

‘There is no king but Allah’

from

Hākimiyyah & the Sovereignty of Sharī’ah

الحاكمية وسيادة الشرع

By Professor Muḥammad al-Mas’ari

فَتَعَالَى اللَّهُ الْمَلِكُ الْحَقُّ

Exalted high [above all] is Allah, the King, the Truth

[20: 114]

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Introduction

Kingship or monarchy is a non-Islamic system of ruling that nullifies Islam and the sovereignty of *Sharī'ah*.¹ One of its defining characteristics is that it is pervaded by injustice. It is narrated on the authority of Abu Hurayrah that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said:

حدثنا سعيد بن عمرو الأشعني وأحمد بن حنبل وأبو بكر بن أبي شيبة واللفظ لأحمد قال الأشعني أخبرنا
وقال الآخران حدثنا سفيان بن عيينة عن أبي الزناد عن الأعرج عن أبي هريرة عن النبي صلى الله عليه
وسلم قال إن أخنع اسم عند الله رجل تسمى ملك الأملاك

زاد ابن أبي شيبة في روايته لا مالك إلا الله عز وجل قال الأشعني قال سفيان مثل شاهان شاه وقال أحمد
بن حنبل سألت أبا عمرو عن أخنع فقال أوضع

Sa'eed ibn 'Amr al-Asha'shee, Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal and Abu Bakr ibn Abi Shaybah narrated to us - and this is the wording of Aḥmad, he said al-Asha'shee reported to us and the other two; Sufyān ibn Uyaynah narrated to us from Abi az-Zinād from al-A'raj from Abu Hurayrah from the Prophet (peace be upon him) he said: *The vilest name in the sight of Allah is Malik al-Amlāk* (king of Kings).

The narration transmitted on the authority of Ibn Abi Shaybah (contains these words): *There is no king but Allah, the Exalted and Glorious*. Sufyān said: Similarly, the word *Shāhānshā'* (is also the vilest appellation). Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal said: I asked Abu 'Amr about the meaning of *Akhna*. He said: (it is) the vilest.

The *ḥadith* is *Ṣaḥīḥ* and reported by the two Shaykh's (namely Bukhāri and Muslim), as well appearing in the *Sunan* collections of Abu Dāwud and at-Tirmidhi. Abu Esa said of it, that it was *ḥasan-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Al-Ḥākim cited it through various other authentic channels. From the narration recorded in Muslim, *Musnad* Aḥmad and other than them we have the wording –

¹ This is a short translated excerpt from chapter 6 'Significant issues concerning Ruling in Islam' from the book *Ḥakimiyah & the Sovereignty of Sharī'ah* by Professor al-Mas'ari.

حدثنا محمد بن رافع حدثنا عبد الرزاق أخبرنا معمر عن همام بن منبه قال هذا ما حدثنا أبو هريرة عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فذكر أحاديث منها وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أغيب رجل على الله يوم القيامة وأخبئه وأغيبه عليه رجل كان يسمى ملك الأملاك لا ملك إلا الله

Muḥammad bin Rāfiḥ' narrated to us Abdar-Razzāq narrated to us Ma'mar reported to us from Hammām ibn Munabih he said this is what Abu Hurayrah narrated to us from the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) then he mentioned the *ḥadith* that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: *The wrath of Allah is on a man killed by the Messenger of Allah and the wrath of Allah is (also) on the man called 'king of kings'; there is no King but Allah aza' wa'jal.*

Al-Ḥākim also cites this in the *Mustadrak*:

أَخْبَرَنَا أَبُو بَكْرِ بْنُ بَالَوَيْهِ ، ثنا مُوسَى بْنُ الْحَسَنِ ، ثنا هُوْدَةُ بْنُ خَلِيْفَةَ ، ثنا عَوْفٌ ، عَنْ خِلَاسٍ ، وَمُحَمَّدٍ ، عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ ، أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ ، قَالَ : اِشْتَدَّ غَضَبُ اللَّهِ عَلَى رَجُلٍ قَتَلَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ ، وَاشْتَدَّ غَضَبُ اللَّهِ عَلَى رَجُلٍ تَسَمَّى مَلِكِ الْأَمْلاِكِ ، لَا مَلِكَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ

Abu Bakr bin Bālawi reported to us Musa bin al-Ḥasan narrated to us Hawzhat bin Khalifa narrated to us 'Auf narrated to us from Khilās and Muḥammad from Abu Hurayrah, may Allah be pleased with him, that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: *The wrath of Allah is on a man killed by the Messenger of Allah and the wrath of Allah is (also) on the man called 'king of kings'; there is no King but Allah aza' wa'jal.*

Al-Ḥākim recorded that the narration is *Ṣaḥīḥ* upon the conditions of the two Shaykh's and adh-Dhahabi concurred with him. I would submit that the addition '*there is no king but Allah*', is firm and completely sound from the channels reported by the respected Imām's - Muslim and Al-Ḥākim, which are sufficient to establish a proof. It is to be noted that the Messenger (peace be upon him) did not say, 'that the king of Kings is Allah'; 'that there is no king of kings except Allah' or the like of that. Rather he said only – *there is no king except Allah*. This addition in the narration has come in such a way that would assign *anyone* who claims this attribute of kingship is doing an act that it vile, ugly and forbidden. If the wording is *malik al-amlak*, then the reality is that that person is the worst and despicable of people.

In his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Imām Bukhāri cites the following authentic tradition, reported on the authority of Abu Hurayrah:

حدثنا أحمد بن صالح حدثنا ابن وهب أخبرني يونس عن ابن شهاب عن سعيد بن مسعود عن ابن المسيب عن أبي هريرة عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال يقبض الله الأرض يوم القيامة ويطوي السماء بيمينه ثم يقول أنا الملك أين ملوك الأرض

Aḥmad bin Ṣāliḥ narrated to us Ibn Wahb narrated to us Yunus reported to me from Ibn Shihāb from Sa'eed – he is Ibn al-Musayib – from Abu Hurayrah from the Prophet (peace be upon him), that he said: *On the day of judgement, Allah will hold the whole earth and fold the heaven with His right hand and say: I am the King - where (now) are the kings of the earth?*²

Kingship and Israel

As for the description of some of the past Prophets as Kings, specifically the noble Prophet's Dāwud and Sulaymān (peace be upon them both), this is something from the previous *Sharī'ah* that was for the nation of Israel. This was not the original status quo with Israel. Nor was it the first thing that was commanded, being this system of monarchy / kingship. However they specifically *sought* this for themselves. They didn't give up or waiver in pestering their Prophet, Samuel, until it was legislated for them. And Saul (Ṭālūt) was appointed as a king for them, after him it was Dāwud. After a period of disagreement and evil, he was succeeded by his son Sulaymān with a kingdom that was based upon justice and equity. Thereafter the kingdom of Sulaymān was split into the kingdom of Israel in the north and the kingdom of Judea in the south. As for the kingdom of Israel, it wasn't ruled over except by stubborn obstinate tyrants and polytheistic apostates until they were replaced by the Assyrians who wiped them out of existence. The majority of their homes were annexed into the Assyrian empire. After they had conquered them, their existence was removed from the annals of history. As for the kingdom of Judea it wasn't in a better state either, except for the odd king here and there. One could say that all of their kings were rotten except for two or three. As for the rest, they can only be described as oppressive tyrants of *mushrikeen*. This was until they were conquered by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar and the house of Allah was destroyed (Temple of Sulaymān)

² The narration doesn't appear in the original Arabic text, but is included here as an addition.

and the nobles from Israel were forced into Babylonian slavery, to be abased and oppressed. They remained in this situation for about a century until being freed by the king of Persia who permitted their return to Palestine. One can clearly see that the legislation of kings over Israel was a curse and a punishment, which was not unprecedented for their *Sharī'ah* in general. It was from the yokes and chains that were placed upon them. As for this legislation, it is from one of the truthful statements from the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) – *the only thing that destroyed those who came before you, were their questions and disagreements with their Prophet's.*

حدثنا إسماعيل حدثني مالك عن أبي الزناد عن الأعرج عن أبي هريرة عن النبي، صلى الله عليه وسلم، قال: دعوني ما تركتكم: إنما أهلك من كان قبلكم سؤالهم، واختلافهم على أنبيائهم، فإذا نهيتكم عن شيء فاجتنبوه وإذا أمرتكم بأمر فأتوا منه ما استطعتم

Ismāeel narrated to us Mālik narrated to me from Abi Zinād from al-A'raj from Abu Hurayrah from the Prophet (peace be upon him) who said: *Leave me as I leave you) for the people who were before you were ruined because of their questions and their differences over their Prophets. So, if I forbid you to do something, then keep away from it. And if I order you to do something, then do of it as much as you can.*

Without question the *isnād* is *Ṣaḥīḥ* and the golden chain of Abu Hurayrah; the chain is as clear as the sun. Imām Muslim has the same narration but with the following wording:

حدثني حرملة بن يحيى التجيبي أخبرنا ابن وهب أخبرني يونس عن ابن شهاب أخبرني أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن وسعيد بن المسيب قالا كان أبو هريرة يحدث أنه سمع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول ما نهيتكم عنه فاجتنبوه وما أمرتكم به فافعلوا منه ما استطعتم فإنما أهلك الذين من قبلكم كثرة مسائلهم واختلافهم على أنبيائهم

Ḥarmala ibn Yaḥya at-Tajeebe narrated to me Ibn Wahb reported to us Yunus reported to me from Ibn Shihāb - Abu Salamah ibn Abdar-Raḥman and Sa'eed ibn Musayib reported to me, they said Abu Hurayrah narrated that he heard the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) say: *Avoid that which I forbid you to do and do that which I command you to do to the best of your capacity. Verily the people before you went to their doom because they had put too many questions to their Prophets and then disagreed with their teachings.*

The narratives recorded by Muslim also have the variation in wording of ‘*Leave me as I leave you*’ as reported by Hammām ibn Munabih as well as ‘*verily the people perished before you*’. These narrations are also recorded in all the major books of *aḥādīth* as noted in our book, *Kitāb at-Tawḥeed*, where this can be referred to.

Following on from the Prophet’s permission – to relate from the Bani Israel and there is no harm - one can say, with all praise and blessings from Allah, we can refer to the difficulties that we find in their stories and the historical narrative that we have obtained for the purpose of study, taking heed from the afflictions that were wrought upon them. As the Prophet (peace be upon him) said, don’t reject them and don’t affirm all of them. We should view their reports of history, with a view that neither rejects nor takes it as authoritative. From this we go to the story of the establishment of Saul as a king over Bani Israel. This was a controversial decision that took place amongst them and it was surrounded by disagreements and uproar. In the Old Testament, Book of Samuel, we find the following:

1. *And it came to pass, when Samuel was old, that he made his sons judges over Israel*
2. *Now the name of his firstborn was Joel; and the name of his second, Abiah: they were judges in Beersheba*
3. *And his sons walked not in his ways, but turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgment*
4. *Then all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to Samuel unto Ramah*
5. *And said unto him, Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: **now make us a king to judge us like all the nations***
6. *But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, Give us a king to judge us. And Samuel prayed unto the Lord.*
7. *And the Lord said unto Samuel, **Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them***

8. According to all the works which they have done since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt even unto this day, wherewith they have forsaken me, and served other gods, so do they also unto thee

9. Now therefore hearken unto their voice: howbeit yet protest solemnly unto them, and shew them the manner of the king that shall reign over them

10. And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people that asked of him a king

11. And he said, This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: He will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots

12. And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties; and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots

13. And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers

14. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your olive-yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants

15. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to his servants

16. And he will take your menservants, and your maidservants, and your goodliest young men, and your donkeys, and put them to his work.

17. He will take the tenth of your sheep: and ye shall be his servants

18. And ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen you; and the Lord will not hear you in that day.

19. Nevertheless the people refused to obey the voice of Samuel; and they said, Nay; but we will have a king over us;

20. That we also may be like all the nations; and that our king may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles.

21. And Samuel heard all the words of the people, and he rehearsed them in the ears of the Lord.

22. *And the Lord said to Samuel, Hearken unto their voice, and make them a king. And Samuel said unto the men of Israel, Go ye every man unto his city*

The aforementioned narrative is that which has reached us confirming the trials of Samuel. Allah knows best about the soundness of this narration as found in the Old Testament however we can clearly see that the Qur'ān testifies to the general veracity of the narrative which has been cited. It prevents the instigation of mistruths in the text. What becomes clear is that both scriptures present an explicit condemnation to Bani Israel and an expose on the extent of their stubbornness and rebelliousness and the time honoured tradition of leaving that which is better for that which is worse. They replaced what was given to them from honour, nobility and consensus in the political system of their Prophet's for kingship, monarchy and tyranny. They ignored the warning of the Lord their God from the oppression that the kings would eventually bring to them. He further warned that they would complain to Him and he would not respond. Despite observing the state of the nations around them that had implemented the system of monarchy, they still persisted to insist upon it. It therefore reduced them to the state of monkeys.

Particular attention must be made to the statement attributed to Allah when he speaks to Samuel that it is my authority that they are rejecting – (verse 7 above). It can be clearly understood from the above, that this system of leadership cannot be found pleasing to anyone except one who would go against and despise the leadership of Allah; kingship is a filthy and cursed system. Yes after this we say, that it is incumbent upon every believer in Allah and the last day, and as for those who disbelieve, Allah is not dependent upon his creation. After understanding the situation of the existence of some Prophets as kings as mentioned earlier, one must note that those previous *Sharī'ah's* are abrogated by the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him); both their broad strokes and details are also abrogated as well as letterings and meanings. So the situation returns to the ruling that kingship, a hereditary transference of ruling, is a system of *kufr* (disbelief) that nullifies the system of ruling in Islam. This concept is established in multiple texts having multiple sources and confirmed meanings as well as the agreement of the *Ummah* on this point, that is certain in both meaning, source and substance that the Imām is inaugurated by a *bay'ah* from the *Ummah* as is the statement of old from the people of *Sunnah* and these have been and are the majority of the people of Islam. Or as is stated in the texts of other sects – by divine command upon a man that is selected

by another divine mechanism, which is a restricted belief held by a minority of the *Ummah* who calls themselves the *Shia*. It was not narrated that some of the sound and greatly established leaders of the past, such as Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, permitted the establishment of the *Imām* by force. To say that his understanding is permissible is a mistake and from this reasoning to argue that in a state of necessity and coercion it is an acceptable situation. But this belief makes permissible that which is forbidden, which isn't specifically the subject under consideration.

The Prophet's interaction with rulers

The Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) wrote to the kings and tyrants around him as is narrated in the famous books of *ḥadith*, *seerah* and history. That he (peace be upon him) addressed them with the title of king, just as has been referred to in common custom of the time, this could be described as a tactic from the principles of war and diplomacy and international relations generally. But the reality is that he only chose the word 'azeem' – great one, which can be applied both to the nation and people, so he would refer to them as the great one of Rome, the great one of Persia etc. As has come from exemplary routes – a shorter version in Bukhāri and the longer in Muslim:

حدثنا محمد بن مقاتل أبو الحسن أخبرنا عبد الله أخبرنا يونس عن الزهري قال أخبرني عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن عتبة أن ابن عباس أخبره أن أبا سفيان بن حرب أخبره أن هرقل أرسل إليه في نفر من قريش وكانوا تجارا بالشام فاتوه فذكر الحديث قال ثم دعا بكتاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقرأ فإذا فيه بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من محمد عبد الله ورسوله إلى هرقل عظيم الروم السلام على من اتبع الهدى
أما بعد

Muḥammad ibn Muqātil Abul-Ḥasan narrated to us Abdallah reported to us Yunus reported to us from az-Zuhri he said: Ubaidallah ibn Abdallah ibn 'Utbah reported to me that Ibn 'Abbās reported to him that Abu Sufyān bin Harb (who narrates) Heraclius had sent for him to come along with a group of the Quraysh who were trading in *Sham*, and they came to him. Then Abu Sufyān mentioned the whole narration and said: Heraclius asked for the letter of Allah's Messenger. When the letter was read, its contents were as follows: 'In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From Muḥammad, Allah's

slave and His Messenger to Heraclius, the Great (one) of (the) Byzantines: Peace be upon him who follows the right path, to proceed...'

The rest of the text is to be found in Muslim under the section – the writings of the noble Prophet (peace be upon him). It is also found in Ibn Ḥibbān who recorded the same as Muslim as well as Nasā'ī, Aḥmad etc with a shorter chain of transmission as is his habit. A shorter version is also found in Abu Dāwud and Tirmidhi, who said *ḥasan-Ṣaḥīḥ* and in others. It is known that the term or name 'Al-Azeem' is from amongst the beautiful names of Allah, like that of 'the King'. The rule that applies to that is also the same, it is dispraised to be used for people as is the term 'king of kings' as the aforementioned narrations show. They come by themselves without other connecting words. There aren't other narrations with very different wordings, because they would have been invalidated by the previously quoted texts as we have mentioned previously. The word 'azeem' was used for a specific reason and it is noted that he (peace be upon him) didn't address them as kings. The name or title 'king' has been connected with people other than the Lord, *ar-Rabb*.

From Khilafah to Kingship

In the minds of the *Ṣaḥāba* associating the political title of 'king' conjured some very negative connotations, indicating transgression, oppression and exceeding all limits. There are a large number of examples concerning this to be found in the books of *ḥadith*:

حدثنا أحمد بن منيع حدثنا شريح بن النعمان حدثنا حشرج بن نباتة عن سعيد بن جمهان قال حدثني سفينة قال قال رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم: الخلافة في أمتي ثلاثون سنة ثم ملك بعد ذلك ثم قال لي سفينة: أمسك خلافة أبي بكر وخلافة عمر وخلافة عثمان ثم قال لي أمسك خلافة علي قال فوجدناها ثلاثين سنة قال سعيد: فقلت له إن بني أمية يزعمون أن الخلافة فيهم! ، قال: كذبوا بنو الزرقاء: بل هم ملوك من شر الملوك

Aḥmad ibn Muneeh' narrated to us Surayj ibn an-Nu'mān narrated to us Ḥashraj ibn Nubāta narrated to us from Sa'eed ibn Jumhān he said Safinah told me the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) said: *Al-Khilafah will be in my Ummah for thirty years, then there will be monarchy after that.* Then Safinah said to me: Count the *Khilafah* of Abu

Bakr, then he said: Count the *Khilafah* of 'Umar and the *Khilafah* of 'Uthmān. Then he said to me: Count the *Khilafah* of 'Ali. He said: So we found that they added up to thirty years. Sa'eed said: I said to him: Banu Umayyah claim that the *Khilafah* is among them. He said: Banu Az-Zarqa' lie! Rather they are a monarchy, among the worst of monarchies!

Tirmidhi said of this narration that it was *ḥasan*. It has been related by more than one from Sa'eed ibn Jumhān, we don't know of this narration except through him. Albāni said it was *Ṣaḥīḥ*. I would submit that Albāni was correct in his analysis as Sa'eed is reliable and trustworthy; none of the authorities have said anything negative against him.

أخبرنا أبو يعلى حدثنا علي بن الجعد الجوهري أخبرنا حماد بن سلمة عن سعيد بن جهمان عن سفينة قال سمعت رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، يقول: الخلافة بعدي ثلاثون سنة ثم تكون ملكا، قال أمسك خلافة أبي بكر، رضي الله تعالى عنه: سنتين، وعمر، رضي الله تعالى عنه: عشرا وعثمان، رضي الله تعالى عنه: اثنتي عشرة وعلي، رضي الله تعالى عنه: سنا قال علي بن الجعد قلت لحامد بن سلمة سفينة القائل أمسك قال نعم

Abu Ya'la reported to us Ali ibn Ja'd al-Jawhuri narrated to us Hammād ibn Salamah reported to us from Sa'eed ibn Jumhān from Safinah, he said I heard the Prophet (peace be upon him) say: *The Khilafah after me will be 30years, then there will be kings*. He said: Abu Bakr's *khilafah* was two years, Umar's was ten years and Uthmān's twelve and Ali's six. Ali ibn Ja'd (said): I asked Hammād ibn Salamah - did Safinah say thereafter it was seized? He said: Yes.

This narration is found in Ibn Ḥibbān; Shaykh Shu'ayb al-Arnā'ūṭ said that the *isnād* is *ḥasan*; rather I would submit that it is *Ṣaḥīḥ* for the reasoning previously set out. Imām an-Nasā'ī recorded in the following in *Sunan al-Kubra Mukhtaṣr*:

أخبرنا أحمد بن سليمان قال أنا يزيد قال أنا العوام قال حدثني سعيد بن جهمان عن سفينة مولى رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، قال قال رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم: الخلافة في أمتي ثلاثون سنة ثم ملكا بعد ذلك»، قال فحسبنا فوجدنا أبا بكر وعمر وعثمان وعلياً

Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān reported to us he said Yazeed reported to us he said al-‘Awwām reported to us he said, Sa’eed ibn Jumhān narrated to me from Safinah, *mawla* of the Prophet (peace be upon him) he said: The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) said: *Khilafah will be in my Ummah for thirty-years then there will be kings afterwards.* So we counted the years and that it included the four: Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthmān and Ali.

Another similar narration is found in *Musnad* Aḥmad:

حدثنا بهز ثنا حماد بن سلمة ثنا سعيد بن جمهان (ح) وعبد الصمد حدثني سعيد بن جمهان عن سفينة قال سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: «الخلافة ثلاثون عاما ثم يكون بعد ذلك الملك»، قال سفينة أمسك خلافة أبي بكر رضي الله تعالى عنه سنتين وخلافة عمر رضي الله تعالى عنه عشر سنين وخلافة عثمان رضي الله تعالى عنه اثني عشر سنة وخلافة علي رضي الله تعالى عنه ست سنين رضي الله تعالى عنهم

Bahz narrated to us Hammād ibn Salamah narrated to us Sa’eed ibn Jumhān (*ḥawala*) and Abdaṣ-Ṣamad narrated to us Sa’eed ibn Jumhān narrated to me from Safinah, he said the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: *Al-Khilafah after me will be 30years, then there will be kings.* Safinah said to me: Count the *Khilafah* of Abu Bakr, and then he said: Count the *Khilafah* of 'Umar and the *Khilafah* of 'Uthmān. Then he said to me: Count the *Khilafah* of 'Ali – may Allah be pleased with them all.

And from another channel in the *Musnad*:

حدثنا زيد بن الحباب حدثني حماد يعني بن سلمة عن سعيد بن جمهان حدثني سفينة أبو عبد الرحمن قال سمعت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: الخلافة ثلاثون عاما ثم الملك، فذكره

Zayd ibn al-Ḥabāb narrated to us Hammād - that is to say - ibn Salamah – narrated to me from Sa’eed ibn Jumhān, Safinah Abu Addar-Raḥman narrated to me, he said I heard the Prophet (peace be upon him) say: *Khilafah (will be) for thirty-years, then kings.*

There is also a slightly longer version which was recorded by Aḥmad detailing how Safinah came to be called so:

حدثنا أبو النضر ثنا حشرج بن نباتة العبسي كوفي ثنا سعيد بن جمهان حدثني سفينة قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: «الخلافة في أمتي ثلاثون سنة ثم ملكا بعد ذلك»، ثم قال لي سفينة أمسك خلافة أبي بكر وخلافة عمر وخلافة عثمان وأمسك خلافة علي رضي الله تعالى عنهم قال فوجدناها ثلاثين سنة ثم نظرت بعد ذلك في الخلفاء فلم أجده يتفق لهم ثلاثون فقلت لسعيد أين لقيت سفينة قال لقيته ببطن نخل في زمن الحجاج فأقمت عنده ثمان ليال أسأله عن أحاديث رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال قلت له ما اسمك قال ما أنا بمخبرك سماني رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم سفينة قلت ولم سماك سفينة قال خرج رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، ومعه أصحابه فثقل عليهم متاعهم فقال لي ابسط كساءك فيسطته فجعلوا فيه متاعهم ثم حملوه على فقال لي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، احمل فإنما أنت سفينة فلو حملت يومئذ وقر بعير أو بعيرين أو ثلاثة أو أربعة أو خمسة أو ستة أو سبعة ما ثقل على إلا أن يجفوا

Abu an-Naḍr narrated to us Ḥashraj ibn Nubāta al-‘Abbasi Kufi narrated to us Sa’eed ibn Jumhān narrated to us Safinah narrated to me he said that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: *Al-Khilafah will be in my Ummah for 30yrs thereafter there will be kings.* Safinah mentioned Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthmān and Ali. We counted the four we didn’t find it adding up to 30yrs exactly. So we said to Sa’eed when did you meet Safinah and he said in the time of Hajjāj and I remained in her company for eight-days asking him about the *ḥadith* of the Prophet (peace be upon him). Safinah said I will narrate to you what I heard from the Prophet (peace be upon him). The Prophet (peace be upon him) went out amongst the people with his companions and the goods they had with them became heavy. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said spread out your cloth and then they took their provisions in it and they began to carry it in the cloth. Then the Prophet (peace be upon him) said to me – (Safinah) *carry for indeed you are only as a boat amongst the people. Even if we had to carry the provision of up to seven camels they wouldn’t overcome us.*

In *al-Aḥad wal Mathāni* the following is recorded:

حدثنا أبو بكر بن أبي شيبة نا يزيد بن هارون نا العوام بن حوشب نا سعيد بن جمهان عن سفينة رضي الله تعالى عنه قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: «الخلافة في أمتي ثلاثون سنة، قال فحسبنا فوجدنا أبا بكر سنتين وعمر وعثمان رضي الله تعالى عنهم قال فقيل له إن عليا لا يعد من الحلفاء فقال أمر بني الزرقاء فهو يعد من ذلك

Abu Bakr ibn Abi Shayba narrated to us Yazeed ibn Hāroon reported to us al-A'wwām ibn Hawshab reported to us Sa'eed ibn Jumhān reported to us from Safinah (may Allah be pleased with him) he said the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: *Al-Khilafah will be in my Ummah for 30years*. So we counted the years for Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthmān may Allah be pleased with them. It was said to him (Safinha) is Ali included in the *khulafah*? He replied: are you going to turn the matter over to Bani Zarqa? Is he going to be counted amongst them? He said this and he was white and that his colour had changed.

In the *Musnad* of Ibn al-Ja'd it is recorded:

حدثنا علي أخبرني حماد عن سعيد بن جمهان عن سفينة قال سمعت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: «الخلافة ثلاثون سنة ثم تكون ملكا»، ثم قال أمسك خلافة أبي بكر سنتين وعمر عشرا وعثمان اثنتي عشرة وعلي ستا قال علي قلت لحماد سفينة القائل لسعيد أمسك قال نعم

Ali narrated to us Hammād reported to me from Sa'eed ibn Jumhān from Safinah he said the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: *The Khilafah will be for thirty-years, then there will be kings*. Safinah said: count two years for Abu Bakr, ten years for Umar, twelve years for Uthmān and six for Ali. I said to Hammād: did Safinah say that it was taken by others? He said yes.

In *Mu'jam al-Kabir*, Ṭabarāni has the following narration:

حدثنا علي بن عبد العزيز ثنا حجاج بن المنهال (ح) وحدثنا المقدم ثنا أسد بن موسى قالوا: ثنا حماد بن سلمة عن سعيد بن جمهان عن سفينة مولى النبي، صلى الله عليه وسلم، عن النبي، صلى الله عليه وسلم، قال: «الخلافة ثلاثون سنة ثم يكون ملكا»، قال أمسك اثنتين أبو بكر وعشرا عمر واثنتي عشرة عثمان وستا علي، رضي الله تعالى عنهم

Ali ibn Abdal-Aziz narrated to us Ḥajjāj ibn al-Minhāl (*hawala*) narrated to us, and al-Miqdam narrated to us Asad ibn Musa narrated to us, they said: Hammād ibn Salamah narrated to us from Sa'eed ibn Jumhān from Safinah *mawla* of the Prophet (peace be upon him), that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: *The Khilafah will be for thirty-years, then there will be kings*. Count two years for Abu Bakr, ten years for Umar, twelve years for Uthmān and six for Ali – may Allah be pleased with them all.

Recorded in the *Musnad* of Abu Ya'la there is the next narration:

حدثنا أبو خيثمة حدثنا جرير عن ليث عن عبد الرحمن بن سابط عن أبي ثعلبة الخشني قال كان أبو عبيدة بن الجراح ومعاذ بن جبل يتتاجيان بينهما بحديث فقلت لهما ما حفظتما وصية رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، بي قال وكان أوصاهما بي قال ما أردنا أن ننتجي بشيء دونك إنما ذكرنا حديثا حدثنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، فجعلنا يتذاكرانه قالوا: إنه بدأ هذا الأمر نبوة ورحمة، ثم كائن خلافة ورحمة، ثم كائن ملكا عضوضا، ثم كائن عتوا وجبرية وفسادا في الأمة يستحلون الحرير والخمور والفروج والفساد في الأمة، ينصرون على ذلك ويرزقون أبدا حتى يلقوا الله

Abu Khaythama narrated to us Jarir narrated to us from Layth from Abdar-Rahman ibn Sābiṭ from Abu Thalabah al-Khushani, he said: Abu Ubaydah ibn Jarāḥ and Muā'ṭh ibn Jabal used to exchange *ḥadith* amongst themselves. I said to them what have you memorized from the testimony of the Prophet? So, it was said to me and they were advising me with it - we do not intend except to sit and discuss amongst ourselves any other matters, we only came to relate what was related to us from the Prophet. So they began saying that he (peace be upon him) had said: *Indeed this affair began on Prophethood and mercy. Then it will go to a situation of Khilafah and mercy. Then it will be like an obstinate kingship full of enmity. Then the affair will be among tyrants who permit the wearing silk, drinking of alcohol and permit the vagina's (fornication) and will establish these corruptions in the nation. They will aid each other to this and be established in this till they meet Allah.*

Sheikh Ḥussain Asad said that this *isnād* was weak (*da'eef*). I say he was correct because the chain has Layth ibn Abi Sulaym and it is agreed that he was a weak narrator; it is agreed that he writes without consideration and weak because of the reliability of his memory - not because he was a liar or fabricator.³ However the narration can be strengthened if it can be provided

³ Writing in *at-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabir* [Vol. 6: The Scholars of Kufa, p. 339 (English)] Muḥammad ibn Sa'd said: 'Layth was a righteous man of worship. He was weak in *ḥadith*.' Abd al-Hayy al-Laknawi [*Rijāl: Narrators of the Muwaṭṭā'* of Imām Muḥammad p. 89] quoting from Ḥāfiẓ Abd al-Azim al-Mundhiri (*at Targhib wa't-tahrib*) says: 'There is disagreement about him, and people have narrated from him but Yaḥya and an-Nasā'i regarded him as weak, and Ibn Ḥibbān said - 'he became confused and mixed things up towards the end of his life.' Ad-Dāraqutni said: 'He was a man of *Sunnah* and they only repudiate his joining together 'Aṭā, Ṭāwus and Mujāhid, and nothing else.' After citing a narration concerning entering a bathhouse without an *izhār*, Abu Esa at-Tirmidhi has the following comment concerning the narrator, he writes: Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il said: 'Layth bin Abu Sulaym is truthful and sometimes he is mistaken about (certain) things.' Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il said: 'Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal said: 'Layth is such that one is not happy with his narrations; Layth would narrate something in *Marfu'* form, while others would not narrate it in *Marfu'* form. So for this reason, they considered him weak.' [See: *Sunan Tirmidhi*, Vol. 5 ch. 43, no. 2801]

or established from another chain. Fortunately, there is a narrative contained within the *Musnad* of Abu Dāwud at-Ṭayālisi:

حدثنا جرير بن حازم عن ليث عن عبد الرحمن بن سابط عن أبي ثعلبة الخشني عن أبي عبيدة بن الجراح ومعاذ بن جبل رضي الله تعالى عنهما عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: «إن الله عز وجل بدأ هذا الأمر نبوة ورحمة وكاننا خلافة ورحمة وكاننا ملكا عضوضا وكاننا عنوة وجبرية وفسادا في الأرض يستحلون الفروج والخمر والحريير، وينصرون على ذلك ويرزقون أبدا حتى يلقوا الله

Jarir ibn Ḥāzim narrated to us from Layth from Abdar-Raḥman ibn Sābiṭ from Abu Thalabah al-Khushani from Abu Ubaydah ibn Jarāḥ and Muā'ṭh ibn Jabal (may Allah be pleased with them) from the Prophet (peace be upon him) (that) he said: *Allah lord of majesty established this affair of Prophethood on mercy. Then it will go to a situation of Khilafah and mercy. Then it will be like an obstinate kingship full of enmity. Then the affair will be a despised tyranny spreading corruption, permitting the wearing silk, drinking of alcohol and permit the vagina's (fornication) and will establish these corruptions in the nation. They will aid each other and take sustenance from this till they meet Allah*

There is also another narration that is similar in the *Mu'jam al-Kabir*:

حدثنا علي بن عبد العزيز ثنا أحمد بن يونس ثنا الفضيل بن عياض عن ليث عن عبد الرحمن بن سابط عن أبي ثعلبة الخشني عن معاذ وأبي عبيدة قالوا قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إن هذا الأمر بدأ رحمة ونبوة ثم يكون رحمة وخلافة ثم كائن ملكا عضوضا ثم كائن عتوا وجبرية وفسادا في الأرض يستحلون الحريير والفروج والخمر ويرزقون على ذلك وينصرون حتى يلقوا الله عز وجل

Ali ibn Abd al-Aziz narrated to us Aḥmad ibn Yunus narrated to us al-Fuḍeel ibn A'yāḍ narrated to us from Layth from Abdar-Raḥman ibn Sābiṭ from Abu Thalaba al-Khushani from Abu Ubaydah ibn Jarāḥ and Muā'ṭh ibn Jabal, they said that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: *Allah lord of majesty established this affair of Prophethood on mercy. Then it will go to a situation of Khilafah and mercy. Then it will be like an obstinate kingship full of enmity. Then the affair will be a despised tyranny spreading corruption, permitting the wearing silk, drinking of alcohol and permit the vagina's (fornication) and will establish these corruptions in the nation. They will aid each other till they meet Allah.*

And also there is another channel cited by Ṭabarāni in the *Mu'jam al-Kabir*:

حدثنا علي بن عبد العزيز والعباس بن الفضل الأسفاطي قالوا ثنا أحمد بن يونس ثنا فضيل بن عياض عن
ليث عن عبد الرحمن بن سابط عن أبي ثعلبة الخشني عن معاذ وأبي عبيدة قالوا قال رسول الله صلى الله
عليه وسلم: «إن هذا الأمر بدأ رحمة ونبوة ثم تكون رحمة وخلافة ثم كائنا ملكا عضوضا ثم كائنا عتوا
وجبرية وفسادا في الأرض يستحلون الحرير والفروج والخمر ويرزقون على ذلك حتى يلقون الله

Ali ibn Abd al-Aziz and al-‘Abbās ibn al-Fuḍeel al-Asfāṭī narrated to us they said Aḥmad
ibn Yunus narrated to us Fuḍeel ibn A’yād narrated to us from Layth from Abdar-Raḥman
ibn Sābiṭ from Abi Thalabah al-Khushani from Abu Ubaydah ibn Jarāḥ and Muā’th ibn
Jabal they said that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: *Indeed, this affair began of
Prophethood and mercy. Then it will go to a situation of Khilafah and mercy. Then it will
be like an obstinate kingship full of enmity. Then the affair will be a despised tyranny
spreading corruption, permitting the wearing silk, drinking of alcohol and permit the
vagina's (fornication) and will establish this corruption in the nation. They will aid each
other and take sustenance from this till they meet Allah*

Once again, Ṭabarāni also records another similar narrative in his *Mu'jam al-Kabir*:

حدثنا معاذ بن المثني ثنا محمد بن المنهال أخو حجاج ثنا عبد الواحد بن زياد ثنا ليث بن أبي سليم عن عبد
الرحمن بن سابط عن أبي ثعلبة الخشني عن معاذ بن جبل وأبي عبيدة قالوا سمعنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه
وسلم يقول إن هذا الأمر بدأ رحمة ونبوة ثم خلافة ورحمة ثم كائنا ملكا عضوضا وجبرية وفسادا في
الأرض يستحلون الفروج والحرير والخمور وينصرون على ذلك ويرزقون حتى يلقوا الله تبارك وتعالى

Muā’th ibn al-Muthanna narrated to us Muḥammad ibn al-Minhāl brother (of) Ḥajjāj
narrated to us Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Ziyād narrated to us Layth ibn Abi Sulaym narrated to us
from Abdar-Raḥman ibn Sābiṭ from Abu Thalabah al-Khushani from Abu Ubaydah ibn
Jarāḥ and Muā’th ibn Jabal they said we heard the Prophet (peace be upon him) say: *Indeed
this affair began upon Prophethood and mercy. Then it will go to a situation of Khilafah
and mercy. Then there will exist an obstinate tyrants spreading corruption in the land,
permitting the wearing silk, drinking of alcohol and the vagina's (fornication); they will
aid each other and take sustenance from this till they meet Allah.*

In *Sunan al-Kubra* Imām Bayhaqy cites the following:

حدثنا أبو بكر بن فورك أنبأ عبد الله بن جعفر ثنا يونس بن حبيب ثنا أبو داود ثنا جرير بن حازم عن ليث عن عبد الرحمن بن سابط عن أبي ثعلبة الخشني عن أبي عبيدة بن الجراح ومعاذ بن جبل رضي الله تعالى عنهما عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال إن الله بدأ هذا الأمر نبوة ورحمة وكاننا خلافة ورحمة وكاننا ملكا عضوا وكاننا عتوة وجبرية وفسادا في الأمة يستحلون الفروج والخمر والحريير وينصرون على ذلك ويرزقون أبدا حتى يلقوا الله عز وجل

Abu Bakr ibn Fawrak narrated to us Abdallah ibn Ja'far reports: Yunus ibn Ḥabeeb narrated to us Abu Dāwud narrated to us Jarir ibn Ḥāzim narrated to us from Layth from Abdar-Raḥman ibn Sābiṭ from Abu Thalabah al-Khushani from Abu Ubaydah ibn Jarāḥ and Mu'ādth ibn Jabal they said the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: *Indeed this affair began upon Prophethood and mercy. Then there will exist Khilafah and mercy. Then there will exist kings and obstinate tyrants and there will be corruption in the Ummah; they will permit the vagina's (fornication), alcohol and silk; they will aid each other and take sustenance from this till they meet Allah.*

These three narrations are from solid, well-founded and famous Imām's of *ḥadith* – Abu Naḍr Jarir ibn Ḥāzm al-Azdi al-Baṣri, Imām al-Kidwa, Shaykh al-Islam Abu Ali Fuḍayl ibn Ayād at-Tamimi al-Yarbu'i and Abu Bashr Abd-al Wāḥid ibn Ziyād al-Abdi. These are the Imāms of the *Tabi'een*. All of them narrate the same narrative from Layth ibn Abi Salim. Some narrated in full some narrated in part –in whatever manner they received it from him. All of these connected chains are present and accounted for by the praise of Allah. Also from the *Mu'jam al-Kabir* we have the following:

حدثنا بكر بن سهل حدثنا عبد الله بن يوسف ثنا يحيى بن حمزة عن أبي وهب عن مكحول عن أبي ثعلبة أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: أن دينكم نبوة ورحمة ثم خلافة ورحمة ثم ملكا وجبرية ثم ملكا عضوا يستحل فيه الحر والحريير

Bakr ibn Sahl narrated to us Abdallah ibn Yusuf narrated to us Yaḥya ibn Ḥamza narrated to us from Abu Wahb from Makḥoul from Abu Thalaba that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: *Verily your Deen began on Prophethood and mercy, then Khilafah with mercy, then kings and obstinate tyrants, permitting the vagina and silk.*

Another channel is found in the *Musnad Shāmiayn*:

حدثنا محمد بن يزيد بن عبد الصمد ثنا هشام بن عمار ثنا يحيى بن حمزة عن أبي وهب عن مكحول عن أبي ثعلبة الخشني عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: أول دينكم نبوة ورحمة ثم خلافة ورحمة ثم ملك وجبرية يستحل فيها الحر والحريم

Muḥammad ibn Yazid ibn Abd-aṣ-Ṣamad narrated to us Hishām ibn ‘Ammār narrated to us Yaḥya ibn Ḥamza narrated to us from Abu Wahb from Makḥoul from Abu Thalaba that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: *Firstly your Deen began on Prophethood and mercy, then Khilafah with mercy, then kings and obstinate tyrants, permitting the vagina and silk.*

And from *Sunan ad-Dārimi*:

أخبرنا مروان بن محمد ثنا يحيى بن حمزة حدثني بن وهب عن مكحول عن أبي ثعلبة الخشني عن أبي عبيدة بن الجراح قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أول دينكم نبوة ورحمة ثم ملك ورحمة ثم ملك أعفر ثم ملك وجبروت يستحل فيها الخمر والحريم قال أبو محمد سنل عن أعفر فقال يشبهه بالتراب وليس فيه خير

Marwān ibn Muḥammad reported to us Yaḥya ibn Ḥamza narrated to us Ibn Wahb narrated to me from Makḥoul from Abu Thalaba al-Khushani from Abu Ubaydah ibn Jarāḥ who said that the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) said: *Your Deen began upon Prophethood and mercy then kingship with mercy, then kingship with the harshest of rules, then oppressive kingship and tyrants permitting alcohol and silk.* Abu Muḥammad said: I asked about the word (أعفر), it resembled the dust and had no good in it (a barren kingship).

Concerning this *isnād* it is apparent that there is an error in the transcription; it shouldn't have been recorded *Ibn Wahb narrated to us*, but *Abu Wahb narrated to us*. The same appears with regards to the statement – ‘*kingship with mercy*’; it is known after Prophethood there was *Khilafah*. Therefore it can safely be concluded that this narration contains within it some clear errors, arguably from the transcription, because all others we have Prophethood with mercy, *Khilafah* with mercy which is then followed by kingship, tyranny and oppression. Even if this was established from the narration of Marwān bin Muḥammad, then it is a *shaḍh* (anomalous)

narration which opposes that which is established from the other narratives. Marwān bin Muḥammad cannot compare with Abdullah bin Yusuf; he did not hear from him. Despite these anomalies there are some imbeciles who rely upon this disproved narration, as well as its anomalous text in order to attribute mercy and kingship towards Mu'āwiya ibn Abi Sufyān; all the while leaving or ignoring the other Prophetic narratives. To such people we say to them – you have lied and may Allah protect us from this, because there hasn't been in the world except an acrimonious and harsh king or that which is worse than them, tyranny.

What follows from an acceptance of this *isnād* could be arguable if it was not for the existence of a man in the chain who requires inspection namely, Abu Wahb / Abu Wahb aṭ-Ṭā'ee or al-Kala'ee. His real name is Hārith bin Ḥimṣi as it comes in the book *Lisān al-Mizān*. More than this wasn't mentioned about him. It comes in *Tazeeb at-Tahzeeb* (by Ibn Ḥajar) – “Abu Wahb al-Kala'ee narrated from Abdullah ibn Umar and Abdur-Rahman ibn Marzuq, he was mentioned by Bukhāri in abstract and Abdullah ibn Yunus in *Tarikh Miṣr*.” I would submit, as directed by Yaḥya bin Ḥamza and he is from the trustworthy Imāms which there is consensus upon; narrations are found from him in Bukhāri and Muslim and other *ḥadith* collections. As for what Uqayli mentions about him in *aḍ-Ḍua'fā al-Kabir* – that he was accused of being Qadari is irrelevant; he even denigrates Ali bin Madini about such matters as well, which prompted adh-Dhathabi to say where is your reasoning Uqayli! Uqayli dispraised others in a similar way. We say the same regarding this in the specific plea with Yaḥya bin Hamya the Qadi' of Damascus – where is your brain Uqayli; such views cannot be relied upon in the science of *jar wa ta'deel*. There are three further narrations that come from him, the first in the *Mu'jam al-Kabir*:

حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله الحضرمي ثنا أبو كريب ثنا فردوس الأشعري ثنا مسعود بن سليمان عن حبيب بن أبي ثابت عن رجل من قريش عن أبي ثعلبة قال: لقيت رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، فقلت: يا رسول الله ادفعني إلى رجل حسن التعليم، فدفعتني إلى أبي عبيدة بن الجراح ثم قال قد دفعتك إلى رجل يحسن تعليمك وأدبك فأتيت أبا عبيدة بن الجراح وهو وبشير بن سعد أبو النعمان بن بشير يتحدثان فلما رأياني سكتا فقلت يا أبا عبيدة والله ما هكذا حدثني رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، فقال: إنك جنت ونحن نتحدث حديثاً سمعناه من رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، فاجلس حتى نحدثك فقال قال رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم: إن فيكم النبوة ثم تكون خلافة على منهاج النبوة ثم يكون ملكاً وجبرية

Muḥammad ibn Abdallah al-Ḥaḍrami narrated to us Abu Kareeb narrated to us Firdous al-Asha'ri narrated to us Mas'ud ibn Sulaymān narrated to us from Ḥabeeb ibn Abi Thābit

from a man from Quraysh from Abu Thalaba said I met the Prophet (peace be upon him) and he said to him: ‘Send to me a man who is a good teacher.’ He sent Abu Ubaydah ibn Jarāh and said: ‘I have sent a man who is excellent in manners and teachers which is why I have chosen him.’ Him and Bashir bin Sa’d used to narrate and teach yet when they saw me they fell silent. I said – ‘Abu Ubaydah you weren’t described like this to me by the Messenger of Allah.’ He said – ‘Indeed you came to us when we were narrating a *ḥadith* from the Messenger; sit with us until we narrate it to you, he (peace be upon him) said: *There will be among you Prophethood, then there will be Khilafah on the minhāj of Prophethood then there will be kingship and tyrants.*’

There is an unknown man mentioned in the chain and it cannot be Makḥoul. The unknown narrator lessens the level of this narration than the previous ones quoted. From this and from the previous evidences it becomes clear that there is an important point from the narrative of Layth, namely – the wording should be:

- ❖ *Verily this matter of Prophethood began with mercy, then there will exist Khilafah with mercy; then there will exist tyrannical kings, then there will be tyrants spreading corruption in the Ummah, the permitting of silk, alcohol and zina, resulting in corruption therein.*

There is another addition – ‘...they will aide each other in this until they meet Allah.’ and there hasn’t come any other chains better than this. It is not permitted to trace mistaken or anomalous narrations to the Prophet (peace be upon him), nor can beliefs and Deen in general be established in this manner. What is worse is that some would take corrupted narrations and twist the speech from them, in order to bewitch the people and argue that they should follow the modern, corrupt tyrannical rulers, aiding them in their corruption even up till now. As for the *ḥadith* of Layth ibn Abi Sulaym as mentioned previously and that of Sa’eed bin Jumhān from Safinah, these are *Ṣaḥīḥ* as previously mentioned. The Ḥadith that have become famous amongst people are also *Ṣaḥīḥ*, most notably found in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal:

حدثنا سليمان بن داود الطيالسي حدثني داود بن إبراهيم الواسطي حدثني حبيب بن سالم عن النعمان بن بشير قال: كنا قعودا في مسجد رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، وكان بشير رجلا يكف حديثه فجاء أبو

ثعلبة الخشني فقال يا بشير بن سعد أتحفظ حديث رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، في الأمراء فقال حذيفة: (أنا أحفظ خطبته!)، فجلس أبو ثعلبة فقال حذيفة: قال رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم: تكون النبوة فيكم ما شاء الله ان تكون ثم يرفعها إذا شاء ان يرفعها ثم تكون خلافة على منهاج النبوة فتكون ما شاء الله ان تكون ثم يرفعها إذا شاء الله أن يرفعها ثم تكون ملكا عاضا فيكون ما شاء الله ان يكون ثم يرفعها إذا شاء أن يرفعها ثم تكون ملكا جبرية فتكون ما شاء الله ان تكون ثم يرفعها إذا شاء ان يرفعها ثم تكون خلافة على منهاج النبوة»، ثم سكت قال حبيب فلما قام عمر بن عبد العزيز وكان يزيد بن النعمان بن بشير في صحابته كتبت إليه بهذا الحديث أذكره إياه فقلت له انى أرجو ان يكون أمير المؤمنين يعنى عمر بعد الملك العاض والجبرية فادخل كتابي على عمر بن عبد العزيز فسر به وأعجبه

Sulaymān ibn Dāwud at-Ṭayālisi narrated to us Dawūd ibn Ibrāhīm al-Wāsiṭi narrated to me Ḥabeeb ibn Sālim narrated to me from an-Nu'mān bin Bashir he said: we were sitting in the Prophet's *masjid* (peace be upon him) there was a man narrating *ḥadīth*; Abu Thalaba al-Khushani came and said: Oh Bashir ibn Sa'd, have you memorised the Messenger's statements regarding leadership? Ḥudhayfah said: I memorised his whole *khutba*! Abu Thalaba sat and Ḥudhayfah said that the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) said: *There will be Prophethood for as long as Allah wills it to be, then He will remove it when He wills, then there will be Khilafah on the Prophetic method and it will be for as long as Allah wills, then He will remove it when He wills, then there will be biting Kingship for as long as Allah Wills, then He will remove it when He wills, then there will be oppressive kingship for as long as Allah wills, then he will remove it when He wills, and then there will be Khilafah upon the Prophetic method;* and then he remained silent. Ḥabeeb said: One of his companions wrote this down and I mentioned it to him. So he said – indeed I desire that it be the commander of the believers, Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz that there would be after this acrimonious tyranny so I presented my writings to Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz and he was amazed.

Abu Dāwud at-Ṭayālisi also recorded this with an explicit narrative, again from an-Nu'mān bin Bashir, the channel is as follows:

حدثنا داود الواسطي وكان ثقة قال سمعت حبيب بن سالم قال سمعت النعمان بن بشير بن سعد بنحوه

Dāwud al-Wāsiṭi narrated to us and he was *thiqa*, he said: I heard Ḥabeeb ibn Sālim say that he heard an-Nu'mān bin Bashir ibn Sa'd say the narration.

There is also a useful addition which strengthens the narration. I say that this *isnād* is sound enough to establish proof. Ḥabeeb ibn Sālim is used as a narrator by Muslim and others. Everyone except for Bukhārī agreed he was acceptable. Abu Ḥātim said that he was *thiqa* with a lot of emphasis. Ibn Ḥajar mentioned regarding him: ‘Ḥabeeb was the freed slave of an-Nu’mān bin Bashir and there is no harm in him.’ There are a few other narrations concerning this. As reported in the *Musnad* of Abu Dāwud at-Ṭayālisi:

حدثنا حماد بن سلمة قال ثنا علي بن زيد عن عبد الرحمن بن أبي بكرة قال وفدنا إلى معاوية مع زياد ومعنا أبو بكرة فدخلنا عليه فقال له معاوية حدثنا حديثاً سمعته من رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، عسى الله أن ينفعنا به قال: (نعم: كان نبي الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، يعجبه الرؤيا الصالحة ويسأل عنها، فقال رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، ذات يوم: «أيكم رأى رؤيا؟!»، فقال رجل: أنا يا رسول الله: إني رأيت رؤيا رأيت كأن ميزانا دلي من السماء فوزنت أنت وأبو بكر فرجحت بأبي بكر ثم وزن أبو بكر بعمر فرجح أبو بكر بعمر ثم وزن عمر بعثمان فرجح عمر بعثمان ثم رفع الميزان، فاستاء لها رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، ثم قال: خلافة نبوة، ثم يؤتي الله الملك من يشاء فعضب معاوية فزخ في إقفاننا وأخرجنا. فقال زياد لأبي بكرة أما وجدت من حديث رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، حديثاً تحدثه غير هذا قال: (والله لا أحدثه إلا به حتى أفارقه)، قال: فلم يزل زياد يطلب الإذن حتى أذن لنا فأدخلنا فقال معاوية يا أبا بكرة حدثنا بحديث عن رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، لعل الله أن ينفعنا به قال فحدثه أيضاً بمثل حديثه الأول فقال له معاوية: لا أبا لك: تخبرنا أنا ملوك فقد رضينا أن نكون ملوكاً!

Hammād ibn Salamah narrated to us, he said Ali ibn Zayd narrated to us from Abdar-Raḥman ibn Abi Bakra, he said: A delegation came to Mu’āwiya with Ziyād and with us Abu Bakra. We entered upon him and he (Abu Bakra) said – Tell us Mu’āwiya a *ḥadith* that you heard from the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) perhaps Allah will benefit us by it. He replied – Yes, the Prophet was amazed by some true or righteous dreams and he would ask about them. So the Messenger Allah said one day: has any of you seen a dream. A man said to him, I have o messenger of Allah. I saw scales descend from the heavens and you were weighed against Abu Bakr and you outweighed him. Then he was weighed in comparison to Umar and then Uthmān. Umar outweighed Uthmān and then the scales went back into the sky. So he asked the Messenger of Allah regarding this. The Prophet (peace be upon him) replied – *Khilafah will be after Prophethood Allah will grant power or kingdom to whoever he wills*. Mu’āwiya became angry at the news. Ziad said to Abi Bakra as for what you saw from the narrations of the Prophet can you tell us other than this – he said – by Allah I will narrate nothing but this till I am free from this. Ziad did not differ or waiver in requesting permission until we permitted him to leave.

Mu'āwiya said – O Abu Bakra explain to us a *ḥadīth* from the messenger of Allah – Abu Bakra narrated that which was similar to that before, then he said – may your father be bereft of you! Mu'āwiya said to him May you have no father – you informed us that I am a king – so that we are pleased to be kings!

I would submit that Ali bin Zayd is not a proof. But he wasn't silent about everything. Much has been related from him by Aḥmad and Ḥākim considered him sound; adh-Dhahabi said he was *ṣāliḥ* / sound. The *ḥadīth* that are found to be sound after consideration and investigation should be considered in tandem. Abu Bakra wasn't alone in his understanding - the view of the *Ṣaḥāba* crystallised upon this understanding that is upon the condemnation of Kingship. And its connection with oppression and tyranny, even up until and including Mu'āwiya as shown here by his understanding and that he commanded the rejection of Abu Bakra and those connected with him in an attempt to run away from such condemnation. Then he submitted and wasn't able to overcome or divert this criticism as is made clear from the narration. This was also the understanding of Safinah when he said regarding Bani Umayyah – Bani Zarqa have lied, they are Kings and from the worst of them! Many solid narrations have also come in relation to this topic, such as what has been confirmed from the Ameer of Sana'a before the age of Uthmān bin Affān as found in the *Mu'jam al Kabir*:

حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله الحضرمي ثنا محمد بن يوسف الأنباري حدثنا داود بن المحبر ثنا أبو قحذم عن أبي قلابة عن أبي الأشعث الصنعاني قال كان أمير على صنعاء قال أبو قحذم يقال له ثمامة بن عدي وكانت له صحبة فلما جاء نعي فلان بكى بكاء شديدا فلما أفاق قال: هذا حين انتزعت خلافة النبوة وصار ملكا وجبرية من غلب على شيء ملكه

Muḥammad ibn Abdallah al-Ḥaḍrami narrated to us Muḥammad ibn Yusuf al-Anbārī narrated to us Dāwud ibn al-Maḥbar narrated to us Abu Qaḥzam narrated to us from Abi Qilaba from al-Ash'ath aṣ-Ṣanān'i who said: Abu Qaḥzam who was the Ameer of Ṣana'a said upon news of Uthmān's death was announced, he began to cry profusely and then he said – this is a time when *Khilafah* has ended and a time of tyrannical kingship has overcome the people with its authority.

Also in the *Mu'jam al-Kabir* from the channel of Abdar-Razzāq:

حدثنا إسحاق بن إبراهيم الدبري أنا عبد الرزاق أنا معمر عن أيوب عن أبي قلابة: أن رجلا من قريش يقال له ثمامة كان على صنعاء فلما قتل عثمان، رضي الله تعالى عنه، خطب فبكى بكاء شديدا فلما أفاق واستفاق قال: اليوم انتزعت خلافة النبوة من أمة محمد، صلى الله عليه وسلم، وصارت ملكا وجبرية من أخذ شيئا غلب عليه

Ishāq ibn Ibrāhim ad-Dubri narrated to us Abdar-Razzāq reported to us Ma'mar reported to us from Ayub from Abi Qilābah: a man from Quraysh said to Thamāmah whilst in Ṣanā' regarding the death of Uthmān may Allah be pleased with him. When he was informed about this event he wept profusely and then he said – today the prophetic *Khilafah* has been stripped from the *Ummah* and in its stead has come a tyrannical kingship. Whoever partakes in it will be overcome by it.

In the *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra* there is another narrative coming from the channel of Ayub from Abu Qilābah:

قال الإمام محمد بن سعد: أخبرنا عارم بن الفضل قال أخبرنا حماد بن زيد عن أيوب عن أبي قلابة قال لما بلغ ثمامة بن عدي قتل عثمان وكان أميراً على صنعاء وكانت له صحبة بكى فطال بكأوه ثم قال: هذا حين أنزعت خلافة النبوة من أمة محمد وصار ملكا وجبرية من غلب على شيء أكله

The Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa'd said: A'āram ibn al-Fuḍeel reported to us Hammād ibn Zayd reported to us from Ayub from Abu Qilābah who says: when the news reached Thamāmah, whilst he was the Ameer of Ṣana' regarding the death of Uthmān, he cried for a long while and said: today the prophetic *Khilafah* has been stripped from the *Ummah* and in its stead has come a tyrannical kingship. Whoever partakes in it will consume him!

This narration is *mursal*, however we know about the man which Abu Qilābah was silent about. He was Abu Ash'ath aṣ-Ṣanān'i because he is explicitly mentioned in the other channels which we have. For example, this is supported by another channel in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra*:

قال الإمام محمد بن سعد، بعد الحديث السابق: وأخبرنا أحمد بن إسحاق الحضرمي قال أخبرنا وهيب بن خالد عن أيوب عن أبي قلابة عن أبي الأشعث الصنعاني عن ثمامة بن عدي بمثله سواء، قال: وكان من قريش

Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa’d said following the previous *ḥadith*: and Aḥmad ibn Ishāq al-Ḥaḍrami reported to us he said Waheeb in Khālīd reported to us from Ayub from Abu Qilābah from Abu Ash’ath aṣ-Ṣanān’i from Thamāmah ibn A’dy, and it was said he was from Quraysh.

I would submit, these channels of transmission shine like the daylight and taken as a collective they are sound. As regards to Ṣanān’i, he went to Shām (Syria) after this incident. He is *thiqa* and sound, and from the men of Imām Muslim. Ibn Ḥibbān regarded him as sound and he narrated from him as a sound narrator. From the other Imām’s who narrated from him are Abd-ar-Raḥman ibn Yazid ibn Jābir, Yaḥya ibn al-Ḥārith, Ḥasān ibn A’ṭiyah and other than them. There is another narrative from the *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra* from Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb:

الإمام محمد بن سعد، قال: أخبرنا محمد بن عمر قال حدثني قيس بن الربيع عن عطاء بن السائب عن زاذان عن سلمان أن عمر قال له: أملك أنا أم خليفة؟!، فقال له سلمان: إن أنت جبيت من أرض المسلمين درهما أو أقل أو أكثر ثم وضعتة حقه، فأنت خليفة! فاستعبر عمر

The Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa’d said: Muḥammad ibn ‘Amr reported to us he said Qays ibn ar-Rabeeḥ’ narrated to me from A’ṭā as-Sā’ib from Zādān from Salmān that Umar said – Am I a king or a *Khaleefah*? Salmān said: If you took from the land of the Muslims a silver coin or less from the lands of the Muslims and placed it in its rightful place, then you are a *Khaleefah*. Umar reflected upon this.

Also in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra* there is the following:

أخبرنا محمد بن عمر قال حدثني عبد الله بن الحارث عن أبيه عن سفيان بن أبي العوجاء قال قال عمر بن الخطاب: والله ما أدري أليفة أنا أم ملك: فإن كنت ملكا فهذا أمر عظيم! قال قائل: يا أمير المؤمنين: إن بينهما فرقا! قال: ما هو؟!، قال: الخليفة لا يأخذ إلا حقا ولا يضعه إلا في حق، فأنت بحمد الله كذلك، والملك يعسف الناس فيأخذ من هذا ويعطي هذا، فسكت عمر

Muḥammad ibn ‘Amr reported to us he said Abdallah ibn al-Ḥārith narrated to me from his father from Sufyān ibn Abi al’Oujāh who narrates that Umar said: By Allah I don’t know if I am a king or a *Khaleefah*. If I am a king this would be a great matter. Then someone said – O Ameer al-Mu’mineen, between us are differences. Umar said what is it? He replied: the *Khaleefah* doesn’t take except with right and doesn’t place except in the right place and you are like that. But the king he snatches from the people and places wherever he wills and Umar fell silent.

This narration resembles the previous ones although it may be another distinct incident. There is nothing that could harm these narrations in relation to their soundness except the previous issues as per Imām Wākidi. He has been counted amongst many of the defective people from the *Ulemā’* of *ḥadith* however he has been wronged in this matter. His soundness in terms of narration is established, but it is not for this place to elucidate such matters. In any case the statements of which have been reported from Umar do not constitute an absolute proof in our religion, they have been mentioned for consideration in the present discussion and the like of them should suffice.

Conclusion

Taken in the round, we can safely conclude that kingship is oppression and injustice whereas *Khilafah* invalidates all of this. There is no harm in drawing the conclusion that this is in fact the understanding of the *Ṣaḥāba* and that it originates in the school of their master – the messenger of Allah, peace and blessings upon him and those who will carry the banner on the day of judgement. So what is the case of the tyrants who lord themselves with the names of kings in the lands of Muslims today? And their allies are considered kings; but in reality they are nothing but abased slaves and tyrants. Lowly following their true masters from the lands of the east / west and more powerful nations; ever in a state of fear from their own people that they may take back what is rightfully theirs.