



ṢAḤĪḤ AL-BUKHÂRÎ

The Early Years of Islam

BEING THE HISTORICAL CHAPTERS OF
THE *KITÂB AL-JÂMI' AṢ-ṢAḤĪḤ*
COMPILED BY IMÂM ABÛ 'ABD-ALLÂH
MUḤAMMAD IBN ISMÂ'ÎL AL-BUKHÂRÎ

TRANSLATED AND EXPLAINED

by

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION (1938)

THE WORK which is now being placed before the public comprises the historical chapters of the most important compilation of Traditions, the *Kitâb al-Jâmi' as-Şaḥiḥ* by Imâm Muḥammad ibn Ismâ'il al-Bukhârî, and depicts the beginning of the Prophet's revelation and the early years of Islam up to and including that decisive turning-point of Islamic history, the Battle of Badr. The five instalments of which the present volume consists will be followed in the course of time, God willing, by thirty-five more instalments containing my translation of, and commentary on, the whole of the *Şaḥiḥ al-Bukhârî*.

The idea of rendering the *Şaḥiḥ* into English – a task never before attempted – occurred to me during my five years' sojourn at Medina, when I was studying the science of *ḥadîth* in the Prophet's Mosque. In that serene atmosphere, the necessity of finding once more a direct contact with the original spirit of Islam presented itself to me with overwhelming force. It is not enough, I realized, to know what this or that great man of the past thought about matters Islamic; it is not enough to live in the shadow of thoughts that have been thought at a period so remote from us that they can hardly have any immediate bearing on the exigencies of our present-day life. What we most urgently need today is a new understanding and a direct appreciation of the true teachings of Islam. In order to achieve this we must once again make real the voice of the Prophet of Islam – real, as if he were speaking directly to us and for us; and it is in the *ḥadîth* that his voice can be most clearly heard.

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The term *ḥadîth* (pl. *aḥâdith*) primarily denotes a narrative or a report; in Islamic theological usage it has come to mean the records of the sayings and doings of the Prophet Muḥammad, and is hence translated as "Tradition".

It was as much from the Master's example as from the Qur'ân that the Companions of the Prophet derived their beliefs and their rules of conduct. For the later generations of Muslims, who no longer had the life of the Prophet before their eyes, the exact knowledge of the records enshrining his teachings became an even greater necessity: and so people began to compile and write down the Traditions handed down to them by the Companions and their immediate successors. The prodigious memory of the Arabs, so amply borne out by history, was a great advantage for a faithful preservation of Traditions. Besides, even in the lifetime of the Prophet a few of his Companions (e.g., 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr) used to commit these reports to writing, and the increasing distance from the time of the Prophet made this practice imperative. However, until the beginning of the third century after the Hijrah, there was no system in these collections, and the individual *aḥâdith* were hardly ever critically sifted. In consequence, much unreliable material got mixed up with the genuine; and as a reaction to this, the critical investigation of Traditions was taken up and rapidly developed into a science.

In the case of any historical document relating to a time anterior to its composition, the means of verification are, firstly, a corroboration of the evidence adduced in the document concerned by other, independent sources; and, secondly, a thorough investigation of the reliability of the authorities – or the chain of authorities – responsible for the transmission of the historical facts underlying the document in question. This principle was gradually, and with increasing rigour, applied to the Traditions. Different accounts bearing on one and the same incident or saying were critically compared, and every chain of narrators (called *isnâd*) subjected to very intense scrutiny. In order that a Tradition be recognized as "sound" (*ṣaḥiḥ*), all facts about the lives of its narrators, commencing with the Prophet's Companion or Companions who first reported it, must be known and historically established, including the fact of an un-

broken contiguity in the line of narrators, and a positive proof that every one of them was in personal contact with his authority, i.e., the person who communicated to him the *ḥadīth* in question. Every one of the narrators must be known to be truthful, pious, just and possessing a faultless memory – so much so that any substantiated challenge (*ṭaʿn*) on any of these points automatically removes the narrator concerned from the rank of trustworthy authorities (*thiqāt*). And, finally, if two or more persons who otherwise could be regarded as reliable narrate *intrinsically conflicting* Traditions on the same subject, they lose their position of unquestioned authority, with the result that no Tradition reported by them can by itself (i.e., without corroboration by another chain of narrators) be classified as *ṣaḥīḥ*.

It is not intended to give here the full methodology of *ḥadīth*; the above lines should merely explain one of the reasons for the extraordinary esteem in which Al-Bukhārī's *Kitāb al-Jāmiʿ aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* has always been held throughout the Muslim world. This appreciation is due to the high sense of intellectual and moral responsibility and the extreme severity with which its author – who lived in the first half of the third century after the Hijrah (corresponding to the ninth century of the Christian era) – approached the problem of *ḥadīth*. His standards of investigation and scrutiny are far more rigorous than those of any other Traditionist before or after him; and it can safely be said that to this day they answer to the most exacting demands of historical criticism.

Our realization that the Traditions regarded as *ṣaḥīḥ* by this most rigorous of all Traditionists are indeed historically reliable is of the utmost importance to the ideological future of Islam: for it is in the Sunnah – the way of life – of the Last Prophet that the spirit of Islam finds its authentic, concrete expression; and it is through *ahādīth* alone that the Prophet's Sunnah is fully conveyed to us. In other words, our knowledge of *ḥadīth* is an indispensable key to a full understanding of the Sunnah and, thus, of Islam.

The necessity, for a Muslim, of following the Sunnah of the Prophet is firmly established in the Qurʾān itself. But one could ask: Assuming that the Traditions as such are genuine and reliable, do the present-day conditions of the world and society permit a full application of the Sunnah to the practical life of the Muslims, or would such an application – as some assert – result in complete social rigidity, and thus constitute a permanent drawback to the cultural possibilities of the Muslim world?

To this we have a definite answer: If, despite the clear-cut Qurʾānic injunctions relating to the Prophet's Sunnah, that Sunnah were not practicable at this or any other time, the only possible conclusion would be that the relevant Qurʾānic injunctions are, in themselves, meaningless and impracticable. For a Muslim, who regards the Qurʾān as the Word of God, this proposition is obviously unacceptable. Consequently, if we have reason to believe that the sources from which we draw our knowledge of the Sunnah – that is, the *ahādīth* – are historically reliable, then this Sunnah, rightly understood, *must* be practicable at all times and cannot be a drawback to Muslim life.

But what does "the Sunnah, rightly understood," mean? Has its interpretation – nay, the interpretation of the Holy Qurʾān itself – been fixed for us, once and for all, at some remote period of the past? This, unfortunately, would seem to be the attitude of the vast majority of Muslims. Since many centuries they have ceased to think *independently* about the teachings of Islam and contented themselves with the mere repetition of ideas and conceptions formed not later than in the fourth century after the Hijrah, and often reflecting the meanderings of Neo-Platonic philosophy which loomed so large in the minds of many Muslim scholars from the second century onwards: ideas and conceptions which do not in every case coincide with the intentions of the Last Prophet and his Companions. In short, it was the rigidity of medieval Muslim thinking *about* the Prophet's teachings and not a supposed "rigidity of the Sunnah" as such that was undoubtedly one of the main causes of the cultural decay of the Muslim world. To be sure, none can pretend that the works of the early Muslim generations could be dispensed with in our days; they are as necessary for us as they were necessary for our predecessors. But are we to assume that *all* possibilities of religious knowledge have been exhausted by those early works, and that nothing remains for us but to follow them blindly, without the right to scrutinize and interpret them anew?

Obviously, it cannot be so. The very greatness of the Qurʾān – and, consequently, of the Sunnah of its Apostle – consists in the fact that the more our worldly knowledge increases, the more new and hitherto

hidden meanings appear in them. The piety and the religious ardour of the Muslims may be lower in our days than in the earliest centuries of Islam; but certainly not our means of understanding. The interpretation given to the teachings of Islam by the Last Prophet will forever remain binding on a Muslim; but beyond this, he is free – in fact, *required* – to use his own intellect and his own conscience. This, and nothing else, was the attitude of the great Islamic thinkers whom we describe as *imāms* (“leaders”). They never pretended to be infallible; they were learned men devoted to the search for truth, and they knew that the duty of thinking could never cease to be a duty for man. It was a duty for Abū Ḥanīfah as well as for Ibn Ḥazm or Ibn Rushd; for Al-Ghazālī as well as for Ibn Taimiyyah or for Shāh Wali Allāh; and it is a duty for you and for me.

A genuine revival of Islam is impossible without an intensive inquiry into its original spirit. We must build further and higher on the foundations supplied by past generations of scholars and thinkers. We cannot accept the idea that the teachings of Islam could ever be exhausted in all their depth; and no word of anyone below the Prophet can ever be considered to be final: all of us who labour at a better understanding of the Word of God and the Example of His Prophet are but travellers aiming at new discoveries in the domain of the spirit.

And in this endeavour of ours we cannot find a better aid and companion than the immortal *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.

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While translating the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I have tried to render its meaning as literally as possible – sometimes, I am afraid, at the expense of the English language. Whatever I have had to say myself has been confined to the explanatory notes, and whenever an addition was unavoidable in the text itself for the sake of clarity, I have used brackets to indicate the additions thus made. Each Tradition has been divided, by means of different sizes of type, into two parts: the documentary evidence of transmission (*isnād*) and the textual substance (*matn*). Al-Bukhārī’s explanatory remarks (*tarājim al-abwāb*) which precede some of the sections are printed in italics. The letter *T* before some of the *isnāds* shows that the Tradition to which it belongs is a *ta’liq* (“suspended” *isnād*) on account of a missing link in the chain of narrators. The letter *h* indicates a *tahwīl* (“transfer”) to another line of transmitters.

Some of my friends have questioned the necessity of including the full *isnād* in my translation – an inclusion which, according to them, is irrelevant to the understanding of the *ḥadīth* as such, and therefore of no interest to the general reader. This, I am convinced, is an entirely erroneous view. The *isnād* is an essential part of every *ḥadīth* – as essential as is the skeleton in the body of every higher animal, including man: for it is with the *isnād* that the authenticity of a Tradition stands or falls. Without an *isnād*, a Tradition is no more than a hearsay report, to be blindly accepted or capriciously rejected; with the *isnād* before him, on the other hand, the reader is able to see for himself with what meticulous attention to detail and authenticity every *ṣaḥīḥ* Tradition has been recorded: and thus his acceptance of the Tradition becomes endowed with consciousness and ceases to be blind.

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And now a word about the printing of the Arabic text side by side with the translation. In Muslim countries, this system has been well received, because it enables the reader to compare, at every step, the translation with the original. But some European scholars have pointed out to me that this unnecessarily increases the volume of the work and, consequently, the cost of production; and that the student could well avail himself of any of the existing copies of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* whenever he feels the necessity of independent criticism. I cannot admit this objection as valid. The old style in which this and other compilations of Traditions are printed makes it, in many cases, exceedingly difficult to separate the frequent interpolations of the transmitters from the textual substance (the *matn*) of the Tradition, and sometimes even leads to a confusion of utterances of different persons with the narrator’s statement of facts contained in the *matn*.

Thus, the Arabic text in the present edition – arranged as it is on the same principle as the English translation – presents the *Ṣaḥīḥ* for the first time in an easily readable form which, moreover, contains every textual improvement gained from a collation of the most reliable editions.

My translation is based on the most accurate of all existing editions, namely, that printed by order of Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd at *Al-Maṭba‘ah al-Amiriyyah*, Cairo, 1313 H. Other well-known editions have, of course, been frequently consulted.

MUHAMMAD ASAD

Lahore, Muḥarram 1357 H. (March 1938).



PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

WELL over four decades have passed since this volume was first published. Issued in five instalments by Arafat Publications in Lahore between December 1935 and May 1938, it was to represent the beginning of a gradual publication of my complete work on the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* projected for the following five or six years.

But man proposes and God disposes. The outbreak of the Second World War interrupted the publication. Just as it was about to be resumed, in the summer of 1947, the chaos and the inter-religious holocaust which followed upon the partition of the Indian subcontinent and the establishment of Pakistan (for which I myself had worked and striven since 1933) resulted in a great personal loss – to me as to so many others. Since the end of the war I had been living in the eastern (now Indian) part of the Punjab; and at the outbreak of the partition troubles the manuscripts of nearly three-quarters of my annotated translation of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* were barbarically destroyed. With my own eyes I saw a few scattered leaves of those manuscripts floating down the river Ravi in the midst of torn Arabic books – the remnants of my library – and all manner of debris; and with those poor, floating pieces of paper vanished beyond recall more than ten years of intensive labour.

And yet. . . .

Although a resumption and repetition of that wantonly destroyed labour was and remained out of the question, it gradually dawned on me that my work on the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* was not totally lost. On the contrary, I realized with growing conviction that the ten years spent on analyzing, translating and clarifying the *Ṣaḥīḥ* were a God-willed preparation for a work which for a very long time had represented an enticing dream to me: a new rendering into English of the message of the Holy Qur'ān and a commentary based on the principle that the doors of *ijtihād* have never been and never could be closed to man's searching intellect. I had always known that absolute familiarity with the science of *ḥadīth* was an indispensable pre-condition for any independent approach to the Qur'ān. Thus, irrespective of whether my work on Al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* was fully published or not, it was bound to bear fruit in the form of my dreamed-of commentary on the Holy Qur'ān.

By the grace of God, that dream has at last been fulfilled, and my life-work completed and published under the title *The Message of the Qur'ān*; and any scholarly reader of that work will easily recognize how much of the spirit of *ḥadīth* – and, hence, of the immortal labour of Al-Bukhārī – has gone into my interpretation of the Word of God.



For technical reasons connected with the photographic reproduction of the first edition of this work, it has become necessary to omit Abū Sufyān's story of his meeting with Emperor Heraclius, as well as Ibn an-Naṭūr's account of the Emperor's reactions to the message of Islam. Both these accounts are found at the end of the first chapter of the original.

MUHAMMAD ASAD

Tangier, Ṣafar 1401 H. (January 1981).

ABBREVIATIONS

FOR AUTHORITIES FREQUENTLY REFERRED TO IN THE EXPLANATORY NOTES

The works marked with an asterisk (*) are existing in many different editions, and therefore no particular edition has been mentioned here; references to these works have been given with regard to chapter and section only and not to volume and page.

Bkh is an abbreviation for the present edition of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, which is based, with minor variations, on the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* published by order of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid in Cairo, 1313 A.H. (9 vols.).

- Abū Dā'ūd** - - *Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn Ash'ath (d. 275), *Sunan* of.
- Ansāb al-Ashraf** - Ahmad ibn Yahyā al-Balādhuri (d. 279), *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, ed. S. D. F. Goitein, Jerusalem 1937.—When completed, the work will contain about 10 vols.
- Asmā' aṣ-Ṣaḥābah** - Shams ad-Dīn adh-Dhahabī (d. 748), *Tajrid Asmā' aṣ-Ṣaḥābah* (wrongly attributed to Ibn al-Athīr, of whose *Usd al-Ghābah* this work is an abbreviation), Hyderabad 1315 A.H. 2 vols.
- 'Aynī** - - - - Badr ad-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Ahmad al-'Aynī (d. 855), *'Umdat al-Qārī, Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Cairo 1348 A.H. 25 vols.
- Bayhaqī** - - - - Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (d. 458), *Kitāb as-Sunan al-Kubrā*, Hyderabad 1344—56 A.H. 10 vols.
- Dāraqutnī** - - - 'Alī ibn 'Umar ad-Dāraqutnī (d. 385), *Sunan* of, Delhi 1310 A.H. (lith.). 2 vols.
- Fa'iq** - - - - Jār Allāh Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar az-Zamakhsharī (d. 538), *Kitāb al-Fa'iq fī Gharrīb al-Ḥadīth*, Hyderabad 1324 A.H. 2 vols.
- Fath al-Bārī** - - Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852), *Fath al-Bārī, Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Cairo 1348 A.H. 13 vols.
- Futūḥ al-Buldān** - Ahmad ibn Yahyā al-Balādhuri (d. 279), *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, Cairo 1318 A.H.
- Hady as-Sārī** - - Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852), *Hady as-Sārī, Muqaddamah Fath al-Bārī*, Cairo 1347 A.H. 2 vols.
- Ibn al-Athīr** - - 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī (d. 630), *Al-Kāmil fī t-Ta'rikh*, Cairo 1347 A.H.—(not completed). The same author's lexicographic work is referred to under *Nihāyah* (q.v.).
- Ibn Hanbal** - - - Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Hanbal (d. 241), *Musnad* of, Cairo 1313 A.H. 6 vols.
- Ibn Hishām** - - - 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām (d. 243), *Strat an-Nabī*, Cairo 1346 A.H. 2 vols.
- Ibn Kathīr** - - - Abu'l-Fidā' Ismā'il ibn Kathīr (d. 774), *Tafsiṭ al-Qur'ān*, Cairo 1343—47 A.H. 9 vols.
- Ibn Khallikān** - Ahmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Khallikān (d. 681), *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa Anbā' Abnā' az-Zamān*, Cairo 1310 A.H. 2 vols.
- Ibn Mājah** - - - *Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Qazwīnī (d. 273 or 275), *Sunan* of.
- Ibn Sa'd** - - - - Muḥammad ibn Sa'd (d. 230), *Kitāb at-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, ed. Eduard Sachau, Leyden 1904—28. 9 vols.
- Ibn Ṣalāḥ** - - - 'Uthmān ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Ṣalāḥ (d. 643), *'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth (Muqaddamah)*, Aleppo 1350 A.H.
- Iṣābah** - - - - Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852), *Kitāb al-Iṣābah fī Tamyiz aṣ-Ṣaḥābah*, Cairo 1323—25 A.H. 8 vols.
- Istī'db** - - - - Yūsuf ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Qurtubī (d. 463), *Kitāb al-Istī'db fī Ma'rifat al-Aṣḥāb*, Hyderabad 1336—37 A.H. 2 vols.
- Kunā** - - - - Muḥammad ibn Ahmad ad-Dūlābī (d. 310), *Kitāb al-Kunā wa'l-Asmā'*, Hyderabad 1322 A.H. 2 vols.
- Lane** - - - - Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London 1863—93. 8 vols.
- Lisān al-'Arab** - Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Ifriqī (d. 711), *Lisān al-'Arab*, Cairo 1300—1307 A.H. 20 vols.
- Mu'jam al-Buldān** - Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī (d. 626), *Kitāb Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Cairo 1323 A.H., with Khānjī's *Minjam al-Imrān*, *Mustadrak 'alā Mu'jam al-Buldān*. 10 vols.
- Muslim** - - - - *Muslim ibn Hajjāj an-Naysābūrī (d. 261), *Ṣaḥīḥ* of.
- Mustadrak** - - - Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥākim (d. 405), *Al-Mustadrak 'alā Ṣaḥīḥayn fī l-Ḥadīth*, Hyderabad 1334—42 A.H. 4 vols.
- Muwatta'** - - - Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179), *Al-Muwatta'*, Cairo 1348 A.H. 2 vols.

- Nasâ'i - - - *Ahmad ibn Shu'ayb an-Nasâ'i (d. 303), *Sunan* of.
Nawawi - - - Yahyâ ibn Sharaf an-Nawawi (d. 676), *Sharh Şaḥiḥ Muslim*, Cairo 1347—49 A.H.
18 vols.
Nihayah - - - 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī (d. 630), *An-Nihāyah fī Ghariḥ al-Ḥadīth wa'l-Aṭhr*, Cairo 1322 A.H. 4 vols.
Rāghib - - - Abū'l-Qāsim Ḥusayn ar-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 503), *Mufradāt fī Ghariḥ al-Qur'ān*, on the margin of *Nihāyah* (q.v.).
Rijāl aṣ-Şaḥḥayn Abū'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Maqdisī (d. 507), *Kitāb al-Jam' bayn Kitābay Abi Naṣr al-Kalābadhī wa Abi Bakr al-Iṣbahānī fī Rijāl al-Bukhārī wa Muslim*, Hyderabad 1323 A.H. 2 vols.
Ṭabarī - - - Muḥammad ibn Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī (d. 310), *Ta'riḫ al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk*, Cairo 1326 A.H., with two Appendices, 'Urayb ibn Sa'd al-Qurṭubī, *Ṣilah Ta'riḫ aṭ-Ṭabarī*, and Ibn Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Muntakhab min Kitāb Dhayl al-Mudhayyal*, 13 vols.
Tadhkirah - - Shams ad-Dīn adh-Dhahabī (d. 748), *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, Hyderabad 1333-34 A.H. 4 vols.
Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852), *Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb*, Hyderabad 1329 A.H. 12 vols.
Ṭayālīsī - - - Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān aṭ-Ṭayālīsī (d. 204), *Musnad* of, Hyderabad 1321 A.H.
Tirmidhī - - - *Muḥammad ibn 'Isā at-Tirmidhī (d. 279), *Jamī'* of.
Wāqidi - - - Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidi (d. 207), *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. A. von Kremer, Calcutta 1856.

Other works referred to in the explanatory notes are quoted with full title, as well as place and date of publication.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

- FB — see *Fath al-Bārī*
IH — see Ibn Hishām
Q — The Qur'ān
SM — see Muslim
ST — Shāh Walī Allāh, *Sharḥ tarājim al-abwāb* (Hyderabad, 1323 H.)
TR — Tradition (*ḥadīth*)
UQ — see 'Aynī



THUS SAID IMÂM ABÛ 'ABD ALLÂH MUḤAMMAD
IBN ISMÂ'IL IBN IBRÂHÎM IBN AL-MUGHÎRAH
AL-BUKHÂRÎ:¹

قال الامام أبو عبد الله محمد بن اسمعيل بن ابراهيم
ابن المغيرة البخاري [رح]:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE
DISPENSER OF GRACE.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

HOW THE REVELATION TO THE APOSTLE OF GOD BEGAN²

كيف كان بدء الوحي الى رسول الله [ص]

And the Word of God—glorified be His name—: "Behold,
We revealed unto thee as we revealed unto Noah and the
Prophets after him."³

وقول الله جل ذكره: «انا اوحينا اليك كما اوحينا الى
نوح والنبيين من بعده»

- (1) Al-Humaidi 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubair relat-
ed to us, saying: Sufyân related to us, saying:
Yahyâ ibn Sa'îd al-Anṣârî related to us,
saying: Muḥammad ibn Ibrâhîm at-Taimî
told me that he heard 'Alqamah ibn Waqqâs
al-Laithî say: I heard 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb
say on the pulpit:

- (١) حدثنا الحميدى عبد الله بن الزبير قال: حدثنا
سفيان قال: حدثنا يحيى بن سعيد الأنصاري
قال: أخبرني محمد بن ابراهيم التيمي أنه سمع
علقمة بن وقاص الليثي يقول: سمعت عمر بن
الخطاب [رض] على المنبر قال:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say: "Behold,
the actions are but [judged] according to

سمعت رسول الله [ص] يقول: «انما الأعمال

1. This introductory remark originates from Abû 'Abd Allâh Muḥammad ibn Maṭar al-Firabrî, the disciple of Al-Bukhârî responsible for the text we are using. He heard the "Ṣaḥîḥ" twice from the lips of Al-Bukhârî: once in his native town Firabr in the year 248 H. and once in Bukhârâ in the year 252 H. (FB i, 2).

2. Al-Bukhârî opens his collection of Traditions with this chapter because the belief in the reality of Divine Revelation and, consequently, the Prophethood of Muḥammad is the main pillar of Islâm. Revelation supplies an essential need of mankind. The human understanding is strictly limited in its possibilities: our mind is unable, by virtue of its nature, to understand the *totality* of things; our power of synthesis is restricted to elements provided by our experience. Thus, for example, we can't comprehend infinity or eternity; nay, we don't even know what *life* is. In order to arrange our spiritual and material existence according to standards of perfection we necessarily need the guidance of something more than the normal reasoning qualities and the subjective rationalism inherent in the human being; we need someone who is illuminated by a message coming from the Absolute, in one word, a Prophet. Indirectly, the belief in Prophethood is equivalent to a belief in the existence of a Divine purpose underlying the creation and maintenance of the worlds.—The opening chapter describes not only the actual beginning of the revelation, but also the attitude of some of Muḥammad's contemporaries (like Abû Sufyân and Heraclius) towards his prophetic mission.

3. Q. iv, 163.—This is to show that the Revelation granted to Muḥammad was, in its essence and origin, similar to those granted to the former Prophets. The essentials were always the same: the Qur'ân only modified the laws governing man's conduct in individual and social life. But, apart from the fact that the former Revelations have been corrupted and mutilated, they were, from the very outset, purposely either limited in their scope—as for example that of Jesus, which related to certain aspects of spiritual life alone while the bodily life was left in the background—or suited only to a certain time and certain people—as was the case with the Revelation of Moses. In such cases the limitation was prompted by the necessity of gradually preparing a world intellectually and morally not yet fully developed for the coming of a teaching more universal, more exhaustive in its co-ordination of the spiritual and the material elements of the human nature—the teaching of Islâm.

the intentions; and, behold, unto every man is due but what he intended. Thence, whoso migrateth for the sake of this world or to wed a woman,⁴ his migration is [accounted] for that unto which he migrated.⁵

- (2) 'Abd Allāh ibn Yūsuf related to us, saying: Mālik told us, on the authority of Hishām ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of his father,⁶ on the authority of 'Ā'ishah, Mother of the Faithful⁷:

AL-ḤĀRITH ibn Hishām asked the Apostle of God and said: "O Apostle of God, how doth the revelation come unto thee?"—And the Apostle of God said: "Sometimes it cometh unto me like the ringing of a bell—

باليات، وإنما لكل امرئ ما نوى. فمن كانت هجرته الى دنيا يصيبها أو الى امرأة ينكحها فهجرته الى ما هاجر اليه.

- (٢) حدثنا عبد الله بن يوسف قال: أخبرنا مالك عن هشام بن عروة عن أبيه عن عائشة أم المؤمنين

أن الحارث بن هشام سأل رسول الله [ص] فقال: «يا رسول الله! كيف يأتيك الوحي؟» — فقال رسول الله [ص]: «أحياناً يأتيني مثل

4. The word *hijrah* (going forth, emigration) has several meanings in the Islāmic *shari'ah*: one is the emigration of Muslims from a place of danger to a place of security, as in the case of the Companions of the Prophet who, in order to escape the persecutions of the Quraish, emigrated from Mecca to Abyssinia; another is the emigration from a place where unbelief reigns to a place where it is possible to live according to the tenets of Islām, as in the case of the Companions who emigrated with the Prophet or after him from Mecca to Al-Madinah. As the latter entailed great hardships and the giving up of home and, in many cases, of family bonds for the sake of God and his Prophet, it was regarded as an action of great merit. It happened, however, that even in the lifetime of the Prophet some people emigrated from Mecca to Al-Madinah for the sake of worldly gains only, and particularly for the sake of an easy marriage ('UQ i, 33 f.). The Arabs in pre-Islāmic times used to give their daughters in marriage to those only who could boast of a lineage not less noble than that of the girl. But when Islām proclaimed the principle of equality of all Muslims, many of the early Believers hastened to offer their daughters in marriage to other Muslims without regard of their descent. Several Meccans of lower classes took advantage of the facilities existing in the Muslim community of Al-Madinah, migrated there and embraced Islām; and to such ones refers this saying of the Prophet. But as the term *hijrah* often connotes a purely spiritual "emigration" from the domain of evil to that of righteousness (cf. Tr. 10), the above saying contains a general ethical principle far beyond the individual case or cases to which it originally referred.

5. It is significant that Al-Bukhārī placed this Tradition at the head of his compilation though it does not bear upon the subject of this chapter, viz., the beginning of revelation. He obviously did it in recognition of the fact that this saying of the Prophet expresses one of the fundamental ethical principles of religion and, moreover, touches a problem which has intrigued the philosophers of all times: the problem of Free Will. The idea of God's omniscience presupposes that of a Divine pre-ordination of all events and, consequently, of human actions. The old question, how man can be held responsible for his actions though they have been pre-ordained by God's Will, is answered in the above Tradition. Not his actions are decisive for man's spiritual destiny, but his intentions (the intentions which immediately precede and accompany the action, and not those which have been abandoned or changed at the moment of action). Man's intentions are an expression of the intricate psychic mechanism which we call soul. And, though frequently influenced by the various functions of the body, this soul is an independent, self-contained entity and stands in a direct, if inexplicable, relation to the Divine Will (*amr*, as it is called in the Qur'ān). It is with our souls alone that we can comprehend and feel the existence of God: and we never could comprehend it if His existence were foreign to us in its essential quality. Because of this intimate and exalted relation to God the human soul partakes in the Divine prerogative of freedom which is absent in all material complexes, be they things or events. Thus, if we are unfree in—and, therefore, in a higher sense, not responsible for—our actions owing to their material, created character,—we are free in our intentions, because they are of a spiritual, that is, primary or creative, quality—and, therefore, responsibility is attached to them.—As to the word "intention" it may here be remarked that both in the Qur'ān and in the Traditions it is never used in the sense of a passing "wish," but in that of a living impulse endowed with the quality of consciousness and directly related to the subsequent event, whatever shape the latter—being pre-ordained, and thus beyond the control of our free will—may ultimately take. This stress upon "intention" is certainly in line with the general trend of the Islāmic teachings directed upon the development of inner wakefulness and consciousness in man.

6. 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair.

7. Title of honour given to the wives of the Prophet in the Qur'ān (xxxiii, 6).

8. The expression "like the ringing of a bell" points to a peculiar disturbance of the Prophet's sense of hearing

and that is most hard on me; then it leaveth me, and indeed I retain in my memory what it said. And sometimes the angel assumeth the likeness of a man for me and speaketh unto me, and I retain in my memory what he saith."

'Ā'ishah said:

And, verily, I saw him whilst the revelation descended upon him on a day severe with cold; then it left him—and, behold, his brow was streaming with sweat.

- (3) Yahyā ibn Bukair related to us, saying: Al-Laith related to us, on the authority of 'Uqail, on the authority of Ibn Shihāb, on the authority of 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair, on the authority of 'Ā'ishah, Mother of the Faithful, who said:

THE first [kind] of revelation to which the Apostle of God was initiated was the true dream during sleep⁹; and he never saw a dream but it came like the dawn of the morn.¹⁰ Thereafter the solitude became dear unto him, and he withdrew into seclusion in the cave of Hīrā'¹¹ and there applied himself to ardent devotions¹²

صلصلة الجرس—وهو أشده على—فيفصم
عنى وقد وعيت عنه ما قال؛ وأحياناً يتمثل
لى الملك رجلاً فيكلمنى فأعنى ما يقول.
قالت عائشة [رض]:

ولقد رأيته ينزل عليه الوحي في اليوم
الشديد البرد فيفصم عنه—وان جبينه ليتفصد
عرقاً.

(٣) حدثنا يحيى بن بكير قال: حدثنا الليث عن
عقيل عن ابن شهاب عن عروة بن الزبير
عن عائشة أم المؤمنين أنها قالت:
«أول ما بدئ به رسول الله [س] من الوحي
الرؤيا الصالحة في النوم، فكان لا يرى رؤيا
إلا جاءت مثل فلق الصبح. ثم حجب إليه الخلاء،
وكان يخلو بغار حراء فيتحنث فيه

when he was about to receive this kind of revelation. Similar to the chaotic maze of colours which we observe whenever our optical sense is violently disturbed—be it by a physical agency or by an overwhelming emotion—the Prophet's acoustic sensations were in such a case transformed into a maze of sounds without distinction, resembling the continuous buzzing or ringing of a bell. Shāh Wali Allāh of Delhi was of the opinion (ST p. 6 f.) that this disturbance of the Prophet's acoustic faculties was a means to isolate him, before the coming of the revelation, from the impressions of the outer world and so to enable him entirely to devote himself to the spiritual voice of the angel. This vehement change from the customary, that is, sensual, orientation to a purely spiritual one was necessarily full of anguish ("and that is most hard on me"). In the other cases, when the angel appeared "in the likeness of a man," the medium of revelation was transferred from a purely spiritual plane to the orbit of human, sensual perceptions; and thus the receiving of the revelation was less excruciating. But, as this also taxed the Prophet's power of concentration to the utmost, it never was quite free of anguish.—'Ā'ishah's subsequent description of the Prophet's state during certain revelations obviously refers to the first kind.

9. The first of these prophetic dreams occurred in the month of Rabī' al-awwal in the year 13 B.H. (February, 610 C), when the Prophet had just completed his fortieth year (Al-Baihaqi, *apud* FB i, 21).

10. i. e., with the clearness of light after darkness.

11. A hill about three miles north-east of Mecca, to-day known as *Jabal Nūr* ("Mount of Light"), because there the first verses of the Holy Qur'an were revealed.

Many conjectures have been made as to length of the Prophet's retirement at Hīrā', and whether it took place only once or on several occasions. *IH* (i, 150) states that there were several such times of seclusion, namely, "one month in every year." But this is contradicted by the authentic Tradition (*SM, Kitāb at-tafsīr*) in which the Prophet distinctly declares that he remained one month (in all) at Hīrā'. Moreover, it is evident from Tr. 3 of our work that Muḥammad's love of solitude dated from the beginning of the prophetic dreams, the first of which, according to Al-Baihaqi (*cf.* I, 9) took place about 6 months before Gabriel's appearance at Hīrā'; so there can have been no question of his withdrawing into solitude "one month in every year." We must, therefore, assume that he withdrew into the cave only once, and spent there about one month; this seclusion was interrupted by his short visits home for the sake of taking provisions.

12. It is somewhat difficult exactly to translate the term *taḥannuth* used in the Arabic text. It is available in two readings, the other being *taḥannuf*. *Taḥannuth* is derived from *ḥanīḥ*, and means "avoidance of sin." But as this does

—that is, worship¹³—

during many nights ere he went home and provided himself with food therefor; then he would return unto Khadijah and provide himself with food for a similar [number of days]—until the truth¹⁴ came unto him whilst he was in the cave of Hīrā': the angel came unto him and said: "Read!"—He said: "I am not of those who read."¹⁵

He said [in his narrative]: Then he took me and pressed me until all strength went out of me; thereupon he released me and said: "Read!"—I said: "I am not of those who read." Then he took me and pressed me again until all strength went out of me; thereupon he released me and said: "Read!"—And I said: "I am not of those who read." Then he took me and pressed me a third time; thereupon he released me and said: "Read in the name of thy Sustainer Who hath created—created man from a clot!

—وهو التعب—

الليالي ذوات العدد قبل أن ينزع إلى أهله ويتزوّد لذلك، ثم يرجع إلى خديجة فيتزوّد لمثلها—حتى جاءه الحق وهو في غار حراء، فجاءه الملك فقال: «اقرأ!»—قال: «ما أنا بقارئ.»

قال: فأخذني فغطني حتى بلغ مني الجهد، ثم أرسلني فقال: «اقرأ!»—قلت: «ما أنا بقارئ.» فأخذني فغطني الثانية حتى بلغ مني الجهد، ثم أرسلني فقال: «اقرأ!»—قلت: «ما أنا بقارئ.» فأخذني فغطني الثالثة، ثم أرسلني فقال: «اقرأ باسم ربك الذي خلق—خلق الإنسان

not at all comply with the subsequent remark "that is, worship," we must accept the second reading *taḥannuf* as correct: and it is, in fact, a well-known linguistic peculiarity of the Arabs that in their speech they often transform the consonant *f* into *th*. Now, the word *taḥannuf* is not of Arabic origin, but probably derived from the Canaanite-Aramaic *ḥanpā* which literally means "one who turns away." In Syriac it was prominently used to describe one who turns away from his religion, a renegade; so the Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate who gave up Christianity and reverted to the old Roman faith is called, in Syrian-Christian manuscripts, *Yulūdna ḥanpā*; the same term often was applied to the Manichaeans and Sabaeans, presumably owing to the fact that their religions contained Christian elements without fully subscribing to the doctrines of the Christian Church. When the Arabs, in pre-Islamic times, adapted this word to their language they used it in its original sense of "turning away," namely, from idolatry and, subsequently, from every kind of worldliness. Thence *taḥannuf* came to denote the ardent devotions (mainly consisting of long vigils and prayers) of the unitarian God-seekers who, consequently, were called *ḥunafā'* (sing., *ḥanīf*)—a designation which was to become familiar to Muslims owing to its association, in the Qur'ān, with the name of Abraham. There it is almost synonymous with "Unitarian."

13. This comment originates from the famous *tabī'* (i.e., "successor" of the Companions) Ibn Shihāb, one of the narrators of the above Tradition.

14. "Truth" means revelation in wakeful state, as contrasted with that in dream. Some Traditions (e.g., *IḤ* i, 151) report that the appearance of Gabriel at Hīrā' was a dream-experience, like the Prophet's former visions; but Al-Bukhārī's version, which admittedly is more reliable (and, moreover, supported by *SM*, *Kitāb at-tafsīr*), does not allow of such an interpretation.

The appearance of Gabriel at Hīrā' and, consequently, the first revelation of the Qur'ān, took place, according to all authorities, during the month of Ramaḍān, 13 B. H. (July or August, 610 C.), but there is no agreement as to the exact date. If, as some commentators assume, the first revelation coincided with the *lailat al-qadr* ("Night of Destiny"), then it would have been one of the last ten nights of Ramaḍān, because the Prophet mentioned in other Traditions these ten nights as those among which the *lailat al-qadr* is to be sought.

15. These words of the Prophet are sometimes translated as "What shall I read." From the linguistical point of view this interpretation is by no means impossible: the particle *mā* can be used in an interrogative sense ("what") as well as in a negative ("not"). But almost all philological authorities (with the single exception of Al-Akhfash, *apud* 'UQ i, 67) are, for grammatical reasons, against this interpretation. The translation "I am not a reader" or "I am not of those who read" appears, therefore, to be the correct one.

Read! And thy Sustainer is the Most Bountiful!"¹⁶

And thus the Apostle of God returned, his heart trembling, and came unto Khadijah bint Khuwailid and said: "Wrap me up! Wrap me up!"¹⁷ And they wrapped him up until the awe left him. Then he told Khadijah what happened and said unto her: "Verily, I fear for myself."¹⁸—Thereupon Khadijah said: "Nay, by God! Never will God humiliate thee! Behold, thou fulfillest the duties of kinship, and supportest the weak, and bringest gain to the destitute, and art bounteous toward a guest, and helpest those in genuine distress."

Then Khadijah went with him unto Waraqah ibn Naufal ibn Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzâ, a son of Khadijah's uncle. He had embraced

من علق؛ اقرأ، وربك الأكرم؛

فرجع بها رسول الله [س] يرجف فؤاده
فدخل على خديجة بنت خويلد فقال: «زملوني!
زملوني!» فزملوه حتى ذهب عنه الروع؛ فقال
لخديجة وأخبرها الخبر: «لقد خشيت على نفسي.»
فقالت خديجة: «كلا والله ما يخزيك الله أبداً،
إنك لتصل الرحم وتحمل الكل وتكسب المعدوم
وتقرى الضيف وتعين على نوائب الحق.»

فانطلقت به خديجة حتى أتت به ورقة بن نوفل
ابن أسد بن عبد العزى ابن عم خديجة، وكان

16. Q. xcvi, 1/3.—This beautiful story of the Prophet's first encounter with the Angel of Revelation reminds us, in certain points, of Jacob's wrestling with the angel as described in Genesis, Ch. 32. But whereas Jacob resisted, Muhammad surrendered himself entirely to the angel's embrace: and here the highest quality of Prophethood is manifested. The perfect Prophet is he who, at the time of revelation, eliminates his own dynamic personality to such a degree that almost nothing remains in him but the faculty of reception. This probably is the most difficult task ever set before man. In the average human being the impetuosity of feelings, desires and nervous sensations overpowers and dims his purely receptive qualities, his ability to listen to the voice within him or from above him. To be a Prophet means no more and no less than to be full and empty at one and the same time: a human being filled with the consciousness of his life and the natural impulses of action and self-assertion—and, at the same time, a passive, purely receptive instrument endowed with nothing but the highest sensitiveness and power of exact registration. The primary duty of a Prophet, in contrast with that of any other spiritual leader, is not to produce images and ideas born in his own mind: it consists only in the reading out of the unseen book of Divine Truth and the reproducing of its meaning to mankind without additions or subtractions. In the word "Read!" which opened the first revelation to Muhammad this call to Perfect Prophethood is already fully expressed. The Law of God, the Eternal Truth behind the perceptible things, was laid bare before him, waiting to be understood by him in its innermost meaning. Thus it would be wrong to translate here *iqra'* by "recite"—though the Arabic language certainly permits it—because recitation implies the delivery before an audience of something committed to memory—and at the moment of the angel's first appearance there was nothing as yet in the Prophet's memory, and there was no audience. On the other hand, "reading" implies the conscious following and mental assimilation of words or ideas from an outside source: and this, without doubt, was the thing required from the Prophet. At first he was under the illusion of having been ordered to read actual script, and this, he knew, he could not do because he was illiterate. But when the angel concluded this Revelation, the Prophet understood, in sudden illumination, that he was ordered to receive the spiritual message of the Supreme Being; and the magnitude of this task with all its implications of responsibility and self-sacrifice overwhelmed him and filled him with awe.

17. Because he shivered from the excitement caused by the vision. The calming influence of a cover drawn over the whole body was known to the Arab *kahanah* (sing., *kahin*), or soothsayers, of pre-Islamic times, and it is very probable that its use by the Prophet led the heathen Quraish to the erroneous assumption that he belonged to the same class of visionaries.

18. The fear expressed by the Prophet had its origin in the noble humility of his soul: he thought himself unworthy of the exalted position of Prophethood. The explanation given by some of the commentators, that he was afraid of death or of having become insane, is purely hypothetical and, moreover, not corresponding with Khadijah's answer to the Prophet: "... never will God humiliate thee,"—which means: "... never will God confer a task upon thee which thou art unable to perform." The suggestion of other commentators, that he was afraid of persecution by his countrymen, is entirely without foundation. As is evident from the subsequent talk between the Prophet and Waraqah ibn Naufal, the Prophet had no notion of a danger from that direction until Waraqah told him so.

Christianity in the Time of Ignorance¹⁹ and wrote the Hebrew script, and did write in Hebrew out of the Gospel whatever God willed him to write; and he was an old man and had become blind. And Khadijah said unto him: "O uncle's son, hearken unto thy brother's son."²⁰—And Waraqah said unto him: "O my brother's son, what dost thou see?" Thereupon the Apostle of God told him what he had seen. And Waraqah said unto him: "That [was] the Angel of Revelation whom God sent down upon Moses. O, would that I were a youth! Would I were alive when thy people drive thee away!"—Then the Apostle of God said: "Why! Are they to drive me away?"—He said: "Yea. Never came a man with the like thou hast come with but was persecuted. And if thy day [of need] witnesseth me [alive], I shall help thee with a powerful help."—Thereafter Waraqah took no part [in these matters] until he died.²¹ And the revelation broke off.²²

- (4) Ibn Shihāb²³ said: And Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān told me that Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī said:

امراً قد تنصرف في الجاهلية وكان يكتب الكتاب العبراني فيكتب من الانجيل بالعبرانية ما شاء الله أن يكتب، وكان شيخاً كبيراً قد عمى. فقالت له خديجة: «يا ابن عم اسمع من ابن أخيك.»—فقال له ورقة: «يا ابن أخي ما ذا ترى؟» فأخبره رسول الله [س] خبر ما رأى، فقال له ورقة: «هذا الناموس الذي نزل الله على موسى؛ ياليتني فيها جذعاً ليتني أكون حياً اذ يخرجك قومك!»—فقال رسول الله [س]: «أو مخرجي هم؟»—قال: «نعم، لم يأت رجل قط بمثل ما جئت به إلا عودي؛ وإن يدركني يومك أنصرك نصرًا مؤزرًا.» ثم لم ينشب ورقة أن توفي؛ وقتر الوحي. ﴿﴾

- (٤) قال ابن شهاب: وأخبرني أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن أن جابر بن عبد الله الأنصاري قال:

19. "Time of Ignorance" (*jāhiliyyah*) is the period before the announcement of Muḥammad's prophetic mission.
20. Waraqah was not in reality an uncle of the Prophet, though they belonged to the same branch of Quraish; but it is an Arab custom, prevalent even in these days, to address an old and respected man as "uncle"; hence Khadijah's expression "thy brother's son."

21. Most commentators agree that Waraqah died before the Prophet began preaching Islām in public, i.e., before the persecution by the Quraish started. Only Ibn Ishāq (*apud* FB i, 21) mentions that Waraqah was present when Bilāl was maltreated on account of his adherence to the Prophet; but as this account is contradicted by the evidence of Traditions in the compilations of both Al-Bukhārī and Muslim, it must be regarded as a historical mistake.

22. Between the first revelation mentioned in the above Tradition and the next one mentioned in the following account of Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh a period of about three years elapsed during which the Prophet received no revelation. This period is called "the break in the revelation" (*fātrat al-waḥī*). It was a time of deepest distress for the Prophet. The absence of revelation almost led him to believe that his first experience at Hira' was an illusion; and it was only due to Khadijah's undaunted faith in his prophetic mission that he did not entirely lose his courage.

23. Al-Bukhārī opens the *isnād* of this Tradition with the name of Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhri (who was not his contemporary) not because the links between him and the latter are missing, but because the line of narrators between Ibn Shihāb and the author is here the same as in Tr. 3. The particle "and" before Abū Salamah denotes that Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhri related this Tradition in conjunction with the foregoing one, as if he had said: "Urwah ibn az-Zubair (*cf. isnād* of Tr. 3) told me this and this, and Abū Salamah told me, in addition to this, the following." Therefore the author places the "corroboration" (*mutdab'ah*) of both Traditions after Tr. 4 (see I, 25/26). It obviously was this peculiarity of the *isnād* which led some historians who were not Traditionists to the mistaken notion that the event related in Tr. 4 took place immediately after that related in Tr. 3, or even that both Traditions refer to one and the same event differently narrated. The wording of Tr. 4 ("whilst speaking of the break in the revelation") makes it clear beyond any possibility of doubt that the Prophet's second encounter with the angel Gabriel occurred at a much later time, namely, after the "break in the revelation" (*cf. I, 22*).

AND—whilst speaking of the break in the revelation—[the Prophet] said in his narrative: [Once,] whilst I walked, I heard a voice from heaven and I lifted my eyes—and there was the angel who had come unto me at Hirā', sitting on a throne between heaven and earth. And he inspired me with awe, and I returned home and said: "Wrap me up! Wrap me up!" Then God, the Most High, sent down [the Revelation]: "O thou wrapped in a cloak! Arise and warn!"—to His Words: "... and pollution shun!"²⁴—Thereupon the revelation became intensive and continuous.

'Abd Allāh ibn Yūsuf and Abū Ṣāliḥ concurred with him²⁵; and Hilāl ibn Raddād concurred with him,²⁶ [likewise] on the authority of Az-Zuhri. And Yūnus and Ma'mar said "his shoulders."²⁷

- (5) Mūsā ibn Ismā'il related to us, saying: Abū 'Awānah related to us, saying: Mūsā ibn Abī 'Ā'ishah related to us, saying: Sa'id ibn Jubair related to us, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, concerning the Word of the Most High: "Move not thy tongue with this to make haste with it." [Ibn 'Abbās] said:

THE Apostle of God was severely affected by the revelation, and would move his lips.²⁸

And Ibn 'Abbās said: "I shall move them for thee in the same way as the Apostle of God would move them." And Sa'id said: "I shall move them in the same way as I saw Ibn 'Abbās move them"—and he moved his lips.

Thereupon God, the Most High, sent down [the Revelation]: "Move not thy tongue

وهو يحدث عن فترة الوحي فقال في حديثه: بينا أنا أمشي اذ سمعت صوتاً من السماء فرفعت بصري—فاذا الملك الذي جاءني مجراء جالس على كرسی بين السماء والأرض؛ فرعبت منه فرجعت فقلت: «زملوني! زملوني!» فأنزل الله تعالى: «يا أيها المدثر! قم فأنذر!»—إلى قوله: «والرجز فاهجر!» فخمى الوحي وتتابع.

تابعه عبد الله بن يوسف وأبو صالح، وتابعه هلال بن رداد عن الزهري، وقال يونس ومعمار «بواذره».

- (٥) حدثنا موسى بن اسمعيل قال: حدثنا أبو عوانة قال: حدثنا موسى بن أبي عائشة قال: حدثنا سعيد بن جبير عن ابن عباس في قوله تعالى: «لا تحرك به لسانك لتعجل به.» قال: «كان رسول الله [س] يعالج من التنزيل شدةً وكان مما يحرك شفثيه.

فقال ابن عباس: «فأنا أحر كهما لك كما كان رسول الله [س] يحركهما.»—وقال سعيد: «أنا أحر كهما كما رأيت ابن عباس يحركهما» فحرك شفثيه.

فأنزل الله تعالى: «لا تحرك به لسانك لتعجل

24. Q. lxxiv, 1/5. Thus for the first time the Prophet was ordered to preach Islām in public.

25. i.e., with Yahyā ibn Bukair (cf. *isnād* of Tr. 3). This is a typical form of corroboration adopted by Al-Bukhārī. He thus intimates that he received the same Tradition independently from three different narrators, viz., Yahyā ibn Bukair, 'Abd Allāh ibn Yūsuf and Abū Ṣāliḥ; all of them heard it from Al-Laith (FB i, 22).

26. Here the reference is to 'Uqail (cf. *isnād* of Tr. 3): he and Hilāl ibn Raddād were disciples of Az-Zuhri, as also were Yūnus and Ma'mar mentioned in the next sentence. This shows that Al-Laith heard this Tradition from four authorities.

27. —instead of the words "his heart" used by 'Uqail (cf. p. 19). Thus the difference between the narratives of Yūnus and Ma'mar and those of 'Uqail and Hilāl ibn Raddād consisted in one single word.

28. Regarding the causes of the Prophet's suffering during revelations, see I, 8. Faced as he was with the tremendous responsibility of exactly reproducing the Word of God, the Prophet was afraid lest he should forget the words of the Revelation; he, therefore, used to repeat them rapidly while Gabriel was speaking.

with this to make haste with it. Behold, upon Us resteth the putting together thereof and the reciting thereof."²⁹

[Explaining, Ibn 'Abbās] said: "It is for Him to put it together in thy heart and [then] thou shalt recite it."

"And when We recite it thou [but] follow its recitation."³⁰

[Ibn 'Abbās] said: "—and listen unto it and remain silent."

"Thereafter, behold, its manifestation resteth upon Us."³¹

[Ibn 'Abbās said:] "—thereafter, behold, it resteth upon Us to make thee recite it."

And after that, when Gabriel came unto him, the Apostle of God would listen, and when Gabriel departed the Prophet would recite it in the way [Gabriel] had recited it.

- (6) 'Abdān related to us, saying: 'Abd Allāh told us, saying: Yūnus told us, on the authority of Az-Zuhri;—[Al-Bukhārī] said: And Bishr ibn Muḥammad related to us the same,³² saying: 'Abd Allāh told us, saying: Yūnus and Ma'mar told us, on the authority of Az-Zuhri, who said: 'Ubaid Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh told me, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, who said:

THE Apostle of God was the most generous of men; and he was more generous than ever during Ramaḍān, when Gabriel came unto him—and he would come unto him every night during Ramaḍān and impart the knowledge of the Qur'ān unto him;—then, indeed, the Apostle of God was more generous in [doing] good than the speeding wind.³³

به؛ ان علينا جمعه و قرآنه.

قال: «جمعه له في صدرك وتقرأه»

«فاذا قرأناه فاتبع قرآنه»

قال: «—فاستمع له وأنت»

«ثم ان علينا بيانه»

«ثم ان علينا أن نقرأه»

فكان رسول الله [س] بعد ذلك اذا أتاه

جبريل استمع، فاذا انطلق جبريل قرأه

النبي [س] كما قرأه. ❦

(٦) حدثنا عبدان قال: أخبرنا عبد الله قال: أخبرنا

يونس عن الزهري:—قال: وحدثنا بشر بن

محمد قال: أخبرنا عبد الله قال: أخبرنا يونس

ومعمر عن الزهري نحوه، قال: أخبرني

عبيد الله بن عبد الله عن ابن عباس قال:

❦ كان رسول الله [س] أجود الناس، وكان

أجود ما يكون في رمضان حين يلقاه جبريل

—وكان يلقاه في كل ليلة من رمضان فيدارسه

القرآن—فلرسول الله [س] أجود بالخير من

الرييح المرسلة. ❦

29. Q. lxxv, 16/17.

30. Q. lxxv, 18.

31. Q. lxxv, 19.

32. This term indicates that the version of Bishr ibn Muḥammad was in every respect identical with that of 'Abdān.

33. This can mean two things: he was more generous than the stormwind which brings rain-loaded clouds and, thus, life to the earth; or that he used to help others quickly, without the least delay.