Chapter One

On the Obligations of Obedience to the as-Sultan

Realize that obedience to the ruler outwardly and inwardly is obligatory according to the Book, the Sunna and the consensus (Ijma").

The Book

Allah ta'ala says:

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\text{“O you who believe, obey Allah, obey the Messenger and those in authority from among you.”}
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1 Here ends folio 6 of manuscript A after 24 lines of colophon.

2 Quran – 4:59. The text of the entire verse is: “O you who believe, obey Allah, obey the Messenger and those who possess the authority from among you. For when you dispute regarding an affair then refer it back to Allah and the Messenger if indeed you believe in Allah and the Last Day. That is what is good and the best interpolation.” Imam at-Tabari said in his Jaami` ‘l-Bayaan: “Those who possess the authority among you, are the people of the verse which precedes this verse where Allah ta`ala says: ‘Verily Allah orders you to give over the trust to its people and when you judge between people that you judge with equity’. Here Allah is addressing those who possess the authority among the Muslims, that they are obligated to give over the trusts to those who are its owners and that they govern the affairs of the Muslims with justice and equity, and divide wealth between them equally. He then addresses the Muslim subjects by His words: ‘O you who believe, obey Allah, obey the Messenger and those who possess the authority from among you’. Thus, after establishing the existence of the Muslim authorities He ordered the rulers to take care of the subjects and then ordered the subjects to obey the Muslim rulers.” This Qur’anic verse is the most important regarding the evidence of the obligation of establishing independent Islamic government, the obligation of choosing leaders from among the Muslims, and the prerequisite of obedience to Muslim rulers relying upon their connectedness to the Sunna of the Messenger. It also establishes the prohibition of choosing disbelievers as their rulers. This in effect precludes Muslims residing in the lands of the disbelievers participating in the party politics of those nations, voting and choosing elected officials who are none Muslim. When the verse is examined grammatically this general principle is made clear. Allah ta`ala says: “O you who believe”, this address is made to the believers and not to the hypocrites whose custom it is to take the disbelievers as protecting or governing friends over and above the believers. “…obey Allah”, that is obey Allah ta`ala by adhering to the commands and prohibitions in the Qur’an. This is an independent clause, which means that obedience to Allah is not conditioned by anything because Allah is All Wise and Perfect in His Judgment. Allah ta`ala says: “This is a blessed scripture which We have revealed: so follow it.” Likewise, “…obey the Messenger”, that is, obey the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace by adhering to his Sunna in word and deed. Again this sentence is also an independent clause, which means that obedience to the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace is not conditioned by anything because he is infallible. Allah ta`ala says: “Whatever the Messenger gives you, take it. And whatever he forbids you, abstain from it”. However, “…and those who possess the authority from among you”, is a dependent clause connected to the expression before it. This means that obedience to those Muslims who possess the authority is conditioned and not absolute. The precondition is based upon the fact that Muslim rulers regardless of how upright, are not infallible. Consequently, Allah ta`ala made it a dependent clause and conjuncted it to the two independent clauses that preceded it. This means that it is obligatory to obey Muslim rulers and their
It has been related by Sa`id ibn Mansuur, Ibn Abi Shayba, Abdu ibn Humayd, Ibn Jareer, Ibn Mundhir, and Ibn Abi Haatim on the authority of Abu Hurayra, may Allah be pleased with him who said regarding Allah’s statement: "Those in authority among you":

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\text{ھُمُّ الأُمْرِاءُ}
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“These are the regional rulers (umara).”

representatives as long as they order and prohibit what Allah and His Messenger have ordered and prohibited. However, when they order or prohibit that which neither the Qur’an, the Sunna nor the principles derived from them by the Sunni scholars sanction; then obedience is not obligatory. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “There is no obedience to a created thing in disobedience to the Creator.”

1 For a brief biography of Abu Uthman Sa`id ibn Mansuur ibn Shu`ba al-Khurasani al-Marwazi, see the introduction footnote # 7, www.siiasi.org.

2 He was Abu Bakr Abdallah ibn Muhammad al-`Absiyyi ibn al-Qadi Abi Shayba Ibrahim ibn Uthman ibn Khwaasti. He was an Imam in the sciences of Islam, a traditionist and the author of the notable works: the al-Musnad, the al-Musnaf and a major exegesis on the Qur’an. He was a sea of knowledge and it was about him that many later generations draw and example regarding memorization. ‘Amr ibn Ali al-Falaas said: “I never saw anyone whose memory was a great as that of Abu Bakr ibn Abi Shayba.”. Al-Khateeb said: “Abu Bakr was an expert in the legal sciences, possessed astounding memory and was the author of the al-Musnad, the al-Ahkaam and a major exegesis on the Qur’an. He, along with his brothers al-Qasim and Uthman narrated prophetic traditions in Baghdad.” Both Imam al-Bukhari and Imam Muslim took transmission from him, as well as Abu Dawud, and Ibn Maja. He died in the month of Muharram in the year 235 of the hijra.

3 For a brief biography of Abu Muhammad Abdu ibn Humayd ibn Nasr al-Kissayya, see the introduction footnote # 8, www.siiasi.org.

4 He was Abu'l-Abass Wahb ibn Jareer ibn Haazim ibn Zayd ibn Abdallah ibn Shuja’ al-Azadi al-`Basri. He was an Imam in the sciences of Islam, a traditionist and the author of the notable works: the al-Musnad, the al-Musnaf and a major exegesis on the Qur’an. He, along with his brothers al-Qasim and Uthman narrated prophetic traditions in Baghdad.” Both Imam al-Bukhari and Imam Muslim took transmission from him, as well as Abu Dawud, and Ibn Maja. He died in the month of Muharram in the year 235 of the hijra.


6 For a brief biography of Abu `Abd Ar-Rahman ibn Abi Hatim Muhammad ibn Idris ibn al-Mundhir ibn Dawud ibn Mihran, see the introduction footnote # 14, www.siiasi.org.

7 For a brief biography of Abu Hurayra or Abu 'l-Aswad Abd'r-Rahman ibn Sakhiar ad-Dawsi al-Yamani, see the introduction footnote # 19, www.siiasi.org.

8 The expression umara is plural for the word amir (ruler/governor). When the expression is used in an unqualified since it refers to the supreme ruler or in Arabic the khalif (vicegerent), wali (governor), sultan (ruler) or Amir 'l-Mu'mineen. However, when the expression is qualified it refers to a regional governor or an official over a specific segment or sector of the government. Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye elaborated on this indirectly in his Kitaab’l-Farq where he said: “Allah ta`ala says: ‘Those who oppose the Messenger after the guidance has been made clear unto him and then follows other than the way of the believers. We shall appoint him to that unto which he himself has turned, and expose him to Hell – an evil destiny.’ Therefore, do not follow their manners in their government. Neither seek to resemble them even in the titles of their kingdom. …But, rather you should call your absolute ruler Amir 'l-Mu'mineen; the governor of a land the amir of so-and-so; the administrator of a locality the amir of so-and-so locality; the head of every village the amir of so-and-so village; and for the one appointed to administer the punitive punishments of Allah the amir of punitive punishment.” This the concept has an unqualified meaning and a restricted meaning.
It has been related by the two Shaykhs, Ibn Jarreer and Ibn Abi Haatim on the authority of Abu Hurayra who said the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said:

"Whoever obeys me has obeyed Allah. Whoever obeys my amir has obeyed me. Whoever disobeys me has disobeyed Allah. Whoever disobeys my amir has disobeyed me."

11 The two Shaykhs refer to Imam al-Bukhari and Imam Muslim. Imam al-Bukhari was Abu Abdallah Muhammad ibn Isma'il, ibn Ibrahim ibn al-Mughira, known as al-Bukhari. He was born in the month of Shawwal in the year 194 of the hijra. Although he lost his eyesight when he was very young, Allah ta'ala blessed him to regain it and he subsequently became the most superior of people in the science of prophetic traditions. He was called Amir 'l-Mu'mineen in the field of prophetic traditions. He authored many works, among them, the Tarikh of Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj, which took fifteen years where he placed in it twelve thousand prophetic traditions. He was called Amir 'l-Mu'mineen. He died on a Saturday night, the last night of Ramadan just at the time of the `ishaa prayer. He was buried on the Eid after the `ahuur prayer in the year 256 of the hijra. He lived to be 62 years old, short of thirteen days. As for Imam Muslim, he was Abu'l-Husayn Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj, ibn Muslim ibn Wardi ibn Kawshadh al-Qushayri an-Naysabuuri, the author of the Saheeh. He was born in the year 204 of the hijra. He was from among the most learned of the people of his time and was a virtual encyclopedia of knowledge. Abd'r-Rahman ibn Abi Hatim said: "Muslim was the most reliable of the memorizers of prophetic traditions." Imam Muslim said himself: "I composed foundations of this Saheeh from three hundred thousand prophetic traditions which I heard personally." He also said: "I did not place anything in this al-Musnad except with clear evidence." It has been related by the two Shaykhs, Ibn Jareer and Ibn Abi Haatim on the authority of Abu Hurayra who said the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said:

12 Variations of this prophetic tradition were also related by an-Nisaai’, Ibn Maja, al-Humaydi, and Ahmad ibn Hanbal on the authority of Abu Hurayra and Abdallah ibn Umar. Imam Ibn Hajr al-`Asqalani said in his Fat’h al-Baari: "The meaning of his expression: 'Whoever has obeyed me has obeyed Allah', is a sentence extracted from the words of Allah ta’ala: ‘Whoever has obeyed the Messenger has obeyed Allah’. It is as if he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said I only order what Allah has ordered. Thus whoever does what He orders also obeys the One who commanded me to order. Or it conceivable that the meaning is: 'Since Allah has ordered that I be obeyed, then whoever obeys me has in effect obeyed the order of Allah by obeying me. And this is the same with disobedience'. Obedience means performing what has been ordered and ceasing from doing what has been prohibited; while disobedience is the contrary to this. As for his words, may Allah bless him and grant him peace: 'Whoever has obeyed my Amir has obeyed me', differs slightly from another narration by Himam, al-`Araj and others by Muslim, where he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: ‘Whoever has obeyed the Amir’. It is possible that the answer to these two expressions has a single meaning, because every person who commands the truth and is just and upright is in effect an Amir of the Divine Law. This is because he has been appointed by the command of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace and the shari`a to command the good and forbid evil.
It has been related by Ibn Jarir on the authority of Ibn Zayd\textsuperscript{13} concerning the words of Allah ta’ala: “Those in authority among you”:

هم السلاطين.”

“They are the rulers (salaateen).”\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{The Sunna}

The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said:\textsuperscript{15}

الطااعة ولا الطاعة بلاء (قلَّة شِئَةٍ لَّجِئَ الأمر في الأنبياء يُعني: أُقدِّمَ جَعَلَ أُلْهِيمَ والأنبياء معهمْ، أَلاَ تَرَى حَكَمْوا فِي قَالْ يَخْبِى ابن زكرياَ

“Adhere to obedience. Adhere to obedience. And in obedience there is affliction.”\textsuperscript{16}

He also said: “If had so willed He would have made this affair of government among

Thus, the meaning of the two expressions: ‘my Amir’ and ‘the Amir’ can have one meaning especially when both narrations he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: ‘has obeyed me’, that is to say, he has acted in accordance with me shari’a. The wisdom in specifying ‘his’ Amir with mention is that he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace intended a specific person at the time of his address, because that was the causative factor of the narration of the prophetic tradition. However, the legal judgment of the prophetic tradition is general and universal because the crucial factor of the legal judgment lies is in the generality of the expression and not in the specificity of the causative factor. A proof that this prophetic tradition has general and universal application and that it is not specified by a certain time is in the narration which was related by Himam, where he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: ‘Whoever obeys the Amir has obeyed me’, using the present tense form of the verb, and likewise: ‘Whoever disobeys the Amir has disobeyed me’. The objective in the use of the present tense form of the verb includes general and wide-reaching legal address and applies also to those who will come after that in the future.”

Thus, the prophetic tradition establishes the obligation of obedience to those who possess the authority among the Muslims until the Day of Judgment as long as they do not order that in which there is disobedience. The wisdom in ordering obedience to them is to preserve the unified word of the Muslims and protect them from the corruption which results from mutual division and enmity.

\textsuperscript{13} He was Abdallah ibn Zayd ibn ‘Aasim ibn Ka’b al-Maazini an-Najaari and was known as Ibn Umm ‘Umar. He was from among the prominent Companions of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace and was well known for narrating prophetic tradition regarding the ritual ablution. He was present at the Battles of Badr and Uhud and was the one who killed Musaylama the Liar. He was killed in the Battle of al-Hurra in the year 63 of the hijra.

\textsuperscript{14} This expression clearly establishes the legitimate authority for the Sultan. The expression salaateen is plural for the word sultan that means ruler or governor and applies to the supreme administrator or Amir l-Mu’mineen. There are many prophetic traditions which establishes the utilization of this term synonymous with the concept of khilafa or amir l-mu’mineen as the author will indicate. Shaykh Abdullah ibn Fuday’ee said in his Diva’l-Hukama: “Realize that appointing the Imam is obligatory upon the Muslims according to the consensus of the shari’a. Al-Laqaani said, “This is adressed to the entire Umma from the moment he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, died until the establishment of the Hour. For when the people who loose and bind establish it, then the responsibility is removed from the rest.” And there is no difference of opinion concerning that, regardless if it is a time of tribulation or not.”

\textsuperscript{15} This prophetic tradition was related by at-Tabari and others on the authority of Ubayy.

\textsuperscript{16} The expressions: ‘Obedience! Obedience!’, are grammatically objects of the verb and their doer (muf’ul bihi) which have been omitted (mahdhuuf), but implied (muqaddir); and means: “You should adhere to obedience! You should adhere to obedience!” The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace repeated it twice in order to demonstrate the magnitude of adhering to obedience and the importance of Islamic political authority. Although the expression ‘adversity’ (balaa) sometimes imply something harmful like when Allah ta’ala says: “In that for you was an immense adversity from your Lord”, speaking of the torture and punishment which Pharaoh inflicted (ibtuliyya) upon the Banu Isra’il. Here Allah uses the expression to imply a ‘test’ (intimhaan) or affliction (museeba). However, in another context Allah ta’ala uses the expression ‘adversity’ (balaa) to indicate blessing (ni’ma) by His words: “And in order to afflict the believers by it with an excellent intricacy (balaa’an hassanat).” Abu al-Haytham said: “Adversity can be good and evil. Its etymological meaning is rooted in the synonym ‘ordeal’ (mihna). Thus Allah azza wa jalla sometimes afflicts His
servants with an excellent blessing to test them to see if they will be grateful. And sometimes He afflicts them with a hardship which they dislike in order to see if they will remain patient and steadfast.” It is for this reason that ‘adversity’ can be taken both ways: as good or evil. In the case of the above mentioned verse regarding the Banu Isra’il, the ‘adversity’ of being sacrificed and tortured was evil, while the ‘ordeal’ of being redeemed from being sacrificed and tortured was good. Similar in the other verse cited, the ‘excellent intricacy’ for the believers could prove to be evil if they are not grateful; or good if they show their gratitude for the blessing. Subsequently, the above mentioned prophetic tradition should be interpolated to mean a ‘test’ which can be both good and evil. Sultan Muhammad Bello indicated this in his Usuul as-Siyaasa when he said: “When a person is given leadership he will be questioned about those under his charge. Accordingly, how will his circumstances be with him, knowing that he will be reckoned for the deeds of those under his charge. It is for this reason that it is said that whoever Allah establishes in obscurity, he should be truly grateful to Allah and praise Him for that, because Allah will lighten his reckoning and count him among those whose judgment will be made easy. Allah will protect him from eternal afflictions and he will receive no rebuke in this world’s life as a result of his obscurity, since obscurity in this world’s life will not result in anything except punishment for one’s own misdeeds in the Hereafter. Accordingly, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said, “Shall I inform you about authority and power and what it induces?” They said; “Yes, O Messenger of Allah.” He said: “Its first part is condemnation. It second part is regret, and its third part is punishment on the Day of Standing... On the other hand, whomever Allah ta’ala afflicts with the responsibility of authority, he should struggle to convey its rights to its people. If he is able to do this, then the responsibility of government will be the greatest of blessings for him. He who establishes the rights of government and is grateful to the One who bestowed it upon him will obtain supreme happiness which has no ending to it. Rather, it will be a joy after which there will be no other. However, whoever fails to accomplish the advancement of the rights of government and fails to show gratitude to the One who bestowed it upon him will fall into misery, the like of which has no end to it. Rather, it will be a tribulation after which there will be no other, except open disbelief in Allah ta’ala.” Examine how Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ was appointed to govern the Jama’at under whose authority it grew and prospered into a Khalifate that stressed over the entire western and central Bilad’s-Sudan, and then he retired from active rule, but continued to advise the rulers and subjects. Similarly, Shaykh Abdullahi ibn Fuduye’ ruled the emirate of Gwandu successfully, fulfilling the rights of government and then turned the authority over to his son and nephew: Muhammad ibn Abdullahi and Muhammad al-Bukhari. He resigned himself to more spiritual pursuits and advising the rulers. In both cases the test of governmental was an excellent ‘adversity’ which they were able pass and give over to others.

17 As He did with the Banu Isra’il when He says: “Have you not seen how an assembly of the Banu Isra’il after Musa, who said to their Prophet: Make for us a king so that we can fight in the Way of Allah. He said: Will you say when fighting is prescribed for you that you will not fight? They said: How can we not fight in the Way of Allah, when we and our children have been driven out of our homes?!! However when fighting was prescribed for them they turned away, all but a few of them. And Allah is All Knowing of the unjust. He said to them: Verily Allah has made Talut for you as a king. They said: Will the kingdom be given to a greater right over it? While he has not been given even the slightest portion of wealth? He said: Verily Allah chose him over you and increased him in control in knowledge and bodily strength; Allah gives His kingdom to whomsoever He wills and Allah is Vast All Knowing.” [Qur’an: 2/236-237]

18 These are the words of the narrator, Ubayy and explains the above Qur’anic verse indicating that the custom among the Banu Isra’il was to have a king who was backed up by a Prophet, like in the case of the king Talut and the Prophet Samuel. Or sometimes the king and Prophet were the same persons, like in the case of Dawud and his son, Sulayman, upon them be peace. Whenever the rulership was in the hands of their king there was a constant dynamic tension between him and the Prophet that accompanied him. It was only when the rulership and prophethood were joined that the Bani Isra’il prospered and were given during the time of Sulayman a kingdom that had not be given to any mortal human being. Allah ta’ala honored the Umma of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace by first giving them an infallible Prophet who also acted as ruler. Thus, government prospered and the rights of the people under his authority were realized. Then when the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace died, the authority was given the Abu Bakr as-Sideeq who was not a Prophet nor
It has been related by al-Bukhari on the authority of Anas\(^{19}\) who said that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said:

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\text{لاَ تَفْنَى إِنَّكَ رَجُلًا فِي حَيَاةٍ زَيْثِيَةٍ}
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“Listen and obey, even if there is\(^{20}\) appointed over you an Ethiopian slave whose head is like a raisin.”\(^{21}\)
of Yahya, that he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: ‘...even if there is placed over you an Abyssinian slave’. This expression is much clearer in expressing the meaning of the narrator.” The scholars of the Sunna differ regarding the meaning of the expression ‘slave’. Some uphold that it actually refers to the acceptance of the authority of a slave as a governor. However, this view is obscure, because one of the conditions of the ruler is that he be a freeman (hurr). Some of the scholars interpolate this expression to mean a person who was at once a slave, but was freed, distinguished himself and was then appointed as ruler. This view is the majority opinion as was actually practiced during the early days of Islam, which prompted Umar ibn al-Khattab to ask the question: “Why have the freedmen superseded the Arabs in authority?” It was said: “It is because they are more knowledgeable of what is permitted and what is forbidden.” He then said: “All praises are due to Allah who has elevated some people by means of this Qur’an and humiliated others by means of it!” He was referring to men like Ada ibn Abi Rabah, an ex-slave ruled Mecca because of his superb erudition in Islam. Ta’us ibn Kaysan, an ex-slave, ruled the Arabs of Yemen. Yazid ibn Abi Habib, an ex-slave, ruled the people of Egypt. Makhut al-Damasqi, a Nubian ex-slave, ruled Syria. The ruler of Mesopotamia was an ex-slave named Maymun ibn Mahran. And the ruler of Basra was none other than the illustrious scholar and mystic al-Hassan ibn Abu'l-Hassan al-Basri, also an ex-slave. All this occurred within a short time after the time of Prophet Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace and it exemplified a pattern that would continue with the spread of Islam in Africa. The great Turudbe ruler of the Songhay Empire, Amir'l-Mu'mineen Askia Muhammad ibn Abu Bâk Ture’ was an ex-slave of the Sosso leader Sonni Ali. His trusted secretary of state, Ali Fulani was a slave who had distinguished himself by his erudition and piety among the scholars of Timbuktu. Some of the scholars hold the opinion that the expression ‘slave’ is not speaking of the social status of the person but to the general attribute of ‘servitude’ to Allah (Abdallah), thus the meaning of the prophetic tradition being: ‘...even if there is placed over you an Abyssinian who is a servant of Allah, that is he is considered just and upright.’ Their evidence being what was related by Muslim on the authority of Umm al-Hissein that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “Hear and obey even if there is placed over you a slave who compels you by the Book of Allah.” In this tradition there is no referent indicating social status for the expression ‘slave’, but could mean ‘servant’ or ‘worshipper’, as in Abdallah (‘the slave of Allah’). In these days of hyper-racism and ethnocentrism, the above prophetic tradition could be interpolated to imply denigration of African people on the part of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. This view is far from the truth and is in fact a denigration of the Prophet himself, may Allah bless him and grant him peace because it lowers his status as a Prophet, by attributing unfounded prejudice and racism to him. I myself questioned several shuyuukh on the meaning of this prophetic tradition and asked if it implied a natural inferiority to the Abyssinian or if it indicated some racial prejudice on the part of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace towards them. Both Shaykh Faraj ‘t-Tayyib and Shaykh Dr. Abdallah at-Tayyib of Sudan, agreed that what the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace was highlighting was the prejudice of the Arabs themselves and was applying a remedial cure to it by ordering them to hear and obey a person that they deemed beneath them in status. By doing so he was able to eradicate racial prejudice on their parts which is affirmed by the prophetic tradition: “The white is not superior to the black; nor is the Arab superior to the non Arab except by taqwa.” Shaykh Muhammad al-Amin ibn Adam confirmed this interpolation and added that the prophetic tradition is considered by the scholars to be one of the miraculous prophecies of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. He added that the conditional verbal particle ‘even if’ (in) in the prophetic tradition can be interpolated as a form of prophecy, like when a person is aware that the people in an assembly do not like people who wear red garments, and he was aware that a person wearing red garments would be entering the assembly and that this person should be followed in spite of their prejudice. He would say: “I advise you to hear and obey the next person that enters this assembly, even if he is wearing red garments.” And then suddenly a person wearing red garments enters the assembly. This advice indicates that the speaker was aware that the people of the assembly were prejudiced against people wearing red garments, that such garments did not constitute a substandard quality in itself, and that a person wearing such garments could be the cause of benefit for the entire assembly. Thus, the speaker advises the assembly in such a manner as a prescriptive remedy for their unfounded chauvinism as well as informing them of what will transpire in the future. The Shaykh said that the prophetic tradition: “Hear and obey even if there is placed over you an Abyssinian, whose head is like a dried raisin” is a prescription against racism as well as a prophecy regarding the nature and character of the just Muslim rulers in the Last Days before the appearance of the Mahdi. Shaykh Mahmud Ka’ti said in his Tarikh el-Fattash that the last of the Khulafa before the appearance of the Mahdi will be men of African origin. If we exclude the plebian origins of the Ottoman authorities
It has been related by at-Tirmidhi,22 al-Hakim who verified it and al-Bayhaqi23 in his as-Shu’ab on the authority of Abu Amama24 who said the following. “I heard the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace say during the sermon of the farewell pilgrimage:

وَصُومُكُمْ خَمْسَكُمْ وَصَلْوا رَبِّكُمْ إِنَّكَ تَحْلِلُوا جَنَّتَكَ

((اعْبُدُوا رَبِّكَ وَصُلُّوا خَمْسَكَ وَصَوْمُوا شَهْرَكَمْ وَأَدْوَى رَبِّكَ فَاطِعَوْا أَمَّالَكُمْ وَأَطِيعُوا أَمَّارَكَ بَعْدَ اِبْتِلَايَكَ))

and examine the character of the rulers of the Muslim lands just prior to the appearance of the Zaman ‘n-Nasaara (the Hour of the European Christians), most if not all of the just rulers were men of African origin. Among them were Amir Muhammad ibn Abdallah ibn al-Hassan of Somalia; Amir Umar Tall ibn Sa’id of Hamdullahi and his vicegerents; Amir l-Mumineen Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ and his 12 vicegerents (including the author Sultan Muhammad Bello ibn Shehu Uthman); as well as those rulers who made the hijra to the east and settled in the Sudan, such as the descendent of Amir Umar Tall in Galadima and the present Amir l-Mu’mineen and Sultan of Maiurno, al-Hajj Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad Tahir ibn Muhammad Bello Maiurno ibn Muhammad Attahiru ibn Ahmad Zaru’u ibn Abu Bakr Atiâma ibn Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’. Thus, the prophetic tradition, far from being a chauvinistic assessment of African people, it is an affirmation of their humanity and a testament to the role they will play in the future establishment of Islam in the world. And Allah knows best.

Imam Ibn Hajr said that the meanings of his words, may Allah bless him and grant him peace: “…whose head is like a dried raisin’, it is said that this refers to smallness of the head because small heads is well known with the Abysinnians. It is also said that it refers to ‘the blackness’ because most raisins when dried are black in color. It is also said that it refers to the hair of the head and its resemblance to black pepper. However the legal evidence which is drawn from this prophetic tradition is the validity of the imamate of a slave, if he is ordered to by obeyed, as Ibn Bataal said: ‘This is when it is ordered to perform the prayer behind him’; since it is the Supreme Imam who either leads the prayer or appoints a representative (na’ib) to lead the prayer on his behalf. It is well known that the Supreme Imam is specifically stipulated for a man from the Quraysh, if he can be found. Thus, when the Imam appoints a slave to lead the people in prayer, or appoints him over another sector of the government like collecting the obligatory alms or overseeing the preparation for war, it becomes obligatory to hear and obey him in that. Our evidence for this and for the fact that this prophetic tradition was apart of the miraculous prophecies of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace is what was related by al-Hakim, al-Bayhaqi, Muslim and others that when Abu Dharr was exiled to Rabaada, he found the people establishing one of the prescribed prayers and was being led by a slave. It was said: ‘That is Abu Dharr, step back and let him lead.’ Then Abu Dharr said: ‘Verily my bosom friend, may Allah bless him and grant him peace advised me to hear and obey even if it is to an Abyssinian slave with mutilated limbs of the body’”.

22 He was Abu Isa Muhammad ibn Isa ibn Surat ibn Musa ibn ad-Duhaak at-Tirmidhi. He was born in the year 210 of the hijra. He was a famous traditionist and author of the al-Jaami’, the al-‘Ilal and the famous as-Shimaa’il al-Muhammadiyya. Abu Ali Mansur ibn Abdallah al-Khaalidi said: “Abu Isa once said: ’When I composed the book (the al-Jaami’), I then showed it to the scholars of the Hijaz, Iraq, and Khurasan and they were all pleased with it. Whosoever has this book in his home, it is as though he has a Prophet speaking in his home.’ Al-Haakim said: ’I heard Umar ibn Ulak say: ’When al-Bukhari died there was no one left in Khurasan like Abu Isa in knowledge, memorization, scrupulous piety and asceticism. He wept until he went blind.’” He died on the 13th of Rajab in the year 279 of the hijra.


24 He was Abu Amaama al-Bahili. He was among the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, who gave the Oath of Fealty beneath the tree. He settled in the city of Hims in Syria. He narrated many prophetic traditions directly from the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, as well as from Umar ibn al-Khattab, Mu’adh ibn Jabal and Abu Ubayda ibn Jarrah. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace appointed him as an emissary to the people of Bahila. He was well known for his many miracles. He died in the year 86 of the hijra.
‘Worship your Lord, pray your five prayers, fast during your month, give the obligatory alms from your wealth and obey your amirs. Subsequently, you will enter the Paradise of your Lord.”

It has been related by Ibn Jareer on the authority of Ibn Umar from the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace who said:

"(الْمُسْلِمُ،ِّمَا أَحْبَبْ أَوْ كَرَّةٌ إِلَّا أَنْ يُؤْمِرْ بِبَعْصِيَّةٍ،ِّفَمْنَ أَمْرَ بِبَعْصِيَّةٍ فَلا طَاعَةٌ)

'Obligatory upon the Muslim is obedience in what he likes and dislikes, except when he is ordered to disobedience. Whoever is ordered to disobedience then there is no obedience in that.'

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25 This prophetic tradition has many variations related by Ahmad ibn Hanbal in his al-Musnad, Ibn Mani’u, Muhammad ibn Nasr, Ibn Jareer, al-Hakim in his al-Mustadrak, Ibn Habban in his Saheeh, Sa’id ibn Mansur in his Sunnan, and ad-Daraqutni in his Sunnan: all on the authority of Abu Amaama al-Bahili or Anas ibn Malik. In the narration of Muhammad ibn Nasr on the authority of Abu Amaama the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “Since you will not be seeing me after this year of yours: therefore worship your Lord, pray your five prayers, fast your month, make the pilgrimage to your House, give the alms on your wealth from the goodness of your soul, and obey, then, your amirs; you will then be entered in the Paradise of your Lord.” In the narrations of Ahmad, Ibn Habban, ad-Daraqutni, al-Hakim, Sa’id ibn Mansur, and Ibn Mani’u on the authority of Abu Amaama the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “Will you not listen? You should worship your Lord, pray your five prayers, fast your month, give the alms on your wealth and obey, then, your amirs; you will then be entered in the Paradise of your Lord.” In the narration by Ibn Jareer on the authority of Abu Amaama who said that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace stood before us during the Farewell pilgrimage while he mounted on his camel called al-Judaa’. He then placed his feet in the insertion of the saddle in order to make himself tall where he can be heard by the people. He then shouted lengthened his voice: “Will you not listen?” Then a man from a group of people said: “With what will you pledge to us?” He then said: “Worship your Lord, pray your five prayers, fast your month, give the alms on your wealth and obey those who possess the authority over you, then, you will then be entered in the Paradise of your Lord.” Someone said to Abu Amaama: “O Abu Amaam you were like what then?” He said: “I was then about thirty years old.”

26 For a brief biography of Abu Abd’r-Rahman Abdallah ibn Umar, see the introduction footnote #

27 Shaykh Abdullahi ibn Fuduye’ said in his Diva’l-Hukaam: “It is obligatory upon every responsible person to obey him (tau’atuh) outwardly and inwardly in all that he orders them as long as it is not in disobedience. As for that which makes it forbidden for them to obey him, it is proved and narrated by the tradition, “There is no obedience to a created thing in disobedience of the Creator.” Other than disobedience, which is reprehensible (al-makruuh) can be included in the above. However there is a difference of opinion in their obeying him in the reprehensible. Ibn `Arafa says that it is obligatory to obey him as long as its reprehensibility is not unanimously agreed upon, Al-Qurtabi says that there is no obedience in that. The general opinion in that is that he is to be obeyed outwardly but not inwardly as related in the al-Fawa`ikihaani… An-Nafraawi said, “However, it is not obligatory to obey an Imam except with him meeting the prerequisites of [1] Islam, [2] maturity, [3] male, [4] free, [6] just, [7] knowledgeable, [8] having reached the collective obligations, [9] being from the Quraysh, and [10] that he be the only one chosen. However, there is a difference of opinion if there is more than one Imam chosen which gathers together the above characteristics. In that case, the Imam (leader) is the one to whom the oath of allegiance (baitu) has been given to with the consent of the influential people (ahl`-l-hall wa`l-`iqd) or those qualified to loose and bind. If the oath of allegiance is given to two Imams in two different lands at one time, it is said that the true Imam is the one to whom was given the oath of allegiance in the land in which the former ruler died. It is also said that preference should be made between them. According to consensus (ijma’), it is not permitted for there to be more than one Imam at the same time and in the same place, except if the locality of the two Imams is far apart from one another wherein the jurisdiction of one Imam can not reach the locality of another, like Andalusia, and Khorasan. Then having more than one Imam is permissible in order that the rights of the people and their governance be not terminated.” This is clear and unambiguous that neither the Sultan nor any of his representatives can give an order which contrary to the shari’a. An example of this is that the
It has been related by Ibn Jareer on the authority of Abu Hurayra that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said:

(سِلِّمُوا ﷺ ﻭَلَدَتْ ﻮَلَاةٌ ﻓِي ﻝَيْكُمْ ﻧَبِيُّ ﷺ ﻭَﬁ الأُوْلَادِ ﻟَانَّ ﻳَوَدُّ ﻮَلَاةٌ ﻧَبِيُّ ﷺ ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ مَا ﻭَافَقَ ﷺ ﺎٰ ﻭُصِلُواٰٰ ﺎٰ ﻓَانَّ ﻥَأُسَمَوْا فِي ﻟَّHEN ﻭَأَطِيعُوا ﻓِي ﻛُلِّ M

“There will govern you after me governors. The righteous ones will govern you with their righteousness and the sinful ones will govern you with their sinfulness. However, listen to them, obey them in everything which accords with the truth and pray behind them. If they do well, then it will be in their own behalf and yours. However, if they do evil then it will be on your behalf but against them.”

Sultan cannot give an order abrogating his authority or revoking any of the power that he had when the oath of allegiance was given to him. We will discuss this in more detail below, Allah willing.

28 Here ends folio 7 of manuscript A after 24 lines of colophon.

29 This prophetic tradition was also narrated by ad-Darraquutni and Ibn‘n-Najaar on the authority of Abu Hurayra. The scholars of the Sunna disagree regarding which level of authority is being addressed. The majority of the scholars maintain that those being addressed here are the supreme authority in Islam. This is based upon what was related by Ahmad on the authority of Hamayd ibn Ab’d-Rahman who said: “When the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace died, Abu Bakr was among a group of men in Medina. He and Umar went to another gathering of men (among which was Sa’d), where Abu Bakr addressed them. He did not leave out a single Qur’anic verse which was revealed regarding the merits of the Ansar. Nor did he leave out a single tradition from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace regarding their immense standing. He then said: ‘You all know that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: ‘If the people took a road to a valley and the Ansar took a road to a valley, I would follow the road taken by the Ansar.’ However, Sa’d you also know that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said while you were sitting with him: ‘The Quraysh are governors of this affair. For the righteous of the people will adhere to the righteous among them and the sinful people will adhere to the sinful among them’. Then Sa’d said: ‘You have told then truth. We (the Ansar) are the wuzara (chief advisors) and you (the Quraysh) are rulers.’ This means that the supreme ruler, the Amir‘-Mu’mineen, or the Sultan cannot be removed or overthrown for anything short of disbelief. In another narration related by at-Tirmidhi on the authority of Abdullah ibn Abi al-Hudhayl who said that once a man sitting with ‘Amr ibn al-’Aas said: “The Quraysh should cease or Allah will place the affair in a group of the Arabs other than them.” ‘Amr said: “You have lied! I heard the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace say: ‘The Quraysh are the governors of the people in good and in evil until the Day of Standing.’” Shaykh Abdullahi ibn Fuduye said in his Dia’al-Hukaam: “The majority of opinion holds that whoever has the authority (imamate) confirmed for him, then he is not to be deposed because of sinfulness (fisq) or tyranny (juur), because at the time he was appointed he was considered just. The contract of imamate can only be dissolved if the original purposes of it are dissolved, like apostasy from Islam, complete insanity, that the imam becomes a captive and it is not expected that he can be released, a sickness which causes him to forget knowledge, blindness, deafness, dumbness, and likewise by deposing himself when he realizes his inability to establish the welfare of the Muslims. That is, he is afraid for himself for that. It was in this way which prompted al-Hassan, may Allah be pleased with him, to depose himself.” However, the regional governors and officials can be deposed by the people for the above infractions. Sultan Muhammad Bello said in his Usuul as-Siyasa advising the rulers: “Be extremely resolute in being cautious of government officials and retainers. Because of their circumstance they unjustly regulate the ruler and love that injustice be permitted them to attain their selfish interest. Realize, also, that the most threatening and severest enemy who will bring about your destruction as a leader is the government officials and retainers. They are, in most cases, slaves of their stomachs, their private parts and their corrupt passions. Truly they have made their rulers the snare by which they procure their corrupt desires.” Based upon this regional rulers and officials can be deposed by the Supreme ruler and the subjects due to sinfulness and infractions of the law.
It has been related by al-Bayhaqi on the authority of al-Miqdaam\(^{30}\) that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said:

\[\text{‘أَطْبِعُوا أَمْرَاءَكُمْ، فَإِنْ أَمْرُكُمْ بِمَا جَتَّكُمْ بِهِ فَإِنْ أَمْرُكُمْ يُؤْجَرُونَ عَلَيْهِ وَيُؤْجَرُونَ بِمَا تَعْتُمُّونَ، وَإِنْ أَمْرُكُمْ بِمَا لمْ تَأْتِكُمْ بِهِ فَهُوَ أَهْلُهُمْ وَأَتْمُّمُّهُمْ فَأَتْمُّمُّهُمْ بِمَا تَتَّمُّمُّونَ.’} \]

("Obey your amirs. If they order you with what I came with then they will be rewarded for and you will be rewarded for obeying them. However, when they order you with what I did not come with, then it will be against them and you will be free of that."

When you meet with your Lord you will say: ‘Our Lord please no injustice’. And He will say: ‘Indeed, no injustice’. Then you will say: ‘O Lord, You sent us to us, we obeyed them by Your permission. When they order you with what I came with then they will be rewarded for and you will be rewarded for obeying them. However, when they order you with what I did not come with, then it will be against them and you will be free of that."

\(^{30}\) He was Abu Karima, Abu Yazid, Abu Saalih or Abu Bishr, al-Miqdaam ibn Ma`d Yukrib ibn `Amr. He settled in Hams in Syria. He narrated many prophetic traditions which were transmitted to Jubayr ibn Nufayr, as-Sha`bi, al-Hassan, his son Yahya ibn al-Miqdaam, his grandson Saalih ibn Yahya ibn al-Miqdaam and others. It was from him that the famous prophetic tradition was related where the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “You will have succeeded O Qudaym if you die and you never were an "imam". If they order you with what I came with then they will be rewarded for and you will be rewarded for obeying them. However, when they order you with what I did not come with, then it will be against them and you will be free of that."

\(^{31}\) Here ends folio 10 of manuscript B after 18 lines of colophon.

\(^{32}\) Shaykh Abdurrahim ibn Fuduyi clarified in his Diva`l-Hukaam that there is disagreement among the scholars regarding the right to depose the 'imam' for sinfulness; or for him to step down from authority without a valid reason. "According to the majority of opinion whoever has the authority ('imamate') confirmed for him, then he is not to be deposed because of sinfulness (fisq) or tyranny (juur), because at the time he was appointed he was considered just. The contract of 'imamate' can only be dissolved if the original purposes of it are dissolved; like apostasy from Islam, complete insanity, that the 'imam' becomes a captive and it is not expected that he can be released, a sickness which causes him to forget knowledge, blindness, deafness, dumbness, and likewise by deposing himself when he realizes his inability to establish the welfare of the Muslims. That is, he is afraid for himself for that. It was in this way which prompted al-Hassan, may Allah be pleased with him, to depose himself. Al-Qurtubi said, "According to the majority of the scholars, the 'imam' is to be deposed for apparent sinfulness because he has been nominated in order to execute the legal punishments, to completely discharge the rights of his subjects, to guard the wealth of the orphans and those who are insane, to look into their affairs, and the like. The sinfulness of the 'imam' makes the above responsibilities improbable." An-Naafawi said, "I say that it is necessary that there be some disagreement in this matter unless the harm in his continuation increases. In that case there is agreement on his being deposed." As for the representative of the 'imam', he is not like the 'imam'. He can be deposed for corruption, by consensus - period. As for the 'imam' removing himself from the position of authority without reason, he can not do that according to the madh'haab of Imam Malik. In the Daabit of the learned scholar Khaaleel, he explained, "Whoever possesses a right from one respect, he does not have the right to remove himself from that right. He has the right to transfer it to another and to leave it to someone who acts as his representative; like the khilafa." According to Ibn al-Qaasim, "The forced caretaker in marriage, the 'imam' of the prayer and everyone who possesses a right from one respect also has the right to remove himself from it. He cannot transfer it to another nor leave it to someone else except with clear prerequisites; like a judge (al-qaadid) or the guardian (al-wakeel) even if he has been empowered. When he removes himself or is removed without sound reason, then the 'imamate' is not authenticated nor validated for the one who is appointed after him."
It has been related by al-Bayhaqi on the authority of Abu Sa`id al-Khudri\(^{33}\) who said, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said:

\[
\text{تَطْمَئِنُ أُمَرَآءٌ تَكُونُ تَشْ أُمَرَآءٌ يَكُونُ ثُمﱠ} \\
\text{الْجُلُودُ مِنْٰھُ وَتَلِينُ الْقُلُوبُ إِلَيْٰھِمُ }
\]

“There will be governors who will cause hearts to be tranquil and skins to be pliant. Then there will be governors who will cause hearts to shrink and skins to tremor.” Then a man said: “Do we fight them O Messenger of Allah?” He responded:

\[
\text{لاَ مَا أُقَامُوا الصلَّاَةً}
\]

“No, not as long as they are establishing the prayer.”\(^{34}\)

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\(^{33}\) He was Abu Sa`id Sa`d ibn Malik ibn Sinaa ibn Tha`laba ibn Ubayd ibn Al-Abjar ibn `Awi ibn al-Harith ibn al-Khazraj al-Khudri. He was a prominent leader among the Companions of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, a military commander as well as a mufti of the city of Medina. He was present in the Battle of the Trench, the ‘Oath of Fealty’, and was among the jurist who exercised independent judgment (ijtihaad). Handhala ibn Abu Sufyan narrated on the authority of his teachers: “That there was no one during the time of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace who was more knowledgeable than Abu Sa`id al-Khudri.” Baqi ibn Mukhlah narrated in his Musnad’l-Kabeer: “Abu Sa`id al-Khudri collected about 1170 prophetic traditions.” He died in the year 74 of the hijra.

\(^{34}\) This prophetic tradition establishes the veracity of the prayer (as-salaat) as being the key and most important outward prerequisite for judging a person’s Islam. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace is reported to have said: “There is no difference between the disbeliever and the Muslim except by the prayer.” In another narration he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “There is nothing that distinguishes a true servant and disbelief except the leaving of the prayer.” It has been related by Nu`aym ibn Humaad on the authority of al-Hassan who said: “The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace once mentioned the evil amirs and leaders (a`ima) and also mentioned the errors that would occur after them that will fill the heavens and the earth. It was then said to him: ‘O Messenger of Allah, shouldn’t we strike their faces with the sword?’” He said: ‘No, not as long as they pray.’ Or he said: ‘As long as they pray the prayer, then no’. It has been related by Ahmad on the authority of Ibn Mas`ud that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace once said to him: ‘How will behave O Abu Abd’r-Rahman when there will be Amirs over you who will extinguish the Sunna and postpone the prayers from their rightful times?” I said: “How do you command me to behave O Messenger of Allah?” The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “The son of the mother of a servant of Allah, asks me how should he behave? There is no obedience to creation in disobedience to Allah.” It has been related by Ibn Jarir on the authority of Abu Diarr who said: “I used to serve the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and whenever I would complete my work, I would go to the masjid to rest and sleep. Once I was resting in the masjid, when the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace came and woke me up by nudging me with his feet. I then sat up and he; may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: ‘What will you do when those in authority drive you from it?’ I said: ‘Do you mean from the masjid of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace?’ He said: ‘Yes’, I said: ‘I then when go and stick to the lands of the Prophets (meaning in Jerusalem).’ He then said: ‘What will you do when you are driven from their?’ I said: ‘I will take my sword and strike the one who will try and drive me out from there.’ Then he, upon him be blessings and peace took his hand and stuck my shoulder and said: ‘Forgiveness for you O Abu Diarr. Comply with them wherever they send you, and yield to them wherever they drive you, even if it is done by a black slave.’ This prophetic traditions addresses the three issues: [1] the miraculous abilities of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace to know future events; [2] the remedy which the Prophet gave to those Arabs who held xenophobic ideas regarding Africans and non Arabs; and [3] the obligation of obedience to the rulers even when they are unjust, as long as they do not order an act of disobedience.
It has been related by al-Bayhaqi\textsuperscript{35} on the authority of Abdullahi\textsuperscript{36} on the authority of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace who said:

\textit{(إِنْكُمْ سَتَرُونَ بَعْدِ إِثْرَةٍ وَ أُمُورًا تُنَكِّرُونَهَا)}

“Verily you will see after me selfishness (\textit{athara}) and things you will dislike.” We said: “What do you order us to do O Messenger of Allah?” He responded:

\textit{(إِنْكُمْ أَذْهَبْتُمْ إِلَى عِلْمِ اللَّهِ وَ أَسْأَلَنَّ اللهَ أَنْفُسَكُمْ)}

“Give over the rights which are obligatory upon you and ask Allah for those rights which are yours.”\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{35} Similar narrations of this prophetic tradition were related by al-Bukhari on the authority of Anas ibn Malik, Ahmad and at-Tirmidhi on the authority of Abdallah ibn Mas`ud, and Nu`aym on the authority of Abu ad-Darda.

\textsuperscript{36} This is Abdallah ibn Mas`ud, for his brief biography see the introduction to this text footnote # 13 at www.siiasi.org

\textsuperscript{37} In this prophetic tradition the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace indicates what will occur in the future of the competitiveness and selfishness which the Quraysh would have for governmental authority over the Ansaa in terms of wealth, compensation and other than that. In it is a sign of the prophethood and his miraculous abilities to know the outcome of future events. The meaning of his words, may Allah bless him and grant him peace: ‘...and things you will dislike’, means in the matters of the religion. In one narration of this prophetic traditions the particle of conjunction between: ‘selfishness’ and ‘things you will dislike’ was omitted making the later phrase a verbal substitute (\textit{badal}) of the former phrase, meaning that the ‘selfishness’ would be the things hat would disliked. The meaning of his words, may Allah bless him and grant him peace: ‘Give over the rights which are obligatory upon you’, means give over to the \textit{Amirs} those rights which you are obligated to give over to him either generally or specifically. This includes the zakat on your wealth as well as the obligation to fight in the \textit{jihaaad} when he calls you. The meaning of his words, may Allah bless him and grant him peace: ‘...and ask Allah for those rights which are yours’, means ask Allah for those rights which the \textit{Amir} is required to give over to you but fails. Ibn at-Teen related on the authority of as-Dawudi that this prophetic tradition is specific for the Ansaar, however \textit{Imam} Ibn Hajr said that this specification only applies to the Ansaar in their relationship with the Muhajirun. However this prophetic tradition has general application based upon another narration by at-Tabarani on the authority of Yazid ibn Salma al-Ja`afi who once said: “O Messenger of Allah, if there are over us \textit{Amirs} who seize the rights which obligatory upon us, but refuse the rights which are ours, do we fight them?” He said: “No. They will be responsible for their burden and you will be responsible for your burden.” Ibn Hajr said: “This explains that these matters would not happen during their time, nor is it making reference specifically to the rulers of that time, but it is an address to the general welfare of all the Muslims in all times. The ‘selfishness’ referred to here is the portion of this world’s life which would be a main preoccupation after the time of the early community of Islam.” In the narration of Awf ibn Malik, he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “When you see those in authority over you doing things which you dislike, then dislike their actions but do not remove your hand from obedience.” In a narration by al-Isma`ili on the authority of Umar that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace once said: “Jibril came to me and said: ‘Verily your \textit{Umma} will be suffer tribulations after you’ I then said to him: ‘From which direction?’ He said: ‘From the direction of their \textit{Amirs} and intellectuals (\textit{awliyya}). For the \textit{Amirs} will hold back the rights due to the people but demand their rights, thus creating tribulations for them. And the intellectuals will follow and support these \textit{Amirs} causing more tribulations’. I then said: ‘Then how will those who remain safe become safe from this?’ He said: ‘By forbearance and patience; by giving over what is obligatory for them to give over and by simply forgoing what will be held back from them’.” In the narration of Nu`aym on the authority of Abu ad-Darda that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “You will see matters which you will dislike, but incumbent upon you is patience, do not alter or change things, and do not say: ‘We have changed and altered things until Allah Himself changes things’.”

What is clear from the above is that Islam does not support coup deta, or intrigues to overthrow Islamic government. When an Islamic government has become corrupt, the obligation upon the scholars, the righteous officials, the \textit{awliyya} and the citizens alike is to command the good and forbid evil and demand change in the workings of the government until its leadership repents and returns to what is correct, as the author will explain.
It has been related by al-Bayhaqi in his as-Shu'ab on the authority of Abu `Ubayda ibn al-Jaraah\textsuperscript{38} who said, I heard the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace say:

\begin{verse}
"Do not denounce the ruler (as-Sultan) for verily they are the shadow of Allah on His earth."\textsuperscript{39}
\end{verse}

It has been related by al-Bayhaqi on the authority of Anas ibn Malik who said:

\begin{verse}
أَمْرُنَا أَكَابِرًا مِنْ أَصْحَابِ مُحَمْدِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم أن لاَ تَسْبِبْ أَمَراَةً أَوْلاَ فَأَنْفُصُّهُمْ وَلَا تَفْنِصِّهِمْ وَلَا تَنْقِيُّهُمْ وَلَا تَتَصَمِّيُّهُمْ فَإِنْ فَالْآمَرَ قَرِيبٌ.
\end{verse}

"We were ordered by the notables among the Companions of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace not to denounce our governors (imara) nor to deceive nor disobey them; and to fear Allah and be patient for verily the matter is near."\textsuperscript{40}

\begin{verse}
38 He was Abu `Ubayda `Aamir ibn Abdallah ibn al-Jaraah ibn Hilaal ibn Uheeb ibn Dhabba ibn al-Harith ibn Fihr ibn Malik ibn an-Nadr ibn Kinana ibn Khuzayma ibn Madraka ibn Ilyas ibn Madar ibn Nizaar ibn Ma`d ibn Adnaan al-Qurayshi. He was among the notables of the first and foremost of the Companions of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. He was among those who resolved to establish Abu Bakr as-Sideeq as the khalifa. He among those whom the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace testified regarding assurance of Paradise and called him ‘the trustworthy one of the Umma’. He was well known for his excellent character, forbearance, asceticism and humility. He died in the 18 of the hijra at the age of 58.

39 Although this prophetic tradition uses the expression ‘sultan’, it also refers to all categories of leaders as it has been narrated in a similar tradition in the al-Ijaami as-Sagheer of Imam as-Suyuti on the authority of Abu Amama that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: ‘Do not denounce the leaders (al-a’ima), but supplicate to Allah that He will correct them, for verily in their correction is your correction.’ Further clarification that the above prophetic tradition refers to the general leadership among the Muslims is what was related by Ibn Jareer on the authority of Anas ibn Malik, that he said: ‘The prominent Companions of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace were prohibited by his words: ‘Do not denounce your Amirs, do not revile them and do not disobey them. But fear Allah and be patient for verily the matter is near.’’ The above prophetic tradition also establishes the spiritual station and rank of the Sultan within the hierarchy of the sages and mujtahids by his expression, may Allah bless him and grant him peace: ‘…verily they are the shadow of Allah on His earth.’ It has been related by Abu Shaykh on the authority of Abu Bakr: ‘The just and humble Sultan is the shade of Allah and His lance on earth. Every day and night, there rises into the heavens for the humble and just Sultan the good deeds equal to sixty Champions of Truth (sideeq), each of whose status is that of a worshipping mujtahid.’ Shaykh al-Akbar tells us in his Futuhat’l-Makkhiyya: ‘The Sultan or Imam of the Muslims when he is just is the spiritual pole of the age (qutb’z-zaman). It is for this reason that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: ‘The Sultan is the shade of Allah on earth.’’ The expression ‘denounce’ (sabab/sabb) according to the Lisan’l-Arab means to ‘cut something short’ (quta’). It also means to revile (shattam) something or someone. As the prophetic tradition states: ‘The reviling (sibaab) of a Muslim is a sin and killing him is disbelief.’ It also means pointing to or highlighting the wrongs in a person, from which the index finger gets its name from (as-sibaab) or the ‘pointing finger’. The concept of ‘denouncing’ also implies belittling or taking a person’s rightful station away from them, that is to say refusing to recognize their given station. Thus, the denouncing of the Sultan could include refusing to recognize his station outwardly and inwardly, and to verbally denigrate the office of the Sultan, and to make it less than what it is. And Allah knows best.

40 This prophetic tradition gives evidence that not all of the Companions of the Prophet were mujtahid imams based upon the expression: ‘We were ordered by the notables among the Companions’. While some of the scholars say that the expression means that the notability of age because Anas ibn Malik was very young in comparison to other close Companions of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. While yet other scholars say that this narrative establishes the hierarchy of the mujtahiduun themselves, and that some of the Companions were higher than others in their abilities to give independent judgment (ijtihaad). Thus, this establishes the right of some of the Companions who were more knowledgeable to ‘order’ others less knowledgeable. Here ends folio 11 of manuscript B after 18 lines of colophon,
It has been related by al-Bayhaqi on the authority of Ali ibn Abi Talib\textsuperscript{41} who said:

لا يَصْلَحِ النَّاسِ إلَّا أَمِيرًا أو فاجِرًا

“People will never be put right except with a governor (\textit{amir}), upright or corrupt.” They said: “This upright we know but how is it possible with a corrupt one?” He responded:

إنّ الفاجِر يَوْمَنَ اللَّهِ وَيِجَاهِدُ بِهِ السَّلْطَةَ وَيَحْتَني بِهِ عَدْوَهُ وَيَقَامُ بِهِ الْخَدْوَةَ وَيُجِرُّ بِهِ النِّبْيَتَ

“Verily by means of the corrupt ruler Allah protects the roads, \textit{jihaad} is undertaken by him against the enemies, the dead lands are revived, the prescribed punitive punishments are established, pilgrimage is made to the House and by means of him the Muslim worship Allah\textsuperscript{42} safely until he appointed times comes.”

The commentary upon the \textit{Laamiyat az-Zuqaaq} of al-Mi`yar states: “Ibn 'Arafa\textsuperscript{43} said in the first part of the book of \textit{Jihad} narrated by Ibn Rushd:\textsuperscript{44}

وَطَاعَتُهُ لَأَزْمَةً وَلَوْ كَانَ عُيَّنَ عَلَىٰ مَلِئَةً ما لم يَأْمُرَ بِمَعِصَيْةٍ

‘Obedience to the governor in necessary even if he be unjust as long as he does not order you to disobedience.’

\textsuperscript{41} He was \textit{Amir‘ul-Mu‘mineen Abu‘l-Hassan Ali ibn Abi Talib} ibn Abd’l-Muttalib ibn Haashim ibn Abd’l-Manaf al-Qurayshi al-Haashimi. He was the cousin to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and was the first male to accept Islam at the age of ten. He was raised in the home of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace and never parted from him. He was present in all the battles with the Prophet as his flag bearer except in the battle of Tabuk. When he asked why he was ordered to stay in Medina, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “Are you not content that your place with me is like the place of Harun with Musa?” He was the husband of the leader of the women of Paradise, Fatima bint Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, with whom he fathered al-Hassan, al-Husayn (the leader of the youth of Paradise), Zaynab, Umm Kulthum and Mushin (who died young). He also fathered Muhammad al-Hanifiya, Umar al-Abass and nine other children after the death of Fatima. When the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace made brotherhood pacts between the Companions he said to Ali: “You are my brother.” \textit{Imam} Ahmad ibn Hanbal said: “Not one of the Companions attained the virtues that Ali attained.” He was renown for his bravery, fearlessness and prowess on the battlefield. Abu Ja`far Muhammad al-Baaqir ibn Ali was asked about the description of Ali and he said: “He was extremely dark skinned and had a sturdy body.” He was assassinated in Kufa by the worst of people, Abu’l-Rahman ibn Muljam on the 19\textsuperscript{th} of \textit{Ramadhan} in the year 40 of the hijra at age of 63.

\textsuperscript{42} Here ends folio 8 of manuscript A after 24 lines of colophon.

\textsuperscript{43} He was Abu Ali al-Hassan \textit{Ibn Arafa} ibn Yazid al-Abd al-Baghdadi al-Mu`adabi. He was born in the year 150 of the hijra. He was a traditionist, jurist and \textit{Imam}. He lived to be 110 years and when he was asked about that he said: “I have lived 110 years. No one among the people of knowledge besides myself ever reached this advanced age.” He died on the 26\textsuperscript{th} of \textit{Dhu’l-Qa`ida} in the year 257 of the hijra.

\textsuperscript{44} He was Abu’l-Waleed Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Ahmad \textit{Ibn Rushd} al-Qurtubi al-Maliki. He was a learned \textit{Imam}, \textit{Shaykh} of the Maliki \textit{madh'hab} and Chief Judge of the city of Cordoba in Andalusia. He was a learned jurist who had meticulously memorized the teachings of \textit{Imam} Malik and was well versed in the science of giving legal decisions. He had piercing abilities in the science of inheritance, and the foundations of jurisprudence. He was the leader of the people of knowledge in his time, comprehension, religion, spiritual bounty, dignity, forbearance, excellent bearing, guidance and uprightness. He composed the \textit{al-Muqaddima} on the first books of the \textit{al-Mudawwana}, the \textit{al-Bayan wa`l-Tahseel}, the \textit{at-Ta’leel}, the \textit{al-Mabsuuta}, the \textit{Mushakal al-Athaar} and others. He died in the month of \textit{Dhu’l-Qa‘ida} in the year 125 of the hijra at the age of 70.
This is based upon the established prophetic tradition by the Shaykh from Sahnun:

‘Obedience to the governor (al-amir) is obligatory even when the people are ignorant of the final outcome nor can they ask him about it.’ I say: That is if he is just. He continued: ‘Once Amr ibn al-`Aas prevented his army from igniting fires during an extremely cold night. When they later proceeded to the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, they complained to him about that. Amr said: My companions were few and I feared the enemies would see them.’ The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace was amazed with him for that. He said:

(وَأَنَا مَا يَسْأَلُونَهُ فِيمَا يَخَافُونَ فِيهِ الْهَلَكَةَ)

“They should have asked him concerning the destruction which he feared.” It is agreed that this was a mistake and they should have questioned him and debated with him about it. If it was apparent that he was correct, then they should have obeyed him if not then not. It is well known that the Companions contested the opinion of Abu Bakr to fight the apostates and in the dispatching of the army of Usama ibn Zayd. For even when some of them held to the same opinion of the governor (al-amir) those who held contrary views had the right to object.’

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45 He was Abu Sa`id Abd’s-Salaam ibn Habeeb ibn Hilaal ibn Bakaar ibn Rabi`a ibn Abdallah at-Tanuukhi al-Himsiyi al-Maghribi al-Maliki, known as Sahnun. He was the judged of al-Qayrawaan and the author of the famous al-Mudawwana. He was the foremost leader of the scholars of the Maghrib and an expert in the teachings of Imam Malik and the scholars of Medina. He used to say: “Whoever does not act by his knowledge, not only will his knowledge not benefit him, but it will harm him.” He was once asked: “Does a scholar who is asked about some knowledge that he knows have the option to say: ‘I don’t know’?” He said: “As for what is established in the Book and the Sunna, no. But as for what comes from opinion then he has the option of saying that because he doesn’t know whether his opinion is correct or wrong.” Isma`il ibn Ibrahim said: “One day I entered upon Sahnun, at which time he was the judge, and around his neck was tasbeeh with which he used to glorify Allah with.” Yahya ibn `Awn said: “I and Sahnun entered upon Ali ibn al-Qasaar who was ill. Sahnun asked him: ‘What is this apprehension?’ He said: ‘It is death and arrival at Allah’. Then Sahnun said: ‘Do you not believe in the Messengers, the Resurrection, the Reckoning, the Paradise, the Fire, that the best of this Umma is Abu Bakr then Umar, that the Qur’an is the Uncreated Speech of Allah, that Allah will be seen on the Day of Judgment, that Allah is astawaa upon the Throne, and that you did not revolt against the leaders (al-a'imma) with the sword even if they were tyrants?’ He said: ‘Yes, by Allah!’ Sahnun then said: ‘Then if you like, then die. If you like, then die’. ‘Imam Sahnun died in the month of Rajab in the year 240 of the hijra at the age of 80.

46 He was Abu Abdallah Amr ibn al-`Aas ibn Wa`il as-Sahami. He was a learned Companion of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace who was among those who were fortunate to make the hijra to Abyssinia. He was described as being short and very dark skinned. He was among the knights and natural warriors of the Quraysh and an excellent poet. Because of this he became one of the men from whom the Quraysh sought opinions regarding diplomacy, strategy and the art of war. He was among the noblest leader of the Arabs and a notable of the Muhajiruun. He died the night of the Eid’l-Fitr in the year 43 of the hijra at the age of 100.

47 Here ends folio 12 of manuscript B after 18 lines of colophon.

48 This is extremely important because it establishes the right of people to disagree with the ruler, the governor, without being maligned, stigmatized or marginalized because of their disagreement. Although, it is the obligation of the subjects to follow their ruler when he takes a direction which is backed by the shari`a even when it disagrees with the evidence of the subjects; yet the subjects have a right to object and register their disagreement with him. Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye` clarified the courtesies of making objection in his Ihya `s-Sunna when he said: “The disagreements of the scholars is a mercy. Based upon that, objection is not permitted except for him who knows that the action which he is prohibiting, there is absolute agreement concerning its prohibition - and the action which he is commanding, there is absolute agreement concerning its obligation. What we mean by objection in this context is the prohibited objection, because if it can be objected to - then the proof upon which it
The knowing scholar and learned righteous man Abu'l-Abass Sidi Ahmad Zaruuq\(^49\) may Allah benefit us by his baraka said the following in his an-Naseehat:

“As for as obedience to the governors (al-umara'), Umar, may Allah be pleased with him said to Suwayd ibn Ghafla\(^50\):

\[
	ext{عَبْدًا} \\
	ext{كَانَ} \\
	ext{وَإِن} \\
	ext{لِلأَمِيرِ} \\
	ext{وَالطﱠاعَةِ} \\
	ext{غَلِبَ} \\
	ext{فَعَلَيْكَ} \\
	ext{الْيَوْمِ} \\
	ext{بَعْدَ} \\
	ext{تَلْقَانِي} \\
	ext{لاَ} \\
	ext{لَعَلَّكَ} \\
	ext{حَبَشِيًّا} \\
	ext{إِن} \\
	ext{مَجْدِعًا،} \\
	ext{فَاصْبِرْ،} \\
	ext{مَالَكَ} \\
	ext{أَخَذَ} \\
	ext{وَإِن} \\
	ext{فَاصْبِرْ،} \\
	ext{ضَرَبَكَ} \\
	ext{وَإِن} \\
	ext{فَاصْبِرْ،} \\
	ext{شَتﱠمَكَ} \\
	ext{فَقُلْ} \\
	ext{دِينِكَ} \\
	ext{عَلَى} \\
	ext{رَاوَدَكَ} \\
	ext{وَإِن} \\
	ext{رَأَيْتُ} \\
	ext{بِتَقْوَى} \\
	ext{فَعَلَيْكَ} \\
	ext{يَوْمَ} \\
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	ext{ضَرَبَكَ} \\
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	ext{شَتﱠمَكَ} \\
	ext{فَقُلْ} \\
	ext{دِينِكَ} \\
	ext{عَلَى} \\
	ext{رَاوَدَكَ} \\
	ext{وَإِن} \\
	ext{رَأَيْتُ} \\
	ext{بِتَقْوَى} \\
	ext{فَعَلَيْكَ} \\
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	ext{وَإِن} \\
	ext{فَاصْبِرْ،} \\
	ext{ضَرَبَكَ} \\
	ext{وَإِن} \\
	ext{فَاصْبِرْ،} \\
	ext{شَتﱠمَكَ} \\
	ext{فَقُلْ} \\
	ext{دِينِكَ} \\
	ext{عَلَى} \\
	ext{رَاوَدَكَ} \\
	ext{وَإِن} \\

‘O Suwayd ibn Ghafla due to the fact that you may not meet me again after this day, obligatory upon you are fear of Allah, hearing, and obedience to your governor (al-amir), even if there appointed over you a mutilated Abyssinian slave. If he abuses you then be patient. If he seizes your wealth then be patient. However, when he seeks to turn you away from your religion, say: ‘Obedience to my Lord is above obedience to a created being like me.' Do not ever redraw your hands from obedience to Allah.”

This directive is an assemblage of all the foregoing successful prophetic traditions that have been narrated. Note: What has proceeded establishes the obligation of obedience to the leader (al-imam) when he does not order an act of disobedience (al-ma`aasi). When he orders disobedience then there is neither listening nor obedience. This has been established clearly in the foregoing prophetic traditions. For when the leader orders someone to kill another or seize the wealth of another unjustly, then it is not permissible to obey him in that\(^51\) or to obey his commands. Whoever does this in obedience to him then he will be seized by it on the Day of Judgment.”

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\(^49\) He was Abu'l-Abass Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Isa al-Burnusi al-Fasi as-Shadhili, known as Zaruuq. He was born during the rising of the sun on a Thursday, the 18th of Muharram in the year 846 of the hijra. Both his mother and father died when he was three years old and by the time he was five his paternal uncle died as well. Thus, by the age of seven he was left with no one except Allah ta`ala. In spite of this, Shaykh Ahmad Zaruuq became one of the most learned and pious scholars of his time. He composed many illustrious works on the tawheed, jurisprudence and tasawwuf which are well known, studied and cited throughout the Muslim world. He, may Allah be merciful to him died in the year 899 of the hijra and is buried in the desert town of Misrata.

\(^50\) He was Abu Umayya Suwayd ibn Ghafla ibn `Awsaja ibn `Aamir al-Ju`fi al-Kufi. He was an Imam in knowledge and a spiritual model. He accepted Islam during the time of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace and was present in the Battle of al-Yarmuuk. He took transmission from Abu Bakr as-Sideeq, Umar, Uthman, Ali, ‘Ubay ibn Ka`b, Bilal, Ab Dharr, Ibn Mas`ud and others. Those who took from him were as-Sha`bi, an-Nakhai`, Ibn Abi Lubaba, and many others. He was the same age of that of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace because he was born during the year of the Elephant. He lived a long time and `Aasim ibn Kulayb said that Suwayd married a young virgin when he was 116 years old. He died at the age of 120 in the year 82 of the hijra.

\(^51\) Here ends folio 9 of manuscript A after 25 lines of colophon.
He then said after a little:\n\\n\"The consensus (al-ijma’) upholds the prohibition of fighting those leaders who are just as they are unanimous concerning fighting the apostates among them.\" The author of the al-Ikmaal\(^4\) said:\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\"52\n
\^4 The al-Ikmaal is the famous commentary upon the Saheeh of Imam Muslim, by al-Qadi `Iyad ibn Musa al-Yahsubi al-Maliki [d. 544 A.H.]. It was a completion of an earlier commentary by Shaykh Muhammad ibn Ali al-Maarizi [d. 536] which he named al-Mu`allam Bi Fawaa'id Kitaab Muslim.

\^5 The author is referring to Abu'l-Abass Sidi Ahmad Zaruuq in his an-Naseehat.

\^6 Here ends folio 13 of manuscript B after 18 lines of colophon.