

Shi'ism in the Maghrib
and al-Andalus,
Volume Two

Shi'ism in the Maghrib and al-Andalus, Volume Two:

Traditions

By

John Andrew Morrow

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To Ottmar Hegyi, Dennis Patrick Walker, and Laleh Bakhtiar

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More than anyone, my spouse deserves the prize of "the most patient wife on the planet." I started to work on this study ten years before we married and twenty years later, I was still working on it. "Enough is enough," she said, "the time has come to publish it." Not only will she be pleased to see this book in print, but she will also be relieved. A scholarly gestation should not last three decades. The birth of this work was overdue.

Although this study was long in the making and was reviewed by numerous scholars who made every reasonable effort to ensure that it was free of errors, human beings are fallible. Consequently, despite due diligence on the part of all parties, I accept complete responsibility for any shortcomings to be found in this work. Some scholars might complain that it contains no index; however, this is compensated by the detailed table of contents in which the subject matter of each sub-section is identifiable. Finally, I would like to thank everyone at Cambridge Scholars Publishing for supporting my scholarship and, most importantly, for considering contributions to the field far more critical than commercial potential and profit.

ENDORSEMENTS

“This is the first comprehensive work on the Shī‘ite presence and contribution in Andalusia. Prior to this book, studies on the subject were confined to the role and contribution of Sunnī Muslims, ignoring any mention of Shī‘ah Muslims. John Andrew Morrow has done some amazing ground-breaking research work demonstrating the social, religious, and political contribution of key Shī‘ah figures in Muslim Spain. His lucid and well-researched work makes an important contribution to our understanding of the interplay between religion and politics in this part of the Islāmic world. This book provides a wealth of information and will be an invaluable resource that students of Islām can draw upon.” **Dr. Liyakat Takim**, *Sharjah Chair in Global Islām, Department of Religious Studies, McMaster University*

“An outstanding work that demonstrates an exceptional knowledge of classical Arabic texts and sources... The work, in and of itself, is of unquestionable academic merit... It provides masterful coverage of an especially important field when it comes to understanding the history of North Africa and al-Andalus during its classic period... This excellent work of historical research... will certainly provoke a great deal of scholarly debate.” **Dr. José Francisco Cutillas Ferrer**, *University of Alicante, Professor of Arabic and Islāmic Studies*

“In this seminal work, John Andrew Morrow makes a compelling historical argument for the presence of Shī‘ite Muslims in Andalusia (Islāmic Spain) and, as such, provides an excellent corrective to the generally held belief that there were few, if any, Shī‘ites in the region. Drawing from a variety of sources, his scrupulous and painstaking research pieces the scattered accounts together to make a cogent, coherent case for their presence. Being the first major and thought-provoking study on this subject, and one that diverges from existing scholarship, Morrow’s work will undoubtedly attract attention and be the center of scholarly debate for years to come.” **Dr. Hamid Mavani**, *Associate Professor of Islāmic Studies, Bayan-Claremont*

“Academic studies on Islām and Muslims in Spain and North Africa have tended to focus on the art and architecture, philosophy and mysticism, and periods of cooperation and conflict between Muslims, Christians, and Jews. Among the unexamined axioms concerning Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula is the Sunnī identity of those who practiced Islām. John Andrew Morrow’s two volume study, *Shī’ism in the Maghrib and al-Andalus*, deconstructs this narrative by providing a treasure trove of historical and textual evidence and analysis. This landmark study is a necessary and timely corrective to those who would attempt to erase any trace of Shī’ī Islām from both the past and the present, whether through myopic scholarship or the destruction of sacred sites and communities. Dr. Morrow’s study may also serve to remind us that not only were there both Sunnīs and Shī’as in Muslim Spain and North Africa, but that both communities exist wherever Islām does.” **Zachary Markwith**, *PhD Candidate, Graduate Theological Union*

SOURCES

As is customary in the field of Islāmic studies, I generally do not provide page numbers for citations of prophetic sayings, and simply reference them by source, such as Kulaynī or Bukhārī. Since works of *aḥādīth* come in so many versions, page numbers are hardly useful. What is more, virtually all the primary Arabic sources of Islām have been digitalized. Consequently, it requires almost no effort to track down traditions through key word searches.

When English translations of traditions were available, these have been quoted. It is the primary source of the *ḥadīth* that is cited; not necessarily the secondary sources and translations in which it appears. When the translations were not idiomatic, they were improved, often on the basis of the original Arabic. Most of the canonical prophetic traditions cited in this work can easily be found in print and online in Arabic and English. While every reasonable effort has been made to document sources in the bibliography, the sources of some works, often obscure and difficult to access, and which are merely mentioned in passing, are not always included.

Since this work has been thirty years in the making, small segments of its findings have been shared in some articles, books, and presentations, including “Shī‘ism in Morocco,” which was published in several places on the internet, including *Jafariya News* (2006) and the *Imam Reza Network*, and appeared in print in *Islāmic Insights: Writings and Reviews* (2012) (193-198). Other findings appeared online in “Shī‘ism in North Africa and Islāmic Spain” which was published in *Shafaqna* (2016). This study also appeared online in Spanish in *Musulmanes por la Paz* (2019), *ABNA*, *Rahyafteha*, and *Prensa Islāmica* (2020).

Some research on the Berber wives and mothers of the Shī‘ite Imāms was included in *Restoring the Balance: Using the Qur‘ān and the Sunnah to Guide a Return to the Prophet’s Islām* (20-24). Many of the prophetic traditions that I cite are found in *Shī‘ite Islām: Orthodoxy or Heterodoxy*, a work by Luis Alberto Vittor that I translated, edited, and annotated, and which is available in print and various digital editions in both English and Spanish. Since these are my works, and every reasonable effort has been made to identify them, any parallels and echoes fall into the category of fair use.

Whenever it is written that the Prophet, the Imāms, or the companions made certain statements, it merely indicates that the source says so. In other words, when one reads that “the Prophet said” it is always implied that “the Prophet reportedly said,” “the Prophet supposedly said,” or the “Prophet allegedly said.” Including such qualifiers, however, would be burdensome, annoying, and repetitive. I am not claiming that all these traditions are true. I am simply sharing sayings that some Moriscos held to be true. Finally, while this work is not indexed, it contains a meticulously detailed table of contents that should allow readers to locate subjects with relative ease.

INTRODUCTION

The first volume of *Shī'ism in the Maghrib and al-Andalus* provides a history of Shī'ite Islām in North Africa and Islāmīc Spain. It documents the presence of the Shī'ite Imāms, their companions, and the followers of their companions in the Maghrib and al-Andalus. It examines the racial, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic origin of some of the wives of the Shī'ite Imāms. It chronicles the sharīfian settlers in the Maghrib and al-Andalus. It traces many of the Šūfī orders from the region to the Shī'ite Imāms. It explores the Shī'ite sects, dynasties, revolts, scholars, and centers in North Africa and Islāmīc Spain and sheds light on the imposition of Mālikī Sunnī orthodoxy through an inquisition. It unravels the mystery of the Shī'ite Moriscos, uncovers vestiges of Shī'ism in the Maghrib, surveys the literary legacy of Shī'ism, and touches upon the historical presence of Shī'ites in the region.

If the first volume of *Shī'ism in the Maghrib and al-Andalus* focuses on history, this second volume concentrates on literature, focusing on Aljamiado-Morisco works of Shī'ite inclination or inspiration. Since these works are written in Spanish, using the Arabic alphabet, and occasionally in Spanish, using the Latin script, they have generally been inaccessible to scholars who speak Spanish but cannot read the Arabic alphabet of the Moriscos, as well as academics who are not proficient in the Spanish language, much less the Aljamiado script.

The works included in this anthology are made available in English translation for the first time. They provide readers with a taste of Aljamiado-Morisco literature and an insight into the beliefs and devotional practices of Iberian cryptic Muslims. These works capture the fear, suffering, and hope of the Moriscos: a persecuted European Muslim minority. They cried, as oppressed Shī'ites did throughout the ages: "O Hidden Imām! Rise up and come to our help!" However much they prayed, and however much they hoped, the Awaited One and the Mahdī of Morisco legend never responded to their calls as the last remaining cryptic Muslims of Spain were forcibly assimilated, expelled or physically exterminated so that Catholic Spain could supposedly be cleansed both ethnically and spiritually.

TRADITION 1

MY *AHL AL-BAYT* IS LIKE THE ARK OF NOAH

1.1 Source

The following tradition is found in Manuscript 29 from the Biblioteca del Instituto de Filología del CSIC, formerly known as the Biblioteca de la Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid (116r). The manuscript includes the *ḥadīth* in both its original Arabic and *aljamiado* translation.

1.2 Tradition

[The Messenger of Allāh said]: “My *ahl al-bayt* is the like the Ark of Noah. Whoever embarked on it was saved. And whoever did not was drowned.”

1.3 Commentary

The “Tradition of the Ark” is one of the foundational traditions of Shī‘ite Islām and is found in various versions in both Sunnī and Shī‘ī books of prophetic traditions. The *aljamiado* tradition in question is identical to the main version found in both Sunnī and Shī‘ī books of *aḥādīth*. Abū Nu‘aym (d. 1038) records that the Messenger of Allāh said: “The example of my *ahl al-bayt* among you is like Noah’s Ark; whoever got aboard it was saved and whoever remained behind was drowned.” Shabrāwī Shāfi‘ī relates the tradition on the authority of Rafī‘, who had been the slave of Abū Dharr al-Ghiffārī, who said:

Once Abū Dharr climbed the threshold of the Ka‘bah, grasped the ring of its door and turning his back towards it, said: “O people, those who know me, know me, and those who do not, know me: I am Abū Dharr; I have heard the Messenger of Allāh say: “My *ahl al-bayt* is like Noah’s Ark, whoever boards it, is safe, and whoever remains behind is pushed into the fire.”

Muttaqī al-Hindī (d. 1567) records the *ḥadīth* in the following words, adding that it was quoted by Ṭabarānī (d. 918) on the authority of Abū Dharr (d. 652):

The likeness of my *ahl al-bayt* among you is like that of Noah's Ark, whoever gets on board is safe, and whoever remains behind is doomed; it is like the Gate of Remission for the children of Israel.

The "Tradition of the Ark" is related on the authority of Abū Dharr, the famous companion of the Prophet who was a Shī'ite of 'Alī, in *al-Mustadrak*, a compilation of prophetic traditions compiled by al-Ḥākim (d. 1012), a Sunnī scholar, who classified it as authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*). The work, which was compiled in the year 393 AH (1002-1003), contains more than nine thousand traditions which the author has deemed as authentic according to the standards of Bukhārī and Muslim.

According to Sunnī scholars, the collections of Bukhārī and Muslim are the most authentic of the six canonical books of prophetic traditions. The six authentic books or *al-Ṣiḥāḥ al-Sittah* of the Sunnīs include the following, listed in order of importance:

1. *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, collected by al-Bukhārī (d. 870), includes 7,275 *ḥadīths*.
2. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, collected by Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 875), includes 9,200 traditions.
3. *Sunan al-Ṣuḡhrā*, collected by al-Nasā'ī (d. 915), includes 5,270 *ḥadīths*.
4. *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, collected by Abū Dawūd (d. 888), features 4,800 *ḥadīth*.
5. *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, collected by al-Tirmidhī (d. 892), contains approximately 4,000 traditions.
6. The sixth authentic book is subject to dispute and may include one of the following:
 - a) *al-Muwaṭṭā*, collected by Imām Mālik (d. 796), which includes 1,720 *ḥadīth*.
 - b) *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, collected by Ibn Mājah (d. 886), which comprises 4,321 *ḥadīth*.
 - c) *Sunan al-Dārimī*, collected by al-Dārimī, which contains 3,550 *ḥadīth*.

The six *ṣaḥīḥ* books form part of the nine major *ḥadīth* collections, which may include *Sunan al-Dārimī* (d. 869) or *al-Muwaṭṭā*, along with the *Musnad* of Aḥmad (d. 855) containing over thirty thousand traditions, including ten thousand repetitions.

The “Tradition of the Ark” is cited by Hākim, Aḥmad, Bazzār (d. 905), Suyūṭī’s, Muttaqī, Haythamīs (d. 1566), Rāzī, Ṭabarānī, Suyūṭī, Abū Nu‘aym, and Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī’s (d. 1071), among many others. Imām Shāfi‘ī (d. 820), the founder of one of the four Sunnī schools of jurisprudence, considered it to be authentic. As he said:

When I saw different schools of thought directing people toward the seas of ignorance and deviation, I boarded the Ark of Salvation in the Name of Allāh. Verily, this Ark is crystallized in the *ahl al-bayt* of Mustafā, the Seal of the Prophets.

The Sunnī traditionists have cited the “Tradition of the Ark” on the authority of the following companions of the Prophet and their disciples: Sa‘īd b. Jubayr from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās, Rafī‘ on the authority of Abū Dharr, as well as Ibn ‘Abbās and Ibn Zubayr.

The first chain, namely, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr via ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās, is considered reliable. Sa‘īd b. Jubayr (665-714), also known as Abū Muḥammad, was originally from Kūfah, and was considered one of the leading *tābi‘ūn*. According to Ṭūsī (d. 1067), he was one of the companions of Imām ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Abidīn, the fourth Shī‘ite Imām. Along with an army of one hundred thousand, he participated in the Battle of Jamājim in 699-701 against the army of al-Ḥallāj (d. 714), during the reign of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd I (d. 744). Sa‘īd formed part of the Battalion of Qur’ān Reciters, which also included Kumayl b. Ziyād, the famous companion of Imām ‘Alī (d. 661).

Sa‘īd was highly regarded by both Sunnī and Shī‘ī scholars who considered him one of the leading jurists of the time. He earned great praise from Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī (d. 1449) and Dhahabī (d. 1348). According to al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), Sa‘īd was a reliable Imām and a proof for Muslims while Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 965) described him as a righteous, pious, and God-fearing jurist. Bukhārī, Muslim, Tirmidhī, Nasā‘ī, Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Mājah, Aḥmad, and Mālik have all quoted traditions from Sa‘īd, one hundred and forty-seven of them in Bukhārī, and seventy-eight of them in Muslim.

As for ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās (d. c. 687), he is considered reliable by both Sunnīs and Shī‘ites. According to the Sunnīs, he was the most knowledgeable of the companions in terms of Qur’ānic commentary. According to the Shī‘īs, he was one of the better companions, although he did not reach the rank of companions like ‘Ammār b. Yāsir (d. 657). In fact, Ibn ‘Abbās was a supporter of ‘Alī and played a role during the Battle of Ṣiffīn in which he fought against Mu‘āwiyah (d. 680).

The second chain, which consists of Rafī‘ b. Khadij via Abū Dharr, is also reliable. Rafī‘ (d. c. 693) has been cited by both Mālik and Abū Dawūd.

He was the author of a *Ṣaḥīfah*, one of the earliest compilations of prophetic traditions. He is accepted by both Sunnī and Shī'ite scholars. Rafī' related the tradition on the authority of Abū Dharr al-Ghiffārī, the famous companion of the Prophet. Sunnī authorities consider him to be truthful to a fault while Shī'ite authorities consider him one of the four best companions of the Prophet who remained steadfast at the side of Imām 'Alī.

The final chain, however, is questionable, as it is related on the authority of Ibn Zubayr (d. 692). The son of Asmā' (d. 692), the daughter of Abū Bakr (d. 634), Ibn Zubayr fought against 'Alī during the Battle of Baṣrah. After the murder of al-Ḥusayn (d. 680), he proclaimed himself to be the caliph and led a failed revolt against the Umayyads. Shī'ite authorities do not consider Ibn Zubayr to have been a sincere Muslim.

Sunnī traditionists are divided regarding the authenticity of the "Tradition of the Ark." Dhahabī declared it to be a forgery because the chain of narrators includes Mufaḍḍal b. Sāliḥ, whom Ibn Ḥajar considered to be "weak" and whom Bukhārī considered to be *munkar* or "denounced" in *ḥadīth*. Still, according to traditionists, there is a difference between a weak *ḥadīth* and a *ḥadīth* which is a forgery. Simply because a narrator is weak does not necessarily mean that the *ḥadīth* was fabricated and should be dismissed as spurious.

Hākīm states that the "Tradition of the Ark" is authentic according to the standards established by Muslim. Although Ibn Ḥajar held that Mufaḍḍal was weak, he never claimed that the "Tradition of the Ark" was weak or spurious. On the contrary, Ibn Ḥajar stated that although the various chains are not without flaws, the tradition has been transmitted through many chains of narration that reinforce one another.

The "Tradition of the Ark" is found in many Shī'ite books of prophetic traditions. It is found in Kulaynī's (d. 941) *al-Kāfī*, Maḥlisī's (d. 1699) *Bihār al-anwār*, and Qundūzī's (d. 15 c.) *Yanābī' al-mawaddah*. The "Tradition of the Ark" is cited in many Shī'ite works on 'ilm al-rijāl or the science of narrators, including Dūlābī's (d. 932) *al-Kunā wa al-asmā'*. The "Tradition of the Ark" is found in some historical books, including Khaṭīb's *Tārīkh Baghdād* and Saban's *Is'āf al-rāghibīn*.

The "Tradition of the Ark" is also found in the same form in Shī'ite books of *aḥādīth*. The version cited in the bilingual Arabic-Aljamiado manuscript is related in Shī'ite sources on the authority of the *tābī'ī* Ḥanash al-Kinānī who relates it on the authority of the *ṣaḥābī* Abū Dharr, one of the closest companions of the Prophet, and one of the staunchest supporters of Imām 'Alī. It is possible that the "Tradition of the Ark" reached al-Andalus by means of Ḥanash al-Kinānī who was one of the *tābī'ūn* who contributed to the conquest of al-Andalus and the subsequent *da'wah* or missionary

efforts in the Iberian Peninsula.

Variants of the “Tradition of the Ark” are also found in Shī‘ite books of *ahādīth*. In one version, the Messenger of Allāh says: “My *ahl al-bayt* is like the Ark of Noah. Whoever embarked was saved and whoever failed to embark was thrown into the fire.” The Prophet also said:

We serve as the Ark of Salvation. Whoever holds fast to this ark will attain salvation and whoever deviates from it will be cast into perdition. Whoever seeks anything from Allāh should resort to the *ahl al-bayt*.

This tradition is cited by Hamu‘ī (d. 1252), Khawārazmī, and ‘Amīnī’s (d. 1970). In another tradition, Imām ‘Alī said:

O Kumayl! Once after saying the evening prayer on mid-Ramaḍān, the Holy Prophet told me while standing on his feet upon the *minbar* (pulpit) with the *muḥājirīn* (emigrants) and the Anṣārs (the helpers) gathered around: “‘Alī and my two grandsons from him who are immaculate are me [my light] and I am of them; they are pure, only second to their mother; they are as an Ark, whoever gets on board will be rescued and the one who misses it will fall down, the salvaged will abide in paradise and the one left behind will fall into the fire.”

Amplly cited in Sunnī, Shī‘ite and Ṣūfī sources, the “Tradition of the Ark” serves as one of the doctrinal pillars of Shī‘ism. Although the account is minimized or ignored in Sunnism, it is emphasized in Shī‘ism as it supports claims that the Prophet was supposed to be succeeded by the People of the House, namely, Imām ‘Alī and his descendants.

TRADITION 2

THE EXCELLENCE OF ‘ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, FĀṬIMAH AL-ZAHRĀ’, AND THE TWELVE IMĀMS FROM THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE PROPHET

2.1 Source

The following tradition is found in the *Crónica y relación de la esclarecida descendencia xarifa* [*Chronicle and Account of the Purified Sharīfian Descendants*] which forms part of Manuscript D.565 of the Biblioteca della Università di Bologna (f 20 v – f 21 r / 64).

2.2 Tradition

The excellence of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, *raḍī Allāhu ‘anhu* [may Allāh be pleased with him], is so great that no single person can comprehend it. He was the final and last caliph, *raḍī Allāh ‘anhu* [may Allāh be pleased with him]. We shall now list the blessed branches that proceeded from ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib which were: al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Abidīn, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, Mūsā al-Kāzīm, ‘Alī al-Riḍā, Muḥammad al-Taqī, ‘Alī al-Naqī, Ḥasan al-‘Askarī, and Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the well-known and Awaited One, who is the last of the Imāms. This is the lineage and household of Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā (S) from the loins of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Fāṭimah al-Zahrā’, the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh (S).

2.3 Commentary

The *Crónica y relación de la esclarecida descendencia xarifa* [*Chronicle and Account of the Purified Sharīfian Descendants*] was translated from Arabic into Spanish, using the Latin script, in 1639, by Ibrāhīm Taybilī, a Morisco living in Tunis. Since the work was destined to be read by

Moriscos, it suggests that there were Twelver Shī'ites in both Spain and North Africa. The book, which deals with the lives of the Twelve Shī'ite Imāms, identifies all the Imāms of the Shī'ah Imāmiyyah Ithnā 'Ashariyyah, although there are some cases of confusion.

The translator of the book, like many Moriscos, confuses al-Ḥasan with al-Ḥusayn and vice versa. Imām Muḥammad al-Taḳī is called Imām Muḥammad al-Saniḥ (which might be al-Thānī or the Second); Imām 'Alī al-Naqī is called Imām Ḥasan al-'Askarī, and Imām Ḥasan al-'Askarī is called Imām Ḥasan al-Khāliṣ. Despite the presence of titles that are not so prevalent in other Shī'ite sources, the *Crónica y relación* is rooted in the Twelver Shī'ite tradition. It may have been authored by a mainstream Twelver Shī'ite or by a Zaydī who accepted the twelve Imāms; however, it could equally have been composed by an Alevī or Bektāshī Shī'ite, a fact that might explain some of its Ṣūfī elements.

TRADITION 3

THE ḤADĪTH OF THE ARAB, THE LIZARD, AND THE PROPHET MUḤAMMAD

3.1 Source

The following tradition is found in Manuscript 13 from the Biblioteca de la Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas, which is now known as the Biblioteca del Instituto de Filología del CSIC (fols. 134r-138r), as well as Manuscript 53 (fol. 195). It is also found in Manuscript T-12 (fols 26-29) from the Real Academia de la Historia. Transcriptions of the *ḥadīth* can be found in the *Códice aljamiado de varias materias* [*Aljamiado Codex on Various Subjects*] (300-310) and in Consuelo López Morillas' *Textos aljamiados sobre la vida de Mahoma: el profeta de los moriscos* [*Aljamiado Texts on the Life of Muḥammad: The Prophet of the Moriscos*] (1994: 98-101).

3.2 Tradition

Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm. [In the Name of Allāh, the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful].

This is the *ḥadīth* of the Lizard, the Arab, and the Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him.

It was related by Ibn ‘Abbās, may Allāh be pleased with him, that an Arab from the tribe of Banī Sulaymān was traveling when he came across a lizard... which was fleeing in front of him. He chased after it, caught it, and placed it in his sleeve. He went with it to see the Messenger of Allāh, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him. He stood in front of the door of the mosque and said: “O Muḥammad!”

It was the custom of the Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, that when someone said “O Muḥammad!” he would answer “O Muḥammad!” and when they said “O Abū al-Qāsim!” he would say “O Abū al-Qāsim!” and when they said “O Messenger of Allāh!” he would said: “How may I help you?” and his face would be filled

with the light of joy, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him.

When the Arab called him by those names, and he did not respond, he said: “You are a sorcerer and a great liar. You claim and profess to be the Messenger of Allāh and that you are truthful. By al-Lat and al-‘Uzzā! If it were not for the fact that my companions would call out hurriedly, I would give you such a blow from my sword that it would blacken the first of the last.”

‘Umar got up angrily and wanted to fight with him. The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, told him: “O ‘Umar! Do not be hasty. Sit down.” ‘Umar did as the Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, requested.

The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, said: “By Him who sent me with the truth as a giver of glad tidings and as a warner! Whoever harms me or belies me will be an inhabitant of hell.” He then told him: “O brother of the Banī Sulaymān! What prevents you from honoring me in my home? Become a Muslim and you will be saved from the fire of hell. O Arab! Believe in Allāh, and believe in His oneness, and you will have what is in store for us.”

The Arab said: “By al-Lat and al-‘Uzzā! I will not believe in you until this lizard believes in you.”

The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, turned timid and humble. Then, the Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, called out: “O lizard!”

The lizard said: “At your service, O best in birth!”

The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, asked: “Whom do you serve?”

The lizard said: “The One who is in the Heavens upon His throne, the One who rules upon the earth, the One whose judgment is found in the sea and on the earth, the One whose mercy is found in heaven, the One whose wrath is found in hell, the One whose knowledge is found among the living and the dead, and the One whose action is found in the alteration of night and day.”

The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, asked him: “O lizard! Who am I?”

The lizard said: “You are Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon you, the Messenger of the Lord of the Worlds, and the Seal of the Prophets, the highest in rank among them, the most exalted in status, blessed be the one who testifies to your truth, and wretched be the one who denies you.”

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās said that Allāh sealed the tongue of the lizard and that he never spoke again.

‘A’ishah, may Allāh be pleased with her, said: “Now that the lizard spoke, his words were very pleasing to me. I asked the Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, and he gave him to me. I used to give him to eat of what I ate, and I used to give him to drink of what I would drink. I never heard him speak after he spoke with the Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him.”

The Arab moved his face happily while laughing. The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, asked him: “O Arab! Are you mocking Allāh and His messenger?”

The Arab said: “No. By Allāh! I am not mocking Allāh nor am I mocking you. Nonetheless, before I came here, there was nobody I loathed more in the world than you. And now, after I leave your presence, I want you to know, O Prophet of Allāh, that you are now the person whom I love the most in the world, and that there is nobody lower than me in all creation.”

The Arab turned his face towards the Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, and said: “O Prophet of Allāh! I bear witness that there is no Lord but Allāh, the One and Only, who has no partner, and I bear witness that you, Muḥammad, are the Messenger of Allāh, professing *Lā ilāha illā Allāh, Muḥammadun Rasūl Allāh* [There is no god but Allāh and Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh].”

The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, said: “O Arab! You can boast all you wish to us about your camel. However, please allow me to describe the one that Allāh will give you in exchange for her, O ‘Abd al-Raḥmān!”

The Arab said: “Then describe her for me.”

The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, said: “O ‘Abd al-Raḥmān! She will be a camel of gold. Her legs and her stomach will be covered in precious stones, her elbows will be covered with amber, her sides will be covered with the mercy of Allāh, and her inside will be filled with the forgiveness of Allāh for those who ride upon her.”

The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and mercy of Allāh be upon him, turned and asked: “Who will give a head covering to this Arab so that I can guarantee him paradise? Who can tell me what is the lasting head covering?”

The Commander of the Faithful, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, got up, and said: “O Messenger of Allāh! What is the lasting head covering?”

Muḥammad, may the peace and mercy of Allāh be upon him, said: “It is the description of Allāh.”

‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib removed his head covering and placed it on the head of the Arab. The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and mercy of Allāh be

upon him, then said: “Who amongst you will give this Arab the provision and trust in Allāh that he needs against fear?”

Salmān al-Fārisī got up and said: “O Messenger of Allāh! I swear in the names of my father and my mother! Tell me. What is the provision against fear?”

The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and mercy of Allāh be upon him, said: “O Muḥammad! When the end of your days comes, remember the testimony [of faith] *Lā ilāha illā Allāh / Muḥammadun Rasūl Allāh* [There is no god but Allāh and Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh.] By saying these words, you will find me. If you do not say these words, you will never find me, and I will never find you.”

3.3 Commentary

The origin of this tradition has yet to be determined. It shares some similarities with the works of Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Bakrī, a Shī‘ite scholar from Baṣrah, Iraq, who is said to have authored the *Kitāb al-anwār* [*Book of Lights*], a work which was popular among the Moriscos, along with a lengthy list of other works.

As Consuelo López Morillas points out, Knapper (1985: I 22-33) cites some similar legends from Swahili traditions in which a camel or a gazelle speaks to the Prophet, asking him for help, after which their owners convert to Islām (98). Considering that the Swahili people learned Islām at the hands of Yemenite sailors, merchants, and settlers, many of whom were Zaydī Shī‘ites, it makes sense that Shī‘ite traditions reached the coastal inhabitants of East Africa. Although the tradition does not convey clear Shī‘ite doctrines, it does give a prominent place to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Salmān al-Fārisī, two of the most important companions of the Prophet in the eyes of Shī‘ites.

TRADITION 4

THE HUNGER OF FĀṬĪMAH AND THE ḤADĪTH OF THE CLOAK

4.1 Source

The following tradition is found in Manuscript 13 from the Biblioteca de la Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas, which is now known as the Biblioteca del Instituto de Filología del CSIC (f 139v-144r). A transcription of the *ḥadīth* can be found in *Textos aljamiados sobre la vida de Mahoma: el profeta de los moriscos* [*Aljamiado Texts on the Life of Muḥammad: The Prophet of the Moriscos*] by Consuelo López Morillas (1994: 101-104).

4.2 Tradition

Ibn ‘Abbās said that Salmān went out to look for provisions. He walked until he passed by seven houses and did not find a thing in any of them.

When he saw the last house, he said: “By Allāh! What house is better in the world than the house of Fāṭimah, may Allāh be pleased with her?”

He approached the house and knocked on the door. She asked: “Who is at the door? May Allāh have mercy upon you!”

He answered: “It is Salmān.”

She said: “O Salmān! What do you wish?”

He entered and explained to her what had happened.

She said: “O Salmān! By Him who sent Muḥammad with the truth! We have not eaten a thing in three days. Al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are sleeping out of hunger. Nonetheless, we refuse to accept any charity that is offered to us. O Salmān! Take this cloak and go and see Sīmūn, the Jew. Tell him to give you a portion of dates and barley in exchange for it. I will return its value to him Allāh-willing.”

Salmān took the cloak, went to the Jewish man, and said: “O Sīmūn! Take this cloak which belongs to Fāṭimah and lend her a portion of dates and barley. Allāh-willing, she will return its value to you when Allāh gives

her the means of sustenance through His grace.”

The Jewish man took the cloak, folded it around his arm, and asked: “O Salmān! What is the story of this cloak?”

Salmān related the event to him, and when he heard it, his eyes filled with tears, and he said: “O Salmān! By Allāh! This is the story that Mūsā, the son of ‘Imrān, taught us in the Torah. I bear witness that there is no Lord but Allāh and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger.”

The Jewish man, may Allāh have mercy upon him, became a Muslim. He gave Salmān a portion of dates and another of barley which Salmān brought to Fāṭimah who ground it with her hands and made bread out of it. She then gave the bread to Salmān and said: “O Salmān! Take this with you and go and see the Prophet, may the peace and mercy of Allāh be upon him.”

Salmān said: “O Fāṭimah! Take this piece so that al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn can have something to eat.”

She said: “O Salmān! This is something that is offered in the path of Allāh and I will have no part in it.”

Salmān took it with him and went to see the Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him. When the Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, saw him, he asked him: “O Salmān! Where did you find this food?”

The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, had not eaten in three days. And Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, had informed Salmān al-Fārisī about what had happened to him through the judgment of Allāh.

The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, got up, and went to the house of Fāṭimah. When he knocked upon the door, she was the only one who answered it. When she opened the door, Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, saw his daughter Fāṭimah. She had a thin face and could barely lift her feet due to hunger. The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, asked: “Why is your face so thin?”

She answered: “O Father! We have not had anything to eat for three days. Al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are suffering from hunger and are sleeping.”

The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, woke them up, and sat one of them on his right thigh and the other on his left thigh. Fāṭimah sat down in front of him. The Prophet Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, then kissed them all.

‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, may Allāh be pleased with him, entered, and kissed the Prophet Muḥammad, peace be upon him. The Prophet Muḥammad, peace be upon him, raised his eyes to the heavens and said: “O God, Lord, and Master! These are my *ahl al-bayt*. Lord, purify them from any