raḥmān ar-Raḥīm*' (In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful).

1 Wāqidī, *Al-Maghāzī*, p. 612.
2 Kattānī, *At-Tarātīb al-Idāriyyah*, 2:244.
3 Az-Zaylaʿī, *Naṣb ar-Rāyah*, 4:420.
4 Ibn Ṭulūn, *Iʿlām as-Sāʾilīn*, p. 48–52.
5 M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Al-Wathāʾiq as-Siyāsiyyah*, nos. 104b, 104j.
6 Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:295.
7 Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, 1:22.

Al-Haytham ibn ʿAdī aṭ-Ṭāʾī narrates on ash-Shaʿbī's authority that the Prophet began his letters just as Quraysh began theirs, '*Bismik-Allahumma*' (In Your Name, O Lord), until the verse:

﴿وَقَالَ ٱرۡكَبُواْ فِيهَا بِسۡمِ ٱللَّهِ مَجۡرٖىهَا وَمُرۡسَىٰهَآۚ إِنَّ رَبِّي لَغَفُورٞ رَّحِيمٞ ﴿٤١﴾﴾

So he said: 'Embark on [the Ark] in the name of Allah, whether it move or be at rest, for my Lord is, be sure, Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful!' (11:41)

after which he switched to '*Bismillāh*' (In the Name of Allah). Then came the verse:

﴿قُلِ ٱدۡعُواْ ٱللَّهَ أَوِ ٱدۡعُواْ ٱلرَّحۡمَٰنَۖ﴾

Say: 'Call upon Allah, or call upon the Most Gracious. . .' (17:110)

and so he altered his headings again to '*Bismillāh ar-Raḥmān*' (In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious). With the revelation of,

﴿إِنَّهُۥ مِن سُلَيۡمَٰنَ وَإِنَّهُۥ بِسۡمِ ٱللَّهِ ٱلرَّحۡمَٰنِ ٱلرَّحِيمِ ﴿٣٠﴾﴾

It is from Sulaymān and it is: 'Bismillāh ar-Raḥmān ar-Raḥīm' [In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful] (27:30)

he finally settled on '*Bismillāh ar-Raḥmān ar-Raḥīm*'.[1]

Confirming this report is difficult because al-Haytham ibn ʿAdī aṭ-Ṭāʾī had a habit of lying;[2] though I have recounted it here it is probably best not to give this narrative too much weight.

1 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1:263–4.
2 Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-I'tidāl*, 4:324.

Addressing Letters

The Prophet's ﷺ letters always cited his name first and then that of the intended recepient.[1] Arabian custom dictated that the more venerable person be mentioned first, and this is also why the Companions always cited him first when writing to him: 'To Muḥammad the Prophet of Allah'.

A weak narration, on Ḥanẓalah al-Kātib's authority, claims that after the Prophet ﷺ posted 'Alī and Khālid ibn al-Walīd as governors, Khālid wrote back and began with his own name while 'Alī wrote a letter beginning with the Prophet's, and he did not find fault with either of the two.[2]

Separation Between Different Topics

Al-Bukhārī narrates on Hishām ibn 'Urwah's authority that in scrutinising the Prophet's ﷺ letters, he noticed that every change of topic was signified by the insertion of the phrase *'ammā ba'd'* (now then).[3]

The Name of the Scribe

In many letters the scribe cites his name, along with those who were in attendance as witnesses.[4]

Use of the Seal

Just as modern times necessitate the signing of documents to confer authority on them, during the Prophet's ﷺ life the use of seals was the recognised equivalent. Originating in the Orient several centuries before Christ, seals were routinely used instead of signatures (especially in China and Japan) and are still employed in the West by kings and other dignitaries.[5]

1 Refer to any document in M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah*.

2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 8:223.

3 Bukhārī, *al-Adab al-Mufrad*, 2:559.

4 M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah*, nos. 34, 41, 43, 44, 48 and 124.

5 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, art. 'seal'.

The Prophet, desiring to communicate with some non-Arabs, was informed that the people in question rejected any messages that lacked a seal. So he instructed that a silver ring be moulded for him with the inscription '*Muḥammad Rasūlullāh*' (Muḥammad the Messenger of Allah), and he forbade his Companions from using the same words on their rings since that phrase was to be the government's official seal.[1] When the ring was not close by he occasionally sealed with his fingernails.[2]

The Wrapping of Letters

Some of the Prophet's ﷺ letters may have been wrapped, or may have been sealed from behind in such a way that they became wrapped. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ narrates that the Prophet sent him to Jayfar and ʿAbd the sons of al-Jalandī with a letter; finding Jayfar, ʿAmr handed him the sealed message and Jayfar tore open the seal and read it.[3]

Dating Letters

The Islamic calendar was launched, according to most scholars, six years after the Prophet's ﷺ death during the reign of Caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who found it a necessity for administrative purposes. Ash-Shaʿbī states that Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī wrote to ʿUmar that the letters he was receiving were proving to be a source of much confusion since he could not tell when they had been written.[4] In a parallel account al-ʿAskarī mentions in his *Al-Awā'il* that Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī contacted ʿUmar, complaining that he was receiving letters from him which were meant to be executed in Shaʿbān, and he did not know whether the Caliph meant this year's Shaʿbān or

1 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1:471–2.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:431.
3 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1:662.
4 Bukhārī, *At-Tārikh aṣ-Ṣaghīr*, 9.

next year's. So 'Umar sought advice and eventually settled on the *Hijrah* as a starting point for the calendar.[1]

As Sahl ibn Sa'd notes, this calendar system was not based on the start of the revelations or their end, but on the one event which heralded the beginning of a new, politically viable Muslim state.[2]

Into this mixture al-Qalqashandī brings forth a Persian connection; his report claims that when the Companions found it necessary to use dates a few suggested that they seek advice from the Persians. 'Umar consequently asked al-Hurmuzān, and was told that the Persians had a calendar system called '*māhrūz*' based on the computation of days and months. With this knowledge the Caliph set up the *Hijrah* calendar.[3]

This al-Hurmuzān tale seems pointless because the concept of days, months, and years was known to Arabs—as is evidenced by the Qur'an—to the extent that they dated their writings in pre-Islamic times. But what they lacked was a specific, agreed-upon incident on which to base their calendar, meaning that numerous events were used simultaneously as starting points.[4] For example, some Arabs based their dates on the fall of Sal'.[5] Inscriptions found above the entrance to the church in Ḥarrān al-Lajā, in the northern region of Jabal ad-Durūz, mention that they were engraved one year after the fall of Khaybar.[6] Arabs also used the year of Abrahah's assault on Makkah (the 'Year of the Elephant') as a calendar basis before Islam.[7] With these schemes already in use, the need to consult the Persians on this matter would have been redundant.

So is there any evidence of a calendar system during the Prophet's ﷺ own lifetime? Quoting from *Ṣinā'at al-Kitāb* by Abū

1 Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 6:240–241.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 7:267–9.
3 Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 6:241.
4 Jawād 'Alī, *Tārīkh al-'Arab Qabl al-Islām*, 1:44–53.
5 Brockelmann, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī*, pp. 72–3.
6 Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Asad, *Maṣādir ash-Shi'r al-Jāhilī*, p. 29.
7 Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 6:239.

Ja'far an-Naḥḥās, al-Qalqashandī relates an account on Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhrī's authority: that the Prophet ordered the founding of a new Islamic calendar on his arrival in Madīnah in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal.[1] Crucially, while most of the Prophet's letters do not contain any reference to the day or month, some do mention the year. His treaty with the people of Maqnā, for example, concludes with '*wa kataba 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib fī sanati tis'*' (written by 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib in the year 9 [i.e. 630 CE]).[2] Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī relates that he had seen the Prophet's letter to Tamīm ad-Dārī, and that it too was written in the ninth year.[3] Meanwhile as-Suyūṭī says that Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ read in a work by Abī Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn Maḥmash az-Ziyādī, that the Prophet ﷺ instructed 'Alī to date his letter to the Christians of Najrān as being from the fifth year of *Hijrah* [*i.e.* 626 CE].[4]

With such reports in hand we can credit the Prophet directly with setting up the *Hijrah* calendar and establishing it as his preferred system for the new Muslim state, though its usage may not have become common practice until 'Umar publicly revived it during his reign. Fortunately, we have solid, material evidence for the early usage of this calendar; below is a picture of a bilingual transcript (Greek/Arabic) written in Egypt and now housed in the Reiner collection in Vienna. At its close the document bears a very clear dating of 22 ah [*i.e.* 643 CE].

From everything above we can summarise that, under the Prophet's guidance, ledgers were created for all official correspondence (*Dīwān al-Inshā'*), as well as for the military (*Dīwān al-Jaysh*) and treasury (*Dīwān al-Kharāj*). The task of writing was systematically

1 Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 6:240.

2 M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah*, no. 33. For the bases of pre-Islamic northern Arabic calendars, see: Ibn Ḥabīb, *Al-Muḥabbar*, pp. 5–8; also Ibn Shabbah, *Tārikh al-Madīnah*, 2:758.

3 *Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, pp. 173–5, quoted by al-Munajjid, *Tārikh al-Khaṭṭ al-'Arabī*.

4 Suyūṭī, *Ash-Shamārīkh fī 'Ilm at-Tārikh*, pp. 50–51.

arranged so that each type of document enjoyed its own specialised scribes, including a unique department for the translation of foreign languages.

Biographies of the Scribes of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ

1

ABĀN IBN SAʿĪD IBN AL-ʿĀṢ IBN UMAYYAH IBN ʿABD SHAMS IBN ʿABD MANĀF AL-QURASHĪ AL-UMAWĪ

Abān's brothers ʿUmar and Khālid embraced Islam before him. In the year of Ḥudaybiyyah (6/628), ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān was dispatched by the Prophet ﷺ to Quraysh; displaying Arabian chivalry, Abān (though still an idolator) offered ʿUthmān his horse and walked beside him as protector, saying:

> Come and go fearing no enemy,
> Banū Saʿīd are the Ḥaram's nobility.[1]

Abān became Muslim shortly after the Treaty of Ḥudaybiyyah. Abū Hurayrah reports that Abān, sent by the Prophet at the head of a scouting mission from Madīnah to Najd, returned with his group after the Prophet's victory over Khaybar[2]; the duration between Ḥudaybiyyah and Khaybar was less than three months.[3] When the Prophet ﷺ dismissed al-ʿAlā' ibn al-Ḥaḍramī as governor of Bahrain in the ninth year of *Hijrah*[4] he appointed Abān to that post, a position he held until after the Prophet's death when he tendered his resignation to Caliph Abū Bakr and left for Syria.

He was martyred in the battle of Ajnādayn in 13/634, though

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:75.
2 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:36.
3 Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *At-Tārīkh*, p. 50.
4 Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, 1:189.

there is some dispute as others assert that he was martyred at Yarmūk two years later. Some narrations maintain that his death came late, and that he dictated to Zayd ibn Thābit the copy of the Qur'an which was prepared upon ʿUthmān's orders for general distribution.[1] Ibn Ḥajar says that this last narration is aberrant, a claim made solely by Naʿīm ibn Ḥammād on the authority of ad-Darāwardī, and that the majority concede the identity of the person involved in that episode to be Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ ibn Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, the nephew of Abān ibn Saʿīd.[2]

He has been named among the Prophet's scribes by ʿUmar ibn Shabbah,[3] Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah,[4] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr,[5] Ibn al-Athīr,[6] Ibn Kathīr ad-Dimashqī,[7] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[8] al-ʿIrāqī,[9] al-Anṣārī,[10] al-Masʿūdī,[11] and Ibn Miskawayh,[12] among others.

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:77; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:37; and al-Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:87.

2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:14.

3 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:86–87.

4 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:340.

5 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:51.

6 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, 2:313.

7 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:340.

8 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.

9 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 246.

10 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:86–87.

11 Masʿūdī, *At-Tanbih wa'l-Ishrāf*, p. 246.

12 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.

2

AL-ʿABBĀS, POSSIBLY THE PROPHET'S ﷺ UNCLE

To date I have not found anyone citing al-ʿAbbās as one of the Prophet's scribes, but since every generation attempts to add something new I find no objection in appending his name to the list.

Al-ʿAbbās' identity is quite obscure because there are several individuals by that name who are mentioned by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Ibn Ḥajar and Ibn al-Athīr as Companions of the Prophet. Al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib may be our intended Companion, but the document I am using to support al-ʿAbbās' inclusion in this list deals with the distribution of Khaybar's booty, and it is commonly known that Khaybar took place prior to al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's migration to Madīnah. Of course, it is quite possible that the document was written long after the events of Khaybar.

This is the text: "In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. This reports how much of Khaybar's wheat Muḥammad the Prophet of Allah ﷺ distributed among his wives [and others]. He divided 180 *wasq*[1] among his wives, for his daughter Fāṭimah 85 *wasq*, for Usāmah ibn Zayd 40 *wasq*, for al-Miqdād ibn al-Aswad 15 *wasq*, and for Umm Rumaythah five *wasq*. This has been witnessed by ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, and by ʿAbbās who also scribed."[2]

1 A unit of measure.

2 Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3:352–353; M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah*, document no. 18.

3

ʿABDULLĀH IBN ʿABDULLĀH IBN UBAYY IBN SALŪL

Though the Prophet ﷺ called him ʿAbdullāh his real name was al-Ḥabbāb,[1] and he fought in all of the Prophet's battles.[2]

His father, leader of the hypocrites in Madīnah, boasted during the battle of Tabūk, "If we return to Madīnah, the nobles [meaning the hypocrites] will drive out the accursed [the Muslims]." ʿAbdullāh told the Prophet ﷺ, "I swear to you by Allah that he is the accursed, and you are the noble," and he sought his permission to kill his father. The Prophet replied, "I do not want people to say that you are one who kills his own relatives, so be kind to your father and a good companion to him."[3]

"Upon Ubayy ibn Salūl's death," recalls Ibn ʿUmar, "his son ʿAbdullāh came to the Prophet ﷺ and said, "Give me your shirt, that I may bury him in it."[4]

He was martyred in 12/633 while fighting the apostates at Yamāmah during Abū Bakr's caliphate.[5]

He has been mentioned among the Prophet's scribes by

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:335.
2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:335.
3 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:336.
4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:336.
5 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:336.

al-Ya'qūbī, 'Umar ibn Shabbah,[1] Ibn 'Abd al-Barr,[2] as-Suhaylī,[3] al-'Irāqī,[4] Ibn Ḥajar,[5] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[6] al-Anṣārī[7] and al-'Āmirī,[8] among others.

1 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:28.
2 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Isti'āb*, 1:51.
3 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:184.
4 Munāwī, *Al-'Ujālah as-Samiyyah*, p. 247.
5 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:336.
6 Ibn Sayyid an-Nas, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
7 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:184.
8 'Āmirī, *Bahjat al-Maḥāfil*, 2:161.

4

ʿABDULLĀH IBN ABĪ BAKR AṢ-ṢIDDĪQ

The son of Abū Bakr, he entered Islam at an early stage and took part in Makkah's conquest as well as the battles of Ḥunayn and aṭ-Ṭā'if. In the latter an arrow from Abū Muḥjin ath-Thaqafī pierced him, and though his wound healed temporarily it became infected afterwards, and he died from it in 11/633 during his father's caliphate. Abū Bakr prayed at his funeral, and ʿUmar, Ṭalḥah and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq descended into his grave.[1]

I do not know of anyone who has mentioned him among the Prophet's ﷺ scribes but, by referring to *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah*, it appears that he wrote document no. 94. After mentioning the text Abū Yūsuf adds, "and ʿAbdullāh ibn Abī Bakr wrote this letter for them."[2]

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, pp. 874–875.

2 Abū Yūsuf, *Al-Kharāj*, p. 73.

5

ʿABDULLĀH IBN ʿAMR IBN AL-ʿĀṢ

Embracing Islam before his father, he migrated to Madīnah after 7/628 and participated in some of the Prophet's ﷺ battles.[1]

ʿAbdullāh harnessed his knowledge of the pen to note down everything he heard from the Prophet. He said of himself once, "I would record everything I heard from the Prophet ﷺ which I sought to memorise, but the people of Quraysh cautioned me against it and warned, 'You write down everything you hear from him, and he is a human being who says things [he may not mean] when he is angry or pleased.' So I stopped altogether and mentioned this to the Prophet, and he answered, 'Go ahead and write, for I swear by Allah that I never voice except the truth.'"[2] This spurred him to resume his endeavour, and he called his compilation *Aṣ-Ṣādiqah* (The Truthful).[3]

He also knew Syriac, according to Sharīk ibn Khalīfah who saw him reading it.[4]

He was mentioned among the Prophet's scribes by al-Bāqillānī.[5]

1 Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, 3:54.
2 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 2:12, 192, 207 and 215.
3 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4/2:8–9.
4 *Ibid*, 7/2:189.
5 Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.

6

ʿABDULLĀH IBN AL-ARQAM IBN ʿABD YAGHŪTH AL-QURASHĪ AZ-ZUHRĪ

ʿAbdullāh's grandfather was the Prophet's ﷺ maternal uncle. Accepting Islam on the day of Makkah's conquest,[1] ʿAbdullāh acquired piety very quickly. Ashhab narrates on Mālik's authority that ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said, "I have never seen anyone more fearful of Allah than ʿAbdullāh ibn al-Arqam," and ʿUmar would say to him, "Had you embraced Islam sooner, I would not have preferred any of the other Companions to you."[2]

ʿUmar placed him in charge of the treasury, a position he held for some time during ʿUthmān's caliphate as well. When ʿUthmān offered him a salary for his services he refused and said, "I have performed my duty for the sake of Allah, and He alone shall reward me for it."[3]

He died during ʿUthmān's reign[4] shortly after losing his sight.[5]

Al-Bayhaqī reports, "Ibn al-Qāsim narrates on Mālik's authority, that a letter once arrived for the Prophet ﷺ and he asked, 'Who will respond on my behalf?' ʿAbdullāh ibn al-Arqam said, 'I will,' and penned a response which he showed to the Prophet ﷺ.[6] The

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:273.
2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:262.
3 Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, 2:344.
4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:274.
5 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābahh*, 3:116.
6 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:261.

Prophet said, 'You have done well. O Allah, make him prosperous.'[1] 'Umar recounts, 'So I told [ʿAbdullāh] that he had impressed the Prophet ﷺ with his response, and I retained this incident in my mind until finally I decided to place him in charge of the treasury.'"[2]

Ibn Isḥāq reports "on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar ibn az-Zubayr, from ʿAbdullāh ibn az-Zubayr, that the Prophet ﷺ asked ʿAbdullāh ibn al-Arqam to record his dictations and he obliged, and the Prophet ﷺ eventually trusted him to such an extent that he would dictate to ʿAbdullāh letters meant for kings and allow him to seal them, without asking him to orally repeat what had been written. The Prophet ﷺ then asked Zayd ibn Thābit to pen his dictations as well, and so Zayd would record the Qur'an. If ʿAbdullāh ibn al-Arqam and Zayd ibn Thābit were absent and the Prophet sought to dispatch a letter, he would request one of the Companions in his presence to write for him, among them ʿUmar, ʿAlī, Khālid ibn Saʿīd, al-Mughīrah and Muʿāwiyah."[3]

"'Abdullāh ibn al-Arqam ibn ʿAbd Yaghūth and al-ʿAlā' ibn ʿUqbah recorded the people's needs," writes aṭ-Ṭabarī, "and it is possible that the former wrote letters to kings on behalf of the Prophet ﷺ."[4] In a similar vein al-Jahshiyārī recounts that these two documented the people's tribal and water affairs, and issues arising between men and women in the homes of the Anṣār,[5] while al-Masʿūdī adds that they acted as scribes for debts, contracts and sundry other dealings.[6]

ʿAbdullāh ibn al-Arqam has been named among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Shabbah,[7] al-Bukhārī, Muslim ibn

1 Bayhaqī, *As-Sunan al-Kubrā*, 10:126.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:274.
3 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:273; Bayhaqī, *As-Sunan al-Kubrā*, 10:126.
4 Ṭabarī, *At-Tārīkh*, 6:179.
5 Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, p. 12.
6 Masʿūdī, *At-Tanbih wa'l-Ishrāf*, p. 245.
7 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:28.

al-Ḥajjāj,[1] aṭ-Ṭabarī,[2] al-Jahshiyārī,[3] al-Masʿūdī[4] and Ibn Miskawayh,[5] among others.[6]

1 Muslim, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt*, 1:148.

2 Ṭabarī, *At-Tārīkh*, 6:179.

3 Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, p. 12.

4 Masʿūdī, *At-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*, p. 245.

5 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291–292.

6 For instance: Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 1:196; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:349; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:273; and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:262.

7

ʿABDULLĀH IBN KHAṬAL (OR ʿABD AL-ʿUZZĀ IBN KHAṬAL), KILLED AS AN APOSTATE

Some narrations allege that he wrote for the Prophet ﷺ.

Ibn Sayyid an-Nās writes, "We have narrated from an-Nazzāl ibn Ṣubrah, from ʿAlī, who said, 'Ibn Khaṭal would write in the Prophet's presence, and if "*ghafūrun raḥīm*" was revealed he wrote "*raḥīmun ghafūr*", and if "*samīʿun ʿalīm*" he wrote "*ʿalīmun samīʿ*". Because of this he bragged, 'I only wrote down what I liked,' and thereafter he renounced his Islam and fled to Makkah so the Prophet ﷺ announced, 'Whoever kills Ibn Khaṭal is destined for Paradise.' So he was killed during Makkah's conquest, while hanging on to the shroud of the Kaʿbah." Ibn Sayyid an-Nās cites this as a narrative mistake though, pointing out that these same circumstances are known about Ibn Abī as-Sarḥ.[1]

Al-Anṣārī has a bit more to say: "He wrote in the Prophet's presence and if '*ghafūrun raḥīm*' was revealed he wrote '*raḥīmun ghafūr*', and if '*samīʿun ʿalīm*' he wrote "*ʿalīmun samīʿ*". One day the Prophet said, 'Recite to me what I have dictated to you.' He recited it back and the Prophet affirmed, 'That is how I dictated it. '*Raḥīmun ghafūr*' and '*ghafūrun raḥīm*' are one and the same, and '*samīʿun ʿalīm*' and "*ʿalīmun samīʿ*" are one and the same.' With this Ibn Khaṭal boasted, 'If I was writing for Muḥammad I wrote whatever I wanted.' Then he renounced his Islam and fled back to Makkah. . ."[2]

1 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:316.

2 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:207–208.

Al-ʿIrāqī notes, "He was among the Prophet's ﷺ scribes and then went astray."[1]

No solid evidence exists for classifying him as one of the Prophet's scribes. Clarifying the reasons why Ibn Khaṭal was not granted amnesty and freedom on the day of the conquest, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr explains, "As for Ibn Khaṭal, he had embraced Islam and was sent by the Prophet ﷺ to collect charities along with another Muslim, whom he attacked and killed, after which he renounced Islam and fled back to the disbelievers in Makkah. . ."[2]

A more likely scenario comes from Ibn Isḥāq: "ʿAbdullāh ibn Khaṭal was from the tribe of Banū Tamīm ibn Ghālib. As for the Prophet's order to have him killed, this was because he had been a Muslim, and had been sent by the Prophet as an alms collector along with two people from Madīnah. He also had with him his Muslim servant. When they eventually decided to camp he instructed his servant to prepare some food for him and fell asleep. Upon waking up he found that his servant had not yet prepared anything, so he murdered him then renounced his Islam."[3]

He also had two slave girls who recited blasphemous poetry against the Prophet ﷺ, so the Prophet directed that they be killed along with their master.[4]

Because of this we are inclined to believe that he was not a scribe but an alms collector. Following his own depraved whims, he killed his Muslim servant, for no reason except that he had been negligent in preparing a timely meal, and became so frightened that he escaped to the stronghold of idolatry after renouncing his religion. His mounting wickedness goaded him into making his slave girls sing sacrilegious songs about the Prophet, and for this he made lawful his blood.

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1 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 247.

2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Ad-Durar fī'l-Maghāzī wa's-Siyar*, p. 233.

3 Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3:410; Wāqidī, *Al-Maghāzī*, pp. 859–860.

4 Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3:410.

8

ʿABDULLĀH IBN MASLAMAH

Al-Bāqillānī has named him among the Prophet's ﷺ scribes.[1]

9

ʿABDULLĀH IBN RAWĀḤAH IBN THAʿLABAH IBN IMRIʾ AL-QAYS AL-KHAZRAJĪ AL-ANṢĀRĪ

A skilled poet[2] who had learned the art of the pen before Islam,[3] he was among the first of the Anṣār to embrace the new faith and attended the ʿAqabah[4] with 70 others as one of the 12 appointed deputies.[5]

He fought at Badr and was sent by the Prophet ﷺ to the people of al-ʿĀliyah to inform them of the Muslim victory. He also posted him as his regent in Madīnah when he departed for the battle of Badr al-Mawʿid.[6] Additional encounters included Uḥud,

1 Bāqillānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.

2 Our dear friend Ḥasan Bājūdah has an entertaining study of this poet.

3 Ibn Saʿīd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:79.

4 These were secret meetings in which people from Madīnah pledged their support to the Prophet ﷺ prior to the *Hijrah*. They took place at Jamrat al-ʿAqabah in Makkah and are hence called the ʿAqabahs. The attendance varied from six in the first one, to 70 in the second.

5 *Ibid*, 3/2:79.

6 *Ibid*, 3/2:79.

al-Khandaq and Khaybar, and he attended al-Ḥudaybiyyah and *ʿUmrat al-Qaḍāʾ*.[1]

The Prophet ﷺ regularly sent him to Khaybar to estimate the date yields until his martyrdom at Mu'tah in 8/629. Organising the army for Mu'tah, the Prophet placed Zayd ibn Ḥārithah in command and told everyone, "If [Zayd] is killed then [the command goes to] Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib, and if he is killed then ʿAbdullāh ibn Rawāḥah. And if ʿAbdullāh is killed, then let the Muslims choose a leader from amongst them." When they reached Maʿān the Muslim army discovered that Hiraql had camped there with one hundred thousand Roman soldiers and another one hundred thousand from hostile Arab tribes. So they remained in Maʿān for two days, having sent word to the Prophet about the enemy's numbers and expecting new commands to be issued. ʿAbdullāh ibn Rawāḥah was not dissuaded, however; he encouraged the Muslim army onward—no more than three thousand soldiers—and they surged ahead and met the Romans in the vicinity of al-Balqāʾ, moving on to Mu'tah. In the ensuing battle Zayd ibn Ḥārithah was martyred, so Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib became the standard-bearer until he too was martyred, and then ʿAbdullāh ibn Rawāḥah took hold of the banner, and was also martyred.[2]

He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Saʿd,[3] ʿUmar ibn Shabbah,[4] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr,[5] Ibn Ḥajar,[6] al-ʿAynī,[7] al-ʿIrāqī,[8] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās[9] and al-Anṣārī,[10] among others.

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1 *Ibid*, 3/2:79. *ʿUmrat al-Qaḍāʾ* was a substitute for the rites of Ḥajj which Quraysh, intercepting the Muslim pilgrims at al-Ḥudaybiyyah, had barred them from performing.

2 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 3:158–159.

3 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:306.

4 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍīʾ*, 1:189.

5 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:301.

6 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:306.

7 ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-Qārī*, 20:19.

8 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Sanīyyah*, p. 246.

9 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.

10 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍīʾ*, 1:189.

10

ʿABDULLĀH IBN SAʿD IBN ABĪ AS-SARḤ IBN AL-ḤĀRITH AL-QURASHĪ AL-ʿĀMIRĪ

ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān's suckling brother, and one of Quraysh's intellectual nobility.[1]

Sources differ in relating the date of his conversion to Islam. Ibn Saʿd claims that it was during Islam's early stages[2] while Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr says, "He embraced Islam before the conquest [of Makkah] and migrated to Madīnah,"[3] an opinion backed by Ibn al-Athīr.[4]

But his faith did not last and he reverted to idolatry, returning to the disbelievers in Makkah. The Prophet ﷺ ordered his death but ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, on the day of the conquest, pleaded that the order be lifted and ʿAbdullāh's life be spared; the Prophet consented, accepting ʿAbdullāh's re-embrace of Islam.[5] This time his faith proved much sturdier and he became very pious.[6]

He fought on ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ's right flank in his conquest of Egypt in 20/641 during ʿUmar's reign.[7] ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was then governor of aṣ-Ṣaʿīd (Upper Egypt), but when the caliphate went to ʿUthmān he replaced ʿAmr with ʿAbdullāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī as-Sarḥ in 25/646.[8] ʿUthmān then ordered him to invade

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 3:173; Fāsī, *Al-ʿIqd ath-Thamīn*, 5:167.
2 Ibn Saʿd, *Tabaqāt*, 2/7:190.
3 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istīʿāb*, 2:375.
4 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 3:173.
5 Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 8:11.
6 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:350.
7 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:317.
8 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:350–351.

Africa and he did so in 27/648, achieving a tremendous victory in which the share of booty for every cavalry member was three thousand weights of gold.[1] In this army he had three other famous Companions named ʿAbdullāh: ʿAbdullāh ibn az-Zubayr, ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿUmar and ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAmr.[2]

In 31/652 he fought the Africans from the land of an-Nūbah,[3] and three years later took up arms against the Ṣawārī from the Roman Empire.[4]

The next year (35/655) he journeyed to Madīnah and left behind as-Sāʾib ibn Hishām ibn ʿUmayr as his regent in Egypt; when he heard of ʿUthmān's assassination he resolved on returning to Egypt. By this time Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah had successfully wrestled control of Egypt away from ʿAbdullāh's regent, and ʿAbdullāh was denied permission to enter the country. With little recourse he travelled to ʿAsqalān or ar-Ramlah, probably in 36/656, and there he entreated Allah to make the last of his deeds come to an end that morning. Performing ablution, he prayed; at its conclusion he turned his face rightwards to recite the *salām*, and before he had turned his face leftwards he passed away.[5]

Our sources have agreed that he wrote for the Prophet ﷺ before he deserted Islam.[6]

RESPONDING TO CERTAIN DOUBTS

Was ʿAbdullāh in the habit of changing the Qur'an? Did he claim to have fooled the Prophet ﷺ whenever he wished?

"ʿAbdullāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī as-Sarḥ recorded the revelations,"

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:317.

2 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:351; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 3:173.

3 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:377; Fāsī, *Al-ʿIqd ath-Thamīn*, 5:167.

4 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:377.

5 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:317.

6 For instance: Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3:405; Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *At-Tārikh*, 1:77; Yaʿqubi, *At-Tārikh*, 2:80; Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍīʾ*, 1:28, 1:189.

says al-Wāqidī, "and if the Prophet ﷺ dictated *'samī'un 'alīm'* he wrote *"'alīmun ḥakīm'*, and the Prophet ﷺ would listen to what 'Abdullāh had written and concur that that was the Word of Allah. So 'Abdullāh boasted, 'I write for him whatever I like. What I write down is revealed to me just as it is revealed to Muḥammad.' He then reverted to idolatry and fled from Madīnah back to Makkah, which is why the Prophet made permissible his blood on the day of the conquest."[1]

Al-Anṣārī narrates on Ibn al-Kalbī's authority, "Embracing Islam before the conquest and migrating to Madīnah, he recorded the revelations (others have said that he was the first man from Quraysh to write for him). He then reverted to paganism and fled to Makkah, claiming, 'I used to fool Muḥammad as I pleased. If he dictated, *"'azīzun ḥakīm"* I would say, "Or perhaps *'alīmun ḥakīm"*, and he would reply that they were all correct.'"[2]

Speaking of 'Abdullāh ibn Khaṭal (whose biography can be found elsewhere in this book), Ibn Sayyid an-Nās states, "We have been told on an-Nazzāl ibn Ṣubrah's authority, from 'Alī, that 'Ibn Khaṭal wrote in the Prophet's presence and if *'ghafūrun raḥīm'* was revealed he wrote *'raḥīmun ghafūr'*, and if *'samī'un 'alīm'* was revealed he wrote *"'alīmun samī'"*, and so on. Eventually he bragged, 'I only write what I want to,' and escaped to Makkah as an idolator." Ibn Sayyid an-Nās adds, "This report is erroneous. An-Nizzāl ibn Ṣubrah, one of the Companions, has narrations from 'Alī that are found in various books of hadith, so this mistake stems not from him but from those who narrated it afterwards. In fact, this incident is known to have happened instead to Ibn Abī as-Sarḥ. . ."[3]

In his *Insān al-'Uyūn* he clarifies, "The Prophet ﷺ made lawful 'Abdullāh ibn Abī as-Sarḥ's blood because he had embraced Islam before the conquest and went to work recording the revelations.

1 Wāqidī, *Al-Maghāzī*, p. 855.

2 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:189.

3 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, 2:316.

If the Prophet dictated '*samīʿan baṣīrā*' he wrote "*alīman ḥakīmā*', and if he dictated "*alīman ḥakīmā*' he wrote '*ghafūran raḥīmā*'. To such an extent did he carry out these transgressions that he once remarked, 'Muḥammad does not know what he says.' When his actions became known and staying in Madīnah was no longer tenable, he returned to idolatry and escaped to Makkah. Moreover, it is claimed that when he recorded the verses:

﴿وَلَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا ٱلْإِنسَٰنَ مِن سُلَٰلَةٍ مِّن طِينٍ ﴿١٢﴾ ثُمَّ جَعَلْنَٰهُ نُطْفَةً فِى قَرَارٍ مَّكِينٍ ﴿١٣﴾ ثُمَّ خَلَقْنَا ٱلنُّطْفَةَ عَلَقَةً فَخَلَقْنَا ٱلْعَلَقَةَ مُضْغَةً فَخَلَقْنَا ٱلْمُضْغَةَ عِظَٰمًا فَكَسَوْنَا ٱلْعِظَٰمَ لَحْمًا ثُمَّ أَنشَأْنَٰهُ خَلْقًا ءَاخَرَ﴾

> And We have created man from a quintessence of clay, then made him a drop in [the womb's] firm keeping, then We fashioned the drop into a clot, then We fashioned the clot into a lump, then We fashioned the lump into bones, and the bones We clothed with flesh, then out of it We developed another creature. (23:12–14)

he was astonished at these details and uttered,

﴿فَتَبَارَكَ ٱللَّهُ أَحْسَنُ ٱلْخَٰلِقِينَ ﴿١٤﴾﴾

> so blessed be Allah, the best of creators! (23:14)

before it had been dictated to him. The Prophet ﷺ told him, 'Write that down. That is how it has been revealed.' So 'Abdullāh declared, 'If Muḥammad is a prophet who receives revelations, then I too am a prophet who receives revelations,' and he regressed back to idolatry and fled to Makkah, telling Quraysh, 'I used to lead Muḥammad around as I wished.'"[1] This tale is also echoed by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr in his *al-Istiʿāb*.[2]

1 Nūr ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿUyūn*, 3:228.

2 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:375.

The French missionary Regis Blachère puts forth a very volatile question: To what extent can those who recorded the revelations be trusted? "If we can trust some of the scribes without reservation," he enquires, "what can we say about someone such as 'Abdullāh ibn Abī as-Sarḥ, who reverted to idolatry and claimed that he wrote *'ghafūran raḥīmā'* when the Prophet dictated *"azīzan ḥakīmā'*?"[1] One of his ardent pupils adds, "The Prophet did not realise that his scribe was in the habit of altering words, when he wrote under his dictation."[2]

It appears to me that this story and all traces of it are false. As for his reversion to paganism, it is an indisputable fact. There can be no greater sin than regressing from belief in Allah, the One God, to belief in multiple gods, and since he did exactly that it is not surprising that he boasted to Quraysh as he did. But is it fair that because of his return to idolatry he should be accused of tampering with the holy text, regardless of whether he is guilty or not?

I have two reasons for believing the story to be false. First: that the charge of writing contrary to the Prophet's dictations has been levelled against several individuals including 'Abdullāh ibn Khaṭal, and the citizen of Madīnah who reverted to Christianity then died, and upon whose burial the earth spat out,[3] and 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī as-Sarḥ. In the course of his dictatations the Prophet would request the scribe to recite what he had just written, to correct any errors before the parchment took its final, official form. Attempts to alter the Qur'an could not have escaped the Prophet's attention, and for him to assure a scribe that "that is how Allah has sent it" when the scribe had plainly contradicted the revelations is inconceivable. As the Qur'an is from Almighty Allah, the Prophet's role was one of receiving the revelations and disseminating them among his

1 'Abd aṣ-Ṣabūr Shāhin, *Tārikh al-Qur'an*, p. 54, quoting Blachère.

2 Dr. Muṣṭafā Mandūr, PhD in Aberrant (*shādhdh*) Readings.

3 'Abd aṣ-Ṣabūr Shāhin, *Tārikh al-Qur'an*, p. 55, quoting from *Risālat ash-Shawādhdh*, p. 14.

Companions; there is no question of him authoring or reshaping the Qur'anic text, so how can we accept the reports of al-Wāqidī or anyone else who implies that the Prophet was blasé about such forgery? From where did he have the mandate to approve such alterations and then claim the end product as the unalterable Word of Allah? This is pure libel.

Secondly, let us assume these stories to be true. A Muslim, reiterates the Prophet in one hadith, does not commit the same mistake twice. If in our modern institutions we uncover embezzlement and forgery from an employee, and replace him with a new one, we become far more sensitive to the issue and place supplementary safeguards to ensure that the same does not happen again. So how is it that forgery involving such a delicate topic caught the Prophet unawares, not once or twice, but three times? The Prophet was famously alert at all times, a trait which both his friends and enemies attested to, and with all this in mind we simply cannot accept these tales, especially ones that are devoid of an unbroken chain of reliable narrators. Such tales were likely invented by enemies of ʿAbdullāh ibn Abī as-Sarḥ and reported on their behalf by others, for sectarian reasons.

The oldest, most trustworthy sources make no mention of any forgery by ibn Abī as-Sarḥ; among the most venerable of these is *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, or more specifically *Sīrat Ibn Isḥāq*, which only states that he wrote for the Prophet ﷺ before reverting to paganism. Ibn Isḥāq says, "The Prophet ﷺ made lawful his blood because he had embraced Islam, and was among those who recorded the revelations for him, before reverting to idoltry and fleeing back to Makkah."[1]

Ibn Saʿd, another such resource, declares, "He became a Muslim during Islam's early stages and wrote the revelations for the Prophet ﷺ, and afterwards fled from Madīnah to Makkah having reverted

1 Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3:409.

to idolatry."[1] Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ says, "'Abdullāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī as-Sarḥ wrote for the Prophet ﷺ, then reverted to idolatry and fled to Makkah."[2] And from aṭ-Ṭabarī, "The Prophet ﷺ ordered his death on account of his reversion to idolatry."[3]

Hence none of the early sources make any mention of him altering the Qur'an. The likeliest fount for this tale is Ibn al-Kalbī ash-Shī'ī, who opposed Caliph 'Uthmān and whose antagonism probably extended to 'Abdullāh ibn Abī as-Sarḥ (since they were suckling brothers). Al-Wāqidī, a Shi'ite, was wrong to insert this baseless tale in his work, and those who in turn acquired it from him were wrong to accept it without scrutiny. That he had reverted to paganism was well known, so they believed the allegations of forgery on faith without any independent verification.

All that has been said of the Prophet's scribes, of how some of them altered the Qur'an and duped him into accepting their changes, are lies that go against the Prophet's alertness and sincerity, the nature of the Qur'an, and Allah's vow to preserve His Book for all eternity.

1 Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:190.
2 Khalifah ibn Khayyāṭ, *At-Tārikh*, 1:77.
3 Ṭabarī, *At-Tārikh*, 3:59.

11

ʿABDULLĀH IBN ZAYD IBN ʿABD RABBIH AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-KHAZRAJĪ[1]

Ibn al-Athīr says, "ʿAbdullāh was present at the pledge of ʿAqabah and at Badr and all the other encounters with the Prophet ﷺ."[2] It was he who heard the *adhān* (call to prayer) in a dream and told the Prophet, prompting him to order Bilāl to perform the *adhān* according to the very words ʿAbdullāh had heard in his sleep.[3]

He has been named among the Prophet's scribes by al-Wāqidī,[4] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[5] Ibn Kathīr,[6] al-ʿIrāqī[7] and al-Anṣārī.[8]

Ibn Saʿd mentions the text of a letter which ʿAbdullāh ibn Zayd wrote for the Prophet ﷺ to the tribe of Ḥadas from Lakhm:[9]

"Whoever embraces Islam from the people of Ḥadas in Lakhm, and performs the prayers, and gives zakat, and maintains the rights of Allah and the rights of the Prophet, and separates himself from the disbelievers, is safe by the protection of Allah and the protection of Muḥammad. Whoever should go back upon his religion

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1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:312.

2 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 3:166.

3 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:312; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:311–2; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 3:166.

4 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:350.

5 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.

6 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:350.

7 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 247.

8 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:197.

9 Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 2/2:21; M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah*, document no. 41.

after that, then the protection of Allah and the protection of Muḥammad have nothing to do with him. And if a Muslim bears witness that another is Muslim, then that person is safe by the protection of Muḥammad and is from among the Muslims. Written by 'Abdullāh ibn Zayd."

12

ABŪ ʿABS IBN JABR IBN ʿAMR IBN ZAYD IBN JASHM IBN ḤĀRITHAH AL-ANṢĀRĪ

Abū ʿAbs, along with Abū Burdah ibn Niyār, smashed the idols of their tribe Banū Ḥārithah upon embracing Islam.[1] Abū ʿAbs fought alongside the Prophet ﷺ in all his battles and was among those who killed Kaʿb ibn al-Ashraf.[2]

His residence was far removed from the Prophet's mosque. Anas ibn Mālik recalls, "The two people who lived farthest from the Prophet ﷺ were Abū Lubābah ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir and his family in Qubā', and Abū ʿAbs ibn Jabr with his house among the tribe of Banū Ḥārithah. Both used to perform the ʿAṣr prayer with the Prophet ﷺ,"[3] along with the other prayers.[4]

The caliphs ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān appointed him to collect charities.[5] He died during the latter's reign in 34/654 at the age of 70. The Caliph prayed at his funeral and he was buried in al-Baqīʿ.[6]

Ibn Saʿd asserts, "Abū ʿAbs was lettered in Arabic prior to Islam,"[7] and al-Bāqillānī has mentioned him as one of the Prophet's scribes.[8]

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1 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:24.

2 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:24; Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, 3:350; and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 5:247.

3 Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, 3:351.

4 Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, 3:351.

5 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:24; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 5:248.

6 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:24.

7 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:24.

8 Bāqillānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.

13

ABŪ AYYŪB AL-ANṢĀRĪ

His real name is Khālid ibn Zayd ibn Kulayb ibn Thaʿlabah ibn Kaʿb an-Najjārī; he was among the first to embrace Islam, and participated in the second pledge of ʿAqabah and in all of the Prophet's ﷺ battles.[1] At the *Hijrah*'s conclusion the crowds in Madīnah had swarmed the streets and gathered in the Prophet's way, each family inviting him to stay with them. The Prophet's she-camel came to a stop in front of Abū Ayyūb's house, however, and Abū Ayyūb hurried in with all the supplies of his honoured guest. Despite his protests the Prophet chose to reside on the ground floor,[2] insisting, "O Abū Ayyūb, it is easier on us and on those who are providing us that I should dwell at the bottom of the house."[3] Soon thereafter one of Abū Ayyūb's water containers broke in the middle of the night, and he and his wife scurried along following the water's trail for fear that some of it may drip upon the Prophet ﷺ. The next morning, he related this incident to him and the Prophet finally consented to move upstairs.[4]

At the time of Caliph ʿAlī's departure to Iraq he selected Abū Ayyūb as his regent in Madīnah. Subsequently Abū Ayyūb caught up with ʿAlī and aided him in combating the apostasy which had

1 Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 1:496–497.

2 Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 1:498; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:404; and Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:405.

3 Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 1:498.

4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:405; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:81.

swelled with the Prophet's passing.[1] He adhered to jihad until his death during the battle of al-Qusṭanṭīniyyah in 51/671, Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah, commander of the army, visited Abū Ayyūb on his deathbed and enquired if there was any favour he could carry out for him. He asked Yazīd to gallop as far as possible past the opposing forces once he had passed away, and to bury him deep within enemy territory.[2] He was accordingly buried near al-Qusṭanṭīniyyah, with Yazīd striding his horse back and forth over the grave to wipe away any traces of it.[3]

Abū Ayyūb has been listed as one of the Prophet's scribes by al-Yaʿmarī,[4] al-ʿIrāqī,[5] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[6] and al-Anṣārī,[7] among others.

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:404; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:405.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:405.
3 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 5:143.
4 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 246.
5 ʿIrāqī, *Al-Alfiyyah*, p. 246.
6 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:316.
7 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍīʾ*, 1:105–107.

14

ABŪ BAKR AṢ-ṢIDDĪQ

The greatest of the Prophet's ﷺ Companions, his comrade in Cave Thawr and his successor as well as his true and devoted friend, Abū Bakr's real name is ʿAbdullāh ibn Abī Quḥāfah ʿUthmān al-Qurashī at-Taymī,[8] and he was born fifty years before the *Hijrah*.[9]

He is among the ten Companions given glad tidings of Paradise, and the Prophet ﷺ once said, "The person whose companionship is dearest to me is Abū Bakr. If I was to take a bosom friend other than my Lord I would choose Abū Bakr, but for him I reserve the affection and brotherhood of Islam. There will not remain a single door in the mosque[10] which will not at some time be closed, except for the one named after Abū Bakr."[11] "I have compensated everyone who has done me a good turn," he also said, "except for Abū Bakr, for he has done so much that his reward will come from Allah on the Day of Judgment."[12]

He has been mentioned among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Shabbah,[13] al-Mizzī,[14] Ibn Kathīr,[15] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[16] al-ʿIrāqī,[17] and al-Anṣārī,[18] among others.

8 Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, 1:2.
9 Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, 1:5.
10 Al-Masjid al-Ḥarām in Makkah.
11 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Faḍā'il aṣ-Ṣaḥābah:3; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Faḍā'il aṣ-Ṣaḥābah:2.
12 Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 7:13.
13 Suhaylī, Ar-Rawḍ al-Unf, 2:230.
14 Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 1:196.
15 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:339 and 5:351.
16 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
17 'Irāqī, *Al-Alfiyyah*, p. 245.
18 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:29–45.

WAS ABŪ BAKR LITERATE?

The issue of Abū Bakr's literacy upset ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn ʿAlī al-Aḥmadī, who said, "They have declared Abū Bakr and ʿUmar among the scribes, and I have yet to find anything written by either of them. In fact, it appears from the book written by Georgi Zaydān [a Christian author] that Abū Bakr did not know how to write, since he does not list him among those Makkans who were literate during Islam's early years."[1]

What ʿAlī al-Aḥmadī says provides no scholarly insight into this subject, but only succeeds in showcasing the animosity he feels toward the first three Caliphs as well as the remainder of the Prophet's Companions.

First of all, Georgi Zaydān never explicitly states that Abū Bakr was unable to write, and his failure to mention him does not mean that Abū Bakr was illiterate. This is a very real issue since his references clearly cite ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb as one who was lettered prior to Islam, though he neglects to mention him as well.

Secondly, how are we to trust the word of Georgi Zaydān—a Christian known for distorting Islamic history—and leave out the testimony of a Muslim author, ʿUmar ibn Shabbah, knowing that he preceeded Georgi Zaydān by eleven centuries? While it is true that Zaydān bases his findings on al-Balādhurī's in *Futūḥ al-Buldān*,[2] which lists some of the people who could write before, as well as during, the early years of Islam, how can we prove that al-Balādhurī's list is so accurate and comprehensive as to not have omitted any names? The list does illustrate that literacy was present to a very modest extent at best, but to deny the knowledge of writing to whoever is not named within it is completely irrational.

The argument for Abū Bakr's literacy is supported by Mūsā ibn ʿUqbah's narration, from az-Zuhrī, on the authority of ʿAbd

1 Aḥmadī, Makātib ar-Rasūl, 1:26.

2 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 580.

ar-Raḥmān ibn Mālik ibn Ju'shum from his father, from Surāqah ibn Mālik; this narration recounts how Surāqah had set out on his horse to seize the Prophet ﷺ and Abū Bakr after they had left Cave Thawr on their way to Madīnah. As he continued his approach the Prophet ﷺ sought Allah's help, and Surāqah's horse suddenly found itself ensnared, sinking into the sand and unable to free itself. Terrified, the priorities in Surāqah's mind changed and he begged the Prophet to write him a truce, and this the Prophet ordered Abū Bakr to do. Abū Bakr penned the truce and handed it to Surāqah.[1]

The *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal credits 'Āmir ibn Fahīrah, Abū Bakr's servant, with writing this document,[2] but Ibn Kathīr harmonised the two accounts by saying that it was possible for Abū Bakr to have written some of it before directing his servant 'Āmir to finish the rest.[3]

Al-Bukhārī, along with the remainder of the works of Sunnah, universally report Anas ibn Mālik's narration that Abū Bakr wrote for him the rates of zakat which Allah had revealed to His Prophet.[4] While it is possible for the word 'write' to signify dictation by mouth, a literary phrase should not be twisted into a figurative one with no apparent justification. Further evidence stems from Wahb ibn Munabbih (34/654–110/728), who mentions in his *Maghāzi Rasūl Allāh* that when the Prophet entered Madīnah at the conclusion of his *Hijrah*, Abū Bakr penned a letter to Quraysh. In the interest (one suspects) of thumbing his nose at their archnemesis, he expressed the glory that Allah had bestowed on His religion in the shape of an adoring welcome throughout the city, and of the honour he had reaped in accompanying the Prophet on his journey.[5]

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1 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:351; M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah*, p. 36.

2 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 4:176.

3 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:351.

4 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Az-Zakāt: 33, 37.

5 Wahb b. Munabbih, *Maghāzī Rasūl Allāh*, p. 154.

From these strands we can conclude that Abū Bakr was indeed lettered, and that he occassionally wrote for the Prophet ﷺ as historians and biographers have already asserted.

15

ABŪ ḤUDHAYFAH IBN ʿUTBAH IBN RABĪʿAH IBN ʿABD SHAMS IBN ʿABD MANĀF AL-ʿABSHAMĪ

Ḥudhayfah became a Muslim before the Prophet ﷺ entered Dār al-Arqam;[1] by Ibn Isḥāq's reckoning he was the forty-forth person to enter Islam.[2] A tall and handsome man,[3] he migrated to Ethiopia twice with his wife Sahlah bint Suhayl ibn ʿAmr, and it was there that she gave birth to his son Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah.[4]

The Prophet founded a bond of brotherhood between him and ʿAbbād ibn Bishr, and he participated in all of the Prophet's battles. During the encounter of Badr he challenged his father ʿUtbah ibn Rabīʿah to a duel, but his sister Hind bint ʿUtbah scolded him for being so ungrateful towards a man who had taken such good care of him in his youth.[5]

He was martyred at Yamāmah during Abū Bakr's caliphate, at the age of 53 or 54.[6]

Abū Ḥudhayfah was literate[7] and was mentioned by al-Bāqillānī among the Prophet's scribes.[8]

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1 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/1:59. Dār al-Arqam (the house of al-Arqam) served as a gathering place for the early Muslim community in Makkah.

2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 4:42.

3 *Ibid*, 4:43.

4 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/1:59.

5 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/1:59.

6 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/1:60.

7 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 660.

8 Bāqillānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.

16

ABŪ SALAMAH
ʿABDULLĀH IBN ʿABD AL-ASAD

His full name is ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbd al-Asad ibn Hilāl ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Makhzūm al-Makhzūmī,[1] and he and the Prophet ﷺ were raised together.[2] He was among the first to embrace Islam; Ibn Isḥāq states, "He entered Islam after ten others."[3]

He married Umm Salamah, who was honoured by Allah after his death by becoming one of the Prophet's wives.[4]

Muṣʿab az-Zubayrī says, "The first person to migrate to Ethiopia was Abū Salamah ibn ʿAbd al-Asad".[5] Abū Nuʿaym adds, "Abū Salamah was the first to migrate from Quraysh to Madīnah, before the Anṣār had sworn allegiance to the Prophet at al-ʿAqabah, with his wife accompanying him."[6] It seems to me, however, that Umm Salamah was unable to accompany her husband to Madīnah and made the journey afterwards.

He fought at Badr and Uḥud, and was the Prophet's regent in Madīnah when the latter departed for the battle of al-ʿAshīrah in the second year of *Hijrah*.[7] He passed away in 4/625 due to a wound

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:335.
2 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 3:195; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:335.
3 Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 1:252; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:335.
4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Isābah*, 2:335.
5 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:338.
6 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 3:196.
7 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 3:196.

he had incurred at Uḥud.[1] In *Al-Awā'il*, Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim relates Ibn ʿAbbas' narration that the first person to acquire his book of deeds with his right hand on the Day of Judgment will be Abū Salamah.[2]

He has been named among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Miskawayh,[3] Abū Muḥammad ad-Dumyāṭī,[4] al-ʿIrāqī,[5] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[6] al-Yaʿmarī,[7] and al-Anṣārī,[8] among others.

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:335.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:335.
3 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.
4 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:192.
5 ʿIrāqī, *Al-Alfiyyah*, p. 246.
6 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:316.
7 ʿIrāqī, *Al-Alfiyyah*, p. 246.
8 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:192.

17

ABŪ SUFYĀN

His real name is Ṣakhr ibn Ḥarb ibn Umayyah ibn ʿAbd Shams ibn ʿAbd Manāf al-Qurashī al-Umawī. Ten years the Prophet's ﷺ senior,[1] he entered into Islam the year of Makkah's conquest and became very pious.[2] During the conquest the Prophet ﷺ declared, "Whoever enters the house of Abū Sufyān is safe. . ."[3]

He took part in the battles of Ḥunayn and aṭ-Ṭā'if, losing an eye in the latter, and also in the battle of Yarmūk which was led by his son. Ibn Saʿd narrates on the authority of Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib, from his father, who said, "I could not distinguish any noises on the day of Yarmūk except for one man's voice which cried, 'Approach O victory of Allah.' So I looked at the man, and he was none other than Abū Sufyān."[4]

Some reports suggest that the Prophet ﷺ appointed him governor of Najrān,[5] though al-Wāqidī has his doubts. "My colleagues dispute that claim," he says, "because the person who was in charge of Najrān at the time was ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm."[6]

Abū Sufyān died during the reign of Caliph ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān,

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:179.

2 Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *At-Tārīkh*, 1:60; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:179; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 5:216.

3 Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah* 2:430; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:179.

4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:179.

5 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:190; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:179.

6 Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *At-Tārīkh*, 1:73.

around the age of 90, though the year of his death is disputed as some say it was 30/651 and others that it was 31/652 or 34/654.[1]

Al-Wāqidī listed him among the Makkans who were lettered prior to Islam.[2] He has been mentioned among the Prophet's scribes by al-ʿIrāqī,[3] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[4] Ibn Miskawayh,[5] and al-Anṣārī,[6] among others.

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istīʿāb*, 2:191; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:180.
2 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 580.
3 ʿIrāqī, *Al-Alfiyyah*, p. 246.
4 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:316.
5 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.
6 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:145.

18

AL-ʿALĀʾ IBN AL-ḤAḌRAMĪ

His full name is al-ʿAlāʾ ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿUbād, from the province of Ḥaḍramawt in southern Arabia. He was one of Banū Umayyah's supporters and among the nobility who migrated to Madīnah.

The first man to be killed by a Muslim was his brother ʿAmr ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, his valuables the first to be apportioned by Muslims,[1] and this incident sparked Badr.[2]

The Prophet ﷺ made him governor of Bahrain, a post he retained during the reigns of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Abū Bakr instructed him to wage war against the apostates in Bahrain's vicinity, so he set out with his forces and crossed the sea of Raqrāq, until they were close enough to the shore to waddle around on their legs, and he came to a spot where ships frequently sailed by. There they faced the enemy and were granted victory by Allah.[3]

Al-Anṣārī says, "He was the first to establish a mosque in the land of the disbelievers, the first who forced them to pay monetary tribute, and the first to engrave the seal of the caliphate."[4] He passed away while on a journey to Baṣrah in 14/635.

He has been named among the Prophet's scribes by ʿUmar ibn

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istīʿāb*, 1086.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:498.
3 Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalāʾ*, 1:191.
4 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍīʾ*, 1:205.

Shabbah,[1] Ibn Miskawayh,[2] al-Mas'ūdī,[3] Ibn al-Athīr,[4] Ibn Kathīr,[5] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[6] and al-Anṣārī,[7] among others. By glancing through *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah* we find that the following documents bear his name: nos. 165, 166 and 196.

1 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:205.
2 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.
3 Mas'ūdī, *At-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*, p. 246.
4 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, 2:313.
5 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:352.
6 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
7 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:205.

19

AL-ʿALĀʾ IBN ʿUQBAH

"Al-Mustaghfirī cited him among the Prophet's ﷺ Companions," writes Ibn Ḥajar, "and added that he scribed ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm's appointment letter [as governor, under the Prophet's dictation]."

Al-Mirzabānī says, "The Prophet ﷺ sent him [from Makkah] along with al-Arqam to address the people of Madīnah."

In al-Muʿtaṣim ibn Ṣamādiḥ's *At-Tārīkh al-Muṣannaf* I have also read that "al-ʿAlāʾ ibn ʿUqbah and al-Arqam acted as scribes for the general public in matters of debts, contracts and other dealings."[1] Al-Masʿūdī also mentions him thus,[2] and aṭ-Ṭabarī says, "'Abdullāh ibn al-Arqam ibn ʿAbd Yaghūth and al-ʿAlāʾ ibn ʿUqbah served as scribes for the community's general needs."[3]

He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn al-Athīr,[4] Ibn Kathīr,[5] al-ʿIrāqī,[6] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[7] and al-Anṣārī,[8] among others, and by looking through *Al-Wathāʾiq as-Siyāsiyyah* we find the following documents with his name: nos. 154, 155 and 210.

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:498.
2 Masʿūdī, *At-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*, p. 245.
3 Ṭabarī, *At-Tārikh*, 6:179.
4 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:9.
5 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:353.
6 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 247.
7 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:316.
8 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍīʾ*, 1:206–207.

20

ʿALĪ IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB
IBN ʿABD AL-MUṬṬALIB AL-HĀSHIMĪ

The fourth Caliph of the Muslim state and cousin to the Prophet ﷺ, ʿAlī was born ten years prior to the revelations[1] and raised in the Prophet's company, whom he never left.

ʿAlī was the standard-bearer in most of the Prophet's battles and fought in all of them except for Tabūk, where the Prophet bade him stay behind; observing that ʿAlī was dismayed by this request the Prophet ﷺ asked, "Do you not desire to have the same relationship to me as Aaron had of Moses, except that there shall be no other prophets after me?"

He married Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter, in 2/623 He is among the ten who were given glad tidings of Paradise, and his virtuous deeds and attributes are numerous, though many false deeds and attributes have been accredited to him which he is not in need of. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr reports, "The Prophet ﷺ said to ʿAlī, 'Two types of people will lose themselves on your account: one who loves you far beyond what is permissible, and one who perilously lies about you.'"[2] And this is a reality that is readily discernible today.

The Prophet ﷺ remarked once, "The best among [my Companions] in judgment is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib," and ʿUmar concurred, "ʿAlī is the best among us in judgment."[3] Muʿāwiyah ibn

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:507.
2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb* (ed. al-Bajawī), p. 1101.
3 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1102.

Abī Sufyān—despite his arguments with ʿAlī—held up a steady correspondence with him in search of answers about specific facets of Islam, and when he heard of ʿAlī's assassination he exclaimed, "Knowledge of religion has dissolved with the death of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1]

ʿAlī took over the caliphate after ʿUthmān's martyrdom, but his reign was not blessed with peace and security as hostilities broke out between him and Muʿāwiyah. He was ambushed and killed on his way to Fajr Prayer on the seventeenth night of Ramaḍān, 40/661.

He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Isḥāq,[2] ʿUmar ibn Shabbah,[3] al-Yaʿqūbī,[4] aṭ-Ṭabarī,[5] al-Jahshiyārī,[6] Ibn Miskawayh,[7] Ibn al-Athīr,[8] al-Mizzī,[9] Ibn Kathīr,[10] al-ʿIrāqī,[11] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[12] and al-Anṣārī,[13] among many others. By referring to *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah* we find that he scribed the following documents: nos. 11, 33, 44, 45, 58, 111, 141, 162, 167, 172, 229, 230 and 233.

1 *Ibid*, p. 1108.
2 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:350.
3 Yaʿqubī, *At-Tārikh*, 2:80.
4 Ṭabarī, *At-Tārikh*, 6:179.
5 *Ibid*, 6:179.
6 Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, p. 12.
7 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.
8 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, 2:313.
9 Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 1:196.
10 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:339.
11 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 245.
12 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
13 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:74.

21

ʿĀMIR IBN FAHĪRAH

ʿĀmir was an African,[1] a slave of aṭ-Ṭufayl ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Sukhburah, and he entered Islam before the Prophet ﷺ had converted Dār al-Arqam into a base for the fledgling Muslim community. Tortured for his new faith by his old master, he eventually acquired a new master in the form of Abū Bakr, who purchased and emancipated him.[2]

During the *Hijrah*, whilst the Prophet and Abū Bakr hid in the dark recesses of Cave Thawr, ʿĀmir tended some sheep in the vicinity. In turns he would shepherd the flock towards the cave so that the two men could milk them,[3] and whenever ʿAbdullāh (Abū Bakr's son) ended one of his visits and left their company, ʿĀmir would follow with his flock so as to erase his trail.[4] By this method he was able to accompany the two men on their journey to Madīnah.[5]

He took part in Badr and Uḥud, and was martyred at Bi'r Maʿūnah, though his body could not be found anywhere.[6]

In his *Musnad*, Imam Aḥmad states that ʿĀmir wrote the treaty for Surāqah ibn Mālik al-Madlajī during the *Hijrah*, by order of the Prophet ﷺ. "I entreated [the Prophet ﷺ] for a letter guaranteeing

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 3:8.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:256.
3 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 3:7.
4 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:91.
5 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 3:7–8.
6 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 3:8.

my safety," recalled Surāqah, "so he instructed ʿĀmir ibn Fahīrah, who wrote it on a piece of leather."[1]

He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by al-Mizzī,[2] Ibn Kathīr,[3] al-ʿIrāqī,[4] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[5] and al-Anṣārī,[6] among others.

1 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 4:176; M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah*, p. 36; and Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:348 (for the harmonisation between this report and the one that names Abū Bakr as the scribe).

2 Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 1:196.

3 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:348.

4 Munāwī, *Al-'Ujālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 245.

5 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.

6 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:172.

22

ʿAMR IBN AL-ʿĀṢ
AL-QURASHĪ AS-SAHMĪ

Renowned for his cleverness, and one of Quraysh's greatest horsemen and heroes prior to Islam, he migrated to Madīnah in 8/629 in the company of Khālid ibn al-Walīd and ʿUthmān ibn Ṭalḥah (who was gatekeeper of the Kaʿbah). The Prophet ﷺ was overjoyed with their embrace of Islam and exclaimed, "Makkah has sent away its very essence."[1]

The Prophet posted him as a sub-commander under Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and other distinguished Companions.[2] He also appointed him governor of Oman, a position he kept till the Prophet's death.[3] During ʿUmar's reign he acted as a commander in the Syrian campaign and conquered Qinnasrīn; he also established treaties with the people of Ḥalab, Manbaj and Anṭākiyah, and was chosen by the caliph as governor of Palestine.[4] To these conquests he added Egypt and Tripoli (Libya) in 24/644.[5] When the caliphate transferred to ʿUthmān, he acted as governor of Egypt for a short while before being dismissed, and "that was the beginning of the dispute between ʿAmr and ʿUthmān".[6] He sided with Muʿāwiyah

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb* (ed. al-Bajawī), p. 1185.
2 Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, 3:38.
3 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb* (ed. al-Bajawī), p. 1187.
4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:2.
5 Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, 3:47.
6 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb* (ed. al-Bajawī), p. 1187.

in his struggle against ʿAlī, and when Muʿāwiyah finally assumed power he reinstated him as governor of Egypt.

He died there in 43/664 while still its governor.

He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Shabbah,[1] al-Yaʿqūbī,[2] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr,[3] al-ʿIrāqī,[4] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[5] al-ʿĀmirī,[6] and al-Anṣārī,[7] among others.

1 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:28.
2 Yaʿqūbī, *At-Tārīkh*, 2:80.
3 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istīʿāb*, 1:51.
4 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 246.
5 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
6 ʿĀmirī, *Bahjat al-Mahāfil*, 2:161.
7 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:197.

23

AL-ARQAM IBN ABĪ'L-ARQAM
ʿABD MANĀF IBN ASAD AL-MAKHZŪMĪ

Al-Arqam was among the first to embrace Islam; some say he was the seventh and others that he was the eleventh. His house, situated at the foot of aṣ-Ṣafā, served as a gathering point for the early Muslim community. The Prophet ﷺ and his Companions continued to assemble there in secrecy until they had amounted to forty men; the last person to join their group during this phase was ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and after that they began addressing the people openly.

Al-Arqam was amongst the first to migrate to Madīnah, and he participated in Badr (for which he received a sword from the Prophet ﷺ)[1] as well as the remainder of the Prophet's battles.[2] The Prophet ﷺ appointed him to collect charities[3] and apportioned to him some land in Madīnah.[4] Ibn Kathīr says, "He wrote the deed for the parcels of land which the Prophet ﷺ gave to ʿAzim ibn al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāribī."[5]

The year of his death is ambiguous. Some say that he and Abū Bakr died on the same day, others that he passed away in Madīnah

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:60; Fāsī, *Al-ʿIqd ath-Thamīn*, 3:281.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:28.
3 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:60.
4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:28.
5 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:341.

in 55/675 and that Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ prayed at his funeral in accordance with his wishes.[1]

By referring to *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah* we find several letters bearing his name as writer, including nos. 84, 88, 176, and 212. He has been mentioned among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Kathīr,[2] al-'Irāqī,[3] Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī,[4] and Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[5] among others.

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:60; Fāsī, *Al-'Iqd ath-Thamīn*, 3:281; and Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Isābah*, 1:28.

2 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 1:60.

3 Munāwī, *Al-'Ujālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 247.

4 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:88.

5 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, 2:316.

24

ASAD IBN AṢ-ṢĀMIT

Al-Bāqillānī lists him as one of the Prophet's ﷺ scribes.[1]

25

AS'AD IBN ZURĀRAH IBN 'ADAS IBN 'UBAYD AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-KHAZRAJĪ, NICKNAMED ABŪ UMĀMAH

Khubayb ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān narrates that As'ad ibn Zurārah and Dhakwān ibn 'Abd al-Qays travelled from Madīnah to Makkah in search of 'Utbah ibn Rabī'a. Along the way they heard about the Prophet ﷺ and decided to pay him a visit. He conveyed the Qur'an to them and they both became Muslim, choosing to retrace their steps rather than to continue their quest for 'Utbah and thereby becoming the first people to bring Islam to Madīnah.[2] When As'ad ibn Zurārah, 'Umārah ibn Ḥazm, and 'Auf ibn 'Afrā' entered Islam they shattered the idols of Banū Mālik ibn an-Najjār.[3]

1 Bāqillānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.
2 Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:138–139; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:34.
3 Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:140.

Asʿad ibn Zurārah attended the two ʿAqabahs and served as his tribe's deputy, none of the other deputies being younger than him.[1] Some reports say that he was the first to pledge his support to the Prophet ﷺ on the night of ʿAqabah,[2] and was the first to perform Friday prayers in Madīnah, with a congregation from Ḥurrat Banī Bayāḍah.[3]

He asked the Prophet to look after his three daughters Kabshah, Ḥabībah, and al-Fāriʿah, so they became part of his household, accompanying him to his wives' houses.[4]

He passed away prior to Badr, in the month of Shawwāl—nine months after *Hijrah*—at a time when the Prophet's mosque had yet to be completed.[5] Al-Bāqillānī has mentioned him as one of the Prophet's scribes.[6]

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:34.
2 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:71; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:34.
3 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:71.
4 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:140.
5 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:141.
6 Bāqillānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.

26

AWS IBN KHAWLĀ IBN ʿABDULLĀH IBN AL-ḤĀRITH AL-ANṢĀRĪ

Aws took part in all of the Prophet's ﷺ battles,[1] and was bonded in brotherhood to Shujāʿ ibn Wahb al-Asadī.[2]

"When the Prophet ﷺ left for Makkah to perform *ʿUmrat al-Qaḍāʾ*," notes Ibn Saʿd, "he left behind 200 men to guard the city, headed by Aws ibn Khawlā."[3] These men were stationed in Dhī Ṭuwā (near Madīnah) to foil any attempts by Quraysh to seize the opportunity and storm the city.[4]

He attended the shrouding of the Prophet ﷺ, and climbed down into his grave along with the Prophet's family.[5] He himself passed away in Madīnah during the reign of Caliph ʿUthmān.[6]

Aws ibn Khawlā was literate in Arabic before Islam, and was likewise a skilled swimmer and archer.[7] Al-Bāqillānī mentioned him among the Prophet's scribes.[8]

1 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:91; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:145.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:84; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:91.
3 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:91.
4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:84.
5 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:91; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:84.
6 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:91; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:145.
7 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:91; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 145.
8 Bāqillānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.

27

BASHĪR IBN SAʿD IBN THAʿLABAH IBN KHULĀS AL-KHAZRAJĪ AL-ANṢĀRĪ

Bashīr ibn Saʿd attended the second ʿAqabah and took part in all of the Prophet's ﷺ encounters.[1]

Al-Wāqidī relates, "The Prophet ﷺ sent him on a scouting mission to Fadak in the month of Shaʿbān, in the seventh year [of *Hijrah*]. Afterwards he dispatched him to Wādī al-Qurā in the month of Shawwāl".[2]

Some reports proclaim that following the Prophet's death, he was the first of the Anṣār to pledge his support to Abū Bakr for the caliphate.[3] He was martyred at ʿAyn at-Tamr, after returning from the battle of Yamāmah in 12/633.[4]

"Bashīr was lettered in Arabic prior to Islam," states Ibn Saʿd, "at a time when the knowledge of writing was scarce among the Arabs."[5] He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by al-Bāqillānī.[6]

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:195.

2 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:83–84.

3 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:195.

4 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:195; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:58; and Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:84.

5 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:83.

6 Bāqillānī, Al-Intiṣār, p. 274.

28

BURAYDAH IBN AL-ḤUṢAYB IBN ʿABDULLĀH IBN AL-ḤĀRITH AL-ASLAMĪ

Buraydah embraced Islam when the Prophet ﷺ passed by him at al-Ghamīm on his way to Madīnah during the *Hijrah*.[1] He himself migrated after Uḥud,[2] fighting alongside the Prophet ﷺ in sixteen battles.[3]

Though settled in Madīnah he travelled subsequently to Baṣrah and had a house built there, then went off to fight in Khurasān, living in Marw where he died and was buried.

Hilāl ibn Sirāj ibn Mujāʿah reports on his father's narration, that the Prophet ﷺ gave him some land in Yemen and asked Buraydah to inscribe the deed. So Buraydah wrote, "From Muḥammad the Prophet of Allah to Mujāʿah ibn Murārah from the tribe of Banū Salam. I have given you al-ʿUrah [a certain parcel of land], and whoever disputes your claim should come to me. Written by Buraydah."[4] He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[5] al-ʿIrāqī,[6] and al-Anṣārī.[7]

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:175–176.
2 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:175.
3 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:146.
4 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 18a.
5 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, 2:316.
6 Munāwī, *Al-'Ujālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 246.
7 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:94.

29

A CHRISTIAN FROM MADĪNAH

There was a Christian from the tribe of Banū an-Najjār who converted to Islam. He read some of the *sūrah*s in the Qur'an (*Al-Baqarah* and *Āl-ʿImrān*), and wrote for the Prophet ﷺ before reverting back to Christianity and bragging, "Muḥammad does not know of the Qur'an except what I write for him." When he died and was buried, the earth rejected him and spat him out.[1]

1 See: Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (3617); Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:241.

30

ḤANẒALAH IBN AR-RABĪʿ IBN ṢAYFĪ IBN RIYĀḤ AT-TAMĪMĪ AL-KĀTIB

Passing by Ḥanẓalah once, Abū Bakr found him sobbing and enquired after him. "Ḥanẓalah has been a hypocrite O Abū Bakr," he replied. "We sit with the Prophet, who informs us of heaven and hell as if the two were in plain view, and yet when we return to our homes we become preoccupied with our wives and aimless ways, forgetting much of what he had reminded us of." "Indeed we are like that," Abū Bakr concurred. "Let us go to the Prophet." So they went to him and he, witnessing Ḥanẓalah's expression, asked him what was the matter. "Ḥanẓalah has been a hypocrite O Prophet of Allah. We sit with you while you inform us of heaven and hell as if both were in plain view, but when we return to our homes we become preoccupied with our wives and aimless ways, forgetting much of what you had told us." The Prophet responded, "Were you to maintain the same state of mind in which you leave my company, the angels would greet you in your gatherings, on the streets and in your beds. But Ḥanẓalah, an hour for this and an hour for that."[1]

To discover whether or not the people of aṭ-Ṭā'if desired a peace treaty, the Prophet dispatched Ḥanẓalah there and once he had left, turned to his Companions and remarked, "Trust him and those who are like him."[2]

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:58.
2 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:58.

He attended the battle of al-Qādisiyyah, settled briefly in al-Kūfah, decided against fighting alongside ʿAlī in the battle of al-Jamal, and finally took up residence in Qarqīsiyā where he died during Muʿāwiyah's caliphate.[1]

He is among the Prophet's most famous scribes. Al-Jahshiyārī states, "Ḥanẓalah ibn ar-Rabīʿ performed the duties of any absent scribe and was hence surnamed *'al-Kātib'* (the writer). The Prophet ﷺ would leave his seal ring with him, and he also requested that Ḥanẓalah accompany him and remind him of any business which had not been attended to within three days. Because of this the Prophet would not acquire any money or food for three days without being reminded of it, and would not return home that night without having given it all away."[2] Ibn Saʿd, meanwhile, reports on al-Wāqidī's authority, "He once wrote a document for the Prophet and was granted the title of *'al-Kātib'*."[3]

He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by al-Bukharī,[4] Muslim,[5] al-Masʿūdī,[6] al-Yaʿqūbī,[7] Ibn al-Athīr,[8] al-Mizzī,[9] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[10] al-ʿIrāqī,[11] Ibn Shabbah,[12] Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ,[13] Ibn Kathīr,[14] Ibn Ḥajar,[15] and al-Anṣārī,[16] among others.

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1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:360; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:58.
2 Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, pp. 12–13.
3 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:36.
4 Bukhārī, *At-Tārikh al-Kabīr*, 2/1:36.
5 Muslim, Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt, 1:150.
6 Masʿūdī, *At-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*, p. 282.
7 Yaʿqūbī, *At-Tārikh*, 2:80.
8 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:58.
9 Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 1:196.
10 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
11 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 245.
12 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:28.
13 Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *At-Tārikh*, 1:77.
14 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:242.
15 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:359–360.
16 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:96.

31

ḤĀṬIB IBN ʿAMR IBN ʿABD SHAMS IBN ʿABDŪD AL-QURASHĪ AL-ʿĀMIRĪ

Ibn ʿAbdul-Bir says that Ḥāṭib ibn ʿAmr accepted Islam before the Prophet ﷺ entered the house of al-Arqam.[1] He migrated to Ethiopia twice[2] and, according to al-Wāqidī and others, was the first to reach that land during the first migration.[3] He also fought at Badr.[4]

He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Miskawayh,[5] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[6] al-ʿIrāqī,[7] and al-Anṣārī,[8] among others.

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:347.

2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:347–348; Fāsī, *Al-ʿIqd ath-Thamīn*, 4:45; and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:363.

3 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:301; Fāsī, *Al-ʿIqd ath-Thamīn*, 4:45.

4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:301; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:363.

5 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.

6 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:316.

7 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 246.

8 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍīʾ*, 1:101.

32

ḤUDHAYFAH
IBN AL-YAMĀN AL-ʿABSĪ

Ḥudhayfah was originally from Yemen. He did not take part in Badr because Quraysh had coerced him into swearing an oath not to fight them, and when he enquired from the Prophet ﷺ whether or not he should break his pledge the Prophet replied, "Keep the oath, and ask Allah to assist us against them."[1]

He did take part in Uḥud, however, where his Muslim father was accidentally killed at the hands of other Muslims,[2] and on the night before the battle of al-Aḥzāb the Prophet dispatched him to spy on the enemy. He was also the Prophet's confidant concerning Madīnah's hypocrites, being the only person whom the Prophet ﷺ entrusted their names to.[3]

Upon any person's death ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb would enquire about Ḥudhayfah. If Ḥudhayfah attended the funeral prayer for the deceased then so would ʿUmar, and if he did not then neither would he.[4]

ʿUmar once asked his Companions to make a wish; they expressed longings to see their houses overflowing with jewels and other valuables, that they may bestow it all to charity. "As for myself," replied ʿUmar, "I wish I had more men like Abū ʿUbaydah,

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:391; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:331.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:331–332.
3 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:391.
4 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:278; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:391.

Muʿādh ibn Jabal, and Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, that I may use them to serve Allah."[1]

Ḥudhayfah took part in the battles in Nahāwand and also led the armies which conquered Hamdhān, ar-Rayy and ad-Daynūr,[2] all in 22/643.[3] He attended the conquest of the Arabian Peninsula and took up residence in Naṣībīn, where he married.[4]

At the time of the Prophet's death, his appointed governor to Dabbah was Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān.[5] ʿUmar posted him afterwards as governor of Madā'in. Ibn Sīrīn relates, "If ʿUmar appointed a governor he would write in his contract, 'I have sent this person, and ordered him to follow these guidelines. . .' But when he appointed Ḥudhayfah governor of Madā'in he wrote, 'Listen to him, obey him, and offer him whatever he wishes.' When Ḥudhayfah arrived in Madā'in the leading officials greeted him and, reading his contract, said, 'Ask us what you will.' He replied, 'All I ask is food for myself and fodder for my mule, so long as I am among you.' He stayed in Madā'in until ʿUmar sent word that he wished to see him, and when he learned that Ḥudhayfah was nearing Madīnah he hid along the road and waited for him. Witnessing Ḥudhayfah in the same condition as that which he had last seen him in, he embraced him heartily and said, 'You are my brother, as I am your brother.'"[6]

Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān died in 36/656, shortly into ʿAlī's caliphate.[7] He has been named among the Prophet's scribes by al-Qurṭubī,[8] ath-Thaʿālabī,[9] al-ʿIrāqī,[10] al-Anṣārī (who says that

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:391–392.
2 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:391.
3 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:278.
4 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:391.
5 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:385.
6 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:392.
7 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:278.
8 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍīʾ*, 1:104.
9 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 236.
10 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 236.

Ḥudhayfah "documented the estimated production of date tree gardens"),[1] and al-Masʿūdī (who believes that he documented the estimated production of gardens throughout the Ḥijāz).[2]

1 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍīʾ*, 1:104.

2 Masʿūdī, *At-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*, p. 245.

33

AL-ḤUṢAYN IBN NUMAYR

Al-Anṣārī writes, "al-Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah and al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr catalogued all debts and transactions,"[1] while al-Jahshiyārī credits the same two with cataloguing all general dealings.[2]

Ibn Miskawayh, mentioning him as one of the Prophet's ﷺ scribes, adds that al-Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah and al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr kept records of people's transactions, and would serve as replacements for Khālid and Muʿāwiyah (two other scribes) upon their absence.[3]

"Al-ʿAbbās ibn Muḥammad al-Andalusī mentions him in his book *At-Tārīkh*," Ibn Ḥajar writes, "saying that al-Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah and al-Ḥuṣayn both recorded the Prophet's personal matters, and that echoing this statement are several later scholars including al-Qurṭubī in *Al-Mawlid An-Nabawī*, and al-Quṭb al-Ḥalabī in *Sharḥ As-Sīrah*."[4] Ibn Ḥajar was unable to determine the full identity of al-Ḥuṣayn, as named by al-Andalusī.

He has also been included among the Prophet's scribes by al-ʿIrāqī[5] and al-Yaʿqūbī.[6]

1 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:100.
2 Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, p. 12.
3 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.
4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:339.
5 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 247.
6 Yaʿqūbī, *At-Tārīkh*, 2:80.

34

ḤUWAYṬIB IBN ʿABD AL-ʿUZZĀ IBN UBAYY QAYS AL-QURASHĪ AL-ʿĀMIRĪ

Ḥuwayṭib's life spanned nearly 130 years, the first six decades having already expired when the revelations began.[1] He did not embrace Islam until the year of the conquest [of Makkah].[2] Imam Aḥmad reports, "I heard ash-Shāfiʿī say, 'Ḥuwayṭib ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā owned the greatest amount of property in Makkah of any member of Quraysh, prior to Islam. He was also sincere in his embrace of Islam, and ʿUmar (along with others) assigned him to renew the boundary signposts of the Ḥaram area.'"[3] His share of booty from the battle of Ḥunayn amounted to one hundred camels.[4]

Though the year of his death is uncertain he most likely passed away during the reign of Muʿāwiyah, around 54/674.[5]

He has been listed among the Prophet's ﷺ scribes by Ibn Miskawayh,[6] al-ʿIrāqī,[7] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās[8] and al-Anṣārī.[9]

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1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:384.

2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:384; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:364; and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:67.

3 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:384; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:364.

4 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:384; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:67.

5 Fāsī, *Al-ʿIqd ath-Thamīn*, 4:253.

6 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.

7 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, 246.

8 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:316.

9 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:97.

35

JAʿFAR IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB

I have not been able to find anyone who names Jaʿfar among the Prophet's ﷺ scribes, with the exception of al-Bayhaqī based on Ibn Isḥāq's account, "who reported from Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar ibn az-Zubayr, from ʿAbdullāh ibn az-Zubayr: 'The Prophet ﷺ asked ʿAbdullāh ibn Arqam to record his dictations and he obliged, and he eventually trusted him to such an extent that he would dictate to ʿAbdullāh letters meant for kings and allow him to seal them, without asking him to orally repeat what had been written. The Prophet ﷺ then asked Zayd ibn Thābit to pen his dictations as well, and so Zayd would record the Qur'an and write to kings as well. If ʿAbdullāh ibn Arqam and Zayd ibn Thābit were absent, and the Prophet ﷺ sought to address a king or issue a deed for some land, he would ask Jaʿfar to write for him. And ʿUmar and ʿUthmān wrote for him as well.' Zayd, al-Mughīrah, Muʿāwiyah, Khālid ibn Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, and others were also mentioned in this regard."[1]

Ibn Ḥajar reiterates al-Bayhaqī's report, from ʿAbdullāh ibn az-Zubayr, that "if [ʿAbdullāh ibn al-Arqam and Zayd ibn Thābit] were absent then Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib would fill in; and a group from amongst the Companions also wrote for him."[2]

1 Bayhaqī, *As-Sunan al-Kubrā*, 10:126.

2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 13:184.

36

JAHM IBN SA'D

"Al-Quḍā'ī mentioned him among the scribes of the Prophet ﷺ," writes Ibn Ḥajar, "and that he and az-Zubayr maintained written records of all given charities."

Al-Qurṭubī, a famous commentator on the Qur'an, has also described Jahm as such in his book *Al-Mawlid an-Nabawī*,[1] as have al-'Irāqī[2] and al-Anṣārī.[3]

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:255.
2 Munāwī, *Al-'Ujālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 246.
3 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:96.

37

JUHAYM IBN AṢ-ṢALT IBN MAKHRAMAH IBN AL-MUṬṬALIB IBN ʿABD MANĀF AL-QURASHĪ AL-MUṬṬALIBĪ

At the time when Quraysh had set out to prevent the Prophet ﷺ from intercepting their caravan near Badr, Juhaym ibn aṣ-Ṣalt (who was still an idolater) saw a vision: a horse rider stood on top of him and prophesied the upcoming deaths of several of Quraysh's high-ranking members. When Abū Jahl heard this he thundered, "Here is yet another prophet from the tribe of Banū al-Muṭṭalib. He will learn tomorrow who is killed in battle, if we encounter the Muslims."[1]

Scholars have differed as to when Juhaym embraced Islam. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr says, "He became a Muslim in the year of the battle of Khaybar, and the Prophet ﷺ gave him some land there."[2] Ibn al-Athīr agrees with this[3] while Ibn Saʿd claims that he entered Islam after Makkah's conquest.[4]

"Juhaym knew how to write in pre-Islamic times," notes al-Balādhurī, "so he embraced Islam with that knowledge and wrote for the Prophet ﷺ,"[5] and al-Masʿūdī adds, "az-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām and Juhaym ibn aṣ-Ṣalt wrote records of all given charities."[6]

1 Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 1:618.
2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:247; Fāsī, *Al-ʿIqd ath-Thamīn*, 3:445.
3 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:311.
4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:255.
5 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:255.
6 Masʿūdī, *At-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*, p. 245.

He has been mentioned among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Shabbah,[1] al-Balādhurī,[2] al-Yaʿqūbī,[3] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr,[4] Ibn Miskawayh,[5] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[6] al-ʿIrāqī,[7] Ibn Ḥajar,[8] and al-Anṣārī,[9] among others. In *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah* we find that document no. 82 bears his name as scribe.

1 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:28.
2 Balādhurī, Ansāb al-Ashraf, 1:532.
3 Yaʿqūbī, *At-Tārikh*, 2:80.
4 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istīʿāb*, 1:51.
5 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.
6 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
7 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Samyyah*, p. 247.
8 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:255.
9 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:95.

38

KHĀLID IBN ASAD OR KHĀLID IBN USAYD

Al-Bāqillānī mentions a certain Khālid ibn Asad among the Prophet's ﷺ scribes, though I was unsuccessful in locating this name in the references available to me. The spelling may alternatively be Khālid ibn Usayd.[1]

1 Bāqillānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.

39

KHĀLID IBN SAʿĪD IBN AL-ʿĀṢ IBN UMAYYAH IBN ʿABD SHAMS

Khālid entered into Islam shortly after Abū Bakr, being either the third, fourth, or fifth person to do so;[1] in this he was motivated by a dream in which he stood precariously on the precipice of hell, his father trying to thrust him in while the Prophet ﷺ held on to keep him from plunging. He recounted this dream to Abū Bakr who divulged to him the new religion, so he met up with the Prophet at Ajyād and declared his embrace of Islam, news which delighted the Prophet.[2] Khālid's father, furious at his behaviour, thrashed and cursed him and warned his other sons, "I will do the same to any of you who even dares to talk with him." He then ordered that Khālid be bound and thrown in a cell, where he was left to starve and thirst in the stark desert heat for three days. His father finally released him and he hurried on to the Prophet ﷺ, keeping him company.[3]

Being the first to set out on the second migration to Ethiopia, he stayed there with his wife Umaymah bint Khālid al-Khuzāʿiyyah for some ten-odd years. When he returned along with Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet (who was in Khaybar at the time) addressed the Muslims about him, and they agreed to allot him a share of

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb* 1:399.

2 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4/1:67–68; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:402; and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:83.

3 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4/1:68.

Khaybar's booty.[1] He returned to Madīnah with the Prophet and took part in *'Umrat al-Qaḍā'* with him, along with the conquest of Makkah and the battles of Ḥunayn, aṭ-Ṭā'if and Tabūk.[2]

He strived for peace between the Prophet and the people of aṭ-Ṭā'if, composing a peace treaty for aṭ-Ṭā'if's representatives who had come to negotiate a settlement.[3] The Prophet ﷺ appointed him to collect the charities from the Madhḥij tribe, and also as governor of Ṣan'ā', a position he filled until the Prophet's death,[4] at which point he—along with his brothers Abān and 'Umar—left the jobs they had been assigned. Abū Bakr visited them and, asking them to resume their duties, received a unified reply, "We the sons of Abū Uḥayḥah will not work for anyone after the Prophet ﷺ."[5]

The caliph then employed Khālid as a provincial governor on the outskirts of Syria during the wars of apostasy;[6] he was martyred either in the battle of Ajnādayn or Maraj aṣ-Ṣuffar in 14/635.[7]

Khālid ibn Sa'īd is one of the Prophet's most eminent scribes. "He was the first to write for the Prophet ﷺ," declares al-Anṣārī.[8] This statement can only hold value if Khālid carried out scribal duties in Makkah since the Prophet, by the time of Khālid's arrival in Madīnah after Khaybar, already enjoyed a renowned circle of scribes such as Ubayy ibn Ka'b and Zayd ibn Thābit. To this we can add the testimony of his daughter, Umm Khālid bint Khālid, who narrates by way of Ibn Abī Dāwūd, "My father was the first to write '*Bismillāh ar-Raḥmān ar-Raḥīm*' (In the Name of Allah, Most

1 Fāsī, *Al-'Iqd ath-Thamīn*, 4:266.
2 Fāsī, *Al-'Iqd ath-Thamīn*, 4:266.
3 Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4/1:69; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:343.
4 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Isti'āb*, 1:400; Fāsī, *Al-'Iqd ath-Thamīn*, 4:266.
5 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Isti'āb*, 1:401.
6 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:407.
7 *Ibid*, 1:407.
8 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:107. Note, however, that al-Anṣārī also names Shuraḥbīl ibn Ḥasanah as the first to write for the Prophet.

Gracious, Most Merciful)."[1] This phrase, part of the Holy Qur'an, hints that Khālid may have recorded the revelations in Makkah, which is especially plausible when we recall that he was among the first to embrace the message.

With his return to Madīnah he most likely recommenced his duties. Aṭ-Ṭabarī says, "Khālid ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ and Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān documented the Prophet's personal necessities,"[2] and al-Mas'ūdī concurs this about Khālid.[3]

He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Isḥāq,[4] Ibn Sa'd,[5] Ibn Shabbah,[6] aṭ-Ṭabarī,[7] al-Jahshiyārī,[8] Ibn al-Athīr,[9] Ibn Kathīr,[10] al-Mizzī,[11] al-'Irāqī,[12] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[13] Ibn Miskawayh,[14] and al-Anṣārī,[15] among others. By referencing *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah* we find several letters that bear his name, including nos. 19, 20, 116, 202, 213, 214 and 223.

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:406; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, 1:400.
2 Ṭabarī, *At-Tārīkh*, 6:179; Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, p. 12.
3 Mas'ūdī, *At-Tanbīh*, p. 245.
4 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:350.
5 Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4/1:69.
6 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:109.
7 Ṭabarī, *At-Tārīkh*, 6:179.
8 Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, p. 12.
9 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, 2:313.
10 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:343.
11 Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 1:196.
12 Munāwī, *Al-'Ujālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 245.
13 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
14 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.
15 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:109.

40

KHĀLID IBN AL-WALĪD IBN AL-MUGHĪRAH

The nephew of the Prophet's ﷺ wife Maymūnah bint al-Ḥārith,[1] and known in later years as the "unsheathed sword of Allah", Khālid was born approximately 40 years prior to *Hijrah*.[2] He was a high-ranking member of Quraysh and responsible for the duties of *al-Qubbah* (gathering funds and supplies for the Qurayshi army) and *al-A'innah* (commanding the cavalry in battle).[3] He led Quraysh's cavalry in the battle of Uḥud, fighting alongside the Makkans up until *'Umrat al-Qaḍā'*;[4] in fact he was in charge of their cavalry on the day the al-Ḥudaybiyyah Treaty was signed.[5]

Before the Prophet ﷺ and his Companions arrived in Makkah to perform *'Umrat al-Qaḍā'* he left the city, as he could not bear to witness their presence. The Prophet enquired of al-Walīd ibn al-Walīd, Khālid's brother, of his whereabouts and remarked when he heard of his departure, "If he had come to us we would have treated him with hospitality." Al-Walīd wrote to Khālid relating to him the Prophet's words, and after reading the letter Khālid's heart began to soften.[6] He embraced Islam after the battle of Khaybar in

1 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:264.
2 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:264.
3 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, 1:406; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:93.
4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:413.
5 Fāsī, *Al-'Iqd ath-Thamīn*, 4:29.
6 Fāsī, *Al-'Iqd ath-Thamīn*, 4:289–290.

7/629[1] and migrated to Madīnah with ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and ʿUthmān ibn Ṭalḥah. When the Prophet ﷺ saw them he exclaimed, "Makkah has sent away its very essence."[2]

From that point he was given command of the cavalry in battle, and so would ride at the forefront of the Muslim army. He took part in Makkah's conquest and shattered the idol of al-ʿUzzā in accordance with the Prophet's orders, and suffered a wound at Ḥunayn which healed itself when the Prophet went in to see him and spat on it.[3]

Listing his armour as a religious endowment,[4] he devoted so much of his time to fighting for the cause of Allah that he commented, "Performing jihad has prevented me from finding enough time to memorise much of the Qur'an."[5]

His skills were invaluable in the wars of apostasy, as well as in the conquests of Iraq and Syria. Caliph ʿUmar eventually removed him from command and Khālid, instead of allowing pride to gain the better of him, behaved like the model soldier and continued to participate in combat under the guidance of the new commander, Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ.[6]

He died in 21/642,[7] and such was the sincerity between ʿUmar and Khālid that the latter appointed the former to be the trustee and executor of his will,[8] even though it was the Caliph who had deprived him of his rank and reduced him to an ordinary soldier—a testament to the character of both men. ʿUmar reportedly said

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:413.
2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:406.
3 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:407.
4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:414.
5 *Ibid*, 1:414.
6 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 7/2:121.
7 Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, 1:276.
8 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:415.

after Khālid's death, "May Allah be merciful to him. We used to entertain some ideas about him which were unfounded."[1]

Khālid has been mentioned among the Prophet's scribes by ʿUmar ibn Shabbah,[2] Ibn Kathīr,[3] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[4] al-ʿIrāqī,[5] and al-Anṣārī,[6] among others.

Ibn Kathīr cites the text of one of the letters which Khālid penned for the Prophet ﷺ. He reports, "ʿAtīq ibn Yaʿqūb narrated from ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Bakr, from his father on the authority of his grandfather, from ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm, that the lands mentioned in the letter had been distributed by the Prophet ﷺ to certain people. [The actual letter reads:] '*Bismillāh ar-Raḥmān ar-Raḥīm*. From Muḥammad the Prophet of Allah to all Muslims, know that game found in [the provinces of] Ṣaydūḥ and Wasīdah is not to be hunted or killed. Anyone who is found doing so will be whipped, and his clothes will be confiscated. Anyone who repeats the offense will be taken to the Prophet ﷺ. This is from Muḥammad the Prophet. Written by Khālid ibn al-Walīd by order of the Messenger of Allah, so heed what is written or else you will have wronged yourself by disobeying Muḥammad.'"[7]

1 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 7/2:121.
2 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:28.
3 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:344.
4 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
5 Munāwī, *Al-'Ujālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 246.
6 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:111.
7 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:344.

41

MĀLIK IBN AL-ʿAJLĀN

He has been listed among the Prophet's ﷺ scribes by al-Bāqillāni.[1]

1 Bāqillānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.

42

MAʿN IBN ʿADĪ
IBN AL-JADD

The Prophet ﷺ established a bond of brotherhood between Maʿn and Zayd ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and he took part in all of the Prophet's battles.[1]

Ibn al-Athīr narrates, "The people grieved when they heard of the Prophet's death. 'We would have preferred to die before him,' they wailed, 'for we fear becoming entangled in disputes after him.' To this Maʿn ibn ʿAdī responded, 'By Allah, I would not have preferred to die before him. I wish to remain faithful to him in his death as I was faithful to him during his life.'"[2]

He was martyred at Yamāmah during Abū Bakr's caliphate.[3] Ibn Saʿd stated that Maʿn had children[4] but Ibn al-Athīr, on Ibn Isḥāq's authority, claimed that he left no descendants.[5]

Ibn Saʿd says of him, "He was lettered in Arabic before Islam".[6] He was named among the Prophet's scribes by al-Bāqillānī.[7]

1 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/3:35.
2 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:401; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:450.
3 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/3:35; Ibn Ḥajar, Al-Iṣābah, 3:450.
4 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/3:35.
5 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:401.
6 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/3:35.
7 Bāqillānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.

43

MUʿĀDH IBN JABAL AL-KHAZRAJĪ AL-ANṢĀRĪ

Born approximately ten years before the revelations, he was tall and handsome and blessed with extraordinary features. He was one of the 70 who attended the second ʿAqabah,[1] and among those who shattered the idols of Banū Salamah.[2]

The Prophet ﷺ formed a bond of brotherhood between him and Ibn Masʿūd, though Ibn Isḥāq believes it was with Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib.[3]

He participated in all of the Prophet's battles.[4] During the Prophet's lifetime he memorised the Qur'an in its entirety,[5] and the former said in praise of him, "Take the Qur'an from four: Ibn Umm ʿAbd, Muʿādh ibn Jabal, Ubayy ibn Kaʿb, and Sālim the client of Abū Ḥudhayfah."[6] He also declared, "The one who is most knowledgable about what is permissible and what is forbidden is Muʿādh ibn Jabal,"[7] and ʿUmar once said, "Women have not been able to give birth to anyone like Muʿādh."[8]

Because of his generosity to others his debts began to mount, so

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1403.
2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1404.
3 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1403.
4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:427.
5 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Faḍā'il aṣ-Ṣaḥābah, p. 119.
6 *Ibid*, p. 116.
7 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1404.
8 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:427.

the Prophet sold off all of Muʿādh's possessions to pay his creditors and then, as compensation, dispatched him to Yemen in the year of the conquest [of Makkah] to carry out various tasks. "The Prophet ﷺ sent him to the al-Janad county in Yemen," says Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, "to teach them the Qur'an and other aspects of religion and to act as a judge amongst them. He was also to collect charities from the other Muslim governors in Yemen [who in turn were collecting it from their constituencies]. The Prophet ﷺ had appointed five men to govern Yemen: Khālid ibn Saʿīd over Ṣanʿā', al-Muhājir ibn Abī Umayyah over Kindah, Ziyād ibn Lubayd over Ḥaḍramawt, Muʿādh ibn Jabal over al-Janad, and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī over Zubayd, ʿAdan, and the coastal regions."[1]

As Muʿādh chose to return to Madīnah after the Prophet's death, ʿUmar suggested to Abū Bakr, "Let him have enough to live on, and take the rest of his wealth for the treasury." "The Prophet ﷺ was the one who sent him," countered Abū Bakr, "and I will not take any of his money unless he himself decides to give it to me." So ʿUmar went to Muʿādh and sought to sway him but he replied, "The Prophet ﷺ sent me to Yemen to compensate me [for my debts], and I will not impart my money to the treasury." Some time later Muʿādh had a dream about this so he brought his money to Abū Bakr, informing him of what he had dreamt, but the Caliph refused to take any of his wealth and returned everything to him.

ʿUmar appointed him governor of Syria after Abū ʿUbaydah's death; he passed away in the plague of ʿAmwās in 18/639.[2] He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by al-Yaʿqūbī,[3] and I have been unable to find anyone else who listed him thus.

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istīʿāb*, p. 1403.
2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istīʿāb*, p. 1405.
3 Yaʿqūbī, *At-Tārikh*, 2:80.

44

MUʿAYQĪB
IBN ABĪ FĀṬIMAH AD-DAWSĪ

"He was the client of Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ," states Ibn Shihāb, and according to others, an ally to the family of Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ.

Embracing Islam in Makkah during the early years of revelation, he migrated to Ethiopia and resided there until he caught up with the Prophet ﷺ in Madīnah.[1] He was present at *Bayʿat ar-Riḍwān* and took part in all subsequent battles.[2]

He was the keeper of the Prophet's seal,[3] the one who accidently dropped it into the well of Arīs from which it was never recovered.[4] At one point during ʿUmar's reign he was stricken with leprosy so the Caliph ordered the doctors to his aid, and they were able to cure him.[5] The first two caliphs both appointed him as treasurer,[6] and during ʿUthmān's reign he once again became keeper of the seal.[7]

The year of his death is disputed; some say he passed away during ʿUthmān's caliphate, others that he lived past the fourth decade of the *Hijrah* calendar.[8]

He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by ʿUmar ibn

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1748.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:451.
3 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1749.
4 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:403.
5 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:403.
6 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:355.
7 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:451.
8 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:451.

Shabbah,[1] al-Jahshiyārī (who states, "He catalogued the war bounties accumulated by the Prophet"),[2] al-Masʿūdī,[3] al-ʿIrāqī,[4] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[5] and al-Anṣārī,[6] as well as many others.

1 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:28.
2 Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, p. 12.
3 Masʿūdī, *At-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*, p. 246.
4 Munāwī, *Al-'Ujālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 246.
5 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
6 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:235.

45

MUʿĀWIYAH IBN ABĪ SUFYĀN AL-QURASHĪ AL-UMAWĪ

The son of Abū Sufyān, one of the leading figures within Quraysh, Muʿāwiyah was born five years before the revelations.[1] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr says, "Muʿāwiyah, along with his father and brother, were among those who embraced Islam after the conquest [of Makkah]."[2] although al-Wāqidī relates that he became a Muslim after al-Ḥudaybiyyah, concealing it until the year of conquest, and that by the time of *ʿUmrat al-Qaḍā'* he was already a Muslim.[3]

Abū Sufyān asked the Prophet ﷺ to accept Muʿāwiyah as a scribe in his service, to which he agreed.[4]

Caliph ʿUmar appointed him as governor of Syria after the death of his brother, Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān. After four years ʿUmar passed away, and ʿUthmān retained him in that position for another 12 years till he too passed away. Then began the dispute for the caliphate, embodied by five years of hostilities between Muʿāwiyah and ʿAlī.[5]

The Syrians chose him as their caliph in 38/658 or 39/659, and the other provinces followed suit in 41/661 after al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī relinquished his bid for the caliphate. Muʿāwiyah therefore served

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:433.
2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1406.
3 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:433.
4 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Faḍā'il as-Saḥabah, p. 168.
5 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1407.

as governor of Syria for nearly 20 years, and was caliph for a similar length of time.[1]

"I never saw anyone more suited for government than Muʿāwiyah," recalls Ibn ʿAbbās.[2] "Aside from the Prophet ﷺ," Ibn ʿUmar once concurred, "I have never seen anyone with better leadership than Muʿāwiyah," and when someone wondered, "What about Abū Bakr, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī?" he answered, "By Allah, they were better than Muʿāwiyah, but he had the best leadership."[3]

Many countries were conquered during his reign. He died in the month of Rajab in 60/680.

He has been mentioned among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Isḥāq,[4] ʿUmar ibn Shabbah,[5] Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ,[6] aṭ-Ṭabarī,[7] al-Jahshiyārī,[8] al-Masʿūdī,[9] Ibn Miskawayh,[10] and al-Yaʿqūbī,[11] as well as many others.[12] Al-Mizzī stated that among the Prophet's scribes, Zaid ibn Thābit and Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān were most devoted to write for the Prophet, and considered it as a duty.[13] In *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah* we find that he penned the following documents: nos. 89, 131, 164, 185, 215 and 222.

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1 *Ibid*, p. 1418.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:433.
3 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1418.
4 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:350.
5 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:28.
6 Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *At-Tārīkh*, 1:77.
7 Ṭabarī, *At-Tārīkh*, 6:179.
8 Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, p. 12.
9 Masʿūdī, *At-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*, p. 246.
10 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.
11 Yaʿqūbī, *At-Tārīkh*, 2:80.
12 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:385; Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:211; Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 1:196; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 4:349.
13 Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 1:196.

46

AL-MUGHĪRAH IBN SHUʿBAH IBN ABĪ ʿĀMIR ATH-THAQAFĪ

Often called 'Mughīrat ar-Ra'ī (the attentive Mughīrah), he was one of the most cunning men from among the Arabs. He embraced Islam the year of al-Khandaq and came to the Prophet ﷺ as an immigrant. He was present at the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyyah and at *Bayʿat ar-Riḍwān*, and helped Abū Sufyān smash the idols of Thaqīf in aṭ-Ṭā'if.

He lost one eye at Yarmūk, and also took part in the Yamāmah campaign and the conquests of Syria and Iraq.[1] Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq dispatched him as a messenger to the people of an-Najīr;[2] he was also Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ' messenger to Rustum,[3] and an-Nuʿmān ibn Muqrin's messenger to Imru' al-Qays.[4]

ʿUmar appointed him as governor of Baṣrah,[5] and there he conquered several towns including Maysān and Haddān.[6] Ibn al-Athīr says, "He was the first to establish the archives of Baṣrah."[7] ʿUmar later removed him from that post and assigned him instead to al-Kūfah, whose governorship he held till his dismissal by Caliph ʿUthmān.[8]

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:452.
2 *Ibid*, 3:452.
3 *Ibid*, 3:452.
4 *Ibid*, 3:453.
5 *Ibid*, 3:452.
6 *Ibid*, 3:452.
7 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:407.
8 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1446.

He did not take part in the battle of Ṣiffīn but supported Muʿāwiyah afterwards when the people had gathered against him;[1] Muʿāwiyah subsequently appointed him to his old post as governor of al-Kūfah, which he retained until his death in 50/670.[2]

He has been named among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Isḥāq,[3] Ibn Shabbah,[4] al-Yaʿqūbī,[5] al-Masʿūdī,[6] Ibn Miskawayh,[7] Ibn Kathīr,[8] al-ʿIrāqī,[9] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[10] al-Anṣārī[11] and al-Jahshiyārī, who says, "al-Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah and al-Ḥusayn ibn Nimr recorded public disputes."[12] In *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah* we find his name on the following documents: nos. 81, 83, 86, 95, 153, 194, 195 and 204.

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:453.
2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1446.
3 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:350.
4 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:28.
5 Yaʿqūbī, *At-Tārīkh*, 2:80.
6 Masʿūdī, *At-Tanbih wa'l-Ishrāf*, p. 245.
7 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.
8 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:350.
9 Munāwī, *Al-'Ujālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 246.
10 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
11 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:239.
12 Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, p. 12.

47

MUHĀJIR IBN ABĪ UMAYYAH IBN AL-MUGHĪRAH AL-QURASHĪ AL-MAKHZŪMĪ

The brother of Umm Salamah, the Prophet's ﷺ wife.[1] Az-Zubayr says that he fought against the Muslims at Badr.[2] The Prophet disliked his real name, al-Walīd, and called him Muhājir instead.[3]

"Sayf reported in *Futūḥ* that Muhājir failed to join the expedition to Tabūk," narrates Ibn Ḥajar, "and the Prophet returned from the expedition angry with him. But Umm Salamah continued to apologise on his behalf until the Prophet forgave him."[4] To this Ibn al-Athīr adds, "The Prophet ﷺ accepted Umm Salamah's intercession, so she brought Muhājir to him and he apologised in person. Feeling favourably inclined to him again, the Prophet appointed Muhājir to collect charities from the people of Kindah and aṣ-Ṣadaf but passed away before Muhājir had taken up his post. Instead Abū Bakr chose to send him to Yemen, to fight the apostates, and once that campaign was complete Muhājir went back to begin his post."[5]

"He was very effective in combating the apostates in Yemen," reports al-Mirzabānī, "and wrote poems about it."[6] Muhājir was also responsible for conquering the fort of an-Najīr in Ḥaḍramawt.[7]

Al-Bāqillānī has mentioned him among the Prophet's scribes.[8]

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:422.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:465.
3 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:422; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:465.
4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:465.
5 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:423.
6 *Ibid*, 4:423.
7 *Ibid*, 4:423.
8 Bāqillānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.

48

MUḤAMMAD IBN MASLAMAH IBN SALAMAH AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-AWSĪ AL-ḤĀRITHĪ

Born 22 years prior to the revelations[1] and one of the few men named 'Muḥammad' before Islam, he accepted the new faith early on through an invitation from Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr (and some say from Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh). The Prophet ﷺ set up a bond of brotherhood between him and Abū 'Ubaydah.

He took part in all of the Prophet's battles with the exception of Tabūk, which he missed with his permission, and was among those who killed Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf and Ibn Abī'l-Ḥaqīq. He also participated in the conquest of Egypt.[2]

He adhered to the truth with tenacity. 'Umar once passed by Banū Ḥārithah's well and happened upon Muḥammad ibn Maslamah, so he asked him, "O Muḥammad, in what light do you see me?" Muḥammad replied, "I see you in a light which I like, and which is liked by all those who wish you the best. You are strong in collecting money, you have little desire for it yourself, and you are just in distributing it. And if you were ever to bend from the right path, we would straighten you out the way arrows are straightened into shape." "Praise be to Allah," said 'Umar, "for having placed me among a people who would readily straighten me if I were to bend."[3]

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:383.
2 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 2:267.
3 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 2:268.

ʿUmar appointed him to collect charities in Juhaynah, during which time he also served as treasurer, and he would often dispatch him to his employees to check up on them and occasionally to allot half their wealth to the treasury.[1]

Refusing to involve himself in the dispute between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah, he avoided the battles of al-Jamal and Ṣiffīn. He resided in ar-Rabadhah[2] and was murdered in his house in Madīnah in 43/663 by a man from Jordan.[3]

He has been named among the Prophet's scribes by ʿUmar ibn Shabbah,[4] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr,[5] Ibn Kathīr,[6] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[7] al-ʿIrāqī,[8] ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ḥalabī[9] and al-Anṣārī.[10] Ibn Saʿd has quoted the text of a letter penned by Muḥammad ibn Maslamah under the Prophet's direction, intended for Mahrī ibn al-Abyaḍ.[11]

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:330.
2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1377.
3 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:384.
4 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍiʾ*, 1:28.
5 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:51.
6 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:354.
7 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
8 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Sanıyyah*, p. 346.
9 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍiʾ*, 1:211.
10 *Ibid*, 1:210–211.
11 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2:82; see also: M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Al-Wathāʾiq as-Siyāsiyyah*, document no. 137.

49

AL-MUNDHIR IBN ʿAMR IBN KHUNAYS AL-KHAZRAJĪ AS-SĀʿIDĪ

Al-Mundhir's mother is Hind bint al-Mundhir ibn al-Jamūḥ ibn Zayd. He entered Islam and attended the second ʿAqabah with 70 others, acting as the deputy for the tribe of Banū Sāʿidah.[1]

The Prophet ﷺ formed a bond of brotherhood between him and Ṭulayb ibn ʿUmayr according to al-Wāqidī,[2] though Ibn Isḥāq believes it was with Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī.[3]

He fought at Badr and Uḥud[4] and was nicknamed "the one who embraces death".[5] The Prophet sent him as head of the expedition to Bi'r Maʿūnah, to promulgate the Qur'an to the people of Najd, and there he and 70 of his fellow Muslims—among the most celebrated of the *ḥuffāẓ*[6]—were encircled, waylaid and martyred some 36 months after *Hijrah*.[7] He had no children,[8] nor any narrations from the Prophet ﷺ.[9]

Ibn Saʿd says, "al-Mundhir was literate in Arabic prior to Islam,

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:418.
2 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/3:100.
3 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/3:100; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:419.
4 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/3:101; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:418.
5 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:418; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:461.
6 The *ḥuffāẓ* were those who had committed the Qur'an to memory.
7 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/3:101.
8 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/3:101.
9 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:461.

and the writers from among the Arabs were few."[1] He has been named among the Prophet's scribes by al-Bāqillānī.[2]

1 Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/3:100; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:418.

2 Bāqillānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.

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SAʿD IBN AR-RABĪʿ IBN ʿAMR AL-ANṢĀRĪ

His full name is Saʿd ibn ar-Rabīʿ ibn ʿAmr ibn Abī Zuhayr ibn Mālik ibn Imruʾ al-Qays al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī al-ʿAqabī al-Badrī.[1]

He was one of the six emissaries from Madīnah who spoke to the Prophet ﷺ at the first ʿAqabah. When the Prophet invited them to accept Islam they asked him to recite some of what had been revealed from the Qurʾan, so he recited from Sūrah Ibrāhīm, from the verse:

﴿وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَٰهِيمُ رَبِّ ٱجْعَلْ هَٰذَا ٱلْبَلَدَ ءَامِنًا وَٱجْنُبْنِى وَبَنِىَّ أَن نَّعْبُدَ ٱلْأَصْنَامَ ﴿٣٥﴾﴾

> And [bear in mind] when Ibrāhīm [Abraham] said, "O my Lord! make this city one of peace and security; and preserve me and my sons from worshipping idols. . ." (14:35)

to the end of the *sūrah*. These verses touched the six men deeply, and they accepted the Prophet's invitation and joined the new faith.

To him the Prophet revealed al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's letter prior to Uḥud, exposing Quraysh's resolve to attack Madīnah.[2] After the battle the Prophet enquired, "Who will bring me news of Saʿd ibn ar-Rabīʿ?" A man answered, "I will, O Prophet of Allah," and went looking for him among the martyrs who had

1 Dhahabī, *Tajrīd Asmāʾ aṣ-Ṣaḥābah*, 1:214; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:34.

2 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2:25.

fallen in battle that day. He found him soon enough and Sa'd, alive but breathing his last, said to him, "Greet the Prophet ﷺ [on my behalf], tell him that I have suffered twelve wounds, and that I have fulfilled the promise I made. Also tell the Muslims that they will have no excuses before Allah if the Prophet ﷺ is killed while even one of them is alive."[1]

He was buried with Khārijah ibn Abī Zayd and his funeral prayer was attended, as with all of Uḥud's martyrs, by the Prophet ﷺ.[2]

Al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī relates, "Sa'd ibn ar-Rabī' ibn 'Amr al-Khazrajī, one of the 12 deputies [of the second 'Aqabah], knew how to write,"[3] and according to Ibn Sa'd, "he was literate before Islam".[4] Al-Bāqillānī has mentioned him among the Prophet's scribes.[5]

1 Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'*, Al-Jihād:41, pp. 465–466.
2 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, 2:35.
3 Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, 3:200.
4 Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:77; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, 2:34.
5 Bāqillānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.

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SAʿD IBN ʿUBĀDAH IBN DULAYM IBN ḤĀRITHAH

Saʿd attended the second ʿAqabah with 70 others, where he was one of 12 deputies.[1] Not only did he participate in all of the Prophet's ﷺ battles, he also had the honour of carrying Madīnah's banner in each of them.[2] His mother ʿAmrah bint Masʿūd also pledged her allegiance to the Prophet; she passed away in 5/626 and the Prophet, upon returning from an expedition, offered funeral prayers for her.[3]

He was handsome, dignified and generous. Ibn Saʿd writes, "Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah, and many of his ancestors predating Islam, would have someone cry out from their citadel, 'Whoever loves mutton and fat should come to the citadel of Dulaym ibn Ḥārithah'".[4]

He died in Syria in 15/636.[5]

Saʿd apparently kept some books in which he recorded the Prophet's sayings.[6] Ibn Saʿd says, "He could write Arabic in pre-Islamic times, at a period when writing was rare among the Arabs. He was also a skilled swimmer and archer, and whoever was adept in all three was called *'al-kāmil'* (the complete)."[7] He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by al-Bāqillānī.[8]

1 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:143; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:283.
2 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:281.
3 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:143.
4 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:142.
5 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:145.
6 Aʿẓamī, *Dirāsāt fī'l-Ḥadīth an-Nabawī*, p. 110.
7 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:142.
8 Bāqillānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.

52

SAʿĪD IBN SAʿĪD IBN AL-ʿĀṢ AL-QURASHĪ AL-UMAWĪ

The brother of Khālid and Abān, Saʿīd embraced Islam shortly before Makkah's conquest.[1] On the day of the conquest the Prophet ﷺ appointed him as inspector of Makkah's marketplace.[2]

He was martyred in the battle of aṭ-Ṭā'if.[3]

Ibn Sayyid an-Nās[4] and al-Anṣārī[5] have listed him among the Prophet's scribes. Ibn Miskawayh says, "Among the scribes of the Prophet ﷺ are 'Uthmān and Abān, the sons of Saʿīd."[6] Is it possible that this was a copyist's mistake, and that 'Uthmān should instead be Saʿīd?

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:309.
2 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, 2:8.
3 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, 2:8; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:47.
4 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
5 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Mudī'*, p. 24.
6 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.

53

SHURAḤBĪL IBN ḤASANAH

Among the nobles of Quraysh,[1] Shuraḥbīl embraced Islam at an early stage and migrated to Ethiopia.[2] ʿUrwah reports on the authority of Umm Ḥabībah bint Abī Sufyān (the Prophet's ﷺ wife) that the Prophet married her while she was in Ethiopia, she having recently lost her first husband; for the trek back to Madīnah the Ethiopian king, an-Najāshī, asked Shuraḥbīl ibn Ḥasanah to accompany her as guardian.[3]

Abū Bakr placed him in charge of Syria's conquest and ʿUmar afterwards posted him as governor over one of its quarters,[4] and there he died in 18/639 from the plague that ravaged ʿAmwās.

The tribe of Dārī visited the Prophet ﷺ twice, once before the *Hijrah* and once after. On their first visit they asked the Prophet to write them a deed for some land, so he ordered a piece of leather and asked Shuraḥbīl ibn Ḥasanah to write it for them. He has been mentioned among the Prophet's scribes by ʿUmar ibn Shabbah,[5]

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:141.
2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:141; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:143.
3 Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalāʾ*, 2:156.
4 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:143.
5 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍīʾ*, 1:28.

al-Masʿūdī,[1] al-Yaʿqūbī,[2] al-Mizzī,[3] al-ʿIrāqī,[4] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās[5] and al-Anṣārī, who said, "He was the first to write for the Prophet ﷺ, and among the migrants to Ethiopia."[6]

1 Masʿūdī, *At-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*, p. 246.

2 Yaʿqūbī, *At-Tārikh*, 2:80.

3 Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 1:196.

4 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 245.

5 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.

6 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:129. Note, however, that al-Anṣārī also names Khālid ibn Saʿīd as the first to write for the Prophet.

54

AS-SIJIL

Allah says in the Holy Qur'an:

﴿يَوْمَ نَطْوِى ٱلسَّمَآءَ كَطَىِّ ٱلسِّجِلِّ لِلْكُتُبِ ۚ كَمَا بَدَأْنَآ أَوَّلَ خَلْقٍ نُّعِيدُهُۥ ۚ وَعْدًا عَلَيْنَآ ۚ إِنَّا كُنَّا فَٰعِلِينَ ﴿١٠٤﴾﴾

> The day that We roll up the heavens as as-Sijil rolls up [completed] books; even as We produced the first creation, so shall We produce a new one. A promise We have undertaken: truly shall We fulfil it. (21:104)

Commentators on Qur'anic exegesis have differed on the meaning of '*as-Sijil*': some take it to denote scribes in general, others that he is one of the angels. Some believe, however, that as-Sijil is the name of a Companion who wrote for the Prophet ﷺ.[1]

Abū Dāwūd, an-Nasā'ī, and aṭ-Ṭabarī report Ibn 'Abbās' narration that "as-Sijil is one of the Prophet's scribes".[2] Al-Khaṭīb likewise reports Ibn 'Umar's remark, "as-Sijil is a scribe of the Prophet ﷺ," though he follows it with the disclaimer that such a statement from Ibn 'Umar is aberrant and very unlikely.[3]

Ibn Kathīr says that such a statement from Ibn 'Abbās is also very unlikely and adds, "A group of scholars, including Abū'l-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī, have declared that this statement is fabricated even though

1 Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsir*, 4:601–602; Bayhaqī, *As-Sunan al-Kubrā*, 1:126.
2 Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsir*, 4:602.
3 Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsir*, 4:602; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:15.

it appears in the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd. . . Imam Abū Ja'far ibn Jarīr has refuted the authenticity of this statement as well, saying, 'No knowledge exists of anyone by the name of as-Sijil among the Prophet's Companions. The Prophet's scribes are known, and there is none among them by the name of as-Sijil.' This is one of the strongest proofs against this report's legitimacy. Those who have listed him among the Prophet's Companions[1] have relied entirely on this statement and nothing else, and Allah knows best."[2]

I believe that the statement attributed to Ibn 'Abbās is indeed a fabrication, but have decided to mention it anyway.

Al-Anṣārī relates the story of a Christian from Madīnah who embraced Islam, wrote for the Prophet, then reverted back to Christianity and boasted, "Muḥammad does not know anything [of the Qur'an] except what I have composed for him." He died and was buried shortly afterwards, but the next morning they found that the earth had spit him out.[3] Al-Anṣārī claims that this person was known as as-Sijil,[4] but he fails to list his references.

As-Sijil has been mentioned among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Kathīr,[5] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās[6] and al-'Irāqī.[7]

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:261.
2 Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsir*, 4:602.
3 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, (3617); Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 6:625.
4 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:126–128.
5 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:261.
6 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, 2:316.
7 Munāwī, *Al-'Ujālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 246.

55

ṬALḤAH IBN ʿUBAYD ALLĀH IBN ʿUTHMĀN IBN ʿAMR AT-TAYMĪ

One of the eight[1] earliest to embrace Islam and one of the five to do so at the hands of Abū Bakr,[2] Ṭalḥah is among the ten Companions who were given glad tidings of Paradise.[3] He was tortured for his faith,[4] and was bonded in brotherhood to az-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām though they were both Makkans (the usual custom having been to set up links between the migrants from Makkah and the natives of Madīnah).[5]

He did not attend Badr because he was in Syria at the time, either for commerce (as in one narration) or on a scouting mission to secure information about the Qurayshi caravans. Returning to Madīnah, Ṭalḥah asked the Prophet ﷺ for a share in Badr's booty and he answered, "You will have your share." "And my reward [from Allah]?" He replied, "And your reward as well."

At Uḥud he displayed exceptional valour, shielding the Prophet from arrows with his bare hands until his fingers were paralysed. That day the Prophet ﷺ called him 'Ṭalḥat al-khayr' (the excellent Ṭalḥah), and further described him as 'the generous Ṭalḥah' and

1 M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah*, document no. 43.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:229.
3 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istīʿāb*, 2:220.
4 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:59.
5 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:59.

'the bountiful Ṭalḥah' respectively, during the gruelling encounters of Ḥunayn and Tabūk.[1]

"It is said that Ṭalḥah married four women," writes Ibn as-Sakan, "each of whom had a sister who was wedded to the Prophet ﷺ. [They were] Umm Kulthūm bint Abī Bakr the sister of ʿĀ'ishah, Ḥamnah bint Jaḥsh the sister of Zaynab, al-Fāriʿah bint Abī Sufyān the sister of Umm Ḥabībah, and Ruqayyah bint Abī Umayyah the sister of Umm Salamah."[2] He was also a wealthy, generous man. Qabīṣah ibn Jābir says, "I never saw a man give of his wealth more generously without even being asked."[3]

He was commander of the Muhajirūn when the army set out for the conquest of al-Jābiyah, in Syria,[4] and was among the six nominated by ʿUmar for the caliphate after him.[5]

Ṭalḥah was not satisfied with Caliph ʿUthmān and incited the people against him, but when he learned of ʿUthmān's fate his feelings swayed and he grieved over not having championed him. Those accountable for ʿUthmān's slaying harassed him incessantly, however, and coerced him into supporting ʿAlī. Although he thus became the first person to pledge his support to the new Caliph,[6] this did not prevent him from setting out with others to demand justice for ʿUthmān's blood. During the battle of al-Jamal he was martyred by an arrow from Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam. ʿAlī lamented his death tremendously and, brushing the dust from Ṭalḥah's face and beard, cried, "I wish I had died twenty years before this day." Then he added, "Inform Ṭalḥah's killer that he will reside in hell."[7]

Ṭalḥah has been mentioned among the Prophet's scribes by

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:59.

2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:230.

3 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:230.

4 Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, 1:16. The Muhajirūn were the Makkans who had originally migrated to Madīnah.

5 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 2:220.

6 Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, 1:22.

7 Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, 1:23.

Ibn Miskawayh,[1] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[2] al-ʿIrāqī,[3] and al-Anṣārī,[4] among others.

1 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.
2 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:316.
3 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Sanniyyah*, p. 246.
4 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:168.

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THĀBIT IBN QAYS IBN SHAMMĀS IBN ZUHAYR AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-KHAZRAJĪ

At diplomatic and formal occasions, Thābit ibn Qays often acted as the representative of not only Madīnah but also the Prophet ﷺ, just as his son Ḥassān served as the Prophet's poet.[1] Upon the Prophet's arrival to Madīnah, Thābit asked him, "We will protect you from all that we protect ourselves and our children from, so what will we gain in return?" "Paradise," he replied, and the crowd answered, "We approve."[2]

The first encounter he took part in was Uḥud, and he fought in all of the Prophet's ensuing battles.[3]

The Prophet ﷺ missed Thābit one day and asked, "Who will find his whereabouts?" A man said, "I will," and went to Thābit's house only to find him in a gloomy state. The man enquired after him and Thābit replied, "I used to raise my voice over that of the Prophet. My deeds have become worthless and I am among the inhabitants of hell." He reported this back to the Prophet who told him, "Go back and inform Thābit, 'You are not among the inhabitants of hell, but among those of Paradise.'"[4]

He was martyred in the battle of Yamāmah in 11/632; afterwards a man saw him in his dreams, bidding him carry out certain tasks,

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:229.

2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:195.

3 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:229; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:195.

4 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Isti'āb*, 1:193–194; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:229; and Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:195.

and he related this dream to Khālid ibn al-Walīd and Abū Bakr who validated it as Thābit's will.[1]

Referring to *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah* we find that document no. 157 bears the name of its writer, Qays ibn Shammās ar-Rawayānī. I have been unable to find any Companion with that name; it may be an alias for Thābit ibn Qays ibn Shammās. He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Sa'd,[2] al-Mizzī,[3] Ibn Kathīr,[4] al-'Irāqī,[5] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās[6] and al-Anṣārī,[7] among others.

1 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb* 1:195; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:229–230; and Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:195–196.

2 Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2:82.

3 Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 1:196.

4 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:341.

5 Munāwī, *Al-'Ujālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 245.

6 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, p. 2:315.

7 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:94.

57

UBAYY IBN KAʿB

His full name is Ubayy ibn Kaʿb ibn Qays ibn Zayd ibn Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAmr al-Anṣārī an-Najjārī. Embracing Islam in its earliest stages, he attended the second ʿAqabah and took part in all of the Prophet's ﷺ battles.

He was among the jurists of the Prophet's Companions, and the one who most often recited the Qur'an. The Prophet ﷺ once told him, "Allah has ordered me to recite the Qur'an to you." Ubayy wondered, "Did Allah specifically mention me by name?" and the Prophet replied that indeed He had, to which Ubayy began to weep.[1]

Al-Wāqidī narrates from his teachers, "The first person to write for the Prophet ﷺ upon his arrival to Madīnah was Ubayy ibn Kaʿb".[2] Ibn Abī Khaythamah says, "He was the first to record the Qur'an in the Prophet's presence,"[3] and Ibn Sayyid an-Nās adds, "He was the first of the Anṣār to write for the Prophet ﷺ."[4]

Support for this last report comes from *Tārīkh aṭ-Ṭabarī*, in which aṭ-Ṭabarī recounts that in the absence of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, the privilege of recording the Qur'an would fall to Ubayy ibn Kaʿb and Zayd ibn Thābit.[5] These narratives reveal that Makkan scribes shouldered the duty of writing

1 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Tafsīr *Sūrat Lam Yakun*: 2.
2 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:84.
3 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:241.
4 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
5 Ṭabarī, *At-Tārīkh* 6:179; Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.

down the verses in the first instance, in the period directly after the *Hijrah*, and that the first person from the Anṣar to take up this responsibility was Ubayy ibn Kaʿb. Of course, since there were Makkan scribes who recorded the revelations both prior to and after the *Hijrah*, we cannot say that Ubayy was the first to do so in the Prophet's presence.

Authors differ on the year of his death. Ibn Maʿīn says, "My father died either in the nineteenth or twentieth year of *Hijrah* [i.e. 640/641]." Meanwhile al-Wāqidī reports that he died in 22/643 while others claim 30/651, and some narrations imply that he passed away on the Friday prior to Caliph 'Uthmān's martyrdom.[1]

Ubayy began the trend of including the scribe's name at the close of each document,[2] and by referring to *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah* we find numerous manuscripts bearing his name. These include documents nos. 63, 64, 76, 120, 121, 124, 163, 173, 206 and 244. Among the most recognised of the Prophet's scribes, he has been mentioned by 'Umar ibn Shabbah,[3] aṭ-Ṭabarī,[4] Ibn Miskawayh,[5] al-Yaʿqūbī,[6] al-Jahshiyārī,[7] Ibn al-Athīr,[8] al-ʿIrāqī,[9] al-Mizzī,[10] Ibn Kathīr,[11] and al-Anṣārī,[12] among others.

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:19–20.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:19; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, 1:50–51.
3 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:84.
4 Ṭabarī, *At-Tārīkh*, 6:179.
5 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.
6 Yaʿqūbī, *At-Tārīkh* 2:80.
7 Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, p. 12.
8 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 1:50.
9 'Iraqī, *Al-Alfiyyah*, p. 245.
10 Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 1:196.
11 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:24.
12 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:84–85.

58

ʿUMAR IBN AL-KHAṬṬĀB IBN NUFAYL AL-QURASHĪ AL-ʿADAWĪ

The second Caliph of the Muslim state, he was born thirteen years after Abrahah's abortive assault on Makkah[1] and was among Quraysh's nobility as well as its ambassador before Islam.[2]

Treating the Muslims ruthlessly at first, he embraced the religion after forty men and eleven women. His conversion was a glorious event that lifted Islam into the public eye, and it was he who uttered the famous phrase, "We will not worship in secrecy after today."[3]

He is one of the ten who received glad tidings of Paradise. The Prophet ﷺ said, "Allah has bestowed the truth upon ʿUmar's lips and heart," and he also told ʿUmar once, "I swear by Allah that whenever the devil observes you walking along a certain path, he always chooses a different path to tread on."[4] The revelations also came down on several occasions concurring with what ʿUmar had said.[5]

"The knowledge of all people was absorbed within the knowledge of ʿUmar," according to Ḥudhayfah, and Ibn Masʿūd remarks, "If the comibned knowledge of all living Arabs was placed in one balance, and ʿUmar's knowledge in the other, the balance would tip in ʿUmar's favour."[6]

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb* (ed. al-Bajawī), p. 1145.
2 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1145.
3 ʿAlī aṭ-Ṭanṭāwī, *Sīrat ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb*, p. 40.
4 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Faḍā'il aṣ-Ṣaḥābah, p. 22.
5 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Faḍā'il aṣ-Ṣaḥābah, pp. 24–25.
6 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, pp. 1149–1150.

He was literate. Al-Bayhaqī relates that ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿAyyāsh ibn Abī Rabīʿah, and Hishām ibn al-ʿĀṣ ibn Wāʾil made a pact to convene at the watering hole of Banū Ghifār so that they could migrate to Madīnah together. If one of them was unable to come the other two would commence the journey without him. In the morning ʿUmar and ʿAyyāsh were ready but Hishām had not appeared, being entangled in a matter that had also affected other Muslims in Makkah. "Allah cannot accept the repentence of such people," ʿUmar and ʿAyyāsh then asserted, "for they came to know about Allah and believed in Him, and defended His Prophet, only to leave that behind because of some worldly troubles." The Muslims in question also came to believe this, that they were not entitled to Allah's forgiveness. So Allah revealed the verses:

﴿قُلْ يَٰعِبَادِيَ ٱلَّذِينَ أَسْرَفُوا۟ عَلَىٰٓ أَنفُسِهِمْ لَا تَقْنَطُوا۟ مِن رَّحْمَةِ ٱللَّهِ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ يَغْفِرُ ٱلذُّنُوبَ جَمِيعًا ۚ إِنَّهُۥ هُوَ ٱلْغَفُورُ ٱلرَّحِيمُ ﴿٥٣﴾ وَأَنِيبُوٓا۟ إِلَىٰ رَبِّكُمْ وَأَسْلِمُوا۟ لَهُۥ مِن قَبْلِ أَن يَأْتِيَكُمُ ٱلْعَذَابُ ثُمَّ لَا تُنصَرُونَ ﴿٥٤﴾ وَٱتَّبِعُوٓا۟ أَحْسَنَ مَآ أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكُم مِّن رَّبِّكُم مِّن قَبْلِ أَن يَأْتِيَكُمُ ٱلْعَذَابُ بَغْتَةً وَأَنتُمْ لَا تَشْعُرُونَ ﴿٥٥﴾ أَن تَقُولَ نَفْسٌ يَٰحَسْرَتَىٰ عَلَىٰ مَا فَرَّطتُ فِى جَنۢبِ ٱللَّهِ وَإِن كُنتُ لَمِنَ ٱلسَّٰخِرِينَ ﴿٥٦﴾ أَوْ تَقُولَ لَوْ أَنَّ ٱللَّهَ هَدَىٰنِى لَكُنتُ مِنَ ٱلْمُتَّقِينَ ﴿٥٧﴾ أَوْ تَقُولَ حِينَ تَرَى ٱلْعَذَابَ لَوْ أَنَّ لِى كَرَّةً فَأَكُونَ مِنَ ٱلْمُحْسِنِينَ ﴿٥٨﴾ بَلَىٰ قَدْ جَآءَتْكَ ءَايَٰتِى فَكَذَّبْتَ بِهَا وَٱسْتَكْبَرْتَ وَكُنتَ مِنَ ٱلْكَٰفِرِينَ ﴿٥٩﴾ وَيَوْمَ ٱلْقِيَٰمَةِ تَرَى ٱلَّذِينَ كَذَبُوا۟ عَلَى ٱللَّهِ وُجُوهُهُم مُّسْوَدَّةٌ ۚ أَلَيْسَ فِى جَهَنَّمَ مَثْوًى لِّلْمُتَكَبِّرِينَ ﴿٦٠﴾﴾

Say: "O my servants who have transgressed against their souls! Despair not of the Mercy of Allah, Allah forgives all sins for He is truly the Forgiving, the Merciful. Turn to your Lord [in re-

> pentance] and surrender to Him before the punishment comes upon you, for after that you will not be helped. And follow the best [of the courses] revealed to you from your Lord before the punishment comes upon you of a sudden, while you are unawares. Lest the soul should then say, 'Alas for me, that I neglected [my duties] towards Allah, and was in fact among those who mocked!' Or should say, 'Had Allah only guided me, I would certainly have been among the pious.' Or should say when it witnesses the punishment, 'If only I had another chance, that I may be among the righteous.' [But the reply will be] 'Yes, indeed! My Signs came to you but you rejected them, and were arrogant and among the disbelievers.' And on the Day of Judgment you will see those who told lies against Allah with their faces blackened; is there not in hell an abode for the arrogant?" (39:53–60)

'Umar says, "So I recorded these verses with my own hand and sent them to Hishām." Hishām recounts, "When the letter arrived I went out to Dhī Ṭuwā and contemplated, trying to understand it. 'O Allah,' I entreated, 'make me understand it.' And a fear came over me that these verses had been sent concerning us, given what we had said about ourselves and what others had said about us. Returning home, I rode off on my mule till I caught up with the Prophet." Many years later Hishām died as a martyr at Ajnādayn during Abū Bakr's reign.[1]

'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb took over the caliphate after Abū Bakr's death in 13/634, and was fatally stabbed by Abū Lu'lu'ah, the Persian man-servant of al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah, towards the end of the month of Dhū'l-Ḥijjah in 23/644.

'Alī addressed him after his death, "Above the deeds of all other

1 Bayhaqī, *As-Sunan al-Kubrā*, 9:13–14. This is a strong and reliable narration, proving that 'Umar knew how to write and contradicting 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn 'Alī al-Aḥmadī's claim that he was illiterate.

men, I would prefer to have the equivalent of your deeds to present before Allah; and I swear by Allah that I thought He would unite you with your two companions [the Prophet ﷺ and Abū Bakr] sooner, because I became so accustomed to hearing the Prophet ﷺ say, 'I came with Abū Bakr and 'Umar. . ., I entered with Abū Bakr and 'Umar. . ., I left with Abū Bakr and 'Umar. . . .' And so I hoped—or thought—that Allah would unite you with them [sooner]."[1]

He has been mentioned among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Isḥāq,[2] 'Umar ibn Shabbah,[3] Ibn Miskawayh,[4] Ibn al-Athīr,[5] al-Mizzī,[6] Ibn Kathīr,[7] al-'Irāqī,[8] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[9] al-Anṣārī,[10] and Ibn 'Asākir.[11]

1 Muslim, *Saḥīḥ*, Faḍā'il aṣ-Ṣaḥābah, p. 14.
2 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:350.
3 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:28.
4 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, p. 1:291.
5 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 4:53.
6 Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 1:196.
7 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:339, 5:352.
8 Munāwī, *Al-'Ujālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 245.
9 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
10 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:74.
11 Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 4:344.

59

ʿUQBAH

Ibn Saʿd mentions in *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt* that the Prophet ﷺ sent the following to ʿAwsajah ibn Ḥarmalah al-Juhanī:

> In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. This is a description of what the Prophet has given ʿAwsajah ibn Ḥarmalah al-Juhanī from the tribe of Dhī'l-Marwah. He has given him the land situated between Balkathah, al-Maṣnaʿah, al-Jufalāt and al-Jadd Jabal al-Qiblah. No one should dispute him in his claim to this land, and whoever does dispute him has no right to what he is disputing for, as this land is his right. And ʿUqbah has written and witnessed this.[1]

Al-Anṣārī points out that Ibn Saʿd was unable to provide a full name for ʿUqbah.[2]

Dr. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh suggested that the Companion in question might be al-ʿAlā' ibn ʿUqbah,[3] but the document says ʿUqbah and not Ibn ʿUqbah. With the exception of al-Anṣārī, I have not found this individual included among the Prophet's scribes by any scholar.

Quite a few of the Prophet's Companions were named ʿUqbah but the most likely candidate is ʿUqbah ibn ʿĀmir ibn ʿAbs al-Juhanī,

1 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/1:24.
2 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:209.
3 M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah*, document no. 154.

because Abū Saʿīd ibn Yūnus describes him as "a well-read scholar who was familiar with the laws of inheritance and Islamic jurisprudence, articulate in his speech, a writer and poet, and one who helped assemble the parchments that contained the Qur'an. I witnessed his copy of the Qur'an in Egypt, organised differently from the one used by ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, and at its end ʿUqbah ibn ʿĀmir had written in it with his own hands."[1]

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:489.

60

USAYD IBN AL-ḤUḌAYR IBN SIMĀK IBN ʿATĪQ IBN RĀFIʿ IBN IMRUʾ AL-QAYS IBN ZAYD IBN ʿABD AL-ASHHAL

A venerable,[1] high-ranking member of his tribe both before and after Islam,[2] he and Saʿd ibn Muʿādh embraced Islam on the same day at the hands of Muṣʿab ibn ʿUmayr, and he attended the second ʿAqabah with 70 others from Madīnah in his capacity as one of 12 deputies.[3]

Convinced that no fighting would ensue, Usayd did not join the Prophet's ﷺ expedition to Badr. Ibn Saʿd reports on the authority of others, "Usayd ibn al-Ḥuḍayr met the Prophet ﷺ after his return from Badr and said, 'Praise be to Allah, Who has brought you victory and happiness. O Prophet of Allah, I did not stay behind thinking you would encounter the enemy. I thought you had left to intercept a caravan, and had I known it was the enemy I would not have stayed behind.' He replied, 'You have spoken the truth.'"[4]

"He took part in Badr as well as the ʿAqabah, where he was a deputy," writes Ibn Sakan, "though others refute the notion that he fought at Badr."[5] Usayd took part in all of the Prophet's subsequent encounters.[6]

1 Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, 3:287.
2 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:136.
3 Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, 3:287.
4 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:136.
5 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:49.
6 Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, 3:287.

He passed away in the month of Shaʿbān, in 20/641, and ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb carried his body from the tribe of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal to al-Baqīʿ, where he was buried.[1]

Ibn Saʿd states, "Usayd and his father al-Ḥuḍayr were literate in Arabic before Islam."[2] He has been mentioned among the Prophet's scribes by al-Bāqillānī.[3]

1 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:137.

2 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/2:136; Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, 3:287.

3 Bāqillānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.

61

ʿUTHMĀN IBN ʿAFFĀN
IBN ABĪ AL-ʿĀṢ AL-QURASHĪ AL-UMAWĪ

The third Caliph of the Muslim state and one of the ten Companions given glad tidings of Paradise, ʿUthmān was born six years after Abrahah's failed attack on Makkah[1] and was among the first to accept Islam, at the hands of Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq.[2] He was the first to migrate to Ethiopa, accompanied by his wife Ruqayyah who was the Prophet's ﷺ daughter.[3]

Ruqayyah passed away during the time of Badr, her illness being the reason ʿUthmān had elected to stay behind in Madīnah, so the Prophet awarded him his share of Badr's booty and promised him the reward of participation as well. He also granted him his other daughter's hand in marriage, and that is how ʿUthmān earned the nickname "the one with two lights".[4]

He was voted the third Caliph on the last Monday of the month of Dhū'l-Ḥijjah, 23/644, and was martyred in a heinous plot carried out by the adversaries of Islam on Friday the eighteenth of Dhū'l-Ḥijjah, 35/656.[5]

Ibn Kathīr says, "al-Wāqidī narrates that when Nahshal ibn Mālik al-Wa'ilī came to the Prophet ﷺ, the latter asked ʿUthmān

1 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:467.
2 *Ibid*, 2:467.
3 *Ibid*, 2:467.
4 *Ibid*, 2:467.
5 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 2:463.

ibn ʿAffān to write a document for Nahshal detailing the pillars of Islam."[1]

He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by al-Yaʿqūbī,[2] ʿUmar ibn Shabbah,[3] al-Wāqidī,[4] aṭ-Ṭabarī,[5] Ibn Miskawayh,[6] al-Jahshiyārī,[7] Ibn Kathīr,[8] Ibn al-Athīr,[9] al-Mizzī,[10] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[11] al-ʿIrāqī,[12] al-Anṣārī,[13] and Ibn ʿAsākir,[14] among many others.

1 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:351.
2 Yaʿqūbī, *At-Tārīkh*, 2:80.
3 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:28.
4 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:339.
5 Ṭabarī, *At-Tārīkh*, 6:179.
6 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.
7 Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, p. 12.
8 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:351.
9 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, 2:313.
10 Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 1:196.
11 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
12 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 245.
13 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:68.
14 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 4:345.

62

YAZĪD IBN ABĪ SUFYĀN AL-UMAWĪ

The half-brother of Muʿāwiyah and the best among Abū Sufyān's children, he was known as 'Yazīd al-khayr' (the excellent Yazīd).[1] He was brave and intelligent and embraced Islam on the day of the conquest [of Makkah].[2]

He fought at Ḥunayn and received from its booty one hundred camels and forty silver vessels, which Bilāl weighed for him.[3]

When Abū Bakr returned from his pilgrimage in 12/633, he sent ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān, Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ, and Shuraḥbīl ibn Ḥasanah on an expedition to Palestine.[4] Adh-Dhahabī writes, "Abū Bakr assigned him his post, then walked alongside him while Yazīd was on his mount, bidding him farewell and giving him advice. The only reason he did so was because of Yazīd's nobility and excellence of faith."[5]

The expedition encountered the Roman forces at Ajnādayn; Allah granted the Muslims a brilliant victory and the province fell in the month of Jumādā I, 13/634.

When the caliphate came to ʿUmar he appointed Abū ʿUbaydah commander of the army, who then went on to conquer Syria. He also posted Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān over Palestine. Abū ʿUbaydah on his deathbed asked that Muʿādh ibn Jabal succeed him, and Muʿādh

1 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1575.
2 Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, 1:237.
3 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1575.
4 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, p. 1575.
5 Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalā'*, 1:238.

on his deathbed asked the same for Yazīd,[1] and in each case ʿUmar consented.[2]

Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān died in 18/639 from the plague of ʿAmwās, having requested that his brother Muʿāwiyah succeed him. ʿUmar complied with his wish out of respect for him.[3]

He has been named among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Saʿd,[4] Ibn Miskawayh,[5] al-ʿIrāqī,[6] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[7] and al-Anṣārī,[8] as well as many others.

1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istiʿāb*, pp. 1575–1576.
2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 3:656.
3 Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām an-Nubalāʾ*, p. 1:238.
4 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍīʾ*, 1:240–241.
5 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.
6 Munāwī, *Al-ʿUjālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 246.
7 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-Athar*, 2:316.
8 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍīʾ*, 1:240–241.

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ZAYD IBN ARQAM IBN ZAYD IBN QAYS IBN AN-NUʿMĀN AL-ANṢĀRĪ

Unable to partake in the battle of Uḥud due to his youth,[1] Zayd's first encounter was at al-Khandaq,[2] and this proved to be the first of 17 battles he attended with the Prophet ﷺ.[3]

Zayd ibn Arqam was an orphan cared for by ʿAbdullāh ibn Rawāḥah, whom he accompanied to the battle of Mu'tah. He left afterwards for al-Kūfah and set up his residence there,[4] and fought alongside ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn (who was one of his closest friends).[5] He died in al-Kūfah, either in 66/686 or 68/688.[6]

He knew how to read and write, for he wrote down some of the Prophet's sayings and passed them on to Anas ibn Mālik.[7] Al-Bāqillānī mentions him among the Prophet's scribes.[8]

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1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:219; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:650.

2 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:560.

3 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:219; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:560; and Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, 3:533.

4 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:10.

5 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:220; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:560.

6 Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:10; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:560; and Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, 3:532.

7 Aʿẓamī, *Dirāsāt fi'l-Ḥadīth an-Nabawī*, p. 107.

8 Bāqillānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, p. 274.

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ZAYD
IBN THĀBIT

His full name is Zayd ibn Thābit ibn aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Zayd al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī, among the most famous of jurists and one of the pre-eminent recorders of the Qur'an.

His father was killed in battle when he was six, so he grew up an orphan.[1] By the time of the Prophet's ﷺ *Hijrah* Zayd, a boy of 11, had memorised 17 *sūrah*s from the Qur'an and took it upon himself to recite these to the Prophet, who was delighted[2]; he completed his memorisation of the entire Qur'an during the Prophet's lifetime.[3]

He took part in the Prophet's battles beginning with al-Khandaq.[4] At the battle of Tabūk he carried the banner of the Banū an-Najjār tribe. Originally the banner had been with 'Umārah ibn Ḥazm but the Prophet ﷺ took it from him and gave it to Zayd, and when 'Umārah enquired, "O Prophet of Allah, have you heard anything [unbecoming] about me?" he replied, "No, but the Qur'an takes precedence."[5] At Yamāmah he was pierced by an arrow but suffered no permanent injuries,[6] and was in charge of allocating the booty after the battle of Yarmūk.[7]

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1 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 2:310.

2 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 2:307.

3 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Faḍā'il al-Qur'an:8; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2:355; Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *Al-Miḥbar*, p. 286; and Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, p. 27.

4 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 2:310.

5 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:560; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Isti'āb*, 1:552.

6 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Isti'āb*, 1:553.

7 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 2:306; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:561.

The Prophet ﷺ ordered Zayd to learn Hebrew, which he did in about two weeks. "I wrote the Prophet's letters to the Jews," he said, "and if they wrote back to him I would translate their messages."[1] Ibn Miskawayh adds, "Zayd ibn Thābit recorded the revelations and wrote to kings, and was well acquainted with Farsi, Latin and Ethiopian."[2]

He is also one of the Muslim ummah's greatest scholars and jurists. Ash-Sha'bī declares, "The jurists are four: 'Umar, 'Alī, Zayd, and Ibn Mas'ūd."[3] To this Masrūq adds, "Among the Prophet's Companions there were six who could give fatwas:[4] 'Umar, 'Alī, Ibn Mas'ūd, Zayd, Ubayy, and Abū Mūsā."[5]

The Prophet ﷺ said, "Zayd ibn Thābit is the most knowledgable of my ummah concerning the laws of inheritance,"[6] and in fact he was the first to compose a treatise on these laws.[7]

Zayd was 'Umar's regent in Madīnah everytime the latter embarked on a journey, and it was seldom that 'Umar returned without presenting him with a palm garden.[8] 'Uthmān also left Zayd in charge of Madīnah whenever he went to perform Hajj.[9]

He has been listed among the Prophet's scribes by all those who have written in this field. For instance, Ibn Isḥāq,[10] Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ,[11] 'Umar ibn Shabbah,[12] al-Bukhārī,[13] aṭ-Ṭabarī,[14]

1 Bukhārī, *At-Tārikh al-Kabīr*, 2/1:381.
2 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, p. 292.
3 Ibn al-Madīnī, *Al-'Ilal*, p. 43; Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 2:310.
4 Islamic legal rulings.
5 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 2:310; Ibn al-Madīnī, *Al-'Ilal*, p. 44.
6 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 2:309.
7 A'ẓamī, *Dirāsāt fi'l-Ḥadīth an-Nabawī*, English section, pp. 59–60.
8 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:562.
9 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, 1:553.
10 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:350.
11 Khalifah ibn Khayyāṭ, *At-Tārikh*, 1:77.
12 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:28; also 1:112.
13 Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 9:22.
14 Ṭabarī, *At-Tārikh*, 6:179.

al-Mas'ūdī,[1] and al-Jahshiyārī, who says, "Zayd ibn Thābit wrote to kings in addition to what he recorded of the Qur'an."[2]

The Prophet ﷺ would summon him to record the Qur'an if he was absent. Al-Barā' ibn 'Āzib reports, "When the verse was revealed,

﴿لَّا يَسْتَوِي ٱلْقَٰعِدُونَ مِنَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ غَيْرُ أُو۟لِى ٱلضَّرَرِ وَٱلْمُجَٰهِدُونَ فِى سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ بِأَمْوَٰلِهِمْ وَأَنفُسِهِمْ﴾

> Not equal are those believers who sit [at home], excepting those who are disabled, and those who strive and fight in the cause of Allah with their goods and their persons. (4:95)

the Prophet ﷺ said, 'Send for Zayd, and tell him to bring his writing utensils. . .'"[3] Years later Caliph Abū Bakr, acting on 'Umar's advice, entrusted Zayd with gathering all the parchments containing Qur'anic verses and collating them into one master volume. This experience made him an ideal candidate yet again during 'Uthmān's reign, when the Caliph directed Zayd (and others) to make several duplicate copies of this master volume for dissemination throughout the expanding Muslim realms.[4] For these efforts the ummah will forever remain indebted to him.

1 Jahshiyārī, *Al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, p. 12.

2 Mas'ūdī, *At-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*, p. 246; Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 1:291.

3 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Faḍā'il al-Qur'an:4.

4 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Faḍā'il al-Qur'an:3; A'ẓamī, The History of the Qur'anic Text, pp. 83–91.

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AZ-ZUBAYR IBN AL-ʿAWWĀM

The Prophet's ﷺ cousin, az-Zubayr was born 18 years prior to *Hijrah* and adopted Islam at an early age shortly after Abū Bakr.[1] "Ṭalḥah, az-Zubayr, and ʿAlī were peers of the same age," writes al-Madā'inī,[2] and ʿUrwah says, "az-Zubayr entered Islam at the age of eight".[3] He was also the first person to unsheathe his sword for the sake of Allah.[4] A rumour was spread that the Prophet ﷺ had been taken captive in the upper parts of Makkah and az-Zubayr, 12 years old at the time, set out into the alleyways with his sword glimmering in his hand until he happened upon the Prophet ﷺ. The Prophet wondered, "What is the matter Zubayr?" so he told him of the rumour and concluded, "I had come to strike with my sword the person who was holding you captive."

His uncle tortured him because of his new faith, suspending him amidst smoke while az-Zubayr insisted, "I will never go back to being an infidel."[5] He eventually migrated to Ethiopia but his stay was short.[6] He is one of the ten Companions who received glad tidings of Paradise[7] and the Prophet ﷺ once remarked, "Every prophet has a disciple, and my disciple is az-Zubayr."[8]

1 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:197.
2 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:28.
3 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:27.
4 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:27.
5 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:29.
6 Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 1:344; Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:30.
7 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:27.
8 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:39.

At Badr the Prophet ﷺ had a rider on either side of him: az-Zubayr on his right and al-Miqdād ibn al-Aswad on his left.[1] Az-Zubayr also took part in all of the Prophet's other battles[2] and on the day of [Makkah's] conquest the Prophet gave him Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah's banner so that he entered Makkah with two flags.[3]

He participated in Egypt's conquest during the reign of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb;[4] though he was among the six Companions nominated by 'Umar for the caliphate,[5] he removed his name from the list after the Caliph's martyrdom.[6]

Setting out with 'Ā'ishah to fight 'Alī on the day of al-Jamal, he was reminded by the latter of what the Prophet had once said: that az-Zubayr would wrong himself one day by taking up arms against 'Alī. So he left without taking part in combat and, en route to Madīnah, was killed by Ibn Jurmūz while praying[7] in Wādī as-Sibā'—seven parasangs from Baṣrah[8]- in the month of Jumādā I of the year 36/656.[9] 'Alī and his Companions cried upon hearing of his death,[10] and 'Alī addressed the killer, "Prepare to descend to your abode in hell, you bedouin. The Prophet ﷺ told me, 'The person who kills az-Zubayr will reside in hell.'"[11]

Regarding his scribal duties al-Mas'ūdī says, "az-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām and Juhaym ibn aṣ-Ṣalt wrote records of all given charities."[12] He also wrote the Prophet's letter to the tribe of Banū

1 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:29.
2 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Isti'āb*, 1:58.
3 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:33.
4 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:198.
5 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:34.
6 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:37.
7 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, 2:199.
8 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:42.
9 Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:546.
10 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:39.
11 Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 1:40.
12 Mas'ūdī, *At-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*, p. 245.

Mu'āwiyah from Ṭayyi'.[1] He has been named among the Prophet's scribes by Ibn Shabbah,[2] Ibn Kathīr,[3] al-'Irāqī,[4] Ibn Sayyid an-Nās,[5] and al-Anṣārī,[6] among others.

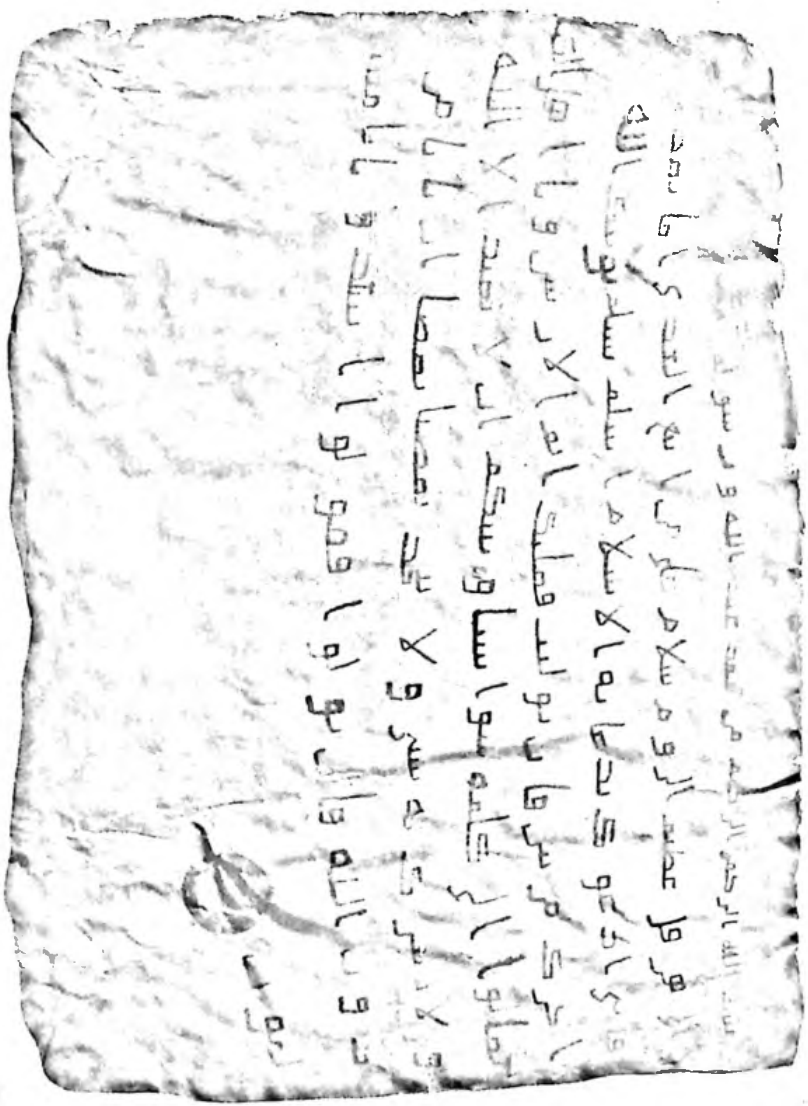
1 M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah*, document no. 193.
2 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:28.
3 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, 5:344.
4 Munāwī, *Al-'Ujālah as-Saniyyah*, p. 246.
5 Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Athar*, 2:315.
6 Anṣārī, *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍī'*, 1:114.

APPENDIX

LETTERS OF THE PROPHET MUḤAMMAD ﷺ

The following photo images are of some letters preserved in the Muslim world for an extensive period—including in private collections—that purport to be from Prophet Muhammad to different kings and dignitaries. The issue of how authentic these letters are is a difficult question; and as we have not been able to inspect any of the letters first hand, we will leave judgment upon them. The one certain matter is that the texts of these letters totally concur with the contents of the most reliable history books. Furthermore, Professor Hamidullah has been fortunate to personally inspect and study some of the letters, and he believes them to be authentic. Professor Hamidullah's *al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyyah* (3rd edition) has the following documentation of our samples: the letter to Heraclius the Emperor of Byzantine is Hamidullah's document 26; the letter to Negus the King of Abyssinia is document 21; the letter to al-Mundhir ibn Sāwā the Governor of Bahrain is document 57; the letter to al-Ḥārith ibn Abī Shamir al-Ghassānī the King of Damascus is document 37; the letter to Jayfar the King of Oman and his brother ʿAbd, sons of Julandī, is document 76; and the letter to Musaylimah the Liar is document 206.

Each of the letters has been written by a different scribe and so the handwriting varies.



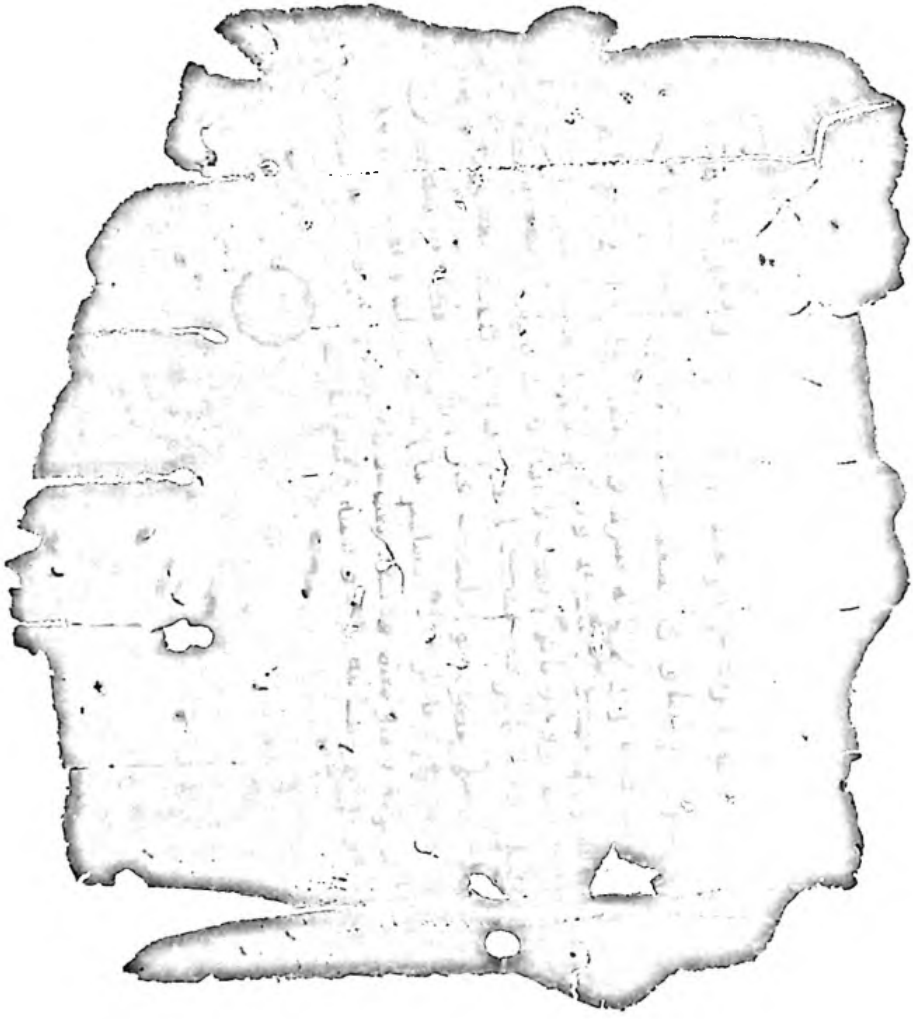
THE LETTER TO HERACLIUS, BYZANTINE EMPEROR

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate,

From Muḥammad, the slave of Allah and His Messenger, to Hiraql (Heraclius) the Great of the Romans.

Peace be upon him who follows the right path. I invite you to embrace Islam so that you may live in peace. If you come within the fold of Islam, Allah will give you double reward, but in case you reject, then you bear the sins of persecuting Arians,[1] and 'O people of the Scripture, come to a word that is just between us and you, that we worship none but Allah, and that we associate no partners with Him, and that none of us shall take others as lords besides Allah. Then, if they turn away, say: Bear witness that we are Muslims.'

1 A Christian sect which did not believe in the Trinity. They believed in Jesus being Son of God, created by God the Father, distinct from the Father and thus His subordinate.



THE LETTER TO AL-MUNDHIR IBN SĀWĀ, GOVERNOR OF BAHRAIN

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate,

From Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah, to al-Mundhir ibn Sāwā:

I praise Allah who has no equal or partner; I bear witness that there is no god but Allah, Muḥammad is His servant and Messenger. I remind you of Allah, the Possessor of power and majesty. Surely the one who gives advice will have been advised with it also. Those who obey my messengers and orders will have obeyed me. Those who listen to their counsels will have listened to my counsels. My messengers praised you. I have accepted intercession for you and your tribe. Leave believers in the state in which they made faith. I forgave those who do not accept, so accept their excuses for this reason. As long as you are right, we will not separate you from your duty. Those who remain as Jews or Magians must pay the *jizyah* (poll tax).

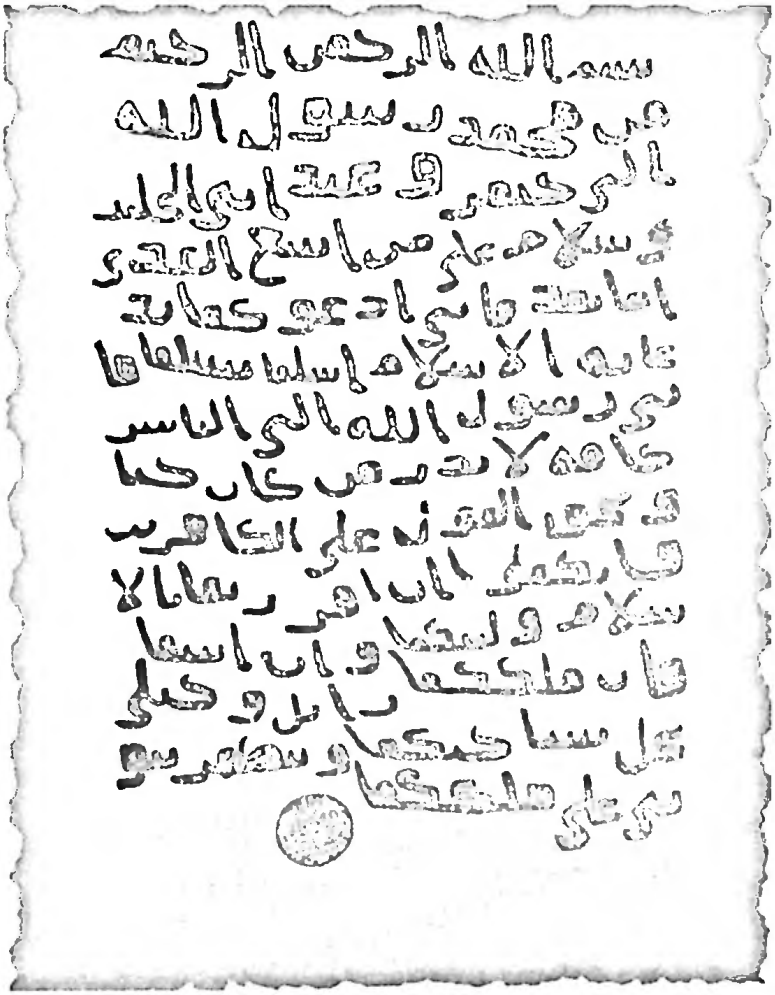


THE LETTER TO AL-ḤARITH IBN ABĪ SHAMIR AL-GHASSĀNĪ, THE KING OF DAMASCUS

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate,

From Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah, to al-Ḥarith ibn Abī Shamir:

Peace be upon him who follows true guidance, believes in it and regards it as true. I invite you to believe in Allah Alone with no associate; thereafter your kingdom will remain yours.

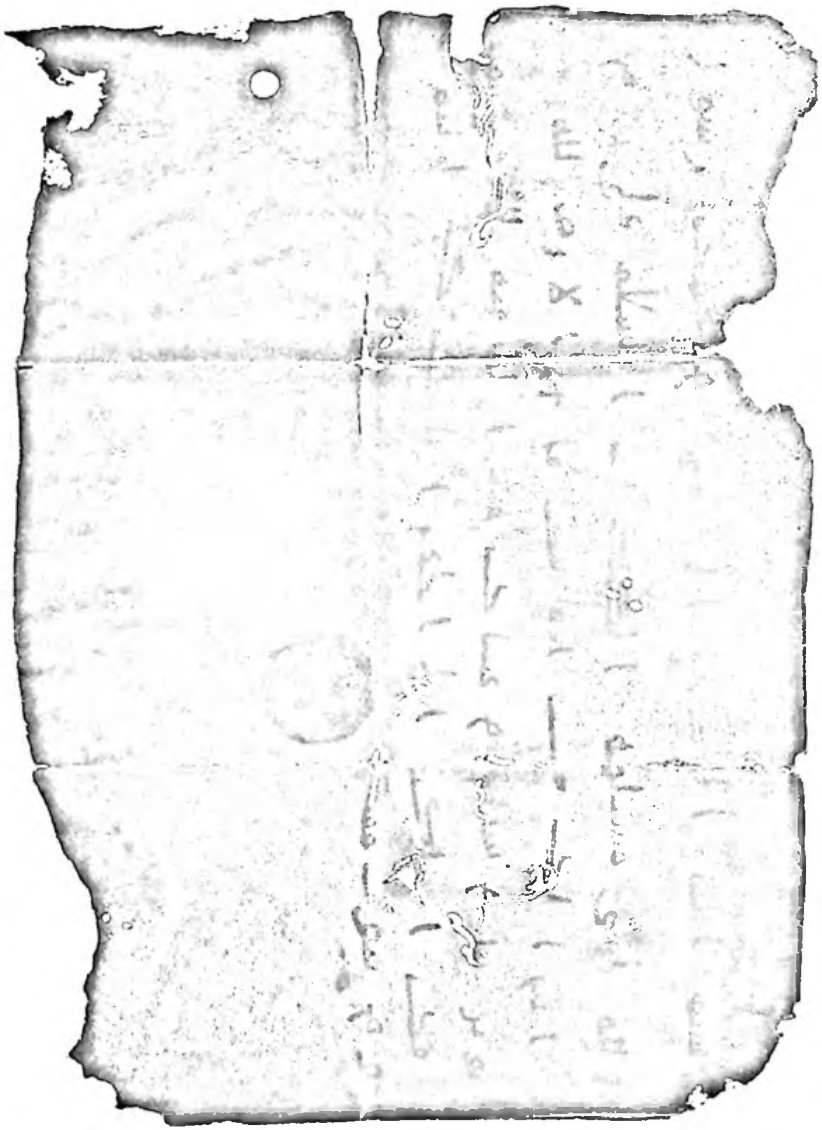


THE LETTER TO THE KING OF OMAN, JAYFAR, AND HIS BROTHER ʿABD, SONS OF AL-JULANDĪ

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate,

From Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdullah to Jayfar and ʿAbd al-Julandī:

Peace be upon him who follows true guidance; thereafter I invite both of you to the Call of Islam. Embrace Islam. Allah has sent me as a Prophet to all His creatures in order that I may instill fear of Allah in the hearts of His disobedient creatures so that there may be left no excuse for those who deny Allah. If you two accept Islam, you will remain in command of your country; but if you refuse my Call, you must remember that all your possessions are perishable. My horsemen will appropriate your land, and my Prophethood will assume preponderance over your kingship.



THE LETTER TO MUSAYLIMAH THE LIAR

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate,

From Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah, to Musaylimah the Liar:

Peace be upon those who follow the right path. From now on, know that the Earth belongs to Allah. He grants it to whomever of His servants He wishes. The beautiful end belongs to the God-fearing. If you and those with you repent, Allah will forgive you and those who repent with you.

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