

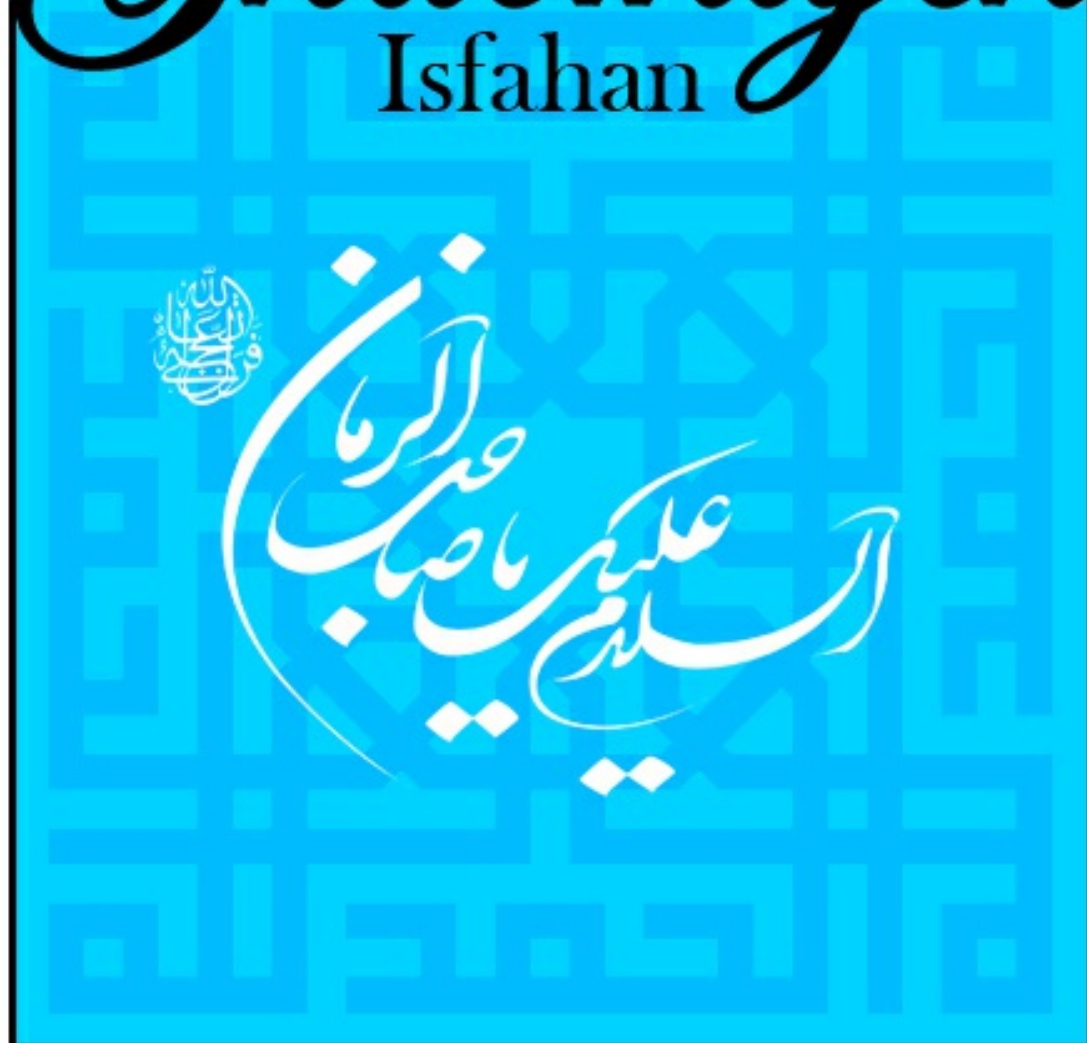
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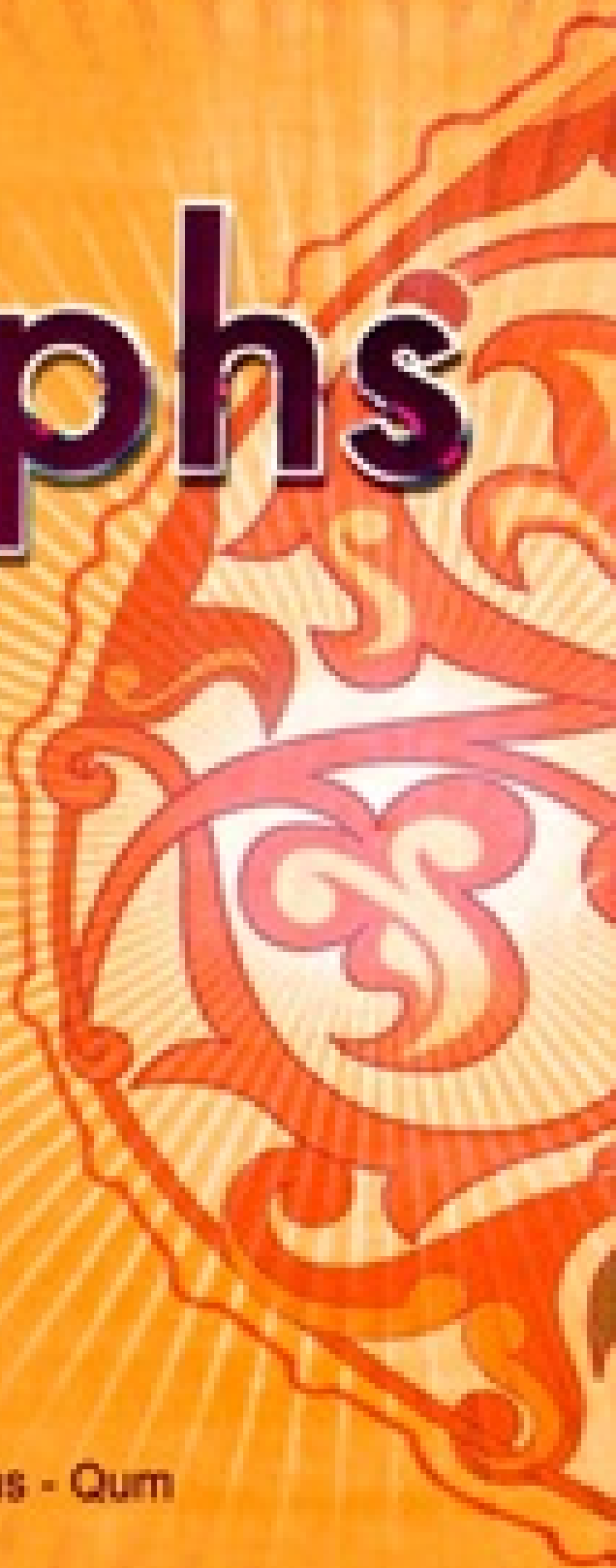
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History of The Caliphs

The background of the cover features intricate Islamic calligraphy in shades of orange, red, and pink. The text is set against a warm, orange-toned background with a subtle radial pattern emanating from the center.

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

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point

From the Death of the Messenger (S), to the Decline of the ‘Umayyad Dynasty ۱۱-۱۳۲ AH
In this book, the author covers the history of Shi'i Islam from after the death of the Prophet . He discusses in detail the rule of the three Caliphs and of Imam Ali after that.
He also delves into the history of the Ummayyad rulers and their actions

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The Ahlul Bayt DILP team wishes to inform the reader of some important points regarding this digitized text, which represents the English translation of a work originally written in Arabic. Whereas no one can doubt the best intentions of the translator and the publishers in making this title accessible to an English speaking audience, the editing and digitization process of this book (carried out by the DILP Team) has revealed issues in the quality of translation

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p: ۱

corrected and an attempt has been made to improve the highly non-standard use of transliteration of Arabic names and terms. The online text is not an exact reproduction of the original translation

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.original text

The Ahlul Bayt DILP Team

Translator's Note

History of Caliphs manifests and presents undeniable facts associated with History of Shiism, in addition to facts every Shiite Muslim and individuals interested in the course of Shiism find necessary to achieve an understanding of the History of Islam. To this aim, the book is mainly written by the author and printed by the publisher, not to mention the translator, knowing that the task in its entirety is a heavy one with a
.substantial responsibility shouldered upon

Certainly, there exists a mission and function before the Almighty God, his Messenger (S), his progeny and the Shiite followers after, part of which is encumbered here in this historically authentic publication. Motives behind the task are legion and great but whatsoever they may be, they lead every Ahlul Bayt enthusiast to a long road with
.unending eternal truths

Gratefulness must first be rendered to divine contributions, considering that the accomplishment of such a heavy task including its translation, requires plenty of time, energy, patience, knowledge, faith and aim. It demanded a great deal of energy and
time excluding other factors to bring

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this to an end, but one thing drove me ahead and that was assistance granted by my
.Lord who removed all hindrances and obscurities and facilitated the task

Finally, it is worth mentioning that knowledge, competence and performance are the divine blessings bestowed upon me to fulfill this mammoth task. It is hoped that through this publication and resource, the Muslim world and the ensuing generations
.are able to greatly benefit and transfer it to others

Abu Bakr's Caliphate

Saqifa

It is impossible to study the incidents after the Prophet's demise in connection with the leadership of the society without paying attention to the political parties existing in Medina at the time. The Ansar (Helpers) were among the more important political parties who were worried about problems and their future following the demise of the Prophet (S) since the fall of Mecca to Muslims

They gathered in Saqifa, fearing the rule of the Quraysh, although they had sworn allegiance to Imam 'Ali (a) – who was, they believed, less probable to assume power. Hubab Ibn Mundhir, one of the influential leaders of Ansar, in his remarks in Saqifa, considered the Ansar superior to Quraysh and proclaimed, “It was their sword that gained victory for Islam

He addressed the Ansar and said, “These people (Muhajirun (Immigrants)) are your booties and your subjects and dare not stand against you.”⁽¹⁾ Hubab's words imply that what led the Ansar do this unwise act was merely their fear from and of competition with the Quraysh. On the other

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al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp. ۲۴-۲۵ – ۱

hand, a number of the Muhajirun who had shown suspicious behavior two weeks before the Prophet's passing, hearing about the Saqifa gathering, wasted no time in attending the place and arguing with the Ansar

The news of the negotiations was revealed later in Medina by the second caliph in one of his sermons. He was in Mecca when he was told that someone had said, “Swearing allegiance to Abu Bakr happened all of a sudden.” This made 'Umar very angry and he

.decided to talk to the people about it in Mecca

Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf said to 'Umar, “You are in a city where all Arab tribes are ' present. If you say something now, it will be spread in all cities

When 'Umar arrived in Medina, he went to the pulpit and addressed the people, “I have been told that some people have said swearing allegiance to Abu Bakr took place suddenly. I swear by my life that it was so. But God bestowed you its good and .protected you against its bad side

After the Prophet's demise, we were told that the Ansar had gathered with Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada in the vicinity of Banu Sa'ida. Abu Bakr, Abu 'Ubayda and I went to them and on our way, we came across two men from the Ansar. They assured us that the Ansar did not intend to do something contrary to our views, but we decided to see for .ourselves

The spokesman of the Ansar said, “We, the Ansar, are the unified army

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”of Islam and you, O Quraysh, were a small group of us and a minority among us

Abu Bakr responded to the spokesman of the Ansar and said, “Whatever you say about the Ansar is, of course, true but the Arabs do not recognize “caliphate” except for the Quraysh race. They are the best of Arabs in lineage and in noble birth. I propose swearing allegiance to 'Umar or Abu 'Ubayda (who were the only men of the .(Muhajirun in the gathering

⤵The speaker of Ansar said, “Let there be an emir from us and another from you.”⤵

I responded, “Two swords cannot be put in a scabbard. Then, I raised Abu Bakr's hand .and swore allegiance to him

Umar added, “The Muhajirun and the Ansar swore allegiance to him. (Of course, there were only three men of the Muhajirun in the gathering.) We feared to leave the gathering lest they might swear allegiance to another one and force us to obey him!

.Or make a tumult with our opposition

Of course, swearing allegiance to Abu Bakr was impromptu, and it was not other than a divine blessing to repel a bad omen from us, and there is no likeness of. Therefore, whoever swears allegiance with a person without “Muslims' consultation”, neither he nor the sworn one deserves obedience; otherwise, both will be in danger of [\(assassination.\)](#)^(۲)

The caliph gave a brief report on Saqifa, but it was enough for disclosing part of the realities. The comprehensive report on Saqifa is available in Abu

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Hubab Ibn Mundhir said that neither Muhajirun nor Ansar accepted each other – ۱
Masa'il al-Imamah, p. ۱۳

–۲) Umar said (Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. VII, p. ۴۳۱) “فمن دعا إلى مثلها فهو الذي لا يبيعه له ولا لمن بايعه” “Whoever calls on people do this, neither his allegiance nor that of someone's who calls to his obedience is acceptable” ‘Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, pp ۴۴۲–۴۴۵ (briefly said); Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۳۴۴; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, pp ۲۰۴–۲۰۶; see distorted and disgraceful narrations of ‘Umar’s speech in, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. ۵۸۱

[\(۱\) Bakr Juwhari's \(۳۲۳ AD\) as-Saqifa.](#)

Ibn A'tham writes, “Before the arrival of the Muhajirun, serious arguments were raised among the Ansar. One of the Ansar said, “Select someone whose countenance frightens the Quraysh and makes the Ansar feel safe.” A few proposed Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada

Usayd Ibn Hud'ayr, one of the nobles of Aws, rose in objection and said, “Caliphate should remain in the Quraysh.” Others spoke against him. Bashir Ibn Sa'd defended the Quraysh and 'Uwaym Ibn Sa'ida said, “Caliphate will be exclusive to the Infallible Household of the Prophet (S). Put it where God has placed it.”^(۲) Ibn A'tham's report illustrates clearly the internal oppositions inside the Ansar

Usayd Ibn Hud'ayr from Aws and Bashir Ibn Sa'd who was Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada's cousin, were the first men of the Ansar who swore allegiance to Abu Bakr in Saqifa. We all know that later on, the Ansar became dissatisfied with the rule of the Quraysh

According to Zubayr Ibn Bakkar, the people of Aws said, "It was Bashir Ibn Sa'd of Khazraj who swore allegiance first. And the people of Khazraj said it was Usayd Ibn Hud'ayr." (۲)

Abu Bakr knew about such a contention, so in Saqifa he said, "If the men of Aws assume power, the people of Khazraj will not accept it and there will be bloody fights (among them)." (۴)

According to Ya'qubi, 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf, too, was in Saqifa. This however, is not true. Whatever Ya'qubi has quoted from him were told a day later in the mosque

He addressed the

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This book is lost but major part of it is mentioned by Ibn Abi al-Hadid in Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah These quotations have been collected by Muhammad Hadi Amini in a separate book titled "As-Saqifa wa Fadak" and published al-Futuh, vol. I, pp ۳-۴; Waqidi, Kitab ar-Ridda, pp ۳۲-۳۳-۲ al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. ۵۷۸; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, p. ۲۷۲-۳ Hubab Ibn Mundhir said to Bashir Ibn Sa'd in Saqifa, "You swore allegiance to Abu Bakr out of envy towards Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada (Kitab ar-Ridda, p. ۴۲) When Usayd Ibn Hud'ayr passed away, 'Umar paid off all his debts (al-Fa'iq fi gharib al-hadith, vol. I, p. ۱۰۸) Hubab Ibn Mundhir composed poem in Saqifa in reproaching those two men, part of which is so (Kitab ar-Ridda, p. ۳۸) Ibn Hud'ayr much embraced on evil-doings and Bashir did more than him Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. ۱۴; al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. III, p. ۲۹۸; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۲۷; Masa'il al-Imamah, p. ۱۳

Ansar and stated, "Although you are people of essential excellence (but) there is no

”likeness of Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Ali (a) among you

Mundhir Ibn Arqam stood up and said, “We do not deny excellence of the people you named. If one of these people seeks caliphate (referring to Imam 'Ali (a)), there will be no objection to his request.” Then Bashir Ibn Sa'd and Usayd Ibn Hud'ayr rose and swore allegiance; and many followed them so that Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada was about to be
(killed in the stampede.)

”Bara' Ibn 'Azib went to the Hashimites and said, “They swore allegiance to Abu Bakr

The men of the Hashimites said Muslims would never do that in their absence. “We
”! (are the offspring of Muhammad (S

”.Abbas said, “I swear by the God of Ka'ba, they did'

(Ya'qubi adds, “The Muhajirun and the Ansar had no doubts on Imam 'Ali (a).”)

Tabari and Ibn Athir have said the Ansar or a number of them present in Saqifa said
(they swore allegiance only to 'Ali (a).)

According to Ibn Qutayba, Hubab Ibn Mundhir took his sword off its sheath when he
.saw the Ansar swearing allegiance but they disarmed him

He addressed the Ansar, “You must wait and see your children begging for a bowl of
(water and a loaf of bread in the doorsteps of the Quraysh.)”

According to historians, the most important reasoning of Abu Bakr and 'Umar was Abu Bakr's kinship with the Prophet (S) and his age, although there are some references to
his merits

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Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada never paid allegiance to Abu Bakr and when he was in Damascus, – ۱
caliph sent somebody to kill him and he was killed; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. ۲۵.
Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp ۱۲۳–۱۲۴; one of the Ansar is reported to have said, “If – ۲
'Ali and other people of the Hashimites had not been engaged in burying the

Messenger (S) in the house and not been there in worry about him, no one would have had caprice of caliphate, Kitab ar-Ridda, pp ٤٥-٤٦. Waqidi's report reveals that 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf talked to the Ansar after Saqifa event Evidence of a good number indicates that nobody was present at Saqifa except three people of Muhajirun Later on, Bashir Ibn Sa'd Ansari, after hearing of Imam 'Ali's reasoning said to him, "In case people had heard you speaking this way before, nobody would have disagreed with you and all would have paid allegiance to you But you stayed home and people thought you were not in need of caliphate! Imam responded, "O son of Bashir ! Should I have left the Messenger's corpse at home and quarelling with people on succession?" Abu Bakr said, "They have paid allegiance to me now and if I had known your will, I would have never sought after it myself You're free to swear allegiance to me " Imam paid allegiance to him seventy five days after departure of the Messenger

(S) when Fatimah (a) passed away, Kitab ar-Ridda, p. ٤٧

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. ٢٠٨; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. II, p. ٣٢٥-٣

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ٢٧; Kitab ar-Ridda, p. ٤٢ Harra event, Juwhari - ٤ says, in ٤٣ A H confirmed what Hubab said to Abu Bakr, "I fear not of you but of those after you (Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. ٣١٣) About Ansar's repentance after Saqifa, al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. ٥٨٣ Hubab said, "Since we killed their fathers in wars, they would take revenge on us " (Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. ٥٨٠); al-Fa'iq fi gharib al-hadith, vol. III, p. ١٤٤; Masa'il al-Imamah, p. ١٣٥. In this case, we should see how Imam was treated in Badr, they have murdered half of Quraysh totaling seventy people. Certainly, it has to be known that the Ansar felt remorseful of what they had done and so they stood against defending 'Ali, Quraysh and its political party, from 'Uthman and Mu'awiya to Talha, Zubayr and 'Ayisha in Jamal, Siffin or before by having a hand in 'Uthman's murder or staying silent towards it. Even a few days after Saqifa, their remorse was revealed and Hassan Ibn Thabit's then poems best prove that. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp ١٢٧-١٢٨

.present in some documents

They addressed the Ansar and said, "Arabs will only accept this race of Quraysh(١) and (they will never accept prophethood in a family and caliphate in another family." (٢

We are the Qurayshites and Imams are from “ نحن قريش والأئمة منا ”.Arabs ”. Abu Bakr said .us” as a hadith although this was attributed to him later al-Id’ah, p. ٨٧. ‘Umar said to Ibn ‘Abbas, “Your people did not want to have the – ٤ prophethood and caliphate in your family because, in that case, pride elevated you to the sky; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. ٢٨ As-Saqifa wa Fadak, p. ٤٣; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, p. ٤٩ – ٥ and Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. ٥٩٠; Abu ‘Ubayda Jarrah talked about ‘Ali’s youth when Imam objected, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, pp ٢–٥

up to present Abu Bakr as rightful(١) for the caliphate which states incorrectly that the (Prophet (S) had chosen not only Abu Bakr, but also the succeeding caliphs.(٢)

What is important to us, however, is the Saqifa talks and the sideline incidents. The Ansar considered caliphate to themselves; the Muhajirun – Abu Bakr, 'Umar and Abu 'Ubayda – went to Saqifa and said caliphate was exclusive to the Quraysh

They did not rely on any traditions such as “The Imams are from the Quraysh,” and said Arabs would not obey any other race than the Quraysh. Among them, some great companions of the Prophet (S) such as Zubayr and Talha (٣) did not regard Abu Bakr as the right one to assume power

Therefore, there was no recognized method or preconditions for selecting Abu Bakr except his relationship with the Prophet (S), the so-called “tribal superiority” of the Quraysh and tribal criteria. Being from the Quraysh was not a prerequisite for assuming the title of caliph. Many years after his caliphate, 'Umar wished “Salim” (Mawla Hudhayfa Ibn Yaman were alive to rule after him.(٤)

Salim was not a man of the Quraysh. Some segments believe that the prerequisite of being from the Quraysh by descent was introduced in the Sunnites political jurisprudence in the third century.(٥) The only criteria in Saqifa was linkage to the Quraysh and Abu Bakr's age. These were the only criteria of the Dark Age along with the political conflicts that granted him caliphate, not a combination of

Ayisha is quoted to have been questioned, “Whom did the Messenger (S) find as his ‘ – ١ successor?” “Abu Bakr”, she replied “Who would be his successor?”, she was asked “Umar”, she answered “And after ‘Umar”, she was questioned “Abu ‘Ubayda Jarrah”, she replied (Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. VII, p. ٤٣٣) The date of forging this .hadith shall be found within the proper hadith al-Ghadir, vol. V (issue, Silicate al-Mawd’u‘at fil-khilafa) pp ٣٣٣-٣٥٤ According to – ٢ Waqidi in ar-Ridda (pp ٣٥-٣٧) it seems that the Messenger (S) has placed Abu Bakr as !his successor as clarified in Saqifa several times Nihayat al-’Irab, vol. XIX, p. ٣٩ –٣ Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. ١٩٠; al-’Iqd al-Farid, vol. II, p. ٢٧٤, vol. III, p. ٤٠٧; –٤ Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ٨٨١; Masa’il al-Imamah, p. ٤٣; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XII, p. ٤٩ Tatawwur al-fikr As-Siyasi ‘Ind ahl As-Sunna, p. ٣٨ –٥

[\(the pagan and Islamic criteria that Dr. Khayr al-Din Sawi has stated.\)](#)

There are other documents at hand that Abu Bakr attached special significance to the .Quraysh and its nobility

Ibn 'Asakir says, “Some time after the conversion of Abu Sufyan to Islam; Bilal; Suhayb Rumi, and Salman scorned him. Abu Bakr asked angrily why they behaved that way with “the Sheikh and master of the Quraysh”. They complained about this in the presence of the Prophet (S) who upon hearing of the incident, asked Abu Bakr to [\(apologize.\)](#)

After the allegiance in Saqifa, they left the place. According to Bara' Ibn 'Azib, they walked in the alleys and rubbed the hands of whoever they met to Abu Bakr's hands, .not paying attention to the person's willingness or unwillingness

Bara' adds, “I rushed to the door of the Hashimites to give the news.”[\(٣\)](#) Their interest in allegiance was so immense that according to Ibn Abi Shayba, they did not even attend the funeral ceremony of the Prophet (S) and returned to the city after the [\(ceremony.\)](#)[\(٤\)](#)

Finishing the allegiance swearing, 'Umar stood up and apologized for whatever he had said the day before on the continuation of the Prophet's life until the death of his (last companion, and indeed for his claim on offering guidance to the Prophet (S

He said he believed that the Prophet (S) would live long to organize the affairs, but now he witnessed that the Qur'an was left among them and the people swore allegiance to the best companion

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Tatawwur al-fikr As-Siyasi, p. ٣٨, footnote IV –١

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. V, p. ٢٦١ –٢

As-Saqifa wa Fadak, p. ٤٦ –٣

ان ,Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. VII, p. ٤٣٢ Hisham Ibn 'Urwa quotes his father Abu Bakr and 'Umar were with *ابا بكر وعمر لم يشهدا دفن النبي (ص) وكانا في الانصار فدفن قبل ان يرجعا* the Ansar when the Prophet (S) was to be buried, and before they came back, the Prophet (S) had been buried Waqidi says, "What seems correct to me is that the Prophet (S) has been buried Saturday (al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. ٤٧). Therefore, it is clear that Abu Bakr and his fellow had been busy since Monday till tomorrow when the Prophet (S) passed away and they could not come by his dead body These two people are hardly mentioned among those named in reports concerned with his burial

of the Prophet (S).^(١) This demonstrates 'Umar was waiting for the selection of the anticipated caliph

Some people rose in objection, and in addition to two distinguished personalities of the Hashimites, i.e. Imam 'Ali (a) and 'Abbas, there was other influential people such as Zubayr Ibn 'Awam, Khalid Ibn Sa'id, Miqdad Ibn 'Amr, Salman, Abu Dharr, 'Ammar, ^(٢)Bara' Ibn 'Azib, and Ubayy Ibn Ka'b.

Abu Bakr's followers went to visit Ubayy Ibn Ka'b but he did not open the door for them.^(٣) 'Umar, Abu 'Ubayda Jarrah, Mughira Ibn Shu'ba and Khalid Ibn Walid were the chief organizers of this program. At Imam 'Ali's doorstep, 'Umar severely and seriously asked him to swear allegiance to Abu Bakr

Imam Ali replied to Umar's request by stating: "Your greed for Abu Bakr's rule today is
(in order) to have the caliphate tomorrow." (۴)

Those who had gathered in Imam 'Ali's house faced the harsh behavior of 'Umar and his followers. 'Umar took Zubayr's sword and broke it, then threatened the residents of the house that he would set the house on fire. For the list of those sitting in Imam 'Ali's house and the names of those who broke into the house, refer to the following
(sources.) (۵)

According to Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 'Umar had a brand of fire in his hand and threatened to set the house on fire. When Fatima (a) asked him whether he was serious, he replied that indeed he was unless they accepted whatever the nation had accepted. (۶) Fatima
asked the sit-in people to disperse

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al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. IV, pp ۶۵-۶۶-۱

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۲۴-۲

As-Saqifa wa Fadak, p. ۴۷-۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. ۵۸۷ According to Ibn Qutayba, 'Ali said to him, "Milk in a -۴
way you can have part of it; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۲۹

Ma'alim al-Madrisatayn, vol. II, pp ۱۶۳-۱۶۶; Talkhis Ash-Shafi, pp ۷۶, ۱۵۶-۵

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. III, p. ۶۴; Tarikh 'Abi l-fida', vol. I, p. ۱۵۶ quoted from, Ma'alim -۶

al-Madrisatayn, vol. II, p. ۱۶۷ About other sources talking about threat, Ma'alim al-

Madrisatayn, vol. II, pp ۱۶۷-۱۶۸ Abu Bakr in his time of death was concerned about a

few things, one was that he wished he had never opened Fatimah's house door even

if they had closed it with the aim of war (Ma'alim al-Madrisatayn,, vol. II, p. ۱۶۵,

.footnote LXV from various sources

(because she was certain 'Umar would set the house ablaze.) (۱)

Getting allegiance by force and threatening to set the house on fire, which were followed later on by the other caliphs (such as Ibn Zubayr in his exacting allegiance
from the Hashimites) (۲) could have stemmed from here

Of course, the Quraysh started talks in addition to using force. Upon Mughira's advice, they went to 'Abbas to include him and his family, too, in the allegiance move and alleviate their problems by pleasing the Prophet's uncle, but 'Abbas rejected their [\(invitation.۳\)](#)

Imam 'Ali (a) and Fatima did their best to return the right of caliphate from Abu Bakr to Imam 'Ali (a) but it was fruitless. Their efforts have been recorded in the books of Abu Bakr Juwhari and others. [\(۴\)](#) There is no doubt that Fatima (a) was angry with Abu Bakr and 'Umar for trampling on her right in the issue of the Prophet's heritage, the Fadak [\(case۵\)](#) and the Imamate of Muslims and she passed away with pain in her heart. [\(۶\)](#)

Zuhri says, "Imam 'Ali (a) buried Fatima's body at night and did not let Abu Bakr know. Until before her death, Imam 'Ali (a) and none of the Hashimites men swore allegiance to Abu Bakr. [\(۷\)](#) Later on, Imam 'Ali (a) swore allegiance to protect the unity of Muslims [\(against the idolaters and infidels.\)"۸](#)

In his response to Abu Sufyan's request who asked him not to let caliphate remain in the hands of the Banu Taym, Imam 'Ali said, "You have always been

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al-Mudhakkir wal-tadhkir wal-dhikr, p. ۹۱; Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. VII, p. -۱

.۴۳۲ The Shi'ite Muslims believed in such an action

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XX, p. ۱۴۷-۲

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. ۲۲۰; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp ۱۲۴-۱۲۵-۳

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۲۶; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, pp ۵-۲۸ and ۶۷; -۴

Waq'at As-Siffin, p. ۱۸۲; Kitab ar-Ridda, p. ۴۶

About what happened to Fadak during the Umayya and the 'Abbasids, al-Kharaj wa -۵

Sana'at al-kitaba, pp ۲۵۹-۲۶۰

Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, p. ۴۷۲ The same quotation comes from Zuhri in -۶

Bukhari, vol. VI, p. ۱۲۲ Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VI, pp ۴۹-۵۰; vol.

XVI, pp ۲۵۳, ۲۸۱, ۲۸۲; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. V, pp ۲۸۵, ۲۸۷

Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, p. ۴۷۲ -۷

It was for the same reason Imam opposed to Abu Sufyan who had been willing to –
pay allegiance to Imam, Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. ٤٠٠

(an enemy of Islam and Muslims.” [\(١\)](#)

Regardless, there is no doubting that Imam 'Ali (a) did not swear allegiance to Abu
Bakr until after the death of Fatima (a). [\(٢\)](#)

Mada'ini has written that with the beginning of the war against the infidels, 'Uthman
came to Imam 'Ali (a) and said, “No one will join you in your fight against infidels unless
you swear allegiance to Abu Bakr.” He insisted and took Imam to Abu Bakr's place and
'Ali (a) swore allegiance and it made Muslims very happy. [\(٣\)](#)

Mas'udi says, “Fatima, sitting at the side of the Prophet's grave, recited the following
,”poem

قد كان بعدك انباء وهينمه لو كنت شاهدها لم تكثر الخطب

After you, there appeared events that if you had been alive to see them, you would“
(have never made so many speeches.” [\(٤\)](#)

Fatima's opposition was considerably important to the caliph as far as his public
prestige was concerned. Abu Bakr did his best to come to mutual terms with her,
however, she never accepted. This led the caliph to express his deep regret in the
final years of his life for invading Fatima's house. Many historians have quoted him as
(wishing he had never inspected Fatima's house. [\(٥\)](#)

Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada was another opponent of Abu Bakr. [\(٦\)](#) He did not swear allegiance
with Abu Bakr and went to Damascus, and as has been reported, was assassinated
there during the time of the second caliph. The common narrative in historical
documents is that genies killed him and they composed two verses on this incident.
The truth however

Nihayat al-'Irab, vol. XIX, p. ٤٠ -١

Aside from false narrations against the chronicles, Imam swore allegiance just -٢ when 'Umar and Abu Bakr stopped by him in his house, Nihayat al-'Irab, vol. XIX, pp ٣٩,٤٠

Talkhis Ash-Shafi, vol. III, p. ٧٧ -٣

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ٣٠٤; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, p. -٤ ٥٠, vol. VI, p. ٤٣, vol. XVI, pp ٢١٢, ٢٥١; al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, pp ٦٨-٦٩, there, "Wahaynama" is replaced with "Wahanbatha"; in addition, another line is added too Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. ٢٤; Kanz al-'Ummal, vol. V, No ١٤١١٣; Ibn Sallam, al- -٥ Amwal, p. ١٩٤

Nihayat al-'Irab, vol. XIX, p. ٣٨; it is cited there a group of Khazrajis failed to pay -٦ allegiance in Saqifa

according to Baladhuri and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, is that a man from Damascus was sent by 'Umar to ask him to swear allegiance and when 'Ubada did not accept, 'Umar killed [\(him.\)](#)

Abu Bakr's policy differed from that of 'Umar in that 'Umar believed in using force to get allegiance from his opponents, but Abu Bakr did not encourage it although he also believed in the principle. Both had dual policies but 'Umar, according to authentic documents, used force while Abu Bakr said in one of his sermons

“لا يبيعه لى فى عنقه وهو بالخيار من أمره”

Ali has no obligation nor commitment to swear allegiance to me and he is free in his [\(choice.\)](#)

(Caliphate After the Prophet (S

Abu Bakr, son of Abu Quhafa, was the first caliph after the Prophet's demise. There are differing views on his name being either 'Abd Allah or 'Atiq. [\(٣\)](#) Apparently, many individuals have insisted on saying that his name was 'Abd Allah but he had previously been called 'Atiq. He belonged to the Banu Taym tribe, one of the tribes of the .Quraysh

During the Dark Age, this tribe maintained minimal special standing among the other tribes. This claim is evidenced by Abu Sufyan's words once Abu Bakr assumed power. He said, "How come the government has fallen to the least populated and meanest [tribes of the Quraysh?"](#) [\(۴\)](#)

There is a story that one day, Abu Bakr was speaking with Dhaghfal about his lineage and both agreed that Banu Taym was one of the weakest tribes of the Quraysh. [\(۵\)](#)

Another

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al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazana, p. ۲۳۲ (quoted from Baladhuri and Ibn 'Abdirabbih in the – ۱ footnote) Interestingly, Ibn Abi al-Hadid (XVII, ۲۲۳–۲۲۴) says that some knew Abu Bakr as his murderer but he has not found a historical report concerning This is while the aforesaid report is cited in two historical sources, of course about caliph II

(As-Sirat al-halabiyya, vol. III, p. ۳۸۹ (al-Ghadir, vol. V, p. ۳۶۸ –۲
al-Ma'rifa wal-Tarikh, vol. I, p. ۲۳۸, Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ۲۹۸ –۳
Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, p. ۴۵۱; Mustadrak, vol. II, p. ۷۸' –۴
Majma' al-Amthal, vol. I, p. ۲۷ –۵

time, Abu Bakr asked Qays Ibn 'Asim why he buried his daughters alive. Qays Ibn 'Asim replied, "So that they do not give birth to children like you." [\(۱\)](#)

There are different views also on his occupation prior to the advent of Islam. Those who intended to attribute a high position to him in the Dark Age, said he was a merchant. On the other hand, there are documents that say he had menial jobs such [\(as milking and of that nature.](#) [\(۲\)](#)

Another story says Abu Bakr had financial problems and was a teacher in the Dark [Age and later, became a tailor following the advent of Islam.](#) [\(۳\)](#)

Abu bakr was two years younger than the Prophet of Islam and he is considered to be among one of the first Muslims. There are however conflicting ideas concerning [\(whether he was the first or the fifty-first Muslim as one quotation has put it.](#) [\(۴\)](#)

Such notions about him are natural considering he was the first caliph. We have not heard about any special pressures he may have faced in the years of invitation to Islam in Mecca. He did not accompany the Muhajirun to Abyssinia, but he found an opportunity to be with the Prophet (S) in the night of Hijra. According to various discussions about Hijra, after the Prophet left the house, Abu Bakr went to see Imam 'Ali (a) and when found out that Prophet Muhammad (S) had gone, he had set off and joined him

Abu Bakr's relationship with the Prophet (S) grew stronger

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Ibn Abi al-Hadid, *Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah*, vol. XIII, p. ۱۷۷-۱
al-Fa'iq fi gharib al-hadith, vol. IV, p. ۱۲-۲
al-Ifsah, p. ۱۷۶-۳

As-Sahih Min Sira al-Nabi, vol. I, pp ۲۴۷, ۲۸۹, ۲۹۰; Tarikh at-Tabari, (vol. II, p. ۶۰), in a weakened narration by Himself, says that fifty people embraced Islam before Abu Bakr

following the Prophet's marriage with 'Ayisha. 'Ayisha was a clever woman who tried to have a role in all political developments of her time. This helped strengthen Abu Bakr's position to some extent

Abu Bakr did not have any political or military responsibility during his ten years of stay in Medina, but he could gain power by understanding the situation of the internal wings of the Quraysh and taking advantage of the Quraysh's enmity towards Imam 'Ali (a) as well as the collaboration of the middle wings of the Quraysh. This group was not among the Umayyads nor the Hashimites

Abu Bakr grasped a serious chance. When he took over the caliphate, a wave of apostasy and opposition to Islam swept across Hijaz and Muslims who all saw the principle of Islam endangered realized that opposing Abu Bakr was not to their interests

It is interesting to know that immediately after Abu Bakr's coming to power, rifts emerged between the Ansar and the Quraysh over a sarcastic poem composed by Abu Bakr about the Ansar. Afterwards, the Ansar kept some distance from Abu Bakr and 'Amr Ibn 'As who was instigated by the Quraysh spoke against them

On the other hand, Fad'l Ibn 'Abbas and then, Imam 'Ali (a) praised the Ansar. Hassan Ibn Thabit composed poems in praise of Imam 'Ali (a) for his support of the Ansar and implicitly, referred to the efforts of some men of the Quraysh who wanted to take Imam 'Ali's position.⁽¹⁾ However, when oppositions

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Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٢٨-١

heightened, the Ansar moved towards the claimants of prophethood and other apostates

Abu Bakr reiterated several times that there were some people who deserved the caliphate more than him. After the people swore allegiance to him, he said in a sermon, "I took over the rule over you while I'm not any better than you. If I behave well, help me; if not, guide me. Obey me as long as I am obedient to God; otherwise, you won't need to obey me."⁽¹⁾ This shows that Abu Bakr believed it was not necessary for a ruler to be the best of the people

It is necessary to admit that Abu Bakr had an eloquent language and we are sure that it was his calm words at the Saqifa more effective than 'Umar's harsh words, though they were complementary

Later, Abu Bakr once pointed to his tongue and said, "This is what helped me reach (this rank)."⁽²⁾

He has been quoted as saying, " 'Umar is stronger than me and Salim is more pious."⁽³⁾ But his emphasis on having the rule is surprising. Abu Bakr introduced his government as the "Caliphate of Prophethood" to convey the religious aspect of his

caliphate. He considered his rule not as a caliphate from God, but a succession to the Prophet (S) and named himself the “Caliph of the Messenger of Allah” (۴)

His first measure was dispatching Usama's army, an army which the Prophet (S) had prepared to send to Damascus in the final days of his life. Political opposition caused

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Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. XI, p. ۳۲۶; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. ۳۳۶; al-

Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۳۴

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. ۱۳-۲

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. ۱۵-۳

Abuya'la, al-Ahkam As-Sultaniyya, p. ۱۷ Despite what is said, caliph I, in his first – ۴ God hath ordained a caliph to unify thee and to *وقد استخلف الله عليكم خليفه*, oration, said strengthen thy words, Al-Imama wa'l-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۳۴ Damascus Muslims are quoted to have called Abu Bakr as “God’s Caliph” Al-Imama wa'l-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۳۸ (Damascus people were expected to say this but nothing else) Once he was called “God’s Viceroy”, but he said, “I’m not vicegerent of God, I am caliph of the Prophet (S) and I am pleased with it! (Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. VII, p. ۴۳۳) ‘Adi Ibn Hatam told Abu Bakr, “We obeyed God’s Messenger (S) because of his obedience and you are obeyed for you obey the Propher (S) (Kitab ar-Ridda, p. ۶۶) His intention lies in the same word of caliph

delays in the deployment of the army under the pretext of Usama's young age. Now that the issues seemed to have been settled, the same people who were opposed, decided to send Usama's army in spite of the critical situation on Hijaz

Responding to opposition against the army's dispatch, they said they could not ignore doing something that the Prophet had wanted. Abu Bakr said he would send the army even if the beasts would tear him apart in Medina. (۱) Usama's army left for Damascus and returned after forty days with no serious clashes. Since the Prophet (S) had included 'Umar in Usama's army, Abu Bakr asked Usama to let 'Umar stay with him

The main problem of Muslims was a move known as “Apostasy”. According to historians, after the Prophet's passing, some people claimed prophethood, some became apostates and put on the royal crown while others refused to pay their tax alms.

It is known that the Bedouin Arabs converted to Islam one after another following the conquest of Mecca. It was mostly due to the ever-expanding power of Islam and they feared that Muslims would confront them any time. Therefore, they had no way but to accept the new path, even if temporarily. They did not know enough about Islam and nor could they give up their old ideas of the Dark Age.

Another serious problem for them was paying the tax alms. In fact, they considered it an act of extortion by Muslims. According to the Bedouin Arabs, Muslims were

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Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, pp ١٠٠-١٠١-١

only the people of the Quraysh, Aws and Khazraj. These currents each had its own motive, but the system of caliphate viewed all of them as apostasy and confronted them from this aspect. However, apostates can be classified into several groups given what has been said so far:

The first group was those who claimed prophethood. Others gave up Islam and returned to their previous faith during the Dark Age. The third group did not recognize the Medina government, but said they abided by Islam. These people did not believe in the Medina administration and so refused to pay tax alms. Among this group, there were people who did not recognize Abu Bakr's rule and did not believe in the Imamate of Prophet's Household, so they did not pay tax alms. Here, we will first discuss the claimants of prophethood.

The news of apostasy has been brought up in several books. Tabari has used Sayf Ibn 'Umar's book as his major source. His book was “al-Futuh al-Kabir wa ar-Radda”. Biographers have all rejected Sayf's authenticity. [\(1\)](#) Another independent work is the

book of al-Futuh by Ibn A'tham Kufi that fortunately remains to date. Waqidi and Mada'ini had both books on apostasy. More recently, Waqidi's "ar-Radda" was published. It has many commonalities with the al-Futuh of Ibn A'tham. There are other sparse and relatively scattered references to apostasy in other books

As for the claimants of prophethood, there was a main motive. Some ambitious tribes or individuals thought that they could also rule others by

p: ١٩

Abd Allah Ibn Saba', in his book, deals with narrations of the same person by –١ considering narrations of Sayf by 'Allama 'Askari

claiming prophethood if others had done so. This move led to the emergence of many claimants of prophethood. Aswad 'Ansa was the first of these who staged a rebellion in Yemen and wrote to the representatives of the Prophet

"أمسكوا علينا ما أخذنا من أرضنا"

[\(1\)](#) "Return to us whatever of our lands you have captured."

Hearing this, Prophet Muhammad (S) ordered him to be killed in "any way possible". It took three months for Muslims to quell the Aswad mutiny and he was killed finally. It is said that the news of his death reached Medina a few days after the demise of the Prophet (S). An Iranian-born man named Firuz, belonging to the Yemeni tribe of Abna', had killed 'Ansa. [\(2\)](#) There is also another reference to another Muslim named Dadhwayh who seems to be an Iranian

Musaylima Ibn Habib from the Banu Hanifa tribe was another claimant of prophethood. He visited the Prophet of Islam in Medina along with the influential men of his tribe and said to have converted to Islam

Upon his return, he thought about claiming prophethood and said to the people of Banu Hanifa, "I what to know how come the Quraysh is more deserving than you for caliphate and Imamate? I swear by God that their population is not more than yours.

﴿They are not braver than you. You have more lands and more properties.﴾^(۲)

Then, he claimed prophethood and wrote to the Prophet of Islam, “I have become your partner in prophethood. Half of the lands

p: ۲۰

.Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. II, p. ۲۲۹ – ۱

.Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p.. ۱۱۷ – ۲

.al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ۲۳ – ۳

belong to us and the other half to the Quraysh, but the Quraysh are aggressive people.” The Prophet responded to him

إِنَّ الْأَرْضَ لِلَّهِ يُورِثُهَا مَنْ يَشَاءُ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ وَالْعَاقِبَةُ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ.

The earth belongs to Him, He gives it to whomever He wishes and the eternality is for“
﴿the pious people.﴾^(۱)

This correspondence took place at the end of the ۱۰th year from Hijra. When the Messenger of Allah passed away, Musaylima found an opportunity to gather some followers around himself. He used to compose rhythmic prose to imitate the Qur'an and recited the prose for his followers.^(۲) Furthermore, he had told people he had
﴿exempted them from saying morning and evening prayers.﴾^(۳)

Also, Sajah, the daughter of Harith Tamimi^(۴), claimed prophethood but after meeting Musaylima, she married him. It is said that as Sajah's marriage portion, he exempted
the people from saying morning and evening prayers

In al-Futuh we read that when Sajah met Musaylima, she said, “I heard about your excellent traits and chose you. I have come to be your wife so that we can both be
”prophets, and together, make the world obey us and be our subordinate

Musaylima said, “For your marriage portion, I exempted your nation from saying
﴿prayers at dawn and dusk.﴾^(۵)

When Muslims went to Yamama with an army led by Khalid Ibn Walid, they came across some of Musaylima's followers and asked them what faith they were in

They said, "منا نبي ومنكم نبي" "We have our prophet and you have your prophet"

It was then that

p: ٢١

١- ٢٨٢, al-Kharaj wa Sana'a al-kitaba, p. ١٤٩; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. II, p.

٢- For example, لا اقسم بهذا البلد، ولا تبرح هذا البلد، حتى تكون ذا مال وولد، ووفر وصفد وخيل وعدد، الى آخر

الابد، على رغم من حسد، al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, Kitab ar-Rida, p. ١١١; and another example in,

These cases are morally ill .vol. V, pp ١٦١-١٦٢,١٦٤

٣- ٣٢٦, al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VI, p.

٤- In some sources, she is called daughter of Aws Ibn Hurayz, Jamharat an-Nasab, p.

٢٢٦.

٥- ١٦٥, al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. ٢٠-٢١; al-Futuh (Persian translation), p.

a war broke out between them. The Yamama battle was one of the bloodiest wars of Muslims with claimants of prophethood and apostates. In this war, the Muslim army lost a great number of its men, ٥٨ of whom were from the Muhajirun and the Ansar and ١٣ men out of them, had fought in the Battle of Badr. (١) Ibn A'tham has put the

(٢) number of Muslim martyrs at ١٢٠٠ people, ٧٠٠ of whom had memorized the Qur'an.

In a text attributed to Waqidi, we read the details about the war and the many pre-battle bragging of the Prophet's companions, including 'Ammar Yasir. Immediately after the battle ended, Khalid married Muja'a Ibn Marara's daughter, who was one of the conspiring heads of Banu Hanifa, and indulged in his own lust and pleasure.

,Observing this, Muslims wrote a letter to Abu Bakr and said

أترضى بأننا لا تجف دماءنا وهذا عروس باليمامة خالد

Do you please with our blood in dryness and this man keeps on living in relief in“

”Yamama

The news reached Abu Bakr and 'Umar said, “Khalid always does something which pains our heart.” Abu Bakr wrote a strong-worded letter to Khalid. When Khalid read the letter, he laughed and said he was sure it was 'Umar's work because he knew Abu
(Bakr was satisfied with him.)

Another claimant of prophethood was Tulayha Ibn Khuwaylad Asadi. He also gathered men from the tribes of Ghatafan and Banu Fazara and tried to compose rhythmic prose to claim prophethood and stand against the Medina government

In

p: ۲۲

Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, vol. I, pp ۱۱۱-۱۱۵-۱

al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ۴۰-۲

al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ۴۳-۴۴; Kitab ar-Ridda, pp ۱۴۴-۱۴۶-۳

a battle between his men and the Muslim's army, 'Uyayna Ibn Hisn and his tribesmen from Banu Fazarah were defeated heavily and Tulayha fled to Damascus. Thus, another revolt was suppressed. (۱) 'Uyayna Ibn Hisn had repeatedly shown his enmity towards Islam during the life of the Prophet (S) but had finally embraced Islam. However, his presence in this current showed that he, like many others, had never believed in Islam truly

When he was brought as a captive to Medina, people taunted him and said, “O, enemy of God! Did you become an infidel after converting to Islam?” But he swore he had not believed in Islam even for a moment. (۲) Abu Bakr pardoned the captives of this war.

Tulayha, too, came to Medina at the time of 'Umar and repented

Umar told him, “How do you expect to save yourself from hell when you have killed”
?Thabit Ibn Arqam Ansari and 'Ukkasha Ibn Mihsan Asadi

Tulayha said, “God had wanted martyrdom for them and I did not kill them with my own hand, so there will be no hell for me.” 'Umar liked his reasoning and pardoned

Apart from claimants of prophethood, some other tribes became apostates in the basics. There is no doubt that the situation was prepared for apostasy but it is not clear for sure who were the real apostates and who are those who did not accept the

[\(Medina government merely for political or religious reasons.\)](#)

For example, one such group was Malik Ibn Nuwayra's clan who

p: ۲۳

al-Futuh, vol. I, pp ۱۴-۱۵; Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, pp ۱۰۲-۱۰۳-۱

Al-Futuh,ol I,p. ۱۷; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, ol II,p. ۱۲۹-۲

The Shi'ite Muslims disagreed on saying that all people hae been atheist rebels –۳

Kanz al-fawa'id, vol. II, p. ۳۴۶

were accused and killed mercilessly undoubtedly just because of Khalid's personal issues and his mean moral motives. This is a blot of shame for Khalid and those who defended him. They considered his crime in massacring a number of Muslims and his adultery with Malik's wife after her husband's murder as a wrong interpretation of

[\(Ijtihad.\)](#)

Hearing about this, 'Umar was seriously incited against Khalid and asked Abu Bakr to

[\(oust him but the caliph called him the “sword of God” and refused to do so.\)](#)

Among the tribes considered to be apostate, there were some people who did not believe in Abu Bakr's caliphate and favored the government of the Prophet's Household. They said Abu Bakr had no “allegiance” to them so there was no need to obey him. They believed that the Muhajirun and Ansar had prevented the Prophet's

[\(Household from coming to power out of jealousy.\)](#)

According to Waqidi and Ibn A'tham, a clan from Kinda in Had'ramawt was all apostates. Ziyad Ibn Lubayd was responsible for collecting tax alms in the region. Some men of the tribe agreed with paying tax alms while others did not. Once Ziyad

chose a camel belonging to Ziyad Ibn Mu'awiya as tax alms, he asked for help from one of the influential men of Kinda named Haritha Ibn Suraqa and asked him to return his camel and take another one

Haritha made the request from Ziyad but he did not accept. So, Haritha himself went among the camels set aside as tax

p: ٢٤

– ١ Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. ١٠٥, Abu Bakr was told هل يزيد خالد على ان يكون تأول فأخطأ
Does Khalid want to express and go wrong. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. II,p. ٢٧٨; Tabaqat
Ash-Shu'ara',p. ٤٨

Tarikh at-Tabari,vol. II,p. ٢٧٩, al-Aghani,vol. xv,p. ٣٠٢ – ٢

– ٣ ١٧٧ and ١٧٦,١٧٦; ar-Ridda,pp ١٧١,١٧٦ and ١٧٧; al-Futuh,vol. I,pp ٥٨,٦٠ and ٦١; والله ما ازلتموها عن أهلها الا حسداً
By God you seized caliphate away from them just out of envy منكم لهم

alms and brought back Zayd's camel, saying, “We obeyed the Messenger of God as Today, we will obey anyone from his “ لو قام رجل من أهل بيته لأطعناه ” long as he was alive Household who comes to power.” Abu Bakr has no right of rule and allegiance upon .us

It is said that Ziyad Ibn Lubayd fled from the region overnight and composed poems .termining the tribe as apostate

He said, “We will fight you to make you obey Abu Bakr until you give up infidelity and .apostasy and say you shall never return to infidelity

Of course, not all tribesmen thought like Haritha. What is important is that all of them refused to pay tax alms to the Medina government because they considered it humiliation for themselves. They believed in distributing tax alms among the poor .within their tribe

Some people of this tribe used to say, “We swear by God that we have come to be enslaved by the Quraysh. First, they send Muhajir Ibn Abi Umayya or Ziyad Ibn

[Lubayd to collect tax alms. Then, they threaten to fight against us.”](#) (1)

Ash'ath Ibn Qays, from this tribe, said, “I don't think Arabs would accept the rule of the
”.Banu Taym and leave the men of the Hashimites

He said in his poems, “If the Quraysh are to leave the power into the hands of Banu
Taym and distance themselves from Muhammad's Household, of course, we are prior
”.to it because we are the descendants of kings

Elsewhere in the above narration, we read

p: ٢٥

ar-Ridda, pp ١٦٩-١٧٤ -١

that Ziyad sent the tax alms camels to Medina along with someone and he, himself,
.went to a tribe of Kinda named Banu Zuhal

An influential man of Kinda named Harith Ibn Mu'awiya said, “O, Ziyad! You ask us to
”.obey someone who has no accord with us

Ziyad said, “You are right. He has signed no agreement with you, but we have
”.selected him to rule

Harith asked, “Why did you take the government away from the Prophet's Household
”,when they deserved it, because God has said
”*وَأُولُوا الْأَرْحَامِ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلَىٰ بِبَعْضٍ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ*.
”.Some relatives are given more priority over others“

Ziyad answered, “The Muhajirun and the Ansar know the interests of their
”.government better than you

Harith stated, “I swear by God, it is not so. You did it out of your jealousy. I cannot
accept that the Messenger of Allah has passed away without assigning a successor
”.for himself. Go away from here

Urfaja Ibn 'Abd Allah, another man of the tribe, said, “I swear by God, Harith is right.”

Expel this man from this place. His master is not eligible to be the caliph and the Muhajirun and Ansar are not better than the Prophet (S) in knowing the expediency of
the government

Ziyad went to Medina and said, "The people of Kinda have revolted and have become
apostate."

Ibn A'tham's further explanations on the disputes among the people of Kinda and Abu Bakr reveal their problem was Abu Bakr's caliphate. Making his mind to fight the Kinda tribes, Abu Bakr summoned

p: ٢٤

ar-Ridda, pp ١٧٣-١٧٩; al-Futuh, vol. I, pp ٥٧-٦١ -١

,Umar and said, "I want to send 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib to fight them because'

فانه عدل رضا عند اكثر الناس لفضله وشجاعته وقرابته وعلمه وفهمه ورفقه بما يحاول من الامور

He is just and acceptable more to the public because of his excellence, valour, kinship
and knowledge as well as his handling of affairs

Umar said, "You are right. 'Ali is as you say but I fear one thing. I fear he may refuse'
to fight them. If he does not go to war, no one else will do so unless with disgust."

This discussion and 'Umar's consultation with Abu Ayyub show that there were some
people among them who opposed fighting Muslims

The caliph considered these things instances of apostasy, and historians have recorded these fights as the battles of Radda. These wars may be justified as necessary tactics for safeguarding the government but it is hard to prove the tribes' apostasy. When Abu Bakr decided to fight these tribes, some of his men, including 'Umar, objected to his decision. Later on, 'Umar said he opposed Abu Bakr's decision
in the beginning but after some time, he learned that caliph was right

The question was whether or not these tribes were apostate and if fighting them was

permissible or not? Abu Bakr believed in their apostasy, so he even took their women and children captive and brought them to Medina.^(۲) It seems that 'Umar, like many Muslims, agreed with fighting them in principle but did not believe in their apostasy.
According to Shahrastani

p: ۲۷

al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ۷۱-۷۲ -۱
al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. x, p. ۱۷۶; Abu Bakr once ordered his men to set -۲
atheists on fire and fall them down the mountain Al-Jassas, Ahkam al-qur'an, vol. III,
pp ۶۷ and ۸۱

it was because of this belief that 'Umar freed their captives^(۱) when he became the
second caliph

Another problem was that even if the tribes were apostate, many considered it
illegitimate to take captives from apostates.^(۲)

There are numerous documents at hand indicating that some tribes were considered apostate because they refused to pay tax alms. For instance, a group of Yamama people believed in the principle of paying tax alms but refused to pay tax alms to Abu Bakr.

They used to say, "We collect tax alms from the rich in our tribes and distribute it among the poor and needy among ourselves, but we will pay nothing to whom the Book and traditions have not recommended him."^(۳) Ya'qubi, too, writes, "Some
people only refused to pay tax alms to Abu Bakr."^(۴)

As mentioned earlier, 'Umar opposed the idea of apostasy of these tribes. According to Ibn A'tham, when Abu Bakr wanted to kill the captives of the battles of Radda,^(۵) 'Umar said, "These people believe in Islam and they swear about it. Imprison them for
the time being to see what happens next

Abu Bakr jailed them in the house of Ramla, daughter of Harith. After Abu Bakr's

death, 'Umar told them, “You know what my opinion was about you. Now, you are all
free without any ransom. Go wherever you want.”

Qays on behalf of 'Asim Minqari was commissioned by the Prophet (S) to collect tax alms from his tribe. After the Prophet's demise, he collected the tax alms but instead
of giving

p: ۲۸

al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. ۳۱; Jami' al-bayan al-'Ilm, vol. II, p. ۱۲۹ –۱

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. III, p. ۱۵۱ –۲

al-Ifsah, p. ۱۲۱ –۳

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۲۸ –۴

Maqdisi says, “Abu Bakr sent Khalid to sword-kill people of Ridda, set fire to them, –۵
hold their children and women captive and share their properties Al-Bad' wal-Tarikh,
vol. v, p. ۱۵۷

al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ۷۵; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, PP ۱۰۱–۱۰۲ –۶

it to Abu Bakr, he distributed them among the poor in his tribe. This was considered as
a criminal act. Even a proverb was made in this regard which said “More criminal than
Qays be 'Asim.”

Ibn Kathir, too, has reiterated that many Muslims refused to pay their tax alms to Abu
Bakr. Mawbakhti writes of a group that said they would not pay tax alms until it was
known who was holding the government; therefore, they distributed the tax alms
among the poor.

Maqdisi, too, says, “A group of them refused to pay tax alms while others opposed
rejected the principle of tax alms.”

Besides not recognizing Abu Bakr's rule, another problem of the tribes was that after
hearing the news of the Prophet's passing, they severed their relations with Medina.
They only believed in having a religious connection with Medina, and when the
Prophet of Islam passed away, they felt no need for accepting the rule of someone

else. Therefore, since they refused to pay tax alms to Medina, they were labeled [\(apostate.\)](#)

These tribes believed there was no need to assign a single ruler for all Muslims and that if they obeyed Muhammad, it was because he was a prophet. But, after his :demise, there would be no need to obey others. They said

أطعنا رسول الله ما كان بيننا فيا لعباد الله ما لأبي بكر
إذا مات بكر قام بكر مكانه وتلكم لعمر الله قاصمه الظهر

?We obeyed the Messenger when he was alive but why shall we obey Abu Bakr

When Abu

p: ٢٩

ad-Durra al-fakhira, p. ٣٢٤; Majma' al-Amthal, vol. II, p. ٦٥ -١

al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VI, p. ٣١١ -٢

Firaq Ash-Shi'a, p. ٤ -٣

al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. ١٥١ -٤

Tarikh al-'Arab wal-Islam, p. ٧١ Hasan Ibrahim Hasan says, "The atheists were - ٥ those who refused to pay Zakat, tax alms, thinking that the Messenger (S) blackmails them It is to be noted that they never challenged and loathed Islam... they agreed on monotheism, foundation of Islam but they thought they had to pay tax alms only to the Prophet (S) " Tarikh Siyasi Islam, vol. I, p. ٢١٦ 'Aqqad also says, "A group of others believed in mere tax alms but they never took faith in those who had to pay tax alms "

'Abqariyya As-Siddiq, pp ١٢٤-١٢٥

[\(Bakr died, a man like him came to power, that is - by God - backbreaking.\)](#)

Thus, they did not deem it necessary to obey the rule of Medina and the rulers of

[\(Medina counted them among apostates.\)](#)

Muhammad Ibn Idris Shafi'i writes, "This was because Arabs living in the outskirts of

Mecca knew no rule and resented being ruled by others. The reason they accepted to obey the Messenger of God, was because they did not consider anyone else [\(deserving obedience.\)” \(۳\)](#)

This reasoning has been brought in the poetry of Malik Ibn Nuwayra. Addressing his tribe, he said

وقلت خذوا أموالكم غير خائف ولا ناظر فيما يجيء من الغد

فإن قام بالأمر المخوف قائم منعا وقلنا: الدين دين محمد

I told you to take your money (tax alms) with no fear and no worries of what happens“ tomorrow, If someone assumes power, we will tell him, the only religion is the religion [\(of Muhammad.\)” \(۴\)](#)

Abu Bakr's insistence on collecting tax alms from all tribes was to strengthen his government in Medina

He said, “If they do not pay me the tax alms they used to pay to the Prophet (S) every [\(year, I will fight them.\)” \(۵\)](#)

There is no doubt that the majority of the Prophet's companions did not like Abu Bakr's idea of war [\(۶\)](#) but they obeyed him regardless because he was the ruler

Maqdisi said the first dispute among Muslims was leadership while the second was fighting those who refused to pay tax alms. Muslims opposed Abu Bakr's view of tax alms collection but after

p: ۳۰

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. II, p. ۲۴۶; Masa'il al-Imamah, p. ۱۴; Kitab ar-Ridda, pp ۱۷۱-۱۷۲; -۱ Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. III, p. ۴۰۹; al-Aghani, vol. II, p. ۱۵۷; al-Jamal, p. ۱۸۱; Ash-Shi'r wal-Shu'ara', p. ۶۵; al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. ۱۵۶; Tatawwur al-fikr As-Siyasi 'Ind ahl As-Sunna, p. ۳۸, footnote II; Muqaddama fi Tarikh Sadr al-Islam, p. ۵۱ Tarikh al-'Arab wal-Islam, p. ۷۱; Tatawwur al-fikr As-Siyasi 'Ind ahl As-Sunna, p. ۳۸ -۲

Nashi' Akbar says, "Some believed they were not atheist but they refused to pay poll tax, saying that the poor are superior to that, They would pay that to the agents of the Prophet (S) just for the sake of the Prophet and now that he has passed away, people would give it to any poor one they wished Masa'il al-Imamah, p. ١٤

al-Risala, p. ٨٠ -٣

Tabaqat fuhul Ash-Shu'ara', vol. I, p. ٢٠٦; Tabaqat fuhul Ash-Shu'ara', ١٤٠٠ H; word -٤ of religion in the subject poem means government as footnoted by the proofreader

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ٣٥ -٥

Jami' al-bayan al-'Ilm, vol. II, pp ١٠٤ and ١٢٥ -٦

a while, the majority of them accepted his rule. The opposition remained and some

(Muslims believed fighting them was a mistake.)

We quoted 'Umar as saying that 'Ali (a) might avoid fighting the Kinda people. Elsewhere, we said Abu Bakr was ready to fight them himself, but Imam 'Ali (a) asked him to stay in Medina (٢) and send another one to fight them. Obviously, a group of those the caliph fought against were real apostates

Another quotation from Mada'ini says after Imam 'Ali (a) opposed Abu Bakr, 'Uthman told Imam Ali, "Nobody will join the Muslim army to fight the apostates if you do not swear allegiance to Abu Bakr." 'Uthman's insistence made Imam 'Ali swear allegiance

(to Abu Bakr.)

On the other hand, there were some people in Medina who wished for the success of apostates to once again maintain their infidel beliefs of the Dark Age. One day, a man of the Umayya and another man from the Ansar were boasting for each other

The former said, "When the Prophet of Islam passed away, the majority of his companions were from the Umayya

They allied with the "و لكنهم حالفوا أهل الردة على هدم الاسلام (٤)". The Ansari man replied, "Yes atheists to destroy Islam

Ayisha, too, has said about wide-scale discord in Medina in the first days of his'

father's caliphate. (5) Also, Mecca was about to return to absolute apostasy after the Prophet's demise, but Suhayl Ibn 'Amr's remarks stabilized Mecca's situation

Ibn Athir writes, “After the Prophet's passing, Mecca was on the

p: 31

al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 123 – 1

al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazana, p. 94 – 2

Talkhis Ash-Shafi, vol. III, p. 77 – 3

.Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. I, pp 708–709 They allied with the atheists to destroy Islam – 4

.Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 102; al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, vol. VII, p. 434 – 5

”.verge of apostasy and 'Attab Ibn Asid sought a hiding

Suhayl Ibn 'Amr stood up and addressed the people of Mecca لا تكونوا آخر من اسلم وأول من ارتد “Do not be the last one to embrace Islam and the first one to become an apostate.” (1)

At any rate, we must not ignore the fact that Medina's resistance against apostasy helped the administration in the city to be stronger and bring other lands under its control after passing through this tortuous period. Khalifa Ibn Khayyat has listed the apostates as follows

Tulayha Ibn Khuwaylad, Banu Salim, Banu Tamim, Banu Yamama, Banu Bahrayn, (2) Banu Umman, Banu Najir, Had'ramawt and Banu Yemen, Banu Radda.

Abu Bakr's Agents

It is known to all that 'Umar was Abu Bakr's closest companion and friend. The Prophet of Islam had spelled their brotherhood union along with the Muhajirun. (3) 107

Although Abu Bakr was a major architect of the issue of caliphate and showed he was better than 'Umar in his battles against apostates, accepted 'Umar's views in many cases due to 'Umar's seriousness and toughness. These two were complementary to

each other. We wrote that during the Saqifa developments, too, they were always together. It was due to this insistence that during the Saqifa issue, Imam 'Ali (a) [\(accused 'Umar of trying to secure his own future.](#) [\(۴\)](#)

[\(Abu Bakr said of 'Umar, “He is the dearest of people to me.”](#) [\(۵\)](#)

Ibn Abi al-Hadid says, “Abu Bakr could not gain (the) caliphate if 'Umar had not helped [\(him.”](#) [\(۶\)](#)

It is said that Abu Bakr appointed 'Umar

p: ۳۲

.Usd al-Ghaba, vol. II, pp ۳۷۱-۳۷۲ -۱

.Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, pp.۱۰۲-۱۱۷ -۲

.Sahmi, Tarikh Jurjan, p. ۹۶ -۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. ۵۶۷; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VI, p. ۱۱; al-Imamah wal- -۴
Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۱۱; Anas Ibn Malik says, “On Saqifa, I saw ‘Umar forcing Abu Bakr to
go on pulpit al-Musannaf, ‘Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. ۴۳۸

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. ۱۷; Gharib al-Hadith, vol. III, p. ۲۲۲; al-adab al-Mufrad, p. ۲۹ -۵

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. ۱۷۴ -۶

as a judge. [\(۱\)](#) Also, he used to lead congregational prayers when Abu Bakr was [\(absent.](#) [\(۲\)](#)

It was in the ۱۱th Hijra year that Abu Bakr appointed him “emir of the pilgrims to
,Mecca” [\(۳\)](#) Khalifa Ibn Khayyat, listing Abu Bakr's emirs, writes

وعلى أمره كله والقضاء عمر بن الخطاب “

Every affair including judiciary one of 'Umar Ibn Khattab.” [\(۴\)](#) ۱۱۴

Umar's influence on Abu Bakr was so immense that he dissuaded the caliph from
appointing Khalid Ibn Sa'id as the commander of the Muslim army dispatched to
Damascus and instead, sent Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan. After returning to Medina and

seeing Abu Bakr's choice, Khalid Ibn Sa'id refused to swear allegiance to the caliph for
(some time.)⁽⁵⁾

Umar, himself, was aware of his power so he made use of his rank and divided the properties of Mu'adh Ibn Jabal into two halves and took one half for Bayt al-Mal, the Treasury of Muslims.⁽⁶⁾ He did the same thing later to the governors of cities when he assumed caliphate. Abu Bakr could not do anything in the absence of 'Umar, so when he wanted to send Usama's army to Damascus, he asked Usama, the commander of the army, to let 'Umar stay with the caliph and help him in the administration of
(affairs.)⁽⁷⁾

Also, once when Khalid had made a mistake and Abu Bakr would not agree to write a letter of protest to him, 'Umar wrote a letter himself, but Khalid paid attention to it and said he knew 'Umar had done

p: ۳۳

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ۶۶۵; Ibn Juzi, Manaqib 'Umar, p. ۴۸; al-
Kamil fil-Tarikh, ol II, p. ۴۲۰; al-Tanbih wal-Ishraf, p. ۲۴۹
Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۱۸۶; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. II, p. ۴۲۵-۲
Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۱۸۷-۳
Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. ۱۲۳-۴
al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. ۴۵۴; Hayat As-Sahaba, ol II, p. ۲۰-۵
Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, pp ۵۸۵-۵۸۸-۶
Ibid vol. I, pp ۲۹-۳۰; Hayat al-Hayawan, vol. I, p. ۴۸-۷

(it.)⁽¹⁾

At any rate, 'Umar's influence and the strong link between the two, made Abu Bakr appoint him as his successor. In other words, people did not consider their caliphate two separate things and from the very beginning, they saw one of them as successor
(to the other one.)⁽²⁾

For the same reason, when Abu Bakr was in coma and wanted to write an agreement

about his successor, his scribe, 'Uthman, wrote 'Umar's name in the agreement .because he knew whom the caliph was thinking of

Khalid Ibn Walid was another functionary of Abu Bakr. He belonged to the tribe of Banu Makhzum, a family of the Quraysh, who converted to Islam on Safar 1st, 8th AH.(۳) He was physically a powerful man but void of ethical values. He committed .various faults when the Prophet (S) was alive

Some documents state it was the Prophet (S) who named him “God's sword” but Ibn Durayd and others say Abu Bakr gave him the title.(۴) He got the title when he killed Malik Ibn Nuwayra unfairly and when people like 'Umar asked Abu Bakr to punish him. But the caliph said he was a sword hoisted by God and he would never bring it down.(۵) According to Ibn A'tham, Khalid named himself “Sayf Allah or God's sword” (and Abu Bakr approved it.(۶

It is said that Khalid was a supporter of Abu Bakr and an opponent of Imam 'Ali (a).(۷) He also accompanied the group who invaded Imam 'Ali's house to force him into swearing

p: ۳۴

al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ۴۴; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, ol I, p. ۱۷۹ –۱

Maqdisi says, “People raised no doubt that ‘Umar would become Abu Bakr’s caliph –۲

al-Bad’ wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. ۱۶۷

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, p. ۳۹۴ –۳

al-Ishtiqaq, p. ۱۴۹; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, pp ۱۵۸-۱۵۹ –۴

al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ۲۳; al-Musannaf, ‘Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. ۲۱۲; al-Id’ah, pp ۷۲-۷۳; –۵

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. ۱۷۹

al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ۱۴۹ –۶

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. III, p. ۲۲ –۷

allegiance with Abu Bakr.(۸) He is widely believed to be a person who prepared the (ground for Abu Bakr's caliphate.(۹

The story of Malik Ibn Nuwayra's murder, and the subsequent rape of his wife which Ibn A'tham said he did upon the consensus of people of knowledge displays the weak moral character of Khalid. However, Abu Bakr insisted on keeping him the commander of his army and sending him to crack down on apostates and false prophets.

Abu Bakr defended Khalid with the justification that Khalid had acted on Ijtihad and so he did not deserve punishment. One day Khalid burnt some of the captives of apostates with fire. When 'Umar objected, Abu Bakr said he was God's sword.

Umar's objection was why he had appointed a commander who killed people and tortured them with fire. Apparently, despite all his attention to 'Umar, the caliph was unwilling to stop backing Khalid, and still, it is interesting to know that when 'Umar, himself, took power as the second caliph, unlike his earlier emphasis on stoning Khalid for raping Malik Ibn Nuwayra's wife, he sufficed to sacking him.

Khalid was sure his acts would meet no objection on the part of Abu Bakr and if he received a letter of punishment from the caliph, it was from 'Umar; otherwise, Abu Bakr trusted him. Sometimes, he committed self-authorized acts because he was sure of Abu Bakr's support.

Abu Bakr once said, "No mother can give birth to someone like Khalid." Once when he killed two

p: ۳۵

Ibid vol. VI, p. ۴۸-۴۹ -۱

Ibid vol. XVIII, p. ۳۰۶-۳۰۷ -۲

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, p. ۳۶۹ -۳

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۱۰۷ -۴

According to Tadhkirat al-Khawwas (p. ۱۶۰), 'Umar separated Malik from his wife after her pregnancy with Khalid and her delivery

al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ۴۴ -۶

Ibn Hajar quotes Zubayr Ibn Bakkar saying when Khalid took one fifth of booties, -۷

he never submitted any account to Abu Bakr. He always did things, including attempted murder of Malik without informing Abu Bakr. Al-Isaba, vol. I, p. ٤١٤-٤١٥
al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. II, p. ٣٨٩-٨

people who had letters of clemency from Abu Bakr, some people complained about it, but Abu Bakr defended Khalid as usual.^(١) When 'Umar sat on the throne as the second caliphate, he immediately fired Khalid from the command of Damascus's army and replaced him with Abu 'Ubayda Jarrah

^(٢) (He said, "I sacked Khalid to show that God helps His religion.")^(٢)

When Khalid was busy fighting in Iraq and received his letter of abdication to Damascus, he said, "'Umar's jealousy did not allow me to achieve the conquest of Iraq."^(٣)

According to Anas Ibn Malik, 'Umar used to tell Abu Bakr, "Write to Khalid to ask for your permission before doing anything

Abu Bakr wrote but Khalid responded, "You must leave me free in whatever I do; otherwise, I will resign

Umar said, "Dismiss him", but the caliph did not accept.^(٤) Khalid died in Medina or Damascus^(٥) in the ٢١st AH and accidentally, he appointed 'Umar as guardian of his will. Ibn Sa'd quoted 'Umar as saying, "We had ill thoughts about Khalid, but we were wrong."^(٦)

'Umar opposed crying over the dead and said he had heard from the Prophet (S) that "إن الميت ليعذب ببكاء أهله". The dead person suffers when his family cries for him

However, he allowed the women of Banu Makhzum to cry for Khalid.^(٧) More surprising, 'Umar said at the time of his death, "If Khalid Ibn Walid were alive, I would appoint him as my successor."^(٨)

Abu 'Ubayda Jarrah was another pillar of power for Abu Bakr's caliphate. He, along

Ibid vol. II, p. ٣٩٨ –١

Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. ١٢٢ –٢

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. II, p. ٣٩٧ –٣

al-Isaba, vol. I, p. ٤١٥ –٤

(Ibid Ibn Hajar says they believe he has died in Damascus (Hims –٥

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, p. ٣٩٧–٣٩٨; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, p. ١١٥ –٦

al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, p. ١١٦ –٧

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ٨٨٧; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ٤٢ –٨

with 'Umar and Abu Bakr were present in Saqifa Banu Sa'ida. He had an oath of brotherhood with Salim Mawla Hudhayfa (١) who was also influential in the issue of caliphate.

(Umar said about him, “If Salim were alive, I would make him my successor.” (٢)

It should be noted that 'Umar said the same thing about Abu 'Ubayda at the time of his death. (٣) Abu 'Ubayda was first appointed in charge of the Treasury of Muslims but later, became the commander of the Damascus army and served until his death in ١٨th Hijra year when he died in Amawas plague.

The commanders and functionaries of Abu Bakr were Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan, 'Amr Ibn 'As, Shurahbil Ibn Hasana (١٨ H) (٤) and 'Akrama Ibn Abi Jahl. Among his appointees, there were some people serving since the Prophet's time. Mu'adh Ibn Jabal in Yemen, 'Attab Ibn Asid in Mecca and 'Ala' Ibn Had'rami in Bahrayn were some of these people.

According to some documents, Abu Bakr appointed Anas as the ruler of Bahrayn. Perhaps, it was another part of Bahrayn. Muhajir Ibn Abi Umayya ruled in San'a, Ziyad Ibn Lubayd in the coastal regions of Yemen, Ya'la Ibn Umayya in Khawlan, 'Uthman Ibn Abi l-'As in Ta'if, and Sulayt Ibn Qays ruled in Yamama. Also, it is said that 'Uthman (was Abu Bakr's scribe. (٥)

It is evident that the list does not include important figures of the Prophet's companions, especially from the Ansar. Apparently, this can be suitable evidence on the caliphate's neglect of the

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۴۱۰ –۱

Ibid vol III, p. ۳۴۳; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۸۶ –۲

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۱۶; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۴۲; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. –۳

III, p. ۴۱۲ and ۳۴۳; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۲۷

al-Musannaf, vol. V, p. ۴۵۴; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. II, p. ۳۹۴ –۴

.Tarikh Khalifat, Ibn Khayyat, p.. ۱۲۳ –۵

.Ansar

Conquest of Damascus

The greater Syria was a land bounded by the Mediterranean Sea, the Western banks of the Euphrates, the northern border of Hijaz, the southern border of the ancient Eastern Rome and modern-day Turkey. Presently, this land includes the countries of Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine. The new border demarcation was made during the developments following World War I

The name of Syria has always existed since ancient times and Herodot (۴۲۵ AD) has called this land Syria. Probably, the name Syria has been taken from the word "Ashuriyya" attributed to Assyrians, although some have rejected this notion.^(۱)

Before falling to Muslims, the region of greater Syria was a colony of the Eastern Roman Empire. Centuries before the advent of Islam, big tribes of Arabs migrated from Hijaz – mostly from south– to this land. The most important tribes recorded in the early advent of Islam, were, Qud'a'a, Salih, Ghasasina, Judham, Lakhm, Kalb, Tanukh, and Bahra'. These tribes were sparse and scattered in the developed land of ancient Syria and each settled in a city or village

These tribes forgot their Arab rites and rituals due to the many years of life with the Romans and the vast majority of them converted to Christianity

However, they had retained parts of their Arab nature. The first sign of their conversion to Christianity was mixing their Arab language with Syriac, and basically,

Syriac had become their scientific language. Therefore, it was recommended later that Arabic should not be taught from Qad'a'a and Ghassan because they read

p: ٣٨

Tarikh Suriya and Lubnan and Filistin, pp ٦٢-٦٣ -١

[books in Syriac and naturally, their language had become mixed.](#)

Shaykhu insists in showing that all Arabs living in the greater Syria had converted to Christianity before the advent of Islam. We believe this is an overstatement. Earlier, we negated his views on the Christianity of the tribes of Aws and Khazraj. At any rate [\(- true of false - he has provided a list of Arab tribes who converted to Christianity.](#)

Years before the advent of Islam, the Arabs of this land were allies of Romans in their battle against Iranians and fought the Iranian army and its allied Arabs from Iraq. In those years, the Roman army consisted of Arabs and Romans

Damascus Arabs held different views from Arabs living on Hijaz and they had different social behavior as well. The Arabs of Damascus had left their Bedouin life because they lived in a developed area and had become city dwellers in Damascus, Halab (Aleppo), Hims, etc. Their commonalities with the Romans made some of them [migrate to Rome after the advent of Islam.](#)

Of course, Romans always feared that racial commonality would urge the Arab tribes of Damascus to accept Islam. A more serious problem was difference in religion between the Christians of Damascus and the church of Constantinople in a way that they were greatly persecuted by the Eastern Church

The Christians of Damascus believed in the Ya'qubi sect [\(٤\)](#) and it was a heretical practice in view of the Eastern Church

They believed that Damascus Christianity was excellent in

p: ٣٩

Suyuti, al-Muzhir, quoted from, al-Nasraniyya wa Adabuha, p. ٣١ -١

al-Nasraniyya wa Adabuha, pp ١٢٤-١٤١ -٢

Futuh al-Buldan, pp ١٢٨ and ١٣٧ -٣

Ya'qubi's creed is ascribed to Ya'qub Barda'i (b. ٥٧٨ AD) his followers are called -٤
monophysist. The said creed is about the Christ believing in one divine nature rather
than two divine human natures. Ya'qubi expanded the sect throughout Syria, so
named after the sect It spread through Syria in the north to Armenia and to Egypt in
the south and that is why the Armenians and Egyptians still keep this belief Parallel to
this, in Mesopotamia, there emerged Nestorian sect adopting two natures in Messiah
though finding them not unified. The founder is Nestorius and it emerged several
decades before Ya'qubi's creed Tarikh Suriya and Lubnan and Flistin, pp ٤١٢-٤١٣; Will
Durant's Tarikh Tamaddun, vol. IV (Age of Faith, part I) pp ٤٣-٤٤

innovation!^(١) The religious difference of Damascus's Arab Christians with the Eastern
Roman Church, to many, was one of the reasons for the consecutive Islamic
(conquests in the greater Syria.^(٢)

In addition to the Arab residents of the greater Syria, numerous Nibtiyan, too, who
were descendants of the earlier tribes and rulers in the region, lived in that land. Also,
(many Jews who are said to be between ١٠٠ to ٢٠٠ thousands lived in that land.^(٣)

We mentioned earlier that at the time of the advent of Islam, the greater Syria was
under the domination of the Eastern Roman empire. However, since centuries ago,
local rulers had the power in that land. The Nibtiyan government ruled first, followed
by the Tadmur government and finally, the government of Ghassanid who were from
the tribe of Ghasasina. These came from Yemen apparently after the destruction of
.the Ma'rab Dam

This tribe converted to Christianity in the ٤th century AD. Jafna Ibn 'Amr, from the
elders of the tribe, was the founder of the Ghassani dynasty and there are ambiguous
quotations that between ١١ to ٣٢ rulers of this dynasty ruled in Damascus. There is
little we know about a limited number of these more recent rulers. Harith Ibn Jabala
.was one of their renowned personalities who ruled between the years ٥٢٩-٥٦٩

He fought the Lakhmids –the Arab rivals of the Ghasasina who ruled Iraq – and helped his tribe rise to fame. He won the title of “Philark” meaning chieftain and also Bitriq (Patrick) from the

p: ٤٠

al-Nasraniyya wa Adabuha, p. ٣٨ –١
concerning different views in this respect, Ash-Sham fi Sadr al-Islam, pp ٤٣–٤٤; – ٢
Tarikh Tamaddun, vol. IV, p. ٤٤
Ash-Sham fi Sadr al-Islam, p. ٤٢ –٣

Roman emperor for his services. The Ya'qubiyya sect spread in Damascus in his time. After Harith, his son, Mundhir, replaced him and ruled until ٥٨١, when crisis engulfed [\(Damascus.\)](#)

Between the years ٤١١ and ٤١٤, Iranians fiercely invaded these regions and captured Jerusalem. Later, (Hiraql) Heraclitus could regain Jerusalem from Iranians. The names of Ghassani princes ruling some cities and their command of the battle between the Roman-Arab army and the army of Islam indicates that the Ghasasinah .still had great influence in Damascus and Constantinople

Jabala Ibn 'Ayham Ghassani, a commander of the Roman army at Yarmuk, was one of these influential princes who converted to Islam but became an apostate and went .to the Roman emperor for certain reasons mentioned elsewhere

Heraclitus was the son of Herakleios, whose father ruled in Christian Africa on behalf of the Roman Empire. The Eastern Empire Roman Empire experienced serious crises .in the closing years of the sixth century AD and the early years of the ٧th century

The attacks of Avars and Slavs from the West caused problems for this vast land, but most pressing were the civil wars. A sergeant named Fukas united people and revolted against the government of the aristocrats and killed Emperor Mavrikius and all his children. This civil unrest prompted Khusraw Parviz to invade the greater Syria .and capture Jerusalem in ٦١٤. He continued his assaults on Asia Minor

The aristocrats of Constantinople sought help from Heraclitos, the ruler of Africa. He sent his son, who was also

p: ٤١

Tarikh Suriya and Lubnan and Filistin, pp ٤٤٧-٤٥٠ -١

named Heraclitos, to Rome. The son who was a brave man, succeeded in defeating Fukas and put on the crown of emperor. The capture of Jerusalem was a good pretext for inciting Christians to fight Iranians. After restoring calm, Heraclitos set off to fight Iranians in the year ٦٢٢ and after six years of sustaining consecutive defeats, he finally managed to pursue Iranians as far as the gate of Ctesiphon and made them accept peace.^(١) These incidents took place in the ٧th and ٨th years of Hijra

When Heraclitos was busy reorganizing his affairs, Muslims made their first attacks on Damascus and captured the city after a while. The last days of the empire coincided with the conquest of Egypt in ٦٤٠ AD.^(٢)

The greater Syria was the first priority for Muslims because they had managed to make the Quraysh sign the Hudaibiyya peace accord after years and get ready for spreading Islam outside Hijaz

The Prophet of Islam sent a few messengers to these regions. Harith Ibn 'Umayr was one of these messengers who took a letter to the ruler of Basra. He was killed by Shurahbil Ibn 'Amr of the Ghassani dynasty. Then, the Prophet of Islam sent his ٣,٠٠٠-strong army under the command of Ja'far Ibn Abi Talib, Zayd Ibn Haritha and 'Abd Allah Ibn-Rawaha to Muta in southern Damascus

The army prepared to fight Muslims in Damascus- according to Ibn Ishaq - was a combination of the Roman army and the Arab tribes of Lakhm, Judham, Balqi, Buhra', and

p: ٤٢

The beginning Verses of Sura ar-Rum referring to defeat of Romans and promising -١

their imminent victory are concerned with the same events
About life of Heraclitos and the events in his time, Tarikh Tamaddun, vol. IV (Age of Faith, part I) pp ۵۴۳-۵۴۵

Bali.^(۱) Muslims were unsuccessful and after the martyrdom of their commanders and a number of others, they could only return to Medina. The Tabuk operations were the Prophet's next measure

This operation, likewise, entailed nothing for Muslims except several accords with some Arab tribes. The Prophet mobilized another army in the final days of his life under Usama Ibn Zayd but it was sent to Damascus after his death and returned home empty-handed. All these army deployments show the importance of Damascus in view of the Prophet

Damascus was close to Medina and Muslims were quite familiar with its importance. It came out in the following years that Damascus was more important than Iraq to the succeeding caliphs

With the end of the Radda operations, Abu Bakr wrote letters to the people of Mecca, Ta'if, Yemen and all Arabs in Hijaz and Najd and summoned them for Jihad or holy war

In his letters, he promised the booties in Rome. Numerous people rushed to Medina from tribes across Hijaz.^(۲) A strong army of Muslims left for Damascus in the ۱۲th AH (۶۳۳ AD). Abu Bakr divided the army of Islam into three armies with three commanders. The first army commanded by 'Amr Ibn 'As, was to leave for 'Ayla in the Gulf of 'Uqba. The second army's commander was Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan and the third commander was Shurahbil Ibn Hasana

These two commanders were sent to a region between Tabuk and Mu'an. Khalid Ibn Sa'id was supposed to command one of

these armies, but due to his objection to Abu Bakr's caliphate, upon 'Umar's emphasis, they replaced him with Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan.^(١) A short while later, Abu 'Ubayda Jarrah joined them with his auxiliary men and he commanded all forces when they all operated in the same region. Some people believe he commanded an army from the beginning.

The first clashes of Muslims with Romans occurred in a region called “Wadi al-'Araba”, south of the Dead Sea. Palestinian governor, Sergius, was the commander of the Roman army. He was killed in this war and his army was defeated. The Muslims advanced along the Mediterranean coasts^(٢) and each of the armies fought in a region and joined others wherever necessary.^(٣) In the beginning, the Muslim armies had ٣٠٠٠ men each, but Abu Bakr sent fresh forces and the number of Muslim fighters in each army rose to ٧٥٠٠.

(Shortly after, the total number of the army of Islam increased to ٢٤٠٠٠ men.^(٤)

After the 'Araba battle, the second encounter was made in a village of district of Ghazza called Dathin. This battle which took place in the month of Muharram of the ١٣th year of Hijra,^(٥) ended in Muslims' victory.

Baladhuri has written about the war of Dathin first and then, about the 'Araba battle, but he has mentioned a narration saying the battle of Dathin happened in the beginning. According to historians, the Muslim army did not face any obstacles which required them to use their weapons on their way from Hijaz to Wadi

Araba. These sweeping victories frightened Heraclitos and made him recruit forces.' The news of the Roman army's recruitment reached Medina and the caliph ordered .stopping the operations temporarily on the Iraqi border

He sent Khalid Ibn Walid and his army to Damascus. The Muslims captured Basra and Ma'ab after Dathin in Rabi' al-Awwal of the ١٣th Hijra year. Then, they moved towards Damascus. Hearing the news of the enemy's concentration in Ujnadayn, Muslims moved towards that place first. This bloody battle ended in the victory of Muslims in the Jumadi al-Awwal or Jumadi al-Thani of the ١٣th Hijra year although many [Muslims, too, were martyred.](#)

It was after this defeat of the Romans that Heraclitos who was in Hims, left for Antioch. While Muslims were on their way to Damascus, the enemy regrouped and encountered the army of Islam in Marj as-Safar. This war took place in the month of Muharram of the ١٤th Hijra year and once again, Muslims defeated the enemy. After .that, Damascus was totally besieged by the army of Islam

It is said that while Abu 'Ubayda had managed to open his way into the city, the archbishop of the city signed a peace accord with Khalid Ibn Walid on the other hand .and Abu 'Ubayda, too, had to accept it despite Muslims' objection

The conquest of Damascus forced many residents of the city who were mostly Roman or Arabs affiliated to them, into leaving for Antioch and joining Heraclitos. After their departure, Muslims settled in their

p: ٤٥

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ١٢١ -١

unsettled houses. Damascus fell to Muslims in Rajab of ١٤th Hijra year, but Abu Bakr had died in Jumadi al-Thani of the ١٣th Hijra year after two years and three months .and a few days of caliphate

Iraq is an ancient land with an ancient civilization, known to the world as the Mesopotamian civilization. It is located in the north of Hijaz, East of the greater Syria and West of Iran (behind the Jibal region). Centuries before the advent of Islam, Arab tribes residing on Hijaz immigrated northwards to Syria and Iraq to escape the ever-
(increasing population.)

Their massive immigration and their many young forces gave them dominance over the native people of the regions and gradually, created an Arab environment. The
(Nibtayan of Iraq and Syria were the descendants of the ancient settlers of this land.)

Iraq is known as “Sawad” for its fertile lands. Sawad means abundant farming.
During the advent of Islam, the Arab settlers of Damascus were said to be from the tribes of Tanukh, 'Ibadiyyin and Ahlaf (different allied tribes). The Euphrates river was the border between Arabs of Damascus and Iraq. The Iraqi Arabs were called “Fars
(Arab” and Arabs of Damascus were called “Roman Arab”.

The immigrant Bedouin Arabs began to dwell in cities due to the vastness of fertile lands in Iraq and many of them converted to Christianity under the pressure imposed from the West. The 'Ibadiyyin, the majority of whom lived in Hira, were Christians at
(large.)

They believed in Nestorian Christianity and

p: ٤٤

Futuh al-Buldan, pp ١٢٨-١٢٩ -١
There is a disagreement on departure time of these tribes al-Mufassal fi Tarikh -٢
al-'Arab qabl al-Islam, vol. III, p. ١٦٢
al-Mufassal, vol. III, pp ١٧٢-١٧٣ -٣
al-Tariq 'Ila al-Mada'in, p. ١٣٢ -٤
al-Mufassal, vol. III, p. ١٦٥ -٥
Ibid vol. III, pp ١٦٩-١٧١ -٦

they were, indeed, a cultural tribe taught reading and writing to Arabs of Hijaz during the Dark Age.⁽¹⁾۱۷۱

Hira was the chief city of Iraq that time. It is said that the word “Hira” had been taken from Harta, Hirta and Hirtu in Syriac, meaning military camp. According to Arab literature in the Dark Age, this city was highly important in Iraq and was the seat of Lakhmids kings. After the advent of Islam and the establishment of the city of Kufa in the vicinity of Hira, the city turned to ruin and its building materials were used for constructing Kufa.⁽²⁾

Hira was one league (six kms) away from Kufa and before Islam it was a center for interaction of various cultures such as the Persian Sassanids culture, the culture of Byzantium, Nestorian Christianity and local idolatry.⁽³⁾ Remnants of this city still remain today.⁽⁴⁾

The pre-Islamic history of Iraq is part of the history of Iran from the political aspect. That is why two historians, i.e. Tabari and Dinwari, have mixed the history of this period of Iraq with the story of developments in Iran. The reason for this is the meaning of 'Arab Fars or Persian Arab, similar to the situation of Damascus whose history was mixed with the history of the Roman Empire

The Al Lakhm dynasty, known also as Al Nasr, Al Nu'man⁽⁵⁾ and Dawlat al-Manadhara, had a situation like that of the Ghassanids or Al Jafna. Accidentally, both had similar fates, i.e. losing power in the early

p: ۴۷

Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. III, p. ۷۱۲ -۱
al-Mufassal, vol. III, p. ۱۵۹ -۲

Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. III, p. ۷۱۰ -۳

About that, Usul Asma' al-Mudun wal-mawaqi' al-'Araqiyya, vol. I, pp ۱۰۰-۱۰۱ -۴

it seems the reason is that there are several people named “Nu‘man” among kings -۵
” of this dynasty as well as several people named ” Mundhir

years of Islam. Iran and Rome jointly imposed pressure on them. Information existing about the Al Lakhm dynasty is ambiguous in history books and Jawad 'Ali has tried to organize these pieces of information.⁽¹⁾ The first Lakhmi ruler was Judhayma al-Abrash also known as Shah Tanukh in some inscriptions

Other famous kings of this dynasty were Imra' al-Qays (d. ۳۲۸ AD) overstated as the “king of all Arab world”.^(۲) Lakhmi kings were mostly idolaters but due to being influenced by the Zoroastrian culture from the East and the Christian culture from the West, every now and then, they tended towards either direction. What is certain is that Nu'man III of this dynasty who reigned until ۶۰۲, was a Christian

We wrote that Nestorian Christianity was predominant in Iraq and Western Iran. The Sassanids kings supported this sect because the government of Byzantium was fighting it and it was politically in favor of Iran to defend this sect of Christianity.^(۳)

During this period, the political fate of Iran and Iraq were intertwined because the Iraqi government had practically been installed by Iran and it could not resist the Al Ghassan or powerful Arab rivals from northern Saudi Arabia (like Kinda who claimed to rule the entire region and managed to wrest control of Hira from Lakhm for three years.^(۴)) Iran, on the other hand, had to defend Iraq against its enemies because Iraq was a barrier on the way of the invasion of Bedouin Arabs and the Byzantium government and its puppet government

p: ۴۸

al-Mufasssal, vol. III, from p. ۱۷۷ on –۱

Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol.III, p.۷۱۲ –۲

al-Nasraniyya wa Adabuha bayn ‘Arab al-jahiliyya, p. ۸۷ –۳

Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. III, p. ۷۱۵ –۴

.in Damascus

This necessity made the Iranian government deploy soldiers to Hira and its surrounding regions to guard Iranian borders there. Iran had contacts with Arabs not

only in Iraq but it was also their neighbor on the eastern Saudi borders in the southern shores of the Persian Gulf. Some historians have reported of Iran's influence in Yathrib⁽¹⁾ one or two centuries before the advent of Islam. Sometimes, Iran had to give control of a region like Ubulla to a powerful tribe such as Banu Shayban to defend .the invasion of Bakr Ibn Wa'il

Due to its many interests in Saudi Arabia, Iran once accepted to interfere in Yemen, the southernmost point of Hijaz. In the early sixth century AD, Jews gained some power in Yemen and persecuted Christians. This made the Negus of Abyssinia, Yusti Niyanus, invade Yemen in the year 525 AD. He suppressed the Jews and established a .Christian rule there

Abraha, the commander of the operations and his son, Masruq, ruled for fifty years in Abyssinia until Sayf Ibn Dhi Yazan put an end to their rule over Yemen with an 8000- soldier Iranian army. Many of the Iranian remained in Yemen⁽²⁾ and formed the Abna' .or Persian generation of Yemen

Their number grew to the extent that they joined the army of Islam in the conquest of Egypt. They had a district and a mosque in the name of Persians in Fastat that still existed until the third century.⁽³⁾ When the Messenger of Allah invited the heads

p: 49

Tarikh Iran vol. III, p. 713-714 -1

Tarikh Iran, vol. III, p. 720 -2

Futuh misr wa akhbaruha, p. 129 -3

of states to convert to Islam, famed Bazan ruled Yemen. He had been installed by the .Sassanids in Iran

At any rate, Iran had important interests in Arab lands, especially in Iraq located on the border between Iran and Rome. Iran's interference in these regions was to the degree that in the year 602, Khusraw Parviz ordered Nu'man III, the last king of the Lakhmi dynasty, to step down step down. After him, the Iranian government replaced

him with a local Christian named Iyas Ibn Qubaysa to rule Hira and with him, an Iranian border guard was appointed.

During a period of ۳۰ years between the resignation of Al Lakhm and the first attacks of Muslims on Hira, drastic upheavals occurred in the relations of Iran and Byzantium, that required Iran's more direct interference in Iraqi affairs. In the years ۶۱۱ to ۶۱۴, Khusraw Parviz launched a lengthy attack against Byzantium and captured a major part of the greater Syria including Quds. For many years, this created problems for the Byzantium government. This defeat is referred to in Qur'an as the "Conquest of Rome".

After a few years, Heraclitos succeeded in reinforcing his army and during six consecutive years of war, defeated the Iranian government until the year ۶۲۸, when Khusraw Parviz was killed and Iran had to accept peace. It is clear that Iran's defeat opened the way for the invasion of Iraq by the Byzantium government and the most important of all, by the Bedouin rebels

In the early

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Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. III, p. ۷۲۰ - ۱

years of the fourth decade of the seventh century AD, some chieftains of Arab tribes pleaded to the first caliph of Muslims to retake Iraq from Iran. They organized the first attack against Iran in ۶۳۳ AD or ۱۲th AH

Muslim Arabs lived in the Western part of Hijaz, but they maintained links with the eastern part of the peninsula as well. Especially, they exchanged visits with Najd and the tribes residing in it. Some time before the Prophet's demise, a large number of these tribes converted to Islam though it was apparently not serious considering that following the Prophet's passing, apostasy spread in the eastern parts of Hijaz, particularly in the land of Najd

The new government had no option but to quell them; otherwise, the same tribes would soon move towards Medina. Muslim armies were dispatched to those regions in order to suppress the riots. The attack was partially commanded by Khalid Ibn Walid. As he gradually advanced to suppress these tribes, he came to the southern parts of Iraq.

Some of the apostates had fled to Iraq and some of them, like Banu Tamim, lived in that region. The consecutive victories of the Muslim army in those regions made the tribal chieftains of southern Iraq think of using these forces to capture Hira. This was the first attempt for conquests in Iraq and then, in Iran.

One of the influential tribes in southern Iraq was Banu Shayban, a branch of Bakr Ibn Wa'il tribe, Wa'il itself, was a branch

p: ٥١

of Rabi'a tribe. The region where Bakr Ibn Wa'il resided, started from Iraq and extended as far as Bahrayn in the Persian Gulf.

Banu Shayban was a rival of Al Lakhm and one of those tribes whom Iranian had to give concessions to in the lands under their rule. One of the last Arabian-Iranian battles was Dhi Qar, in which Banu Shayban fought against Iranians and are said to have defeated them. One of this tribe's leaders was Muthanna Ibn Haritha who is considered the main instigator of Muslims in the conquest of Iraq and then, Iran.

According to Dinwari, ever since Puran sat on the throne in Iran, rumors began to spread that there was nothing left of the Iranian glorious kingdom. Hearing about this, two people from Bakr Ibn Wa'il, Muthanna Ibn Haritha and Suwayd Ibn Qutba 'Ijali, attacked the land of Iranians with their men (the first attacked Hira and the second one invaded Ubulla). They would raid farmers and plunder them. Following these events, Muthanna wrote a letter to Abu Bakr and noted Iran's weakness.

Abu Bakr who had heard about his assaults on the Iranians, said, "Who is this man, whose "news" reaches us before his "name"?" He was told the man was not an

unknown person. After ending the war against apostates, Muthanna came to Medina and asked Abu Bakr's permission to fight the Iranians. Abu Bakr wrote an agreement for him. A few months later, he dispatched his brother to Medina to ask Abu Bakr

p: ۵۲

al-Tariq 'Ila al-Mada'in, p. ۲۰۲-۱

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۱۱-۲

[to send forces to him and the caliph sent Khalid Ibn Walid to Iraq.](#)[\(۱\)](#)

According to Baladhuri, after getting the permission for war from Medina, Muthanna returned to his tribe in Khiffan and invited them to convert to Islam, which they all did. Abu Bakr then sent Khalid to Iraq and asked Muthanna to obey him.[\(۲\)](#) Muthanna did his best to expand Islam in Iraq for some years until his death. It has been said that he and his tribe had come to the Prophet (S) and therefore, was considered one of the companions.[\(۳\)](#) The Muslim army in these attacks is said to have been numbered at [\(around ۱۸,۰۰۰.](#)[\(۴\)](#)

It should be noted here that the Iranians' war in the conquest of Iraq was not against Arabs. What has been reported about the conquests indicates that the Iranian armies were the main side of these clashes, although it has been said that some men from Hijaz and Arab Christians. In the conquest of Ubullu, the commander of the enemy's army was a man named Hurmuz whose part of army was commanded by Qubad and [\(the other part, by Anushjan.](#)[\(۵\)](#)

In fact, after the collapse of the Lakhmids, Iranians guarded this land and it was natural that in the Arabic environment of Iraq. Lakhmids could do this better than the Iranians and therefore, it has been said that due to the fall of the Lakhmids, the [\(southern wing of the Sassanids government was left almost without any support.](#)[\(۶\)](#)

We must also add that

p: ۵۳

al-Isaba, vol. III, p. ٣٦١ -١

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ٢٤٢ -٢

al-Isti'ab (on the margin of al-Isaba) vol. III, p. ٥٢٢; al-Isaba, vol. III, p. ٣٦٢ -٣

al-Tariq 'Ila al-Mada'in, pp ٢٠٩-٢١١ -٤

Ibid pp ٢١٥-٢١٦ -٥

Spuler, Tarikh Iran, vol. I, p. ٦ -٦

there are different versions about these conquests. One of the best-known narrators was Sayf Ibn 'Umar who was notorious for fabricating stories. He tried to portray Khalid as an unnatural human being who even sometimes, did some supernatural tasks! Stories of the conquest of Iraq in the Tarikh Tabari, have been taken from his reports.

It is said that Khalid first captured Uballa, although Waqidi rejects it.^(١) Another source says this city was captured by 'Utba Ibn Ghazwan. Also, we read that the city of 'Ullays was conquered based on a peace accord and then, Muslims moved toward Hira from there. There are contradictory views on whether Hira resisted Arab Muslims or not.^(٢)

The nobles of Hira have said that Ayas Ibn Qubaysa was among them and they gave up the city peacefully provided that they would not destroy churches and palaces.

Hira's tributes were the first sent to Medina.^(٣) Hira fell in Dhi Qa'da, ١٢th AH

Anbar was another major city of Iraq that fell to Muslims. It had been named Anbar (storehouse) because in the past, it used to be a place for Iranians to store their cereals. In fact, many Iranian forces and border patrols served in this region, and the city was naturally, a warehouse for their food. The city was famous until the second AH century and the establishment of Baghdad

It should be noted that before the conquest of the city by Muslims, the Romans had burnt the city.^(٤) This indicates that a year before Iraq's

p: ٥٤

conquest, Romans had done serious damage to the region. 'Ayn al-Tamr, in addition to Ubulla and Khurayba, were the places used for the stationing of Iranian border guards. They were either captured by force or peace. One of the captives of this city was Yasar, the ancestor of Muhammad Ibn Ishaq, the author of “Sira Nabawi.”^(۱)

The consecutive victories of Muslims all came within a year. This highlights the lack of any serious resistance and fight on the part of Iranians demonstrate how disorganized the state of Iranian forces was in the region. Perhaps, some may claim that the Iranians did not take these attacks seriously and this may be true to some extent.

However, Iranians were aware of the changes in Hijaz and the battles against apostasy, because they had much influence on Bahrayn and Yamama. It is illogical to accept that they were unaware of these incidents and of the state of Muslims.

Secondly, Iranians could not do anything even after taking Arabs' assaults seriously

Therefore, the Iranian army was not a fighting shape during that period. This army suffered from the disorders that had beset the Iranian ruling system after its defeat from the Romans. It had seriously damaged the credibility of the Sassanids government among Iranians, themselves

Spuler writes on the speedy withdrawal of the Iranian army from Iraq, “The speedy victories of Arabs and fast retreat of Iranian forces from the region had more deep-rooted reasons. On the one hand, Mesopotamia, with its Aramaic or Aramaic-turned settlers

which was largely populated by Christians and besides them, followers of Baptism and

Jews and limited number of Manicheans, opposed the rule of Iran in the region

On the other hand, there were few Iranians in the region and villagers showed no resistance against the advance of Arabs, although they did not welcome the invading Arabs as it was done simultaneously in Egypt extremely excited by the acts of [Byzantium](#). However, the situation in Mesopotamia was similar to that of Egypt.”[\(1\)](#)

Umar's Caliphate

About Caliph II

Umar was from the Banu 'Adi tribe, one of the branches of the Quraysh. His mother, 'Hantama, was the daughter of Hashim Ibn Mughira from the Banu Makhzum clan. Banu Makhzum was another branch of the Quraysh and an ally of the Umayya in the Dark Age. Unlike Abu Bakr, 'Umar converted to Islam years after the ordainment of [Prophet Muhammad \(S\)](#).

Many sources say he converted in the sixth year of the Prophethood of Prophet Muhammad (S). Mas'udi says he converted four years before Hijra, i.e. the ninth year [\(of the Prophethood of Prophet Muhammad \(S\)\).\(2\)](#)

Umar was present in wars and events in Medina, although history has recorded no' specific memory about him. When his daughter, Hafsa, became the Prophet's wife, his [relations with the Messenger of God were reinforced](#)

In this connection, he was like Abu Bakr. We wrote that the Prophet (S) made them brothers by contract.[\(3\)](#) They were inseparable throughout the entire life of the Prophet (S). They held common stances in the

p: ۵۶

Spuler, Tarikh Iran, vol. I, p. ۱۳-۱

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ۳۲۱-۲

.Sahmi, Tarikh Jurjan p. ۹۶-۳

developments of Saqifa and it was because of 'Umar's insistence on stabilizing Abu

Bakr's caliphate that Imam 'Ali (a) accused him of working for his own future.⁽¹⁾ This was well justified for others

When Abu Bakr handed over the oath of caliphate to him and asked him to read it for the people, someone asked him, "What is in this letter

He replied, "I do not know for sure, but I shall be the first one to obey it!" The person said, "But I know what it is. The first year you appointed him as caliph and the second year, he installed you as the caliph of Muslims."⁽²⁾

The above quotation shows that people were aware of the political bond between these two. Apparently, people saw one way of thinking throughout the caliphate of Abu Bakr in these two persons. In other words, they believed that 'Umar's caliphate was the continuation of Abu Bakr's and that their caliphate was a single administration.

Qays Ibn Abi Hazim says, "I saw 'Umar in the mosque, with a stick of date branch in his hand trying to make people sit down. Abu Bakr's servant, named Shudayd, came to the mosque and read a message from Abu Bakr and then, 'Umar mounted the pulpit."⁽³⁾ "It is true to say that Abu Bakr would not be a caliph if it were not for 'Umar."⁽⁴⁾

When Abu Bakr wanted to appoint Khalid Ibn Sa'id as commander of the army, 'Umar managed to change his mind

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Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 587; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VI, p. 11; Anas Ibn Malik – 1 says, "On Saqifa, I saw 'Umar forcing Abu Bakr to sit on the pulpit al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. 438

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. 174 Once Abu Bakr transferred a piece of land to someone with a title deed registered under his name, but 'Umar took the deed and destroyed it Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 47 Interesting to know is that they call them "Umarayn" meaning two 'Umars

٤- Ibn Abi al-Hadid writes al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ٣٨, هو (عمر) الذي شيد بيعة ابي بكر ورقم المخالفين فيها وكسر سيف زبير... ودفع صدر مقيداد... ولولا له لم يثبت لأبي بكر أمره ولا قامت له قائمته ‘ Umar was someone who straightened Abu Bakr’s allegiance and removed the dissenters, spit apart Zubayr’s sword, beat chest of Miqdad, if he had not helped, Abu Bakr’s caliphate would never be organized; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. ١٧٤

because Khalid swore allegiance to Abu Bakr only three months after the Saqifa (gathering.)^(١) Abu Bakr used to say he loved 'Umar more than others.”^(٢)

Umar addressed Ibn 'Abbas and said, “Indeed, if Abu Bakr did not believe me, he' would set aside your share of the government, and in that case, your tribesmen (Quraysh) would hate you.”^(٣) It was this belief in 'Umar that made Abu Bakr write an accord appointing 'Umar as his successor. Once he said, “I appointed 'Umar to (succeed me because I was afraid of eruption of any tension.”^(٤)

Before the appointment of 'Umar, Abu Bakr consulted 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf. He praised the caliph and said 'Umar was a quick-tempered man. Abu Bakr said, “He shows to be so in contrast with my tender-heartedness. He will calm down when he takes power.” Abu Bakr consulted 'Uthman, too

He said, “'Umar's nature is better than his countenance.”^(٥) This is all the consultation Abu Bakr made with the nobles of the Quraysh before appointing 'Umar

Uthman was always present in the caliph's bedside during his sickness. Abu Bakr' asked him to write the contract of succession on his behalf. After the beginning of the contract was written, Abu Bakr fell into coma and 'Uthman who knew his assignment, finished the oath and wrote the name of 'Umar in it. After regaining consciousness, Abu Bakr asked 'Uthman to read what he had written

He did so and Abu Bakr approved it.^(٦) Following this, Talha came to Abu Bakr and said, “You

al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. ۲۵۴ –۱
 Gharib al-Hadith, vol. II, p. ۲۲۲; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. ۱۷; al-Fa'iq fi Gharib al- –۲
 Hadith, vol. III, p. ۳۳۳; al-Adab al-Mufrad, Bukhari, p. ۲۹
 Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. ۲۸ –۳
 Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۲۰۰ –۴
 Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. ۴۲۸; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۱۹۹ –۵
 Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. ۴۲۹; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, pp ۱۶۳–۱۶۵; Nathr ad- –۶
 Durr, ol II, pp ۱۵ and ۲۳; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. II, p. ۴۲۵; Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p.
 ۲۶; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۲۰۰

witnessed how 'Umar behaves beside you and with your presence. Then, we do not
 (know what he will do without you.” Abu Bakr was angered by his objection. (۱)

Another quotation says the people objected to Abu Bakr for appointing a bad-
 tempered man to rule them. (۲) According to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Abu Bakr asked
 Mu'ayqab al-Rusi about the people's opinion regarding the appointment of 'Umar and
 ”.he replied, “Some are satisfied, some are not

”?Abu Bakr said, “Which group is greater in number

”.He said, “Those who are dissatisfied

Abu Bakr said, “The truth always shows its ugly face first, but it is finally the winner.” (۳)
 'Umar, himself, in his first sermon said he was aware of the fact that some people
 hated his caliphate. (۴) Ibn Qutayba has said that after hearing the news of Abu Bakr's
 death, Muslims in Damascus expressed their concern over 'Umar's likely coming to
 power and said, “If 'Umar assumes power, he will not be our “master” and we will
 (topple him.” (۵)

Abu Bakr did not make any serious consultations about 'Umar's caliphate. (۶) He
 believed that many of the Muhajirun were thinking about occupying the seat of
 caliphate. Once he told 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf that many men of Muhajirun were
 yearning for the seat of caliphate since the start of his caliphate. (۷) In his deathbed,
 (Abu Bakr warned 'Umar about the Muhajirun and their greed for ruling. (۸)

Abu Bakr's act of setting an age for caliphate, the principle of "succession" became legitimate in the political jurisprudence of the Sunnites

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Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. ۴۳۳ 'Ayisha mentions objection of "so and so", Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۲۷۴ Abu Bakr was told, "When he was not "caliph", he harshly treated us " "Oh, if he becomes a ruler, what will he do to us?" al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. ۴۴۹ Others complained of his "tongue and stick" al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۳۸ 'Ali also objected to Abu Bakr, Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۲۷۴;

Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. ۲۶

Abu Bakr Khallal, As-Sunna, p. ۲۷۵ -۲

Bahjat al-Majalis, vol. I, p. ۵۷۹ and about other objections, Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. -۳

I, p. ۱۸۳; al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ۱۵۲; al-Fa'iq fi Gharib al-Hadith, vol. I, pp ۹۹-۱۰۰

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. ۶۱ He, in the same speech, asked God to make him "good-

tempered" Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۲۷۴

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۳۸ -۵

Khayr al-Din Sawi writes, "Abu Bakr consulted with the companions before - ۶ selecting 'Umar (Tatawwur al-fikr As-Siyasi, p. ۴۰) Such a viewpoint clashes with historical facts and consultation with Ibn 'Awwf and 'Uthman is only known to us Of course, disagreements are more informative to us Faruq Nabhan, too, claimed that Abu Bakr always received advice from the faithful people (Ni'zam al-hukm fil-Islam, p.

(۹۳

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. ۱۶ -۷

Ibid vol. II, p. ۲۲ -۸

sect. However, according to Sunnites sources, this had no background in the Prophet's biography. The succession rule shares two pillars of hereditary government. In a hereditary government, the first pillar is succession and the second pillar is family and hereditary advantages. Its first pillar in the caliphate's biography took on a legitimate form. Just as Muhammad Rashid Rid'a has noted, this brought about

[hereditary caliphate in the time of the Umayyad.](#)

Abu Bakr's written oath practically appointed 'Umar as the caliph. Therefore, the people's allegiance could not be influential in his reign. Finally, we should say that the people's disagreement did not mean he could not be a caliph

This was indeed a sort of swearing obedience and loyalty to caliph. 'Umar, himself, believed that Abu Bakr's selection as the caliph of Muslims was impromptu and that the government had to be undertaken at the consultation of the believers, but he sat on the seat of caliphate based on an oath. He criticized the way of selecting Abu Bakr but did not say anything about his own odd way of assuming power

The Caliph's Character

The caliph was a quick-tempered man (۲) and an extremist (۳) and both characteristics seriously affected his political and administrative career. Management to him was some kind of strictness by which he did his best to maintain control over the Bedouin Arabs. His inner being was easily detectable in his thoughts and deeds during the lifetime of the Prophet of Islam

We know that in the war of Badr, he asked the

p: ۶۰

al-Khilafa wal-Imama, al-'U³ma quoted from, Andishih siyasi dar Islam mu'asir, p. – ۱ ۱۵۰; before Rashid Rid'a, Marwan Ibn Hakam referred to Abu Bakr's measure of making caliphate hereditary

Umar's ethics and ' Ibn Abi al-Hadid writes – ۲, وكان في اخلاق عمر والفاظه جفاء وعنجهيه ظاهره ' words represented self-pride of some kind Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. ۱۸۳

The caliph, in appearance, was tall and had a brown-colored face and on front part – ۳ of head, he was hairless, "Asla" According to Muhammad Ibn Habib, he had deceitful eyes al-Muhabbar p. ۳۰۳; al-Munammaq, p. ۴۰۵

Prophet (S) to kill all captives. His harsh treatment with Suhayl Ibn 'Amr, in the case of the Hdaybiyya peace deal, has been recorded in history. He also held extreme stances against the Hdaybiyya peace accord. On his first day of caliphate, he said, "O

﴿God! I am hot-tempered. Soften my behavior!﴾^(١)

He knew he could not live without his lash. Therefore, he was the first one in Islam who took the lash of “Dirra” in his hand.^(٢) They have said his cane was more
﴿horrendous than the sword of Hajjaj﴾^(٣)

As said, Talha objected to Abu Bakr as to why he imposed 'Umar upon them knowing
﴿that he is hot-tempered﴾^(٤)

”According to Ibn Shubba, a man told 'Umar, “People are mad at you; they hate you
”.'Umar asked, ” why'

﴿He replied, “They complain of your tongue and cane!﴾^(٥)

One day, Zubayr's slave was standing in prayers after evening prayers when he saw 'Umar approaching him with his Dirra (cane). The slave fled right then but 'Umar
﴿caught him. The slave said, “I'll never do so again!﴾^(٦)

After the death of Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan, 'Umar proposed marrying his wife but she did not accept because she believed 'Umar was ill-tempered when both leaving and entering the house.^(٧) Even 'Ayisha who had close relations with the caliph, prevented his marriage with her sister for the same reason.^(٨) 'Abd al-Razzaq San'ani quoted Ibrahim Nakha'i as saying that some day 'Umar was passing near a group of women
.when he smelled a perfume

He said, “If only I

p: ٤١

O God! I اللهم إني غليظ فليئني Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٢٧٤; Abu Bakr Khallal, As-Sunna –١
am hot-tempered, make me soft-tempered
Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٠٩; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ١٣٧; Hayat al-Hayawan, vol. I, –٢
p. ٣٤٤; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٢٨٢ The first one to be lashed by Dirrah was Umm
Farwa, Abu Bakr's sister when she was crying for Abu Bakr after his death and 'Umar

deemed crying for the dead unrightful Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. ١٨١

Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. III, p. ١٨٨; Hayat al-Hayawan, vol. I, p. ٥١; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. ١٨٨; al-Taratib al-idariyya, vol. II, p. ٣٧٦; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٢٨١

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. VI, p. ٣٤٣, vol. I, p. ١٦٤; Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, pp ١٢٨ and ١٣٠

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ٨٥٨-٥

al-Ma'rifa wal-Tarikh, vol. I, pp ٣٦٤-٣٦٥-٦

He entered with sullen face and went يدخل عابساً ويخرج عابساً Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. ٦١-٧ out in the same way

al-Aghani, vol. XVI, p. ٩٣; al-Isti'ab, vol. I, p. ٢٧٣-٨

knew whose perfume this is. Then, I would know what to do with her. Women should wear perfume for their husbands only." According to the same story, the woman who had worn perfume urinated out of fear (١) and another woman who saw her had a (miscarriage.) (٢)

As a matter of fact, no one dared ask a question from 'Umar and he preferred to do it (through 'Uthman or someone else.) (٣)

Umar considered the criterion of strictness in selecting his rulers for the states. (٤) He did not show mercy to offenders, no matter what tribe they belonged to. This made Jabala Ibn 'Ayham, a ruler of Damascus, who had committed a fault flee from Mecca (to Damascus and turn away from Islam.) (٥)

Even governors and the caliph's children were not immune to his wrath. One day, he beat up one of his sons for the exquisite garment he had put on and the son burst into tears. When Hafsa objected, 'Umar said, "He was acting proudly and I punished him to (belittle him.)" (٦)

He beat one of his children to death for drinking wine. (٧) Apparently, 'Amr Ibn 'As had lashed him in Egypt for the same reason and on his return to Medina, his father beat him to death. When he was about to die, he told his father, "You killed me

Umar said, “If you should see God, tell Him we observe his punishment (Hadd) on earth.”⁽¹⁾ His severe treatment raised public hatred and dissatisfaction. The people asked 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf to

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al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. IV, pp 343-344 -1

Jami' al-bayan al-'Ilm, vol. II, p. 103; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. 174 -2

al-Fakhri, p. 106 (Persian Translation -3

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. I, p. 15 -4

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. I, p. 265; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 302-304; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, -5

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. 183 About him, different stories are said of 'Umar's treatment and his repentance in manner of treating him Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p.

147

al-Musannaf, vol. I, p. 416 -6

Hayat al-Hayawan, vol. I, p. 49; Mus'ab Zubayri, Nasab Quraysh, p. 356 -7

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 841 -8

.talk to him in this regard and tell him that girls fear him even in their houses

Umar replied, “People will not be reformed except with this method; otherwise, they will even strip me of my clothes.”⁽¹⁾ He, himself, admitted that people feared him because of his harshness.⁽²⁾ In essence, the same treatments could stop public disagreement on his approach.⁽³⁾ When the Prophet (S) ordered men not to beat their wives, 'Umar asked the Prophet (S) to let men beat their wives like in the past but he did not accept.⁽⁴⁾

We said that 'Umar's concept of religion had made an extremist out of him. Punishing his son to death for drinking wine was one example. He was very strict towards women and did not let them attend morning and evening congregational prayers. He did not have sensible military courage but he attached special significance to Jihad.⁽⁵⁾

This is why he omitted “Hayya 'Ala Khayr al-'Amal” (Rush to the best deed) from Adhan (the call to prayers, under the pretext that people would not go to the holy war.

Of course, he added a good part to Adhan and that was saying, “Prayer is better than sleep”. Iman as-Sajjad and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar considered “Hayya 'Ala Khayr al-'Amal” (hasten to good deed) obligatory in Adhan(۶) and Abu Hanifa believed that “as-Salat Khayr min al-Nawm” (Prayer is better than sleep) should be told after Adhan (because it is not part of it.(۷)

Umar was harsh in his conduct with people. This contradicted the'

p: ۶۳

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. ۳۵; 'Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. I, p. ۱۲ – ۱

Hayat al-Hayawan, vol. I, p. ۴۹ – ۲

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. IV, PP ۳۴–۳۵ – ۳

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VIII, p. ۲۰۵ – ۴

al-Aghani, vol. VI, p. ۲۷۹ – ۵

Huwiyyat al-tashayyu', p. ۴۷ from, al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, Sunan Biyhaqi – ۶

Ibid p. ۴۶ from, Taysir al-usul – ۷

fact that he tried to rule as a caliph and not as a Sultan. 'Utba Ibn Ghazwan, who served as ruler of Basra for six months only, and was indeed commander of Muslim forces in Basra made a very illustrative speech

He points to the economic problems in the time of the Prophet of Islam and the poverty of his companions, he drew a comparison with the time of 'Umar and said each one of the companions had become an emir of a city

There is no prophethood not to be abolished by the “land”. I will take refuge in God“ when prophets turn to be “kings” and I will seek God's shelter when I feel a great man in myself but be despicable in view of people. You will soon see emirs coming after us, (and you will know them soon and will deny them.”(۸)

It was a general attitude that time and many people were sure that the caliphate would turn into kingdom. 'Umar, himself, used to say he wondered whether he was a caliph or a king. Ka'b al-Ahbar assured him he was a caliph and that he had found his

(name in the divine books!) (۲) Apparently, Abu Bakr imagined himself a king. (۳)

Despite 'Umar's harsh behavior, many dared criticize him. When Bilal was getting ready to say the Adhan, 'Umar objected to him, saying it was not time for prayers, but Bilal responded, “I knew the time when you were more astray than the ass of

p: ۶۴

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, pp ۶-۷-۱

Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. ۳۶; al-Taratib al-idariyya, vol. I, p. ۱۳; Tarikh at-Tabari, -۲

vol. IV, p. ۲۱۱; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۳۰۶

Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. III, pp ۴۷۵-۴۷۶ -۳

(your tribe.” (۱)

”.Umar used to say, “Guide me if you see a fault in me’

A Bedouin Arab replied, “We will guide you with a sword if we see a fault in you.” Hearing this, 'Umar thanked God that there was somebody in the tribe to guide him by force. (۲) On the contrary, 'Ayisha, daughter of 'Uthman, believed that 'Umar's (roughness prevented ordinary people from criticizing him. (۳)

Umar himself, believed that the best policy for leading Muhammad's nation was to act with power and not by force, to be soft but not lax, to bestow but not go to (extremes, and to have abstinence but without stinginess. (۴)

His strictness showed its signs in the economic segment as well. He preferred a simple life for himself and for his functionaries and family. It appears that the Prophet's lifestyle was still common among people and some of the emirs. 'Umar had an extremist pious understanding of religion

You“ ”. “أَذْهَبْتُمْ طَيِّبَاتِكُمْ فِي حَيَاتِكُمُ الدُّنْيَا. ” A sign of this was his understanding of the verses selfishly used your pure gifts in your worldly life,” that allows Muslims to be so. Of course, he was objected to for this and when he learned that the verse concerned

(infidels, (۵)

he accepted it. His pious life did not mean that he had no wealth during his caliphate; but rather, it has been mentioned in sources that 'Umar was among the wealthiest of [the Quraysh.](#)[\(٤\)](#)

”?Someone asked Nafi', “Was 'Umar in debt
Nafi' said, “How could he be in debt when one

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Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq vol. XI, p. ٢٧٤ -١

Tafsir al-Manar, vol. XI, p. ٢٦٦ -٢

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. IV, p. ٣٤ -٣

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ٨٧٩; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, pp ٣٤٤- -٤

٣٤٥

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. ١٨٢ -٥

Kashf al-astar, vol. II, p. ٣٠٣; Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. ٣٤٧ -٦

of his inheritors, alone, sold his inheritance at ١٠٠٠٠٠ dhms?[\(١\)](#) 'Umar had set his wife's marriage portion at ٤٠٠٠ dhms.[\(٢\)](#) Also once, he bestowed tens of thousands of dhms from his original wealth to his son-in-law.[\(٣\)](#) More pious than 'Umar was Salman who [warned him against luxury life.](#)[\(٤\)](#)

Umar's Functionaries

With the expansion of this period's conquests, vast lands fell under the rule of the Medina government. Running these lands needed managers with new values who could open the way for more conquests. In fact, the most important point for the .caliph and Muslims in those conditions was further enlarging the conquered lands

For running the affairs of border regions, mostly those people were chosen who had enough military capability and experience. Thus, one of the main criteria of the caliph for selecting a functionary was someone with such an ability who could properly run .the city and the region under his control

.A list of 'Umar's functionaries in the cities was as follows

Mecca, Muhriz Ibn Haritha Ibn 'Abd Shams; Qunfudh Ibn 'Umayr Taymi; Nafi' Ibn •
; 'Abd al-Harith Khuza'i; Khalid Ibn 'As Makhzumi

Yemen, 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Rabi'a Makhzumi •

Bahrayn, 'Ala' Had'rami, Qudamat Ibn Maz'un, 'Uthman Ibn Abi l-'As, Abu Hurayrah, •
Ayyash Ibn Abi Thawr

Amman, Someone from the Ansar and then 'Uthman Ibn Abi l-'As' •

Basra, Shurayh Ibn 'Amir, 'Utba Ibn Ghazwan, Mughira Ibn Shu'ba, Abu Musa Ash'ari •

Yamama, Salama Ibn Sallama Ansari •

Kufa, Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas, 'Ammar Ibn Yasir, Jubayr Ibn Mut'im, Mughira Ibn •
Shu'ba

Ta'if, 'Uthman Ibn •

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Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ۹۳۵; Jami' al-bayan al-'Ilm, vol. II, p. ۱۷-۱
Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VIII, p. ۴۶۴; al-Taratib al-idariyya, vol. II, p. ۴۰۵; al-Bahr al- -۲
zakhkhar, vol. III, p. ۱۰۱; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۱۹۰; al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba,
vol. IV, p. ۱۹۰

Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ۱۲۰; Kanz al-'Ummal, vol. II, p. ۳۱۷; Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. -۳

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Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. X, p. ۴۶-۴

Abi l-'As, Sufyan Ibn 'Abd Allah Thaqafi

Greater Syria, Abu 'Ubayda Jarrah, Mu'adh Ibn Jabal, Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan, •
(Mu'awiya Ibn Abi Sufyan)

Palestine, Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan, 'Amr Ibn 'As •

Egypt, 'Amr Ibn 'As •

Hijaz and Adharbayjan, 'Ayad' Ibn Ghanam, Habib Ibn Maslama Fihri, 'Umayr Ibn •

[Sa'd Ansari](#) [\(۲\)](#)

[\(It has been stated that, for sometime, Salman used to rule Ctesiphon.\)](#) [\(۳\)](#)

As indicated by the above-mentioned names, 'Umar selected few people from among the companions to run the affairs. Once he was asked about it, 'Umar answered he did not intend to corrupt them with executive affairs. [\(۴\)](#) This has been quoted by [\(several historians. Most answers are the same as mentioned.\)](#) [\(۵\)](#)

Sha'bi, who is the reliable source of the Sunnis, however says, "Umar did not allow the Muhajirs to leave Medina and told them, "What I fear most is that you will become scattered in towns and cities." He has added, "If any of them asked permission to go to war, 'Umar would say, "As you have fought alongside the Prophet, that should [\(suffice you.\)](#)" [\(۶\)](#)

Also, Hasan Basri says, "If any of the companions wanted to leave Medina, he had to seek 'Umar's permission." [\(۷\)](#) Preventing the companions' exit, as some people have said, was not limited to the Quraysh; rather, he basically prevented the exit of those companions who could turn into a pivotal figure in any city and could somehow stand [.against the caliph](#)

Another reason for his choices was found in that 'Umar wanted to prevent the spread [of the](#)

p: ۶۷

Khalifa Ibn Khayyat makes it clear that Mu'awiya ruled Greater Syria in ending – ۱
years of 'Umar's caliphate

Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, pp ۱۵۳–۱۵۶–۲

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ۳۰۶–۳

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٤٩٩ -٤

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. II, p. ٣٤١; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ١٠٦ -٥

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. ٣٩٧; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, pp -٦

١٥٩-١٦٠

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. ٣٩٦ -٧

Prophet's hadiths in different towns and cities. Khatib Baghdadi has narrated that 'Umar sent messages to Abul-Darda' Abu Mas'ud Ansari and 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud, saying, "What are all these hadiths you are quoting from Prophet Muhammad?" Later, these people were not allowed to leave Medina^(١) until 'Umar was killed

According to the same quote, Qard'at Ibn Ka'b says, "When we were leaving Medina, 'Umar saw us off. Then, he asked, "Do you know why I am seeing you off? I wanted to tell you not to narrate the hadiths of the Prophet for the people in the cities you go. I, too, am your partner." Qard'at says, "Afterwards, I did not narrate any more hadiths."^(٢)

Preventing the exit of the companions and not employing them was a policy 'Umar followed carefully. People such as Sha'bi sought the problem of 'Uthman in his policy which was exactly the opposite of 'Umar's. It is said that once, Zubayr asked 'Umar to let him take part in wars.'Umar responded, "I will not allow the companions of the Prophet to go to different cities and mislead the people."^(٣)

Also, it was once protested to him, "Why do you give the affairs to people such as " مؤلفه قلوبهم " Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan, Sa'id Ibn 'As, Mu'awiya and the like who are from the Those whose hearts are captured as well as those who are the liberated ones' " طلقا " but you avoid using 'Ali, 'Abbas, Zubayr and Talha?" 'Umar said he was afraid they would go

p: ٦٨

Sharaf Ashab al-hadith, p. ٨٧ -١

Sharaf Ashab al-hadith, p. ٨٨ -٢

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XX, p. ٢٠ -٣

Also, 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf asked 'Umar, “Why don't you allow them to go to jihad?” 'Umar said, “If I remain silent and refrain from answering your question, it would be better.”^(٢) The unacceptable justification of Ahmad Amin is that it was due to the importance of Medina that 'Umar kept the Ansar in the city.^(٣) This viewpoint is different from that of Sha'bi and Hasan Basri

Ibn Sa'd says, “'Umar appointed people such as 'Amr Ibn 'As, Mu'awiya and Mughira, but not people like 'Uthman, 'Umar, Talha, Zubayr and 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf because the formers were strong and well-informed in executive affairs. Moreover, 'Umar dominated them and was an awful figure for them. When he was asked why he I “أكره أن أدنسيهم بالعمل” did not use the great companions of the Prophet, he would say (please not to taint them with action.”^(٤)

We previously referred to the caliph's behavior. He preferred strict managers, even if they were not so virtuous. One of the problematic cities for 'Umar was the newly established city of Kufa. For a period, it was ruled by Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas who was removed following the people's protests

After him, 'Ammar Yasir came to power, but he, too, was accused of impotence and 'Umar removed him. The next person was Jubayr Ibn Mut'im who again failed to stay in office. At this time, when 'Umar was greatly baffled, he asked Mughira who he saw suitable for ruling Kufa

,Mughira said

p: ٤٩

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. IX, pp ٢٩-٣٠; al-Fitnat al-Kubra, pp ٨٠-٨١

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٥٨; there, he said that if Quraysh were permitted to leave, they would be led to the left and right wings

”Appoint me as the city's governor“

”!Umar answered, “You are a lewd man’

Mughira said, “My efficiency is for you and my lewdness for myself.” 'Umar liked his response and appointed him as governor of Kufa.^(١) Before that, Mughira had ruled Basra for a while. There, he had illicit relations with a married woman named Umm Jamil. This affair was so explicit that four people saw him during adultery. But, only one of them gave false testimony and that saved Mughira from being stoned

Different sources are unanimous that 'Umar had asked the fourth person to testify in such a manner.^(٢) 'Umar's policy of choosing such people caused Hudhayfa Ibn Yaman to protest to the caliph about his appointment of corrupt people.'Umar answered, “I use his power (in running the affairs).”^(٣)

Also, once, someone who was a governor of Abu Musa Ash'ari in a region of Bahrayn, came to Medina. He asked Yarfa' Hajib, “What character does 'Umar like best

”.He answered, “Toughness

That man said, “When I attended the caliph's court, I took on a serious expression. It was then that I realized 'Umar paid more attention to me,” after a while, he asked me

”Where are you working now?” I answered“

Umar said, “From now on, you are appointed in that region directly by me.”^(٤)

One important point about 'Umar's functionaries was his supervision over their manner of treating people and the Bayt al-Mal or the public treasury. 'Umar maintained a special control over them and recorded their wealth at the start of their term

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٥٥; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. I, p. ٢٢; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. -١

٨٠

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٤٦; al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. VII, pp ٣٨٤-٣٨٥; al-
Aghani, vol. XVI, p. ٩٤ about other cases, al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. VIII, p. ٢١٧-

٢١٩

Gharib al-Hadith, vol. III, p. ٢٣٩; al-Fa'iq, vol. III, p. ٢١٥-٣
al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. I, pp ١٤-١٥-٤

.in office

In this concern, 'Umar considered almost all his functionaries(١) to be guilty and halved their belongings when they returned from the region of service. He gave half of the wealth to them and gave the other half to the Bayt al-Mal. This act is called the
".“dividing in two halves of the wealth

It was natural for 'Umar to believe that his functionaries had gathered the wealth illegally, but as he did not know a particular way for separating the legal from the illegal. He had decided to divide the wealth as mentioned except in a few cases. One of these governors was Abu Hurayra who ruled Bahrayn. When he returned from his mission, 'Umar divided his wealth and ordered him to be punished. Then, 'Umar asked him to go back to work! Abu Hurayra said he would not accept to return because his
(money had been seized, he had been disgraced and he had been beaten as well!(٢

Amr Ibn 'As, too, saw his wealth divided.(٣) Other people to have the same fate were'
Abu Musa Ash'ari, Harith Ibn Ka'b and 'Utba Ibn Sufyan who were in charge of
(collecting alms in Ta'if.(٤

Abu Bakra was another governor whose wealth was divided. He protested to 'Umar and said, “If all these riches belong to God, who don't you take them all and if they are
(mine, why are you doing so, then?”(٥

As we said earlier, after dividing the wealth of his functionaries, 'Umar re-appointed
.them to their posts

For example, he accused Abu Hurayra of theft *Tabaqat al-Kubra*, vol. IV, p. ٣٣٥ –١
Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. I, pp ٥٣–٥٤; *Futuh al-Buldan*, p. ٩٣; *al-'Iqd al-Farid*, vol. I, p. ٤٥٦ –٢
Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. IV, p. ٣٣٥ –٣
Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. ١٧٥ –٤
al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. I, p. ٤٦ –٥

Imam 'Ali has been quoted as having the same protest of Abu Bakr about why the functionaries were returned to work. One such instance was that one of 'Umar's functionaries had returned from Yemen and was wearing an exquisite robe. 'Umar [ordered his attire to be taken off and ordered him to return to his post.](#)^(١)

Also, 'Umar once heard that his governor in the city of Hims had built a nice house and had set a door-keeper for it. 'Umar sent someone to burn the door of his house, but [after a while, sent him back to work.](#)^(٢)

This act even trapped people such as Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas. Baladhuri has provided a list of those governors whose wealth was divided, Nafi' Ibn Harith, Nafi' Ibn Harith, Bushr Ibn Muhtafar, Jaz Ibn Mu'awiya, Khalid Ibn Harith, Qays Ibn 'Asim, Samura Ibn Jundab, Mujashi' Ibn Mas'ud, Shibl Ibn Ma'bad and Abu Maryam Ibn Muhrash. These people, as said by Baladhuri, were mostly responsible for collecting alms in the cities.^(٣) Of course, the names of people such as Salman and 'Ammar Ibn Yasir are included on the list

Controlling his functionaries was a principle in 'Umar's policies. This supervision mostly focused on the financial aspect. When 'Umar heard that 'Amr Ibn 'As had taken some money from the Bayt al-Mal, he wrote to him, “I knew people from the Muhajirun who were much better than you, but I appointed you thinking that you had little need.”

After that, 'Umar sent Muhammad

(Ibn Maslama to divide the wealth of 'Amr Ibn 'As. (۱)

Another quotation says once 'Umar heard that 'Ayad' Ibn Ghanam was living a luxurious life, wearing exquisite clothes and eating delicious meals. He sent Muhammad Ibn Maslama to fetch him. When 'Ayad' came, 'Umar gave him a walking stick and a robe. Then, he tasked him with taking three hundred sheep to the pasture.

.He was looking after the sheep for two months

Once, 'Ayad' decided to get rid of his situation with the mediation of 'Umar's wife. When 'Umar found out, he harshly told his wife, “This is not your business! You are a mere means of joy that is discarded after having fun. (۲) Now, you are meddling in the affairs of me and Muslims?” Then, with 'Uthman's arbitration, 'Umar sent 'Ayad' back (to his post and committed him not to return to his previous situation. (۳)

Sometimes, 'Umar would go to the house of his agents, accompanied by someone. He would remain silent and his friend would ask permission for entry. Then, he entered the house unexpectedly and this way, he tried to supervise their way of life. (۴) In one occasion, he heard that Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas had built a palace and had set a portal (for the building. 'Umar sent someone to Kufa to set the gate on fire. (۵)

Of course, some of 'Umar's functionaries lived luxurious lives, but 'Umar was not strict with them. two instances were 'Amr Ibn 'As and Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan. (۶) This could

p: ۷۳

Futuh al-Buldan, pp ۹۰, ۲۹۹ and ۳۹۶ -۱

۲- انما انت لعبته يلعب بك، ثم تتركين No doubt, you are his plaything and finally thrown away

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۸۱۷; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. ۱۷۸ (with a little difference

Ibid vol. III, p. ۸۳۶ -۴

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۲۴; Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۲۷۷ -۵

.have been due to his trust in their management skills

In some cases, too, he had special interest in certain persons. For example, he was greatly fond of Zayd Ibn Thabit. Once, Abu Bakr asked 'Umar to appoint Zayd, then a teenager, to a post in financial affairs. When 'Umar came to power and Zayd returned to him with some money, 'Umar bestowed on Zayd all the money he had brought with [\(him.١\)](#)

One day, 'Umar heard that Abu Musa Ash'ari had lashed one of the fighters of the army and had shaved his head. He wrote to Abu Musa that if he had done this in public, he must receive Qisas or get retaliatory punishment in public. And, if he had done it secretly, again he would have to be punished in the same manner. When Abu [\(Musa was getting ready for Qisas, the lashed man forgave him.٢\)](#)

At any rate, 'Umar's orders and letters to the governors of different lands, his questioning of the emirs of cities and his urging them to observe justice, have been mentioned in numerous occasions by various sources.[\(٣\)](#) This situation, whatever reason it had, did not last after 'Umar. 'Uthman, during his years of caliphate, left his functionaries to themselves. This prevented a personality such as Imam 'Ali from [controlling the situation](#)

The narrator says, "Once, some money was brought to 'Umar. His child took one dhm, put it in its mouth and went away. 'Umar went after him and took the money." The narrator

p: ٧٤

Ibid vol. III, pp ٨٥٤-٨٥٥; al-Isaba, vol. I, p. ٨٥ -١

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara vol. III, p. ٨٠٩ -٢

See a collection of commands, letters and speeches in, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn -٣
Abi al-Hadid, vol. XII, pp ١٩٤-١٩٦ He wrote to the people of cities, "I have not sent my agents to oppress you or seize your property I've sent them to teach you religion and

tradition Anyone isolated this, complain to me for retaliating him because I saw the Prophet (S) doing so, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XII, p. ۲۲ and for treating harshly that is because of lack of understanding the Qur'anic verses, Ibid vol. XII, pp ۱۵ and ۱۷

adds, "I was sitting with 'Uthman when some money was brought to him, His child took a coin and then, his servant took one, but he did not protest. I burst into tears.

.When 'Uthman asked the reason, I told him the story

Uthman said, "'Umar did not give to his relatives for God's sake, but I am giving to my' (folks for God's sake."^(۱)

Among his functionaries, 'Umar did not question one particular person. He was Mu'awiya, son of Abu Sufyan who had converted to Islam even later than his father. Appointing Mu'awiya as the governor of Damascus during the last six years of 'Umar's caliphate was one of the sensitive issues of that time. The caliph was accused of playing a major role in stabilizing the status of the Umayya in Damascus

Umar did not remove Mu'awiya from office when he called him the Arab Caesar.^(۲) Once, 'Umar told Mu'awiya that he did not abide by enjoining to good and forbidding from evil.^(۳) During 'Umar's rule, the entire Damascus was under Mu'awiya's control.^(۴) Even at the time of death, 'Umar told the six-man council, "Do not have (differences with each other because Mu'awiya is in Damascus!^(۵)

Also, Qad'i 'Abd al-Jabbar, a fanatic Sunnites, says, "Although 'Umar strictly controlled his agents and sometimes changed them, he never had such a behavior towards (Mu'awiya."^(۶)

Abu Bakr Asam said, "Mu'awiya was rightful in his war against 'Ali because 'Umar had appointed him."^(۷) Later, 'Umar's political and religious conduct turned into a tradition.

Once, when there was

p: ۷۵

of “Orthodox Caliphs” excluding what Imam ‘Ali said and reflected more in culture of Shia belongs not to Abu Bakr and ‘Uthman but to ‘Umar. What history tells of this heritage is legion and the Sunnites typically adopted its acceptability through ‘Umar’s letters and catch phrases. It is admitted that, apart from caliph’s certain matters concerned with Imamate, the Hashimites and some juriprudic rulers as well as religious values, what persists has had and still has a high place in contrast to ‘Umar’s, the Umayya’s and the ‘Abbasids’s biography. The Sunnites reformists portrayed this considerably and undeniably. See, *Tarikh falsafih dar Islam*, vol. II, article on “Tafakkur siyasi dar Sadr Islam” is mainly vested upon the same acceptability transferred from ‘Umar and presented an idealistic image of the Islamic government and principles of Islamic policy. The caliph held that the assets of Bayt al-Mal are not privately owned but it is divine property, “Mal Allah” at his disposal (Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, pp ۲۷۵-۲۷۶) while ‘Uthman regarded it as personal property, ‘Umar Himself moved around the city as a “night guard” (Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۲۸۱).
Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. ۶۱; *al-’Iqd al-Farid*, vol. III, p. ۳۶۵-۲
Dala’il As-Sidq, vol. III, p. ۳۱۲ quoted from *Tarikh at-Tabari*, vol. VI, p. ۱۸۴-۳
Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, vol. I, p. ۱۵۷. This is against the idea of Ibn Kathir who believes that ‘Umar had him control some parts of greater Syria. *al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya*, vol. III, p. ۱۲۴
Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. ۳۷-۵
Tathbit Dala’il al-Nubuwwa, p. ۵۹۳-۶
Masa’il al-Imamah, p. ۶۰-۷

a dispute between Talha and Imam 'Ali over a pitcher at the presence of 'Uthman

”?Mu'awiya asked, “Did it exist at the time of 'Umar

”.They said, “Yes

(He answered, “Can you change something which was fixed during 'Umar's period?”)

Before Mu'awiya, his brother, Yazid, was the governor of parts of Damascus. This issue began at the time of Abu Bakr. When he appointed Khalid Ibn Sa'id as the commander of an army in Damascus, 'Umar insisted that he be replaced with Yazid

Ibn Abi Sufyan because Khalid Ibn Sa'id who was in Yemen on behalf of Prophet Muhammad, returned after the Prophet's demise and complained to Imam 'Ali about
Abu Bakr's coming to power

That was why 'Umar preferred Yazid Ibn Sufyan to him.^(۲) After Yazid's death, Mu'awiya succeeded him and ruled Damascus during the last four years of 'Umar's caliphate.^(۳) Jahiz has interesting interpretations about the gradual reinforcement of
(Mu'awiya's position in Damascus from the time of Abu Bakr until 'Uthman.^(۴)

Among the caliph's agents, in addition to Mughira, there were other lewd people, too. One of them was Qudama Ibn Maz'un who was a drunkard and was lashed for this.^(۵) Another governor of 'Umar, Nu'man Ibn 'Adi, wrote poems on wine and drunkenness.^(۶) It was reported to 'Umar that Nu'man ran the affairs in the best
(possible way, but did not say his prayers on time.^(۷)

At the end of this part, it would be suitable to mention some other points considered by the caliph in choosing his agents. During his early years

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Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۴۹۹, No ۱۲۸۶; Ibn 'Asakir mentions various evidence – ۱
concerningly Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, pp ۱۸–۲۵ and ۴۴–۷۳
al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. ۴۵۴ –۲
Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۸۳۸ –۳
Rasa'il al-Jahiz, al-Rasail As-Siyasiyya, p. ۳۴۴ –۴
al-Ishtiqaq, p. ۱۳; al-Fa'iq, vol. I, p. ۴۳۱; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. ۵۶۰–۵۶۱ –۵
Mus'ab Zubayri, Nasab Quraysh, p. ۳۸۲ –۶
Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. ۵۶۰ –۷

in Iraq and Damascus, 'Umar showed that if he did not choose his commanders from among the noble companions, he could not go beyond the limits of the Quraysh and their allies such as the Tha'qif and sometimes, the Ansar who were trusted by the Quraysh. Therefore, despite the fact that Muthanna Ibn Haritha had grown his power in Iraq and was apparently trusted, 'Umar did not appoint him as commander in the

.war against Iranians

Also, when 'Utba Ibn Ghazwan, the founder of the city of Basra, complained to 'Umar about the way Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas was enjoining to good and forbidding from evil, 'Umar told him why he was not willing to accept the rule of someone from the .Quraysh

Moreover, 'Umar tried to choose his agents from the cities not from nomadic tribes. Once 'Umar heard from Utba that he had appointed Mujashi' Ibn Mas'ud as his successor in Basra and as Mujashi' had not been available then, had appointed .Mughira Ibn Shu'ba

In response, 'Umar said, “It is better that Mughira rules Basra, not Mujashi' because Mujashi' is from nomads and Mughira is a city-dweller.”⁽¹⁾ Mughira was a Thaqafi .residing in Ta'if

Thoughts of the Second Caliph

The second caliph, more than any other personality, influenced the thoughts and ideas of the Sunnites. As his period of caliphate was a highly crucial juncture in the history of Islam, his thoughts and deeds, too, were of great significance for Sunnites Muslims. This is the extent to which he is considered as a role

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Mu‘jam al-Buldan, vol. I, p. ۴۳۲ –۱

model who made no mistakes and every word or act of him can be trusted as a .religious tradition. Therefore, it is necessary to talk about him here

The high status of 'Umar in Sunnites thinking, can not be compared to anyone else. In the narrations told about 'Umar's good traits, the ranking attributed to him is a little lower than prophethood! This status has been interpreted as “Muhaddath”. .”Muhaddath is said to be someone who receives “revelations

In a narration found in Bukhari, Muslim and in addition toothers, Abu Hurayra has been quoted as saying that the Prophet Muhammad said, “There were people among the Israelian tribe who received revelations without being a prophet. If there is anyone in my Umma who is such, that person is certainly 'Umar.” According to Qastalani, the commentator of the book of Bukhari, the “if” in the above-mentioned .”sentence, does not mean “hesitation” but means “emphasis

Besides such quotations, there is, on the whole, a certain idea about the caliph's measures at the Prophet's time, indicating that before God revealed something, 'Umar had ordered that and then, God had sent down some verses in that regard. .These instances are known as ”'Umar's Muwafiqat”,or 'Umar's agreement

It is interesting that in some cases, the viewpoint of the Prophet was in conflict with 'Umar's, but God has sent down verses agreeing with 'Umar's idea! 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar has been quoted as saying that all the verses God sent down about something discussed by 'Umar and others, were

p: ٧٨

in accordance with 'Umar's idea. Some of such examples are saying prayers for Ibrahim, the verse of Hijab, the Badr captives, banning drinking, not saying prayers for hypocrites and so on. It is evident, then, why 'Umar's status was close to prophethood and later, his way of behavior was regarded superior even to that of the .Prophet

Here, we must note the point that 'Umar was as strong in practice as he was weak in thought. He, himself, had admitted this several times and had sought help from others in solving his problems. 'Allama Amini has allocated almost half of the sixth volume of Rare reports about the knowledge of “نوادير الاثر في علم عمر”, the book of al-Ghadir entitled .'Umar,” on these issues

It was due to this weakness in knowledge that 'Umar did not like religious discussions I Swear “وَالذَّارِيَاتِ ذُرْوًا. and debates and once, when someone asked him the meaning of (to pollinating winds,” 'Umar beat him up. (1)

One of the main features of the second caliph's thinking was that he saw himself entitled to vast authorities as a ruler. He considered a special right for himself, not only in political and executive affairs, but also in divine legislation and making laws. Relying on the same authorities during his caliphate, 'Umar made innovations and changes and did not deem himself obliged to anything except having a general knowledge of the Qur'an and the Shari'a

In cases where he found himself incompetent, he would hold consultations and deliberations with

p: ٧٩

al-Ibana 'An shari'a al-firqa al-Najiya, vol. I, p. ٤١٥; 'Aqida As-Salaf Ashab al-hadith, -١
Abu 'Uthman Isma'il Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman As-Sabuni, pp ٤٧-٤٨

the Companions to get things done. Narrating an interesting story told by Tabari is appropriate here to realize the caliph's idea about his authorities, "Imran Ibn Sawad". says, "I said the morning prayers with 'Umar and then, followed him

"?He asked, "You have a request

"!I said, "Yes, advice

"!He said, "Bravo! Go on

".I said, "People find faults with you in several things

"?Holding his lash under his chin, 'Umar said, "Well

I said, "You have forbidden the lesser pilgrimage (the 'Umra Hajj) during the months of Hajj while Prophet Muhammad said it was permitted; neither did Abu Bakr act like".you

Umar said, "This was to show people that they were not exempt from the main Hajj".by doing the 'Umra

I asked, “You have banned the temporary marriage of women while the Prophet had
”?allowed it

Umar said, “I am equal to Muhammad; I make them full and do so and so for them. If
I do not do so (harsh behavior), I'll abandon the truth (this is ironical of his having right
(to do so).”⁽¹⁾

There are two basic points in this quotation containing plenty of proof for approving
its inclusion, One is that 'Umar, in response to 'Imran, confirmed his disagreement
with the Prophet (S) and also justified it. Second, his response to 'Imran's last
I am equal to the Prophet.” “Zamil” “أنا زميل محمّد”, objection started with this sentence
commonly means “classmate” and its old usage is referred to two people who ride on
camels each of whom takes seat on one side

p: ٨٠

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٢٥; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XII, -١
pp ١٢١-١٢٢; al-Fa’iq fi gharib al-hadith, vol. I, pp ٤٣٣-٤٣٤ (above translation in brief

.or two people ride on two camels separately

In the above statement, there is an opposite sentence that says
الكدر ”.Umar has 'Umar been equal to the Prophet in Qarqarat al-Kudr war

This sentence had no relation with 'Umar's response to the questions raised⁽¹⁾ but on
the contrary, it was really misleading and was intentionally aimed at misleading the
minds. 'Umar says he is equal to the Prophet, meaning he could enjoin to or forbid
.from something or label things as lawful or unlawful just as the Prophet could

Thus, the caliph considered his authorities as vast as the Prophet and pretended to
.believe in nothing but the Qur'an

What has been said about the caliph's ban on narrating hadith and writing is that it⁽²⁾
exactly conforms to this idea of the caliph. It seems the caliph believed that only the
Qur'an could remain unchanged, but not hadith. Therefore, the ruler can act at any

time based on his expedience regarding this matter. In other words, what has been quoted from Prophet Muhammad, only refer to his authorities as a ruler and these are authorities 'Umar, too, had as a ruler

It is unlikely to find any caliph other than 'Umar and 'Uthman who considered their authorities to include divine legislation and interference in religious affairs. Nasr Allah Munshi, in the preface to “Kelilih wa Dimnih”, quotes 'Umar as saying, “What the “state” bans people from is prior to what the “Qur'an” prohibits.”^(۲)

Umar cut the share'

p: ۸۱

Ibn Abi al-Hadid presents a worse justification, vol. XII, p. ۱۲۴ –۱ Muqaddamihi bar Tarikh tadwin hadith (An Introduction to History of Compiling – ۲ Hadith) by the author of the same context Minawi, Translation of Kililih wa Dimnih, p. ۴ –۳

Those whose hearts are captured,” that God paid from the tax alms, “ المؤلفه قلوبهم Of saying, Islam has no fear of them any more.^(۱) He believed an unclean person who needs water should not say prayers if he cannot find water. When 'Ammar Yasir ,taught him the Prophet's tradition in Tayammum (making ablution with earth or sand اتق الله يا عمار “!O 'Ammar! Fear God

^(۲)' Ammar answered, “If you please so, I will not tell you the hadith of the Prophet!”^(۲)

It is interesting that 'Umar hated Tayammum even during the Prophet's life. Once during a trip, someone from 'Umar's companions got impure at dawn and had to .make Tayammum. 'Umar voiced objected to him

When they got to Medina, 'Umar complained about him to the Prophet, but the Prophet said, “I would have done the same if I were in his conditions.”^(۳) Of course, if ^(۴)nothing occurred to his mind, 'Umar would follow the Prophet's Sunna.^(۴)

Ibn 'Abbas says, “During the time of the Prophet and Abu Bakr and in two years of

'Umar's caliphate, if someone divorced his wife three times, it would be considered once. But, 'Umar considered it three divorces. (۵) Malik Ibn Anas, Imam of Malikiyya, narrates, "Umar was afraid that a non-Arab would receive inheritance from an Arab (unless he was born among Arabs!" (۶

These rulings were among the caliph's personal Ijtihads which were mostly based on his favored "interests". Temporary marriage during Hajj and temporary marriage of women are among the main religious affairs allowed by Prophet

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al-Taratib al-idariyya, vol. I, p. ۲۲۸; al-Id'ah, p. ۹۷-۱
al-Ghadir, vol. VI, pp ۸۳-۸۵ from, Sunan Abu Dawud, vol. I, p. ۵۳; Sunan Ibn Maja, vol. -۲
I, p. ۲۰۰; Musnad Ahmad, vol. IV, p. ۲۶۵; Sunan Nasa'i, vol. I, pp ۵۹ and ۶۱; Sunan
Biyhaqi, vol I, p. ۲۰۹ and other sources
Futuh Misr wa Akhbaruha, p. ۲۴۹-۳
Musnad Ahmad, vol. I, pp ۱۹۰ and ۱۹۵-۴
al-Ghadir, vol. VIU, pp ۱۷۸-۱۸۰ from, Musnad Ahmad, vol. I, p. ۳۱۴; Sahih Muslim, vol. -۵
I, p. ۵۷۴; Sunan Biyhaqi, ol VII, p. ۳۳۶; Mustadrak Hakim, vol. II, p. ۱۹۶; Tafsir Qurubi,
vol. III, p. ۱۳۰; Irshad As-Sari, vol. VIII, p. ۱۲۷; Durr al-Manthur, vol. I, p. ۲۷۹ and other
sources
al-Muwatta', vol. II, p. ۱۲-۶

Muhammad, but banned by the caliph. (۱) As we mentioned, 'Umar believed these affairs were permissible at the time of the Prophet due to certain necessity

Another example is dropping the line "Hayya 'Ala Khayr al-'Amal" (Rush to the best deed) from the Adhan (۲) whereas people such as 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar and Iman as-Sajjad (a) always said this line in the call to prayers. (۳

Word has it that 'Umar was the first person to initiate the rising of Ramad'an. He did it in the ۱۶th year of Hijra and ordered all towns and cities to do so. (۴) This is the same nightly prayers of Ramad'an still common among Sunnis. Because 'Umar saw himself entitled to such authorities, he issued contradictory rulings in some cases. Such

[instances can be found in the issue of inheritance.](#)^(١)

Freedom of action in religious affairs could entail more claim of authority in non-religious domains. The caliph did not avoid innovation. The sudden expansion of Islamic countries at the time of 'Umar brought him face to face with numerous problems, so he often tried to find a solution to his problems even if through consultation with the companions. The collection of such solutions which were first based on the Prophet's heritage, second on consultations with the companions and third, on the caliph's innovations, led to the enlargement of the state authority

Comparing the successful policy of 'Umar and Mu'awiya with that of Imam 'Ali, Ahmad Amin says the former two considered themselves free in interpreting religious texts while

p: ٨٣

See the sources in works of the Sunnites in, al-Ghadir, vol. VI, pp ١٩٨-٢١٣ and more, -١
Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. I, pp ٧١٤-٧٢٠

Iman as-Sajjad(a) said: "Due to people remaining strong in Jihad, 'Umar removed -٢
Haste for good deed" From Azan; Kitab al-'Ulum, vol. I, p. " حتى على خير العمل " ,the sentence

٩٢

As-Sirat al-halabiyya, vol. II, p. ١١٠ -٣

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٢٨١ -٤

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. ١٨١ -٥

Ali believed in them.^(١) Also, Suhayl Zakkar has referred to the point that 'Umar saw' himself entitled to interpret new issues.^(٢) His instructions to Shurayh are also [considerable for following the rules.](#)^(٣)

As mentioned earlier, one principle of the caliph's thoughts was that he tried to only rely on the Qur'an as proof, so he ignored hadiths. His remark which said "We relied on the Book of Allah"^(٤)

This has been cited in many historical and hadith sources and implies nothing other

than there is no need for hadith. Of course, this has no contradiction with 'Umar's use of the Prophet's quotations if he could not think of a certain solution. However, in return, he would do something if it were to his interest even if Prophet Muhammad had a special belief in that regard

One such clear example was a wording about the Imamate of Imam 'Ali that was said by the Prophet. Not only 'Umar, but other companions also set aside the words due to some expediency they claimed

Ibn Abi al-Hadid says, "I asked my master about texts on the Imamate of 'Ali and said, "Is it really possible that they have set aside the Prophet's words

He answered, "Those people do not consider caliphate among religious decrees such as daily prayers and fasting, but consider it a worldly affair and an issue like running the land, planning the war and ruling the subjects

In these cases, too, if they saw it to their benefit, they would

p: ۸۴

Zahr al-Islam, vol. IV, p. ۳۸ – ۱

Tarikh al-'Arab wal-Islam, p. ۸۸ – ۲

Jami' al-bayan al-'Ilm wa Fad'la, vol. II, pp ۷۹–۷۲ – ۳

Umar said this on Yawm al-khamis event when the Prophet asked for pen and paper to write something to prevent people from going astray after he is dead About the sources, 'Ali-Bukhari, Kitab al-'Ulum, Bab Kitab al-'Ulum; Kitab al-Jihad, Bab Hal yastashfa' Ila ahl al-dhamma wa bab Ikhraj al-yahud min jazira al-'Arab; Kitab hglaghazi; Bab marad' al-Nabi; Kitab al-Mard'a, Bab qawl al-Marid': Qumu 'Anni, kitab hg-I'tisam, Bab kirahiyya al-khalaf, al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. ۴۳۸ and ۴۳۹; Musnad Ahmad, vol. I, p. ۳۳۶; Dala'il al-Nubuwwa, vol. VII, p. ۱۸۳; Jami' al-bayan al-'Ilm, vol. I, p. ۷۷; Kanz al-'Ummal, vol. X, p. ۲۹۲, hadith, ۲۹۴۷۵; for more sources,

Tadwin As-Sunna Ash-Sharifa, Fihrist MusTalahat, under, Hasbuna kitab Allah

oppose the word of the Prophet. For example, the Prophet ordered Abu Bakr and

'Umar to join the army of Usama, but they refused to do so as they did not see it agreeable to the state interests. These happened during Prophet Muhammad's ...lifetime, he saw them and did not deny them

The companions, collectively and individually, neglected many words of Prophet Muhammad and this was due to the interests they saw in doing so such as the shares of "Relatives and those whose hearts are captured" ذوى القربى والمؤلفه قلوبهم

They acted according to their own will in many issues not mentioned by the Qur'an and the Sunna such as the limit of drinking wine,.... They preferred their interests to ...the Prophet's words, saying, "If you find it right, do it

As for the Prophet's words about 'Ali, they (in fact, Abu Bakr and 'Umar) said that Arabs would not accept his rule due to several reasons. Therefore, they agreed not to give him the power because they saw that Arabs would not obey him

So, they interpreted the Prophet's words; however, they did not deny the word. They just said someone present can see something which the absent person cannot. The Ansar's act, too, helped them. So, they made allegiance with Abu Bakr to eliminate the Ansar's conspiracy. And later, in the face of 'Ali's protests, they said that he was too young, Arabs would not accept him, ...and that Abu Bakr was an old man, he was experienced, Arabs

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.love him, etc

They said if they had chosen 'Ali, Arabs would have turned apostate and ...Which way was to their interests? Following the Prophet's words and getting ready for Arabs' apostasy and the return of the Dark Age or deviating from the Prophet's words and ...safeguarding Islam...People, too, remained silent

Ibn Abi al-Hadid says, "My master, Abu Ja'far Naqib, did not believe in Imam and did not obey them. Neither did he accept the words of Shi'ites fanatics. Yet, he had such (an analysis.)

At any rate, this point must be taken into consideration that when 'Umar took the reins of caliphate, it was necessary to expand the administrative organization of the new government. Further conquests and enlargement of the lands under his rule as well as wars and peace deals forced him to forge some laws in order to run his affairs

These measures are listed by Kattani in the book of “al-Taratib al-Idariyya ” (Administrative Arrangements). Many of his measures took on a jurisprudent aura and in later texts of Sunnis, were used as the basis of Sunnites jurisprudence. Most of his edicts have been collected in the book of “al-Musannaf” by 'Abd al-Razzaq Sanani. Ibn Kathir, too, has gathered these edicts in a book entitled “Musnad 'Umar” ('Umar's Throne

It was during his period that for the first time, the title of “Amir al-Mu'minin” or “Commander of the Faithful” became a common term to refer to the caliph. Before that, he was called “Khalifa Rasul Allah” or the “Caliph

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Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XII, pp ٨٢-٩٠ -١

of the Prophet”. But, according to quotations, he got the title of Amir al-Mu'minin in the year ١٧ A.H. from either Mughira Ibn Shu'ba, Abu Musa Ash'ari or 'Adi Ibn Hatim.^(١)

One the caliph's measures which had an important role in organizing the ruling system and establishing the government was the formation of “Diwans” in the year ٢٠ A.H.^(٢) Prophet Muhammad was a pioneer in registering the names of Muslims, especially fighters.^(٣)

Umar ordered the registration of the Companions and classified them based on tribal origins and religious records.^(٤) Then, he divided the huge booties gained during conquests. 'Umar began with the Hashimites and among them, with 'Abd al-Muttalib.^٥ The policy of the Prophet and Abu Bakr differed with 'Umar's policy^(٥) in that they divided the riches equally while 'Umar's division was based on different tribes and the people's record in Islam. It is said that 'Umar objected to Abu Bakr for

This act of the caliph led to the reinforcement of tribal strata among Arabs based on which, some tribes claimed superiority over others. This remark of Maqdisi who has quoted 'Umar as saying that he had learnt justice from Chosroe [\(y\)](#) gives strength to the probability that he had been somehow influenced by the Iranian system of social classification, though there is no other evidence to prove this claim. Word has said that towards the end of his life, 'Umar doubted the rightfulness of this method and said if he lived more, he would act equally towards all

p: ٨٧

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- Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٥٠; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ٣٠٥; al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ١٥٧ –١
Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٥٣ –٢
Taratib al-idariyya, vol. I, p. ٢٢٧ Some believe the Prophet has initiated preparing –٣
administrative tribunal Ibid p. ٢٢٨ Some others consider 'Umar's policy in preparing it
affected by monarchy system Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٠٩ Some people regard it to
be influenced by the Sassanid government; al-Fakhri, p. ٣٨
٤- Kattani writes in defining administrative tribunal [دفتر يكتب فيه أسماء اهل العطاء والعساكر على](#)
He had an account book in which he registered names of those who [القبائل والبطون](#)
deserve to be gifted according to tribes Taratib al-idariyya, vol. I, p. ٢٢٥
Taratib al-idariyya, vol. I, p. ٢٢٦ –٥
Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. ٢٢٢ –٦
Ahsan al-taqasim, p. ١٨ –٧

[\(١\) people.](#)

Also, an accurate date that was necessary for administrative affair was set in 'Umar's time. We mentioned elsewhere that during consultations with the companions, he acted according to the opinion of Imam 'Ali based on choosing the date of the Prophet's Hijra as the beginning date of Muslims' history. This was a significant step towards creating administrative discipline

Regarding the sources of the second caliph's religious and political thoughts, we must

note another point. Besides what he had gained from Islamic teachings, 'Umar tried to enrich his thoughts from other sources also. One of these sources was the knowledge of the people of the book and Jews had plenty of such knowledge in Hijaz

First of all, we must admit that among different Islamic sects, there is a common accusation about 'Umar's use of Jewish knowledge, mostly due to the reason that Jews were greatly despised by the Qur'an and naturally, by Muslims. It should be known however that the people of the book in general and Jews, in particular, have left some traces in the historical texts and hadiths of Muslims

This influence is more or less seen among practically all sects. Any way, there are some texts available that indicate the people of the book tried to grab a position for themselves in the new society by relying on the knowledge they already possessed and the cultural influence they had inherited from the era of ignorance

Their religious texts had many things in common with Islam and it was

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Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۵۴-۱

on this basis that they claimed to have some knowledge about the interpretation of the Qur'an. Moreover, they said that in the earlier texts, the Prophet's ordainment had been announced

They went on as far as claiming that in divine books, there had a lot of information about the trend of developments in the Islamic society, the story of caliphs, events and wars. Muslims' belief in this issue made it much easier for the people of the book. We had better set aside our general discussion in this regard, which has also been reiterated by Ibn Khadlun(۱) and return to our main topic

When the Muslim Muhajirs came to Medina and Islam spread in the city, the ground was prepared for a cultural relation between Islam and Judaism due to their common origins

The Jews spoke with the companions “ كانت اليهود يحدثون اصحاب رسول الله “ A quotation says of the Prophet (S).” When Prophet Muhammad heard of that, he said, “Do not confirm or deny them.”^(٢) Though it seems that gradually, things got more serious until the Prophet banned the companions from listening to Jews or copying their works

When he came to Medina, the second caliph decided to use the people of the book to increase his religious and historical knowledge

He says, “I copied one of the works of the people of the book so as to add to my knowledge.” The Prophet was really angered to the extent that the Ansar shouted, “as-Silah! as-Silah!”, meaning “Weapon! Weapon

Then, the Prophet

p: ٨٩

al-Muqaddama, Chapter of the ‘Ilm al-tafsir –١
al-Musannaf, ‘Abd al-Razzaq, vol. VI, p. ١١١ –٢

said, “I have brought everything for you.”^(١) Elsewhere, 'Umar has been quoted as telling Prophet Muhammad, “I came across a “brother from Qurayza” who copied the Torah for me. Shall I offer it to you?” This question angered the Prophet.^(٢)

Zuhri says that “Hafsa who was 'Umar's daughter and also the Prophet's wife, brought to the Prophet a book of stories about Joseph and read out the book. At the same moment, the Prophet's face turned red with anger and he said, “I swear by God that if Joseph and I were among you and you followed him and abandoned me, you would be mistaken.”^(٣) The fact that 'Umar and his daughter tried at the time of the Prophet to read the texts of other religions could not have been a mere incidence. This issue is clarified with the point told by Ibn Shahab Zuhri about 'Umar's naming as Faruq, the distinguisher

He says, “The first people to call 'Umar as Faruq were the people of the book while no news has reached us to indicate that the Prophet called him so.”^(٤)

When 'Umar came to power, he pondered in this regard with a more peace of mind and right at the time when he encountered a Muslim-turned Jew from Yemen, he could benefit from him more. This person was Ka'b Ibn Mati' Himyari known as Ka'b [al-Ahbar.](#)

He converted to Islam after the Prophet's demise at the time of Abu Bakr or 'Umar and then came to Medina. Later, he took permission

p: ٩٠

Ibid vol. XI, p. ١١١; Lisan al-Mizan, vol. II, p. ٤٠٨; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. ٢٠٧; Gharib – ١ al-Hadith, vol. IV, pp ٤٨-٤٩; Sunan al-Darimi, vol. I, p. ١١٦; al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. VI, pp ١١٢-١١٣; Majma' al-zawa'id, vol. I, pp ١٧٢-١٧٣; Taqyid al-'Ilm, p. ٥٢ (in the footnote), Jami' al-bayan al-'Ilm, vol. II, p. ٤٢; Usd al-Ghaba, vol. IU, p. ٢٣٥; vol. III, p. ١٢٦; Zamm al-Kalam, p. ٦٤ al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. VI, p. ١١٣-٢ al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. VI, p. ١١٤; vol. XI, p. ١١٠-٣ Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. I, p. ٦٦; al-Muntakhab Min Dhiyl al- – ٤ Mudhayyal, p. ٥٠٤, It is quoted from Ka'b al-Ahbar saying to Mu'awiya, "Umar al-Faruq" is titled in Torah Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXI, p. ١٨٦ About his life, Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, pp ٤٤٦-٤٤٧; Tahdhib al-kamal, vol. XXIV, p. – ١٩٣; Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. VI, p. ٤٥; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXI, pp ١٨١-١٨٢; Siyar 'A'lam al-Nubala', vol. III, p. ٤٨٩

from the caliph and headed to Damascus. It seems that his departure to Damascus and at the time of the second caliph, to Bayt al-Muqaddas, was to sign a peace deal with Christians and Ka'b accompanied him. Ka'b al-Ahbar died during 'Uthman's [caliphate in the year ٣٢ or ٣٣ A.H in the town of Hims.](#)

This is while a tomb with a high dome was built for him in Egypt. Ka'b al-Ahbar was a trusted and reliable source for centuries and his quotations have filled books of history and interpretation. [\(٢\)](#) But currently, given the new researches carried out, the image of Ka'b al-Ahbar has been shrouded in mystery and has made decision-making

.difficult for Sunnites scholars and religious men

Ka'b al-Ahbar, on the one hand, received the second caliph's attention and on the other, is an important source for texts known as Israelite in the Islamic culture. These are quotations about the Torah and other Jewish scriptures that have a determining presence in Muslims' books of history, interpretation, Gnosticism and literature

Ka'b al-Ahbar and Wahb Ibn Munabba are two main sources of the spread of Israelite in the Islamic culture. Since the anti-Israelite current gained force among Sunnis, the task of deciding about Ka'b has been made difficult.^(۳) We should not forget here that twice as much what Ka'b has quoted from earlier books, has been falsely attributed to him by others and he has been exaggerated

Dhahabi says about him, "He had knowledge of Jewish books and had a special talent

p: ۹۱

Ad'wa' 'ala l-sunna al-Muhammadiyya, p. ۱۴۸, footnote III – ۱

More than others, Abu Na'im Isfahani has quoted one hundred pages from him – ۲

under his biography section in Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. V and VI

In recent times, Mahmud Aburiyya more than any other researcher has talked – ۳

about negative role of Ka'b al-Ahbar and the like on outbreak of the Israelites Ad'wa'

'ala l-sunna al-Muhammadiyya, pp ۱۴۵–۱۹۴

(in recognizing false and true texts."^(۱)

Here, the second caliph's trust in him, despite sufficient evidence, has not been trusted by those who did not believe the Israelites in general and Ka'b, in particular.

Ibn Kathir says Ka'b al-Ahbar was the best of them (Muslim-turned Jews) who are quoted. He embraced Islam at the time of 'Umar and quoted the people of the book.

(Umar approved some of his quotations because they were truthful.^(۲)

Moreover, 'Umar tried to absorb him. Afterwards, the people quoted many things from him in so far as there were exaggerations and he, too, quoted much falsehood

while some of his words were true. Ibn Kathir has implicitly admitted that 'Umar helped Ka'b find a place among the people who turned to him. Due to the cultural power of the people of the book, as soon as Ka'b arrived in Medina, people gathered around him and asked him to read them some news about the future events from the [books of the predecessors.](#)^(۲)

What made people trust him was that he claimed his words were all based on “the Revealed Book of God”. Here, book means the Torah about which Ka'b had told Qays Ibn Kharasha, “The Torah says there is no inch of land other than what happens on it [until the Day of Judgment.”](#)^(۳)

Ka'b spread his words among the people by underlining that he was quoting from the “Book of God”. Above all, the second caliph benefited from him and his knowledge. There are

p: ۹۲

Siyar 'A'lam al-Nubala', vol. II, p. ۴۹۰ –۱
al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. II, p. ۱۲۳ –۲
al-Futuh, vol. IV, pp ۳۲۶–۳۲۸; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXV, p. ۳۱۵ –۳
Ad'wa' 'ala l-sunna al-Muhammadiyya, p. ۱۴۸; quoted from Tarikh at-Tabari, – ۴
Biyhaqi as well as al-Isti'ab, vol. II, p. ۵۳۳; al-Islam wal-Hid'ara al-'Arabiyya, p. ۱۶۴

several instances to prove this. Hisham Kalbi says, “There was famine at the time of 'Umar. Ka'b al-Ahbar told him, “When the same situation occurred for the Israelian .tribe, they resorted to their prophet's Household and said the prayer for rain

This advice led 'Umar to ask 'Abbas to say this prayer.”^(۱) Another quotation says 'Umar asked Ka'b to talk about “death” for him. While Ka'b was elaborating on death, tears rolled down the caliph's cheeks.^(۲) In another case, 'Umar asked him, which of [Adam's sons had offspring and he talked in this regard in detail.](#)^(۳)

When 'Umar wanted to travel to Iraq, Ka'b told him, “Do not go to Iraq because the [genies are there, as are their men and nine-tenth of sorcery, too.”](#)^(۴)

The quotation of Sayf Ibn 'Umar says that during the outbreak of plague, 'Umar called on his courtiers to guide him about different cities. Ka'b said the following about Iraq
(in response to 'Umar's seeking consultation.)⁽⁵⁾

According to 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud who met 'Umar with Ka'b, Ka'b said, "Allow me to tell you the sweetest thing which I have read in "The Books of Prophets". With 'Umar's approval, Ka'b al-Ahbar quoted parts of the book which is more than a page.⁽⁶⁾ 'Umar asked Ka'b to tell him about Ka'ba and he said, "God sent down to earth a hollow sapphire⁽⁷⁾ and ..." In another occasion, Ka'b was sitting in the mosque when 'Umar entered and asked him to intimidate him and others

(He said, "O Ka'b! Frighten us!"⁽⁸⁾

,Umar said'

p: ٩٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, al-juz' al-thalith, p. ٧ -١

Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. VI, p. ٤٤ vol. V, p. ٣٦٥ -٢

al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ٢٦ -٣

Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. VI, p. ٢٣; al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. XI, p. ٢٥١ -٤

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ٥٩-٦٠ -٥

Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. V, p. ٣٩١ -٦

Tarikh makka, vol. I, p. ٤٠ -٧

Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. V, pp ٣٩١, ٣٨١ and ٣٧١; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXI, p. -٨

١٨٥

Prophet Muhammad told me, "My greatest fear for my Umma is from the side of"
".misleading Imam

Ka'b said, "I swear by God that fear for the Umma is from no one other than them."⁽⁹⁾

Another quotation says once at the time of 'Umar, Ka'b stood up and asked, "What
"?was the last word of your Prophet

”Umar said, “Ask 'Ali'

And Imam 'Ali answered, “While his blessed head was resting on my shoulder, he said,
”.“Prayers, prayers

Ka'b said, “This is the last oath of all prophets to which they have been obliged and
(ordained.” (۲)

Ka'b wanted to show himself well-versed in all books of prophets and in other cases,
to make people accept what he said. Apparently later, some people noticed the
problem that they could not rely on the distorted Torah

Therefore, how could they accept the words of Ka'b? To solve this issue, it was made
up that Ka'b used a Torah which had not been distorted. In the final hours of his life,
Ka'b ordered someone to throw that book of Torah into the sea

His justification was that he was afraid some people would use that book as a base
for their reasoning. After narrating this story, Dhahabi says, “Now, this Torah is not in
(our hands and after that, we cannot rely on the existing book of Torah.” (۳)

However at the same time, Ibn 'Abbas rejected the Torah as distorted and cautioned
(people against asking questions from the people of the book. (۴)

Another narration says 'Umar had ordered someone

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Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXI, p. ۱۸۱; Ma‘rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. ۲۳۳ –۱

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. II, p. ۲۶۲ –۲

Siyar 'A‘lam al-Nubala', vol. III, pp ۳۹۳–۳۹۴ quoted from Tarikh Ibn Abi l-Khaythama –۳

al-Musannaf, ‘Abd al-Razzaq, vol. VI, pp ۱۱۰ and ۱۱۲ –۴

to be lashed as punishment. When he was being lashed, he said, “Subhan Allah” or
“Praise be to God”. 'Umar told the executioner to stop the lashing. Ka'b al-Ahbar burst
into laughter

”?Umar said, “Why do you laugh’

Ka'b answered, “I swear by God that Subhan Allah is a mitigation of divine punishment.”⁽¹⁾ In another case, 'Umar and Ka'b were standing

Hutay'a, the poet recited a poem which said, “Someone who does a good deed, his reward will never be wasted because “the good deed” is ever lasting between God
”.and his people

⁽²⁾Ka'b said, “By God, that it says the same thing in the Torah.”⁽²⁾

.Once, 'Umar asked Ka'b al-Ahbar about different cities

He said, “When God created the word and what is in it, Wisdom said, “I shall go to Iraq.” Knowledge said, “I shall be with you.” Wealth said, “I go to Damascus.” Trouble
⁽³⁾said, “I am with you.”⁽³⁾

In another occasion, Ka'b al-Ahbar entered the court of 'Umar and sat down at some distance from him. 'Umar asked him why he had done so. Ka'b pointed to the wisdom of Luqman and said, “One should not sit close to a person of power because someone else may enter the assembly who is more endeared; then, you will have to sit back a
⁽⁴⁾little. This way, you will be belittled.”⁽⁴⁾

Umar asked Ka'b, “How does knowledge leave the mind of someone who has learnt’
”?it

⁽⁵⁾Ka'b responded, “Through greed and stretching one's hand out to the people.”⁽⁵⁾

Once again, Ka'b told 'Umar, “Woe unto the “Sultan of

p: ٩٥

Hilyat al-Awliya’, vol. V, p. ٣٩٠ –١

Hilyat al-Awliya’, vol. I, p. ٤٤; Al_Mahasin wal-Masawi, vol.,I, p. ١٢٣ –٢

Mu‘jam al-Buldan, vol.,I, p. ٤٨; al-Munta`am, vol. VIII, p. ٧٠ –٣

Bahjat al-Majalis, vol. I, p. ٤٨; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXI, p. ١٨٥; al-Jawhar –٤

”?”the Earth” from the “Sultan of the Heaven

”.Umar said, “Unless for someone who checks himself'

Ka'b said, “I swear by God that this has been mentioned in the Torah exactly.” (١) In another occasion, 'Umar asked Ka'b al-Ahbar to tell him about virtue.(٢) Once 'Umar told Ka'b who was seeking permission to go to Damascus, “Do not leave Medina which is the place of the Prophet's Hijra and his city of burial.” Ka'b said he had read in the (Revealed Book of Allah that Damascus was God's treasure upon the earth.(٣

,In another case, a verse was discussed

كَلَّمَا نَضِجَتْ جُلُودُهُمْ بَدَّلْنَاهُمْ جُلُودًا غَيْرَهَا

(Whatsoever their skin is fried, it is replaced with a new one to taste the pain.” (٤“

Ka'b said, “I have an interpretation about this verse which dates back to the period
”.before the advent of Islam

Umar said, “Say it, but we will confirm your words only when they conform to those of'
”.(the Prophet (S

”.Ka'b said, “It means I will change their skin a hundred times each hour

(Umar said, “I heard the same thing from the Prophet (S)!”(٥'

In Bayt al-Muqaddas, 'Umar asked Ka'b about the location of the “Sakhra” and he
(talked in this regard in detail.(٦

Despite these examples, only Abu Zur'a Dimashqi has quoted 'Umar as telling Ka'b,
“Quit the narration of “Hadith al-Uwal” the first hadith or I shall banish you to the land
(of apes!”(٧

In another case, in continuation of a report from a follower of another religion talking about the traits of

p: ۹۶

Bahjat al-Majalis, ol I, p. ۳۶۸; Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. V, p. ۳۸۹; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ۱۲۵ –۱
Ka'b's policy was that when 'Umar or Abu Hurayra or others spoke against his taste, he said, "The very word is cited in the Torah He said about Abu Hurayra, "I have never seen anyone like Abu Hurayra who has not read the Torah but his words accord with it

"this much 'Ad'wa' 'ala l-sunna al-Muhammadiyya, p. ۲۰۷ from Tad'kira al-huffa

Maqamat al-'Ulama' bayn yaday al-khulafa' wal-'Umara', p. ۱۶۳ –۲

al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. XI, p. ۲۵۱ Ka'b praised Damascus very much in –۳
front of Medina and Mecca This is somewhat religiously and Jewishly rooted and is of
a political motive to some extent for strengthening Mu'awiya They may have been

later fabricated by the Umayya

Nisa', p. ۵۶ –۴

Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. V, p. ۳۷۵ –۵

al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, p. ۵۹ –۶

al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya vol. VIII, p. ۱۱۰, Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXI, p. ۱۸۷ –۷
Aburiyya has said accordingly, "Umar initially paid attention to his speech but later he
found his weakness 'Ad'wa', p. ۱۵۲–۱۵۳ As mentioned in the context, there are plenty of
examples showing 'Umar's giving him freedom of speech

the caliphs in the Torah, 'Umar has been quoted as having cautioned people against
quoting the people of the book.[\(۱\)](#) Also, once 'Umar heard that someone in Kufa had
the book of Daniel. 'Umar called him to Medina and afterwards, that person agreed to

[\(burn whatever he had.\)](#)[\(۲\)](#)

Such a position, even if existed, was not so firm towards Ka'b and the instances
mentioned earlier, are proofs to our opinion. Once Ka'b came to 'Umar and asked
permission to read the Torah. 'Umar answered, "If you know that this is the same

[\(Torah sent down by God upon Moses in Mount Sinai, then read it day and night.\)](#)[\(۳\)](#)

During these consultations, once 'Umar noticed that Ka'b had not given up his Jewish thoughts yet. In the year that 'Umar went to Bayt al-Muqaddas, Ka'b accompanied him. On this journey when there were talks with others including a monk,^(٤) 'Umar asked Ka'b to determine the place of the mosque of Bayt al-Muqaddas. So, he asked

”?Ka'b, “In your opinion, in which direction should we place the altar

Umar said, “You speak in favor of Jews! I also saw that upon entering the mosque, you took off your shoes.”^(٥) However, even after that, Ka'b's position remained the same to the caliph

One interesting point here is the claim of Ka'b al-Ahbar and the people of the book about finding the name and characteristics of the second caliph in previous divine books. 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud has been quoted as

p: ٩٧

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol.,III, p. ١٠٨١ –١

al-Musannaf, ‘Abd al-Razzaq, vol.,VI, p. ١١٤ –٢

٣ – ٤٥١, al-Fa’iq fi Gharib al-Hadith, vol. I, p. ٢٤٢; Gharib al-Hadith, vol. IV, p. ٢٤٢; إن كنت تعلم أن

فيه التوراه التي أنزلها الله على موسى عليه السلام بطور سيناء فاقراها آناء الليل والنهار

Hilyat al-Awliya’, vol. VI, p. ٧ –٤

٥ – al-Manar al- Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, pp ٥٧ and ٤٥٠, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III,

١٦٧-١٦٤, ‘Ad’wa’, pp ٨٩-٩٠; Munif, pp ١٦٧-١٦٤, Once Ibn ‘Abbas hearing Ka’b speak

Al-Kaf Ash-Shaf, p. ١٣٩ quoted from, ‘Ad’wa’, p. ١٦٥

saying, ”'Umar was riding a horse when it suddenly threw him off. At that moment, 'Umar's thigh was revealed. The people of Najran who saw a black mole on his thigh ^(١)said, “This is the same person who, our books say, drives us out of our homeland.”

Later, Wahb Ibn Munabba claimed that 'Umar's description had been mentioned in the Torah.^(٢) Aqra' who was 'Umar's Mu'adhhdhin, says, “The caliph sent me to fetch the bishop. I brought him so that he sat under the same shade with 'Umar

"?Umar asked the bishop, "Have you seen my name in your books'

".The bishop replied, "Yes

"?Umar inquired, "How'

"!The bishop answered, "Like a horn

"?Umar lifted his lash and said, "What is on my horn'

".The bishop said, "An iron horn, reliable and strong

"?Umar asked, "Who succeeds to caliphate after me'

".The bishop answered, "A righteous caliph who sacrifices his life for his relatives

"?Umar asked, "Who is next after him'

The bishop said, "A righteous caliph who has drawn out his sword has shed blood!"(۳)

Although this narration is unknown, first of all, it is likely that its beginning part is correct and the bishop said these things only about 'Umar. Second, even despite being an entire fabrication, those people have been mentioned by other bishops and those familiar with the pre-Islamic books

Ibn Shubba says, "During 'Umar's journey to Damascus, an old man approached the army on the way and complained about heavy taxes. He asked to talk to the caliph

Talha asked him, "Have you found the news of

p: ۹۸

Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. ۲۰۵(in its footnote); al-Mu'jam al-kabir, vol. I, p. ۲۰; - ۱

Majma' al-zawa'id, vol. IX, p. ۶۱; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۳۳۶

Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. ۲۱۳ - ۲

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۱۰۷۸-۱۰۷۹; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ۱۲۱ - ۳

Someone who forged the news had a moderate belief towards 'Uthman and 'Ali (a) In

a similar quotation we read, ‘Umar sent for Ka‘b al-Ahbar and he was asked, “How do find my attributes in Torah?” Hilyat al-Awliya’, vol. VI, pp ٢٥-٢٦

”?the caliph's descent in your books

He said, “Yes, we know the descriptions of your chief and the one before him as well as your prophet.” Then, he mentioned those traits one by one!(١) Amali Muhammad Ibn Habib has been quoted as saying that Ibn 'Abbas said, “Towards the end of his .caliphate, 'Umar wished death for himself

One day when I was with him, he asked Ka'b al-Ahbar, “I see my death close. First, what is your opinion about 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib and second, what do you find in this regard ”?in your books, because you believe that our affairs have been written in your books

Ka'b said, “In my opinion, 'Ali is not suitable for his job because he is a strictly religious man. He does not overlook any mistake, does not act to his Ijtihad and this way, he cannot control his subjects. But, what we find in our books is that the government ”.does not fall to him or his sons

”?Umar said, “Then, who gets the rule'

Ka'b al-Ahbar said, “We find it so that after the believer in Shari'a and two of his companions, the government will reach those people with whom the Prophet (S) has fought over the principle of religion,(٢) that is the Umayya.” Also in another occasion, someone from the people of the book came to 'Umar and said, ” Oh, King of Arab, ”.greetings upon you

Umar asked, “Has such a thing been mentioned in your books? Has it not been said' ”that the “Prophet

p: ٩٩

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, pp ١٠٧٩-١٠٨٠ -١
Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XII, pp ٨٠-٨١; elsewhere it is quoted -٢
that the Jews came to ‘Umar and said, “A verse has been called to you, if it were called

I ...إِلَيْهِ وَنَوْمَ أَمْكَلْتُمْ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ... to us, we would celebrate the day of call The verse reads complemented your religion ‘Umar said, “Yes, I do remember that thr verse was sent on the day of “Arafa” (9th of Dhi Hajja) to the Prophet!! al-Qand fi Tarikh Samarqand, pp ٤٣٤-٤٣٥

”?”comes, then the “caliph” and then “Amir al-Mu'minin

He said, “Yes.”(١) This quotation is evidently a mere lie. At the time of 'Uthman, Ka'b al-Ahbar responded to someone who had said in a poem that after 'Uthman, 'Ali would .come to power

(He said, “You are lying. The caliphate will go to Mu'awiya.”(٢)

According to historians, Ka'b deviated from Imam 'Ali (a) and Imam, too, introduced him as a “Liar.”(٣) Ka'b said he had read the news of the cities' conquests in the Torah (and that these conquests would take place at the hands of a righteous man.(٤)

Umar's familiarity with the people of the book, especially his friendship with Ka'b,' caused him to sometimes say something or take an action by relying on what the .people of the book had stated

One of the companions says, “Prophet Muhammad (S) had said the afternoon prayers. After that, a man stood up to say prayers. 'Umar grasped him by his clothes and said, “'Sit down.' The people of the book were lost because there was no rest between their prayers.”(٥) Also, the caliph's important decision in preventing the Prophet's hadiths (from being written down was made under the influence of the people of the book.(٦)

Zuhri quotes 'Urwa Ibn Zubayr as saying, ”'Umar decided to write down the hadiths and Sunna of the Prophet (S). He consulted the companions in this regard. They all agreed. 'Umar thought about the decision for a month and then said, “I have thought ,about it. I saw that before you

p: ١٠٠

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, pp ٢٤-٢٥; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٤٣٤; al-Niza‘ wal-Takhasum, p. ٧٨; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٤٩٥, No ١٢٧٨; al-Bad’ wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. ٢٠٨; al-Kamil wal-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ١٢٣
Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. ٧٧-٣
al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ٢٢٨-٤
Usd al-Ghaba, vol V, p. ١٩٩-٥
Buhuth ma‘a ahl As-Sunna wal-salafiyya, p. ٩٧; As-Sahih Min Sira al-Nabi ‘A‘‘am (S), vol. I, p. ٢٧

the people of the book had written books on the book of God and relied on them. As a result, they abandoned the book of God. But, I will not cover the book of God with [\(anything else.\)](#)^(١)

Despite the Prophet's clear ban on reading the works of the people of the book – including obvious examples that were addressed to 'Umar, himself^(٢) some people freely spread these ideas. It is interesting that besides spreading these thoughts, the [\(writing and narration of the hadiths was prevented.\)](#)^(٣)

In order to complete this plan one side of which was the permission for spreading Jewish thoughts and the other one was blocking the narration of the hadith, a hadith was narrated, or in better words, was fabricated which quoted Prophet Muhammad as saying, “Do not write any of my words and instead, narrate anything you want from [\(the people of Israel.\)](#)^(٤)

This is while people such as Ibn 'Abbas and Ibn Mas'ud openly voiced concern over the accessibility of the works of the people of the book for Muslims and rejected [\(them.\)](#)^(٥)

One of the phenomena which was created in this period and whose origin should be considered as a consequence of the spread of the Israelite, was story telling. Certain people known as “Qas”, the story- tellers quoted the historical-Religious stories of Jews and used them as the interpretation of the historical verses of the Qur'an. Their main source for these stories was the Torah and the verbal quotations common among Jewish and Christian

Taqyid al-'Ilm, p. ٥٠ (in its footnote); Jami' al-bayan al-'Ilm, vol. I, p. ٦٤; Kanz al-'Ummal, vol. V, p. ٢٣٩; Dham al-kalam, p. ٦٣; in another manner in, Taqyid al-'Ilm, p.

٥١; Tad'kira al-huffa', vol. I, p. ٥; Kanz al-'Ummal, vol. I, p. ١٧٤

Gharib al-Hadith, vol. IV, pp ٤٨-٤٩; vol. III, pp ٢٨-٢٩-٢

The Prophet (S) said, al-Bidaya wa'l-Nihaya, vol. VIII, p. ١١٠

Quote me just Taqyid al-'Ilm, p. ٣١-٤

about Quran and unworriedly speak about Banu Isra'il

Gharib al-Hadith, vol. IV, p. ٤٨; 'Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. VI, pp ١١٠, ١١٢-٥

.scribes

These people made speeches for the people before and after the public prayers. This phenomenon did not exist at the time of the Prophet (S) and Abu Bakr, but became common at the time of the second caliph, with his permission and continued later on.

The phenomenon of story-telling raised positive and negative reactions among the companions (Sahaba) and the followers (Tabi'in) which we have elaborated on in a

[\(special book.1\)](#)

What is concerned here is that for the first time, Tamim al-Dari began story-telling with the permission of the second caliph.[\(2\)](#) 'Umar allowed him to preach through story-telling before the Friday prayers sermons. Later, 'Uthman allowed him to do so twice a week.[\(3\)](#) Tamim al-Dari was a Christian-turned-Muslim and many stories have been narrated about his virtue. This became the basis of a kind of Christian-style piety .later greatly spread in the Islamic society

Examples of these pious people who constantly quoted news from Jews and Christian monks, are abundant in the book of "Hiliyat al-Awliya" by Abu Na'im Isfahani. It has been said that Tamim al-Dari had learnt his stories in the synagogues of Damascus and from the preachers of that land.[\(4\)](#) Also, another person named 'Ubayd Ibn 'Umayr was permitted to tell stories at the time of 'Umar.[\(5\)](#) We will see later that

.Imam 'Ali (a) was seriously opposed to story-telling

Umar's Murder'

According to certain narrations and more specifically what has been narrated by Tabari, some people have claimed that 'Umar was murdered with the plot of Ka'b al-Ahbar..Historians

p: ۱۰۲

Pazhuhishi darbariyi naqshih dini wa Ijtima'i qissI khanan dar Tarikh Islam, Qum, - ۱
۱۹۹۱

Musnad Ahmad, vol. III, p. ۴۴۹; al-Qussas wal-mudhakkirin, p. ۲۲; Mukhtasar Tarikh -۲
Dimashq, vol. V, p. ۳۲۱; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. I, p. ۱۸۶
al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. III, p. ۲۱۹; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. -۳
I, p. ۱۱; al-Khitat al-Maqriziyya, vol. II, p. ۲۵۳; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. V, p. ۳۲۱
al-Mufassal fi Tarikh al-'Arab qabl al-Islam, vol. VIII, p. ۳۷۸ -۴
al-Qussas wal-mudhakkirin, p. ۲۲ -۵

and narrators of Sunnites hadiths brought this news in their books for centuries. However, they believed so much in the predictions and reports of Ka'b and people like him that they did not have the least suspicion about Ka'b's role in the caliph's murder

Jahiz who is a rationalist critic, has this opinion about what Ka'b has narrated from the Torah (although there is no such thing in the Torah), I believe that many of these reports which have been quoted with phrases such as "We find them in the books" or "written in the Torah", have in fact been taken from the "Book of prophets" and works from the books of Solomon and Isaiah, the prophet. If the stories quoted from him about the characteristics of 'Umar, are from him (because he, himself, did not (fabricate news), the problem cannot be solved unless with our justification. (۱)

Therefore, Jahiz Mu'tazili, too, has not been able to have any doubts about Ka'b al-Ahbar. At any rate, forecasting 'Umar's murder before the actual incident and the opinion that Ka'b had seen the news in previous books did not attract the attention of

the Prophet's companions and other Muslims. Infact, it is only in recent years that something has been said in this regard

In our opinion, there is doubt about the truthfulness of what has been said by Ka'b. What has led to the linking of this fabricated news to Ka'b was nothing but the interest of some simple-minded people in the point that

p: ١٠٣

al-Hayawan, vol. IV, pp ٢٠٢-٢٠٣ -١

the caliph's martyrdom has been mentioned in the Torah or other books and especially that the title of “martyr” has been particularly emphasized

Moreover, many stories have been quoted in different sources saying that others had reported on 'Umar's murder. Some of them have been collected by Ibn Sa'd and most of them have been related to “the invisible voice” or “genie”. They said, for example, a voice could be heard reading a poem and saying the news but no one could be seen.^(١) What has come in certain texts is that Ka'b had told the caliph before his murder that he had found him a just and martyred Imam in the Torah

Umar had said, “How will he be martyred in Medina?” ^(٢)

After 'Umar received a deadly blow at the mosque, Ka'b came to him and said, “Didn't I tell you that you are a martyr?” ^(٣)

If the news ended here, there would be no problem, but Ibn Sa'd has another quotation from Sa'd al-Jari who was 'Umar's freed slave, Umm Kulthum told 'Umar, “Ka'b, the Jew, says, ”'Umar is standing at one of the doors of hell.” 'Umar sent for Ka'b. Ka'b came to him and said, “I swear by God that Dhil-Hajja will not pass unless you are in heaven

Umar said, “How is it that once I am standing at the gate of hell and the other time, I'm in heaven

Ka'b said, "We have found in the Book of God that you are standing at the door of

p: ١٠٤

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, pp ٣٣٤-٣٧٤, Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, pp ٨٨٨-٨٩١

Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. V, p. ٣٨٨, vol. VI, p. ١٣; See the detailed form in, Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ٣٩٢; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ١٣٣

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٣٤٢; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XII, p. ١٩١; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ٤٠

hell and do not let anyone in, but after you die, people will again go to hell!"

We think what reveals the importance of the matter is a narration by Ibn Sa'd. He has quoted Ka'b as telling 'Umar, "In the tribe of Israel, there was a king who reminds us of you when we think of him. There was a prophet at the time of the king. Once he told the king, "Write down your will. You will die three days later." The king said, "God! If you see that I am doing justice in my rule and obey you in the affairs, increase my life .until my son grows up and my Umma increases in number

.God conveyed these words to his prophet and said, "I added fifteen years to his life

.After 'Umar was wounded, Ka'b told him, "If you ask, God will keep you alive

The news reached 'Umar but 'Umar said, "God, take my life at a time when I am not (blamed and disabled."

In our opinion, this news has been distorted and it seems as if three days before 'Umar's murder (which in fact was three days before 'Umar's death and after his being wounded), Ka'b had told him, "You will die within three days, so ask God not to die." Interestingly, it has been said that Ka'b came on the second day and said, "One .day is left." This news seems to be right

Now, let's go to Tabari's report which is the distorted form of

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٣٢٢; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ١٤٠; Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. VI, -١
p. ٢٣

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٣٥٤; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ١٥٤ -٢

the original news and has been quoted from Miswar Ibn Makhrama. He says, "After Abu Lu'lu's negotiations with 'Umar over his taxes and 'Umar's request from him for building a mill, Abu Lu'lu' threatened him sarcastically

The day after that, Ka'b al-Ahbar went to the caliph and said, "Make your will; you will die three days from now

"?Umar asked, "Have you seen my name in the Torah'

".Ka'b said, "No, but I've seen your description and that your life has come to its end

.Umar did not feel any pain'

The next day, Ka'b came and said, "One day of the three days has passed and two days remain." Again, Ka'b came the other day and said, "Two days are gone and one day and one day are left." The next morning, Abu Lu'lu' attacked 'Umar at the mosque (and dealt six blows on him.)

The above news is evident in that Ka'b knew of 'Umar's murder beforehand, but when this news is compared with that of Ibn Sa'd, we realize that the story was such, Having adopted the news of the Israelian king and the prophet of his time, Ka'b came to 'Umar after he had been wounded and told him that story from the Torah and the three days

Incidentally, 'Umar passed away on the third day after being injured. However later, the news underwent some changes to sound unnatural. This could have been intentional to gain some credit for the caliph by relying on Muslims' fascination with the divine news of the

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ١٩١; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ٢٤; Nihayat al-'Irab, -١ vol. XIX, p. ٣٧٤ The same report is quoted by Ibn Shabba with a little difference 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf is the person commonly mentioned in Tarikh at-Tabari's and Ibn Shabba's references Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ٨٩١

.people of scriptures

The quotation that after 'Umar's injury, Ka'b had told him if he called on God to delay his death, He would do so^(١), is a proof to the comparison made by Ka'b between 'Umar and the Israelian king. Out of his interests in the caliph, Ka'b advised him to ask .God to delay his death so that he could live for fifteen more years

As said earlier, despite the existence of quotations from Tabari and others, historians did not have any suspicions about Ka'b al-Ahbar. We believe that the true story was something else but the reason for the historian's belief in Ka'b was their real trust in .him and the caliph's virtues

Meanwhile, some of the new Sunnites researchers who are influenced by anti-Israelism have ignored 'Umar's trust in Ka'b and have interpreted the above-mentioned news as a Jewish plot to murder 'Umar.^(٢) One of these writers has named Ka'b al-Ahbar as the mastermind of 'Umar's murder, saying he had instigated Abu Lu'lu' to kill 'Umar. His sources are the news of Tabari and the quotation mentioned by ^(٣)Ibn Athir from Tabari.^(٣)

About the caliph's murder, what has been clearly reported in history indicates that this issue was solely related to 'Umar and Abu Lu'lu' and the motive behind the act was, at least it appears so, that the murderer felt some injustice had been done to him and he .had been overcharged

He complained to 'Umar in this regard. But, the caliph said that the money taken

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٣٦١; Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. X, p. ٢٢٥-١
 It seems Aburiyya, before everyone else, has mentioned this thanks to Tarikh at- ٢
 Tabari's reports 'Ad'wa' 'ala l-sunna al-Muhammadiyya, pp ١٥٣-١٥٥; Fi l-'ubur al-hid'ari
 "Ka'b al-Ahbar", pp ٢٠٠-٢٠٤
 Athar ahl al-kitab fil-fitan wal-hurub al-ahliyya, pp ٢٣٧,٢٤٠-٣

from him was not so much compared to his abilities and skills and naturally, his
 income. Some time later, the assassination occurred and it could be natural that the
 incident was totally or partially related to the argument which had taken place earlier
 .between the murderer and the caliph

Mas'udi reports the incident as such, 'Umar did not allow non-Arabs to arrive in
 (Medina.)

Mughira wrote to him, "I have a servant who has been a painter, blacksmith and
 carpenter and can be useful for the people of Medina. If you agree, I shall send him to
 you." 'Umar agreed and Abu Lu'lu' came to Medina. Mughira got two dhms from him
 .per day. Once, Abu Lu'lu' went to 'Umar and complained about the heavy tax

"?Umar said, "What works do you do'

.Abu Lu'lu' explained his works as a painter, iron-smith and carpenter

".Umar said, "Considering the jobs you do, your tax is not so much'

After a few days, 'Umar asked Abu Lu'lu' to build a windmill for him. Abu Lu'lu' said he
 would build such a windmill for 'Umar that all people would talk about it! 'Umar smelled
 .threat from these words but said nothing

It was after this encounter that Abu Lu'lu' murdered 'Umar at dawn in a mosque. He
 injured twelve others six, of whom died later. Then, he killed himself with a sword.(٢)
 Mas'udi said Abu Lu'lu' was a Jew but some sources have termed him as a Christian.(٣)

(This story shows that the murder was personally motivated.(٤)

According to sources, 'Umar never let mature Arabs enter Medina As a matter of – ١
 fact, the same man who was permitted to enter Medina, embraced on killing the
 caliph Afterwards, 'Umar reproached those who agreed on entering of these people
 into Medina and called them his murder Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, pp
 ٨٨٩,٩٠٣,٩٠٤; al-Nihaya fi Gharib al-Hadith, vol. III, p. ٢٨٦ Those disagreeing with him
 said that Medina would be renewed just because of entry of the 'Alwaj
 Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, pp ٣٢٠-٣٢١; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ٨٨٨; –٢
 Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٣٤٥; Ibn Juzi, Manaqib 'Umar, p. ٢١٠
 Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. ١٩٠ –٣
 Therefore, it seems unjust for any sect to defend him, although some traditionally –٤
 knew him a Muslim, believing that his murder arises from religious differences al-Bad'
 wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. ١٩٤

quoted as saying that apparently, after 'Umar did not respond to his protest, he said,
 “How is it that the caliph's justice covers everyone except me?”^(١) Among his motives,
 one can also notice the point that Abu Lu'lu' wanted to take revenge in this way
 because Iranians felt defeated at the hands of Muslims. However, the evidence for
 .this claim is lacking

There are several possibilities about who had incited Abu Lu'lu'. One is 'Ubayd Allah,
 the son of 'Umar. Claiming that Hurmuzan was Abu Lu'lu' accomplice in the incident
 and he had seen them together the previous day, 'Ubayd Allah killed Hurmuzan as
 .well as Abu Lu'lu''s wife and daughter

He had no reason for this act and naturally, had to be killed as Qisas, retaliation for
 the murder of three people for whose blood there was no supporter but the
 government. Even Ya'qubi says 'Umar had recommended that 'Ubayd Allah receive
 the Qisas!^(٢) But 'Uthman did not agree and said, “People will say, yesterday they
 .killed the father and today, the son.^(٣)

The second guess coming from the caliph, himself, was that maybe some of the Muhajirun were involved in the murder. So, he sent Ibn 'Abbas to them and asked "مألاً منكم؟" "Did you order my murder?" And they said "معاذ الله! ما علمنا وما اطلعنا (٤)" "God forbid!" "We did not know and were not aware of it".

The date of the caliph's passing has been reported as the ٢٦th or ٢٧th of Dhil-Hajja in the

p: ١٠٩

Hayat al-Hayawan, vol. I, p. ٥١ – ١
Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٦١ – ٢
Tarikh Guzidih, p. ١٨٦ – ٣
Tarikh Guzidih, p. ١٨٤; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٣٤٨; 'Abd al-Razzaq, al- – ٤
Musannaf, vol. VI, p. ٥٢; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ٩٠٤

year ٢٣ A.H whereas, he was only ٥٥ years old. (١) Although elsewhere, Mu'awiya has been quoted as saying that he was ٦٣ years old. (٢) This forging may have been done (to show that he died at the same age of Prophet Muhammad (S

In his last days when he had been wounded, 'Umar seemed not be so satisfied with his worldly life. He repeatedly said

يا ليتني لم أكن شيئاً، ليت لم تلدني أمي، ليتني كنت نسياً، يا ليتني كنت حائكاً اعيش من عمل يد

ى

I wish I were nothing. I wish my mother had not given birth to me. I wish I had been forsaken. I wish I were a weaver and would earn my own living." (٣)

Continued Conquests in Damascus and Egypt

After conquering Damascus, the consecutive victories of Muslim Arabs forced many cities to ask for peace beforehand as they could gain more concessions. The city of Ba'labakk was peacefully conquered in the year ١٥th A.H. In the month of Rabi' al-

Thani of the same year, the city of Hims which was considered one of the biggest cities of Damascus, was invaded by Muslims

According to Baladhuri, the people of Hims who witnessed the escape of Heraclitos from their city and were aware of the repeated victories of Muslims and their patience and perseverance, took refuge inside the city after a brief encounter outside the town and called for mercy from Muslims

In the peace deal concluded, in addition to guarantees for their life and properties, it was agreed that the city wall and churches

p: 110

Ibn Qutayba, al-Ma'arif, p. 183; For other sources, Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, from 194 on

Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 53-2

al-Zuhd wal-Raqa'iq, pp 79-80, 145, 146; Bahjat al-Majalis, vol. II, p. 399; Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 115; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, pp 360-361; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 920; Sheykh Mufid, al-Amali, p. 50

would remain intact. Only a quarter of the Johannes church was excluded for the construction of a mosque. Muslims, too, settled down in deserted areas and in houses abandoned by their owners.

At that time, Abu 'Ubayda divided the governorship of different regions among army commanders. Yazid Abi Sufyan was chosen for ruling Damascus, Shurahbil Ibn Hasana for Jordan, 'Amr Ibn 'As for Palestine and 'Ubayda Ibn Samit for Hims. Abu 'Ubayda, himself, set off towards Humat and Shayzar for expanding the conquests

Heraclitos who had now lost key centers in Damascus, once again tried to organize a huge army of Romans, Damascus people, the people of Hijaz and Armenians besides the Arab tribes of Judham, Lakhm and others to fight Muslims. In historical sources, these tribes have been named as "al-Musta'raba".

This big war took place at the Yarmuk region which was the name of a river. Muslims are said to have numbered at ۲۴۰۰۰ and the Roman army and its allies at ۲۰۰۰۰۰. But, one should not forget that Heraclitos did a last-ditch effort to keep Damascus. This war was so tough for Muslims that even Muslim women had to fight.

The Yarmuk battle ended in Muslims' victory and following his defeat, Heraclitos left for Constantinople. In this war, Jabala Ibn 'Ayham commanded the front line army of Rome. There are different stories in various sources about whether he had converted to Islam or not, why he had taken offense from 'Umar and why 'Umar had repented from his treatment

p: ۱۱۱

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۱۳۷ – ۱

Ibid p. ۱۴۰ – ۲

Ibid p. ۱۴۱ – ۳

(of him.)

One year after the Yarmuk battle, Muslims succeeded in surrounding Bayt al-Muqaddas. Abu 'Ubayda first invited them to either accept Islam or pay Jaziyya (poll tax paid in lieu of conversion to Islam

However, when they refused, they had to lay a siege on the city. The Nazarene community of the city, who found the situation critical, gave in to a compromise, provided that the caliph would come to al-Quds and sign the contract personally.

Umar was doubtful about going to Quds. So, he consulted some of the Companions.' 'Uthman was opposed to the idea, but in the presence of Imam 'Ali (a), he encouraged 'Umar to go, saying it was to the benefit of Islam and Muslims. 'Umar accepted his idea. After appointing 'Uthman as his vicegerent in Medina, he headed for Quds. He moved towards Damascus arguably in the year ۱۶th or ۱۷th A.H.

A variety of agreements were mentioned in the peace accord 'Umar signed with

Damascus's Nazarene community. They received assurances that their lives would be spared. They were also assured that no church would be damaged nor any swastika broken. One of the key conditions of the accord was that Muslims should not allow Jews to live in Quds, nor should there any obligation in faith

The residents of al-Quds also pledged to pay toll like the people of Ctesiphon. Additionally, the Romans had to leave the city. The people were also free to move their belongings to Rome or anywhere else.⁽⁵⁾ It was on

p: ۱۱۲

Ibid p. ۱۴۱-۱۴۲ -۱

al-Uns al-jalil, vol. I, p. ۱۲۶-۲

al-Uns al-jalil p. ۲۵۰ -۳

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۱۴۵ (some people have said that 'Umar traveled to Damascus -۴ four times during his caliphate) Futuh Misr wa Akhbaruha, p. ۵۶ (footnote

al-Uns al-jalil, vol. I, pp ۲۵۳-۲۵۴ -۵

this trip that 'Umar entered the mosque and inquired Ka'b al-Ahbar about the site of the altar

The altar should be built towards the cliff which used to be the Qibla of Jews," Ka'b" said

Umar was infuriated at the response, saying, "Your response resembles the words of Jews."^(۱)

Some time after the return of 'Umar from Damascus, a dreadful epidemic of plague dubbed "'Amwas" swept Damascus in ۱۸ A.H. The plague claimed the lives of several Muslims including the top governor of Damascus

Chief among the victims were Abu 'Ubayda Ibn Jarrah, Mu'adh Ibn Jabal, Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan, Shurahbil Ibn Hasana, Fad'l Ibn 'Abbas and Suhayl Ibn 'Amr. Yazid died a few while after Abu 'Ubayda as he had replaced him. After his death, 'Umar appointed

Mu'awiya. Abu Sufyan, who had lost his eyesight at that time, appreciated 'Umar for visiting him.^(۲) In the last few years of 'Umar's caliphate, Mu'awiya was the governor of the Greater Syria.^(۳)

One of the key towns conquered in the reign of Mu'awiya was Caesarea. It was arguably conquered in ۱۸ or ۱۹ A.H.^(۴) The Arab troops were conquering further territories in the Greater Syria. In the meantime, the small towns accepted the peace treaty on their own. Many Arabs and Nazarenes adopted Islam.^(۵)

When 'Umar was in Damascus, 'Amr Ibn 'As asked for his permission to expedite towards Egypt to conquer it. It is said that in the Dark Age, he had gone to Egypt for business. So, he was somewhat familiar with it.^(۶)

Umar was'

p: ۱۱۳

Ibid pp ۲۵۶-۲۵۷-۱

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۱۴۶-۲

Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. ۱۵۷-۳

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۱۴۸-۴

Ibid p. ۱۵۱-۵

Futuh Misr wa Akhbaruha, p. ۵۳-۶

afraid of launching such a bid. As a result of 'Amr's insistence and his efforts in playing down the risk of the attack, he eventually gave in. Amro, headed by a troop of between ۳۵۰۰ to ۴۰۰۰ men, headed for Egypt. It has been narrated that after the expedition of 'Amr, 'Umar withdrew his support and told 'Amr that if he had not yet entered Egypt, eh should return. However, 'Amr had entered Egypt. It seems 'Uthman had accused 'Amr of expansionism, and had magnified the danger of the elimination of Arab troops before 'Umar.^(۱)

Egypt's governor whom Arabs called “Muqawqis” had been appointed by Romans to rule the country. He was Coptic. Hence, Prophet Muhammad (S), in a letter to him, had

called him the “Chief Coptic”. The war between Muslims and the Muqawqis army lasted two years. In the meantime, Muslims conquered many areas and towns

The main reason behind the conquest of Egypt was the difference between Egyptian Coptics and Romans. The Coptics were not very willing to defend the Romans. Muqawqis, himself, was doubtful over this matter and waited to see what would happen. His brother, Benjamin, was the bishop of Alexandria

In the meantime, Cyrus, the envoy of the Roman emperor, had arrived in Egypt to reform the affairs. The stringent behavior further distanced the Coptics from the Romans.^(٢) The news of the consecutive conquests of the Arab troops in the Greater Syria encouraged further people to surrender.^(٣)

The prolonged conquest of Alexandria, which dragged on for

p: ١١٤

Futuh Misr wa Akhbaruha, pp ٥٧-٥٨ -١

Atlas Tarikh al-Islam, p. ١٣٣ -٢

These people declare war “ ان هؤلاء القوم لا يتوجهون الى أحد الا ظهروا عليه “ One said to another -٣ with no one but when they overcome” Futuh Misr wa Akhbaruha, pp ٥٩

four months, necessitated the dispatch of auxiliary forces to Egypt.^(١) The town eventually fell to Muslims in ٢٠ A.H. There is debate as to whether Egypt gave in through force or peace. The same doubt exists for many other towns. After the deployment of Muslims, they turned the town of Fustat, which was their military base, to their administration center and left Alexandria. This was interesting from political and militarily viewpoints

Among the troops of 'Amr Ibn 'As, there were some non-Arab fighters, some of whom were ethnic Romans and were called “Hamra'”. The other group was the Yemeni-based Persians who had moved, along with the Arab tribes, to these regions. Following the conquest of Egypt, the Iranians were accommodated in a certain place. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, the mosque raised by Muslims at the site was

(famous until his age in the 3rd century A.H.)

A variety of matters have been mentioned over the reasons for the escalation of Arab conquests. The conquest of every region had certain reasons. The conquest of Iran, for instance, had a totally different reason from that of Damascus. These conquests were entirely achieved by Arab Muslims

So, it is evident that their will was the first reason for these conquests. This will stemmed, on the one hand, from their faith, and on the other from their leadership and the Muslims' administrative and legal systems over war booties

Islam allocated a large portion for the warriors and it was natural for the needy and the

p: ۱۱۵

Ibid p. ۶۱ – ۱

Futuh Misr wa Akhbaruha p. ۱۲۹ – ۲

hungry Arabs to go the battlefield to earn something for their families, provided that they would emerge alive from the battlefield. As a matter of fact, Muslims had no concern whatsoever of being killed, because they saw martyrdom in the path of Allah as a great achievement

The staggering point about their will and determination was that Muslims had a high sense of self-confidence. Prophet Muhammad (S) promised Muslims victory over the Roman Empire and Iran saying, “The treasures of Caesar and Chosroe will fall to you”. Therefore, Muslims moved towards the battlefield with an iron will and full confidence in the forecast of the Prophet. Initial gains made them stronger, livelier and more confident for later conquests

Another point is that the power of Muslims did not depend on a particular caliph, because a survey of these conquests from their start to the end of the first century A.H indicates that every caliph who had the chance of conquest, managed to capture

several lands. The people's belief in the administration was a driving force of these conquests.

No opposition was raised from the side of Medina rulers. The rulers under the caliph were totally obedient. It should be noted that the caliphs picked their appointees from among the people of the second generation of the Companions who were totally submissive to them. Yet, the significance of the conquests created an atmosphere in which even potential opponents abandoned their dream of a political rebellion. Under these circumstances, the masses of troops pressed

p: ١١٤

.ahead with their conquests more comfortably

The success of Arabs in Damascus had several reasons, one of which was that the majority of the Damascus residents were Arabs, and in spite of being Christians, they were racially linked to Hijaz. Meantime, they maintained their distance from the Romans. In the early years of the conquests, some tribes including Lakhm and Judham joined Muslims, but when they found out that the war was serious, they fled [\(1\)](#) to the nearby villages and left the Muslims alone.

According to Jabala Ibn 'Ayham, the relationship of the Ansar, who originally came from the southern tribes, to him was "أنتم اخوتنا وبنو أئينا" "You are our brethren and children of our fathers".

During the conquest of Qinnasrin, the residents of the town hinted that they were also Arabs and did not want to fight against the conquerors. So, Khalid accepted their peace overture. [\(2\)](#) The Taghlab tribe, who had teamed up with the Romans and fought along with them, said in the 13th century A.H that they would fight along with their tribe. [\(3\)](#) There were, however, a number of other tribes who remained allied with the Romans till the end, and immigrated to the Roman territories after the conquest of the Greater Syria by Muslims.

Apart from the Arab residents of Damascus disassociated themselves from the

Romans, others including Jews, the Nibti community and the Egyptian Coptics, had the same situation. Faced with the mild dealing of Muslims, they felt they could live up with Muslims and

p: ۱۱۷

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. ۵۷۰ -۱

Ibid vol. III, p. ۶۰۱ -۲

Ibid vol. III, p. ۴۶۴ -۳

see their rights met. As soon as Muslims captured Hims, they found themselves involved elsewhere in the Yarmuk war

They believed that they might not emerge victorious out of the Yarmuk battle, they decided to return the money received from the people of Hims to provide for their security. Faced with such a conduct, the people of Hims said, “Your friendship and justice is more likeable to us than the oppression which we are living under. We will [\(۱\)](#) defend our town along with you.”

It has been said that the Nibtis aggressively cooperated with Muslims, and as the [\(۲\)](#) Romans did not suspect them, they spied for Muslims.

The other point is that there were religious differences between Damascus and Rome. Considering the fact that the Romans did not treat these people properly from both economic and political viewpoints, the remarks of Will Durant hold true, “As the conqueror Arabs invaded Egypt and the Far East, half the people of those regions welcomed their arrival, because they viewed them as their liberator from the clutches of religious, political and economic oppression of the Byzantine capital.” [\(۳\)](#) At any rate, [\(۴\)](#) after the expansion of conquests, several towns followed the line of surrender.

Continued Conquests in Iraq and the Conquest of Iran

Umar's caliphate was accompanied with several conquests of Muslim troops in Syria, which started with the conquest of Damascus. In these circumstances, some measures had to be adopted in Iraq. Firstly they were needed to stabilize its situation

in favor of Muslims and, secondly, to expand the conquests. In the meantime, the town

p: ۱۱۸

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۱۴۳-۱

al-Futuh, vol. I, pp ۱۴۳-۱۴۴-۲

Tarikh Tamaddun, vol. IV, p. ۶۴; Ash-Sham fi Sadr al-Islam, pp ۶۳-۶۴, footnote -۳

See the list in, Ash-Sham fi Sadr al-Islam, pp ۶۰-۷۰ -۴

of Hira was freed from the Iranian control. Hence, Iranians were waiting for an opportunity to repel the new threat

Arab troops were led by Muthanna Ibn Haritha. Yet, Medina's caliph, like the era of Abu Bakr, was determined to dispatch a commander from the known Saudi clans to Iraq. The nominee was Abu 'Ubayd Ibn Mas'ud Thaqafi, the father of Mukhtar, from the Thaqafi clan, which used to be an ally of the Quraysh. Heading a ۵۰۰۰-strong troop^(۱), Abu 'Ubayd encouraged many tribes on his way to conduct Jihad and win booties

A large number of people joined him.^(۲) It was decided that Muthanna work under the command of Abu 'Ubayd. Iranians amassed a troop headed by Bahman Jadiwayh (Men of Shah Hajib) east of the Euphrates, whereas Abu 'Ubayd's forces lined up on the western side of the Euphrates. The Arabs crossed the bridge and launched the battle

Despite the bravery of Muslims, the mammoth elephants existing in the Iranian army frightened the horses of Arab forces. As the Arabs had damaged the bridge, they had no way back. So, they sustained heavy losses and casualties. At any rate, a temporary bridge was built over the river and the Arabs lost out the war to Iran which was (dubbed “Yawm al-Jisr” or the Day of the Bridge with a death toll of ۴۰۰۰ people.^(۳)

Ibn A'tham, however, has narrated this event in a manner that it seems Muslims could ,defeat the Iranians and return to their army base.^(۴) Yet

al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ۱۶۵-۱
 Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۲۵۱; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۱۳-۲
 Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. IV, p. ۱۵-۳
 al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ۱۷۰-۴

the fact that the Iranians did not chase the Muslims indicates that they lacked the necessary readiness to do so. This even probably occurred in Sha'ban or Ramad'an ۱۳ (A.H.)

Abu Mikhnaf and others say 'Umar was upset even until one year after the Jisr event. In the meantime, Muthanna Ibn Haritha called the Arabs to Jihad. 'Umar gradually thought of continuing the operation. Afterwards, around ۷۰۰ people headed by Mikhnaf Ibn Salim, thousands headed by 'Adi Ibn Hatim, and a number of people from the Banu Tamim tribe joined the Arab troops in Iraq. (۲) The Bujayla tribe also joined the Arab force, under the condition that one-fourth of the booties would be given to (them.) (۳)

The Arabs clashed with the ۱۲۰۰۰-strong Iranian troops, headed by Mihran Ibn Mihrbandad (Mihrwayh Hamadani) (۴) at the Buwayb, a river branching out from the Euphrates River. Mihran was killed in the battle and the Iranian army suffered a crushing defeat. Several Iranians were captured and Muslims earned large amounts of booties

Muthanna displayed noticeable bravery in the battle. The poems of 'Urwa Ibn Zayd al-Khayl about the command of Muthanna are notably exaggerating, "Among the commanders of Iraq, we have not seen anybody like Muthanna who belongs to ash-Shayban." (۵) Some time after the event, Muthanna Ibn Haritha died from the wounds he had sustained in the Jisr battle

The battle occurred arguably in the ۱۳th or ۱۴th A.H. As 'Umar did not take any action for battle until a year later, this event should have not

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١١٤; Atlas Tarikh al-Islam, p. ١٢٨ The author made a mistake – ١ about the fact that the king, in this time, regarded Iran as the city of Buraz, next, Shiriwayh and then Buran In essence, Yazdgard, since ٦٣٢, succeeded them and conquering Iraq began from his time

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١١٤ – ٢

In time of war, Jarir Ibn ‘Abd Allah Bijili promised his tribesmen that they would be – ٣ the only Arabs to be benefited much in case this city were to be entered Akhbar al-

Tiwal, p. ١١٥

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١١٤; Ibn A‘tham (Al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ١٦٨) says that Mihrdad has – ٤ been king of Adharbayjan

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١١٥ – ٥

taken place sooner than ١٤ A.H. The victory boosted the morale and courage of Muslims and they constantly invaded the Iraqi lands which were still under the control of the Iranians. They also invaded a large market place set up near Baghdad. This issue indicated that Iran was not capable of providing the security of Iraq and had to .think of a solution as soon as possible

According to Dinwari, when Suwayd Ibn Qutba (who had some power around Basra) heard the news of these wars from Muthanna Ibn Haritha, he demanded 'Umar to strengthen the weak situation of southern Iraq and dispatch some forces to the region. 'Umar who seemingly did not have much trust in Suwayd to transfer the military command to him, sent a contingent of ١٠٠٠ people, headed by 'Utba Ibn .Ghazwan, to the region. 'Umar accompanied 'Utba out of Medina

Referring to the passage of Muslims forces from the Euphrates through Hira to Ctesiphon, he told him to move towards Ahwaz and dissuade its residents from helping the Iranian army. 'Utba reached the place nowadays called Basra where there were only a number of ruined houses. It was the residence of Iranian border guards, .who were commissioned with preventing the aggression of Bedouin Arabs

The first region attacked was Ubulla, on the outskirts of Baghdad. 'Utba wrote the news of this victory to the caliph, describing the town as a harbor of ships coming from 'Umman, Bahrayn, Fars, India and China.⁽¹⁾ When the news of the victory

p: ۱۲۱

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۱۶-۱

reached Medina, the people asked 'Utba's envoy about the situation of the region. He told them about the amounts of gold and silver which Muslims had obtained. The ⁽²⁾news triggered an influx of Arabs towards the region.⁽¹⁾

Ubulla was located four leagues from Basra. It apparently existed until the ۷th century A.H.^(۲) With the development of Basra, Ubulla lost its grandeur. Ubulla and other towns like Khurayba which was conquered shortly later, were said to be the concentration center of Iranian border guards

Yaqut says, “Basra was built beside an ancient Iranian city named Vahishtabad Ardishir. This city was ruined in the attacks of Muthanna Ibn Haritha, so when Muslims went to that region to build Basra, they called the city “Khurayba” (ruin).^(۳) Afterwards, Khurayba became a district of Basra

According to Dinwari, the conquest and establishment of Basra took place before the Qadisiyya war. The fact that Basra was constructed before Kufa indicates that 'Utba had reached southern Iraq before reaching Qadisiyya. Noting this issue, Yaqut has mentioned that after reaching Qadisiyya, 'Utba moved to southern Iraq and to ^(۴)Basra.^(۴)

What is important is that around ۱۵ and ۱۶ A.H, two war fronts were opened against Iran, one in Kufa where some troops were advancing towards Ctesiphon, and the other in Basra from where the Arabs were moving to capture the southern Iranian lands in Khuzistan

The two fronts led to the establishment of the two important towns of Basra and Kufa

Ibid p. ١١٧-١

al-Tariq Ila l-Mada'in, p. ٢١٣-٢

Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. II, p. ٣٦٣-٣

Ibid vol. I, p. ٤٣٢-٤

Islamic Iraq, in addition to Baghdad which was built in the ٢nd century A.H. It is said Basra refers to a land which has black pebbles.^(١) Quoting Hamza Isfahani, Yaqut says that according to Mubadh Ibn Asawhasht, Basra is the Arabic form of “Bas Rah”, ^(٢) meaning so many roads, because several routes led to this town.

After the conquest of Uballa, 'Utba Ibn Ghazwan asked the caliph to set up a town for Arab immigrants. After studying the regional situation, 'Umar authorized the construction of the town. Thus, Basra was founded. After a while, 'Utba felt that Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas was exceeding his limits in giving him unrelated orders. 'Utba, who considered himself an appointee of 'Umar, protested to Sa'd and left for Medina

As soon as 'Umar heard the news, he asked, “Why is he not ready to accept the rule of a man from the Quraysh who has been a Sahabi, too?” 'Utba protested that he, too, “مولى القوم منهم” was a ruler from the Quraysh and that Prophet Muhammad (S) had said “Lord of people is from Ahl al-Bayt

^(٣) It seems that 'Umar had asked 'Utba to return to Basra, but 'Utba died shortly.

,In an address to the people of Basra, 'Utba said in ١٧ A.H that

إنه لم تكن النبوه إلا تناسخها مُلكك، فأعوذ بالله أن يُدرَكنا ذلك الزمان الذى يكون فيه السلطان مُلكاً

There is no prophethood not to have been rejected by a king. I seek refuge in that the

Allah

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۱۷ -۱

Mu‘jam al-Buldan, vol. I, p. ۴۳۰ -۲

.Mu‘jam al-Buldan, vol.I, p.۴۳۲ -۳

(from the day Sultan becomes the king.”(۱)

We said that the Buwayb event frightened the Iranians. This time, the Iranians mobilized a larger army led by Rustam Farrukhzad—the commander of Iranian forces in Adharbayjan—to prevent Arabs' invasion. Ibn A'tham has described the way Bahram, the governor of Hamadan; Shirzad, the governor of Qum and Kashan; Banduwan, the provincial governor of Isfahan and Khurshid, the governor of Riy, (dispatched their forces to the battlefield.(۲)

In return, the caliph had to find a powerful commander for his troops. 'Umar initially thought he would travel to Iraq, but the Medina notables advised him against it. A number of people were nominated for the command, one of them Imam 'Ali (a). Advised by 'Umar, 'Uthman talked with Imam 'Ali (a). Yet, Imam shunned accepting the responsibility. The next choice was Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas who was suffering from a (thigh injury.(۳)

He could not even mount on the horseback.(۴) So, he did not attend the battle. The battle ever marked the worst defeat of the Iranians was called the “Qadisiyya war”. Qadisiyya was the name of a small border town located amid the Taff Desert, ۵۰ miles from Kufa. The town had a fortress and some palm groves and plantations. Around ۴-۶ miles from Qadisiyya, there was a resort named 'Udhayb which had a spring, and was virtually the end of the desert. Sa'd set up his camp at 'Udhayb, whereas Rustam camped outside Qadisiyya.(۵)۴۶۸

Wild conjectures have been given over the number of Iranian and

p: ۱۲۴

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, p. ۷ -۱

al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ۲۰۱ -۲

Arab forces. Yet, it can be guessed that the Arab forces numbered between ۲۰ to ۳۰ thousand^(۱) and the Iranians were between ۳ to ۴ thousand more. Meanwhile, Ibn A'tham has put the number of Arab forces at ۶۰ thousand.^۷ Rustam remained at Diyr A'war^(۲) for four months to settle the matter peacefully. Rustam tried to satisfy the (Arabs, whom he thought, were fighting for food.^(۳)

Additionally, the four months of stay at the camp could weaken the power of Arab forces. On the other hand, Muslims did not abandon their condition that the Iranians should accept Islam and pay toll or engage in war. Acceptance of the first two proposals of the Arabs was impossible, because Iran was a superpower. So, Rustam .had to give in to war

Ibn A'tham writes, “At the request of Yazdgard, Sa'd sent some envoys including Mughira h to Ctesiphon to Yazdgard's court. As they entered the court, they sat on the .ground except Mughira h who sat by the king on his seat

”?The king asked him, “What are these clothes? What are you wearing

”.Mughirah replied, “It is Yemeni silk

Yazdgard took this as bad omen and said in Persian, “Burdand Jahan ra,” meaning “They plundered the world”.^(۴) So, he ordered the start of the war. The Qadisiyya battle lasted only four days, with each day having a specific name. They were called Armath, Aghwath, 'Ammas and Qadisiyya.^(۵) The battle ended in favor of Arabs and

Rustam was killed during the war. The Iranian forces withdrew as

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۱۹ (he mentions the forces to be twenty thousand people but he –۱ further refers to the troops joining him from Basra and other places) Al-Futuh, vol. I,

p. ١٧٥ (there, there is a census of tribal people

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٢٠ -٢

Ibid pp ١٢٠-١٢١ (This was exactly referred when Rostam spoke with Mughira -٣

al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ١٩٧ (Ibn A'tham mentions the exact speech of the king in Persian -٤

Ibn A'tham cites the names in a different way al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ٢٠ -٥

.far as Diyr Ka'b where new forces under the command of Nukharijan helped them

Therefore, the Iranians refurbished their army and made a new onslaught. Dinwari says as Nukharijan entered the battlefield, he began crying out “any man, any man” to invite a contender. (١) Nukharijan was, however, killed by Zuhayr Ibn Sulaym (Mikhnaf Ibn Sulaym's brother). This time, too, the Iranians were defeated and withdrew as far .as Ctesiphon

The Arabs achieved the win very hard, because they suffered huge losses. It is said that a group of Iranians gathered around Iran's black flag, saying, “We will not abandon our place unless we are killed.” and they did so. (٢) The bravery of the Iranians made it difficult for the Arabs to defeat them. Abu Raja' Farsi quoted his grandfather, who had been in the Iranian army at the Qadisiyya war, as saying that the Arabs had to spray many arrows on the Iranians and the battle had become so (tough for them. (٣)

There are differences of opinion on the year of this war. Waqidi has conceded that it took place in ١٤ A.H. (٤) Armenian historian, Ilyas Nusaybini, has cited Jumadi al-Awwal ١٤ A.H as the date of the war. Meanwhile, Ibn Ishaq has mentioned ١٥ A.H as the year of the war. A researcher has said that the war occurred in the month of Sha'ban, ١٥ A.H. (٥) During the war, the emblem of the Sassanids troops fell to Muslims; (٦) an issue which indicates the crushing blow that the Iranian government suffered

p: ١٢٤

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٢٣ (Dinwari mentions his very calling “a man of challenge” in -١
(Persian

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ٢٥٩ -٢

Ibid p. ٢٦٠ -٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. ٥٩٠; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٣١٩ -٤

al-Qadisiyya, pp ٢١٦-٢٣٢ -٥

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٣١٩ -٦

.in the war

In the aftermath of the war, Sa'd found out the necessity for establishing a town named "Dar al-Hijra" for the tribes who had immigrated to the region from Hijaz for war. Had Basra been established by then, it could have been a model for Kufa. Yaqut [\(has cited ten reasons for the naming of Kufa. \(١\)](#)

It is said that a number of places were surveyed. As the site was suitable for the raising of sheep, horses and camels, 'Umar preferred Kufa [\(٢\)](#), which was previously called Surastan. [\(٣\)](#) After the site of the mosque and the palace of administration were determined, the nearby regions were divided between the northern and southern tribes

The town initially seemed transient because the tribes set up their houses from reed. So, at times of Jihad, they removed the reed framework and ceded them to others. As they took their wives with themselves to the war, they had to build new quarters after their return. It was only at the time of Mughira that people began to build clay structures. Yet, they did not build any rooms inside. Under the reign of Ziyad Ibn Abih, brick houses became popular

Yaqut writes that the caliph wrote to Sa'd, saying the mosque should have enough space to accommodate the participants in the war. So, it was built with a capacity of ٤٠ [\(thousand people. \(٤\)](#)

Hence, Kufa became one of the most important Islamic towns. At the same time, 'Umar sent a letter to the people of Kufa, writing

p: ١٢٧

Mu‘jam al-Buldan, vol. IV, pp ٤٩٠-٤٩١ -١

Umar wrote to Sa‘d, Arabs resemble camels, wherever camels lay well, Arabs find‘ -٢

it well too Futuh al-Buldan, p. ٢٧٥

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ٢٧٥ -٣

Mu‘jam al-Buldan, vol. IV, p. ٤٩١ -٤

,To the people of Kufa, to the center of Islam.” He also said of Kufa that it was“

إلى أهل الكوفة، إلى رأس الإسلام“

,To Kufiyans, to center of Islam.” And saying about that

هم رمح الله وكنز الإيمان وجمجمه العرب“

”.They are divine spear , treasure of faith and renowned among Arabs

(١). Salman has also called Kufa as the place “where there is Islam”.

After the Qadisiyya war , Muslims chased the Iranians and set up a military camp on the western rim of the Euphrates n front of Ctesiphon. According to Dinwari, they stayed there for ٢٨ months, so long that they could eat dates of the palm trees twice!(٢) By that time, Muslims had dominated parts of Ctesiphon or Ctesiphon—
.meaning towns in Arabic

Ctesiphon consisted of seven nearby towns, protected by barracks. Entry into the greater town was possible through symmetrical gates designed around the city. On the Western side of the Tigris, were the cities of Bih Ardishir (Arabic, Bihrasir), Seleucids (Sulukiyya), Darzijan, Sabat and Mahuza while on the river's eastern side were the cities of Ctesiphon, Asbanbar and Rumiyya which was called Wiya Andyu Khusraw. The king resided at Ctesiphon's white palace and the palace of Mada'in (٣) where the banquets and parties were held, was located in Asbanbar.

Muslims captured the Western area after a brief clash and were stationed in Bihrasir. The destruction of bridges by Iranians(٤) kept Arabs behind the Tigris for a long time
.but they finally managed to cross the river and enter the town

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ٢٨٧; al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ٢٨٨ –١

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٢٤; Futuh al-Buldan, p. ٢٤٢ –٢

Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. IV, p. ١٨ Yaqut speaks of seven- –٣
fold cities of Mada'in this way, Isfabur (Isfanbar), Wah Ardishir (Bihrsir), Hanbushafur
(Jundishabur), Darznidan (Darzijan), Wah Jundyu Khusruw (Rumiyya), Nunyafaj and
Kirdafadh (His mentioned names slightly differ from what has been quoted from
Tarikh Iran) He adds, Mada'in, in our time, is a village six leagues far from Baghdad
Citizens are mainly farmers and followers of Imam 'Ali (a) Salman Farsi's tombstone

rests in eastern Medina Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. V, p. ٧٥

al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ٢١٢ –٤

(When Iranians saw the Arabs, they cried out, "The devils came! The devils came!"^(١)

Kharihzad was initially supposed to stay in Mada'in as long as possible. However, when Arab crossed the Tigris and reached behind the city gates, fled from the town's eastern side and retreated towards western Iran.^(٢) The Arab's entry into the city was as a big victory for them. Now, the capital of the Sassanids kingdom had been conquered and numerous booties were available to Arabs. Among them, were things Arab had never seen until then. For instance, they poured camphor into their food,
(thinking it was salt!^(٣)

Before that, Yazdgard had taken the royal family along with the treasures and other portable belongings and had fled to Qasr Shirin^(٤) in Iran's western mountains. From there, he went to the town of Hulwan near the present-day town of Sar Pul Dhahab. Kharihzad, too, who had failed to keep Ctesiphon, set off in the same direction and
settled in Jalula

In order to keep Ctesiphon, Arabs had no way but to chase this army. Therefore, Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas sent an army led by Hashim Ibn 'Utba to follow them. Iranians dug a ditch around them in Jalula, waiting for the arrival of backup forces from Yazdgard, Jibal and Isfahan. But, Muslims did not wait for these forces and launched the

In this battle, Hujr Ibn 'Adi commanded the left wing of the army of Islam. Iranian forces were defeated in the war and had to retreat to

p: ۱۲۹

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۱۶; Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۲۶۲ –۱

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۲۷ –۲

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۲۶۳ –۳

al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ۲۷۸ –۴

Hulwan. After that, Yazdgard did not see it right to stay any longer in Hulwan, so he fled towards the region of Jibal in Qum and Kashan. A ۴۰۰۰-strong force of Muslim Arabs was tasked with protecting Iraq against the infiltration of Iranians in Jalula.^(۱) Now, Muslims were on the eastern side of the Tigris as well and were conquering those regions. Mihrud and Khaniqayn were in that part. Finally, Muslims dominated all [\(regions around the Tigris.](#)^(۲)

Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas was no longer interested in extending the war towards Hulwan and this annoyed some of his troops. So, he ordered an advance as far as Hulwan.^(۳) Then, he returned to Kufa and ruled the city for more than three years until he was replaced with 'Ammar Ibn Yasir. According to Ya'qubi, after conquering Ctesiphon, Sa'd came to Kufa and the Jalula attack took place three years later in ۱۹ A.H.^(۴) Baladhuri, too, has mentioned the same date^(۵), so it seems to be correct

Now, Muslims had entered Iran from three fronts, on one side, Ctesiphon was in their hands. On the other side, Abu Musa Ash'ari has come towards Ahwaz from Basra. And the third front which had opened by 'Ala' Ibn al-Had'rami in the beginning of 'Umar's rule in Bahrayn and had achieved some success^(۶), now had initiated a new move and [\(had made some penetrations in some parts of Fars.](#)^(۷)

Given the two latter fronts, Fars which was one Iran's important regions, was now threatened by invasion. Hurmuzan asked Yazdgard

- Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۲۹ –۱
 Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۲۶۴ –۲
 al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ۲۷۹–۲۸۰ –۳
 Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۵۱ –۴
 Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۲۶۵ –۵
 al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. ۱۸۳ –۶
 Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۳۳ –۷

to dispatch him to Khuzistan and Fars for protecting those regions so that he could serve as a barrier on the way of Arabs' advance and even gather forces to help Yazdgard. Hurmuzan, along with an army, set off for Tustar (Shushtar). The news of this army reached Muslims and they started a lot of activities to prepare troops

Ammar was tasked with joining Abu Musa along with half of the people of Kufa.' Before that, Nu'man Ibn Muqarran and thousands of his men had joined Abu Musa. Even ۳۰۰۰ of the ۴۰۰۰-strong Arab border guards who had stayed in Jalula rushed to help. The army of Islam set off towards Tustar. At first, some clashes erupted outside the city and after ۱۶۰۰ Iranians were killed, Hurmuzan was forced to go inside the city and close the gates

There were also some martyrs on the side of Muslims. One of the well-known martyrs was Bara' Ibn Malik. The city was besieged for some time until one of the city's nobles showed them a secret way to enter the city. ۲۰۰ Muslims forces broke into the city from that way and after killing the guards, opened the gates on Muslims

The city was conquered and Hurmuzan took refuge in a palace. He only gave himself up after getting life assurance and under the condition that he would be sent to Medina to the caliph. 'Umar forgave him in Medina until after 'Umar's murder, his son, 'Ubayd Allah, killed Hurmuzan under the

baseless pretext that he had been seen with 'Umar's murderer, Abu Lu'lu', the day before

After the end of the war, 'Ammar returned to Kufa and Abu Musa continued [\(conquering other cities of Khuzistan such as Susa \(Shush\)\).](#)⁽¹⁾

At that time, Yazdgard was in Qum, according to Dinwari. He called on all people of Iran to assist him against Arabs who were getting closer every moment. People from Qumis (Damghan), Tabaristan, Gurgan, Damawand, Riy and Isfahan rushed to his help. They gathered a huge army and set off for war against Arab conquerors. 'Ammar wrote the news of this army to 'Umar who called on the people from the [pulpit to head for Iraq](#)

There, 'Uthman asked 'Umar to send the Muslim army from Yemen and Damascus to Iraq. Moreover, he said the caliph, too, should go to Iraq. However, Imam 'Ali opposed this suggestion and said, "This will prompt the Romans to attack Damascus. Also, if Muslims soldiers from Yemen, there will be the threat of an assault from Abyssinia." Imam opposed the caliph's trip to Iraq because he said Iranians would fight with more [fervor if they heard the Arab king's presence.](#)⁽²⁾

At any rate, an army was prepared and its command was given to Nu'man Ibn Muqarran, one of the Companions of Prophet Muhammad (S). It was decided that if he were martyred, Hudhayfa Ibn Yaman, Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah, Mughira Ibn Shu'ba and Ash'ath Ibn Qays would replace him respectively. Two armies were stationed near Nahawand. Nahawand was located

p: ۱۳۲

Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp ۱۳۰-۱۳۲ -۱

Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp ۱۳۴-۱۳۵ -۲

between two fronts of Arabs' war against Iranians, one from Ctesiphon and the other from Ahwaz

The two armies clashed with each other and fought intensely for four days, from Tuesday to Friday. On the last day, the confrontation was really heavy and despite the martyrdom of Nu'man Ibn Muqarran, the Iranian army was defeated.^(١) This victory was of great significance for Arabs, so it was named "Fath al-Futuh" (the victory of victories).^(٢) This battle probably occurred in the year ٢٠ A.H. In this war, a number of Muslim Arabs including their commander was martyred. They were all buried in a graveyard remained in Nahawand's history in memory of the battle's martyrs

During the years ١٤ to ٢٠ A.H, conquests continued in northern Iraq as well Muslims advanced as far as Musil, bringing Iraq under their entire control. Among the conquered regions were the cities of Harran, Nusaybin, Qirqisiya' and Samisat and many regions around the Euphrates and the Tigris

About Iran's Conquest

The quick conquest of Iran and the fall of the Sassanids dynasty with all its grandeur was a surprising event that cannot be easily explained. Although similar events have occurred in Iran and other world countries and a comparative study of them can help further understanding of realities. In Iraq and Iran, many governments and dynasties, even the long-lived 'Abbasids dynasty, collapsed at the hands of Mongol nomads

For instance, the Safawids stable and firm for more than ٢٠٠ years was overthrown by several thousand Ghalzayi Afghans who had come at least

p: ١٣٣

Ibid pp ١٣٤-١٣٧-١
al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. ١٨٢-٢

kilometers to reach Isfahan. However, each of these developments must have ١٢٠٠٠ its particular reasons. Here, it is suitable to quote a source about the political situation of Iran's government after the defeat of Iranian forces against the Roman government in the year ٤٢٨ A.D

After Iran's defeat in the war against Rome, Khusraw Parviz looking for scapegoats to blame them for his failure and among them, he decided to execute Shahrbaraz. But before he could carry out his intention, there was a rebellion and Khusraw was imprisoned and then murdered in late February, ۶۲۸ A.D. Khusraw's son, Shirwayh, ascended to the throne with the title of Kuwad II

He had joined the insurgents and had agreed with his father's murder. The new king immediately called for peace with Heraclius and accepted to recall the Sassanids armies from Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor and western Mesopotamia and recognize the pre-war borders

It was also agreed that all prisoners of war be extradited and the Swastika and other emblems be returned. Both sides were happy with the end of the war operations which had worn out the two empires for several years. But, Shahrbaraz was dissatisfied over the establishment of peace and he was dangerous as he commanded a large army

Kuwad II passed away after less than a year in power possibly due to plague and his son, Ardishir III, who was a little child, ascended to the throne. Shahrbaraz decided to claim the throne himself

So, in June of ۶۲۹

p: ۱۳۴

A.D, backed by Heraclius, he went to Ctesiphon, defeated Ardishir's forces and murdered him along with several of his prominent figures. Shahrbaraz sat on the throne, but his rule didn't last long and he, too, was murdered in less than two months. Also, another claimant in the eastern part of the empire who was Khusraw's nephew, was killed before he could come to the capital with the title of Khusraw III

As none of Khusraw's sons was left alive, the nobles named his daughter, Puran, as the ruler. Puran was the first woman to ascend to the throne, but she, too, passed away after less than a year in power. A group of kings took power one after the other

and each stayed for only a few months. The only thing we know about them is their names as follows, Puran's sister, Adharmidukht; Piruz II, Hurmuz V and Khusraw IV

Finally, in the year ۶۳۲ A.D, the nobles named Yazdgard III, the son of Shahriyar and the grandson of Khusraw II, who was almost the last survival of the Sassanids dynasty, to take the throne. Yazdgard lived in virtual hiding in the Istakhr of Fars and it was there that the last Sassanids king was crowned in a fire temple which was [\(named after the first Sassanids king.\)](#)

These developments occurred before the start of Iraq's conquest and naturally, they destroyed Iran's political and military structures. It is clear that Yazdgard needed years to put the situation of Iran, which was

p: ۱۳۵

Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. III, p. ۲۶۷ –۱

under domestic and foreign pressure, back on track. But, Arabs' assaults stripped him from such an opportunity and further dealt fatal blows on Iran. The conquest of Iraq located near Ctesiphon, the Sassanids capital, was the first deadly incident which rang the alarm bell for the Sassanids rulers. Those consecutive blows disintegrated that hollow government and shattered it into pieces

Despite the weakness of the Sassanids government, Iran's defeat cannot be entirely blamed on this incompetence. The Sassanids government did its best, as far as it could. From the Qadisiyya battle to Nahawand's Fath al-Futuh, it tried hard to stop the advancing Arabs. Each time, massive troops were prepared, multiplying the Arabs, but the Iranians' bravery and courage could not resist the will of Arabs who were sure of their victory. The most important point was Arab's faith and their full confidence in the victory of their religion because spreading Islam was their main goal

Spuler writes, "Today, there is no doubt that the religion of monotheism was the strongest driving force behind Arabs' conquest of lands." We should also remember that while fighting for monotheism, Arabs expected booties, too, after victory. They

headed for battlefronts after hearing Prophet Muhammad's words who had promised them, the treasures of Caesar and Chosroe. When 'Umar wanted to provoke them, he ,said

أيها الناس! إن الله عز وجل وعد نبيه محمداً صلى الله عليه واله وسلم، أن يفتح عليه فارس والروم، والله لا يخلف وعده ولا يخذل جنده، فسارعوا رحمكم الله إلى جهاد أعدائكم من

p: ١٣٦

Tarikh Iran, vol. I, p. ٧-١

الفرس، فإنكم بالحجاز في غير دار مقام وقد وعدكم الله عز وجل كنوز كسرى وقيصر، والمواعيد من الله عز وجل مضمونه وأمر الله تعالى مفعول، والقول من رسول الله صلى الله عليه مقبول، وما لم يورثكموه الله عز وجل اليوم، يورثكموه غداً وانكم لن تغنموا حتى تغيروا ولن تسشهدوا حتى تقاتلوا

O people! The Almighty God certainly promised His Messenger, brought Iran and Rome under his conquest. He keeps His promise and never abandons His troops. God bless thee! Perform a Jihad with Iran's enemies knowing that Hijaz is not a place to stay as He, the Exalted, promised thee riches of Chosroes and Caesaer and be aware that His promises are assured and His decrees are achieved. His Messenger's words are approved as well and what He leaves thee inherited today shall be inherited tomorrow too; thou never attain booties unless thou art changed and never do thou [\(١\)](#) welcome martyrdom unless thou challenge the foes.”

The tyranny and oppression of the Sassanids government was more or less effective in arousing the people's resentment or in other words, destroying their motivation for .defending the Sassanids dynasty

It led to a reduction of military activities of the Iranian army in the battlefield. Apart from temporary collaboration which may be deemed as treason such as the cooperation of some nobles of Tustar [\(٢\)](#) and Nahawand [\(٣\)](#) in showing the way into the city, the joining of ٤٠٠٠ men from the Qadisiyya army to Arabs cannot be justified as .treason

.al-Futuh, vol.I, p.۱۶۵-۱

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۳۱-۲

Ibid p. ۱۳۷-۳

among the king's army) from Diylaman who were at the service of the Sassanids government, were in Qadisiyya with Rostam. When the Iranian army was defeated, they were standing at a corner. Feeling they had no shelter, they decided to embrace Islam.

After that, they called on Muslims to let them live wherever they wished and to ally with any tribe they wanted. Sa'd accepted their demand. A chief was chosen for them who were called Hamra' Diylam. Basically, Arabs called non-Arabs “Hamra'”, meaning having a white complexion. These people took part in the conquest of Ctesiphon and the Jalula battle.^(۱) There are other examples as well which show that right after ^(۲)Muslims' attacks, some peasants and farmers converted to Islam.^(۳)

Qazwini has written, “Treacherous and Arabized Iranians! From the provinces' officials and nearby border guards, threw themselves into the arms of Arabs as soon as they felt the Sassanids dynasty was shaky and the Iranian army had been defeated several times at the hands of the Arab troops

These Iranians not only helped Arabs in their conquests, but also called on Arab commanders to occupy other Iranian lands which were in their territory and had not been attacked by Arabs yet. They submitted the keys of castles and treasuries to ^(۴)Arabs provided that Arabs would let them stay in power in some regions.”^(۵)

The late Jalal Al Ahmad writes, “Before Islam came to confront us, we invited it. Let's forget about Rostam Farrukhzadi who desperately defended the Sassanids ferocity and the

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۲۷۹ –۱

Spuler, Tarikh Iran, vol. I, p. ۱۷ –۲

Bist Maqalih Qazwin quoted from, Khadamat Mutaqabil Iran wa Islam, p. ۷۹ –۳

Zoroastrians' backward traditions. But, the people, Ctesiphon went into their alleys with bread and dates to welcome the Arabs who went to plunder the king's palace [\(and the carpet of Baharistan.\)](#)

The proper treatment of victorious Arabs with the people of the cities they conquered, could encourage the people towards the sincerity of Muslims. Peace accords did not force the people into abandoning their religion and traditions. Even there was no emphasis on destroying the fire temples. The tax paid was, in most cases, less than what was received by the Sassanids government and the provincial governors from [the people](#)

So, what reason could they have to sacrifice their lives for the Sassanids rulers. It has been said in this regard, “The peace accords of Arab armies with different town and cities, which in many cases, entailed much lighter obligations for the people compared to the taxes paid previously to the central Sassanids government, urged many Iranian to give up. They were not interested in fighting for a court that did not pay any attention to them. We should welcome the new gods who take lower taxes instead of [fighting against them. This was the psychology of many Iranians.”](#)

Uthman's Caliphate

Caliphate Council and 'Uthman's Election

Umar consulted with Prophet's (S) companions in several cases while never' compelling himself to fulfill their notions. It should be said when 'Umar had no idea in some cases, he benefited others'. In judicial issues, he preferred Imam 'Ali's idea tens [of times](#)

He consulted with companions about Hijra calendaring and

Gharbzadigi, p. ۴۸ –۱

Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. III, part I, p. ۲۷۱ –۲

conceded Imam's opinion on determining “Prophet's Hijra” as the beginning (era) of
 (Islamic date.)^(۱)

Another example of consulting with Imam leading to his approved idea was about
 lands of Iraq.^(۲) The other one is about going out of Medina during the war with
 Iranians and defining a leader for Iranian troops.^(۳) In his suggesting to do some
 (things, 'Umar cited favoring companions and consulting with them.^(۴)

Considering these counsellings, some have said that basically a consultative assembly
 was regularly taking place in a mosque and the political system during 'Umar's rule
 (was a kind of democracy, even close to a republic.)^(۵)

This view fails to comply with the truth of that time and what history has reported.
 Occasional counsels are parted from parliaments that adopt the majority of votes and
 regularly interfere with the affairs. The source of Amir 'Ali's utterance is what Qad'i
 Abu Yusuf ^(۶) said as in the mosque there was the meeting of upper class among
 .whom were the heads of tribes coming to Medina

He has named this group “people of Shura.” Mentioning Amir 'Ali's inaccuracy in using
 words like “parliament,” about the current meaning of this word, and Ibrahim Bayd'un
 says, “There was nothing called “parliament” as an established and influential board in
 ”.the regime in that age

As 'Umar had a great influence in domestic and foreign political and all governmental
 affairs, this issue is more applicable in 'Umar's time. In fact, the afore-mentioned is
 the extension of the same thing in the Prophet's

There is a disagreement on whether the Messenger (S) set Hijra as the originating –۱

history or such an action has been taken in time of 'Umar. Seemingly, due to significance of Hijra, Muslims had been using Hijra as one origin in the very beginning years of it but this has been formalized in 'Umar's time

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp 151-152 -2

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, pp 309-310 -3

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. 4, p. 227 -4

Mukhtasar Tarikh al-'Arab wal-tamaddun al-Islami, Amir 'Ali, p. 90 -5

Kitab al-Kharaj, p. 30 -6

age.⁽¹⁾ It has been quoted from Imam as-Sadiq (a) that emigrants usually sat in the mosque and 'Umar confided the events in them, e.g. he asked them how to treat Magi ((Majus), then "Prophet treated them as Muslims", 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf said.⁽²⁾

As said, 'Umar also consulted with the companions about writing traditions and 'Ali, .unlike their approval, refused to do so

In caliph's opinion, another example of consultation is matter of caliphate. For the first time, he confessed the truth of Abu Bakr's election, in his speech in Medina he said that election was without consulting the Muslims, thereafter caliphate should be based on Muslims' consultation; if anyone swore allegiance to someone without consulting, both should be killed.⁽³⁾

This speech led to the idea of one principle in choosing the caliph as outlined in this brief narrated phrase of caliph "al-Imara Shura".⁽⁴⁾ What 'Umar said about the matter of succession shows that he himself was perplexed. In the beginning, he wished his .old friends were alive to make them caliphs

One of them was Mu'adh Ibn Jabal.⁽⁵⁾ The second person was Abu 'Ubayda Jarrah, third, present emigrants in Saqifa,⁽⁶⁾ and the fourth one Salim Mawla Hudhayfa who was not of Quraysh.⁽⁷⁾ Surprisingly, despite all 'Umar's disagreements with Khalid Ibn Walid,⁽⁸⁾ he had been quoted saying, "If Khalid Ibn Walid were alive, he would be my successor." ⁽⁹⁾ Thus, it becomes obvious if one of these people were alive, it would not (be a turn for Shura.⁽¹⁰⁾

Min Dawlat ‘Umar Ila Dawlat ‘Abd al-Malik, p. ۸۹-۹۱ –۱

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۸۵۳; Futuh al-Buldan, pp ۲۶۶-۲۶۷ –۲

Previously the sources of the quotation have been mentioned in detail ‘Abd al- –۳

Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. ۵, p. ۴۴۵; Fath al-bari, vol. ۱۲, p. ۱۲۴; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol.

III, p. ۳۴۴; Masa’il al-Imamah, p. ۶۳; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ۸۸۱;

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. ۱۲, p. ۶۹; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ۴, p. ۲۲۷

Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. ۵, p. ۴۴۶; vol. ۷, p. ۲۷۸; vol. ۱۰, p. ۱۰۳ –۴

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۵۹۰; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۴۲ –۵

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۱۶; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۴۲; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. –۶

III, p. ۴۱۲; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ۴, p. ۲۲۷

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۳۴۳; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۸۶ –۷

When ‘Umar came to power, he said, “I depose Khalid to make known if God helps –۸

his religion, Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, vol. I, p. ۱۰۶

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ۸۸۷; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۴۲ –۹

He explicitly interpreted that, “If Salim had been alive, I would have not made –۱۰

Shura responsible for the affairs; Tarikh Abi Zar‘a al-dimashqi, vol. I, p. ۲۷۲; and he

added, “If he had been alive, I would have never doubted his supremacy over the

Prophet’s companions; al-Muqni‘ fil-Imama, p. ۵۹

.candidates for caliphate had passed away. Thus, it was the turn for those alive

Umar was with an Ansari (one companion),” says ‘Abd al-Rahman Qari “when he got”

assured that the present people were confidant, he asked him about public opinion

about his successor. He named some emigrants without mentioning ‘Ali’s. ‘Umar

objected and said, “Why not Abu al-Hasan? If he comes to power, he will lead people

(to the truth.” (۱)

Mughira Ibn Shu'ba says, "Umar asked me, who is qualified to be the successor?" I

"responded, "Uthman

He criticised 'Uthman. I also named five people of the council, on each of whom he placed an imperfection and accused Imam of being witty.”(۲) Though he said, “If he (comes to power, he will lead all to the Truth.”(۳)

Umar asked Ka'b al-Ahbar (who 'Umar believed was dealing with Scriptures)(۴) about his successor, he replied, "Ali is not qualified for it and as he had read in the books, those who have quarrelled with the Prophet (S) over faith could be caliphs.(۵) It seems that he had meant no one but the Umayyads and ahead of them 'Uthman. 'Uthman had a great influence during the ages of Abu Bakr and 'Umar

In your opinion, once he asked Hudhayfa, who was known as prophet's confidant, “?whom will people accept as the ruler after me

Hudhayfa replied, “I think people would leave themselves to 'Uthman Ibn 'Affan.”(۶) Hudhayfa's perception was right because the Qurayshites were all 'Uthman's advocates

It should be mentioned that 'Umar was annoyed by the Hashimites. The

p: ۱۴۲

Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. ۵, p. ۴۴۶ –۱

Ibid vol. ۵, pp ۴۴۷-۴۴۸; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ۸۸۰; al-Ahkam As-Sultaniyya, vol. ۱۲, Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. ۴۹; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۴, p. ۵۰۱, No ۱۲۹۱;

Kitab al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۸۵-۸۶

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۴, p. ۵۰۱, No ۱۲۹۰ –۳

See, Caliph's Thoughts –۴

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XII, p. ۸۱; Gharib al-Hadith, vol. III, p. –۵ ۲۳۹; al-Fa'iq fi Gharib al-Hadith, vol. II, p. ۱۶; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۸۷; The Umayyad meant that 'Uthman was among them although he himself never fought with the Prophet over religion Later on, Ka'b al-Ahbar said Mu'awiya basically possessed succession after 'Uthman as if heavenly books reported this way Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۴۹۵, No

۱۲۷۸

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۳۳۳ –۶

.discussion between 'Umar and Ibn 'Abbas contains notable points

Umar, Tabari writes, told Ibn 'Abbas, “Do you know why your tribe, (Quraysh) banned 'you from being prophet's successor

”I answered “No

Because they detested, 'Umar said, your caliphate and prophecy, then you would have so much vanity and glory. So Quraysh seized caliphate and it was the right thing .to do

.May I speak?” says Ibn 'Abbas“

”.Umar said, “Yes'

I said, Ibn 'Abbas says, about what you say Quraysh seized the caliphate, I should say that if Quraysh had picked what God had chosen, it was on the right path without being involved in any denial and envy. But what you say about their reluctance of prophecy and caliphate in one family, God has defined hideously such a tribe Such they attested what God had sent, then their deeds“ كَرِهُوا مِمَّا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأَحْبَطَ أَعْمَالَهُمْ. ”.faded away

O, son of 'Abbas, 'Umar said, I've heard things about you I don't want to believe, if so, .you'll be underrated

If I'm saying the truth, Ibn 'Abbas replied, why my status would be underrated, and if you think it's credal error as wrong egoism he has kept away from himself. “I've heard .you said they divested 'Ali of caliphate for (their) envy and oppression”, 'Umar said

As for oppression, replied Ibn 'Abbas, any ignorant and wise man knows, and as for envy, devil envied Adam, and we who are being envied, are his offsprings too. Also, said 'Umar, By God, O Hashimites! Your hearts are filled with an

p: ١٤٣

.indelible jealousy

O 'Umar!, replied Ibn 'Abbas, don't charge the hearts, impurified by God, with having envy and alloy. Prophet (S) 's heart is of Hashimites'.^(۱) Some time, it was him who refused to recruit Khalid Ibn Sa'id because of his scruple objection with Abu Bakr's caliphate, it was obvious that he couldn't be contented with Imam 'Ali (a) who had sidestepped all this time and also, in the beginning, had withheld to swear allegiance .for several months

However, 'Umar was demoralized in choosing his successor. When Hafsa heard his father thinking of putting no one as the caliph, he told his father, “If you had a shepherd looking after your sheep and if he had left his duty, you would have ”.regarded him as a waster, so considering people becomes worse

Umar said that if he did not put anyone as the caliph, he had treated like Prophet (S)' and if he chose someone, then he had done like Abu Bakr^(۲) both seemed to him religious traditions. 'Umar stated that during his life he had been shouldering the responsibility which he wouldn't want to do so after death.^(۳) However, he couldn't .leave the caliphate

Umar said, “Some people, according to Baladhuri, have said (and he himself accepted' that) swearing allegiance to Abu Bakr was unbased and without consultation. This would be done in “Shura” after me.^(۴) 'Umar chose six people instead of one, putting the responsibility on 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf^(۵) to consult with each other and .choose one of themselves

I found, 'Umar

p: ۱۴۴

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۲۳ –۱
Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, pp ۴۴۸–۴۴۹; Hafsa’s reasoning is the simplest’ –۲
one in Shi’a for the necessity of succession by the Messenger (S) Others also with the
same reasoning asked ‘Umar to designate a successor, Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p.
۳۴۳
al-Ahkam As-Sultaniyya, p. ۱۳; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۳۴۲; Ansab al-Ashraf, –۳

vol. IV, p. ٥٠١, No ١٢٩٠

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٥٠٠, No ١٢٨٨-٤

Ibid vol. IV, p. ٥٠٥, No ١٣٠٣; Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. ٣٣-٥

said, you are public headmen and this should be done by no one but you. Caliph, as said, placed an imperfection on each of them except Ibn 'Awf whom he praised.^(١) 'Umar determined the council members as well as saying its quality of task. They were supposed to gather in a house where fifty companions guarded them till they would choose a caliph

It seemed that Talha was not in Medina; (Baladhuri says this is true) if five people chose someone with whom one person disagreed, he had to be decapitated; if two of them disagreed with four people's decision, they had to be killed; if three people were on one side and three on the other side, they had to agree with 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar's arbitration and if they didn't accept it, the group in which was 'Abd al-Rahman 'Awf, was preferred. And if the other three people disagreed with them, they had to be (killed.)^(٢)

Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar's role in this council of six people, had a consultative aspect, but he himself couldn't be as a candidate for caliphate because in his father's opinion, he (couldn't even decide about divorcing his wife much less that.)^(٣)

Beyond all this, 'Umar had said this affair was for “people of Badr” as long as one of them survives, after them came people of “Uhud” as long as one of them survives. As for the released ones and their offsprings and the people who became Muslims in Mecca's conquest, they have

p: ١٤٥

Ibid vol. IV, p. ٢٢٩; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I٢, pp ٢٥٨-٢٥٩ –١
al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ٤٢; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٢٩; Ansab al- –٢
Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٥٠٤, No ١٣٠٠, ١٣٠١
Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٣٤٣; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٦٠. An imagination that –٣
is not so unbased is that 'Umar feared hereditary caliphate and he had this as a

principle in his mind that ruler should not use his relatives in handling the affairs or assigning them as his successors He mentioned this as an advice to 'Ali (a) and 'Uthman adding, "If you became caliph, lest you might have the Hashimites or family of Abi Mu'ayT dominate people, al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۴۳

.no rights.(۱) 'Amr Ibn 'As also tried hard to become a member of the Shura

But 'Umar told him he would not leave the task to someone who had fought against Prophet (S) (۲) and he meant when 'Amr Ibn 'As was an infidel

In the beginning, 'Abbas asked 'Ali (a) not to enter Shura. But Imam said that first he was afraid of schism, second, what 'Umar had said, "Your tribe doesn't agree with the prophecy and caliphate in the same lineage", should be proved wrong.(۳) When Shura .was shaped of members, Imam 'Ali (a)'s opinion was that 'Uthman would be chosen

Imam's analysis was that "Uthman and I are in this congress and we should obey the majority." Sa'd would not object to his cousin, 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf (who both were of Banu Zuhra). Besides, 'Abd al-Rahman is 'Uthman's brother-in-law and they wouldn't disagree with each other, so 'Abd al-Rahman would choose him;(۴) therefore, if there are only two persons remained, that is Talha and Zubayr staying with me, it is of no benefit because of Ibn 'Awf they would be preferred.(۵) Moreover, since Prophet's time there was a pledge of brotherhood between 'Uthman and 'Abd (al-Rahman'Awf. (۶

Abd al-Rahman announced that he favored not caliphate, others normally were not disposed to caliphate, Sa'd left the task to Ibn 'Awf, but he said that in his opinion, 'Ali was superior to 'Uthman.(۷) Thus, caliphate was exclusive to 'Ali (a) and 'Uthman.

Now, schism in society, Quraysh and non-Quraysh came to be

p: ۱۴۶

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۳۴۲ -۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۵۰۳, No ۱۲۹۵; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۳۰ -۲

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. ۱۸۹ -۳

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Malah, Imam says in Nahj al-Balaghah – ٤
 ,Balaghah,, vol. I, p. ١٨٤ After ‘Abd al-Rahman payed allegiance to ‘Uthman, ‘Ali (a) said
 He tilted towards his kins and set religion aside” Al- “ مال الرجل إلى صهره ونبذ دينه وراء ظهره “
 Jamal, p. ١٢٣; ‘Uthman’s sister was Ibn ‘Awf’s wife merely on the part of his mother
 Umm Kulthum, daughter of ‘Uqba Ibn Abi Mu‘ayT Ibn Abi al-Hadid,Sharh Nahj al-
 Balaghah, vol. I, p. ١٨٩
 Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٣٠; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. –٥
 ١٩١; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٥٠٥, No ١٣٠٤
 Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ٩٥٥ –٦
 Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٥٠٦, No ١٣٠٨; Makhul Shami says, “Sa‘d was not in Shura –٧
 because of his abdication Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٥٠٧, No ١٣٠٩

.real

One should know that, here, Quraysh is “political Quraysh” which excludes the Hashimites. According to Tabari, 'Abd al-Rahman had been consulting several nights. All emirs, noblemen and people recommended him to choose 'Uthman.(١) After three days, people gathered in a mosque in the morning. According to Zuhri, 'Abd al-Rahman attended the meeting and Ibn 'Awf said that he had asked people and they (had qualified no one but 'Uthman.(٢)

Then 'Ammar Ibn Yasir, Tabari says, cried,”If you don't want “Muslims” to get “
 ”.involved in conflicts, choose 'Ali

.He is right ” Miqdad Ibn Aswad ratified“

If you don't want, said 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abi Sarh (whom the Prophet“ ostracized), Quraysh to come into conflict with each other, choose 'Uthman.” Tabari adds that “the Umayyads” and ” the Hashimites” negotiated.(٣) 'Ammar and Miqdad .were on the Hashimithes' side

O, people!” 'Ammar said in the mosque, “God graced us by his Prophet and by his“
 ”?”religion, He endeared us. Why do you divest it from his “Household

A man of Banu Makhzum (he was 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd and was allied, in ignorance, with the Umayyads and Abul- Jahl and Khalid Ibn Walid were of them) replied, “O 'Ammar! You have stepped off your limits! How does the emirate of Quraysh relate to [you?](#)” [\(۴\)](#)

Then 'Abd al-Rahman called 'Ali, “Do you swear, saying that, if you come to power, you would follow the Book, the biography of Prophet and Sheikhs

I hope I behave in the bounds of my knowledge and ability (Baladhuri, Ijtihad)”,
Imam

p: ۱۴۷

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ۹۲۸; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۳۰; – ۱
Zuhri says, “That night Ibn ‘Awf consulted the outstanding people of Muhajir and Ansar”, al-Musannaf, vol. V, p. ۴۸۲ But we know even if he had consulted all of them, he would have observed only what Quraysh had said; ‘Abd al-’Aziz, al-Duri says, “This supportive counselling of ‘Uthman indicates that the Umayya were active from conquest of Mecca on in achieving a landslide so far as all agreed on ‘Uthman’s coming to power Muqadama fi Tarikh Sadr al-Islam, p. ۵۹

Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. IV, p. ۴۷۷ – ۲

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۳۳; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I۲, p. – ۳

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Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, pp ۹۲۹–۹۳۰; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۳۳; – ۴
According to Mufid (al-Jamal, p. ۱۲۲), Miqdad shouted, “Do not swear allegiance to someone who was present in Badr, escaped Uhud and was absent in Rid’wan alleginace (he meant ‘Uthman)”; ‘Uthman said, “By God, if I come to power, I’ll return you to your previous conditions, al-Amali, Sheykh Mufid, pp ۱۱۴–۱۱۵ Amali, Sheykh Mufid, pp ۱۱۴–۱۱۵

said.[\(۱\)](#) 'Abd al-Rahman called 'Uthman and he accepted Ibn 'Awf's conditions. Thus, 'Abd al-Rahman chose 'Uthman as the caliph and swore allegiance to him. “You chose [‘Uthman to return you to the caliphate](#)”, 'Ali (a) said.[\(۲\)](#)

The evidence of Imam's speech was when 'Uthman got sick, then he called his scribe to write a letter of allegiance for 'Abd al-Rahman's caliphate after him.^(۳) Later, 'Uthman recuperated, the treaty dissolved and evoked hostility between Ibn 'Awf and him

I haven't seen, Miqdad said, the Prophet (S) 's Household behaves like this after him. I wonder how “Quraysh” leaves a man whom I know no one wiser and more just. People look, 'Ali (a) said, at “Quraysh” and Quraysh does at his “lineage”. If the Hashimites comes to power, they would stay in power forever, but they can rotate caliphate in their lineage

” ?Talha who came to Medina the same day asked, “Is Quraysh pleased with 'Uthman .Yes!” they replied. So he swore allegiance“

You did the right thing to choose 'Uthman”, Mughira Ibn Shu'ba told Ibn 'Awf. “We “ .would not be consent if you were not elected”, he told 'Uthman

Abd al-Rahman accused him of lying.^(۴) Another account of Tabari says about what ' .Shura members said in the mosque

We are the lineage of Nubuwwat, mine of theosophy, refuge of earth people and“ redemptive for those who seek salvation,”^(۵) Imam 'Ali (a) says. Imam regarded Ibn 'Awf's deal in posing conduct of Sheikhs as a “deceit”.^(۶) The narrator has considered that 'Amr Ibn 'As's had a hand

p: ۱۴۸

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ۲۳۳,۲۳۸; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۶۲; Ya'qubi says, – ۱ “In front of the condition of practising according to biography of Shiykhs, Imam said, “Following Book of God and tradition of the Messenger requires hiring of nobody; you're trying to make me overlook caliphate, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۵۰۸, No ۱۳۱۱; al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. ۱۹۲; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. ۱۸۸, vol. I۲, pp ۱۹۴,۲۶۴ Zuhri fails to mention anything about Imam 'Ali (a) and only suffices to say, “Abd al-

Rahman set this condition for 'Uthman and he approved "; 'Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, p. ۴۷۷
 Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ۹۳۰; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ۲۳۳-۲۳۴; -۲
 al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. III, p. ۷۶
 Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, pp ۱۰۲۸,۱۰۲۹; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, -۳
 vol. VII, p. ۲۵۴
 Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ۲۳۳-۲۳۴,۲۳۹; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۵۰۲, No ۱۲۹۴; and -۴
 concerning Talha, p. ۵۰۴, No ۱۳۰۰ Talha was rewarded although he was ranked as the
 worst enemy of 'Uthman in the course of his seige Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۵۰۶, No
 ۱۳۰۶; Regarding position of Miqdad, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۶۳; Tarikh al-Madinat
 al-Munawwara, vol. II, pp ۹۳۰-۹۳۱
 Kitab al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۹۶-۹۷; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۳۷, Sharh Nahj al- -۵
 Balaghah, vol. I۲, p. ۱۹۵
 Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ۲۳۸-۲۳۹; perhaps deceit ment the same quotation of -۶
 Imam by Ya'qubi as Ibn 'Awf set the condition to keep him away from caliphate Tarikh
 al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۶۲

.in this craft but it's clear that it could not be done without Ibn 'Awf

Abbas believed Shura is settled in a way that it would result in 'Uthman's caliphate.'
 Because of this, he asked 'Ali not to join Shura. (۱) According to Ibn Abi al-Hadid, 'Umar
 "asked the six people, "Is everyone favored in caliphate

Zubayr replied, "Yes. If you become a caliph, our rank and acquaintances would not
 ". "be less than you in "Quraysh

Jahiz says, "If Zubayr was not certain of 'Umar's death, he wouldn't dare say it in front
 of him." (۲) He further says, "Zubayr supported 'Ali (۳) and because Talha was of Banu
 Tamim and Abu Bakr's causin, he was on the side of 'Uthman who was against the
 (Hashimites." (۴

According to Ibn 'Abbas, 'Umar threatened Shura members, saying that if they are at
 odds, Mu'awiya would overcome them. He was then in Damascus. (۵) After allegiance
 ,was sworn, Imam (a) returned home. However, 'Ammar said

O thou who declare death of religion, rise up because goodness vanished and'
(badness ruled.” (٤)

:Here, some points should be noted

First, since then the Umayyads who were politicians of Quraysh, owned caliphate.
,This time, 'Uthman represented them and they favored him a lot. It goes to say that
By the Merciful God, I like you as much as Quraysh liked“ أحبك والرحمن حبّ قريش عثمان ٥٦٦
”. 'Uthman

In contrast, Quraysh was hostile to 'Ali and it was 'Uthman who told 'Ali, “It is not my
fault that Quraysh

p: ١٤٩

.Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol.I, p.١٨٩ –١

Ibid vol. I, p. ١٨٥ –٢

Ibid vol. I, p. ١٨٧ –٣

Ibid vol. I, pp ١٨٧–١٨٨; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. ٣٧ –٤

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. ١٨٧ –٥

al-Bad’ wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. ١٩٣ –٦

dislikes you.” (١) But this time, a noble branch of Quraysh came to power while it was
not so during Abu Bakr and 'Uthman. Although 'Umar was wealthy (٢), he did not lead
an aristocratic life. Yet, 'Uthman was a nobleman with an Islamic past.(٣) Then, the
government gradually moved towards the aristocratic rulership of Quraysh and
(extremely used tribal norms overly in choosing the caliph.(٤)

اجعل الأمر أمر, It is said that at the very moment of election, Abu Sufyan told 'Uthman
by which he meant to say, “Revive the customs of the pre-Islamic era.” And he, الجاهلييه,
(of course, meant nothing but caliphate.(٥)

As mentioned earlier, being a member of Quraysh was not a constitutional

had not yet become the basis *الأئمة من قريش* prerequisite for caliphate and the tradition of justify the rule of Quraysh, as it is not consistent with 'Umar's idea of making Salim Mawla Hudhayfa his successor, so he wished his survival and being a Qurayshite as an invalid condition, as 'Umar says, is what Shi'a since long has remained critical of. ٥٧٢

Second, Shura and deliberation about caliphate came to be posed for the first time. This Shura had two aspects, one was the six-member council framework of heads of Quraysh and the caliphate was in hands of no one but them. 'Umar had determined the rules of election and based it on the majority and the minority ٥٧٣ and if equal, set the balance heavier on the part of three people among

p: ١٥٠

Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. ١٣٠١; this statement is attributed to 'Umar that – ١
'Uthman may probably be named rather than 'Umar, al-Muqanna', p. ١١٠; Manaqib,
vol. III, p. ٢٢٠

Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. ٣٤٧, Kashf al-astar, vol. II, p. ٣٠٣; Tarikh al-Madinat al- – ٢
Munawwara, vol. II, p. ٩٣٥

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. I, p. ٦٧ – ٣

Muqadama fi Tarikh Sadr al-Islam, pp ٥٨-٥٩ – ٤

When 'Umar asked Ibn 'Abbas about 'Uthman, he said, "He keeps love of this world – ٥
and the world hereafter in his heart and if he comes to power, he'll have family of Abi
Mu'ayT rule people; al-Id'ah, p. ٨٦ In the very night of succession (beginning of
Muharram, ٢٤ H), when 'Uthman was on his way to the mosque to say night prayers,
there were people ahead of him carrying candles and Miqdad said, "What innovation
this is!" (Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٦٣); he referred to starting point of ceremonial functions!
Ibn A'tham quoted Ibn 'Awf as saying that, "I am pleased with the succession of the
doyen of the Umayya "; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٩٠٩

.whom was Ibn 'Awf

Another is Ibn 'Awf's consultation with people lasting several nights according to what
is said. Of course, Ibn 'Awf was blamed for choosing 'Uthman because of his kinship

and this consultation could cover it. Moreover, just like Abu Bakr and 'Umar, they had made a pledge of brotherhood

It should be noted that later there appeared a conflict between 'Uthman and Ibn 'Awf and when Ibn 'Awf was badly thrashed by 'Uthman's agents, he passed away while being discontented with 'Uthman.⁽¹⁾ What is important is the role of Shura

However, Shura consisted of six chosen people and this number could resolve choosing one person out of six. This was a kind of limited Shura among a few Quraysh elites, so no one could interfere save them. This effective method was seen, in the next periods, among some of Imam's opponents as well as among the Zubayrids who were against the Umayyads. This will be dealt with later

The Third point concerned was allegiance. After Ibn 'Awf and other Shura members swore allegiance, 'Ali (a) still avoided doing so

”Swear allegiance”, Ibn 'Awf told him, “or I will decapitate you“

Swear “بايع وإلّا جاهدناك”, Imam left the house. Shura companions followed him and said ”an allegiance or we will Jihad with you

Imam (a) followed them and swore an allegiance to 'Uthman.⁽²⁾ This is something that ⁽³⁾is criticized.⁽³⁾

.(If you are a man of fighting, we will help you.” Miqdad asked 'Ali (a“

Imam said, “Who will help me to fight

p: ١٥١

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. ١٩٤; Tarikh al-Madinat al- - ١ Munawwara, vol. II, p. ١٠٣٣; 'Ali (a) is said to have cursed Ibn 'Awf when selecting 'Uthman and Abu Hilal 'Askari says, “Uthman and Ibn 'Awf were in disagreement over fulfilment of 'Ali's invokation; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XII, p. ١٩٤ Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٥٠٨, No ١٣١١; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IX, p. ٥٥; vol. I٢, -٢

p. ۲۶۵; al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. ۱۹۳; Habib As-Siyar, vol. I, p. ۴۹۶; Imam Himself expressed his statement that he has been told If he failed to swear allegiance, he would be fought He also says, "I unwillingly pledged allegiance; al-Gharat, vol. I, p. ۳۱۸ However, fanatic narrators have said that 'Ali was the first one to swear allegiance after Ibn'Awf! Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۶۳ Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I۲, p. ۲۵۹ (according to Sayyid – ۳ Murtaḍa ")?them

(Ammar also said the same thing.)'

This was based on what 'Umar had said, "If anyone refused to swear allegiance, he should be beheaded

As mentioned before, 'Umar was one of those who believed in securing allegiance by force (۲)– despite what is ascribed to Abu Bakr. 'Umar could not believe some people were trying for schism

At first, when he appointed Shura members, he said, "If you all choose one person and one of you disagrees with them, you could kill him." (۳) Later, it remains to be seen that after Imam (a) came to power, he ceased to agree to secure allegiance by force from those who refused to do so

The last point is that one of marginal effects of Shura was the members caprice for caliphate. In 'Umar's opinion, they all had the privilege to seize caliphate and this aroused their expectations

As said, "When you become a caliph", Zubayr told him at the presence of 'Umar. "we could also be caliphs because we are not lower in rank than you from the viewpoint of being a Quraysh and our precedence." (۴) Normally, this Shura would make them expect more. There was a reason why 'Amr Ibn 'As and Mughira Ibn Shu'ba were trying to join this council. Such an expectation resulted in provoking next revolts and (also objections against 'Uthman and later against 'Ali (a

Mu'awiya's analysis was that since Talha, Zubayr and Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas supposed that they are eligible for caliphate, 'Umar's Shura raised differences among Muslims. (5) Sheykh Mufid

p: ۱۵۲

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I۲, pp ۲۶۵-۲۶۶; al-Amali, Mufid, p. ۱۱۵-۱
al-Id'ah, pp ۱۸۷-۱۸۸-۲

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۹۱; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۶۱-۳

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. ۱۸۵; Abu Bakr said to 'Umar that -۴
he had to be careful of Muhajirun because many of them were capricious of
succession; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, pp ۱۶,۲۲

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV, p. ۲۸۱; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IX, p. ۸۵-۵

also writes about Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas, "Personally, he didn't identify himself equal to 'Ali (a) but as he joined Shura, he came to this feeling that he has the authority of
caliphate, and this ruined his faith and life." (۱)

Ibn Abi al-Hadid has quoted his professor's analysis that each of Shura members, inside themselves, had this feeling that they were capable of caliphate. This
preoccupied them till the next differences appeared. (۲)

In Jamal battle, Talha told 'Ali (a), "Resign from caliphate, then we leave it to "Shura"."
"We were also in Shura, two people who didn't want you, now have passed away, we
.are also three", he added

You should have said that before swearing an allegiance but now that you have"
.swore, you should be faithful", (۳) 'Ali replied

Uthman's Caliphate

Uthman was one of those Muslims who became a Muslim as called by Abu Bakr in the first years. He was one of the Umayyads and his Islam was strange in a family most of
.whom were anti-Islam people

He was one of those who migrated to Ethiopia, but soon he returned Mecca and migrated to Medina. There, he married two of the Prophet (S) 's daughters respectively who died soon. Because of his wife's sickness, 'Uthman did not attend Badr. Also, in Uhud he was with the fugitives who, indeed, were blessed. Later, there is no memory of him except in the issue of Hdaybiyya. (٤)٥٨٥

In Abu Bakr's time, he was close to him and was his scribe. It was him who

p: ١٥٣

al-Jamal, p. ٩٧ –١

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. IX, pp ٢٨-٢٩ –٢

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ٩٥ –٣

See, issue of Hdaybiyya in Tarikh Siyasi Islam, vol. I, “Biography of the Messenger –٤
” ((S

wrote 'Umar's allegiance – Abu Bakr said – while he was unconscious. Also, he had a
.great influence in 'Umar's time and was the Umayyads' envoy in that situation

Afterwards, 'Uthman as Umayyads' envoy and Imam 'Ali (a) as the Hashimites'
seemed to be atop of those who will lead the society in the future. 'Umar had probably
realized or practically had the inclination that 'Uthman was more capable of leading
.an Islamic society because of his influence and Popularity in Quraysh

Whatever his opinion was, it can't be neglected that Quraysh wanted him. When he
rather came in grips with Imam in the time of 'Uthman's succession, he told Imam
ذنبى إن لم يحبك قريش “ (١)٥٨٦ “ Is it my fault that Quraysh doesn't like you?”

,Ibn Qutayba also declares that 'Uthman was favored by Quraysh, so it was said

أحبك والرحمن حب قريش عثمان

“ (٢) “By the Compassionate God, I love thee as Quraysh loved 'Uthman.”

As swearing allegiance to 'Uthman ended in the last day of Dhi l-Hajja, ٢٣ A.H., he sat

on the Messenger's (S) rostrum. The difference between him and previous caliphs was that Abu Bakr sat one step down where the Prophet (S) used to sit, 'Umar one step down Abu Bakr and unlike them, 'Uthman sat where Prophet sat.^(۳) When he mounted the rostrum, he couldn't speak. He thought a bit and then, “you need a just Imam more than a lecturer”, he said. Then he came down the rostrum and went [\(home\).](#)^(۴)

His

p: ۱۵۴

Ma‘rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. ۳۰۱ –۱

al-Ma‘arif, p. ۱۹۲; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۱۱ –۲

Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۶۳ –۳

al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. I, p. ۳۴۵ –۴

first action was to overlook 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Umar's punishment. He killed three people, Iranian Hurmuzan and Abu Lu'lu' 's family who were accused of murdering his father, 'Umar. 'Uthman as the ruler dispensed with his Qisas, retaliation, and changed [\(it to blood money and stood against protesters\).](#)^(۱)

Uthman's caliphate must be considered as the beginning of the Umayyads' caliphate.' Ibn A'tham has named him “Doyen of the Umayyads” quoting from Ibn 'Awf.^(۲) The Umayyads thought of lordship but they were ignorant. When people, Abu Bakr Juwhari says, swore allegiance to 'Uthman, “this”, said Abu Sufyan, “was in Taym's hands (Abu Bakr's tribe) while it didn't concern them; thereafter, “'Adi” (tribe) took
”.hold that was much farther.” “Now it has returned to its reservation

Leave it hereditary among your offsprings, there is neither a heaven nor a hell”, he“
[\(told 'Uthman and the Umayyads.\)](#)^(۳)

According to Mas'udi, 'Ammar who had heard Abu Sufyan in the mosque, stood up and began to protest. Miqdad also did the same after him and said he was worried about turning Ahl al-Bayt from this affair.^(۴) Ibn 'Asakir has also narrated that Abu Sufyan

“Settle the case out of ignorance.” [اجعل الأمر أمر الجاهليه](#) “[٥](#)” told 'Uthman

Of course, this evidence only specifies Abu Sufyan's idea not 'Uthman's; however, 'Uthman's caliphate is Abu Sufyan's hope for the throwback of the Umayyads' dominance. His caliphate begins with mightiness of Quraysh's nobleness. Therefore, it [is said that he was more favored by Quraysh than 'Umar.](#)[٤](#)

The strife of

p: ١٥٥

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ٢٩٤-٢٩٥ -١

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٩٩ -٢

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, pp ٤٤-٤٥; from As-Saqifa by Abu Bakr Juwhari; al- -٣

Aghani, vol. VI, p. ٣٥٦; al-Fa'iq, vol. II, p. ١١٧; al-Niza‘ wal-Takhasum, p. ٥٦

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ٣٤٣ -٤

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. I١, p. ٦٧ -٥

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٦٤ -٦

Muslim world after the Prophet (S) was indeed the conflict between the Islamic norms and tribal ones. Quraysh's victory was regarded as the triumph of tribal norms; however, in the time of the first two caliphs, this victory was tempered with the Islamic norms but it should not be considered permanent, for Quraysh actually came to power by 'Uthman's caliphate

Uthman had never been a weak caliph despite rumors and robustly handled the affairs from scratch. His murder by Prophet (S) 's companions and other protesters did not mean his lack of enough power but because the protest against him was so much that he and his companions could not control it

Besides, leaving the tasks to people like Marwan or other Sufyani members was not his weakness but he was basically thinking of reposing the caliphate to the Umayyads and he did all this as an introduction to Umayyidize all political affairs. Accidentally as he supposed, he acted intelligently because during the first six years of caliphate, he

.acted peacefully and tried to consolidate his position

Later, during the second half of the caliphate, he manifested his radical policies and gradually began to change political structure of various regions. In his initiatives, he had the support of Quraysh. He tried to consider their portion instead. But in the second half, his task was to empower the particular tribe of the Umayyads. This infuriated some people of Quraysh. He disintegrated people like 'Amr Ibn 'As and empowered 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd

p: ۱۵۶

Ibn Abi Sarh. Umayyads's members ruling over people spurred anger of many and .instigated people to openly revolt against him

The main point of his regime was one, the victories and the other, more important, was to study this revolt against him, that had a great influence in the Islamic world and most of the subsequent conflicts in Muslim world were arisen from Muslim's .approach towards 'Uthman and his opponents

Reasons of Anti-'Uthman Rebellion

There are so many reasons for rebelling against 'Uthman mentioned in historical .books. Tabari and other historians did not want to record these facts

There is something said about this which I hesitate to narrate”, Tabari says. (۱)“ Narrating all of what the companions have said about 'Uthman may cause the Sunnites to have problematic views about companions, especially caliphs. Regarding what is said about reasons of rebelling against 'Uthman, they can be divided into three ,categories

The first type of objections concerns the issues through which the caliph was (۱) .accused of religious heresy

How soon you apostatized your Prophet's tradition!” It's quoted from 'Ayisha who“ told 'Uthman. (۲) “His deeds burnt him, he set fire to God's book and abandoned the

Prophet's tradition”, said 'Ayisha when she heard about 'Uthman's death.^(۳) 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf claimed 'Uthman had also violated tradition of Sheikhs. When he objected to him, he was thrashed.^(۴) In a letter written to provoke people against 'Uthman, it was said that the Book and the Prophet's tradition have been changed, so has Sheikhs' tradition.^(۵) 'Uthman's disregarding Hurmuzan's murder by 'Ubayd Allah raised

p: ۱۵۷

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ۳۵۶,۳۶۵; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ۱۶۷-۱
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۴۸; al-Aghani, vol. V, p. ۱۳۰-۲
al-Jamal, p. ۱۶۱; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. VI, p. ۲۱۶-۳
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۵۷; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ۷۰; al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi
Shayba, vol. I۵, p. ۲۲۳, (India); al-Futuh, p. ۲۱۵۱
al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۵۳-۵

public anger. 'Uthman forgave 'Ubayd Allah instead of retaliating him for the death of
(three people).^(۱)

For doing this, Imam blamed 'Uthman and said, “You will be upbraided in Dooms Day for Hurmuzan.” “If I see 'Ubayd Allah, I will let him obey divine rule even if some
(people do not like it).”^(۲)

When 'Uthman saw this, he forced 'Ubayd Allah away Kufa at night and there, he gave
(him a land named Kuwayfa Ibn 'Umar).^(۳)

يوسّع مسجد رسول الله ويُغَيِّر. People said when 'Uthman was enlarging the Prophet's mosque
(He expands the mosque of the Messenger but changes his Sunna.”^(۴) سَنَّتَهُ

Another clear example was that unlike the Prophet (S), 'Uthman prayed completely in
.Mina, that instigated some people against him

(This is my belief”, said 'Uthman when they objected).^(۵)

We killed him while “ [\(٤\)](#) قتلناه كافراً (٤) ,Ammar, who was one of his known opponents, said' ".being an unbeliever

He stood against rebels in the day of Jamal and asked them, “Why do you fight with ”?us

.Because 'Uthman was murdered while he was a Muslim”, they replied“

[\(٥\)](#) We fight with you because he was a pagan when he was killed”, 'Ammar said [\(٥\)](#)“

.Why did you anathematize 'Uthman?” Zayd Ibn Arqam was asked“

[\(٦\)](#) We had three reasons one of which was not following the Book”, he replied [\(٦\)](#)“

Isfahani has mentioned some opponents who told 'Uthman, “Fear God and do not [\(٧\)](#) (exceed divine limits.” [\(٧\)](#)

He had changed the Book”, said Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr explaining his reason of“ [\(٨\)](#) (opposing 'Uthman. [\(٨\)](#)

And it's quoted from him, "Uthman has treated unrightfully and distorted Qur'an's

p: ١٥٨

al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, p. ١٤٧; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٤١ –١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٢٤ –٢

al-Jamal, p. ١٧٤; Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. IV, p. ٤٩٤; Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. I, p. ١٤٤ –٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٣٨ –٤

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٣٩; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, pp ١٥٤,١٧١; Sunan – ٥

Nasa'i, vol. III, p. ١٢; al-MuwaTTa', vol. I, p. ٢٨٢

al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazana, p. ٧١ –٤

al-Jamal, p. ٣٣٤ –٧

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. III, p. ٥١; Ibn Abi al-Hadid says this –٨

speech is quoted from Zayd in different ways

al-Aghani, vol. V, p. ١٣١ –٩

”.word

وَمَنْ لَمْ يَحْكَمْ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ

Whosoever judges not as to what God has said, he shall be an infidel.”-(١)٤١١

After public objections, he repented in front of them and promised to follow the Book
(and the Prophet's tradition.)

It is quoted from 'Ayisha who named 'Uthman "Na'thal", old stupid man
(Murder 'Uthman who has sought infidelity.)

At first, 'Uthman behaved as to God's consent but later he changed his path”, is also
(quoted from Mu'awiya.)

One of the objections to 'Uthman was his unifying the existing Qur'ans. At that time, a
scatter of companions in cities and Arabic accents problem in reading Qur'an
.escalated the difference among reciters

It's said that Hudhayfa wrote to 'Uthman, “If it continues to be so, Qur'an will be
distorted.” 'Uthman decided to collect all Qur'ans and eliminate them after arranging a
version. He did not consult with some of the people who considered themselves as
.experts of the job. One of them was 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud

He was chosen for this job instead of Zayd Ibn Thabit who was young at the Prophet's
time. No matter what help 'Uthman should get from people like Ibn Mas'ud and no
matter how he treated other versions, (burnt them or ruined in other ways), his
(original action was right and Imam 'Ali (a) had highly ratified it.)

Another objection to 'Uthman was devolving upon people of the Umayyads (٢)
governing the cities. Concerning Abu Sufyan's suggestion in the beginning of
caliphate, this seemed

al-Gharat, vol. I, p. ٢٨٤ –١

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٢١٦ –٢

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ٢٠٦ –٣

Woe unto someone [وييل لمن كفره نمرود](#), Tarikh Ibn al-wardi, p. ٢٠٣; It should be said –٤
whom Namrud excommunicates

Concerning this, see, [Ukdhuba tahrif al-qur'an bayn Ash-Shi'a wal-Sunna](#), pp ٨٩-٩٠ –٥

normal unless he did not deem it right to do so in his first six years of caliphate. But during the second half, he tried to increase the Umayyads' political and administrative power.

The routine was that he had certainly considered Mu'awiya or another person of the Umayyads as his successor. The problem was not just using these people but people of this family who had other problems.

Typically, Hakam Ibn Abi l-'As whom the Prophet (S) exiled and Sheikhs did not repatriate, was called back to Medina and was employed to collect charity of Khuza'a's tribe.[\(١\)](#) He also employed Harith Ibn Hakam to work in Medina market.[\(٢\)](#) He also gave the rulership of Kufa to Walid Ibn 'Uqba Ibn Abi Mu'ayt who was his [uncle](#).[\(٣\)](#)

Walid whom God called evil-doer[\(٤\)](#) and the Prophet (S) promised him hell[\(٥\)](#), was obviously a man of sin and iniquity. He deserved punishment because he was a winebibber according to the testament of witnesses. First, 'Uthman did not accept the You led away “ [دفعت الشهود وابطلت الحدود](#), testament and Imam 'Ali (a) blamed him saying
”the witnesses and abandoned divine limits

When he accepted, people were afraid of 'Uthman to punish him. Imam 'Ali rose, [dropped him on the ground and exerted whip punishment on him](#).[\(٦\)](#)

Five years in Kufa”, writes a Persian historian about Walid's drinking wine, “Walid“ lived in serendipity, had pleasurable nights, drank by draughts and in the morning reveled in bodily pleasure from red wine, he went to the mosque witlessly

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ٢٣٥; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ١٥١ –١

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ١٥١ –٢

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ٣٤٧ –٣

٤ – See, Tafsir books in commentary of the verse يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِنِّ حِيَاءَكُمْ فَاسِقٌ بَنِي فُتَيْبِنُوا أَنْ

تُصِيبُوا قَوْمًا بِجَهَالَةٍ فَتُصِحُّوا عَلَىٰ مَا فَعَلْتُمْ نَادِمِينَ

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ٢٣٥ –٥

Ibid vol. II, pp ٢٣٥–٢٣٦; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ١٦٨ –٦

”and said four units of prayers instead of two as the morning prayers

And according to a narration he said, “I'm very cheerful today, I can say more prayers

(if you want.”^(١)

Walid Ibn 'Uqba's successor was Sa'id Ibn 'As who was also of this tribe. At first, he tried to behave peacefully. But a little later, he was fulminated by people because of insulting Hisham Ibn 'Utba who had lost his eye in Yarmuk and ironically was called him one-eyed man

But the serious problem was Iraq – which is fertile lands of Iraq – all belong to Quraysh”, he said in Kufa. Malik Ashtar was seething with this word. Sa'id wrote 'Uthman about Malik's objection and “people who named themselves readers of Qur'an are indeed crazy doing such and such”, he said. The result was that 'Uthman exiled Malik and some others to Damascus.^(٢) Later, when Kufa faced escalated riot, 'Uthman said that Abu Musa Ash'ari who was there for 'Umar to be given a ^(٣)rulership.

Basra had not a better situation, there after deposing Abu Musa Ash'ari he placed 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir, only twenty five, who was caliph's cousin. According to Ibn A'tham, on Friday, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir Ibn Kurayz wanted to preach. He sat on the rostrum and meeting the crowd he was horrified, so he couldn't talk Praise be to God (the Exalted) who created heaven and earth “ السماوات والأرض في ست سنين “ in six years”, he said as the

Habib As-Siyar, vol. II, pp ١٧١-١٧٣ -١
 al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ١٧١-١٧٣ -٢
 Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ٢٣٨ -٣

(prologue. [١](#))

Another 'Uthman's measure was to depose 'Amr Ibn 'As from ruling Egypt and leaving him to 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abi Sarh. Tyranny of this man who was outcast by the Prophet (S) towards people of Egypt was one of the causes of these people rebelling against 'Uthman, their coming to Medina to murder him

Don't you want”, Imam 'Ali (a) told 'Uthman, “to leave off the Umayyads doing with Muslims' honor and property? I swear if one of your agents tyrannizes people till the sunset, you'll share his sin too.” [٢](#)

This was the same thing some had said about 'Uthman, that is to say he was the first one who began to tyrannize [٣](#) because he did not his agents oppressing people. At the same level, Mu'awiya's reinstatement in Damascus should be mentioned

Damascus was basically considered as 'Uthman's safe region so he sent his exiles there. The difference between Damascus and Iraq was that Mu'awiya himself had trained them from the beginning but in Kufa people like 'Ammar and 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud had fostered them. Thus, Iraq revolted against 'Uthman while Damascus did not move at all

According to Ibn Kathir, people protested why he had unseated the Prophet (S) 's companions. [٤](#)

(You have assigned ignorant rulers for us”, was 'Ammar's objection. [٥](#))

Uthman's policy in employing the Umayyads to handle the country affairs revealed a kind of “Lineal Monarchy” in Islamic caliphate. This way of ruling was the negation of the Islamic values and the settlement of tribal habitudes as

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۱۰۱ (the proofreader in the footnote quoted this part from the – ۱
 Persian translation) al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. ۲۵۱
 Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IX, p. ۱۵ from “Kitab Ash-Shura” by – ۲
 Waqidi
 al-Aghani, vol. IV, p. ۱۵۲ –۳
 al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, p. ۱۷۰ –۴
 al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, vol. I۵, p. ۲۲۱ –۵
 .well as marking the hereditariness of caliphate

In this kind of statehood, each of the princes came to power in a province. Anywhere
 the found a fertile land, they possessed. Sa'id Ibn 'As of the Umayyads, ruler of Kufa,
 named the lands of Iraq “Garden of Quraysh”^(۱) so people's protest against 'Uthman
 began here.^(۲)

The third objection of rebels to 'Uthman was, his prodigality to the Umayyads' (۳)
 family. These prodigality which at first to all Quraysh eminent people and then just to
 the Umayyads, was at a very large extent. The opposition of Talha and Zubayr was
 .because of this recent thorough turnabout of 'Uthman for the Umayyads

Thus, “If he gives money to you, you will be satisfied, but if he gives it to his own
 kinsmen, you'll offend him”^(۴), 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amr truly said about some of the
 opponents. Moreover, lavishing and aristocracy in 'Uthman's government versus the
 past, spurred opposition. In Medina, 'Uthman built a sturdy house of stone with
 elegant wooden doors^(۴) and this dazzled a lot of people, comparing financial policy of
 'Umar

When he was objected, “I've made this house using Bayt al-Mal (public property),
 .won't it belong to you after me?”^(۵) he replied

He conferred Harith Ibn Hakam (Marwan's brother) the land which is said to be of the
 Prophet (S) 's charity. Also, Fadak over which Zahra (a) and Abu Bakr had a

disagreement and had taken it as public belonging was granted to Marwan Ibn Hakam, caliph's son-in-law. (٤) A poet compared Sheikhs' dealing

p: ١٤٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٥٢٩, No ١٣٧٤ -١

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IX, p. ٣٠٨ -٢

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ١١١٥ -٣

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ٣٣٢ -٤

al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. ٦٠٢ -٥

al-Ma'arif, p. ١٩٥ -٦

with 'Uthman about Bayt al-Mal in his poem and in the end, he mentioned about granting to Marwan the fifth share of African booties which were nearly equal to five thousands of Dinars

وأعطيت مروان خمس العباد فبهيات شأوك ممن سعي

Thou granted Marwan a share fifth of Allah's servants, thy ideals are actually far“
[from those in pursuit of virtues.” (١)

According to Ibn Qutayba, 'Uthman paid Hakam Ibn Abi l-'As one hundred thousand dhms (٢) and according to other sources, three hundred thousand dhms. (٣) Also, he
[conferred Khalid Ibn Usayd four hundred thousands dhms. (٤)

Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abi Sarh had also benefited from African booties. (٥) 'Uthman' set high marriage portion for his wives too. (٦) Considering the given historical information, 'Allama Amini has tabulated these grants to the mentioned people as well as to people like Zubayr, Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas, Ya'la Ibn Umayya, Zayd Ibn Thabit and
[the like. (٧)

Concerning financial affairs, 'Uthman struggled with some people of whom Abu Dharr was the most important one. It is said that Abu Dharr attacked hard on 'Uthman citing from the (واو) “verse of Kanz”. According to Suyuti, 'Uthman tried to omit “and

.beginning of the verse so that it just refers to the people of Book

But because of Ubayy Ibn Ka'b's strong objection, he turned.^(A) Also, 'Uthman had a difference with Abu Dharr over other financial affairs.^(A) The result of 'Uthman's opinion which he had gained by asking Ka'b al-Ahbar's legal opinion, was that Bayt al-Mal belongs to the caliph and

p: ١٤٤

Ibid p. ١٩٥; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٢٧,٣٨ –١
al-Ma'arif, p. ١٩٤ –٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٢٨ This money came from the poll tax ruled to be received –٣
al-Ma'arif, pp ١٩٤,١٩٥ –٤
al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, p. ١٧٢ –٥
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ١٣ –٦
al-Ghadir, vol. VIII, p. ٢٨٦ –٧
ad-Durr al-Manthur, vol. III, p. ٢٣٢ –٨
Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, pp ٣٣٩–٣٤٠ –٩

.he can use it in whatever way he wishes

You are our “stockman” !” said 'Uthman to Ibn Mas'ud who had the Bayt al-Mal of “
.Kufa

I thought”, Ibn Mas'ud replied, “I was “Muslims' stockman”. Now, if I'm supposed to “
”.be your stockman, this is the key all yours

When Ibn Mas'ud came to Medina from Kufa and gave him the key of Bayt al-Mal in such a way, after outraging, 'Uthman ordered to wallop him and dump him from the mosque. Objecting to 'Uthman, Imam 'Ali (a) took Ibn Mas'ud to his house. Ibn Mas'ud died two years before 'Uthman and had made a will stating that 'Ammar should pray (on his body rather than 'Uthman.^(A)

The same thing happened to 'Abd Allah Ibn Arqam and he also said he thought he was

the Muslims' stockman, but now that it was determined he was the caliph's stockman,
(he didn't want to take the responsibility. (۲)

O Aba Ishaq!", 'Uthman asked Ka'b Ibn al-Ahbar in the presence of Abu Dharr, " what do you think about collecting the money which is given as offerings, spent for desolate
".(people and used for piety (be given to relative

I wish charity for its possessor", Ka'b Ibn Abi l-Ahbar replied. Abu Dharr boiled and
(raised his stick to beat his head. (۳)

Abu Dharr told 'Uthman quoting from the Prophet (S) "The dearest of you to me is the one who keeps the promise given to me, so that he will join me; you are all involved in
earthly things except

p: ۱۶۵

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp ۳۱, ۳۶, ۳۷; Tarikh Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۷۱ –۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp ۵۸, ۸۸ –۲

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, pp ۱۳۰۶–۱۳۰۷ and in its footnote, Tabaqat –۳
al-Kubra, vol. IV, p. ۲۳۲; al-Hilyat al-'Awliya', vol. I, p. ۱۶۰; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p.
۲۸۶۰; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. II, p. ۳۷۶; vol. III, p. ۵۴; Nihayat
al-'Irab, vol. I۹, p. ۴۴۳; al-Tamhid wal-bayan, sheet, ۷۰

me who have kept my promise." (۱)۶۴۸

Mu'awiya called the property of Bayt al-Mal "Mal Allah" (divine property) to confine
possession to himself or basically limit it to himself. Abu Dharr objected why he called
"Mal al-Muslimin" as "Mal Allah". (۲) Perchance, this was proved by another story.
According to Zuhri, in the treasury of Bayt al-Mal, there was so much remittance
'Uthman had granted some to his kinsmen. Thus, some people quipped him

.This is "Mal Allah" which is given to anyone I wish", he said after being told"

When 'Ammar opposed him, they walloped him to fall in a faint. (۳) In practical policy of
'Uthman and his agents, there can be seen a strong mammonism. Mu'awiya led these

.activities and was in power in Damascus. Later, he will be talked about more

Mawdudi begins to discuss 'Uthman's leaving to his kinsmen the important provinces in his book under the title of “from the leading caliphate to emperorship”. In his opinion, the rule of these agents who were mostly of “suburbs”, had been a kind of [\(tribal reign over Muslim society. \(4\)](#)

Uthman entrusted Damascus to Mu'awiya and kept him as the ruler for that region' for several years, considering this as one of his faults. He considers it as the result of Mu'awiya's independence and not obeying the headquarters.[\(5\)](#) 'Uthman's justification for this prodigality was that unlike 'Umar who was not interested in piety, [\(he had decided to do so! \(6\)](#)

As far as dealing of 'Uthman and his companions with Bayt al-Mal is concerned, one

p: ۱۶۶

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ۱۰۴۰ -۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۸۳ -۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۵۸۰, No ۱۴۸۵ Abu Dharr said, “Mu‘awiya intends to name -۳ Muslims off everything ” This is an interesting idea It will be considered that the reason for attaching caliph to God is for naming off people as well as removing his responsibility in front of the people and God

Khilafat wa Mulukiyyat, pp ۱۱۹-۱۲۱ -۴

Ibid pp ۱۲۹-۱۳۰ -۵

Rabi‘ al-Abrar, vol. III, p. ۵۷۵ -۶

of the main reasons of rebelling against 'Uthman should go to the tribes' eminent people who got some property for themselves and other Muslims by force of sword .and now seeing that Quraysh, especially the tribe of Umayyads, was ready to seize it

This challenge actually appeared between the ruling townsmen of Quraysh and warrior nomadic tribes. A scholar[\(۱\)](#) indicating this theory, regards the central reign as a sign of Islamic orientation! and consider the protests of cities as crystallizing

.nationalism of tribes and tribal norms

He regards murdering of 'Uthman as the victory of “cities” and in fact, victory of tribalism. What seems right is that Quraysh was up to domineer on the fate of Islamic nation resulting in instigation of the tribes. In fact, 'Uthman, in one sense, is the crystallization of departing Islamic orientations towards tribal norms and his killing .fails to stand for the end of Islamic orientation and dominating tribalism

In our opinion, the right view is that the control of Quraysh over the caliphate caused the protest of the tribes which had taken the whole weight of the conquests while watching that Quraysh had confined two things to itself, one was the reign and the .other was wealth; in this situation, Iraqi tribes were tricked

The city of Iraq”, when Sa'id Ibn 'As Umawi said in Kufa, “which is the rich lands of it,“ .is the garden of Quraysh

Do you consider what God has given us by means of our swords, as a garden for“ yourself

p: ١٤٧

Khayr al-din sawi influenced by his professor, ‘Abd al-’Aziz al-Duri in the book, – ١
Tatawwur al-fikr As-Siyasi ‘Ind ahl As-Sunna, pp ٤٢–٤٣

.and your tribe?”(١) replied Malik Ashtar

According to al-Duri(٢), this financial distinction between Quraysh and non-Quraysh was somewhat originated from 'Umar's financial policy; however, Abu Bakr had equally divided the property and conditioned people's records just as to their divine .return. 'Umar divided the property of Bayt al-Mal as to the their records

This caused the priority of emigrants (Muhajirun) and helpers (Ansar) over Arabs and tribes which shouldered the whole weight of conquests after the Prophet (S). The assets of the headmen of the helpers represent the effects of 'Umar's financial policy which 'Uthman followed. When 'Uthman sent Sa'id Ibn 'As to Kufa as the ruler, he

wrote to 'Uthman that, in the city, noble families and pedigree families with a record .were subdued and Arabs (tribes) had overcome them

Advantage those with a precedence over them”, 'Uthman wrote him back, “and make“
[others follow them, ... dedicate to each, his particular status.”](#)^(۳)

To al-Duri, the main reason of uprising against 'Uthman was primarily anti-Quraysh tribes. It should be mentioned that 'Uthman was the crystallization of tribal orientation towards advantaging Quraysh dominance, especially the Umayyads, over .the whole Islamic world

However, most of the rebels were the idealists who wanted the victory of true Islam. Imam 'Ali (a)'s coming to power is proof of that. Also, Mr. Bayd'un finds measure of protesters a kind of Islamic orientation and that of 'Uthman's a tribal one.^(۴) Of course, it can be said that one of the results of this rioting was to weaken the

p: ۱۶۸

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ۳۳۷; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ۴۶۹-۴۷۰. Concerning the -۱
opinion of one of the people in Muhajirun's ruling for selecting caliph and
monopolizing caliphate

Muqaddama fi Tarikh Sadr al-Islam, pp ۵۰-۵۸ -۲

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۷۹ -۳

See, Min Dawlat 'Umar Ila Dawlat 'Abd al-Malik, p. ۱۰۷ -۴

.(central government, one main problem of Imam 'Ali (a

The last word is that a list of 'Uthman's wrongs can be found in a letter the helpers
[\(had written to him.\)](#)^(۱)

Uthman's Opponents

The dominating 'Uthmani view of Islamic society since the reign of the Umayyads (۴۱ H.) resulted in acquitting and purifying 'Uthman from any kind of charge. The Umayyads imposed this view on the Islamic society except Iraq which slightly stood

.up against it

Thus, the Sunnites assented 'Uthman's oppressedness and rightfulness against the dissenters. With this view, how did they judge dissenters? One way was that they realistically knew his dissenters and considered them as their religion enemies. If they had chosen to do so, the leading companions would be exposed to accusation

Another way was to consider his dissenters people, with no companions among them, who had come from Iraq and Egypt. They chose this way and when some companions were said to be among 'Uthman's opponents, falsely saying that he had sent their sons to 'Uthman's house to defend him (and it is not apparent why they did not go themselves), they began to support the companions in order not to be accused of being 'Uthman's enemies

It should be noted that “Sunnites historians” deemed it necessary to avoid mentioning companions' imperfection. (۲) If any one narrated their imperfection, it meant that he was a Shi'ites Muslim. Clearly, the implication of one of the companions in killing 'Uthman was obviously regarded as his imperfection. With this compiled policy, most of the

p: ۱۶۹

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۵۰ –۱

Ahmad Ibn Hanbal seriously banned Sunnites narrators to narrate the companions' imperfection. He believed if anyone narrated these things about companions, he should be avoided. Some time, he Himself listened to traditions through 'Abd al-Razzaq San'ani. When 'Abd al-Razzaq retold these kinds of narrations, Ahmad kept away and he was back to class sessions when he began new subjects. In other cases, when the companions imperfection were discussed, Ahmad covered his ears with two fingers. “It can not be quoted from 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Musa 'Abasi”, he said because He narrated hadiths which lowered rank of the يحدث باحاديث فيها تنقص لاصحاب رسول الله Prophet's companions. Also he did not allow any one to quote a person who imprecated Mu'awiya. Some times, accounting that companions had said these words

while they were angry, he did not permit their narrations It is said that Salim Ibn Abi MuTi' took Abu 'Awana's book and ruined the main traditions which were concerned with imperfection of companions As for these words and similar narrations, As-Sana, Abu Khallal, pp ٥٠٠-٥١١

.historical facts related to political positions of companions faded away

Here, forgery happened in two forms, first, not to right the truths of history, second, to make fake news. During the events of this era, Sayf Ibn 'Umar, the lie-maker, radically denied the presence of companions and knew an unknown person called 'Abd Allah Ibn Saba' responsible for all these months-long serious events in which all .of Islamic cities, especially the caliphate center in Medina played a great role

According to Sayf, traveling to different cities, this man had provoked people against 'Uthman(ؓ) and had been able to arouse Kufa and Egypt. In Sayf's opinion, 'Abd Allah was also the founder of Shi'a religion. If Sayf is true, it is not clear what should be said about a society so fragile that a Jewish can induce it against the caliph and it ends up murdering him? What is certain is that first in all scholastic books Sayf is accused of .lying and heresy

Second, there is not such a thing in any of the books which were the first sources of Islamic history and even the name of 'Abd Allah Ibn Saba' is not mentioned. In other words, from all sources of ٣rd and ٤th centuries remained, Tabari had just used Sayf's .books and for this he kept his forgery

However, in some books like Akhbar al-Tiwal, al-Imamat wa as-Siyasa, Ansab al-Ashraf and Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, there is nothing mentioned about these events. Unfortunately, the next books like al-Bidayat

p: ١٧٠

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, pp ٣٧٨-٣٧٩ -١

wal-Nihaya and Kamil Ibn Athir which used Tabari have cited these forgeries and in

recent years this has been accepted since it is mostly consistent with the Sunnites
.beliefs

Now, a lot of Sunnites and Shi'ites researchers and orientalists seriously remain doubtful about it and do not concede it. Of the Shi'ites researchers is Murtad'a Askari (1) and of the Sunnites ones is Taha Husayn. (2) The forgery is also revealed to the .orientalists

Most of the Muslim historians (3), Bernard Lewis writes, attribute the commencement of revolutionary Shi'ism to 'Abd Allah Ibn Saba' who co-lived with 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib (a). He was a Yemeni Jewish and had been publicizing 'Ali's divinity and finally was burnt .because of his deeds

In this way, the starting point of hard-line Shi'ite Muslims and exaggerators is .ascribed to him and to a Jewish principle through him

Yet, new investigations show that this is some sort of circumstances and second century thoughts into the past rendered by "hadith-writers". Wellhausen and Friedlander by means of narration and looking into sources have demonstrated that the conspiracy attributed to Ibn Saba' is heresy coming after. Kietani, in a substantiated chapter, has shown that an intrigue with an ideology and organization ascribed to Ibn Saba' is beyond imagination in an Arabially patriarchal and tribal (community in 35 A.H.. (4)

Anyhow, in so far as it is related to 'Uthman's opponents, a great deal of facts can be obtained through the quest for historical and literary sources. With regard to what has been mentioned

p: 171

In his three books, this researcher has studied Sayf's narrations and has correctly -1 shown his style of writing which is a kind of story telling 'al-Fitnat al-Kubra, the chapter on 'Abd Allah Ibn Saba -2 As mentioned, "this majority" is the people who used Tarikh at-Tabari, otherwise -3

the first rate books of the third century had not basically cited these events

Tarikh Isma'iliyan, p. ۳۳ -۴

in these sources, the companions of the prophet, especially the Ansar, have played a leading role in instigating the people against 'Uthman

By probing into various sources, 'Allama Amini has stated that more than ۸۰ names of the companions are included among 'Uthman's opponents, such as, Talha, Zubayr, 'Ayisha, 'Ammar, Abu Dharr, 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf, 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud, Miqdad, Hujr Ibn 'Adi, Hashim Ibn 'Utba, Sahl Ibn Hunayf, Abu Ayyub Ansari, Jabir Ibn 'Abd Allah Ansari whose oppositions against 'Uthman have been quoted by 'Allama [\(Amini.۱\)](#)

It should be taken into consideration that all of them did not believe in the murder of 'Uthman or nor did they deem it advisable, yet they criticized his political- religious actions sharply. Abu Sa'id Khudri said, About ۸۰ companions have implicated in 'Uthman's killing.[\(۲\)](#) Busr Ibn Artat's bitter talk to the Medinans in ۴۰ A.H. is evidence [\(that Ansar were strongly implicated in killing 'Uthman.۳\)](#)

Talha and Zubayr were ranked among the most hardline critics of 'Uthman. Imam 'Ali (a) used to say about them, they are demanding of me a right which they have abandoned, and a blood that they have themselves shed.[\(۴\)](#) Numerous sources have revealed Talha's strong enmity towards 'Uthman.[\(۵\)](#) Due to this very fact, Marwan Ibn Hakam, who stayed alongside Talha in the battle of Jamal, observing that the war was coming to an end put an arrow in the bow and killed Talha. In this way, he took 'Uthman's revenge against Talha

Afterwards, 'Abd al-Malik Marwan said, "Unless

p: ۱۷۲

al-Ghadir, vol. VIII and IX -۱

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۱۱۷۵ -۲

al-Gharat, p. ۲۱۹ (Persian translation -۳

al-Ma'arif, p. ٢٢٨; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٨٠; Tarikh al-Madina al-Munawwara, -٥
Talha Ibn 'Abd Allah among the كان أشد الصحابه على عثمان طلحه بن عبيد الله vol. III, p. ١١٤٩
companions treated 'Uthman most harshly

my father had told me that he has killed Talha, I would murder all Talha's progeny in
revenge for 'Uthman's blood.”[\(١\)](#) While laying siege to 'Uthman's house, Talha was
reportedly the head of house guards and he did not let people, food and water in the
[house.](#)[\(٢\)](#)

Yet, becoming informed of the delivery of food and water, he said, “What sort of siege
is this one in which food and water are delivered?”[\(٣\)](#) When 'Uthman was stopped
having water, Imam met Talha and spoke to him about letting water in 'Uthman's
house, however, Talha was unwilling to do so.[\(٤\)](#) Some day 'Uthman sent somebody
after Imam 'Ali (a) and told him that Talha was killing him through thirst, while it's
more worthwhile to be killed with the sword.[\(٥\)](#) Sheykh Mufid has devoted a full
[chapter to his stances against 'Uthman.](#)[\(٦\)](#)

Amr Ibn 'As was also ranked among bitter dissenters of 'Uthman.[\(٧\)](#) 'Ayisha also'
attacked 'Uthman strongly,[\(٨\)](#) when her grant of bounty was cut under 'Uthman's
order.[\(٩\)](#) It was she who called 'Uthman Na'thal, an old stupid man due to his bushy
[beard.](#)[\(١٠\)](#)

According to a witness, I was in mosque when 'Uthman entered, then 'Ayisha yelled,
“O traitor! O sinner! You spoiled the servants through breach of trust; if five units of
prayer never existed, people would come to you and thereby, you were slaughtered
”as if you were a sheep

Uthman revealed to her[\(١١\)](#) the verse related to Noah's wife.[\(١٢\)](#) It seeds that in these'
last days, every time when 'Uthman came to

al-Jamal, p. ١٤١, see, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٣٨٥; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV, p. ٢٩٠ -٢
al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ٥٧ -٣
Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ١١٦٩ -٤
Ibid, vol. III, p. ١٢٠٢ -٥
al-Jamal, pp ١٤٥-١٤٦ -٦
Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ١٠٨٩ -٧
al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazana, p. ٢٧; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٣٧ -٨
al-Futuh, vol. III, p. ١٢٣ -٩
al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazana, p. ٢٧ -١٠
al-Jamal, p. ١٤٨; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٢٢٥; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, -١١
vol. VI, p. ٢١٥
Tahrim, verse ١٠ -١٢

mosque for prayer, he was rebuked by 'Ayisha whose house was adjacent to the mosque. As to Baladhuri, once this objection led to a clash between those for and against 'Ayisha and 'Uthman so that they thrashed each other with shoes

It was the first clash“ (تلك أول قتال وقع بين المسلمين بعد النبي (ص) Baladhuri further says
occurred between Muslims after the Prophet (S).”^(١)

Muhammad, the son of Talha, maintained that 'Ayisha is responsible for one-third of
'Uthman's blood.^(٢)

Sa'd Waqqas also has been quoted as saying, "Uthman was killed with 'Ayisha's
unshielded swords."^(٣)

There is historically much to tell about 'Ammar, Abu Dharr and 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn
'.Awf and many others, insofar as there will be no room for doubt

At the time when the revolt was kicked against 'Uthman, there were few who would agree with him. Specifically when the Medinans received a letter sealed by 'Uthman to Egypt's ruler in which murder of people was ordered, public anger was fired up.^(٤)
When Mu'awiya put a question to 'Uthman, Umm al-Khayr answered, People selected him as a caliph, which they actually hated him. Afterwards, they killed him, while being

[\(pleased to do so.\)](#)

Ansar were considered to be the main residents of Medina. Their disagreement with Quraysh was the motive behind the first mistake they made in Saqifa. In the event of the assassination of 'Uthman, beloved to Quraysh, most of Ansar were numbered among 'Uthman's dissenters, whereas a few were among 'Uthman's assenters. The anti-'Uthman movement was led by Ansar, Muhajirun and a

p: ۱۷۴

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۳۴ –۱

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۱۱۷۳ –۲

Ibid, p. ۱۱۷۴ –۳

Tarikh al-Khamis, vol. II, p. ۲۶۱ –۴

Subh al-a'sha, vol. I, p. ۲۵۱ –۵

.number of the Kufiyans and Egyptians

Yet, in as much as Medina was Ansar's place of abode, the Umayya put the blame for this event on Ansar. It was then they decided to take revenge of them. As far as Yazid is concerned, the cruel suppression of Medina in Harra event by Muslim Ibn 'Uqba, branded as prodigal due to his abundant massacre, is regarded as 'Uthman's [\(retaliation against the Medinans.\)](#)

Thabit, the son of 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr used to say to 'Abd al-Malik, “The Medinans downgraded 'Uthman in as much as he was killed among them, and they did not support him.”[\(۲\)](#) Some time, Thabit insulted the Syrians

”Uthman's son told him, “You insult them, for your father was killed by them'

He replied, “Yes!” But O 'Uthman's son! Beware. Your father has been killed by [\(Muhajirun and Ansar.\)](#)

.Sa'd Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman said to Hassan, “A group of Ansar went to Mu'awiya in Syria

Mu'awiya asked them, "Which one, Quraysh or you, are more helpful?... You [\(humiliated 'Uthman when he was under siege and killed his followes in Jamal.\)"](#)

After 'Uthman's murder, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir, Basra's ruler, considered his killing as an unjust action. In Jariya Ibn Qudama's opinion, 'Uthman was killed in the presence of Ansar and Muhajirun, yet they showed no reaction against murderers.[\(5\)](#) In this respect, a poet has said

إن ابن عفان أصيب وحوله إخوانه وجماعه من الأنصار

Uthman Ibn 'Affan was murdered when his brothers and a group of Ansar" [\(surrounded him.\)"](#)

In continuation, this poet regrets that how is

p: ١٧٥

al-Aghani, vol. I, p. ٢٦ –١

al-Muwaffaqiyat, p. ١٥٢; al-Imta' wal-Mu'anisa, vol. III, p. ١٦٥ –٢

al-Imta' wal-Mu'anisa, vol. III, p. ١٦٥ –٣

Ibid, vol. III, pp ١٦٨-١٦٩ –٤

al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ٢٦٩-٢٧٠ –٥

Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. III, p. ٣٤١; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٢٦٣ –٦

it possible for those who call themselves the companions of the Prophet (S) not to support 'Uthman. Mu'awiya asked Abu Tufayl, were you one of killers of 'Uthman? He .replied, "No, I was present over there, however, I did not advocated him

"?Mu'awiya further asked, "Why

[\(Abu Tufayl answered, "Since Muhajirun and Ansar didn't came to his help.\)"](#)

Thereafter, Sa'd Ibn Musayyib was questioned by people as why did the companions [\(of the prophet \(S\) downgrade 'Uthman?\)"](#)

Abd al-Malik used to say to the Medinans, "As long as we recall the Umayya's killing'

[\(and you remembered Harra, nor can we like each other.”](#)[\(۳\)](#)

So due to the Umayya's animosity towards Ansar the Umayya were obliged to induce Akhtal, the poet to, satirize Ansar.[\(۴\)](#) Concerning the role of Ansar in 'Uthman's murder, it's interesting to mention 'Uthman's letter to Mu'awiya when bringing him under siege, in which is was written, The Medinans have become atheist, have balked at following their Imam and have broken their promise.[\(۵\)](#) Hassan Ibn Thabit, being one of the tenacious supporters of 'Uthman in these days, points out the matter of Ansar's downgrading 'Uthman in his poems. In fact, in addition to the following interpretation

خذلته الأنصار اذ حضر الموت وكانت ولايته الأنصار

Ansar, even though having sainthood, was present when 'Uthman was killed, but“
[\(they left him alone.”](#)[\(۶\)](#)

He further mentions the implication of Talha, Zubayr, Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr and 'Ammar in the assassination of 'Uthman. The Umayya's hostility to Ansar, the 'Uthmanids preferred Syria to Medina.[\(۷\)](#) Afterwards, Yahya, the son of Hakam

p: ۱۷۶

al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. ۱۵۴ – ۱

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV, p. ۲۸۷ – ۲

al-Basa'ir wal-dhaka'ir, vol. I, p. ۱۸ – ۳

al-Aghani, vol. XV, p. ۱۰۷ – ۴

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. ۴۰۲ – ۵

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ۳۴۷ – ۶

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۴۲; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۷۱; Ibn Abi – ۷

Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. LXX, pp ۲۰۴, ۲۰۵, ۲۱۲, ۲۲۳, ۲۲۷; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. ۴۲۱

Ibn Abi I-'As called Medina as an “evil land” and Syria as a “sacred land”.[\(۱\)](#) This interpretation reveals their aversion to Islam

The evidence indicates that Muhajirun and Ansar have played a central role in opposition to 'Uthman. Historians have quoted the content of the letter Muhajirun wrote to the cities (aiming at) asking them to go to Medina for the reform of circumstances.

:In the letter it was written as follows

Form the early Muhajirun and the remaining members of council to the Egyptians including Ansar and followers (Tabi'in). Come to us and find out Caliphate, before it brings the people to an end. Verily, Qur'an has been distorted, the tradition of the Prophet has been changed and the Sheikhs' rules have been altered. We hereby ajure all the remaining of and Tabi'in by Allah to return to us if they believe in Allah and the Resurrection Day... the caliphate coming after the Prophet was the caliphate of Prophet hood and blessing, whereas it's already become kingdom and sovereignty. (1)

Based on another narration, a group of the companions of the prophet (S) assembled and after discussion determined on writing a letter to 'Uthman in order to remind him of his violating the Sunna. This letter, a highly significant document was given to 'Uthman by 'Ammar, yet it was answered in no way but thrashing 'Ammar. (2)

It is appropriate to quote a remark from Hashim Ibn 'Utba known as Abu Mirqal on his answer to a Syrian in Siffin who said that

p: ١٧٧

al-Aghani, vol. LXXX, p. ٣٣٤ -١

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp ٥٣-٥٤ -٢

.al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp ٥٠ -٣

your Imam does not say prayer and has killed our caliph; what do you have to do with Verily Muhammad's companions as well as “إنما قتله أصحاب محمد وقراء الناس” Ibn 'Affan (public Qur'an-reciters killed him.” (1)

Uthman had a scarcity of assenters in Medina, each financially benefited from'

'Uthman in one way or another. Among them was 'Abd Allah Ibn Sallam. He was amongst the Muslim-turned Jews who went up the 'Uthman's roof in the course of the siege of his house and said, "I found 'Uthman's name is Torah in which it's been mentioned, Your caliph is the oppressed, the martyr

People shouted, O the Jew! He's fed you up and dressed your body.^(۲) This very narration should have been made at a later time by those who were apt to label 'Uthman as martyr in Torah. Elsewhere it goes to say that such an issue has also been touched upon in terms of the second caliph. Anyhow, 'Abd Allah Ibn Sallam has been ranked among the tenacious assenters of 'Uthman.^(۳)

Zayd Ibn Thabit was another supporter of 'Uthman once he began to advocate 'Uthman, people accused him of a support which was due to being fed up by 'Uthman. Zayd was keeper of 'Uthman's treasury.^(۴) He was later on profited by Mu'awiya's treasury.^(۵)

Waqidi says, "Among the companions of the Prophet (S) no one supported 'Uthman (but Zayd Ibn Thabit, Abu Usayd Sa'idi, Ka'b Ibn Malik and Hassan Ibn Thabit."^(۶)

According to Ibn Ishaq, when 'Uthman migrated to Medina, he went

p: ۱۷۸

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۳۵۴ –۱

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۶۱ Most probably this remark, "... I found – ۲ 'Uthman's name in Torah" has been ascribed to 'Abd Allah Ibn Sallam afterwards Yet, he has been amongst 'Uthman's assenters

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, pp ۱۱۷۵–۱۱۸۶ –۳

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۲۲۲ –۴

Tarikh Abuzar'a al-dimashqi, vol. I, p. ۱۹۰ –۵

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۶۰ –۶

to Aws Ibn Thabit, Hassan's brother. Thereafter, 'Uthman appealed to Hassan. Then, (after his killing, Hassan cried for him.^(۱)

Hassan was both a supporter of 'Uthman and a *وكان حسان عثمانياً منحرفاً*, To Mas'udi
“ (deviator.” (۲)

In addition to the persons mentioned by Waqidi, Abu Hurayra has also been reckoned
(among 'Uthman's supporters. (۳)

Apart from a handful of supporters, 'Uthman died in Medina in such a stranger hood that no one dared to bury him in Baqi'. Only few of them buried him by night in a place called “Hashsh Kawkab”, a garden which was later on attached to Baqi' by
(Mu'awiya. (۴)

Uthman's Contact with Dissenters'

As long as 'Uthman found himself in high position, he did not surrender to dissenters' criticisms by no means whatsoever. Yet, he treated harshly to them and tried to render them obedient and calm through trashing and exile. The Umayya was all 'Uthman's concern. Indeed, 'Uthman was yielded and, in a sense, feeble towards the members of this family; however, he treated the great companions of the Prophet (S) .having a longer precedence bitterly and with asperity

This was highly influential in inciting the people once more. Contact with Abu Dharr who had a morally and spiritually special position in community can be mentioned typically. Abu Dharr strived to keep 'Uthman away from extravagance. It was indeed all Abu Dharr's concern. Yet, 'Uthman brought a charge of sedition against him saying,
(“You are a man fond of sedition.” (۵)

Then, Abu Dharr being forbidden from indulging said to 'Uthman, “Even if

p: ۱۷۹

Ibn Hisham, As-Sirat al-Nabawiyya, vol. II, p. ۴۷۹ -۱

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. I, p. ۳۴۷ -۲

See, Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, pp ۸۹-۱۷۰ and vol. IV, p. ۳۴۰ -۳

al-Ma'arif, p. ۱۹۷ Ibn Qutayba says, Hash means garden and Kawkab is the name of -۴
a man from Ansar

”I am put to the sword, I won't refrain from narrating what the Prophet (S) has said

Abu Dharr supported Imam 'Ali explicitly. He used to quote the Prophet (S) as saying, “There will be a sedition thereafter, if you were entrapped by it, so adhere to Allah's
”.Book and 'Ali

He further quotes the Prophet (S) as saying, “The first who shakes hands with me in the Day of Judgment.”^(١) 'Uthman consulted with Ka'b al-Ahbar whether it is permissible for Imam to withdraw whatever he wants of the public treasury and
.return it whenever he wishes

”.Ka'b replied him, “Yes

Then, he was objected by Abu Dharr, “O you the son of Jew! Are you teaching us our religion?”^(٢) After viewing such a situation, 'Uthman sent Abu Dharr to Syria on exile. There, Abu Dharr did not desist from objecting and criticizing. Thus, through a letter, Mu'awiya deemed his presence dangerous for Syria and even for Iraq and asked 'Uthman to let him return to Medina and so did 'Uthman. Then, Abu Dharr was exiled to Medina on a hard horseback,^(٣) while his thigh run out of flesh. Afterwards, his
.objection to 'Uthman resulted in his exile to Rabad'a where he died in isolation

Abu Dharr, about whom the Prophet (S) had told, “Abu Dharr is the most truthful under
(shadow of sky, was accused by 'Uthman of being a liar.”^(٤)

Accordingly, Imam 'Ali was inclined to back Abu Dharr inexorably. At the time of exiling
Abu Dharr, 'Uthman ordered people not to see Abu

p: ١٨٠

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ١١٨-١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٥٢-٢

al-Ma'arif, p. ١٩٥; al-Isti'ab, vol. I, p. ٢١٤; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ١٥٨٠-١٨٩; Tarikh al- -٣
Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ١٠٣٨ According to Ibn A'tham, 'Uthman said to Abu

Dharr, "Go out of Medina " Abu Dharr answered, "I want to go to Syria " 'Uthman did not accept Abu Dharr proposed Iraq, but then again 'Uthman rejected it, and said to him, " I said you to the worst city, that is, Rabad'a So go over there and never return " here

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۱۵۷-۴

Dharr off, however. Imam 'Ali together with his descendants did so. Although, he ,objected Imam 'Ali

Imam said to Abu Dharr, "O Abu Dharr! You become angry with them for the sake of Allah and they were afraid of themselves for the fear of their worldly life." At the time when Abu Dharr was seen off by 'Ali (a) and his descendants, he cast a look at Imam and said, "Seeing you and your descendants reminds me of the Prophet (S) 's remark about you and makes me burst into tears."^(۱) He passed away in Rabad'a, while according to his will, nobody including commander, leader and mail had the right to shroud and bury him.^(۲)

Uthman's contact with Abu Dharr was so bitter and provocative that afterwards Jahiz' wrote, "People killed 'Uthman, for he had exiled Abu Dharr."^(۳) It is a ridiculous point to .write that, afterwards, Abu Dharr went to Rabad'a through his own will, not on exile

Not only Abu Dharr, but also most of the Kufiyans who objected to Sa'id Ibn 'As were sent to Syria on exile by order of caliph. In caliph's opinion, Syria was too a secure .place. It should be said principally that 'Uthman did the chief part of Mu'awiya

The on-exile persons, well-known as Kufa's "readers" are as follows, Malik Ashtar, Zayd, Sa'sa'a (Suhan's children), Shurayh Ibn 'Awfi, Hurqus Ibn Zuhayr, Jundab Ibn Zuhayr, Ka'b Ibn 'Abada, 'Adi Ibn Hatim, Kidam Ibn Hadhri, Malik Ibn Habib, Qays Ibn 'Utarud, Ziyad Ibn Hafsa, Yazid Ibn Qays and

p: ۱۸۱

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۷۳; see al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۱۵۹-۱۶۰; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. -۱

V, p. ۵۴

some others.^(١) They all opposed Sa'id Ibn 'As's remarks, inasmuch as he considered
.Iraq's lands as belonging to Quraysh

However, after their return to Kufa, they were led by Malik, whereupon Malik hindered Sa'id from entering Kufa, Moreover, he himself called Friday prayer. 'Uthman regarded all these people and their actions as being prompted by 'Ali.^(٢) 'Amir
(Ibn 'Abd Qays who went to 'Uthman in order to criticize was also sent on exile.^(٣)

The companions and followers of Kufa had a key role in the developments of this period. 'Amr Ibn Zurara Ibn Qays Nakha'i along with Kumayl Ibn Ziyad and a man from Banu Sahban were reportedly the first who spoke of dethroning 'Uthman and
(enthroning the Imam.^(٤)

Another figure who come to grips with 'Uthman was 'Ammar Ibn Yasir. According to Ibn Qutayba and others, a number of companions convened and decided to inform 'Uthman of his faults through a letter. After the letter was written, 'Ammar was
.supposed to hand it over to 'Uthman. But 'Uthman averted taking the letter

Thereafter, 'Ammar told him, “This letter is written by number of the companions as
”.an advice to you

Uthman answered, “O the son of Sumayya! You are lying.” Whereupon, 'Uthman' ordered him to be sent out of the house through thrashing, with some of his chest ribs
.broken. After being knocked unconscious, he was dragged out of the house

Then, Marwan Ibn Hakam being the major element behind all stimulations said to
'Uthman, “If you kill 'Uthman, you will get rid of

(others.”(۱)

One of the impacts of 'Uthman's thrashing 'Ammar was that 'Ammar was unable to control his urine up to the end of his life.(۲) It appears that 'Ammar had been thrashed (before Abu Dharr has reportedly recalled such a thing in his criticisms.(۳)

Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud was the other opponent. He got the grips with Walid Ibn 'Uqba,' the sinful, in Kufa. Then, through a letter Walid instigated 'Uthman against him. In answer to his letter, 'Uthman called for sending him on exile from Kufa to Medina

When being in Kufa, he was deprived of getting his due from the public treasury for a period of three years.(۴) Based on the will Ibn Mas'ud made at the time of death, ('Ammar rather than 'Uthman was requested to say prayer over his corpse.(۵)

To solve the matter with these objections, 'Uthman assembled the members of his own family and consulted with them. Some of them proposed him to send the companions and other protesters to the outlying battlefields so long as he become free of their criticisms

Some others recommended him to be more benevolent towards people intending to calm them. He along with his family took it for granted that every thing is possible save surrounding to opponents. Mu'awiya urged 'Uthman to set same former agent to (work without paying any attention to the opponents.(۶)

Once 'Uthman tried to send a commodity to Abu Dharr, yet Abu Dharr sent it back.(۷)
Mu'awiya also sent some money to Abu Dharr in order

p: ۱۸۳

See al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp ۵۰-۵۱; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۱۵۳-۱۵۵; Ansab al- Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۴۹
Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, pp ۱۰۹۹-۱۱۰۰; 'Ammar may have been -۲

thrashed once again See Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۴۸

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۱۵۵-۳

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۱۰۴۹-۴

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp ۳۱,۳۶,۳۷; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۷۱; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, -۵

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. III, pp ۴۲-۴۳ There, 'Abd Allah's thrashing and his

objections of 'Uthman have been explained in detail

See al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۱۷۸-۱۷۹; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, pp ۲۳۷-۲۳۸; Ibn Abi al- -۶

Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, p. ۱۳۵; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya vol. VII, p. ۱۶۷;

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۴۴

Lubab al-Adab, p. ۳۰۵-۷

to deceive him.^(۱) Furthermore, 'Uthman sent ۳۰۰۰۰ drachmae enclosed with some garments to Ibn Abi Hudhayfa who was one of the bitter critics of Caliph. Then, 'Ali Hudhayfa put the sum of money and the garment in the middle of the mosque saying, O, Muslims! Do you see that 'Uthman is intending to deceive me in the case of my [religion?](#)^(۲)

Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir also recommended 'Uthman to satisfy opposers through granting' money.^(۳) Kufa's ruler, Sa'id Ibn 'As, also bade his emissary to send Imam 'Ali (a) a gift and tell him that he is given preference over others in this regard whereupon, Imam [got the emissary away through a bitter reaction.](#)^(۴)

'Uthman assumed that he should ravish like 'Umar. Thus, he'd rather behave harshly.' Unaware of the fact that 'Umar did not lead such a tranquil life like him. So it was this very fact which got in the way of his opponents. 'Uthman unrightfully believed that 'Umar was not objected by anyone, despite of doing what he did, yet I am objected [due to my flexibility.](#)^(۵)

Of course, 'Umar had also some religious innovations, yet, as stated previously he obstructed opponents financially and even behaved very strictly towards all of his agents. Moreover, he did not set his kindreds to work. By all accounts, 'Uthman was not soft-natured by no means whatsoever, and he had Prophet as well. Once Imam 'Ali (a) objected to 'Uthman concerning Abu Dharr's exiling, caliph said to him, "You

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۵۳-۱

Ibid, vol. V, p. ۵۱; vol. II, p. ۳۸۸-۲

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۱۰۹۵-۳

Sharh ma yaqa' fih l-Tashif wal-Tahrif, p. ۱۰۷-۴

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VIII, p. ۱۱۳; al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. I, p. ۳۷۷-۵

"of exile

A noteworthy point in these incidents is that it was not only allowable but also necessary for the companions to protest against the anti-government measures. They resisted the government hardly as long as they and their caliph could survive. This issue labeled as 'Revolt Against Ruler,' later on became a highly momentous issue and drew the attention of all political and religious sects in the world of Islam.

.It's suitable here to center upon the aforesaid issue

A question of a great significance was, in what case the people can come to oppose their ruler? Or principally, whether or not they have the right to do so. In this respect, much has been mentioned in political opinions of Islamic sects. Besides, the opinions of groups such as Shi'ites Kharijites and large groups of Mu'tazilites are totally different from the ruling Sunnites

On the whole, what has been reported in this regard, like other issues, derives largely from the objectives realities and political events of the advent of Islam. In this regard, there are two various and, in a sense, contradictory issue which ought to be solved. The first issue is that, if an emir orders against Allah's Judgment, whether or not ?people ought to obey him

Based on the known religious principles, if obedience to ruler's order leads to disobedience to Allah, it will be inadmissible. A narration supports this, The Messenger of Allah (S) sent 'Abd Allah Ibn Hudhafa, a humorist, to a tribe under the command of a

group. After traversing a short distance, they stopped to rest and kindled a fire

”?Then 'Abd Allah said to them, “Am I not rightful to be obeyed by you

”!They answered, “Yes

”.He further added, “If it is so, you ought to obey whatever I order

They accepted. Then, he ordered them, “According to my right. I order you to throw
.yourself into fire.” Yet, thereafter he imparted that he was just pulling their leg

Once the Messenger of Allah (S) was informed of 'Abd Allah's attitude, he said, “Don't
obey someone who orders you to disobey Allah.”^(١)

This was the Messenger of Allah's conduct which is condensed into the short
Where a sin is committed, never ever should a “ لا طاعة لمخلوق في معصية الخالق ” statement
”.creature be obeyed

Thereafter, Abu Bakr notified in his first speech that the Messenger was kept infallible
through inspiration and he was given care by an angel, yet, to me he seems as a devil
... who has subdued me occasionally, when I get angry, get away from me

As long as I obey Allah and his Messenger, obey me; however, at the time of
disobedience to Allah and his Messenger I am not rightful to be obeyed by you.^(٢)

'Umar had a harshly daring treatment to the extent that few people had power or
courage to oppose him. Anyhow, some people have been reported to oppose him, and
.in some cases he responded them positively

Which لا طاعة لمخلوق في معصية الخالق, Another point lay behind the principle

Ibn Hisham, As-Sirat al-Nabawiyya, vol. IV, p. ٦٤٠; 'Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. -١
XI, p. ٣٣٥; Sahih al-bukhari, Kitab al-Ahkam Hadith, vol. IV; Musnad Ahmad, vol. III, p.

٤٧; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. V p. ١٧١; vol. XII, p. ١٠٤

Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. XI, p. ٣٣٤ -٢

.was contrary to it

According to this point, a person's opposition to an emir will pave the way for the disunity of the community or the so-called Congregation. While “the order to maintain congregation” being the most vital principle for solidifying the community is quite contrary to the expression of opposition. Naturally, in non-critical situations, this issue can somewhat be solved through toleration on the part of two parties. However, in case of an unusual circumstance or if the objection gives rise to a critical condition, this issue will be more intricate

In books of Hadith a full section has been devoted to the maintenance of congregation, which is mainly based on obedience to ruler. [\(1\)](#) Of course, it is clear that ruler's benefits lie more in observing the principle of “Congregation” than that of “lack of obedience at the time of disobedience

Abd al-Razzaq San'ani, in his book entitled as “Musannaf” has mentioned some narrations labeled as “the section on the necessity of the community” some of which are to be expounded

Quoting from the Messenger of Allah (S), Abu Hurayra said, “The one who dies while he has become separately apart from congregation, and does not obey, indeed he has died in ignorance

The one who has revolted against my people with the sword and strikes good and bad ... he's not among my people. According to Ibn 'Abbas, the one who goes out of obedience by an inch, he has died in ignorance

(It's been quoted that the Messenger of Allah (S

p: ١٨٧

“Taw”, obedience

has ordered five things, compliance, obedience, congregation, immigration and Jihad in the way of Allah; The one who distances himself from congregation by an inch, he will be no longer a Muslim

Umar has also quoted the Prophet (S) as saying, “The one who longs for paradise, maybe maintains the congregation

Furthermore, he's been quoted as saying, “The one who rebels against any people while they are united intending to divide them, kill him in any possible case

Hudhayfa has reportedly said that the people who tried to downgrade “Allah's Sultan on earth”, should be humiliated by Allah. Moreover, the Messenger of Allah (S) has said about the Emirate of the insane people that some emirs will come after me who are not guided by me and do not comply with my Sunna; the one who affirms their lie is helping them with their oppression, so we are not from each other and he won't come on me in the Pond of Abundance (Kawthar

In another hadith he said, “Nothing is better than speaking in justice before a tyrant Sultan. Avoiding people should not hinder you from speaking in truth

The narrator of this hadith, Abu Sa'id Khudri, after narrating it, burst into tears and said, “By God! We refrained from so doing

One day Abu Dharr came to 'Uthman and found fault with him. Thereafter, while reclining on stick 'Ali (a) joined them

”?Uthman asked, “What should I do with him'

Ali (a) answered, “Allah has said about him that, if he be a liar, on him'

p: ١٨٨

will be his lie, and if he be truthful, there will befall you some of that which he threatens you with (The Believer, (Ghafir) ٢٨

Then 'Uthman said to 'Ali (a), “Keep quiet, woe back onto you! You asked me
(something and I answered you.” (1)

Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud has also quoted the Messenger of Allah (S) as saying to him,
“What do you do while seeing emirs who do not comply with my Sunna and never say
prayer on time

”?Ibn Mas'ud answered, “I asked what to do

(Then, the Messenger of Allah (S) said, “You are asking me what to do! (2)
في معصية الله

In continuation of this narration and before that numerous narrations have been
mentioned concerning these emirs who never say prayer on time. Once seeing that
Walid Ibn 'Uqba has refrained from timely prayer, Ibn Mas'ud requested Mu'adhhdhin
to recite Adhan

Then, he himself began to say prayer. Thereafter, answering to Walid's objection, he
said, “Allah and His Messenger do not accept us to wait for you while you are going
(about your business.” (3)

Some Scholar as Hasan Basri, Zuhri and Qatada has reportedly said prayer alongside
emirs, even if these emirs did not do it on its due time.(4) Concerning 'Uthman, it's
been stated that Hasan Basri was questioned in this way, who did say prayer after
(sermon (in feast of prayer

He answered, “'Uthman always says prayer at the outset and then he makes a
,sermon.” However, seeing that many people do not stay for sermon

p: ١٨٩

Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. XI, pp ٣٣٩-٣٤٩ -١

Ibid, vol. II, p. ٣٨٤ -٢

Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. II, p. ٣٨٤ -٣

Ibid, vol. II, p. ٣٨٥; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, p. ٤٠٢ -٤

[he](#) decided to make sermon at first and say prayer thereafter.[\(1\)](#)

These were samples of narrations quoted by 'Abd al-Razzaq San'ani in this regard. It should be said, however, that opposition to bid for disobedience was once considered as prescription of criticism and the other time as revolt. The second not the first is more momentous concerning separation of community

Many issues are available as regards 'Uthman as well as historical experience of his caliphate, e.g. for him, opposition and criticism were beyond endurance. Once in ۲۶ A.H, 'Uthman merged some neighboring houses together to develop the sacred Mosque and tried to sponsor for it by public treasury, some people burst into objection

Hence, ordering to imprison them, 'Uthman said, “What dared you stand against me is your forbearance; otherwise, 'Umar himself did so

Eventually, prisoners were all released under the mediation of 'Abd Allah Ibn Khalid Ibn Usayd.[\(۲\)](#) However, having remembered the prior conduct in which any criticism was permissible, the comparisons and the followers criticized 'Uthman whenever the ground was prepared. He resisted these objections and never surrendered to them, in cases of a sever pressure–due to the siege of his house–he admitted objections temporarily, yet, as soon as the pressure was removed he acted cruelly

At the time when Imam 'Ali (a) was accompanying Abu Dharr, 'Uthman said, “Didn't you hear that I ordered not to accompany Abu Dharr

Then, Imam answered, “Must we obey your orders, while we find them contrary to Allah's Judgment? By Allah, we don't do so

Uthman became'

p: ۱۹۰

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ۳۸۵; Musnad Abi Dawud, vol. I, p. ۲۹۷ –۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۵۹ –۲

angry with Imam 'Ali (a) and told him that Marwan has been given superiority over him. The next day, 'Uthman went to Muhajirun and Ansar so as to grumble about Imam 'Ali (a). He noted that 'Ali finds faults with him and supports those raising difficulty, that is, 'Ammar, Abu Dharr and others. Thereafter, people brought about a compromise between 'Ali (a) and 'Uthman, and 'Ali (a) stated that his accompanying of [Abu Dharr had been merely for the sake of Allah.](#)⁽¹⁾

Marwan Ibn Hakam says, “In midway of Mecca and Medina, I witnessed the contact between 'Ali and 'Uthman, in which 'Uthman banned performing lesser pilgrimage in [”.\(Hajj months \(or both lesser and greater pilgrimage](#)

Seeing such a thing, 'Ali (a) said, “I become clothed in a pilgrimage state, then he said [”.Labbayk for both of them](#)

[”?Uthman objected to him asking, “Are you doing what I forbid'](#)

Imam answered, “I do not give up the Sunna of the Messenger (S) on behalf of [\(anybody.”](#)⁽²⁾

Ibn Mas'ud was also one of the tenacious dissenters of 'Uthman. He was some time among those who said, “If 'Uthman says a four rak'at-prayer rather than a two rak'at [\(one in Mina, he is to be obeyed, since opposition is considered as an evil.](#)⁽³⁾

Elsewhere he has said, “'Uthman is Imam, so I do not oppose him, for opposition is [\(considered as an evil.”](#)⁽⁴⁾ Though, later on he acted so intensely against 'Uthman.⁽⁵⁾

A large number of companions were unanimous in opposition to 'Uthman. Later, the Sunnis disbelieved the companions

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Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, pp 341-342; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 173-1

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, pp 1043-1044-2

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 268; al-Ghadir, vol. VIII, p. 99, quoted from, Sunan Abi -3

Dawud, vol. I, p. 308; Qad'i Abu Yusuf, al-Athar, p. 30; Shafi'i, Kitab al-Umm, vol. I, p.

١٥٩; vol. VII, p. ١٧٥; Biyhaqi, Sunnan al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ١٤٤

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. III, p. ٤٢ -٤

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, pp ٥٢٤ -٥٢٧; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, pp -٥

١٠٤٩-١٠٥٤

under the auspices of disagreeing with the ruler as legitimate political conduct and mainly pretended that a bunch of rascals rose in revolt against 'Uthman. 'Uthman was objected by Imam 'Ali (a) when he said a four rak'at-prayer in ٢٩ A.H. in Mina, because .it was contrary to the Messenger (S) and former caliphs' conducts

In answer to Imam presenting the Messenger (S) 's conduct, 'Uthman said,"This is (what I believed in.)"[\(١\)](#)

Uthman's despotism established a modern process in the course of despotism in' caliphate organizations. Anyway, due to the relative strength of Islamic values in the community, 'Uthman with all his importunity could not suppress the oppositions; on the contrary, he was removed by increasingly growing opposition. This was a new experience for the history of Islamic caliphate which became later on an essential .theoretical issue in Islamic political jurisprudence

Uthman and Mu'awiya

Damascus gained victory with the help of Abu 'Ubayda Jarrah, Khalid Ibn Walid and Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan. After extinction of this generation, 'Umar left their legacy to Mu'awiya from that time on Mu'awiya thought of caliphate. When 'Uthman was .enthroned, Mu'awiya's position became thoroughly firm

He intended to bring 'Uthman to Syria in a tumult of anti-'Uthman objections so as to settle every thing fine for himself. However, 'Uthman rejected him.[\(٢\)](#) Anyway, with regard to 'Uthman's policies in employing the Umayya, it seems unlikely for caliph .himself to be unmindful of this tendency that caliphate should remain in the Umayya

Anti-'Uthman revolt was equivocal for Mu'awiya. What should he have done against

the companions of the Prophet (S) ? He opted to neglect 'Uthman's repeated invitations, his humble requests for support and the dispatch of troops as well as wait .for the consequence of domestic quarrel between 'Uthman and the companions

Put it another way, if 'Uthman reinstated, Mu'awiya could come on power once more, however, 'Uthman's killing would pave the way for a domestic war in which Mu'awiya hoped for victory, that is, a war waged under the pretext of vengeance on 'Uthman. It was currently quite clear to many companions that Mu'awiya looked forward to 'Uthman's killing. Realizing this very fact, though 'Uthman was unable to resolve it seriously. As soon as 'Uthman was killed, his dress was sent to Mu'awiya by his wife, [\(Na'ila.\)](#)

Meanwhile, Mu'awiya started his efforts to stupefy Syrians against Medinans and the companions of the Prophet (S). He further determined to marry 'Uthman's wife to himself in order to revenge himself on 'Uthman more readily. Anyhow, 'Uthman's wife [\(refused such a thing, and even she broke her teeth to dissuade Mu'awiya.\)](#)

According to Ya'qubi, 'Uthman when under siege wrote letters to Mu'awiya over and over to request help, yet Mu'awiya refrained from dispatching troops. This negligence was to such an extent that 'Uthman realized the fact of the matter. In last days, Mu'awiya launched ۱۲۰۰ soldiers to Syria and notified their commander to stay over there until they are ordered. In the meantime, he sent someone to 'Uthman; seeing Mu'awiya's emissary, 'Uthman asked, “Have you got any

p: ۱۹۳

Baladhuri has been quoted as saying, Umm Habiba, Mu‘awiya’s sister and the – ۱ Prophet (S) ’s wife, had brought this bloody dress See Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۹۱ Nathr ad-Durr, vol. IV, p. ۶۲; Balaghat al-Nisa’, p. ۱۳۹; al-’Iqd al-Farid, vol. VI, p. ۹۰ – ۲

”?help

”.The emissary replied, “I've come to become aware of your situation

Uthman said, “No, you've come here in order to kill me.” (1)

After some days, Syrians were informed of 'Uthman's killing, so an army was turned back to Syria. Based on Juwayriyya, following 'Uthman's asking for help, Mu'awiya dispatched an army and declared their commander to stay at Dhi Khushub. They stayed there till 'Uthman was killed. Juwayriyya says that Mu'awiya deliberately did so (in order for 'Uthman to be killed. (2)

Imam 'Ali (a) wrote to Mu'awiya, “You came to 'Uthman's assistance when it was for the benefit of yourself, and humiliated him when it brought about your victory.” (3) And in another letter it was written, “Did I kill 'Uthman or you? Since I helped him in any case, while you neglected helping him, despite his request for help, until you heard of (his killing.” (4)

According to another letter by Imam Ali to Mu'awiya, “By Allah! O Mu'awiya! No one (but you killed 'Uthman and downgraded him.” (5)

Abu Tufayl also said to Mu'awiya, “Why didn't you stand by 'Uthman while people (were along with you?” (6)

In Siffin, Abu Ayyub Ansari wrote a letter to Mu'awiya as an answer to his blaming of Ansar for 'Uthman's killing saying, “He was killed by Yazid Ibn Asad whom you sent in an attempt to back 'Uthman, yet he being stopped in his way, wasn't of any help to 'Uthman.” (7) In fact, the afore-mentioned person was ordered by Mu'awiya not to go .over there

In a letter to Mu'awiya, Shabath Ibn

p: ۱۹۴

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۶۵-۱

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۱۲۸۹-۲

Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. IV, p. ۱۶۹; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IV, p. -۳

٥٧; al-Hayat As-Siyasiya li l-Imam al-Hasan(a), p. ١٤٤, from, al-Nasayih al-Kafiya, p. ٢٠;
Buhrani, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. V, p. ٨١
Nahj al-Balaghah, letter ٢٨-٤
Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. IV, p. ٢١٢-٥
al-Muwaffaqiyat, p. ١٥٤; al-Hayat As-Siyasiya li l-Imam al-Hasan(a), p. ١٤٧, from, -٤
various sources
Waq'at Siffin, p. ٣٤٨; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ١٣١; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh -٧
Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VIII, p. ٤٤; al-Ghadir, vol. IX, p. ١٥١

Rib'i accused him of failing to support 'Uthman saying, "You liked 'Uthman to be killed,
(for his killing would give you an excuse.)" (١)

Ibn 'Abbas also wrote a letter to 'Uthman saying, "You were interested in killing
'Uthman." (٢)

Afterwards, being accused by Yazid of implication in the assassination of 'Uthman Ibn
'Abbas answered, " I did not play any role in this event; however, it was your father
who neglected to support him and prevented his troops from helping him when
(requested)." (٣)

Shahristani says, "In essence, all Mu'awiya's agents in different cities avoided helping
(him.)" (٤) Letters by different persons are pieces of evidence for this matter. (٥)

Mu'awiya says, "I myself feel sorry for (about) not helping 'Uthman when
(demanded)." (٦)

Amr Ibn 'As also induced Mu'awiya for disgracing 'Uthman through failing to support'
(him.) (٧)

Coming together in Basra, Jamal companions remembered to go to Syria and joined
Mu'awiya. However, they became frightened of Mu'awiya's failure to help 'Uthman
.when requested, accordingly they didn't go to Syria

The last point in this regard is that 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'id Ibn Abi Sarh, 'Uthman's killing
and resided over there, since he was unwilling to be alongside 'Uthman. According to

(him, he hated to be along with a man (Mu'awiya) who liked 'Uthman to be killed. (a)

Imam 'Ali (a) and 'Uthman

After Imam 'Ali was withdrawn with power in Saqifa; besides, Imam's efforts to bring power back came to a deadlock, he tried to maintain roots and branches of Islam as well as to keep down through his own religious knowledge

Meanwhile, he remembered his forgotten

p: ۱۹۵

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۱۸۷; al-Ghadir, vol. IX, p. ۱۵۱; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. ۲۷۰ -۱

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XVI, p. ۱۵۵ -۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۱۹ -۳

al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. ۲۶ -۴

al-Ghadir, vol. IX, pp ۱۴۹-۱۵۰; vol. X, p. ۳۳۳; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۲۲۳; al-'Iqd al-

Farid, vol. IV, p. ۳۳۴; Tadhkirat al-Khawas, pp ۸۵,۲۰۱; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۳۵۳

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۲۸۷ -۶

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۸۷ -۷

al-Ma'rifa wal-Tarikh, vol. I, p. ۲۵۴; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۱۱۵۳ -۸

right in every appropriate atmosphere. The second caliph in spite of strictly employing his opponents attempted to solve judicial and in some cases political problems by using Imam's scientific ability. Some examples of caliph's consultation with Imam were previously mentioned

There are numerous narrations in sources concerning judicial problems, some of which are compiled by 'Allama Amini in the sixth version of al-Ghadir under the title of "Nawadir al-Athar fi 'Ilm 'Umar". In this regard, a scripture is in hand showing 'Umar's (emphasis in judicial issue on acting Imam's orders. (a)

In this respect, 'Uthman's pride was so much so that we can hardly find any model for it in 'Umar's time. Previous enmities of the Umayyads and Hashimites together with Badr, Uhud and killers of the Umayyads might have been influential in this case.

Especially, 'Uthman's enthroning was just followed by removal of Imam 'Ali. 'Uthman's distraction from the proper way and Imam's insistence on defending right caused 'Uthman to be more hostile towards Imam 'Ali (a

Once 'Uthman determined to exile 'Ammar, yet being objected by Imam, he answered, “You yourself are more deserving of exile!” (2) There are other examples of 'Uthman's bitter treatment with Imam in sources. (3)

According to Sa'id Ibn Musayyib, “I witnessed that a verbal clash occurred between 'Ali and 'Uthman. 'Uthman held up the lash to knock 'Ali, but I hindered.” (4) It's been repeatedly quoted that 'Uthman would have objected Imam before 'Abbas. (5) Imam's resistance to 'Uthman's wrong response induced 'Uthman to object Imam's saying

انك لكثير

p: ١٩٦

Sayyid Rad'i, al-Khasa'is, p. ٥٩ –١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp ٥٤ –٥٥ –٢

al-Kamil fil-Adab, vol. I, p. ٢٢ –٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ١٣٢ –٤

al-Muwaffaqiyat, p. ٤١١; 'Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. III, p. ٩٢ –٥

الخلاف علينا“ (1) “You put yourself in trouble for us again.”

Iman as-Sajjad quoted Marwan as saying, “I saw 'Uthman in the pilgrimage banning from performing the lesser pilgrimage in pilgrimage days. Consequently, such a thing caused Imam 'Ali to become clothed in pilgrim garment for both lesser and greater pilgrimage.

”Uthman said, “There you do again while I'm forbidding'

Imam replied, “I do not desist from the Messenger (S) 's Sunna for the sake of anyone.” (2) Apparently, the political conditions of 'Uthman's time gave rise to more public criticisms. Perhaps, public accompaniment with these criticizing movements is

one main reason. When Walid Ibn 'Uqba was brought to Medina to be punished, Imam allowing no one to punish him threw him on the ground, thereafter facing 'Uthman's objection to his very action Imam began to punish 'Uthman in Walid's [stead.](#)^(۳)

It can be found out from the whole events of anti-'Uthman revolts that opponents, for the most part, supported Imam in his candidacy for caliphate. Although some of them such as 'Amr Ibn 'As, Talha and Zubayr were not willing to do so, Imam's influence over opponents induced 'Uthman to take a dual line against him

On one part, 'Uthman believed Imam to be the major motive behind these incidents; on the other part, he having no alternative asked Imam to mediate and calm [opponents, in so far as they listened to him.](#)^(۴)

According to some accounts, Imam was recognized as “the spokesman of opponents”^(۵) Anyway, this fact neither meant that they were

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Musnad Ahmad, vol. I, p. ۱۰۰ –۱

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۱۰۴۳ –۲

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۶۵; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۳۳ –۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۶۱ –۴

Ibid, p. V, p. ۲۶ –۵

totally under the control of Imam, nor did it mean that Imam was for all their actions. The key question to be posed here is concerning Imam's opinion on 'Uthman. It should be taken into account that Imam living among people who killed 'Uthman [couldn't speak freely](#)

Regarding Imam's political opinion, it can simply be said that neither was Imam for 'Uthman's killing, nor did he deem his killing advisable. Due to realizing that this was not but an action for Mu'awiya's benefit, Imam tried to prevent from 'Uthman's killing [in any case](#)

Even, at the outset, he made effort to reconcile people with him and suppress the revolt. Once he said about his political supports, I backed 'Uthman to such an extent that I am afraid of committing any sin in this regard. (1) Later on he said that you killed 'Uthman while I was in my house. (2)

It's better, though, to make a distinction between Imam's "religious view" and "political view". It's likely that Imam believed 'Uthman to be deserving of such a treatment by people due to making deliberate errors regarding Islam and its rules together with destructing the circumstances of the community, although it's impossible to comment precisely on this case. Yet some interpretations are possibly put on Imam's explanations in this regard. Imam was once asked whether he implicated in killing 'Uthman or not. He replied, Allah killed 'Uthman and I'm with Allah. (3)

(He further said, "Neither I liked 'Uthman to be killed, nor did I loathe his killing." (4)

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Subhi, Nahj al-Balaghah, p. 358 -1

al-Jamal, p. 417 -2

Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. II, p. 207 -3

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 101; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 82 -4

(He also added, I am neither happy nor sad about 'Uthman's killing. (1)

Elsewhere Imam called 'Uthman "the element of all wrongdoers". (2) When he was asked whether 'Uthman was killed in an oppressed manner or not, Imam answered, He sacrificed himself to the people of house in a very bad manner, and you treated (him very badly. (3)

Imam wrote to Kufiyans about his contact with 'Uthman, Now, I am appraising you of what befell 'Uthman so (correctly) that its hearing maybe like its seeing. People criticized him, and I was the only man from among the Muhajirun who asked him to seek to satisfy (the Muslims) the most and to offend them the least

Furthermore, Talha and Zubayr rushed, teased and debilitated 'Uthman very easily. Then, 'Ayisha who was in a rage with him appeared as well and vented her wrath on [\(him, in so doing she gave people an opportunity to overpower and kill him.\)](#)^(٤)

At the time when being selected as an ambassador by people, Imam said to 'Uthman, “People are behind me and they have made me an ambassador between you and themselves. But by Allah! I do not know what to say. I know nothing (in this matter) which you do not know, nor can I lead you to any matter of which you are not aware

....

You should not behave as the carrying beast for Marwan so that he may drag you wherever he likes, despite your seniority of age and length of life.” 'Uthman answered, “Don't

p: ١٩٩

ما امرت al-Ghadir, vol. IX, p. ٢٩; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ١٢٦٣٣ - ١
ولا نهيت ولا سرنى ولا ساءنى قتل عثمان
I neither ordered nor hindered anyone, he neither respected me nor did wrong to me
al-Muwaffaqiyat, vol. XIII; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IX, p. ١٧ - ٢
Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. ٢٧٤; al-Aghani, vol. VI, p. ٢٣٣; 'Abd, Nahj al-Balaghah, - ٣
sermon ٢٧
Nahj al-Balaghah, letter ١ - ٤

ask people to grant me respite in order that I can compensate for my oppressive
”treatment towards them

Whereupon Imam said, “So far as Medina is concerned here is no question of time. As
[\(for remoter areas you can have the time needed for your order to reach there.\)](#)^(١)

According to historians,^(٢) Imam considered Marwan as the major factor behind these movements.^(٣) Anyway, Imam was opposed to the murder of 'Uthman, primarily due to the dominance of people over their ruler which was, in itself, followed by a brawl. In as much as it's a tremendously risky task to have the mere feeling that it's very simple

.to kill every ruler

Muslims recently heard of Sassanids' experience concerning reigning of some kings in about several years and their immediate killing. Hence, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar warned them, "Are you doing it heraclitusly, killing any king whenever growing angry with
"him

The selection of Imam by Medinans, those who entered Medina and some who played a crucial role in anti-'Uthman revolt induced the Umayyads to accuse Imam of killing 'Uthman. 'Amr Ibn Hamiq Khuza'i assuming to be one of the four who attacked
(Uthman's house was ranked among the pure Shi'ite Muslims.)

The same is true with Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr. Likewise, once 'Uthman's house was under siege, Imam said feast prayer. And when 'Uthman came in power, initially he said prayers and then he made sermon just like before. Yet, noting that people leave
great mosque after sermon, he decided to make sermon

p: ۲۰۰

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ۱۶۴ -۱

al-Fakhri, p. ۹۸ -۲

Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. IV, p. ۲۷ -۳

Usd al-Ghaba, vol. IV, p. ۱۰۰ he was martyred by Mu'awiya's agents in ۵۰ A H and his -۴
head was sent to Syria His tomb was made by Hamdaniyan in Musil Thereafter, an
ample clash befell between Shi'ite Muslims and 'Uthmanids

(at the outset, and say prayer in the end.)

However, while saying feast prayer, Imam said prayer firstly and made sermon
secondly. It appears that Imam has said feast prayer without 'Uthman's
permission. Anyway, 'Uthman had confessed that he prefers 'Ali to take charge rather
(than any body else.)

When 'Uthman's house was under siege, Sahl Ibn Hunayf said congregational prayer,

perhaps by 'Uthman's permission.^(٤) Imam was accused due to his presence in Medina in these circumstances. Thus, it's been said that Usama insisted on Imam's going to Mecca or Yanbu'.^(٥) Of course, in as much as Imam was a crucial factor for coping with the situations, his leaving of Medina did not seem to be reasonable

Imam repeatedly rejected the blame for 'Uthman's killing attributed to him, anyhow, 'Uthmanids' propagation was to the extent that it occasioned Jamal and Siffin. Walid Ibn 'Uqba, the wrongdoer, addressed Banu Hashim in a poem “هم قتلوه حتى يكونوا مكانه”^(٦) (Banu Hashim killed 'Uthman so as to take his place.^(٦)

He further said, “Walid had the most hostile manner towards Imam”; moreover, according to Nasr Ibn Muzahim's poems, Walid instigated Mu'awiya to wage a war against Imam 'Ali (a). this apart from his father's murder in Badr was due to enforcing punishment of drinking on him by Imam in front of people and 'Uthman.^(٧)

Uthman himself put the blame on Imam, on account of opponents' attention to him.' He has even revealed ironically in his poem that he is looking forward to Imam's

p: ٢٠١

Musnad Abi Dawud, vol. I, p. ٢٩٧; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ٩٦٤ -١

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ١٢١٦ -٢

Ibid, vol. III, p. ١٢٠٦ -٣

Ibid, vol. III, p. ١٢١٨ -٤

Ibid, vol. III, p. ١٢١١ -٥

al-Kamil fil-Adab, vol. III, p. ٣٨; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ١٠٤ -٦

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٣٥٠ -٧

killing.^(٨) This was suggested to him by Marwan Ibn Hakam, the sinner, the evildoer. Marwan has been quoted as saying to people, “At the outset, a handful of people came from Egypt, yet they were ordered to come back and assemble a large multitude.”^(٩)

Imam repeatedly refused to have any role in 'Uthman's murder saying, “If I know that

the Umayyads believe something through swearing, I would swear to the Black Stone
(and the status of Ibrahim that I did not kill 'Uthman.”^(۳)

Imam wrote to Mu'awiya, “If one judges me, he will certainly imagine that I am the
(purest man.”^(۴)

(He further said, “I did not kill 'Uthman, nor did I order to kill him.”^(۵)

Verily, Ibn Sirin said, ”'Ali was accused of 'Uthman's assassination while being selected
as caliph.”^(۶) Ibn Shubba has allocated a full chapter to Imam's statements concerning
(his refusal of any implication in killing 'Uthman.^(۷)

It seems interesting to note that despite all these remarks, 'Uthman sought
assistance just from Imam and no one else.^(۸) Typically, when 'Uthman was stopped
having water by Talha, he asked Imam for help. Accordingly, Imam came to Talha and
requested him to let water into 'Uthman's house. Then, he got his son to take a bowl
(of water to 'Uthman.^(۹)

Afterwards, in Karbala Ibn Ziyad ordered not to let Imam Husayn drink any water, as
regards 'Uthman was stopped having water when under siege. Under these
circumstances in which no one was able to help 'Uthman, nor did he dare to do so, it

p: ۲۰۲

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. ۶۳; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۶۲ -۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۸۹ -۲

Ibid, vol. V, p. ۸۱ -۳

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۲۹ -۴

Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. XV, p. ۲۲۸; see Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۱۰۰ -۵

Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. XV, p. ۲۲۹ -۶

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۱۲۸۵ -۷

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۸۲; Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. I, p. ۴۱۵ -۸

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۱۲۰۲ -۹

was Imam who came to his assistance. Ibn Shubba has labeled a chapter as

[Uthman's asking Imam 'Ali for help.](#)⁽¹⁾

Another good-to-know note is that Malik, as one of the extreme adherents of Imam, attempted to release 'Uthman from (being under) siege with the help of Hudaj Umm [Habiba, while his house was under siege.](#)⁽²⁾

Though, not being allowed to enter the house by the besiegers, he seemingly intended to save him from the besiegers in secret. The final word of Ibn Shubba in his chapter is that, in Siffin, Imam did not accept in the presence of 'Uthman's representatives that 'Uthman has been killed oppressively.⁽³⁾ Consequently, his very statement meant that Imam seems to be guilty at any rate

Assassination of 'Uthman

As objections against 'Uthman were gradually intensified, some men explicitly used to stand up before 'Uthman in mosque and object to him. 'Uthman was obliged to use violence so as to calm them and this, in turn, would lead to more clash on the part of them. To 'Urwa Ibn Zubayr, I witnessed that 'Uthman entered the mosque. Some people surrounded him and called him Na'thal, old stupid man

Then, 'Uthman went up the pulpit and began to speak. Jahjah Ibn Sa'd Ghifari who was among those who swore allegiance to his family began to object. At the same time, the circumstances turned in a way that 'Uthman could not continue to speak, so [he came down the pulpit and Sahl Ibn Hunayf said Friday prayer on that day.](#)⁽⁴⁾

Once objections

p: ۲۰۳

Ibid, vol. III, pp ۱۲۱۹-۱۲۲۳-۱

Ibid, vol. III, p. ۱۳۱۳-۲

Waq'at Siffin, pp ۲۰۱-۲۰۲-۳

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۱۱۱۱-۴

against 'Uthman heightened, some Kufiyans and Egyptians departed for Medina at

the request of the companions alongside in protest against the Umayya rulers of these cities. This crowd was headed by 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Udays Balawi who was among those who swore allegiance to his family,⁽¹⁾ together with Muhammad Ibn Abi Hudhayfa. Ibn Shubba also carried a letter written by the Egyptians to 'Uthman prior to going to Medina

They notified the necessity for implementing the divine orders with regard to the Qur'anic verses saying, You are claimant for being rightful to be obeyed by us, whereas based on Qur'an, obedience to the one who disobeys Allah is not permissible. If you obey Allah, in consequence, we'll soon find out that you have it in mind to perish ⁽²⁾ yourself along with.

'Uthman sent 'Ammar there in order to calm the Egyptians. However, he was unaware that 'Ammar himself after being sent to Egypt instigated people against 'Uthman. In the wake of 'Ammar's driving out, some people reckoned to be about ۴۰۰ to ۷۰۰ came into Medina. This group visited 'Uthman and his representative and set forth their demands as follows

Firstly, to return on-exile persons. Secondly, to pay the deprived's rights. Thirdly, to act upon Qur'an and the deprived's rights. 'Uthman repented officially towards them ⁽³⁾ and warned them to avert disunity.

In terms of 'Uthman's agreements, a mutual treaty was written between 'Uthman and Imam 'Ali who was made as an ambassador between people and caliph. Five clauses were laid out

p: ۲۰۴

Ibid, vol. III, p. ۱۱۵۵-۱

Ibid, vol. III, p. ۱۱۲۱-۲

Ibid, vol. III, pp ۱۱۳۵-۱۱۳۷-۳

in this very treaty, among which three have been mentioned above, and the forth one is to observe justice in distributing and employing people who are worthy and strong

enough to manage the affairs. Then, a number of the companions attested to this
(treaty.)

.This very action resulted in the Egyptians' return

Another cultural city for opponents was Kufa. Sa'd Ibn 'As wrote to 'Uthman saying that some people who call themselves “readers” and are indeed stupid have thrashed my chief-police and thereby looked down on me

”.Uthman answered, “Send them to Syria in order that they might fight a war'

After being sent to Syria, they got to grips with Mu'awiya. Hence, this induced Mu'awiya to send them to Hims. Yet, after a while since Sa'd Ibn 'As was sent away from Kufa by people, they came back to Kufa. It was then the Kufiyans enumerated 'Uthmans' mistakes through a letter. This very letter together with the Egyptians' letter is an indicative of the extent to which people made effort to shed light on caliph's mind notwithstanding that 'Uthman never catch on the fact

The Kufiyans' letter was brought to Medina by Abu Rabi' at al-'Anzi. Thereafter through a letter by 'Uthman, Sa'd was ordered to give him twenty lashes and exile him
(to Damawand mount.)

Once the Egyptians returned to their own city, they met a horsman called Yuhanna and was 'Uthman's slave who was riding rapidly to Egypt, they hold him and grabbed a letter from him. The letter

p: ۲۰۵

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, pp ۱۱۳۷-۱۱۴۰ -۱

Ibid, vol. III, pp ۱۱۴۲-۱۱۴۳ -۲

had been sealed by 'Uthman and addressed to 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd. as a matter of fact, he was ordered by 'Uthman to kill some protesters and put some others into prison
... and

This provoked protesters to return to Medina angrily. After coming back to Medina, first of all they went to Imam 'Ali (a) who was the mediator of peace. Imam took their letter to 'Uthman. But 'Uthman swore that he has not written the letters; besides, he is kept uninformed of it. It is interesting to mention that the Umayyads and even 'Uthman himself blamed Imam by stating, He has written the letter so as to incite the people against caliph.⁽¹⁾ Word came that the Egyptians have Kufa and ۱۰۰ people from Basra came to Medina and besieged 'Uthman

As Zuhri states, “I asked Sa'd Ibn Musayyib, How was 'Uthman killed and why did the companions downgrade him

He replied, “Once 'Uthman was in power, a discontent befell some of the companions, for he liked his own family, typically, he set an abundance of those who were not reckoned among the companions to work

In consequence, his action gave rise to a hatred among the companions. In the second six-year term of caliphate, 'Uthman got the Umayya to take control of affairs; furthermore, he appointed 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd to Egypt. Yet, the latter created an obligation on the part of the Egyptians. As a matter of fact, prior to this, 'Uthman had also some contacts with 'Abd Allah

p: ۲۰۶

Ibid, vol. III, pp ۱۱۵۰-۱۱۵۱, ۱۱۵۵-۱

.Ibn Mas'ud, Abu Dharr and 'Ammar which resulted in discontent on part of their tribes

Then, the Egyptians arrived in Medina. Imam 'Ali (a) acted as an intermediary between them, thus it was determined that another figure will take the position of 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd, namely Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr. 'Uthman signed for his sainthood and then they left the place. They met a horseman on the way who was carrying a letter concerning caliph's bitter instruction to 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd. it was then all the protesters returned to Medina angrily

Then, all the Medinans vented their wrath on 'Uthman; moreover, as for the people, public complex concerning what befell 'Ammar, Abu Dharr and 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud developed. Imam 'Ali along with a number of people went to 'Uthman. The handwriting indicated that the letter had been written by Marwan. Then, the protesters asked 'Uthman to hand over Marwan who is ordering to carnage so dauntlessly. However, 'Uthman avoided doing so. This very action caused people to [besiege 'Uthman and stop him having water.](#)⁽¹⁾

A noteworthy point is that dissenters did not think of caliph's assassination from the beginning. Rather, in the last stage they pled him to be dethroned. However, 'Uthman refused to be dethroned. It was the first time that caliph's dethronement was spoken. The caliph, in what case, can dethrone himself or do the others have the right to do ^{?so}

Such an issue was repeatedly posed during the caliphate history. But historically it was

p: ۲۰۷

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, pp ۱۱۵۹-۱۱۶۱; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh - ۱ Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. ۲۲۹; al-Ghadir, vol. IX, p. ۱۸۰

first raised when rebels asked 'Uthman to dethrone. 'Uthman, in response to their suggestion, said that God has granted caliphate to him and he is not willing to abdicate

Quoting him, the Messenger (S) said to him, “O 'Uthman! God will put a garment on you and hypocrites of dethronement will ask you for it, don't take it off until you join [me.”](#)⁽¹⁾

This hadith is definitely a forged one and ascribed to 'Uthman and the Messenger (S). But 'Uthman, in essence, believed that caliphate is garment God put him on and he is not willing to take it off. Such a thing indicated that 'Uthman, by linking Caliphate to God, intends to deny public vote and their decision upon his dethronement

When 'Uthman was suggested dethronement, he said, “Even if I'm beheaded, I'll
(never abdicate.” (۲)

Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar said, “He asked me in the time of 'Uthman's siege, “What do you
”?think of Mughira Ibn Akhnas's suggestion

He said, “They want you to dethrone unless you'll be murdered so you should leave it
”.to them

Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar said, “I told 'Uthman, is there anything more important than your'
”?murder unless you dethrone
”.He replied, “No

I said, “To me, you'd better not include such an innovation in Islam that every time a
group of rebels revolt in an aim to dethrone their emir; don't take the garment of God
(has put you on!” (۳)

Some who laid siege are heard to say that we just intend to dethrone him not to
,murder him; 'Uthman said

p: ۲۰۸

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۶۱ Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۶۶ –۱
Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. ۱۷۰, see Tarikh al-Islam, ‘Ahd al-khulafa’ al-rashidin, –۲
p. ۴۴۵
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۵۶۷, num ۱۴۴۵ Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. ۱۷۰ Tabaqat –۳
al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۶۶

Not my dethronement but my murder.” (۱)۸۲۳“

When Egyptian opponents, on their way back, found 'Uthman's letter to 'Abd Allah Ibn
Sa'd, in which he was ordered to bother, annoy and murder opposes, they turned
back to Medina. 'Uthman said that the letter writer was not him and then the fact that
the main culpable was Marwan Ibn Hakam was cleared up. He was asked by the

opponents to dethrone due to his incapability in government administration, but he
[rejected.](#) [۲](#)

Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr, later on, confirmed, “We wanted him to dethrone but he
[rejected.”](#) [۳](#)

According to another narration, 'Uthman sent for Malik Ashtar and asked him, “What
”?do people want me

Malik said, “One of the two things, either to dethrone yourself and leave the caliphate
for people or to retaliate yourself maybe it refers to the retaliation of annoyance done
”.to Ibn Mas'ud, 'Ammar and others; otherwise, you'll be fought

Uthman said, “I shan't take the garment off God put me on. Abu Bakr and 'Umar were'
doing chastisement concerning retaliation and such a thing didn't exist. But in the case
[of my murder, you'll be in a lot of trouble.”](#) [۴](#)

During this time, 'Uthman asked different cities for help. He wrote a letter to people of
Mecca to be read in 'Arafa Day. In aforesaid letter, he wrote, “I'm under siege and I've
got no food but a trivial supply. I ajure everyone to whom my letter is read to hasten
[for my help.”](#) [۵](#)

Ayisha was on her way to Hajj. Marwan'

p: ۲۰۹

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۵۶۷ num ۱۴۴۶ –۱

Tathbit Dala'il al-Nubuwwa, p. ۵۷۳ –۲

al-Gharat, p. ۱۰۴ –۳

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, pp ۷۲-۷۳; Tarikh Ibn Khayyat, p. ۱۷۰; al-Musannaf, Ibn –۴

Abi Shayba, vol. VII, p. ۴۴۱, ۵۱۴; Tarikh al-Islam, 'Ahd al-khulafa' al-rashidin, p. ۴۴۶; see

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ۱۲۸۶

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۱۱۶۶; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp –۵

۵۴-۵۶; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۲۱۷

was sent by 'Uthman to help him in people dispersion but she rejected. (1)

For forty days, 'Uthman was under siege and at last Friday early evening, the 18th Dhi l-Hajja, 35 A.H. he was murdered. His murderer's name is not exactly specified.

Someone's name as Aswadan Ibn Hamran from Tujib in Egypt was cited. (2)

Kunana said, "I heard on Egyptian crying around 'Uthman's house that he murdered

Na'thal but no one had anything to do with him." (3)

Quoting 'Urwa, 'Uthman's corpse was in Hashsh Kawkab for three days but no one did prayer on it. (4) Afterwards, four people among whom were Jubayr Ibn Mut'im and

Hukaym Ibn Hizam assembled and buried him there out of Baqi' by night. (5)

Ongoing Victories

Geographical extension of Islamic country was the major aim of second caliph. All the tribes were mobilized for this purpose and a great deal were sent to different areas. In this era, stabilization of Arab's rule over conquered areas in east and partly in west was the major action of victories. Alexandria, in 25 A.H., started revolution and made effort to rise up against Muslims by a hidden connection to Romans. Arabs, once more, obliged to conquer this city

Riy citizens rebelled as well as Adharbayjan so Hudhayfa obliged to calm these areas by force. The gate of Ifriqiya was westerly opened in 26-7 A.H. and Islam was expanded to the heart of Africa. These areas were easily opened and their booties brought Islam a great capital. In 33 A.H., after the renewed revolution in this area

p: 210

Ibid, vol. III, p. 1172 -1

Ibid, vol. III, p. 1231 -2

Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. 253; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1308 -3

Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. 259 -4

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1166 -5

and its renewed opening, its people became calm and tractable. But in Umayya's time, (due to excessive pressure on them—in Hisham 'Abd al-Malik time—they rebelled.)

First in ۲۹ A.H., Muslims were allowed to pass the sea and open the gate of Cyprus. People of Fars and Istakhr, in the year ۲۹ A.H. started revolution and once more its gate was opened, in an attack, by Muslims. Muslims' first attacks on Tabaristan .launched in ۳۰ A.H. and through them, Gurgan was occupied

Yazdgard, the last Sassanids king after a lot of vagrancy in ۳۲ A.H. was murdered by a miller in Marw and his dynasty was overwhelmed forever. The gate of Khurasan, part of which has been conquered and once again rebelled, was opened. Iranian people being still inclined to accept Arab's rule, due to the lack of a definite leadership, .rebelled temporarily

But such revolutions comparing to Arab's strong and well-organized forces lacked resistance. In other words, since Iranian religious, tribal, and citizenship solidarity has been lost, it couldn't resist seriously. In the same years, people of Khurasan and .Kirman violating their peace, were defeated in no time

Effects of Victories and Islamic Community

Victories were undoubtedly considered as great changes for both Muslims and human world. This movement and its consequences induced great ethnic and religious changes in human world during ۱۰۰ years and some centuries respectively. Great immigrations changed some areas ethnically and great religions were exposed to restriction. In addition to nearly a full- scale defeat of Zoroastrian religion, in west Christianity and in

p: ۲۱۱

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, pp ۹۲ – ۹۳ –۱

.east Buddhist were grounded

But the new religion conquered the inhabited quarter of the earth and its particular

effect. In this regard, some issues should be taken into consideration. When the effects of victories for victorious Arabs are considered, we observe that the majority of Bedouins left their homes in Hijaz for conquered areas. Their only offering for these .country was holy Qur'an and to some extent hadith

Apart from these two, we face Arabs who got used to Bedouin but now have extreme money and wealth. In Peninsula, they lacked any government but now inherit .Sassanids extensive government

Culturally, possessing strict ethnic customs but, for the time being, Arabs in conquered regions encounter a new social and aristocratic life. Hereafter, in conquered lands, there is a sort of cultural duality and Arabs should stake out a clear stand against it. These people's existence cannot naturally be denied or compelled to .endure Arabian life

Umar dissuaded Arabs from imitation and turning into non-Arabs. Such a thing was' difficult since most of the Arabs possessed Roman and Iranian slave-girls, they .brought them children and a new generation was gradually forming

Umar made effort not only to keep them away from fighting against non-Arabs. The' residents of conquered lands in Iraq and Iran were allowed to keep them but just pay their land-taxes to 'Umar. Not only leaving the lands for Arabs wasn't technically a right thing due to their lack of expertise, but it brought them about some political .problems

Umar tried'

p: ۲۱۲

to back non-Arab aristocrats up. Like Arabs, a grant of bounty was determined for non-Arab aristocrats. Some shares like Firuz Ibn Yazdjird, Fulluja farmers, Hurmuzan, and Babul's farmer, Bastam Ibn Narsi have been mentioned. 'Umar considered his aim of doing this as the combination of people's (Iranian's) hearts through attracting

(aristocrats.)

But Arabs as a victorious and rightful nation were considered superior to others and 'Umar made every possible effort not to mix them with others. The presence of non-Arabs (considered as non-Arab unbelievers by 'Umar) by no means was allowed in Medina, the capital of Islamic country. (2)

Umar was accidentally murdered by a non-Arab unbeliever had come to Medina through Mughira's intercession. His complaint when he was almost to die was, "Didn't I tell you not to have entrance of non-Arabs into Medina" (3)

Additionally, he was to set free all the captives of wars against Arabs like Radda or the conquest of Iraq and Syria when the number of non-Arab captives was high. (4) He said, "Since God has opened the gates of non-Arab lands to us, it isn't worthwhile having Arab captives for we've got enough non Arab ones." (5)

For this, a great deal of money was paid from public treasury to set non-Arab captives free. (6) For Arabs not to imitate non-Arabs, 'Umar ordered that no one had the right to speak in any language but Arabic. (7) It was forbidden for an Arab to dress in a non-Arab garment and for Arabs not to be mistaken with non-Arabs. (8)

To

p: ٢١٣

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- 1- Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp ١٥٣ – ١٥٤; al-Ma'arif, p. ٣٦١
- 2- Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, p. ٤٧٤, vol. VI, pp ٥١-٥٤; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٣٤٥
- 3- Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. IV, pp ٣٤٩ – ٣٥٠
- 4- 'Umar's first measure was to return Arab captives, he said "أول فعل عمر رد سبائيا العرب قال: كرهت أن يسير سنه على العرب, Umar's captives saying, "I am happy! This becomes a tradition degrading Arabs Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٣٩; Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. VII, p. ٣٨٠
- 5- al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. II, p. ٣٨٢
- 6- Abu 'Ubayd, al-Amwal, p. ١٣٣; Futuh al-Buldan, p. ١٠٤
- 7- Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. I, p. ٧٩٦; Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, pp ٤٩٦- ٤٩٧; Tarikh -٧

Umar, Arab Christians should be treated differently from non-Arab ones.^(١) In his' opinion, Arab was Islam substance ^(٢) and in that time, it was certainly a true thing to be said. 'Umar wanted his rulers not to bother Arabs in their areas in one way or ^(٣) another to bring about their humiliation.

The marriage of Arab women and non-Arabs were severely prohibited by 'Umar.^(٤) It disturbed him a lot when he learnt Nafi' Ibn Harith placed a non-Arab instead of himself to come to Medina.^(٥) Ma'mun said to a Nabataean (Nibtī) who cried “Alas! 'Umar” in his time, “'Umar believed that if an Arab is in lack of money and his neighbor is a Nabataean, he can sell him! This is 'Umar's biography, do you like to treat you ^(٦) according to it?”

One time, made up his mind to propose marriage to 'Umar's daughter. It wasn't done for 'Umar's family came and wanted him to abdicate.^(٧) Meeting people, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar said, “Peace be upon you.” But visiting a Negro, he said, “O Frog, peace be upon you.”^(٨) It was natural that later on, Khalid Ibn Safwan in the marriage contract of his slave-girl and a slave said, “God's name is superior than being mentioned in the marriage sermon of these two dogs. I announce this adulteress and adulterer, man ^(٩) and wife!”

Uthman, to some extent, followed the same policy. The most important factors' bringing about destruction of Islamic Community, to 'Uthman, are as follow

بلوغ أولادكم

p: ٢١٤

Futuh al-Buldan, pp ١٨٥–١٨٦; 'Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. VI, p. ٩٩, al-Kharaj, p. –١

٢٢١

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. IV, pp ٣٣٧ – ٣٣٩; 'Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. I, p. ٣٢٥ –٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. I, p. ٢٧٤١; Imtidād al-'Arab, p. ٢٢ –٣

Imtidād al-'Arab, p. ٢٢ –٤

Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. XI, p. ٤٣٩; Hayat sahaba, vol. II, p. ١٥٠٤ -٥
Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. I, p. ٢٣٠; see al-Mahasin wal-Masawi, vol. II, p. ٢٢٧٤ -٦
Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. I, p. ١٨٤; LuTf al-tadbir, p. ١٩٩; al-Zuhd wal-Raqa'iq, Juz' -٧
Nu'aym Ibn Hammad, p. ٥٢
Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. IV, p. ١٦٠ -٨
al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. ٢٥٠ -٩

Abundance, the new generation of captive mothers, “من السبايا، قراءه الأعراب والأعاجم للقرآن،”
(and Qur'an recitation by non-Arabs.”[\(١\)](#))

Ethnic mixture in Arab brought some effects about which cannot be prevented. Arabs' possession of some tribal customs and their lack of a disciplined and regular culture were considered the major reasons. Meanwhile, Arab tribal structure strengthened through 'Umar's measure in forming Diwan based on ethnic system played a key role in the protection of Arab culture

Setting Arab tribes was the aim of stabilization of pure Arab cities however very soon, captives of war and non-Arab immigrants settled there. These cities internally possessed some divided tribes and non-Arabs in there had got special parishes. These cities were distinctive from those in the past for they have been formed through Islamic and Arab features

The number of Arab immigrants most of whom left Iraq for Iran was excessive. It is said that in Kufa, fifty thousand and twenty-four thousand houses were allocated to Rabi'a, Mud'ar and other Arabs respectively. In Imam 'Ali (a) time, the number of people whose names existed in Basra administration tribunal touched sixty thousands.[\(٢\)](#)٨٥٢

The quick regional influence of Islam was considered as one of the important effects of Arab residence in Iran. In Adharbayjan, the expansion of Islam was the result of Arab residence there. Arabs bought a great deal of lands there and started a permanent residence. It is said that going to Adharbayjan, Ash'ath Ibn Qays observed
(a lot of Muslims reciting Qur'an.[\(٣\)](#))

al-Fitnat al-Kubra, p. ۷۲ –۱

Imtidad al-'Arab, p. ۲۶ –۲

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۳۲۹; Imtidad al-'Arab, p. ۲۳ –۳

was Riy due to its significance. Arab cities were few, according to Ya'qubi.^(۱) Qazwin, because of its frontier significance with Diylam, was the residence of Arabs who left Kufa for this region. In al-Buldan, Ya'qubi considered human geography of cities, (which is of great importance, in regard to Arab and non-Arab.^(۲)

According to some narrations, Qum was basically on Arab residence and some tribes like Ash'ari and Midhhaj settled there. After repeated victories different regions of Iran were permanent residences of Arabs. Meanwhile, unlike Egypt and north of Africa, Iran didn't turn into Arabian, on the contrary, its Arab residents gradually turned into Iranian

Financially, victories greatly affected Muslims. Arabs, before Islam, severely suffered from economic deprivation. But after victories, they had a comfortable life resulted from booties abundance

This issue brought about some particular ethnical consequences from which in Islamic community resulted constant corruption due to the lack of continuous training. Figuring out such conditions, 'Umar strictly made effort to keep noble men of companions away from comfort and extravagance. However, in 'Uthman's time, the society severely suffered from sedition and corruption for 'Uthman himself was an aristocrat and unable to control the situation

The natural point was new community's lack of forces for religious teaching and learning. This problem was to some extent solved by companions but neither their number nor their knowledge can cover such an extensive land

In 'Uthman's time, companions obtained a lot of wealth and clever Muslims kept the limit of their wealth. Mas'udi made some

p: ٢١٤

al-Buldan, p. ٢٦٩ –١

Dr Salih al-'Ali, in "Imtidad al-'Arab fi Sadr al-Islam", studied the Arabs' journey and –٢ their settlement in cities of Iran based on Ya'qubi's source and other books

useful information available to us.^(١) In spite of 'Umar's carefulness in this regard, he caused Badri companions to obtain a great wealth in no time through his system for "distribution of grant of bounty

Forming an aristocratic life, 'Uthman later on, was a typical of aristocracy prevalence among people. This aristocracy, for the most part, existed among the Muhajirun for their superiority to the Ansar in the arrangement of tribunal based on 'Umar's policy.^(٢) And this policy of Quraysh's superiority to non-Quraysh, was followed by 'Uthman as well.^(٣) While religiously comparing Ansar were in a better position than Quraysh

^(٤) Ibn 'Abbas said, "Most of the Messenger (S) ' hadiths were available to Ansar."^(٤)

It is said that Ansar's women in religion obtained understanding^(٥) and were more religious than the Muhajirun.^(٦) Also, in Quraysh, just one person who knew Qur'an by heart existed according to the narration.^(٧)

Taha Husayn studied 'Uthman's Qurayshi policies and its effect on Ansar's seclusion and the rule of Quraysh over other Arabs.^(٨) Policy of the Muhajirun's superiority to the Ansar and Quraysh to non-Quraysh was, to some extent, accepted in the community so that its settlement by Imam 'Ali (a), with all his influence, was not possible. Their objection to Imam was why didn't he, like 'Umar, consider them superior to others?^(٩)

Aristocracy along with the lack of religious training intensified the community problem

so that Kufa witnessed adultery of Mughira Ibn Shu'ba and drinking of Walid Ibn 'Uqba, governors of such an important city. Mu'awiya was also a typical

p: ۲۱۷

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, pp ۳۳۲-۳۳۳ -۱

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VIII, p. ۱۱۱ -۲

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ۹۸۹ -۳

Sunnan al-Darimi, introduction, section ۴۶ -۴

Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. I, pp ۳۱۴-۳۱۵ -۵

Hayat sahaba, vol. II, p. ۸۷ -۶

Ibn Juzi, al-Adhkiya', p. ۱۰۲ -۷

al-Fitnat al-Kubra, pp ۶۸-۸۵-۸۶ -۸

Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. I pp ۱۹۹, ۲۰۰, ۲۰۷, ۲۷۲, ۲۲۸, ۲۲۹; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-

Balaghah, vol. VII, pp ۴۱-۴۳

of that and not wanting to be included in Kanz verse, he made up his mind to omit the
[first "v" letter so that it might include the people of The Book.](#)^(۱)

The names of some Quraysh been punished by whip are mentioned by Muhammad Ibn Habib. Among them is 'Umar's son, Abu Shahma, who committed adultery to 'Umar's step-daughter and he was punished by a whip. 'Ubayd Allah and 'Asim,
['Umar's offsprings were whipped by 'Umar and 'Uthman respectively for drinking.](#)^(۲)

Imam Husayn (a) witnessed the latter and this caused, accordingly to Muhammad Ibn Habib, enmity between family of 'Umar and that of 'Ali. Suhayl Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn
['Awf was whipped for drinking.](#)^(۳)

Among these, the names of other companions' sons had been mentioned. The lack of punishment in the case of others didn't mean that they were in a better position. Take the example of 'Umar, son of Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas, who martyred Imam Husayn (a) Karbala. Karbala's event principally indicates the depth of mental and ethical
.corruption and deviation in the Islamic community

To caliphs, victories were considered a sacred Jihad which not only had a lot of booties but can save Arabs from hunger. This Jihad is considered sacred even if it is accompanied by some mistakes like that of Khalid Ibn Walid with Malik Ibn Nuwayra.

.Such mistakes don't bring about the lack of his title, i.e. God's sword

”,Hasten to good deeds “ *حي على خير العمل*, In second caliph's opinion, if the sentence

p: ٢١٨

See ad-Durr al-Manthur, vol. III, p. ٢٣٢ –١

al-Munammaq, pp ٣٦٧-٣٩٥ –٢

Ibid, p. ٣٩٧ –٣

was omitted from the prayer call, Jihad would be most important to people than prayer, people's concern about victories and not having anything to do with the internal affairs was another feature of victories

For 'Uthman, being entangled in revolution, one of the solutions was to send opposers to the borders to fight there against enemies.^(١) But those aware of the reality wrote to the frontier controllers that Jihad exists in Medina not Diylam.^(٢) Mu'awiya ^(٣)benefited from this weapon for opponents dispersion.^(٤)

In order to recognize deviations made in the community, in fact, difficulties of Imam 'Ali (a) who made his Messengership the community reform should be recognized

People depended on public treasury and their grants of bounty to the extent that 'Umar said, “If I want, I can make these people unbelievers

”?They asked, “How

^(٤)He replied, “I'll cut their shares.”^(٤)

Also Abu Ja'far Naqib said, “No one would object to 'Umar if he changed their Qibla from Ka'ba to Jerusalem or omitted one of the five unit prayers for people made ^(٥)every effort to obtain money and wealth and they kept still when they reached it.”^(٥)

To Imam 'Ali (a) on the threshold of his caliphate, the situation of the community was
[\(like that of pre-Islam.\)](#)

Imam 'Ali's Imamate

Imam 'Ali alongside the Prophet

In the first version of the book, we proportionately and briefly discussed about Imam 'Ali (a)'s role in the changes of Prophet's significant time. Imam's position and his reliability to the Messenger (S) is briefly discussed. Imam 'Ali (a) had the honor to be brought up

p: ۲۱۹

al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۱۷۸- ۱۷۹; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ۲۳۷; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. -۱

III, p. ۱۴۹; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. ۱۰۹۶

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ۱۵۰ -۲

Ya'qubi says, "Mu'awiya by dint of money made the opponents quiet, sometimes he -۳

was sent to the war especially the front " Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۲۳۸

al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. ۸۷ -۴

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XII, p. ۹۶ -۵

Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. I, p. ۱۸۹ -۶

[\(in the house of Messenger \(S\).\)](#)

In this regard, a great deal of attractive narrations collected by Ibn Abi al-Hadid exist. Among them, in a narration by Zayd Ibn 'Ali Ibn Husayn, he said that in that time the Messenger made meat and date soft by putting it in his mouth for being easily eaten and then it was put in Imam 'Ali's mouth.[\(۲\)](#) Imam 'Ali (a) was the first one who believed in the Messenger (S) due to this kinship

[\(He said, "No one but the Messenger took me the lead in prayer."\)](#)[\(۳\)](#)

Since, in this regard, a great deal of witnesses and evidence exists; therefore, there is no room for doubts of equitable people. Concerning Imam's embrace Islam, it is

reportedly said that he was invited by the Messenger (S) to embrace Islam and this
[\(indicates Imam's mental maturity.](#) [۴](#)

Mas'udi says, "Some said that Imam in the time of his embrace Islam was not old
[\(enough so he was only an infant in that time."](#) [۵](#)

The prophet truly knew the value of devoted companions, while Imam's self-sacrifice in all the fields was observed, how the prophet can consider him like the others. This triggered that in every right time, Imam's reliability and value was expressed to people through the prophet's remarks about Imam's features and characteristics

These are the issues available to us in reliable sources of history and hadith under the title of Imam's virtues. Later on when in second century, the books of hadith were compiled, their compilers and narrators

p: ۲۲۰

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۹۰ –۱

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XII, pp ۱۹۸–۲۰۱ –۲

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ۱۳۱ –۳

al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, pp ۶۸–۶۹; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. ۱۱۲ –۴

al-Tanbih wal-Ishraf, p. ۱۹۸ –۵

were to the most part influenced by tendencies of 'Uthman's followers who couldn't tolerate any virtue for Imam

Additionally what the Umayyads and 'Uthman supporters in the Umayyad time made about caliphs and companion defenders was narrated. Some of these fakes ascribed to caliphs were, in essence, Imam's virtues. These distortions came to a deadlock for Imam's narrated virtues and their narrators were respectively serious and reliable to be remained in books. Narrators of Kufa, in this regard, played a significant role in keeping these virtues

[\(Ahmad Ibn Hanbal said, "Ali is the one for whom a great deal of true virtues is said."](#) [۱](#)

”No one deserves being compared to 'Ali“ (٢) [\(٢\)](#) ,إن ابن أبي طالب لا يقاس به أحد

Among these virtues, some narrations for whose correctness there is no doubt can be mentioned. Significance of some is to the extent that through them Imam's personality in the Messenger's eyes can be imagined

,Abu Sa'id Khudri said

كان لعلي من النبي (ص) دخله ليست لأحد وكان للنبي (ص) من علي دخله فكانت دخله النبي (ص) من علي ان النبي (ص) كان يدخل عليهم كل يوم

No one met the prophet more than 'Ali, so did the Prophet. The Prophet's meeting“ [\(٣\)](#) [\(٣\)](#) “was to come up to them every day.”

No one“ [\(٤\)](#) [\(٤\)](#) Also Zayd Ibn Thabit said to Imam (S) أنت من رسول الله (ص) بالمكان الذي لا يعدله أحد

.These words were said by Zayd when he used to tenaciously support 'Uthman

p: ٢٢١

Ibn Juzi, Manaqib Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, p. ١٦٠; Tabaqat al-Hanabila, vol. I, p. ٣١٩ – ١

Manaqib Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, pp ١٦٣ – ٢

Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. X, p. ١٤٠; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٩٨ and in the ٣ – footnote of Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXXVIII, p. ٣٣; Amali Ibn Ash-Shiykh, p. ٣٣; Hadith III,

section ٢٧

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ١٦٥ – ٤

This caused Imam to know the Prophet (S) as long as none of the other companions did so. [\(١\)](#) One evidence indicating the Prophet's heed to Imam was that he married Fatima (S), world selected women, to him. Abu Bakr and 'Umar had popped the question to Fatima before but they were rejected by the Prophet

I'm“ [\(٢\)](#) [\(٢\)](#) ,But Imam (a) proposing marriage to Fatima was accepted and said “Fatima is yours .not deceiver.”

Having married Fatima, Imam (a) was asked to find a house but it was far from the Prophet's. And this was done through Harith Ibn Nu'man's devotion and leaving his [house for 'Ali.](#)^(۳)

Perhaps due to such a reason, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar said, “For knowing 'Ali's status to [the prophet, you'd better see location of his house to that of the prophet.](#)”^(۴)

In the course of the brotherhood, the Messenger selected 'Ali (a) as his “brother”.^(۵) When the Messenger made sermon, Imam 'Ali (a) used to repeat his remarks in a farther distance.^(۶) And in the time of the Prophet's anger, no one but 'Ali (a) dared to [talk to him.](#)^(۷) People made 'Ali (a) as their mediator in solving their problems.^(۸)

Quoting 'Ayisha, the Sunnites said, “Fatima among the women and 'Ali among the men [were the most beloved to the Messenger.](#)”^(۹)

In Manzalat tradition which is one of the most definite merits of Imam, the Messenger regarded his relationship with 'Ali (a) as that of Moses with Aaron.^(۱۰) In case of any problem, when someone was to be

p: ۲۲۲

See Subul al-huda wal-Rishad, vol. VI, p. ۶۴۲ –۱

۲ – lastu” and ’لست “ Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VIII, p. ۲۲ this can be read in two ways –
lasta” Ibn Sa‘d considered the first one and interpreted as I am not deceiver It means that the prophet had pledged ‘Ali of his marriage to Fatimah A research in the narration of proposal, show there existed no promise So what does the Prophet’s remark mean? Hence the reading lasta seems to be more probable, implying a reference to the previous suitors

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VIII, p. ۲۲ –۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۱۸۰-۱۸۱ –۴

Sahih Tirmidhi, vol. XIII, p. ۱۷۰; Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. XII, pp ۶۲ – ۸۲; al-

Mustadrak, vol. III, p. ۱۴; Rabi‘ al-Abrar, vol. I, p. ۸۰۷; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. ۲۷۰, vol.

II, p. ۱۴۵

Rabi‘ al-Abrar, vol. III, p. ۷۳۲ –۶

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ١٠٧; al-Mustadrak, vol. III, p. ١٣٠ -٧
al-Taratib al-idariyya, vol. I, pp ٥٦-٥٨ -٨
al-Isti'ab, vol. I, p. ٣٧٨; Tarikh Jurjan, p. ٢١٨ -٩
As mentioned in the text, no one doubts this tradition -١٠

١. (a) 'Ali sent for settling things, The Messenger

Once Imam was asked, why is it that you quote traditions more than the other companions? He answered

“لأني كنت إذا سألته أنبأني وإذا سكّت ابتدأني“

Because When I asked the Messenger a question, He taught me the knowledge and when I kept silent, he started to speak himself.”

Imam used to say, I faced nothing unknown unless I asked of the Messenger about it and committed the answer to my memory. I memorized everything he said and never forgot anything. In a letter he wrote

“وأنا من رسول الله كالصنو من الصنو والذراع من العضد“

My relation with the Messenger is that of one branch with another or of the wrist with the arm.”

٦. “He said, “I followed the Messenger just as a baby camel follows its mother.”

إني لم أرد على الله ولا على رسوله ساعه قطّ

٧. “I never disobeyed God or his Messenger at all.”

Concerning the declaration of acquittance, God told His Messenger, This message must be delivered either by you or someone on behalf of you. That is why he made Abu Bakr return midway and handed the message to Imam 'Ali so that it might be read on “Greater Pilgrimage”. There are beautiful sentences, in Qasi'a sermon, about Imam's intimacy with the Messenger. Here are some of his remarks

You know my position of close kinship and special relationship with the Prophet. From “
the very beginning of my life he took me in his lap and kept me embraced to

p: ۲۲۳

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, p. ۴۳۵; al-Taratib al-Idariyya, vol. I, p. p. ۴۴۳,۴۴۴;۳ -۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۹۸ -۲

Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon ۲۰۸ -۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۱۲۱ -۴

Nahj al-Balaghah, Letter ۴۵ -۵

Tasnif Nahj al-Balaghah, p. ۳۵۵ -۶

Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon ۱۹۵ -۷

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. ۳۸۲; vol. II, p. p. ۱۲۳,۱۵۵ -۸

his chest. He used to lay me beside him in his bed, bring his body close to mine and make me smell his fragrance. He used to feed me with his hands often chewing something for me. He never heard me lying nor did he see me doing something wrong. When he was weaned, God appointed his greatest angel to be with him day and night so that he might cover the paths of greatness and avail himself of the
.worldly virtues

And I used to follow him like a young camel following in the footprints of its mother. Every day he showed me in the form of a banner some of his high traits and commanded me to follow them. Every year he used to go in seclusion in Hara'. I saw him and no one did so but me. In those days, Islam was the religion of Holy Prophet and his wife, Khadija exclusively. I was the third of the trio. I beheld the divine light of revelation and prophethood and smelled the heavenly fragrance of
(messengership.”[\(۱\)](#)

Being on such intimate terms with the Messenger, Imam said, “By God, there is no verse revealed unless I know about what and where in it was sent.”[\(۲\)](#) According to Ibn 'Abbas, no verse was sent by God unless 'Ali (a) was Amir and noble. God reproved
(Muhammad's companions but always spoke highly of 'Ali (a).[\(۳\)](#)

Regarding those who wondered at 'Ali (a) being the divider of Heaven and Hell, Ahmad

Ibn Hanbal

p: ٢٢٤

Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon ١٩٢ -١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٩٩ -٢

Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. ٢٩٨; al-Mu'jam al-Kabir, vol. XI, p. ٢٦٤; Hilyat al-Awliya', -٣
vol. I, p. ٦٤

لا يحبك إلا مؤمن ولا يبغضك إلا منافق" (said, "Hasn't this been narrated that the Messenger told 'Ali (a) Only the believer loves thee and only the hypocrite loathes thee." "Yes", they said. Continued he, "As the believer abides in the heaven and the hypocrite abides in the Hell, 'Ali (a) is the divider of the Heaven and the Hell.")

Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz used to say, "If this ignorant people were informed of what we knew about 'Ali (a), not two of them would obey us."

As Salman states, "Should 'Ali (a) leave you, there would remain nobody to inform you of the prophet's secrets." How right Ibn Abi al-Hadid is to say, "No one helped the Prophet as much as Abu Talib and his sons, 'Ali (a) and Ja'far did." Once somebody complained to the Prophet about 'Ali (a) and he stated three times, Leave 'Ali (a) alone.

فإن علياً مني وأنا منه وهو ولي كل مؤمن

"Ali is from me and I am from him; he is guardian of every faithful"

At the night of immigration, 'Ali (a) saved prophet's life. In the battle of Badr ٣٠ polytheists were put to death by him. In the battle of Uhud, where many escaped the battle, he remained with prophet and saved his life. One stroke of 'Ali's sword inflicted on 'Amr Ibn 'Abdiwad in Khandaq was considered by the Prophet to be worth more than the worship of Jinn and mankind. This blow put the enemy to rout. In most battles, Imam was the

Tabaqat al-Hanabila, vol. I, p. ٣٢٠ –١

Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. I, p. ٤٩٩ –٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ١٨٣ –٣

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VII, p. ١٧٤ –٤

al-Amali fi Athar As-Sahaba, p. ٨٠, footnote of Musnad Ahmad, vol. IV, p. ٤٣٧, Sahih –٥

Tirmidhi, no ٣٧٩٦; Musnad Tayalisi No ٨٢٩; Traits of 'Ali (a), Nasa'i, p. ٦٥; al-Hilyat

al-'Awliya', vol. VI, p. ٢٩٤; al-Mustadrak, vol. III, p. ١١٠; al-Mu'jam al-Kabir, vol. XVIII, p.

١٢٨; and see→, vol. IV, p. ٣٢٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. ٢٦٠ –٦

Tarikh Mukhtasar al-duwal, p. ٩٥; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah vol. V, p. –٧

٧

[\(1\)](#) flag bearer of Muslim's army.

Undoubtedly, Imam's knowledge had no parallel in Prophet's companions. This is an issue cited by the prophet and his companions, and testified by history

I am the city of knowledge and 'Ali (a) “انا مدينة العلم وعلى بابها” This word of the Messenger ,is its door,” bears abundant evidence of this. Uttered on the pulpit, Imam 's remark Ask me before you miss me,” [\(2\)](#) was also indicative of the superiority“ سلوني قبل ان تفقدوني” of his knowledge. This claim, according to Sa'id Ibn Musayyib, was laid by no one but

[\(3\)](#) Imam.

The Prophet (S) charged him with the duty of teaching ablution and tradition to people. [\(4\)](#) 'Ayisha, whose animosity toward Fatima and 'Ali (a) dated back to prophet's

time, said “Ali is most conscious of Sunna” [\(5\)](#) على أعلم الناس بالسنة

According to one of the well-known successors called 'Ata', 'Ali is the most [\(6\)](#) (impoverished one among the Prophet's companions.

Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz also called him the most devout of the companions. [\(7\)](#)

Hundreds of pages can be written about Imam's virtues but this amount will suffice

.our book which is a short review of Islam's history

Imam 'Ali and Caliphs

If it is true to assume that at Messenger's time, Muhajirun were of two different political fronts and some were trying to win the caliphate, then one must accept that .the relations between Imam and Sheikhs were rather strained

Reports say nothing to prove their disputes, but nor does any reminiscence show their friendship. On 'Ayisha's own confession, her being at enmity

p: ۲۲۶

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۹۱,۹۴; Hayat sahaba, vol. II, p. ۵۱۴-۵۱۵ -۱

Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon ۱۸۹ -۲

Tarikh Yahya Ibn Mu'ayn, vol. III, p. ۱۴۳ -۳

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. IV, p. ۵۲ -۴

Tarikh al-Kabir, Bukhari, vol. II, p. ۲۵۵ -۵

Maqtal al-Imam al-Amir al-Mu'minin (a -۶

Ibid, p. ۱۰۷ -۷

with Imam went back to Prophet's time and this can be considered as bearing witness .to the differences between the families of 'Ali and Abu Bakr

It has been said that when Fatima passed away, all Messenger's wives attended the Hashimites mourning ceremony except for 'Ayisha who feigning illness, didn't [\(۱\)](#) participate and even was told to be expressing joy of that. [\(۱\)](#)

Anyway, Immediately after Abu Bakr's caliphacy and Imam's insistence on proving his rightfulness, unfriendly relations between them were developed. Attacking Imam's house, Fatima's being in sulk as well as not permitting Sheikhs to attend Imam's funeral, [\(۲\)](#) all aggravated the differences, following that, Imam secluded and went on .with his own life

The administration expected Imam, in addition to taking the oath of allegiance, to

refrain from assertion of rightfulness and embark on consolidating their authoritative realm while having swords in hand but

He refused to do so. Naturally, adopting such a position Imam was to be humiliated by the administration in front of people. This policy could result in Imam's further solitude.

Cursing Quraysh, Imam said, "Oh God, I seek your help against the Quraysh and those supporting them. They have cut asunder my kinship, lowered my high position and joined together to contest the right (to which I was entitled)." (۳)

Continues he, "I looked around but found no one to shield and help me except the members of my family. I refrained from fighting them to death, so I overlooked

p: ۲۲۷

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IX, p. ۱۹۸ – ۱
See, al-Mustadrak, vol. III, p. ۱۶۲; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VIII, p. p. ۲۹–۳۰; al-Tanbih – ۲
al-Ashraf, p. ۲۵۰; Wafa' al-wafa', p. p. ۹۹۵–۹۹۶, ۱۰۰۰
Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon ۱۷۲; al-Gharat, vol. I, p. ۳۰۹ – ۳

(۱) "with grieved eyes"

This remark refers to Caliphs' policy of humiliating Imam. In sermon of Shiqshiqiyya, referring to the consultation Imam states, "When he ('Umar) was due to die, he selected a group of candidates and included me among them. Oh, good Heavens! What had I to do with this consultation? I wonder why they never equaled me to the (first of them but to these people while I was as competent as him)." (۲)

It was intolerable for Imam to be among Talha, Zubayr and 'Uthman who held him in contempt. Strange to say, 'Umar blamed all ۶ men chosen by him for some wrongdoings. What Imam was blamed for, in this regard, was extremely unfounded Later, based on ,فيه دعابه(۳).

(٥) فيه تلعبه, this very remark of 'Umar, Mu'awiya (٤) and 'Amr Ibn 'As told about Imam
".He is a humorous man"

Seriously rejecting this accusation laid against him by 'Amr Ibn 'As, Imam in fact rejected 'Umar's remark. (٤) The life of Imam who was secluded in Medina caused him to remain unknown. The time went by fast, and the Imam, by himself, in Medina, particularly among the old companions of Prophet (S) seemed as acquaintance. Yet, no one knew Imam in Iraq and Damascus. Just a few Yemeni tribes seeing him since his few-month-long trip to Yemen were acquaintance to him

Jundab Ibn 'Abd Allah said, "Once after swearing (on oath of) allegiance to 'Uthman I went to Iraq, therein I

p: ٢٢٨

Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon ٢١٧; some parts have been added to this sermon of Nahj al-Balaghah; See, al-Jamal, p. ١٢٣; Ibid footnote of, al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ١٥٥; al-Gharat, p. ٢٠٤

Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon ٣-٢

Tarikh Mukhtasar al-duwal, p. ١٠٣-٣

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. ٢٥-٤

al-Imta' wal-mu'anisa, vol. III, p. ١٨٣-٥

Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon ٨٤; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ١٢٧, ١٤٥, ١٥١; Nahj As- Sa'ada, vol. II, p. ٨٨

quoted 'Ali's virtues for the people. The best answer I heard from the people was, "Discard these remarks. Think of something of your benefit

I answered, "These issues are beneficial for both of us." Yet, after my statement, he (was to stand up and leave. (١)

According to Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Muhammad Ibn Sulayman's interpretation was that one of the factors leading to discard in 'Uthman's era was the constitution of council. For, each member of the council had serious aspiration for caliphate. Typically, Talha

.was among those who looked forward to caliphate

Besides, Zubayr not only helped him but also regarded himself as deserving of governing. Their hope for the caliphate was more than that of Imam 'Ali (a). Inasmuch as the two Sheikhs discredited him and held him in low esteem

Hence, he was forgotten. Most of those knowing his virtues had been died at the time of the Prophet (S), and a new generation was found that deemed him the same as other Muslims. What merely left among his honors was that he is the cousin of the Prophet (S), his daughter's husband and his grandchildren's father. The remainder of facts was forgotten. Quraysh also felt such a hatred for him that was never felt for anyone. To the same extent, Quraysh loved Talha and Zubayr, since there was no [\(reason for abhorring them.\)](#)

Ibn Abi al-Hadid himself, having pointed out that the people in Siffin were waiting to regard 'Ammar's presence in a front as the rightfulness of that front

p: ٢٢٩

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IX, p. ٥٨ – ١

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IX, p. ٢٨ – ٢

said, “How surprising the peoples are! Since they accept 'Ammar as the criterion of truth and error; however, they don't regard the very 'Ali (a) as a criterion about whom the Prophet (S) has cited the hadith of sainthood and also said [إلا منافق](#) “Only the believer loves thee, and only the hypocrite loathes thee”

This is because all Quraysh tried to, from the very beginning, cover his virtues, remove public memory from him, ruin his features and eliminate his high status in the hearts of people. [\(١\)](#) Ibn Abi al-Hadid nicely analyzes the reasons behind the Quraysh's [\(grudge against Imam 'Ali \(a\).\)](#)

Once Imam was asked: “Do you think if the Messenger (S) had a mature son, Arabs would hand the governorship over to him

Imam responded: "If he had done something different from what I did, he would have
".been killed

Arabs hated what Muhammad (S) did and felt envious of what God had granted him... they from that time attempted to disentitle Ahl al-Bayt after his departure. Quraysh found his name a means of domination and ladder of promotion and if other wise, they never worshipped God even one day after him and would become apostate

A while after, conquests, come one after another, no hunger and poverty remained after starvation and destitution. This led to popularity of Islam and they kept religion in their many a heart because, however, truth brought this about. Afterwards, these conquests were attributed to strategy and thought of emirs. Among

p: ٢٣٠

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VIII, p. ١٨-١

Ibid vol. XIII, p. ٢٩٩-٣٠٠ -٢

,them, some were magnified and some others were forgotten

فكنا ممن حمل ذكره وخبث ناره وانقطع صوته وصيته، حتى أكل الدهر علينا وشرب، ومضت السنون والاحقاب بما فيها، ومات كثير ممن يعرف ونشأ كثير ممن لا يعرف “

We were from someone whose memory was last whose luminosity was cut and whose outcry was stopped as if time swallowed us. Years passed this way, many known figures were dead and those unknown came into stage

Under these conditions, what curled the son's son do? You know that the Messenger (S) never kept me close to himself for his kinship, with me but he did it in time of Jihad and advice. (١) It was just for the same reason of Imam being forgotten in Muslim community he, in his caliphate time, tried to use every chase to introduce himself and speak about his efforts for Islam in the Messenger's time. (٢)

Imam held cold relationship with Abu Bakr with no seemingly left memory. In his contact with 'Umar, Imam's memories are many available, that mainly relied upon his

judiciary assistance to 'Umar as well as response to some consultations discussed earlier. 'Umar refused to blatantly slander Imam and probably Imam did so

But 'Uthman was different and never did he bear Imam's ideas and once he told (Imam:“You are not better than Marwan Ibn Hakam to me?”) (۲)

Abbas asked 'Uthman to stand by Imam'

Uthman said:“What I first felt you is that if 'Ali wants, no one stands dearer to me than' him.(۴) Of course, Imam was

p: ۲۳۱

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XX, p. ۲۹۸-۲۹۹ -۱

For example, Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. II, pp ۲۲۲,۳۱۴-۲

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ۳۴۲-۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۱۴-۴

unwilling to overlook deviations for his friendship with him. For this, Imam's (relationship with 'Uthman was partly closer and partly harsher.”) (۱)

Once an Ansari woman had a quarrel with one of the Hashimites women and when (she was acquitted, she was told by 'Uthman, “This is your cousin, 'Ali's decision!”) (۲)

Opposition to government was difficult for Imam. He attempted, in early years, to resort to seclusion to avoid faring the government. Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada was a good experiment. He failed to pay allegiance and immediately in time of caliph I or II, he was told to have been killed by Jinns. Previously mention was made from some (sources that his murder had been politically planned.) (۳)

According to Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Abu Ja'far Naqib (Yahya Ibn Abi Zayd) was asked:“I am amazed how 'Ali survived this long after the Messenger's demise, from all Quraysh's ”.vengeance

”.Abu Ja'far said:“Had he not belittled and isolated himself, he might have been killed

He let himself off memories and became engaged in worshipping, Qur'an reading and prayer, leaving his first state of mind and sword as if he were like a sinner who had repented, probing the earth and living on the mountains like a monk. He survived .”because he obeyed rulers of the time; other wise he would have been killed

He then refers to Khalid's action to kill Imam. (٤) Mu'min al-Ta'q also believe that Imam made no political effort in this time because he feared being murdered by jinns (like (Sa'd). (٥)

Of course, this did not mean that Imam never

p: ٢٣٢

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, pp ١٠٤٥-١٠٤٦ -١

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara vol. III, p. ٩٦٧; Muntakhab Kanz al-'Ummal, vol. II, -٢
p. ٢٠٤

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XVII, p. ٦٢ -٣

Ibid vol. XIII, p. ٣٠١-٣٠٢ -٤

Ibid vol. XVII, p. ٦٢ -٥

tried to use chances to take back his rights. From the very outset, he refused to swear allegiance for a few months. (١) Further, from early times, he joined his family to homes of Ansar to revert back his rights. He insisted so much that he was blamed for .having a greedy eye on caliphate

!Imam quoting someone said:“O son of Abu Talib! You raise a greed on this

He said:“No, by God, you are greedier than I am. You are for from the Messenger (S) and I'm closer to him. I asked for the right I possessed, but you refrain me from (having it” (٢)

,Imam made reasoning of this kind a lot

يا معشر قريش! إنا أهل البيت أحق بهذا الامر منكم، أما كان فينا من يقرء القرآن ويعرف السنّه ويدين بدين الحق؟

O Quraysh people! We, Ahl al-Bayt deserve more than you in caliphate! Are there no
[people among us who read Qur'an and follow Sunna and true religion.](#)”[\(۲\)](#)

On Imam's evaluating successorship of three caliphs, it is to be said that he was in no time free to offer his appraisal of Sheikhs. Unlike 'Uthman, what he believed, he found a chance to retell it. It was why his troops in Kufa were included of those, except a few, had approved of Sheikhs and he could not talk freely about them. Once he found a chance to talk some part of his sufferings but he was stopped talking. Upon 'Abbas's
!No, Ibn 'Abbas “ تلک شقشقه هدرت “,insistence, he kept on talking

p: ۲۳۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۱, p. ۵۸۵; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. ۲, p. ۳۲۵ – ۱

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ۱۷۲, al-Gharat, vol. I, p. ۳۰۷ – ۲

Al-Gharat, vol. ۱, p. ۳۰۷ – ۳

[What you heard was flame of grief that rose.](#)”[\(۱\)](#)

Imam with all caution was never prepared to adopt conditions of 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf for caliphate during council of caliphate. Ibn'Awf conditioned that if Imam were
.willing to act upon conduct of Sheikhs, he would place him caliph

.”Imam said:“I would act according to my Ijtihad

Imam openly rejected conduct of Sheikhs and believed that it was in the most part against conduct of the Messenger (S) and based on improper Ijtihad. Imam says he has obeyed Abu Bakr in affairs he obeyed God.[\(۲\)](#) Imam's words and his approach
.here show that he never admired past manners

In later times, Mu'awiya wrote to Imam that he felt envious of early caliphs and
!rebelled against them

Imam wrote back, “you think I am against them an dwant to take revenge. If so, why are you worried to be inquired? You are not blamed... and you said you found me like a camel harnessed to swear allegiance. By God, you wanted to scold, praise and

scandalize but you're scandalized yourself. What belittles a Muslim who is oppressed and assured of his religion. His certainty is strong and his hesitation is aside? ... And I [never apologize for caviling 'Uthman because of innovations.](#) (۲)

Despite Imam's explicit criticism, particularly his attitude in council, one cannot refer to Imam's familial relationships with 'Umar, or 'Uthman for his belief in their proper rule. Even his praise of some caliphs compared to others cannot be a reason for his basic approval of them

p: ۲۳۴

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ۳, Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. ۲۷۴ – ۱

al-Gharat, vol. I, p. ۳۰۷ – ۲

Nahj al-Balaghah, letter ۲۸; Waq'at Siffin, pp ۸۶–۹۱ Here, Mu'awiya's letter to Imam – ۳ and Imam's reply are fully mentioned

When he learned that he could not face the party and a campaign waged is not beneficial to Islam, he chose to compromise. Imam justified his allegiance to Abu Bakr and his approval according to Muhajir and Ansar as to a necessity and preservation of [unity among Muslims.](#) (۱)

Imam referred to Aaron's speech in front of Moses(a) for justifying his silence, Aaron said

إِنِّي خَشِيتُ أَنْ تَقُولَ فَرَّقْتَ بَيْنَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ.

I feared lest thou shouldst say: Thou hast caused division among the Children of“ [Israel.](#)” (۲)

,Imam said of Saqifa

بل عرفت أنّ حقي هو المأخوذ وقد تركته لهم، تجاوز الله عنهم“

When I learned I am withdrawn with my rights, I left to them, may God punish [them.](#)” (۳)

In the past, Sunnis never accepted that Ahl al-Bayt found themselves more qualified for caliphate than others, that is early caliphs. Yet, now somewhat broad-minded factions of Sunnis admit that 'Ali (a) simply pledged allegiance just for unison with Abu Bakr while knowing himself rightful for caliphate. (۴)

Anyway, Imam's isolated life in that society indicates that both Imam and caliphs knew they can not treat others in such a way that it might mean confirmation of their view, particularly about caliphate. Meanwhile, frequenting to the mosque and even establishing familial links like 'Umar's marriage to Umm Kulthum had been usual

This marriage was insisted by 'Umar and Imam agreed in spite of his early opposition. Not to mention, Imam married Abu Bakr's wife, that is Asma', daughter of 'Umayyads to himself after Abu Bakr died and

p: ۲۳۵

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۸۱; al-Gharat, pp ۱۱۰-۱۱۱-۱
Taha, verse ۹۴; al-Muqni', p. ۱۰۹-۲
Waq'at Siffin, p. ۹۱-۳
Tafsir al-Manar, vol. VIII, p. ۲۲۴-۴

.brought up Muhammad, Abu Bakr's son in his house

Shi'ism During Imam's Caliphate

Muslims' disagreements over caliphacy as well as other fields were dealt with in previous parts in detail. Now in the light of carrying out more precise researches, it is not fair of anyone to deny the existence of the 'Alawites and Quraysh parties in Messenger's time let alone denying it from Saqifa on. al-Duri approves the two parties (being present earlier than Saqifa. (۱)

This political disagreement which, from the very beginning, had a religious root, fomented the religious differences. For example, it was of great importance that initially, some companions considered merely Qur'an as proof

In other words, not deeming the decrees of prophet as proof and prohibiting people from writing and quoting traditions did influence theology.'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf's laying it down that caliphate will be turned over to anyone accepting to act according to the conduct of Sheikhs, and Imam's stating that he will act only in accordance with his own individual reasoning, indicate the aggravation of religious differences

As long as 'Umar was in power, the majority of people, excluding Imam's supporters, believed in rulership

But when 'Uthman, because of heretical religious deeds, was denied by a large number of companions, the problematic question was it that whose words should people regard as the religion and whom should they imitate

Imam 'Ali replaced 'Uthman. In the very beginning he was not accepted by the people of Damascus. Little by little, though temporarily, Basra went a different way as well. In Medina proper

p: ۲۳۶

Muqadama fi Tarikh Sadr al-Islam, p. ۴۸ – ۱

though few, some companions balked at obeying or swearing allegiance to Imam

Apart from political issues, the important case was elucidating the religion especially in the case of differences or novel matters. Here two political and naturally religious parties began to emerge. The first group consisted of those having accepted Imam and deeming it necessary to obey him. The second group, motivated by 'Uthman's oppressedness, didn't accept Imam's leadership and opposed him

In this regard, Apostates and Deviators had no difference. At this point two terms, religious and political, were coined "Ali's Shi'a and 'Uthman's Shi'a" were gradually distinguished as respectively "Shi'a or al-Shi'a" and "Uthmani or al-'Uthmaniyya

Generally "Shi'a" was in opposition to "Uthmani". But this title was not applicable to all individuals. There were some Shi'ite Muslims who were called so merely because they

.opposed 'Uthman or stood for Imam as the Shi'istically legitimate caliph

There were also some who regarded Imam as basically appointed by the Messenger
.and believed in a kind of divine right for his leadership

Of course this doesn't necessarily mean that they should have refrained to cooperate with the early caliphs. Conditions being so, Imam himself had kept silent for Muslim interests and had repeatedly notified this point. What should be told about 'Uthmanids is that upholding the idea of Imam's illegitimacy, the Umayyads managed to dominate
.this view over a great part of Muslim community

But except for Basra, this opinion was not favored in Iraq. By contrast, in every appropriate occasion, the belief in

p: ٢٣٧

Alawi's rightfulness emerged in the field of politics. Hijaz also did not fully surrender' to the Umayyads, but tried to maintain another idea, content with Sheikhs. During the first to third century, religious and political changes triggered a great transition in that
.classification

Now, the matter related to our discussion is to show that the group known to us as Shi'ite Muslims did believe in 'Ali's divine designation. After swearing allegiance to 'Ali,
[\(1\)](#) Khuzayma Ibn Thabit said, "We chose one whom God chose for us."

In response to 'Umar who said, "Quraysh refrained from choosing 'Ali because they
".abominated both prophethood and caliphate being in my family

[\(2\)](#) Ibn 'Abbas replied, "They abominated what God had sent down."

,Opposing Mu'awiya, Darimiyya Hajuniyya said

واليت عليا على حبه المساكين وإعطائه أهل السبيل وفقهه في الدين وبذله الحق من نفسه وما عقد له رسول الله من الولاية “

[\(3\)](#) He loved 'Ali because the Messenger confined the sainthood to him."

According to Tabari, once 'Ali returned to Kufa from Siffin and Kharijites parted with him, The Shi'ite Muslims remained with him saying that they are charged with another We are amiable to your friends and opposed “نحن أولياء من واليت وأعداء من عاديت” (٤) to your enemies.”

According to Iskafi, the majority of people, based on the Book and tradition, and Imam's Shi'ite Muslims, on being amiable to the friends and enemies with the enemies, swore allegiance to 'Ali. (٥)

The emphasis on such an allegiance as the second allegiance and its content implies ,that allegiance–swearers tended toward Shi'a. In the original tradition

p: ٢٣٨

al-Mi‘yar wal-Muwazina, p. ٥١ –١

al-Id‘ah, p. ٨٨; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XII, p. ٥٣ –٢

al-Wafidat min l-Nisa’ Ala Mu‘awiya, p. ٤١ –٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٦٤; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٣٤٨ –٤

al-Mi‘yar wal-Muwazina, p. ١٩٤ –٥

.”the emphasis is put on the allegiance of ”'Ali's Shi'a

Abu Dharr, passed away at 'Uthman's time, called people toward the People of House ,and commemorated Prophet's family this way

ايها الناس! إن آل محمد هم الأسره من نوح والآل من إبراهيم والصفوه والسلاله من إسماعيل والعترة الطيبه الهاديه من محمد، فأنزلوا آل محمد بمنزله الرأس من الجسد بل بمنزله العينين من الرأس فانهم منكم كالسمااء المرفوعه وكالجبالي المنصوبه والشمس الضاحيه وكالشجره الزيتونه اضاء زيتها وبورك زندها “

The family of Muhammad (S), is the family of Noah and Ibraham and the selected progeny of Isma'il and saint posterity. Regard them as the head attached to body and the eyes attached to head, the high sky, firm mountains, shining sun and olive tree.” Added he, “Muhammad (S) is the heir of Adam, other prophets are not superior to him ”.and 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib is the legatee of him and the heir of his knowledge

Addressing people he said, "If you, the folk astounded after the Prophet had preferred whom God had preferred, deferred whom God had deferred and confined sainthood and heritage to the People of the House, you would have benefited from all [\(blessings.\)](#)" [\(1\)](#)

Elsewhere Abu Dharr has been quoted, "Oh, people! In case of being involved in prospective seditions, resort to Imam 'Ali and the Book." [\(2\)](#) When he was to be exiled to Rabad'a and Imam and his children went to see him off, having a look at Imam, Abu Dharr said, seeing you and your children reminds me of what Prophet

p: ۲۳۹

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. V, p. ۷۷; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۷۱ – ۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۱۱۸ – ۲

[\(told about you and makes me cry.\)](#) [\(1\)](#)

Expressing regret for people not benefiting from Imam while he lives, Salman said, "I swear by God, after him, no one will inform you of the secrets of your Prophet

Quoting the Messenger of God, Miqdad said, "knowing the family of Muhammad (S) is the released from fire, loving his family is the pass from the Path and sainthood of his [\(family is the security from chastisement.\)](#) [\(2\)](#)

Ammar also narrated a tradition from the Messenger, I advice the one believing in' God and admitting me with the guardianship of 'Ali, son of Abi Talib, "Anyone loving [\('Ali, loves me and anyone loving me, loves God.\)](#)" [\(3\)](#)

There are lots of these quotations from Abu Dharr, Salman, 'Ammar, Miqdad indicating their Shi'istic beliefs. Abu Hatim Razi puts the definition of "Shi'a" this way, "This is the title of those who loved 'Ali during the Messenger's time, for instance, Salman, Abu Dharr, Miqdad Ibn Aswad, 'Ammar Ibn Yasir and etc

Commenting on these four, The Messenger stated, "The Heaven looks forward to [\(four men, Salman, Abu Dharr, Miqdad and 'Ammar.\)](#)" [\(4\)](#)

Describing 'Ali, Umm Sanan, the daughter of Khaythama Ibn Kharasha, composed
,this

قد كنت بعد محمد خلفاً لنا أوصى إليك بنا فكنت وفياً

You are Muhammad's remainder to us, He made his will to thee about us and thou art“
(the faithful.”[\(٥\)](#)

,Inciting 'Ali's troops at Siffin,Umm al-Khayr said

هلموا رحمكم الله إلى الإمام العدل والتقى الوفي والصديق الوصي

(May God bless you. Hasten toward the sincere, pious and just successor.”[\(٤\)](#)

The point that Imam 'Ali is

p: ٢٤٠

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٧٣ –١

Sunan Ibn Maja, vol. II, p. ١٢٧٠; ... ٣٨٤٢ –٢

al-Muwafiqiyat, p. ٣١٢; Dhakha'ir al-'Uqba, p. ٩٥ –٣

Kitab al-Zina, p. ٢٥٩ –٤

al-Wafidat, p. ٢٤ –٥

al-Wafidat, p. ٢٩; Balaghat al-Nisa', p. ٤٧; Tarikh Dimashq, Tarajim al-Nisa', p. ٥٣١ –٦

regarded by these and many of his companions as “the Successor”, shows that they
imagined him far beyond a caliph who has gained the caliphacy through public
allegiance

The sources contain lots of poems indicating the use of this comment by Hujr Ibn 'Adi,
(Ibn Tayyihan, Ibn 'Ijlan and other Shi'ites companions of Imam.[\(١\)](#)

Inviting the people to swear allegiance to 'Ali, Malik Ashtar stated
O people! He is “the successor of the successors” and “The heir of Prophets' “
علم الأنبياء “
(knowledge.”[\(٢\)](#)

,In Siffin, he composed this

من رأى عزه الوصيّ عليّ إنه في دجى الحنادس نور

Everyone knows 'Ali, the chief successor, he is the very man who illuminates dark“
(night.” (٣)

,Lamenting over 'Ali's martyrdom, Umm 'Irban said

و كنا قبل مقتله بخير نرى مولى رسول الله فينا

We had a good life before he was killed because we stayed with the Messenger (S).“
(٤)

A lot of poems composed by the Messenger's companions some of which were 'Ali's supporters, interpret Ghadir tradition as sainthood and leadership. For instance, the poems of Qays Ibn Sa'd Ibn

Ubada, Hassan Ibn Thabit as well as Imam 'Ali himself. (٥) Qays Ibn Sa'd composed' :this about Ghadir

وعليّ إمامنا وإمام لسوانا أتى به التنزيل

يوم قال النبي من كنت مولاه فهذا مولاه خطب جليل

انّ ما قاله النبيّ على الأم ه حتم ما فيه قال وقيل

Ali is our Imam and everyone's, he is the one who has introduced Qur'an”

It was on a great day when the Prophet (S) said, "Ali is the lord of whomever I am his
"lord

What

p: ٢٤١

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XI, p. ٢٢٩; al-Fusul Mukhtara, pp ٢١٧-٢١٨; See, Nahj As-Sabagha, vol. III, p. p. ٥٥-٥٧; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٢٤٤; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٤٨٤; vol. III, pp ٢٤٤,٢٧٠ ٢٤٤,٢٧٠

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٧٩ -٢

al-Futuh, vol. III, p. ٢٢٤ -٣

Maqatal al-Imam al-Amir al-Mu'minin (a), Ibn Abi l-Dunya, Turathuna Magazine, no -٤
١٢; p. ١٢٤

See, al-Ghadir, vol. II, p. p. ٢٥,٣٤,٧٨ from different sources, al-Muqni' fil-Imama, p. p. -٥
٧٥-٧٦ and in the footnote of different sources This has been quoted from Hassan, in
حفظت, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi (vol. II, p. ١٢٨) and al-Muqni' (p. ١٣٣) as well as other sources

رسول الله فينا وعهده إليك ومن أولى به منك، من ومن ألت اخاه في الاخاء ووصيه وأعلم فها بالكتاب وبالسنن
Thou safeguarded the Prophet 's religion left to thee After all, who transcends thee in front
of him Are you not his brother and successor and not the most learned one of Banu

Fahr about the Book ans Sunna

(١) "the Prophet (S) said to Umma ends up all babbles"

,Hassan Ibn Thabit also composed this one about the same

يناديهم يوم الغدير نبيهم بخم واسمع بالرسول مناديا

فقال له قم يا على فاننى جعلتك من بعدى اماما وهاديا

Their Prophet called them to obey God at Ghadir Khum, a great herald whose call"
must be heard

(٢) "Ali was told, "O rise up! For I placed thee an Imam after myself."

The combination of these quotations indicates the recognition of 'Ali as an Imam
introduced by the Messenger. They regarded Imam's rightfulness in his legation on
the part of Messenger and asked the others to follow him as the legatee of the
Messenger.

According to Ibn Tayyihan, verily our Imam and guardian, is the legatee of the
Messenger.

Ibn 'Ijlan used to say, “How possibly can we separate while the guardian is our
(Imam.” (3)

According to Hujr, the son of 'Adi, he is the guardian after the Messenger, and the
(prophet consented to his being the legatee. (4)

A newly converted man called Zadan Farrukh came upon Kharijites on his way. They
asked him about 'Ali, he said, “The Commander of the Faithful is the legatee of the
(Messenger and the lord of mankind” (5)

They killed him. In his well-known letter to Mu'awiya, Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr
The Heir of the Messenger and his “وارث رسول الله ووصيه mentioned Imam as
(successor.” (6)

There is also a poem quoted from 'Ubayda Ibn Samit which is composed during
(Saqifa. (7)

”The measures taken by Imam for propagating the idea of “Divine leadership

p: 242

al-Ghadir, vol. II, p. 68-1

al-Ghadir, vol. II, p. 34-2

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. 143, 149-3

Ibid, vol. I, p. 145-4

al-Gharat, p. 123-5

Waq'at Siffin, p. p. 118-119 for more uses of the word “Legation”, see, Ma'alim al- -6

Madrisatayn, vol. I, pp. 295-328

al-Muqni' fil-Imama, p. 125 for more poems about the same, see, Ibid, pp. 126-127 -7

are among the most important reasons of Shi'istic propagation and its distinction from
his caliphate. He himself has composed a poem about the content of Ghadir Tradition,
in which he has interpreted the mentioned tradition as indicating the necessity of
.sainthood over people

The Messenger (S) deemed his sainthood for you obligatory on the of Ghadir“
(Khum.”[\(1\)](#))

In a lengthy letter to Mu'awiya, Imam has explained this issue in detail. The letter contains significant points about Imam's contribution to the propagation of Shi'istic sainthood. Some major parts of the letter are quoted here for its great importance in
.”terms of “Imamate Thought

The Almighty God says, “Obey God and execute the commands of the Messenger as“ well as Holders of Authority”. This verse addresses us, The People of the House, not you. Then, Qur'an forbade affray and disunity and ordered surrender and unity. You are the folk acknowledging God and his prophet and admitting them. God informed you that” Muhammad (S) is the father of none of your men, he is the God's Messenger and the Seal of The Prophets “and also said, “Retreat if he is killed or dead ” and Mu'awiya, you and your companion retreated, apostatized and broke your pledge to
.God as well as your allegiance, and all these will not harm God

Oh, Mu'awiya! don't you know that Imams are from among us not you. God informed you that Holders of Authority must be capable of deducing the knowledge and

p: ٢٤٣

al-Ghadir, vol. II, p. ٢٥ of Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, p. ٣٧٧; Tadhkirat al- ١
Khawas, p. ٦٢ and other sources

you must refer to God, his Messenger and Holders of Authority, the bearers of knowledge, in all that you disagree. So anyone keeping his pledge to God, shall find
.Him faithful to His promise

We are the family of Ibrahim envied by all and you are those who envy us. There was a party of Banu Isra'il who told their prophet, “Send us a king; we will fight for God's sake.”[\(1\)](#)And when God sent Saul as a king for them, they envied him and said,” How

.can he hold control over us?" (۲)and deemed themselves more deserving of kingdom

These all are the past happenings and now we narrate them to you and their interpretation and esoteric exegesis are available to us, and anyone ascribing lies to us will fall into despair. You are typical of that... Let it be known to you that we, the People of House, are the envied family of Ibrahim. We were envied as our fathers .were envied before

The Almighty God said, "The family of Ibrahim, the family of Lot, the family of Jacob, the family of Moses, the family of Aaron and the family of David; we, too, are the family of our prophet, Muhammad (S). "Oh, Mu'awiya, don't you know that Allah says, "The closest people to Ibrahim are those who follow him as well as this prophet and (the believers, God is the believer's patron." (۳

We are kins by blood cited in this verse,"The prophet merits more than the believers to themselves

p: ۲۴۴

Al-Baqara, ۲:۲۴۶ -۱

Ibid, verse ۲۴۷ -۲

Ale Imran, ۳:۶۸ -۳

and his wives are the mothers of believers and according to the holy Qur'an the (genealogical relatives are merited over Muhajirun and Ansar (Helpers)." (۱

We are the People of House, God has chosen us "Nabuwwat", prophethood, is ordained to us the Book, wisdom and knowledge belong to us and Ka'ba and Isma'il's House and Ibrahim's abode belong to us. So we deserve sovereignty. Woe is to you Mu'awiya. We are more deserving of Ibrahim, we are his family and the family of 'Imran are more deserving of Him... and the family of Muhammad (S) are more deserving of him...We are the people of house from whom God has removed all (impurity.(۲

Every prophet has an invitation exclusive to him, his progeny and family and every prophet leaves a testament for his family. Don't you know that Ibrahim gave his last testament to his son Jacob and when Jacob was due to die, he also left a will and Muhammad (S) made a will. This was the tradition of Ibrahim and other prophets and
.Muhammad (S) followed them by order of God

The Book is sent down to us and the Messenger has been raised up from among us and the verses have been read to us. We depend on, witness, call to and uphold the Book. Oh, Mu'awiya! Do you seek another God but Allah or another book except Allah's Book? Or another Qibla but Ka'ba, the House of God, home of Isma'il and
.abode of our father, Ibrahim

Do you want

p: ۲۴۵

Al-Ahzab, ۳۳:۶۰ -۱

Tatheer" verse, see, Al-Ahzab, ۳۳:۳۳" -۲

another religion but that of Ibrahim or another sovereign and commander but God? God has placed this sovereignty and commandership in us. You revealed your animosity toward us, well showed your spite and jealousy and proved that you break your pledge to God and distort his verses as this one revealed to Ibrahim, "God has
[\(selected your religion for you."](#) [\(۱](#)

Do you turn away from Ibrahim's religion while God has selected him in this world and he is from among the virtues in the Hereafter. Do you seek another decree but that of Allah? Or another Imam not from our family? The leadership belongs to Ibrahim, his progeny and the believers who follow them and do not turn away from his religion. It
[\(was also said, anyone who follows me is from me."](#) [\(۲](#)

Agitated at Imam's calling himself the relative of all prophets, Mu'awiya wrote in
,response

Not content with your kinship with the Messenger, now you relate yourself to all the prophets. Beware that Muhammad (S) was one of the prophets raised up for all, he delivered God's messages and had nothing more. Now tell us what is the merit of your kinship and the superiority of your right and where in the Book did you find your ?name? Wherein is your sovereignty, leadership and superiority mentioned

”.Yes, you as well as us, follow the previous Imams and caliphs

Then he mentioned his being 'Uthman's heir. Repelling him, Imam accused him of animosity toward the prophets and interest in his unbelieving forefathers and

p: ۲۴۶

Al-Baqara, ۲:۱۳۲ –۱

Ibrahim, ۱۴:۳۶ –۲

,added

Beware that we are the People of Messenger's House. The infidel dislikes us and the believer bears us no grudge. You have denied Muhammad's leadership and regarded him as Messenger not Imam This denial makes you deny the leadership of all prophet's. But we testify that he was both Messenger and Imam and about your denying my kinship with the Messenger and my right, verily our due and right is mentioned in the Holy Book, and God mentions us as having an equal share with the Prophet where he says,” A fifth of anything that you acquire as spoils belongs to God, [\(the Messenger and the relatives.”](#)[\(۱\)](#)

And elsewhere is said, “so give the relative his due.”[\(۲\)](#) Don't you see that our due is mentioned with that of God and Messenger and yours is mentioned with the strangers...you deny my leadership and sovereignty. Haven't you seen that in the Book, the almighty God says he has made the family of Ibrahim superior to the world.[\(۳\)](#) He is God who has exalted us over all mortals. If you can, separate us from [\(Ibrahim, Isma'il, Muhammad \(S\) and his family, in the Holy Book.](#)[\(۴\)](#)

The aforesaid letter is quoted by Abu Ishaq Thaqafi, a Shi'ites historian of the third century A.H.(٢٨٣ A.D.) The belief in “divine leadership” of the Commander of the Faithful is completely obvious in the letter and different deductive aspects of it are outstanding.

The most important part is the relation and link between prophethood, succession, and leadership as a

p: ٢٤٧

Al-Anfal, ٨:٤١ – ١

Rum, ٣٠:٣٨ – ٢

Referring to the Ale Imran, ٣:٣٣ – ٣

al-Gharat, p. p. ٦٧-٧١; al-Gharat, Urmawi, vol. I, p. p. ١٩٥-٢٠٤ – ٤

noble course of action in the history of prophets. Mu'awiya's denial of the Messenger's leadership is also remarkable in this letter. Anyhow, in his words, Imam has tried his very best in proving the superiority of “The People of House “over others and having a “divine right”.

Proving such a right, Imam considers leadership as an integral part of it, to which the other caliphs are not entitled. There are also some other proofs indicating the Shi'ite thought in works handed down by Imam In a sermon about the People of the House, Imam says, “They (the descendants of Muhammad) are the trustees of his secret

Anyone taking refuge to them will be led towards God. They are the center of knowledge about him, the preachers of his religious commandments, the protectors of Qur'an and Sunna, and mountain -like citadels which guard the religion and make [\(the Islam stable, firm and powerful.”](#)

:Elsewhere he states

فأين تذهبون وأنى توفكون والأعلام قائمه والآيات واضحه والمنار منصوبه فأين يتاه بكم بل كيف تعمهون وبينكم عتره نبيكم وهم أزمه الحق وأعلام الدين وألسنه الصدق فأنزلوهم بأحسن منازل القرآن وردوهم ورود الهيم العطاش “

Where are you going and when are you due to return? The landmarks are fixed, beacons are lighted and direction indicators are set up. To what extent are you being misled and confused? The descendants of the holy Prophet (S) are amongst you. They are the reins of right, ensigns of faith and speakers in the language of truth. Place them in the best

p: ۲۴۸

Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon ۳; Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. III, p. ۵۳۶ –۱

﴿Qur'anic positions turn to them as thirsty camels gather round water springs.﴾[\(۱\)](#)

We are the tree of prophethood, the centers which receive the messages of God and “
descending place of blessing angels

We are mines of knowledge and springs of wisdom. Our friend awaits blessings of
﴿God and our enemy awaits punishment and wrath.﴾[\(۲\)](#)

Elsewhere it is said, “Muhammad's progeny revives the knowledge and kills the ignorance; you are informed of their knowledge because of their prudence, their appearance out of their inward, and their silence because of their philosophy of
expression. They are neither at odds with the gospel truth nor render it wrong

They are pillars of religion and the shelter that harbor the people; upon their return, the gospel truth re-settled and the credal error, from there, was driven away and cut off with tongue. They knew, learned and applied the religion as they had to, not just lending an ear to it. Religion narrators are legion but its protectors are few in
[\(number.﴾\[\\(۳\\)\]\(#\)](#)

Elsewhere it has been stated, “Beware, when infant, my saint progeny is the most patient and when adult they are the most knowledgeable of all. Beware that we are from among the People of House whose knowledge and decree is rooted in God's knowledge and decree. In case, you follow us, you will be guided through our wisdom
”and if not, God will have you brought to ruin

Elsewhere it goes to say, “They embarked on seas of sedition, adopted heresies and abandoned traditions. The faithful were

p: ۲۴۹

Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon ۸۷ –۱

Ibid, sermon ۱۰۹ –۲

Ibid, sermon ۲۳۹ –۳

isolated and wicked liars got loud in declaring their views. We are particular people, companions, the treasures of prophethood and the pearls of prophetic mission

Houses should be entered through their doors and whoever stepping into the house not through their doors should be called a thief. They are true applications of long Qur'anic verses and treasures of beneficent Allah; Once they speak, they tell naught [\(but the truth and in case they remain quiet, they are not outpaced.\)](#)[\(۱\)](#)

Elsewhere he states this way, “Where are those, who falsely and unjustly deemed themselves and not us as the most knowledgeable. God raised us in position and kept them inferior to us. He has conferred on us the eminence of which he deprived them

He allowed us the entry to sphere of divine favor from which he dismissed them. With us guidance is to be sought and blindness (of misguidance) is to be changed into brightness. Verily Imams are from among the Quraysh, the tree of which is planted in the family of H?shim. The others do not deserve it nor would others be suitable as [\(heads of affairs.\)](#)[\(۲\)](#)

In these sentences as well as the previously mentioned letter, a kind of prophetic inheritance for transferring the right of leadership is put forth by Imam This is not the inheritance used for transferring the material rights but the one accompanied by executorship, knowledge, wisdom, purity and inerrancy

This is the culture raised up by Qur'an among prophets and the right Ibrahim wants for his

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ۱۵۴ –۱

Ibid, sermon ۱۴۴ –۲

progeny. God says, "The despots never access to my mission." Despite the key role that "selection" plays, God considers the prophets as each others descendants. .Treating it as an ordinary heritage

The Sunnites accuse the Shi'ite Muslims of having such an idea about leadership while Shi'a approves of the text which is within the framework of divine heritage existing in Qur'anic culture. In a letter indicating his dispute with Quraysh, Imam wrote about his being insistent on caliphacy, "Am I greedy to ask for my inheritance and the right granted to me by the Messenger and God?"^(۱) In this phrase, inheritance and divine .right are cited together

More important is Imam's reference to the Ghadir tradition at the threshold of entering Kufa- After suppressing those who broke their allegiance in the battle of Jamal. As several Sunnites sources specify, The people of Kufa as well as Messenger's companions were brought together by Imam at the mosque of Kufa and all those who had witnessed and heard the Messenger uttering the Ghadir tradition were asked to .stand up and give evidence of that

A large number, only twelve of which had participated the battle of Badr, bore witness. Referring to this tradition publicly in fact implied his reference to "divine right "on "Sainthood".^(۲) The culture of "Proof" in Qur'an confirms the leading attitude of Imam This concept is applicable only to the Prophet (S) and those chosen by God and .resembling them in rank

Imam has stated, "God never allowed the creation to

Facing Talha in the battle of Jamal, Imam referred to this tradition; Tarikh Dimashq, -٢
vol. XI, p. ٢٠٤

remain without a prophet deputed by Him or a Book sent down from Him or a binding
(argument.” (١)

Elsewhere he said, “Verily the earth is never devoid of those who maintain God's
binding argument either openly and reputedly or fearfully and secretly so that God's
(binding argument and proof should not be rebutted or his signs overlooked.” (٢)

In a letter to the one in charge of collecting alms, Imam included instructions for
,treating people and telling them

عباد الله! أرسلني ولي الله وخليفته لآخذ منكم حق الله في أموالكم

O servants of God! The vicegerent of God and His caliph sent me to you for collecting“
(God's share in your properties.” (٣)

The comments “The vicegerent of God and His caliph” Imam attributed to himself are
totally Shi'ite concepts. Anyhow, having been formed during the caliphate of Imam,
.this theory constitutes the main identity of Shi'ites thought about Imamate

During his caliphate, by referring to upcoming incidents entitled “Malahim wa Fitan” in
various sermons, he turned out to be a figure not rivaling an ordinary caliph, he
.foretold the future but not as a political analyst

The charisma of Imam's personality in the eyes of gnostic and Sufism, was deeply
rooted in the conception leading the public to deem him deserving of “sainthood” in its
full sense and also in remarks and conducts of him who officially claimed to be
(omniscient and asked all people to question him before they miss him. (٤)

At the end of these proofs, it will be proper to mention another important

p: ٢٥٢

Ibid, sayings, No ١٤٧ -٢

Ibid, letter ٢٥ -٣

See Nahj As-Sa'ada fi Mustadrak Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, p. p. ٣١٤,٦٢٧ -٤

narration. When 'Ayisha was ready to revolt against 'Ali, the Messenger's graceful wife, Umm Salama, tried to stop her going

Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr said objectingly, “You harbor old animosity towards the family' .of Zubayr

Umm Salama answered, “Do you think people will turn to Talha and your father while Ali is the guardian of all believing men' ” علي ولي كل مؤمن ومؤمنة ” Ali about whom God said .and women” is present

”Abd Allah said, “We haven't heard him saying such a thing'

”Umm Salama replied, “You may have not, but your aunt, 'Ayisha, has

,I myself heard the Messenger saying

علي خليفتي عليكم في حياتي ومماتي فمن عصاه فقد عصاني

Alive or dead, I place 'Ali as my caliph to you, so whoever disobeys him, he has [\(disobeyed me.” 'Ayisha has also confirmed this.](#)

Based on things mentioned, what should be said about the interpretation of comments written in Nahj al-Balagha on the allegiance of Muhajirun and Ansar is that at that time, the allegiance of these two was the principle behind selecting a caliph, and Imam enjoyed this principle. Facing the opposition of deviators and apostates Imam Ali had to refer to this principle

With this deduction of Imam lots of people followed him and fought his enemies. There is a poem quoted from one of Imam's adherents who compared his pledge to ,that of early caliphs to prove his rightfulness and public commitments to him

له في رقاب الناس عهد وذمه كعهد ابي حفص وعهد ابي بكر

People owe him just as 'Umar and Abu Bakr do. So swear an allegiance and avoid“
(infidelity, do you excuse yourself in atheism!” (١)

But neither Imam considered this as a legitimate way of leadership nor did his close companions who deemed his leadership far beyond the allegiance of Muhajirun and Ansar, accept such a basis. In conclusion, the differences from Saqifa to the martyrdom of Imam have been influential in many of the Islamic thoughts, but related .to our discussion are issues concerning ruler ship and caliphate

Here, a brief conclusion is drawn from the effects these events had on forming of political views. Obviously, as mentioned earlier, in the course of murdering 'Uthman .and 'Ali's caliphacy, Shi'ism changed both in quality and quantity

Previous to this, only a few companions tended towards Shi'a but because of aforesaid reasons it spread in Iraq. This trend is called "Alawites and Shi'ites". Its full version can be regarded in 'Uthman's rejection and the proof of 'Ali's caliphate. The full version of it includes 'Ali's Imamate after the Messenger and his superiority over the other caliphs. There has been some controversy over the quality and quantity of (some exaggerated trends emerging at that time. (٢)

The other trend was called "'Uthmanids". This trend was crystallized during to wars of Jamal and Siffin.The aforesaid course of action came to a dead end in Jamal but its impacts on Basra remained to be seen and the people of that city were reckoned as ("Uthmanids" (٣)

Waq'at Siffin, p. ٤٦ –١

See Ibn Abi Dunya,, Maqatal al-Imam Amir al-Mu'minin, p. ٩٢ –٢

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VI, p. ٣٣٣, قطعته من الشام نزلت بيننا This has been stated about Basra –٣

trend prevailed over Damascus and Iraq during the Umayyads. The Umayyads ruling was the manifestation of 'Uthmanids sect's prevalence. This sect deemed no legitimacy for 'Ali's caliphacy on the pretext of the third caliph being murdered either by 'Ali himself or at his instigation

They also said not all of the people had approved of him. This has been a common belief among the ancestors of Sunnites who were called the 'Uthmanids. During that period “Shi'ite Muslims” and “'Uthmanids” were opposed to each other. The 'Uthmanids believed that 'Uthman was to replace Mu'awiya in caliphate. Their legitimacy was based on Mu'awiya 's claim to be a relative of 'Uthman and [consequently his blood-wit.](#)

Basra and Kufa, tending towards 'Uthmanids and Shi'a respectively, were rivals to each other. The distinction between Shi'ism and 'Uthmani's sect was the interesting point about the battle of Jamal

The murderer of one of Imam's companions called Zayd Ibn Suhan said he had killed him while he believed in 'Ali

:Opposing 'Ammar he composed this

لا تبرح العرصه يا بن اليشربي حتى اقاتلك على دين علي

O Yathrib-born! Leave not the battlefield so that I might fight you by relying on 'Ali's “[religion.](#)”

Uthman's religion” was coined versus “'Ali's religion”. A poet from Damascus, told” :about the Damascus army

ثمانين الف "دين عثمان" دينهم كتاب فيها جبرئيل يقودها

thousands are those whose religion is that of 'Uthman's, troops who are led by ٨٠٠
Gabriel." (٣)

,A poet participating in Siffin, introduced himself this way

انا ابن ارباب الملوك غسان والدائن اليوم به دين عثمان

I"

p: ٢٥٥

al-Gharat, p. ٧٠ -١

al-Jamal, p. ٣٤٦ -٢

al-Jamal, p. ٣٤٦ -٣

am son of king of kings and today I follow 'Uthman's religion." (١)

,In a poem Rufa'a Ibn shaddad told

انا ابن شداد على "دين علي" لست لعثمان بن اروي بولي

I am Ibn Shaddad, a follower of 'Ali's religion and never am I guardian of 'Uthman Ibn"

'Arwa." (٢)

It has been said that ٨٠ thousand of Damascus army believed in "Uthman's religion
".(٣) There was also a third trend, in addition to Shi'a and 'Uthmani, called "Qa'idin".
Nashi' Akbar recognizes this group in two different names and trends. The first one
was "Hulaysiyya" who believed that when a sedition is raised one must stay around
his/her house

They deemed both groups as misled and infernal. To them religion was seen as tarry
to war and sedition as getting involved in it. 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, Muhammad Ibn
Maslama and Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas belonged to this group. They believed that only
one of the two groups was right but the righteous group was unknown to them. Abu

.Musa Ash'ari, Abu Sa'id Khudri and Abu Mas'ud Ansari were from among this group

As Nashi' Akbar clarifies, these were called “Mu'tazilites”. Later, Wasil Ibn 'Ata' and 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd also thought the same about Talha and Zubayr. (۴) Considering the situation of that time, these groups put the emphasis on the concept of “Sedition”, to them, being “'Abd Allah, the murdered” was preferable to being “'Abd Allah, the murderer” (۵)

(People's Allegiance to 'Ali (a

Without doubt, during the caliphacy of the first three caliphs, Imam was not politically active in the current affairs and except

p: ۲۵۶

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۴۳-۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۲۳۳-۲

Tarikh Dimashq, vol. VIII, p. ۵۲-۳

Masa'il al-Imamah, p. p. ۱۶-۱۷; See, Murji'a, Tarikh wa Andishih, ۱۹-۲۶; al-zina, p. -۴

۲۷۳; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. p. ۵۷-۵۸

Masa'il al-Imamah, p. ۱۶-۵

for counseling some Judicial cases and, to a lesser extent political issues, did not take an active part in politics. In other words, he did not take part in the ruling system of caliphs, but just led the opposition party indirectly

His victory after 'Uthman, in large measures, indicated the domination of anti-Quraysh and anti-Umayyads. These opponents enjoyed the support of Iraqi tribes, Egyptian migrants and also the assistance of Ansar and native Medinans. Some of Muhajirun at the head of which was 'Ammar Ibn Yasir, were reckoned among this group. These formed a part of 'Uthman's adversaries

But because of 'Uthman's being inattentive to a group of Quraysh itself and his over attention to Umayyads, the former had also joined the opposition party. Talha, Zubayr and 'Ayisha were presiding over this group. 'Amr Ibn 'As who was deposed from

Egyptian rule, opposed 'Uthman. Of course all these claimed that 'Uthman had stood aloof from the practice of Prophet

Therefore the overall direction of the rebellion was returning to the Prophet's conduct, fostering justice and not being cruel or unjust to people. The head companions who had lived up to that time, and participated in 'Umar's election council– especially Talha who was supported by 'Ayisha were candidates for caliphate

Their joining to the opposition party was a glimmer of hope for caliphate. Despite their fame in Iraq and Hijaz, concerning records, knowledge and piety none of them could hold a candle to 'Ali; moreover, 'Uthman's failure as the representative of

p: ۲۵۷

Quraysh naturally resulted in the power of 'Ali, the representative of the opposition (party who had opposed the ruler's policy from the very beginning.)

From the starting-point of public opposition to 'Uthman, Imam 'Ali (a) was as the mediator of the two parties or on the other hand, opponents' spokesman and he transferred people's oppositions to 'Uthman. Although being considered as the mediator, Imam (a) acted moderately. Having objected to 'Uthman's some indecent behaviors, Imam (a) under the conditions of being mediator obeyed 'Uthman's rights, took him on oath of promise and calm opponents along with obeying opponents' conditions

It was natural that although Imam (a) didn't play any role in 'Uthman's murder and his coming to power, the Umayyads and some parties of Quraysh accused him of doing so. In spite of it, most of those being of Imam's close companions ranked among the opponents and even being accused of having a hand in 'Uthman's murder

Imam's supporters were all anti-'Uthman. And as indicated before, this was the starting-point of Shi'ism forming among people of Kufa whose important political activity was opposition to the ruling caliphate. They were indeed satisfied with Abu Bakr and 'Umar

At any rate, Imam's supporting party consisting of Ansar, the majority of companions as well as Kufa's Qur'an reciters was strong to the extent that Talha and Zubayr weren't allowed any appearance. Also there existed no reference to Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas(۳). In continuation of Sa'id Ibn Musayyib's long narrations concerning 'Uthman's murder, it's mentioned that

p: ۲۵۸

From fabricated narrations in Tarikh at-Tabari –۱
Sa'id Ibn Musayyib said, "I witnessed 'Ali (S)'s rebel contention and that of Uthman –۲
until Uthman wanted to scourge 'Ali (a) and I caused them to make up with each other

See Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۱۳۲, No ۱۱۲

Sa'id in the conflict of arbitration claimed that no one but he is of superior quality in –۳
caliphate, for having no hand in Uthman's murder and the recent seditions See Ansab
al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۳۴۴

after that 'Ali (a) came to his house and all the people rushing to his house asserted 'Ali
(a)'s caliphate

They wanted him to reach out his hand to people for allegiance but Imam (a) said,
".Allegiance is Badr's companions' not yours. And the caliph is the one they choose

After that, all the people of Badr who were alive came to 'Ali (a) and called for
(allegiance to Imam (a)).(۱)

Confronted by the insistence of the Prophet (S) 's companions, Imam averted the
admission of caliphate. Tabari quoted from Muhammad Ibn Hunayf that after
'Uthman's murder, a number of companions came to my father saying "that we know
".no body more deserving of caliphate than you

."Ali (a) said, "It's better for me to be your vizier rather than your emir"

(They answered, "We admit nothing but swearing allegiance to you."(۲)

.Imam said that his allegiance ought to be in mosque rather than in secrecy

According to Ibn 'Abbas, "I feared lest a problem might be arisen in the mosque." (۳) When he went to the mosque, Muhajirun and Ansar went there and pledged allegiance to him. Besides, Abu Bashir 'Abidi has been quoted as saying that after the assassination of 'Uthman, the people went repeatedly to 'Ali (a) till they managed to .compel him admit the caliphate

Imam ascended the pulpit and said, "He was not in want of caliphate and he admitted it reluctantly, and shall accept to govern them providing that people will adhere ".thoroughly to him

It's been noted in the narrations that Talha and

p: ۲۵۹

Ansab al-Ashraf, al-Juz' al-rabi', pp ۵۵۹-۵۶۰, No ۱۴۱۹-۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۴۲۹; see Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۱۹-۲

In Iskafi's narration it's been cited, I was afraid that some of the ignorants might -۳ say something in mosque or the ones who have lost their own fathers or uncles in the Prophet's Maghazi might object, al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. ۵.

Zubayr were within this throng of the people as well. When all gathered in the mosque, Talha was the first to swear allegiance. Averting allegiance, Sa'd Ibn Abi .Waqas said that he won't swear allegiance as well

Tabari points out a narration with respect to the belief that Talha and Zubayr's allegiance arose from their fear of Malik's sword. However, the narration is not in conformity with the other ones. Imam asked them to be caliph themselves, and he .shall swear allegiance to them

Yet, in so far as, by no means, they found themselves apt, they were satisfied with swearing allegiance to Imam, in order that they hereby find a position for themselves. By chance, their later remarks made it known that by compelled allegiance they meant that they didn't have anybody at Medina to whom they swear allegiance, .whereas Imam 'Ali (a) has had abundant number of supporters

Previously, in our discussion on allegiance, we've pointed out that, in principle, Imam was among those compelling others to swear allegiance. As after the riot of Jamal (rebels, he never forced Marwan to swear allegiance as quoted by him. (1)

Immediately after allegiance Imam was asked to turn over Basra and Kufa but he refused to do so

Muhammad Ibn Hanifa says, "All Ansars except a few, swore the oath of allegiance to 'Ali. The opponents consisted of Hassan Ibn Thabit, Ka'b Ibn Malik, Maslama Ibn Mukhallad, Muhammad Ibn Maslama and some others reckoned among the 'Uthmanids, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, Zayd Ibn Thabit

p: ۲۶۰

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۶۳ –۱

and Usama Ibn Yazid were among non-Ansar opponents who all benefited from generosity of 'Uthman's caliphate

Tabari says, "As far as we know, not even one of Ansars infringed the allegiance to 'Ali. Hence, some who allegedly did not swear allegiance to 'Ali were probably those not taking part in battles of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawan not those not taking the oath (of allegiance to 'Ali. (1)

As Diyar Bakri relates, All the Badr participants who had lived up to that time swore allegiance to 'Ali. (۲) 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Abzi has been quoted, ۸۰۰ of us who were present at Rid'wan allegiance, took part at Siffin ۶۳ of whom including 'Ammar were killed. (۳) As Ibn A'tham narrates, at first Imam rejected the allegiance saying, "I beheld in everything a profound disintegration which neither hearts can stand nor intelligence can accept

Then, accompanied by people, he went to Talha and asked him to accept the caliphate

".Talha said, "There is no one more deserving than you

The same happened to Zubayr and both of them undertook not to do anything
contrary to Imam's will.

Ibn A'tham talks about the role of Ansar in taking the oath of allegiance to 'Ali and about their deputies who addressed the people in the mosque some of whom were Iraqi and Egyptian migrants

”.People said,” You are “God's helpers” and we will do what you say

They too introduced 'Ali as the caliph and the cheering people approved him as well.
That day people left the mosque and next day Imam entered the mosque

p: ۲۶۱

Herein some other evidence will be mentioned According to Ya‘qubi, All people took the oath except three of Quraysh one of whom swore the oath thereafter See, Tarikh al-Ya‘qubi, vol. II, p. p. ۱۷۸–۱۷۹

Tarikh al-Khamis, vol. II, p. ۲۶۱ About the allegiance of Muhajirun and Ansar see, al-Jamal, p. p. ۱۰۲–۱۱۰

Tarikh Khalifa Ibn Khayyat, p. ۱۹۶–۳

These two were also tied to seizing caliphate and Talha was supported by ‘Ayisha –۴ Baladhuri states, When ‘Uthman was murdered, ‘Ayisha was on her way from Mecca to Medina Hearing about people swearing allegiance to Talha she cheered up, but being informed of ‘Ali’s caliphate, she returned to Mecca and declared she would take revenge for ‘Uthman, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۱۳

.and said, choose someone that fits your purpose and I shall follow you

”.They said, “We haven't changed our mind since yesterday

At first, Talha who was paralyzed in hand took the oath. This was considered as ill omen! Then Zubayr took the oath and following him Muhajirun and Ansar and all Arabs, non-Arabs and kinsfolk present in Medina did so. Imam Ali's words, better than anything else are expressive of why he refused to accept the burden of people's

The first reason was that to him, the society was so decadent that he couldn't either
:lead it or enforce his criterion and intentions. On the day of allegiance he told

Leave me alone and go in search of someone else. We are facing a matter with“
several faces and colors, which neither hearts can stand nor intelligence can accept
The clouds of sedition have darkened the skies thoroughly and the right path can't be
discerned. Let it be known to you that if I accept your request I shall make you act
according to my own judgments and will not care about the suggestions and blames
[\(of the reproachful.”](#)[\(1](#)

Imam knew that amidst those sedition, leading the society properly was beyond the
bounds of possibility. Once he got that people won't leave him to himself, he managed
to place them under the obligation of obeying him fully and resigning themselves to
[\(his will.](#)[\(2](#)

Following happenings made the hardships of working within sedition and doubts
dawn on Imam Once he said, “If I

p: ۲۶۲

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ۹۲ –۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۴۲۸ –۲

[\(knew the heightened situation, I would have never got involved in it from scratch.”](#)[\(1](#)

Later on, he wrote about the day of allegiance, “When you revolted against 'Uthman
and killed him, turning toward me you wanted to swear allegiance to me. I balked at
.doing so and held my hand back. You struggled to open my hand and I prevented it

You pulled my hand and I resisted. You crowded so densely round me that I thought
you will either kill each other or me, you said” we swear allegiance to you for we find
no one but you and will consent to no one except you and after the allegiance we will
neither get separated nor will there be in any disagreement between us.” so I felt

.compelled to accept your request and called the people to take the oath of allegiance

I accepted the allegiance of any one swearing at will. Not taking aversion to the one not willing to take the oath, I left him to himself. Talha and Zubayr were from among those swearing allegiance to me and if they didn't want to do so, I would compel [\(neither them nor any one else.\)](#)^(۱)

Once, in Kufa, Imam saw a man called Abu Maryam from whom he asked the reason [for his coming there](#)

He answered, "I have come for my promise to you because you said if you had come [to power, you would have done so and so](#)

Imam said, "I have kept my word, but I am

p: ۲۶۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۱۳ – ۱
al-Gharat, p. ۱۱۲ – ۲

[\(in grips with the most malignant people who do not obey me at all.\)](#)^(۱)

There are some significant points about 'Ali's election as the Community leader. First, people's participation in the first Caliph's election was initially confined to the participants in Saqifa and evidence shows some sort of previous conspiracy or at least coordination of anti-Hashimites party earlier than allegiance.^(۲) 'Umar was appointed through a will and 'Uthman, too, was selected by a confined council. By contrast, 'Ali's [election was largely demanded by Medinans](#)

As a matter of fact, this was the only allegiance and election which can be called a public one. The new point about this allegiance was the participation of Iraqi and Egyptian delegates in addition to Muhajirun and Ansar. Of course, based on the common, well-established tradition of those days, according to which only Muhajirun [and Ansar were of good standing, no credence was attached to their choice](#)

Despite of that, their presence did increase public turnout in Imam's election. This was ,not an unknown phenomenon for Imam and the others. During a sermon Imam said

Your allegiance to me was not a hasty and precipitate action nor is my and your position the same. I seek you for Allah's sake and you seek me for your own [benefits.](#)^(۳)

This, according to Ibn Abi al-Hadid^(۴) is an allusion to Abu Bakr's election. In order to prevent the idea of opportunism and conspiracy in public opinion, Imam didn't allow people to take the oath at his house, stating that, “There can be

p: ۲۶۴

(Akhbar al-Buldan, Ibn Faqih Hamadani, pp ۴-۵ (Sezgin publication -۱)
Abd al-Aziz al-Duri denies Lammens’s belief considering Saqifa as the result of Abu‘ -۲
Bakr,‘Umar and Abu ‘Ubayda’s conspiracy but confirms the former agreement of
Anti-Hashimites party Muqadama fi Tarikh Sadr al-Islam,p. ۵۶
Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ۱۳۶ -۳
Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IX, p. ۳۱ -۴
[no allegiance without Muslim's consent.](#)^(۱)

The allegiance should not take place secretly. I go to the mosque, anyone who wishes can come there to take the oath to me.” Then he entered the mosque and people took the oath to him. ^(۲)This is one of the reasons of Imam's delay in accepting people's .request

Secondly, Apart from what was set forth about Imam and his true Shi'ite Muslims' belief in his Imamate, the “tradition of allegiance” was fully established and Imam could not trespass it. This was a good proof against Imam's opponents and for him .who was publicly selected

According to Dinwari, during a speech following allegiance Imam stated, “Oh, people! You took the oath of allegiance to me in accordance with the previous traditions. Prior

to the allegiance, the choice was yours but after that you have no choice. Imam must be firm and the folk must resign themselves to his will. This was a public allegiance, anyone denying it, has in fact denied Islam, allegiance to me was not precipitate. (2)

Notwithstanding, Imam was determined not to force anyone to take the oath. He even didn't call to account those who had sworn the oath but were inattentive in settling the case of apostates. When Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, Muhammad Ibn Maslama and Usama Ibn Zayd made some excuse for not performing Imam's command, Malik Ashtar said, "Oh, the Commander of the Faithful! Although we are not from among the Muhajirun and Ansar but we are

p: ۲۶۵

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۴۲۷-۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۱۰-۲

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۴۰; See, al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. ۱۰۵-۳

(from "The followers of righteousness" (1)

Despite Muhajirun and Ansar's superiority in Islam, they are not supreme in what they share with us. This has been a public allegiance, anyone going back upon it deserves to be reprimanded. Coax those who intend to violate the allegiance and imprison them in case they refuse

(Imam stated, "I call them but they are decided in their very votes." (2)

Hasan and Husayn told their father, "Marwan -who after 'Uthman's murder, had sworn allegiance and now was taken into captivity in the battle of Jamal - will take the oath to you

Imam answered, "Did he not swear me allegiance after 'Uthman's murder? I don't need the allegiance of such a treacherous person with a hand like that of Jews. (3)

According to Baladhuri, following Jamal, Marwan told 'Ali (a), "Unless forced, I won't swear allegiance to you." (4)

Obviously, not taking the oath differs from rebelling. Once according to the accepted standards the oath is taken and the public allegiance is accomplished anyone disobeying rebelliously or claiming caliphate, must be restrained; otherwise, what the caliphate would mean? (5) Despite this, Imam gloried in not forcing anyone to take the (oath to him. (6

(Adi Ibn Hatim also told Mu'awiya, "Ali (a) compelled no one to take the oath." (7)

The third point is that the accepted method of allegiance, was that of Muhajirun and Ansar based on which, Imam was nationally accepted as the caliph and apostates were rejected. (8) Even it has been said that even if Imam were the one killing 'Uthman, he remains the

p: ۲۶۶

This refers to the verse ۱۰۰, Mu'minun -۱
Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۴۳ See, al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. ۱۰۶ -۲
Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon ۷۳ -۳
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۶۲ -۴

In a letter to Mu'awiya, Imam wrote, "...and now the fact about deeming yourself -۵ different from Talha and Zubayr is that there exists no difference between you Because mine has been a "public allegiance" to which no body disagreed So necessarily it is to be accepted by all Waq'at Siffin, p. ۵۸ al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. ۵۲; al-Jamal, p. ۱۳۱ This has been stated in the first letter -۶ in Nahj al-Balaghah, "People swore me allegiance freely and willingly " Trying to emphasize the role of Malik, 'Uthmanids and Umayyads intend to prove that people took the oath for fear of him

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۶۵ -۷

Ibid, p. ۱۶ -۸

caliph, for Muhajirun and Ansar who dominate over people have taken the oath of (allegiance to him. (9

Obviously, Imam relied on this method with the purpose of convincing his opponents

who, based on the same method, approved Muhajirun and Ansar and the legitimacy of previous caliphs. Not to mention that in addition to Muhajirun and Ansar, the delegates from Iraqi tribes and some Egyptians had also sworn allegiance to 'Ali (a),
[and this point was taken into consideration by Malik Ashtar.](#)

In a letter to Mu'awiya Imam wrote, “Those who took the oath of allegiance to Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman, have sworn allegiance to me in the same way.” Now he who was present at the election have no right to go back upon his oath and he who was absent has no right to deny the oath of participants. Consultation is confined to
.Muhajirun and Ansar

God feels satisfaction at they gathering round a man and selecting him as their caliph. Should anybody go against such decision or fall into heresy, they will return him to the position from where he kept away and should he refuse to fall in line with others, then
[war is the only course left open to be adopted against him.](#)

As far as the initial caliphs were in power, this was deemed as an acceptable principle, except for the time when some 'Uthmanids relied on a few companions not swearing the oath and they also, making an excuse of Muslims fratricide, evaded to

p: ۲۶۷

Ibid, p. ۴۵ –۱

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۴۳, No ۱۰ –۲

Nahj al-Balaghah, Letter ۶ –۳

[act in obedience to the orders of 'Ali \(a\) in combating his enemies.](#)

Mu'tamir Ibn Sulayman narrated, “I told my father, people say the allegiance to 'Ali (a) was not accomplished.” He answered, “My son, allegiance belongs to the people of
[Mecca and Medina who did take the oath.”](#)

Another point is that on what allegiance was sworn. 'Uthman was recognized as outcast because he violated divine rules and in early caliphs time, it was an acceptable

.principle to act upon the Book and the Prophet's tradition

Although a few of them disregarded some dimensions of the Prophet's biography and even Qur'an, after 'Umar, condition of Sheikh's biography was included in allegiance that Imam 'Ali rejected. According to Tabari, swearing allegiance to 'Ali happened to say that Book of God has to be referred about the close, the mean, the endeared and .the stranger. (۳) This position reflects issues during 'Uthman

An Egyptian, Ibn A'tham says, named Sudan Ibn Hamran Muradi who is to be murderer of 'Uthman said, "O Abu Hasan! we swear allegiance to you provided that if .”you acted like 'Uthman, you'll be killed

That's right, replied 'Ali (a), then people acted according to Book of God and the (Prophet's tradition. (۴

One person insisted on including Sheikh's biography as terms of allegiance in addition to above two, yet Imam disapproved and saying that even if Abu Bakr and 'Umar act (upon something except the Book and the tradition, they are untruthful. (۵

Imam merely found himself yielded to Qur'an and tradition and unwilling to disobey

p: ۲۶۸

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۰۷ -۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۰۸ -۲

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۴۳۵ -۳

al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۲۴۶-۲۴۷ -۴

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۷۶ -۵

.it and so were his companions and commanders

O people!, said Qays Ibn Sa'd, we swore allegiance to a man better of whom we never know after the Prophets (S). Rise up and swear allegiance to the Book and His (Prophet. If we failed to do so, allegiance is withdrawn. (۱

Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr, Egyptian ruler said if you observe in my deeds obedience and fear from God, I praise God because of this gift bestowed upon me and it has [guided me. If not, I have to be scolded.](#)

Imam himself disapproved those who wanted to condition the allegiance to make Imam overlook what they have in their hands and said the only right they have in [front of him is to comply with the Book and the tradition and nothing else.](#)

Qa'idin and no Congregation Formation

There emerged no agreement like that of Sheikhs time in the course of swearing allegiance to Imam and despite allegiance of the Ansar and Muhajirun. A few people opposed in the course of allegiance to Abu Bakr but congregation formed since, later, [opponents also swore allegiance](#)

Then, 'Umar claimed that the opponents must join “congregation”. This congregation faced no problems in time of 'Umar. It wasn't first time when a rebellion shaped in time of 'Umar and congregation split apart. 'Uthman's improper attitude led to [fragmentation in the Islamic community](#)

In that time Kufiyans and a major part of Egyptians found 'Uthman a wrongdoer if not [willing to kill him, they did not consider him to be qualified for caliphate](#)

p: ۲۶۹

al-Gharat, p. ۷۵ –۱

Ibid p. ۸۳ –۲

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp ۱۷۸–۱۷۹ –۳

either. This idea wasn't strongly rooted in Kufa and 'Uthman was never admitted by people. Later on, it wasn't known that if anyone wants martyrdom, he shall go to Dar al-Bittikh in Kufa for compassion of 'Uthman.[\(۱\)](#) Medinans were hesitant about this and they are said to be followers of Abu Bakr and 'Umar. They never approved ['Uthman](#)

There were people of Damascus and Umayyads who retained sanctity of 'Uthman and founded "'Uthmanids" (۲), recalled as "anti-Shi'a religion". As a matter of time, the Sunnites approved 'Uthman. From third century on, the 'Uthmanids with a gradual .(change of name into people of Sunnat and Jama'at approved 'Ali (a

Anyway, "Jama'at" persisted till 'Umar and up to mid-rule of 'Uthman(۳) and broke up into branches. This congregation in a real sense ceased to return until Mu'awiya that strangled all opposition by force and trick. However, it is obvious that the .congregation differed from that of the old one foundationally

Allegiance to Imam 'Ali met the requirements of a proper one. Muhajirun and Ansar in addition to emissaries of Iraq and Egypt swore allegiance to him. But due to disagreements continued by Qa'idin, the wicked ones, the deviators and the apostates and that a full-scale congregation came not to be formed, the subject congregation wasn't so legitimate in the eyes of the majority of the companions through support of which the disagreements can be challenged and their founders ."can be called "rebels

This wasn't accepted by the Sunnites save the basis of the mentioned

p: ۲۷۰

Tarikh Yahya Ibn Mu'ayn, vol. II, p. ۲۳۸ –۱

"This sect was also called" Sufyaniya", "Nabita" and" Nawasib –۲

Al-Risalat al-Nabita dar Rasa'il al-Jahiz (al-Rasa'il al-Kalamiyya),p. ۲۳۹ –۳

rebellions on the part of the companions that wasn't regarded as "Ijtihad", exertion, and so they were exonerated. They didn't analyze the Kharijites this way calling them .real rebels

The "legitimate congregation" resisted against "rebellion" through support of a Qur'anic verse in the chapter of Hijrat that says, "If two groups of the faithful began to fight each other, try to bring them to a compromise. And if one offended the other, try to fight the offender to bring it back to bow to God. If it did so, make a just peace

(between them and exert justice for God love just people” .(1)

If, Abu Hanafiyya said later, Amir al-Mu'minin(a) had no conduct of Jihad with the (rebels, we didn't know the rules of fighting with them.(2)

The Commander of the Faithful held that the mere swearing no allegiance and even expressing dissent verbally can not justify armed campaigning against them. The first disagreement came from Qa'idin, those who likely swore allegiance to 'Ali but refrained from helping him in his war with the Infidels and the Deviators. Baladhuri .narrates that they didn't swear allegiance

Some of such as 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar said that they will be the last people to swear (allegiance.(3)

.These people believed that “congregation” is not organized

(Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas said, “I will swear allegiance when I'm the last one” .(4)

Imam left them alone in front of these oppositions. Here it is to be noted that there must be a distinction between the particular and general allegiance when a forcible

p: 271

al-Hujurat, 49:9 –1

Sharh Usul al-Khamsa, p. 141; al-Bahr al-ra'iq, vol. VI, pp 151,153; Ahkam al-qur'an, –2

Jassas, vol. III, p. 400, Jawahir al-kalam, vol. XXI, p. 332

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 207 –3

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 207; Iskafi says that they said that they accept allegiance –4

but they resent to war with the people of prayer In return, Imam said, “Abu Bakr permitted war with them(Imam meant people who refused to pay tax alms) How didn't you oppose him? See al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazana, p. 106

.allegiance is in question

In fact, when the “particular” people swear allegiance, caliphate is established,

afterward all must attend the general allegiance. Malik Ashtar's speech against the [disagreement of Qa'idin denotes such a case. Imam rejected force too.](#)[\(1\)](#)

When the Kharijites opposed, they were said to be silent, if they want to be safe. If they say something, they will be given reasons and in case they turn to swords, they [will be resisted](#)

And he further said, “As long as you remember Allah, we keep our mosques open to you and as long as you stay with us, we keep your share of booty but if you pull your [swords out, we launch a war with you.”](#)[\(2\)](#)

Anyway, Qa'idin regarded “congregation” incomplete to justify their opposition and naturally questioned 'Ali's caliphate. They said people of Damascus would complement this congregation whilst until then allegiance of people of Haram wasn't considered sufficient. Mu'awiya too having a large number of Damascus people in his control denied forming of “congregation” along with 'Ali and naturally rejected his [caliphate](#)

In front of 'Ali's call, Mu'awiya wrote to people of obedience and congregation, “The community you're talking about is also available to us.” He accused 'Ali of murdering [their caliph and dispersing their community.](#)[\(3\)](#)

There is no reasonable justification about the Infidels. The evidence show that these people opposed merely because of authoritarianism despite the commitments they had in allegiance. Imam tried hard to rehabilitate peace and in no case he resorted to [weapon. Imam regarded their](#)

p: ۲۷۲

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp ۷۲-۷۳ -۱
al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. ۱۰۶; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۴۳ -۲
Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. ۳۵ -۳

[launching war the only permit to wage war.](#)[\(4\)](#)

Aside from all incentives and internal problems, the events in period of caliphate resulted in different sectarian and religious tilts that left behind works not only in jurisprudic-ideological matters but also in the field of Imamate issues

Later, “political community” came to posed again and the Sunnites calling themselves independent of “people of innovation” and devaluing their participation in or .separation from “congregation” named themselves “people of congregation

Abu Hatim Razi writes about the term of congregation for the Sunnites, “Since the majority of people accepted caliphate of the Umayyads during Mu'awiya and after in Marwanids time, people from the followers asserting this called themselves people of congregation.... And saying that “if anyone opposes us, he breaks apart the unity, .opposes Umma and abandons the tradition

By “people of Sunnat and Jama'at”, they meant that they named themselves so because they were unanimous by the same Imam despite all sectarian differences .they had. (۲) The pivotal role in “congregation” is in fact the same Imamate

According to a Sunnites mind, community appears when all people generally agree on an Imam who is in power in whatever way. Such an Imam is entirely legitimate according to a Sunnites. In Shi'a thinking, Imam is beyond a mere political consensus .and community normally has its given sense

.Allegiance wasn't sworn to Imam on Friday, Dhil-Hajja ۱۸,۳۶ H

Imam's Problems

When Imam took charge of caliphate, he faced tremendous problems. These obstacles in addition to political disorder after death of 'Uthman darkly imaged

p: ۲۷۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۴۰; al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. ۱۵۸-۱

Kitab al-Zina, p. ۲۲۵-۲

the future. Here, problems are reviewed and the solutions ahead of Imam will be

.discussed

Before everything it is known that these problems were important for a person like Imam who showed more sensitivity to observing principles and applications than anybody else. Some time earlier, every caliph had opened a way temporarily and just .for the purpose of expanding the conquests

But now it wasn't obvious that many of those ways were off the roads and time passed had shown this. Typically, 'Umar considered tribal tenets in regulating chancery. Presently after fifteen years, its social and even political negative consequences have turned up. To arrange the issue more, Imam's problems are ,multi-dimensionally dealt with

The first problem wasn't to follow economic justice. Earlier referred that 'Umar set (١) the chancery in accordance with the Islamic records of people and tribal shape. Those of the companions who had embraced Islam sooner than others shared more. The .same condition kept on during 'Uthman as well

He began his generosity leading to greater rich-poor distance in the community. All this property includes the fifth of booties and tributes that were annually received and came from the conquered territories belonging to all people. When Imam came to power, he raised equal sharing of this property. His reason rested upon what the .Prophet (S) had done

Imam in his very speech referring to the point that he will act upon the Prophet's biography spoke of his fiscal policy and called virtue of Muhajir and Ansar superior

p: ٢٧٤

.over others, that is kept and rewarded by God

وإني حاملكم على منهج نبيكم صلى الله عليه وآله

But in this world, anyone who accepts call of God and His Messenger (S) and becomes a Muslim and pray before Qibla, he will benefit from all rights and Islamic rules. You're

servants of God, Imam added, and property is God's that will equally be divided among you. The pious people are well rewarded by God

”Underlining his policy, Imam said, “Lest someone tomorrow say *حقوقنا (١)*, Imam tomorrow that day ordered 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Abi Rafi', Anyone came, *حقوقنا (١)*, give him three Dinars

In there Sahl Ibn Hunayf said, this man wasn't my slave who wasn't set free yesterday

”.Imam said, “All are given three Dinars and no one is over another

A group of Umayyads elites as well as Talha and Zubayr didn't turn up to get their share. Tomorrow that day, Walid Ibn 'Uqba with a number of people came to Imam and referring to his father's murder by 'Ali in Uhud, murder of Sa'd Ibn 'As in there, ...humiliation of Marwan's father in front of 'Uthman and

Asked Imam not to take back at least what has been given to them of the property. Besides, 'Uthman's murderers are retaliated. Imam turned him down and so they started to reveal their discords

Tomorrow again, Imam made a sermon and based his sharing of property on the Book out of wrath. Imam came down the pulpit and after rendering two units of pray

p: ٢٧٥

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VII, pp ٣٦-٣٧ - ١

sat with Talha and Zubayr on the corner of mosque. These two people spoke of first, ,Imam's not consulting with them and second

خلافك عمر بن الخطاب في القسم

A major disadvantage is that you disagree on the way of division comparing 'Umar. .You gave our share just like that of others who took no sufferings for Islam

As long as there is a rule in Qur'an, consultation is not required. Imam said
Otherwise, I would've consulted with you. As for equal sharing, we all witnessed that
(the Messenger (S) did as the Book says.” (1)

Zubayr said, “This is our reward? We acted in this way for him! To have 'Uthman killed
(and he today puts people over us whom we were over.” (2)

Ibn Abi al-Hadid regards public habit a major problem for disagreement of
companions with Imam while Abu Bakr had the same manner as the Prophet's and
.nobody opposed him

Imam in response to companions who objected to his method and referred to 'Umar's
Does obeying the Prophet's tradition stand “ أفسنّه رسول الله أولى بالاتباع أم سنه عمر “
(first or that of 'Umar's.” (3)

Serious disapproval of this manner induced some companions of Imam to go to Imam
.to ask him to prefer Arab and Quraysh noblemen than Mawali and non-Arabs

(He rejected them and said, “Are you telling me that I gain victory through cruelty.” (4)

Later, Ibn 'Abbas writing to Imam Hasan said, “People left your father alone and went
to Mu'awiya because he equally shared the property among them and

p: 276

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VII, pp 37-42; al-Mi'yar wal- – 1
Muwazina, p. 111-114; Da'a'im al-Islam, vol. I, p. 384; Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. I, pp 200, 415
and Ibid from, Tuhaf al-'Uqul, p. 125; Amali, Ibn Ash-Shiykh, section 44, p. 91, No 5,
Rawd'a al-Kafi, No 551

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VII, pp 37-42 – 2
Da'a'im al-Islam, vol. I, p. 384; Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. I, p. 229 – 3
al-Gharat, vol. I, p. 75; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. 318 – 4

they never endured this act of your father.” (5) Some people explicitly reasoned their
(opposition as that 'Ali failed to observe their equal rights. (2)

Anyway, one feature Imam became known after wasn't that [قسم بالسويه وعدل في الرعيه\(٣\)](#)

Elsewhere it wasn't referred that one of the consequences of conquests wasn't (٢) that different races of Arab, Iran, Nabat, Byzantine and Barbar were intermingled with one another. Many of them were gone or taken to other regions by migration or for war

A large number of them were prisoners from Arab tribes brought to Damascus, Iraq and Saudi Arabia from different parts. The captives released were called "Mawali". This meant that the prisoner belonged to this Arab tribe and now he is linked to that tribe in one way or another. It wasn't natural that Mawali were of lower class of Arabs and enjoyed less rights

One of the difficulties the government had wasn't how it should treat this case. What is certain is when Imam came to power, the community had assumed Arab superiority over Mawali a definite principle. This disturbed Imam's justice-seeking morale that never found religiously a reason for veracity of the above-mentioned distinction but adversely equality of Muslims had clear reasons

Umar had said that the Arab slaves be released by means of public property,[\(٤\)](#) thus' differentiating diverse races, Imam rejected the distinction. Two women are said to have come to Imam 'Ali and expressed their destitution

.It is, Imam said, up to us to help you in case you tell the truth

p: ٢٧٧

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. ١٤, p. ٢٣; al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ١٤٩ -١

Bahj As-Sabaqa, vol. II, pp ١٩٧-٢٠٣ -٢

al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. ٢٢٧; see, Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. ١١٣ -٣

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٣٤٢ -٤

Then he sent a man to market to buy them dress and food and pay them one hundred dhms

One of them said in objection, “I’m an Arab while the other is Mawali, why should we
”?be treated equally

Imam replied, “I read Qur'an and I thought, there I noticed no superiority, as small as
(a mosquito's wing, of Isma'il children over those of Isaac.”^(١)

Once Imam intending to divide some property said, “Adam gave birth to neither a
male slave nor a female one, servants of God are all free and now some property is
with me and I'll divide it among the black and white people equally with no
(distinction.”^(٢)

Treating Arabs and non-Arabs in parity was not something endurable for Arabs. Umm
Hani, Imam 'Ali's sister, came to Imam to get her grant and Imam granted her twenty
dhms. Her non-Arab slave also came to Imam and he gave her twenty dhms. When
Umm Hani heard this, she went to see Imam in fury. Imam's response to her
accorded with Qur'an that he has not seen any differentiation between Arabs and
(non-Arabs there.^(٣)

Imam elsewhere told Muhajirun and Ansar that he never gives anybody anything
(The black and the white will be treated in parity.”^(٤) “لأسوين بين الأسود والأحمر

Imam's just treatment towards Mawali and non-Arabs raised protest of prejudiced
people like Ash'ath Ibn Qays

The white Mawali“ غلبتنا عليك الحمراء ,When Imam wasn't up on pulpit, Ash'ath shouted
has overcome us and you see that.” 'Ali became angry hearing

p: ٢٧٨

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ١٤١; al-Gharat (And in footnote from Wasa'il Ash-Shi'a, – ١

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Bihar al-Anwar) Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٨٣

Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. I, p. ١٨٩ – ٢

Ibid, vol. ١, p. ٢١٢ – ٣

Ibid, vol.١, p. ٢١٢ – ٢١٣; from: al-Ikhtisas, p. ١٥١; Bihar, vol. ٤١, p. ١٠٤; Mustadrak al- – ٤

.that

”Ibn Suhan said, “It'll become clear today what status Arabs are placed in

Ali said, “Who excuses me to penalize these sturdy-body people resting in their beds' till mid-noon while a group of people stay away their beds because of vigil nights? Are you telling me that I should abandon them and become an oppressor. I swear to One ,that grew the seed and created the creatures and I heard Muhammad (S) saying

I swear to God they beat you (Arabs) to return to religion just as you did to them to accept Islam.^(۱) Mughira Dhabbi says, 'Ali (a) was interested in Mawali and was kind to them but 'Umar loathed them and kept away from them.”^(۲)

Included in Imam's poetry, there is a piece of poem that talks about negating the ,effect of racial problems on divine and human honor

لعمرك ما الإنسان إلا بدينه فلا تترك التقوى اتكالا على الحسب

فقد رفع الإسلام سلمان فارس وقد هجن الشرك الشريف أبا لهب

Religion, swear by thy soul, brings value to man“

Thou not for a lineage seek divine piety Whilst Abu Lahab was down for no deity.”^(۳)

More important problem ahead of Imam was religious deviations and the very (۳) thing companions accused 'Uthman of that under title of innovationism. Apart from the innovations, the other major problem was that many people were not well-informed about religion and no action was taken to religiously inform them. A few ,objective typical distortions Imam was engaged are mentioned herein

One of the problems earlier talked about is that a group

al-Gharat, p. ١٨٦ – ١٨٧; Gharib al-Hadith, Abu ‘Ubayd, vol. ٣, p. ٤٨٤; Sharh Nahj al- – ١
Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ١٩, p. ١٨٤
(al-Gharat, p. ١٨٧ (Persian translation – ٢
Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. ١٠, p. ٤٦ – ٣

of companions and a number of caliphs brought up rules despite availability of Qur'an
.”and tradition and merely based on “expediency

Inter alia, this regarding tradition is more clearly and substantially is cited in historical
and hadith sources. Perhaps what Abu Ja’far Naqib said could be the clearest
.statement one moderate Sunnites has expressed about

The companions, he says, unanimously rejected most of the verses {the words of the
Messenger (S) and it was because of the interest they discovered in rejecting them
{(such as sharing portion of Dhawi al-Qurba and that of Mu'allafa Qulubuhum. (١

Imam criticized this approach while making a detailed speech and at the same time
showed his commitment to the tradition. Referring to the fact that for resolving one
problem there has been given different views and the ruler has proved all those
.views, he says this is when their God is One, their prophet is one and their Book is one

God said to them to go a different direction and they have obeyed His command? Or
they have been prohibited from disagreement and they have disobeyed Him? Or what
God sent is an incomplete religion and He asked them to help for making it complete?
Or they are His partners and they have right to say and God must be pleased of the
path they seek? Or the religion God sent was complete and the Prophet (S) has failed
?in conveying it

(This is while God say, “We avoided not a thing in the Book” (٢

Imam expresses amazement

p: ٢٨٠

in his another speech about the wrongs of different groups and that, “They neither receive a prophet nor the deed of a successor... they follow scepticism and go after .passion and lust

Well-known to them is something that they know and are pleased of and deny what they are not happy with. In tribulations they only rely on themselves and in undoing the problems they depend on their own ideas. It seems each of them is his Imam who [\(finds, in his rule, to have snatched and used the sturdiest means.”](#)[\(١\)](#)

What was interesting was that “according to caliph II and III” they had the right to have their own special divine legislation in some affairs and put aside the tradition (like 'Uthman who, unlike the prophet and his own pre-caliphs, performed completely his praying service in Mina). Yet, Muslims as a matter of time deemed the actions of .caliphs unbreachable as a religious tradition

Umar himself when dying said, “Assigning not a successor is a tradition (Prophet!) and' [\(assigning is also a tradition \(Abu Bakr\).”](#)[\(٢\)](#)

Therefore, to him, what Abu Bakr did had also been considered “tradition”. After his death, 'Abd al-Rahman had conditioned that he would leave the caliphate to someone .who practices the tradition of the Prophet and Sheikhs

One clear typical response of Imam to these innovations was his approach towards nightly prayers of Ramad'an that 'Umar set up accepting it to be an innovation-though he believed it was a good innovation. When Imam was in Kufa, some people

p: ٢٨١

came to ask him to designate an Imam to perform their nightly prayers of Ramad'an. .”He banned them doing so. At night they cried out, “O Ramad'an

Harith A'war came to Imam and said, “People are moaning and are upset about what
you said”.

Imam said, “Leave them alone to do whatever they want and whomever to choose
(for congregational Imam.”)

This quotation shows that what tribe Imam has been dealing with and how they have
been following him

Imam in a letter to Malik, referring to selection of righteous people and about the
worldly-minded religious people said

فإنّ هذا الدين كان أسيراً في أيدي الأشرار ، يعمل فيه بالهوى وتطلب به الدنيا

This religion has been in the shackles of the wrong people, they moved forward out“
(of passion and captured the world under the name of religion.”)

One of the important deviations that essentially led to other ones was that scribing
was prevented. Rashid Rid'a referred to point that this has irreparably damaged the
Islamic culture. Such an action as mentioned earlier was because of disregarding
the tradition

The action of caliphs to collect Qur'an and disregard the Qur'an 'Ali brought as well as
to comment and downgrade its verses indicated inattention to the Prophet's speech
Imam recorded

Imam 'Ali regarded doubt and scepticism among people a major cause for emerging
civil wars among Muslims

ولكنّا إنّما أصبحنا نقاتل إخواننا في الاسلام على ما دخل فيه من الزيغ والإعوجاج والشبهه والتأويل “

We today fight our Muslim brethren because they mixed Islam with deviation,
scepticism and

Mustatrafat As-Sara'ir, p. ١٤٤, and in its footnote, Bihar, vol. ٩٤, p. ٣٨; Wasa'il Ash- ١
 Shi'a, vol. ٥, p. ١٩٣; Tafsir 'Ayyashi, vol. I, p. ١٧٥
 Nahj al-Balaghah, letter ٥٣ -٢
 al-Manar, vol. ٤, p. ٢٨٨ -٣

(١) (distraction.)

Imam underscored the concept of scepticism. He elsewhere said, "Scepticism is called
 (٢) (scepticism for it resembles the right.)

Another problem Imam had wasn't social corruption. Serious public welfare (٤)
 triggered loosening of religious ideals and values in society and religion wasn't just
 valued in appearance. When caliph III turned to serious welfare, His subjects also
 turned to it and this created a problem for society in respect of religion. The society
 involved in sedition and corruption cannot simply turn back to moral balance. Imam in
 one of his speeches introduces his society like that of ignorant one

(٣) (He says, "Your condition today looks like the day God raised up His Messenger (S).")

Imam there spoke of reversed values in that society and of the necessity to change it.
 This society has to be screened, those moved forward be brought back and those left
 behind be driven ahead

Know that, he also said, after Hijra -and learning from Shari'a- you were back to
 nomadic nature and following compromise you were fragmented..... knowing that you
 (٤) (cast off your link to Islam, went beyond its limits and failed to follow its rules.)

:Imam also stated about corruption of the time

واعلموا رحمكم الله أنكم في زمان القائل فيه بالحق قليل واللسان عن الصدق قليل واللازم للحق ذليل. أهله معتكفون على
 العصيان، مصطلحون على الادهان، فتاهم عارم وشائبهم آثم وعالمهم منافق وقارئهم مماذق لا يعظم ضعيرهم كبيرهم ولا يعول
 غنيهم فقيرهم “

Know that may God bless you! You are living at a time the truth- seeker is little and
tongue falls

p: ۲۸۳

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ۱۲۳ -۱

Ibid sermon ۳۸ -۲

Ibid sermon ۱۶ -۳

Nahj al-Balaghah sermon ۱۹۲ -۴

short of truth. Those following truth are humiliated and people are grappling with disobedience and ready to accept compromise. The young are bad-tempered and the old are sinful, the reciter is after profit. Neither the small respects the aged nor do the
[\(potent aid the destitute.\)](#)

Emergence of Mu'awiya as a deceitful and deviated man in the field of Islamic politics wasn't itself the greatest element of sedition and corruption in society, so were the 'Uthmanids tendency in Basra as well as the Kharijites in Kufa. These were ill currents that blocked the way of followers of truth at times by knowing that they were wrong
and at other times imagining that they are going after truth

Observing Mu'awiya's sedition, Imam began to say, "I verified the case and I learned
[\(that I have no way but fighting or I stand infidel against what Muhammad \(S\) said.\)](#)

Reformation, Imam's Fundamental Policy

Imam considered his major mission a reformation. This was because he abided by religion and tradition. In addition, it is to be noted that Imam was basically brought to power by those who had murdered the former caliph due to his corruption and hoped
.that the new caliph reform the shortcomings

The aim of this group in proportionate to character of Imam was one of the main reasons of their approach towards him. The policy of early caliphs was to expand the conquests. This also expanded Islam and naturally could be an advantage for caliphs,
not to mention, it would fill the pockets of people with

Ibid sermon ۲۳۳; Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. ۱, p. ۹۶ –۱

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ۵۴ –۲

.dhms and Dinars

Imam now had to make up for the shortcomings of this time. It was very difficult for him to do so because he had to stand against many of the noblemen and influential people. Here, Imam's reformatinal actions are reviewed

First, it is to be noted that these actions contained two parts. One part was to be done by means of speech and peaceful social actions, but the second part was to be carried out through war with those who were not ready to observe the rights of the legitimate ruler of society and had rebelled against him. Some of the actions taken in the first part are dealt with here

One of the moral problems in the society Imam was engaged in was mammonism, welfarism and acquisitiveness of triumphant Arabs. This case had engaged them so much that it can be said Jamal war was resulted and Imam was not prepared to raise shares of Talha and Zubayr more than the others. Under such circumstances, Imam was determined to speak in detail in his speeches about this and protract people from mammonism

By contrast, he prohibited them from sitting at the majestic entertainment tables by writing letters to his agents, something that was very natural in time of 'Uthman. In case Imam's words about reproaching the world outright, it would become a detailed [\(book.۱\)](#)

Nahj al-Balagha is replete with these words and this, in great number, shows that Imam insisted very much in this regard. Presenting an outstanding paradigm

of man with a piety is seen in the sermon known as

Hammam". In some of the sermons, Imam explicitly scolds people due to "mammonism, "You have forgotten the death in your hearts and deceiving aspirations (have been substituted. This world has captured you more than the other world." (1)

Imam placed elucidation of religion atop of his reformational actions and tried to lead the society to improvement by raising up the Prophet's tradition as well as resuscitating the forgotten rules and positive laws of religion. Imam on explaining his activities for reforming the society says

ألم أعمل فيكم بالثقل الأ-كبر وأترك فيكم الثقل الأصغر وركزت فيكم رايه الايمان ووقفتم على حدود الحلال والحرام والبستكم العافيه من عدلى وفرشتكم المعروف من قولى وفعلى وأريتكم كرائم الأخلاق من نفسى.

Did I not raise rule of Qur'an among you and my two offsprings – who are the lamp of religion path after me – and did I not leave for you the selective jewels that is the Prophet's progeny. I set up banner of faith among you and separated you from limits of legal and illegal. I clad you in garment of health out of justice and spread the known among you through my word and deed and revealed to you the best ethics through (my ethicality." (2)

Imam in his speech emphatically referred to practicing the Book and the Prophet's tradition. The Imam's faithfulness to the Messenger's tradition is an important point in his reformational policies. Basically, violating the tradition according to him, is one of the

p: ٢٨٦

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ١١٣ –١

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ٨٧ –٢

.blatant signs of deviation

In the early times when Talha and Zubayr complained of Imam's not consulting with them, Imam said, "By God I had no inclination to caliphate and no need of rulership,

but you made me be in charge of that. As I came to power, I looked at the Book and what it has prescribed to us and the rules we are bound to obey and I did so. I followed the tradition set by the Messenger (S). I required not to ask you of your idea [\(about this but you.” \(1\)](#)

Imam in his contact with 'Uthman about being clothed in a pilgrim state during Hajj or about doing the same in the visitation and Hajj together says on the tradition of the [:\(Messenger \(S](#)

ما كنت لأدع سنّه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم لأحد من الناس

[\(I never leave tradition of the Messenger \(S\) because of anybody.” \(2\)](#)

Uthman was sick one year of the years he used to perform his prayers in Mina so he' .asked Imam to perform prayers instead

”.Imam said, “If I perform prayers, I'll do it as the Prophet did

”.Uthman said, “No. Do as I do'

[\(Imam rejected his request.” \(3\)](#)

Imam said, “If I'm absent, then who will be among you to act upon the Prophet's [\(conduct?” \(4\)](#)

I was doing prayer service, Mutrif Ibn 'Abd Allah says, along with 'Imran Ibn Husayn (one of the Prophet's companions) behind Imam 'Ali. After the service 'Imran held my ,hand and said

لقد صلى صلاه محمد، ولقد ذكرني صلاه محمد (ص)

p: ٢٨٧

Nahj al-Balaghah sermon ٢٠٥ -١

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. ٣, pp ١٠٤٣-١٠٤٤ -٢

al-Amali fi Athar sahaba, p. ٥٠ -٣

He performed the service like that of the Prophet's. He reminded me of how the“
(Prophet said the prayers.”(١)

Abu Musa Ash'ari who performed the service just behind Imam said

ذكرنا على بن ابي طالب صلاة النبي (ص)

(Ali reminded us of the Prophet's prayers.”(٢)

It was very important to revive the Prophet (S) 's biography for Imam's reformational
policies. The pure companions of Imam realized this fact as well

Ammar said about the constructive measures of Imam'

لو أن علياً لم يعمل عملاً ولم يصنع شيئاً الا أنه أحيا التكبيرتين عند السجود لكان قد أصاب بذلك فضلاً عظيماً'

Ali has done nothing but reviving two “Allah Akbar” when prostrating back, for this, he‘
(has achieved a high virtue.”(٣)

Imam declared up on pulpit in the face of 'Umar's policy of not scribing hadith, “Those
”who are willing to put down knowledge, they can bring paper and pen

Harith A'war provided means of writing and wrote what Imam said.(٤) Afterwards,
Imam Hasan(a) also advised his offsprings to write the Prophet (S) 's hadith.(٥) We
know that Imam 'Ali himself wrote the Messenger's hadiths. After that, his hadith
booklets were available to Ahl al-Bayt and they regularly narrated hadith for Shi'ite
(Muslims from "Ali's booklet”.(٦)

As seen in time of caliph II, the story reciters alongside preventing from scription of
hadith were permitted to narrate for people in the mosque about the Jewish sagas on
former prophets and Christian priests. Imam stood against the development of story
reciting and banned it while spreading hadith scription. Imam in principle opposed
narration

[\(personality most eloquently.\)](#)

Hasan Basri in response to someone who asked him of Imam said
He showed the way to people and straightened religion when it went “الدين اذا اعوجَّ
[\(astray.\)”](#)

This very well-considered statement made by Hasan exactly accorded with the policy
Imam adopted during his caliphate

:Another poet, addressing Imam, composed this

أوضحت من ديننا ما كان مشتبهها

p: ٢٨٩

Majma‘ al-Bayan, vol. ٨, p. ٤٧٢ –١

Qut al-Qulub, vol. II, p. ٣٠٢; Wasa’il Ash-Shi‘a, vol. II, p. ٥١٥; al-Tahdhib, vol. II, p. ٤٨٦; –٢

al-Kafi, vol. II, p. ٣١٢; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. ٣١٢; Akhbar Isbahan, vol. I, p. ٨٩

Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, pp ٢٢٧–٢٢٨ –٣

Wafayat al-A‘yan, vol. I, p. ٧٠ Concerning positions of other Imams, “Qissih khaman –٤

dar Tarikh Islam wa Iran”, pp ٩٣ – ١٠٢, Qum, ١٩٩٩

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. ٧, p. ٣٦ –٥

See one detailed example of that in, Nahj As-Sa‘ada, vol. I, pp ٧٤–٧٩ and the sources –٦

in there We mentioned other sources in the first volume of the book under the topic

” (of “ the historical role of the Messenger (S

al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, vol. ١٢, p. ٣٦ –٧

جزاك ربك عنا فيه إحسانا

What was skeptical is now clarified by you, may God grant thee virtues and“

[\(benevolence.\)”](#)

[\(Ali strengthens religion.\)”](#) Abu Dharr when describing Imam said

Imam himself insisted on matching his conduct with that of the Messenger (S) 's. After

Jamal war, he talked about his attitude towards Basrans, “I acted in treating Basrans as the Prophet did to Meccans.^(۳) Imam mentions resuscitation of tradition as one of the functions of “Imam”.^(۴) Elsewhere, he regards the best servant of God a just Imam who attempts to revive the tradition and the most evil-doing servant of God a cruel Imam who destroys it.”^(۵)

In general, Imam 'Ali seriously avoids the concept of innovation and says, in this regard, that a tradition fades away when an innovation emerges.^(۶)

Imam poses two points as his testament, stop blasphemizing and preserving tradition of the Prophet (S).^(۷)

Revive traditions of “ يحيون سنن الله وسنن رسوله ”, He considers the saints those people who God and His Messenger (S).”^(۸)

He says hypocrite dissidents are those who swim in the sea of sedition, use innovations and put aside traditions.^(۹)

Imam says people are divided in two groups,^(۱۰) متبع شرعه ومبتدع بدعه

These statements and the like in Nahj al-Balagha reveal Imam's strong mind in following tradition and avoiding the innovation. This position was adopted in front of those who created innovations at least in some cases and when they were objected, they said, “If they are innovations, they are good ones

Imam was not willing to cheat in

p: ۲۹۰

Naqd', p. ۴۹۶; Tuhaf al-'Uqul, pp ۳۳۸-۳۴۲; Musnad al-Imam al-Hadi, p. ۲۰۷; Bihar al-

Anwar, vol. ۳۸, p. ۲۴۵

al-Fa'iq fi Gharib al-Hadith, vol. II, p. ۱۰۸-۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, ol II, p. ۲۷۳-۳

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ۱۰۵-۴

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ۱۶۴-۵

Ibid sermon ١٤٥ -٦

Ibid sermon ١٤٩ -٧

Ibid sermon ١٩٢ -٨

Ibid sermon ١٥٤ -٩

Ibid sermon ١٧٦ -١٠

,the field of religion and he said

والله لا أدهنت في ديني “

١ I swear by God I never cheated in the field of religion.”

Once a man of Banu Asad was brought to Imam for execution of whipping (retribution). Banu Asad asked Imam to dispense with his whipping

”Imam said, “Ask me to do something at my discretion

.They came out while being contented

Imam executed whipping for the man and said, “This was owned by God and I had no ٢ control over it.”

Imam said about his role of guiding Umma, “O people! I gave you advice the prophets did to their Umma and I let out what the legatees spread out after themselves. I behaved you with the lash of “preaching”, but you rejected and I called you with the speech to bar you from disobeying, yet you failed to do so. By God! Do you expect an ٣ Imam but me to join you in the straight path?”

Also, he said of himself, “Verily I look like a lamp in the dark among you; one who ٤ steps in the dark, he shall use light of that lamp.”

Anyway, Imam insisted on exact compliance with the Prophet (S) 's tradition such that .he even tried to act like the Prophet (S) in his actions

When Imam objected why he serves people in the mosque with good food but he himself eats wheat germ with bread at home, he weepingly replied, “I swear by God I

had never seen bread without wheat germ in the Prophet

p: ٢٩١

Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. II, p. ٥٣٧ -١

Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. I, p. ٥٣٠ -٢

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ١٨٢ -٣

Ibid sermon ١٨٧ -٤

S)'s home. [\(1\)](#) What Imam said meant that he attempted to have his food like that of) .the Prophet (S)'s

(Imam in the Face of Infidels (Jamal War

Only several months after Imam came to power in ٣٥H., the first civil war happened in Jumadi al-Thani of that year among Muslims instigated by a group of promise-breachers led by Talha, Zubayr and 'Ayisha. To further clarify the historical .background of this bitter event, it is to review the political lines of then Medina

It was mentioned in the post-demise of the Messenger (S) that there had been two tendencies of the Umayyads and the Hashimites none of which could attain caliphate after Imam, The Umayyads due to being long-standingly anti-Islam and the .Hashimites because of Quraysh's envy and problems they had with Imam 'Ali

The middle faction of Quraysh, that is Abu Bakr and 'Umar, came to power leading to this group being set aside. No matter what happened during these two men, a .suitable ground was prepared for 'Uthman, one of the Umayyads, among all Quraysh

As said in the section relating to selection of 'Uthman, he was so popular among Quraysh people. When 'Uthman dealt with just the Umayyads around Quraysh, the middle line once again was capricious of caliphate. Among them, Talha, a fellow-tribe of Abu Bakr of Banu Taym, wanted to attain caliphate with the support of 'Ayisha. .Zubayr also helped him for a while and he himself was eager to grab caliphate

When Jamal war was waged, Ibn 'Abbas said to Zubayr, "'Ayisha wants the

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۱۸۷ –۱

(for Talha, what are you doing here?)” (۱)

This middle line failed to find an opportunity in Medina and observed that 'Ali of the Hashimites, after abdication of the Umayyads, assumed power. Now what had to be done

It first approved of the new government assuming that it can play a major role in the new government. Talha and Zubayr suggested to rule over Basra, Kufa or Damascus.

(Imam smartly said that they were more needed in Medina. (۲)

This aim was not fulfilled and Talha and Zubayr, leaders of the middle line, departed to Mecca to do the lesser pilgrimage and there they could talk to 'Ayisha, gone to Mecca before the death of 'Uthman and was still there

Up to now there are three political lines. The Hashimites, the Umayyads, and the middle line of Quraysh that long time after appeared as “Abna' al-Muhajirun” in rebelling against 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr. Jamal movement crystallized showdown of Quraysh's middle line knowing itself follower of Abu Bakr and 'Umar

Talha and Zubayr could satisfy 'Ayisha to join them and this was the greatest breakthrough for them. 'Ayisha both had familial relationship with Talha and showed mercy on her nephew. In this trip, 'Abd Allah played a major role in accompanying 'Ayisha. They could absorb three thousand people and move up to Basra

The infidels made excuse for three reasons. First, 'Uthman was oppressedly murdered. This was posed while Talha, Zubayr and 'Ayisha were among those who mostly contributed to rebellion resulting in 'Uthman's murder. They

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۵۲(footnote)of, Tarikh Dimashq, vol. ۲۸, p. ۶۷; Tahdhib –۱
Tarikh Dimashq, vol. ۵, p. ۳۶۴
Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ۴, p. ۴۲۹; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۱۸ –۲

recklessly said that they had repented and now they were ready to make up for what
they have done by seeking revenge for oppressed caliph

Certainly, this was raised for stupefied Muslims who were unaware of the real story.
Another point was that they were forced to swear allegiance in Medina; therefore, the
allegiance is improper and Imam's government is illegitimate at least to them as they
are not committed to obey caliph because of the forcible allegiance according to what
they said. The solution they brought up was that everything should be resolved in a
way raised in the end of 'Umar's lifetime, that is “Shura

When 'Ayisha asked Talha and Zubayr of her duty, she was told, “Go and tell the
people that 'Uthman was oppressedly killed and the affairs have to go back to council
of Muslims meaning the situation created by 'Umar.”

The council in which Talha and Zubayr took part raised a hope for their caliphate. This
council caused Talha, Zubayr and Waqqas to imagine that they are fully illegible for
caliphate. Zubayr in the midst of Jamal war told Imam 'Ali that he was not more
illegible for caliphate than them.

The Umayyads residing in Hijaz rushed to help this group opportunistically. Marwan
Ibn Hakam, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir, 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Attab Ibn Abi l-'As and Sa'id Ibn
'As were among those who instigated people. A little while after, Sa'id Ibn 'As and
Mughira Ibn Shu'ba, initially one of the defenders, abdicated.

,The Umayyads's assistance, at this time

p: ۲۹۴

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۲۳ Major source on Jamal war is the book of “al-Jamal” –۱
by Sheykh Mufid who has prepared it out of tens of sources accessible to him in that

time We have used this book as well as others previously written
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۵۵-۲
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۲۲۲-۲۲۳; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. ۵, p. ۳۴-۳

was just because of opportunism and for believing in what Talha and Zubayr said. We know that Marwan at the end of Jamal war spear-killed Talha in revenge for 'Uthman

More contemplation has to be made about 'Ayisha, wife of the Prophet (S). 'Ayisha had a high status during her father's rule and 'Umar's, her father's friend. 'Umar gave her share more than the other wives of the Messenger (S) and this wasn't because she played a leading role in changes of his caliphate.^(۱) 'Ayisha is said to have owed a lot to 'Umar.^(۲)

Ayisha said, "During mourning service of 'Umar, she heard jinns^(۳) elegizing for him." ^(۴) (Even in her sleep, she dreamed as if 'Umar were endowed with prophethood.)^(۴)

By taking advantage of her talent in narrating hadith and credited with being the Prophet (S) 's wife, she maintained this to the end, although she and Mu'awiya could not get along well. 'Ayisha, during these years, tried to recognize herself as the dearest wife of the Messenger (S) leaving behind an acceptable image of herself and her father. She said she was six or seven when engaged and nine when married.^(۵)

Despite the news that the Prophet (S) at times excused her from Abu Bakr,^(۶) she said, "Her marriage to the Prophet (S) ordained from God.^(۷) This is while we know that Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, was the only wife of the Prophet (S) who was so proud of that.^(۸)

In the later times of 'Uthman's caliphate, 'Ayisha challenged him hard. Having been

p: ۲۹۵

As earlier said, when Abu Bakr said prayers, just one, instead of the Prophet (S), - ۱ according to Imam 'Ali, 'Ayisha was the one who, from inside of home, introduced Abu Bakr

Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. ۳۰۰ -۲

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۲۷۴ -۳

Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. ۹۴۲ -۴

Concerning different statements and what she herself said in contradiction to this -۵

idea, Hadith al-Ifk, from p. ۱۵۸ on

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. ۸, p. ۸۱ -۶

Ibid, vol. ۸, p. ۶۸ -۷

Ibid, vol. ۸, p. ۱۰۳ -۸

influenced by anti-'Uthman opposition as well as her own criticisms, she stood against
him

Unlike other wives of the Prophet (S), 'Ayisha primarily became involved in politics and naturally had a political personality. She could not remain silent in front of a wave of anti-'Uthman rebellion. The considerable point is that what compelled her to engage
?in such a venturous political action in spite of a lot of problems she faced

To us, as far as her disagreement with Imam was concerned, the only incentive she had to take part in this was the vengeance she exerted against the Hashimites, Fatima and 'Ali within the years of the Prophet (S) 's lifetime. Sheykh Mufid has mentioned a few examples of 'Ayisha's grudge.[\(۱\)](#) Otherwise, we know that she wasn't the most conscious people to be concerned with 'Ali's exoneration from
['Uthman's murder.](#)[\(۲\)](#)

In addition, she wasn't interested in reversion of caliphate to Banu Taym. When anti-'Uthman opposition peaked, 'Ayisha had gone to Mecca for the Hajj. There, she heard that 'Uthman wasn't murdered and Talha succeeded him. She became happy and went up to Medina to reach Saraf. She wasn't told there people have sworn allegiance
to 'Ali

Hearing this news, she returned to Mecca and cried out, “O the oppressed
['Uthman.”](#)[\(۳\)](#)

When 'Ayisha heard that people swore allegiance to 'Ali, she said, “One night of

[\('Uthman equals the entire lifetime of 'Ali.' \(۴\)](#)

After Imam wasn't martyred, 'Ayisha named the child brought to her "Abd al-
[\(Rahman!'" \(۵\)](#)

After Jamal war came to a defeat, 'Ayisha said to

p: ۲۹۶

al-Jamal, pp ۱۵۷-۱۶۰ -۱

"See the section on "Uthman's Opponents -۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۲۱۷-۲۱۸; vol. ۵, p. ۹۱; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi -۳
al-Hadid, vol. ۶, p. ۲۱۵

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۵, p. ۹۱ -۴

al-Jamal, p. ۱۶۰ and in the footnote from, Ash-Shafi, vol. ۴, p. ۳۵۶; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. -۵
۳۲, p. ۳۴۱

Ibn 'Abbas, "No town I'm more angry at than the one where you, the Hashimites, live
[\(in." \(۱\)](#)

Ayisha also said when informing about the Prophet (S) 's arrival in ending days of his' life, "Two people helped him by his arms. One of them wasn't Qutham Ibn 'Abbas and there wasn't another man!" According to narrator, by another man she meant 'Ali. (۲) Of course, she sometimes confessed that the dearest man to the Prophet (S) was 'Ali and the dearest woman was Fatima. When she was questioned why she did so, she [\(said with a brown face, "It was something done!" \(۳\)](#)

:Ali himself mentions the reasons why she exerted vengeance against him'

.First, the Messenger (S) had preferred him than her father in different cases

Second, there wasn't brotherhood between Imam and the Prophet (S) and so 'Umar
.wasn't selected for Abu Bakr

Third, keeping doors of companions' houses closed into the mosque and leaving

.Imam's house door open to it

Fourth, when Abu Bakr failed to do anything the day before, banner of triumph wasn't handed to Imam in Khaybar war

Fifth, there wasn't the story of declaring the exoneration for which the Prophet (S) firstly dispatched Abu Bakr, but he wasn't brought back as ordered by God and Imam took charge of it

Sixth, it wasn't 'Ayisha's grudge against Khadija whose daughter, Fatima, also had experienced that

Seventh, there wasn't popularity of Imam towards the Prophet (S) in such a way that once 'Ali came up to the Prophet and he

p: ۲۹۷

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۳۳۷; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. ۴, p. ۲۱ –۱

Musnad Ahmad, vol. ۶, pp ۳۴, ۳۸ –۲

Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. I, p. ۸۲۱ –۳

.wasn't given a seat next to him

The Prophet (S) praised him in response to 'Ayisha's objection. This greatly raised her vengeance against Imam.[\(۱\)](#) Sheykh Mufid in his ending part of his book “al-Jamal” [\(details another chapter on why 'Ayisha rendered grudge against Imam.](#)[\(۲\)](#)

Later on, when Imam Hasan (a) was to be buried near the Prophet (S), she opposed [\(and said, “Why do you want to bury in my house someone whom I dislike?”](#)[\(۳\)](#)

Ahmad Amin explains about the reasons why 'Ayisha exerted vengeance against [\(Fatima\(a\).](#)[\(۴\)](#)

Talha and Zubayr came to Mecca and well learned that they couldn't do anything [\(without 'Ayisha.](#)[\(۵\)](#)

They said to her, “If Basrans meet you, they will be united with you.”^(٤)

Imam said about 'Ayisha, “She is most obeyed among people.”^(٥)

Through various talks, 'Ayisha was convinced to join them to Basra. It was not so easy to go because she had to, in the first place, respond to her blatant disagreement on this Qur'anic verse that obligates the Prophet (S) 's wives to stay in their homes بيوتكن.

This verse clearly bans the Prophet (S) 's wives from leaving their homes meaning their participation in political struggles. As said that 'Umar even was doubtful about their going on the Hajj and he only once permitted them to do this by setting a lot of restrictions. Some wives such as Suda and Zaynab were not willing to go on pilgrimage for the same reason.^(٨)

Umm Salama tried hard to stop 'Ayisha going. Interesting to know is that 'Ayisha had

p: ٢٩٨

al-Jamal, pp ٤٠٩-٤١٢ -١

Ibid, pp ٤٢٥-٤٣٤ -٢

Ibid, p. ٤٣٨ -٣

Zahr al-Islam, vol. ٤, pp ٣٨-٣٩ -٤

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٤, p. ٤٥١ -٥

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٤٤ -٦

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٢٣٨ -٧

al-Mu'jam al-Kabir, vol. ٢٤, p. ٣٤ -٨

asked her to join them to Basra. She said to Umm Salama quoting from 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir, “One hundred thousand swords are ready in Basra. Have you come to fix this

In revenge for 'Uthman!, Said Umm Salama, were you not the hardest against him?

?Were you not the one who called him “Na'thal”, the old stupid man

Umm Salama described a few virtues of Imam 'Ali and asked him not to oppose

.someone to whom Muhajir and Ansar have sworn allegiance

(She referred to this speech of the Prophet (S), *علیٰ ولی کل مؤمن ومؤمنه*.)

Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr standing at the door said, “We haven't heard the Prophet say”
.”such a thing

But your aunt, said Umm Salama, has heard that and this speech of the Prophet who
said, *علیٰ خلیفتی علیکم فی حیاتی ومماتی*. (1) Ayisha confirmed that she has heard such a thing.

Ayisha spoke of her action taken for the improvement of Muslims' affairs! She
attempted to absorb Hafsa

He has the same idea, Hafsa said, as 'Ayisha's. In this way, he decided to go to Basra
(but 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar stopped him helping Jamal companions.) (2)

Umm Salama, one of Ahl al-Bayt enthusiasts, wrote to Imam telling about the action
of rebels, “By God if the Prophet (S) 's wives had not been banned leaving their homes,
I would have come with you. Now I let the most beloved of my loved ones, that is my
(son, 'Umar Ibn Abi Salama, come with you.” (3)

Umm Salama began to publicize Imam 'Ali among Meccans

p: ۲۹۹

al-Futuh, vol. II, PP ۲۸۲-۲۸۳ -۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ۴, p. ۴۵۱; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۲۸۴ -۲

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۲۸۴ -۳

and said to them, “I call you to seek after divine piety and in this time I know no one
(better than 'Ali.” (4)

When Maymuna, another wife the Prophet (S), heard about Talha and Zubayr's
rebellion, she told the bearer of the news, “Join 'Ali because he has never gone astray
(and nobody has been let astray by him”. She repeated this three times (5)

Umm Fad'l, daughter of Harith, in a letter by a courier to Imam, told him about the
[\(readiness of rebels.\)](#)

Medina was already in control of the Hashimites and the rebels could not return. Damascus was also under the yoke of Mu'awiya and it was obvious that they would
[\(not benefit from going to Damascus.\)](#)

Because Mu'awiya is obeyed there and they will become only his plaything. On the other hand, they had the common aim with Mu'awiya and that was they had to prevent from Imam's caliphate. Now that Damascus is in the hands of Mu'awiya, Iraq must be decontrolled by Imam. People like 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir, who was after rule of Basra, insisted more on that

Walid Ibn 'Uqba is said to have stopped them from going to Damascus since Mu'awiya was not ready to help 'Uthman, then how could he leave everything to a guess?[\(5\)](#) Mu'awiya also failed to take any interest in their coming to Damascus, so he falsely wrote to Zubayr that he has secured allegiance of Damascus people

He asked Zubayr to seize Iraq, Damascus will be ready for him. In that

p: ۳۰۰

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۲۴ –۱
al-Mu'jam al-Kabir, vol. ۲۴, p. ۱۰; Majma' al-Zawa'id, vol. ۹, p. ۱۳۵ –۲
al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۲۸۶ –۳
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۲۱ –۴
al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۲۷۹–۲۸۰ –۵

case, there remains nothing for 'Ali. These talks led to their moving on to Basra hoping that friends of Talha and Zubayr in Basra and Kufa [\(۱\)](#) to assist them. Ya'la Ibn Umayya arriving with a lot of property from Yemen, gave them all to rebels and they mobilized a group and mounted them on Ya'la Ibn Umayya's horses and moved up to Basra

Referring to the fact that she is Umm al-Mu'minin and a rightful mother of Muslims,
[\(2\)](#) 'Ayisha tried to attract people towards the rebels.

When the rebels came to Basra, Ka'b Ibn Sur, leader of Azd tribe, intended to abdicate. 'Ayisha came up to him and invited him. He initially insisting on his abdication said that he could not help but fulfilling what his mother said.[\(3\)](#) Anyway, 'Ayisha's name was very effective in attracting the people

Later, Talha in his speech in Basra said, “God has brought 'Ayisha to you. You know that how dignified she was in front of the Prophet (S) and what status she had in
”Islam

[\(4\)](#) Basrans just for the sake of 'Ayisha declared they would defend the rebels.

When fighting began, Talha said, “O people! 'Ali has come to shed the blood of Muslims. Tell not that he is the Messenger's cousin. Someone who is with you is wife of the Prophet and trustworthy Abu Bakr's daughter, she is the one whose father was
[\(5\)](#) the most beloved to the Prophet.”

:On the day of attack, one of Basran companions of rebels said in a piece of poetry

نحن

p: ٣٠١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ٢٢١-٢٢٢ -١

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. ٤, p. ١٥-١٦ -٢

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٤٤; al-Jamal, p. ٣٢٢ -٣

al-Jamal, p. ٣٠٤ -٤

al-Jamal, p. ٣٢٩ -٥

نوالى أمنا الرضية و نناصر الصّحابه المرضيه

We hold sainthood of our contented mother and help Companions pleased by God.”“

[\(1\)](#)

In Basra, 'Abd Allah Ibn Hukaym Tamimi, brought to Basrans the letters Talha wrote "to them and used them against 'Uthman and said to him, "Do you know these letters

Talha said, "Yes, but I knew repentance and revenging for 'Uthman the only way to [compensate!"](#)

Jamal troops moved on. In midway, in Huw'ab region, 'Ayisha heard dogs barking. She all of a sudden recalled a report from the Prophet (S) that he kept away his wives from a sedition trap when hearing barking of the dogs on the way. 'Ayisha became determined to go back but 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr brought to her fifty people of Banu ['Amir to testify that the region was not called Huw'ab.](#)

Uthman Ibn Hunayf was ruler of Basra on behalf of Imam (a). He dispatched Abu al-Aswad Du'ali and 'Imran Ibn Husayn to Jamal rebels near Basra. They asked Jamal [companions why they had gone there](#)

They replied, "We have come in revenge for 'Uthman and that the caliphate be left to [Shura](#)

Uthman Ibn Hunayf ordered the people to bear arms. The rebels came to Basra' reaching Mirbad region and in there Talha first spoke of the oppressedness of ['Uthman](#)

He said, "People have sworn allegiance to 'Ali only by force." He further said that now he must abdicate the resign from caliphate and selection of caliph in Shura be the [same tradition of 'Umar Ibn Khattab.](#)

Zubayr and after

p: ۳۰۲

Ibid p. ۳۴۵ –۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۲۲۹–۲۳۰; al-Jamal, p. ۳۰۵ –۲

al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. ۱۱, p. ۳۶۵; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۲۴; al- – ۳ Mustadrak, vol. III, p. ۱۲۰; al-Isti'ab, vol. ۴, p. ۳۶۱; (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr says, "This hadith is

among the reasons of the Prophet's prophethood and it is more correctly documented requiring no discussion ") Futuh al-Buldan, p. ٥٤٩; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٢٨٨; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. ٢٢٧; Majma' al-Zawa'id, vol. ٧, p. ٢٣٤ al-Jamal, p. ٣٠٦-٤

him 'Ayisha made speech. Some people acknowledged him and some others shouted that he is telling lies. At this time the crowd parted in two and attacked each other with (shoes. This resulted in an armed fighting. (١)

One of the opponents, of 'Abd al-Qays great men, cried out, "These people were the harshest against 'Uthman. After that they swore allegiance to 'Ali and we were told ".about that and we too did so

Talha ordered to catch him and shaed his head and face. (٢) According to Ibn Khayyat, (some of the people sheld them with stones when arriving in Basra. (٣)

At any rate, after relatively controlling Basra, they signed a contract with Ibn Hunayf saying that they wait for Imam 'Ali to come provided the royal residence, public .property and mosque remain in the hands of 'Uthman Ibn Hunayf

Despite the contract being signed, the rebels breached the contract fearing that Imam might come and they could not stand against him, so they nightly marched into the mosque and arrested 'Uthman Ibn Hunayf while he was up at doing the night prayer. They shaved his head and face and overlooked killing him (٤), instead expelled him out of the city merely because they feared his brother Sahl Ibn Hunayf whom Imam had placed instead of himself. Observing him in this condition, Imam began to (cry. (٥)

The rebels looted the public property after killing about fifty people (٦) as well as its .watch-outs

(٧) هذا ما وعدنا الله ورسوله! When Talha and Zubayr saw the public property, they said

According

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۲۲۶-۲۲۷ -۱

al-Jamal, p. ۳۰۷ -۲

Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. ۱۸۲ -۳

al-Jamal, p. ۲۸۴ -۴

Ibid p. ۲۸۵ -۵

al-Ma'arif, p. ۲۰۸ -۶

al-Jamal, p. ۴۰۱ -۷

to a narration, Talha at the very beginning of his arrival in Basra, asked about dhms
(that had been promised to him.)^(۱)

With the relative control of rebels over Basra, there emerged a disagreement between Talha and Zubayr over saying the prayers. This conflict temporarily came to an end with a compromise over their saying the prayers each on a day. At this time, Hukaym Ibn Jabala, commander of 'Uthman Ibn Hunayf-led forces, began to fight with the rebels with several hundred people. This fighting led to his martyrdom and
(his three brothers.)^(۲)

From Basra, 'Ayisha wrote letters to people of Medina and Yamama and called them
.to support Jamal rebels

In her letter to people of Yamama, she wrote, “The deviated 'Uthman Ibn Hunayf calls
”.people on the way to hell while we call people to the Book of God

She had written this letter before Imam's arrival to justify the crimes of rebels in Basra event.^(۳) She also wrote to Medinans telling them about the victory of rebels in
(Basra. The letter dated Rabi' al-Awwal ۵th, ۳۶ H.)^(۴)

When Imam (a) heard about the departure of rebels, he substituted Sahl Ibn Hunayf in place of himself and quickly moved to Iraq accompanied by a large number of the Prophet's companions and some other Medinans who are reportedly considered to be four thousand people.^(۵) According to Sa'id Ibn Jubayr, eight hundred people of Ansar

and four hundred of those who attended the Rid'wan allegiance, joined Imam (a) in [\(Jamal.6\)](#)

When Imam sent Hashim Ibn 'Utba

p: 304

al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, vol. 15, p. 283-1

al-Jamal, pp 283-284-2

al-Jamal, pp 301-302-3

Ibid pp 299-300-4

Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 184-5

loc cit-6

Ibn Abi Waqqas from Rabad'a to tell Abu Musa to mobilize people to join Imam. Abu Musa disagreed on Kufiyans support from Imam. By saying that this is a sedition and being absent in sedition is better than attending it [\(1\)](#), he did not allow people to rush to support Imam (a).

In addition, he threatened Hashim as well. Hashim came up to Imam and Imam sent 'Abd Allah and Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr to mobilize people in Kufa, but they failed to do so. This time, Imam sent his son, Imam Hasan (a) along with 'Ammar to Kufa.

Besides, he deposed Abu Musa and posed Qaraza Ibn Ka'b Ansari over Kufa

The enthusiastic speech of Imam Hasan (a) caused nine thousand six hundred and fifty people of Kufa to join Imam's troops. [\(2\)](#) Hujr Ibn 'Adi, of Kufa pure and virtuous men called people to support Imam. Afterwards, people were set to back their Imam [\(3\)](#) up under any circumstances. [\(4\)](#)

Imam Hasan (a) appearing as the Prophet's descendant played a key role in inciting Kufiyans. Similarly, 'Ammar, once ruler of Kufa, was known after piety and people recognized him as a criterion of credal error and gospel truth based on the narration,

[\(4\)](#) الحق مع عمّار يدور معه حيث دار

.Kufiyan troops joined Imam in Dhi Qar and moved towards Basra

Basran tribes were subdivided in three groups. One group including Rabi'a joined Imam. Another group such as Banu Dhabba joined 'Ayisha and the other one such as Ahnaf Ibn Qays, of Banu Tamim leaders, resigned

p: ٣٠٥

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٤٥ –١

Ibid p. ١٤٥; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ٢٣٤-٢٣٥ –٢

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٤٥ –٣

Dinwari (Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٤٧) says, “when Zubayr heard that ‘Ammar is with – ٤ «تقتلك الفئة الباغية» and hadith «الحق مع عمار» Imam ‘Ali, he remained doubtful due to hadith of This statement seems incorrect thanks to Zubayr’s spoiled soul ‘Ammar was from the ”?very beginning with Imam, how has Zubayr not thought of this so far

[\(١\) from the war.](#)

Abdication of a large number of tribes showed that it is very difficult for many to make decisions. Some of the tribes appearing in the two sides brought about to some extent .tribal disputes

Talha in his speech in time of war said, “Some of the Mud’ari hypocrite dissidents, .(Rabi'a Christians and Yemeni foot soldiers helped Imam 'Ali (a

His speech raised objection of those who had come to war imagining defense of [\(٢\) cause of rebels and this made them resign.](#)

Many people deemed rebellion right merely because it was led by Talha, Zubayr and .'Ayisha

Harith Ibn Hut told Imam, “Do you think that Talha, Zubayr and 'Ayisha are ”?unrightful

[\(٣\) Imam replied,](#) اعرف الحق تعرف اهله، واعرف الباطل تعرف اهله

Apart from ten thousand Kufiyans with two thousand people from 'Abd al-Qays and twelve thousand people comprising Imam's troops, a large number of Basran tribes in addition to a great multitude of Medinans among whom there were scores of the Prophet (S)'s companions, accompanied Imam. (4)

Imam 'Ali by no means was willing to wage this war. Hence, three days after arrival in Basra, by sending frequent messages, he asked the rebels to join back to "congregation" and "obedience". But he received no positive response from them. (5)

Imam sent Sa'sa'a Ibn Suhan with a letter to Basra. He spoke with Talha and Zubayr but when he talked to 'Ayisha, he felt that she intended to raise wrong doing more than the other two. After Imam's return, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas was sent to Basra

He said

p: ۳۰۶

Concerning the tribes and their positions, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۳۷ – ۱

al-Jamal, p. ۳۳۰ – ۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۲۳۹, ۲۷۴ – ۳

About the attendance of the Prophet's companions, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۲۶۷ – ۴

(۲۶۹ footnote

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۴۷ – ۵

"?to Talha, "Haven't you sworn allegiance

".Talha said, "I was forced by sword to do so

".Ibn 'Abbas said, "I myself observed that you voluntarily swore an allegiance

.Talha spoke about 'Uthman's blood

Ibn 'Abbas said, "Was it not true that 'Uthman drank water from his own house well for ten days? and you did not let him drink fresh water. Then 'Ali came to you asking ".you to let him drink water

.After that, Ibn 'Abbas talked to 'Ayisha and Talha

.Ayisha was so confident about her victory that she did not show any flexibility'

Ibn 'Abbas attempted by making sound reasoning to warn them of the danger waiting
(for them, yet they failed to accept it.)

However, Imam insisted that war not take place. He stopped his companions
launching the war and officially announced that no one has the right to launch war.

Even on the day of war, before noon, Imam (a) handed a Qur'an to Ibn 'Abbas to go to
.Talha and Zubayr and talk to them while calling them to Qur'an

Ibn 'Abbas talked to Talha and Zubayr but 'Ayisha even did not permit them to talk
".and said, "Go and tell your lord that sword will rule between us

Ibn 'Abbas says, "I was not very far from them when they showered us with their
(spears.)"

On the morning of Jumadi al-Awwal 10th (4), Imam's division was prepared. Khurayba
was the region of fighting where existed before Basra and later it became a place of
Basra. That day up to noon, Imam resisted against the

p: ۳۰۷

al-Jamal, pp ۳۱۴-۳۱۸ -۱

Waq'at al-Jamal, p. ۳۶ -۲

al-Jamal, pp ۳۳۶-۳۳۹ -۳

Ibid p. ۳۳۶; According to Baladhuri, war happened on Jumadi al-Thani 10th Ansab al- -۴
Ashraf, p. ۲۳۸; Imam's letter to Kufiyans telling about the triumph over Jamal
companions is dated Jumadi al-Awwal al-Jamal, p. ۳۹۹

.rebellion troops and advised them

".Imam (a) said to 'Ayisha, "God ordered you to stay at home, fear God and go back

Imam scolded Talha and Zubayr for bringing 'Ayisha. Malik was placed commander of

the right wing, 'Ammar Yasir as the commander of the left wing, Nu'man Ibn Rib'i Ansari, according to some sources, Jundab Ibn Zuhayr Azdi was placed over the infantry and the banner was given to Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya Khariba

(1) Imam (a) with his fiery speech prepared the troops for battling the enemy.

On the other side, 'Ayisha rode on camel-litter covered with armor. She appeared in the battlefield and made speech regularly talking about the oppressedness of 'Uthman

Imam primarily handed a Qur'an to one of the 'Abd al-Qays people to go to the battlefield calling the rebels to Qur'an and warning them of disunity. The rebels speared him martyred. Mother of this young man present there jumped herself over (2) her son. The companions helped bring his body to Imam.

Imam (a) who, until that time, had ordered his troops not to launch the war by observing martyrdom of that man commanded Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya to attack the enemy. (3) Fighting kept on from noon to night. It was most intense around 'Ayisha's camel and as said over seventy hands were amputated wanting to reach her camel's reins. 'Ayisha picked a handful of soil and tried to stupify people and did just as the Prophet (S) had done. She spattered the soil towards Imam's troops and said, "Woe betide you

Imam said to

p: ۳۰۸

al-Jamal, p. ۳۳۴ -۱

al-Jamal, pp ۳۳۹-۳۴۰; al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, vol. ۷, p. ۵۳۷; Ansab al-Ashraf, -۲ vol. II, p. ۲۴۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۲۴۰-۲۴۱ -۳

her, وَمَا رَمَيْتَ إِذْ رَمَيْتَ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ رَمَى. (4) "One who speared was not thee but the devil."

When rebelling troops were defeated, Marwan Ibn Hakam knowing that the

[\(murderer of 'Uthman is nobody but Talha, speared him killed.](#)

Interestingly, Ibn Khayyat says, “Once the war was begun, the first one killed was Talha. This shows that Marwan mainly has come to war to kill Talha. Later on, he felt proud of this such that he himself told the story to Iman as-Sajjad (a).

It has been said that Imam (a) called Talha in a battlefield and said to him, “Go Abu Muhammad! Do you remember what the Prophet said about me O Allah! Love his friends and loathe his enemies.” Talha replied, “I ask the repentance from God! If I had remembered that, I would have never risen up.

Zubayr stayed with the troops to the insistence of his son, 'Abd Allah and did not leave the battlefield even with the Imam's speech. In one case, Imam (a) remembered what the Prophet had said, “Your aunt's son, that is Zubayr, will rebel against you

[\(Zubayr acknowledged the report.](#)

The sources saying that Zubayr anyway had run away from the stage of fighting or had deserted the battlefield while being remorseful, are in clash with each other

After Imam's speech, Zubayr intended to go back, but returned to the battlefield by the insistence of his son, it is probable that this might have caused his last run away

p: ۳۰۹

al-Jamal, p. ۳۴۸; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. ۲۵۷ –۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۴۶–۲۴۷ –۲

Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. ۱۸۵ –۳

al-Jamal, p. ۳۸۳ –۴

Waq'at al-Jamal, al-Ghallabi, p. ۴۲; Tarikh Mukhtasar Dimashq, vol. ۱۱, p. ۲۰۴ –۵

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۵۵; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۴۷ –۶

Abu Mikhnaf comments that Zubayr left the battlefield after troops failure and he was killed on his way to Medina Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. ۲۵۴; This means that he has left the battlefield and nothing else

to be assumed as his repentance. While if he were really remorseful, he would make his serious decision to return in the very beginning. When he left the battlefield, a person named Ibn Jurmuz chased and killed him in the right occasion

Imam said about him, “Zubayr was closer to me than Talha. He was always from us, (Ahl al-Bayt, so long as his son 'Abd Allah grew up and separated us.” (1)

Malik played a role in Imam's caliphate as much as when he came in grips with 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr, he was almost to kill him but in front of those of his troops whom he was separated from, 'Abd Allah said, “Kill me with Malik Ashtar.” (2) His purpose was to have Malik killed

Adi Ibn Hatim Ta'i was among Imam's defenders who lost both one eye and one of his sons in this war. 'Amr Ibn Himaq Khuza'i was another companion of the Prophet (S) who stayed close to Imam in this war. He was, according to Dinwari, among the pious people of Kufa and many pious people joined him

Observing the resistance of Basrans around Jamal, Imam ordered the camel to be killed. Some of Imam's companions surrounded the camel and killed it

Later on, 'Ayisha said, “I could see 'Ali from inside the camel litter who was engaged in war shouting, al-Jamal, al-Jamal.” (3)

(Imam neared the camel litter and blamed 'Ayisha addressing her, “Ya Shaqira'.” (4)

One point is worth saying that 'Ayisha watched outside from inside the camel litter through

p: ۳۱۰

al-Jamal, p. ۳۸۹; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. ۹, p. ۲۴ –۱

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۵۰ –۲

Al-Jamal, p. ۳۷۹ –۳

Ibid p. ۳۶۹ –۴

.the hole made

Once she asked a person who had the reins of the camel in hand, “Is 'Ali present
”?among the people

”.He replied, “Yes

Ayisha asked him to show 'Ali to her. When 'Ali was shown to her, she said, “How'
”!identical he is to his brother

”?The man questioned, “Whom do you mean

”.She said, “The Prophet

(1) Once the man heard that, he let the camel's reins loose and joined Imam's troops.

After the war came to an end, 'Ayisha who was motionless like a stiff, was taken out and sent along with her brother, Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr, to Basra and after some days she could leave there. Afterwards, she was sent to Medina with a number of Basran men and women.(2) A long time after, 'Ayisha frequently expressed remorse

she cried so much that (3) of what she had done. (4) When she read the verse
(her veil became wet.(4)

Ibn Qutayba says, “A woman came to 'Ayisha and said, What do you say about the
”?woman who has killed her little child

”.Ayisha said, “She must go to hell'

The woman said, “What do you say about the woman who has killed (that is 'Ayisha)
(5) twenty thousand of her elder children?”(5)

Ayisha herself when dying, said, “I have created events after the Prophet. Bury me'
(6) near other wives (rather than beside the Prophet).”(6)

According to another narration, 'Ayisha said, “My absence in Jamal would have been
(7) better than having ten sons of the Prophet.”(7)

Many Basrans from different tribes were killed in this

p: ۳۱۱

SamT al-Nujum al-'Awali, vol. II, p. ۴۴۰ -۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۴۹ -۲

Ibid vol. II, p. ۲۶۵ -۳

Ibid vol. II, p. ۲۶۶ -۴

Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. I, p. ۲۰۲' -۵

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. ۸, p. ۷۴ -۶

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۲۴۱; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. ۵, p. ۶ -۷

war. According to Baladhuri, only two thousand five hundred and fifty two people of
.Azd tribe were killed

Eight hundred from Bakr Ibn Wa'il, five hundred from Banu Dhabba and seven
(1) hundred people from Banu Tamim had been killed.

There seem to be other exaggerative numbers given. For example, Jamal war victims
(2) are said to be totally twenty thousand people.

.Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr also says that there have been fifteen thousand people killed'

According to Sheykh Mufid, the same number of twenty thousand people seems
(3) correct.

Abu Hatim Nami quoting from his grandfather that the people killed in Jamal
(4) numbered twenty thousand people.

This number seems incorrect because in a war lasting only five to six hours, there
could be not many casualties to this extent. Imam's troops martyrs are said to
(5) number between four hundred to five hundred people.

Known figures among martyrs of Imam's companions number six. Among them, Zayd
and Sayhan are children of Sawhan. There are two more people called Saq'ab and

'Abd Allah, brothers of Salim Ibn Mikhnaf (Abu Mikhnaf's grandfather) as well as two
[\(others named 'Alba' Ibn Harith Sadusi and Hind Jamali.](#)

What is certain is that the immediate defeat of Basra troops (five hundred people killed compared to over nineteen thousand people of the rebels killed) shows that rebelling troops had no strong incentives although Umm al-Mu'minin was present among them. Major problem was that Talha and 'Ayisha despite the fame they won in the affair of 'Uthman, were more notorious than that they can deceive people

p: ۳۱۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۴۸ –۱

.Ibid. vol.II, p.۲۶۵ –۲

al-Jamal, p. ۴۱۹ –۳

Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. ۱۸۶ –۴

.Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. ۱۸۶ –۵

Ibid p. ۱۹۰ –۶

.of Basra considering themselves as avengers for 'Uthman

After the war was put to an end, Imam (a) ordered his troops not to chase anybody. Whoever gave in, he shall not be killed and no wounded shall be murdered. Imam set
.free even people like Marwan and children of 'Uthman

”.At that time, Marwan said, “He will not swear allegiance unless he is forced to do so

[\(Imam said, “Even if he swears allegiance, like Jews, he will violate his allegiance.”](#) [\(۱](#)

Imam did not let people take advantage of private property of people except what the enemy had used in war. This was amazing to the people who up to now gained booties after any victorious war. Imam was objected concerningly, and he ashamed
?them by saying that who would take 'Ayisha if the property is to be shared

However, simple-minded Arabs had this problem in mind that how it is rightly possible
[\(to kill people of a tribe but their property seizure is forbidden.](#)

Imam (a) began to search among those killed. When he saw Ka'b Ibn Thur-former judge of Basra on behalf of 'Umar-he had Qur'an hang from his neck. Imam said to .take Qur'an off his neck

He then ordered to have Ka'b be seated in front of him, and talked to his dead body just as the prophet had done to Quraysh's killed people in Uhud, “O Ka'b! I found what [\(1\)](#) my God had promised. You also found what your God had promised you!” [\(2\)](#)

(After Jamal fracas came to an end, Imam (a

p: ۳۱۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۶۳ (context and footnote –۱)

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۵۱ –۲

al-Jamal, p. ۳۹۲ –۳

entered congregation mosque and began to reproach the Basran infidels who were .the first people standing against their Imam

Imam called them [\(۱\)](#) womanish troops and animal followers: جند المرأة واتباع البهيمه.

Imam wrote in letters to Medina and Kufa about the story of Basra. [\(۲\)](#) Then he ordered to have the public property shared among his companions who are said to number twelve thousand people. Unlike Talha and Zubayr who said when observing Bayt al-Mal, “This is the same promise of God and his messenger”, this time Imam (a) [\(۳\)](#) said, “O white and yellow jewels, deceive people but me.” [\(۴\)](#)

After some time, sojourning in Basra, Imam went up to Kufa on Monday, Rajab ۱۲th or ۱۶th, year ۳۶ H. [\(۴\)](#) after appointing 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas as the ruler of Basra. His [\(۵\)](#) arrival in Kufa is said to be on Monday, ۱۲th of Rajab.

Imam Stays in Kufa

.Imam departed to Kufa after subsiding rebellion of infidels

Imam stayed over in Kufa until his martyrdom. It is outlandish to say that Imam

generally decided to leave Medina, although it is even far from fact his return to Medina might have been possible after his stay in Kufa. His departure to Kufa has to be considered as some kind of action to safeguard religion from the harm of infidels .such as Mu'awiya

Iraq was in a touchy situation. In principal, after beginning of conquests and expansion of Islamic realm, two points triggered increased importance of Damascus and Iraq over Medina and in other words Hijaz. First, a large number of tribes

p: ۳۱۴

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۵۱; al-Jamal, p. ۴۰۷; Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. I, p. ۳۰۸ -۱

al-Jamal, pp ۳۹۵-۳۹۹ -۲

Ibid pp ۴۰۱-۴۰۲ -۳

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۳۷۴; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۵۲; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۷۳; It is to -۴
be said that Imam has written letter to Qara'a Ibn Ka'b, ruler of Kufa, to inform about

the victory in Rajab ۳۶ H al-Jamal, p. ۴۰۴

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۵۳ -۵

had come to Damascus and Iraq from Hijaz among whom there were seen many of companions. Second, the extent, possibilities and hidden talents in this regions had .been incomparable to Hijaz

When infidel rebels began their movement in Mecca, they well came to this conclusion to move towards Iraq before 'Ali (a) captures it. In case they could succeed in seizing Kufa and Basra, Hijaz would come in their hands. The problem was that they first assumed power in Basra but an incomplete one. Second, Kufa was taken totally out of .their control

In contrast, Imam could bring Kufa under his control, placing it as a base for his Shi'ite Muslims in the future. Regretfully, the same action of the infidel rebels caused Basra not only to tilt towards 'Uthmani religion but there emerges a permanent enmity .between Basra and Kufa in Iraq, fading out solidarity in this region

It was not easy for Imam to get out of Madinat al-Nabi and there was no way out just as when the Prophet (S) left Mecca with all sanctity and his sense of patriotism. In that time, he had not so many followers in Mecca. In contrast, Medina bowed to him knowing that it was economically reliable

Now Imam 'Ali (a) had felt that his two strong enemies, one having Damascus in control and another Basra, trying to take Kufa out of his control. Seizure of these two cities meant that the whole Iran with all of its economic capacities has come

p: ۳۱۵

under their control

Imam (a) was not the man to become discouraged in the face of these problems and to abdicate from caliphate, something the rebels thought of and imagined that Imam leaves the affairs to Shura by observing this condition. On the contrary, he was determined to fight with the rebels and for the same reason he swiftly moved towards Iraq

The major reason was that Medina could not stand and resist for some factors

First, economically speaking, Hijaz was unable to bear confrontation with Iraq or Damascus. Medina, the best region, could not properly meet the needs of its people. ?Now how could it feed a huge army

Second, Medina was not able to endure an all-out war with Damascus in terms of human power. The maximum number of those Medinans who aided Imam (a) in Jamal war is four thousand people.^{۱۲۳۶} This population could not undo the problems of succession in facing his plenty of enemies

Third, Medinans save Ansar were not so much interested in Imam 'Ali (a). Muhajirun (immigrants), their children as well as Meccans were great number of people who had departed to this city after departure of the Prophet (S). Families of the Umayyads and (those of Jamal rebels did not allow people to completely assist Imam (a

The people of this city, during 'Uthman period, suffering from increased desire of welfare took away their fighting spirit. Moreover, the citizens, particularly some companions, like 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas, Muhammad Ibn Maslama, Usama Ibn

p: ٣١٤

Zayd, Zayd Ibn Thabit and many others did not show the least interest to Imam (a), knowing themselves more religious jurist than that they lend an ear to his speech. When Imam was in Kufa, Sahl Ibn Hunayf, Imam's ruler in Kufa, told Imam that many people are attracted by Mu'awiya

Imam in a letter wrote to Sahl: "I have been told that people staying with you some of whom secretly go to Mu'awiya. Do not feel sorry that number of your men is decreased and their assistance is stopped. Their deviation and your release from their suffering suffice to say that they are escaping from the truth and rushing to ignorance. They are people of this world and they are after it. They have seen and heard the justice and knew that people are equal in front of justice. So, they ran away to have their own ends meet alone. May they be far from the blessing of God" (1)

Meccans had no better situation either. When Imam (a) wrote to Khalid Ibn 'As to secure allegiance from Meccans but they refused to do so. (2)

Kufa in different ways and just in the face of Medina had an entirely good condition. In the first place, Iraq had no problem of population. There were many tribes living there, those who had shown their military power in conquering Iran. Iraq economically was the most important source for people of this land. Furthermore, there were a lot of tax and tribute from Iran and Iraq

p: ٣١٧

Nahj al-Balaghah, letter ٧٠ -١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ٢١٠-٢١١ -٢

an unlimited wealth, in the hands of Muslims. When 'Uqba Ibn 'Amir asked Imam not

.to leave Medina and get somebody else to go

Imam said [\(1\)](#) “ إن الأموال والرجال بالعراق ” [\(2\)](#) [\(The properties and the men are in Iraq.\)](#)

This was quite clear for others. 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir leaving Basra for Mecca after 'Uthman was murdered, he was told in a piece of poetry by Walid Ibn 'Uqba, “You left [\(3\)](#) [Iraq, center of men and came to a silent city!](#)” [\(4\)](#)

Ibn A'tham presents importance of Iraq as if Damascus has been only a corner of it. [\(5\)](#) Fundamental aim of Imam (a) was to face Mu'awiya after stifling of Jamal rebellion. It was impossible to do this without Imam's appearance in Iraq that was near [\(6\)](#) [Damascus.](#) [\(7\)](#)

Besides, Imam had a lot of supporters from among Yemeni tribes who were actually his devotees. They played a very important role in the war when Imam assumed [\(8\)](#) [caliphate and they stood in all battle scenes to the very end](#)

Of course it is to be noted that Iraq had its own specific problems. Later on, more explanation will be given about Iraqis on the occasion of confusion in this city at the [\(9\)](#) [beginning of Imam Hasan \(a\)'s succession](#)

It is only to refer that Kufiyans were recognized the most controversial people over trifles. They were enthusiastic people and not showing moderation in this regard. Also, the strong force of tribes headmen was one of the serious problems of Imam [\(10\)](#) [during his caliphate](#)

War with oppressively perverse people in Siffin

,Upon his arrival in Kufa

p: ٣١٨

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٤٣; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٢٦٨; al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. ٩٨ –١
al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٢٧١ –٢
al-Futuh, vol. I, p. ١٣٤ –٣

Imam did not go to ruler's palace. The palace, in many years, had been converted to
.an aristocratic one

”.When Imam was asked to go there, he said, “I'll never go to palace of the owls

He then went to altar of Kufa mosque and temporarily resided there. Afterwards, he
[\(١\)](#) went to Ju'da's house, son of his sister, Umm Hani.[\(١\)](#)

Kufiyans as the victorious people in Basra warmly red-carpetted Imam.[\(٢\)](#) At this time
.Damascus was the most important problem for Imam to think of

From the years before Imam assumed caliphate, Damascus belonged to the Umayyads. Perhaps 'Umar who had placed Damascus at the discretion of Yazid and next Mu'awiya, children of Abu Sufyan, thought that the Umayyads deserve having Damascus if not rightful of seizing caliphate but because they were leaders of Quraysh. Henceforth, as earlier said, he did not make any changes to Damascus and
.even never remained critical of Mu'awiya

With the arrival of 'Uthman, Mu'awiya was completely stabilized in situation. At this time, he regarded Damascus to be his own kingdom and mainly the imagination that he someday is deposed never occurred to him. Mu'awiya was very vigilant to have Damascus people be mentally fed by him and not by any other people. For the same
.reason he never let Abu Dharr stay there

Subsequently, whoever came to Damascus intending to effect the minds of the people as Mu'awiya thought, he would be expelled out of there.[\(٣\)](#) Anti-'Uthman rebellion on the part of the companions and other people made him treat

Waq‘at Siffin, pp ٣,٥; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٣٤٩ It is to be said that the most - ١ comprehensive work on the event of Siffin is the valuable book “Waq‘at Siffin”, written by Nasr Ibn Muzahim, dead in ٢١٢ Ibn A‘tham has mainly used this book in reporting

about Siffin and he has condensed the book Sources such as Tarikh at-Tabari and Baladhuri have quoted mainly from Abu Mikhnaf except a few sporadic reports
al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۳۴۷ -۲
Ibid vol. II, pp ۳۶۰-۳۶۱ -۳

.the case cautiously

On one hand, he never decided to stand against the companions. In this case, it was hoped that if someone came to power, he would have no pretext to demote Mu'awiya because of supporting the deviated caliph. On the other hand, with the confidence Mu'awiya took in Damascus people, he could count on this point that he would have .an excuse for rebellion given the fact that he is being set aside. It happened to be so

Having come to power, Imam (a) was up to send 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas to rule over Damascus. He primarily wrote a letter to Mu'awiya in which he asked Mu'awiya to accompany the aristocrats of Damascus to Medina, informing him that people murdered 'Uthman without his consultation but now they have selected him as caliph .with consultation and consensus

Mu'awiya failed to reply Imam's letter and he only sent him a white letter writing,
".“From Mu'awiya to 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib

The person who had carried the letter to Imam (a) said, “I am coming from the people who believe that you have murdered 'Uthman and they are pleased with nothing else (but killing you.”[\(۱\)](#)

This story was linked to the beginning affair of Jamal rebels that engaged Imam's mind for some time. In this time, the story of Jamal provided Mu'awiya with another propagandistic chance. By referring to turbulence of Talha, Zubayr and 'Ayisha, as the Prophet's wife, he could fix Imam's having a hand in murder of 'Uthman in the minds of

.Damascus people better than before

After Jamal story came to an end, Imam (a) settled in Kufa because it was obvious that he would soon fight with Damascus troops. In this case, it was only Iraq that could do such a thing. In the very moment Imam arrived in Kufa, Shann Ibn 'Abd Qays composed, “Now we are relieved from war with the infidels, but there is a horrendous snake in Damascus that if stinks anyone, he'll be filled with a dead fatal venom in his body; therefore, in order to remedy, before it stinks, smash its head and throw it [\(١\) aside.](#)”

It is to be noted that challenge between Damascus and Iraq, in principle, predated the Sassanids period. Arabs of these two regions, each was engaged in fighting in support of one of the two great powers of that time, that is Romans and the Sassanids. Of course, presently new immigrants entered this region and had different incentives compared to the past, but the old grounds could also affect it. Damascus surrender meant that its people had yielded to Iraqis. This could be true in the other way round.

,Ka'b Ibn Ju'ayl composed

أرى الشام تكره ملك العراق وأهل العراق لها كارهونا

وكل لصاحبه مبغض يرى كل ما كان من ذاك دينا

Damascus people dislike Iraq's rulership and so do Iraqis, they call each other“ [\(٢\) enemies and dismiss each other's doings as bad.](#)”

This was not an easy confrontation and it was clear from scratch that Iraqis and Damascus people will have hard days

p: ٣٢١

Waq'at Siffin, p. ٨ -١

Waq'at Siffin, p. ٥٦; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٤٣٢; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٦٠ -٢

.ahead

Amr Ibn 'As, some time in the midst of Siffin war, wrote to Ibn 'Abbas, "The situation' ,has become very critical and know that

إن الشام لا تملك الا بهلاك العراق، وأن العراق لا تملك إلا بهلاك الشام

Damascus is only captured by destroying the Iraqis and so is Iraq by killing“
(Damascus people.” (١)

Shurahbil Ibn Simt objected to Imam's envoy saying that, “You have come to annex
(Damascus to Iraq?” (٢)

In this time, other towns except Damascus and its suburbs swore allegiance to Imam (٣) and Imam in Kufa designated rulers for different regions of Iraq and Iran.(٤) Malik Ashatar was dispatched to Jazira (including Musil, Nasibayn, Dara, Sinjar, Amid, Hit and 'Anat). This region was specifically a key region because it was situated near .Damascus and Dhahhak Ibn Qays was in power there on behalf of Mu'awiya

Jazira people held 'Uthmani religion(٥) and those of “the 'Uthmanids” having fled from Kufa and Basra, had taken shelter in some parts of Jazira cominated by Mu'awiya.(٦) Dhahhak–controled regions included cities of Raqqa, Ruha and Qirqisiya'. When Malik Ashtar went to Jazira, he prepared troops and attacked Haran. He had an intense fighting with Dhahhak troops in this invasion. He could bring this region under his
(control.(٧)

It goes to say that Imam (a) on his arrival in Kufa tried to brighten public minds about different matters and prepare them for supporting him in the subsequent developments. He talked to the great people and noblemen and asked their support .for himself against Mu'awiya

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٤٠٣-٢
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٢١٢-٣
Waq'at Siffin, pp ١٢-١٣-٤
al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٣٥٠-٥
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٢٩٧-٦
al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٣٥٠; Waq'at Siffin, p. ١١٣; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٦٧-٧

Iraq was then dominated by the same noblemen

Headmen of tribes were more powerful than the ruler of the city and Imam (a) could not reorganize things without attracting their attention. At the same time, Imam's procedure was not to make progress in the affairs without consultation of people.

.This for people with no political perception created more desire of cooperation

In response to Imam who said that he intended to write a letter to Mu'awiya calling to his obedience, people said, "Whatever you do, we obey you. We obey you just as we obeyed the Prophet." (١) Imam also decided to reveal the fact to those rulers of the cities who were appointed by 'Uthman and had no certain problems. Included among them were Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah Bajali, ruler of Hamadan and Ash'ath Ibn Qays, ruler of Adharbayjan

According to Dinwari, one of the reasons of anti-'Uthman rebellion was to give rulership of Adharbayjan to Ash'ath. This happened after 'Uthman married Ash'ath's daughter to his son.(٢) Ash'ath decided to flee to Damascus and only the shame he had from the side of his friends and their opposition to this action he took caused him (to stay there.(٣)

Noblemen of Kufa and other parts were given an audience by Imam and made excuses for justifying their no support of Imam in Jamal while strengthening their allegiance to him. Speaking about preparing to join Mu'awiya was something they were engaged in. for example, cooperation of Ahnaf Ibn Qays on behalf of

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۳۵۲ -۱

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۵۶ -۲

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۲۱; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۳۷۰-۳۷۱ -۳

Imam led to coming of Banu Sa'd and Banu Tamim tribes to Kufa from Basra and this
.(largely affected consolidation of Kufa.)

By sending a letter to Mu'awiya from Kufa, Imam attempted to convince him to obey
Imam of Muslims. Imam in a letter told him that his caliphate was based on then
:criteria and he had to admit it. Imam wrote

verily the allegiance people in Medina swore to me is mandatory for you in Damascus“
too. The same people who had sworn allegiance to Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman
have done so to me similarly, so everybody present here has no way but to decide
upon allegiance and everyone absent has no alternative except abandoning it. Shura
is the right of Muhajirun and Ansar and when it is formed and the members agreed on
(leadership of a man called Imam, then this is the very consent of God.)

If you are rebellious, I'll fight you asking help of God. You've talked a lot about
murderers of 'Uthman. First, go on the way Muslims cover and come with them to me
for trial, so I oblige you and them to follow Book of God...and know that you're
released on parole and the liberated prisoners do not deserve caliphate and
(participating in Shura”.)

When Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah handed Imam's letter to Mu'awiya in which he asked him to
stop his seditious actions and join the community of Muslims, Mu'awiya asked people
.to assemble in the mosque

While praising Damascus as “sacred territory”, he

p: ۳۲۴

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۲۷ -۱

Abd al-Rahman Ibn Ghanm Azdi who was known as “Afqah ahl Sham”(Horizon of‘ -۲

Damascus people) said to Shurahbil in Damascus, “Even if ‘Ali has murdered ‘Uthman, he would be caliph of Muslims since Muhajirun and Ansar have sworn allegiance to him and they are “superior to people” Waq‘at Siffin, p. ٤٥
Waq‘at Siffin, p. ٢٩; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ٣٧٤-٣٧٥; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٥٧-٣

said, “I am your caliph on behalf of 'Umar Ibn Khattab and 'Uthman. I am guardian for blood of 'Uthman who has been oppressedly killed. What do you say about blood of
”?'Uthman

All people declared their support of his revenge for 'Uthman. This was Mu'awiya's response to Imam (a). What was more interesting in Mu'awiya's speech was that he
(said he had been appointed to rule Damascus on behalf of 'Umar. (١)

Uthman also said, “How should I depose Mu'awiya from Damascus while 'Umar has'
”?appointed him

This was while he had demoted many of 'Umar's agents from different cities. (٢) By deceiving Shurahbil Simt Kindi, one of Damascus noblemen and headman of Yemenis (٣), Mu'awiya could draw support of many of Damascus people. (٤) Mu'awiya regularly sent people to him to give testimony that 'Ali has murdered 'Uthman. Account of this deception shows stupidity of Shurahbil and those who followed him
(and Mu'awiya. (٥)

Mu'awiya told Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah, representative of Imam, “Write to 'Ali to set Damascus and Egypt for me and when he passed away, he should not leave allegiance of anybody to me. In this case, I entrust everything to him and know him a caliph.” Jarir wrote this to Imam and Imam replied, “Mughira in Medina suggested this “
لم يكن الله ليرانى أتخذ المضلين عضداً”
(God never sees me in a position of taking advantage of the deviators as my arms.” (٦)

In fact, Mu'awiya tended to capture Damascus

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۳۸۰ -۱

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۳۲ -۲

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۴۱۱, he was proud not because of being from Damascus but -۳

because he was a Yemeni

al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۴۰۶-۴۰۷; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۶۰ -۴

Waq'at Siffin, pp ۴۴-۵۲; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۳۹۷-۴۰۱; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۷۵- -۵

۲۷۶ (footnote); Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۵۹

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۵۲; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۳۹۲ -۶

unequivocally and even if Imam 'Ali is caliph, the region should be in his control in the form of an independent emirate. When Mu'awiya made speech in Damascus, he said, "Why is 'Ali in caliphate superior to me. If Hijaz people have sworn allegiance to him, ".Damascus people have done so to me. These two regions are equal in this regard

He also in a letter wrote to Imam, "As long as people of Hijaz observe the truth, they were more preferred than Damascus people. But now since they have abandoned the [truth, the truth belongs to the Damascus people.](#)" [\(۱\)](#)

Replying him, Imam wrote, "As for what you said about "now people of Damascus are superior to people of Hijaz", show me a man from Quraysh who can be approved in Shura or his caliphate can be legal. If you claim so, Muhajirun and Ansar deny you ... allegiance to me is generally sworn and nobody can oppose it and there will be no [revision.](#)" [\(۲\)](#)

At this time, Mu'awiya was called emir rather than "Amir al-Mu'minin" in Damascus; nevertheless, there were people who applied this term to Mu'awiya. The first man to call Mu'awiya Amir al-Mu'minin was Hajjaj Ibn Khuzayma who in his first meeting with Mu'awiya said, "Your uncles descendants from Banu 'Abd al-Mutallib killed your [Sheikh.](#)" [\(۳\)](#)

However, Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah Bajali returned from Damascus to Kufa after four months. [\(۴\)](#) Malik punished him hard and blamed him for selling his religion to Mu'awiya in Damascus. A short while later, Jarir

al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۴۲۹-۴۳۰ -۱

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۵۸; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۴۳۲ -۲

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۷۷ -۳

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۴۰۴ -۴

left Kufa for Qirqisa while a large number of people from Bajala-excluding nineteen people-joined him. After Jarir along with Thuwayr Ibn 'Amir left for the place, Imam [\(set ablaze their houses.\)](#)

This time, 'Amr Ibn 'As lived in Palestine. He stood aside and went to Palestine after his opposition to 'Uthman that essentially emanated from 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abi Sarh who was put in his place in Egypt. From there, he provoked people and even serfs against 'Uthman.[\(۲\)](#) He is said after murder of 'Uthman to have asked his children what he must do

”.His son said, “Go to 'Ali

Amr said, “If I go to 'Ali now, he'll say, “You are like one of the Muslims enjoying equal [\(rights as they do\)](#)”, “but Mu'awiya considers me as his partner.”[\(۳\)](#)

Mu'awiya felt that he could be of an important help to him. At the same time, Mu'awiya as in all cases, by touching 'Amr's weak point that is government of Egypt, asked his accompaniment. Mu'awiya, it is said, asked 'Amr to rush to him after he [\(received Imam's letter through Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah.\)](#)[\(۴\)](#)

It is also said that his son, 'Abd Allah, bewared him of his action [\(۵\)](#), but Muhammad, his another son, induced him to do that. 'Amr himself expressed his initial hesitation in [\(a piece of poetry.\)](#)[\(۶\)](#)

However, 'Amr Ibn 'As was more corrupt than to overlook government of Egypt. He was primarily one member of Abu Bakr and 'Umar's band. He commanded the conquests and 'Uthman had set him

Waq'at Siffin, p. ٦١ –١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٢٨٣ –٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٢٨٤; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٥٧ –٣

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٣٨٢ –٤

In Sunnites sources 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'As, one of Sahaba hadith-writers, is –٥ defended while 'Abd Allah was present in Siffin arm in arm with his father 'Abd Allah commanded the left wing of Damascus troops Waq'at Siffin, p. ٢٠٦ It goes to say that when his father asked him to hold the banner, he first rejected and said, "I'll never fight anyone who has not been even one moment an atheist " His father obligated him to hold the banner, he took it and said, "If the Prophet had not said, "Obey your father", "I would have never done this!!" al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٣٥

Waq'at Siffin, p. ٣٥; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٢٨٥; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٨٥ –٦

aside because he used the help of his relatives in this regard. In essence, 'Amr was .one of the organs of Quraysh party who was at odds with the Hashimites

He quickly made his decision and joined hands with Mu'awiya after being assured that he could gain the world, that according to him was government of Egypt, by selling his ,religion. Talking to Mu'awiya, he composed

معاوى لا اعطيك دينى ولم أنل بذلك دنيا فانظر كيف تصنع

فإن تعطني مصرأ فأربح بصفقه أخذت بها شيخاً يضرّ وينفع

O Mu'awiya! I sell not my religion for you and I sought not a benefit from your world,“ now this is you and all this, so if you give rulership of Egypt to me, I am fully [\(benefitted.” \(١\)](#)

It was a great success for Mu'awiya to see 'Amr joining him. The first thing Mu'awiya consulted was about Roman troops. 'Amr proposed a compromise and said that Romans would quickly accept it.[\(٢\)](#) Mu'awiya put this into effect and Imam (a) [\(mentioned it in one of his speeches.\(٣\)](#)

Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Umar joining Mu'awiya in Damascus- that was because he feared' Imam retaliating him for murder of Hurmuzan and two other people in Medina(۴)- complemented Mu'awiya's excuse in having son of caliph II in his hands and this was [publicly and highly important to Mu'awiya who counted on this.](#)(۵)

Mu'awiya began his propaganda for betraying people of Medina and Mecca as well as the renowned authorities in different cities. He wrote to Medinans that we have risen up in

p: ۳۲۸

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۳۹; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۸۸; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۸۶ - ۱
'Amr lived only until ۴۳ H and was ruler of Egypt
Waq'at Siffin, pp ۳۷,۴۴; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۳۸۶ -۲
al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۴۴۱ -۳
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۹۴; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۶۱ -۴
Waq'at Siffin, pp ۸۲-۸۳; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۴۱۳ -۵

revenge for 'Uthman. If we become victorious, we will settle everything as Shura .manipulated by 'Umar and we are not after caliphate

Medinans were irritated by what Mu'awiya and 'Amr said about caliphate and mentioned this important principle to them that “Tulaqa” (those released on parole) [have no right to speak about caliphate.](#)(۱)

Mu'awiya made an effort to deceive people like Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, Muhammad Ibn Maslama and Usama Ibn Zayd whom he heard had not sworn allegiance to Imam (a) or had been unwilling to obey him in his wars. He in these letters regularly talked about Shura. None of the people mentioned responded him .favorably

Sa'd Waqqas also wrote, "'Umar let no body in Shura unless those who were rightful of the caliphate. Presently, there is some disagreement with 'Ali on the fact that it [would be good if Talha and Zubayr stayed home.](#)" (۲)

We know that the bottom line of all Sa'd's speech was that he deserved caliphate because 'Ali (a) has a problem and others are all dead. The only person remaining is
!Sa'd Waqqas

These people downgraded “ خذلوا الحق ولم ينصروا الباطل ” Ali's idea about “Qa'idin” was that'
[\(the gospel truth and assisted not the credal error.”](#) [\(۳\)](#)

Mu'awiya wrote to 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, “He does not want caliphate for himself but
[\(he wants it for you. 'Abd Allah rejected his suggestion.”](#) [\(۴\)](#)

This time, Imam (a) and Mu'awiya exchanged two detaile letters which contained
.important points

Mu'awiya in his letter wrote to

p: ۳۲۹

Waq‘at Siffin, p. ۶۳; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۴۱۶-۴۱۷ -۱

Waq‘at Siffin, vol. ۷۵; Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۸۷; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۴۲۱ -۲

Nahj al-Balaghah, sayings, No ۱۸ -۳

al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۴۱۸-۴۱۹ -۴

Imam that, “After the Prophet there were caliphs who came to power and you were envious of them and rebelled against them and we realized that rebellion in your wrathful look, your outcry, your sigh and in your delayed allegiance to caliphs, seeing that you were pulled like a male nose-ringed two-humped camel by force to
”.reluctantly pay allegiance to them

Further, Mu'awiya spoke about Imam's enmity to 'Uthman and the fact that he was
.killed in his house and he remained quiet

Mu'awiya also said that, “If 'Ali wanted to stop 'Uthman's murder, he could do it, but he did not. Now if 'Ali tells he truth, he can leave 'Uthman's murderers to me for
”.allegiance

In his response, 'Ali (a) by referring to the victory God bestowed on the Prophet (S) and that He suppressed his enemies, mentioned that, "The people who mostly insisted on provocation against him were his family." Imam further said that they, Ahl al-Bayt, was the first people who believed the Prophet (S) while his tribesmen were up to kill their Prophets, wanted to uproot them and leave them in their hearts with sorrow and did the intemperate things to them

He also added: "We were banned from having good food and drinking fresh clean water and granted us dismay. We were placed spies and guards, were forced to climb up unevenly impassable mount and were waged war. They put down a treaty not to eat, drink, marry and trade with us and never join hands with

p: ۳۳۰

us, leaving us unsafe unless we hand them the Prophet (S) to be killed

By mentioning what pains he had taken in the wars in time of the Prophet (S), Imam further said: "You spoke of my envy of caliphs of my belated allegiance to them and of my rebellion against them. As for rebellion, I invoke by God if that could be true. Concerning my delayed approval of them as well as being displeased with what they did, I never apologize anybody for this

Imam (a) continued to say his reason for his rightfulness of caliphate. He also talked about his no implication in murdering of 'Uthman, citing Abu Sufyan's idea about Saqifa event and that he asked Imam not to let Abu Bakr capture caliphate but to make him pay allegiance to him. "I refused, Imam added, to do so because people were almost close to days of infidelity and I strongly feared disunity among Muslims."

﴿﴾

This letter is a major proof of Imam's attitude towards caliphs and his idea about his rightful caliphate. After this, he wrote letters to Mu'awiya and 'Amr Ibn 'As, trying to keep them away from the wrong way they were after.

Imam (a) became determined to Jihad with Mu'awiya. He repetitively recited this to

Now, it is turn of the deviators, the apostates“ امرت بقتال الناكثين والقاسطين والمارقين ,himself
(and the infidels to be launched a Jihad by Imam.” (۲)

Imam called his outstanding companions of Muhajirun and Ansar, asking them to
express their idea

p: ۳۳۱

Waq‘at Siffin, pp ۸۶-۹۱; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۲۷۷-۲۸۲; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, -۱
Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ۱۵, p. ۷۳; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۴۷۴-۴۷۵; Nahj As-Sa‘ada, vol. ۴, p. ۱۸۵
Waq‘at Siffin, pp ۱۱۰-۱۱۱; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۴۷۷-۴۸۰ -۲
al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۴۶۰ -۳

about going to Damascus. Hashim Ibn 'Utba, nephew of Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas said that
those people allegedly claim about revenge for 'Uthman. They seek after this world
and they must be suppressed as soon as possible

,Ammar said that if they rushed one day earlier, it would be better. He composed'

سيروا إلى الأحزاب أعداء النبي سيروا فخير الناس أتباع علي

Move towards the parties and enemies of the Prophet because the best people are“
(‘Ali's followers.” (۱)

Qays Ibn Sa'd said, “Making Jihad with them is more obligatory than the one with the
.Turks and Romans

Sahl Ibn Hunayf also declared Ansar's readiness for joining and obeying Imam (a).
Among the people there, one person objected and said, “You want to dispatch us to
kill our Damascus brethren as you took us, yesterday, to kill our Basran brothers!”
People began to crack him down. The man ran away and the people after him leading
(to his murder in public turbulence in Bazar. (۲)

Malik Ashtar said, “You shouldn't be fretted with what this wretched traitor said. All
(people are your Shi'ite Muslims.” (۳)

Kufa environment was, at this time, so good that no one dared disagree or even express dissent. Among the people, one who raised such an idea was Hanzala Ibn Rabi'a. His tribesmen put him under so much pressure that he nightly fled and joined [\(Mu'awiya though he seemed not to have taken part in the war.\)](#)

However, even people who were fairly decent more or less remained in doubt. Abu Zubayb Ibn 'Awf asked

p: ۳۳۲

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۱۰۱; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۴۶۰ –۱
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۹۳; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۳۶۲; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۶۴ Imam –۲
paid his blood money out of public property
Waq'at Siffin, pp ۹۲–۹۶ –۳
Ibid pp ۹۸–۹۹; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۴۴۴ –۴

Imam to officially testify that the way followed to cut off Wilayat's link to Damascus troops and replaced with enmity to them is a true one. Imam attested that. After Imam (a), 'Ammar attested that and he became assured of his way, relying on the two [\(testimonies.\)](#)

Some people from companions of 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud – once in charge of Kufa's Bayt al-Mal – came to Imam and said, “We come with you but our division base will be independent. This is because we want to see who is after the credal error and [”embarks on rebellion](#)

Imam approved of their idea. One group of four hundred people led by Rabi'a Ibn Khuthaym, expressing doubt about the war, asked Imam to send them to one of the borderlines. Imam sent them to Riy borderline and Bahila people who were displeased with Imam (a) and nor was Imam pleased with them were sent to Diylam [\(frontier after he granted them their bounties.\)](#)

Abd Allah Ibn Badil while in his speech confirming Imam's position said to Imam, “Their opposition to you is because of your previous strikes against them.” He then

said to people, “How should Mu'awiya pay allegiance to 'Ali while his brother, Hanzala, [his uncle, Walid and his grandfather, 'Utba are all killed in one war?”](#) [\(۲\)](#)

Hujr Ibn 'Adi and 'Amr Ibn Hamiq marched and began to curse Damascus people. Imam summoned them and said that he did not like them to be known after curses.

Instead, they could ask God to

p: ۳۳۳

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۱۰۱ –۱

Ibid p. ۱۱۵; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۶۵, he seems to be the same Khajih Rabi' whose – ۲ tombstone, in Mashhad is visited very much

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۱۰۲; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۴۴۷ –۳

.stop bloodshed and make peace

Amr Ibn Hamiq stressed over his friendship with Imam and Imam prayed for him.[\(۱\)](#)'
'Amr stood on his pledge until he was martyred by Ibn Umm al-Hakam, Mu'awiya's
.ruler in Jazira

Imam in a public sermon called all people to Jihad after he was assured of the fact that Mu'awiya receives nothing but force and on the other hand, lords of Kufa defend
.him in war with Damascus

After him, Imam Hasan (a) began to speak, “God prepared for battling against your enemy, Mu'awiya and his troops because he is already in state of alert. Leave not your spirit of campaign that, if abandoned, casts off bonds of hearts and that
”.careering of sword and spear assures assistance and prevention of defeat

After him, Imam Husayn (a) induced people, in a speech, to fight with Damascus
[people.](#) [\(۲\)](#)

Imam wrote to Ibn 'Abbas to ask for Basrans' help. Many Basrans, after being called by Imam, joined Ibn 'Abbas to Kufa. Ibn 'Abbas put Abul-Aswad Du'ali in his place in Basra. He wrote to Mikhnaf Ibn Salim to put somebody in his place in Isfahan and join

.Imam and he did so

At this time, Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr was ruler of Egypt on behalf of Imam. Writing a detailed letter to Mu'awiya, he blamed Mu'awiya for countering with Imam

Muhammad wrote as to Imam 'Ali's background: "Now I see that you talk about being his counterpart while you're you and he's he who beats all with his unique record of all alms

p: ۳۳۴

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۱۰۳; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۴۴۸, Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۶۵ -۱

Waq'at Siffin, pp ۱۱۴-۱۱۵ -۲

and virtues. He is from the people of the first man who has embraced Islam, more reliable in faith, more purified in family, having an honorable wife who stands higher than all people and he is of the best people to his cousin

Whilst you are damned of the cursed son. You and your father flamed seditions against religion of God and attempted to put out glow of Islam. You organized factions and parties, collected properties and for so doing, you held familiar company with anti-Islam tribes

Your father died after this way and you substituted him and the evidence is that the remaining groups, opposition parties, hypocrite leaders who have taken refuge in you are against the Prophet (S) and you have supported them. And the evidence for 'Ali, in addition to his public superiority and his Islamic initiative, is his companions of Muhajirun and Ansar whose virtues are cited in Qur'an and left in memories and God praised them

Woe unto you! How do you parallel yourself to 'Ali whereas he is legatee of the Prophet (S) and his descendants and is the first man who obeyed him and stood up to his promise until his last days of life. The Messenger (S) kept him his confidant and his partner

Replying him, Mu'awiya wrote: "To one who reproaches his father. Your letter is received ... You charged your father intemperately ... We and your father were together in the lifetime of the Prophet. We know that we have

p: ۳۳۵

... ,to respect the right of son of Abu Talib and his supremacy over us is apparent

After the Prophet in that time, your father and his discriminator were the first people who disentitled 'Ali of his right and opposed him and they both unanimously allied with each other in this regard ... They never let him in their works and never revealed their ...secrets to him as long as they passed away

Therefore, if what we are up to is true, your father initiated it and if it is cruelty, your father again founded it. We are his partners and we followed his guidelines. In case your father had not covered this way before us, we would have never opposed son of Abu Talib and would have surrendered ourselves. But we observed what your father [\(did and we too followed his foot-prints and modeled his manner."](#) [\(۱](#)

Kufa poised for battle with Damascus. Imam ordered the warriors in Nukhayla, a military camp in Kufa, to come together. Decorating pulpit of Kufa with the bloody garment of 'Uthman, while seventy thousand Sheikhs weeping around it, Mu'awiya [\(was made to prepare Damascus people for battling Iraqi troops.\(۲](#)

Imam's uprising from Nukhayla happened on ۵th of Shawwal, ۳۶ H.(۳) The first dispute raised in Imam's troops was conflict over headmanship of Yemeni tribes. Imam (a) deposed Ash'ath and posed Hassan Ibn Makhduj. This spurred conflict between Kinda .and Rabi'a

Upon hearing about this conflict, Mu'awiya compelled one of Kinda poets to stimulate Ash'ath

p: ۳۳۶

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. III, p. ١٨٨; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ١٠; SamT al-Nujum al-'Awali, vol. II, p. ٤٤٥
Waq'at Siffin, p. ١٢٧-٢
Ibid p. ١٣١-٣

against Imam but he obtained no luck in that time and this was finished by placing him
(over the left wing of Iraqi troops.)

Unfortunately, the enfeebled, spoiled and opportunist spirit of Ash'ath caused him to stand against Imam. It has been said that he had been writing letters to Mu'awiya ever since Imam called him to Adharbayjan and ordered to have his properties appraised. Ya'qubi has mentioned his relationship with Mu'awiya when Qur'ans
(were raised up.)

Imam (a) en route arrived in Ctesiphon and asked the citizens to join his troops. Behind Imam, eight hundred people along with Qays Ibn Sa'd and a short while later about four hundred people along with his son, Yazid, joined Imam's troops. Imam on the way turned down all gifts of Iranian headmen and bewared them of welcoming
(emirs in such a way.)

Upon request of his companions, Imam wrote another letter to Mu'awiya and called him to Book of God, tradition of the Prophet (S) and prevention of bloodshed but Mu'awiya poetically responded him that there rules sword between them. On the way, Imam (a) demanded Raqqa 'Uthmani - religion people who were supporters of
.Mu'awiya to install a bridge over the river for the troops to pass

Citizens refused to do so and they finally did it under the threat of Malik. Imam kept three thousand people with Malik until all the forces pass through. In the end, Malik was the last one who crossed the bridge. On passing through Iraq, when

p: ٣٣٧

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp ١٨٨-١٨٩ -٣
Waq'at Siffin, vol. II, p. ١٤٤; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٤٦٨ -٤
Waq'at Siffin, pp ١٥٠-١٥١; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٢٩٧ -٥
Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٨٧ -٦
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٢٩٨; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ٤٨٧-٤٨٨ -٧

Imam reached Karbala, he reported about the horrendous event that would happen
(to Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (S) in this land.)^(١)

In northern Iraq and Syria, front troops at Roman border, by passing through Hit,
.Qirqisiya' and Raqqa faced front forces of Damascus led by Abul-A'war Sulami

Imam sent Malik forward to counter with them reaffirming to him that he, at any rate,
should not initiate the war. Upon his arrival, Damascus troops launched fighting and
the two sides were engaged in combat for some time. Afterwards, Damascus troops
.pulled back

.Concerning the time of Siffin war, there appear contradictory historical reports

It seems that there exist two quotations. Baladhuri has cited Imam's arrival in Siffin to
be on Dhil-Hajja (٣٦).^(٢) He reports the war from Dhil-Hajja (in the year of ٣٦),
(referring to fightings in this month and after in Safar when major war took place.)^(٣)

Ya'qubi says water dilemma goes to Dhi l-Hajja, ٣٦ H. and that war in the year of ٣٧ H.
lasted forty days. However, he says arbitration goes to Ramad'an, ٣٨ H.^(٤) he means
that the arbitration happened in Safar, ٣٧ H. about one and a half year after Siffin war!
Based on this report, a treaty was put down in Safar and as prescribed it will be
.brought to an end by Ramad'an

Ibn Athir began events of Siffin from Dhi l-Hajja, ٣٦ H. and ended in Safar, ٣٧ H.,
(referring to arbitration within events of the same year.)^(٥)

According to Khalifa Ibn Khayyat, Siffin war intensely lasted

al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ٤٦٢-٤٦٦; Waq'at Siffin, pp ١٤٠-١٤٢ -١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٢٩٩ -٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٣٠٣ -٣

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp ١٨٨,١٩٠ -٤

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, pp ٢٩٣,٣٢١ -٥

.from ٧th to ١٠th of Safar, ٣٧ H.(١) It seems war exceeded those days

According to another report by Nasr Ibn Muzahim, the first date specified is that when Imam (a) reached Siffin, he had correspondences with Damascus troops in the region of Siffin during months of Rabi'a al-Akhir to Jumadi al-Thani.(٢) Following this, Ibn Muzahim mentions events of Rajab. This condition continued up to Dhil-Hajja during .which forces from the two sides fought with each other

After that, in Muharram, hostilities came to a cessation and the main war was waged in Safar.(٣) Naturally, months of Rabi' al-Awwal and the two months of Jumadi can not be said to relate to the year of ٣٦H. because Imam had arrived in Kufa in Rajab of that .year

As Nasr said, Siffin war was launched from the second month of the year ٣٧, lasting up to Safar of next year. In this way, Ibn Muzahim's mention of dates exceed one year beyond those of Baladhuri's and some other historians. Dinwari's dates are exactly (what Nasr mentioned).(٤)

This is while Dinwari has set date of arbitration in Safar of the year ٣٧ despite his reference to Rabi'a al-Awwal and the two Jumadis and it can not be true according to his previous settings. As his book's proofreader said, Muharram of the year ٣٧ H. is the month when war stopped.(٥) It is to be said that Ibn A'tham regards arrival of Imam's troops to be in Muharram of the year ٣٨ H.(٦) That

p: ٣٣٩

Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. ١٩١ -١

Waq'at Siffin, p. ١٩٠ -٢

Ibid p. ۱۹۶ -۳

Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp ۱۶۹-۱۷۲ -۴

Ibid p. ۱۷۱ -۵

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۴۹۵ -۶

.seems untrue

If this statement that Kharijites selected 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb their leader in Zayd Ibn Husayn's house in the late Shawwal, ۳۷ H. and that Imam 'Ali's war with them happened in Safar of the year ۳۸ H. is true^(۱), it is inevitably to be accepted that what Nasr Ibn Muzahim said is not true. Overall, it is to be said that the majority agree on .major fighting happening in Safar of the year ۳۷ H

The region of fighting was in Siffin after which the war was known. Siffin is a cramped village of Roman villages that stands at a rifle - shut of the Euphrates. Alongside the Euphrates, there rest trees around which water surround and in the wilderness of two Farsangs (leagues) and there was no passing way except the Euphrates that is ^(۲)restricted and paved. ^(۲)

When Iraqi troops approached Damascus troops, they noticed that they had stationed in the region having the paved route, passing through swamp, under their control. They had positioned bowmen and horsemen to prevent Iraqis from .frequenting to the coast of the Euphrates

Number of Damascus troops is said to be amounting to one hundred twenty thousand ^(۳)people. ^(۳)

Imam's troops moving out of Kufa also numbered eighty thousand people who were added by many of Ctesiphon people on the way. ^(۴) Imam (a) sent Sa'sa'a to Mu'awiya to tell him that his troops launched the war whereas Imam was up to talk to him again .make an ultimatum

Now, Sa'sa'a said, you have barred us“

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۳۶۲ –۱

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۶۸ –۲

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ۴۳۹ –۳

Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp ۱۶۶–۱۶۷ –۴

from water and Iraqi troops can not remain silent, with all this, Imam doesn't want to
".launch the war

Mu'awiya rejected what Sa'sa'a said. 'Amr Ibn 'As opposed Mu'awiya's decision. He spoke about 'Ali's valor and also said that, “You – that is Mu'awiya – and I have heard
” [۱](#) 'Ali when Fatima's house was inspected saying if he had forty men ... [۱](#)

But Mu'awiya could not admit that and fighting began. The story of banning the water, on one hand linked to that of the water not reaching 'Uthman [۲](#) and on the other hand
.it was associated with the event of Karbala

Iraqi troops dominated the water through fighting with the courage of Malik [۳](#) and Imam ordered the troops not to ban Damascus forces from using water. By breaking out a news (through a spear on which there was a letter sent to Imam's troops but the sender was anonymous, perhaps it was from a friend!) that Imam controlled region
.will be enundated, Mu'awiya displaced Iraqi troops

Imam who opposed the displacement of troops yielded to Iraqi's decision and Iraqi troops could only control the water after re-fighting. What Ibn A'tham said about these events slightly differ from Nasr's report. [۴](#) In all these events, Malik played a
[۵](#) pirotal role and strongly treated the Damascus troops. [۵](#)

Large numbers of forces had been killed in the fighting about which Nasr has given an account in the form of boastful speeches and wars. A number of Qur'an reciters from
Iraq and Damascus mediated between the

p: ۳۴۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٢٩٨; al-Futuh, vol. III, p. ٢ -٢

al-Futuh, vol. III, p. ١٣ -٣

Ibid vol. III, p. ١٥ -٤

Waq'at Siffin, p. ١٩٥, وكان اكثر القوم حروباً الاكثر ١٩٥, Nasr Ibn Muzahim says -٥

two armies, trying to resolve the dispute through talks. These mediatory attempts continued for a long time

As referred, with Dhil-Hajja coming to an end, Muharram came and war was (supposed to come to a cessation. (١)

Negotiations of Imam's envoys with Mu'awiya came to a deadlock. Murdering of people such as 'Ammar, 'Adi Ibn Hatim, Malik and those who, according to him, had a hand in murder of 'Uthman, was set by him as his condition. This was something unacceptable both by Imam and by Iraqi tribes. Imam (a) once in front of Abu Muslim Khawlani asked murderers of 'Uthman to be prepared. In that time, mosque became filled with crowds saying that they were the murderers of 'Uthman. (٢)

In Siffin, the same thing happened and about twenty thousand people of Iraqi troops stood away and said that they were 'Uthman's killers. (٣)

Mu'awiya's insistence on this condition was because he knew they would never accept that. He attempted to deceive those who had come as representatives and had been apt to be deceived. He said to Ziyad Ibn Hafsa, "I want you to join us with your family and I make a pledge, after victory, to dispose you with each one of the two cities you want

Ziyad said, "I have an axiom from my God for what He betowed me and I want not to be patron of wrongdoers." (٤)

With the elapse of Muharram, month of illegals came to an end and Siffin war was launched between Malik and Habib Ibn

Waq'at Siffin, p. ١٩٦ -١

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٦٣ -٢

Ibid p. ١٧٠ -٣

Waq'at Siffin, p. ١٩٩ -٤

Muslim in the first day of Safar, that as said, had been Wednesday! (١) In the night of :war being launched, Imam advised all his forces

لا تقاتلوا القوم حتى يبدءوكم

Avoid fighting these people until they start the fighting.” ١٣٣٤“

Imam (a) here intended to leave a chance for return of Damascus troops to truth. Imam advised his troops this way: “If they did not initiate war, you don't fight them because you have full proof as to praise of God and as you leave them to launch the war, this is another proof for you and against them. If you fought and defeated the enemy, do not kill any fugitive and wounded, keep the pudenda veiled and do not .mutilate any killed

In case you rushed into enemy camp, disgrace not anybody and enter not any house unless under my order. Take not away any of their property save what exists in the division camp. No woman has to be harmed although your honor is abused and your commanders and good relatives are charged with abuse because those women are weak in respect of soul and wisdom. We had the duty (in time of the Prophet (s)) not to (harm them when they were pagan.” (٢)

However, war began on Safar ١st (٣) and the two sides intensely fought with each other. It seemed that each day one of Imam's commanders led the frontline. Malik on first day, Hashim Ibn 'Utba on second day, 'Ammar Yasir on third day, Muhammad Hanafiyya on

p: ٣٤٣

Despite mention of the date in several sources, ۱۲th of Safar is regarded by – ۳ Baladhuri (Ansab, vol. II, p. ۳۲۳) to be on Friday that is inconsistent with this date But regarding the report by Nasr about the citation of arbitration agreement of Wednesday ۱۷th of Safar, Baladhuri's reference to Friday ۱۲th of Safar is approved

(fourth day and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas on fifth day commanded the frontline.)

War escalated in the next Thursday and the left wing of Iraqi army split apart but it was compensated with bravery of Imam himself. (۲) Imam himself was present among the troops and regularly called them to resistance by praying and preaching. (۳) Nasr Ibn Muzahim carefully formulated most of his invocations and speeches and portrayed two-peopled war scenes as far as possible

Qays Ibn Sa'd, each day, spoke for Ansar and incited them against Damascus people (۴), emphasizing that companions of the Messenger (S) are with them. Seventy people, he said, of those in Badr stay with us and our commander is cousin of the (Prophet (S), “a trustworthy person of Badr.”)

Ya'qubi has put that seventy people of Badris, seven hundred people of Rid'wan allegiance – prayers as well as four hundred people of Muhajir and Ansar stayed with Imam 'Ali (a). From Ansar, there stayed nobody with Mu'awiya except Nu'man Ibn Bashir and Maslama Ibn Mukhallad. (۶) Just as Imam once brought Ansar together, moving towards Damascus troops, so Mu'awiya readied those two people and moved (ahead.)

.Ammar Yasir was among the people who directly talked against Mu'awiya'

In response to some one who asked him how he would fight these Muslims while the Prophet (S) said, “I have a duty to fight as long as they declare monotheism, then their
”life and property is secure

Ammar said, “This is true, but these people have not embraced Islam. They inwardly
rendered blasphemy

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ٣٠٣-٣٠٥ -١

Ibid vol. II, pp ٣٠٥-٣٠٦ -٢

Waq'at Siffin, pp ٢٣٠-٢٣٢ -٣

Waq'at Siffin, p. ٤٤٧ -٤

Ibid p. ٢٣٦; Ashtar in his speech said that roughly one hundred people from Badr -٥

stay with us Waq'at Siffin, p. ٢٣٨

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٨٨ -٦

al-Futuh, vol. III, pp ١٨٠-١٨١ -٧

until they found helpers today.”^(١) In another speech in Siffin, he rightly stressed over
 ليكونوا بذ, the point that these people deceitfully posed blood of 'Uthman, yet their aim is

“ لك جبابره وملوكاً ”^(٢) “(He may become a tyrant by doing this.”

In Siffin, 'Ammar seemed to many a sign of distinguishing gospel truth from credal
 You will be killed by an “ تقتلك الفئة الباغية ”, error. The Prophet (S) said about him
 “(aggressive group.”^(٣)

This successive narration led some people to see in what front 'Ammar stands and is
 .martyred

Amr Ibn 'As himself had narrated this hadith. Mu'awiya objected why he had narrated'
 that. 'Amr composed a piece of poetry saying, “I didn't know this would happen in
 “(Siffin.”^(٤)

This made a problem for Damascus troops as 'Amr was supposed to arrange a face-
 to-face debate with 'Ammar at the presence of a number of people from the two
 sides. 'Ammar said to 'Amr who, in the very beginning, made a profession of faith
 “. (Tashahhud), “You had abandoned this from time of the Prophet (S) and on

”?Amr who in deceit was saying, “What are we fighting for'

Was told by 'Ammar, “You are the most obeyed among the troops. Do something to

”.stop bloodshed

He said, “Now I tell why I am fighting you. The Prophet (S) ordered me to fight with the infidels as well as with the deviators who are the very you, as for the apostates “Kharijites” I wonder if I have to consider them or not. O You

p: ٣٤٥

Waq‘at Siffin, p. ٢١٥ –١

Ibid p. ٣١٩ –٢

Concerning the sources, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ٣١٢-٣١٣ (footnote) in the – ٣ following pages ‘Amr Ibn ‘As is quoted to have said the afore-mentioned hadith al-Futuh, vol. III, p. ١٣١ –٤

who are devoid of good qualities! Do you know not that the Messenger (S) said for 'Ali I love God, his Messenger (S) and “ اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه ” (a after him 'Ali.” 'Ammar continued to talk about 'Uthman, “He opened to you gates of ”.evils

Amr asked, “Did 'Ali kill him?” 'Ammar said, “No, but God of 'Ali killed him.” He said, “Were you among the murderers?” 'Ammar replied, “I helped those who killed him and (١) this day I fight with enemy helping them.”

Amr Ibn 'As said to accompanying Damascus troops, “He confesses to murder of 'Uthman.” 'Ammar was martyred in one of the days of intense fighting. Several people of Damascus troops claimed responsibility for his murder. (٢) It is also said that some (٣) Damascus people said prayers over his stiff!

(٤) To Mu'awiya, murder of 'Ammar Yasir was “conquering the conquests.”

Ammar composed about war with Damascus troops in a poetic line, religious' justification of which is said to be interesting

نحن ضربناكم على تنزيهه فاليوم نضربكم على تأويله

Earlier, We beat thee for his descension and now we beat thee for his interpretation.”“

[﴿٥﴾](#)

It meant although Damascus people have embraced Qur'an and Islam, they really
.”never confessed to it. Muslims also made use of sense of “rebellion

,Mughira Ibn Harith Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib said in a poem

أهل الصلاة قتلناهم ببغيهم والمشركون قتلناهم بما جحدوا

Prayer-holders are killed for their rebellion and the atheists are murdered for their“
[denial.” ﴿٦﴾](#)

In the midst

p: ٣٤٦

Waq‘at Siffin, p. ٢٣٩; al-Futuh, vol. III, pp ١٢٤-١٢٥ -١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٣١١-٣١٣ -٢

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. ٥, p. ٢٣٦ -٣

al-Muhabbar, p. ٢٩٦ -٤

Waq‘at Siffin, p. ٣٤٠; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٣١٠ -٥

al-Futuh, vol. III, p. ٢٧١ -٦

of fighting, Imam handed a Qur'an to one of his troops to go to Damascus troops and
[call them to Qur'anic arbitration, but they killed him. ﴿١﴾](#)

Imam's troops superiority was utterly apparent. Once, 'Abd Allah Ibn Badil neared
Mu'awiya's settlement and made him retreat. Another time, 'Utba Ibn Abi Sufyan
[suffered so much a defeat that he took aback as far as twenty leagues. ﴿٢﴾](#)

Of course, in some cases, left or right wing of Iraqi army temporarily disintegrated.
Reports say that Imam himself fought and killed different people, one of whom was
Hurayth, Mu'awiya's Mawali and a very strong man. He himself defied Imam and in
[the very beginning was sworded killed by Imam. ﴿٣﴾](#)

Urwa Dimashqi asked Imam for a challenge and was split in halves by Imam.^(٤) Another report says that Imam had trace of three strikes on his head and two on his face.

Nasr Ibn Muzahim reporting this says that Imam (a) was never wounded.^(٥) Imam asked Mu'awiya for a combat. Whoever wins the battle, he shall assume power. Mu'awiya turned down his request.^(٦) Imam once faced 'Amr but he could run away the battle by unveiling his genitals because Imam was very ashamed of what he ^(did.)^(٧) The same thing happened to Busr Ibn Artat.^(٨)

Fighting was so intense that these days only in one battle over five hundred people (Ibn A'tham, One thousand) confronted with the same number of Damascus troops ^(and none survived the battle!)^(٩)

Siffin war was tribally formed. Many tribes half of whom in Iraq and

p: ٣٤٧

Waq'at Siffin, p. ٢٤٤ -١

Waq'at Siffin, p. ٣٦٠ -٢

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٤١; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٧٦ -٣

al-Futuh, vol. III, p. ١٨٧ -٤

Waq'at Siffin, p. ٣٦٣ -٥

Ibid p. ٢٧٤; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٧٦ -٦

Waq'at Siffin, p. ٤٠٧; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٣٣٠; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٧٧ -٧

al-Futuh, vol. III, pp ١٧٣-١٧٤ -٨

Waq'at Siffin, p. ٢٩٣; al-Futuh, vol. III, p. ٥٥ -٩

another half in Damascus stood against each other. Rabi'a^(١٠) and Hamdan tribes, headman of the latter of which was Sa'id Ibn Qays sacrificed in the most part in as :much as Imam said in a piece of poetry

فلو كنت بؤاباً على باب جنه لقلت لهمدان ادخلوا بسلام

If I were gate keeper of Heaven, I would tell Banu Hamdan people to enter there in“
(goodness.” (۲)

Ali never“ ” وكان على (ع) لا يعدل بريعه أحداً من شدة محبته لهم ” Imam said about Rabi'a as well
(equaled Banu Rabi'a to anyone for his love extended to them.” (۳)

Mu'awiya advised Damascus troops to aim at no people but Hamdanis since they
(stand as 'Uthman's adversary (۴)

The truth is that Mu'awiya feared them and he was at weakening them. 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Umar, one of Damascus troops commanders, was murdered by one of Hamdanis in one of these battles. Dhi l-Kila', one of the greatest commanders of Damascus troops, was killed in Siffin

He is said to have heard through 'Amr Ibn 'As, in time of 'Umar, (seemingly through a person named Abu Nuh who quoted this to him from 'Amr Ibn 'As in Siffin) (۵) the Prophet (S) saying that 'Ammar is killed by an aggressive tribe, so he used to fight while being in doubt. Mu'awiya liked very much to kill him fearing that he might be a trouble for Damascus troops

In contrast, a good many of marked troops of Imam (a) were also martyred. One of Siffin martyrs, Uwiys

p: ۳۴۸

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۳۲۵; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۱۸۶-۱
Waq'at Siffin, p. ۴۳۷; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۳۲۲; al-Futuh, vol. III, pp ۴۳-۴۴-۲
al-Futuh, vol. III, p. ۱۶۳-۳
al-Futuh, vol. III, p. ۱۶۳-۴
al-Futuh, vol. III, pp ۱۱۹-۱۲۰-۵

Qarani(۱), is the noted Gnostic who was and, still is, highly ranked among Muslims. Ibn (A'tham while reporting his martyrdom in Siffin made an account of him.(۲)

Hashim Ibn 'Utba, known as Hashim al-Mirqal, who had lost one eye in conquests,

was the most devoted companions of Imam being martyred in Siffin. He was Sa'd Waqqas's nephew and unlike his position of being among Qa'idin stayed with Imam (with complete assurance until he was martyred).^(۳)

Khuzayma, another companion of Imam, was also martyred in Siffin and Imam approved his one testimony as two, for which he was known after “Dhu ash-Shahadatayn” meaning two witnesses

After their martyrdom, there were still seen famous people in troops, like Ashtar (who was nicknamed by Mu'awiya as lion of army)^(۴), 'Adi Ibn Hatim and Qays Ibn Sa'd

It is to be noted that a number of Kufiyan women also attended Siffin war, exhorting Iraqi forces against those of Damascus by making poems in which Imam was praised and his virtues were retold. Among them, there were Suda, daughter of 'Umara Hamdani, Umm Sanan^(۵), Zarqa', daughter of 'Adi Hamdani^(۶) and others whose biographies are mentioned in various sources

:Umm Sanan addressed 'Ali in Siffin and said

قد كنت بعد محمد خلفاً لنا أوصى اليك بنا و كنت وفيها

After Muhammad (S), he was his successor among us and he kept his promise well in “front of us.”^(۷)

:One of these women named Umm al-Khayr said in Siffin

إنها إحن بدرية وضغائن جاهليه وأحقاد احديه، وثب معاويه عند الغفله ليدرك بها الفرصه من

p: ۳۴۹

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۳۲۴; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۳۲۰. Baladhuri hesitates to report – ۱ about martyrdom of Uwiys The proof reader mentions on pages ۳۲۰–۳۲۲ various sources in which this undeniable report is referred

al-Futuh, vol. II, pp ۴۵۱–۴۶۰ – ۲

He is reported in detail in Waq'at Siffin including, pp ۳۴۶–۳۵۶ – ۳

al-Futuh, vol. II, p. ٤٧ -٤

Ibid vol. II, p. ١٠١ -٥

Ibid vol. III, p. ١٤٢ -٦

al-Futuh, vol. III, p. ١٠٣ -٧

ثارات عبد شمس

Mu'awiya's waging war comes from his vengeance in Badr, Uhud and from his“
ignorant bigotry and it is because he wants to take revenge for 'Abd-e Shams.” (١)

Another woman was Jurwa, daughter of Murra Ibn Ghalib Tamimi who was later brought by Mu'awiya to Damascus. When she was asked by Mu'awiya about Imam 'Ali
,(a), she said

حاز والله الشرف حتى لا يوصف ، وغايه حتى لا تعرف،

By God, he attained an indescribable nobility and reached a station beyond“
imagination.” (٢)

Mu'awiya tried to break apart Iraqi army in ways except war. Writing different letters to Abu Ayyub Ansari, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas and others under the pretext of stopping bloodshed and even of promising caliphate to Ibn 'Abbas(٣), he attempted to force them to oppose Imam (a). Besides, he changed the condition by frequently granting
,money to his troops

لم يبق من أهل العراق أحد في قلبه مرض إلا طمع في معاويه “

There remained no one but the problematic Iraqis who joined Mu'awiya in his caprice
and this was such that Imam was bothered.” (٤)

Mu'awiya also wrote to Imam asking him to leave Damascus to him without wanting to obey him. This was the same thing he had demanded before and as mentioned, he intended to establish an independent emirate in Damascus. Imam turned him
down. (٥)

This time, Damascus people strongly spoke about severe bloodshed and publicized

their aim of ending the war. Such a measure was taken just to hinder Damascus conquest, and probably to bring about a

p: ۳۵۰

al-Wafidat min l-Nisa' 'ala Mu'awiya, p. ۲۹ -۱

Ibid p. ۳۶ -۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۳۰۷ -۳

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۴۳۵; al-Futuh, vol. III, pp ۲۲۱-۲۲۲ -۴

Waq'at Siffin, pp ۴۷۰-۴۷۱ -۵

gap and discard in Iraq's army. This was what Mu'awiya failed to do repeatedly; yet as we shall see later, he finally made it. In one of these days, one of the Damascus people came between the two armies and proposed that Iraq return to Iraq and Damascus army to Damascus, so to avert a bloodshed

Confirming his truthfulness, Imam said: "I know that you made this proposal out of benevolence and pity; however, I have considered well, contemplated carefully and assessed the dimensions of this deed haunting me, and I have found no way but (submitting to was, or refuting what Allah has inspired the Prophet (S

Indeed, Allah, the blessed and exalted, doesn't like His friends to remain reticent and submit while tyranny and mutiny are prevailing on the earth, and not to enjoin the good and forbid from the evil. That's why I realized that to me, the war (with all its [\(hardship\)](#) is easier than enduring the hell with its chains."[\(۱\)](#)

In one of the last war days, the battle became so intense that it started by the morning prayer and continued up to the mid-night. During all this period, Ashtar was busy provoking the army. This night was called "Layla al-Harir", the night of clamor. Again the war started from the middle of that night and continued up to the noon of the next day

.The enemy fought to its last grasp", said Imam, in a sermon"

Ibid, p. ۴۷۴; al-Futuh, vol. III, pp ۲۶۴-۶۵ -۱

they cannot be so hopeful of Damascus army, embarked on a trick. The next day after the night of clamor, when the war lasted to the moon of that day, (۱) Qur'ans were raised above the spears of the Damascus people

There were loud voices crying, "O group of Arabs! Think of your women and girls. If (۲) you'll be killed, who will stand up to Romans, Turks and Persians tomorrow?" (۳)

As a result of this measure, little by little, this proclamation was heard within the Iraqi army that the enemy has admitted the arbitration of Qur'an, and we don't have the right to fight them. Imam defined this remarks strongly and announced that this deed is nothing but a trick. Sa'sa'a said that Mu'awiya took this measure after he heard Ash'ath Ibn Qays reminding of the women and girls at the night of clamor, and that (۴) Arabs are collapsing. (۵)

Besides, Ash'ath was the first person opposing Imam on the continuation of the war. We've previously pointed out that the account of his correspondence with Mu'awiya, since his dismissal from Adharbayjan has been mentioned in historical records. Here, Ya'qubi as well clarified that Mu'awiya conciliating Ash'ath wrote to him and invited (۶) him there. (۷) Ash'ath's measure was supported by the Yemeni. (۸)

The minimum problem concerning Ash'ath was that he was apt to deviation from the outset, and was drawn to this path. In the thick of the clashes, we have in hand some of his remarks against Mu'awiya and with respect to instigating Iraq

army.^(١) It ought to be known that tribal obstinacy played a crucial role and in all likelihood, Imam's true heed to Malik caused Ash'ath to take umbrage

The escalation of the discrepancy amongst the army of Imam, has induced much more hardships for him. Imam felt that he is no more the commander, and the people have tied his hands, and turned out to be his emir

Even so, Imam stood up and said, "I deserve to admit the arbitration of Allah's book more than the others; however, Mu'awiya and his companions are not the companions of religion and Qur'an. I know them better than you. I was with them since my childhood

At this moment, about ٢٠٠٠ of the Iraq army came to Imam, and without calling him "Amir al-Mu'minin", asked him to accept the arbitration of Qur'an. Among these people were a group of Qur'an-reciters being contented with Qur'an recitation, and a number of whom joining the Kharijites's range.^(٢)

At this time, Ashtar at the front line approached Mu'awiya division camp while fighting. War dissenters asked Imam to order Ashtar back. Imam sent Yazid Ibn Hani for him

Ashtar sent a message that, "Now it is not the time for a return." "You've prompted him to fight, if Ashtar doesn't return, we'll kill you." Said the dissenters

As a result of this statement, Ashtar returned and he was stopped. In a letter to Mu'awiya, Imam noting that we know you're not the follower of Qur'an, pointed out the acceptance of Qur'an arbitration.^(٣)

Ash'ath

p: ٣٥٣

went to Mu'awiya asking him regarding the way of executing Qur'an precept. He said that it's better that one of our people and one of yours sit together and express their opinion concerning Qur'an precept in this regard. He forwarded this opinion to Imam

Afterwards, a group of Damascus and Iraq Qur'an-reciters came between the two armies and recited Qur'an for some time and agreed to revive what the Qur'an has revived. Thereafter, Damascus people appointed 'Amr Ibn 'As. Ash'ath and a number of those joining the Kharijites later, proposed Abu Musa Ash'ari

Imam refused him on account of his opposition to him in Jamal battle, but they insisted in this regard. Imam's proposal was either Ibn 'Abbas or Ashtar, but they said that Ashtar believes in war, Ibn 'Abbas shouldn't be either, for 'Amr Ibn 'As is from Mudhar tribe, so the other side should be Yemeni

لا والله لا يحكم فيها مضرين حتى تقوم الساعة “

By Allah, two persons from Mud'rids won't judge in that until the Day of Resurrection.”

﴿١﴾

﴿Imam saw that insistence is out of place and said, “Do whatever you want.”﴾

Later on Ibn 'Abbas said, “Had at that time some companions been patient, the victory would have been imminent.”﴾

So it was agreed that a convention will be written. In this convention pointing to the appointment of these two persons by Damascus and Iraq people, it was mentioned that these two persons are due to comment on the matter of their disagreement

Provided that these two abide by the“

divine covenant and pledge in the firmest and greatest manner which Allah has extracted promise from each of his creatures. And that during the duty on which they were dispatched, they put Qur'an before themselves, and do not exceed, I their judgment, what has been written in the Qur'an, and if they don't find, they will act on the basis of the comprehensive Sunna of the Prophet (S), and they should in no way, ".act in conformity with their desires, neither should they be entangled in suspicion

Besides, it was agreed that in case of the death of one of these two, before judgment, the commander of the aforesaid side would be able to appoint somebody else. During this span of time, if one of the two commanders passed away, the people of that area .will appoint another just person instead of him

Further, it was stated that: "it is compulsory for the judges to adhere to the divine treaty and pledge and not to offer an interpretative judgment of their own in opposition to the Qur'anic text, and not to oppress deliberately and not to be entangled in suspicion and not to overlook the order of Qur'an and Sunna of the Prophet (S) in their judgment. And if they don't do so, the people won't submit to their ".judgment, neither will they admit the treaty and the liability approved by those two

In the convention, the date of the arbitration was sset on the end of the next
Ramad'an

p: ٣٥٥

to wit eight months from Safar to Ramad'an) and it was agreed that the issue will be) resolves anyhow up to the pilgrimage season. "If they don't judge on the basis of the Qur'an and Prophet's (S) Sunna till the end of the season, the Muslims will remain at war as they were from the onset, and there is no condition between the two groups in this regard." The aforesaid treaty was concluded on Wednesday (according th Abu

(Mikhnaf, on Friday)(١), on Safar ١٧, ٣٧ A.H.(٢

In this convention, equal rights were been determined for Imam and Mu'awiya. In the first stage, Imam's name was accompanied by the title “Amir al-Mu'minin”, the .Commander of the Faithful, but it was not acceptable for Mu'awiya

Ash'ath insisted on the elimination of this title, Imam said, “Glory be to Allah, A Sunna like The Prophet's (S) one, where Suhayl Ibn 'Amr, the representative of polytheists, insisted on the omission of “Rasul Allah”, the Messenger of Allah, in Hudaybiyyah [\(peace pact.”](#) [\(۲\)](#)

Anyhow, the convention was written, but among a group of Imam's companion, a riot broke out which paved the way for Kharijites incidents later. Some disagreed with the convention there except for those being truly among the Shi'ite Muslims of Imam, and .bearing the arbitration course for Imam's sake

Malik was among them, when Imam (a) was told that Malik is not satisfied with this convention, Imam (a) said, “When I will be satisfied, Malik will be so as well, and I'm satisfied. You said he has

p: ۳۵۶

Ibid, vol. II, p. ۳۳۷; see, p. ۳۳۸ –۱
Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp ۱۹۴–۱۹۶, Waq‘at Siffin, pp ۵۰۴–۵۷۰, see, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, –۲
pp ۳۳۴–۳۳۵

Waq‘at Siffin, p. ۵۰۸; Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۸۹ –۳

kept himself aloof from me, but I don't reckon that he'll do so. There are not two [\(persons or even one person amongst you like him, who think so about their foe.”](#) [\(۱\)](#)

Imam returned to Kufa along with the army on Rabi' al-Awwal ۳۷ A.H. [\(۲\)](#) In Kufa, loud voices of cries and weeps were heard from each house, and Imam confirming the martyrdom of their martyrs, offered his condolence to them. Finally, Imam sent Abu .Musa to the arbitration site

Imam dispatched ۴۰۰ persons along with Abu Musa Ash'ari, accompanied by Shurayh

Ibn Hani as their commander, and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas as their congregational prayer leader. Additionally, Imam notified Abu Musa of the defiled nature of Mu'awiya (and advised him tremendously.)

At this time, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, Mughira Ibn Shu'ba, 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr had to come to Mu'awiya and were present at the meeting incident of 'Amr Ibn 'As and Abu Musa. 'Amr Ibn 'As, when meeting Abu Musa, spoke of the virtues! of Mu'awiya and noted that Mu'awiya is the blood-wit of 'Uthman, and Allah has put a “Sultan” for blood-wit

Abu Musa relied on the revival of 'Umar tradition concerning the issue of council. Once he spoke of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, but 'Amr said that a weak person like him could not take the responsibility of such a deed. It was not only unclear under which principles this council being regarded as a pretext by the dissenters, ought to be shaped, but not obvious who should

p: ۳۵۷

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۵۲۱; see, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۳۶ –۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۳۷ –۲

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. ۴۲۱ –۳

Waq'at Siffin, pp ۵۴۰ –۵۴۱ –۴

be the member of such a council. Once 'Umar relying on his own power has placed caliphate among six persons so that they will choose one out of them. What was the connection of this matter to leaving the work to the “Council among Muslims”, so to ?select one for themselves

Abu Musa insisted on this matter and an account of that he was of the belief that firstly we ought to leave this belief aside that one of the two persons either Imam or Mu'awiya should be the caliph, so that thereupon we shall select some one. Hence, for Abu Musa's part, the declaration of these two commands' deposition of Imam's commentary on the pulpit, 'Amr Ibn 'As announced that he has just the right to !depose 'Ali (a); however, I have the caliphate to Mu'awiya

Abu Musa cried out in protest and insulted 'Amr Ibn 'As. Abu Musa called 'Amr a dog, and 'Amr called Abu Musa a donkey and the session turned out in chaos. So hereby, without speaking of the Qur'an and the Sunna of the Prophet (S), and merely under the pretext of 'Umar tradition, the arbitration course itself gave rise to another [\(disagreement between Damascus and Iraq.\)](#)

From that time on, the people of Damascus called Mu'awiya “Amir al-Mu'minin”, and this was the most significant outcome of the arbitration for the Damascus people. Abu Mikhnaf stated that when Iraqi people were going to Siffin, they were all amiable and kind towards each other. When they

p: ۳۵۸

Waq'at Siffin pp ۵۴۵-۵۴۶; Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp ۱۹۹-۲۰۱; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۳۵۰-۳۵۱

.returned, however, they all had hostility and hatred towards each other

The Kharijites said, “You were flaccid in implementing Allah's order”, and another group told them, “You disobeyed Imam and our group.” Imam became sorrowful on [\(account of their remarks.\)](#)

War with Extremist Kharijites

Exactly when Ash'ath Ibn Qays read the arbitration convention for various groups of The only judgment “ لا حكم الا لله ,the army, a group of the army cried out in front of him [\(is that of Allah's.\)](#)

According to Nasr Ibn Muzahim, some people from Banu Murad, Banu Rasib, and Banu Tamim chanting aloud, and expressing their disgust concerning the arbitration .of men said, “Just Allah merits arbitration

Among the dissenters, 'Amr Ibn Udayya (and in another narration 'Urwa Ibn Judayr)[\(۳\)](#) attacked Ash'ath. His sword was quietly dropped on Ash'ath's horse. Shortly after the coming of Ash'ath to Imam and his declaring that all but few of the people

.were satisfied, the shouts of “the only judgment is that of Allah” grew louder

Their question was, “What about our murdered persons?” Allah has settled Mu'awiya's work, and Allah's order is nothing but suppressing Damascus army. It is obvious that in front of some people like Ash'ath, many people of Iraqi army were not ready to submit themselves to Damascus people whatever reason there might be
?when one group won't do so

They asked Imam to forsake the issue of arbitration, and in principle, to report of his “ او فوا بالعقود ,former opinion which has led to polytheism. Imam by referring to the verse

p: ٣٥٩

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٣٤٢ -١

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ١٩٦ -٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٣٣٩ -٣

Fulfill the obligations,” said that now the agreement has been reached and we have
[\(١\)](#)no remedy but patience up to the end of the duration of this convention.

Imam said to them, “As you see, most of this crowd are not in line with war, and if you
[\(٢\)](#)wage war these people will be together than Damascus people towards you.”

In their way back to Siffin, the people were divided into two groups, a group protesting against the arbitration, and another group accusing them of being separated from the company. Near to Kufa, a group was little by little separated from the army and went to Harura' area half a league away from Kufa. [\(٣\)](#) That's why later
on these people were referred to as Haruriyya

The most outstanding persons of Kharijites were as follows, Hurqus Ibn Zuhayr Tamimi, Shurayh Ibn Awfi al-'Absi, Farwa Ibn Nawfal Ashja'i, 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb Rasibi. These people came to Imam, after his entering Kufa, and asked him not to
dispatch Abu Musa for the arbitration

Imam said, “We have admitted something that we cannot violate.” [\(٤\)](#) As it seems from

the names of these persons, no one amongst them was from the renowned people of Iraq. In contrast, they belonged typically to a nomadic tribes such as Bakr Ibn Wa'il [\(and Banu Tamim.\)](#)

The Kharijites, for the most part, were from nomads who, in principal, had no idea concerning Imamate and politics as being matters beyond tribal issue. They demonstrated this tendency of theirs within a framework out

p: ۳۶۰

Waq'at Siffin, pp ۴۱۳-۴۱۴; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۳۵۱ -۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۳۳۱-۳۳۸ -۲

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۹۱ -۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۳۵۹ -۴

Ibid, vol. II, p. ۳۵۰ -۵

of a deviated interpretation from the slogan “the only judgment is that of Allah”. Amongst the Kharijites was 'Itrīs Ibn 'Arqub Shaybani who was from the companions [\(of 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud.\)](#)

Kharijites put forward some crucial issues. Their first question was that how Imam consented to the arbitration of “men” in the act of “religion”. Their second question was that why Imam was contented to have his title of caliphate, to wit Amir al-Mu'minin, omitted. Their problem, as Ya'qubi puts it, was that Imam spoilt his [\(executorship through this measure.\)](#)

Their another question was that why Imam didn't give the permission of distributing booties after their triumph over the infidels. How is it that their killing was permissible, [\(but taking their possessions was not lawful?\)](#)

With respect to the omission of the title “Amir al-Mu'minin”, Imam invoked the omission of the title “Rasul Allah”, Allah's Messenger, in the Hudaibiyya peace pact

Besides, he said regarding arbitration, “I disagreed with this arbitration from the

outset, later, as well, when I yielded to it on account of the people's compulsion, I stipulated that I will abide by their judgment provided that they judge on the basis of Allah's book, inasmuch as we have originally admitted the arbitration of Qur'an rather than that of men

Moreover, Imam announced his decision concerning the continuation of war against Damascus, after the collection of tribute. Thus hereby, many of those joining the [\(Kharijites, joined Imam's adherents' group.](#)

Yet, there were a lot still sticking to their own beliefs. They

p: ٣٤١

Ibid, vol. II, p. ٣٤٣ -١

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٩٢ -٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٣٤٠ -٣

Ibid, vol. II, p. ٣٤٩ -٤

disagreed with the arbitration by referring to the only judgment is that of Allah. “[ضرب القرآن بعضه ببعض](#)” Sticking to appearances, and drawing hardline deductions through .He put Qur'an aside,” were considered among Kharijites' peculiarities

Imam said in front of those chanting this slogan and protesting against him in the This is a truthful statement aimed at drawing an untruthful “[كلمه حق يراد بها الباطل](#)” mosque interpretation from it

Imam, encountering his foreign dissenters, said that if they remained reticent, we would leave them on their own. If they propagated and spoke in return, we would speak with them and if they revolted against us, we would wage war against them. At this moment, one of the Kharijites stood up and said, “O Allah! We seek refuge with you from submitting to abjectness in your religion, this is a frailty and shall lead to [\(Allah's wrath.”](#)

According to another narration, it's been pointed out that the continuation of

Kharijites protest lasting for six months after Imam's return from Siffin resulted in Imam's dispatch of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas and Sa'sa'a Ibn Suhan to them for the purpose of discussion. They didn't submit to these two persons' request concerning their return to the group. Imam asked them to select ١٢ persons and he himself separated this number and held talks with them

Initially, Imam spoke with them about the Qur'an evidence with regard to arbitration and said, "I, 'Ali, despite disagreeing with their request, was fearful that they might invoke those verses

p: ٣٦٢

Ibid, vol. II, p. ٣٥٢ –١

[\(١\)](#) concerning the admissibility of arbitration.”

Kharijites' orator stood up and said, "We fought side with you so far as you were confident of your action at Jamal and Siffin battle; however, at present you are dubious. You must repent and attest to the fact that you've been misled. In that case, we will be with you

Imam said, "From the moment when I embraced Islam, I was not a bit doubtful about it. Allah has basically guided you and rescued you from infidelity, through us. I had said that two judges ought to judge on the basis of Allah's book. If they didn't do so, to me, their judgment will be of no value.”

Their leader, Ibn al-Kawwa' detached himself from them along with ٥٠٠ persons. Some have noted that he was with the Kharijites in Nahrawan, and therein was involved in a wrangle with Imam.[\(٣\)](#) Kharijites' problem was that they regarded the acceptance of arbitration as infidelity, and therefore they asked Imam to witness his infidelity and repent of it,[\(٤\)](#) not that he has merely committed a sin. Hence, Imam said in a poem

يا شاهد الله على فاشهد آمنت بالله ولي احمد

من شك في الله فاني مهتد

!O thou, Allah's witness“

!To me, thou be a witness

I believed in Allah, the Master of Ahmad

Whoever doubts Allah

﴿I have been guided﴾^(٥)

Anyhow, the repeated remarks of Imam and his companions failed to bring a number of Kharijites back from the path they've chosen. On Shawwal, ٣١ A.H. the Kharijites gathered at Zayd Ibn Husayn's house and

p: ٣٦٣

The verses, Al Imran ٣:٢٣; al-Ma'ida ٥:٩٥; al-Nisa' ٤:٣٥ – ١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٣٥٤ – ٢

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢٠٩ – ٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٣٦١ – ٤

Ibid, vol. II, pp ٣٥٦-٣٦٩ – ٥

selecting 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb Rasibi as their leader,^(١) they resettled their political and military situation

This decision was made after Ramad'an month in which Abu Musa was dispatched for arbitration. Following the arbitration, they didn't allow staying in Kufa and decided to go to Mada'in. There from, they wrote to their Basri co-thinkers inviting them to come round to them

Some of them didn't deem it advisable to go to Mada'in on account of the presence of Imam 'Ali's (a) Shi'ite Muslims and chose Nahrawan. After the announcement of arbitration result, Imam 'Ali (a) declaring his opposition to the arbitration result, asked ^(٢)the people to congregate to the division camp for fighting the infidels.^(٢)

Imam sent for the Kharijites and told them, “These two judges acted in opposition to [the Qur'an](#), and I'm leaving for Damascus. You accompany me as well.”[\(۳\)](#)

They said, “we are not allowed to appoint you as Imam.” After the congregation of people in Nukhayla, Iraq moved to Anbar city and left there for Shahi village, and therefore they went to Dabaha and to Dimimma.[\(۴\)](#)The Kharijites gathering at Nahrawan by now, encountered 'Abd Allah the son of Khabbab Ibn Arat on their way.

.(They asked 'Abd Allah's opinion concerning Imam 'Ali (a

He said, “Amir al-Mu'minin and Imam of the Muslims.” They killed 'Abd Allah along with his pregnant wife. It's been said that the Kharijites, on their way, asked everybody encountered by them, about his opinion regarding arbitration. They killed him in case of not being in

p: ۳۶۴

Ibid, vol. II, p. ۳۶۴ –۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۳۶۶, and in its footnote from, al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. –۲
I, p. ۱۴۳

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۰۶ –۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۳۶۷ –۴

[line with them](#). This movement led Imam to decide to confront them.[\(۱\)](#)

The reason behind this matter was that Imam was not able to leave Kufa alone with such criminals, while therein there were just the women and children. Imam went over to Mada'in and there from headed for Nahrawan

Imam, in a letter to Kharijites invited them to return to the group. 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb, in the answer of Imam's letter, pointing to what has so far taken place, notified of the same former remarks concerning Imam's doubt in religion and the necessity of his repentance. Qays Ibn Sa'd and Abu Ayyub Ansari were against them and asked them to join them for fighting Mu'awiya

Kharijites said that they didn't admit the Imamate of the Imam. They will be ready to accompany them, only if their leadership will be in the hands of some like 'Umar. (۲) As soon as Imam realized that these people were not submissive, he put his troops being ۱۴۰۰۰ in number, into array against Kharijites

At that moment, Farwa Ibn Nawfal along with ۵۰۰ persons of Kharijites were separated from the Kharijites and resided in Bandanijayn and Daskara. (۳) Another number of them left gradually, to the extent that just ۱۸۰۰ cavalry men and ۱۵۰۰ infantry men remained alongside 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb. (۴)

At this time, Imam also asked his companions not to initiate the war. (۵) Kharijites started the war. They were overthrown, and their leader was very swiftly killed. (۶)

Apart from the fugitives, four hundreds

p: ۳۶۵

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۳۶۲-۳۶۸ -۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۳۷۰; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۰۷ -۲

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۱۰ -۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۳۷۱ -۴

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۱۰ -۵

One of them is Yazid Ibn Nuwayra Ansari whose being a heavenly man was - ۶ witnessed twice by The Prophet (S) (al-Isaba, vol. II, p. ۳۴۸) The list of the martyrs of this war has been noted by Ibn A'tham (vol. IV, p. ۱۲۱) and Ibn Abi al-Hadid (vol. II, p. ۲۹) See their narrations with martyrs' names at Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۳۱۴, (footnote

of those having been fallen in the battlefield were delivered to their families. This clash took place on Safar ۹, ۳۸ A.H. (۱)

When the war was terminated, Imam asked the people to head for Damascus to fight the infidels. The people, however, showed signs of fatigue, and the remarks of Ash'ath Ibn Qays led Imam to return to Nukhayla, the people went to Kufa, and just

(۳۰۰ persons remained with the Imam.)

Consequently, Imam returned to Kufa. From that time on, Imam invited the people for Jihad, holy war, against the Damascus people once in a while, but no one gave a favorable answer. It was here where Imam in his long sermons, reproached Kufa people and spoke repeatedly of their disloyalty up to the end

Here another movement ought to be taken into account as well, a movement somewhat resembling that of Kharijites. Khirrit Ibn Rashid, taking part in Siffin battle, in his way back to Kufa, objected to Imam and said that he won't pray along with him anymore

His objection was similar to Kharijites' remarks. He considered arbitration a mistake. At night, he left Kufa together with his companions for Kaskar. Qaradha Ibn Ka'b, the governor of Sawad areas, wrote a letter to Imam reporting that an army from Kufa has arrived this area and when encountering a person from the peasants of Euphrates areas namely Zadhan Farrukh, have asked him about his religion. He said (that he was a Muslim. They asked his opinion concerning Amir al-Mu'minin (a

p: ۳۶۶

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۳۷۴-۳۷۵ It's been noted in Futuh (vol. III, p. ۲۷۷) that when Imam ended his war with Kharijites and went to Kufa, ۱۷ days were remained from
Ramad'an

Ibid, vol. I, p. ۳۱۹-۲

He replied that he was the commander of the faithful and the successor of Allah's Messenger (S). Hence, they cut him into pieces by their swords.

This measure of theirs was exactly the same as Kharijites' when encountering 'Abd Allah Ibn Khabbab. Imam wrote to Ziyad Ibn Khasafa commissioning him to suppress Banu Najiya under the leadership of Khirrit Ibn Rashid. Subsequent to the sever clash during which five companions of Khirrit were killed and two persons of Imam's army were martyred, the rebels headed towards Ahwaz

Therein some natives as well as some Kurds joined them. Imam was compelled to dispatch a separate force to suppress them. Ma'qil Ibn Qays Riyahi was selected for this commission, and he headed towards them along with some armies

When the rebels were moving towards Ramhurmuz, Ma'qil, on his way reaches them and fought them. During this conflict, ٧٠ persons from Banu Najiya and ٣٠٠ of Kurds and the other natives accompanying him were killed. Khirrit headed hurriedly towards the coast, and therein he was able to deceive a number of people from Banu 'Abd al-Qays

Imam wrote a letter to the residents of that area calling them for “obedience”. They scattered from around Khirrit too. Once again, Ma'qil clashed with him, and this time Khirrit and most of those along with him were killed

According to Baladhuri, Khirrit acted in such a way that the Kharijites assumed that he [is of their opinion.](#)^(٢)

The Kharijites, Formation and Characteristics

The Kharijites' emergence in religious sects arenas, is one of the significant

p: ٣٤٧

.al-Gharat, vol. I, p. ٣٤٦ –١

.al-Gharat, vol. I, p. ٣٤٦ –٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ٤١٣-٤١٨ –٣

political and mental alterations in the history of Islam. In fact, the advent of this group is the symbol of hard-line tendencies of the Islamic world in the political and mental areas

A sect which strived for having a place in the realm of politics along two or three countries through applying their extreme view points, but exactly due to this very extremity, were not able to gain a privilege. The important question is that how these incidents appeared

Generally, it ought to be said that when some discrepancies appeared in the Islamic society, various stands were adopted to confront the disputable issues. Some stands .had some principal aspects and some others were within the two extremes

If we separate the deviation of apostates and infidels from the Islamic current, the tarring of some people like 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar and Sa'd Waqqas and some others in front of that stand deems a sort of extreme act. In opposition to that, Imam's act was .a realistic and principled one

In a stage where this movement failed to pursue its natural course on account of some people's opposition, the hard-line tendency displayed itself. This tendency ought to resist all the currents. Apart from the infidels and fronting the principled movement of Imam, every moment such a stand had a tendency to more extremity and was obliged to separate all the dissenters from its front by the hallmark of .infidelity, and to justify its holy war against them

The tendency towards extremity amongst the

p: ٣٤٨

Kharijites was not merely due to the political and intellectual currents, but it had its own specific social and mental aspects as well. Some points should be taken into consideration for understanding the conditions leading, in principle, to such a ,branching in the society

During the years when the nomad immigrants had come to Iraq, every time, (١) through participating in the conquest, they gained some noticeable victories, and took .the possessions of some countless booties

The front being against them was that of fidelity, the war against which was lawful easily justifiable. They were the mere truth, and the opposite front was the mere error. Jamal battle was the first action during which the Muslims clashed with their .coreligionists

In this war despite the victory, there was not any booty and this issue brought about a

problem for the aforesaid. Their question was that how it was possible that shedding
(somebody's blood was allowed, whereas taking his money was not so. (1)

This problem demonstrated itself at Jamal battle and naturally caused the primary interpretation of the Muslim nomads to be altered from the holy war and the forces opposing them. The aforesaid problem was attributed to Imam 'Ali (a) by Kharijites through their objections

Later on, this issue caused the Kharijites not to leave a medium between infidelity and faith (say unbeliever and infidel libertine, or even a Muslim libertine), rather to bring the problem to an end and to call some (including just themselves) believers and the opposite group

p: ۳۶۹

al-Fa'iq, vol. IV, p. ۱۲۹ – ۱

unbeliever whose blood was allowed to be shed and whose money to be taken as well

The other problem arose from the reasons behind revolting against 'Uthman and (۲) finally his murdering. This caliph was accused of religious heresies and his stands caused two diverse deductions from Islam to be drawn among his dissenters and assenters

Such issue have not been recorded before then. In principle, this measure caused the monotonous religious attitude among Muslims to be changed and some suspicions regarding which one is the right of Islam to be induced. It is obvious that this issue itself called for positions against it, which inevitably showed itself within the two extremes

Uthman's murdering caused the religious leadership to be out of the hands of the government and to be in the hands of some personally claiming to be theologians. One of these clans was Kufa and Damascus (1) "Qur'an reciters" that through relying

on this Qur'an recitation, restrained themselves from taking part in the battle, and stood between the two armies to see which one is the rightful

The contribution of the Qur'an-reciters to the conversions leading to the Kharijites's appearance and even the presence of a number of them amongst the Kharijites is indicative of this very point. Besides, the independent positions of 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud refusing to follow the Imamate of the society have been pointed out. They observed that 'Abd Allah himself took a stand against 'Uthman and has called 'Uthman's legitimacy into a serious question, through

p: ۳۷۰

See, Waq'at Siffin, following al-Qurra' at the list of tribes and clans –۱

.not allowing 'Uthman to say his prayers

Through repudiating Imamate, the Kharijites indicated that they have been impressed with this point. That is to say, they believed that they themselves ought to make decisions on the religion and even their other political affairs, and that, in principle, there is no need to have an Imam

The superficial justification of this matter was that Qur'an makes them dispense with the need for having an Imam. This arose from the hard-line attitude of the Qur'an reciters who considered themselves to surpass others and determine their way more properly

The problem of tribes' domination over the central sovereignty is not an issue to be (۳) overlooked easily. This matter was crystallized firstly through the fact that the tribes were not content with Quraysh's domination. Even their admitting of Imam to this extent, was due to the fact that Imam himself was against rather than alongside Quraysh. This is well obvious from the Imam's remarks. Imam regarded Quraysh as (his foe.) (۱)

However, ultimately Iraq tribes refused to accept even the Imam, inasmuch as their

animosity was far more severe than that permitting them to accept a person having a blood retaliation with Quraysh anyhow. It should be kept in mind that the Kharijites .were a sect not accepting being from Quraysh as a condition for caliphate

As it's been noted, one of the motives behind revolting against 'Uthman was Egyptian and Iraqi tribes' concern over the indisputable domination of Quraysh, and the ,Umayya, in particular

p: ۳۷۱

See, al-Irshad, vol. I, p. ۲۵۴ –۱

.over the Muslims' regulations, and specially their financial affairs

The tribal structure in the new Islamic community, had preserved its power. During the first years, the prevalence of central power via religion had somewhat outshined the tribal criteria. However, presently by the victories subsiding, the Iraq tribes have taken notice of themselves, and after revolting against 'Uthman, their power has .been enhanced

When one could dethrone a caliph on account of the crimes he has committed, one could stand up to the next caliph and threaten him with death. Imam (a) was exposed to this issue. He went to Iraq, so to suppress the infidels' riot. Thus he was naturally in .need of Kufiyan tribes' forces. They assisted him to extinguish the sedition

Afterwards, the heads of the tribes having a worthy influence in their own tribe, benefited from this power as a lever in confronting Imam. Having undermined the central power, finally this issue led to the defeat of this power against Damascus enemy. At Siffin battle, each tribe resisted, in an orderly way, its enemy through .preserving its own tribal structure

From the onset of the establishment, the composition of Kufiyan population was also on this basis. The influence of tribes' needs was very sweeping and was regarded as a government in a government. Tribes' mutiny against the first two caliphs was

.unprecedented. 'Uthman as well withstood these tribes as before

However, his killing demonstrated that he has been defeated against the tribes. It ought to be known

p: ٣٧٢

that this situation was repeated in Imam 'Ali's (a) caliphate. When the Qur'ans were raised above the spears, the head of Kinda tribes, Ash'ath Ibn Qays said, “You have to [\(١\)](#) send for Ashtar to stop fighting; otherwise, we will kill you as we killed 'Uthman.”

Both he and those later being ranked amongst the Kharijites, compelled Imam to accept Abu Musa Ash'ari as his representative.[\(٢\)](#) Another group known as Qur'an-reciters, and having a party under this title in 'Uthman killing incident, withstood 'Ali (a) .and asked him to accept Damascus army request concerning invitation to Qur'an

Those later on joining the Kharijites, threatened him that if he won't accept their request, they will kill him just like 'Uthman.[\(٣\)](#) So hereby, the arbitration was imposed on Imam and Imam pointed out repeatedly his unwillingness in this regard,[\(٤\)](#) and he The one not obeyed, can give no order,”[\(٥\)](#) as his “ لا- امر لمن لا يطاع ,regarded this that .problem

When a man went out of the houses of his tribe and went to those of another tribe, and while shouting, sought help from his tribe, his target is to induce disturbance and sedition. The people of the tribe he was among whom, attacked him and beat him. He returned to his tribe and kicked a great disorder, a chaos in which the swords were [\(٦\)](#) drawn from the sheaths and a war was waged.

Amir al-Mu'minin himself introduced the “aged”, and the elders as the main foundation of obstinacy, and the chief pillars of

p: ٣٧٣

Ibid, vol. V, p. ٤٩, Waq'at Siffin, pp ٤٨٩-٤٩٠, Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. X, pp ٣-٥٦, ٦٠, ٢٣٩; Tatawwur al-Fikr As-Siyasi 'Ind ahl As-Sunna, pp ٤٣-٤٤
Ibid, vol. V, pp ٨٤-٨٥ -٤
Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon ٢٧ -٥
Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XIII, pp ١٦٧-١٦٨ -٦

sedition.^(١) Thereafter, Imam was entangled with these tribes. Some groups from the Iraqi Arabs stood up to him, they were the Kharijites who not only resisted him, but also wounded his son Imam Hasan (a) after him. Supposing that, he has taken no notice of their request concerning the war against Mu'awiya

All these incidents happened in an area where, before Islam, there were diverse (٤) Christian, Zoroastrian, Mazdaki and various Christian and Jewish tendencies that had crucial influence on the present mental disturbances in these areas. It is not strange to see that major sectarian trends appeared in Iraq

Even amongst the Sunnis, various theological and juristic trends are the fruits of scientific efforts of Iraqi cities. In this regard, Damascus can in no way be compared with Iraq. In contrast, Damascus under Umayya's control chose an easy way in accordance with what the Umayya propagated. As a result of this matter, Damascus dominated Iraq without any trouble and it owed this victory to its unity. Besides, this point should be taken into account that, that number of companions coming to Iraq didn't go to Damascus. This issue was influential in bringing about diverse and apposing courses in Iraq

The significant concept which can notify of these mental and political disturbances (٥) is that of sedition from which every group benefited for their own benefit. Imam 'Ali (a) dissenters, in Imam's was against apostates, believed that this war was nothing but sedition. They believed that in sedition, one ought to be

p: ٣٧٤

Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon ١٩٢ -١

“(Abd Allah. the murdered”. rather than ”'Abd Allah. the murderer”.”^(١)”

For Imam 'Ali's (a) part, “sedition” title referred to a disturbance in the political circumstances, as well as disobedience to the former caliph of the Muslims. According to the application of sedition in Nahj al-Balagha, Imam called those acts leading to Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawan battles seditious^(۲), and asked those being alongside it to be like an adolescent camel that has neither a back strong enough for ridding, nor ^(۳)udders for milking.

This means that lack of obedience on the part of a rebelling group is called sedition.^(۴) “Doubt” is the concept resembling sedition, in which the truth and error are ^(۵)intermingled together and remained unknown.

Thus, in this way, Jamal and Siffin battles ought to be regarded as one of the most basic incidents influencing Muslims' political thoughts and making evaluation more difficult for the masses of people due to those doubts raised later on

The emergence of doubt and sedition had an important impact on the formation of hard-line sects trying to bring the work to an end and wipe sedition off the society by drawing clear lines. The application of equivocal concept made the work much more difficult. The extreme use of “infidelity” concept arose from this need

The main problem if this group's formation is based on two interrelated (۶) implications. The first point is that “judgment” is merely confined to Allah and it is not correct to leave arbitration to “men”. The second point is that

p: ۳۷۵

Masa'il al-Imamah, p. ۱۶-۱

See, Nahj al-Balagah, sermons ۹۳, ۱۰۱, ۱۲۱, ۱۹۲; letters ۱, ۶۵; Qisar al-Hikam, No ۱-۲

Nahj al-Balagah, see, Kalamat Qisar, No ۱-۳

For sedition, see, Bernard Lewis, article “Mafahim Inqilab dar Islam”, Tahqiqat - ۴

Islami Magazine, No ۲/۷, pp ۹۳-۹۷

Nahj al-Balagah, sermons ۳۸, ۱۲۲, Qisar al-Hikam, No ۱۱۳-۵

this incorrectness is not a simple one. rather it is at the extent of “infidelity” and those

...learning arbitration to “men” became “infidel

At the outset, this infidelity was put forward with regard to Imam. Supposing that, as it was natural, 'Uthman should have been considered an infidel too. Talha and Zubayr as well, were not immune to that. Hence, in this way, the concept of “infidelity” took a crucial role in their thought

As for the issue of the only judgment is that of Allah, the problem lied in defining the term “judgment” According to the evidences, it seems that they have defined “judgment” as “judge”. As a result of this issue, not only the arbitration of Abu Musa Ash'ari was rejected, but also the “Islamic ruler” existence was doubted. Such a matter sounded unnatural, but it was declared and was repudiated by Amir al-
(Mu'minin (a

Imam said, “They stated that there is no need for governance, whereas, there is no
”.escape for men from “Imam” pure or impure

This sentence, (the only judgment is that of Allah) is a truthful statement, but what (they think) it means, is wrong.⁽¹⁾ Is it possible that the Kharijites thought concerning not being in need of Imam, arose from their spirit of tribalism and pan-Arabism? It should be known that they had some Qur'anic reasons, however, their hasty interpretation, originally arising from their harsh morale, resulted in extremely unified
(meanings.⁽²⁾

The Kharijites, during the Imamate of Imam 'Ali (a), didn't have opportunity to put
forward

p: ۳۷۶

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۳۶۱-۳۷۷; Nahj al-Balaghah -۱

For instance they regarded all those accepting arbitration, and subsequent to that, -۲
everyone not considering ‘Ali (a) infidel, as infidel, by referring to the verse
and whoever did not judge by what Allah revealed, those are “
بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ” they that are the unbelievers” and ordered their dissenters’ women and children to be

My Lord! Leave not“ رَبِّ لَا تَذَرُ عَلَيَّ الْأَرْضِ مِنَ الْكَافِرِينَ دَيَّارًا” murdered by referring to this verse upon the land any dweller from among the unbelievers” which was Noah’s prayer

See, Masa’il al-Imamah, p. ١٩

their other viewpoints. However, later on, they put forth novel viewpoints in the arenas of political affairs and specifically Imamate. It's noteworthy that their belief concerning “infidelity” had such a profound impact on the theological discussions that .it forced the Islamic sects to react to the subtle definition of faith and infidelity

The Kharijites extremity with regard to generalizing the concept of infidelity caused all the groups to express their opinion in this regard. One of these groups was Murjiyan who said that it is not possible for them to clarify precisely the truth and error, and all ought to be deemed Muslims, and the Shi'ite Muslims and 'Uthmani disputes as well as .judging cardinal sinners should all be left to Allah

:Thabit Qutna, a Murji'i poet said

نرجى الامور اذ كانت مشبهه ونصدق القول فيمن جار أو عندا

We leave (to Allah) all the dubious affairs, and we judge correctly the oppressor or“ (obstinate.” (١)

This curse tried to regard all the opposing groups as Muslim, and hereby to decrease .the differences

Fighting the Kharijites was not a simple measure. The Kharijites, for the most part, were among the Qur'an reciters and those being apparently people of Qur'an and prayer, and their leader, 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb was renowned as Dhu al-Thafanat (the (one whose forehead has been marked by prostration

In spite of that, he was the most pious of all of them. Hence, he could easily persuade the people of Kufa and his Shi'ite followers into fighting them. Imam's opinion concerning the Kharijites

has been noted in various sermons. Amongst these remarks, there is an interesting
.narration. Imam was asked whether the Kharijites are infidel

”?Imam replied, “They have escaped infidelity

”?Again he was asked, “Are they hypocrite

Imam said, “The hypocrite remember Allah just a bit, whereas these people call Allah
”.day and night

”?He was asked, “So what kind of people are they

Imam said, “They are a group who have been entangled in sedition and thereupon
(have become blind and deaf.”[\(۱\)](#)

Imam 'Ali narrated that once the Prophet of Allah (S) said, “O 'Ali, people will fall into
sedition through their wealth, will show obligation on account of their religion, will
desire his mercy, and will feel safe from his clout, and regard his unlawful matters as
lawful by raising false doubts and by their misguiding desires. They will then hold
lawful (the use of) wine by calling it barley water, a bribe by calling it a gift, and taking
”.if usurious interest by calling it sale

Imam added, “I asked the Prophet of Allah (S), how should I deal with them at that
”?time, whether to hold them have gone back in heresy or just in sedition

[\(He said, “Sedition.”](#)[\(۲\)](#)

Perhaps this very remark of the Prophet of Allah (S), caused Imam's attitude with
respect to sedition to be so strong that he indeed regarded the incidents facing him as
sedition. The Kharijites themselves were unable to comprehend this meaning. They
expected all to be either faithful or infidel. Anyhow, perhaps on account of the
asceticism and the

(Lisan al-'Arab, vol. IV, p. ٤٦١ (following religion –١

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ١٥٧ –٢

warship that the Kharijites displayed out of themselves, fighting them was more .difficult. However, Mu'awiya's sedition was far stronger and more dreadful than them

Hence, Imam said elsewhere, “I have put out the eye of sedition. No one except me advanced towards it when its gloom was swelling and its madness was intense ... when seditions come they refuse (gospel truth against credal error) and when they clear away they leave a warning. They cannot be known at the time of approach but are recognized at the time of return. They blew like the blowing of winds, striking some cities and missing others. Beware that the worst sedition for you in my view, is

[\(that of the Umayya, since it is blind dim.”](#)^(١)

That's why Imam asked his Shi'ite Muslims not to waste their energy fighting the :Kharijites

لا تقتلوا الخوارج من بعدى فليس من طلب الحق فاخطأه كمن طلب الباطل فأدرکه

Do not kill the Kharijites after me, since the one seeking the gospel truth, but going“ [\(the wrong path is not like the one seeking the credal error and finding it.”](#)^(٢)

By the second group, Imam exactly meant Mu'awiya and Damascus people. Imam's remark concerning the Kharijites was that you thought the Kharijites have been eliminated, but they still exist in the loins of men and wombs of women. Whenever a chief would appear from among them, he would be cut down till the last of them

[\(would turn thieves and robbers.](#)^(٣)

The Kharijites remained, they went to remote cities, plundering everywhere under

p: ٣٧٩

Ibid, sermon ٩٣ –١

Ibid, sermon ٦١ –٢

Ibid, sermon ٦٠ –٣

the pretext of infidelity. Finally, they went to Sijistan, and were ranked among those
.calling themselves 'Ayyar, wanderer

A point proved to be true regarding Kharijites and other hardliners is that, their aims may sound more eminent from some aspects; however, their way if action is in such a manner that masses of people cannot be compatible with them. This issue that they regard every cardinal sinner as infidel, is, in itself, a matter that the society cannot
.admit

Even the Mu'tazilites who considered cardinal sinner neither a faithful nor infidel, rather a libertine person, couldn't influence masses of people. Superficialism is another Kharijites characteristic. They were amongst the Qur'an-reciters and even some of Kufiyan worshipers. Such members of the society are always threatened with
.being entangled in the risk of extremity

Invasions of Damascus Army

It was already discussed how Imam's endeavor was focused on re-mobilization of the Iraqis for a battle against Damascus; however, those declaring readiness were few.

.Though Imam, in his sermons, asked people for an aid, rarely ever did they follow

In a sermon he has stated: "I come in grips with the crowd laying disobedient when ordered and remaining silent when called. O wrong crowd! Why on earth thou keep waiting? Why thou stand still in helping divine religion? Where is thy religion that
?prepares thee? Where is thy fervor that outrages thee

Cry I make and help I seek. Neither to my word thou lend an ear nor my order, thou
obey until the end comes and the evility turns

p: ٣٨٠

up. Neither a reprisal thou can join nor can thou lend a hand for an aim to stop thee
(leaving. Moan thou nipped and move thou never made." [\(1\)](#)

And in another sermon: "O people in diversity with distressed hearts in reversivity! In

bodies thou are nude, in intellect thou are dude. In knowing the Truth I cherish thee like a foster-mother. From the Truth you trotter away as goats from a roaring lion.

[\(Alas! with thee off justice the darkness I clear, uncrooked path of Truth I gear.”](#)[\(۲](#)

O people laying disobedient if ordered and remaining silent if called! The provided“ chance never thou take, the challenge never thou dare, thou reproach when likely the crowd prepared behind an Imam, thou withdraw when unwillingly involved in a hard task. O cowards! Why on earth thou keep waiting? Why thou stand still in aiding and
?taking back thy rights

May thou be dead or despised! By Allah, far away from me thou shall remain if my hour comes, for thy company I hate. With thee when I am, without help really I am. Who on earth in truth art thou? Thou hast no religion to prepare thee? Thou hast no fervor to propel thee? Not a surprise rogues follow Mu'awiya when called enjoying no benefit a bit. Thee I call the survivors of Islam and piety to benefit thee a lot. On me thou turn back and with me thou art at odds... What I adore more is death to come

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Futuh al-Buldan, sermon ۳۹ –۱

Ibid sermon ۱۳۱ –۲

[\(forth”](#)[\(۱](#)

Addressing the people these speeches were delivered by Imam in ۳۹ and ۴۰. They manifest his firm will before the Qasitin (the oppressors). Mu'awiya, conscious of the prevailing state in Iraq as well as the resident's weakness, was set to undermine Imam's might and set the scene for entering Iraq through attacking on areas ruled by Imam in Hijaz and even in Iraq. He expressed his intention as follows, “The Iraqis will be overawed with such murders and plunder, the dissidents and the secessionists will
[\(become valorous and those saved of disputes will be absorbed”](#)[\(۲](#)

The attacks known as “Gharat” were repeated every now and then and martyred many a real Shi'ite Muslim anywhere. Abu Ishaq Thaqafi Shi'i (born in ۲۸۳) has

presented a list of the Gharat in his book authored in the third century under the same title. The reports of such attacks can be found in other historical sources too

Egypt was the first attacked land. When elected as the caliph, Imam appointed Qays Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada to Egypt governorship. Nevertheless, when he left for Iraq to suppress the Nakithin, (allegiance breachers) he urged him to return from Egypt.^(۳) Qays set out to Medina and then to Iraq^(۴) to participate in Siffin. Subsequent to Siffin once Egypt was in unrest and an uprising against Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr was likely, Imam determined to dispatch Malik to Egypt

Appointed for the second time as the governor of Hijaz after Siffin, Malik received a letter to go to Egypt. As soon

p: ۳۸۲

Futuh al-Buldan, sermon ۱۸۰ -۱

(al-Gharat, p. ۱۷۶ (Persian version -۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۳۹۰-۳۹۲ -۳

As reported by Baladhuri in Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۳۰۰-۳۰۱ when Qays arrived in Medina, -۴ Imam had written to Sahl Ibn Hunayf to go to Kufa Meanwhile, Marwan and Aswad Ibn Abi al-Bakhtari were active in acting against Imam in Medina They threatened Qays with murder Without a moment's hesitation he left there for Iraq It proves that except Ansar accompanying Imam to Iraq how much Medina was against Imam

as Mu'awiya was informed, he wrote to the treasurer in Qulzum to remove Malik in any way possible and in exchange not to deliver the remainder of treasure. Accordingly, he martyred Malik with poisonous honey.^(۱) Where he was martyred was called 'Ayn Shams

Upon learning Malik's murder, Mu'awiya said, "Ali had got two arms one of which was cut off in Siffin and the other was Malik cut off now."^(۲)

On the other hand, when Imam heard the news, sorrow was visible on his face for a number of days stating, "What good features Allah had granted Malik! Who Malik

really was! If a mountain, a great mountain he was. If a rock, a solid rock he was. O Malik! By Almighty Allah, over your demise many are grieved while many are thrilled.

“For such a person tears should be shed. Shall any one be ever re-born like Malik?” (۲)

Now Damascus had access to Egypt, agitated. It not only was adjacent to Damascus but also had many from among the 'Uthmanids who could back the Damascus army. In addition, it was the time to fulfill the promise Mu'awiya had given to cunning 'Amr Ibn 'As, the governorship of Egypt. Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr was the governor in Egypt then

Amr Ibn 'As who had led the Arabs' army when conquering Egypt before advanced with a massive army. In a letter, he warned Muhammad to surrender if willing to remain secure. Another threatening letter was sent by Mu'awiya reading, he knew no

p: ۳۸۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp ۳۹۸-۳۹۹ -۱
al-Gharat, vol. I, p. ۲۶۴; in Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۳۹۹ the name of Qays Ibn Sa'd -۲
is referred to mistakenly
al-Gharat, vol. I, p. ۲۶۵ (The Persian translation is adapted from Ayati's book -۳

.other enemy for 'Uthman but Muhammad, so the time was ripe for a reprisal

Writing to Imam, he enclosed the two letters with his. Imam recommended him to resist and ordered him to send Kinana Ibn Bishr (allegedly the one who hit 'Uthman on the head with a mace(۱)) to Damascus accompanied by an army but stay with another army in the city. Kinana left with two thousand soldiers and Muhammad stayed there on alert with the same number

In bravely clashes with Damascus army, Kinana along with his troops were martyred. Muhammad who was left all alone in Egypt took refuge in a ruined place. The commander of the vanguards in the army was Mu'awiya Ibn Khudayj who traced Muhammad, beheaded him, set him inside a carcass and then burned it.(۲) It was the policy that Mu'awiya and his followers pursued in martyring the divine figures under

.the pretext of 'Uthman's murder

As soon as Imam was told, he turned so gloomy that he made very pungent remarks
.addressing Kufa people

In his sermon, he pointed out, “It exceeded fifty days that I seek help. After such a
(long period the army recruited is the least mighty one.” (۳)

Where is “ألا دين يجمعكم ألا حميّه تغضبكم؟” It was in this very sermon when Imam declaimed
(thy religion that prepares thee? Where is thy fervor that outrages thee?” (۴)

When asked for what his grief was Imam responded, “He was as dear as my sons” (۵)
,Suffering the loss of Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr

p: ۳۸۴

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۴۰۱ – ۱

al-Gharat, vol. I, pp ۲۷۶–۲۸۹ – ۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۴۰۴ – ۳

al-Gharat, vol. I, p. ۲۹۱ – ۴

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۴۰۴ Muhammad’s mother, Asma’ Bint ‘Umays, was first – ۵
Ja’far’s wife after whose martyrdom got married Abu Bakr After Abu Bakr’s demise
she married Imam ‘Ali (a), thus Muhammad was cherished in Imam’s family

one of his closest companions, as well as Egypt, Imam wrote to all Muslims in various
.spots recounting the agonies he had suffered since the Prophet's departure

He, in the letter, referred to the unjust attitude that there had been concerning the
Prophet's household following his departure, nation's allegiance, how Nakithin
breached their allegiance, how the war of Siffin was waged and how the Kharijites
:stood against him. Then touching upon the excuses people made he added

What thou nagged was Blunt art our swords and blank art our quiver. No bayonets do“
our spears hast and sticks at what we call spears. Let us return to get prepared with
the best of horses and weapons...’ I did order thee to dismount in Nukhayla, set up a

camp and stay there on standby ... A crowd of thee stayed with me making .unjustifiable excuses and another group left me disobeying

Neither firm were those who stayed nor returned those who left. Once noticing the camp, less than fifty soldiers I found. I headed for Kufa disappointedly but as yet, out hast thou never stepped. Why on earth thou keep waiting? A blind eye hast thou turned to that thy lands get shrunk, thy towns get occupied and my Shi'ite Muslims get slayed? Not a border guard is seen on the borders but enemy's." Furthermore, Imam [\(urged them to prepare against the rival.](#)[\(1\)](#)

Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr's murder was considered as a triumph for the 'Uthmanids around the globe in Mu'awiya's view.[\(2\)](#) Egypt

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al-Gharat, vol. I, pp ۳۰۲-۳۲۲ -۱

Ibid vol. II, p. ۳۷۷ -۲

which was now out of Imam's hand was ruled by 'Amr Ibn 'As as late as his death in ۴۳ for three or four years who preferred the worldly life in exchange for the abiding one .in the Hereafter

Mu'awiya was hopeful about Basra as well, as Basra 'Uthmanids had written to him seeking for help. He was well aware of the grudge Basra people bore Imam 'Ali (a) for .they had lost many in Jamal war

According to Thaqafi, in order to consult 'Amr Ibn 'As Mu'awiya wrote, "Nowhere can a belligerent and invincible crowd be found as many as Basra people." Mu'awiya called upon 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir Had'rami to travel to Basra to mobilize Mu'awiya's followers under the slogan of revenge for 'Uthman's murder and occupy the town. Meeting the .Tamimites in Basra, 'Abd Allah talked to the 'Uthmanids having gathered

On propounding his aim Dhahhak Ibn 'Abd Allah Hilali objected to him as saying, "Do you order us to unsheathe our swords once again (after Nakithin) and battle with one

another in order to let Mu'awiya still be on the throne and you be his minister and to breach the allegiance we have sworn to 'Ali (a)? By Allah, one single day of 'Ali's lifetime spent when the Prophet alive was far much better than whatsoever Mu'awiya and his lineage have ever carried out." Some were in 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir's side and some in Dhahhak's

As a rule, the majority backed Ibn Amir other than a

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few like Ahnaf Ibn Qays. Between the Mud'ari and Yemeni Arabs there was a strife; however, Mu'awiya had previously advised 'Abd Allah to trust the Mud'ari ones. It upset the Azdites. At the same time Ziyad Ibn 'Ubayd who was the vicegerent of Basra governor resorted to Sabra Ibn Shayman Azdi and wrote to 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas, Basra governor, in Kufa; as a result, the news of Basra spread

On the one hand Ziyad supported by the Azdites led Friday prayer and urged them to back Amir al-Mu'minin with whom Ansar and Muhajirun were and stand against the Tamimites. On the other hand Ibn 'Amir organized an army in Basra and took the possession of some properties. The news of the Azdites' support for Ziyad and the Tamimites' for Ibn 'Amir created chaos in Kufa

Imam was demanded by Shabath Ibn Rib'i not to let the Azdites overcome the Tamimites. Nonetheless, Mikhnaf Ibn Sulaym advocated the Azdites. Urging them to back the principles of the religion, Imam advised, "Thou should restrain from battling and insulting one another for the sake of Islam and its reputation and unite

Imam sent Ziyad Ibn Dhubay'a from the tribe of Tamim to Basra for hindering the Tamimites to support Ibn 'Amir. His attempt was a little fruitful. Bu while asleep at night, a number of the Kharijites attacked him and killed him running away

Sent by Imam together with fifty of the Tamimites to Basra, Jaria Ibn Qudama met with the Shi'ite Muslims and read

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out Imam's letter to them. Regarding the allegiance people had sworn Imam had
:written

If keep thy allegiance, if follow my advice and if obey my order, in line with the Divine“
Book and the Prophet's tradition I shall treat thee and the path of Truth I shall raise
among thee. By Allah, no other ruler do I know to be well aware of his tradition but
myself since Muhammad passed away. The gospel truth is what I tell. I intend neither
”.to reproach the deceased nor to find fault with their deeds

Then Imam had added that if they breached their allegiance, he would suppress them
with his army. To make up the incident of Jamal, the Azdites declared their readiness
for a battle against Ibn 'Amir. After a time of being under siege, the 'Uthmanids's
houses were razed to the ground at Jaria's behest. In a letter Ziyad notified Imam
that a number were burned, a number who fled fell prey to swords and a number who
[\(surrendered were pardoned.\)](#)

The movement led by Dhahhak Ibn Qays, a well-known commander of Damascus
army, is among Damascus invasions. As reported by Thaqafi when the Kharijites
revolted against Imam, 'Umara Ibn 'Uqba Ibn Abi Mu'ayt wrote to Mu'awiya: “A group
of the Qur'an reciters and the devout from among 'Ali's followers have stood against
him. Combating them, 'Ali has killed them. And now since his army and the inhabitants
of his town have taken up arms against him, the seeds of

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al-Gharat, vol. II, pp ۳۷۳-۴۱۲ -۱

”.discord are sowed among them

Mu'awiya, extremely delighted, sent Dhahhak Ibn Qays along with a three - or four -
thousand soldier army to Iraq and ordered him to loot anywhere he went, kill any
Shi'ite Muslim he noticed and then leave there promptly for another place. Dhahhak
who went to Kufa not only plundered people's properties but also rushed a caravan of
pilgrims and killed a number. Imam 'Ali (a) in Kufa called upon people to defend

.themselves

When Imam found them that indifferent, he told them, “By Almighty Allah, I wish I had one of thee in lieu of a hundred men of thee.” Once more Imam desired to be dead! Then Imam sent Hujr Ibn 'Adi with four thousand troops to stop Dhahhak. Hujr encountered him in Tadmur and in their clash, nineteen soldiers from the rival army were killed and two people on Hujr's side were martyred. With Dhahhak's overnight .escape another invasion of Damascus was ended

In the meanwhile 'Aqil Ibn Abi Talib wrote to Imam to be kept abreast of the latest developments. Describing Dhahhak's invasion abortive, Imam referred to the injustice Quraysh had done to him and wrote: “O Allah! A calamity thou descend for Quraysh to sever their kinship with me, for those allying and usurping my right of ruling left behind by my brother, Muhammad. To the one they gave it whose neither kinship with the Prophet (S) nor record in Islam was like those of mine”. The letter indicates how Imam constantly mentioned

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[his usurped right any chance he got.](#)

The other invasion made by Damascus army to Iraq was the one headed by Nu'man Ibn Bashir with two thousand soldiers. He was supposed to attack on 'Ayn al-Tamr, on the outskirts of the Euphrates. He was the one and the only one from Ansar who had joined the 'Uthmanids. Although there were a number of Ansar who had balked at .supporting Imam 'Ali (a), never did they join Mu'awiya

When Malik Ibn Ka'b deployed with a hundred heard about Bashir's probable attack, he asked Sulaym for help who was the treasurer in that side of the Euphrates. Imam learning the news of Nu'man's attack on the one hand and observing the Kufiyans hesitant to rise on the other hand objected to them as uttering, “O Kufiyans! When the vanguards of Damascus army thou notice, the doors thou shut and into homes thou creep like a lizard in to its hole and a hyena in to its den. By Allah, how abject is the one
”whose helpers art thou

Sulaym sent fifty of his troops led by his son, 'Abd Allah, for Malik's aid. Damascus army afraid of the aid army upcoming fled after a short clash. Mu'awiya said his intention of sending the army had been "To jeopardize the Iraqis". Anyhow, this attack .was fruitless as well

Following Imam's remarks it was 'Adi Ibn Hatim who accompanied a thousand people from the tribe of Tayy to Nukhayla. Another a thousand also joined him and they

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al-Gharat, vol. II, pp ۴۱۶-۴۴۲ -۱

advanced towards the banks of Euphrates and made several attacks on southern [\(part of Damascus.\)](#)

Mu'awiya sent an army to Dumat al-Jandal to have them, obedient to neither Damascus nor Iraq, pay tax alms (statutory Islamic levy on specified items to be used for Muslims' welfare). Another army led by Malik Ibn Ka'b was sent by Imam too. A fight was started between them which lasted a whole day long. Next day Damascus army returned while Malik stayed there for ten days inviting people to help. Not being [\(helped, he returned disappointedly as well.\)](#)

One of the other invasions made against Iraq was led by Sufyan Ibn 'Awf Ghamidi along with six thousand toward Hit and then toward Anbar. Imam's adherents were few there none of whom were willing helpers except a very small number with Ashras .Ibn Hassan Bakri who resisted unit being martyred

After plundering Anbar, the invaders went back. On being informed, Imam on the pulpit of the mosque, summoned people to gather in Nukhayla and move to stop them. In the answer, nothing came up but silence. Imam left the mosque and sent Sa'id Ibn Qays Hamdani together with an eight-thousand army to stop them but they .had already arrived in Damascus

When Sa'id returned, he found Imam so seriously sick that he could in no way stand

on the pulpit. Imam therefore wrote a letter complaining about Kufiyan people, sat on the platform by the mosque gate and asked Sa'd, one of his Mawalis (freed slaves) to read

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al-Gharat, vol. II, pp ۴۴۵-۴۵۹ -۱

al-Gharat, vol. II, pp ۴۵۹-۴۶۱ -۲

it out loud. "If any other option there were, never a word would I breath to blame thee ...

O people, Jihad (holy Islamic war) is a portal of the Heaven portals opened to Allah's special friends, attire of piety, chain mail of solidity and a shield of inflexibility... Be informed, daily and nightly, overtly and covertly for a battle with thy foes I invited ?... thee, to attack them before being attacked

Enable thou remained and disobedient thou laid until the enemy occupied thy homeland. It was Ghamidi who assaulted Anbar, slayed Ashras Ibn Hassan, plundered the weapons and massacred the righteous men. Even I heard no one stopped the man, from among thy foes, who invaded the house of a Muslim woman, under our .protection, took her anklets off her ankles and her earrings off her ears

Yet, safe and sound they returned with not a single injury. If this life a Muslim man departed ashamed and saddened of such an act, never should he be blamed for my part. Wonder! What grief I suffer and what pain I bear when in accord I find them in !... credal error and in discord I find thee gospel in Truth

O wrong crowd under the guise of right men! O gang of the foolish like the kids and the brides in bridal chambers! Allah solely knows how dejectedly I keep living amongst (thee! I beg Him from thee to take me and toward Himself to ascend me..." [\(۱\)](#)

These remarks could

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al-Gharat, pp ١٧٩-١٨١ (Persian version); Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp ٢١١-٢١٢ -١

merely persuade three hundred to gather in Nukhayla. Imam's next sermons bore no
(fruit as well.)

Prior to Hajj season in ٣٩ AH. Mu'awiya dispatched an army to Mecca with Yazid Ibn SHajara Rahawi as the head to absorb people to Mu'awiya during Hajj period. On the other hand, Imam being told of his intention, sent a group commanded by Ma'qal Ibn Qays Riyahi to Mecca. Qutham Ibn 'Abbas who was the governor imagined that no one would defend him, so decided to leave Mecca first but they trusted its holiness and stayed

It was Dhill-Hajja ٧th when Damascus army arrived in Mecca. To avoid clashes, the commander for whom observing the holiness of the city was allegedly significant sent a message to Qutham that both give up leading the congregational prayers and let people pick one out

As soon as Hajj ritual terminated, Damascus army returned. Following the Damascus army, Ma'qal Ibn Qays went to Mecca and moved as far as Wadi al-Qura. They could only capture a few numbers of the fatigued ones who were exchanged later for Iraqi captives

After the event, Imam told people: "Defeated thou hast become be this nation ... for the more active they get, the more passive thou go; the harder they try, the lazier thou become. I do behold disunity among thee as unity among them..."

One of their most notorious attacks was Busr Ibn Artat's on Hijaz and Yemen. He, a ruthless criminal, was ordered by Mu'awiya to massacre 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims

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al-Gharat, pp ٤٦٤-٥٠٣ -١

Ibid vol. II, pp ٥٠٤-٥١٦ -٢

anywhere he traced. Why Busr was dispatched was the 'Uthmanids living in Yemen

had revolted against 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Abbas, the governor, after realizing weakness
within Iraqi troops

They had written to Mu'awiya seeking for help. First Busr entered Medina of which
governor, Abu Ayyub Ansari, had been appointed by Imam. Having no troop he had to
flee. Busr set fire to his and others' houses, secured allegiance from people by force,
designated Abu Hurayra as the governor and sent him to Mecca

Qutham Ibn 'Abbas also left there and fled. Busr then set out to Ta'if where he sent a
man from Quraysh to Tabala therein many a Shi'ite Muslim resided. At his behest, all
were slayed and their possessions were plundered. Mecca residents, panic-stricken,
had to flee among whom were 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Abbas's wife along with his two sons,
Sulayman and Dawud captured and both beheaded

It is said that they were murdered in Yemen concealed in an Iranian-born man's
house. Keeping on his trip, he went to Najran where he killed 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Abbas's
father in law, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abd al-Muddan. This very event is very considerable in
Mu'awiya's shameful political life. When Busr arrived in Yemen, 'Ubayd Allah had
already left. Although a number of Shi'ite Muslims defied for a while many were
martyred. Busr committed countless crimes

He beheaded one hundred Iranian-born Shi'ite Muslims. Then he moved toward
Hadramawt where allegedly numerous Shi'ite Muslims resided. He had said he would
kill one

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out of four. Upon being informed, Imam sent Jarir Ibn Qudama with an army to follow
him. When Jarir heard that Busr had gone to Mecca, he went there but he had already
left. When arriving in Kufa, Jarir found Imam 'Ali (a) martyred, so he swore allegiance
(to Imam Hasan (a

Imam who was extremely annoyed with the Kufiyans, pronounced a malediction, for
not only had they left Imam helpless but also they never protected their wives and

daughters and allowed Damascus wicked men to access them. As an instance we narrate a malediction of Imam 'Ali's here, "I saw 'Ali (a) speaking to people", Abu Salih Hanafi, "While having the Holy Qur'an on his head, the papers of which rustling". 'Ali was uttering, "O Allah! From whatever written in this Book they prevented me. Upon .”me thou bestow any what of this Book

O Allah! In disfavor I hold them as so they hold me and of them I hast become tried as of me they haste become so. Unlike my nature is what they force me to act, an action unknown to me as yet. O Allah! Better than them grant me helpers but worse than me [\(to them. O Allah! Dissolve their heart like salt in water. \(1\)](#)

Imam Ali's Martyrdom

In was Ramad'an, 19th 40 A.H. at dawn when Imam was preparing to head for Siffin to battle once again with Mu'awiya but he was wounded by the most black-hearted man in the world named 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Muljam Muradi and martyred three

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(al-Gharat p. 174 (translated by Ayati -1)

.days later on Ramad'an 21st

As reported by Ibn Sa'd, three Kharijites called 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Muljam, Burak Ibn 'Abd Allah Tamimi and 'Amr Ibn Bukayr Tamimi allied in Mecca to kill Imam 'Ali (a), .Mu'awiya and 'Amr Ibn 'As

To visit his Kharijites' friends, 'Abd al-Rahman went to Kufa. Once he went to meet a group from the tribe of "Taym al-Rabbab", he saw a girl called Qutam Bnt Shajanna Ibn 'Adi whose father and brothers had been killed in Nahrawan. When Ibn Muljam proposed to her, she declared that her marriage portion should be 3000 (Dinar!) in addition to Imam 'Ali's murder. He told that by accident with this very aim he had [\(traveled to Kufa. \(1\)](#)

He smeared his sword with poison and attacked Imam on the head. The deepness of

the wound as well as the poison of the sword martyred Imam. Reportedly, Ibn Muljam
(had been in Ash'ath Ibn Qays's house that night.(۲)

Various narrations indicate that Imam was attacked by Ibn Muljam inside the mosque.(۳) In accordance to other ones, he attacked Imam while he was waking people up for prayer.(۴) Many historical sources have referred to the former although .many reports recorded say Imam was attacked while doing prayer

Maytham Tammar had reported that Imam had started his Dawn Prayer and no sooner had he recited eleven verses of the Sura of “the Prophets” than Ibn Muljam wounded Imam on the head.(۵) As narrated by one of Ju'da Ibn Hubayra's descendants, Imam was wounded while doing

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Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. ۳, pp ۳۵-۳۸ -۱

Maqtal al-Imam Amir al-Mu'minin, p. ۳۶, No ۱۳ -۲

Ibid p. ۲۹, No ۴; p. ۳۵, No ۱۲ -۳

Ibid pp. ۲۸,۳۳, No ۱۱ -۴

Ibid p. ۳۰, No ۵ -۵

(his prayer.(۱)

The man above-mentioned, Ju'da, had been Umm Hani's son who every so often had led the prayers as a substitute leader and narratedly he had been the one who completed the prayer when Imam was attacked. Sheikh Tusi has also confirmed the aforesaid narration.(۲) Yet, Muttaqi Hindi's report had been that Ibn Muljam had hit (Imam when Imam was prostrating back.(۳)

Ibn Hanbal(۴) together with Ibn 'Asakir(۵) has confirmed the report. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr stated that there had been no consensus on whether Imam was attacked while doing the prayer or before it and whether any one substituted him or he himself led the prayer to the end. Many are of the opinion that Imam had Ju'da Ibn Hubayra lead the (incomplete prayer.(۶)

A great number of hadiths have been narrated by the Holy Prophet's Household and the Sunnis concerning how Imam felt during the night before being wounded. Ibn Abi al-Dunya quoted Imam al-Baqir (a) as saying that Imam had been fully aware of his martyrdom. (٧) As soon as being injured, Imam shouted out "فزت ورب الكعبة" By Allah of " (Ka'ba, to salvation I reached.) (٨)

Ibn Abi al-Dunya has narrated Imam's will in different ways which included both financial and religious issues. The salient issues recommended by Imam were as follows:

Observation of kinship, heed to the orphans and the neighbors, following the guidelines of the Holy Qur'an, performing prayers as the pillar of the religion, Hajj, fasting, Jihad, Zakat (tax alms) following the Holy Prophet's infallible Household

p: ٣٩٧

Ibid p. ٣٠, No ١-٦
al-Amali, al-Juz' al-Thalith, No ١٨-٢
Kanz al-'Ummal, vol. XV, p. ١٧٠ (٢nd edition); al-Amali fi Athar Sahaba, pp ١٠٣-١٠٤-٣
(al-Fad'a'il, p. ٣٨, No ٦٣ (published in Qum -٤
(Tarjamat al-Imam 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib (a), vol. III, p. ٣٦١ (٢nd edition -٥
al-Isti'ab (in the margin of al-Isaba), vol. III, p. ٥٩ -٦
al-Isti'ab pp ٣٣-٣٤, No ١٢; Abu Nu'aym along with many others have narrated that -٧
the Prophet had already foretold his martyrdom Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, pp ٢٩٥-٢٩٦
Ibid p. ٣٩, No ٢٠; footnote, al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, p. ١٦٠, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. -٨
٤٩٩

.serving Allah's servants, enjoining to good and forbidding from evil

There is no God " لا اله الا الله", Reportedly, on Ramad'an ٢١st, while Imam was whispering "So he who has done an atom's weight of good shall see it. And he who has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it" Breathed his last. (٩)

According to another narration, after Imam's martyrdom, Imam Hasan (a) and Imam Husayn (a), Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya, 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far as well as few numbers from the household took Imam (a) out of Kufa nightly and hiddenly from sight buried [him](#). It was because the Kharijites and the Umayyads might exhume Imam. [\(2\)](#)

Upon hearing the news of Imam 'Ali's martyrdom, a group of the Exaggerators in Ctesiphon did never believe their ears. This group is the initiator of the exaggerating thoughts among the Shi'ite Muslims whom we will address later. Ibn Abi l-Dunya's report in this respect referred to a person named Ibn as-Sawda' from the tribe of 'Hamdan know as 'Abd Allah Ibn Saba

Elsewhere, the name of 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb as-Saba'i, was mentioned and that such a claim had been made in Ctesiphon. [\(3\)](#) Both narrations reveal that the person had even been anonymous. See also 'Uthman's Opponents

Imam 'Ali's Life

The analysis of Imam's lifestyle as a paragon seems beyond the possibility here; yet, we refer to some aspects for luck in brief

Imam's political and

p: ۳۹۸

Maqtal al-Imam Amir al-Mu'minin, pp ۴۵-۴۶ -۱

Ibid p. ۷۹, No ۶۸ -۲

Ibid p. ۹۲, No ۸۵; p. ۹۶, No ۹۱ -۳

social life is so exemplary that it can be deemed utopian. At times, so uniquely firm was he regarding divine decrees that not a single one could ever emulate him as he [himself had pointed to it in a letter](#). [\(1\)](#)

For those yearning to be faithful to it, his lifestyle is a perfect pattern. Every time we can learn from it but the way is still too long to go. In other wards, Imam's lifestyle has been the best during man's life. It belongs to a perfect man who can indeed be called

human and Allah's successor on the earth. Such an engrossing life did he have that it had his friends reach the zenith of amity and his enemies reach the zenith of enmity in front of him

:In this regard, the Prophet (S) has stated

يهلك فيك الرجلان محب مفرط ومبغض مفرط

His withstanding for the sake of the path of Truth does incense the enemy that it makes him go to extremes whereas it does fan the flames of his friend's love that he [\(2\)](#) may go to extremes. [\(2\)](#)

The one feeling affection for him can ascend as high as the rank to be called a devoted Shi'ite Muslim but if he neglected slightly he would be affected by the exaggerating tendency. Rarely ever has it be seen that divinity be attributed to a person. 'Ali (a), however, in a community where Allah had underscored the humanity of the prophet Muhammad (S) was targeted by such attribution although Imam opposed

p: ٣٩٩

Nahj al-Balaghah, letter ٤٥ – ١

٢ – This Hadith is the one repeated many times Imam also stated , يهلك فيك الرجلان، محب

Two people are murdered for me, extremist friend and hardline foe مفرط ومبغض مفرط

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ١٢٧

.it severely

Imam's asceticism is what overshadowed all his life. He was an ascetic man who turned back on anything though he was entitled to possess everything. A group asked about the most ascetic man in the presence of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. Some named :Abu Dharr and 'Umar but 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz said

أزهد الناس على بن ابي طالب (ع)

﴿No one is the most ascetic but 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib.﴾^(١)

Imam not only associated with the poor but also behaved kindly towards them.^(٢) He was sometimes seen doing prayer or delivering a sermon wearing his one and the only shirt wet. Repeatedly, Imam has referred to his simple life in Nahj al-Balagha.

,Noticing that Imam ate very frugal food, one of his disciples told him

أبالعراق تصنع هذا؟ العراق أكثر خيراً وأكثر طعاماً

﴿Do you eat such food in Iraq where the best food can be found?﴾^(٣)

Imam was the first one who practiced what he preached objecting to 'Uthman Ibn Hunayf in Nahj al-Balagha or in his public sermons concerning this worldly life

Aswad Ibn Qays recounted that Imam 'Ali (a) fed the Kufiyans on the fertile land of the mosque but he himself ate the food in his house

One of his disciples said, “I said to myself that 'Ali eats more delicious food at home than what he gives people. So I left my food half eaten and followed him. He called Fid'd'a and asked her to prepare the food. She brought a loaf of bread and yogurt diluted with water. He dipped the

p: ٤٠٠

al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. ٢٤٠ -١

Ibid p. ٢٤٠ -٢

Ibid p. ٢٤٤ -٣

pieces of bread in the liquid while it was with bran. I asked him why he had not asked for bread baked with flour without bran. Shedding tears, he answered, “By Allah, ﴿neverever bread without bran was found in the Prophet's house.﴾^(٤)

Uqba Ibn 'Alqama narrated, “When I met Imam 'Ali (a), there was sour yogurt diluted with water in front of him that was so sour and watery that it upset me. I asked him whether he would eat it. O Aba l-Khabub, worse than this was the prophet's food and

.rougher than mine was his clothes

Imam answered, “I fear if I did not do what he had done, I would never join him” [\(۲\)](#)
When a special food was brought for Imam, Imam stated, “Never do I eat what the
[\(Prophet \(S\) had never eaten” \(۳\)](#)

It does not imply that eating such food is unlawful but sheer act of following Allah's
.Messenger is of supreme importance for an Imam

Presenting another example appears appropriate. As recounted by Abul-Sheikh
Ansari, born in ۳۶۹, Imam appointed 'Amr Ibn Salama as the governor of Isfahan.
When setting out for Kufa, 'Amr was intercepted by the Kharijites. With the tributes
and the gifts, he had to settle in Hulwan. As soon as the Kharijites went away, he left
.the tributes in Hulwan and took the gifts with him to Kufa

Imam ordered him to lay them on the fertile land by Kufa Mosque and then distribute
among Muslims. Umm Kulthum, Imam's daughter, sent for 'Amr to send her

p: ۴۰۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II p. ۱۸۷; al-Gharat, vol. I, pp ۸۵,۸۷,۸۸ –۱

al-Gharat, vol. I, p. ۸۵ –۲

Ibid pp ۸۸–۸۹; the footnotes of the same pages –۳

.some honey brought. He sent her two cans then

When Imam came to the mosque for prayer, he realized that the honeys were two
less. He called 'Amr and asked where the two others were. He answered, “Do not ask
.what happened”, then he went and brought two cans of honey and added to them

.”Imam repeated,”I only wanted to know what happened to those two

.Umm Kulthum demanded to send honey to her”, answered 'Amr“

.Not have I told you to distribute the gifts among people?” Imam asked“

He sent for her to send the honey back. When brought back a little was consumed. He sent for the traders to estimate the price of the subtracted amount. It was three or so dhms. Imam sent for Umm Kulthum to pay for it. Then, the honey was distributed [\(among Muslims. ١\)](#)

.Numerous examples can be found in al-Gharat and other books

”I am the one who despised this world“ [أنا الذى أهنت الدنيا \(٢\)](#) ,It is Imam's own statement

That manifests his stance against this worldly life. Imam's behavior towards the agents is another dimension of his life addressed in historical sources. From any point of view, Imam supervised his agents and during his short term, many letters were written by him reprimanding them. After 'Ali's martyrdom, Suda, 'Umara Hamdani's daughter, came up to Mu'awiya. She had participated in Siffin

For a short while, Mu'awiya talked her about Siffin. She requested him to depose Busr Ibn Artat oppressing them. He declined, however. Suda consequently prostrated and an

p: ٤٠٢

Tabaqat al-Muhaddithin bi-Isbahan, vol. I, Akhbar Isbahan, vol. I, p. ٧٢ –١

Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. ٣١٠ –٢

.hour later rose up. Mu'awiya asked her what it was for

She responded,”When I went to 'Ali to complain about the man responsible for our alms, he was busy with praying. After his prayer, he asked me what I wanted. On hearing with no delay he took a piece of skin out of his pocket and urging him to observe justice he wrote, “As soon as receiving the letter, do what ordered until I send one to replace you. He gave the letter to me to hand in him. He was deposed [\(accordingly.” ١\)](#)

Imam Hasan’s Imamate

Acquaintance with the Kufiyan’s

Iraq has been an Islamic land that dominated over Islamic world throughout caliphate life for centuries and therein numerous important developments were embedded. With two cities of Basra and Kufa it initially appeared under the name of "Araqiyan" and later with the appearance of Baghdad it played a more important role. The time we talk about is when it is still a hundred years left to Baghdad emergence. Basra, for [years after the event of Jamal, was 'Uthmanids.](#)

Although it was somewhat moderated with the Mu'tazilites' (schismatic) penetration later. On the other hand, Kufa has always been known as a Shi'ites center that did adhere to its belief during the Umayyads's authority and later on. On different occasions this city has been "reproached" on the one hand and admired on the other, :thus different judgments have been passed about the Kufa people as follows

A. These people on different occasions took different positions. Once they rose for defending

p: ٤٠٣

al-Futuh, vol. III, pp ٩٠-٩٢ -١

Musnad Ibn Ja'ad, vol. I, p. ٥٢٧ the report was denied that Qatada in the second - ٢ century heard that there be a number in Basra who claimed that they considered 'Ali superior to 'Uthman "By Allah, no resident before you had ever believed so", he said

Ahl al-Bayt and strengthened the 'Alawites with their courage and it was their assistance that helped Imam defeat Nakithin. Yet, it was the last years of Imam 'Ali's caliphate when they hesitated to help him, so the gospel. Truth was defeated and the .credal error won

Though many([1](#)), later they left Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a) helpless on his own as well. Such a tragedy was also repeated in Muharram ٤١ A.H. However, many of them under the .name of Tawwabin (the Penitents) repented and in a movement were martyred

Another group allied with Mukhtar Ibn Abi 'Ubayd to take revenge for Imam Husayn's assassin to show their Shi'ites stance. With not helping Zayd Ibn 'Ali in ١٢٢ A.H. they

.proved their unfaithfulness to the 'Alawites

B. The why of such contradictory judgments is the existence of various political and religious groups in the city. One group was the Kharijites, another was somehow the Umayyads' accomplice as the noble and the other group was the Shi'ite Muslims, Ahl al-Bayt's devotees from among whom the righteous were praised for their right deeds and the wicked kept on until they murdered the prophet's son

C. The existence of the tribes was also influential in people's quick stance changing. They went to extremes in their tribal prejudice so irrationally that they made rash decisions on any trivial affair. Mostly in favor of the tribes were the decisions, so they threatened the Kufiyan's unity, exactly what the Umayyads took advantage of several times

Here it looks essential that

p: ۴۰۴

These Shi'ites Muslims were mostly political and they never believed that Imam – ۱
.Hasan (a) was appointed by Allah as an Imam

we get acquainted with the Iraqi's state on the threshold of Hasan Ibn 'Ali's Imamate. Were these people familiarized, the next developments in Iraq would be well comprehended

Doing research on Imam Hasan's disciples, Sheykh Mufid classified people into categories. Imam 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims; the Kharijites who were intent on fighting Mu'awiya and due to Imam Mujtaba's intention of battling against Damascus allied with him. Those greedy for the booty; Common people negligent of what to do; and the group included those with tribal prejudice who obeyed their chiefs disregarding the religion. (۱) ۱۵۰۹

The number of those belonging to the third group exceeded all. As Iraq was the center of eastern conquests, they gained a great deal of booty in all wars. Yet, since

Imam 'Ali's entrance to the land civil wars began; therefore, they assumed the
(Alawites as debtors.)

After Nahrawan, they did not deem to the good of themselves to start a new war in the prevailing status. With the rumors spread by Mu'awiya's spies in Iraq, doubt expanded among the Iraqis. The Kharijites' emergence added to their doubt and undermined them to understand the situation

Regardless of what said above, the people of Iraq, as matter of fact, had expressed themselves encountering the rulers of a hundred years. The honor they had gained during the years of conquering Iran had made them dominant over the Prophet's Medina and when dissatisfied of any ruler, they compelled even 'Umar to depose him

The figures who were not among the tricksters seemed to be

p: ۴۰۵

al-Irshad, Vol II, p. ۱۰; al-Fusul al-Muhimma, p. ۱۴۷; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXIV, pp ۱-۴۶, ۵۶; Manaqib, Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. IV, p. ۳۲; Sulh al-Imam al-Hasan (a), pp ۶۸-۶۹

Later you will see how Imam Mujtaba has proved it -۲

defeated. 'Ammar Ibn Yasir as a righteous man as well as Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas as an un-political person could never tolerate the state of Kufa. In spite of it Mughira Ibn Shu'ba, a powerful debauchee (as described by 'Umar), could rule over Kufa for years. (۱)۱۵۱۱

Later on, with Imam 'Ali's emigration from Medina to Kufa, it developed and the significance of its role in the Islamic world multiplied. His ethical and scientific background as well as his devotion during the life of Islam led people to rise up and help him

The Prophet's disciples and his own close followers joining to his army added to his might and allowed no one to overcome him for a time. but, after the issue of arbitration was broached in Siffin, they found a justification for standing against

Imam 'Ali (a) and after suppressing the Kharijites, they, under the pretext of fatigue, drew back from the internal affairs. Imam stated that although a ruler, he had been [\(oppressed by people.\)](#)

People's present state made Imam announce that he was by no means able to reform them. Though he could rule over them by force, it was never the way he did ever [.choose](#)

He himself has described them well enough, "O people of Kufa! With Qur'anic advice thee I reproached, fruitless it was. With rods thee I threatened, useless it was. With whips thee I punished, pointless if was. The only means to reform thee is sword, but [at a cost of thy reforming never](#)

p: ۴۰۶

"See the section about "Caliph II's Agent –۱
Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ۱۹۹ –۲

[\(do I excite discord.\)](#)

Sword was the one and the only thing that could make the people of Iraq obedient. This fact has been confirmed throughout history. If anyone like 'Ali (a) and his progeny had never desired to make use of force, that is to impose something the people [.hated, neverever could he have succeeded](#)

Such rulers as Ziyad, his son, 'Ubayd Allah, or Hajjaj could pacify Iraq. Despotism was what could remove the tensions. Mukhtar also could rule for a short time with his [.policy but because not despotic, he could never unite Kufa let alone Iraq](#)

Amir al-Mu'minin, the Commander of the Faithful, has expressively described this nation. He has likened them to a pregnant woman who aborts her baby at the very last moment after bearing the sever pain of pregnancy. [\(۲\)](#) To camels without riders he also likened them that are gathered from one side but scattered on the other. [\(۳\)۱۵۱۵](#)

It is quite natural that such morale can on no accounts tolerate a calm and reformist

ruler who resorts to human and logical ways. At the end, the more Imam insisted on people's unity against Damascus, the less they even tried to defend Iraq

:It was then when Imam addressed them reproaching

أيتها الفرقة التي إذا امرت لم تطع وإذا دعوت لم تجب، لله أنتم، أما دين يجمعكم، أما حميه تشخذكم؟ أوليس عجباً أن معاويه يدعو الجفاه الطغام فيتبعونه غير معونه ولا عطاء وأنا أدعوكم وأنتم تريكه الاسلام، أنه لا يخرج إليكم من امرى رضاً ترضونه ولا سُخط فتجتمعون عليه وإن احبّ

p: ٤٠٧

I sought not my ruin through thy *al-Irshad*, vol. I, p. ٢٨١ –١ وما كنت متحريراً صلاحكم بفساد نفسى reform

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ٧٠ –٢

Thou *al-Irshad*, vol. I, p. ٢٨٣ –٣ يا اشباه الإبل غاب عنها رعاتها، كلما اجتمعت من جانب تفرقت من جوانب أخرى look like camels left unharnessed by camel drivers, if they are gathered on one side, they shall be dispersed on the other side

ما أنا لاق إلى الموت

O the crowd laying disobedient when ordered and remaining silent when called. Thou“ hast no religion to prepare thee? Thou hast no fervor to propel thee? Not a surprise rogues follow Mu'awiya without expecting money and he is obeyed. I call you, the survivors of Islam, but you never follow me even I am not outraged for this. The only desire I seek is death.” (١)١٥١٦

These people treat 'Ali such while having brilliant records as far as he desires death. Of course, Imam could attract people, like Mu'awiya, through non-Islamic ways or force them to war. But Imam behaved them this way now that they like staying and he never intended to force them to accept something they did not want (٢) because if .”he did so, his leadership is not “Imamate ” but “Monarchy

This was something Mu'awiya stayed proud of. Anyway, such people faced Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a)'s succession, the eople unwilling to admit their Imam's command to defend

[Iraq and they went their homse from Nahrawan for rest and never returned.](#)

Mu'awiya's position in Damascus had strengthened as well. Damascus people who had already called Mu'awiya Amir now called him Amir al-Mu'minin. The Iraqi solidarity was not like that of Siffin time. The death toll in Siffin and Nahrawan had undermined the Iraqi's spirit. Since Hasan Ibn 'Ali was Imam 'Ali's son, it had added to the difficulties

Yet, Iraq was afraid of being dominated by Damascus. Although they disobeyed their Imam, they

p: ٤٠٨

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. X, p. ٤٧ – ١

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XI, p. ٢٩ – ٢ وقد أحببتم البقاء وليس لى أن أحملكم
Thou preferred to stay, so I have not the right to force thee to do “ على ما تكرهون ” something unpleasing to thee

Ibid vol. II, p. ١٩٣; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ٤١٨ – ٣

Although the killed on Imam's side were a few, many Kharijites who were killed – ٤ were from Kufa people's relatives

were not contended with his murder. In other words, because they did not want to be under Mu'awiya's dominance, they had no other alternative but swearing allegiance to Imam 'Ali's son

Under those circumstances no one could lead Iraq but Imam Hasan (a). Supposing that he did not exist, the Umayyads would naturally rule over Iraq. Nevertheless, the Iraqis' allegiance was not so wholehearted to keep them faithful to their new Imam. As seen later, on the horns of a dilemma, they preferred to be beside the Umayyads, yet unwillingly. Therefore, among these people there was no room for Imam. He had to head for Medina

Imam Hasan's Character

Regarding Imam Hasan's virtues many narrations are recorded the narrators of

which have been both Shi'ite Muslims and Sunnites scholars. (1) Many historical books have been written containing his virtues but regretfully until recently no serious effort had been made about the events in his life

Like any other time, the events are compiled with no serious research done nor is a detailed evaluation made. Most of the recorded virtues concerned with this magnanimous Imam reveal how much the two brothers were adored by Allah's Apostle who expressed his affection even publicly. Coming down the pulpit, kissing them and then going up the pulpit indicated that there was a reason behind the (scenes. (2)

It is additionally quoted from the prophet that he advised the present to recount to (the absentees how he expressed affection for Imam Hasan (a). (3)

He had also stated, "I do love him and

p: ۴۰۹

Such as Tarjamat al-Hasan from Ibn 'Asakir in Tarikh Dimashq and Tarjamat al- Imam al-Hasan from Ibn Sa'd in Tabaqat al-Kubra - ۱
Nur al-Absar , pp ۱۱۹-۱۲۰, Manaqib Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. IV, p. ۲۴; Nazm Durar As- -۲
Simtayn, p. ۱۹۵
al-Mustadrak, Hukaym Niyshaburi, vol. III, pp ۱۴۷, ۱۷۳; al-Ithaf bi-Hubb al-Ashraf, p. -۳
۳۴

(the one loving him." (1)

Imam's presence in Mubahala (cursing each other) and among the people of Kasa' (covering) shows the credit the prophet had considered for him. Appealingly, when Imam Mujtaba (a) took part in Rid'wan allegiance, the Prophet swore allegiance to (him. (2)

If wisdom was imagined in a man, " لو كان العقل رجلاً لكان الحسن " , In a narration he has stated (he would be Hasan." (3)

Imam Hasan's power in persuading the Kufiyans, when Nakithin(۴) revolted, manifests his importance and popularity among the people. As far as these hadiths are concerned, Muslims considered Fatima al-Zahra's descendants as the Apostle's, and despite the Umayyads's and later the 'Abbasids's denial there was no doubt for (Muslims in this regard.(۵)

It was due to his eminent characteristic that when Imam 'Ali introduced him publicly as his successor, the people of Iraq and other areas swore allegiance to him as an official caliph. Meanwhile, the spiteful around tried to mar his characteristic introducing him as the one with no policy and prudence on the one hand and a worldly figure with an opposite position to those of 'Ali (a) and Husayn (a) on the other hand

For example, with recourse to a handful of counterfeited reports they tried to rumor that Imam Mujtaba (a) had been constantly marrying and divorcing.(۶) Related to the reports of the compromise, they claimed that he abdicated through a number of financial conditions. It implies that he had been after Darabjird and Ahwaz revenues (as well as the public found in Kufa.(۷)

In

p: ۴۱۰

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan (a), Ibn Sa'd, p. ۱۳۴ -۱

al-Hayat As-Siyasiya li al-Imam al-Hasan, pp ۲۴,۴۴ -۲

Fara'id As-Simtayn, vol. II, p. ۶۸ -۳

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. ۴۹ -۴

al-Hayat As-Siasiyya Li-Imam al-Hasan, p. ۲۷ According to a narration in Kashf al- -۵

Ghumma, vol. I, p. ۵۵۰, Mu'awiya tried to call Hasan (a) and Husayn (a) Imam 'Ali's sons not the Prophet's

al-Ithaf, p. ۳۴ -۶

It will be discussed later -۷

such reports they have declared that since Imam did not deem caliphate his right, he submitted it to Mu'awiya. This utterance is nothing but an accusation because Imam

had regularly made it clear that caliphate had been his right yet he had to give it up
(under duress).⁽¹⁾

In addition to blemishing his reputation mostly done by the 'Abbasids under the pressure of the Hasanides they abused Imam's position to condemn 'Ali (a) and even Husayn Ibn 'Ali (a). They falsely quoted Imam as saying, "For the sake of kingdom, (never will I fight Mu'awiya".⁽²⁾

It could seem useful to Sunnites bigots to condemn Imam 'Ali's wars. It is also narrated that when Imam Hasan was born, his father liked to name him Harb (war)⁽³⁾. They implied that from the very beginning he did naturally love to fight

Elsewhere they have quoted him as saying, "The entire Arab might is in my hand so it will be with me whether I fight or compromise.⁽⁴⁾ One hundred thousand or forty thousand people swore allegiance to him and even loved him more than his father".⁽⁵⁾

Anyone who believes such untrue remarks, he will inevitably assume that Imam left the authority of his own volition not by force. These two are worlds apart

The other point was that this group of historians had been determined to prove in their historical reports that the two brothers had been in discord with different attitudes. In a narration they have quoted the Prophet as saying, "Hasan is from me but

p: 411

al-Amali, Shiykh Tusi, vol. II, p. 172; Bahj As-Sabaqa, vol. III, p. 448; Hayat al- – 1 Hayawan, vol. I, p. 58; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXIV, pp 30, 56; Manaqib Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. IV, p. 34

Dhakha'ir al-'Uqba, p. 139; Nazm Durar As-Simtayn, p. 195-2

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 126-3

Ibid p. 167; Dhakha'ir al-'Uqba, p. 139-4

Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vol. II, p. 299; Dhakha'ir al-'Uqba, pp 138-139; Tahdhib Tarikh – 5

Dimashq, vol. IV, p. 212; al-Ithaf, p. 35

Whereas as one of Imam Husayn's virtues repeated over and over is
حسين “Husayn is from me and I am from Husayn”

Why this narration was counterfeited is to introduce 'Ali and his son, Husayn, both as
the seekers of murder

Concerning the differences between the two brothers, they have quoted Imam
Husayn as saying to his brother, “I wish my heart were yours and your tongue
mine” (2). They have also quoted Abu Bakr, upon seeing Hasan Ibn 'Ali, as saying
شبيه بالنبي ليس شبيهاً بعلي “(3) By my father, he looks more like the Prophet than 'Ali.”

These are all narrated as virtue by the later generations while they had been
counterfeited with the mentioned aim. Such a view could help the 'Uthmanids to
damage Imam 'Ali's reputation and 'Ashura

One of the accusations made against Imam was his 'Uthmanids stance, that is to say
that he had been at odds with his father and refused to bloodshed in civil wars

Misunderstanding the concept of compromise counted for the accusation. It was
falsely claimed that although powerful enough, Imam relinquished authority to
Mu'awiya. But an unfounded accusation it is nothing. It was maintained to the extent
that they narrated that he had accused his father of participating in 'Uthman's
(4) assassination.

Earlier it was discussed that no one but the Umayyads with political intention accused
Imam 'Ali of being an accomplice in 'Uthman's murder. By the same token how can it
be ever possible for his son

Manaqib Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. IV, p. ١٢١ -٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II,p. ١٢ According to this narration, Hasan has objected to - ٤

Imam 'Ali (a) It is true but this Hasan had been Hasan Basri not Imam Mujtaba

?to accuse him of so

Surprisingly, a group of historians have said that Imam had sent his son to 'Uthman's house to defend him. Given that it is true,^(١) he had been set to prevent him from being killed. Furthermore, Imam Hasan had been among the participants in Jamal war .who played pivotal roles against the 'Uthmanidses

Imam 'Ali's representative to persuade the Kufiyans to take part in war was he who could persuade some ten thousand people into the anti-'Uthmanid war with his sermon in Kufa mosque.^(٢) Prior to that, he had defended Abu Dharr when in dispute with 'Uthman and when parting Abu Dharr at the time of being sent into exile he told him,"Put up with the difficulties they have made to you until you visit Allah's Apostle ^(٣)while satisfied with you"

In the thick of Siffin war 'Ubayd Allah, 'Umar's son, who had killed Hurmuzan, his wife and his Abu Lu'lu' scared of Imam 'Ali's retaliation tried foolishly in vain to have Imam Hasan stand against his father. It was after he rejected him angrily that Mu'awiya ^(٤)said, "He is indeed his father's son".

In Siffin, Imam Mujtaba (a) provoked people against Qasitin. Once he had addressed ,them

فاحتشدوا في قتال عدوكم معاويه وجنوده فإنه قد حضر ولا تتخاذلوا فإن الخذلان يقطع نياط القلوب

Unite against your enemy, Mu'awiya and his army, and never droop for it does sever ^(٥)the nerves of your heart."

He also, in a letter written to Mu'awiya at the beginning of his term, alluded to Ahl

Professor Sayyid Ja'far Murtad'a is skeptical of this issue al-Hayat As-Siyasiya li l- – ١
 Imam al-Hasan, pp ١٤٩-١٥٠
 Waq'at Siffin, p. ١٥; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. ٦٣-٢
 al-Hayat As-Siyasiya li al-Imam al-Hasan (a), p. ١١٣; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn – ٣
 Abi al-Hadid, vol. VIII, p. ٢٥٣; al-Ghadir, vol. VIII, p. ٣٠١; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٧٢
 Waq'at Siffin, p. ٢٩٧; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. V, p. ٢٣٣; – ٤
 Manaqib, Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. III, pp ١٨٦,١٩٩
 Waq'at Siffin, p. ١١٤-٥

al-Bayt's rightfulness and oppressedness after the Prophet's departure. These are all convincing reasons for confirming what a great helper Imam had been to his father .Under any circumstances

“ إنزل عن منبر أبي ”, In a narration when Imam Mujtaba saw Abu Bakr on the pulpit he said
 “!Climb down my father's pulpit

This is something exceptional in “ إن هذا شيء عن غير ملاء منا ”, Immediately Imam 'Ali (a) said
 (our tribe.” (١)

Imam Hasan's strong position in fighting against Mu'awiya after assuming the caliphate was exactly like that of his father. Imam's hostility towards the Umayyads was to the extent that Marwan did not allow his corpse to be buried next to the Prophet's grave, saying, “Why 'Uthman was buried outside Baqi' but Hasan Ibn 'Ali
 (next to the Prophet?” (٢)

It does manifest how strong had been Imam Mujtaba's position against 'Uthmanids's attitude. Yet, as mentioned earlier regarding the issue of compromise and in order to .legitimize Mu'awiya's rule, Imam's position was distorted

Imam Mujtaba and Imamate

The trace of the 'Uthmanids's attitude in Sunnism proves that Imam Mujtaba's six-month caliphate was neglected considered neither as the Orthodox caliphs' term nor as the monarch's. (٣) In other words, his caliphate was not that legitimate

The survivors of Muhajirun and Ansar in Kufa, yet along with the people of Iraq and the oriental lands of Islam had acquiesced to him as Muslim's caliph. Meanwhile Mu'awiya had also claimed caliphate in Damascus though according to himself only one from among Ansar had joined him, hence a wide gap was created among [Muslims.](#)

It

p: ٤١٤

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. ١٦٠; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٢٦; Ibn Sa'd (٢١٩) has referred to such a reaction by Imam Husayn (a Nazm Durar As-Simtayn, p. ٢٠٥; Rawd'a al-Wa'i'in, p. ١٦٨; Manaqib, Ibn Shahr - ٢ Ashub, vol. IV, p. ٤٤; Dhakha'ir al-'Uqba, p. ١٤٢

In historical books it is mentioned that after Imam 'Ali's martyrdom he took power - ٣ with the allegiance of those present in Kufa In Tarikh al-Khulafa', Suyuti, Mas'udi has The " الخلفه بعدى ثلاثون سنه " said that considering Imam Hasan's caliphate the narration of caliphate after me is thirty years" Would be right as seen in some historical books Later, he referring to the duration of each caliph had confirmed the caliphate until the early third century

Tabaqat Ash-Shu'ara', p. ١٠٩; al-Imta' wal-Mu'anisa, vol. III, p. ١٧٠ - ٤

was evident that not only the principle of analyzing caliphate was not accepted at that time but also to the end of the historical caliphate era it was assumed impossible to exist two caliphs simultaneously in the Islamic world

The present situation of Iraq when Imam Hasan(a) assumed the power was far worse than that of Damascus. In addition to the defeat the Iraqi people had experienced concerning arbitration, the Kharijites's revolt did severely undermine their morale and after three wars had gone weary. In very last days of his life, the [more Imam 'Ali tried to mobilize them, the less they obeyed.](#)

Now after Imam 'Ali's martyrdom and the Iraqi people's concern about Damascus domination, it looked probable that they resist. They should have chosen an Imam

and as referred to previously, they had no other alternative. Qays Ibn Sa'd's and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas's allegiance to Imam paved the way for the Iraqis's allegiance.

Following them, the residents of Hijaz after a while of delay swore allegiance

Among the people the Shi'ite Muslims were found whose belief was profoundly in Imam Mujtaba's Imamate and whose sworn allegiance was based on it as well. As a matter of fact, the tendency of the majority in Kufa was towards Shi'ism, namely (denying 'Uthman and approving 'Ali (a

They, during Imam's five-year term, being influenced by Imam and his disciples had become 'Alawites and hated the 'Uthmanids. Opposition to 'Uthman as well as his infamy in the city from the very time

p: ۴۱۵

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. X, p. ۶۷-۱

of Imam 'Ali (a) was to the extent that Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah Bajali had said that he would (no longer stay where 'Uthman was officially insulted. (۱

Whom could people choose other than Imam Mujtaba after 'Ali's martyrdom? Among Muhajirun and Ansar or even the Qurayshites, of course, there were a group of the Prophet's disciples such as 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas in Kufa who without a shadow of doubt had faith in Imam Mujtaba and never ever did they think of someone else

The meaning was not that the Iraqi people liked Hasan Ibn 'Ali more than his father, (۲) it was owing to the fact that there was no other choice. It is pointed out because some are set to declare that the convenient opportunity was provided to Imam Hasan but he himself declined to keep on his struggle

As far as the theory of Shi'ites Imamate is concerned, there is evidence that Imam 'Ali had introduced his son as his successor though the Sunnis have not referred to such evidence for succession. (۳) A narration is quoted from the Prophet in this respect in ,many a source as stating

“(Hasan and Husayn are the Imams whether they rise up or not.” (4)

This Hadith makes it clear that the two brothers' Imamate had been expressly stated.

.Historically, there are reports as proofs of Imam Mujtaba's Imamate

As reported by Nasr Ibn Muzahim, A'war Shanni had addressed Imam 'Ali (a), “May Allah endow you more with

p: ٤١٦

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. VI, p. ٣٠; vol. VII, p. ٢٨٢ –١

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, p. ١٧١ –٢

Maqtal Amir al-Mu‘minin, p. ٤١, Ibn Abi al-Dunya has said that no successor ‘Ali –٣ introduced

Majma‘ al-Bayan, vol. II, p. ٤٠٣; Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. II, p. ١٥٩; al-Irshad, p. ٢٢٠ –٤

success for a glance you have cast at divine light... The leader is you. Were you killed, the leaders would be these two, Hasan and Husayn

Lend an ear to what I have composed, “O Hasan's father! The dazzling sun of the midday is you and the shining moon is your sons. Until the Day of Judgement, thou and these two will go together as an ear with an eye. The generous are thou whose generosity is so sublime that no man can keep up with.” (1)

,Mundhir Ibn Ya'mur told Imam in Siffin

“ فان تهلك فهذان الحسن والحسين أئمتنا من بعدك “

”.Hasan and Husayn would be our Imams after you even if you were killed

,In a poem he had composed

ابا حسن أنت شمس النهار وهذان فى الداجيات القمر

O Hasan's father, the midday sun dazzling is thee and the shining moon is these two. Until the Day of Judgement thou and these two will go together as an ear with an eye.

﴿٢﴾

It clarifies that Imam's disciples even from his time knew both Imam Hasan and Imam Husayn as his successors as after Imam Mujtaba's martyrdom Kufiyan Shi'ite Muslims went after Imam Husayn (a). 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas also called the people to listen to Imam Mujtaba who said, “Swear allegiance to him who is your Prophet's son (and your Imam's successor” ﴿٣﴾

In a letter, Imam Mujtaba also wrote to Mu'awiya “On the threshold of demise, my (father entrusted the power to me.” ﴿٤﴾

Haytham Ibn 'Adi has quoted

p: ٤١٧

Waq'at Siffin, pp ٤٢٤-٤٢٥ (Siffin Battle, p. ٥٨٠); Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ٣٤ -١

al-Futuh, vol. III, p. ١٤٧ -٢

al-Irshad, vol. II, p. ٨ In a book by Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I٦, pp ٣٠-٣١ and Maqatil al-

Talibiyyin, p. ٣٣ the word of successor is not referred to

al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ١٥١; (in Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, Isfahani, p. ٣٦ and) Ibn Abi al-Hadid, -٤

After him, I am Muslims' leader” The “vol. I٦, p. ٢٤, it is narrated difference between the two is clear

his chiefs as saying, “Hasan Ibn 'Ali is his father's successor” ﴿١﴾ When Abul-Aswad Du'ali secured allegiance for Imam in Basra, said that, “Successorship and Imamate ” (had been entrusted to him by his father.” ﴿٢﴾

People also told Imam, “You are our caliph and your father's successor and we are (you followers” ﴿٣﴾

Anyhow it can be borne in mind that Imam 'Ali (a) had introduced his son as his

successor. (۴) One Friday when Imam did not feel fine, he asked Hasan to lead the Prayer. (۵) Heedless of the fact that Kufa Shi'ite Muslims had come up with Imam Mujtaba based on their beliefs, the special Shi'ites concepts of Ahl al-Bayt and the .dignity of Imam should be taken into account

Imam's first-ever sermon as reported by all related sources is, "Anyone who knows me, all right but anyone who does not know me, I am Hasan, Muhammad's son. The son of the Bearer of good news and the Warner is I. I am the son of Allah's Apostle and with His permission the guidance light. I am from among Ahl al-Bayt from whom any filth and sin is kept away; whom are purified and whose affection Allah has made incumbent upon you in His Book, say, for my mission I want thee naught but affection (for my kinsfolk's. (۶)

And (anyone who does good, we do multiply his good), so this good is feeling affection (for us, Ahl al-Bayt." (۷)

Mas'udi has presented a part of Imam Hasan's one sermon as follows, "The saved Allah's party and

p: ۴۱۸

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV, p. ۴۷۴ –۱

al-Aghani, vol. I, p. ۱۱۶ –۲

Bihar al-Anwar, vol. IV, p. ۴۳ –۳

al-Hayat As-Siyasiyya li al-Imam al-Hasan, pp ۴۸–۴۹ –۴

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ۴۳۱ –۵

It is the first part of the verse to the last part which only was referred in the –۶ narration

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۳۳; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, pp ۳۰ –۷

۳۱; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. ۱۶۷; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ۲۸; Hayat

As-Sahaba, vol. III, pp ۵۲۶–۵۲۷

close kin's of Allah's Apostle are we. We are the purified ones and one of the two weighty things left behind by the prophet. The other one is the divine Book to which no

wrong can ever penetrate

Obey us then, for our obedience is incumbent, for besides obeying Allah and His ... Apostle about the men of authorities it is ordered too. Anything which was in dispute, refer to Allah and His Apostle... If you referred to the Apostle and the authorities, they [\(1\)](#) would surely figure it out, for they are the people of science inference”.

Hilal Ibn Yasaf has recounted that he was present when Hasan Ibn 'Ali delivered a sermon saying

O Kufiyans! Fear from Allah concerning us. We are your emirs and your guests. We “[\(2\)](#) are the ones about whom Allah has stated Allah only desires to keep away the uncleanness from you, O people of the House!” And to give you a thorough purifying

.This sermon appears to be made after Imam Hasan was wounded in Sabat

In spite of Muhajirun's and Ansar's allegiance to the former caliphs, Imam Mujtaba like his father deemed caliphate his right. His letter to Mu'awiya like that of Imam 'Ali [\(a\)](#) included censure for the former caliphs' designation

Pointing to Quraysh's reasoning in Saqifa, kinship to the Prophet (S) and Arabs' approval of such reasoning, Imam in his letter wrote, “Although such reasoning we also had, Quraysh never behaved justly towards us as were

p: ٤١٩

(Muruj al-Dhahab, Vol II, p. ٤٣٢ (The Women, ٨٣ - ١
Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan (a), Ibn Sa'd, p. ١٦٧ - ٢

behaved by Arabs. They altogether oppressed us and stood against us. Since we feared from the hypocrites and the parties, we had to bear them until we now come to grips with you who have no precedence in Islam and whose father had been the archenemy of Allah's Apostle and Book”. Then Imam urged him to swear allegiance to him like people

In his response, Mu'awiya referred to his reaction against the event of Saqifa and wrote, "So you explicitly have denounced not only Abu Bakr, 'Umar and Abu 'Ubayda but Muhajirun and Ansar. We never deny your virtues and precedence. That day they preferred them to you for protecting Islam. Today the discord between you and me is .the same as that between Abu Bakr and you after the Prophet's departure

If I were certain that you were better than me as a lord of peasants and supporter of the nation or stronger than me in collecting properties and in encountering the enemies, I would swear allegiance to you. Since I am more experienced in ruling and older than you, you had better concede my sovereignty. If you do so, I will entrust the authority to you after myself, grant you a great quantity from Iraqi Bayt al-Mal (Public [fund](#)) and the revenues of anywhere you demanded in Iraq."[\(1\)](#)

The mention Mu'awiya had made about the similarity between his dispute with 'Ali and his son and that of Abu Bakr and 'Ali was also seen in the letters exchanged between Muhammad

p: ۴۲۰

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, pp ۳۳-۳۶ (simplified); al-Futuh, - ۱ vol. IV, pp ۱۵۱-۱۵۳; Maqatil al-Talibiyin, pp ۶۴-۶۸

[\(Ibn Abi Bakr and Mu'awiya.\)](#)

Considering himself as the successor of Abu Bakr and 'Umar, Mu'awiya insisted on it .for he was pursuing a political intention as well

."Once he had written to Imam 'Ali (a),"You did injustice to the caliphs all

If I did so, answered Imam, I should not apologize to you. The latter added,"I never [did injustice. Only did I blame them and for what I did I will apologize to no one."](#)[\(2\)](#)

For whatever reason the people of Iraq and Hijaz swore allegiance to Imam Hasan. It is said that when swearing allegiance, Qays Ibn Sa'd said, "For the sake of the Holy Book, the prophet's Sunna and Jihad against the oppressors I do swear allegiance to

”.you

Imam only preferred the first and the second ones saying, “These two are superior” [\(۳\)](#) As recounted by Mada'ini after Imam 'Ali (a) died a martyr Ibn 'Abbas left home and cried out “One it left behind 'Ali (a) if willing, invite him to come out and you swear allegiance to him but if unwilling no one forces you

While they were weeping for Imam 'Ali (a), people showed satisfaction. Imam stepped out of home and after delivering a sermon and reciting the verse of Tathir (purification) and the crowd swore allegiance to him. [\(۴\)](#) Later on Imam had addressed [\(them, “Of your own volition you swore allegiance to me not under duress”](#) [\(۵\)](#)

According to what Isfahani has narrated, when Ibn 'Abbas called on the crowd to swear allegiance to him they announced that they knew

p: ۴۲۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۳۱ Mu‘awiya wrote to Muhammad Ibn Abu Bakr “You – ۱
فكان ,”father and I knew well that ‘Ali was superior but after the Prophet passed away
Your father and his horrible friend were the first “ أبو ك وفاروقه أول من ابترَّ حقَّه وخالفه على أمره “
ones who usurped his right and opposed him” Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, pp ۱۱–۱۳
Nahj al-Balaghah, letter ۲۸–۲
Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۱۵۸–۳
Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, pp ۲۲, ۲۸–۴
al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ۱۵۶–۵

no other one to be lovelier and more rightful than him, they announced that they [\(knew no other one to be lovelier and more rightful than him, thus, they swore](#) [\(۱\)](#)

Another point which merits to be taken into account is that the political principle agreed on caliphate is the allegiance of both Mecca and Medina. At the moment after about thirty years after the Prophet's departure, the majority of Prophet's disciples have been killed in conquests and also in Jamal and Siffin. Medina was no longer the center of caliphate

Therefore, the above-mentioned principle that was the allegiance of Muhajirun and Ansar residing in Medina was called in to two questions. The problem per se foreboded how the situation was converted. It will be discussed later that the principle was not only dissolved but also substituted by the principle of succession on the part of Mu'awiya. In addition, from among the chiefs of Quraysh a few survived to claim .caliphate

In a letter Mu'awiya had written to Ibn 'Abbas, "Now you have to be concerned about Quraysh! Only six are alive, two in Damascus namely 'Amr Ibn 'As and I, two in Hijaz, Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar and two in Iraq, you and Hasan Ibn [\('Ali" \(۲\)](#)

Under such circumstances, Iraq could only trust Imam 'Ali's son. However there was a problem due to which the Iraqis were not able to be firm in their chosen way. When swearing allegiance to Imam a group was set to swear provided

p: ۴۲۲

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. ۳۱ –۱
al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۱۳۳; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۱۰۵, No ۳۱۵ –۲

.that Imam did battle with Mu'awiya

Imam Mujtaba by no means approved their condition and said that he would not accept their allegiance unless they vowed to battle against anyone he battled and [\(۱\) compromise with anyone he compromised.](#)

It seems quite natural that no leader can swear allegiance under such a condition. He ought to be fully empowered to battle or compromise. Imam's remark never implies that from the very beginning he was not intent on war [\(۲\)](#), but his next actions showed that he was among the ones who insisted on war. The main reason for rejecting this condition was preserving his sovereignty as Imam of a community. If the condition had been approved, they indeed must have chosen a military commander not an .Imam

Sheykh Mufid has recorded that Imam was sworn allegiance on Friday Ramad'an ۲۱st,

(۴۰.۳)

First Actions of Imam and Mu'awiya

Earlier we referred to one of Imam's letters to Mu'awiya and its answer. The exchanged letters recorded by Isfahani(۴) bore no fruit. Imam himself was absolutely aware that would never surrender with such letters, yet, it is of great significance that these letters be recorded as evidence to indicate explicitly what the reasoning of the .both sides were for their legitimacy

Mu'awiya did his utmost to be kept abreast of the state in Kufa and Basra through his (spies. But the spies were all identified and killed.(۵)

Both Imam and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas had written to Mu'awiya admonishing him for his violation. For the last time Imam warned Mu'awiya if he did not

p: ۴۲۳

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp ۱۵۴-۱۵۵; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۱۵۸; -۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ۲۹

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ۲۹ -۲

al-Irshad, vol. II, p. ۹ -۳

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp ۶۲-۶۸ -۴

Ibid p. ۶۲; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. ۳۱; al-Irshad, vol. II, -۵

p. ۹

,surrender, he with the Muslim army would attack

فحاكمتك الى الله حتى يحكم الله بيننا وبينكم وهو خير الحاكمين “

We entrust the arbitration between you and me to Allah to judge and He is the best

(arbitrator.” (۱)

When writing letters was fruitless, Imam wrote to Mu'awiya, “Between you and I,

In a letter, then, to his agents in various areas besides expressing his delight in Imam 'Ali's effortless murder, Mu'awiya informed them of Kufa in chaos. “The nobles and the leaders in Kufa have written to me for guarantee of clemency for themselves and their families”, added he truly or falsely, “as soon as you receive the letter, move to me with your armies because time is ripe for revenge”. Accompanied by his army Mu'awiya advanced towards Manbij bridge. At the same time, Imam Hasan (a) sent Hujr Ibn 'Adi for people and his agents to get prepared for fighting

And be patient; surely “واصبروا ان الله مع الصابرين”, In Kufa Imam after reciting the verse of Allah is with the patient,” (۳) addressed the gathering, “O people, but through patience with what you dislike. You can never reach what you like. I learnt that Mu'awiya is moving towards us. Hasten to Nukhayla you all” (۴). Isfahani recounts that Imam was speaking as if doubtful about people's readiness. No one breathed a word

All of a sudden 'Adi Ibn Hatim broke the silence saying, “I am Hatim's son. Why on earth do you keep waiting? Do you not obey

p: ۴۲۴

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۶۶ –۱

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. ۲۶ –۲

Anfal, p. ۴۶' –۳

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۶۹ –۴

your Imam and your Prophet's son?” Then he assured Imam and headed for Nukhayla. A number of people from the tribe of Tayy whose chief was 'Adi Ibn Hatim accompanied him. According to Ya'qubi, there were a hundred fighters in Tayy who (never dared to disobey 'Adi (۱)

Later, Qays Ibn Sa'd, Ma'qal Ibn Qays and Ziyad Ibn Sa'sa'a gave speeches; therefore, around twelve thousand soldiers gathered in Nukhayla. Imam (accompanied them up to 'Abd al-Rahman Convent. (۲)

It should not be ignored that the Iraqis' morale had been undermined after the event of arbitration. They had prepared themselves for a compromise with Qasitin. On the other hand, whenever they imagined to be dominated by Mu'awiya, their hair stood .on end

At this juncture, a group feigned ignorance, another group was quite doubtful and only one group, the minority, joined Imam. Setting out for the camp, Imam left his paternal cousin, Mughira Ibn Nawfal, in Kufa to convince people to join. Harith Hamdani has said that those willing to join Imam went to Nukhayla while many balked at going among whom some had already promised to cooperate.^(۳) As a result, Imam .had to return to Kufa and mobilize support

Imam's such position-taking is despite what Zuhri and others have said *كان الحسن لا يؤثر القتال ويميل إلى حقن الدماء*^(۴) "Hasan is as a matter of fact reluctant to battle" *الحسن أن يقاتل أحداً ولكن غلبوه على رأيه*^(۵) "Since Hasan was not determined to battle, he compromised".

In addition, Imam had given people

p: ۴۲۵

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۱۸۱ –۱

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp ۷۰-۷۱ –۲

Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXIV, p. ۴۴ –۳

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۱۵۸; Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p. ۱۹۶ –۴

al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VIII, p. ۱۴ –۵

raises in order to strengthen their spirit.^(۱) They got the raise form the very beginning .of caliphate to get ready for the war against Damascus

The total number gathered in Nukhayla was twelve thousand. They had to go there following their chiefs and under the pressure of propaganda. Though this figure is stipulated in many historical sources, some believe that it was forty thousand. It is said that the troops with Imam going to 'Abd al-Rahman Convent had been forty

thousand form among whom a thousand were sent as the vanguard led by Qays Ibn Sa'd.

This mentioned figure can by no means be correct because, the historical narrations certify that all at first remained silent when called. How is it possible that the number augmented suddenly and miraculously

If Imam's supporters were that many, there would be no need to go to Ctesiphon and summon forces nor to risk and leave the army all on its own. Many historians such as Ya'qubi, Abul-Faraj Isfahani and Ibn 'Asakir who have accurately recorded the report (have approved the twelve-thousand figure.

There is a strong probability that this false narration refers to those who swore allegiance to him after Imam 'Ali's martyrdom. The number mentioned in that narration is forty thousand who were supposed to battle with Damascus.

According to some, this narration had made a group of people assume that this great number had been prepared to aid Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a) although the allegiance of this number to Imam 'Ali

p: ۴۲۶

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۶۴ –۱
al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ۱۵۳; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ۶۱ –۲
Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۷۱; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۲۱۴; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, p. ۱۶۷
Dhakha'ir al-'Uqba, pp ۱۳۸-۱۳۹ –۴
Sulh al-Hasan, Al Yasin, p. ۱۲۳ –۵

a) is open to doubt by itself. Regarding Imam 'Ali's repeated remarks in Nahj al-Balagha and other sources about reproaching Kufa people for not helping him in the war against Damascus, it beggars belief that such a large crowd help his son

As it will be seen later the main cause for the compromise was people's non-

collaboration. Which can be easily inferred from Imam's remarks. It is clear-cut that with the presence of forty thousand soldiers such remarks should not have been quoted from him

Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Abbas was the commander of Imam's army but Zuhri has mistakenly named 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas.^(۱) Some others have mentioned Qays Ibn Sa'd,^(۲) after 'Ubayd Allah fled, who seized his position. There is no doubt that Imam ^(۳) had appointed 'Ubayd Allah.

Why Imam chose him was that in the present situation full of doubt Imam had no other choice but appointing one from his own lineage. Moreover, 'Ubayd Allah bore Mu'awiya a grudge because Busr Ibn Artat, one of Mu'awiya's commanders, in an attack on Hijaz had beheaded his two sons before their mother's very eyes. Yet, Imam treated it with caution and appointed two deputies for him, Qays Ibn Sa'd and Sa'id Ibn Qays

Sending them towards the enemy, Imam headed for Sabat in Ctesiphon. But before they go, he gave 'Ubayd Allah some advice “أبسط ووجهك” Behave softly “ألن جانبك”, to look cheerful “أفرش لهم جناحك” Cast the umbrella of your affection over them “ادنهم من مجلسك”

p: ۴۲۷

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. ۱۶۸-۱

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, p. ۱۷۶-۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ۳۴-۳

Never start “فلا تقاتله حتى يقتلك” Consult these two “وشاور هذين” Try to keep close to them “.battling before being stated

Imam also pointed out that those people were the survivors of the ones whom Imam 'Ali (a) trusted. Then Imam added that they should move to the Euphrates and then to Maskan to defend themselves against Mu'awiya and stay there until being ordered.^(۱)

Imam himself went to Sabat. As recorded by Dinwari, Mu'awiya sent an army with 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir Ibn Kurayz to Anbar and then to Ctesiphon. Comprehending the situation, Imam had to set out to Ctesiphon.^(۲) The incident occurred there and is reported by all historians, was the Kharijites attack on Imam

Such historians as Dinwari, Baladhuri, Abul-Faraj Isfahani and even Sheykh Mufid quoting Isfahani have said that from Imam's remarks the probability of compromise could be inferred. Due to this reason the Kharijites attacked him. It can not be acceptable. How could Imam, who had gone to Ctesiphon prevent the enemy's invasion or recruit people, give such utterances with the implicit aim of compromise before the war be started? Ya'qubi has recounted clearly what happened

Mu'awiya, who never ever gave up trickery, sent Mughira Ibn Shu'ba and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir to Sabat to talk to Imam about compromise. When returning disappointedly in order to provoke the Kharijites and under their breath in a way to be heard, they said, "Allah indeed prevented blood shedding and suppressed the sedition by the Prophet's son. At last

p: ۴۲۸

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۷۱; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. ۴۰ -۱
Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۱۶ -۲

."he accepted to compromise

Ya'qubi added that it was then that on hearing, the army grew furious and never doubted their truthfulness, so they attacked Hasan (a) and plundered what he possessed.^(۱) The Shi'ite Muslims protected Imam in the middle and kept him away

Meanwhile Jarrah Ibn Sanan shouting, "Like your father you have become polytheist" struck Imam on his thigh. Shi'ite Muslims attacked Jarrah and killed him. Imam then had to take a rest in the house of Sabat governor, Sa'd Ibn Mas'ud Thaqafi who was (Mukhtar's paternal uncle, for treatment.^(۲)

Ya'qubi's narration of the riot in Ctesiphon uncovered the fact that event was also plotted by Mu'awiya and his commanders, specially, Mughira Ibn Shu'ba, a corrupt man.

After Imam was wounded, he addressed people

اتقوا الله فينا، فانا أمراؤكم وضميانيكم، أهل البيت الذين قال الله، إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيراً

Seek divine behavior towards us for we are the best rulers among you, that is the same Household about whom God said, “Verily God has the will to purge evils off thee in thy purity.” The narrator says, “The listeners were all weeping” (۲)

Imam's separation from the army for mobilizing forces and preparing Ctesiphon to avert the entrance of Damascus plunderers, created particular problems. The two armies stood against each other in Habubiyya village of Maskan. Mu'awiya as usual had recourse to trickery to delude the rival army. He sent 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Samura to falsely inform 'Ubayd Allah and his army of Imam Hasan's demand for

p: ۴۲۹

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۲۱۵ – ۱

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۷۲ – ۲

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp ۱۶۷, ۱۶۹, ۱۷۰; al-Mu'jam al-Kabir, Vol III, p. – ۳
۹۶, No ۲۷۶۱; Majma' al-Zawa'id, vol. VI, p. ۱۶۷

compromise. People, nevertheless, denied and cursed him. (۱)

Later, he secretly sent one to give a message to 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Abbas, “Hasan has requested us to compromise. If you join us, I will pay you a million dhms. You take the half now and the other half when we entered Kufa

While people waited for 'Ubayd Allah to come for the Dawn Prayer, he had nightly joined Mu'awiya. Qays Ibn Sa'd led the prayer and then talked behind 'Abbas how he had assisted the unbelievers in Badr until he was arrested. Then he talked behind 'Ubayd Allah how in Yemen he fled and let Busr Ibn Artat murder his sons. (۲)

Suggesting bribery on the part of Mu'awiya and other reports reveal well that Mu'awiya had under false pretences propounded the request for compromise on behalf of Imam. If, as a matter of fact, Imam had accepted the compromise, there would have been no need for Mu'awiya to pay a million dhms to 'Ubayd Allah

Most Iraqis were on the qui vive to see Imam's tendency towards compromising and immediately leave the army. As soon as 'Ubayd Allah left, about two thirds of the army joined Mu'awiya^(۳); therefore, four thousand people remained with Qays Ibn Sa'd

Mu'awiya supposed that after 'Ubayd Allah and a part of his army sought refuge no one had remained. When he sent Busr Ibn Artat to the Iraqi army, they attacked him. He had to return and with an army attack them. Once again Qays and the army resisted and

p: ۴۳۰

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ۳۷ –۱

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۷۳ –۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ۳۸ –۳

(۱)made them withdraw. A number were killed in the clash.(۱)

Mu'awiya tried to deceive Qays as well, but Qyas said about his religion he would never be deceived. Belittling him, Mu'awiya called him a Jew the son of a Jew and said, “Look how your tribe left your father alone as he breathed his last on his own in Hawran of Damascus

In his answer Qays called him an idol the son of an idol and wrote, “From the very beginning you unwillingly embraced Islam and you did nothing for it but sowing the seeds of discord and then willingly you deviated from it. You have always been in (۲)battle with Allah and His Apostle and a party from the polytheist parties.”(۲)

Isfahani after recounting the event has referred to a delegation sent by Mu'awiya to Sabat for talks with Imam Hasan. It indicates that Mu'awiya's aim for taking the

.former action had been only deceiving 'Ubayd Allah

Before the Iraqis were informed of Imam's injury, the spies had informed Mu'awiya. Upon hearing the news, he wrote to Qays that his defiance was futile, for Hasan's disciples had revolted and wounded him Sabat. It made Qays to wait for a message [\(from Imam.\)](#)^(۲)

When the noble in Iraq realized that the victory would probably be Mu'awiya's, they one after another either joined him or sent him the message of allegiance. According to Baladhuri the distinguished figures of Iraq went to Mu'awiya and swore allegiance .the first of whom was Khalid Ibn Ma'mar

p: ۴۳۱

Ibid, vol. III, p. ۳۸ –۱

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۷۴; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp ۳۹-۴۰ –۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ۳۸ –۳

.He said that his allegiance was equal to those of Rabi'a tribe

Later on, a poet had composed for Mu'awiya, "Hold Khalid Ibn Ma'mar in esteem for [\(without him you would never secured the authority\)](#)" [\(۱\)](#)

The policy that Mu'awiya manipulated was spreading rumors in three areas of Kufa, Sabat and the war field. The Kufiyans thought that everything was over. In the war field it was said that your Imam had demanded to compromise. And in Sabat Imam was said that 'Ubayd Allah along with a majority had joined the enemy and it was .even rumored that Qays Ibn Sa'd also had compromised

The only historian who has taken these multi-lateral rumors into consideration is .Ya'qubi

He has said, "On one hand, Mu'awiya sent a group to Imam's military camp to report that Qays Ibn Sa'd has compromised. On the other hand, he sent another group to [\(rumor among Qays's troops that Hasan \(a\) has requested to compromise\)](#)" [\(۲\)](#)

Regretfully, a number of historians have recorded such rumors as historical reports. As an instance, Muhammad Ibn Sa'd has recorded Mughira Ibn Shu'ba's trickery which led to the revolt of some people in Sabat of Ctesiphon as a historical report and [\(added that it was where Imam accepted any condition laid down by Mu'awiya.\)](#)⁽²⁾

Even a group of the Iraqi nobles who had joined Mu'awiya had told him that they were ready to hand in Hasan locked up. As narrated by Ibn A'tham, when Qays in a letter informed Imam of the army's surrender, Imam called on

p: ۴۳۲

Ibid vol. III, p. ۳۹ –۱

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۲۱۵ –۲

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. ۱۶۹ –۳

the distinguished among his disciples saying: “O Iraqi people! What should I do with
?you

This is a letter from Qays who has written that your chiefs have joined Mu'awiya. By Allah it comes as no surprise. In Siffin you forced my father to accept the arbitration
.and when he did so you objected

When for the second time he summoned you to war against Mu'awiya, you delayed until he was endowed with divine generosity. Quite unwillingly after that you swore allegiance to me. I trusted your allegiance and took a step. Allah Himself is fully aware of my intention. But see what you have done. O people, these all suffice me, deceive
[\(not me about my religion.\)](#)⁽¹⁾

Imam's remarks prove that he had not even the least doubt about the war but
.people's unpleasant behavior had harassed him

Mu'awiya and Request for Compromise

What elucidates Imam's stance is that he had on no accounts demanded to compromise. It was Mu'awiya who desired to besiege Iraq with no trouble and

insisted to convince Imam to abdicate. In spite of the fact, some sources based on the rumors and those narrators who called them historical reports have claimed that it [was Imam who suggested the compromise willingly.](#) [\(۲\)](#)

Yet in return we mention some proofs one of which is what Ya'qubi has recounted. Mu'awiya sent a group to Sabat for talks with Imam Hasan (a) about the compromise. It was exactly the meeting therein Imam declined to compromise. [\(۳\)](#) Accordingly, Mu'awiya's first request was declined. Another proof is Imam's letters

p: ۴۳۳

al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ۱۵۷; compare with Imam's distorted remarks in Ansab al-Ashraf, -۱
vol. III, p. ۳۹

al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VIII, p. ۱۴; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ۲۰۵-۲
.Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۲۱۵-۳

in which he had persisted in war and threatened that if he did not surrender, he would
.face his army

Imam also told Mu'awiya's envoy, "Tell that sword will judge between you and me." All
.demonstrate that Imam's intention was to battle

The other one was what Imam told people, "Mu'awiya has suggested a compromise
there is no honor in. If prepared, I am with you to battle but if worldly life is vital for
[you, tell me to compromise."](#) [\(۱\)](#)

,Sibt Ibn Jawzi narrated

When Imam Hasan (a) found out people have left him alone and have betrayed him, "he had to accept to compromise. Earlier Mu'awiya had requested but Imam had
[rejected. And it was Mu'awiya who wrote to him many times."](#) [\(۲\)](#)

["Mu'awiya wrote to Imam about compromise", Sheykh Mufid has said.](#) [\(۳\)](#)

As we discussed earlier, the rumors Mu'awiya had spread had made some historians

believe that Imam had been the one suggesting the compromise. Reportedly, Mu'awiya sent his spies to rumor among the vanguard that Hasan has in a letter demanded Mu'awiya to compromise and say, "What do you jeopardize your life for?" (٤) Also in order to mislead 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Abbas, he wrote الصلح (٥) "Hasan wrote to me about compromising"

These rumors later were recorded as historical narrations and changed the reality diametrically

Why the Compromise Was Accepted

There were several reasons that hindered Imam to achieve his goal, a mighty and honorable battle against Mu'awiya. To safeguard the principal Islam and impede ,fruitless bloodshedding, he had to avoid battling. We point to some reasons below

A.The most

p: ٤٣٤

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, pp ١٧٨-١٧٩; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. -١ ٤٠٤; (A'lam al-Din) p. ١٨١; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXIV, p. ٢١; Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p.

١٩٩

Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p. ١٩٧-٢

Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXIV, p. ٤٨-٣

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XI, p. ٤٢-٤

Ibid -٥

crucial reason for why Imam adopted a new position was people's weakness in supporting him. No one can ever claim that Imam was never determined to fight with Mu'awiya inasmuch as his remarks and position had already proved the reverse

What took place in Sabat obviously showed how incapable were the people in keeping on their struggle. It was then, according to Sheykh Mufid, Imam found out that people (١) had disparaged him.

A large number from among these people had been killed in wars of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawan and now tired of any battle not only they felt no strength to fight but also they considered Ahl al-Bayt as debtors. They believed that Imam was responsible for the murdered.

As soon as Imam learnt that many soldiers have fled, he addressed people as saying, "You disobeyed my father to continue fighting and let the arbitrators judge while my father disagreed. He called upon you to keep on the war but you feared until he was killed.

Later you came up to me and swore allegiance. You vowed to battle against any one I battled and compromise with any one I compromised. Today I heard that your nobles have joined Mu'awiya. It dose suffice me. Deceive me not about my religion." (1)

Concerning the reason for Imam's abdication, Jahiz has written, "When he found these people's behavior towards his father and had known how capricious they were, he had to relinquish the power." (2)

Imam realized that he could not trust such people. This inconfidence was not

p: ٤٣٥

al-Irshad, vol. II, p. ١٣ -١

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XVI, p. ٢٢ -٢

Risalat Jahiz fi Banu Umayya printed in 'Asr Ma'mun, vol. III, p. ٧ -٣

,only for lack of cooperation on their part but Imam stated

والله لو قاتلت معاويه لأخذوا بعنقي حتى يدفعوني اليه سلماً

By Almighty Allah, if I clash with Mu'awiya, they will grasp hold of my neck and hand (1)
(me over locked up." (1)

,Elsewhere he has said

ورأيت أهل العراق، لا يثق بهم أحد أبداً الا غلب “

Iraqi people are those whom anyone trusted, was defeated, for no one agrees with
another. They are never serious either about the wrong or the right.”^(۲)

With such people battling with determined and united people of Damascus was impossible. The sad remarks of Imam 'Ali (a) made in ۳۹ and ۴۰ A.H. do convince any equitable individual that there was no other alternative but handing Iraq to Damascus. Never ever could Imam Hasan (a) surrender himself and a number of his Shi'ite Muslims bare-handed to Damascus people whose commander was Busr Ibn Artat, bloodthirsty

Now compromising was the only way for protecting Iraq from being plundered. Although it seemed possible that Imam and his small army resist and be martyred, rarely did it bear fruit. Mu'awiya had poisoned the atmosphere through the slogan of 'Uthman's blood. In addition to Damascus, Egypt and other areas were now in his hand. At this point, Imam with that precedence and eloquence could do nothing and it had no reason but Iraq's ineptness before Damascus

Hence, Imam's martyrdom could solve no problem. Mu'awiya was absolutely infamous and there was no need to make him known. At times

p: ۴۳۶

I'lam al-wara, p. ۲۰۵; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXIV, p. ۲۰; 'Awalim al-'Ulum, vol. XVI,' -۱

p. ۱۷۵

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ۴۰۵ -۲

Imam was mistakenly introduced as the one loathing bloodshedding. It can never be accepted. He participated in wars of Jamal and Siffin actively and confirmed his father's tradition. What Imam loathed was futile bloodshedding with no politically clear results

B. Another reason was that waging a war normally depended upon people's presence and a ruler to a limited extent could force them to battle. Two points merit consideration. One is whether a Muslim ruler could under any circumstances and even

with overt disagreement of the majority start the war. If he were entitled to, under what conditions should he do so? The other point is that supposing he did so, would it be for the good of the Muslim nation or not

The Prophet's tradition was that he basically consulted the Muslims on war affairs. Considering the wars during his lifetime, we discussed it in detail. It occurred while firstly he had already secured allegiance from them and secondly since Jihad was one of the practical laws of Islam, it was Muslims' duty the same as prayer

So why did he consult them regardless of these two points? One reason was because war was a heavy burden which was supposed to be carried by people. Prayer took a little time for a Muslim to do whereas war might cause heavy casualties and damages or make many homeless. When one was martyred, a tribe was bereaved

Naturally, people themselves should have become aware through consultation and shouldered the responsibility a bit. Although Jihad

p: ۴۳۷

was a practical law of Islam, Allah's Apostle did never call upon Ansar to participate in wars before Badr because they had committed not. Only in Badr did they participate after their leaders declared readiness. Later on, he had also consulted them in Uhud and Ahzab

Whether to compose people to combat or not is a point that should be considered. Imam 'Ali (a) has always been set to convince them either through advice or perhaps through having a whip in hand. Under no circumstances, did he try to coerce them by [\(sword or torture.\)](#)

He stated explicitly, “Yesterday I was the one who commanded, but today I am commanded. Yesterday I was the one who prohibited but today I am prohibited. You I never ever compel you to do what you love to survive and [\(dislike.\)](#) ما تکرهون ما تکرهون لیس لی أن احملکم ما تکرهون

Imam Mujtaba (a) was also faithful to this very method. When finding that they were

not willing to have such an Imam nor were they prepared to defend themselves against Damascus, it looked quite natural that he left Iraq for Medina after giving essential advice that was mostly given in advance by his father

Imam 'Ali (a) had already foretold them what an intolerable situation they would have in the future, "Be informed that thou will get into three great difficulties after me, an epidemic objectless, fatal sword and despotism. Then thou will desire that thou could [\(have seen me, helped me and sacrificed thyself for me."](#) [۲](#)

Facing

p: ۴۳۸

(al-Gharat, p. ۱۷۳ (Persian version –۱)

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ۲۰۸; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. II, p. –۲

۲۲۰; vol. XI, p. ۲۹

al-Gharat, p. ۱۸۵ –۳

such hard status in Iraq and people's indifference to his demands for a war, Imam Hasan (a) expressed his transparent position under the pressure of Mu'awiya's insistence on his resignation. First of all Imam declared that there was no doubt about the war against Damascus

والله لا يثنيينا عن أهل الشام شك ولا ندم، وإنما نقاتل أهل الشام بالصبر والسلامه “

No doubt or regret will prevent us from battling with Damascus. Forebearingly and calmly we will fight

Concerning people's morale, he added, "You differ greatly from the past. Once you were getting prepared for Siffin, your religion was prior but today you give priority to this worldly life over your religion

Now between two bloody wars of Siffin and Nahrawan you weep for those you have lost and want to take revenge... but Mu'awiya has called upon us to compromise while in the compromise no honor and justice can be ever found

Beware that Mu'awiya called us to do something neither of sublimity nor “ ولا- نصفه ” fairness.

Therefore, Imam announced that compromising would on no accounts be for the good of the nation after all. Then he urged people to tell him what course to pursue

“ فان أردتم الموت رددناه عليه وحاكمناه الى الله عز وجل بظبي السيوف، وان أردتم الحياه قبلناه وأخذنا لكم الرضى ”

If you are prepared to fight, let's decline their request and rely on our swords, allow Allah to pass judgment. But if you like to survive, let's accept

p: ٤٣٩

” .their request and provide you with security

“ At the same time, people shouted from four corners of the mosque saying البقيه البقيه “
(The remainders, the remainders...” and signed the peace pact. (١)

,Elsewhere he said

انى رأيت هوى عظم الناس فى الصلح، وكرهوا الحرب فلم احب أن أحملهم على ما يكرهون “

I found people mostly willing to compromise yet unwilling to fight. Never do I like to
(impose what they dislike.” (٢)

أرى أكثركم قد نكل عن الحرب وفشل فى القتال ولست أرى أحملكم على ما تكرهون

I realized how weak you have gone and how reluctant you have turned to fight. So I“
(am not the one who compels you to do what you disgust.” (٣)

Imam referred to people's non-cooperation as the reason for abandoning his ,caliphate. There was no other solution the normal situation. He stated

والله انى سلّمت الامر لانى لم أجد انصاراً ولو وجدت نصاراً لقاتلته ليلى ونهارى حتى يحكم الله بيننا وبينه

By Almighty Allah, I abandoned it for I had no helper. If there were a helper to me, I“
(would fight him day in and day out until Allah judge between him and me.” (٤)

C. Imam's other reason for accepting the compromise was to protect the Shi'ite Muslims' lives. Those objecting to Imam were of two groups, the extremists, the Kharijites, who had the same clash with Imam 'Ali (a) as well and the revolutionary Shi'ite Muslims who could never stand compromising

the one “ مذلّ المؤمنين ,There was a few among those objecting who described Imam as
” .who humiliates the believers

,Yet

p: ٤٤٠

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan (a), Ibn 'Asakir, pp ١٧٨-١٧٩; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, -١
p. ٤٠٦; A'lam al-Din, p. ١٨١; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXIV, p. ٢١; Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p.

١٩٩

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢٢٠ -٢

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢١٧ -٣

Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXIV, p. ١٤٧; pp ٤٥-٤٦ -٤

in return Imam considered the acceptance of the compromise as honor and described
” .The one who holds the believers dear “ معز المؤمنين ,himself as

When I “ انى لما رأيت ليس بكم عليهم قوه، سلمت الامر لأبقى أنا وأنتم بين أظهركم “
found thee not powerful enough, I preferred to compromise so that thou and I could
” .survive

Next utterances manifest that by their and his surviving he meant safeguarding
Shi'ism. Somewhere else, Imam has likened his action to piercing the ship by a scholar
([1](#)) with Moses whose aim was preserving the ship for her owners.

,He also had said

فصالحت بقياً على شيعتنا خاصه من القتل فرأيت دفع هذه الحروب الى يوم ما، فإنّ الله كل يوم هو فى شأن “

I did compromise to save the Shi'ite Muslims' lives. I pondered over delaying these

﴿wars for every day Allah deals with an affair.﴾^(۲)

,In an answer to one of the objectors Imam said

“ ما أردت بمصالحتي معاويه الا أن أدفع عنكم القتل عندما رأيت تباطىء أصحابي عن الحرب ونكولهم عن القتال “

With the aim of at least protecting your lives I compromised with Mu'awiya when I
﴿found my disciples weak and unwilling to fight.﴾^(۳)

Answering another objector, Imam likened his compromise to the Prophet's with a
Ordered directly “ difference that had been a compromise with the disbelievers
” .by Allah with revelation

Indirectly through “ بالتأويل But his compromise was with the disbelievers
” .interpretation

,Then he added ,ولولا ما أتيت، لما ترك من

p: ۴۴۱

Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, p. ۱۹; Tuhaf al-'Uqul, p. ۲۲۷; 'Awalim al-'Ulum, vol. XVI, –۱
p. ۱۷۵; Fara'id As-Simtayn, vol. II, p. ۱۲۰
Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۲۰; Manaqib Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. IV, p. ۳۵ –۲
Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۲۱ –۳

If I had not done so, no Shi'ite Muslim would have “ شيعتنا على وجه الارض أحد الا-قتل “
﴿survived.﴾^(۱)

,When Hujr Ibn 'Adi objected, Imam reacted as saying

يا حجر! ليس كل الناس يحب ما تحب، وما فعلت الا ابقاءً عليك، والله كل يوم هو فى الشأن “

O Hujr! all do not like what you like. I did so for nothing but saving your life and others'.
﴿Allah also –deals with an affair every day.﴾^(۲)

يا مالك! لا تنقل ذلك، انى لما رأيت الناس تركوا ذلك الا أهله، خشيت أن تجتثوا عن وجه الارض، فأردت أن يكون للمدين

O Malik! say not so, Imam addressed Malik Ibn Dhamra when objecting, when I saw how people but a few left me on my own, I feared you be wipped off the face of the earth. Hence, I decided to make one survive cry out for the religion on the earth.”^(٣)

–,He also said

انما هادنت حقناً للدماء وصيانتاً واشفاقاً على نفسى وأهلى والمخلصين من أصحابى

I agreed to compromise to both prevent bloodshed and save my life, my family's and (my faithful disciples).”^(٤)

The objectors were mostly faithful to Ahl al-Bayt. Such individuals from among them as Hujr Ibn 'Adi who deemed caliphate no one's right but 'Ali's family tried to resist anyway due to their hatred of the Umayyads as well as their revolutionary spirit. The above mentioned remarks that were intentionally elaborated demonstrate Imam's great insight and logic

He was well aware that Mu'awiya, in the guise a

p: ٤٤٢

Ilal Ash-Shara'I', vol. I, p. ٢١١; 'Awalim al-'Ulum, vol. XVI, p. ١٧٤ –١
Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXIV, pp ٢٩, ٥٧; Manaqib Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. IV, p. ٣٥; – ٢
'Awalim al-'Ulum, vol. XVI, p. ١٧٠
Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, p. ٢٠٣ –٣
Awalim al-'Ulum, vol. XVI, pp ١٦٩–١٧٠ –٤

rightful man, with his large and foolish army could easily suppress limited Iraqi troops and massacre the distinguished Shi'ite Muslims and 'Alawites under the pretext of revenge for 'Uthman's murder. Mu'awiya had changed anything for his benefit

Only a few eminent disciples were survived who were mighty enough to stand against him. Until then he could make Iraq have doubts as well. With any possible way he

.could keep the Iraqis far away from Imam

When Mu'awiya intended to conquer Iraq at the end of Imam 'Ali's term, Imam could do nothing other than what his son, Hasan, did. The devoted persons with Imam Hasan were too few to wage a war. In order to prove that if Imam 'Ali (a) were in such a situation, he would surely have no other alternative, we refer to the issue of arbitration.

When a number objected to Imam 'Ali why he accepted arbitration, he said, "You see how disobedient my army has become. In comparing to their population you are very few. If we fight, this vast majority of war opponents will turn more hostile towards you than the Damascus army. If they ally with the Damascus troops, all of you will be massacred. By Almighty Allah, I myself am never pleased with arbitration but I had to [\(approve the majority decision for I was greatly worried about your lives"](#) [\(1\)](#)

Anyhow, Shi'ite Muslims' protection was an incumbent duty that made Imam to approve what for which valor was needed. It is of significance for

p: ٤٤٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٣٣٨; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, p. ٢٠٣ - ١
(footnote

an Imam or anyone of this type that he carry out his lawful responsibility not care about people's harsh sarcasm which leads to his and his companies' annihilation

,Regarding his compromising, Imam Mujtaba said

والله، الذي عملت، خير لشيعتي مما طلعت عليه الشمس “

By Allah, what I did was far better than what sun shines and sets for my Shi'ite [\(Muslims."](#) [\(1\)](#)

,In the same respect Imam al-Baqir (a) has said

والله، الذي صنع الحسن بن علي (ع) كان خيراً لهذه الامه مما طلعت عليه الشمس

By Allah, what Hasan Ibn 'Ali did was far better than what to which sun shines for this“
(nation.” (۲)

Imam Husayn (a) and Compromise

We discussed earlier that a group of historians and tradionists have done their utmost to introduce the two brothers different. The false notion concerning their opinions about compromise was propounded in such a way as though Imam Husayn had .denied the compromise and objected to his brother

It was justified, however, that Imam Husayn (a) had been faithful to his father's policy whereas Imam Hasan had not approved of the policy of fighting. As already shown, Imam Mujtaba had been of the same mind about the war and it was quite explicit in .his remarks

Imam Husayn is quoted as objecting to his brother معاويه “ (۳) “I take refuge in Allah that you deny 'Ali in grave and confirm Mu'awiya!”
أعيذك بالله ان تكذب علياً في قبره وتصدق

It is also narrated in Mada'ini that Imam Husayn (a) balked at compromising until his brother convinced him.(۴) Against such claims

p: ۴۴۴

Fara'id As-Simtayn, vol. II, p. ۱۲۴; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXIV, p. ۱۹ –۱

Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXIV, p. ۲۵; Rawd'a al-Kafi, p. ۳۳۰ –۲

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, p. ۱۷۸ –۳

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. ۲۳; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. –۴

VIII, p. ۲۶; Usd al-Ghaba, vol. II, p. ۲۰; Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. II p. ۲۴۷; Tadhkirat al-

Khawas, p. ۱۹۷

there are many proofs indicating that Imam Husayn (a) had known no other way .more appropriate than compromising and had called upon people to obey his brother

First, Imam Husayn's practical way of conduct was indifference to the remarks and actions trying to set him against his brother and introduce him as the Shi'ite Muslims'

leader in Iraq. To the very last moment of his brother's life, Imam Husayn was beside him living like him in Medina. For eleven years even after his brother's martyrdom, his position was exactly as that of his brother's. It demonstrates that without a shadow of a doubt he agreed to compromise

Second, Resentful of compromising, the extremist Shi'ite Muslims came up to Imam Husayn urging him to undertake their leadership

Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Bashir Hamdani recounted, "Sufyan Ibn Abi Layla and I went to Medina to meet Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a). When we stepped in, Musayyib Ibn Najba along with a number was there. I greeted him "Peace be upon you يا مذل المؤمنين" .who humiliated the believers

Peace be upon you too, said Imam calmly, sit down. I never humiliated the believers but I held then dear. I compromised for the sake of naught but protecting you

He added, "We went to visit his brother, Husayn, and inform him of what Hasan had said."

,Imam Husayn said

صدق ابو محمد، فليكن كل رجل منكم حلساً من أحلاس بيته مادام هذا الانسان حياً فان يهلك وانتم احياء رجونا أن يخير الله لنا ويؤتنا رشدنا ولا يكلنا الى

p: ٤٤٥

انفسنا “

My brother is true. All of you should stay at home as long as Mu'awiya is alive. If he were dead and you alive, may Allah do what our progress is in and may He leave us [\(not on our own.\)](#)⁽¹⁾

,When he was demanded to rise up, Imam Husayn said

أما أنا، فليس رأيي اليوم ذلك، فالصقوا رحمكم الله بالارض واكنوا البيوت واحترسوا الظنه مادام معاويه حياً “

Now I do not believe so. Mercy on you, as long as Mu'awiya is alive, stay at home and
(avoid being suspected.” (۲

Imam's referring to Mu'awiya's existence reveals that he was fully conscious of the prevailing situation which led to compromising. The role Mu'awiya played was pivotal.

.Anyhow, afte the compromise was finalized, the two brothers left Kufa for Medina

Peace Pact

Concerning the articles stipulated in the pact and signed by Imam Hasan (a) and Mu'awiya, there is no perfect consensus in historical sources. Not only the rumors spread then, but also the spitefulness of historians and Tradionists impacted on the articles. Magnifying some articles, censoring some others, counterfeiting some and
(ignoring the principal conditions are seen in historical narrations as distortion. (۳

Heedless of these cases, there are various narrations in this regard each of which has mentioned one part of the authentic text. Al Yasin and some others have compiled these narrations and presented as a whole. Here we present the authentic text and
.then other narrations sporadically reported

A number of sources by Ibn A'tham Kufi, Baladhuri and Ibn Shahr Ashub have described the perfect

p: ۴۴۶

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. ۱۵۰; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۲۱; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, -۱

p. ۱۸۷

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۲۲ -۲

As an example, see Zuhri's report in Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, p. ۱۶۸ -۳

.text of the pact as an official treaty. The prefaces confirm the authenticity of the text

According to Ibn A'tham, when the clash between Imam and Mu'awiya culminated in a compromise, Imam Hasan (a) sent 'Abd Allah Ibn Nawfal to warn Mu'awiya that he would never swear allegiance to him unless he vowed that people and their

.belongings were secure

Nonetheless, when 'Abd Allah came up to Mu'awiya, he told him on his own behalf that there were a number of conditions he should meet if he wanted to compromise. First, caliphate would be his provided that he designated Imam Hasan as the caliph after himself. Secondly, he should pay fifty five thousand dhms from the public fund to him annually. Finally, he should not merely pay the taxes collected from Darabjird to him .but also provide people with high security

Accepting the conditions, Mu'awiya asked for a white sheet, signed it at the bottom and sent it to Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a). When 'Abd Allah returned and recounted what happened, Imam told him, “Never do I want the caliphate after Mu'awiya. And about the financial conditions you suggested I should say that it is in no way Mu'awiya's right .to commit himself to paying me from Muslims' treasury

,Then Imam called his amanuensis to write as follows

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، هذا ما اصطاح عليه الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب، معاويه بن أبي سفيان، صالحه علي أن يسلم اليه ولايه أمر المسلمين على أن يعمل فيهم بكتاب الله وسنه نبيه محمد صلى

p: ٤٤٧

الله عليه وآله وسلم وسيره الخلفاء الصالحين؛ وليس لمعاويه بن أبي سفيان أن يعهد لأحد من بعده عهداً، بل يكون الأمر من بعده شورى بين المسلمين، وعلى أن الناس آمنون حيث كانوا من أرض الله، شامهم وعراقهم وتهامهم وحجازهم، وعلى أن اصحاب علي وشيعته آمنون على أنفسهم وأموالهم ونسائهم وأولادهم، وعلى معاويه بن أبي سفيان بذلك عهد الله وميثاقه وما أخذ الله على أحد من خلقه بالوفاء بما أعطى الله من نفسه، وعلى أنه لا يبغى للحسن بن علي ولا لأخيه الحسين ولا لأحد من اهل بيت النبي صلى الله عليه واله وسلم، غائله سراً وعلائيّة ولا يخيف أحداً منهم في أفق من الافاق. ١٦٤٥

This is a compromise between Hasan Ibn Abi Talib and Mu'awiya Ibn Abi Sufyan. He compromises with him and entrusts caliphate to him provided that he will designate no successor after himself and will allow Muslims' council to designate any one judged competent, for his death is imminent. Another condition is that Muslims must entirely .be secure from him. He should behave well towards people

The third condition is that 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib's Shi'ite Muslims, family and agents must be

safe anywhere they are and no aggression should be made against them. Hereby Mu'awiya Ibn Abi Sufyan swears allegiance to Allah and makes a pledge to be faithful to his allegiance and not to take in

He promises not to do an ill turn to Hasan Ibn 'Ali, his brother Husayn and neither of their wives, children, relatives and disciples either overtly or covertly. Anywhere they

p: ٤٤٨

[\(1\)](#) are they should be safe and never threatened. That is it.

As recorded by Baladhuri, Mu'awiya wrote a peace pact himself and sent it to Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a) as follows, "I did compromise with you on the conditions that the caliphate after me be yours, I conspire not against you, I pay you a million dhms from the public fund plus taxes of Fasa and Darabjird [or Darabjard

This text is confirmed by both Muhammad Ibn Ash'ath Kindi and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir which was written in Rabi' al-Akhir, ٤١ A.H

As soon as Imam read the foregoing text, he said, "He has stipulated something if I yearned for it, never ever would I relinquish the authority". Then he sent 'Abd Allah Ibn Harth Ibn Nawfal (Ibn Harth Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib) to tell Mu'awiya, "If people will be safe, I swear allegiance to him

."Mu'awiya gave him a white sheet and said, "Write whatever you like

Imam Hasan (a) also wrote what we referred what we referred to previously. [\(2\)](#) The text was cited by Ibn Shahr Ashub in Manaqib. [\(3\)](#) Mada'ini [\(4\)](#) and Ibn Sabbagh Maliki [\(5\)](#) also have confirmed the report related to 'Abd Allah Ibn Nawfal's dispatch and the conditions laid down

Many sources have referred to the condition of Imam Hasan's successorship after Mu'awiya with presenting no particular text. [\(6\)](#) Some other sources also have confirmed the financial commitments made with regard to the taxes of Darabjird, Fasa and Ahwaz in addition to the one-million payment per year. [\(7\)](#) Reportedly, the

other condition had been that Mu'awiya should never curse

p: ۴۴۹

al-Futuh (translated by Muhammad Mustuwfi Hirawi into Persian), pp ۷۶۵-۷۶۶ -۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp ۴۱-۴۲ -۲

al-Manaqib, vol. IV, p. ۳۳ -۳

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. ۲۲ -۴

al-Fusul al-Muhimma, pp ۱۶۲-۱۶۳; 'Awalim al-'Ulum, vol. XVI, p. ۱۷۲ -۵

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, pp ۱۷۲, ۱۷۸ -۶

Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ۷۴; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, pp ۱۷۶-۱۷۷; - ۷

Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp ۲۱۷-۲۱۸

(Amir al-Mu'minin (a)).(۱)

Here, two points merit to be taken into account concerning two conditions, the financial condition and caliphate condition. About the financial condition which is mentioned in different sources and for justifying which a group of Shi'ite Muslims have even discussed in any way (۲) it should be kept in mind that the only text we confirm is the one shown before; accordingly, imposing any condition in the accord is .basically deemed false

The cogent evidence is the reaction Imam had when finding out that 'Abd Allah Ibn Nawfal had on his own behalf laid down such conditions and said, "Mu'awiya is not .entitled to commit himself paying me from the Fund

As far as we know what Imams' way of conduct had been, such reasoning is clearly conceivable. The question, however, raised here is how the historians have propounded this condition. The answer can easily be inferred from what discussed above. Ibn A'tham had narrated that the condition had been laid down by 'Abd Allah Ibn Nawfal. As reported by Baladhuri, Mu'awiya himself had imposed the financial .condition among the conditions

Furthermore, seemingly in order to mar Imam's reputation, Mu'awiya's spies and

later courtier historians had spread a number of rumors. It appears that the financial condition had been suggested by the delegation sent by Mu'awiya to Sabat in Ctesiphon for talks on compromising. (۳) Another evidence for proving that there had been no financial condition in the pact is when after the compromise Sulayman Ibn Surad Khuza'i objected to Imam why

p: ۴۵۰

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, p. ۱۷۶; A'lam al-Wara, p. ۲۰۶-۱
مَرَّ بِمَا أَفَاءَ اللَّهُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْقُرَى فَلِلَّهِ
For instance it was said that according to the verse of -۲
وَلِلرَّسُولِ وَلِذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ
What God granted His Messenger (S) belongs to Him, the Prophet and
his descendants” Imam had a share in Bayt al-Mal, so he had claimed his proportion
Bihar al-Anwar, Vol IV۴, p. ۱۰ (footnote); another justification was that Imam had
asked the tributes of Darabjird for the families of Jamal and Siffin martyrs; Bihar al-
Anwar, Vol XXXVI, p. ۳; 'Awalim al-'Ulum, Vol XVI, pp ۱۸۲, ۱۸۷, ۱۸۸
Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IV p. ۲۲۴; Tadhkirat al-Khawwas, p. ۱۹۸-۳

(he had not assigned a proportion. (۱)

Such reasoning can also be found for the condition of Imam's successorship after Mu'awiya. It is narrated that based on the signed accord Imam Hasan had been supposed to replace Mu'awiya and if he were dead, his brother should be the (successor. (۲)

This time again Imam was not content to accept what 'Abd Allah Ibn Nawfal or according to Baladhuri and others (۳) what Mu'awiya had suggested. In return in a text, Imam deprived Mu'awiya of appointing any successor to himself. He stressed that Muslims should shoulder this responsibility

Since Imam was aware that Mu'awiya had always been set to make caliphate hereditary, he decided to tie his hands in the accord in this respect. If Imam had said something about his successorship, it would have been the confirmation of hereditary system per se. The term of “Muslim council”, however general, could be a way to dispense with the hereditary concept. It might be criticized that it is by no means

.compatible with the belief in “Nass” (textual nomination) about Shi'ites Imams

It should be said that firstly the majority of the people among whom Imam lived did not believe in Nass and but this way, they had no other choice. Secondly, if legitimacy was judged by Nass, it would not be incompatible with the principle any way because people's approval is evidently essential in a ruler's legitimacy as a leader in a community. Some points within the peace pact merit consideration

A. The first vital point was

p: ٤٥١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٤٨; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXIV, p. ٢٩ –١
al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٤; ‘Umdat al-Talib, p. ٤٧ –٢
Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XVI, p. ٢١ –٣

practicing the divine Book, the Prophet's tradition as well as the pious caliphs' lifestyles. Imam's intention was to limit Mu'awiya within a framework. He referred to this very point while making a speech on the pulpit when Mu'awiya had come to Kufa

,He said

إنما الخليفة من سار بسيره رسول الله وعمل بطاعته وليس الخليفة من دان بالجور وعطل السنن واتخذ الدنيا أباً وأماً “

The caliph is the one who practices the Prophet's tradition and obeys him. The caliph is never the one who oppresses, disregards the Prophet's tradition and adores the worldly life like his parents

وَإِنْ أَدْرَى لَعَلَّهُ فِتْنَةٌ لَكُمْ وَمَتَاعٌ إِلَىٰ حِينٍ.

Who knows, perhaps it is an acid test for you and little goods for Mu'awiya

(1) he added. Mu'awiya turned furious at Imam's remarks.

At the same sermon Imam announced, “On a right Mu'awiya disputed me that was (2) mine but for the good of the nation and hindering bloodshed I ignored it.”

B. Another point was Imam's opposition to a hereditary caliphate that we already discussed in detail

C. The Shi'ite Muslims' security was one of the crucial principles of the contract. As mentioned before, Imam at the first leg of his talks with Mu'awiya affirmed that he would never swear allegiance to him unless Mu'awiya promised to provide people with security. It is referred to in some narration's that Imam asked clemency of guarantee even for Ahmar and Aswad. It may imply that Imam stressed on Mawali's (freed slaves) security as well who were very respectable in Imam 'Ali's sight

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p: ۴۵۲

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp ۱۷۱, ۱۷۲ -۱
Dhakha'ir al-'Uqba, p. ۱۴۰; Nazm Durar As-Simtayn, pp ۲۰۰-۱۰۱; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. -۲
XXXXIV, p. ۴۲; al-Mahasin wal-Masawi, vol. I, p. ۵۳; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn
Sa'd, p. ۱۷۳; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۴۳

Imam's other condition which had a particular significance was that there should be (no covert or overt conspiracy against him or his brother, Imam Husayn (a

With no prerequisite, Mu'awiya signed the contract owing to the fact that the only thing he wanted was the conquest of Iraq. Mu'awiya and also Imam himself were certain that he would turn a blind eye to any condition

.Mu'awiya was faithful to none of the conditions

He not only did not follow Qur'an and the tradition, but also went to extremes more than 'Uthman. He appointed Yazid as his successor, and deprived 'Ali's followers (Shi'ites) of security, imposing Ziyad and other tyrants to rule over them

Husayn bin Mundhir used to say: Mu'awiya did not observe any of the conditions he had agreed to in his treaty with Hasan. He killed Hujr and his companions, appointed Yazid as his successor and did not delegate the matter of succession to a counsel, and

”poisoned Hasan

ألا-إني كنتُ شرطت شروطاً أردت بها الألفه ووضع الحرب، ألا وإنها تحت قدمي “ I agreed on the conditions to put out the fire of sedition and reconcile the (1) people, yet now I disregard them all.” (2)

It is also quoted from him as saying, “Never did I fight to have you perform prayers, fast, go Hajj (pilgrimage) or pay poll tax, I fought to rule over you. And Allah bestowed (3) it to me whereas you were all unwilling” (4)

A group of residents led by Humran

p: ٤٥٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp ٤٤-٤٦; al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ١٦٣; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, - ١
Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. ٤٦
Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. ٤٦ - ٢

Ibn Aban decided to revolt against Mu'awiya in Basra. As reported he had been summoning people to swear allegiance to Imam Husayn (a). In order to suppress him, (5) Mu'awiya sent 'Amr Ibn Artat or his brother, Busr to Basra. (6)

By the same token, he could manage to dominate Iraq. He appointed Mughira Ibn Shu'ba to Kufa governorship for nine years as long as he was alive and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir as Basra governor

Imam Hasan's caliphate began in Ramad'an ٤٠ and terminated in Rabi' al-Akhir, ٤١H. (7) after seven months. (8)

Imam Mujtaba's Character

Imam Hasan was born on Ramad'an ١٥, ٣ A.H. He looked like his forefather, Allah's Apostle. (9) After his father was martyred, he became the Shi'ite Muslims' leader. It is narrated from Abi Razin as saying that Imam, wearing black robe and a turban, (10) delivered sermons. (11)

Imam Hasan was one of the most morally eminent figures whose conduct was an example to follow. We already discussed how repeatedly the Prophet admired him in his remarks and recommended all to feel affection for him

O Allah! I love him, so adore him and the “أللهم إني قد أحبته فأحبّه وأحبّ من يحبه” For instance
The one who loves me surely “من أحبني فليحبه وليبلغ الشاهد منكم الغائب” (one who loves him.” (٥)
“loves him. Tell it to the absentees too.” (٦)

من أحب الحسن والحسين فقد أحبني، ومن أبغضهما فقد أبغضني

Anyone who loves Hasan and Husayn, he indeed loves me and anyone who annoys them, he indeed

p: ٤٥٤

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٥٢; al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ١٦٨ – ١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٥٤ – ٢

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa‘d, pp ١٣٠-١٣١ – ٣

Ibid Ibn Sa‘d, p. ١٦٣ – ٤

Ibid Ibn Sa‘d, p. ١٣٩; Sunan al-Tirmidhi, vol. V, p. ٦٦١ – ٥

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa‘d, p. ١٣٨; Musnad Ahmad, vol. V, p. ٣٦٦; – ٦

Mustadrak, vol. III, p. ١٧٣

(١) “annoys me.”

من سرّه أن ينظر الى سيد شباب أهل الجنة فلينظر إلى الحسن بن علي

Anyone who likes to see the master of the youth in Heaven can look at Hasan Ibn 'Ali
(and some utterances the Prophet has made about Imam Hasan (a).” (٢)

Many narrations also are recorded in the light of Imam's ideological features for example his trips as a pilgrim gone on foot. He has said

إني لأستحي من ربي أن ألقاه ولم أمش إلى بيته، فمشى عشرين مره من المدينه على رجليه

”I am really ashamed of meeting Allah if I go to His House on horsebac

He visited there as a pilgrim twenty times.^(۳) According to another narration, he had gone to Mecca for pilgrimage twenty five times on foot,^(۴) yet Ibn Sa'd has recorded it ^{(as fifteen times.}^{۵)}

His generosity for Allah's sake was a proverbial aspect of his ethical character. When Isma'il Ibn Yasar along with 'Abd Allah Ibn Anas went to meet Mu'awiya in Damascus and take money from him but they did not succeed, Isma'il in a poem addressed his friend Ibn Anas as follows

لعمرك ما إلى حسن رحلنا ولا زرنا حسيناً يا بن انس

“O Ibn Anas by you we did not go to meet Hasan and Husayn.”^(۶)

He implied that if they had gone to those two brothers, never would they have returned empty-handed. It is narrated that some one went to meet Imam Hasan while needy

Imam told him, “Write down whatsoever you need and then give it

p: ۴۵۵

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp ۱۳۸,۱۴۳; Tadhkirat Tayalisi, No ۲۵۰۲; - ۱

Tadhkirat Ahmad, vol. II, p. ۴۴۰; al-Mustadrak, vo III, p. ۱۶۶

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. ۱۳۸; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VIII, p. ۳۵ -۲

Akhbar Isbahan, vol. I, p. ۴۴ -۳

Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ۷۳ -۴

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. ۱۵۹ -۵

al-Aghani, vol. IV, p. ۴۱۹ -۶

to me”. When the man gave him the list of what he needed, Imam offered him twice as much.^(۱) It is pointed out elsewhere that during his lifetime Imam granted three ^{(times each time half as much as the property he had for Allah's sake.}^{۲)}

A man named Abu Harun recounted, “On our way to Medina for pilgrimage we decided to drop in on the Prophet's son. Visiting him, we talked about our Journey.

When we returned, he sent us each four hundred Dinars. We went back to him and Reject not my“ [\(٣\)](#) ترَدُّوا عَلَيَّ معروفى, لا— said that our condition was okay. He answered ”.generosity

,You are great enough.” Imam said “ فيك عظمه ,Imam Hasan was told, قال الله تعالى, لا- بل عزّه, It is not greatness but honor. Allah has stated that honor belongs “ فله العزّة ولرسوله وللمؤمنين “ [\(٤\)](#) (to both Allah and His Apostle as well as the believers.”

After the compromise, the Kufa's Shi'ite Muslims who came to Hijaz for pilgrimage constantly were in touch with Imam during his eight or nine-year residence in Medina. It was natural that they had approved him as their Imam and tried to avail themselves of him ideologically

A man from Damascus recounted,”One day I ran in to a handsome and serene man wearing smartly on horseback. I asked who he was. They said he was Hasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib (a). I was filled with rage and felt jealous of 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib for having such a unique son

I

p: ٤٥٦

al-Mahasin wal-Masawi, p. ٥٥ –١

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa‘d, p. ١٥٩; Tarikh al-Khulafa’, p. ٧٣; Tadhkirat al-
Khawas, p. ١٩٦

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa‘d, p. ١٥٥ –٣

Rabi‘ al-Abrar, vol. III, p. ١٧٧ –٤

approached him asking, “Are you 'Ali's son?” As soon as I heard his positive answer, I heaped abusive words onto him as many as I could. When I stopped he asked me if I was a stranger. “Yes”, I replied

Then kindly he said, “If you have no place to live, I give it to you, if you need money, I pay you”. I parted him while I had no one as dear as him in my heart” [\(١\)](#)

One of Mu'awiya's unforgivable crimes is martyring Imam Hasan (a) who was the apple of the Apostle's eye about which there is no doubt historically. As usual, Mu'awiya hatched a plot and prompted Ju'da, Imam's wife and cursed Ash'ath Ibn Qays's daughter, to kill her husband

When Medina was plundered in the course of Harra event in ۶۳ AH. this cursed woman's house was plundered too. Nevertheless, due to her cooperation in her husband's murder, her properties all were back. The report of Imam's martyrdom by Ju'da as well as Mu'awiya's conspiracy is recorded in numerous sources.

As narrated by Haytham Ibn 'Adi, Imam had been poisoned by Suhayl Ibn 'Amr's daughter prompted by Mu'awiya. The poison had Imam stay in bed ill for forty days until he achieved martyrdom.

Miswar's daughter, Umm Bakr said, "Imam had been poisoned many times. Although each time he survived, the last time the poison was so strong that it made the pieces of his liver come out through his throat."

After he was martyred, he was supposed to

p: ۴۵۷

al-Kamil fil-Adab, vol. I, p. ۲۳۵ –۱

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp ۱۷۵-۱۷۶; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp ۵۵-۸۸ –۲

Professor Mahmudi has quoted the report above from many sources in the footnotes of the mentioned pages Yet, Ibn Khaldun, with his religious Prejudice and unlike all Never ever can Mu'awiya do so " Tarikh Ibn

historical proof, has said
Khaldun, vol. II, part ۲, p. ۱۸

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ۵۹ –۳

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. ۱۷۶ –۴

al-Muntakhab Min Dhiyl al-Mudhayyal, p. ۵۱۴ –۵

be buried next to the Prophet's grave according to his last will, but 'Ayisha and

Marwan, the ruler of Medina then, did not allow. Imam had advised that if they faced any problem, he should be buried in Baqi' (1) 'Ayisha did reveal his sheer spite towards Zahra (a), Her Excellency, and her son once more. No sooner had Imam's corpse been Under no " هذا الأمر لا يكون ابداً " approached to the Prophet's grave than 'Ayisha warned (circumstances, such an action is possible." (2)

Both Abu Sa'id Khudri and Abu Hurayra addressed Marwan, "Do you prevent Hasan from being buried beside his forefather whereas the Apostle (S) had called him the "master of the youth in Heaven

If such individuals as you, said Marwan sarcastically, did not narrate the Prophet's (3) (hadiths, they would be dissolved soon." (4)

Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya has narrated that when Imam was killed, Medina turned thoroughly mournful and all people wept. It was Marwan who let Mu'awiya know saying him, "They want to bury Hasan by the Prophet, but as long as I am alive, I will never allow them

Imam Husayn come up to the Prophet's grave and ordered to dig the ground. Sa'id Ibn 'As who was Medina governor pulled back but Marwan commanded the Umayyads to be armed on alert

.It is impossible to let you", said Marwan"

.It is non of your concern", Imam Husayn (a) told him"

.You are not the governor, are you?" Marwan answered"

.No, but as long as I am alive, I will never let you do this"

(Imam Husayn (a

p: ٤٥٨

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٤٥; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp ١٨٤-١٨٥ -٣

asked Hilf al-Fud'ul (the agreement reached during pre-Islamic period for ensuring the safety of the pilgrims) who were always with the Hashimites for help. A number of people belonging to the tribes of Taym, Zuhra, Asad and Ja'uba took up arms then.

.Imam Husayn (a) and Marwan holding a flag in hand each opened fire on each other

Yet a group of people demanded Imam to practice the will Imam Hasan had made."If there were a probability that someone be killed, bury me beside my mother in Baqi'." At last they could convince Imam Husayn.(١) As inferred from another narration, Marwan who was deposed by then was intent to make Mu'awiya gratified with him by such an action.(٢) When Marwan flourished to change Imam's mind, he reported to

(Mu'awiya in a bombastic manner.(٣)

He said,"How is it possible to see the son of 'Uthman's murderer buried next to the prophet but 'Uthman in Baqi'?"(٤) Beyond any doubt, Marwan had been among the wickedest figures of the Umayyads throughout whose term as Medina governor .cursed Imam 'Ali as well as the Hashimites

Some believe that Imam was martyred in Rabi' al-Awwal, ٤٩H. While some others have recorded it Rabi' al-Awwal, ٥٠ H.(٥) The former seems to be more reliable. As soon as Imam was martyred, the Hashimites sent some persons to different spots of Medina and the suburbs to inform Ansar. Reportedly, no one could ever stay at (home.(٦)

The Hashimites women moaned his loss all day long for a month.(٧) Tabari has

p: ٤٥٩

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp ١٧٧-١٧٩ -١

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp ١٨٠, ١٨٧ -٢

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd,, p. ١٨٨ -٣

Ibid p. ١٨٣ 'Uthman was not even buried in Baqi' because people prevented -٤

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٤٦; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp ١٨٣, ١٨٩, ١٩٠ -٥

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. ١٨٢ –١
 al-Muntakhab Dhiyl al-Mudhayyal, p. ٥١٤; al-Mustadrak 'ala l-sahihayn, vol. III, p. –٢
 ١٧٣; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'dp ١٨٢; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn
 'Asakir, No ٣٧٢
 Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. V, p. ٢٢٤ –٣
 Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٢٢٨ –٤
 Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan (a), p. ١٨٣ –٥

about Abu Sufyan and Mu'awiya, in particular, Imam 'Ali's statement shall be
(acknowledged as to the fact that they embraced Islam only because of interests.)^(١)

Zubayr also thought of Abu Sufyan in the same way.^(٢) Yazid Ibn Abu Sufyan
 commanded the troops when conquering Greater Syria and Abu Bakr granted
(Mu'awiya sainthood besides his brother.)^(٣)

After Yazid died, Mu'awiya was designated as the ruler of Damascus in 'Umar's
 tenure. As mentioned before, 'Umar's rigorlessness to Mu'awiya had astonished a
(number of people.)^(٤)

According to Ibn 'Asakir, 'Umar entrusted Damascus thoroughly to Mu'awiya^(٥) and by
 the same token, Mu'awiya affirmed that by Almighty Allah he could accomplish to
(dominate over people merely through his high esteem by 'Umar.)^(٦)

Once encountering Mu'awiya going and accompanied majestically by his retinue,
 'Umar asked about the ground. Mu'awiya responded that the more the enemy spies
 multiply, the more our grandeur has to heighten; yet, I will abide by what you
 .command

(By no means do I enjoin him nor prohibit him”, said 'Umar.)^(٧)

Mu'awiya himself deemed his firm standing as consequence of 'Umar's way of
 behaving towards him.^(٨) Reacting against objections to Mu'awiya, 'Uthman said that

.how he was ever able to depose him designated by 'Umar

Nevertheless, Imam 'Ali's response to him in this respect was, “Although Mu'awiya held 'Umar in reverence, he now does perform whatever without taking counsel with [\(you”](#) [\(۹](#)

What 'Umar frequently stated was, “You are naming Kasra (title of Sassanian kings) [\(and Caesar whereas Mu'awiya is amongst you.”](#) [\(۱۰](#)

,Succeeding 'Uthman's assassination, in his remarks addressing people

p: ۴۶۱

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XX, pp ۲۹۸-۲۹۹; Nahj al-Balaghah, – ۱ letter ۴۵۴ of ‘Ali to Mu‘awiya; concerning Mu‘awiya’s ignoring insult of one Jew towards one Muslim; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۱۶۰ al-Aghani, vol. VI, p. ۳۵۵; some time Abu Sufyan, at the Hamza’s grave, said, “God – ۲ bless thee ”; You fought us over something that came under control; al-Amta‘ wal-Mu’anisa, vol. II, p. ۷۵

Rasa’il al-Jahiz, al-Rasa’il As-Siyasiya, p. ۳۴۴ – ۳

۴ – Tathbit Dala’il al-Nubuwwa, p. ۵۹۳ Hasan Basri has said ۴ – Mu‘awiya had been preparing Himself for caliphate since ‘Umar’s tenure [بن خطاب](#)

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. ۲۴

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, pp ۱۷,۱۸,۲۰; Rasa’il al-Jahiz, al-Rasa’il As- – ۵ Siyasiya, p. ۳۴۴

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IX, p. ۱۶۱ – ۶

al-’Iqd al-Farid, vol. I, p. ۱۵, vol. V, p. ۱۱۴; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. ۱۸; – ۷ once Mu‘awiya was complained at the presence of ‘Umar ‘Umar said, “Leave us away from reproaching Quraysh’s young man and his son of the prophet’s descendant

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. ۱۸ This is most likely to be attributed to ‘Umar al-Ghadir, vol. IX, p. ۳۵ From Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp ۸۸,۹۰ Jahiz said, “One of the – ۸ most significant reasons of the Sufyanids for substantiating Mu‘awiya’s caliphate was his own statement He stated, “This is a position thereto ‘Umar has designated me

Never did he depose me since he designated me whereas he designated no emir unless he deposed him or at least he was incensed by his actions and summoned him Neither did he depose me nor was incensed He did consign Damascus thoroughly to me and succeeding him 'Uthman did reinforce me; Rasa'il al-Jahiz, al-Rasa'il As-Siyasiya, p. ٣٨٥

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٥٥٠ -٩
al-Fakhri, p. ٧٧, Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, Vol XXV, p. ٣٠ -١٠

Mu'awiya announced that he has been the caliph of 'Umar as well as 'Uthman amongst them.^(١) In 'Uthman's tenure Damascus was regarded as his security zone.
(He did banish Kufa reciters along with Abu Dharr there.^(٢)

Mu'awiya did expel them from Damascus solely owing to retaining his position and likewise avoiding their influence on nation. Damascus has been trained by Mu'awiya and in the course of the Umayya's governorship the in-depth devotion of its dwellers to them clearly manifested the fact

It is quoted that the Umayya rulers have attested in the presence of "Saffah" that (they considered no relative for the Holy Prophet (S) save the Umayya.^(٣)

We are from the lineage "نحن شجره رسول الله (ص)" (Mu'awiya has been quoted as stating,^(٤) ".of Allah's Apostle

Furthermore, under the guises of the revelation amanuensis and Khal al-Mu'minin (the uncle of the faithful) he did strive in order to fortify his religious stance. He compelled a number of hadith (tradition) narrators as well to fabricate tens of hadiths (concerning his supremacy and disseminate them among people.^(٥)

Mu'awiya's rule was the one and the only experience of a ruler who flourished to secure the sovereignty by employing coercion as well as devising political stratagems vis-a-vis all prevailing political-Religious or perhaps tribal and regional disputes. Until then neither a military expedition had been occurred, nor had duress been officially manipulated in order to obtain the political authority

And now how can it be ever justified whereas the rule was thoroughly established by force? It should be

p: ٤٤٢

Waq'at Siffin p. ٣٢; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. ٣٠ -١
Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. IV, p. ٢٢٩; al-Ghadir, vol. VI, p. ٣٠٤; vol. IX, p. ٣٧٣ -٢
Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٣٣; al-Niza' wal-Takhasum, p. ٢٨ -٣
Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XI, p. ٨٧; It has been narrated that there were - ٤
some in Damascus saying; "If Mu'awiya is not a prophet, he is at least half of a
prophet"; See also Bahjat al-Majalis, vol. I, p. ٥٥٠. And once one of his devotees met
him, he, as a salutation, addressed him, "O Allah's Messenger!" See also al-Awa'il,
Tustari, p. ١٤٣; Regarding the person who cursed 'Ali in front of Mu'awiya, Ahnaf Ibn
Qays asserted, "By Allah if he knew your gratification was in cursing all the prophets,
he would certainly do so "; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV, p. ١١٣
-٥ As an instance, it has been quoted from the Holy prophet as stating
"جبرئيل وأنا ومعاويه" "In sight of Allah the trustees are three, Jibri'il (Gabriel), Mu'awiya and
me" Such narations have been discussed in detail by Ibn 'Asakir; Mukhtasar Tarikh
Dimashq, vol. XXV, pp ٥-١٤

borne in mind that this very fact had to be endorsed like other political facts emerging
at the beginning of caliphate term that afterwards did turn legitimately into a
governmental theory

In order to secure allegiance, when a sovereign could suppress all the dissenters
through his political authority, Jama'a (congregation) has subsequently appeared.
What dilemma was now there for those who stressed the concept of community and
?said that they would be the last ones swearing an oath of allegiance

Under the pretext of the self of Community, they, heedless of how the ruler has
secured the authority, swore allegiance to a caliph with whom all were agreed.
Mu'awiya himself declared that he had secured the caliphate neither through nation's
(amity, nor with their gratification but by sword. (1)

Mu'awiya named that year as “the year of Jama'a”. Touching upon that Mu'awiya not only secured the authority that year, but also he held sway over other members of the Shura (council), Muhajiruns and Ansars, Jahi' has stated, “Mu'awiya named that year as *عام الجماعة*, The year of Community” whereas that year was “*عام فرقهٍ وقهرٍ وجبرٍ وغلبه*”. The year of separation, wrath, constraint and predominance“

The year therein Imamate turned into monarchism and Kasra system and caliphate became usurped and Caesarean.^(۲) Afterwards, the principle of “Sovereignty does belong to the one who suppress others” turned an incontrovertible principle in political Fiqh (religious jurisprudence) of Sunnism

Since the inception of his revolt against Imam 'Ali (a), Mu'awiya's legal mainstay has been his recourse to

p: ۴۶۳

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV, p. ۸۱ –۱

Risalat al-Jahi' fi Banu Umayya, p. ۱۲۴ in al-Niza' wal-Takhasum –۲

his kinship with 'Uthman in addition to his self-introduction as his next of kin. He alleged that the assassin of 'Uthman had been 'Ali (a) and he as his next of kin would retaliate his assassins

And gradually it turned into hereditary transfer of caliphate from 'Uthman to Mu'awiya in the view of Damascus dwellers, for materializing which Mu'awiya himself played a pivotal role. Prior to this, it should be taken into consideration that Mu'awiya deemed himself the successor of Qurayshi power which had transferred from Abu Bakr and 'Umar to 'Uthman. We earlier referred to Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr's letter to Mu'awiya therein the former had reproached him for his insistence on inequity about 'Ali (a).

As its response, Mu'awiya wrote, “Your father and I during our prophet's lifetime had held 'Ali's right incontestable and had indeed discerned his supremacy; nevertheless, usurping his right, your father and 'Umar, after prophet's departure, were the ever-

.first ones who summoned him to swear allegiance to them

He did swear allegiance under duress, they two, yet, granted naught as an allotment to him. After those two, 'Uthman secured the authority. If it were assumed a blunder, your father had blundered for the first time and we were all his accomplices, yet if it were approved, we emulated your father. If you intend to reproach, you had better [\(reproach your father first.\)](#)⁽¹⁾

From the beginning of his revolt against 'Uthman, Mu'awiya was doing his utmost to exploit him. Once he requested 'Uthman to proceed to him

p: ۴۶۴

Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol II, pp ۳۹۳-۳۹۷; Waq'at Siffin, p. ۱۱۸, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. -۱ III, p. ۱۸۸; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ۱۰; SamT Nujum al-'Awali, vol. II, p. ۴۶۵

in Damascus in order to be immune from the dissenters, 'Uthman rejected however.[\(1\)](#) Later on, when the revolt aggravated, Mu'awiya found no alternative [.except 'Uthman's assassination](#)

He could abuse the people's confidence in Damascus in this regard. Mu'awiya accordingly never aided 'Uthman until 'Uthman eventually perceived it when deeply in trouble, hence he wrote a reproving letter to him.[\(2\)](#) Immediately in the wake of 'Uthman's assassination as well as his wife's escaping to Damascus, Mu'awiya [\(proposed to her but she declined.\)](#)⁽³⁾

He, in his letters to Imam 'Ali (a), asserted, "Our caliph 'Uthman is assassinated oppressedly and since Allah has said, 'When one is murdered oppressedly, we have assigned a power for his guardian', we are more preferable to 'Uthman and his [\(descendants.\)](#)⁽⁴⁾

Mu'awiya's stress on 'Uthman's succession had culminated in an influence on Sunnis' historical-political line of thinking that for two centuries thereafter Kufa Shi'ite Muslims, other than the Shi'ite Muslims and few Sunnis, imagined that Orthodox

Caliphs were merely three and following them the only possible and legitimate caliph was Mu'awiya. Afterwards, the notion of "Tarbi'" was broached by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal wherein 'Ali (a) had been introduced the fourth caliph

Having composed numerous verses of poems as laudation for the Umayya, Farazdaq has manifested in his poetry the assumption that the Umayya regarded themselves as 'Uthman's heirs apparent. In a poem addressing 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan, he has composed

تراث عثمان كانوا الاولياء له سربال ملك عليهم غير مسلوب

They are the custodians of 'Uthman's inheritance and this royal robe can"

p: ٤٦٥

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ١٥٧ Mu'awiya definitely intended to prepare the - ١
ground for his succession through his coming to Damascus
Being requested for an aid by 'Uthman, Mu'awiya along with two others came to - ٢
Medina and went to 'Uthman overnight "Have you brought any helper?", 'Uthman
questioned

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. IV, p. ٤٢; Balaghat al-Nisa', p. ١٣٩; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. VI, p. ٩٠ - ٣
al-Gharat, p. ٧٠ - ٤

(١) (by no means be divested."

He in another poem addressing Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, has certified that his caliphate has been transferred from 'Uthman(٢) and elsewhere he has composed addressing Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik that the caliphate has been transferred from 'Uthman to (Mu'awiya and then to him among the Umayya(٣)

ورثت ابن حرب وابن مروان والذي به نصر الله النبي محمدا

You are the heir of Harb's son, Marwan's son and the heir of the one with whose assistance Allah made Muhammad (S) vanquish (he has probably meant 'Uthman by (the last one)" (٤)

And for Walid Ibn Yazid he has composed

ورثوا مشورتها لعثمان التي كانت تراث نبينا المختير

They are the heirs of Shura (the council) which designated 'Uthman, the Shura which“
[is the inheritance of the Chosen Prophet's caliphate.”](#) [\(5\)](#)

Jahiz has also specified that Mu'awiya justified his right for caliphate through
['Uthman's blood.](#) [\(6\)](#)

Mu'awiya, from the outset of his opposition to 'Ali (a), announced that he did never seek after caliphate but as a matter of fact he had already prepared himself for securing caliphate. At the very starting point of caliphate, Imam 'Ali (a) urged Mu'awiya's envoy to inform him that under no circumstances was he was contented
[with his emirate over Damascus, nor would the nation be gratified with it.](#) [\(7\)](#)

His inward aim was overt for the majority but seemingly he commenced to delude them. Prior to Jamal war, he wrote to Zubayr that he had secured allegiance from Damacsus people for him and if he accomplished to conquer

p: ٤٦٦

Diwan Farazdaq, Vol I, p. ٢٥ -١

Ibid, vol. II, p. ٢١٠ -٢

Diwan farazdaq, vol. II, p. ٢١٠ -٣

Ibid, vol. I, p. ١١٤ -٤

Diwan Farazdaq vol. I, p. ٣٣٦; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, pp ١٣-١٥, other verser are -٥
mentioned besides the aforesaid poems

Rasa'il al-Jahiz, al-Rasa'il As-Siyasiyya, pp ٣٤٥-٣٤٦ -٦

Waq'at Siffin, p. ٢٨ -٧

Iraq, he would definitely encounter no trouble in Damascus. Zubayr became very
[thrilled at the letter.](#) [\(8\)](#)

Irrespective of Zubayr, Mu'awiya must have elaborated to what way he had acceded

for an admissible caliph to be designated. Consequently, he propounded “Muslims' Council” in this respect. Within the letters written to a number of celebrities of Medina .from Siffin, he had referred to this issue already discussed in Siffin event

Mu'awiya was determined to absorb one of the political figures of Quraysh mainly from those attending the council in order to exploit him politically because Imam had censured him for neither of those from Quraysh in Damascus was permitted in the council and their caliphate was unauthorized.^(۲)

In a letter to Imam 'Ali (a) as well, Mu'awiya did propound the issue of Council.^(۳) .There matters were on no accounts serious on the part of Mu'awiya

Reportedly, the dwellers of Damascus at first had sworn allegiance to him as an emir not Amir al-Mu'minin (the Commander of the Faithful) but in the wake of 'Ali's martyrdom he pretended to the caliphate, so the nation did swear allegiance to him as Amir al-Mu'minin.^(۴)

Since the inception, he decided to secure allegiance as the one seeking retaliation for 'Uthman's blood and as the emir coveting not caliphate so that this responsibility would be entrusted to the Council.^(۵) It is hinted in “Al-Imama wal-Siyasah” that prior .to Siffin, Mu'awiya had secured allegiance as an emir

Mu'awiya wrote to Hims governor to secure allegiance for him in the same way

p: ۴۶۷

A‘yan Ash-Shi‘a, vol. III, Section ۲, p. ۱۲ -۱

Waq‘at Siffin, p. ۵۸ -۲

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۱۲۱ -۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۱۶۱ ; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. ۲۷ -۴

Waq‘at Siffin, p. ۸۲ -۵

Damascus people had sworn. Affirming that they would certainly not assemble for retaliating 'Uthman's blood without a caliph, the nobles of Damascus were not

.convinced to swear allegiance to Mu'awiya as an emir

As a result, the dwellers of Hims were the ever-first ones swearing allegiance to Mu'awiya as a “caliph”. After the spread of the news in Damascus the people thereof did swear allegiance to him as well.⁽¹⁾ It is stated that Hajjaj Ibn Wasma had been the first one addressing him as a caliph and being gratified at it.⁽²⁾

Procuring caliphate for Mu'awiya had been confronted with another hindrance and it was that he was by no means among the precedented Muslims. He together with his father as well as most members of the family had battled with Islam and subsequent to his conversion to Islam he was among Tulaqa (the captives whom Allah's Apostle set free after a triumph). It was a contemptuous label

Although Mu'awiya had fulfilled to reinforce his position somewhat in Damascus by introducing himself as “Khal al-Mu'minin” and “the revelation amanuensis” as well as relying on 'Umar's^{۳۳} and 'Uthman's assistance, Hijaz and Iraq were both well-acquainted with his nature. Once 'Umar had said that caliphate did only belong to Badr participants but if neither of them were survived, caliphate would be for Uhud participants as long as even one were alive, yet, caliphate would never be entrusted to Tulaqa, nor to their descendants.^(۳)

It is probable that this narration had been ascribed to 'Umar; however, it

p: ۴۶۸

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, Vol I, p. ۱۰۰ –۱

Waq'at Siffin, pp ۷۸, ۸۰ –۲

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. ۳۴۲; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. ۲۵, p. ۴۲ –۳

should have been engraved in Muslims' minds after him. In his remarks in Siffin, 'Ammar had said that they, the Umayya, had no background in Islam in order to be entitled to be the guardians of the nation or be abided by.^(۱) Even 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar responding Mu'awiya's letter also wrote, “O Mu'awiya, what do you have to do with caliphate? You are from Tulaqa!”^(۲)

Enclosing with the letter of 'Umar's son, a number of verses belonging to a poet from among Ansar were dispatched reading that Mu'awiya was too minor to converse about the council participants.^(۳) And once 'Ali (a) reprimanded Mu'awiya when he expressed his ideas about allotments among Muhajirun and Ansar and told him that
(such affairs have no pertinence to Tulaqa!^(۴)

When Mu'awiya set out to Medina to assure the opposers of Yazid's succession to the throne, 'Ayisha dissented and accused him of her brother Muhammad's murder. She
(reiterated, “You are from among Tulaqa for whom caliphate is interdicted.”^(۵)

This defect was not of significance for Mu'awiya, however, who had surmounted more formidable hurdles. Not only did he designate himself enforcedly as Muslims' caliph, but he nominated his son, infamous for being a debauchee, for that very rank
.as well

The Umayya' rule was also a kind of Qurayshi one; therefore, it was on no accounts distinct from the former ones. This circumstance was perpetuated in the 'Abbasids dynasty too. Now what merits consideration is to perceive when the prerequisite of
being from Quraysh had become one

p: ۴۶۹

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۳۹ –۱

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۶۳ –۲

Waq'at Siffin, p. ۶۴ –۳

.Nahj al-Balaghah, letter ۲۸ –۴

al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ۲۳۷ –۵

.of the indispensable prerequisites for caliphate

We already discussed that the prerequisite of being from Quraysh had never been stipulated among prerequisites of Fiqh for caliphate. Although the Shi'ite Muslims, the Twelvers, had faith in Imamate belonging exclusively and citedly to 'Ali (a) and his descendants, those even believing not in citation never considered the element of

being from Quraysh a prerequisite for caliphate. Hudhayfa had been quoted subsequent to swearing allegiance to 'Ali(a) as saying that he had would in no way [\(1\)](#) swear allegiance to any Qurayshi after him.

This utterance by one of the renowned Companions (disciples) does justify that the prerequisite of being from Quraysh had by no means been treated legitimate and incontrovertible. Nonetheless, the Umayya who were the principal substructure of Quraysh with securing the authority, propounded the prerequisite of being from Quraysh in earnest and Hadith-fabricators began fabricating Hadiths in this respect. It has been quoted from Mu'awiya as alleging that this empire and caliphate has been [\(2\)](#) laid amongst Quraysh except whom no other one has the eligibility of a caliph.

Addressing the dwellers of Medina who hesitated to swear allegiance to Yazid, Rawh Ibn Zinba' belonging to the tribe of Judham and from among the devotees of the Umayya in Damascus said, “We are not soliciting you to swear allegiance to the tribes ,of Lakhm, Judham or Kalb

ولكننا ندعوكم الى قريش ومن جعل الله له هذا الأمر واختصه “

We are summoning you toward Quraysh and the one for whom Allah has uniquely assigned this

p: ٤٧٠

Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol II, p. ٢١٦ –١
al-Fitna wa waq‘at al-Jamal, p. ١٠٩; from: Min dawlat ‘Umar ila dawlat ‘Abd al-Malik, –٢
p. ١٠٩

[\(1\)](#) authority, namely Yazid Ibn Mu'awiya.”

The counterfeit Hadiths prevailing were plentiful among which were “The one disdaining Quraysh has indeed disdained Allah” [\(2\)](#) “The foremost Imams for the nation are the ones from Quraysh.” [\(3\)](#) It is astonishing that to substantiate their nobleness, they availed themselves of their consanguinity with Allah's Apostle (S) [\(4\)](#), though they

.antagonized his close kins

The Umayya's Quraysh-oriented policy was manifest in Umayya's ruthlessness
against Ansar

Akhtal, an Umayya poet, had composed, "Quraysh is the possessor of the entire virtuousness and greatness whereas contemptability is under the turban of Ansar. (٥)
Enumerating the grounds for his triumph over 'Ali (a), Mu'awiya referred to his fine
(relation with Quraysh. (٤)

Mu'tazila has indicted Mu'awiya for initiating fatalism in the Islamic world. (٧) It can be avowed that faith in fatalism in Arab world has had its antecedent in Dark Age as those of a number of Christians and the Jews of Hijaz

Also succeeding the emergence of Islam, much or less, a number of people have inflamed the subject of fatalism; on the contrary, the fact is that this belief predominated in the Umayya's tenure and gradually turned into a principle in tribal disputes. Employing this principle on caliphate has been revealed in the well-known utterance ascribed to 'Uthman. The revolters' insistence was his dethrone but in return 'Uthman acknowledged that he would never ever remove the robe which Allah had made him wear

It was wholly evident that he attributed his caliphate to Allah whereas it was in reality emanated from 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf's

p: ٤٧١

al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, Vol I, p. ٣٠٠; Ash-Shura fil-'Asr al-Umawi, p. ٣٤; Later on, - ١ when two Umayya ('Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz with Sulayman Ibn Hisham) performed their prayers led by one of Kharijites, an outsider composed Not you know Allah's religion won while Quraysh performed دينه وصلت قريش خلف بكر بن وائل its prayer behind the tribe of Bakr Ibn Wa'il al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. I, p. ٣٤٣, vol. II, p. ٢٤٥; Shi'r al-kharijites, p. ٢٠٨, from Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. VIII, p. ٣٤٥, vol. III, p. ١٣٧; Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol II, p. ١٩١٣

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. III, p. ٣١٨, vol. VI, p. ٩٥; al-Basa'ir wal-dhaka'ir, p. ٣٥-٢
Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. VI, p. ١٤٨-٣
al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. ٦٧-٤
al-Aghani, vol. XVI, pp ٣٥-٣٦; Ash-Shi'r wal-Shu'ara', p. ٣٠٢; see: al-Bayan wal- - ٥
Tabyin, vol. I, p. ٦٣
al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. ١١٥-٦
Tabaqat al-Mu'tazila, p. ٦; Fad'l al-I'tizal wa Tabaqat al-Mu'tazila, p. ١٤٣, al-Awa'il, -٧
Abu Hilal Askari, vol. II, p. ١٢٥

notion. Mu'awiya did take considerable strides in this regard. Mu'awiya is quoted as
(saying, as the entire affairs are under Allah's control, endeavors are all in vain. (1)

Elsewhere he said, "This caliphate is a decree from among Divine decrees along with
(a destiny from among Divine destinies." (2)

Reacting to 'Ayisha's dissent from the succession of Yazid, Mu'awiya responded, "This
(affair is a Divine destiny but which no one has any other alternative." (3)

In his famous sermon, Ziyad Ibn Abih, Mu'awiya's governor in Basra and Kufa
declaimed, "O people, we are all the politicians and the advocates of yours. We govern
(you with recourse to the power bestowed by Allah." (4)

In addition, Yazid in his inaugural sermon, stated that since his father had been a
servant from among Allah's servants, Allah, magnanimous enough, bestowed him the
(caliphate. Now He has laid it with him. (5)

In an answer to 'Uthman's son who objected to Yazid's succession and said, "It was
."our father after whom you secured the authority

(Mu'awiya said, "This sovereignty is what Allah has granted us." (6)

:To induce Mu'awiya to introduce his son a caliph, Miskin Darami composed

بنی خلفاء الله مهلاً فأتما يُبوتها الرحمن حيث يزيد

إذا المنبر الغربي خلّاه ربّه فإن أمير المؤمنين يزيد

O descendants of Allah's caliphs, slow down, Allah will rest the rule anywhere He“ ordains. When the western pulpit of Damascus voided (when Mu'awiya passed away),
﴿Yazid would be Amir al-Mu'minin.﴾^(۷)

Eventually we will find out how the caliphate simply denoting the succession of Allah's
Apostle (S) at first, gradually conveyed the sense of Divine caliphate

p: ۴۷۲

Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. III, p. ۵۲۹ – ۱

(هذه الخلافة أمر من أمر الله وقضاء من قضاء الله) Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IX, p. ۸۵ – ۲
al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۲۰۵, Aswad Ibn Yazid narrated, he enquired – ۳
‘Ayisha “Is not it surprising that a man from Tulaqa (the released) is disputing with
Muhammad’s companions on caliphate?” “No need to surprise” ‘Ayisha replied, It is
a Divine power” that Allah grants to both debauchees and the righteous; as “سلطان الله
Pharaoh ruled Egypt for four hundred years; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XV, p. ۴۲
al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ۱۸۰, al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. ۴۹; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol.,V, p. – ۴
۲۲۰; al-’Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ۴۴۹; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah,
Vol XVI, p. ۲۰۲; Jamharat Khutab al-’Arab, vol. II, p. ۲۷۳; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p.
۲۵

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۲۲۵; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۲۶; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. – ۵
IV, p. ۲۹۹, No ۷۹۸

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۲۱۴ – ۶
al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. ۶۵ From Ash-Shi’r wal-Shu‘ara’, vol. I, p. ۵۴۴; al- – ۷
Aghani, vol. ۲۰, p. ۲۱۲; Khazanat al-Adab, vol. III, p. ۵۹; Shi’r Miskin, p. ۳۳

The cardinal matter in Mu'awiya's caliphate was that he did abolish the tradition of
.caliphate and declared monarchism officially in stead

By “officially” what we intend is that prior to that in 'Uthman's tenure the ground had
been paved for monarchism (discussed earlier in the section concerning 'Uthman).
Narrated by Ibn 'Asakir, on hearing the news of 'Uthman's murder, Thumama Ibn 'Adi,
one of the prophet's disciples, wept and stated that he was among those taking the

“Prophetic caliphate” from “Muhammad's household” and turning it into a despotic
[monarchy.](#) (1)

Although of 'Uthman's was murdered, a great number of people dissented him, later on account of the Umayya dominion they acquitted and cleansed 'Uthman of all those flaws. Nevertheless, they still did somewhat cleave to the principle that Mu'awiya's dominion equals a termination to caliphate era and a commencement to monarchism. This conversion by no means did make them doubt its legitimacy. As a matter of fact, they justified that legitimacy is something and the perfectness of the rule something else.

Regarding this very conversion, a Hadith is attributed to the Holy prophet (S) as “Prophetic caliphate lasts for thirty years,” (2) and elsewhere “[خلافه النبوه ثلاثون سنه.](#)” as “[الخلافة ثلاثون عاماً ثم يَكُنْ بعد ذلك الملك](#)” (3) “[monarchism appears.](#)” (3)

These Hadiths do never seem authentic. What should be taken into account is that Mu'awiya was pleased with using the term of monarchism about himself. Mu'awiya constantly repeated “[أنا اول الملوك](#)” I am

p: ٤٧٣

Ibid, vol. V, p. ٣٤٤ – ١

Ibid, vol. V, p. ٣٤٤ – ٢

Musnad Ahmad, vol. IV, p. ٢٧٣; vol. V, p. ٤٤,٥٠,٤٠٤; al-Jami‘ As-Sahih (Sunan al- ٣ – ٣
I am the first monarch and the last caliph;” Mukhtasar “[أنا اول الملوك و آخر خليفه](#)” (Tirmidhi
Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. ٥٥; Kitab al-Fitan, No ٤٨

”.the first monarch

In order to fortify his authority and erase all traces of caliphate, it was possible for him to counterfeit such a Hadith as many other instances have been seen. Ka'b al-Ahbar one of the admirers of 'Uthman and Mu'awiya stated that in the Old Testament he had found Allah's Apostle (S) as the one who would be born in Mecca, migrate to Taba

[\(1\)](#) and whose rule is in Damascus.

And this might have made Mu'awiya think of transmitting the Holy Prophet's pulpit as well as his waking-cane from Medina to Damascus.[\(2\)](#) It is also quoted from Abu Hurayra as stating

الملك في قريش والقضاء في الانصار “

Monarchism is for Quraysh but governorship for Ansar” [\(3\)](#) and

الخلافة في قريش والحكم في الانصار “

[\(4\)](#) “Caliphate is for Quraysh but governorship for Ansar.”

And in another narration, one of those possessing bibles had told to Mu'awiya that he had noticed his attribute within the Divine Books as the one who would for the first time turn caliphate into monarchism, yet, Allah is merciful and forgiving after all.[\(5\)](#) The Hadith according to which caliphate would last for thirty years had been narrated (by Sufayna who was reportedly one of the prophet's Mawali (freed slaves

He affirmed that he had heard from the prophet (S) saying ذلك الملك .Caliphate lasts for thirty years and after which monarchism appears “

Consequently, he reckoned that two years for Abu Bakr, ten years for 'Umar, twelve years for 'Uthman and six years for

p: ٤٧٤

Sunan al-Darimi, vol. I, p. ٦ –١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٢٣٧–٢٣٨; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ٤٦٣, ٤٦٤ –٢

Ibid, vol. IV, p. ٣٤٦ –٣

Musnad Ahmad, vol. IV, p. ١٨٥ –٤

al-Kamil fil-Lughat wal-Adab, vol. II, p. ١٩١ –٥

[\(1\)](#) (a) Ali

However, it is known that Imam's authority did merely lasted for four years and nine months not longer. A further reckoning was narrated by Mas'udi as follows, two years, three months and eight days for Abu Bakr, ten years and six months for 'Umar, eleven years, eleven months and thirteen days for 'Uthman, four years, seven months minus a few days for 'Ali (a) and eight months and ten days for Hasan (a) that altogether [\(equals precisely thirty years.\)](#)

Primarily other Hadiths dealing with caliphate are virtually of this category unless, the [conclusive evidence vindicate their authenticity otherwise](#)

Caliphate does belong to Quraysh until“ ان الخلفاء من قريش الى أن تقوم الساعة “, The narration of the Day of Judgement” [\(٣\)](#) would be of this type as well unless in compliance with our belief it corresponded to Nass (textual nomination) of Imam 'Ali (a) together with his [succeeding Imams](#)

Heedless of the origin of the Hadith, the historical evidence indicated the start of a thoroughgoing monarchism within the domain of the Islamic caliphate. The term of monarchism as a substitute for caliphate equates to the existence of despotism which is deemed as one of the fundamental features of the rule. As the completion of the After “ narration of this very Hadith “after thirty years” has come [\(which monarchism forcibly appears.\)](#) [\(٤\)](#)

The noticeable instances of which were Kasra's rule in Iran and those of Caesar's and Heraclitus's in Rome and Damascus. Mu'awiya was a great

p: ٤٧٥

Musnad Ahmad, vol. V, p. ٢٢٠,٢٢١; Tirmidhi has narrated the foregoing quotation – ١ from Sa'id Ibn Jamhan quoted from “Sufayna”; He quoted from Sa'id telling Sufayna, “The Umayya is of this opinion that caliphate belongs to them ” “They are lying, they are the kings and from the worst kinds” he answered Al-Jami' As-Sahih, vol. IV, p. ٥٠٣; al-Niza' wal-Takhasum, p. ٧٠; Tirmidhi has added that the Umayya had claimed that [\(caliphate was lain among them by the Holy Prophet \(S](#) Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ٤٢٩ It merits consideration that those fabricating – ٢

Hadiths have been trying to be accurate in calculation
al-Jami‘ As-Sahih, Kitab al-Fitan, No ٤٩ -٣
Musnad Ahmad, vol. IV, p. ٢٧٣; Kitab Muslim, Kitab al-Zuhd, No ٤ -٤

enthusiast for the background of Damascus in particular. Muslims were all well
.acquainted with these two rulers

In one of his sermons concerning Qasitin (the opposers), Imam 'Ali (a) said, “Combat Allah's foes, those striving to extinguish Allah's light. Battle against the misled wrongdoers, the felons who are neither Qur'an reciters, nor religious jurisprudents, scholars of paraphrase and those having no background in Islam. I do swear by Almighty Allah that if they could secure the authority, they would undoubtedly
(perform what was done by Kasra and Heraclitus.” (١)

Ammar also regarding Qasitin said that 'Uthman's assassination was a pretext to'
(The oppressors became monarchs.” (٢) “ ليكونوا بذلك جبابرة ملوكا “

It was the approach that Mu'awiya had singled out in order to secure the authority and govern an Islamic land. He himself divulged, “By Almighty Allah I did neverever combat for the sake of performing prayers, observing fast, pilgrimage nor paying Zakat (poor-rate as prescribed by Islam). You yourself were acting them all. I did combat to dominate you and although Allah bestowed it to me, you never
(contented.” (٣)

On entering Kufa he announced that the one swearing not allegiance to him would in no way be secure. He set a three-day respite for allegiance. (٤) Quoted from Ibn 'Abd
(al-Barr and Jahiz, he did secure allegiance from the nation as loathing for 'Ali (a). (٥)

In a letter to 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far to swear allegiance to Yazid, he had written, “If you swear allegiance, you will be adored; otherwised, you will be

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. V, p. ٣٩ -٢

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ١٤,٤٤; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. -٣

XXV, pp ٤٣,٤٥

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٤٧ -٤

Bahjat al-Majalis, vol. I, p. ٩٩; al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. ١٠٥ -٥

(coerced.” (١)

Allegedly, he had ordered to slay the one who avoids swearing.(٢) About figures like Qays Ibn Sa'd, having a kind of influence, he secured allegiance by clasping his hand (and compelling him to pat his hand whereas Qays was refraining.(٣)

Mu'awiya's aristocratic lifestyle and his procedures adopted in caliphate, prompted Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas as well to address him a “monarch” when meeting.(٤) In Damascus he was determined to find the works created about ruler's biographies in (Damascus.(٥)

Later on, Jahiz recorded that Mu'awiya turned the rule into the rule of Kasra and Caesar.(٦) Historians have also introduced him as the ever-first monarch.(٧) And Sa'id Ibn Musayyib affirmed that Mu'awiya was the first one converting caliphate into (monarchism.(٨)

Mughira Ibn Shu'ba described Mu'awiya as an emir and specified that there should be a difference between a peasant and an emir.(٩) Reportedly, the first one who Owner of “ مالك يوم الدين Master of the Day of Judgment” for “ ملك يوم الدين, substituted (the Day of Judgment” was Mu'awiya.(١٠)

Ya'qubi has enumerated what he did as indications of monarchism as follows, being seated on a platform and making others sit in a lower position, singling out the best property of the people and allotting them all to himself.(١١) He commanded to devote (whatsoever Iranian kings had possessed in farmlands or anywhere else to him.(١٢)

Mu'awiya's status was so conspicuous that 'Umar had named him Kasra in his tenure.(١٣) It should be asserted that Mu'awiya was set to establish

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۲۰۱ –۱

Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. ۴۴۱ –۲

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. ۴۸–۴۹ –۳

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. VIII, p. ۲۱۰; Tarikh Ya‘qubi, vol. II, ۲۱۷; al-Musannaf, –۴

‘Abd al-Razzaq, vol. I, p. ۲۹۱

Muntakhabat al-Tawarikh li-Dimashq, p. ۸۱ quoted from Min dawlat ‘Umar ila – ۵

dawlat ‘abd al-Malik, p. ۱۴۶

Rasa’il al-Jahiz, Rasa’il al-Kalamiyya, p. ۲۴۱ –۶

Tarikh Khulafa’, pp ۱۹۶,۲۰۳ –۷

Tarikh Ya‘qubi, vol. II, p. ۲۳۲ –۸

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VI, p. ۲۰ –۹

Akhbar Isbahan, vol. II, p. ۲۵۵ –۱۰

al-Bad’ wal-Tarikh, vol. VI, p. ۶; Tarikh Ya‘qubi, vol. II, p. ۲۳۲ –۱۱

Tarikh Ya‘qubi, vol. II, p. ۲۳۳ –۱۲

al-Isaba, vol. III, p. ۴۳۴ –۱۳

a “caliphate of Islamic royalty”. He considered himself as a king but described as a caliph concerning old traditions. Making efforts to transport Prophets' pulpit from Medina to Damascus, he intended to fortify his Islamic strength although he could [\(never succeed.\)](#)

Mawdudi has itemized a number of characteristics for clarifying the distinction between Mu'awiya's monarchism and his predecessors' caliphate as follows, first, the way of designating a caliph converted. In spite of his predecessors who never rose up for caliphate, Mu'awiya in any way exerted to gain the caliphate. As soon as he secured the authority, no one was able to dissent him. Anyone had to swear on oath [.of allegiance to him](#)

It was what Mu'awiya himself had confessed, “I was absolutely aware of nation's [\(discontent with my caliphate; however, I secured it by sword\)](#)” [.](#)

It gradually culminated in hereditary caliphate by Mu'awiya. Secondly, the lifestyle of the caliphs converted. Following the approaches of monarchism of Iran and Rome did commence from Mu'awiya's tenure on. The third feature is concerned with Bayt al-Mal (public fund). At this juncture, public treasury changed in to the king's and his lineage's personal wealth. No one had the right to reprimand the government for the accounts thereof

Fourthly, it was the termination of freedom of speech. At this period, not a single one had an ability to enjoin the good nor prohibit the evil. This new process began in Mu'awiya's term after Hujr Ibn 'Adi's assassination. Fifthly, it was the end of freedom of judiciary branch

p: ۴۷۸

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۲۳۰-۲۴۰ -۱
al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VIII, p. ۱۳۲ -۲

The end of the council-oriented government was the sixth characteristic of a monarchical government. The seventh was the emergence of racial and tribal prejudices. And also elimination of superiority for law has been deemed as the eighth feature.

Mawdudi has presented many historical instances for each characteristic

Shi'ite Muslims in Mu'awiya's time

In Mu'awiya's term, one of the crucial issues was the Shi'ites beliefs amongst a number of people specifically Iraqis. We have already discussed the emergence of Shi'ism. Now we are to evaluate the interactions between Shi'ite Muslims and the Umayya

Beyond any doubt, Shi'ite Muslims have always been Mu'awiya's archenemies as the Kharijites were considered as other foes for him. Nevertheless, the Kharijites were not of great significance. The universal pessimism on the part of Muslims about them, their oppression as well as their baseless position-taking had resulted in having no

support among people. On the contrary, Shi'ite Muslims particularly in Iraq were all endowed with a mighty support like Imam 'Ali (a) and others from Ahl al-Bayt .((Prophet's infallible household

The culture disseminated by Imam 'Ali (a) in Iraq was indeed thoroughly Islamic and although people had to keep silence under Mu'awiya's compulsion, they were all able .to distinguish 'Ali's truthfulness and Mu'awiya's wrongfulness

Mu'awiya and with his agents confronted this process with diverse ways, from reconciliation and gentleness to vast harshness. The latter was wide-ranging especially in Iraq. Creating hatred for 'Ali (a) was one the most critical approach used. Mu'awiya and other Umayyads succeeding him have persistently been endeavoring to wipe 'Ali (a) off the

p: ۴۷۹

Khilafat wa Mulukiyyat, pp ۱۱۸-۲۰۷-۱

face of the earth and introduce him as an element, aggressive, bloodthirsty and the .like

In Holy Prophet's term and later on in caliphs' terms and his own caliphate especially, Imam 'Ali's life verified his unique glory in both scientific and practical domains. His sermons were narrated chest by chest. The statements regarding his scientific supremacy, the Hadiths quoted from the Holy Prophet (S) concerning his excellence as well as his praiseworthy and extraordinary judgments were all recounted by .people to one another in hadith assemblies

These all led to dissemination of that culture among people, the culture which prompted Imam 'Ali's disciples to retain this affection for him even at the cost of their martyrdom. And above all, this culture could naturally perpetuate among Imam 'Ali's descendants, from Prophet's household. In as much as the Umayyads had perceived this fact, they consequently were determined to stigmatize the Imam, express their disgust for him in every assembly and curse him. Ibn Abi al-Hadid has written a

chapter entitled “the hadiths counterfeited by Mu'awiya concerning 'Ali (a) through
(stimulating a number of disciples and Tabi'in” in his book.(1)

When Marwan Ibn Hakam was asked why they were doing so, he responded
لا يستقيم لنا الامر الا بذلك (2) “Our governorship will on no accounts be abiding but through this way.”

Principally, the Umayya's sovereignty could never perpetuate except the policy of
insulting 'Ali (a). Cursing His Excellency, highlighting other caliphs as well as
(introducing them as superior to 'Ali (a

p: ٤٨٠

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. IV, p. ٦٣ -١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. ١٨٤ -٢

were constantly pursued. As stated by some, since Hadith-fabricators aimed to
approach the Umayya with recourse to these Hadiths, most Hadiths concerned with
(disciples' virtues had been fabricated in the Umayya's tenure.(1)

At this juncture, individuals like 'Ayisha were introduced as a source for Hadiths(2) and
others like Zayd Ibn Thabit, being on 'Uthman's side, were appointed to be the source
(of advice on legal or religious matters for Mu'awiya.(3)

Attributing Hadiths by Imam 'Ali (a) to himself or others was among what Mu'awiya
did so that others could at times attribute them to Mu'awiya as well. Jahiz who had
realized the fact denied the attribution of such Hadiths to Mu'awiya owing to the fact
(that he had no relation with the devout.(4)

I have seen no lavishment “ما رأيت سرفاً الا الى جانبها حق مضيع” This Hadith narrated by Imam
.unless someone's right was disregarded therein” (5) was ascribed to Mu'awiya

In another case, one of Imam's Hadiths was attributed to a Bedouin.(6) “We ascribe
'Ali's letter to Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr to Abu Bakr”, Mu'awiya himself had
(confessed.(7)

[\(A\)](#) Ali's malediction to the Kufiyans was attributed to 'Umar.

Insulting and cursing 'Ali was prolonged as a tradition until it was ceased in 'Umar 'Abd al-'Aziz's time. [\(9\)](#) Mu'awiya himself stressed that it must be spread to the extent that the offspring mature with this slogan, the youths grow old and no one narrates his [\(10\)](#) excellence.

From among the disciples, some contributed to Mu'awiya in this regard. There existed a Hadith by

p: ٤٨١

Fajr al-Islam, p. ٢١٣ -١

al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. ٣٠٣ -٢

al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. X, p. ٢٤٧ -٣

al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. ٤١ -٤

Tarikh Khulafa', p. ٢٤٧ -٥

Majma' al-Amthal, vol. I, p. ٤٥١ -٦

al-Gharat, vol. I, p. ٢٥١ -٧

al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. VI, pp ٢٧-٢٨ -٨

Tarikh Khulafa', p. ٢٤٣ -٩

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. IV, p. ٥٧; al-Nasa'ih al-Kafiya, p. ٧٢ -١٠

Abu Hurayra concerning the mischief-making among the nation that says it is about [\(1\)](#) 'Ali, yet, the Holy Prophet (S) has cursed such a person.

It has also been narrated that Mu'awiya rewarded Samura Ibn Jundab with ٤٠٠,٠٠٠ : (dhms to allege that the following verse (٢:٢٠٤) had been revealed about 'Ali (a

وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَنْ يُعْجِبُكَ قَوْلُهُ فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَيُشْهَدُ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ مَا فِي قَلْبِهِ وَهُوَ أَلَدُّ الْخِصَامِ.

And among men is the one whose speech about this worldly life causes you to wonder, and he calls on Allah to witness as to what is in his heart, yet he is the most [\(2\)](#) violent of adversaries.

Ibn Abi al-Hadid has written that Mu'awiya had stimulated a number of disciples to narrate some Hadiths against Imam 'Ali(a) among whom were Abu Hurayra, 'Amr Ibn 'As, Mughira Ibn Shu'ba and 'Urwa Ibn Zubayr. (۲)

In his letters to his agents in cities, Mu'awiya wrote, “The Hadiths regarding 'Uthman's virtues are being augmented in cities, as soon as you received my letter, urge people to begin narrating the excellences of companions and caliphs and also narrate a Hadith contradicting any Hadith narrated concerning Abu Turab's (Imam 'Ali) virtues

According to Ibn Abi al-Hadid, most of them in order to get closer to the Umayyad fabricated Hadiths expressing disciples' excellences. (۳) To replace the Hadith about the brotherhood between 'Ali(a) and the Holy Prophet (S), they counterfeited it therein the Prophet (S) stated, “If I intended to designate a successor for myself, he would undoubtedly be Abu Bakr

They had fabricated the

p: ۴۸۲

al-Id'ah, pp ۲۱۰-۲۱۱; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. IV, p. ۶۳ It is – ۱ probable that this Hadith is attributed to Abu Hurayra and he Himself has not narrated it

(Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. ۳۶۱ (the four-volume edition – ۲

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. ۶۳ – ۳

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XI, p. ۴۴ – ۴

(hadith of “Khawkha” opposite to Hadith of “Sadd al-Abwab” (۱)

Mu'awiya was extremely bound to curse Imam 'Ali (a) as the conclusion of his sermons. (۲) He even compelled Imam's disciples to go up the pulpit and curse him. (۳)

Any agent of Mu'awiya who did not abide by the tradition of cursing was deposed and replaced right away. (۴) He had enticed people into daring not to name their babies

'Ali(۵) but call them Mu'awiya instead. (۶)

He had announced that if anyone narrated the excellences of 'Ali, he would never warrant his security. Subsequently all preachers expressed their disgust for Imam 'Ali (a) and cursed him.^(۷) However, in return he commanded his agents to support the one narrating 'Uthman's excellences.^(۸)

A great number also lived either in Damascus or Iraq who loathed Imam 'Ali (a) for their kins' murder. And now the opportunity was provided to them to disclose their rancor by insulting and cursing him. When Hariz Ibn 'Uthman was asked why he cursed Imam (a) seventy times every morning and night, his response was, “How can I abstain from it whereas he has beheaded my forefathers with suspicion.”^(۹)

We will discuss later that the pressure exercising on Ahl al-Bayt was wholly for the sake of hindering 'Ali's name to be commemorated. As one of the reasons for murdering Hasan Ibn 'Ali(a) by poison, Ibn Jawzi has pointed to his entry into Damascus(۱۰) which was naturally intolerable

All of these harsh treatments in order to wipe 'Ali's name off the face of the earth occasioned

p: ۴۸۳

Ibid, vol. XI, p. ۴۹ –۱

Ibid, vol. IV, pp ۵۶–۵۷ –۲

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. II, p. ۲۹۸; Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, pp ۶۶,۱۰۱–۱۰۲; Ma'rifat – ۳

Sahaba, vol. II, p. ۲۳۶

Turathuna, No ۱۰, pp ۱۴۳–۱۴۴ –۴

Shadharat al-Dhahab, vol. I, p. ۱۴۸ –۵

Concerning Mu'awiya Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far; Ansab al-Ashraf, section ۴ –۶

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XI, p. ۴۴; Bihar, vol. IV, p. ۱۲۵ –۷

.Ansab al-Ashraf, vol.I, p.۱۸۴ –۸

al-Majruhin, vol. I, p. ۲۶۸ –۹

Tadhkirat al-Khawas, Ibn Sa'd, p. ۲۱۲ –۱۰

people not to have the courage to narrate 'Ali's virtues. Awza'i, a renowned

traditionist, did narrate nothing concerned with Ahl al-Bayt's virtues save the Hadith to inform the revelation of the verse of "Tathir" (purification) about them (۱), the same (۲) as Zuhri who narrated not more than a virtue. (۳)

It seemed quite natural that all these repeated and universal curses could eventually influence people's hearts, particularly in Hijaz and Damascus, and gradually change public opinions. It was, in every respect, what Mu'awiya sought. Because Islamic leadership lay with Imam 'Ali, eliminating him could lead to elimination of the religion from the society. As an emphasis, Mu'awiya secured allegiance from people by prerequisite of loathing 'Ali (a) (۴) in the same manner that he had forced them for the first time to swear. (۵)

Mu'awiya's another action facing Shi'ite Muslims was exercising compulsion. The manifestation of his rancor to Imam and Shi'ite Muslims was in his brutal treatments. Imam Hasan Mujtaba's martyrdom, a conspiracy by Mu'awiya, was in line with this very policy. It is what historical sources have reported and accordingly, they have in truth discredited Mu'awiya among Muslims. The opposition of Umm al-Mu'minin (mother of the faithful, 'Ayisha) in Imam's burial beside the Prophet (S) exhibited the immense oppressedness of Imam together with his Shi'ite Muslims. (۶)

Mu'awiya who believed that it was not feasible to delude the people of Iraq in the same way as silly people of Damascus, he had to choose the route of slaying and chastizing. Besides, Iraqi dwellers, including

p: ۴۸۴

Usd al-Ghaba, vol. II, p. ۲۰ -۱

.Usd al-Ghaba, vol.II, p.۲۰ -۲

.Bahjat al-Majlis, vol.I, p.۹۹; al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol.II, p.۱۰۵ -۳

Ibid, vol. I, p. ۵۵۰ -۴

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. ۱۱۵ -۵

both Shi'ite Muslims and non-Shi'ite Muslims, were so sensitive that even a slight irritation could result in chanting bitter slogans against the Umayya although they

.were all obedient under the sword of Ziyad and Hajjaj

The common term describing Shi'ite Muslims was “Turabiyya” in the Umayyad tenure.⁽¹⁾ It was derived from “Abu Turab”, (the father of soil), the title used by the Umayyad for scorning Imam 'Ali (a); nevertheless, later on a number of “Ghulat” (the Exaggerators) availed themselves of it for proving the Divinity of Imam 'Ali

Slaying Shi'ite Muslims had begun since Imam 'Ali's term. After Imam's forces dispersed and there was no security found but in Iraq, Mu'awiya deployed his troops along with some envoys to various areas among whom were Busr Ibn Artat, Sufyan Ibn 'Awf Ghamidi and Dhahhak Ibn Qays. Their responsibility in cities was to trace and “فقتلوا كل من وجدته من شيعه علي” .Kill any Shi'ites they noticed at Mu'awiya's behest

Busr set out to Medina where he martyred many of 'Ali's disciples and enthusiasts and demolished their houses as well. He then went to Mecca and Sarat respectively and slayed any Shi'ite Muslim he discovered. Ultimately, he left there for Najran and martyred 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abd al-Muddan as well as his son. Earlier we presented a profile of his crimes

Among areas that Busr passed en route and plundered was an area the residents of which were from the tribe of Hamdan, 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims

Ambushing them, Busr killed numerous men and captured

p: ٤٨٥

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, p. ١٨٤ -١

a number of women and children. For the ever-first time Muslim women and children were captured.⁽¹⁾ These measures were once again adopted later in Karbala. About Busr, Mas'udi has written that he slayed a number from the tribes of Khuza'a and Hamdan together with a group known as al-Abna' (from Iranian race) in Yemen. He killed anyone of whose attachment to 'Ali he heard.” يبلغه عن أحد انه يمالى علياً او يهواه الا قتله

﴿٢﴾

Setting out to Anbar, 'Awf Ibn Sufyan martyred Ibn Hassan al-Bakri in addition to
(Shi'ites men and women.)^(۲)

After Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a) had to compromise with Mu'awiya, one of the menaces Imam felt was the security of 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims. Hence it was stipulated within the contract that 'Ali's disciples should be all endowed with security. Although Mu'awiya had conceded it, immediately on the same day he announced that he would disregard
.the entire commitments

Since Kufa was the center of Shi'ite Muslims' political and religious tendencies, Mu'awiya had to appoint one who can curb such people. Following the clashes between 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'As and Mughira Ibn Shu'ba who could keep up with Mu'awiya in deception, Mughira eventually flourished to be appointed as the governor
.of Kufa

Mu'awiya's endeavor was to have politically peaceful treatments towards the opponents as much as he could. The bases of two groups of the Umayya adversaries such as the Kharijites and Shi'ite Muslims were in Iraq. The Kharijites revolted several
times but were suppressed with

p: ۴۸۶

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, vol. V, p. ۱۱ –۱

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ۲۲ “Busr also was determined to slay anyone who might –۲
have had a hand ‘Uthman’s assassination” Tarikh at-Tabari has written Tarikh at-

Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۱۳۴

al-Aghani, vol. XVI, pp ۲۶۶, ۲۶۷ –۳

.all possible haste

But on the other hand, Shi'ite Muslims by virtue of the contract signed between Hasan Ibn 'Ali and Mu'awiya, did not permit themselves to transgress. Mughira also intended to take no action except against the one revolting. As a result, even the Kharijites of
(Kufa also had apparent relations with one another.)^(۱)

Among the Iraqi tribes, the tribes of Rabi'a, Hamdan(٢), Banu 'Abd al-Qays and .Khuza'a (few in Iraq) had Shi'ites inclination

In his remarks addressing the tribe of Banu 'Abd al-Qays, Sa'sa'a Ibn Suhan said, “When apostasy was common, you did remain beside the religion and when some followed 'Ayisha, Talha, Zubayr and 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb Rasibi, you declared that You seek naught save Ahl al-Bayt, at first by “ نريد إلا- أهل البيت الذى ابتدأنا الله من قبلهم بالكرامه “ (٣) (whom Allah had granted you blessing.”

Sa'sa'a under other circumstances availed himself of the opportunities provided for .(spreading his beliefs which were mostly censuring 'Uthman and eulogizing 'Ali (a

When Mughira was notified of such movements, he summoned Sa'sa'a and told him, “Far more than you we are acquainted with his excellences but

هذه السلطان قد ظهر وأخذنا بإظهار عيبه للناس فندع كثيراً مما أمرنا به ونذكر الشيء الذى لانجد منه بدأ نرفع به هؤلاء القوم
عن أنفسنا تقيته “

Because as soon as this ruler appeared, we had to denounce 'Ali and relinquish many of what we were ordered to merely in order to extricate ourselves from this race (the (Umayya).” (٤)

Anyhow Mughira the

p: ٤٨٧

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ١٣٢ -١

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ٣٧٩ -٢

Tarikh al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ٣٧٩ -٣

Tarikh al-Dhahab, vol. IV, p. ١٤٤ -٤

same as other agents were compelled to denounce Imam 'Ali (a) and exonerate 'Uthman. Owing to this fact

يتعرض لعليّ في مجلسه وخطبه ويدعو لعثمان ويترحم له “

He variably denounced 'Ali (a) in every assembly and sermon in the mosque but
[\(commemorated 'Uthman and pled mercy for him.\)](#) [\(1\)](#)

Subsequent to Mughira's death (probably in ۴۹ or ۵۰ A.H.) the status quo converted. Although Ziyad Ibn Abih was the governor of Basra at that time, Mu'awiya added Kufa to this realm as well. At the time of Imam 'Ali (a), Ziyad Ibn Abih was the governor of Fars. Since Mu'awiya's intention was deluding 'Ali's disciples, he decided to delude Ziyad too. His defect was lacking a definite begetter that Mu'awiya solved the problem by naming him Ziyad Ibn Abi Sufyan. Despite Imam 'Ali's forewarning to him [\(2\)](#), Ziyad did never resent it and ultimately a while after of compromising he took refuge in
Mu'awiya's side

Ziyad as well as his toughness were quite well known to Mu'awiya. He also knew that Ziyad had been in Iraq for some time and knew 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims all well. Accordingly, first he despatched him to Basra and added Kufa to his realm after Mughira's death. Mu'awiya might realize that the Shi'ite Muslims in Kufa enjoyed relative freedom and at times could openly object in presence of Mughira in the .mosque. It was considered a real threat which Mu'awiya removed by Ziyad's dispatch

The first measure taken by Ziyad was cutting off the hands of those (nearly eighty)
who

p: ۴۸۸

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۱۸۸; Tarikh Ibn Khaldun, vol. III, pp ۱۰, ۱۱ –۱

Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. III p. ۵۵۹ –۲

were not convinced to swear allegiance to him.[\(1\)](#) Ziyad's harsh treatment in Basra, with a group of the Kharijites in addition to Shi'ite Muslims, was proverbial. He had
.declared a kind of martial law in Basra

At nights, following the night prayer, the opportunity people had for staying outdoors was as long as reciting the Sura (chapter) of The Cow. During the curfew, Ziyad's soldiers slayed anyone they traced.[\(2\)](#) Historians have introduced Ziyad as the ever-

first one who drew his sword to people, arrested them by accusing them and
(chastized them with suspicion.)

Among the Shi'ite Muslims martyred by Ziyad were Muslim Ibn Zaymur and 'Abd Allah Ibn Nuja who were both from the tribe of Had'ram. In a letter to Mu'awiya succeeding
(Hujr's martyrdom, Imam Husayn (a) had commemorated their martyrdom too.)

Ziyad's main mission was to suppress the Shi'ite Muslims of Kufa throughout Iraq

He was always seeking after Shi'ite Muslims and anywhere tracing he slayed them”, “
Ibn A'tham said

He cut off the limbs of people and blinded them. Mu'awiya himself murdered a great number as well. Elsewhere it has been written that Mu'awiya had issued the verdict of executing a group of Shi'ite Muslims. Ziyad assembled Shi'ite Muslims in a mosque in order to make them express loathing for 'Ali. He also searched for Shi'ite
(Muslims in Basra to kill.)

In a letter Imam Hasan (a) objected to Mu'awiya in this regard. Treating the same way, Samura Ibn Jundab, a substitute for him in Basra, had allegedly augmented the

p: ۴۸۹

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ۴۶۲ -۱

Tarikh Ibn Khaldun, vol. III, p. ۸; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ۴۵۰ -۲

al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ۱۷۴; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۱۶۷; Ibn Khaldun, vol. III, p. ۱۸; -۳

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ۴۵۰

al-Muhabbar, p. ۴۷۹, Muhammad Ibn Habib has written, “Ziyad Ibn Abih executed -۴

Muslimm Ibn Zaymur and ‘Abd Allah Ibn Nuja, both Shi’ite Muslims, at the doors of
their houses at Mu‘awiya’s behest

al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ۲۰۳; see also Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XI, p. -۵

۴۴

al-Muhabbar, p. ۴۷۹ -۶

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IX, p. ۸۸ -۷

number of orphans in Basra and massacred nearly ٨٠٠٠ people until Ziyad objected
(him).^(١)

Although the accuracy of the abovementioned figures is not definite, it manifests a profile of their atrocities. Ziyad's treatment towards 'Ali's friends was unjust, in a real sense^(٢) exactly the same as that of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir, Mu'awiya's another governor.^(٣) Nu'man Ibn Bashir, ex-governor of this area, on account of his acute rancor to dwellers of Kufa did not even want to obey Mu'awiya's order to increase
(their provisions from Bayt al-Mal (public fund)).^(٤)

Under the guise of a peace-seeking character, Mu'awiya had commanded Ziyad to
(decimate anyone at 'Ali's religion).^(٥)

Kill anyone amongst you who is from 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims or accused of his amity”, he“ wrote to his agents, “and for it find evidence even hidden under the rocks even though it was solely an assumption”.^(٦) “Exclude the name of the one for whose amity to 'Ali you found any proof from Bayt al-Mal”, he added, “and discontinue his
”.provision

Kill any one from“ من اتهمتموه بموالاه هولاء القوم فنكّلوا به واهدموا داره ,He then wrote in conclusion among yourselves who is accused of having devotion to 'Ali and demolish his house as
(well.”^(٧)

Ibn Abi al-Hadid has also written that as far as Ziyad was well-aquainted with Shi'ite
,Muslims

قتلهم تحت كل حجر ومدبر وأخافهم وقطع الأيدي والأرجل وسمل العيون وصلبهم على جذوع النخل وطردهم وشردهم

He massacred them all anywhere whom he noticed, intimidated them, cut off their“
limbs, blinded them, hung them from

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ١٧٤, Ibn Khaldun, vol. III, p. ١٠; see also Tarikh at-Tabari, –١
vol. IV, p. ٢١٧; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ٤٤٢
al-Aghani, vol. XII, p. ٣١٢ –٢
Ibid, pp ٣١٧,٣٣٦ –٣
al-Aghani, vol. XVI, pp ٢٩,٣٠ –٤
Bahj As-Sabagha, vol. III, pp ١٧٩,١٨٠; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. –٥
IV, p. ٥٧; this sentence has authentically come in Husayn Ibn ‘Ali’s letter which will be
discussed later
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ١٥٠; Bahj As-Sabagha, vol. III, p. ١٨٠ –٦
Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XI, p. ٤٥; al-Ghadir, vol. XI, p. ٢٩ –٧

(tree branches and banished them.” (١)

The impetus of such treatments was totally obvious. According to Ahnaf Ibn Qays, one of the headmen of Banu Tamim tribe had told about Mu'awiya that he had captured Iraq not by force but through commitment and contracts;(٢) Anytime it was probable for people to revolt against Mu'awiya or “a catastrophe”, as he called it, take (place.(٣)

It was as a result, necessary that any rebellion be suppressed. Dissatisfied with the Umayya's the people of Iraq had to yield to them reluctantly. Imam Hasan (a) also had reminded Mu'awiya of this point.(٤) By the same token, as mentioned by Jahiz it was in The year of “عام الجماعة” truth a blunder that Mu'awiya had named ٤١ A.H. as The year of “عام التفرقه”, congregation” on the contrary, it must have been named as (separation”(٥)

These all accounted for the lack of factual collaboration and even the potential enmity of the Kufiyans towards Mu'awiya. In spite of the compulsion exercised by individuals like Ziyad and deception practised by Mughira to impede the growth of adversaries, Shi'ite Muslims were still wholeheartedly faithful to their allegiance

Imam 'Ali (a) had recommended them to curse him if they were under duress, but never ever loathe him.(٦) Anyhow, Kufa was like fire under ashes that should have .been thwarted with great effort not to catch fire again

The Suppression of Hujr Ibn 'Adi's Shi'ite Movement

Hujr al-Khayr or Hujr Ibn 'Adi who had been among the Holy Prophet's disciples, did later range himself with 'Ali's firm and devoted Shi'ite Muslims. He belonged

p: ۴۹۱

Ibid, vol. XI, pp ۴۴,۴۶-۱

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp ۱۵۶,۱۵۸; Bihar, vol. XXXIV, p. ۱۰۸-۲

Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXIV, p. ۱۰۴-۳

Manaqib Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. IV, p. ۲۲; Bihar, vol. XXXIV, p. ۱۰۴-۴

Risalat Jahiz fi Umayya published with al-Niza' wal-Takhasum, Miqrizi -۵

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. IV, p. ۱۰۶-۶

to the tribe of Kinda, a southern tribe in Hijaz, who had migrated to Iraq in ۱۷ A.H. This tribe was involved in Iraqi events as participants in Siffin and later on in Mukhtar's [\(uprising.\)](#)

A crowd from among them was at odds with Husayn Ibn 'Ali (a) in Karbala. In the course of Siffin, his activity was utterly broad and he played a role as a commander in 'Ali's army, yet when many abandoned Imam (a)[\(۲\)](#), up to the very last moment he stayed beside him.[\(۳\)](#) Hujr could be found amid the most pious disciples of Allah's [\(Apostle \(S\)\).](#) Hukaym Niyshaburi called him the monk of Prophet's disciples.[\(۴\)](#)

After 'Ali's martyrdom, he was amongst the ones stimulating the nation to swear allegiance to Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a). In the process of compromising, Hujr seemed discontented but Imam elaborated that he had to consent merely due to protecting the lives of individuals like him.[\(۵\)](#) Nonetheless later Mu'awiya by no means remained [\(faithful to his pledge and martyred both Hujr and his followers.\)](#)[\(۶\)](#)

During the governorship of Mughira over Kufa that lasted until the beginning of ۵۰'s, in spite of relative freedom, insults were still hurled at Imam 'Ali (a) in the masque. The leadership of 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims was lain with the characters such as Hujr Ibn 'Adi [\(and 'Amr Ibn Hamiq Khuza'i.\)](#)[\(۷\)](#)

Hujr was among those who frequently objected to Mughira accustomed to insult Imam 'Ali (a). When Mughira was paved the way to send a caravan carrying some properties

p: ۴۹۲

Mu‘jam Qaba’il al-‘Arab, vol. IV, p. ۹۹۹; Waq‘at Siffin, p. ۱۰۴-۱

Ibid -۲

al-Gharat, vol. II, p. ۴۸۱ -۳

A‘yan Ash-Shi‘a, vol. XX, pp ۶۰, ۶۷ -۴

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۴۵ -۵

Ibid, p. ۴۷ -۶

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۱۷۵ -۷

to Mu'awiya who was in need, Hujr intercepted the caravan and declared that as long as he has not granted the rights of the rightful, on no accounts would he allow these properties to be conveyed.^(۱) At Mu'awiya's behest, Mughira had commanded them to take part in the congregational prayer at the mosque.^(۲)

Once Hujr was urged by Mughira to go up the pulpit and curse Imam 'Ali (a) he went up and said, “Mughira propels me to curse 'Ali (a), curse him you all.”^(۳)

Immediately, the congregation perceived that his intention had been Mughira himself. Mughira, however, had already declared that he never intended to be the first one murdering the celebrity of Kufa and as a result contribute to Mu'awiya's grandeur in this world and his own abjectness in the Hereafter.^(۴) This statement was the response to those objecting why he did not arrest or harass Hujr

Following the demise of Mughira and Ziyad's governorship over Kufa, the status quo altered perceptibly

Ziyad, from the very first night of his governorship, did commence his rigors. His exceptional sermon for threatening Kufa people, has been recorded as a typical Arab sermon in historical sources at that juncture

Well acquainted with Hujr Ibn 'Adi, he warned him stating, “You and I have been in the same situation that you know yourself (concerning 'Ali's amity) but today anything has converted. Hold your tongue and stay at your home. My throne can be yours too. I will doubtlessly meet all your demands provided that you get along with

p: ٤٩٣

Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IV, p. ٨٤ –١

al-Kamil –٢

Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, pp ٤٩,١٠١,١٠٢ –٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ١٨٩ –٤

.”me although you are rash

[\(1\)](#) Seemingly, Hujr who was convinced went away.

Once again the status quo changed. It is said that one time Hujr interrupted Ziyad's remarks protracted and the time of prayer was elapsing, yelling out, “Al-Salat” (prayer).[\(2\)](#) It is also narrated that he along with other Shi'ite Muslims had been convening meetings after Ziyad's departure to Basra. Ziyad's substitute, 'Amr Ibn Hurayth, wrote to Ziyad that if he desired to maintain Kufa, he should return without

[\(3\)](#) delay.

In this respect, Hujr was not merely solitary, but also he was under any circumstances accompanied by a number of Shi'ite Muslims. Quotedly, when Hujr protested against [\(4\)](#) Mughira in the mosque, more than one- third of the audience validated his remarks.

As written by Abul-Faraj, in the absence of Ziyad, being in Basra, Hujr together with his companions occupied one-third or half of the mosque and began denouncing and vilifying Mu'awiya.[\(5\)](#) Ziyad himself had denounced the nobles of Kufa that You are on my side whereas your brothers, offspring and “ [\(6\)](#) وإخوانكم وأبنائكم وعشائركم مع حجر “ tribes are on Hujr's side.”

After a while, a multitude of those on Hujr's side dispersed since the chiefs of tribes

had menaced the members of the tribes. Therefore, there was no more companion
.remained with Hujr

When a group was sent to arrest him, he addressed his friends as saying, “Since you
are by no means able to defy them, there is no way for any struggle.^(٧) Eventually,
Hujr conceded to surrender provided that for

p: ٤٩٤

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol., p. ٢١٨; al-Aghani, vol. XVII, p. ١٣٤, ١٣٥ –١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ١٩٠ –٢

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VI, p. ٢١٨ –٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ١٨٩; Ibn Khaldun, vol. IV, p. ١١ –٤

al-Aghani, vol. ١٧, p. ١٣٥ –٥

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ١٩١; al-Aghani, vol. XVII, p. ٣٦ –٦

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV –٧

(drawing deduction he should be taken to meet Mu'awiya.)^(١)

Having accepted the condition, Ziyad was making an attempt on the other hand to
expose him to murder. By the same token, he compelled four characters having been
appointed as the chiefs of the tribes in Kufa to make an affidavit against Hujr. It was
stipulated in the affidavit that Hujr had formed some assemblies wherein Mu'awiya
.had been cursed

His belief was that no one merited the caliphate save those from Talib's lineage. As
stated by them having caused chaos within the town, he had expelled 'Amr Ibn
Hurayth, the governor; furthermore, he had not only saluted 'Ali, but expressed his
.disgust for his foes and those having combated him

Ziyad who had on no accounts approved the aforesaid affidavit ordered Abu Burda,
son of Abu Musa Ash'ari, to prepare a more pungent one. What he wrote as a result
,was

إن حجر خلع الطاعه وفارق الجماعه ولعن الخليفه ودعا إلى الحرب والفتنه وجمع إليه الجموع يدعوهم إلى نكث البيعه وخلع امير المؤمنين معاويه وكفر بالله كفره صلحاء

Hujr has declined to comply with the caliph and seceded from “Jama'a”. He has“ cursed the caliph and summoned all to a battle and sedition. Having congregated the people around himself, he has urged them to breach their pledges. He dethroned Mu'awiya, Amir al-Mu'minin, from the caliphate and blasphemed against Allah in (addition.”^(۲)

This time Hujr was labeled a blasphemer. Abu Burda who was one of the eminent Sunnites traditionists bore the witness of it.^(۳) Ziyad persuaded

p: ۴۹۵

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۱۹۰; Tarikh Ibn Khaldun, vol. IV, p. ۱۴ –۱
Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ۱۹۹,۲۰۰; al-Gharat, vol. II, p. ۵۶۵; al-Kuna wal-Alqab, vol. –۲
I, p. ۱۵; al-Aghani, vol. ۱۷, p. ۱۴۶; Tarikh Ibn Khaldun, vol. IV, pp ۱۲,۱۳ “Sal‘a” might refer
”to ‘Ali (a) who was well-Known as Asla‘ or might mean “intensely
–۳ Concerning Abu Barda has come in Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. I, p. ۹۵ as follows انه النقيه
”He has been one of the eminent Islamic jurisprudent “ احد الأعمه الاثبات

others to sign it too. Among the signatories were Ishaq and Moses, sons of Talha, Mundhir, Zubayr's son, 'Umar, son of Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas and 'Umara, son of 'Uqba (Ibn Abi Mu'ayt.^(۱)

As narrated by historians, while Hujr was being arrested, he yelled out, “I am still faithful to my allegiance”. He was absolutely right because he never intended to revolt against Mu'awiya. What he insisted on was about 'Ali not to be insulted. And it was precisely what had been stipulated in Mu'awiya's commitment and conceded by him.

Fascinatingly, it was specified in the affidavit that Hujr believed that caliphate was well deserved to no one but those from Talib's lineage. It was the manifestation of Hujr's purifiedly Shi'ites belief. “Purified Shi'ite Muslims” denotes those being religious

Shi'ite Muslims. The belief of such Shi'ite Muslims is that Imamate does solely belong
(to prophet's household (Ahl al-Bayt

Ali was a friend of ' "فإنه كان له ولياً ثم ارتضاه بعده وصياً" In a poem quoted from Hujr we read
(the Prophet's (S) and he was gratified with his executorship." (2)

Hujr described 'Ali as Prophet's friend and executor. At that time many were of this
belief in Iraq. When Abul-Aswad Du'ali was sneered due to his in-depth enthusiasm
,for 'Ali, he stated in a poem

أحب محمداً حباً شديداً وعباساً وحمزه والوصيا

(I adore Muhammad (S), 'Abbas, Hamza and the executor ('Ali)" (3)

He did introduce 'Ali as the Holy Prophet's executor manifesting his successorship.
Corresponding to it is Malik's statement regarding 'Ali
هذا وصي الأوصياء

p: ٤٩٦

al-Aghani, vol. XVII, p. ١٤٦; Tarikh Ibn Khaldun, vol. IV, pp ١٢,١٣ -١

Waq'at Siffin, p. ٣٨١ -٢

al-Aghani, vol. XII, p. ٣٢١ -٣

The executor of the executors and the inheritor of all prophets' body of "ووارث علم الأنبياء"
(knowledge is he." (4)

This description was also what Imam al-Baqir's Shi'ite Muslims like Jabir Ibn Yazid
Ju'fi uttered about 'Ali (a). (5) Further instances have been presented earlier in
.discussion of Shi'ism at Imam 'Ali's time

Ultimately, Hujr along with his fourteen companions, known as the heads of Hujr's
followers (6), was sent to Damascus. A few of them were interceded and forgiven by
.Mu'awiya in Damascus

Although Hujr also was interceded, Mu'awiya did in no way accept. Reportedly,
Mu'awiya was at first ambivalent and on this account he had already written to Ziyad

that he believed that Hujr should never be murdered but Ziyad had replied that liberating him would result in corruption of Iraq^(٤), and he could allow Hujr to return Iraq on the condition that he did not require Kufa.^(٥)

Mu'awiya eventually made a decision to assassinate Hujr; notwithstanding, since he was terrified to meet him face to face, he commanded to detain them in Marj 'Adhra' a few Farsangs far away from Damascus.^(٦)

Later he read out the affidavit of dwellers of Kufa to those of Damascus and appealed to them to voice their opinions! It was utterly evident that what they could ever say when the disciples' descendants were of that opinion

Mu'awiya deployed a number to Marj 'Adhra' to carry out what they were supposed to. They were at first duty-bound to propose them that if they expressed their loathing for 'Ali

p: ٤٩٧

Tarikh Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ١٥١ –١

al-Irshad, p. ٢٨٠ –٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ١٩٩ –٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, p. ٢٠٤ –٤

Ibid, p. ٢٠٣; al-Aghani, vol. XVII, p. ١٤٩ –٥

It is quoted that in conquering Damascus, Hujr Himself had conquered this area; al- –٦
on conquering Marj 'Adhra', ان حجراً اول من وحد الله عزوجل بمرج عذراء حين افتتحت, Muhabbar, p. ٢٩٢
the first one who glorified Allah by saying “Allah Akbar” was Hujr

a), the verdict would be declared null and void. Under no circumstances did Hujr and his companions agree. And it might have been owing to this fact that Imam 'Ali (a) had asserted that after him if they were impelled to insult him, they should abide by but neverever express loathing for him.^(٧)

Subsequently, digging their own graves, Hujr and his companions spent dusk to dawn in worshipping. Eight out of them were set free but six of them announced their

Next morning they were again requested to express their idea about 'Uthman The ever-first one who did injustice was 'Uthman”, they retorted. They “جار في الحكم” were asked whether they would pronounce disgust for 'Ali. They responded “لا، بل نتولاه” and “No, never, we do all love him and hate those who hate him”

Then they prepared themselves for being martyred. Hujr who was prominent among the devout of Iraq said a very-long-two-Rak'at prayer (Rak'at, unit of prayer consisting of three postures) and stated “والله ماصليت قط أقصر منها ولولا- أن تروا أن ما بي جزع من الموت أحببت أن استكثر منها” As yet, I have never performed a prayer shorter than this and I “yearned to prolong it if you did not accuse me of being scared of decease”

Six of them were martyred. Karim Ibn 'Afif Khath'ami and 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Hassan al-'Anzi were both taken to meet Mu'awiya. Karim was interceded but when it was 'Abd al-Rahman's turn, Mu'awiya

p: ٤٩٨

al-Irshad, p. ١٦٩; Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, p. ١٠١ –١

.(questioned him about 'Ali (a

You had better not enquire any question”, he responded. When Mu'awiya insisted, he “,declared

أشهد أنه من الذاكرين الله كثيراً ومن الأمرين بالحق والقائمين بالقسط والعافين عن الناس“

I do attest that he was among the ones bearing Allah invariably in mind, enjoining good, establishing justice and being magnanimous.” And when he was asked about He was the first one who “'Uthman, he replied “هو أول من فتح باب الظلم وارتجع ابواب الحق” .opened the door of injustice and closed the doors of justice

Mu'awiya sent him to Iraq and instructed Ziyad to kill him brutally. Then, he was [buried alive at Ziyad's behest.](#)

Repercussions of Hujr's Martyrdom

Hujr's martyrdom did mar the reputation of Mu'awiya as well as other Umayyads incredibly. As far as his fame for devoutness and worship among the Prophet's disciples was concerned, rarely could anyone be found unacquainted with his piety.

.Being among the chiefs of the tribe of Kinda had magnified his eminence too

Therefore, eruption of objections against the Umayya in general and Mu'awiya in particular seemed quite natural. Although the heavy pressure exerted could impede the occurrence of probable riots in Iraq, it could on the contrary intensify the nation's devotion to Shi'ism on the one hand and their rancor to Mu'awiya on the other hand. Later, a multitude including Hujr's sons such as 'Abd Allah and 'Abd al-Rahman took
(part in Mukhtar's uprising.)

On hearing the news of Hujr's martyrdom, even a number of Ziyad's agents like the
governor of Khurasan, Rabi' Ibn Ziyad

p: ۴۹۹

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ۲۰۵, ۲۰۶; al-Aghani, vol. XVII pp ۱۵۱, ۱۵۲, ۱۵۳-۱
al-Isaba, vol. I, p. ۳۱۵, A'yan Ash-Shi'a, vol. ۲۰, p. ۶۱ (From Mustadrak and Tabaqat -۲
al-Kubra

Harithi, deplored greatly. It is said that Rabi' prayed for being died soon and by accident, he did fall down and pass away on the same day. (۱) 'Ayisha was also among the protesters. She had dispatched 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Harith to Mu'awiya to recommend him not to murdering Hujr but prior to his arrival Hujr had been
(martyred.)

Later, 'Ayisha reproached Mu'awiya for Hujr's murder (۲) as saying, "I would object to you for Hujr's murder if it were not the case that anything we dissented occurred in a
(worsen form)" (۳)

Hujr's devoutness had prompted 'Ayisha to object to Mu'awiya in this regard though
.his standing in Jamal War was for Imam 'Ali (a) and against 'Ayisha

As usuall, Mu'awiya resorted to deception and deniedthat he had murdered him

(Those who testified against him were his murderer” , he added.^(٥)

The consequences of such a claim in sight of some like Hasan Basri^(٤) were their
.disbelief in the Umayya and then their discredit among people

It was quoted from Mu'awiya as declaring, “Anyone whom I slayed I knew why I did it
(except about Hujr.”^(٧)

(Abi Zur'a has narrated, “Whenever I met Mu'awiya, he recalled Hujr.”^(٨)

Where are those“ أى يوم من حجر وأصحاب حجر ,While in the agony of death, he had stated
(days with Hujr and his followers.”^(٩)

In his very last breath, Hujr had requested to be buried with the same shirt owing to
the fact that he desired to stand before Mu'awiya with that state on the Day of
(Judgment.^(١٠)

Historians have said , أول ذل

p: ٥٠٠

Futuh al-Buldan, pp ٤٠٠,٤٠١ –١

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VI, p. ٢١٩; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٠٨; al-Aghani, vol. XVII, –٢

p. ١٥٤

al-Isaba, vol. I, p. ٣١٥ –٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٠٨; al-Aghani, vol. XVII, p. ١٥٤ –٤

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٠٨ –٥

Ibid –٦

Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq, vol.IV, p.٨٤ –٧

al-Mustadrak, vol. III, p. ٤٦٩ –٨

A‘yan Ash-Shi‘a, vol. XX, p. ٥٨ –٩

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VI, p. ٢٢٠ –١٠

The first abjectness for Kufa was the martyrdom of“ دخل الكوفة قتل الحجر وقتل الحسين ودعوه زياد

[\(both Hujr Ibn 'Adi and Imam Husayn plus Ziyad's claim to be Abu Sufyan's son.\)](#) [\(1\)](#)

Gradually the relation between Imam Husayn and his Shi'ite Muslims improved rapidly. Having panicked, in a letter, Mu'awiya warned Imam not to create separation, sedition and corruption among the nation. As a riposte, Imam protested against martyring 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims, the foremost of whom Hujr Ibn 'Adi, and deplored for he never took up arms against Mu'awiya. We will show the letter later concerning
.Imam Husayn's stance against Mu'awiya

One of the other followers of Hujr martyred at the same juncture was 'Amr Ibn Hamiq Khuza'i who was among Prophet and 'Ali's disciples and later deemed as the pivot of
[\(the Shi'ite Muslims in Kufa.\)](#) [\(2\)](#)

When Ziyad had ordered his guards to trace Hujr and his companions, 'Amr Ibn Hamiq along with Rufa'a Ibn Shaddad escaped to Ctesiphon and then to Musil. The governor of the district sent a mission to arrest them who were aliens. Rufa'a fled but 'Amr was taken to Musil governor, 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Uthman Thaqafi.
.Recognizing 'Amr, he wrote to Mu'awiya what the proper course was to pursue

Mu'awiya wrote, "Amr himself had confessed he had given nine lashes to 'Uthman, thus whip him nine times." And since 'Amr was sick, with the very first lash he achieved martyrdom. Then he was beheaded and sent to Damascus. It was the first head

p: 501

al-Aghani, vol. XVII, p. 13-1

Tarikh Ibn Khaldun, vol. III, p. 10-2

[\(carried from one town to the other.\)](#) [\(3\)](#)

Later it was repeated about the head of Imam Husayn and his disciples. That it has been written that he was found dead in a cave and they beheaded him [\(4\)](#) seems to be for acquitting Mu'awiya of the charge of Companions-side Muhammad Ibn Habib has
[\(narrated that his head was showed around in Bazar.\)](#) [\(5\)](#)

Conquests in Mu'awiya's time

With the five-year civil wars in 'Ali's term, conquests in east and west of the Islamic land ceased. Inasmuch as 'Ali's policy was improving the internal status quo and deposing seditious figures, the process of conquests was ceased. Mu'awiya who required great might to combat 'Ali(a), had to compromise the Romans.^(۴) Accordingly, war was ceased there as well. After victory of the Umayya, conquests leading to economic benefits for the government were resumed

The areas ruled by the East Roman Empire were frequently under attack that lasted for almost all years of Mu'awiya's dominion. In ۴۹ or ۵۰ A.H., Mu'awiya deployed a massive army consisted of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas and Abu Ayyub Ansari together with another group of disciples and their descendants to that area. They could advance as near as the enclosures of Constantinople; Nevertheless, they could not conquer it. ^(۵) Abu Ayyub Ansari passed away there.

Another war site was Africa thereon Muslims advanced ceaselessly in the course of conquering Egypt from the time of caliph II on. Sudan in Africa was conquered in this period. Observing the constant apostasy of the dwellers, the governor, 'Uqba Ibn Nafi', established a town

p: ۵۰۲

al-Aghani, vol. XVII, pp ۱۴۳-۱۴۴; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۱۹۷; al-Darajat al-Rafi'a, -۱ p. ۳۴۳; al-Muhabbar, p. ۲۹۲
al-Darajat al-Rafi'a, p. ۴۳۲ -۲
al-Munammaq, p. ۴۹۰ -۳
al-Fa'iq fi Gharib al-Hadith, vol. I, p. ۴۶; al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. ۳۰۱ -۴
Fi l-Tarikh al-kamil, vol. IV, p. ۴۶۱ -۵

called Qirawan in order to guarantee the stability of the region through Muslim residents there.^(۱) This town did play a crucial role in maintaining Muslims' conquests in that land

Islamic East was also subject to conquering. For a while Sa'id, 'Uthman's son, was involved in conquering Bukhara and the suburbs. He clashed with the Soghdids in Samarqand but later he compromised with them

He had taken a number of hostages from the queen of Bukhara to set them free after return from conquering Samarqand. In spite of his pledge he took them to Medina and exploited them. Afterwards Sa'id was assassinated by them.^(۲) The war had been continuing during the following years

India and Indus River were exposed to consecutive wars as well. These areas, between Kabul and Multan, were hit in ۴۳ A.H. and onwards which preceded a great deal of loot.^(۳)

In farther areas like Ghawr, conquering had been also kept on. In ۴۷, when the dwellers of the region violated their compromise, the attacks on them were recommenced.^(۴)

From this time on, no considerable contest can be found for Muslims and it is in view of the fact that the Romans had prepared themselves to battle more valiantly on the one hand and the remoteness of war sites particularly Islamic East inhibited the Muslims to adopt serious measures for conquering the land, on the other hand. The problems originated from such conquests as well as Arabs' tribal disputes in conquered lands such as Khurasan, gradually impeded more troops to be equipped for

p: ۵۰۳

Fi I-Tarikh al-Kamil, vol. III, p. ۴۶۵ –۱

Fi I-Tarikh al-Kamil, vol. IV, pp ۱۹۳–۱۹۷; Futuh al-Buldan, pp ۴۰۱, ۴۰۲ –۲

Ibid, vol. III, p. ۴۴۶ –۳

Ibid, vol. III, p. ۴۵۶ –۴

.pursuing conquests

The constant apostasy in conquered areas undermined the Muslim Arabs. Civil riots in the Islamic land such as Kharijites movements, Shi'ites oppositions and so forth can be considered as another factor in debilitating the central authority

The Kharijites in Mu'awiya's time

Succeeding Imam's martyrdom, Kufa was composed of classes with various schools of thought, the majority indifferent, those on Mu'awiya's side, those regarded as Kharijites or Imam 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims. As many people had lost their close kins in "Nahrawan" War, they naturally could not remain faithful to 'Ali's descendants

However, due to their enmity towards Mu'awiya, they got ready to join the army organized by Imam Hasan (a) against Mu'awiya. After appearing indifference and inclinations on the part of the Kufiyan nobles towards Mu'awiya specifically in the process of compromising, the Kharijites decided to assassinate Imam, although their attempt failed

At the same time, Mu'awiya predominated all over the Islamic land especially Iraq. The Kharijites considered both enmity towards 'Ali (a) and practical disgust for Mu'awiya and his agents as their principal responsibilities. On account of their disbelief in Taqiyya (precautionary dissimulation), a few (1) were assembled in a 40 or 50-people small group to clash with an army

Moreover, owing to their deep-rooted beliefs, even if deviated, they were never seeking after a means of escape. They, in light of their distinctive morale, in no way approved leniency. (2) If the Kharijites hesitated over combating 'Ali (a) formerly but later they even those who were not convinced to combat 'Ali (a) in Nahrawan (3), had no doubts

p: 504

But one time some groups of the Kharijites believed in Taqiyya See also al-Kamil fil- 1
Tarikh, vol. III pp 516, 518
They talked at availing themselves of "Taqiyya"; al-Kamil fil-Lughat wal-Adab, vol. 2

Because they had no proof for combating 'Ali; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۱۰ -۳

.about battling against Mu'awiya

Urwa Ibn Sakhr had stated, "Due to my long and close affinity with 'Ali (a) I did abstain'
from battling against him and now I shall definitely rise up against Mu'awiya. (۱)

In the face of such remarkable deviation as the Umayya's sovereignty, tyranny and oppression that the people of distinct classes sustained, the existence of the Kharijites appeared evident. Since many of the oppressed regarded them as a group able to stand against the Umayya beside them, the continuity of their movement throughout this sovereignty was incontestable

No sooner had Mu'awiya left Iraq than the Kharijites revolted. Nearly five hundred of them who had already gone to Shahrzur with Farwa Ibn Nawfal returned Kufa following the compromise. Mu'awiya himself had the people of Kufa combat them. (۲)

Subsequently, small groups of the Kharijites like Mu'in al-Khariji and Abu Maryam from among the Mawali of Banu al-Harith Ibn Ka'b and Sahm Ibn Ghalib revolted against Kufa governor, Mughira, so were all massacred. (۳)

The leniency of Mughira toward the Kharijites culminated in their gathering from various regions in Kufa. Therefore, they could confer with one another. (۴) Having fled with four hundred of the Kharijites to Riy, Mustawrid Ibn 'Ullafa after 'Ali's martyrdom returned Kufa and together with Hayyan Ibn Zabyan convened meetings with other the Kharijites

Hayyan Ibn Zabyan who was a leader for the Kharijites in Riy proposed them, "Let's return our homelands, towards our brothers in order to enjoin them good, forbid them from evil and summon them to battle against the parties

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۱۲۶ (The events in ۴۱-۲
al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, pp ۴۱۲,۴۱۷-۳
Ibid, vol. III, pp ۴۰۹,۴۲۰-۴

We have no excuse not to rise up while our governor generals are all tyrants, the tradition of guiding is abandoned and all those slaying our brothers are alive. We
ought to avenge”.

When gathering in Kufa, the Kharijites negotiated about designating an emir. Three figures were nominated, Mustawrid Ibn 'Ullafa, Mu'adh Ibn Juwayn and Hayyan Ibn Zabyan. The report of negotiation is presented by Abu Mikhnaf. The aforesaid report
is consisted of their opinions concerned with the eligibility of an emir

Mustawrid said, “Elect anyone you like. It does make no difference for me whom from
among you be my governor-general

I have no request for it. I shall be gratified with and swear allegiance to any one“
designated”, said Hayyan. Mu'adh Ibn Juwayn also declared, “When you two, Muslims'
Sayyid (chiefs) with renowned lineages, and as the high-qualified and pious ones say
so, who shall then undertake Muslims' responsibility? If all are equal in virtues, the
most well-informed in wars, the most intelligent in religion and the most liable of
whom ought to be designated for Muslims' guardianship. Since both of you merit this
position, thus one of you two should consent

In return they, two, suggested it to him

“You are my senior”, he added“

The audience of the Kharijites announced, “We approve you all three. Elect one from
among yourself

Hayyan Ibn Zabyan told Mustawrid, “I do agree with Mu'adh. You are my senior too.
”Give your hand to swear allegiance to you

In this way Mustawrid was designated. The Kharijites swore allegiance to

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp ١٧٣-١٧٤ -١

him all.^(١) Mughira who had perceived the probability of revolt arrested Hayyan Ibn Zabyan. Mustawrid and his followers rose in revolt, although Mughira had warned the chiefs of all tribes earlier to banish them from themselves and not allow them to influence on their tribes

Tabari's report and that of Mubarrid's varies concerning the Kharijites first clashes with Mu'awiya. Yet, all are unanimous that the Kharijites with a few numbers battled against Damascus army but were immediately defeated.^(٢)

Mubarrid and Baladhuri have recounted many adventures about the Kharijites in Mu'awiya's tenure that manifest the scope of their infiltration into diverse tribes.^(٣) At any war whether mini or massive, the Kharijites had commanders

After the Kharijites' suppression, 'Ali (a) recommended his followers لا تقاتلوا الخوارج من بعدى "Under no circumstances should you enter into conflict with the Kharijites after me."^(٤)

This instruction was given by Imam to Shi'ite Muslims to bear their main enmity towards the Umayya in mind and not to waste their strength on combating the Kharijites who were among the Umayya foes. Regretfully, this instruction was not heeded on the part of the Shi'ite Muslims

Addressing his tribe and reiterating that they were faithful to Shi'ism and the leadership of the Prophet's household, Sa'sa'a Ibn Suhan, an eloquent chief of the Shi'ite Muslims said

لا قوم أعدى لله ولأهل بيت نبيكم ولجماعه المسلمين من هذه المارقه الخاطئه الذين فارقوا امامنا واستحلوا دماننا وشهدوا علينا بالكفر

Not a single group like this group shows enmity towards Allah, the Holy Prophet's household and Muslims; the

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ١٧٥ –١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp ١٦٥–١٦٦; al-Kamil fil-Lughat wal-Adab, vol. II, pp ١٩٥–١٩٦ –٢

al-Kamil fil-Lughat wal-Adab, vol. II, pp ١٩٨–٢١٢; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, pp ١٦٣–١٨٦ –٣

Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon ٦١ –٤

wrongdoing Mariqin (the deviators) who seceded from our Imam, declared shedding
our blood lawful and considered us infidel.” (١)

This statement of Ibn Suhan foreboded that the Shi'ite Muslims' hatred of the Kharijites made them not only remain indifferent in the face of their revolt but conversely become set on suppressing them. And it was exactly because almost all Shi'ite Muslims knew them as the fundamental cause for the failure of the Shi'ites movement. 'Adi Ibn Hatim, another Shi'ites leader, had made the same remarks on
(aversion to the Kharijites. (٢)

The command of war against the Kharijites was undertaken by Ma'qal Ibn Qays who
 .was a commander in Imam 'Ali's army

As soon as being informed of the Shi'ite Muslims' inclination for a battle with the Kharijites, Mughira as well as his advisors became pleased and it was emanated from since they had “وهـم أشـد استـحـلالاً لـدماء هـذه المارقه وأجراً عليهم وغيرهم وقد قاتلوا قبل هذا بمره”
 this fact that battled with them once before, they could have shed their blood more daringly and
(severely.” (٣)

Whatever its outcome might be even the Shi'ite Muslims' failure could be for the Umayya benefit because both rivals, the Umayya adversaries, had enfeebled each
 .other

Not merely had Imam 'Ali (a) realized and warned about such perils (٤), but Imam Hasan (a) also had considered it wrong via his conduct practically. Subsequent to the compromise, when Imam (a) set out to Medina, a riot had been triggered by the Kharijites. Mu'awiya urged Imam to prepare

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ١٤٢; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ٤٢٧ –١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ١٤٣; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ٤٢٩ –٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ١٤٤ –٣

٤ – From the view point of fiqh (jurisprudence) Imam had stated ان خرجوا على امام عادل او جماعه فقاتلوهم وان خرجوا على امام جائر فلا تقاتلوهم Kill those who rise up against a just Imam and people, but never kill those rising up against an unjust ruler Wasa'il Ash-Shi'a, vol. XI, unit ٢٦, Hadith ٣

.for a battle against the Kharijites

If I were supposed to “ لو آثرت أن أقاتل أحداً من أهل القبلة بدأت بقتالك ”, In his reaction he stated “combat anyone, I would start from you first

By the same token, in the course of Mustawrid Ibn 'Ullafa's revolt, along with three thousand from “The most purified Shi'ite Muslims نقاوه الشيعة

Ma'qal Ibn Qays moved to him. While the Kharijites were in the vicinity of Basra, the Umayya governor of Basra, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir, did emulate Mughira and dispatched three thousand Shi'ite Muslims led by Sharik Ibn A'war who was a renowned Shi'ites (١) of Basra towards them.

Upon hearing the news of the strike by Kufa army, Mustawrid took “counsel” from “people. Some suggested battling and some other “retreating

The decision, however, was to keep away from the army and refrain from confronting provided that they were faced unexpectedly which would result in a conflict. (٢) The details of this conflict are delineated by Tabari that Mustawrid was killed on the one hand and Ma'qal Ibn Qays on the other hand. At this juncture, the Kharijites, who under no circumstances were eradicated, dispersed

It is worth reminding that the Kharijites of this period of time had an extremely harsh treatment towards other Muslims. The only caliphates confirmed in their sight were

those of Abu Bakr and 'Umar so that they had laid them both beside “Kitab” (Qur'an) and “Sunna” (Tradition). In his narration, one of the Kharijites has referred to a letter from Mustawrid to the governor

p: ٥٠٩

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ٤٣١ -١

Ibid, vol. V, p. ١٩٣ -٢

of Ctesiphon whereas naming him Amir al-Mu'minin”.^(١) It denoted that he must have been regarded as a caliph by the Kharijites

It has been cited that the first one who propounded in earnest the subject of blasphemy on the part of the members of the tribe was Sahm Ibn Ghalib Hujaymi who revolted against 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir in Basra in ٤٤ A.H.^(٢) This very issue could play a cardinal role in making the Kharijites secede from the Islamic community. Basra was among the areas accommodating a multitude of the Kharijites in those days

Rising up in this region, accompanied by some seventy people, Qarib Azdi and Zahhaf Tayi were murdered in ٥٠ A.H. following a clash. As recorded by Ibn Athir, Ziyad who was too rigorous and unyielding towards the Kharijites had prescribed his substitute in Basra, Samura Ibn Jundab, to treat them relentlessly. They clashed with a mass number of the Kharijites and flourished to decimate them.^(٣) Their considerable number in Basra did account for such severe actions

Once more rioting in ٥٨ A.H. a group of the Kharijites were instantly suppressed near to Kufa. Ibn Ziyad's dealing towards the Kharijites was also such a tough one that he at times incited them to slay one another. Concurrently a throng of them who were imprisoned by him became slaughtered after a while.^(٤)

At this stage like the succeeding ones the firm defiance of the Kharijites against Umayya troops is utterly perceptible as once at the end of Mu'awiya's caliphate, a forty-member

Ibid, vol. V, p. ۱۹۱ –۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۱۷۲ –۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, p. ۴۶۳; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۱۷۷ –۳

Ibid, vol. III, pp ۵۱۵,۵۱۷ –۴

group caused Ibn Ziyad's two-thousand-soldier army to flee and make the [commander of which be humiliated for a lengthy time.](#)[\(۱\)](#)

Mu'awiya's Endeavor for Hereditary Caliphate

Earlier it was quoted from Muhammad Rashid Rid'a that Abu Bakr's action in delegating a successor paved the ground of making caliphate hereditary.[\(۲\)](#) As Marwan Ibn Hakam too reasoned Abu Bakr's measure in designating 'Umar while [recommending succession to the throne.](#)[\(۳\)](#)

A hereditary authority bore two features one of which was designation of a successor by the former monarch and another was designation of a son or a member from monarch's lineage as a successor. The latter was submitted from Mu'awiya's time on. Under the pretext of his kinship with 'Uthman, he not only addressed his heritage in order to justify his caliphate but also he proposed the subject of making caliphate hereditary by appointing his son, endowed with no religious, political or military trait

Although this matter has always been unusual among Muslims, hereditary caliphate later became the most fundamental principle in a caliph's designation. Merely when the Umayya's administration was converting into that of the 'Abbasids and the 'Abbasids' administration into that of 'Uthmanids the theory of hereditary caliphate was declared null and void through transfer of caliphate from a lineage to another, yet replaced by violence and force

Except the cases aforesaid the hereditary succession was treated as a radical principle for appointing a new caliph. Deviation from the traditional system, at least nominally claimed to be established on “consultation” and nation's vote, was

Ibid, vol. III, p. ۵۱۹ –۱

Andishih siyasi dar Islam mu‘asir, p. ۱۵۰ –۲

Tarikh al-Khulafa’, pp ۱۹۶,۲۰۳ –۳

Muslims. However, the status quo was in a way that all endorsed it and but a minority no one defied. The internal coherence of the Umayya reinforced by 'Uthman's charity in addition to conveyance of farmlands impelled the Umayya to adopt a measure for safeguarding their power

If it were let to take its normal course, 'Uthman would beyond question designate Mu'awiya as his successor. And because it was delayed by his assassination, Mu'awiya did afterwards withstand obstinately. It stood to reason that when securing the power, he on no accounts would allow the monarchy to make an exit from his family

Except the Shi'ite Muslims and the Kharijites, throughout the Islamic world, in the face of the official caliphate not only no Sunnites laid claim to the caliphate but also he did never credit that through power and wealth one could become a caliph. Such regions as Spain, North Africa and Egypt experienced further caliphs later

In Mu'awiya's tenure, not simply did Damascus people never stood against approving of Yazid's succession but they also insisted on it because their entity before claimants emerging from Arabia Petrae or Iraq depended upon aiding the Umayya to remain in power. Persuading the people of Medina however who were, from among disciples' descendants, seemed thorny

On one hand, Iraq was naturally opposed to Damascus and besides Kufa Shi'ite Muslims, Iraqi the Kharijites were thoroughly opposed to the Umayya on the other hand. Realizing the public opinions about governorship at that time shall appear convenient

through a review of the reasoning on the part of Mu'awiya and his opponents in regard with a hereditary caliphate

It was already discussed that Mu'awiya's rule had lost its nature of caliphate and transformed into monarchism of which nature necessitated the subsequent caliphate or designation to be hereditary. 'Umar himself had by that time likened Mu'awiya's rule in Damascus to those of Kasra and Caesar. When Mu'awiya secured the authority (freelance, people named him "Heraclitus" (۱)

The matter of making caliphate hereditary as well as Mu'awiya's endeavor regarding it are set forth in detail in "Al-Futuh" and "Al-Imama wa as-Siyasa". Others also have referred to it concisely. The ground for the notion of Yazid's succession to throne (could be paved following Imam Hasan Mujtaba's martyrdom (۲)

Despite the fact that there existed no unanimity on who had for the first time suggested this notion, many a look was at Mughira Ibn Shu'ba. In late ۴۰s A.H. Feeling that he might be deposed by Mu'awiya due to his oldness and inability in running Kufa, he set out to Damascus to stimulate Yazid to talk about his did so to his father and he succeeded after all. Mughira also on his part told Mu'awiya that he feared that the recent events, sedition and divergence, in the course of 'Uthman's caliphate might reoccur once again

You had better designate a successor and it would be far better if he were Yazid, "your son" (۳), he added

Admitting his proposal, Mu'awiya delegated Mughira to gradually prepare the ground in Kufa

al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ۲۳۳; vol. V, p. ۱۰۱; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ۵۰۶, such – ۱
governorship was left as inheritance for Muslims' future This approach was exercised

not only for the 'Abbasids and FaTimids in Egypt but also even from the Safawids on in Shi'ites Iran al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ۲۰۹; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۱۷۵; what is narrated in al-Futuh is that 'Amr Ibn 'As had been the stimulator By the some token since 'Amr Ibn 'As had passed away in ۴۳ A H, it cannot be correct al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۱۸۷-۳

(He dispatched a number to Damascus for this reason.)

Beyond any doubt such a notion had been in Mu'awiya's mind for a long time, but Mughira's was a sparkle for making it public. After Ziyad Ibn Abih became the governor of Kufa, Mu'awiya propounded the issue of successorship. Totally negligent of Mu'awiya's intention, he did his utmost by a trick to change Mu'awiya's and even Yazid's mind in this respect.

From ۵۵ on the effort Mu'awiya made to stabilize Yazid's position multiplied. On a trip to Mecca and Medina, religious centers Mu'awiya exerted himself to engross the people through substantial open-handedness. It does surprisingly merit consideration that people seemed gratified, however

The poets such as 'Uqayba al-Asadi and 'Abd Allah Ibn Hammam as-Saluli who hated Yazid composed some verses of poems for reproaching him although Mu'awiya could muzzle them with paying hush-up money.

When he returned to Damascus to keep on his activities, he summoned groups of people from Kufa and Basra. Mu'awiya compelled Dhahhak Ibn Qays to address the congregation and advance the issue of successorship. Consequently, indicting Iraqi people for being hypocritical and schismatic, he denounced them. In the same meeting, Ahnaf Ibn Qays announced, "As long as Hasan Ibn 'Ali is alive, the people of Iraq and Hijaz will neverever swear allegiance

Accusing the Iraqi of hypocrisy, Qays Ibn Dhahhak said, "Hasan and ones like him have nothing to do with divine king whom He has appointed; caliphate is not inherited collaterally from a daughter

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٢٤; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ١٤٥; al-Kamil fil-
Tarikh, vol. III, p. ٥٠٣
Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ٢٢٤,٢٢٥-٢
al-Futuh, vol. IV, pp ٢٢٥,٢٢٦; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ٥٠٨-٣
Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٢٨; al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ٢٣١; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. -٤
I, pp ١٤٤-١٤٩

Mu'awiya's commitments promised to Hasan Ibn 'Ali and referred warningly to Iraqis' loathing for Mu'awiya which might cause the swords to rise up from Iraq. After that, Mu'awiya kept silence about allegiance to Yazid until ٥٠ (Imam Hasan was martyred in [\(٤٩ A.H\).](#)[\(١\)](#)

Mu'awiya appointed Dhahhak Ibn Qays and 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Uthman, advocating Yazid strongly in that very meeting, as the governors of Kufa and Hijaz respectively to [\(pave the way.](#)[\(٢\)](#)

Mu'awiya was of this opinion that from the standpoint of religion the main problem lies in Medina. Were it feasible to persuade Iraq by force, reasoning would definitely [.be required for Medina to get satisfied](#)

Already written to Mu'awiya by Sa'id Ibn 'As was, "...People follow these few individuals therefore as long as the latter have not sworn allegiance, the former [\(would by no means do so."](#)[\(٣\)](#)

Ibn Qutayba had also written that but few, all did hesitate to swear allegiance. Typically they were the Hashimites neither of whom did so.[\(٤\)](#) Before he came, Mu'awiya had sent various letters mingled with either menace or allure to all those [\(opposing allegiance.](#)[\(٥\)](#)

In a session convened on this occasion following Mu'awiya's arrival in Medina,

.opposers voiced their diverse opinions

Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far addressed Mu'awiya as saying, "If you have recourse to Qur'an, Ulu al-Arham (relatives) enjoy priority over one another; if you practice the Prophet's Sunna (tradition), they are the kins of Allah's Apostle (S) ; and if you practice the Sunna of Abu Bakr and 'Umar, who would ever be more deserved than

p: ٥١٥

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp ١٨٧-١٩٤ -١

Ibid, vol. I, p. ١٧١; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. I, p. ١٨٢ -٢

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ١٨٢ -٣

Ibid, vol. I, p. ١٧٧ -٤

Ibid, vol. I, p. ١٧٨, ١٧٩, ١٨٠, ١٨١ -٥

?the Prophet's household

By Almighty Allah, if Wilayat (Islamic jurisprudential guardianship) were lain with them after the Prophet, 'Amr (authority) would have been properly conveyed to the rightful. Caliphate does belong to Quraysh. O Mu'awiya, fear from Allah! Here are 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas, Hasan and Husayn, 'Ali's sons, and it is me, Zubayr's son.⁽¹⁾ You are well aware of our positions!" Warned 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr

Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar stated that caliphate was not those of Heraclitus or Kasra to be inherited from fathers

If it had been the case, I should have as a result secured the authority after my father. This caliphate not only belongs to Quraysh but also to those whom Muslims comply with and are more pious furthermore," he added

Irrespective of securing allegiance for Yazid, in his response, Mu'awiya uttered, "This belongs to 'Abd Manaf's descendants since they are from among the Prophet's kins. People themselves aided Abu Bakr and 'Umar to secure the power. Although they were brought up by no monarch or caliph, they had extremely admirable lifestyles

.and conduct

Monarchism was transferred to 'Abd Manaf after them and it will remain perpetually among them until the Day of Judgment. And you! O sons of Zubayr and 'Umar! Allah [\(has deprived you from this authority.\)](#) Afterwards he returned to Damascus.[\(۲\)](#)

According to some sources, at the very same meeting, somewhere else in his intimidating speech, Mu'awiya had warned that if they did not swear allegiance He would “ كذا وكذا “

p: ۵۱۶

Mentioning the name of Imam Hasan does not seem incorrect because this – ۱ narration refers to the year after his martyrdom al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp ۱۹۴-۱۹۶-۲

[\(do so and so.\)](#)[\(۱\)](#)

Mu'awiya told Imam Husayn (a), “I procrastinated this city's allegiance owing to the fact that they are from among the kins of mine. If I could feel that there existed anyone else better than my son among Muhammad's Umma (nation), I would .neverever let him be picked out

Imam (a) who had been agitated for his remarks, accused Yazid of being debauchee .and drinking wine

Menacingly, Mu'awiya warned him as saying, “Be cautious lest someone from Damascus (accompanying Mu'awiya)[\(۲\)](#) hear your voice.”[\(۳\)](#) Later he threatened .others concerning the people of Damascus.[\(۴\)](#) 'Ayisha was among the opposers

Regarding the lawfulness of Yazid's successorship Mu'awiya told her, “It is a Divine destiny about Yazid. No one has the option. The nation has considered swearing allegiance to him as its duty and has sworn to him. Do you think they must breach [\(their allegiance?\)](#)[\(۵\)](#)

Another reasoning on the part of Mu'awiya vis-a-vis the opponents was the Imamate permit for an inferior over a superior. Addressing Imam Husayn (a) and a number of disciples and contrasting them with Yazid and qualifying him to be well acquainted with Kitab and Sunna, he stated that in the war of Dhat as-Salasil, Allah's Apostle (S) had singled out 'Amr Ibn 'As as superior over Abu Bakr and 'Umar and appointed him .as the commander

Accordingly, if the Prophet (a) were a good model, such an action i.e the superiority permit of an inferior over a superior would certainly appear reasonable then. By the same token, they should

p: 517

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 236-1

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 183; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 508-2

al-Futuh, vol. IV, pp 240, 241-3

Ibid, vol. IV, pp 243, 244; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, Vol I, p. 188-4

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 205-5

[\(concur with Yazid's caliphate.\)](#)

In return, Imam Husayn in his lengthy sermon alluded to the extorted right of his lineage after prophet's demise as well as Yazid's black records and added, “O [\(Mu'awiya! How can you reason out by what is already abrogated.\)](#)

Dissenting 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, Mu'awiya replied, “You have declared yourself that you can never go to bed while swearing allegiance is on your responsibility. This issue is divine destiny about Yazid and there is an option for noone. People have sworn .allegiance to him

Abd Allah touching upon the predecessor's manners pointed out, “The caliphs' preceding you had surely have offsprings. Although theirs must have been for better .than your son, they at no time did what you do about yours

Abd al-Rahman, Abu Bakr's son, recommended this job be assigned to a council.^(۳) What else Mu'awiya in his public speech to dwellers of Medina vocalized was that Allah's Messenger (S) did designate no successor to himself; however, Abu Bakr did and neither did 'Umar behave like him. He assigned it to a six-member council. Inasmuch as neither Abu Bakr did like the Prophet nor 'Umar like Abu Bakr, I am, (therefore, able to do what they had never done both, I do designate my successor.^(۴)

Another question Ibn Zubayr posed was whether it was credible to swear allegiance to him where as his father, Mu'awiya, was alive. He voiced to Mu'awiya that he would be ready to swear allegiance to his son provided that he abdicates himself. If he

p: ۵۱۸

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۲۰۸; later on Sufyaniyya also in order to – ۱ substantiate the legitimacy of Mu'awiya's caliphate and although there existed some having previous record in Islam, had narrated that 'Umar had preferred Abu 'Ubayd Ibn Mas'ud to forty participants of Badr; Rasa'il al-Jahiz, al-Rasa'il As-Siyasiyya, pp

۳۹۱-۳۹۲

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۲۰۹-۲

Ibid, vol. I, p. ۲۱۰; Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, pp ۲۱۳-۲۱۴-۳

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۲۱۲-۴

(swore allegiance to his son while he himself is alive, whom should he abide by?)^(۱)

This problem was solved after a while though it was the starting-point of the process طاعه, at that time. It is quoted from Ibn Zubayr that on the strength of the hadith "No one is entitled to be obeyed while the creator was disobeyed" لمخلوق في معصية الخالق

(he contradicted the allegiance to Yazid.^(۲)

In order Mu'awiya to allure a group of eminent opponents, he sent gifts, nevertheless, (Husayn Ibn 'Ali declined.^(۳)

Being unable to flourish in Medina, he left it for Mecca. He guessed new schemes now. Mu'awiya made those coming from various spots for pilgrimage come together and

.he proclaimed later that a few swore allegiance to him for Yazid privately

A number of people from Damascus with their swords sheathed out yelled out that have to do so openly, but Mu'awiya made them silent. Climbing down the pulpit, he distributed a many present among them and set out for Damascus. Although those .individuals were present at the assembly, they dare not deny

However, later they revealed that it has been naught but a trick and they had never sworn. (٤) Since Mu'awiya had not sent any present to the Hashimites, the 'Abbassids intimidated him. That he would go around Damascus and stimulate people against him. Mu'awiya had to concede and send (٥) but Imam Husayn (a) declined them all (once again. (٦)

A few years later, not merely he himself re-secured allegiance for Yazid but

p: ٥١٩

Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. ٢١٤ –١

Tarikh Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٢٢٨ –٢

Ibid, vol. IV, p. ٢٤٠ –٣

al-Futuh, vol. IV, pp ٢٤٨, ٢٤٩ –٤

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ١٩١; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. ٥١١ –٥

al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ٢٤٥ –٦

he also wrote to the governor of Medina to do so from people. “People are all conforming to these few ones such as Husayn (a), 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Bakr, 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr as well as 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar and not a single one of them can be convinced to swear allegiance to me,” wrote Sa'id Ibn 'As, the governor, to Mu'awiya. (١) The dwellers of Damascus propounded the issue of inheritance and ,admitted it as a principle in caliphate. A poet had composed as follows

فان تأتوا برمله أو بهند نبايعها أميره مؤمنينا

إذا ما مات كسرى قام كسرى نعد ثلاثة متناسقينا

Were Ramla or Hind introduced as the caliph, we would swear allegiance to her as “Amira al-Mu'minin (the Commanderess of the Believers) and if a Kasra passed away [\(and another Kasra replaced him, they would be all three equal at our sight.”](#) [\(۲\)](#)

And also 'Abd Allah Ibn Hammam as-Saluli had composed for Yazid as

تَعَزَّوْا يَا بَنِي حَزْبٍ بَصِيرٍ فَمَنْ هَذَا الَّذِي يَرْجُو الْخُلُودَا

تَلَقَّاهَا يَزِيدٌ عَنْ أَبِيهِ فَخَذَهَا يَا مَعَاوِي عَنْ يَزِيدَا

أَدِيرُوهَا بَنِي حَرْبٍ عَلَيكُمْ وَلَا تَرْمُوا بِهَا الْغُرُضَ الْبَعِيدَا

Soothe yourself with patience. Who does ever expect an eternal life in this world? “Yazid inherited the caliphate from his father and you O Mu'awiya Ibn Yazid assume it from your own father, Yazid. O Harb's sons, do maintain the caliphate amongst [\(yourselves and never relinquish it.”](#) [\(۳\)](#)

What has been observed within the poems belonging to Umayya poets was that they [\(have treated Umayya caliphs as the successors of Allah's Messenger \(S](#)

إن الوليد

p: ۵۲۰

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۲۰۴ –۱

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ۳۷; al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. VI, p. ۸ –۲

al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. ۷۳; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, part ۲, p. ۵; Tabaqat – ۳

Futuh Ash-Shura, p. ۶۲۶; Nasab Quraysh, p. ۱۲۹

وَلِيٌّ عَهْدَ مُحَمَّدٍ كُلِّ الْمَكَارِمِ بِالْمَكَارِمِ يَشْتَرِي

Walid being in the position of Muhammad's successor responds with good), had [\(composed Farazdaq regarding Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik.”](#) [\(۱\)](#)

It has been ignored that this approach was perfectly unknown for the disciple's descendants and what 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar had asserted, “This caliphate is dissimilar

to those of Heraclitus and Khusraw that anyone who departs a son of his replaces
.”him

Abd al-Rahman Ibn Abu Bakr also stated, “We desire to hear not a word about
Roman's tradition according which any Heraclitus passed away, another Heraclitus
substituted him.^(۲) Here, it has been endowed with the narrations from those
following the Divine Books as well in order to forebode the indubitability of Mu'awiya's
and Yazid's caliphate though it does not stand to reason whether such narrations
have solely been manipulated at that time or the Umayya's adherents had fabricated
them later. A typical narration of Ka'b al-Akhbar in light of Mu'awiya's caliphate has
(been subsequent to 'Uthman's assassination.^(۳)

Abd Allah Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'As famed for dealing with the books written by followers of'
the divine Books had conducted a survey of books in Christians' churches in
Damascus before he informed Ibn Zubayr, “In conformity with my research on books,
you will claim caliphate, yet you are not a caliph but Yazid Ibn Mu'awiya is. Also quoted
Mu'awiya and his son are the kings of the holy “ ملك الارض المقدسه معاويه وابنه “
from him is (earth”^(۴)

,In course of such a process, counterfeited hadiths can be traced

p: ۵۲۱

Diwan Farazdaq, vol. I, p. ۳۳۶ –۱

Amali, Abu 'Ali al-Qali, p. ۱۷۵; Tathbit Dala'il al-Nubuwwa, p. ۵۷۵ –۲

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, pp ۲۴–۲۵ –۳

Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. ۲۱۸ –۴

(as an instance, “The Holy Prophet had prophesied Mu'awiya's future caliphate.”^(۱)

All endeavors made on the part of Mu'awiya to stabilize Yazid's position fulfilled whilst
.large numbers of those at odds in Iraq and Hijaz still remained like fire under ashes

It was mentioned that the dwellers of Damascus persisted on Yazid's successorship

and it was in view of the fact that first, Umayya Islam was predominant and the Umayya was deemed as the manifestation of Islam and secondly their benefits in comparison with those of Iraq necessitated to advocate the Umayya. Ultimately, they pressured Mu'awiya, in his last days of life, into introducing his son. Making him wear [the caliphate robe](#), Mu'awiya officially appointed him as his successor. [\(۲\)](#)

In an account written to Yazid, appointing him as the next caliph after him, Mu'awiya wrote, “Bear in mind, the Umayya along with the family of 'Abd Shams must be granted priority over the Hashimites and so must the family of 'Uthman over the family of Abi Turab as well as the descendants” [\(۳\)](#) and in such a way the future policy for the Umayyads was specified by him

While Mu'awiya was expressing his regret and sorrow for shedding the blood of Hujr Ibn 'Adi and 'Amr Ibn Hamiq under his breath, he resigned his shameful life after nineteen years and three months of rule in Rajab, ۶۰ AH

Karbala's Movement

Imam Husayn Before Karbala

Although far too many remarks have been constantly made in light of Imam Husayn's features as yet, purely for luck and good omen, Several of which

p: ۵۲۲

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, pp ۱۶-۱۷ -۱

al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ۲۵۵ -۲

al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ۲۵۷ -۳

.shall be referred too

This magnanimous Imam was born on Sha'ban ۳,۴ A.H. And having been intimately beside the Prophet, his forefather, he could never detach himself from him even at the prayer time. Allah's Messenger, who adored him and his brother exceedingly, could demonstrate a profile of their virtues through his statements to his disciples. In

hadith books many virtues describing Imam Husayn (a) can be detected. Mostly like Hasan and Husayn are both the masters of “الحسن والحسين سيدا شباب أهل الجنة” the hadith of “the youth of Paradise dwellers”.

They are repeatedly narrated by successive generations and considered authentic. The Prophet's extreme affection for these two sons was entirely overt to all disciples. As hinted at concerning with Imam Hasan, the Prophet has been doing his utmost so hard to make the nation conscious of his true attachment to them both that he stated “من أحبني فليحب هذين (١)” “O Allah, adore the one who adores these two” “من أحب الحسن والحسين فقد أحبني، ومن أبغضهما فقد أبغضني (٢)” “The one feeling affectionate for Hasan and Husayn, feel “so for me; nonetheless, the one making them wrathful, has made me too” “الدينا (٣)”. These two are my fragrant flowers from universe”

Among the virtues exclusively narrated about Imam Husayn the most well-known of all is “حسين مني وأنا من حسين (٤)”. Husayn is from me and I am from Husayn”

It has been narrated by Yahya Ibn Salim Mawsili, Imam Husayn's governor, as saying, “As we were walking accompanying Imam, he

p: ٥٢٣

Ibn Sa‘d, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ١٣٥ –١

Ibid p. ١٣٦ –٢

Ibid p. ١٣١ –٣

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ١٣٧; see Fara’id As-Simtayn, a precious reference, –٤ for more information concerning these two Imams Among the recently published books in “Fad’a’il al-khamsa fi Sihah As-Sitta”, Ahl Bayt’s virtues are compiled from Sunnites’ famous books

stopped to knock on a door and ask for water. A bondswoman came out holding a bowl of water. Prior to drinking, he took out a piece of silver and offered it to her and (١) then said, “Give it to your family”. He drank afterwards.

Abu Bakr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hazm has recounted that when Imam Husayn had been

passing by the platform whereon a group of the underprivileged was having food, he
was requested to have a share in

Under no circumstances does Allah love the arrogant”, stated Imam and dismounted“
to eat. Later, Imam told them, “You invited me and I replied in the affirmative. Now I
invite you and I expect you to comply with”. Addressing his wife, Rubab, he demanded
her to provide what she had prepared. (۲)

It is quoted from Imam al-Baqir (a) that for pilgrimage, Imam Husayn inclined
towards moving on foot whereas his horses were all going behind him. (۳)

Attending the wars of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawan, Imam Husayn battled against
those breaching their promise and exerting oppression with his father side by side. A
sermon is narrated from him in Siffin whereby he persuaded people to struggle. (۴)

From the very nitrating stages of Siffin, Imam Husayn had such a determining role in
capturing the route of water from the soldiers of Damascus that after the victorious
It was the ever-first conquest for the“ (هذا اول فتح بركة الحسين ع) result Imam 'Ali asserted
sake of Husayn's blessing.” (۵)

After Imam was called and told by 'Ubayd Ibn

p: ۵۲۴

Ibid Ibn Sa‘d, p. ۱۴۶ –۱

Ibid p. ۱۴۹ –۲

Ibn Sa‘d, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ۱۴۵ –۳

Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXII, p. ۴۰۵ –۴

Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXIV, p. ۲۶۶ –۵

Umar that his father had done such and such to Quraysh, Imam accused him of
abiding by Qasitin (the apostates) and added that these kinds of individuals have
consented to Islam reluctantly but as a matter of fact they are in no way Muslims. (۱)

The one who earnestly and thoroughly upheld Imam Hasan's policy during his

tenure was Imam Husayn (a). In spite of frequent demand by Iraq for Imam's travel to Kufa even after his brother's Martyrdom, His Excellency did never incline and warned that it shall look irrational taking an action as long as Mu'awiya is alive

This utterance denoted that for a ten-year interlude Imam endured Mu'awiya compulsorily. This point can be regarded as of significance in Imam Husayn's political standings although rarely is it taken into account. And the reason might be due to the fact that we notice Imam Husayn merely from the standpoint of his revolutionary action in Karbala

Both the relations between Imam and Mu'awiya and the conversation that they have had under various conditions profoundly manifest Imam's politically unyielding manner in acceding the legitimacy of Mu'awiya's rule. One of the most credible evidence is Imam's lengthy letter to Mu'awiya therein numerous facts about Mu'awiya's atrocity against 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims has been revealed. "Never do I intend to oppose you nor combat you", Imam wrote

:Then he added

وأيم الله لقد تركت وأنا أخاف الله في تركه وما أظن الله راضياً منى بترك محاکمتك اليه ولا عاذرى دون الاعتذار اليه فيك
وفى اولياتك القاسطين الملحدین حزب الظالمين

p: ٥٢٥

al-Futuh, vol. III, p. ٣٥ – ١

وأولياء الشياطين... أولست قاتل حजर بن عدى وأصحابه المصلين العابدين الذين ينكرون الظلم ويستعظمون البدع ولا يخافون لومه لائم، ظلماً وعدواناً بعد اعطائهم الأمان بالمواثيق والايامن المغلظه، أو لست قاتل عمرو بن الحمق الخزاعي، صاحب رسول الله الذى أبلته العباده وصفرت لونه وانحلت جسمه،... أو لست المدعى زياد بن سمييه المولود على فراش عبيد عبد ثقيف وزعمت أنه ابن أبيك وقد قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم، الولد للفراش وللعاهر الحجر، فتركت سنه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم وخالفت أمره متعمداً واتبعت هواك مكذباً بغير هدى من الله، ثم سلطه على العراقيين فقطع أيدي المسلمين وسمل أعينهم وصلبهم على جذوع النخل،

أولست صاحب الحضرميين الذى كتب اليك ابن سمييه أنهم على دين على، فكتبت اليه، اقتل من كان على دين على ورأيه،

فقتلتهم ومثل بهم بأمرك؛ ودين علي، دين محمد صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم الذي كان يضرب عليه أباك والذي انتحالك إياه اجلسك مجلسك هذا ولولا هموا ١٩٨١ كان أفضل شرفك تجشم الرحلتين في طلب الخمر... فلا أعلم لِنفسي وديني أفضل من جهادك، فان أفعله فهو قربه الى ربي وان أتركه فذنب أستغفر الله منه في كثير من تقصيري... فابشر يا معاويه بالقصاص وأيقن بالحساب واعلم أنّ الله كتاب لا يغادر صغيره ولا كبيره الا أحصاها وليس الله بناس لك أخذك بالظنه وقتلك أوليائه على الشبهه والتهمه للناس بالبيعه لابنك غلام سفه يشرب الشراب ويلعب بالكلاب ولا أعلمك الا قد خسرت نفسك وأوبقت دينك وأكلت أمانتك وغششت رعيته وتبوات مقعدك النار فبعداً لقوم الظالمين

By Almighty Allah, I relinquished combating against you meanwhile I have fear of
Him. I surmise not that

p: ٥٢٦

Allah would be gratified with me unless I allow Him to adjudicate about you the atheist and ruthless party as well as the devils' supporters. Were you not the one who slayed Hujr Ibn 'Adi and his followers brutally, those who struggled in a bid to abolish oppression and oppose the heresy while dreading no jeopardy? But then with recourse to swearing oaths, you gave them a quarter

Were you not the assassin of 'Amr Ibn Hamiq Khuza'i, he who was among the Prophet's disciples and whose too much worshipping had emanciated and enfeebled his physique and transformed his expression...? Were you not the one who claimed brotherhood with Ziyad Ibn Sumayya, a newborn whose begetter was 'Ubayd 'Abd Thaqif where as you declared that he was your father's son? It was while the Holy Prophet had affirmed that the newborn belongs to the one who does beget it and it is requisite that the adulterer be stoned to death

Deliberately, you ignored the Prophet's Sunna and disobeyed him and with no divine guidance you still sought after your carnal desire. Heedless of the fact that Ziyad cut out Muslims' hands, blinded them and hung them from the palm trees, you gave him predominance in Kufa and Basra. Did you not slay those two from Had'ram, attributed to Had'r Mawt, those about whom Ziyad wrote to you that the, two, believed in 'Ali's religion and you responded that anyone being of the same religion and belief as 'Ali ought to

?be slaughtered

As a result, he did slay and mutilate them at your behest. It's the fact other than this that 'Ali's religion is in every respect Muhammad's, the one against whom our father battled? And this religion was what thereby you won this position and if it were not of existence, your only virtue would be merely the tolerance of difficulties during the ...summer and winter trips seeking for intoxicating drink

I deem naught more momentous than Jihad against you for myself and my religion. I shall draw nearer to my Lord if I do accomplish it but I should ask Him for forgiveness ... for my neglect and error unless I did accomplish it

O Mu'awiya! I give you glad tidings of retaliation for Hujr's murder! Never doubt and be informed that there exists a book for Allah wherein any sin whether minor or major .is accurately recorded

Yes, never ever will Allah fail to remember you for all those whom you have cynically arrested and skeptically slayed; for all those whom you compelled to swear allegiance .to your insane, wine drinker and dog-fancying son

What I can say is that you let yourself sustain losses, rendered your religion futile, abused what has been left in your custody, deceived your peasant and consequently you fill you grave with fire to overflowing. May Allah keep the oppressors away from

(١) "US!"

وما ,Elsewhere, Baladhuri has brought the letter in brief having an additional sentence

أعلم فتنه أعظم من ولايتك هذه الامه

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp ١٥٤-١٥٥, footnote; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢٢٤; al-Imamah - ١ wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ١٨٠-١٨١; al-Ihtijaj, vol. II, p. ٢٠; pp ٤٨,٤٩; al-Darajat l-rafi'a, p. ٤٣٤; Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, vol. II, p. ١٢١; a part of the letter in al-Muhabbar, p. ٤٧٩

therein the names of the two from Had'ram whose martyrdom was mentioned by Imam are referred to as Muslim Ibn Zaymur and 'Abd Allah Ibn Nuja

[\(I know of no sedition being more dreadful than your rule over this nation.\)](#) [\(1\)](#) “

Later, no sooner had Mu'awiya faced Imam Husayn than he inquired, “Have you heard what we did for Hujr, his followers and your father's Shi'ite Muslims .What?” asked Imam“

We murdered them, Mu'awiya replied, wrapped them in shroud, performed prayers .for them and interred them

Imam stated in return, “Neither would we wrap them in shroud, perform prayers for [\(them, nor bury them, if we killed your followers.\)](#) [\(2\)](#)

By the same token, Mu'awiya resorted to any means to suppress the opponents. He even put the holiest figures to the test through alluring. In this way, once he had strived to silence Abu Dharr in Damascus. Here, we demonstrate an amazing example about Mu'awiya's policy toward Imam Husayn (a), the policy that Mu'awiya had .adopted to relieve Imam's wrath about the Umayyad by sending presents

Narrated by Asma'i is that a gorgeous bondswoman was brought for Mu'awiya. When he questioned her price, he was told “\ . . . , . . . dhms”. Mu'awiya purchased her. Taking a .look at 'Amr Ibn 'As, he asked who deserved that woman

.”Amr and all those present said, “ Amir al-Mu'minin does'

No”, Mu'awiya contradicted, “She is solely appropriate for Husayn Ibn 'Ali.” “For his family dignity, he deserves her the most”, he added. “It can remove the indignation stemmed from the contention between his father and I.” He commanded that they .dispatch her to Imam as a gift

Making her ready for a journey after forty days, they sent her along with

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, Ibn 'Asakir, p. ١٩٨ -١
al-Darajat al-Rafi'a, p. ٤٢٩; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp ٢٣١-٢٣٢ -٢

a great deal of goods, clothes and so forth. In a letter, Mu'awiya wrote to Imam that Amir al-Mu'minin purchased a bondswoman and although he loved her, he granted her to him generously. After the bondswoman was brought in, upon seeing her, Imam .who was astonished at her charm, inquired what her name was

.Hawa (passion)", she responded"

"?Imam stated, "How becoming is the name to you! Can you read anything

.Yes, I can, she replied, both Qur'an and poem

,Imam demanded that she recite Qur'an. She prefaced

وَعِنْدَهُ مَفَاتِيحُ الْغَيْبِ لَا يَعْلَمُهَا إِلَّا هُوَ...

All means for discovering the hidden things are with Allah and no one else knows"
"...them but He

Being requested by Imam to read poems if she knew, the bondswoman asked "Am I
"?immune enough

.Certainly", Imam answered"

,The woman read

أنت نعم المتاع لو كنت تبقى غير أن لا بقاء للإنسان

What a precious property you would be if you survived, what a pity no one will"
".survive

In regard with the content of the poem, Imam burst into tears and said, "Not only are
".you liberated, but also all sent goods are yours

.Have you composed anything concerning Mu'awiya?" he asked"

„Sure, I have,” She responded“

رأيت الفتى يمضى ويجمع جهده رجاء الغنى والوارثون قعود

وما للفتى الا نصيب من التقى اذا فارق الدنيا عليه يعود

I saw a youth passing by and dreaming about riches while his heirs were waiting in“
an ambush. There is no one higher for a youth but piety, for when passing away it
”.would give him a hand

Imam, ordering to offer her ١٠٠٠

p: ٥٣٠

,dhms as well, stated that his father had also composed regarding it

و من يطلب الدنيا لحال تسره فسوف لعمرى عن قليل يلومها

اذا أدبرت كانت على المرء فتنه وان اقبلت كانت قليلا دوامها

Anyone, who seeks after this world to make him cheerful for a moment, by myself,“
he will regret presently; when he turns back on it, he faces problem and when he
”.turns toward it, it will be transient

(١)Afterwards, Imam wept and stood up to pray.

Earlier when discussing the issue of making caliphate hereditary, we elucidated
Imam's stance against Mu'awiya's measures. Imam was one of the most notable
opponents at that juncture who spared no effort for expressing his opposition in this
.respect

Throughout the years when Imam Husayn and his brother were in Medina, Marwan
was the governor of the city whose abomination and abusiveness was proverbial and
(a) searched for an occasion to slander and insult Imam 'Ali

Abu Yahya has recounted, “I was present while Marwan and Imam Husayn were
wrangling. Imam Hasan (a) could cease his brother but Marwan kept on so

courteously that he said “You, Ahl al-Bayt, are all cursed.” This utterance was the manifestation of Marwan's innate and deep-rooted malice. Upon hearing, Imam Allah had cursed your father “ **والله لقد لعن الله أبائك على لسان نبيه وأنت في صلبه** “ [\(with the tongue of His Messenger where as you were still in his loins.\)](#) [\(۲\)](#)

[\(Accordingly, in this way came Marwan's vengeance towards the Prophet \(S](#)

Once Mu'awiya did his best to persuade

p: ۵۳۱

Tarikh Madinat Dimashq, Tarajim al-Nisa', pp ۴۶۹-۴۷۰ -۱

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, Ibn Sa'd, pp ۱۴۵-۱۴۶ -۲

the daughter of 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far Ibn Abi Talib to marry his son, Yazid. When 'Abd Do you “ **أتزوجه وسيوفهم تقطر من دمائنا؟** “ Allah consulted Imam Husayn (a), Imam advised “?intend to offer your daughter to the one down whose swords our blood drips

[\(Convince her to marry your nephew, Qasim Ibn Muhammad”](#) [\(۱\)](#)“

In compliance with another narration, Mu'awiya's intention for this action was creating reconciliation between the Umayya and the Hashimites in other words, [\(making the Hashimites surrender to the Umayya.](#) [\(۲\)](#)

Imam Husayn's Opposition to Yazid's Caliphate

As preplanned, Yazid became the caliph subsequent to Mu'awiya's death in Rajab, ۶۰ A.H. No sooner had this news spread through Medina than Yazid exerted himself to secure allegiance from all those opponents whose opposition might wage a revolt [\(against him.](#) [\(۳\)](#)

Writing a letter to Walid Ibn 'Utba Ibn Abi Sufyan, governor of Medina, Yazid urged him to secure allegiance from 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr and Husayn Ibn 'Ali (a). Marwan also commanded that Walid dispatch the soldiers to them at that very night and if they defied, they should decapitate them all on the spot in view of the fact that night

[\(seemed an opportunity to suffice to revolt and summon people.](#) [\(4\)](#)

Imam Husayn who was informed of Mu'awiya's death through the message-bearer of the governor of Medina, proceeded to the palace accompanied by a number of followers armed to guard Imam against any probable menace. Being asked by Walid to swear allegiance to Yazid, Imam stated that such a figure like him ought not to swear privately but

p: ٥٣٢

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, Ibn Sa'd, p. ١٤٩ - ١

Ibid p. ١٥٠ - ٢

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢٢٧ - ٣

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١١ - ٤

.openly in a mosque

Walid concurred, but Marwan made an attempt threateningly to provoke him into ,arresting Imam. Imam, furious with Marwan, addressed Walid as saying

أيها الامير! انا اهل بيت النبوه ومعدن الرساله ومختلف الملائكه ومحط الرحمه وبنا فتح الله وبنا ختم ويزيد رجل فاسق شارب خمر، قاتل النفس المحرمه معلن بالفسق ومثلى لا يبايع مثله “

O emir! We, Holy Prophet's household, are the mine of Prophetic mission, angels' companions and the fountain of mercy. Allah has commenced with us and so will He terminate with us. By no means will I swear allegiance to Yazid who is libertine, wine-drinker, murderer of the venerated and the one debauching in public

It was at the same session where Imam affirmed in reaction to Marwan's insistence in securing allegiance, “The knell of Islam will be rung if Yazid is supposed to secure Vindicating through the verse of Tathir (purification), he ,وعلى الاسلام السلام. the power commented on Ahl al-Bayt's meritedness in obtaining the caliphate. [\(1\)](#) This vindication .was what had been narrated by Imam 'Ali(a) and Imam Hasan (a) as well

At the same night, Ibn Zubayr departed from Medina and was pursued by the

governmental guards next day. Next night Imam Husayn did so^(۲) in a trip along with all Ahl al-Bayt and the only one remained in Medina was Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya.^(۳) .It is told that the date of departure was Sha'ban ۳, ۶۰ A.H. concurrent with his birthday

When Imam stepped into Mecca, the residents became quite delighted and even Ibn Zubayr who

p: ۵۳۳

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ۱۷-۱

Dinwari, p. ۲۲۸-۲

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ۱۶; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۱۵-۳

was a leader himself took part in Imam's congregational prayers and hadith sessions.^(۱) Since Mecca was assumed a religious base for Islam, it was naturally the center of attentions where Imam was in touch with various distinguished and ordinary individuals and interpreted the reasons of not swearing allegiance to Yazid

Looking forward to experiencing such a day for quite a long, the Shi'ite Muslims of Kufa became elated by hearing Imam's resistance against Yazid and his arrival in Mecca. They had already condoled Imam Husayn on Imam Hasan's martyrdom in a letter and invited him; nevertheless, Imam had refused

In the held meeting, such Shi'ites leaders as Sulayman Ibn Surad, and the others made speeches and propounded Imam's invitation to Iraq. Despite the agreement all announced, Sulayman stressed all to undertake and not to violate; they renounced their commitment.^(۲) And then a joint letter was written by a few regarded as Shi'ites leaders such as Sulayman, Musayyib Ibn Najba, Habib Ibn Mazahir, Rufa'a Ibn Shaddad as well as 'Abd Allah Ibn Wal inviting Imam to come to Kufa.^(۳)

Their letter remained unanswered on Imam's part. After a while, other letters were consecutively sent and above all Qays Ibn Musahhar Saydawi, 'Abd Allah Ibn Wal and several others personally travelled to Mecca

On account of the additional letters received by Imam one after another the status quo modified in such a way that it was something beyond the bounds of possibility for Imam to pay no heed to the inviters.^(۴) When Hani Ibn

p: ۵۳۴

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ۳۷ –۱
Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۲۶۰-۲۶۱; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ۴۶ This emphasis was because –۲
they were infamous for not supporting ‘Ali and his son, Hasan
The letter is fully read in al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ۲۰ –۳
al-Futuh, vol. V, pp ۴۹,۵۰ –۴

Hani went to Mecca, he reported people's presence in general and the distinguished's readiness in particular and it managed to be a confirmation and emphasis on letter's contents.

Dispatching Muslim to Kufa

The first action Imam took was dispatching Muslim to Kufa. Imam addressed him as saying,

وان رأيت الناس مجتمعين على بيعتي فالعجل لي بالخبر حتى أعمل على حسب ذلك

Notify me swiftly to adopt a measure in case you perceived that the people are“
“ (totally willing to swear allegiance to me.” ^(۱)

Muslim, around ۴۰, was singled out from among Ahl al-Bayt for this vital mission. As stated by historians, en route to Medina and then to Iraq from Mecca, Muslim lost his way and one of or both couriers conducting him breathed their last. He, in a letter, ^(۲)asked permission to return but Imam's response was to accomplish his mission.

Muslim entered Kufa and resided in Mukhtar's house, being renowned among Shi'ite Muslims. He commenced to secure allegiance. Summoning to Divine Book, Prophet's Sunna, Jihad against the oppressors, defending the oppressed, aiding the needy, fair distribution of Bayt al-Mal (public treasury) among Muslims, backing prophet's

household, compromising the one whom they compromise, battling the one against whom they battle, abiding by Ahl al-Bayt's word and action and not practicing the [contrary](#), were all among the stipulated conditions of allegiance. [\(۲\)](#)

In an interval of thirty five days after Muslim's arrival, Shawwal ۵, ۶۰, nearly ۱۸.۰۰۰ people swore allegiance to him. In addition to Shi'ite Muslims, ordinary people were among them too, as an example Muhammad Ibn Bashir

p: ۵۳۵

Ibid vol. V, p. ۵۳ – ۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۶۳–۲۶۴ Some researchers deny such events Mab'uth al- ۲ – Husayn, p. ۹۰

Ash-Shahid Muslim, p. ۱۰۴; these sentences are not in historical books but – ۳ Muqarram by availing Himself of narrations related to allegiance of 'Aqaba and Yawm al-fath has referred approximately to them

said, “I'd like Allah to assist my friends although I do never like to be killed, nor do I like to lie”. The gap formed succeeding Mu'awiya's death among the Umayya opponents in Iraq was filled by Muslim's arrival. All surrounded Muslim. While the might of government had mitigated, Muslim could openly visit people more easily than before

The Umayya's spies who were discontented with the status of Nu'man Ibn Bashir, in a letter wrote to Yazid that the more he required Kufa, the sooner he should adopt a measure. [\(۱\)](#) Muslim also was engaged in recruiting forces and preparing military weapons. About Abu Thumama Sa'idi it is narrated his full acquaintance with weapons was concerned, he was delegated to purchase [them.](#) [\(۲\)](#)

Later on, Ibn Ziyad had accused Hani, “Your house has been a refuge for Muslim's [followers and a cache for the weapons.](#) [\(۳\)](#)

Yazid appointed Ibn Ziyad as the governor of Kufa while he was the governor in Basra as well. According to historians, in a will given to his servant to transfer to Yazid later,

[\(Mu'awiya had appointed Ibn Ziyad to confront any probable riot in Iraq.](#)

Having executed Husayn Ibn 'Ali's message-carrier in Basra, Ibn Ziyad set out for Kufa to suppress the insurgents through harshness he had inherited from his father

The most practical and efficient tool resorted by Ibn Ziyad for suppression of the Iraqi was nothing save threat. Since the inception, he summoned the distinguished of the city and ordered

p: ۵۳۶

al-Futuh, vol. V, pp ۵۹,۶۰ -۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۷۱ -۲

Ibid vol. IV, p. ۲۷۳; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ۲۸ -۳

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۶۵; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ۲۱ -۴

that they are duty-bound to introduce the aliens and those whose arrest is pleasant for Yazid, Kharijites and all those willing to create disunion and conflict and also register their names. And if one did not carry out his own responsibility, any mischief done by aforgoing persons would be upon his conscience and the ruler would on no accounts protect him. In that sense, shedding his blood and confiscating his [\(possessions would be presumed lawful.](#)

The pressures from the side of Ibn Ziyad propelled Muslim to change his residence and act in secrecy. The new place was Hani Ibn 'Urwa's house, one of the chiefs of the tribe of Madhhij and it seemed to be more secure. Ibn Ziyad was searching for him confusedly. Appointing a spy to claim amity with Ahl al-Bayt, he could locate his whereabouts. Ibn Ziyad apprehended Hani first and urged him to hand over Muslim. At the same time, those belonging to the tribe of Madhhij rose up. But Shurayh Qad'i treacherously assured them that Hani was alive and Ibn Ziyad's guest; therefore, he [\(could dispel them.](#)

Muslim took an action and demanded a few numbers that they summon their friends by chanting the slogan of "O the helper of nation" which was one of the slogans of the

Prophet at the time of wars. While making a sermon in the mosque, Ibn Ziyad heard
.the voices

He who crawled into the palace, concealed himself behind all the locked portals.
Muslim's army besieged the edifice but by

p: ٥٣٧

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٤٧; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, pp ٢٤, ٢٥ –١
Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p. ٢٤٢ Later on Shurayh had said, “As Ibn Ziyad had appointed –٢
an agent to watch me, I scared to give Hani’s message to the members of the tribe
” that he was under duress

reason of something indefinite the back portal remained unbesieged through which
the distinguished of Kufa were regularly in touch with Ibn Ziyad. That door was known
as “Bab al-Rumiyyin”. The throng accompanying Muslim was such a countless number
(at first that it could terrify Ibn Ziyad and his people and confine them in the palace. (١)

Incited by Ibn Ziyad, the distinguished of Kufa began menacing. “Tomorrow, an army
will arrive from Damascus and will do such and such,” they warned people. (٢) Another
group made the members of their own tribes secede from among Muslim's followers,
“Going after their husbands and children, the women said preventively
Others are present.” (٣) “They will fill the gap of your absence.” After a couple of hours
Only did thirty people participate in his (٤) many dispersed, (٤) وصلى المغرب وما معه الا ثلاثون رجلاً “
:congregational evening prayer.” Afterwards they also dispelled

Ibn Ziyad, daring not to exit from terror, commanded to check inside the mosque
which was joined to the edifice from the roof to see whether someone was there or
not. With throwing down a torch, they made sure that no one was there; therefore,
they commenced searching for Muslim in the city. Ibn Ziyad had commanded to
(inspect all the houses in Kufa door to door and arrest Muslim. (٥)

Ultimately he was traced and after a short clash he was taken to Ibn Ziyad
يا شاق! خرجت
”,Have you come from your Imam's side “ على امامك وشقت عصا المسلمين

al-Kmail fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ۳۱ –۱

al-Irshad, p. ۲۱۰, Around ۴۰۰۰ people is reported –۲

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۷۷; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ۸۷; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ۳۱ –۳

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۲۷ –۴

al-Irshad, p. ۲۱۲ –۵

?inquired Ibn Ziyad, to remove Muslims' union

Muslim replied that he in no way recognized not only Mu'awiya's caliphate but also beyond any question his son's as legitimate because he oppressively usurped the caliphate from Prophet's successor.(۱)

The inhabitants of this city are all of this belief that your father has shed the blood of“ their kins and misbehaved like Caesar and Kasra”, he added, “we have come to establish justice and summon people to Allah's and the Prophet's decrees.”(۲)

In order to mar Muslim's reputation among people and to put his deception in practice, Ibn Ziyad said, “In Medina, you have been drinking

Sedately, Muslim asserted, “Someone like you for whom slaying innocent people is insignificant will be superior to me if I drink”.(۳)

Muslim whose whole perturbation was for the sake of Imam Husayn (a), called 'Umar Ibn Sa'd being from Quraysh and claiming to be Muslim's relative to make his will. What he recommended him was, first, to dispatch one to Husayn and hinder him from coming to Kufa; secondly, to wrap his corpse in a shroud and bury him and thirdly, by selling his sword and other belongings, to pay for his debts. Then Muslim was martyred

Although beyond any doubt Muslim was a chaste and pious man, Imam Husayn's confidence in him, on one hand, and his debt in Kufa, on the other hand, proves the point. He did never ask someone for a loan(۴) and all this time with ۷۰۰ dhms he had

Al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ۹۸ –۱

Ibid vol. IV, p. ۳۵ –۲

al-Futuh, vol. V, pp ۹۸,۹۹; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۸۳ –۳

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ۵۷; Maqtal al-Husayn, vol. I, p. ۱۹۷; Mab'uth al-Husayn, p. ۱۲۳ –۴

the threshold of his martyrdom he was determined to sell his belongings for clearing
.his debt

Another point in his characteristic was that once the ground was prepared for Muslim to kill Ibn Ziyad but he did not. After Ibn Ziyad had gone to Kufa with Sharik Ibn A'war, a Shi'ites in Basra, Sharik became sick and had to rest in Hani Ibn 'Urwa's house who was one of the Shi'ite Muslims as well. Ibn Ziyad was set to visit Sharik while Muslim
.was concealed there

Prior to his arrival, Sharik proposed Muslim to take this golden opportunity and attack Ibn Ziyad after a special cue, which was reading verses of poem. Never did Muslim do so however. Being reproved by Sharik after Ibn Ziyad left, Muslim stated that Hani did not feel like Ibn Ziyad to be murdered in his house. Also, he referred to a hadith from
(Such a murder is not confirmed in Islam at all.”[\(۱\)](#) “الایمان قید الفتک ,the Prophet that

The firstly abovementioned point can not be that acceptable about Hani unless presumably he might have been dreading that with arrival of the dwellers of Damascus later his life might be wholly lost. And about the second one, even though Muslim had reasoned through that hadith, now it merits consideration due to the fact that killing Ibn Ziyad who was a corrupt and criminal man at that moment could
.change the future of Iraq and Karbala effectively

The Holy Prophet (S) himself in Medina had

delegated a group to go to Mecca and kill Ka'b Ibn Ashraf and Abu 'Afak were both killed in the same manner. Killing not Ibn Ziyad had a political motivation, some pointed out. And people would have gone from Damascus to Kufa, afterwards, for [\(taking vengeance and plundering it.\)](#)

It should not remain untold that they would go there whether Imam Husayn was victorious or not and it had no relevance to Ibn Ziyad's assassination. And later in the process of besieging his palace, why people left Muslim alone simply was never disclosed. Should this accident be blamed on the people of Kufa only or was it because ?the leader of the movement could not persuade the people to remain

How Muslim's whereabouts was located is very interesting. In order to locate Muslim's hiding place, Ibn Ziyad had paid one of his servants. The servant who went to the mosque was looking for him according to the criteria he had heard about the Shi'ite Muslims. A person, performing prayers continuously, drew his attention Since the Shi'ite Muslims pray innumerably I guess that “ الشيعة يكثرون الصلاة وأحسب هذا منهم ” .ان هولاء .man is a Shi'ites” [\(٢\)](#) he said to himself

The man was Muslim Ibn 'Awsaja. After several testings, he could not detect his dastardly plot and while deceived took him to Muslim. The utterance evidently .manifests that Shi'ite Muslims have been famed for asceticism and worship

Imam's Movement Towards Iraq

As Imam's official representative had verified the readiness of Kufa, there was no longer enough time

p: ٥٤١

Mab'uth al-Husayn, pp ١٥٢, ١٥٣ -١

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢٤٩ -٢

for a moment's hesitation. With regard to the letters received as well as Muslim's

letter the scene was beyond question set for rising against the Umayya; therefore, Imam hastened in such a way that on 12th Dhil-Hajja and exactly in thick of Hajj (pilgrimage) he changed "Umra Tamattu" (a kind of Hajj) into "Umra Mufrada" (another kind of Hajj) and then set out to Iraq

Wasting a moment could influence the status quo in Iraq. Furthermore, in view of the fact that Imam's assassination was probable in Mecca, his stay looked by no means proper. Reportedly, Imam's fellow-travelers were 10 people; nonetheless, they are to be more suggested by some other narrations. The number might denote only those accompanying Imam as far as Karbala

En route, Imam's first encounter was with a caravan moving from Yemen to Damascus. What it was transporting were presents for Yazid's court. Intercepting the caravan, Imam appealed to them for joining him if willing; otherwise, they ought to return.⁽¹⁾ Imam from Na'im, the area where he encountered the caravan, proceeded to as-Safah and it was where he met Farazdaq, a young poet at that time. After Imam The "asked him about the conditions in Kufa, he responded "people's hearts are with you whereas their swords are drawn at you too

When he arrived at Batn al-Ramma in a letter while touching upon Muslim's letter informed the people of Kufa to prepare for his entry.⁽²⁾ Qays Ibn Musahhar who had

p: 542

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 164; Akhbar al-Tiwal, 245; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp - 1

289-290

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 245 - 2

become responsible for taking the letter on his way to Kufa encountered Husayn Ibn Numayr's army and was arrested. Eating the letter on the spot, Qay was then martyred by Ibn Ziyad

In another area, called Zadud, Imam saw Zuhayr Ibn Qayn. As soon as he heard of Imam's invitation and with his wife's persuasion he became one of Imam's close

followers though he was an 'Uthmanid. He later asked his friends if they had enthusiasm for martyrdom they could join him; otherwise, they could take their way [\(1\)](#) to Mecca.

It was Dhat 'Irq where Imam Husayn (a) informed of both Hani's and Muslim's martyrdom in a message given by a man from Banu Asad. [\(2\)](#) As quoted, Imam came to a decision to return but Muslim's brothers impeded. Never does it seem that Muslim's brothers either intended or were capable of compelling Imam to go on to Kufa if he were reluctant. Owing to the fact that in order to stimulate Imam to go, some had said “ والله ما أنت مثل مسلم بن عقيل ولو قدمت الكوفة لكان الناس اليك أسرع “ You are not [\(3\)](#) Muslim, upon stepping into Kufa all will unite behind you at speed.”

Imam was still decisive. The message Muslim had left to 'Umar Ibn Sa'd prior to his martyrdom and had pleaded to him for transferring it to Imam was received in Zabala. [\(4\)](#) No sooner had the time elapsed than the martyrdom news of Qays Ibn Musahhar [\(5\)](#) and 'Abd Allah Ibn Yaqtur, Imam's foster-brother spread

What these reports could

p: ٥٤٣

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢٤٧ -١

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٢٠ -٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٣٠٠ -٣

The message was that Imam Husayn should return to Hijaz as soon as possible -٤

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢٤٧, ٢٤٨ -٥

indicate was that everything has changed in Kufa and the present status was utterly distinct from that of the past reported by Muslim. At this very moment, Imam brought together all accompanying him and addressed them “ ايها الناس قد خذلتنا شيعتنا فمن أراد منكم الانصراف فليصرف “ O people, our Shi'ite Muslims left us alone. Anyone willing to return can [\(1\)](#) return.”

A number of people who had joined Imam halfway went back and the only ones

remained were Imam's special friends.^(۲) They were those who not only were with Imam from Mecca,^{۲۳۱} but also before that from Medina.^(۳) Nevertheless, those detaching from him were Arabs who had imagined that they would enter a town with Imam therein all were his followers.^{۲۳۱} When the reality was revealed, they returned .without hesitation

After this stage, Imam kept on moving again. Here, it had become fully explicit for Imam that going to Kufa was under no circumstances rational according to political evaluations; however, there existed an issue that, beyond politics, should differently be taken into account. Imam proceeded to Sharat where he made an overnight stay. He was moving next day that Ibn Ziyad's army led by Hurr Ibn Yazid Riyahi appeared .from the distance and blocked Imam's way

The People of Kufa and Karbala Event

Here, it would seem convenient if we analyze the position taken by the people of Kufa .towards the event of Karbala

Among the historical sources as well as common people, the dwellers of Kufa have been introduced infamous and treacherous. What has been described concerning them was

p: ۵۴۴

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ۱۶۹ –۱

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۴۸ –۲

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ۳۰۰, ۳۰۱ –۳

that being faithful to promises was invisible amongst them. While enumerating a few features of the people of Kufa, we referred to their rashness and it could invariably be to the detriment of them and their rulers at the time of decision-making. To be easily resented and easily persuaded, from one hand, and simply surrendering and disobeying, from the other hand, were all a profile of their split personalities.^(۱) Here, .let's consider their standing

The population in Kufa included those from various tribes each of which enjoyed different arrangements during the different rulers' terms. The expediency the rulers regarded accounted for the variety in the classifications of tribes. Yet, the rulers mostly made allowances for the chiefs or the distinguished of the tribes bearing the .fact in mind that in some situations their might was far more than that of governors

Merely a part of the population was formed by Shi'ite Muslims. Although a number of tribes were famous for Shi'ism, hardly ever could they be deemed to be first class Shi'ites tribes. They who were dispersed among the tribes had no unity. Since in addition to tribal morale they had a certain kind of Kufiyan morale; as a result, no .discrepancy was conspicuous between them and others

The count of Shi'ite Muslims was not considerable at all then. Reportedly, when in the mosque, Hujr Ibn 'Adi dissented Ziyad's remarks only a half or a third was concordant.

With reference to Shi'istic morale of the town and assuring that the beliefs of a

p: ۵۴۵

See, Acquaintance with the people of Kufa at the beginning of discussion about – ۱
Imam Hasan's Caliphate

number of people were based on a kind of political Shi'ism according to which they only assented to join 'Ali's descendants relatively in political issues, the Shi'ites .process of the town consisted of at least a fourth of the total population

No one doubts that Kufa had invited Imam Husayn but did not assist him and later conducted his murder. Notwithstanding, it ought to be perceived who they have been, who had written the letters and how many from Kufa participated in the battle against Imam. It is also worth mentioning that, later on, Kufa turned into a hub for 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims and even reacted against Banu 'Abbas who usurped the sovereignty of 'Ali's .descendants

Aside from the historians and hadith-narrators affiliated to the Umayya who loathed the people of Kufa, those of Banu 'Abbas had the same feeling. The oppressedness of

the Shi'ite Muslims was not only political but also cultural. With the cultural sovereignty of Banu 'Abbas such a thing appeared thoroughly natural. Accordingly, much attention should be paid to the fact that the trend of narrating the events is observed through a pair of spectacles the color of which is as dark as disgusting Kufa .for the sake of its Shi'ism

Taking the aforesaid point into consideration, it should also be noted that such historians are all doing their utmost to prove that Shi'ite Muslims are unfaithful to the promises; in other words, Shi'ism foes are determined to attribute the advocating not .of Kufa to Shi'ite Muslims

On

p: ۵۴۶

the contrary, the elaboration below will somewhat indicate that, at that time, only a minority of people remained Shi'ites and they were in a position that they could not defend Imam Husayn (a) although they would if they sacrificed devotedly. This .utterance is what we present proofs for, in brief

Visualizing the status quo of Kufa, it could be as to say that Yazid was a man who seemed, although tolerable for Damascus, he was extremely intolerable for Iraq. As soon as he secured the power, Shi'ite Muslims in Kufa began protesting. Since many in Kufa found no appropriate substitute for Yazid and while affected by the public atmosphere, they elected Husayn Ibn 'Ali (a). Besides, Iraq was normally unwilling to .concede the domination of Damascus

When the invitation was made on the part of Shi'ite Muslims, not simply did the common people, having special morale, expressed their advocacy, but also those who either assumed their positions in peril or were influenced by others, announced their support behind Husayn Ibn 'Ali (a).[\(۱\)](#) It resulted in an artificial but public atmosphere of support for him. The Umayya was also incapable of filling the political gap created subsequent to Mu'awiya's demise for a while. This atmosphere was continuously expanding and particularly, as a result of Nu'man Ibn Bashir's governorship, who was

.no strict at all, prevailed as long as Ibn Ziyad entered Kufa

By taking a glance at a hadith by Imam Husayn, a further likelihood about the invitation on the part of the

p: ۵۴۷

Men such as ‘Amr Ibn Hajjaj and Shabath Ibn Rib‘i who were commanders of Ibn Ziyad’s army in Karbala were among those writing letters to Imam Husayn See al-Futuh, vol. V, pp ۵۰-۵۱

distinguished may be regarded that they intentionally added fuel to the flames to take Imam to Iraq and martyr him. The hadith was as follows
الى ابن معاوية “ (۱) ”. They wrote nothing but for trickery and keeping closer to Ibn Mu'awiya. وما كانت كتب الى الا مكيدته لي وتقرباً

Anyhow, the atmosphere was prepared so positively that upon realizing it, Muslim felt that Imam should set out to Kufa as soon as possible

Kufa Under the Pressure of Ibn Ziyad

Scarcely ever can a person be at variance or rebel while the ruling system is of domineering and audacious dictatorship. When Nu'man Ibn Bashir, compassionate somehow, was the governor of Kufa, people dared reveal their Shi'ism without constraint and when Muslim entered the town, they warmly welcomed him with the Ibn Ziyad's substitution for Ibn Bashir, the tide turned against all at once. Ibn Ziyad's great savagery had terrorized many a person. Those who were oversensitive and made decision impetuously no only were they menaced by Ibn Ziyad, but also they were terrified by the present propaganda about pending arrival of an army from Damascus.

No sooner had few days passed than the withdrawal on the part of Muslim's supporters expedited. The nobles of the town who were now certain about the dominion in Kufa and had no doubt about the Umayyads's stability, stood up for them overtly. They have kept all silence as yet. Many others also looked not it expedient to be at odds with the chiefs of their tribes. These nobles were the ones who minimized

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ١٨٥; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٦٩ –١

Muslim's allies through alluring and threatening when Muslim attacked Ibn Ziyad's palace and they intended to manifest their power in controlling the people. (١)

The status in Kufa had taken such a new shape that before Ibn Ziyad's despotism even if a chief had defied, the members of the tribe would have never dared to be on his side. As recounted by historians, when Hani Ibn 'Urwa, chief of Banu Murad, was arrested “four thousand cavalymen and eight thousand infantrymen” were his supporters. If the allies of Banu Murad joined them from Kinda, the total would be thirty thousand people. Despite the fact when he was dragged along in Bazar with his hands tied and while he was imploring one to help, no single helper appeared. (٢)

.After a short time, he was martyred whereas no one dissented at all

During Imam Husayn's sojourning in Karbala, in his remarks Ibn Ziyad ordered the people to left Kufa for Karbala. He threateningly warned that “متخلفا عن العسكر برئت منه الذمّه” “From today on whoever disobeys the army, he shall no longer be protected by us.” (٣)

It denoted that his punishment would be murder. In order to search in the town for anyone not complying with the army, Ibn Ziyad delegated Qa'qa' Ibn Suwayd. Qa'qa' while inspecting traced a man from the tribe of Hamdan who had come there to secure his father's inheritance. After he had been taken to Ibn Ziyad, he issued the verdict of

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٧٧, Ibn A'tham, writing the letter was a trick against me –١

and for becoming nearer to Yazid

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٥٩ –٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ١٧٨; Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp ٢٤٥, ٢٥٥ –٣

Not a matured one could *فلم يبق محتلم بكوفه إلا- خرج الى العسكر بالنخيله*, his assassination. Later
(1) [be seen in Kufa unless he had joined the army, Nukhayla.](#)

It was now when all swords were pulled against Imam Husayn (a). Assuredly, if people were free in their actions, by no means would they do so, since a great number
(2) [were in the same condition.](#)

And now what Farazdaq had composed can be perceived concerning Kufa

Their hearts are with you while their swords are drawn against “ *قلوبهم معك وسيوفهم عليك* “
You are the dearest of all, “ *أنت أحب الناس إلى الناس والقضاء في السماء والسيوف مع بني أميه* “ (3) [or](#)
amongst people, but divine decree is in the sky and swords are beside the Umayya.”
(4)

For delineating the sense of this utterance, we can reason to Mujamma' Ibn 'Abd Allah al-'A'idhi quotation, that joined Imam from Kufa as saying “The nobles are all in opposition to you and though the hearts of the rest are with you, tomorrow they will
(5) [pull the swords against you”.](#)

Under those existing circumstances, people could not help going to Karbala owing to the fact that their stay coincided with their slay. The Shi'ite Muslims or those being reluctant to do so had two alternatives, one, to ally themselves with Imam, two, to
flee from Kufa and Karbala

It can be well detected from varying reports that the group of people, who were
coercively sent to Karbala for a battle against Imam Husayn

p: ٥٥٠

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ١٧٩ – ١

It was noticed, in Iraqi war against Iran, how it compelled Iraqi people to combat – ٢
Iranian Muslims By the same token, such people are culprit and we do never intend to
acquit the people of Kufa this way, But there is a vast difference between the one who
goes freely and the one going under duress However, many chiefs and nobles and

those affiliated with the Umayyad whom later Zaynab and Umm Kuthum blamed went
to Karbala willingly

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٩٠; al-Futuh vol. V, pp ١٢٠, ١٢٤; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢٤٥; -٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ١٤٥

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn of Ibn Sa'd, p. ١٧١; Tarjamat al-Husayn, Ibn 'Asakir, p. -٤

٢٠٦

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ٤٨-٥

either fled halfway, or did not appear in Karbala at all. The total number of soldiers recruited for Ibn Ziyad's army and announced in Karbala was the census, which was taken while dispatching them to Karbala; nonetheless, a throng of them had fled halfway.

There must have been some ten thousand people or less in Karbala whereas compared with the population of Kufa it was considerably few. It is said that Kufa mosque had been accommodating forty thousand people.^(١) What this fact does disclose is that many had either concealed themselves in Kufa or fled halfway

Baladhuri has written, "وكان الرجل يُبعث في ألف فلا- يصل إلا في ثلاثمائه أو أربعمائة وأقل من ذلك كراهه منهم لهذا الوجه" "A commander was sent with a thousand troops but when entering Karbala the troops were reduced to as few as three hundred, four hundred or even less. And it stood for the disgust people bore for moving there."^(٢)

When a commander along with a great many was sent to Karbala by Ibn Ziyad", "wrote Dinwari, "يصلون إلى كربلاء ولم يبق منهم إلا القليل كانوا يكرهون قتال الحسين فيرتدعون فيتخلفون" "A great few arrived in Karbala and it was due to the aversion they had to battle against Husayn, hence they preferred to return and secede from the army."^(٣)

In addition to fleeing, a number's endeavor was to join Imam Husayn for his support. When Imam entered Karbala, it could be eight days before his martyrdom. No one could ever dream

Tashayyu‘ dar masir Tarikh, p. ١٦٠ -١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ١٧٩ -٢

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢٥٤ -٣

about occurrence of a war and Imam's martyrdom. It was 'Ashura morning when Hurr Ibn Yazid perceived how serious the situation was and allied himself with Imam.

:Many people might have had the same idea as Hurr. He told Imam

بابى أنت وأمى! ما ظننت الأمر فينتهى بهؤلاء القوم إلى ما أرى وظننت أنهم سيقبلون منك إحدى الخصال التى عرضتها عليهم
فقلت فى نفسى لا أبالى أن أطيع القوم فى بعض أمورهم

May my parents be sacrificed for you! I could never imagine that people's conditions“ might be culminated in such a phase I observe. I presumed that they might consent to one of the several alternatives you proposed. I said to myself that I would not mind if I [\(١\)](#) abide by them in a few affairs, but now...”

It was merely Hurr who joined Imam together with a few numbers. Although some might have it in mind, they could not make their decision. Even if Shi'ite Muslims intended to defend, they did not hasten and only did special ones draw decisively a conclusion and could join Imam at the very beginning. Among those who joined Imam were Nafi' Ibn Hilal Muradi, 'Umar Ibn Khalid Saydawi, Sa'd, one of 'Umar Ibn Khalid's [\(٢\)](#) governors and Mujamma' Ibn 'Abd Allah al-'A'idhi from the tribe of Madhhij.

By the day of 'Ashura, Muslim Ibn 'Awsaja and Habib Ibn Mazahir could reach there. As written by Ibn Sa'd, in 'Ashura morning, some twenty men joined Imam. [\(٣\)](#) Ibn Qutayba has reported the number as many as

p: ٥٥٢

Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, p. ٧٠ -١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ١٧٢ -٢

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn of Ibn Sa‘d, p. ١٧٨ -٣

[\(٢\)](#) Further names are referred to by historians. [\(١\)](#) (thirty.)

Noticing such escaping and joining, Ibn Ziyad had to prevent them; consequently, he *وَجَعَلَ الرَّجُلَ وَالرَّجُلَانِ وَالثَلَاثَةَ يَتَسَلَّلُونَ إِلَى حُسَيْنٍ مِنَ الْكُوفَةِ*, took an action. Ibn Sa'd who was one of the first narrators has written When Ibn Ziyad was notified that people were “ joining Husayn individually or in two people or three-people groups ”

Commanding to prepare the barracks, he appointed 'Amr Ibn Hurayth to drive the people into Nukhayla. His order was also keeping watch on the bridge not to allow one to flee. (3) Husayn Ibn Numayr was duty-bound to patrol the area between Qadisiyya and Qutqutana to identify anyone proceeding to Hijaz inasmuch as under this pretext (they might join Imam. (4)

Ibn Ziyad wrote to his governor in Basra to send a signal man to control the routes and if anyone traversed, he should arrest him. (5) It is absolutely obvious that whom they meant were those who might come to aid Imam. Similarly, Ibn Ziyad had commanded that the routes between Waqisa and Damascus up to the route of Basra and not to allow anyone to move and exit “ *وَلَا يَدْعُونَ أَحَدًا يَلْجُ وَلَا يَخْرُجُ* ,be tightly restricted (through it.” (6)

Once Habib Ibn Mazahir prompted the tribe of Banu Asad, being in the vicinity, to help but 'Ubayd Allah's army alienated seventy of them from Imam's army and did not permit them to join Imam. (7) At this juncture, many were in prison. Among the prisoners was Mukhtar Ibn Abi

p: ٥٥٣

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. ٧ -١

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ٧٣ -٢

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn of Ibn Sa'd, pp ١٧٨-١٧٩ -٣

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢٤٣ -٤

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٤٣; Imam had already asked some of the Shi'ites - ٥ distinguished in Basra for help in a letter, vol. IV, p. ٢٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp ١٧٣,١٧٩; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٩٥ -٦

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ١٨٠; al-Futuh, vol. V, pp ١٥٩,١٦٠ -٧

Ubayda who was apprehended and whipped by Ibn Ziyad. Whipping caused Mukhtar's one eye be blinded for ever.^(١) This tight control could play an influential role in hindering the people of Kufa to support Imam

Alluring was also applied by Ibn Ziyad in addition to threatening. Prior to people's departure, Ibn Ziyad told them, “in order to persuade you to prepare for battling against his foe, Yazid has sent four thousand Dinars and two hundred thousand dhms (to give you”^(٢)

People's reliance on financial generosity provoked a group of them to stand against Imam in Karbala. When Imam conceived that people were in true intent on assassinating him, he affirmed Lo! What has occurred between you and us? O people of Kufa! What has happened to you? They responded, “We fear the generosity.” Imam added “Whatsoever is from Allah is the best for you.”^(٣)

But no one heeded what Imam said

The evidence so far is wholly to confirm this fact that a group of people including the distinguished and their adherents were all criminals who merited the abusiveness and harshness on the part of those reproaching them. Yet, concerning the specific despotism that predominated, there existed a large number who intended to join Imam but were not able to

What Baladhuri has written appears appealing that Sa'd Ibn 'Ubayda was quoted as saying, “Standing on the hills, many a

p: ٥٥٤

al-Muhabbar, p. ٣٠٣-١

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٥٧-٢

.Tarjamat al-Imam Husayn of Ibn Sa'd, p.١٧٨-٣

”O Allah reveals your aid to Husayn “ اللهم أنزل عليه نصرتك ,clergyman in Kufa were praying

O Allah's foes! Why don't you “ يا أعداء الله ألا تنزلون فتنصرونه ” Sa'd added that he told them
(climb down to aid him?)” (1)

Anyway, there is no doubt that Imam was martyred by the people of Kufa while there was only one from Damascus among them. (2) Notwithstanding, the people of Kufa should not be deemed as a single group

Assessing the Travel to Iraq

Now, we ought to consider whether Imam's travel to Iraq was expedient or not in that situation. Regardless of the aspect of indivisibility of Karbala event, here we are to assess Imam Husayn's travel to Iraq politically in a few words. The first question raised is whether there was any other measure to be adopted for Imam other than travelling to Iraq and whether it could be anticipated that conducting such a revolution against Yazid was feasible

A deep glance at the existing historical sources will indicate the frequent objections voiced denoting that by no means had a travel to Iraq been expedient. The objections were from the very beginning. When people of Kufa, subsequent to Imam Hasan's martyrdom, invited Imam Husayn to that town, Imam replied that he would never consent to any revolution as long as Mu'awiya was alive. (3)

His justification might have been Iraq's inability to resist Mu'awiya's tricks because they have already been tested in 'Ali's and Hasan's terms. Following Imam's opposition to the issue of allegiance and when Imam set out for Mecca

p: ٥٥٥

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٢٦-١
al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ٢٨; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٦١ (Even this one is not
(mentioned either

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, Ibn 'Asakir, p. ١٩٧; Akhbar al-Tiwal pp ٢٢٢-٢٢٤-٣

a travel to Iraq was probable. Quotedly, 'Abd Allah Ibn Muti' forewarned Imam
(against his travel to Kufa on the way from Medina to Mecca. (4)

When Imam entered Mecca, the objectors were innumerable. 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas suggested Imam to waive proceeding to Iraq and go to Yemen's mountains for preference due to various reasons as it is a mountainous area and more secure therein and that his fathers Shi'ite Muslims are abundant.^(۲) It was quoted by Ibn A'tham from Ibn Hanafiyya.^(۳)

People are partial to Dinar and Dirham which are both in the ruler's hands. Lest you“ might go to Iraq”, said 'Amr Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Hisham.^(۴) The objection raised by 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar was on account of his extreme fear of bloodshedding.^(۵) ,Touching upon his martyrdom in Iraq, 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far had written

“ إنى أخاف أن يطفىء نور الارض روح الهدى وأمير المؤمنين، فلا تعجل الى العراق فانى آخذ لك الامان من يزيد “

I have a foreboding that the light of the earth will be extinguished as a result of your murder. The spirit of guidance and Amir al-Mu'minin is no one but you. Hasten not toward Iraq, I can seek quarter for you from Yazid.”^(۶)

Never revolt against your“ “ لا- تخرج على امامك ,Abu Sa'id Khudri is also quoted as saying Imam.”^(۷)

Miswar Ibn Makhrama who was among the protesters as well wrote to Imam, “Be not deluded by Iraqi people”.^(۸) What Abu Waqid Laythi had stated was like that of above.^(۹) Moving from Iraq to

p: ۵۵۶

al-Futuh, vol. V, pp ۳۶,۳۷; Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp ۲۲۸,۲۴۶; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ۱۹ –۱ on p. ۴۱ Imam's meeting with Ibn MuTi' eroute from Mecca to Kufa is referred Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۲۴; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ۱۱۳; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۸۷; Ansab –۲ al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۱۶۱; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ۳۹ Ibn A'tham, vol. V, p. ۳۲ –۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ۱۶۱; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ۱۱۰; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. –۴

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Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ۱۶۳; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ۳۹; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn –۵

of Ibn Sa‘d, p. ۱۶۶

Ibn A‘tham, vol. V, p. ۱۱۶; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۹۱; Ibn Athir, vol. IV, p. ۴۰ –۶

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn of Ibn Sa‘d, p. ۱۶۷ –۷

Ibid p. ۱۶۷ –۸

Ibid p. ۱۶۶ –۹

[\(Hijaz, Farazdaq opposed the travel.\)](#)

All of these objections plus some more are recorded in historical sources and many spiteful narrators might have been endeavoring to multiply them to substantiate that Imam had been truly deceived and traveled to Iraq with not a least rational reason. Prior to reflecting Imam's justification of why going to Iraq was requisite, it is worth presenting an introduction

Political history shows that it rarely happened when a revolutionary man rose up politically he, in all probability, could foresee a definite triumph or an achievement of the goal with no peril. Those who struggle to assume a power either benevolently or malevolently always deal with a probability

In politics, even the most triumphant and popular ones are invariably subjected to various probabilities of hardness and defeat. In no way should it be assumed that a movement be conducted with a high certainty. Such a notion is not only inconsistent with the historical realities, but also it is emanated from the simple-mindedness regarding the nature of political activities

And now we ought not to presuppose that Imam should have inevitably had a high certainty to win in the travel. On the one hand, those who deemed Imam's travel inexpedient never must they notice the proof which demonstrate the probable defeat; as an instance, the people of Kufa had already been tested once

On the other hand, those who deemed it expedient neither should they suppose that there had been no probability of defeat. Taking them all into consideration, Imam

Husayn's position should be gauged in that situation first and then the travel to Iraq
(be evaluated considering both historical evidence and Imam's remarks.)

Imam by no means assented to Yazid and his sovereignty no matter if it might have preceded his martyrdom. Nevertheless, he was seeking for an opportunity to rise up against Yazid and secure the sovereignty. From the framework being made in Imam's mind one probability should have been preferably singled out and he should have naturally reacted to any suggestion or objection voiced. Since the plan was not flexible at all, any suggestion that could spoil it in any way was condemned on the part
of Imam

In such a situation, there existed particular specifications for the Islamic world politically. Imam had to adopt measures in such a way that he could under those circumstances achieve his goal successfully in a bid to defend the religion and
establish a just government. In diverse levels were Imam's objectives

Procuring the rule could have been treated as a considerable victory for him having been thought of it. As the one enjoying the good and prohibiting the evil, he could have accomplished his mission even though his goal had become unattainable. Given that if he were not able to reach such an achievement he had no doubt that with his blood streamed he was able to irrigate the lofty tree of Islam and enlighten the nation
as to the tough environment they live in

The reality was that Yazid never allowed anyone

p: ۵۵۸

As mentioned earlier, this matter is beyond the scholastic aspect of Imamate -۱

like Imam Husayn who abstained from swearing allegiance to him to live at ease. Owing to the fact that Imam was not a man who lives calmly, Yazid's only resort was
to take his life in case he was not convinced to swear

Moreover, Damascus, Medina and Mecca in particular and Hijaz in general were not the ones which could resist Yazid having such an intention. Imam must have turned his attention to elsewhere. Although proceeding to Mecca seemed rational for the time being thanks to its sacred nature wherein his safety was warranted for a short .while, it could certainly not be a permanent refuge for him

Above all, Mecca was not on Imam's side and even in the course of allegiance to Amir al-Mu'minin, it swore with hesitation. At this juncture, the only place as a focal point of attention could be Iraq that was a center for Imam's Shi'ites Muslims. In different respects, it was a foe to Damascus as well. The demand made by Kufa for Imam's travel reinforced the probability of victory. The more the invitation was stressed, the .more the percentage of the probable victory was augmented

Never does it mean that there was no jeopardy in Iraq. However, the question posed is that if Imam was set to settle in somewhere, where could he select? Was Imam Husayn ever a man to swear allegiance? Or was Yazid a man who permits him to survive without allegiance? If Imam had not gone to Iraq, would

p: ۵۵۹

?not the historians have written that if he had gone, he would have gained a victory

Would not they have inquired why he had not given a positive answer to the letters? How could he allow Yazid's agents to martyr him in Hijaz whereas he could take an action? These questions together with some more are the ones that would be raised .by any wise individual were a travel to Kufa not taken place

What merits consideration is that the consequence of objector's demands for Imam's not going was approving Yazid's sovereignty even if temporarily and never ever could it be practical for Imam. Accordingly, since seeking quarter from Yazid that had been recommended by 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far was on the condition that Imam swears allegiance to him it was on no accounts tolerable for Imam. Now let's take a glance at .Imam's own response and how history has reflected it

Among the points Imam (a) had been regularly hinting at was that Yazid with his agents would in no way allow him to remain alive in Mecca and definitely they would murder him. In an answer to Ibn 'Abbas's objection, Imam stated *ان أقتل خارجاً منها بشيرين*, I would rather be killed two inches farther from Mecca than “ *أحب الي من أقتل خارجاً منه بشير* “ [\(1\)](#) *one inch farther.*

It highlights not only the reverence of Mecca had to be observed but also Imam's life was at risk and he should have taken an action. In reacting to Ibn 'Umar, Imam

p: ٥٦٠

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ١٦٤; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٨٩; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. – ١١٣; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, the first Ibn 'Asakir, p. ١٩٠; al-Ma'rifat wal-Tarikh, vol. I, p. ٥٤١; Majma' al-Zawa'id, vol. I, p. ١٩٢; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٥٥; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ٣٨

:had asserted

انّ القوم لا يتركوني ... فلا يزالون حتى أبايع واني كاره فيقتلونني “

This group will never stop insisting on swearing allegiance on my part. As I will never“ [\(1\)](#) *do so, they will kill me.*

The situation wherein Imam was, is well-described in above utterance. Elsewhere Imam had made it clear *ولو كنت في جحر هامه من هوام الأرض استخرجوني ويقتلونني* “ [\(2\)](#) *hide in the hole of a desert animal, they will trace and murder me.*

When Imam was questioned why he hastened, he answered *لو لم أعجل لاخذت* “ [\(3\)](#) *arrested, unless I hasten.*

Somewhere else he stated *إنّ بني أميه أخذوا مالي فصبرت، وستموا عرضي فصبرت وطلبوا دمي فهربت* “ [\(4\)](#) *tolerated, when they decided to shed my blood, I had to flee.*

All these narrations confirm that they were determined to take Imam's life and there

was no hope of survival left provided that he contented to swear allegiance. The other side of the coin was traveling to Iraq. What spot should have been chosen by Imam

In an interval between Sha'ban and Dhil-Hajja when Imam lived in Mecca, he received many letters from Iraq. These letters were the ones which later turned into Imam's main reason for a travel to Iraq. Any time any objection to going was raised, Imam referred to the letters.^(٥) When Imam faced Hurr and when he was asked by 'Umar Ibn Sa'd

p: ٥٦١

loc cit –١

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١١٦; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ٣٨ –٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٩٠ –٣

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٢٤ –٤

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp ١٦٣–١٦٥ –٥

.why he came to Iraq, he reasoned those very letters

Once Bujayr Ibn Shaddad asked Imam for the reason of going, he replied
أهل المصر (١) "These letters are all from the distinguished of this city"

Ashura morning, he again referred to the letters.^(٢) He showed the letters to 'Abd' The sack " خلفى مملوءه بالكتب " Allah Ibn 'Umar too.^(٣) His response to any objection was
"on my horse is overflown with their letters." ^(٤)

This wide-ranging invitation was seemingly serious particularly because in addition to the mass ordinary people, the distinguished of Kufa had written the greater number of letters, those whom people follow. This crowd included many other distinguished figures as well as the Shi'ite Muslims. Were it only formed by the Shi'ite Muslims, it would take little notice in light of the fact that the number of them was truly .inconsiderable. It was solely its broadness that gave a serious shape to invitation

Beyond the invitation were the results of two tests Kufa had taken in the times of

Imam 'Ali and Imam Hasan, in both of which they had failed. Which one should have been attended by Imam, their black record or their present state? Regarding our previous remarks, if we assume that the probability of Imam's victory was less than fifty percent, there was no other alternative for him

It does appear that in normally political conditions there was no other way the probability of victory of which to be as equal as that in Kufa, neither

p: ۵۶۲

Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ۱۷۳ -۱

Ibid p. ۱۸۱ -۲

Ibn 'Asakir, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ۱۹۲ -۳

Ibid pp ۲۰۹, ۲۱۰ -۴

was there in Yemen if proceeding there. It was thanks to the fact that not only the Shi'ite Muslims in Yemen were never as many as those in Kufa, but it was within the realm of Mu'awiya as well. Even when Imam 'Ali's governor was there, an army invaded Yemen from Damascus and massacred the Shi'ite Muslims

The fundamental reason of probable victory was the letters showing that not only a great number would guard him but also they would battle against his foe. Furthermore, nowhere else did invite him. Those who wrote letters first were such Shi'ite Muslims as Sulayman Ibn Surad, Musayyib Ibn Najba, Habib Ibn Mazahir, Rufa'a Ibn Shaddad and others

With a short opportunity available to Imam, he selected a way reasonably. At this stage, he let the letters unanswered inasmuch as Mecca was flooded with frequent letters. Besides, the representatives of the writers went to Mecca and offered their invitations personally. Any letter received in Mecca had many a name and signature at the bottom. According to a few narrations, the number of the letters had been one hundred and fifty. Notwithstanding, Imam gave no answer to them up to the end [\(۱\)](#).but he only contented himself with dispatching Muslim

To assess public support better, Imam dispatched an envoy, Muslim Ibn 'Aqil who was trustworthy to Kufa. In a letter he wrote to Kufa

انى بعثت أخى وابن عمى وثقتى من أهل بيتى مسلم بن عقيل وقد أمرته أن يكتب الى بحالكم ورأيكم فقدموا مع ابن عمى وبايعوه وانصروه

p: ٥٦٣

See, al-Futuh, vol. V, pp ٤٦, ٤٩, ٥٠, ٥١; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٦٢ – ١

“ “

I have sent my brother, my cousin and the most truthful in my family, Muslim Ibn 'Aqil to you. I have demanded that he write about the conditions there to me. Help him and, [\(1\)](#) (swear allegiance to him.”

After Muslim had entered the town, people swore allegiance to him group by group. Recording their names, he had them make a pledge to back Imam and not be treacherous. The recorded number was twenty thousand and more. [\(2\)](#) Muslim who found the situation well wrote to Imam Husayn “ ألفا فاذا بلغك كتابى هذا فالعجل “ As soon as you have received my letter, hurry for more than [\(3\)](#) (twenty thousand people who swore allegiance to you.”

When Imam departed, he had received a letter informing that eighteen thousands in [\(4\)](#) (Kufa have sworn allegiance to Muslim.

What was Imam able to do upon receiving such a letter? In advance of dispatching Muslim, by no means was he certain. But now it was the letter his envoy had written and could be the evidence of people's to him. At the last stage reacting to Ibn 'Abbas's objection, Imam said, I know that your intention is naught except advising but

ولكن مسلم بن عقيل كتب الى باجتماع أهل المصر على بيعتى ونصرتى وقد أجمعت على المسير اليه “

Since Muslim has written to me that all have congregated to aid me and swear [\(5\)](#) (allegiance to me, I am decisive to travel.”

,In another narration, Muslim had written to Imam

p: ٥٦٤

See, al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ٥٢; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٦٢ –١

See, al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ٦٨, see also Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٥٩; Ibn 'Asakir, – ٢
Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, ٢٠٧; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p٥٤, (The number
recorded was ١٢٠٠٠); see also, al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. ٥ (The recorded
number was ٣٠٠٠٠

Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ١٧٤; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٨١; al- – ٣
Futuh, vol. V, p. ٧٧

Ibid p. ١٧٤ –٤

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, pp ٥٤, ٥٥ –٥

Everyone is with you and no one is“ [\(١\)](#) [هوى](#) ولا- هوى [\(١\)](#) ”.attentive to Mu'awiya's family

It was exactly what Muslim had witnessed and reported. Although he had assuredly noticed public ignorance towards Mu'awiya and their inclination to 'Ali's family, with Ibn Ziyad's arrival and black shade of his despotism the tables were turned. Threatening Kufa was a serious affair for the Umayya. In a letter to Yazid, spies Turabiyya- a label given to Shi'ite Muslims after naming 'Ali “ [\(٢\)](#) [الترايبه](#) ”,wrote as Abu Turab- have all sworn allegiance to Muslim and entreated him to come to their
”.rescue in Kufa

Dispatching 'Ubayd Allah accounted for it. It had become totally overt that they would be deprived of Kufa unless they make haste. Notably, when according to a narration Nu'man Ibn Bashir, in addition to his indifference, had stated Allah's Messenger's descendant is more popular with us than Ibn Bajdal's [\(٣\)](#) [\(٤\)](#) “ [ابن بجدل](#) [\(٣\)](#) ”.son

As quoted by Ibn A'tham, in the course of Muslim's coming to Kufa, Nu'man was on his own in the palace. No one attended Friday prayers andP no one paid tax to him. Anyone whom he summoned did never care and anyone whom he commanded did

.not comply with

Imam Versus Iraqi Army

The ever-first army Imam encountered was a one-thousand- soldier army the head of which was Hurr Ibn Yazid Riyahi; Then, Hurr was a subordinate commander at Ibn Ziyad's service and did not interfere in political

p: ۵۶۵

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۸۱ -۱
al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ۲۸۱ -۲
al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. ۵ -۳
Ibn Bajdal refers to Yazid -۴

affairs. By the same token on account the belief he enjoyed he along with his army performed his prayer led by Imam Husayn. Hurr's accountability was to escort Imam .to Kufa and never allow him to return

In a sermon delivered Imam addressed the worshippers as saying, "I had in no way intended to come here until your letters and message-carriers came to me. I will step into your town if you guarantee that no breach of promise will be made; otherwise, I .(۱) return to where I came from".

As already mentioned, as soon as Imam received Muslim's Letter, he left Mecca with all possible haste for Kufa. Moving ahead was kept on until the news of Muslim's martyrdom spread. No sooner had the caravan learned it(۲) than it slackened its pace and consequently exchange of views began among Imam, his household and the .followers

It is alleged that Imam changed his mind about going onwards. Nonetheless, Muslim's brothers were not convinced but decisive to retaliate.(۳) If presumably they had such an intention, they must have been definitely hopeful about the victory. And it might have influenced Imam to become apparently persuaded to proceed. It is hardly rational to assume that they sought revenge for their brother's murder while being

.certain of their defeat

There existed another matter apart from political victory and it was the fact that Imam Husayn should have taken a stance on Mu'awiya after all even though it cost his martyrdom and to his eye this kind of

p: ۵۶۶

Akhbar al-Tiwal, see also Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ۱۷۰; Al Futuh, vol. V, p. ۱۳۵ – ۱
Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۴۷ it is narrated that two people belonging to Banu Asad who – ۲
were coming from Kufa informed them That the one giving the news of Muslim's
martyrdom was either Farazdaq or Hurr is not true See Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p.
۶۱; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ۱۲۵
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ۱۶۸; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۲۹۲; Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat – ۳
al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ۱۷۶; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. ۶

martyrdom was equated with condemning Yazid. To confirm the probability of victory,
.many might have made some remarks

Quotedly a number said, "You and Muslim Ibn 'Aqil are not alike. Upon seeing you, the
(people of Kufa will warmly welcome you". (۱)

They meant that perhaps Muslim could not accomplish to prompt people for whatever
reason but his personality will unequivocally captivate them. In view of all letters and
ten-year requests on the part of Kufa, never did it seem unlikely. Accordingly Imam
.consented to keep on

In consistent with a narration in al-Futuh, the letter sent by Imam through Qays Ibn
Musahhar for urging Kufa to observe their commitment (۲) had been possibly after
being informed of Muslim's martyrdom though doubt about Kufa had been
remarkably prevailed in Imam's army its impact on returning was uncovered only
.when it encountered Hurr's army

The coming of Hurr together with his army, hearing that enemy's four-thousand-

soldier army being enroute to Qadisiyya as well as the previous news from Kufa given by Ibn Sa'd's envoy about Muslim's recommendation all propelled Imam to disregard going to Kufa. Being arrested and noticing how people left him alone, Muslim tried to dissuade him from coming at all costs with a message as he had already tried to persuade him. He had appealed to 'Umar Ibn Sa'd for leaving his message to Imam

A while after receiving the message in early Muharram, Imam's caravan encountered Hurr's army in Iraq. Although Imam was set to return, Hurr impeded him, for his duty

p: ٥٦٧

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٣٠٠; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ٤٢ – ١

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ٣٠٤ – ٢

was to escort Imam to Kufa. Imam who had become aware of the real status in Kufa, rejected his request. In order to refrain from any clash for which he had no mandate, he decided to lead the army towards Karbala, an arid land, in lieu of Hijaz or Kufa. (١)

Heedless of what was adopted practically, Imam propounded the matter of returning when meeting Hurr and demanded him to allow them to return. (٢) Once more he repeated the same proposal to Ibn Sa'd later, (٣) and frequently he stated

يا أيها الناس إذا كرهتموني فدعوني أنصرف عنكم إلى مأمنى الأرض

“

O people! If you are reluctant to support me, at least let me return to the secure land, (Mecca.” (٤)

As narrated by a number of historians, Imam's suggestions were three, Returning to Hijaz, Damascus or to oriental land of Islam, on the outskirts of the Islamic land. The tradition just mentioned in addition to others all manifest that Imam requested to only return to Hijaz, either Mecca or Medina, not to Damascus. Baladhuri has stipulated that his insistence was only on returning to Medina when seeing 'Umar Ibn Sa'd. (٥)

It has been also quoted from 'Uqba Ibn Sam'an supposedly as saying, “Contrary to popular belief under no circumstances did Imam ask permission to visit Yazid and ,swear allegiance to him though I was beside him at all times. What he urged was

دعوني أرجع إلى مكان الذي أقبلت منه، أو دعوني أذهب في هذه الأرض العريضة حتى تنظر الى ما يصير اليه أمر

p: ٥٦٨

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ١٧٠; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٣٩; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, pp – ١
٤٧, ٤٨

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ١٧٠; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٣٥; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢٥٠ – ٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٣١١; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٥٥ – ٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٣٢٣ – ٤

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. II, p. ١٨٢ – ٥

الناس

Let me either return where I came from or live in this extensive land to find out what“
(the destiny of such people would be.” (١)

According to Baladhuri Imam appealed to Hurr for permitting him to go to Damascus and swear allegiance to Yazid. (٢) It is as plain as day that Imam endured such sufferings as the homelessness for the sake of not swearing allegiance to Yazid, and were this narration genuine supposedly, it could never be interpreted as corroborating Yazid's caliphate, but in all probability as keeping away from Ibn Ziyad's realm who was a libertine and bold man. Imam was certain that his not swearing allegiance would prompt Yazid to assassinate him; therefore, it seemed irrational to .go to Damascus intentionally

Your response to me “ وليكن جوابك إلى رأس الحسين “ Yazid personally had written to Walid
(has to be Husayn Ibn 'Ali's head.” (٣)

Walid detested to murder him in person and later on he expressed regret on Imam's martyrdom.(٤) It is by no means admissible that even if Imam had made such a

remark, his aim could have been swearing allegiance or proceeding to Damascus at .all

When Imam for the purpose of enlightening Hurr referred to the pile of letters from Kufa as the motivation of his travel, Hurr was totally unaware of the letters. After the letters were all displayed, he again pointed out that he was duty-bound to take them to Kufa. Imam who was never ever convinced to go to Kufa took the

p: ٥٦٩

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ٥٤ –١

Ibid p. ١٧٣; in footnote, this tradition is declared untrue by Editor –٢

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ٢٦ –٣

Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ١٩٢ –٤

route of Hijaz. (١) Hurr's army blocked his way then. They compromised to take a (٢) midway neither to Hijaz nor to Kufa but to the area of al-'Udhayb.

It was this point where Tirimmah Ibn 'Adi proposed Imam to go towards Tayy mountains but on account of the presence of Hurr's army and the agreement they (٣) had reached, Imam refused it.

On his way Imam made an attempt to switch to way to the desert and keep as far away from Kufa as possible. Hurr was regularly the one who prevented him until they arrived at Banu Muqatil's palace and then Naynawa. (٤) Exactly it was here where the command of ceasing was received by Hurr from Ibn Ziyad ماء “ (٥) (Keep him awaiting solely in an arid desert.”

Here a number of the Shi'ite Muslims of Kufa could join Imam and despite Hurr's (٦) opposition remained beside him.

While Hurr was with Imam, Zubayr Ibn Qayn suggested Imam to attack them who I loathe to be the one“ إني اكره أن أبدئهم بالقتال , were few then. Declining Imam affirmed (٧) (who wages war.”

Arriving in Karbala coincided with the second of Muharram, Wednesday or Thursday.

(According to Dinwari, Muharram 1st was the day of arriving in Karbala. [\(1\)](#)

As written by Mas'udi, when Imam arrived in Karbala, five hundred cavalrymen and one hundred infantrymen were accompanying him. [\(2\)](#) During the eight-day period and above all on the eve of 'Ashura, the day after which war would undoubtedly break

p: 570

Ibid p. 250 -1

Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 250; al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 130, 141; vol. II, p. -2

170

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 307; Baladhuri, vol. II, p. 173 the tribe of Banu Tayy was -3
the tribe of Hatam Tayi whose son, Adi, was from among the Prophet's and later 'Ali's
companions and now his son, Tirimmah, made such a suggestion for his Shi'ism

Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp 250, 251 -4

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 176; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 251 -5

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 172 -6

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 252 -7

Ibid p. 253 -8

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 61 -9

out, these men turned their back on Imam. Although the number of whom at that night might have been fewer than that reported by Mas'udi, beyond any question a number left Imam on his own at this interval

The day after Imam's arrival in Karbala, Ibn Ziyad's troops were gradually deployed to this land. All tribes were group by group dispatched to the spot due to the fact that Ibn Ziyad insisted that each one of Kufa participate in the process

Such a policy was to hinder a few tribes to be accused later and to try to make all have a hand in Imam's murder and it could be a hindrance to the people of Kufa to engage in any movement in 'Alawites' favor. Those having been dispatched were some twenty two thousand according to Ibn A'tham [\(1\)](#) although Baladhuri, [\(2\)](#) Dinwari [\(3\)](#) as

.well as Ibn Sa'd have described that some had fled halfway

أيما رجل وجدناه بعد يومنا هذا متخلفاً عن العسكر
In view of the fact that Ibn Ziyad had announced
Anyone who abstains from joining the army, from today onwards, will in “ برئت منه الذمّه “
(no way be protected by me.” (٤)

.And this menace was what made the crowd set out to Karbala

Umar Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas was due to proceed to Riy and do battle with' Daylaman, a polytheist; however, it was resolved to move to Riy after finalizing the plan in Karbala. As the commander of Kufiyan troops in spite of his and

p: ٥٧١

Hurr with one thousand, Husayn Ibn Numayr with four thousand, Shabath Ibn Rib'ī –١
with one thousand, Shimr Ibn Dhi l-Jawshan with four thousand, ... ; al-Futuh, vol. V,
p. ١٥٩

.Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ١٧٩ –٢

.Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢٥٤ –٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ١٧٨ –٤

Banu Zuhra's(١) reluctance, he eventually opted the governorship of Riy in return for
(streaming Imam's blood and then went to Karbala.(٢)

At first Ibn Sa'd sent an envoy to Imam to ask for the ground of his coming. Imam who refereed to the letters received from Kufa stated that if they had retracted, he would return where he had come from. Seeking refuge, 'Umar Ibn Sa'd reported the suggestion to Ibn Ziyad, “Husayn has made a pledge to either return or go to one of the extremities of Islamic land and live a quiet life and it is satisfactory for you and is Nevertheless, Shimr tried to “ هذا لك رضا وللأمة صلاح (for the good of the nation,(٣) dissuade Ibn Ziyad willing to accept the suggestion and told him that if he let Husayn
”.go, under no conditions could he be found any more

Ibn Ziyad in a letter to Ibn Sa'd wrote, “I have not sent you to condescend but to

secure allegiance for Yazid presently. If he refrained, take his life” (٤).

As soon as receiving the message, Imam stressed Never ever will I reply Ibn Ziyad's proposal in affirmative. Will there be any فمرحباً به “other consequence save demise? Demise is very welcomed, however.” (٥).

A couple of days to 'Ashura, Ibn Ziyad commanded emphatically to keep water beyond Imam Husayn's reach, حل بين الحسين والماء فلا يذوقوا منه قطره كما منع بالتقى الزكى عثمان “ Keep him far away“

p: ٥٧٢

Sharaf al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ١٧٨ –١

Imam sent an envoy to dissuade Ibn Sa'd but the response given to him was –٢

Ibn Sa'd to battle against you in return Riy Al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٧٣ سعد أن يقتلك بملك اسرى

al-Irshad, p. ٢٢٩ –٣

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٦٦; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III,, p. ١٨٣ –٤

فابعث بهم الى سلماً وإن أبوا فازحف إليهم حتى تقتلهم وتمثل بهم فانهم مستحقون لذنك

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p.٢٥٤ –٥

from water so that he cannot take a drop as they did so to 'Uthman.” (١)

He also had written to Ibn Sa'd, “I have learned that Husayn with his companions have sunk wells and water is within reach. Upon receiving the letter, stop their digging as far as possible and by no means allow them to consume the water of the Euphrates.” (٢)

During the last days Imam had some clandestine meetings with Ibn Sa'd attempting to dissuade him. Yet as demonstrated by historical narration's he could in no way disregard the governorship of Riy

Shimr due to consanguinity he had with 'Abbas Ibn 'Ali's mother, made Ibn Ziyad to write guarantee of clemency to him as well as his brothers. Under no circumstances were they able to be prevailed upon to leave Imam Husayn alone. (٣) In another case a

guarantee of clemency is reported for 'Ali Akbar and it was also for the sake of his mother. 'Ali Akbar had asserted "أما والله لقرابه رسول الله (ص) أولى أن ترعى من قرابه أبي سفيان" Deferring to consanguinity with the Prophet (S) is more superior than that with Abu Sufyan." (٤)

Ibn Ziyad who was determined to attack in the evening of Tasu'a (the ninth day of the month of Muharram) admitted to procrastinate it till tomorrow at the request of Imam. At night Imam made some remarks to his companions. He declared that he ignored their allegiance, they are free to leave and they can take a few members of his family with

p: ٥٧٣

This order was given three days after Imam's arrival See also, Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. -١ ٢٥٥; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ١٨٠, what Ibn Ziyad has stated about 'Uthman was on no accounts true because when 'Uthman was under opponents' pressure, it was Imam 'Ali (a) who provide water for him Earlier, we have discussed this in this regard al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٦٢; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٣١١ Reaction to some objections -٢ as saying because with digging two or three meters of water could be found in Karbala and there was no need for the water of the Euphrates; there fore, no one suffered from thirst It is absolutely evident that Ibn Ziyad's army was so ruthless that it did not allow them to sink wells Nevertheless, Imam's army could take water from the Euphrates several times until a couple of days prior to Ashura Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ١٨٤; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٦٨ -٣ Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ١٨٢ -٤

(١) them as well. However, companions did announce their steadfastness. (١)

On the eve of 'Ashura, Imam commanded to dig out trenches all around the tents but one side to avert the enemy's attacks from all sides. From early morning of 'Ashura, both armies arrayed against one another. No imperfection could be noticed in Imam's army.

Without consideration of facts, divine predestination or the political privileges of which

subsequent to Imam Husayn's martyrdom, taking the household with him exposes to
.view the intention Imam had for procuring Yazid the sovereignty

Even their transferring from Mecca to Kufa had seemingly originated from political certainty and it was the submission of Kufa to Imam. Accordingly their staying in Hijaz was never politically expedient in view of the fact that it could be envisioned how the Umayya would behave towards them following securing Arabia Pertae if the victory
.were supposedly gained in Iraq

On the eve of 'Ashura Imam addressed his companions as saying, "Tomorrow there
,shall be naught but martyrdom

فأنتم في حل مني وهذا الليل قد غشيكم، فمن كانت له منم قوه فليضم رجلاً من أهل بيتي اليه وتفرقوا في سوادكم، فعسى الله
أن يأتي بالفتح أو أمر من عنده فيصبحوا على ما أسروا في انفسهم نادمين“

You are all at liberty and it is the night at which you feel secure. Any of you who is more courageous can take one from my household with him and abandon so that Allah can either grant us the triumph or adopt another measure to deter them from

p: ٥٧٤

Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ١٧٨; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, pp ٥٨, ٥٩ – ١

(1) (materializing their plan.”

It is alluded here that it was probable for them to gain victory or for the foes to change their minds although such a probability did never appear politically strong. Under such circumstances, there existed no other alternative other than martyrdom. Hurr's as well as thirty individuals' joining to Imam (2) in addition to political broad-mindedness on the part of Imam in 'Ashura morning both implied that such a
.development was not beyond the bounds of possibility

Notwithstanding 'Umar Ibn Sa'd's villainous nature whose father was among the Qa'idin (3), the malice fo such Kharijites-featured individuals as Shimr Ibn Dhi l-Jawshan (4) along with the pressure exerted by Ibn Ziyad altogether engendered one

.of the most gruesome felony in the Islamic world

Imam's army as narrated by Ibn Sa'd, included fifty men but later twenty others
(joined him).^(٥)

Prior to the clashes, Imam delivered a speech to the opposite army, “Thanks to the request of you and others I came here. You had written that the Prophet's Sunna (tradition) was being neglected and discord was being sown. My coming here was at your demand to guide my forefather's Umma (nation). If now you feel disinclined, allow me return at least

Think twice! Do you ever consider shedding the blood of the Holy Prophet's son legitimate? The son of Prophet's cousin who was the ever first believer? The one whose uncles were Hamza, 'Abbas and Ja'far? Have you ever not heard how the Prophet (S) had characterized my brother and me

p: ٥٧٥

Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, pp ١٧٩, ١٨٠ -١

Ibid pp ١٧٨, ١٨١; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. ٧ -٢

They خذلوا الحق ولم ينصروا الباطل Those who had been described well by Imam 'Ali (a) as -٣
have not only forgotten the gospel truth but also they never back the credal error

Notorious of being Kharijites -٤

Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ١٧٨ -٥

as, سيدا شباب أهل الجنة “ .They both are the masters of the youth in Heaven

Question Jabir Ansari, Abu Sa'id Khudri and Zayd Ibn Arqam if you do not believe
(me).^(١)

The reasoning Ibn Hud'ayr had refereed to are like those mentioned.^(٢) Zuhayr Ibn
(Qayn, a renowned figure, pronounced an ultimatum as well.^(٣)

So for presuming that it might never be culminated in blood letting not least streaming
.the blood of Allah's Messenger's son, Hurr Ibn Yazid perceived the reality all at once

”?He went to Ibn Sa'd asking, “Was none of his remarks convincing for you I would never murder him if I could,” 'Umar Ibn Sa'd responded, “now there is no“
”.other alternative

Upon hearing such comments, Hurr without delay went to Imam, begged for forgiveness, stood to defend him and ultimately after killing two people achieved martyrdom.^(۴) Among the ones who allied themselves with Imam and became
(martyred was Yazid Ibn Abi Ziyad, too.^(۵)

Since it was by no means Imam 'Ali's approach to be the beginner of the war, Imam also was not the one who commenced it in Karbala. It was 'Umar Ibn Sa'd who put on arrow in his bow and shot at Imam's army first. And afterwards he announced that
(they should wear witness to Ibn Ziyad that he was the first shooter.^(۶)

When the battle started, the members of Imam's army went to the battlefield one by one. After a while the enemy's death toll had risen to more than the martyrs.
Therefore, touching upon the fact that they

p: ۵۷۶

Ibn Sa‘d, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ۱۸۱ see also al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, pp –۱
۶۰, ۶۱

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ۱۸۲ –۲

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ۶۳ –۳

Ibid vol. IV, pp ۶۴–۶۵ –۴

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ۷۳ –۵

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۳۲۶; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ۱۸۳ –۶

were combating Arab heroes, 'Amr Ibn Hajjaj forewarned, “You will all be slaughtered
(unless you put them under a rain of arrows”^(۱)

Under a heavy barrage of arrows and in the course of several clashes, Imam's adherents and the members of his household were martyred respectively. The details

of the conflict have been inscribed by a number as inscribed by Ibn Sa'd in *Tabaqat*. Eventually the event of Karbala, resulting in martyring Imam and more than seventy of his followers and killing some eighty eight people of the opposite army, came to an [end](#).

The Element of Invisibility in Karbala

Among the factors that have played pivotal roles in the historical dimension of ideological epic in Karbala is the element of “invisibility”. This very element is what not merely has created friction in analyzing this historical event but has contrasted a subject in scholastic theology with a historical one. There are many narrations in this regard in most of which Allah's Messenger has foretold Imam Husayn's martyrdom. 'Allama Amini has compiled a number of such narrations in *Siratana wa Sunnatana*. Moreover, they can be found innumerable in Sunnites books

In addition to [these](#) narrations which are historical by themselves, there are other ones having explicitly or implicitly predicted the incident in Karbala. Below we present some adapted from the historical books

As recounted, a night before emigrating from Medina to Mecca, when Imam went to pay a visit to the Prophet's tomb, he fell asleep. He dreamed about the Holy Prophet ,together with a group of angels. Hugging him

p: ٥٧٧

Tarikh Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٣٣١; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ٦٧ –١
Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ١٨٤; see also Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. –٢
٦٣ It has been the true historical narration and consistent with the status quo at that
time and the mutual manners
See Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, pp ١٥٤-١٦١ and the footnotes of the –٣
pages

,the Prophet stated

يا حسين! كأنك عن قريب أراك مقتولاً مذبحاً بأرض كرب وبلا من عصابه من أمتي وأنت في ذلك عطشان لا تسقى... يا

حسين إن أباك وأمك قد قدموا عليّ وهم اليك مشتاقون وأن لك في الجنة درجات لن تنالها الا بالشهادة“

O Husayn! I foresee that in a near future you will be killed by a group from my Umma in Karbala while thirsty.... O Husayn! Your parents who are both with me are looking forward to meeting you. A rank is determined for you in Paradise to which you can reach merely through martyrdom

According to another narration, Imam Husayn (a) had stated in Mecca (ص) أني رأيت جدى (ص) فى منامى وقد أمروني بأمر وأنا ماض لأمره “ I had a dream about my forefather. He commanded “ [\(1\)](#) something for implementing which I am going.”

On the strength of this very dream Imam wrote a letter to Sa'id Ibn 'As saying (وأعلمك) أني رأيت جدى فى منامى مخبرنى بأمر وأنا ماض له “ I inform you that I had a dream about my [\(2\)](#) forefather. Since he notified me of something I am seeking for.”

In Khuzaymiyya, Zaynab (S) came to Imam and said, “At midnight I heard a yell, What was it?” Imam inquired. She replied “An invisible speaker was yelling out

ألا يا عين فاحتفلى بجهد ومن يبكى على الشهداء بعدى

على قوم تسوقهم المنايا بمقدار الى انجاز وعدى

“O eye! Rejoice as much as you can. Who shall shed tears for the martyrs after me“

p: ٥٧٨

Ibid vol. V, p. ٥١ –١

Ibid vol. V, p. ١١٦; see also Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٩١, he had written the same –٢ to ‘Abd Allah Ibn Ja’far as well See also Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ٢٠٢

”.Death is approaching this tribe in order to make my vow unconditional

“[\(3\)](#) Whatsoever Allah has foreordained will assuredly materialize”, Imam stressed.

Others are when Imam arrived in Karbala. After he asked what the area was called, he stated

لقد مرّ أبى بهذا المكان عند مسيره الى صفين وأنا معه فوقف فسأل عنه فأخبر باسمه؛ فقال ها هنا محطّ ركابهم وها هنا مهراق دمائهم، فسئل عن ذلك، فقال: ثقل لآل بيت محمد ينزلون ها هنا “

Once my father on his way to Siffin asked the name of this area. When he was answered and while I was with him, he expressed that here would be where they would dismount and their blood would be shed. Being asked, he replied that a group [from the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt would dismount here.” \(2\)](#)

It was in the afternoon when Imam in Tha'labiyya lay down and fell asleep. As soon as he woke up he began sobbing. After 'Ali Akbar asked the reason, he said

انّى رأيت فارساً على فرس حتى وقف علىّ فقال: يا حسين! أنكم تسرعون المسير والمنايا لكم تسرع الى الجنّة. فعلمت أن أنفسنا قد نعت الينا “

There was a man on horseback who came nearer and stopped before us saying, “O Husayn! The fast you are proceeding on this way, the fast your death is moving [towards Paradise,” I realized that our souls are bidding farewell to us.” \(3\)](#)

,In 'Ashura morning, Imam told his sister

يا أختاه انى رأيت جدى فى المنام وأبى علياً وفاطمه أُمى وأخى الحسن عليهم السلام فقالوا: أنّك رائح الينا عن قريب وقد

p: ٥٧٩

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٢٢ –١

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢٥٣ –٢

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ١٧٧; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٢٣ –٣

والله يا أختاه دنا الامر فى ذلك لا شك

O sister! Last night my forefather, my father 'Ali, my mother Fatima and my brother, “Hasan, were all in my dream saying that I will join them soon. O sister! By Almighty [Allah and beyond any doubt the time is ripe.” \(4\)](#)

Concerning the eve of 'Ashura, it is quoted from Imam as stating that he had a dream about the Holy Prophet along with a number of his companions who had said يا بنى! أنت

O my son! A martyr of Muhammad's family is you. The heavens and the dwellers of the lofty heavens have given you glad tidings. Tonight you are supposed to break your fast (beside me, so hasten.” (۲)

Elsewhere Mujahid has narrated from Amir al-Mu'minin delivering a sermon in Kufa What will you do if you see your Prophet's “ كيف أنتم إذا أتاكم أهل بيت نبيكم يحمل قويمهم ضعيفهم ”.household while the stronger one carries the weaker one

.We will do so and so”, the audience responded“

You accept and “ تورردن ثم تعرّدون ثم تطيعون البراءه ولايبراهه لكم ”,Shaking his head, Imam added (then change your mind. You prefer to disgust whereas you are not disgusted.” (۳)

These examples all imply Imam's knowledge about the event in Karbala previous to his martyrdom. Notwithstanding, it is by all means natural that neither Imam Husayn, nor the Prophet manipulated the factor of invisibility

p: ۵۸۰

al-Futuh, vol. V, pp ۱۷۵-۱۷۶ -۱

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ۱۸۱ -۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۸۲ -۳

in their political lives. Except the time of substantiating the fact of Prophethood and Imam, the Prophet's and the twelve Imams' conduct was compatible with the .existing political evaluation

This kind of Divine knowledge was what they have been informed by Allah through distinct ways either by Gabriel, in a dream or alike owing to the fact that the principle of invisibility is beyond all's power but Allah's. Deeming the Prophet (S) as well as Imams' role models and vanguards is founded on the existing state and ostensible .evaluation not the unseen

It has been the policy of all the prophets and Imams in their natural lives. In this

respect many historical and scholastic analyses are done but they are beyond the capacity of this concise book and require an independent study

The Role of Religious Deviations in Karbala Event

The Islamic community in the year the event of Karbala took place, had greatly differed from that in the last year of Prophet's life. The trend of deviation has been however gradual, according to many of researchers, the basis thereof was established from the first years after the Prophet's departure

The foregoing deviations were in such a way that the politicians could avail themselves of them to not only delude the people but also justify their despotism. The ones who played a crucial role in the origination and the development of such deviations were the Umayyads. The power notably secured by Yazid revealed the fact that never had the Umayya believed in a genuine Islam and their belief was

p: ٥٨١

merely a covering people had spread in order to justify and concede their sovereignty

Having accused the Umayya of oppression and enmity,^(١) Imam Husayn (a) had described them as those who “obey Satan, disobey Allah, propagate misdeeds, disregard Allah's specified rules and also encroach upon Bayt al-Mal (public treasury)”^(٢) In addition to creating corruption and ignoring divine limits, they had distorted a large number of religious concepts and misused them. Here let's discuss a few of them which had impacts in the course of Karbala according to historical evidence

Obedience to Imams, the necessity of Community and unlawfulness of breach of“allegiance was three common political terms used by caliphs. It may be claimed that the above-mentioned terms could have guaranteed the base and the persistence of the caliphate

Anyhow, these three terms were right principles among the religious, political and

Islamic concepts of which observing for the sake of the community was reasonably incumbent. Obeying an Imam denotes obeying the ruling system. The question raised is that to what extent the ruler should be complied with. Is it imperative that a just Imam be followed or an unjust monarch ought to be obeyed too? Earlier we discussed .it in detail while considering 'Uthman's caliphate

Upholding Community implies avoiding disturbance or taking no action to undermine the unity or pave the ground for the emergence of a shaky Islamic community. The considerable question is whether silence should be kept before despotic monarchism or a libertine ruler under any circumstances in other words, should

p: ٥٨٢

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٣٧ –١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ١٧١; al-Futuh, vol. V, pp ١٤٤–١٥; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, –٢ Not you see *انه لا يتناهى عنه* p. ٣٠٤; elsewhere, Imam had stated how the gospel is not practiced but the credal error is endlessly practiced? Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٣٠٥; Ibn 'Asakir, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ٢١٤ Also Imam had The Prophet's Sunnah is dissolved while heresies *فان السنه قد أميتت وان البدعه قد أحييت* are revived Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٦٦

any objection be suppressed relying on the fact that it spoils “Community” and causes
?“disunion

Unlawfulness of breach of allegiance, namely fulfilling a pledge is heavily underlined in Islam. Since breaking a pledge or an allegiance is prohibited seriously, it stands to .reason how much the role of which in political affairs can be positive

But if the allegiance were not sworn to caliphs like Yazid or it were breached and consequently Community was spoiled, would it again follow the principle of unlawfulness of breach of allegiance or would it basically be an exception to the rule? As already alluded to the Umayya caliphs and later those of Banu 'Abbas by manipulating such concepts, however distorted and unconditional, compelled the .people to acquiesce their sovereignty

After Mu'awiya had secured allegiance for his son, Yazid, he went to Medina to coerce the opponents to swear. 'Ayisha was among in view of the fact that his brother, Muhammad Ibn Abu Bakr, had been martyred by Mu'awiya

When the issue of allegiance was propounded, Mu'awiya told her, “I have secured Never allegiance for Yazid from all Muslims, if you will “ *انى لا أرى ذلك ولكن عليك بالرفق والتأني* “ [\(do I pronounce it lawful but act moderately toward people instead.\)](#) ⁽¹⁾

This case in point demonstrates how 'Ayisha was ever convinced. Let's consider one other instance. As stated by Ibn Ishaq, they were doing prayers (perhaps in al-Haram mosque) they noticed that Shimr Ibn Dhi l-Jawshan, being with them, had raised his hands saying “O Allah! You are

p: ٥٨٣

al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. ٢٣٧; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ١٨٣ –١

”well-aware of my nobleness, so forgive me

I told him, added Ibn Ishaq, how could you ever be forgiven whereas you have aided“
”?and abetted in murdering the Prophet's son

.What have we preformed?” Shimr reacted“

It was the mandates of our commanders and we could in no way defy them”. If“
We would be far more inferior to water carrier“ *كنا شراً من هذه الحمر السقا* “ [\(beasts.\)](#) ⁽¹⁾

Apprehending him, Ibn Ziyad told Muslim Ibn 'Aqil *يا شاق! خرجت على امامك وشققت عصا المسلمين*
O outlaw! You have seceded from your Imam and have sowed the seeds of discord “
[\(among Muslims.\)](#) ⁽²⁾

Muslim who never yielded to such a digression, riposted that Mu'awiya not only did not procure the caliphate through the consensus of opinions of the nation at all, but he overcame the Holy Prophet's successor through deception and usurped his caliphate

When Imam Husayn was about to leave Mecca, the deputies of 'Amr Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'As, Do you not fear from Allah for” “الا- تتقى الله تخرج عن الجماعه بين هذه الامم” the governor, said seceding from the Muslim congregation and for causing disunion among the nation?”

﴿٣﴾

We have never ever ignored disobeying Imam, nor have we seceded from“ Community” affirmed 'Amr Ibn Hajjaj, a commander of Ibn Ziyad's.﴿٤﴾

ألزموا طاعتكم وجماعتكم ولا ترتابوا في قتل من مرق عن الدين وخالف الامام Advising Ibn Ziyad's army, he added “Not ever fail to remember obedience and union and at no time do you doubt” about killing the one seceding from the religion

p: ٥٨٤

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ١٩٧; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, Lisan al-Mizan, vol. -١ III, p. ١٥١ (Al-Humayr As-Saqqa'at

al-Futuh, bol ٥, p. ٩٨ -٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٢٨٩; such adverse publicity had made, the majority of -٣ people specially those from Damascus to consider Imam Husayn as an outsider (the one seceding) and to accuse him of heresy

Tarikh at-Tabari, p. ٢٧٥ -٤

﴿١﴾ (and being at variance with Imam (ruler).”

Figures like 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar who was among the Sunnites religious jurists and hadith-narrators, had imagined that if entire people acquiesced to swear the oath .of allegiance to Yazid, they would consent too

I shall“ ﴿٢﴾ He had given his assurance to Mu'awiya oppose you unless people all swear allegiance to your son, Yazid. He also had addressed Imam as saying, “Do cause not disunion among Muslims!” ﴿٣﴾

Such individuals as 'Umar and 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf's daughter had written to Imam to regard obedience with reverence and treat Community and its upholding as

Another religious deviation in the Islamic community was “belief in fatalism”. Previous to the event of Karbala this belief has been misused. In Early Islamic Era, however, Mu'awiya had been the reviver of which or according to Abu Hilal 'Askari he was the (initiator of which. (5

Referring to the fact that Mu'awiya is the founder of “fatalism”, Qad'i 'Abd al-Jabbar has quoted Mu'awiya making as remarkable remarks (6) as follows
القضاء وليس للقضاء الخيره من أمرهم (7) “This matter concerning Yazid is a destiny from among
”.Divine destinies and no one has any volition in this regard

Was Allah not the “أولم يقتل الله علياً؟”, Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad asked Iman as-Sajjad (a' “?One who killed 'Ali Akbar

I had an elder brother whom “كان لي أخ يقال له علي، اكبر مني قتله الناس” Imam's response was

p: ٥٨٥

Ibid p. ٣٣١ – ١

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ١٦٧, as described by Mu'awiya, Ibn 'Umar was a – ٢
coward (Ibn A'tham, vol. IV, p. ٢٦٠) He advised Imam Husayn saying “Do not rise up,
be patient, compromise as others did See also al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ٣٩; Tarjamat al-

Imam al-Husayn, p. ١٦٦

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ١٧ – ٣

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ١٦٧ – ٤

al-Awa'il, Askari, vol. II, p. ١٢٥ – ٥

Fad'l al-I'tizal wa Tabaqat al-Mu'tazila, p. ١٤٣ – ٦

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp ١٨٣, ١٨٧ – ٧

(people killed.” (1

Once 'Umar Ibn Sa'd was objected why he killed Imam Husayn solely for the sake of
(Riy governorship, he replied that such an affair had been predestined. (2

When alive, Ka'b al-Ahbar had been foretelling that under no conditions would authority be secured by the Hashimites, (although later both the 'Abbasids and 'Alawites could secure it as an instance in Tabaristan). It has been quoted from 'Abd Any time you“ “ فاذا رأيت الهاشمى قد ملك الزمان فقد هلك الزمان Allah Ibn 'Umar as well, as saying realized that one from the Hashimites has secured the authority, conclude that it is (that end of the world.” (۳)

The consequences of these kinds of deviations for the future generations were that Imam Husayn's movement has never been considered as an uprising against (immorality in Sunnism but an illegal insurgency. (۴)

Political Impacts of the Event of Karbala on Shi'ism

The event of Karbala is among the determining incidents in the process of Shi'ites genesis in history. It was earlier mentioned that Shi'ism theories in general and its most elementary principle namely Imamah in particular can thoroughly be traced in the Holy Qur'an and Sunna both. Notwithstanding, the historical separation of Shi'ite .Muslims from the other existing parties occurred quite gradually

Both lifestyle and the ideas left as memorials from Imam 'Ali's caliphate could to much extent cohere Shi'ism intellectually. The Umayyad advocating their self-fabricated Islam the nature and the discrepancy of which from the authentic Islam never revealed by Mu'awiya's policies could evidently be unveiled in the course of Yazid's .caliphate

Throughout the vent

p: ۵۸۶

Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ۱۸۸ – ۱

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. ۱۴۸ – ۲

Ibn 'Asakir, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. ۱۹۳ – ۳

Tarikh Islam, Cambridge University, vol. I, p. ۸۱ (English text); See also al-Ikhtilaf fil- ۴
laf", pp ۴۷-۴۹

of Karbala, the historical separation of Shi'ite Muslims from others affected by the Islam backed by the Umayyads finalized. From then onwards, distinguishing Shi'ite Muslims as the followers of Sunna, 'Ali and his successors seemed truly a simple task

Amongst the Shi'ite Muslims there, existed a number who were from all standpoint followers of Imam and regarded them as the Prophet's successors elected by him. The limit of Shi'ism, on the other hand, on the part of other groups from Iraq, etc was [\(1\)](#) only the superiority they believed for 'Alawites over Umayyads.

Those who achieved martyrdom beside Imam Husayn in Karbala were among the Shi'ite Muslims describing Imamate as the only prerogative of 'Ali and his descendants. Imam himself on various occasions had frequently recommended people to leave the right to the rightful and contribute to him as well. The Umayyads were in truth the usurpers this very right. [\(2\)](#) Somewhere he had stated "O people! This is I, a son" بنت رسول الله ونحن أولى بولايه هذه الامور عليكم من هولاء المدعين ما ليس لهم ٢٢٩ " (of Prophet's daughter'. We are superior in your guardianship to the false claimants." [\(3\)](#)

And I deserve it more than any one else for" [\(4\)](#) "Elsewhere "my kinship with Allah's Messenger

Furthermore, Imam's disciples had appreciated different opportunities by presenting such a belief either in verses of poem or prose. Said by Muslim Ibn Ziyad was that by Almighty Allah on no accounts was it Mu'awiya's right to

p: ٥٨٧

١- In "Tarikh tashayyu' dar Iran" we have discussed in detail

٢- Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ١٧٠; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ١٣٥

٣- al-Futuh, vol.V, p. ١٣٧

٤- al-Futuh, vol. V, pp ١٤٤-١٤٥

be a caliph. He overcame the Prophet's successor by deception and usurped his caliphate. [\(1\)](#) 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Abd Allah Yazani, one of Imam's companions in

,Karbala, had composed

أنا بن عبدالله من آل يزن دينى على دين حسين وحسن

I am 'Abd Allah's son from Yazan family. My religion is the same as those of Husayn “
(and Hasan.” (٢)

,Addressing Imam Husayn (a), Hajjaj Ibn Masruq had composed

ثم أباك ذا الندى علينا ذاك الذى نعرفه الوصياً

You father, 'Ali, is sportsman like. He is the one whom we consider as the Prophet's “
(successor.” (٣)

,It was composed by Hilal Ibn Nafi' Bajali

أنا الغلام التميمى البجلى دينى على دين حسين وعلى ٢١٧٤

This is from Banu Tamim and Bajali and I believe in the religion Husayn and his “
.father, 'Ali believe

,In some verses 'Uthman Ibn 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib had composed

انى أنا عثمان ذو المناخر شيخى على ذو الفعال الطاهر

و ابن عم النبى الطاهر أخو حسين خيره الاخائر

و سيد الكبار والاصاغر بعد الرسول والوصى الناصر ٢١٧٥

The possessor of honor is no one but me. My master, 'Ali, is the actor of all purely “
good deeds. The causin of the immaculate Prophet is me. I am the brother of Husayn,
the most chosen of the chosen and the master of the youngest and the eldest after
”.the Prophet and his successor

”.My religion is the religion of 'Ali “ أنا الجملى أنا على دين على After Nafi' Ibn Hilal had said

”.My religion is that of 'Uthman“ أنا على دين عثمان (٤), A person from the rival army said

Ibid vol. V, p. ٩٨ –١

Ibid vol. V, p. ١٩٤ –٢

Ibid vol. V, p. ١٩٩ –٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ٣٣١, ٣٣٦ –٤

discerned from these verses and others quoted from 'Abbas Ibn 'Ali and others is the Shi'ites belief of Imam's followers not only in political arena but also in ideological one

Transfer of Caliphate to the Marwanids

Dispute Between Hijaz and Damascus

Seemingly subsequent to Imam Husayn's martyrdom, there existed no hurdle facing the Umayya. It was Yazid's impudence that had one of the Muhajirun's descendant, 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr, muster up courage and cause turbulence in Hijaz. Although one of the instigators of the war of Jamal was he, during Imam Husayn's several-month presence in Mecca, despite his own mind and due to his political harmony with Imam, he established a good rapport with him. (Stipulated by all historians, however, is that he wished Imam had gone to Kufa and Hijaz had been prepared for him. Every thing .(went on favorably

Imam Husayn was martyred. There remained no competitor for 'Abd Allah in Hijaz. Nevertheless, not only he did by no means intend to battle against Yazid overtly, but also had claimed that he wanted the caliphate not for himself and he proposed that the sequence and designation of the caliphs be in accordance with the “council” [\(1\)](#) He, .however, began securing allegiance from the people of Hijaz covertly

Being extremely concerned about the probable aftermath of Karbala movement, Yazid exerted himself to invoke trickery like his father. Accordingly, he sent presents to Ibn Zubayr. In no way did he accept. As soon as he aggravated his conflict, a group from Mecca and Medina joined him. [\(2\)](#) ٢١٧٨

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV pp ۱۶, ۱۷-۱

Ibid p. ۱۷-۲

of the distinguished of Damascus to silence him through alluring and menacing. As well as indicting Yazid for corruption, he announced that revolting was not his intention and he had chosen the shrine to be secure from Yazid and others. He described himself as a pigeon among the pigeons of the shrine. (۱)۲۱۷۹

Yazid was set to suppress Ibn Ziyad's movement as soon as possible. He commanded Medina governor, 'Amr Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'As, as a result, to delegate a group to kill Ibn Zubayr in Mecca. (۲) 'Amr Ibn Sa'id also sent 'Amr Ibn Zubayr, who was 'Abd Allah's brother and Umayya on his mother's side, to accompany the army going for a battle

A clash between he and his brother in the vicinity of Mecca ended to 'Amr's defeat and capture. All the excruciating tortures he sustained under the name of Islamic punishment limits for his atrocities caused him so enervated that he lost his life in 'Abd Allah's prison with no doctor. (۳)۲۱۸۱

This incident had prompted the followers of Zubayr to feel more powerful and absorb people in both Medina and Ta'if. Since Ibn Zubayr considered Walid Ibn 'Uqba who had replaced 'Amr Ibn Sa'id perilous in Medina, he urged Yazid in a letter to substitute a sedate one for him if he wanted the state to improve. No sooner was 'Uthman Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Sufyan appointed (۴) than their pressure exerted on the (Umayyads being in Mecca and Ta'if multiplied. (۵)

There, two towns at a regular pace were seized by

al-Futuh, vol. V, pp ٢٨٥, ٢٨٦; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV p. ٢٨ -٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٣٠ -٤

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ٢٧٧ -٥

Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr. Now Damascus was assured that in order to pacify Hijaz, its forces never suffice and it was obliged to seek help from the dwellers of Damascus

The Battle of Harra Waqim

Among the most detestable atrocities committed by the Umayya following Imam Husayn's martyrdom was one notorious for the event of Harra in Islamic history. This event is connected to the revolt of Medina in ٢٦th or ٢٧th Dhu-Hajja, ٦٣ A.H.(١), not ٦٢(٢) nor ٦٤(٣) A.H. which culminated in bloodletting by Damascus army. Three versions as alluded to by historians elucidating the motivations behind the revolt

First: According to Baladhuri when 'Abd Allah murdered his brother, 'Amr, he summoned people to balk at obeying Yazid and to combat against him. Later than Medina which was called upon. Hijaz bowed to be dutiful to him. 'Abd Allah Ibn Muti' secured allegiance from Medina on behalf of Ibn Zubayr. Upon hearing the news, Yazid appealed to the governor for dispatching the distinguished of Medina to him for (affability....(٤

As indicated through this version, Medina stood against Yazid as a result of swearing allegiance to Ibn Zubayr, due to the fact that subsequent to the event of Harra, Ibn Zubayr had proclaimed to his adherents, "Your friends were all massacred in the event".٢١٨٨Abul-Faraj has also presented interpretation concerning how Medina deposed Yazid from caliphate and swore allegiance to Ibn Zubayr in the process of its revolt.٢١٨٩

Second: Written by Ya'qubi is that once 'Uthman Ibn Muhammad was appointed as the governor of Medina, in order Ibn Mina

p: ٥٩١

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٢٥١; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٤٢ -٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٣٧٤ mentioned as untrue -٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٣١ -٤

as usual to take Sawafi -the picked-out objects from Bayt al-Mal exclusively for the caliph- he went to Medina. Deeming them their own properties, a number of people inhibited him from taking. The insurrection and dismissal of the Umayya from the town stemmed from the verbal dispute occurred between people and the governor.٢١٩٠ Like this narration Ibn Qutayba has also narrated.٢١٩١

Third: Tabari's version is that after 'Uthman Ibn Muhammad's appointment, he sent a group from among the distinguished of Medina to Yazid to be endowed with his affability and generosity. While returning from Damascus, they commenced Being "ليس له دين، يشرب الخمر، يغرف بالطنابير ويضرب عنده القيان ويلعب بالكلاب" ,slandering Yazid irreligious, he drinks, he plays lute, plays with the dogs and his slaves play music for him".

In lieu of admiring him, they, consequently, declared that they would neither comply [\(١\)](#) with him nor approve his sovereignty.

It seems that all the three points were taken into account. Immediately after proposing the first matter, Baladhuri propounded the third one. Zubayr-orientedness has certainly been considered as a fundamental element in Hijaz. The second matter .was then what could pave the ground for nation's disgust from the Umayya

In historical sources Hijaz is famed for being Abu Bakr- and 'Umar-oriented whereas Damascus famed for being Umayyads-oriented and such places as Iraq for Shi'ism and alike. Such a feature attributed to the people of Hijaz particularly people of Medina who had been accomplices in 'Uthman's assassination, impeded them to be approved by the Umayya

.and vice versa

Moreover, Medina which had observed 'Umar's open-handedness including both Muhajirun and Ansar, now could in no way tolerate the Umayya when noticing how .Mu'awiya and his son treated for taking the properties

Ibn Zubayr's emergence in political scene as well as the Umayya's fragility in Hijaz laid the foundations for the riot of Medina. Yazid's attempt for pacifying them through [\(۱\)](#) 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far remained abortive.

Nu'man Ibn Bashir, a pro-Umayyads Ansar, (converting to a pro-Zubayr one and killed later) went to Medina to summon the people to “obedience to Imam” and “observing community” on behalf of Yazid, [\(۲\)](#) people declined, nevertheless. Tabari has quoted [\(۳\)](#) 'Amr Ibn Sa'id as saying, “Both Mecca and Medina incline towards Ibn Zubayr.”

The insurgents besieged the Umayya together with their followers and governors being as many as one thousand assembled in Marwan Ibn Hakam's house and then [\(۴\)](#) expelled them disdainfully while children were hurling stones.

They bet that if the expelled swore not to return along with the Damascus army, they would be allowed to leave the city. They assented although atrocious individuals like Marwan [\(۵\)](#) breached their promise. As this expulsion is introduced by Waqidi to be done by Ibn Zubayr, he has added that the total number of those expelled from Mecca, Medina and other areas had been some four thousand people. [\(۶\)](#) In accordance with Ibn A'tham the insurgents were led by 'Abd Allah Ibn Hanzala Ghasil [\(۷\)](#) al-Mala'ika at Ibn Zubayr's behest, the governor of Medina.

Wearied of his political strategies for silencing

p: ۵۹۳

Ibid vol. IV, p. ۳۶۹; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۳۲ –۳

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۲۰۸ –۴

Ibid vol. I, p. ۲۱۰ –۵

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, pp ۳۷, ۳۸ –۶

al-Futuh, vol. V, pp ۲۹۲–۲۹۳ –۷

Ibn Zubayr as well as Medina, Yazid sent an army to Medina. The commander of the army was Muslim Ibn 'Uqba who slaughtered so many people that he was named “Musraf” (prodigal killer). Apparently, his five-thousand-soldier(۱) army was sufficient for suppressing Mecca and Medina through the number might have been higher

The people of Damascus were allowed to loot the town and take the possession of other's properties after gaining victory.(۲) When being dispatched, they received their (proportion from Bayt al-Mal thoroughly in addition to surplus a hundred Dinars.(۳)

The residents of Medina dug trenches at the entrance to the town (exactly where the Prophet had dug on the course connecting the western Harra to the eastern in Northern Medina) for the purpose of protecting the town. They were led 'Abd Allah Ibn Muti', Ma'qal Ibn Sanan together with 'Abd Allah Ibn Hanzala at the top who was killed with his son during the clash

Instantly after the Damascus armies arrived in Medina, they settled in the district of Harra in consultation with 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan expelled along with other members of the Umayya. They could also flourish to take in a number of Banu Haritha with the help of Marwan by financial promises(۴) and penetrate into the town

Their invasion and clashes lasted less than twenty four hours, they could besiege the town, however.(۵) As already pledged by Yazid entire possessions of the town belonged to the armies for a three-day period, hence they spared no crime in this respect

p: ۵۹۴

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۲۰۹; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. ۳۷۲ -۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۲۳; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۳۷۱ -۳

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۲۱۱ -۴

Some had already predicted the inefficiency of the people of Medina (Al-Imama wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۲۱۰) and some others and amazed at their submission (Al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp ۲۱۶, ۲۱۷)

At this juncture, not only many were slayed but also a large number of women were [raped.](#)[\(۱\)](#)

Muslim Ibn 'Uqba murdered a multitude of the captives including a few from Quraysh.[\(۲\)](#) Among the victims were a group from the Prophet's companions who [were beheaded later.](#)[\(۳\)](#)

Reported by Ibn Qutayba the death toll included one thousand and seven hundred Ansar, Muhajir and their offspring plus ten thousand ordinary people.[\(۴\)](#) He has added that as many as eighty people from companions were also killed.[\(۵\)](#) Haytham Ibn 'Adi has recorded six thousand and five hundred casualties.[\(۶\)](#) Reported by Mas'udi is ninety and so from Quraysh, the mentioned number from Ansar and four thousand [others identified.](#)[\(۷\)](#)

What has been narrated by Ibn A'tham is that Muhajirun's offspring had been one thousand and three hundred while those of Ansar had been one thousand and seven hundred.[\(۸\)](#) This figure is except the common victims. These pieces of data depict how many citizens were decimated and how many houses were looted in the course of the [incident](#)

Awana Ibn Hakam has stated that when they invaded the town from the side of Banu' Haritha, the only house which remained immune was Usama Ibn Zayd's and the only woman was one from Himyar. They combated the people of Medina while calling them Jews.[\(۹\)](#) Within the event of Harra it was not simply Ansar who were borne a grudge by the Umayya but there also existed many a family from Muhajirun among the victims. Here we should make allowance for

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٣٧; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٢٥٠; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ٢٩٥ –١
 Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٣٧٨ –٢
 al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ٢١٣ –٣
 Ibid vol. I, p. ٢١٥ –٤
 Ibid vol. I, pp ٢١٦, ٢٢٠ –٥
 Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٤٢ –٦
 Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٧٠ –٧
 al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ٢٩٥ –٨

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٣٧ As it can be perceived, Muslim Ibn 'Uqba's atrocities –٩
 have been to the extent that Tabari, Ibn Qutayba, Baladhuri, etc have explicitly
 enumerated them But can it be justified why Wellhausen defended him and starved
 to acquit him, (Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. ١٥٦) Afterwards, he tried to introduce
 the discord between Damascus and Medina as purely political; nonetheless, it is clear
 that such an outlook was solely for exonerating both Damascus and the Umayya We
 do never intend to totally define the people of Medina but it ought to be borne in mind
 that religious motivations could have by no means be ineffective, (Ibid p. ١٦١) Under
 other circumstances, also his defen of Damascus is noticeable, (p. ١٦٢) Supporting
 Hajjaj as well as denying the charges laid on him are among the cases (pp ٢٤٧, ٢٤٨) He
 (had also described sensual Sulayman as a pious man (p. ٢٥٦

:two points

It can be claimed politically that although the scene was set for the invasion in early ١٠
 ٤٠s, amongst the most crucial points meriting consideration is the participation of
 Medina in 'Uthman's assassination in ٣٦ AH. Having counted hopefully on 'Uthman and
 specifically considering Medina as a principal accomplice of the assassination, the
 Umayya called the event of Harra as a retaliatory reaction. It was the notion of
 (Yazid.)

Another evidence is that this man namely, Muslim Ibn 'Uqba was captured in the Holy
 Prophet's term in Ghatafan. A woman from Ansar purchased and then liberated him.

When he was appealed in the course of the event for having regard to them for the sake of his past, he responded [\(You are 'Uthman's assassins.” \(٢\) “](#) لكنكم قتلتم عثمان “ [\(٢\) “](#)

As soon as the news of the event spread, Yazid recited the poem Ibn Zib'ara had composed in Uhud i.e. [ليت أشياخي ببدر شهدوا “](#) I wish my forefathers had been present in [\(Badr observing.” \(٣\) “](#)

Alluding to taking revenge of Ansar for slaying Quraysh in Badr. While the Damascus army was invading Medina, it yelled out [O revengers for 'Uthman's “](#) يا لشارت عثمان “ [\(blood.” \(٤\) “](#)

Subsequent to the event of Harra, Muslim announced, “Now I am extremely thrilled to [\(kill 'Uthman's assassins” \(٥\) “](#)

Later on 'Abd al-Malik addressed Medina as saying [انكم لا- تحبوننا وأنتم تذكرون يوم الحرة ونحن لانحبكم أبداً ونحن نذكر مقتل عثمان “](#) You do dislike us due to the event of Harra and we do so [\(due to 'Uthman's murder.” \(٦\) “](#)

.٢

p: ٥٩٦

Abul-Faraj al-Aghani, vol. I, p. ١٤-١

Abul-Faraj, al-Aghani, vol. I, p. ١٤-٢

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢٦٧; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٤٢-٣

al-Imama wal-Siyasa, vol.I, p. ٢٠٨-٤

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٤١-٥

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ١٢٢-٦

Another matter was the staunch belief in “obedience to the caliph” and “observing community” prevailing among the people in Damascus and it was the Umayya who had made them firmly cleave to these principles. Such a belief was the main means [\(for provoking and deploying them to Medina.\(١\) “](#)

Deep-rootedly faithful to the principles, Muslim Ibn 'Uqba consented to attacking

Medina and trespassing its sacred limits. After the massacre he said, “O my God, Thou art all aware that under no conditions have I disobeyed a caliph neither publicly nor privately. I consider the annihilation of the residents of Harra my worthiest deed after
(There is no God but Allah.” (٢) “ لا اله الا الله ,the avowal of

Nothing has so far been more adorable for me than turning cleansed. Now after“
(wiping off these corrupt people I feel entirely cleansed”, added he. (٣)

Husayn Ibn Numayr, Muslim's successor, quoted him while breathing his last enroute to Mecca subsequent to the event as saying
“ اللهم انك تعلم انى لم اشاق خليفه ولم افارق جماعه قط
O Allah! You are well conscious that I have never ever stood against a caliph “
فاغفرلى “ (٤)
(nor have I dared to secede from Community, so forgive me.” (٤)

The impacts of such religious deviations were discussed in the chapter concerning Karbala uprising. The principles of observing Community and obedience to Imam yet admissible, the main condition of obeying an Imam is venerating the religious limits and stipulations on his part

The Damascus army after accomplishing their operations in Medina set out

p: ٥٩٧

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ٣٧٥ – ١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٤٠; Ibn A'tham, vol. V, p. ٣٠١ – ٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٤١ – ٣

Ibid vol. IV, p. ٤٢; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٣٨٢; previously, we discussed it entitled – ٤

“Religious Deviation in Karbala

to Mecca to repeat the same crimes against Ibn Zubayr and his followers. Muslim passed away on the way and then Husayn Ibn Numayr replaced him at Yazid's behest. He proceeded and for a several-month period settled on the outskirts of Mecca and threw stones and balls of fire to the divine shrine from the pinnacles of the
(mountains through catapults. (١)

Becoming informed of Yazid's death in Rabi' al-Awwal ٤٤ A.H., he ultimately called a truce. Husayn, who had entered Mecca for the purpose of pilgrimage following a concord, proposed Ibn Zubayr to accompany him to Damascus and lay the groundwork for his caliphate. He declined, however. (٢) In order to take part in the activities prevalent in Damascus regarding the caliphate, he returned. The way was wholly paved for Ibn Zubayr in Iraq since 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad had rushed to Damascus upon hearing Yazid's demise

At this stage, there was no obstacle facing Ibn Zubayr in Hijaz. The vital troubles were in Iraq in view of the fact that his plans for domination were thwarted by the Shi'ite Muslims who were extricated from the Umayya's domination and had gained a profound influence on the city

.The Penitents' Movement in ٤٥ A.H

Tawwabin's Movement occurred in ٤٥ against the Umayya's sovereignty and for the purpose of eradicating Husayn Ibn 'Ali's assassins although the start of which had sparked emotionally with in the hearts of a huge number of the Shi'ite Muslims after the even of Karbala. The Kufiyan Shi'ite Muslims, who had become conscience-stricken at leaving Imam

p: ٥٩٨

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ٣٠١; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ٢٤٨-١

al-Futuh, vol. V, p. ٣٠٤-٢

Husayn helpless in Karbala, were determined to make amends at all costs. Not supporting Imam Husayn had become an unforgivable sin in their sight the compensation thereof would be feasible provided that they be killed or kill his assassins

The Umayya and their agents had Kufa under their thumbs for a while following the event in Karbala. Despite the suppression of the Shi'ite Muslims and the existing restlessness created by Ibn Zubayr in the easternmost part of the Islamic land, the

Shi'ite Muslims were still deemed perilous. Here recounting an example of the Shi'ite Muslims' valour against 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad looks appropriate

Some day after the event of Karbala 'Ubayd Allah on the pulpit in a mosque proclaimed. "Exaltation does solely belong to Allah who made the truth prevail and aided Amir al-Mu'minin Yazid Ibn Mu'awiya and his party

As soon as he heard, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Afif Azdi who had lost the use of one of his eyes in Jamal and the other in Siffin stood up and dissented, "O liar! O liar's son! By Almighty Allah you, your father with the one designating you and his father murder the Prophet's descendants, and now talk like the truthful

"O Allah's foe! What are you saying about 'Uthman?" 'Ubayd Allah asked

He was a man who did both good and bad, both reformed and corrupted. It is Allah's Providence to treat justly. Why do you not inquire about yourself, your father, Yazid and his father?" 'Abd Allah retorted

Ubayd Allah said furiously, "Never shall I

p: ٥٩٩

inquire so that I can take your life. I have constantly beseeched Him to bestow martyrdom on me. Before you were born I lost the use of my eye hence I relinquished my hope." "But now I offer my gratitude to Him who is accepting my prayer," calmly uttered 'Abd Allah.

When the turmoil caused by Ibn Zubayr flared up in Mecca and the appearance of a revolt in Kufa was probable, Ibn Ziyad summoned 'Amr Ibn Hurayth, Kufa's governor, to delineate to what extent the news is reliable

He stated, "Ibn Zubayr is never threatening for Amir al-Mu'minin Yazid. What perturbs me is 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims. Is there anyone in Kufa nowadays who feels affection for him?"

Definitely no one adores him but abhors him," answered 'Amr Ibn Hurayth

Ibn Ziyad named Mukhtar as an instance. Later, Ibn Hurayth apprehended Mukhtar (۲) until 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar went to his assistance

Next adventures proved that 'Ali's and his descendant's faithful followers were myriad in Kufa who were secretly in contact with one another those days. The dilemma facing the Shi'ite Muslims was double-sided

One was from the Umayya's side and the other from the side of the nobles and a large number of Kufiyans who had been in the opposite front against Imam Husayn in Karbala; Therefore, the stance taken was anti-Shi'ism. A group of the Shi'ite Muslims set to take a revenge for Imam Husayn's martyrdom were necessarily hostile

p: ۶۰۰

al-Muhabbar, pp ۴۸۰-۴۸۱ -۱

al-Futuh, vol. V, pp ۲۶۸, ۲۶۹ -۲

(to Kufiyans as well who had martyred Imam.) (۱)

Succeeding Yazid's death in ۶۴, Shi'ite Muslims were called upon by Sulayman Ibn Surad Khuza'i. Many replied him in affirmative. (۲) But since the Umayya's sovereignty had not become unstable yet, there was no strong probability for their emergence. First of all they began dissemination and assembling the propagandists, they trained (and spread them around. (۳)

Little by little, the Umayya's state deteriorated. The second Mu'awiya, Yazid's son, either abdicated or was curbed by others. The status quo in Damascus was the scene of unrest. The clashes were arisen among 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr's adherents on the one hand and among Marwan Ibn Hakam's on the other hand. The consequence of such riots was nothing except the stabilization of The Umayya's sovereignty in Iraq and the abolition of which gradually notwithstanding, 'Abd al-Malik could take Iraq under the Umayya's rule once again in early ۷۰ A.H

The Shi'ite Muslims appreciated the convenient opportunity and maintaining their

endeavors commenced from ٦١ onwards to instruct forces and store weapons(٤) they began recruiting troops. Four eminent Shi'ite Muslims who were chosen as responsible for organizing with Sulayman were Musayyib Ibn Najba, 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Nawfal, Rufa'a Ibn Shaddad as well as 'Abd Allah Ibn Wal. A great number of (the renowned Shi'ite Muslims in Kufa took part in the session convened.(٥)

Delivering lectures in this convention, the Shi'ites leaders laid stress upon making amends for their oppressive behavior towards the right of the prophet's infallible household and leaving

p: ٦٠١

Ibid vol. VI, p. ٤٧ –١

Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, pp ٩٧, ٩٨ –٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٤٣٢; See also Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, p. ٩٧ –٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٤٣٢; See also Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, p. ٩٧ –٤

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٤٢٨ –٥

him all alone. They were intent on repenting and being killed to make up for their :misdeed.(١) By relying on the Qur'anic verse

يا قوم إنكم ظلمتم أنفسكم باتخاذكم العجل فتوبوا إلى بارئكم فاقتلوا أنفسكم

O my people! Thou have surely been unjust to thyselfes by taking the calf (for a god),“ (therefore turn to thy Creator (penitently), so kill thy people.” (٢)

In the meeting all reached an agreement to cooperate. Those who appealed for fiscal (help to the movement were supposed to refer to 'Abd Allah Ibn Wal.(٣)

The elderly man elected as the leader of the movement was Sulayman, from among Prophet's companions and Imam 'Ali's adherents. In his first action, he wrote to Sa'd Ibn Hudhayfa Ibn al-Yaman who was one of the special Shi'ite Muslims residing in Ctesiphon, a Shi'ites Muslim-populated area, to join them together with other Shi'ite Muslims if willing. He declared the predetermined date and place of departure. It was

[\(Rabi' al-Awwal, 1st. ٤٥ in Nukhayla, well-known barracks in Kufa. \(٤\)](#)

The words attributed to the penitents (Tawwabin) to have uttered in a sermon clearly manifest the content of the movement. Enumerating the greatness of the Prophet's descendants, 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Abd Allah hinted at how they were affronted in Karbala ,and while addressing the audience being Tawwabin, he affirmed how to repent

أما أدعوكم إلى كتاب الله وسنة نبيه والطلب بدماء أهل بيته وإلى جهاد المحليين والمارقين فَإِنْ قَتَلْنَا فَمَا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ خَيْرٌ لِلْأَبْرَارِ وَإِنْ ظَهَرْنَا، رَدَدْنَا هَذَا الْأَمْرَ إِلَى أَهْلِ بَيْتِ نَبِيِّنَا

I do call you“

p: ٤٠٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٢٠٤; Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, p. ٩٤; al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. ٥٠ -١

Al-Baqarah, ٥٤ -٢

Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, p. ٩٤ -٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ٤٣٠, ٤٣١; See also Ansab al-Ashraf vol. V, p. ٢٠٤; Tajarib -٤ al-Umam, vol. II, p. ٩٧; al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. ٥٢, a similar letter was also written to Basrian Shi'ite Muslims led by Muthanna Ibn Makhraba

towards the divine Book, the Prophet's Sunna, a revenge for Ahl al-Bayt's blood and Jihad against the deniers of the religion as well as Mariqin. Were we killed, whatsoever exclusively assigned to the benevolent would be the best. But if we could [\(succeed, the authority would be belonged to Ahl al-Bayt.” \(١\)](#)

Concurrent with launching the movement of Tawwabin, both Kufa and Basra were ruled by 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr's agents. As no one had replaced 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad in Iraq who had already fled to Damascus, 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr, the ruler of Mecca from ٤١ on, dispatched his agents to Iraq and accordingly the pro-Zubayr elements took the thorough power of oriental Islamic land. A man called 'Abd Allah Yazid Ansari .was appointed as governor and Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Talha as treasurer

Kufiyan noblemen who were every time in favor of the Umayya inwardly and

outwardly, straightly invoked 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr on learning that a Shi'ites movement was expected. On the other hand, Shi'ite Muslims and those having a tendency went towards Sulayman or Mukhtar as it will be noticed later

Vital for the Shi'ite Muslims was a reaction against both the nobles and the ruling system in Kufa. They were by no means two separate issues inasmuch as the governor of the town was a Zubayr-designated one and the nobles were also for the governorship. Hardly ever could Shi'ite Muslims clash them

Abd Allah Ibn Yazid, the governor, adopted initially a misleading stance to turn Shi'ite Muslims' attention

p: ٤٠٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٤٣٣ -١

to Damascus and goad them into confronting 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad's army departing from Damascus. He believed that they would be naturally supported if they searched for Husayn Ibn 'Ali's assassins

Since it was not vague that his assassin was no one but Ibn Ziyad, never would Tawwabin trigger off a wave of carnage inside the town [\(١\)](#). This taken stance not merely could contribute to the intratown security to be well safeguarded but could propel Zubayr's opponents to come into conflict with one another. And consequently pro-Zubayr men would simply get rid of their threats

Although the position was propounded a reconcilable one by such persons as Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Talha, and even if 'Abd Allah Ibn Yazid's real intention were not deceitful, it compelled Tawwabin to leave Kufa and encounter the major army of Damascus with their minor one

At all events it forced the Shi'ite Muslims to act openly and get fully equipped to [\(٢\)](#) proceed to Damascus. [\(٢\)](#)

Sulayman who was also gratified with military expedition to Damascus in a response

to those advising that Imam's assassins live in Kufa said that the foremost cause of
(the event was Ibn Ziyad.)^(۳)

By the same token no one defied. Sulayman had added that a battle inside Kufa would culminate in fratricide and automatically multiply the adversaries and figures like 'Umar Ibn Sa'd were not as powerful as Ibn Ziyad.^(۴) Sulayman might have implied
that he would meet his doom later

In the throes of the activities, Mukhtar, a prominent Shi'ites Muslim, arrived

p: ۶۰۴

See Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۴۳۸; Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, p. ۹۹; vol. IV, p. ۲۰۷-۱
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۲۰۸; Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, p. ۹۹-۲
Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ۳۵۳-۳۵۴-۳
al-Futuh, vol. VI, pp ۶۵-۶۶-۴

in Kufa. As elicited from the reports, he had preplanned to mobilize the Shi'ite Muslims for an uprising but he was faced with Tawwabin's movement in Kufa. As far as he was concerned such a movement was on no accounts a fundamental stride for achieving the goal and the only aftermath thereof would be Shi'ites's genocide. The propaganda made a number of Shi'ite Muslims to incline towards him.^(۱) Approximately a quarter
(of those swearing allegiance to Sulayman began advocating Mukhtar.)^(۲)

Some four thousand people out of sixteen or twelve thousand men who had sworn allegiance to Sulayman prepared themselves for setting out to Damascus and with Sulayman's persuasion one thousand more joined them.^(۳) After Sulayman and the rest of Tawwabin left Kufa, Husayn's assassins (such as Shabath Ibn Rib'i and others)
breathed a sigh of relief

The only serious misgiving they had was about the presence of Mukhtar. In a collusion they pressurized the governor of Kufa to incarcerate him.^(۴) It was after the event of Tawwabin that once more he was set free while mediated by his sister's husband,
'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar

The atmosphere predominant on penitents's army was purely mingled with
The voice“ فتنادى الناس من كل جانب: انا لا نطلب الدنيا وليس لها خرجنا(٥).
heard from the four corners of the army was, neither do we seek for this worldly life,
”.nor do we revolt for its sake

At this time, Marwan who had overcome Dhahhak Ibn Qays in Damascus dispatched
troops to Iraq. Quite evident

p: ٦٠٥

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٤٩٩ See also Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٢٠٧; Tajarib al-
Uman, vol. II, p. ٩٨
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٢٠٨-٢
Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, pp ٤٥٢-٤٥٣; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٢٠٨-٣
Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٤٥٠-٤
Ibid vol. IV, p. ٤٥٣-٥

that Tawwabin could in no way resist against them. Changing his former position, the
governor of Kufa sent a message to Sulayman to wait for his army to battle together
(against 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad. (١)

His later position was on account of the critical menace Damascus had for Hijaz and
with Tawwabin's defeat, the invasion to Iraq was incontrovertible. It was not
admitted by Sulayman. After leaving Kufa in the middle of the way they received a
.letter from the governor repeating the same proposal. Sulayman declined again

He had said that if acquiescing to collaboration, troops would disperse. According to
him it would additionally result in Zubayr's sovereignty and subsequent to the victory,
they would be obliged to battle for 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr and it was a deviation in a
real sense of word. Not once did defeat obsess Sulayman and his followers. They
would embrace martyrdom. They had pledged if they won they would transfer the
rule to those entitled. (٢) With this way of reasoning, allying with Ibn Zubayr was not
.rational at all

Tawwabin first set out to Kufa but en route a number of fellow-travellers seceded from the group.^(٣) They paid tribute to Imam Husayn's tomb and while shedding tears they entreated Allah to forgive them. Later, they farewelled the martyred Imam one by one^(٤) and went to Jasasa and then to Anbar and the district of Sudur. Since their "destination was Damascus, they went to Hit and then to Qirqisiya

It was where Zufar Ibn

p: ٦٠٦

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol III, p. ٤٥٥ –١

Ibid Vol III, p. ٤٥٩; See Tajarib al-Umam, Vol II, p. ١٠٣ –٢

Some one thousand went back; See Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol V, p. ٢٠٩, as narrated by –٣

Ibn A'tham, they were ٣٣٠٠ when encountering, Vol VI, p. ٨

al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. ٨٩ –٤

Harith, among Marwan's opponents succeeding the internal disputes in Damascus, welcomed Tawwabin with open arms. Equipping them, he provided them with adequate information about the combat Zone. Then they moved to Damascus. Re-highlighting repentance, Sulayman Ibn Surad made speeches once more and reiterated that their behavior towards the wounded and captives in Damascus should (be like that of Imam 'Ali (a

While it was not too distant to the enemy's position, Musayyib Ibn Nujba along with a few Tawwabins as the vanguards launched an ambush which put the opposite vanguard to flight and supplied them with loot. Afterwards, the two armies were pit against each other. The Umayya rival recommended that they bow to 'Abd al-Malik, Marwan's son, at the present time that he was dead

In return, Tawwabin's recommendation as Shi'ite Muslims was that they hand over 'Abd al-Malik due to the slaughter he had made. And later they could both take an action against 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr, oust him and then They leave the authority in the custody of prophet's Household,“ من قبلهم بالنعمة والكرامة(١) ”.the ones through whom Allah bestows His mercy and blessings

.Naturally neither of them acceded to, however

The clashes were triggered off. First day was a mischance for the foe, but since fresh troops were regularly being dispatched next days, the pressure exerted on Tawwabin was gradually being intensified. On the second day eight thousand soldiers commanded by Shurahbil Ibn Dhi l-Kila' joined Husayn Ibn Numayr's

p: ٦٠٧

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. ٤٦٤; Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol V, p. ٢١٠; Tajarib al-Umam, Vol ١ – Hasten to obey the Prophet's "هللم الى طاعه اهل بيت النبوه", II, p. ١٠٩ and Ibn A'tham has said "Household" Al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. ٨٢

(١) twelve- thousand-soldier army.

The third day battle led to Sulayman's and then Musayyib's martyrdom. After a short time 'Abd Allah Ibn Wal who was supposed to command succeeding them achieved martyrdom as well. Later on describing whom he had killed, his murderer stated that he was said to be one of the Iraqi religious jurists who performed so many prayers, observed so many fasts and issued Islamic "ويفتون الناس" verdicts among people

The other commander of Tawwabin, 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd, was also martyred. Only when it was Rufa'a Ibn Shaddad's turn, did he retreat overnight to Iraq

Though the Shi'ite Muslims of Ctesiphon and Basra were assumed to join them, they could not reach in time. While nearly a hundred and seventy Shi'ite Muslims from Ctesiphon and three hundred from Basra led by Makhraba Ibn Muthanna had been moving towards Tawwabin, they encountered the few-survived of them withdrawing (٢) and then returned with them.

Corresponding to what Baladhuri has reported, the Shi'ite Muslims of Basra had joined Tawwabin nearby Imam Husayn's tomb (٣) It appears not to be true. As a consequence, their movement bore no tangibly fruitful results

Here Some Points Merit Attention as Regards to the penitents

A. In the light of the foregoing proofs, Tawwabin's religious ideology can be easily measured. Their beliefs were based on a ideological Shi'ism the most central pillar of which was belief in Imamate. Devolving the leadership of the community upon Ahl al-Bayt was what had been time after time flashing among their remarks. Conforming to Imam 'Ali's lifestyle additionally confirms such

p: ٤٠٨

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. ٤٦٠ -١

Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, pp ١١١, ١١٢; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٤٧٠ -٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٢١١ -٣

.ideology-based Shi'ism

B. Another point was the psychological manner Tawwabin had found. They were amongst the ones who did not participate in Karbala event for whatever reason but when they came to their senses it was too late, for the Prophet's descendant had been tragically martyred and his captive family had been forced to traverse in Kufa.

.The Kufiyans were severely reproached by Zaynab

Umm Kulthum and Iman as-Sajjad (a). The outcome of the event as well as Ahl al-Bayt's such reactions generated feeling of sin for the Kufiyans and then it was their guilty conscience which distressed them the most and it was in view of the fact that .they were those who had invited Imam to Kufa

The one and the only dose being able to soothe their agony was obliterating the psychological side-effects of sin. One of the ways for cleansing themselves was wiping off Imam's assassins; however, it was never as sweet as martyrdom. They felt that in order to tranquilize themselves even with killing his assassins, their misstep of .default could not be compensated

Totally conscious of the greatest number of the army leaving Damascus accompanied by Ibn Ziyad, scarcely ever did they hesitate about the struggle. Tawwabin's

assessment of the current status quo in Kufa was by no means politically precise. Less determining was planning on conquering Kufa, murdering Husayn's murderers and equipping Iraq against Damascus in their opinion. These are all what were pursued by Mukhtar later

The only precious thing was repentance for them. A kind

p: ٦٠٩

of repentance which could solely be accomplished through nothing but martyrdom. At the last moments of war when Rifa'a said, "انى لا أريد، أريد لقاء ربي واللحاق باخواني والخروج من الدنيا الى الآخرة" "What we yearn for is not what you seek. Meeting our Lord, reunifying our brethren and farewellling this world are our wishes"

In an attack, he was murdered later. 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Aziz Kindi who had left his child in the custody of those from Kind in Damascus launched an attack from the other side and then achieved martyrdom. (١) Kurayb Ibn Zayd Himyari together with a hundred people heedless of Rifa'a's order did not retreat

He had said, "I have learned that a group is set to return, but لا أولى هذا العدو ظهري حتى أورد موارد اخواني "I never ever turn my back to the foe so that I can reunify my brothers"

Dhil-Kila', a Damascus commander, gave him guarantee of clemency since they were both from Himyar originally

Nevertheless Kurayb responded "انا قد كُنّا آمنين من الدنيا، انّما خرجنا نطلب أمان الآخرة" "We have been in peace and quiet in this world, we have come for we search for a peaceful quiet life in the world hereafter." (٢)

The utterances and verses of poems narrated from Tawwabin in the course of attacks against Damascus army entirely denote the concept of repentance and the manifestation thereof in departing this world and attaining martyrdom. From the incipient stage of the battle, Sulayman Ibn Surad yelled out

يا شيعه آل محمد!

Ibid vol. IV, p. ٤٦٩ –١

.Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٤٦٩ –٢

فوالله ما بينكم وبين الشهاده ودخول الجنه والراحه من هذا الدنيا الا فراق الانفس والتوبه والوفاء بالعهد

O Shi'ite Muslims of Muhammad's family! Not a short distance is there between you“ and martyrdom, your entrance to the Heaven and being released from this worldly ”.life except sublimating your souls, repenting and fulfilling your pledge

:In a poem he had said

اليك ربي تبت عن ذنوبي وقد علاني في الوري شيبى

فارحم عبيداً غير ما تكذيب واغفر ذنوبي سيدى وحوبي

O My Lord, I beg for forgiveness for my sins whereas where as my old age has made“ me conspicuous. While not denying me, pardon your servant and have mercy on him, ”.the sinner

,Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd has composed'

ارحم الهى عبدك التوابا ولا تواخذه فقد أنابا

لا كوفه يبقى ولا عراقا لا بل يريد الموت والعتاقا

O my God! Have mercy on your penitent servant. Take not him to task for he has “ [\(١\)](#)repented. No longer is he after Kufa or Iraq. He is merely after death and freedom.”

,Rufa'a Ibn Shaddad also has composed

يارب انى تائب اليكا قد اتكلت شدتى عليكا

“[\(٢\)](#)My Lord! Not only have I repent but also I have trusted in you.”

:While Sakhr Ibn Hudhayfa was in battle with thirty of his cousins, he said

“I run away from sins to Allah my only intention is nothing but Allah's reward.” (٢٣)

(Mukhtar's Uprising (٦٦, ٦٧ A.H

Mukhtar has been Abu 'Ubayd Thaqafi whose fame thanks to his valor in Muslim Arab's first attacks against the Iranians as Muslim's commander. He was

p: ٦١١

al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. ٨٣ -١

Ibid vol. VI, p. ٨٤ -٢

Ibid vol. ٥١٦, p. ٨٥ -٣

.martyred in the event of Jisr while at the helm

The ever-first Mukhtar's bad record inscribed in Islamic history had been his non-Shi'ites behavior towards Imam Hasan (a). When Imam was wounded in Sabat of Ctesiphon, he resided in the governor's house, Mukhtar's uncle, Mukhtar suggested that he be handed over to Mu'awiya in order to prove his good will to Mu'awiya. As (١) soon as his uncle became incensed, Mukhtar became mute.

It is said that for this reason Mukhtar had been deemed as 'Uthmanids (pro-'Uthman) in Shi'ites Muslim's view (٢) until he allied himself to the Shi'ite Muslims later. Since there were abundant motivations among the Umayya narrators to introduce Mukhtar a hypocrite, a liar and a man with capricious personality, such a conduct ascribed to Mukhtar must be forged

Undeniable is the fact that prior to the event of Karbala he was among the renowned Shi'ite Muslims of Kufa and when Muslim Ibn 'Aqil came Kufa, he sojourned in his house. (٣) As no definite time had been determined for the start of uprising, Mukhtar could not manage to assist Muslim when invading Ibn Ziyad's palace and after clashes .was arrested and martyred

Out of Kufa was Mukhtar(۴) and when returned, he found that Ibn Ziyad had dominated, declared martial law and had put a great number under lock and key in the mosque

Mukhtar who was unaware of the happenings was apprehended by 'Amr Ibn Hurayth. Regarding his old amicable relationship with 'Amr Ibn Hurayth, he did his utmost to persuade him

p: ۶۱۲

Ibn Sa'd, 'Asakir Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, p. ۱۵۴; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۴۴۱ –۱
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۲۱۴ –۲
Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۴۴۰; Mab'uth al-Husayn, p. ۹۸; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, Vol IV, –۳
p. ۲۲; Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol V, p. ۲۱۵
Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, p. ۱۵۴; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۴۴۱ –۴

.to intercede for him with Ibn Ziyad and say that he had surrendered

Nonetheless, Mukhtar was imprisoned and throughout the event of Karbala he was in jail but later 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar acted as an intermediary and released him. Ibn Ziyad offered him a three-day respite to leave Kufa as soon as possible.(۱) Normally Mukhtar's activities at odds with the Umayya accounted for Ibn Ziyad's extreme fright. According to narrated accounts, whipping at Ibn Ziyad's behest had led to loss (of the use of Mukhtar's one eye.(۲)

Travelling to Mecca, Mukhtar had to live in Ta'if for one year where his tribe, Banu Thaqif, lived. After going back to Mecca, Mukhtar was asked by Ibn Zubayr, the present governor of Mecca, for cooperation. He bet to swear allegiance to him provided that he took counsel from him in all affairs. At that time, Mecca was under siege by Damascus

Mukhtar also defended the Divine Shrine with the other Muslims side by side so that the rival army could no more resist and returned. Even a group of Kharijites were among the participants.(۳) Their actions were as a counter to profanity of Damascus

After the siege was raised and the Zubayr-supported ones seized the control of Kufa, Mukhtar went back to Kufa. Ibn Zubayr who had suspected him, ignored him and never allowed him to take up a post. The majority of historians have reported that what had been frequently stressed by Mukhtar succeeding the event of Karbala was

p: ٦١٣

–١ Ya'qubi has written Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ٤٤٢–٤٤١, وكان مختار أقبيل في جماعه يريدون نصر حسين بن علي (ع) فاخذته عبيد الله بن زياد فحسبه “ Since Mukhtar was the vanguard of those desiring to help Husayn Ibn 'Ali; 'Ubayd Allah imprisoned him” Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٥٨ al-Muhabbar, p. ٣٠٣–٢ Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٤٤٦–٣

١ taking revenge on Husayn Ibn 'Ali's assassins and his likely uprising.

His arrival in Kufa was concurrent with Tawwabin's preparation for leaving the town. As far as Sulayman's long record of service was concerned, Mukhtar could never absorb naturally as much Shi'ite Muslims as he could. However he discredited Sulayman's action in a way that he explicitly had announced that ٢ “By no mean is Sulayman acquainted with war and politics.”

Mukhtar's propagation retarded Tawwabin's activity. The majority was with Sulayman whereas only a minority had joined Mukhtar. No alternative existed for ٣ Mukhtar except awaiting patiently until Tawwabin decide.

Upon Sulayman's departure from the town, Imam Husayn's assassins, fearful of Mukhtar, compelled the governor, pro-Zubayr, to put him in prison. This measure was adopted irrespective of all pressures the Shi'ite Muslims exerted on the governor to ٤ consider his past being with Mukhtar and liberate him.

Later on, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar interceded for Mukhtar with Ibn Zubayr and after Shi'ite Muslims' undertaking Mukhtar was set free, ٤ Mukhtar was in prison when the

.news of Tawwabin's defeat and return to Kufa spread through

In a message he offered his condolences to Rufa'a Ibn Shaddad and in addition to wishing blessing for Sulayman's soul and complementing his character, he urged the survived to prepare for an uprising. He invited them towards the divine Book, the Prophet's Sunna, revenge for Ahl al-Bayt's blood, defense of the oppressed and Jihad against Muhillin, those going beyond the sacred limits of Islam

p: ٦١٤

Ibid vol. IV, p. ٤٤٣ –١

Ibid vol. IV, pp ٤٣٤ –٤٤٩ –٢

al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. ٥٦ –٣

al-Futuh, Vol V, p. ٧٤; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٤٨٨ –٤

(and converting Haram (unlawful) into Halal (lawful)).[\(١\)](#)

In ٦٦, Kufa governor was ousted by 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr and 'Abd Allah Ibn Muti' was appointed in place. Since the inception, the new governor announced that he would follow the policies of the second and the third caliphs in economic arena but Sa'ib Ibn Malik Ash'ari Stimulated by Mukhtar objected to him as insisting “Except 'Ali's policy (nothing ought to be followed)” [\(٢\)](#)

Mukhtar secretly had been keeping on his activities. Holding clandestine meetings, he gathered the Shi'ite Muslims together to absorb while introducing himself as .Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya's representative

Although it had drawn the Shi'ite Muslims' attention to him, it had also evoked their doubt whether Mukhtar was truthful calling himself Muhammad's representative! In .order to make certain, they reached a decision to go to Medina and meet him

Leaving the town for Medina, 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Shurayh accompanying a group met Ibn Hanafiyya privately and asked him about his position concerning Mukhtar.

:Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya supported Mukhtar implicitly and ambiguously and said

أما ما ذكرتم من دعاء من دعاكم الى الطلب بدمائنا فوالله لو ددت أن الله انتصر لنا من عدونا بمن شاء من خلقه

About what you mentioned that someone has summoned you to rise up in revenge“ for Ahl al-Bayt's blood, by Almighty Allah I desire that Allah get our revenge by anyone (of His servants He wills.” (۲)

Nothing more did Ibn Hanafiyya add; therefore, they returned. Other Shi'ite Muslims came up to them questioning about his content or discontent. Ibn Shurayh

p: ۶۱۵

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ۴۷۱, ۴۷۸; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۲۱۲ –۱

al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. ۸۸; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp ۲۲۰–۲۲۱ –۲

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۳۹۹; al-Futuh, vol. V, pp ۹۱, ۹۲, ۹۳ –۳

commanded us to back him”“ (۱) فأمرونا بمظاهرة ته, replied that they asked his opinion and he and وأذن لنا في نصرته (۲) .allowed us to back him“

Such approval impelled those skeptical about banding together with Mukhtar by then .to join him

Mukhtar determined to consolidate his social bases via the advocacy of a number of chiefs of tribes endeavored to trace authoritative figures. Among them was Ibrahim Ibn Ashtar, Malik Ashtar's son, who was esteemed both for his father's reputation in Shi'ism and his intrepidity and influence on the Nakha'ites of Kufa. Following the negotiations he had with Ibrahim, Mukhtar succeeded in attracting his attention and fortifying his position in Kufa through him though Ibrahim detached himself from him .later

Wednesday night on Rabi' al-Awwal, ۱۴th, ۶۶, it was prearranged, was the promised day for triggering off the attack and rescuing the town from the yoke of Zubayr followers. 'Abd Allah Ibn Muti' who had learned Mukhtar's possible insurrectoin had previously commanded to keep the town under tight security and impose a curfew. Keeping such news unrevealed was something beyond any possibility. From the very

beginning he had been told that a large number of Turabiyya have sworn allegiance
(to Mukhtar. (۲)

It could be two days to date when a group headed by Ibrahim encountered and then came into clashes with troops sent by Kufa governor. Decapitating Iyas Ibn Mud'arib, police chief, Ibrahim flourished to disperse them

يا, They had to, it was evident, take the action prematurely. By chanting the slogans of منصور

p: ۶۱۶

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ۲۲۱ –۱

–۲ See al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. ۹۵; describing his father, he had said وهو سيد الناس في محبه اهل

البيت (ع) "His affection for the Household was the strongest among people"

–۳ al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. ۹۹ the Umayya and later pro-Zubayr people's intention of calling the Shi'ite Muslims "Turabiya" was usually disparaging them

O Mansur, kill the enemy!" (rehearsed by Muslims during the wars in Early Islamic "أمت Era) and O revengers for Husayn's blood!" In line with which had ever "يا لثارات حسين" and been Mukhtar's movement, Shi'ite Muslims joined him. As narrated by Ibn A'tham "وجعل يخرج الناس من كل ناحيه على صعب وذلول" Despite all complications, Muslims were joining " (۱) (him from everywhere."

Ibrahim's parties marched through the town to prompt the Shi'ite Muslims to join them. Mukhtar who considered commencing the war not allowable abiding by Imam 'Ali's conduct had forewarned Ibrahim not to be the beginner. (۲) Conquering the town by Mukhtar's forces led to various clashes. (۳) In the face of 'Abd Allah Ibn Muti's' crowded army (some twenty thousand soldiers) (۴), Mukhtar could assume control of Kufa as a governor with his small army, a fifth as many as the rival's

Throughout the battle the leaders in Mukhtar's army ceaselessly inspired the Shi'ite Muslims to combat as mightily as possible. What Yazid Ibn Anas or Malik Ibn Sa'ib Ash'ari had been saying was, "O Shi'ite Muslims! Prior to this you were massacred,

.your limbs were cut up, you were blinded and hung from the branches of palms

All of these tortures were due to your affinity for the prophet's infallible household. They were occurring while you had stayed at homes and complied with your foes. What do you say now? If they overpower you, in the twinkling of an eye no one of you [\(will remain alive at least.\)](#)⁽⁵⁾

With

p: ٤١٧

al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. ١٠٥ -١

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. ٤٩٨ -٢

al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. ١٠٣ -٣

al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. ١٠٤; Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol VI, pp ١٠٨, ١٠٩ -٤

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. ٥٠٣; al-Futuh, Vol VI, pp ١٠٨, ١٠٩ -٥

Rashid Ibn Iyas Ibn Mud'arib's murder and the dispersion of the troops commanded by Shabath Ibn Rib'i, the palace was eventually besieged by Mukhtar's adherents. 'Abd Allah Ibn Muti' after spending three days left the palace in secret and others also .raised the white flag seeking a guarantee of clemency

The noblemen, the most influential class in Kufa, had compromised with the Umayya prior to Zubayr-appointed person's coming but later afraid of Shi'ite Muslims as well [\(as their rule, joined forces with Ibn Zubayr's followers.\)](#)⁽¹⁾

Such a class was also followed by many in its turn. Unlike Tawwabin, whose troops were wholly Arabs, Mukhtar's were often Iranian and non-Iranian masters. A throng of Arabs later joined him, furthermore. The aforesaid masters were those who on the one hand had memorably and pleasantly experienced Imam 'Ali's Islamic and human conduct and on the other hand had endured the Umayya and the affiliated .noblemen's pressure from ٤٠ A.H

It was why they were after a golden opportunity to modify their unbearable situation

in the society and extricate themselves from the abjectness. Mukhtar's emergence was reciprocally beneficial to both the masters to attain influence through him and Mukhtar to remove the enemy through their aid.

In the morning of the day thereon the battle was due to start, Shabath Ibn Rib'i (recited the short Sura (Qur'anic chapters

Being objected, he responded, "You see how Daylamites are standing before you and now you expect me to recite "the cow" and "Imran's family" Sura (the longest of (all)" (۲)

When

p: ۶۱۸

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. ۵۰۷-۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. ۵۰۱; al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. ۱۰۷; "Daylamites" was a title for –۲ Iranian non-Muslims though the masters were Muslims mostly This term was used by Muslim Arabs describing them as disbelievers in order to disdain them

Are you" (۱) أأنتم من عبيدكم تهربون (۱), all were fleeing, Shabath addressed them as saying escaping from your own slaves?" "So acutely did the noble detested the masters that they murdered anyone captured but set the Arab ones free." (۲) It is recorded by Dinwari that almost all members of Mukhtar's army in the battle with Damascus were (Iranian masters. (۳)

Describing Mukhtar's soldiers, the commander of the Damascus army stated, "O dwellers of Damascus! You do battle with slaves, those who had abandoned Islam (and seceded from it, have no piety and speak not Arabic" (۴)

Muhammad Ibn Ash'ath, a nobleman, who had fled to Basra told Mus'ab, "Turks and Daylamites are all behind me" (۵) A year later when the noble and Ibn Zubayr's supporters came into power in the town, Mus'ab issued the decree to wipe out the masters, for their blasphemousness was made public, their conceit had heightened

[and their humility before the Arabs had reduced.](#)

Earlier it was quoted from Mughira that if non-Arabs had been summoned towards Muhammad's family and to a revenge for their blood, all would have congregated. The victor was Mukhtar. A number of noblemen ran away to Basra and some others secluded themselves at homes awaiting for divine predestination which came forth after a while

The people of Kufa swore allegiance to Mukhtar as an emir. Based on his Shi'ites belief he said, "Subsequent to swearing allegiance to 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib (a) and his family worthier than this one, I have sworn allegiance to no one else."

p: ۶۱۹

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۵۰۲; al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. ۱۰۸-۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۵۰۲-۲

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۲۹۳, see also p. ۳۰۶-۳

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۵۱۶-۴

al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. ۱۳۸-۵

Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol V, p. ۲۹۴; Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. ۵۷۷-۶

Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol V, p. ۲۲۳-۷

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. ۵۰۸-۸

He enumerated what based on which their allegiance should be as, the divine Book, the Prophet's Sunna, revenge for Ahl al-Bayt's assassinations, Jihad against those transgressing the sacred limits, defense of the oppressed, a battle against the one battling them and a compromise with the one compromising with them.

Mukhtar who had taken the power first of all made an attempt to establish national security. Then he eliminated all the elements playing negative roles in Karbala. To absorb the nobles, he initially was so merciful to them that was suspected by the masters.

Nevertheless, referring to the point that his position-taking is in line with that of theirs,

Mukhtar enlightened the masters declaring that such a behavior is transient.^(۳) Kufa was deemed as a center for all cities in oriental Islamic lands and Northern Iraq. Such areas as Musil, Hulwan (adjacent to Sar Pul Dhahab), Ctesiphon as well as Armenian lands, Adharbayjan, Arran, Hawran, Mahiyan, Riy and Isfahan were ruled by Iraq

Mukhtar's endeavor for keeping Kufa secure did not last long as he learned that an army led by 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad had left Damascus to Kufa. The army succeeding to defeating Tawwabin and after a short break for clashing with Qays Ibn 'Aylan's (tribe set out to Musil.^(۴)

During the armed conflict between the three-thousand-soldier army dispatched by Mukhtar and 'Ubayd Allah's six-thousand-soldier army, Rabi'a Ibn Mukhariq, a commander, was killed and three hundred people were captured by Mukhtar's army.

It was obvious however that these few numbers could never

p: ۶۲۰

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. ۵۰۸; Ibn A'tham, Vol VI, p. ۱۱۵-۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. ۵۰۸-۲

Ibid Vol IV, p. ۵۰۹-۳

Narrated by Ibn A'tham, Vol VI, p. ۱۳۹; following its clash with Mukhtar, the army of -۴ Damascus returned and again in order to conquer Iraq, it set out to Jazira and then to Musil

resist against the rival army. Accordingly Mukhtar sent another group with seven thousand people headed by Ibrahim Ibn Ashtar as a relief group

Under no circumstances were the noble gratified with Mukhtar's governorship. It was firstly owing to Mukhtar's intention had been avenging Husayn Ibn 'Ali's assassins among whom were the noble as central elements. Secondly, regarding his limited Shi'ites forces in Kufa, Mukhtar had begun inviting the masters for cooperation and it as a matter of fact was equal to belittling the noblemen. When determined to reprove Mukhtar, there was nothing to be more intolerable than the booties he had devoted to

(Mawali (freed slaves)).^(۱)

Such objections were all made in Shabath Ibn Rib'i's house. The deduction drawn was
.Shabath's visit with Mukhtar

Meeting Mukhtar, he said ... وأعظم الأشياء عليك أنك عمدت إلى عبيدنا وهم فيئنا الذين أفاء الله بهم فأخذتهم إليك ثم لم ترض بأخذهم حتى جعلتهم شركاء في فيئنا ولا يحل لك في هذا دينك ولا يحمل بك في شرفك (٢) Your biggest shortcoming is that you rely upon our slaves, those whose looties belong to us. And you deprived us of what Allah had bestowed us. It did not suffice you however, you also let them share in Bayt al-Mal. What you did was thoroughly
".contrary to both your religion and dignity

The nobles' ultimatum was that they would never stop protesting unless Mukhtar
.committed to return Mawali to them

In return for their request, Mukhtar requested something about declining of which by
the noblemen he was certain, it was whether they

p: ٦٢١

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. ٥١٨-١

Ibid Vol VI, p. ١٤٦-٢

would declare their readiness to battle beside him against the Umayya and Ibn Zubayr or not. (١) Shabath who went to bring their answer never came back and it
.denoted that the noble were set to revolt

The other reproof was about Mukhtar's and his followers' Shi'ism, that they all loathe
اسلافنا الصالحين " (٢) "Our competent forefathers."

What they implied might had been that the Shi'ite Muslims reproached many of the
(Prophet's companions (for the deviations caused by them

For consultation, the nobles went to 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Mikhnaf, warning them not to combat Mukhtar, he added, "All the valorous of the tribes are with him and moreover Mawali who are as lion-hearted as Arabs and as revengeful as non-Arabs
."are with him

He urged them to await pending the arrival of troops from Basra (Ibn Zubayr) or Damascus. They balked at his proposal in view of the fact that at that time the majority of Mukhtar's adherents in particular Ibrahim Ibn Ashtar had left the town for Musil. They imagined that it was a favorable occasion to win a victory over Mukhtar

No sooner had the army commanded by Ibrahim arrived in Ctesiphon than a wave of rioting was triggered off. As soon as Mukhtar noticed that the situation was critical, he sent for Ibrahim to return Kufa. In order to keep them occupied, he himself began [\(futile negotiations with the insurgents. ٢\)](#)

One day to Ibrahim's entry, the clashes flared up. Both Ibrahim's haste to return and Mukhtar's withstanding led to Mukhtar's triumph

p: ٤٢٢

.Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol VI, p. ١٤٦ -١

.Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol VI, p. ١٤٦ -٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol VI, p. ١٤٩ -٣

and the nobles' debacle. In this war, Mukhtar's army sustained ١٣٥ casualties whereas it was ٦٤٠ for the foe

The nobles' insurrection made Mukhtar, who had taken no action in revenge for Ahl al-Bayt's blood hopeful about absorbing the nobles, adopt a measure. His first action was the killing of ٢٨٤ captives seized in the war with the nobles. Reported by eye-witnesses, they had been among the participants in Karbala

Anyone Mukhtar announced then [, إنه من أغلق بابا به فهو آمن الا-رجلا-شرك في دم آل محمد \(ص\)](#) "staying at his home is secure unless he has aided and abetted the ones streaming the prophet's descendants' blood

The noblemen, who were confident that Mukhtar would beyond the shadow of a doubt apprehend and slaughter them this time, fled to Basra and another group concealed themselves in Kufa. Mukhtar had promulgated [, ما من ديننا ترك قوم قتلوا الحسين](#)

Permitting Husayn's assassins to go on living freely on the earth is “ يعيشون أحياء في الارض ” never ever passable in our religion

Its implication was their murder. Recollecting those collaborating in Karbala, Mukhtar's supporters brought them to him one after another. He also cut the arms of [\(1\)](#) some and the legs of some others in order to kill them.

It is estimated that the men charged with participating in the event of Karbala were approximately three thousand. [\(2\)](#) Among the figures targeted was Shimr Ibn Dhi l-Jawshan who was murdered by Mukhtar's envoys while escaping to Basra. As a rule of thumb, 'Umar Ibn Sa'd Ibn

p: ٤٢٣

(1) – Izz al-din publication (Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. ٣٤٣) أما أمان المختار لعمر بن سعد الا أن يحدث حدثاً فإنه كان يريد به إذا دخل الخلاء واحدث ...
Ibid Vol VI, p. ١٣٩ – ٢

.Abi Waqqas, the commander, pleaded guilty as the main culprit

From the outset of his responsibility- when busy with absorbing the nobles- Mukhtar had given a guarantee of clemency to him stipulating that he were secure provided In that he should under no conditions attend an incident against him the throes of recent adventures when he was arrested too, he showed his guarantee of clemency. He was said, nevertheless, that the stipulated condition could include any incident even flight of a pigeon or entry and exit from house

Not only 'Umar Ibn Sa'd's doom was death but also his son was killed as well. The heads of both were sent to Medina. The former one was in revenge for Imam Husayn's blood and the latter for 'Ali Akbar's, the eldest son. [\(1\)](#) Narratedly, it was the one and the only day Iman as-Sajjad (a) was seen smiling, [\(2\)](#) since he had always been with a sorrowful expression weeping up to that very time. Both Tabari and Ibn A'tham have recounted the murders of various individuals in detail

The latest phenomena drew certain boundaries. Shi'ite Muslims seceded from other parties completely. For the time being, Mukhtar's support was merely the Shi'ite Muslims although he had been striving to absorb from all parties. In the opposite front were the Umayyad adherents in addition to Ibn Zubayr's devotees. Their number was not low. Many traveled to Basra and many others stayed looking forward to a golden opportunity. At the same time, Mukhtar intended

p: ٤٢٤

al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. ١٢٣ -١

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, Vol II, p. ٢٥٩ -٢

.to intensify his efforts to engross the attention

... وكان مختار أول من ظهر
Giving a description of Mukhtar's conduct, the historians stated
He was the first one behaving in the best way. He invariably “أحسن شيء سيره تالفاً للناس (١) ”.prompted people to befriend one another

According to Ibn A'tham “وأحبّه الناس حُباً شديداً (٢) ”.People were attached to him

Baladhuri narrated “وأحسن المختار مجاوره أهل الكوفة والسيره فيهم (٣) ” Mukhtar was the best for
”the Kufiyans with his best conducts

It definitively was concerned with the Shi'ite Muslims not those with whom Mukhtar
was wrathful. In regard to this reason it is said “كان عبد الله بن جعده أكرم خلق الله على المختار لقرابته
من عليّ (ع) ” “من عليّ (ع) ” “Abd Allah Ibn Ju'da was held dear by Mukhtar on account of his kinship with'
” (٤) ”. ‘Ali (a).” (٤)

Having resolved the internal points at issue through suppression of the noble and the
ones affiliated to the Umayyad and Ibn Zubayr, Mukhtar anticipated how to broaden
the realm of his governorship

Basra known as a haven for the fugitives from Kufa and a stronghold for the pro-Ibn
Zubayr persons in Iraq had drawn Mukhtar's attention but it could naturally be a focal
point of potential peril. His action might have been in a bid to absorb the Shi'ite

.Muslims there although few

The leader of such Shi'ite Muslims was Makhrama Ibn Muthanna who had assisted the penitents but could not arrive at the battle in time. Swearing allegiance to Mukhtar, he was commissioned to proceed and incite the people in Basra

p: ۶۲۵

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. ۵۳ –۱

al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. ۱۲۰ –۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol V, pp ۲۲۸–۲۲۹; Maqidasi narrated that Mukhtar had done his –۳ best to absorb as many people as possible See also, al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, Vol VI, p. ۲۲

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. ۵۳۱ –۴

to a riot against Ibn Zubayr. In Basra, Muthanna gathered a group from his tribe along with other residents. In a clash, nearly forty soldiers from Muthanna's army were dead. Later on, with Ahnaf Ibn Qays's intercession, Muthanna could return Kufa with [his a few-remained people.](#)^(۱)

Another spot which had become center of Mukhtar's attention was Hijaz, namely Ibn Zubayr's main base. At that time an attack by Damascus from Wasidi al-Qura was imminent. Mukhtar plotted to send an army to exercise control over Medina under the pretext of obviating the threat of Damascus. Ibn Zubayr consented

A three-thousand-member army of which seven hundred were only Arabs^(۲) set out to Hijaz. Ibn Zubayr, by no means over confident about Mukhtar, dispatched an army to Medina recommending that they should get along with them on the condition that they were convinced to be supervised; otherwise, it was imperative that they be suppressed immediately. On the other hand, Mukhtar, reluctant to unveil his real scheme, recommended the commander that a message dash carrier take his mandates to them when convenient

Prior to the communication of Mukhtar's mandates, Ibn Zubayr's army clashed with Mukhtar's. By virtue of the fact that they did not yield to Ibn Zubayr's army as the

commander they were assaulted. Many were killed and many had to flee. Mukhtar's genuine intention which wPas revealed, later in his letter to Muhammad Ibn I sent my army for the“ فإني بعثت إليك جنداً ليذلّوا لك الأعداء وليحوزوا لك البلاد ,Hanafiyya was purpose of

p: ٤٢٤

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, pp ٥٣٦, ٥٣٧ -١

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. ٥٤٢ -٢

”.overthrowing your opponents and conquer the land

The letter did manifest that his aim had been eliminating Ahl al-Bayt's foes and liberating Hijaz for the Shi'ite Muslims'sovereignty. Responding the letter for asking his permission to deploy a large army to Medina, in addition to lauding him and his intent, Ibn Hanafiyya wrote, “If I were bent on combating, there would be many a [person ready to join me but I have secluded myself.”](#)^(١)

Afterwards when Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya and a group from the Hashimites were in Mecca, Ibn Zubayr aimed to secure allegiance from them menacingly. Demurring, they were threatened to be imprisoned and burned to death. How dauntless! Ibn Zubayr had realized that without their allegiance consolidation of his sovereignty over other lands would be beyond the realm of possibility. The other side of the coin was that their allegiance might unstablize Mukhtar's position as Muhammad Hanafiyya's representative in Kufa

Once 'Urwa Ibn Zubayr, the pretender to religious jurisprudence, was objected in this regard, he reacted as stating, “My brother's intention is to establish unity and to avert discord among Muslims”. It was exactly as 'Umar Ibn Khattab secured allegiance from [the Hashimites for Abu Bakr by laying logs on their doorsteps.](#)^(٢)

Ibn Hanafiyya who felt the status insecure wrote to Mukhtar to help them out.^(٣) Mukhtar dispatched nearly one hundred and fifty people group by group, in order not to be identified, to Mecca to emancipate the Hashimites with no clash with the slogan

They moved to Zamzam

p: ٦٢٧

Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol III, p. ٢٨٢ –١

Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol III, p. ٢٨٢ –٢

Ibid Vol II, p. ٢٨٣; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ٢٥٠ –٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٨٢ –٤

wherein the prison was located and released them after all. Both Ibn Zubayr and the sent group by Mukhtar refrained from any conflict which would certainly culminate in bloodshedding in Divine Shrine. Since this group had entered Mecca with sticks (not (swords) had been named “Khashabiyya” (١)

Mukhtar's the most remarkable action was his confrontation with the army of Damascus. It occurred between Mukhtar's dispatched army led by Ibrahim Ibn Ashtar and an army commanded by 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad. A great number of prominent leaders of Damascus taken part in various battles against Iraq so far were killed during the fight among whom were 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad, Husayn Ibn Numayr Sukuni and Shurahbil Ibn Dhil-Kila'. The remaining of the army while limping and .running away wandered through Musil

The Kufiyan fugitives were the main elements causing Mus'ab Ibn Zubayr's invasion to Kufa. Through incitement, they could flourish to impel Mus'ab Ibn Zubayr to suppress Mukhtar and the Kufa into control too. Such individuals as Muhammad Ibn Ash'ath Ibn Qays, one of Imam Husayn's assassins, were among the commanders of Ibn Zubayr's troops while attacking Kufa. Excluding them there were a number (delegated to propagate against Mukhtar amongst people.) (٢)

Ibrahim Ibn Ashtar, governing Musil, did never declare his readiness to return to Kufa and back Mukhtar, furthermore. Reassuring how the fugitive noblemen had prompted other sinners to uproot the right and let the wrong replace it, Mukhtar attempted to

When both rivals met one another face to face, those

p: ۶۲۸

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. ۴۵۵; Muruj al-Dhahab, Vol III, p. ۹۹; Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol –۱ III, p. ۲۸۵; Vol V, p. ۲۳۱, it has been said that they had taken the logs being repaired for burning Ibn Hanafiyya and others from the Hashimites by Ibn Zubayr

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۵۵۹ –۲

Tarikh at-Tabari vol. IV, p. ۵۵۹ –۳

on Ibn Zubayr's side proposed that Mukhtar's forces relinquish fighting by swearing allegiance to 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr as “Amir al-Mu'minin”. Those on Mukhtar's side also urged them to swear allegiance to Mukhtar and entrust “the Messenger's family” [with the caliphate.](#)

At this juncture, the commander of pro-Ibn Zubayr soldiers was Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra and Mukhtar's was Ahmar Ibn Shumayt. Muhammad Ibn Ash'ath was the commander of the fugitives from Kufa to Basra. The clashes terminated in Ibn Zubayr's favor which preceded Mukhtar's and his follower's martyrdom

Earlier we provided you with plentiful evidence averring Mukhtar's and his adherents' belief in Shi'ism as well as their indescribable devotion to Ahl al-Bayt in a way that it is by all means beyond any doubt historically. Moreover there are available proofs indicating Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya's support which thoroughly substantiates Mukhtar's uprising, relative, however. Mukhtar's personal standing taken in revenge for the Umayya and the noble elucidates how he jeopardized his position with apprehension and murder of Imam Husayn's assassins

In as much as he struck the Umayya hard for several times and also called the legitimacy of Ibn Zubayr's governorship into question, they exerted themselves to make him the target of any kind of charges at all costs

The accusations were his claim of “Prophethood” for himself, “Mahdavitism” for Ibn Hanafiyya, founding the sect of the Kissanids and the most common one was the label of “liar” (Kadhhab) which has been referred to in all sources.^(٢) Almost all of these accusations, in accordance with

p: ٤٢٩

Ibid vol. IV, p. ٥٦٠ -١

See ‘Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, p. ٣٠٠ -٢

^(١) a researcher, were ascribed to Mukhtar after his martyrdom

Assuming that Mukhtar had committed some errors but it ought to be borne in mind that the pivotal factor in his indictment had been thanks to the strokes the Umayya and Ibn Zubayr had experienced on the part of him

As soon as the news of Mukhtar's martyrdom was heard, Ibn Zubayr informed Ibn 'Abbas "Have you heard not the news of the liar's death?" "The liar?" "ألم يبلغك قتل الكذاب" asked Ibn 'Abbas

Mukhtar, I mean", Ibn Zubayr replied. "It seems that you do not feel like calling him" "the liar"

He is the" Ibn 'Abbas said "ذلك رجل قتل قتلنا وطلب بدمائنا وشفى صدورنا وليس جزاءه منا الشتم والشماته ^(٢) " one who had killed our assassins, has taken revenge for our blood and has soothed "our pains. The reward of such a person in our sight is not insulation

Elsewhere when once more the name of Mukhtar was mentioned before Ibn 'Abbas, he said "The two illustrious writers send their regards to him" ^(٣) "صلى عليه كرام الكاتبون

It is reported that Ibn 'Abbas, Ibn Hanafiyya and even Ibn 'Umar never returned ^(٤) Mukhtar's sent presents

Once 'Ubayd Allah's head was carried to 'Ali Ibn Husayn (a) in Medina, he stated "لم يبق من بنى هاشم أحد إلا قام بخطبه في الثناء على المختار والدعاء له وجميل القول فيه " There was no one from the

”.Hashimites who did not make a sermon complimenting Mukhtar and praying for him

,Kashshi has quoted Imam al-Baqir (a) as saying

p: ٦٣٠

Hadgson, How did the early shia become sectarian?, p. ٣ –١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٢٨٧; Vol V, p. ٢٦٥ –٢

Ibid Vol V, p. ٢٦٧ –٣

Ibid Vol V, p. ٢٧٠ –٤

Insult not Mukhtar owing“ لا تسبوا المختار فإنه قتل قتلنا وطلب ثارنا وزوج ارامنا وقسم فينا المال على العسره (١) to the fact that he has killed our assassins, has taken revenge on them, has had our orphans marry and contributed us financially when in trouble

As commented by himself, Ibn Zubayr who had borne Ahl al-Bayt's grudge for forty years(٢) could on no accounts stand Mukhtar's presence whose endeavor was in line with Ahl al-Bayt's governorship. And the Umayya enmity was truly overt how he agitated the leaders of Damascus to battle with Mukhtar

Sufficient would be if we quote Tabari and others regarding Mukhtar's devotedness. Succeeding his martyrdom, his two wives, one of whom Nu'man Ibn Bashir Ansari's daughter and the other was Samura Ibn Jundab's daughter, were interrogated. They latter confessed that her ideas about him were like those of theirs! However, the former said “He was a servant from Allah's pious servants“ انّه كان عبداً من عباد الله الصالحين

Confining her, Mus'ab wrote to Ibn Zubayr, “This woman is of the opinion that her husband, Mukhtar, has been a prophet

(٣) In the answer, 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr commanded him to slay her.

The worst accusation Mukhtar was leveled was his claim to be a prophet. Such a charge is totally baseless. Its roots can be located in an utterance the historians have quoted from Mukhtar mostly in rhymed prose (most of which have been narrated by Tabari and others). (٤) Another accusation was that he had introduced himself a

Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. ١٢٥; for other hadiths in this regard, refer to Bahjat al-
 .amal, vol. VII, p
 Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٩١ -٢
 Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٥٧٤; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٢٤٤; Muruj al-Dhahab, -٣
 vol. III, p. ٩٩
 Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp ٢٣٣, ٢٣٥, ٢٣٦ -٤

had carried out what the prophets had done.^(١) We believe that these remarks do him
 .an injustice although it never implies that he had been infallible

Socially, the novelty of Mukhtar's uprising was due to Mawali's presence and except
 one case which was limited compared with Kharijites, it was an absolutely new
 phenomenon. Previous to his uprising, hardly ever did Mawali have roles in the Arabic
 society of Iraq though they had been promoted scientifically in the late first century
 .A.H

It was Mukhtar's uprising which cleared the way for the appearance of Mawali as an
 applicable and considerable force in Iraq. By reason of their participation in Mukhtar's
 movement, they were severely suppressed, however, they could play an effective
 role within the community. What many had suggested Mus'ab Ibn Zubayr was
 Massacre all Mawali for they have“ هولاء الموالى فانهم قد بدء كفهم وعظم كبرهم وقتل شكرهم(٢) ”.
 .revealed their disbelief, have heightened their conceit and lessened their gratitude

!Reportedly, six thousands of them were slaughtered by Mus'ab

The Next events pending the extinction of the Umayya dynasty proved that the
 Iranian Mawalis' development had been originated from the time of Mukhtar onwards
 and their role in the Islamic community reached the pinnacle by coming into power by
 Banu 'Abbas. Deeming them minacious, 'Abd al-Malik planned to avert their likely
 insurrection through paying much more heed to them. By the same token be enlarged

[their proportion of Bayt al-Mal more than what allotted by Mu'awiya.](#) [۲](#)

(Iman as-Sajjad (a

point

Ali Ibn Husayn Ibn 'Ali Ibn'

p: ۶۳۲

An example was a narration about “throne” Mukhtar has been quoted as telling his –۱ followers a lie, “Bring ‘Ali Ibn Abi Talib’s throne” Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp ۲۴۱, ۲۴۲ Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV p. ۵۷۷ –۲ al-’Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV, p. ۱۴۸ –۳

Abi Talib, known as Sajjad, the fourth Shi'ites Imam, was as maintained in one [narration born in ۳۸A.H. and poisoned by Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik in ۹۴ A.H.](#) [۱](#)

If the narrated date of birth be true, Imam should have evidently perceived both Imam 'Ali and Imam Mujtaba as well as Imam Husayn (a) and realized how Mu'awiya had been exercising pressure on the Shi'ite Muslims living in Iraq and other lands. In the light of the reports narrated from the event of Taff (Karbala) a number of writers concluded that Imam's age must have been less than what reported and his year of birth had been ۴۸. Such reports forebode that following Imam Husayn's martyrdom some were determined to assassinate Iman as-Sajjad (a) also, but they were [impeded due to his immaturity](#)

Humayd Ibn Muslim, present in Karbala, said, “When Shimr came to kill Iman as-
[Sajjad, I dissuaded him saying he was a little boy”](#) [۲](#)

Found in another version when 'Ubayd Allah decided to murder Iman as-Sajjad (a), he commanded to examine the signs of his maturity. After they attested to it, he issued the verdict of his murder. Notwithstanding, Imam managed to change his mind by saying him “If you claim that you are from among the Prophte's kins (as Abu Sufyan's [grandson](#)), you are obliged to let a man accompany these women to Medina” [۳](#)

It is also quoted that Zaynab (a) averted Iman as-Sajjad's murder saying "kill me first if you want to kill him".^(۴) Enumerating the Umayya atrocities, Jahiz has

p: ۶۳۳

al-Ithaf bi hubb al-Ashraf, p. ۱۴۳; the date of martyrdom reported by Mas'udi is ۹۵; -۱

see also Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ۱۶۰

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۲۲۹ 'Izz al-din publication -۲

Ibid vol. V, p. ۲۳۱ -۳

Ibid vol. V p. ۲۳۱ -۴

alluded to their irreverence about Iman as-Sajjad (a) by checking the signs of his maturity after the event of Karbala.^(۱) Supposing the narration true^(۲), Imam should have been younger since the maximum age of maturity was fifteen necessitated by the current situation

Although such kinds of reports are recorded in various sources, there exists many a proof of hand which denies them. First, the renowned historians have recorded Imam's birth in ۳۸, based on which Imam had been twenty-three years of age in the course of Karbala event. Secondly, it had by not means been ignored by the expert historians, from the very beginning they contradicted the common narration the genuineness of which had been confirmed and come into question however

Muhammad Ibn 'Umar Waqidi, a distinguished narrator of the Sunnis, subsequent to a quotation from Imam as-Sadiq (a) as saying "Ali Ibn Husayn (a) departed in ۵۸" added that this utterance vindicated that while ۲۳ or ۲۴, Iman as-Sajjad (a) had been with his father in Karbala and those describing him under age are wrong. Imam was seriously ill in Karbala; therefore, he was not able to participate in the war. How could he ever be immature whereas his son, Abu Ja'far Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Baqir, had met Jabir Ibn 'Abd Allah Ansari and quoted hadiths from him. Jabir had passed away in ۷۸ A.H.^(۳)

Thirdly, the way of Iman as-Sajjad's behaving towards 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad and even Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan corroborates that he had been old enough and to

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XV, p. ۲۳۶ –۱

Ali Ibn al-Husayn, Sayyid Ja'far Shahidi, pp ۳۲, ۳۳ –۲

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. ۲۲۲; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XVII, p. ۲۵۶; Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. II, p. ۱۹۱ Not only can Jabir's demise be a cogent reason for Imam al-Baqir's birth before the event of Karbala, although it weakens the probability of his birth after Karbala Waqidi's reasoning has been the report of Imam al-Baqir's birth not his visit with Jabir

discuss his maturity or immaturity in Karbala looked in vain. The scene set for his delivering sermons on the pulpit, in its turn, stemmed from his age as well. Such a ground could have never been prepared by Yazid for an individual whose maturity .was open to question

Fourthly, with a glance at numerous narrations about Imam al-Baqir's birth in historical books, it can be observed that he had been present in Karbala as a four-year old boy. No one has declared it untrue. If assenting these reports, there is no .alternative but admitting the common narration with a two-year-or-so discrepancy

Three versions that certain figures like Biyhaqi have recorded telling Imam's date of birth (۳۳, ۳۶ and ۳۸) are not unconnected to that mentioned above. The former was reported by Ibn 'Asakir. (۱) Zuhri also has confirmed that 'Ali Ibn Husayn was beside his (۲) father in Karbala at the age of twenty-three. (۲)

Another controversial issue the analysis where of would bear fruitful results is the accurate name and pedigree of Iman as-Sajjad's mother. Regretfully, after all extensive studies that a number of writers have done in this respect, it is not still .definite

The notion that his mother had been one of Sassanids princesses was recently denied lest the anti-Shi'ite Muslims as a consequence judge that the spread of Shi'ism in Iran had been due to the association of Imam's lineage with the Sassanids through Yazdgard III's daughter who has been alleged to be Iman as-Sajjad's mother.

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XVII, p. ۲۳۰ –۱

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq p. ۲۳۱ –۲

.has cited and criticized most of these narrations

Further, there are few quotations suggesting that she be “Umm Walad” (a bondswoman whose husband was not a bondsman). In spite of all controversies about the reports or their incompatibility with the reports of the contests and so forth, the genuine narration is definitively worthy and is mentioned in the Shi'ites books belonging to the ancient times such as Waq'a Siffin, Tarikh Ya'qubi and Basa'ir al-Darajat, all written in the third century

A hadith also has been quoted from Imam as-Sadiq(a) in Kafi(۱) as reported by Qad'i Nu'man in the fourth century as well.(۲) Acknowledging that there does exist skepticism, we shall examine the illusory link between this issue and the spread of (Shi'ism properly later.(۳)

Consistent with what the Shi'ites hadith-narrators have narrated, Iman as-Sajjad (a) is the successor of his father, Husayn Ibn 'Ali (a). These are narrated by Sheikh Kulayni in Kafi and Sheikh Hurr 'Amili in Ithbat al-Hudat, etc. It can also be detected from the Prophet's hadiths naming the Shi'ites Imams. Heedless of it, approving Iman as-Sajjad (a) in Shi'ites community as well as his Imama throughout history is an .original proof itself

The one and the only mistrust at that critical point prevailing a small number of Ahl al-Bayt's supporters was Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya's Imamate which will be discussed in berries later. As specified by Shi'ites hadiths, the Prophet's sword, armor and so on should be with Imams and their being with Iman as-Sajjad was validated even in

al-Kafi, vol. II, p. ٣٦٩ -١

Sharh al-Akhbar, vol. III, p. ٢٦٦ -٢

See a concise paper about the relation between Shi'ism and Iran, Isfahan, ١٣٦٥ -٣

[\(1\) Sunnites books](#)

The time at which Iman as-Sajjad lived was a special period that all religious values were exposed to the Umayya distortin and Medina residents, one of the religious centers, were all compelled to swear allegiance to Yazid like his slaves. Islamic commandments had turned into a plaything for people such as Ibn Ziyad, Hajjaj and 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan. In Hajjaj's view, 'Abd al-Malik was superior to Allah's Messenger (S

Unlike Islamic narrations, he extorted "Jizya" (poll-tax) from Muslims and with a slight calumny he handed over them to the executioners

In the shadow of such rule it was inevitable that the less people's religious training was elevated, the more disvalues were revived. Under those circumstances, Iman as-Sajjad (a) was only a worshipper and his most socially penetrating impact on (establishing a link between people and Allah was solely through Du'a (prayer

So influential a characteristic had he that people were enamored of him. A large number of knowledge-seekers were the narrators of his hadiths and availed themselves of his overflowing spring emanated from the Prophet and 'Ali's boundless body of knowledge. Describing Imam's personality, Muhammad Ibn Sa'd, Sunnites Ali Ibn" (2) "Ali Ibn" historian and scholar, had said "كان على بن الحسين ثقة مأمونا كثير الحديث عالياً رفيعاً ورعاً (2)". Husayn, trustworthy, said many hadiths. He was magnanimous, superior and pious

In his thesis about the reliability of this unique narration, Shafi'i had written

بن الحسين - وهو أفضه أهل المدينه - يعول على خبر الواحد (3) "Ali Ibn Husayn who"

p: ٦٣٧

was the only outstanding religious jurisprudent in Medina relied upon this unique
".narration

Although Ibn Shahab Zuhri was from the Umayya kins and regardless of the dispute existing between the Umayya and Shi'ite Muslims, he was among the scholars at Iman as-Sajjad's time. Getting zealously the most out of Imam's presence, he had praised him in many sentences. In a letter written by Imam, Zuhri was advised to [\(١\)](#) reconsider his position as an instrument for the Umayya sovereignty.

Once he was reproached by Iman as-Sajjad for his insultation to 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib (S) [\(٢\)](#); however, he was his narrator and his narrations have been recorded in various books. [\(٣\)](#) Additionally he was enamored with Iman as-Sajjad's worshipping and purity. As soon as Zuhri heard "As reported [\(٤\)](#) كان الزهري إذا ذكر علي بن الحسين يبكي ويقول: زين العابدين (٤) the name of 'Ali Ibn Husayn, he wept and said, Zayn al-'Abidin the worshippers' ".beauty

Ali Ibn Husayn was the most" [\(٥\)](#) "علي بن الحسين أعظم الناس منه علي (٥) He was quoted as saying I have seen no one being more" [\(٦\)](#) "ما رأيت أحداً أفقه من علي بن الحسين (٦) generous of all people ".erudite than 'Ali Ibn Husayn

His commendation for Iman as-Sajjad (a) was to the extent that some of the O Zuhri! What has your Prophet" [\(٧\)](#) "يا زهري! ما فعل نبيك يعني علي بن الحسين (٧) Marwanids told him "(Ali Ibn Husayn) done for you

Abu Hazim, another hadith-narrator, had said [\(٨\)](#) "ما رأيت هاشمياً أفضل من علي بن الحسين ولا أفقه منه (٨) I have seen no one from"

For instance see *Tabaqat al-Kubra*, vol. VIII, p. ١٧٢; *Hilyat al-Awliya'*, Vol III, p. ٨٦; -٣
Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. II, p. ١٠٣
Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. III, p. ١٣٥ -٤
Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. ٢١٤ -٥
Zayn al-Abidin, Sayyid al-Ahl, p. ٤٣ -٦
Sharh al-Akhbar, vol. III, p. ٢٥٨ -٧
Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p. ١٨٦; *Kashf al-Ghumma*, vol. II, p. ٨٠ -٨

the Hashimites whose Knowledge and jurisprudence be higher than those of 'Ali Ibn
".Husayn

It is quoted from Jahiz as stating, "Concerning 'Ali Ibn Husayn's characteristic, the
Shi'ite Muslims, schismatics, the Kharijites were all unanimous and not a single one of
(those was sceptical about his superiority over others". (١)

As it will be discerned later, the most decisive reason for Imam's popularity with the
people was his eloquent sentences within the framework of supplication engrossing
people

(Sa'id Ibn Musayyib, an eminent hadith-narrator, described Iman as-Sajjad (a
أورع من على بن الحسين " (٢) "I have never seen one more pious than 'Ali Ibn Husayn so far."

During his lifetime, Imam was called "'Ali al-Khayr" (example of goodness), "'Ali al-
Aqharr (outstanding 'Ali) and "'Ali al-'Abid" (Worshipper). (٣) At that time Malik Ibn Anas
was of this belief that there existed no one like Iman as-Sajjad in the Prophet's Ahl al-
(Bayt. (٤)

Ali Ibn Husayn was the highest" (٥) كان على بن الحسين غاية في العبادة (٥) Ibn Abi al-Hadid had said
".in worshipping

On account of Imam's too many prostrations as well as of which mark on his forehead
he was called "Dhi l-Thafanat" (the Owner of Calluses). (٦) Also, Ibn Hibban had
described Imam as follows, وكان من أفاضل بني هاشم من فقهاء المدينة وعبادهم ... يقال على بن الحسين سيد
He was one of the most learned of the Hashimites, one of the "العابدين في ذلك الزمان (٧)

jurisprudents and worshippers of Medina ... it is said that he was the master of
".worshippers at that time

Abu

p: ٤٣٩

Umdat al-Talib, p. ١٩٣٤ – ١

Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. III, p. ١٤١; Kashf al-Ghumma, Vol II, p. ٨٠; Mukhtasar Tarikh – ٢
Dimashq, vol. XVII, p. ٢٣٤; Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vol. VII, p. ٣٠٥; Siyar a'lam al-Nubala',
vol. IV, p. ٣٩١

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XV, p. ٢٧٣ – ٣

Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vol. VII, p. ٣٠٥ – ٤

Ibid Vol I, p. ٢٧ – ٥

Mu'jam al-Udaba', vol. XI, p. ١٠٣ – ٦

al-Thiqat, vol. V, p. ١٦٠ – ٧

Ali Zayn al-'Abidin was Imam of" [\(١\)](#) "فعلّى زين العابدين كان إمام المدينة نبلاً وعلماً (١)
".Medina from the viewpoint of rank and knowledge

Reportedly, when Imam made ablution before prayer, he was noticed with a pale
[\(٢\)](#) complexion. After being inquired for the reason, he replied
"Do you know before whom I am going to stand"

It is recounted that at prayer time Imam began shivering while turning pale. In his
I want" [\(٣\)](#) "انى أريد الوقوف بين يدي ملك عظيم (٣)
".to stand in front of the Great King

Heeded to nothing while he was engaged in performing prayers. Once his child broke
his arm. He was crying severely. An orthopedist was called to set the bone. Later,
after finding the child with his arm hung from his neck, Imam realized the happening
[\(٤\)](#) (after all.)

Zamakhshari has narrated that when 'Ali Ibn Husayn immersed his arm to make

ablution, ثم رفع رأسه الى السماء والقمر والكواكب، ثم جعل يفكر في خلقها حتى أصبح وأذن المؤذن ويده في الماء “
He raised his head staring at the sky, the moon and stars and pondering over as long
as morning appeared and the Mu'adhhdhin started calling to prayer while his arm was
(still in water.” (٥)

When his servant was questioned about him, she said, “Never ever did I take him food
during the day nor did I prepare bed for him at nights.” (٦) It is narrated that while

p: ٦٤٠

al-Imam as-Sadiq, p. ٢٢ –١
Sifat As-Safwa, vol. II, p. ٥٥; Nur al-Absar , p. ١٢٧; Tabaqat al-Kubra, Vol V, p. ٢١٦; al- ٢
Ithaf, p. ١٣٦; al-Fusul al-Muhimma, p. ٢٠١, al-'Iqd al-Farid, Vol III, p. ١١٤
Sharh al-Akhbar, vol. III, p. ٢٥٨ –٣
Ibid vol. III, p. ٢٦٣ –٤
Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. III, pp ١٦٠, ١٦٣ –٥
A'immatuna, vol. I, p. ٢٦٣, Manaqib Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. II, p. ٢٥٥ –٦

he was busy with his prayers, a snake approached him. The snake crept along
through Imam's two feet but not a slight move or change of complexion was
(noticed. (١)

In giving alms and aiding the underprivileged he was proverbial. It was after his
martyrdom when it revealed that a hundred families had been living on his alms and
charity. (٢) Imam al-Baqir (a) has been quoted as saying that his father, Iman as-
Sajjad (a), had been carrying food on his back at dead of night for the destitute
stressing that charity at night-time mitigates Allah's wrath. (٣) People's affection for
him beggared description. Narratedly, the Qur'an reciters under on conditions set out
to Mecca unless Iman as-Sajjad came and one thousand people on horseback
(followed him. (٤)

Sumptuously dressed, he left home but promptly returned and asked to bring his
previous robe pointing out, “As though I am not 'Ali Ibn Husayn.” (٥) While he was
passing the streets in Medina on horseback, not once did he ever warn “let me

through” in view of the fact that he believed that the route was communal and he was
never entitled to outrun.

His son, Imam al-Baqir, was cited as saying, “My father sacrificed his properties
entirely for Allah's sake twice”.

At the moment of breathing his last, Muhammad Ibn Usama Ibn Zayd was beside him.
Muhammad was shedding tears when Imam asked the why

.I am ۱۵۰۰۰ dhms in debt”, responded Muhammad“

“Do not agitate yourself, I pay it”, Imam stated.

All of these mentioned points look a drop from

p: ۶۴۱

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. X, p. ۱۵۹ –۱
Hilyat al-Awliya’, Vol III, p. ۱۳۶; Kashf al-Ghumma, Vol II, pp ۷۸; Mukhtasar Tarikh
Dimashq, Vol XVII, p. ۲۳۸

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XVII, p. ۲۳۸ –۳

Ikhtiyar Ma’rifat al-Rijal, p. ۱۱۷ –۴

Makarim al-Akhlaq, p. ۵۸; Wasa’il Ash-Shi’a, vol. II, p. ۳۶۴; It is also narrated that he
occasionally wore impressive dress lest people might assume that he acted contrary
Say, who has “فَعَلَّ مَيْنَ حَرَمَ زَيْنَةَ اللَّيْلِ الْأَسْبَىٰ أَخْرَجَ لِعِبَادِهِ وَالطَّيِّبَاتِ مِنَ الرِّزْقِ” to what Allah had ordered
prohibited the embellishment of Allah which he has brought forth for these servants?”
See Tafsir al-Ayyashi, vol. II, p. ۱۵, the second hadith; Mustadrak al-Wasa’il, vol. III, p.

۲۰۳

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XVII, p. ۲۴۶ –۶

Ibid vol. XVII, p. ۲۳۸ –۷

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XVII, p. ۲۳۹; Sharh al-Akhbar, vol. III, pp ۲۶۱–۲۶۲ (His
name is mentioned Zayd Ibn Usama Ibn Zayd in the second one

.the ocean of Iman as-Sajjad's virtues

On the last day of the event of Karbala the Shi'ites's political and ideological position was in a tragic situation both qualitatively and quantitatively. Kufa which had always been considered the center of Shi'ites tendencies had turned into a base for suppressing them. All the vertical Shi'ite Muslims of Imam Husayn having been either in Medina, or in Mecca or those from Kufa who could flourish to join Imam were martyred in Karbala.

Although there were some living in Kufa, they could in no way express themselves under the appalling circumstances exercised by Ibn Ziyad. Karbala was as a matter of fact a debacle for the Shi'ite Muslims psychologically. What was seemingly publicized was that the Shi'ite Muslims could no longer raise their heads aloft.

A group of Ahl al-Bayt headed by Imam Husayn had achieved martyrdom and the only remaining son from Imam Husayn and Fatima's issue was no one but Iman as-Sajjad who was not famed at that time. Imam Husayn's eldest son, 'Ali Akbar, had also been martyred in particular. Iman as-Sajjad's life in Medina and being distant from Iraq did never allow opportunities to be provided for him to lead the Shi'ite Muslims in Kufa.

In such a status which Shi'ites basis was determinedly targeted. Iman as-Sajjad had to resume from Zero and absorb people towards Ahl al-Bayt, Imam could successfully reach many achievements, however.

The achievements have been verified in history. Iman as-Sajjad could not only breath new life into the Shi'ite

p: ۶۴۲

Dirasat wa Buhuth fil-Tarikh wal-Islam, Vol I, p. ۶۱ (1st edition) the paper of al-Imam –۱
Sajjad Ba'ith al-Islam min jadid

Muslims but also lay the foundations for both Imam al-Baqir's and Imam as-Sadiq's future activities. It has been evidenced by history that he, during his thirty-four-year

activity, extricated the Shi'ite Muslims from the thorniest periods of their lives, the period which had nothing save Shi'ite Muslims' suppression by the Umayya and Ibn Zubayr

Hajjaj's twenty-year sovereignty in Iraq together with 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan's dominance of the thorough Islamic realm had concentrated on suppressing the Shi'ite Muslims and somewhere else suppressing other Umayyads opponents including Kharijites and such insurgents as 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ash'ath. Hearing the term of Shi'ites was far more irritating than the term of disbeliever for [\(Hajjaj.1\)](#)

During these years, two Shi'ites movements were waged in Iraq either of which—despite the temporary victory of one—was defeated. Subsequently the Shi'ite Muslims were with all might put under the threat of murder, torture and imprisonment by the Umayya. The penitents one of the movements was that of Tawwabin led by Sulayman Ibn Surad Khuza'i with a small number of the renowned Shi'ite Muslims of Kufa that we already discussed. It is alleged that Tawwabin had yielded to 'Ali Ibn Husayn's [\(Imama.2\)](#)

We could find no proof for the allegation in primary sources. What is worth consideration is that as a rule Tawwabin had been set to entrust Imama to Ahl al-Bayt if succeeded and naturally there existed no one from Fatima's issue but 'Ali Ibn Husayn (a). Not a report has been traced in history whether they were

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See Imam al-Baqir's remarks in Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Vol XI, -۱ p. ۴۴; al-Imam As-as-Sadiq of Abu Zuhra, pp ۱۱۱-۱۱۲ Tashayyu' dar masir Tarikh, p. ۲۸۶-۲

precisely of this opinion or not. It appears that no specific political relation between .Iman as-Sajjad and Tawwabin had been established

Nevertheless, whatever had given Shi'ites spirit to the movement was the active

participation of the notable Shi'ite Muslims of Kufa as well as its sentimental nature, that is, repenting for not defending Husayn Ibn 'Ali and getting martyred as the only way for the acceptance of their repentance. Nowhere of the movement was the name of Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya mentioned

Their political blunder was assessing not the status quo, abandoning Kufa and leaving himself to the accidents. Believing that the leader of the movement was incapable of estimating military and political issues, not only Mukhtar did by no means collaborate but he also hindered a number of Shi'ite Muslims to back the movement

Iman as-Sajjad's association with the second movement, namely Mukhtar's movement was as vague as the former one. Such a connection bore numerous troubles both from the viewpoints of politics and ideology. It was said that after attaining support from the Shi'ite Muslims in Kufa, Mukhtar pleaded to 'Ali Ibn Husayn (a) for cooperation but Imam showed no delight. (1)

By taking Imam's abiding policy into account, the standing adopted looked reasonable. Later than the event in Karbala, Imam had well perceived that reviving such a dead community through securing the leadership was beyond the bounds of practicability

Besides, implicating in another political movement with the presence of external powers might have preceded many a peril which was not worth

p: ۶۴۴

Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. ۱۲۶-۱

risking at all. By this reason, the entity of Imam's movement throughout his Imamate elucidated that his was never merely a political one though in many cases secession from politics exactly denoted a certain political activity

And the ideological aspect of the adventure commenced when Mukhtar asked for Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya's assistance and advocacy. He consented but not officially.

From then on, it was rumored that Ibn Hanafiyya's Imamate was accepted amongst the Iraqi Shi'ite Muslims. Although this notion was not corroborated, later when a sect named the Kissanids was founded, the story began from the time of Mukhtar

With the infiltration of the Exaggerators' theories into the Shi'ites nation in Kufa, Mukhtar also was subject to accusation later. It was rumored that Mukhtar had played an influential role in emerging the Exaggerators

Based on noncount justifications, referring to which does not seem convenient here and have been discussed elsewhere, all of these issues even that a sect named the Kissanids believed in Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya's Imamate and Mahdavitism are open to doubt

Notwithstanding, regarding Iman as-Sajjad's position-taking against the Exaggerators there is evidence available. It was the predominant deviation among Iraqi Shi'ite Muslims which compelled Imam to refrain from taking a transparent stance and setting up a direct link with them

Iman as-Sajjad (a) addressed a group of Iraqis saying [\(1\)](#) "Adore us for the sake of Islam but never promote us higher than we deserve"

Somewhere else, [\(2\)](#) أحبونا حبَّ الإسلام ولا تحبُّونا حبَّ الأصنام

p: ٦٤٥

Hilyat al-Awliya', Vol III, p. ١٣٦ -١

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, Vol XVII, p. ٢٤٢ -٢

"Adore us for the sake of Islam but never idolatize us"

Abu Khalid Kabuli had recounted that he had heard Iman as-Sajjad (a) saying

إن قوماً من شيعتنا سيحبُّونا حتى يقولوا فينا ما قالت اليهود في عزير وما قالت النصارى في عيسى بن مريم، فلا هم منا ولا نحن منهم

Some of our Shi'ite Muslims go to extremes in adoring us to the extent that they " "

repeat what the Jews and the Christians had declared about Ezra and Jesus Christ
(saying, “Neither are we from them nor are they from us” (1)

In accordance with Shi'ites sources, Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya was on no accounts a misled one and had assented Iman as-Sajjad's Imama. In order as a consequence to verify that Ibn Hanafiyya had indeed introduced himself as an Imam a few questions would be posed and solutions would be presumed that he had taken this action with the aid of Imam to keep Imam away although no historical proof supports such an assumption.

What merits to be borne in mind is that it beggars belief that Iman as-Sajjad (a) had He attributes false things“ uttered such words about Mukhtar
”to Allah and the Prophet

Especially, when Mukhtar had sent 'Ubayd Allah's head to him, he had averred
المختار خيراً (2)“ Narratedly at that time“ May Allah award Mukhtar the best!”
There was no one from the Hashimites“ أحدهم الا- قام بخطبه في الشاء على المختار وجميل القول فيه (4)“
who did not rise and

p: ٦٤٦

Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, p. ١٠٢; Tabaqat al-Kubra, Vol V, p. ٢١٤; Nasab Quraysh, -١

Mus‘ab Zubayri, p. ٥٨

Tabaqat al-Kubra, Vol V, p. ٢١٣-٢

Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, p. ١٢٧-٣

Tabaqat al-Kubra, Vol V, p. ٢٨٥-٤

admire Mukhtar.” Quoted from Imam al-Baqir was
أراملنا وقسم فينا المال على العسره (1)

Insult not Mukhtar for he has killed our assassins, has had our orphans marry and“
”.has allotted properties to us when in trouble

And in an answer to the question of Mukhtar's son, he described his position about

As discussed before, Mukhtar's movement did not politically last long and was suppressed by Ibn Zubayr followers in ۶۷ AH. However, it had an impact on stimulating and perpetuating Shi'ites emotions in Kufa and on motivating Mawali to take part in .political activities

Due to the aforesaid deviation and even unlike Ibn Hanafiyya's possible wish, some were ambivalent whom to choose as an Imam. Qasim Ibn 'Awf, one of Iman as-Sajjad's disciples, who had initially been hesitant whether to choose 'Ali Ibn Husayn or Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya ultimately joined Iman as-Sajjad as confessed by [\(himself.\)](#)

According to Kashshi, Abu Hamza Thumali and Farat Ibn Ahnaf had been among his [\(disciples.\)](#)

Although Sa'id Ibn Musayyib was controversial to be among them, he had apparently been ruling in accordance with the Sunnism. In Rijal, Kashshi has treated Sa'id's position as disentanglement from Hajjaj.[\(۵\)](#) His veneration for Imam, at all events, is without a shadow of a doubt and availing himself of Imam's presence scientifically and ethically is confirmed. But he did not attend Imam's funeral ceremony and as a [\(result was objected to.\)](#)

Aside from these individuals, there had been a number deemed steadfast Shi'ite Muslims

p: ۶۴۷

Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, Ibid p. ۱۲۸-۱

Ibid p. ۱۲۶-۲

Ibid p. ۱۲۴-۳

.Ibid. p. ۱۲۴-۴

.Ibid. p. ۱۲۴-۵

Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal p. ۱۱۶-۶

on the report of Shi'ites sources. At the starting-point there had been only few with Imam such as Sa'id Ibn Jubayr, Sa'id Ibn Musayyib, Muhammad Ibn Jubayr Ibn Mut'im, Yahya Ibn Umm al-Tawil and Abu Khalid al-Kabuli. (1) The number of Imam as-Sajjad's disciples was said ١٧٣ by Sheikh al-Ta'ifa. (2)

Anyhow Imam could vastly contribute to Shi'ism eternity and its dissemination. His style in Islamic jurisprudence domain was narrating the Holy Prophet's hadiths through 'Ali (a). Only were these hadiths authentic in Shi'ite Muslims' sight. By the same token, Shi'ites managed to take his first strides in Islamic jurisprudence averse to the existing deviations; nonetheless, the main phase thereof procrastinated

While calling for prayer (Adhan), Imam as-Sajjad inserted the sentence of *خير العمل* "Hasten to practice good deeds".

When objections raised, he stated that Adhan had been that form since the inception. (3) Seceding from Iraqi deviations culminated in maintaining the doctrinal bases of Shi'ism against deviations

In spite of Imam's serious endeavor, which, of course, led to the perpetual Shi'ism, Medina could never ever be disposed to Shi'ites growth in the light of its deviations created from the Early Islamic Era as well as its incitement against Shites. Imam as-Sajjad himself had asserted that their vertical devotees both in Mecca and Medina had not exceeded twenty people. (4) Many lived in Iraq who were their enthusiasts, however

Imam's Encounter with the Umayyads

Imam's ever-first encounter with the Umayya rulers after Karbala event was with 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad. Ibn Ziyad asked his name

"Imam replied, "This is 'Ali

Did Allah kill not"

١ - ١١٥; Ibid p. ١١٥; In another narration, they are introduced three - ١
After Husayn's murder all "يحيى بن ام الطويل، ابو خالد الكابلي، جبير بن مطعم، ثم ان الناس لحقوا وكثروا..."
people apostatized but three, Yahya Ibn Umm al-Tawil, Abu Khalid al-Kabuli and
Jubayr Ibn MuT'im People joined them then..." see also Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. ١٢٣
Rijal al-Tusi, pp ٨١-١٠٢-٢
٣ - (al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, vol. I, p. ٢١٥ (published in India
Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. IV, p. ١٠٤; Bihar, vol. XXXXVI, p. ١٤٣; -٤
al-Gharat, p. ٥٧٣

'Ali Ibn Husayn?" Ibn Ziyad asked surprisingly'

"I had a brother whom people killed", responded Imam"

"But Allah did kill him", Ibn Ziyad added"

Iman as-Sajjad stated
اللَّهُ يَتَوَفَّى الْأَنْفُسَ حِينَ مَوْتِهَا.

(1) (Concluding to murder Imam, Ibn Ziyad was heroically stopped by Zaynab (a).

Yazid also met him in Damascus (2) and reproached him. In an excellent sermon, Imam introduced himself and his family addressing the audience in the mosque. People who had for a long time been ignorantly influenced by the Umayya propagation and were not in the slightest acquainted with the Prophet's household became awakened somewhat by his sermon

Yazid had to interrupt Imam, demagogically imputed the wickedness to Ibn Ziyad and respectfully saw off 'Ali Ibn Husayn along with other captives of Karbala to Medina. Among the noteworthy points in Imam's sermon was that he introduced his father, his family and himself as the Prophet's descendants whereas both Mu'awiya and the Umayya have been constantly striving to introduce them 'Ali's descendants not the Holy Prophet's

A while after the event in Karbala, revolting against the Umayya, the people of Medina organized the riot of Harra, moreover. The leadership of the riot lay with 'Abd Allah

Ibn Hanzala, Aliyas Ghasil al-Mala'ika whose character was anti-Umayyads and anti-Yazid and whose life style was non-Islamic

Iman as-Sajjad's as well as others' position from the Hashimites was not positive; consequently, they abandoned the town with a number of their families. In Imam's view, the aforementioned movement had not merely a Shi'ites nature but was absolutely in line with

p: ۶۴۹

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۲۳۱ (published by 'Izz al-din); Nasab Quraysh of Mus'ab – ۱
Zubayri, p. ۵۸
al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. ۱۳۱ – ۲

Ibn Zubayr's intent, someone who had been among those occasioning the war of Jamal. Since Imam's any standing as a Shi'ites leader could precede the riskiest consequence for the Shi'ite Muslims, he did not involve himself

Besides, when people had expelled the Umayyads, Imam's manliness entailed to give asylum to Marwan Ibn Hakam's wife at his request. Tabari has written that Imam's [old friendship with Marwan accounted for Imam's action.](#)

It is in actual fact a barefaced lie. At that age and under those circumstances that his father and forefather had been in conflict with this reign, Imam's intimacy with Marwan as the most wretched element among the Umayyads was out of the question in a real sense of word. Marwan was the one who from the outset of securing allegiance in Medina had coerced the governor to either force Imam Husayn to swear allegiance or take his life. Imam's reaction was a sportsmanlike answer to the Umayyads' foulness so that history could compare the conducts

After Muslim Ibn 'Uqba, Aliyas Musraf suppressed the movement of Medina people and committed the greatest atrocities during the Umayya age, he acted moderately towards 'Ali Ibn Husayn due to his absence in the movement. Muslim secured allegiance from people in a way that they know themselves Yazid's slaves; not

withstanding, securing allegiance from 'Ali Ibn Husayn was quite normal.^(۲) Prior to Imam's entry, Muslim was cursing Imam and his forebear. But on Imam's arrival, he behaved calmly

When Muslim was asked for his change subsequent to

p: ۶۵۰

Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol V, p. ۲۴۵; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. ۲۰۸ – ۱
Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. III, p. ۲۵۹; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, – ۲
p. ۲۱۵; Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. II, p. ۱۰۷; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, Vol II, p. ۲۵

My second“ ^(۱) ما كان ذلك لرأى منى لقد ملئ قلبى منه رعباً (۱) Imam's departure, he responded
”conduct was not my wish. Fear had fully permeated into my heart

Heedless of the fact that Imam's position-taking ought to be interpreted by considering the political state, military oppositions and the establishment of organizations, it had been the current situation which necessitated any Imam's responsibility^(۲) at any juncture. Every politically rational man is cognizant that the approaches adopted vary in various situations. As examined history evidences how
.Iman as-Sajjad (a) reserved and proliferated Shi'ism for the future activities

As far as the relations between the 'Alawites and the Umayyad were concerned, Imam was vehemently suspected by them and as Imam's slight movement could bare negative outcomes, he naturally believed that action-taking was not worth. One of the most significant religious-political principles by using which Imam spent his
(political life was Taqiyya (precautionary dissimulation

It shielded the Shi'ite Muslims' lives throughout history as pointed out by Imam over and over. Yet, in order to undermine the Shi'ite Muslims, a group, not in need of manipulating it, denied it strongly although it had been straightforwardly stipulated in Holy Qur'an. The Sunnis on account of being in power required not Taqiyya and only for accusing the Shi'ite Muslims did they delete it from among the incontrovertible
.Islamic and Fiqhi commandments

In a hadith, Iman as-Sajjad has stated that anyone not enjoining good and forbidding evil is like one who has set the divine Book aside and turned his

p: ٤٥١

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, pp ٧٠, ٧١ –١

The unseen knowledge is consistent with the duty mentioned not separated from it –٢
back on it unless he follows Taqiyya. He was asked what Taqiyya was. He answered
To fear from a cruel ruler to kill him or oppress “ [\(١\)](#) يخاف جباراً عنيداً يخاف أن يفرط عليه أو أن يطغى (١) ”.him

Believing in Taqiyya as a Qur'anic principle was in terms of Islamic jurisprudence accentuated more by Imams who had to practice it. Iman as-Sajjad who lived an exceedingly difficult life had no other alternative but Taqiyya. It was fundamentally Taqiyya which safeguarded Shi'ism at that time, what of which Kharijites, the extremists, did not avail themselves and as a result were struck hard. Narratedly, meeting Imam, someone asked him how he spent his life

Imam responded, “We pass the time among our people as Israelites were among the Pharaoh's people. They kill our children and take our women as bondwomen. People get nearer to our foes by insulting our lord. If Quraysh prides itself on having Muhammad before other Arabs and if Arabs consider themselves superior to non-Arabs for having Muhammad (S) and they have approved such a virtue for Arabs and Quraysh, we, Ahl al-Bayt, should be proud of ourselves before Quraysh because Muhammad has been from among us. Yet, they usurped our rights and this is the way
”our time goes by

The narrator added that Imam was speaking in a way that only those nearby be able
to hear him

Overall, Imam's lenience with the Umayya provided a free life in Medina for Imam
and less was he center of attention on the part

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. ٢١٤; Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. III, p. ١٤٠ -١

of the opponents. Furthermore it manifested Imam's scientific dimension in reserving the religion. The great admiration made by a Sunnites scholar about him is a proof. Were Imam involved in politics, no one could describe this aspect of Imam's character.

(Iman as-Sajjad's profiting from Du'a (Prayer

When the community was deviated, the spirit of comfort-loving and worldliness prevailed, it was confined by political, ethical and social corruption and when there was no opening to breathe politically, Iman as-Sajjad could partially express his beliefs through prayer and reactivate the nation to pay heed to insight and worship. Although, seemingly, the main aim within the prayers had been insight and worship, in regard with the phrases it can be claimed that people could have perceived the political concepts between the lines.

Al-Sahifa as-Sajjadiyya including more than fifty prayers is only a part of Iman as-Sajjad's compiled prayers. The number of the collections inclusive of his prayers is six with the above mentioned one. The prayers inside some of them exceed ١٨٠. (١) These prayers had been used by the Sunnis in addition to the Shi'ite Muslims, (٢) so it can be inferred how influential they had been at that time. Among all Shi'ites Imams, Iman as-Sajjad (a) is more famous for his prayers.

Within the prayers there is a phrase repeatedly used and rarely can a prayer be found excluding it. It is "Peace be to Muhammad and his progeny" صلوات بر محمد وآل محمد.

Basically it is an indication of genuine prayers. Once naming a baby 'Ali was decreed and the

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XI, p. ١٩٢; vol. VI, pp ١٧٨-١٨٦; vol. V, -٢
p. ١١٣

Umayya could execute nothing without insulting 'Ali (a),^(١) observing such a phrase
.appeared virtuous

Muhammad and his decent,“ محمد وآله الطيبين الطاهرين الاخيار الانجيبين (٢) ”.Such phrases as
”.clean, chosen and honored descendants

Imam's insistence on uniting Muhammad and his descendants was what Allah had
emphasized and it is of utmost importance for expressing Shi'ites beliefs. Previous to
narrating contents of some of his prayers it looks proper to refer to a hadith on
.consolidating the link between Muhammad and his Household

Iman as-Sajjad has stated, “It is incumbent upon a learned to say Salawat to Allah's
Prophet. Allah has joined us to him as well. If anyone say Salawat for the Prophet but
excludes us, not only does he make it imperfect but also he disobeys Allah.^(٣)” The
union of Muhammad and his Household can substantially affect people's stance on
.the Holy Prophet's household

The issue of Imamate is one of the central religious-political contents of as-Sahifa.
The concept of Imama as a Shi'ites concept depicts the divine aspects of infallibility
along with profiting from the prophets' body of knowledge in general and that of the
holy Prophet in particular in addition to its superiority over caliphate and
.leadership.We show some examples

رَبِّ صَلِّ عَلَى أَطْوَائِبِ أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ الَّذِينَ اخْتَرْتَهُمْ لِأَمْرِكَ وَجَعَلْتُمْ خَزَنَةَ عِلْمِكَ وَحَفِظْتَهُ دِينَكَ وَخَلَفَائِكَ فِي أَرْضِكَ وَحُجَجِكَ
عَلَى عِبَادِكَ وَطَهَّرْتَهُمْ مِنَ الرَّجْسِ وَالذَّنْسِ تَطْهِيراً بَارَادَتِكَ وَجَعَلْتَهُمُ الْوَسِيلَةَ إِلَيْكَ وَالْمَسْلُوكَ إِلَى جَنَّتِكَ

O Lord! Bless those pure from Muhammad's progeny, those whom Thou have chosen
for ruling and those whom Thou have designated

p: ٦٥٤

as Thy depositaries of science and guards of Thy religion. Thou created tem as Thy caliphs and proof for Thy servants on the earth. Thou not only cleansed them from any impurity of Thy own volition, but also determined them as a vehicle for reaching
 “[\(١\)](#) Thee and the abiding Heaven.”

اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّ هَذَا الْمَقَامَ لَخَلْفَائِكَ وَأَصْفِيائِكَ وَمَوْضِعَ أَمْنَائِكَ فِي الدَّرَجَةِ الَّتِي اخْتَصَصْتَهُمْ بِهَا قَدْ ابْتَزَوْهَا... حَتَّى عَادَ صَفْوَتُكَ وَخَلْفَائِكَ مَغْلُوبِينَ، مَقْهُورِينَ مَبْتَزِينَ... اللَّهُمَّ الْعَنِ أَعْدَائَهُمْ مِنَ الْأَوَّلِينَ وَالْآخِرِينَ وَمَنْ رَضِيَ بِفِعَالِهِمْ وَأَشْيَاعِهِمْ وَأَتْبَاعِهِمْ

O Allah! Caliphate does solely belong to Thy caliphs, the chosen from creatures. The“ position Thou had assigned for Thy Trustee in sublime ranks was usurped by others... until Thy caliphs and chosen ones were vanquished by the oppressors and their rights were disregarded. O my Lord! Thy malediction be upon their enemies from the beginning to the end, upon those gratified with this oppression and upon their
[\(٢\)](#) followers.”

وَصَلِّ عَلَى خَيْرَتِكَ اللَّهُمَّ مِنْ خَلْقِكَ مُحَمَّدٌ وَعَتْرَتُهُ الصِّفْوَةُ مِنْ بَرِيَّتِكَ الطَّاهِرِينَ وَاجْعَلْنَا لَهُمْ سَامِعِينَ وَمَطِيعِينَ كَمَا أَمَرْتَ اللَّهُمَّ اجْعَلْنِي مِنْ أَهْلِ التَّوْحِيدِ وَالْإِيمَانِ بِكَ وَالتَّصَدِيقِ بِرَسُولِكَ وَالْإِثْمَةِ الَّذِينَ حَتَمَتْ طَاعَتَهُمْ.

O Lord! Bless the best creature of all, Muhammad, and his chosen kinfolds. Make us“ obedient to them as Thou have commanded. O Lord! Make me one of the believers of
[\(٣\)](#) the Prophet and Imams, those whose obedience Thou have ordered.”

اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّكَ إِتَيْدْتَ دِينَكَ فِي كُلِّ أَوَانٍ بِأَمَامِ أَقْمَتِهِ عِلْمًا لِعِبَادِكَ وَمَنَارًا فِي بِلَادِكَ بَعْدَ أَنْ وَصَلْتَ حَبْلَهُ بِحَبْلِكَ وَجَعَلْتَهُ الذَّرِيعَةَ إِلَى رِضْوَانِكَ وَافْتَرَضْتَ طَاعَتَهُ وَحَذَرْتَ

معصيته وأمرت بامتنال أوامره والانتهاه الى نهيه وأن لا يتقدّمه متقدّم ولا يتأخّر عنه متأخّر فهو عصمه للانذنين وكهف المؤمنين وعروه المتمسكين وبهاء العالمين ٢٤١٠ وأقم به كتابك وحدودك وشرائعك وسنن رسولك صلواتك الله عليه واله وأحى به ما أماته الظالمون من معالم دينك وأجل به صداد الجور عن طريقتك وابن به الضراء من سبيلك وأزل به التاكبين عن صراطك وأمحق به بغاه قصدك عوجاً ... واجعلنا له سامعين مطيعين. ٢٤١١

O Lord! At any time Thou have appointed an Imam as a flag and a guidance lamp for Thy servants on the earth. Through establishing a direct link between Thyself and him, choosing him a way far drawing Thy gratification, enjoining all to obey his commands and prohibiting all from disobeying him, Thou did approve Thy religion. He is an Imam over whom no one has priority and from whom no one has the right to separate.

An Imam for whom Thou have arranged a secure place for approaching Thee is he. Thou have bestowed firm faith on him who resorts Thy leading and favor and bestowed a highest honor in the world as he is a refuge for the believers... O Lord! Safeguard Thy book, Islamic limits, religious laws and Thy Prophet's Sunna by him, revive any of Thy religious tenets which the oppressor dissolved by him and obliterate any corruption or deviation in Thy straight path by him. Obviate the dangers in Thy way by him, make us obedient to him and successful in satisfying him

It can be evidently

p: ٤٥٤

inferred from the sentences above that Imam's determination had been disseminating Shi'ites beliefs through the concept of Imama as the most crucial in Shi'ism. Similar contents admiring Ahl al-Bayt from Nahj al-Balagha had been presented in the discussion about Imam 'Ali's caliphate

As referred to the domain of the prayers is incredreably vast and contains other aims such as devotional, intellectual and political. Brining an intellectual example would be appropriate here. Irbili recounted that while Iman as-Sajjad was in the Prophet's mosque in Medina he noticed that a group having a doctrinal discussion likened Allah

to his creature. Imam who was incensed, stood up, went to the Prophet's grave and began praying from which the content of negating comparison could be deduced.
,Shedding tears he was praying

الهي قد بدت قدرتك ولم تبد هيئتك فجهلوك وقدروك بالتقدير على غير ما انت به فشبهوك وأنا برىء يا الهى من الذين بالتشبيه طلبوك ...

O my Allah! Thy might is revealed. They do not appreciate Thee. They ordain despite“ what Thou have foreordained. They compare Thee with mankind while I loathe it. O
﴿my Allah! Who are those who seek Thee with comparison?﴾

One of the Imam's actions at different times was to make people acquainted with the Prophet's Household about whom all the rights and virtues were specified in Qur'an and Sunna. In Damascus the Umayya introduced themselves the Holy Prophet's Household as in Hijaz some of the Prophet's wives did so

Since his wives died one after another and left no child, the

p: ٤٥٧

Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. II, p. ٨٩ –١

existence of Ahl al-Bayt was rendered null and void. And now no one but Fatima's offspring was remained. Making them known was requisite especially in as much as the incidents after the Prophet's departure had them keep silent in political scenes. Iman as-Sajjad introduced the household when he was taken to Damascus and it was .in his famous sermon as confirmed by a number of historical records

:In this regard, we present a narration

و أتى بحرم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله حتى دخلوا مدينه دمشق من باب يقال له «توما»، ثم أتى بهم حتى وقفوا على درج باب المسجد حيث يقام السبى واذا الشيخ قد أقبل حتى دنا منهم وقال, الحمد لله الذى قتلكم وأهلككم وأراح الرجال من سطوتكم وأمكن أمير المؤمنين منكم. فقال له على بن الحسين, يا شيخ! هل قرأت القرآن؟ قال: نعم قد قرأته، قال: فعرفت هذه الايه: قل لأسئلكم اجراً الا المودّه فى القربى؟ قال الشيخ: نعم. فقال على بن الحسين: فنحن القربى يا شيخ، قال: هل قرأت فى سوره بنى اسرائيل: وآت ذا القربى حقه؟ قال الشيخ: قد قرأت ذلك، فقال على: نحن القربى يا شيخ. وهل قرأت هذه الايه

«واعلموا أنما غنمتم من شيء فان لله خمسه وللرسول ولذی القربى، قال الشيخ: قد قرأت ذلك، فقال علي: فنحن ذو القربى يا شيخ. ولكن هل قرأت هذه الايه: انما يريد الله ليذهب عنكم الرجس أهل البيت ويطهركم تطهيراً، قال الشيخ: قد قرأت ذلك. قال علي: فنحن اهل البيت الذي خصنا بآيه الطهاره. فبقى الشيخ ساعه ساكتاً نادماً على ما تكلمه؛ ثم رفع رأسه الى السماء وقال:

p: ٤٥٨

اللهم انى تائب اليك فى ما تكلمته ومن بعض هولاء القوم، اللهم انى أبرء اليك من عدو محمد وآل محمد.

The Prophet's Household were brought. (1) They were entered Damascus through a door called "Tuma" They stood by the mosque door with other captives

An old man approached them and said, "I offer my appreciation to Allah who killed you and let people relieve and Amir al-Mu'minin Yazid overcame you

Ali Ibn Husayn asked him, "Man, have you ever recited Qur'an?" "Sure, I have" the old man answered

Have you ever seen the verse of Say, I do not ask of you any reward for it (my mission) but love for my near relatives", Imam asked

.Yes, I have", said he

Ali Ibn Husayn added, "Those near relatives are we, man". Imam asked again. "How' about the verse in Bani-Isra'il Sura "Give the rights of the relatives

.Yes", he answered

We are those relatives", stated Imam. "Have you ever read the verse of 'And know that whatever thing you gain, a fifth of it is for Allah and for the Apostle and for the near of the kin' ", asked 'Ali Ibn Husayn

."The man answered, "Yes

How about this verse, man? Allah only desires to keep away the uncleanness from you, O people of the House! And to purify you a (thorough) purifying", asked Imam

.Yes, I have read it", he said

.These people of the house are we". 'Ali Ibn Husayn added“

The man ashamed of whatever he had produced kept silent for a while. Then he rose
his head up to

p: ۶۵۹

al-Futuh, vol. V, pp ۲۴۲-۲۴۳ -۱

the sky and said, “O My Allah! I repent of what I have said and of the grudge I have
.”born them. I loathe the enemies of Muhammad and his progeny

Iman as-Sajjad's lamentation as well as his real worship within the frame of these
prayers was an instructive lesson for the present corrupted community wherein Islam
was disdained by the Umayya. His lamentation was also for the harrowing event of
.Karbala

Imam had stated, “Although doubtful about his death, Jacob wept for Joseph so hard
that his eyes turned blind. How can I not help weeping while sixteen people from the
Prophet's Household were martyred in front of my very eyes.”(۱) His lamentation did
automatically make people conscious of the event in Karbala though he himself
recounted the details of the event, moreover (۲)

Iman as-Sajjad (a) and Slaves

One of Imam's activities, both religious and political, was his heed to a class who had
been under socially vehement pressure from the caliph II's tenure onward
particularly during the Umayyads' term and had been the most underprivileged group
in the Islamic community in early centuries. The bondsmen and bondswomen
whether Iranian, Roman, Egyptian or Sudanese suffering the most laborious tasks
.were humiliated by their masters

Like Amir al-Mu'minin (a), Iman as-Sajjad (a) absorbed a number of Iraqi Mawali
(freed slaves) through his Islamic conduct and attempted to upgrade the social
reputation of this class. Once Imam freed a bondswoman and married her, in order to

censure her, 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan reproached him for this marriage, Imam referred to

p: ٤٤٠

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XVII, p. ٢٣٩ –١
(Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp ١٩٤, ٢١٢, (published by 'Izz al-din –٢

:the verse

لَقَدْ كَانَ لَكُمْ فِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ.

”Allah's Messenger is a good model for you“

Concerning the Prophet's approach about Safiyya. He also pointed out the marriage of the Prophet's cousin with Zayd Ibn Haritha. (١) Accordingly, he breathed new life into Prophet's dead tradition afresh

Sayyid al-Ahl has written that although Imam never needed slaves, he purchased them regularly only for the purpose of their releasing. Reportedly, some one hundred thousand slaves were freed by Imam. Discerning Imam's intention, the slaves exposed themselves to him to be purchased. Since Iman as-Sajjad had been purchasing them day in and day out, a large group was formed in Medina like an army (including male and female slaves being all Imam's Mawali. (٢)

Narrated by 'Allama Amini, at the end of each fasting month of Ramad'an, Iman as-Sajjad freed twenty slaves. He has added that never did he keep a slave more than a year and even after setting free he granted some properties to them. (٣)

During that period they personally got well acquainted with Iman as-Sajjad's extensive knowledge, ethics and piety and their affection for him was as a consequence natural. Some time a bondwoman with a bowl of water was pouring water on Imam's hands

All of a sudden it dropped down, knocked Imam on the face and injured him. As soon

Those restraining their anger.” “والكاظمين الغيظ” as Imam took a look at her, she said “Those forgiving people.”,added “والعافين عن الناس” Imam said, “I restrained my anger,”she. “I forgave you

p: ٤٤١

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. ٢٤; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. ١٤٠ -١

Zayn al-Abidin, Sayyid al-Ahl, pp ٧, ٤٧ -٢

(A'yan Ash-Shi'a, vol. IV, p. ٤٤٨ (First Edition -٣

Allah loves the benevolent,” she recited. Imam said,“ والله يحب المحسنين(١) “ Imam stated
“For Allah's sake, I released you” (٢)

On stepping out of the mosque, Iman as-Sajjad (a) was insulted by someone. When Imam's Mawali invaded him, Imam hindered them and stated, “What has remained unrevealed about us is more than what he expresses”. The man became ashamed
(after all and was pardoned by Imam generously (٣)

.Now once again Imam's magnanimity is mentioned. It is worth recounting a story

Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Umar had narrated, “Hisham Ibn Isma'il, an Umayya' governor in Medina had ignored the neighbors' rights and had begun annoying us specifically 'Ali Ibn Husayn. When he was deposed, Walid commanded to expose him
to the public so that any one willing could take revenge on him

Hisham confessed that he scared no one that much but 'Ali Ibn Husayn. While being hung from the Marwan bulwark, he requested his friends not to utter an insulting word when Iman as-Sajjad passed by. As soon as noticing Imam going, Hisham yelled
out, الله اعلم حيث يجعل رسالته “ (٤) “Allah truly knows with whom to lay His mission.”

The Hashimites after the Event of Karbala

Aside from Iman as-Sajjad there existed two 'Abbasids and 'Alawites figures who cooperated in political and collective activities. One was Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya, 'Ali's son, and the other was 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib whose fame was thanks to

[\(the narrations quoted from the Prophet notably dealing with interpretation.\)](#)^(٥)

Not Fatima's son however, he was deemed high-ranking by the Shi'ite Muslims due to

p: ٤٤٢

Ale Imran, ١٣٤ – ١

Sharh al-Akhbar, vol. III, p. ٢٤٠ – ٢

Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. II, p. ١٠١; al-Ithaf, pp ١٣٧, ١٣٨; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, – ٣

vol. XVII, p. ٢٤٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. ٥٢٤; Sharh al-Akhbar, vol. III, p. ٢٤٠ – ٤

Hujjati, Muhammad al-Baqir, Si Maqalih dar Tarikh tafsir wa nahw (three papers n – ٥

history of Interpretation and Syntax), from p. ٢٧ on (Tehran, ١٣٤٠

his elderliness among the other 'Alawites as the leader of political Shi'ite Muslims,
propounding Ahl al-Bayt's leadership politically

Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya had been eminent and focus of Imam 'Ali's attention in the course of wars at that Imam's term. The flag of Imam's army in the war of Jamal was held aloft by Ibn Hanafiyya.^(١) His own analysis was that both Imam Hasan and Imam Husayn were Imam 'Ali's eyes and he was his hand and it was hand which ought to
[\(protect the eyes.\)](#)^(٢)

و القمراً (٣) "Where is the star of the sun and the moon" , [أين النجم من الشمس](#) Indicating the positions of these three brothers, Imam 'Ali had state

Imam enlightened them why the flag was given to Ibn Hanafiyya. It had been for the protection of the Prophet's descendants.^(٤) That he had not been from the Fatimids was an excuse for Ibn Zubayr to humiliate him later^(٥) although never did it affect the
Shi'ite Muslims

No one doubts that he had been one of the most steadfast Shi'ite Muslims as his actions had verified the fact; nevertheless, no evidence could ever be located from the historical sources about his claim for leadership, though others might take

advantage of him, even found a sect and believe his Mahdavitism. Many individuals including a few Shi'ites Imams had the same affliction too. Ibn Hanafiyya was the narrator of the hadiths which could lead people more towards the Holy Prophet's Household.

He has been quoted as saying, من أحبنا لله نفعه الله بحبنا ولو كان

p: ٦٦٣

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. ٢٤٣ – ١

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XI, p. ٢٨ He had been one of the bravest in the – ٢

Hashimites; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XV, p. ٢٨٥

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, p. ٢٤٥ – ٣

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. IX, p. ١١١ – ٤

Ibid vol. IV, p. ٦٣ – ٥

Any one who loves us, he will be benefited by Allah even if he is “أسيراً بالديلم (١) ”.imprisoned in Diylam

The devotees of the Household were many whereas the loyal to the verse of “قُلْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُحِبُّونَ اللَّهَ فَاتَّبِعُونِي . Say, If you love Allah, then follow me” were few.

Owing to this fact Iman as-Sajjad had stated “Our Faithful “٢ (Shi'ite Muslims do not exceed twenty both in Mecca and Medina.”

.The number of the political enthusiasts was great, however

When addressing him, Ibn Hanafiyya's followers usually said “يا بن خير الاخيار وابن ابرار ما خلا- النبيين والمرسلين (٣) ”.benevolent after the prophets and the Apostles

More threatening of Ibn Zubayr's two adversaries namely, Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya and Mukhtar was Ibn Hanafiyya. The whys and the wherefores were one, Mukhtar had risen up in Kufa under his banner and the other was that the leadership of some part of Shi'ites movement apparently had been undertaken by him. Ibn Zubayr who

had determinedly bent his efforts to smear their reputation banned reciting blessing
to the Holy Prophet (S) for ٤٠ weeks

His family is “ان له أهيل سوء فان ذكر مدّوا أعناقهم لذكره (٤)“ Being asked for its reason, he said
small. Whenever he is commemorated, all members of this family will say we are in
”this family

He had made more offensive remarks in this respect as well (٥) like
بيت سوء لا أول لهم ولا

p: ٦٦٤

Ibid vol. IV, p. ١٠٥ –١

Ibid vol. IV, p. ١٠٥ –٢

al-Futuh, vol. VI, pp ٢٣٩, ٢٤٠ –٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٢٩ –٤

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IV, p. ٦٢; pp ١٢٧, ١٢٩; al-'Iqd al-Farid, –٥
vol. V, p. ١٦١

”آخر “The sinister house for which there is neither beginning nor end

It aroused Ibn 'Abbas's anger acutely banished by Ibn Zubayr to Ta'if. (١) Ibn Zubayr
himself had made a confession that it had been ٤٠ years he bore this family a
grudge. (٢) He was the one who incited his father to betray Ahl al-Bayt and stand
against Imam 'Ali (a) in Jamal

Concerning him Imam 'Ali had stated
Zubayr always belonged to us, Ahl al-Bayt until his inauspicious son, 'Abd Allah,“
”emerged (٣)

As narrated by Ibn Abi al-Hadid, the only stimulator of 'Ayisha had also been 'Abd
Allah Ibn Zubayr according to Ibn 'Umar. (٤) It was not unreasonable why she felt
affection for him after his father and the Prophet. (٥)

These was a testimony that how great was the grudge Ibn Zubayr bore the 'Alawites,
Although his archenemy was the Umayyads, never did he leave the Hashimites

relieved. Since the Hashimites naturally swore no allegiance to him, he emancipated Ibn Hanafiyya, Ibn 'Abbas together with ۲۴ people from among the Hashimites in the entrance to the well of Zamzam. Mukhtar's envoys succeeded to release them in an [\(ambush attack with their bare hands.\)](#)

Ibn Zubayr's determination had been to burn them to death. When 'Urwa Ibn Zubayr, famous for narrating the Prophet's hadiths, was objected in this regard, he reacted as saying that it had been done for the purpose of maintaining Muslim solidarity and it had been what

p: ۶۶۵

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XX, p. ۱۲۸-۱

Ibid, vol. IV, p. ۶۲; vol. XX, p. ۱۴۸-۲

Ibid, vol. XX, p. ۱۰۲-۳

Ibid, vol. XX, p. ۱۰۷-۴

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XX, p. ۱۱۰-۵

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۲۶۱; They were ۱۷ in another narration; Sharh Nahj al-

Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XX, pp ۱۲۳, ۱۲۴

the caliph II had adopted against those who opposed to swearing allegiance to Abu [\(Bakr. Even he had accumulated logs to set fire to their houses.\)](#)

Nevertheless, Ibn Zubayr had not the audacity to do so in view of the fact that a majority of his followers had turned to him merely due to the Umayyads oppression and as a matter of fact they would rather be with a corrupt man than be with a more [\(corrupt one and on no accounts would they allow him.\)](#)

Time after time in his sermons, Ibn Zubayr cavilled Imam 'Ali (a) and made Ibn Hanafiyya raise an objection. Consequently, verbal dispute flared up between them.[\(۳\)](#) It resulted in Ibn Hanafiyya's expulsion which was followed by Ibn 'Abbas's [\(protest.\)](#)

Seeking advantage by exploiting this dispute, 'Abd al-Malik wrote to Ibn Hanafiyya

inviting him to Damascus. Ibn 'Abbas admiring Ibn Hanafiyya's character requested 'Abd al-Malik to make allowances for him. He accepted his demand, hence
.Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya betook himself to Damascus

Anyone who passed by him on the way talked about his uprising. His features had become proverbial. 'Abd al-Malik who predicted his menace informed Ibn Hanafiyya while en route that he should swear allegiance to him if coming to Damascus. Declining his proposal, he switched his way to Mecca again and resided in Abu Talib
.mountain-pass with a group of his Kufiyan friends

The conflicts between him and Ibn Zubayr reignited and sparked off his expulsion to Ta'if. Meanwhile Ibn 'Abbas was expelled from

p: ۶۶۶

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XX, p. ۱۴۷; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. – ۱
III, p. ۸۶

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XX, p. ۱۲۸ – ۲
Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۲۶۲ – ۳
al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. ۲۵۲ – ۴

Mecca to Ta'if too; therefore, both began propagating against Ibn Zubayr together. It
[\(was where Ibn 'Abbas passed away in ۶۸ and Ibn Hanafiyya said prayer for him.\)](#)

The final phases of Ibn Hanafiyya's life remained vague. Some people known as followers of the Kissanids claimed that he had been alive and living on Rad'wa mount. In accordance with Ibn A'tham, he left Ta'if with ۴۰ Shi'ite Muslims to Rad'wa mount
[\(and disappeared without trace.\)](#)

His going to Rad'wa mount was mentioned by Ya'qubi as well.^{۳۳۶} From Sayyid Himyari's poems, once a believer of the Kissanids, a belief in Ibn Hanafiyya's
.Mahdavitism and his disappearance from sight can be inferred

Alluding to the Prophet's hadith on Mahdavitism, “His name is like that of mine and his

„nickname also resembles that of mine”, he had composed, (٣)

يفوز بكنيتي واسمى لاني نحلتماه والمهدى من بعدى

يغيب عنهم حتى يقولوا تضمه بطيه بطن لحد

سنين وأشهر برضوى بشعب بين أنمار وأسد

He will be in a grace that I have bestowed him with my name and nickname. He will“ be the leader after me. He will disappear while people say he has gone to his last resting-place. For years and months he will be invisible in the valley among the lions and leopards and on Rad’wa mount

(The lines below belong to Kuthayyir 'Azza about Kissanids tenets, (٤)

ألا ان الائمه من قريش ولاه الحق أربعة سواء

على والثلاثة من بنيه هم الاسباط ليس بهم خفاء

فسبط، سبط ايمان وبر وسبط غيبتة كربلاء

وسبط لا يذوق الموت حتى يقود الخيل يقدمه اللواء

تغيب لا

p: ٤٤٧

al-Futuh, vol. VI, pp ٢٤٠-٢٥٣-١

Ibid, vol. VI, p. ٢٥٣-٢

al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. ٢٣٤, It is reported that later Sayyid Himyari changed his beliefs -٣

and became Imam as-Sadiq’s disciple and composed

“In the name of Allah, the Great, I became Ja’far’s follower while certain of Allah’s”

“forgiveness” Although some expressed doubt about his conversion from the

Kissanids, al-Aghani, vol. VII, pp ٢٣١, ٢٣٥, ٢٤١-٢٤٢

al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, pp ١٣٣, ١٣٤; Sharh al-Akhbar, vol. III p. ٢٩٧-٤

يرى فيهم زمانا برضوى عنده غسل وماء

Be informed that Imams from Quraysh and the owners of rights are four, 'Ali and his three sons. These are his sons not anyone else. A son of his was the example of faith and goodness while his another son was removed in Karbala. The other one who has not yet tasted death in order to lead cavalrymen having a standard at the front is "disappeared from view on Rad'wa mount with honey and water

Some considered Mukhtar as the founder of the Kissanids which might have been named after one of Imam 'Ali's slaves called Kissanids.⁽¹⁾ Other reasons have been presented for its denomination in various books related to different sects and religions. No scientific research has ever been done yet, but some are of this belief that the Kissanids have been wholly fabricated by narrators.⁽²⁾

As a number believed that Ibn Hanafiyya had shared in foundation of such a sect, the 'Abbasids tried from the outset to secure power through 'Ali's succession, thus they declared a proportion for Ibn Hanafiyya. In order to justify their caliphate, they announced that the Prophet's authority transferred to 'Ali then to Imam Hasan and Husayn and entrusted to Ibn Hanafiyya by Imam Husayn (a). After being transferred to Ibn Hanafiyya's son, Abu Hashim, it was devolved to Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas subsequent to Abu Hashim's death.⁽³⁾

Connecting these two issues reveals that the Kissanids sect had been beneficial to the 'Abbasids so that it could

p: 668

al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. 131 –1
Madhahib Ibtada'atha As-Siyasia fil-Tarikh, 'Abd al-Wahid al-Ansari, published in – 2
Beirut 1973; Qamus al-Rijal, p. 452
Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. VII, pp 149, 150 –3

transfer the caliphate this way to their lineage. Later on, that way went disadvantageous to the 'Abbasids. Accordingly, they decided to legitimize their caliphate with recourse to 'Abbas and proving his inheritance from the Prophet.⁽⁴⁾

Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas, another distinguished member of the Hashimites, was among Ibn Zubayr's unyielding opponents in Mecca. Yazid, when alive, had held him in high esteem for his opposition against Ibn Zubayr owing to the fact that he had imagined .he could use this opportunity in favor of himself

In response to his letter, touching upon Imam Husayn's and 'Abd al-Muttalib's ,offspring's murders, Ibn 'Abbas reproved him as saying

لا أبالك! أنسيت قتلك الحسين وفتيان عبدالمطلب، مصابيح الدجى الذين غادرهم جنودك مصرعين فى صعيد واحد مرملين بالدماء مسلوبين بالعراء غير مكفين ... “

O fatherless! Have I forgotten Husyan's murder and 'Abd al-Muttalib's youths who were lights in darkness, those whom your troops left while shrouded in their blood ”?and stripped off they had been fallen on the ground

Your“ [\(٢\)](#) And about his father he added father did ignorantly dissolve the Prophet's Sunna and did expressly revive the ”.misleading heresies

Yazid in his answer accused Ibn 'Abbas of being an accomplice of 'Uthman's assassins. In return, Ibn 'Abbas said that the main culprit had been his father, [\(٣\)](#) (Mu'awiya, because he had delayed his assistance until 'Uthman was dead.

Like Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya [\(٤\)](#), in Ibn 'Abbas's opinion caliphate had been changed terribly from Prophethood and caliphate into monarchism. He advised people

p: ٦٦٩

al-Hayat As-Siyasiyya li l-Imam al-Rid'a, from p. ٣٧ on –١
Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp ٢٤٨, ٢٥٠; the letter is fully in al-Ma'rifat wal-Tarikh, by –٢
Fasawi, vol. I, pp ٥٣١–٥٣٣
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ١٨ –٣
al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. ٢٣٨ –٤

to keep as far away from both Ibn Zubayr and the Umayyads as possible, for they

[\(both drive them toward Hell.\)](#)

Quite compatible was the position adopted by Ibn 'Abbas about the events in Mecca during Ibn Zubayr's time with that of Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya. Ibn 'Abbas mainly backed Ibn Hanafiyya and every now and then they both got into argument with Ibn [Zubayr over diverse issues.](#)

One of their most considerable arguments was when Ibn Zubayr set Ibn 'Abbas against the people abiding by caliph II in the issue of “temporary marriage ban” by accusing him on the pulpit of believing in “temporary marriage”. Ibn 'Abbas stood up all at once and declared that his belief in temporary marriage was based on what the Holy Prophet had prescribed and if he (Ibn Zubayr) had doubted, he could have asked [\(his mother.\)](#)

Ibn 'Abbas's opposition culminated in his expulsion from Mecca. Banished to Ta'if, under no circumstances did he relinquish his struggle

About Ibn Zubayr he told people *بقى أقوام يطلبون الدنيا بعمل الآخرة ويلبسون جلود الضأن تحتها قلوب الذئاب* Those who are remained are seeking worldly life and are “... ليظن الناس أنهم من الزاهدين “ ”.wolves in sheep's clothing to pretend they are ascetic people

It caused Ibn Zubayr to write to him taking him to task. Notwithstanding, Ibn 'Abbas, [\(an eminent figure, never abstained from answering him reproachfully.\)](#)

Ibn Hanafiyya said prayer for 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas who passed away in ٤٨ in Ta'if and *اليوم مات رباني هذه الامه رحمه* announced

p: ٤٧٠

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ١٩٦ – ١

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XX, pp ١٣٤, ١٤٨ – ٢

See al-Ziwaj al-Muwaqqat fil-Islam “Al-Mut‘a”, pp ٩٩, ١٠٣ by Kitab Muslim, vol. IV, p. – ٣
١٣٣; Nasb al-Raya, vol. III, p. ١٨٠; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XX, p.

”Today a divine person from among this nation died. May Allah bless him “ الله تعالى

Up to that time and even after a long while, there was no strife amongst the Hashimites. As observed afterwards, conflict between the 'Abbasids and the Talibites triggered off and developed so gradually that the Talibites were deemed the 'Abbasids' archenemies at Mansur's time and were under their heaviest pressure

Whatsoever had been narrated regarding the Hashimites after 'Abd al-Malik's sovereignty shows that he had adopted the policy of condescension and had written to Hajjaj to avoid streaming the blood of 'Abd al-Muttalib's descendants. Since Abu (Sufyan's family had lost their power this way. (1)

In the meantime, until Zayd Ibn 'Ali's uprising in ١٢٢ there had been no openly political activity on the part of the Hashimites except what had been said vaguely about the 'Abbassid's

The Marwanids' Government

Al Marwan's Rule

Yazid's demise (in Safar ٦٤ A.H) was the origin of instability in the Sufyanids's sovereignty. Such instability could be felt not only in the lands distant from the capital but also inside Damascus, the center of the Umayyads's caliphate. The instability was expanded when Mu'awiya II after forty days or four months abdicated

,He announced

الا وان جدى معاويه بن ابى سفيان نازع الامر من كان أولى به منه فى القرابه برسول الله وأحق فى الاسلام، سابق المسلمين، اول المؤمنين وابن عم رسول رب العالمين وأبا بقيه خاتم المرسلين “

My forefather, Mu'awiya did battle with the one who was the closest to the Prophet in kinship and had long record

in Islam. The ever-first Muslim, the ever-first believer, the Prophet's cousin and the
".father of the Seal of the Prophet's Household was no one save he

Enumerating some of his father's and forefather's negative conducts, he added,
"They martyred the Prophet's kinfolks, profaned the sacred sanctuary and set fire on
Ka'ba. Neverever will I undertake your responsibility." (١)

Marwan Ibn Hakam suggested that he organize a council like 'Umar. He recoiled from
(the responsibility, however. (٢)

It was astonishing that he was Yazid's son especially when he described his
He is a divine man and a " brother,'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Yazid as
"worshipper (٣)

The principal threat to the Umayyads was in the oriental Islamic lands. It was due to
the emergence of a rather powerful substitute from ٦١ A.H. in Mecca who bid his time
to take advantage of the existing instability and dethrone the Umayyads in that area.
After Yazid's death, 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad, the governor, tried to keep still Basra and
(Kufa under his power but the riot of Basra people had him escape to Damascus. (٤)

From then on after Mukhtar until ٧٢ A.H., Iraq was ruled by Ibn Zubayr and the
.Umayyads contented themselves with only Damascus and Egypt

With the prevailing instability in Damascus, some allied themselves with Ibn Zubayr to
eradicate the Umayyads. Nu'man Ibn Bashir Ansari governing Hims turned to Ibn
Zubayr. Dhahhak Ibn Qays, one of the most influential Umayyads commanders, took
.control of Damascus

In Palestine, Natil Ibn Qays Judhami joined Ibn Zubayr. 'Abd

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۲۵۴ -۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۷۲ -۳

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ۸۵; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۳۸۷ -۴

al-Rahman Ibn Jahdam Fihri as Ibn Zubayr's agent began his activities in Egypt. The one and the only land remained for the Umayyads was Jordan ruled by Hassan Ibn [\(Buhdal Kalbi.\)](#)

And about the tribes, the Qaysids were on Ibn Zubayr's side and the Kalbids on 'Amr Ibn Sa'id's and Marwan Ibn Hakam Ibn Abi l-'As's side.[\(۲\)](#) The Qaysids included the tribes of Sulaym, Hawazin and Ghatfan whereas the tribes backing Marwan were [\(Kalb, Ghassan, Sakun, Saksak, Tanukh, Tayy \(from Damascus\) and Qayn.\)](#)

The conflict between these two wings occurred in ۶۴. Marwan Ibn Hakam as a leader from Quraysh and the Umayyads secured allegiance from his followers as a caliph and together with the followers of 'Amr Ibn Sa'id went to a war with Dhahhak Ibn [.Qays](#)

The violent battle done in Marj Rahit led to the Qaysids' defeat and Dhahhak's murder, on one hand, and to Marwan's penetration into Damascus and new sovereignty of the Umayyads under the name of the Marwanids, on the other hand. It has been said that 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad had been the main element who incited [\(Marwan.\)](#)

Anyhow, Marwan became the founder of the Marwanids dynasty. From different standpoints, his rule as well as the way of his assuming power gained a novelty. Although Mu'awiya had come into power by compulsion and dissimulation, Marwan could secure it thoroughly by sword. According to Mas'udi, he was the first one who [\(procured the power by sword with satisfying no group of people at least.\)](#)

Marwan was

p: ۶۷۳

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۲۵۵-۱

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. ۱۶; the seed of discord between these two - ۲ groups was sown when Mu'awiya married a woman from Kalb The tribe of Qays not least ʔahhak Ibn Qays felt that their social reputation was blackened The Kalbids turned to the Umayyads and the Qaysids took position against them; Tarikh al-

Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. ۱۷۷

Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. ۱۷۷-۳

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp ۱۳۸, ۱۴۱-۴

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ۸۶-۵

in dilemma. One was from the side of 'Amr Ibn Sa'id who had played a leading role in the course of this development and was of course nominated as a successor after his

[\(son.۱\)](#)

Nonetheless, he was later slayed by 'Abd al-Malik mercilessly. Another problem was Khalid Ibn Yazid Ibn Mu'awiya who had secured allegiance from a number of Jordanians in the turmoil of clashes. For the purpose of disparaging him, Marwan married his mother. His affront was followed by Khalid's objection to his mother and

[\(Marwan's assassination by his new wife in ۶۵.۲\)](#)

Probably Marwan had staged a coup to conquer Hijaz although some sources have ascribed it to 'Abd al-Malik. Overpowering Ibn Zubayr's army in Medina, Hubaysh Ibn Dulaja entered the town and began eating dates on the Prophet's pulpit. Afterwards, he set out to Rabad'a, where he battled with the army dispatched by 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr. The majority of Damascus came to be killed and captured.[\(۳\)](#) It is alleged that

.Hajjaj had been in Hubaysh's army as well

Marwan's background bears no luminous point. His first political emergence was that as 'Uthman's son-in-law in the throes of 'Uthman's conflict with people, he wrote a letter to the ruler of Egypt on behalf of 'Uthman and without his awareness to decimate Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr and his friends. Later on, he was the governor of

[\(Medina for years during which he constantly insulted Imam 'Ali \(a\).۴\)](#)

When Yazid after his father's death urged Medinans governor to secure allegiance

Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ٢١٨-١
 Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp ١٤٤, ١٤٥; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٢٥٧; al-'Iqd al-Farid, -٢
 vol. V, p. ١٤٦
 Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ١٥٣; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. ١٨١; al-'Iqd al- -٣
 Farid, vol. V, p. ١٥١
 Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, Ibn Sa'd, p. ١٤٣ -٤
 Umayr Ibn Ishaq narrated, "فكان يسب عليا في كل جمعه على المنبر... ثم اعيد مروان فكان يسب عليا",
 «...“Marwan who was our ruler for six years insulted ‘Ali every Friday on the pulpit

.Husayn Ibn 'Ali (a), Marwan suggested that he be killed if balking at

”Marwan was extremely foul mouthed“ (١) كان مروان فاحشاً سباًباً, Morally, he was described

Marwan's rule lasted for nine months. After his assassination in ٦٥ A.H his son, 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan, assumed the caliphate. Before that 'Abd al-Malik was well known for his worship and Qur'an recitation in Medina. (٢) No sooner had he heard about his (٣) caliphate than he shut Qur'an and bid farewell to it forever.

His main internal problem was the existence of 'Amr Ibn Sa'id who was supposed to succeed him at his father's behest. When 'Abd al-Malik went to conquer Iraq in ٦٨, 'Amr Ibn Sa'id revolted in Damascus and besieged it. Returning halfway, 'Abd al-Malik (٤) introduced him as his successor deceitfully and after a while killed him.

This action did divulge 'Abd al-Malik's profound deceitfulness in history and such (٥) person as Ibn 'Abbas applied it to their propagation against him.

Before Mukhtar rose up, 'Abd al-Malik had endeavored to conquer Iraq by making use of 'Uthman-oriented individuals in Basra. He sent Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah to Basra carrying a message for the nobles. Later, an army headed by Malik Ibn Misma' was dispatched too, but both unable to conquer Basra fled to Damascus. This event was

”Yawm al-Jafra Bil-Basra“ [\(٤\)](#) يوم الجفرة بالبصرة, recorded in history as

This very event had likely been recorded by Ibn A'tham as being led by Zahr Ibn Qays.

He had written that 'Abd al-Malik had pleaded with the Marwanids to

p: ٤٧٥

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. ١٧ –١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٣٧٢; Tarikh al-Khulafa' of Ibn Sa'd, p. ٢١٤' –٢

Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ٢١٧ –٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٥٩٩; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, pp ١٣٧, ١٣٨; vol. V, p. ١٥٠ –٤

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ١٤٤ –٥

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ١٥٥, ١٥٧ –٦

adopt a measure and uproot Ibn Zubayr's dominion. He had sent Zahr Ibn Qays accompanied by a one-thousand-soldier army to Basra; however, the battle resulted in the Marwanids's serious defeat

Mus'ab, Iraqi governor, compelled Basran Marwanids to divorce their wives, he confiscated their properties and demolished their houses.[\(١\)](#) Yet, it indicated that he could not materialize his aim easily. To solve his problems and reinforce his forces, he compromised the Romans[\(٢\)](#) –as Mu'awiya had done so when at war with Imam 'Ali (a)– and could suppress troubled areas of Greater Syria like Palestine ruled by Natil Ibn Qays Judhami. After years in ٧٢, he reached a decision to conquer Iraq. Noticing how Natil Ibn Qays was vanquished, Mus'ab Zubayr with an intent to conquer [\(٣\)](#) Damascus had to dispense with it.

While the Kharijites had been making so many obstacles for the Zubayrids from the late ٦٠s and early ٧٠s, 'Abd al-Malik, determined to conquer Iraq, was busy mobilizing troops. The Zubayrids's dominion in oriental Islamic lands and Hijaz lasted nine years ((eight years in Iraq

Although 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr himself was far more popular than the Umayyads, some of his specifications made all those able to be helpful for him disperse.[\(٤\)](#) His

miserliness^(٥) and accusing others of being worldly were what had all leave him on his own. It is said about his jealousy

عدمت قريشا رضوا بك سيدا و أنت بخيل الكف غير جواد

”You killed the Quraysh who approved you. The miser is you“

,In spite of the pressure exerted by Mus'ab Ibn Zubayr

p: ٤٧٤

al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. ٢٥٤ –١

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٩٨; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٣٠٠ –٢

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٢٤٩; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٩٨ –٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٢٩ –٤

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ١٩٧ –٥

the Zubayrids had not a firm foundation in Basra in the light of the fact that Basra belonged to both Jamal participants and the Marwanids as well as the 'Uthmanids

In Kufa, on the other hand, due to its relative Shi'ism, they had no stronghold. The suppression of Mukhtar's uprising had bitterly agitated the Shi'ite Muslims. 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr's enmity with the Hashimites not least with Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya had doubled the Shi'ite Muslims' disgust. It is said about Mus'ab Ibn Zubayr that he had been invariably seeking after the Shi'ite Muslims' murder.^(١)

Consecutive wars with the Kharijites caused many other people to rebel. A grudge which 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr bore his enemies ended in his disreputation among people. Bearing the Hashimites a grudge (according to himself from ٤٠ years ago)^(٢), he even was reluctant to recite Muhammad (S) blessing in his sermons and said if so, his household would show off that they were the prophet's progeny!^(٣)

These factors accounted for Ibn Zubayr's weakness in both Iraq and Hijaz; nevertheless, his influence on Hijaz was more than Iraq. Although his debacle might be blamed on Iraq's not support, 'Abd al-Malik's might, his dependence on Damascus

army, proverbial for their obedience to the caliphs,^(٤) and especially Hajjaj's coercion on Damascus people to move to Iraq^(٥) were considered as the reasons for Ibn Zubayr's defeat and 'Abd al-Malik's victory

Inasmuch as Ibn Zubayr's base was shakier in Iraq, 'Abd al-Malik moved to Basra in

٧٢. لم يبق شريف الا كاتبه

p: ٦٧٧

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ١٩٧^٢ -١

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XX, p. ١٤٧ -٢

Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٢٦١; al-Aghani, vol. II, p. ٢٧٧ -٣

Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. I, p. ٢٥٢ -٤

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. ١٥٨ -٥

”There was no nobleman who had not written to him “

As all of the distinguished people had written to him but Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra,^(١) upon waging the war, a great number left Mus'ab's army joining to that of Damascus.^(٢) He resisted to the bitter end and while breathing his last, he asked 'Urwa Ibn Mughira what Husayn Ibn 'Ali did when martyred. He responded that .neverever was Husayn Ibn 'Ali convinced to do Ibn Ziyad's bidding

,Mus'ab then said

إِنَّ الْأَلَى بِالطَّفِّ مِنْ آلِ هَاشِمٍ تَأَسُّوْا فَسَنُوْا لِلْكَرَامِ التَّوَّاسِيَا ٢٤٩١

Those pearls in Karbala were from the Hashimites who chose the best as their“
”.model

One ground for Mus'ab's fragility was Ibrahim Ibn Malik Ashtar's murder.^(٣) He defied however, until he was removed. As long as the Zubayrids held sway in Iraq, he was the most important Zubayrids element ruling there except a short while. He had Arabic racial prejudice particularly he was more pessimistic about the Iranians who ^(٤)had accompanied Mukhtar.

Following the clashes, Iraqi residents swore allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik; therefore, the Marwanids became dominant entirely in oriental Islamic lands. The only remaining land was Hijaz ruling by 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr, 'Abd al-Malik, who had already perceived the sensitivity of Hijaz due to the rite of Hajj (pilgrimage) and even had banned it, contemplated how to seize that land, especially with Ibn Zubayr's involvement in political scenes punctuation there existed some people who had not [yet deemed his caliphate legitimate.](#)^{٤٥}

Among them was 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar who neither had likely sworn allegiance

p: ٤٧٨

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. ٣٣٣' -١

Loc cit -٢

al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. ٢٤٤ -٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٥; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, pp ١٤١, ١٤٢-١٤٣ -٤

Suyuti had said that since he secured allegiance as his father's successor during -٥ Ibn Zubayr's caliphate, his caliphate was not rightful Once in power in Damascus and Egypt, later he seized power in Iraq until Ibn Zubayr was killed in ٧٣ From then on his caliphate was right; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ٢١٥

to 'Ali nor had he participated in his wars but immediately after Ibn Zubayr's [assassination, he nightly went to Hajjaj and swore allegiance to him.](#)^{٤٦}

Abd al-Malik sent Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf Thaqafi to Hijaz for conquering Mecca. He stopped' in Ta'if, center of Thaqif tribe, temporarily and then betook himself to Mecca. It was the second military expedition that the Umayyads made against Mecca for the purpose of overwhelming Ibn Zubayr

The first time in ٤٤ Husayn Ibn Numayr, the commander of Damascus army, returned upon learning Yazid's death, but this time Hajjaj was engaged in besieging Mecca with [his troops as many as ١٢٠٠٠ for eight months.](#)^{٤٧}

During this period, catapults were installed around the town on the heights targetting

Ibn Zubayr and al-Haram Mosque under a rain of fire and stones. (۳) It was carried on until Ka'ba caught fire. So insolent was he that he even did not avoid throwing garbage on al-Haram Mosque. (۴)

On Jumadi al-Thani ۱۰th, ۷۳ A.H Mecca was eventually blockaded by the Umayyads. Subsequently, Hajjaj moved to Medina and narratedly he affronted the remaining from the Prophet's disciples such as Jabir Ibn 'Abd Allah, Malik Ibn Anas, Sahl Ibn Sa'd, (etc.) (۵)

From then onwards, the Marwanids governed in all Muslim- populated areas. A barbaric man, 'Abd al-Malik together with some other brutal rulers including Hajjaj, Yazid Ibn Muhallab as well as Hisham Ibn Isma'il (۶) made people feel sword. He (believed that sword was the only panacea for people. (۷)

,He abominated “enjoining the lawful acts” and said

p: ۶۷۹

al-Id'ah, p. ۳۴; al-Mustarshid fil-Imama, p. ۱۶; concerning his political votes we have –۱ discussed in detail in “the History of Caliphate from Islam’s Emergence to the Sufyanids’ fall” (Tarikh tahawwul dawla wa khilafat

Wafayat al-A‘yan, vol. III, p. ۷۳ –۲

al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. ۲۷۶ –۳

Ibid, vol. II, p. ۴۸۶; ‘Uqala’ al-Majanin, p. ۱۷۸ cited form As-Sahih Min Sirat al-Nabi –۴ (S), vol. I, p. ۲۳

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۳۵; Tarikh al-Khulafa’, p. ۲۱۵ –۵

He was “ Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ۹۰ –۶ وكان له اقدام على الدماء وكان عمّاله على مثل مذهبه “ bloodthirsty and so were his agents

.Tarikh al-Khulafa’, p. ۲۱۸ –۷

If anyone enjoins me fearing Allah, I will “ والله لا- يأمرني أحد بتقوى الله بعد مقامي هذا الا ضربت عنقه “ (break his neck.” (۱)

Like any other person on the very last days of his lifetime, he wished he had been

Hajjaj in Iraq

The main element that laid the foundation of caliphate was no one but Hajjaj. Regarding him, 'Abd al-Malik told his sons later, “It was Hajjaj who aided us to come to the throne”. ٣ Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim, Hajjaj's scribe had said that he had bent his thoughts and efforts to serve the Umayyads. ٤

To reason the superiority of a caliph over the Holy Prophet (S), he himself had affirmed, “أخليفه أحدكم في أهله أكرم أم رسوله في حاجته ٥” In your sight, is the one as your “?substitute in the family dearer or the one sent to do something

According to Jahiz, he had been annoyed when people paid homage to the Prophet's tomb and said as a consequence “هل طافوا بقصر أمير المؤمنين عبد الملك، الا يعلمون أن خليفه المرء خير من رسوله ٦” Why did you not pay homage to the palace of Amir al-Mu'minin 'Abd al-Malik? “Do you not know the caliph is the best one after the Apostle

Hajjaj's this reasoning was repeated by many others too for ingratiating. ٧

Hajjaj had been so devoted to 'Abd al-Malik that he had said, “If I learn that demolishing Ka'ba did never draw 'Abd al-Malik's gratification, I shall break it into stones” ٨

Realizing his devotion, when 'Abd al-Malik designated Hajjaj as the governor of

p: ٦٨٠

Ibid, pp ٢١٨, ٢١٩ – ١

Ibid, p. ٢٢٠ – ٢

Ibid, p. ٢٢٠; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. ٥٨ – ٣

Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. II, p. ٤٢٥ – ٤

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ١٤٧ The same narration has been ascribed to Khalid – ٥
Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri, Mecca governor in ٨٩ Comparing Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik with Prophet Ibrahim (a) on the pulpit, he introduced Walid as the superior one He said that

when Ibrahim asked for water, Allah offered him salty water while He offered fresh water to Walid Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٢٢٥
al-Nasayih al-Kafiya li-man Yatawalla Mu'awiya, p. ٨١; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. -٦
IX, p. ١٣٦
Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ٢٢٨ -٧
al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. ٥٢ -٨

Write the “ اكتب عهده على العراقيين واطلق يده على الرجال والسلاح والاموال “ Iraq, he told his scribe permission of his governorship in both Basra and Kufa and make him fully authorized (about people, properties and weapons” (١)

With Hajjaj's arrival in Iraq that had never had a taste of the ٦٠s-peace could be returned for twenty years with Hajjaj's sword. Since his roughness was extraordinary no one dared oppose him. However, it would be seen how such a pressure sparked off riots at last. On arrival in Kufa, he announced, “The caliph had given me two swords of mercy and requital. On my way here, I lost the sword of mercy and the only (sword remained is of requital!” (٢)

In the same sermon, he indicted Iraqi people of schism, hypocrisy and moral corruption (٣); accordingly, he belittled the Kufiyans who were “ ذو هيئه وعزه “ .respectful people

As stated by Ibn A'tham and took them under his yoke. (٤) His emergence in Iraq had previously foretold by Imam 'Ali (a) when pronouncing the malediction of “ O Allah! Hasten the appearance of the man from the tribe of Thaqif“ (٥) بالغلام الثقفى

(٦) Yet, it had been later attributed to 'Umar.

Hajjaj's delight in homicide created a myth that when a baby, he was not breastfed but fed with blood and it had been Satan's suggestion under the guise of a human. (٧) Many “ (٨) مثلها “ Ibn Khallakan has written, و كان للحجاج فى القتل وسفك الدماء والعقوبات غرائب لم يسمع مثلها (٨) a story has been recounted

al-Futuh, vol. VII, p. ٣ -١
al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. ٣٢ -٢
al-Futuh, vol. VII, p. ٨; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٤٣; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ١٣٢; -٣
Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٢٧٣
al-Futuh, vol. VII, p. ٤ -٤
Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ١٤٢ -٥
Shadharat al-Dhahab fi Akhbar min Dhahab, vol. I, p. ١٠٧ -٦
Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. II, p. ٣٠; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ١٣٢ -٧
Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. II, p. ٣١ -٨

[\(about massacre and torture done by Hajjaj that were unparalleled at all.\)](#)^(١)

The aftermath of his great savagery in Iraq was the slaughter of more than ١٢٠٠٠٠ people.[\(٢\)](#) Nearly ٥٠٠٠٠ men and ٣٠٠٠٠ women, half of whom unmarried, were confined [\(in his mixed jails.\)](#)^(٣)

,Characterizing him, Suyuti has written

وقد قتل من الصحابه والتابعين ما لا يحصى، فضلاً عن غيرهم وختم في عنق انس وغيره من الصحابه ختماً “

He massacred countless Prophet's disciples and followers let alone others. He made [\(some gashes on Anas Ibn Malik's neck and other's.\)](#)^(٤)

From ٧٥ to ٩٥ AH, Hajjaj was the absolute ruler in Iraq and oriental Islamic lands including Khurasan, Sistan and all other Iranian areas. Despite the existing hindrances, he had been so preoccupied with suppressing the Kharijites, Shi'ite Muslims and any rebel Sunnites that no conquest, except during the last years, was made. What ought to be borne in mind is that Hajjaj had numerous rivals in Iraq but .he removed them all barbarically

His first enemy was the Kharijites. Only Qatari Ibn Fuja'a, a Kharijites leader, engaged him for years. After their defeat in Kirman and the Kharijites' split, it was Shabib who occupied Kufa twice for hours. Ultimately after a long clash, Hajjaj could accomplish to suppress them with recourse to Damascus.[\(٥\)](#) The Kharijites were scattered in

various districts of Iraq as well. More than half of Hajjaj's prisoners were either
.Kharijites or being accused of it

Another group was the Shi'ite Muslims opposing Hajjaj in Iraq. As a consequence of
the penitents and

p: ٤٨٢

Ibid, p. ٣٠ –١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ١٨٣; Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. V, p. ٣٤٩ –٢

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ١٦٦ –٣

Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ٢٢١ –٤

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp ٢٧٤, ٢٧٥ –٥

Mukhtar's defeat in ٤٥ and ٤٧ respectively, Shi'ite Muslims were scattered losing their
solidarity. 'Abd al-Malik who had no apparent fight with 'Abd al-Muttalib's progeny,
had advised Hajjaj in a letter to adopt the same strategy. As written by Ibn 'Abd
[\(Rabbih not a single objection did Hajjaj raised to the Talibites.\)](#)

It never implied that he was not at odds with the Shi'ite Muslims but it was on account
of the fact that no Talibites lived in Iraq. Nonetheless, the Shi'ite Muslims residing in
Kufa and other spots of the country were under the worst pressure. As stated by
Imam al-Baqir (a) hearing the word "'Ali's Shi'ites Muslim" was far less tolerable for
[\(Hajjaj than the word dualism or "atheist"\)](#)

Whatever made him pleased was to hear a person from a tribe saying, "No one in our
tribe has ever cursed 'Uthman; in Siffin, seventy people from our tribe had been with
Mu'awiya while only one with Abu Turab; no woman from women has ever felt in
affection for Abu Turab; there has been found no one in our tribe whom we urged to
[\(curse Abu Turab in addition to Hasan, Husayn and Fatima and he disobeyed.\)](#)

In order to pressurize them to curse 'Ali (a), Hajjaj whipped such individuals as 'Atiyya
Ibn Sa'd 'Awfi four hundred lashes for their amity with 'Ali (a), 'Atiyya defied,
.however. [\(٤\)](#) Those intending to wheedle Hajjaj, manipulated such values

Ali Ibn Asma' came up to Hajjaj and said 'انَّ أبويَّ عقَّاني فسَمَّياني عليّاً فسَمَّيني أنت

p: ٤٨٣

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. ١٤٩ -١

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. II, p. ٤٤ -٢

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ١٤٤; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. IV, p. -٣

٤١

Shadharat al-Dhahab, vol. I, p. ١٤٤ -٤

My parents have not only disowned me but also named me 'Ali. Change my name. “

“(Changing his name, Hajjaj offered him presents.”)

Even the simplest Shi'ites idea was followed by Hajjaj perturbation. He, for instance, summoned Yahya Ibn Ya'mur from Khurasan to Iraq due to announcing that both Hasan (a) and Husayn(a) were the Prophet's descendants

He merely contented himself with his banishment once Yahya could validate his notion through authenticating that Jesus Christ had been Ibrahim's descendant too on the strength of Qur'an. (٢) As Hajjaj laid stress on affection for 'Uthman, he, in his (turn, murdered any one suspected of participating in riots against 'Uthman before. (٣)

Abd al-Malik and his agents had been persistently attempting to boost the fights' between the 'Alawites and the Zubayrids for the purpose of keeping them engaged. It was in one of these certain meetings that Iman as-Sajjad did not attend feigning illness. (٤) 'Ali's lineage was coerced by 'Abd al-Malik to curse 'Ali while the Zubayrids were so to curse 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr. (٥) His son, Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, perpetuated this policy pressurizing people to curse Imam 'Ali (a) under threat of (murder. (٦)

In such a financially tough situation did the Prophet's Household live under the Umayyads pressure that later the Iraqi ruler had said concerning them This family from the “من بني هاشم [بني علي] قد كانوا هلكوا جوعاً حتى كانت همه أحدهم قوت يومه “ Hashimites was under threat of starvation to the extent that they only bent their

Wafayat al-A‘yan, vol. III, p. ١٧٥ –١

Ibid, vol. VI, p. ١٤٧ –٢

al-Muwaffaqiyat, p. ٩٩ –٣

Nasab Quraysh, Mus‘ab Zubayr, pp ٤٧, ٤٨ –٤

Nasab Quraysh, Zubayr Ibn Bakkar, p. ٨٣ –٥

Wafayat al-A‘yan, vol. II, p. ٤٢٦ –٦

(efforts to earn their daily bread.”^(١)

Besides the Shi'ite Muslims and the Kharijites, Hajjaj encountered other adversaries who had risen up against the Umayyads's oppression or for whatever reason. The first year Hajjaj came in power in Iraq, he cut out the surplus proportion from Bayt al-Mal (public treasury) to Basra people. This action culminated in Basra revolt in ٧٥ led (by 'Abd Allah Ibn Jarud although it was immediately stifled.^(٢)

Another movement was led by Mutarraf Ibn Mughira who himself and whose father had been from the kins of the Umayyads and the governors of Kufa and Ctesiphon but was affected by the Kharijites. When the representatives of Kharijites Shabib met with Mutarraf, he proposed that after gaining victory the caliph be determined by a council and be from the Quraysh. Neither of his conditions was approved by the (Kharijites, however.^(٣)

,The motivations he himself had enumerated for his insurrection against Hajjaj were Misappropriation of public treasury, transgression “ الاستثثار بالفىء وتعطيل الحدود والتسلط بالجبريّه “ (of divine limits and despotism.”^(٤)

He along with his followers left Ctesiphon to Qasr Shirin and after a stop-over on the outskirts of Isfahan to Saman district and then to Qum and Kashan.^(٥) Gradually some people from Riy and Isfahan, naturally many Arabs and likely a few Iranians, joined him.

In a letter, Isfahan governor wrote to Hajjaj if he wanted the city, he should hasten.

The Arab governor of Hamadan for his part asked for Hajjaj's permission to suppress Mutarrafa, since the scattering of

p: ٤٨٥

Ibid, vol. VII, p. ١٠٤-١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٤٤-٢

Ibid, vol. V, pp ١٠٨, ١٠٩-٣

Ibid, vol. V, p. ١٠٨-٤

Ibid, vol. V, p. ١١٣-٥

Arabs in the lands paying tax had appalled him, he declined his proposal.^(١) By the same token, an army composed of Damascus and Riy people could finally manage to chuckle down Mutarrafa's movement in ٧٧ AH

Afterwards, 'Abd al-Malik entrusted all eastern lands up to Khurasan and Sistan borders to Hajjaj. Hajjaj who had conquered nowhere as yet – even halted from Yazid's time before him–decided to take an action in this respect and bring further booties for the Umayyads. His determination to dispatch an army for the conquests faced a hurdle for surmounting which behooved him to devote one or two years.^(٢)

Abd al-Rahman Ibn Ash'ath's Riot'

Abd al-Rahman Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ash'ath Ibn Qays was selected as the commander of a massive Iraqi army to launch his conquests while neither he nor his household was good enough towards Ahl al-Bayt. As it was mentioned by Imam as-Sadiq (a), Ash'ath was an accomplice in 'Ali's martyrdom his daughter, Ju'da, was the murderer of Imam Hasan and his son, Muhammad, was an agent in Imam Husayn's martyrdom.^(٣)

Abd al-Rahman was once appointed by the Zubayrids to amass alms in Medina.^(٤) Heading for Sistan in ٨٠ A.H. along with his army, he made up his mind to bring the fight to a standstill until the next year after being somehow victorious. Proposing this to Hajjaj, he refused it; consequently, neither 'Abd al-Rahman nor his army accepted

to approve Hajjaj's demand while knowing the laborious task encumbered upon them. Later, this came to be an excuse for them the

p: ٤٨٤

Ibid, vol. V, p. ١١٥-١

In recent years, (١٤٠٥ A H) a book entitled "al-Hajjaj Rajul al-Dawlat al-Muftara - ٢
'Alayh" was published in Iraq for defending Hajjaj

Rawd'a al-Kafi, p. ٢٤٥-٣

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ٤٠-٤

.to be at odds both with Hajjaj and the Umayyads

Iraqi rebellious army, instead of conquering new lands, returned to Iraq while being fully equipped to rebel against that country but since the Arabs were not in Sistan, it would have been much easier for them to gain victory if this riot had happened in

[\(Khurasan.\)](#)

Abd al-Rahman called upon people to adhere both to Qur'an and the Prophet's Sunna, depose misleading leaders and combat the unbelievers.[\(٢\)](#) His army entered Basra in ٨١ A.H. The residents of Basra, both those who knew Qur'an by heart and the readers thereof as well as the doyen altogether gave a helping hand in overthrowing

'Abd al-Malik

People in Kufa also joined him utterly.[\(٣\)](#) From among the rioters, the followers of Ibn Ash'ath, there were huge numbers of Qur'an readers and scores of Iraqi jurists[\(٤\)](#) such as Ibn Abi Layla, someone who was battered and pushed by Hajjaj to insult 'Ali (a).[\(٥\)](#) The majority of those adoring 'Ali played a significant role in

[\(this uprising. Kumayl Ibn Ziyad was a commander of a group of Qur'an readers.\)](#)[\(٦\)](#)

Being embarrassed, 'Abd al-Malik, put forward the idea of unsentencing Hajjaj in order to maintain peace; however, owing to the fact that both 'Abd al-Rahman and his supporters who on one hand, had a taste of being triumphant and, on the other hand, did not feel confident enough whether he would carry out his undertaking or not,

failed to accept his suggestion.^(٧) Moreover, they were not in opposition to

p: ٤٨٧

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ١٤٩ -١

Ibid vol. v, p. ١٤٩ -٢

Ibid vol. v, p. ١٥٥ -٣

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. ٤, p. ٢٩٣ -٤

Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. ١, p. ٥٨ -٥

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ١٥٨ -٦

Ibid vol. v, p. ١٥٧ -٧

Hajjaj but basically to the Umayyads and it was reasonably evident from their remarks in deposing 'Abd al-Malik

To prompt people to revolt against the Umayyads, some vocalized 'Ali's remarks. This ^(٨)was an indication of the presence of those tending to Shi'ism.

Such a trend of this riot, in comparison to that of Tawwabin's and Mukhtar's was not so noticeable

Above all, someone was leading the riot who behaved not well towards Ahl al-Bayt. The only reason for various parties to join hands was not more than enmity to the Umayyads and to overthrow Hajjaj. From among the notions they repeatedly were taking advantage in their campaign against the Umayyads, one can name their brutality, disregarding the weak and attempting to leave no trace of prayers

قاتلوهم على جورهم في الحكم وتجبرهم في الدين واستذلّالهم الضعفاء وإماتتهم الصلاة

Fight them to get rid of their cruelty in ruling their bullyism in religion, their violation of ^(٩)the rights of the weak and their attempt of disregarding prayers."

One of the prime reasons that brought about this riot was Hajjaj's compulsion on the villagers who recently had embraced Islam and moved into cities. Tax deduction, consequence of that migration, impelled Hajjaj to drive them out of those cities and

re-settle them where they had been. Being under hard pressure, they cried out, "O, Muhammad!" (۲) This caused them to tilt towards 'Abd al-Rahman to kill Hajjaj

Besides, sending the Iraqis to the most remote areas to fight simply for the booties which were handed to Hajjaj

p: ۶۸۸

Ibid vol. v, p. ۱۶۳; It has been told in a quotation in 'Umdat al-Talib, he had paid – ۱ allegiance to one of the 'Alawites

Ibid vol. v, p. ۱۶۳ – ۲

Tarikh at-Tabari vol. v, p. ۱۸۲ – ۳

ultimately was another reason for their rebellion. (۱) The impact of taking capitation from newly converted Mawali should also be taken into account. It was told that the (majority of the rioters were jurisprudent, Basra's soldiers as well as Mawali. (۲)

Abd al-Rahman's riot continued until ۸۳ A.H. when Dayr al-Jamajim event, one of the foremost strike, took place. Due to his defeat and the captivity of extensive numbers of his supporters, 'Abd al-Rahman was not able to withstand in the subsequent clashes. Eventually, he returned to Sistan and on his way to Khurasan. Most of his supporters separated from him. Then he took refuge by one of the kings in Harat. Ratbil, the king of that land, concluded a treaty with Hajjaj in ۸۵ A.H. in which he had promised to send 'Abd al-Rahman's head to Hajjaj

Massacring a large number of Dayr al-Jamajim's captives, Hajjaj set free only those confessing that they were infidel. There, among them, were a handful of Iraqi jurisprudents. (۳) Sha'bi was one of the jurisprudents, who surrendered himself to Hajjaj after being defeated

Another one was Sa'id Ibn Jubayr who was apprehended by the governor of Medina, Khalid Ibn'Abd Allah Qasri. Inquiring about his viewpoint with respect to the previous caliphs, which was an indication of being skeptical of trusting them, Hajjaj put an end to his life. From then on, Hajjaj was suffering from a severe psychical disorder

because of Sa'id's murder. (٤) They kept on killing the captives to such an extent that 'Abd al-Rahman himself complained

p: ٤٨٩

Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. ٢٢٥ -١
al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. ٣, p. ٣٦٤ -٢
al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. ٧, p. ١٦٩; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. ٢, p. ٤٧ -٣
al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. ٢, p. ٥٤; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. ٣, p. ١٥٦ -٤

(١) about it to Hajjaj.

Ibn Ash'ath's clash with Hajjaj was the fourth one out of the strings of clashes between Iraq and Damascus. The three previous ones were once with 'Ali (a) and with the penitents and Mukhtar, another time with Mus'ab and finally with Ibn Ash'ath. This time again the dispersed Iraqi people failed to succeed and the people of Damascus, due to their solidarity as well as unsparing contribution to the Umayyads Caliphs, came to be triumphant

Abd al-Malik died in ٨٦ A.H. while he had managed, with assistance of Hajjaj, to eliminate monstrous problems facing the Umayyads and pave the ground for the Marwanids. It is said that he was the initiator of some event in the Islamic history. Being the first one ever to carve name of Allah and His prophet on coins, the first and foremost jealous, cunning and treacherous caliph, the first to proscribe speaking in the presence of caliphs, to enjoin the good and to change the records of public treasury tribunal account from Arabic to Persian

He was also the first to include prayer call prior to performing the prayers of two Festivals namely the Fast breaking and Sacrifice. (٢) After him, his son, Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik came to power. Regarding Walid and his agents 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz stated, "Walid in Damascus, Hajjaj in Iraq, 'Uthman Ibn Hayyan in Hijaz and Qurra Ibn امتلاء Sharik in Egypt are all individuals prevailing oppression throughout the Earth

الارض والله جوراً (٣) "While there

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. ٣, p. ١٣٣; Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq, vol. ٤, p. ٤٧; Wafayat al- – ١
A‘yan vol. ٢, p. ٣٥

Tarikh al-Khulafa’, p. ٢١٨, It is uncertain whether he had mint coins or not –٢

Ibid p. ٢٢٣ –٣

”is much cruelty on the Earth

He was the first ever cruel“ [\(١\)](#) [اول من تجبّر من الخلفاء](#) ,It has been told about Walid that
”caliph

The Umawi mosque in Damascus is one of the most significant monuments built in his term. The apparent tranquility of the period from Shawwal, ٨٤ A.H. to Jumadi al-Thani, ٩٤ A.H. all over the Islamic lands once again led to conquering new lands to such an extent that, according to Dhahabi, “The conquests of his term regained the same splendor as that of 'Umar Ibn Khattab's term” [\(٢\)](#) The most important assault was, on
.one hand, against Constantinople and, on the other hand, against Andalusia

Walid, just the same as his father, was indebted to Hajjaj, one of his best counselors. Once a crowd of Iraqi people went to Medina to meet 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, the governor, and he wrote a letter of complaint to Walid. Thereafter, Walid in consultation with Hajjaj deposed him from Medina's governorship. Then he singled out 'Uthman Ibn Hayyan Marri instead of him. He sent Iraqi refugees kept in fetters to
[\(٣\)](#) [Hajjaj](#)

The subsequent governor of the Islamic lands from Jumadi al-Thani, ٩٤ to Safar, ٩٩ A.H., Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, selected 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz his successor. As it was touched upon formerly, this period should be labelled as a peaceful one following constant attacks of 'Abd al-Malik in stabilizing his position in the shadow of which the Umayyads caliphs could not only expand their conquests but strengthen their
economy as

Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. ٢١٤; Ansab al-Ashraf, p. ٢٤٣ -١

Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ٢٢٥ -٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٢, pp ١٢٨٥,١٢٤١; quoted from Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya p. -٣

٢٤٧

.well

In addition, the internal political disputes, a severe strike on the economy of the society, were eliminated too. That was why Walid was widely known as the best caliph for Damascus. (١) Annoying and chasing the companions of Hajjaj were some of the actions of Sulayman, the main reason of which was a dispute between Hajjaj and him (when he was their apparent. (٢)

Hajjaj was killed in ٩٥ A.H.. To speak about him what Shurayh had said will suffice. According to him, he was an unbeliever. (٣) Upon hearing the news of his death, Hasan (Basri prostrated to show his gratitude to Allah. (٤)

Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz's Administration'

For the historians dealing with the Umayyads caliphs, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, ruling from ٩٩ to ١٠١ A.H. is an eminent figure. For in comparison with them not others, he was a man of outstanding features. In his studies about the approaches of kings, Ibn Athir stated that he could not find anyone better than him in conduct succeeding to (Orthodox Caliphs. (٥)

He is usually regarded as the fifth member of them. (٦) This statement of Imam al-Baqir (a) is probably right that he was the Umayyads's nobleman. (٧) Being Medina's governor, as it was said, he was in touch with traditionalists as well as jurisprudents, (so he was also an specialist in this regard. (٨)

However, he himself said that he could remember what he had learnt just during the period he was in Medina and he forgot it no later than he entered Damascus (assuming caliphate). (٩) Raja' Ibn Haywa, one of

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. v, p. ۱۷۳ –۱
Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, vol. v, p. ۲۵۰ –۲
Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. ۲, p. ۴۶۳ –۳
Ibid vol. ۲, (the footnote), al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. v, p. ۴۹ –۴
al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. ۱, p. ۴۰۳ –۵
Ibid vol. v, p. ۶۵ –۶
Ibid vol. v, p. ۶۲; Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', No ۷, p. ۵۸۹, vol. v, p. ۱۱۷ –۷
al-Aghani, vol. ۹, p. ۲۷۳ –۸
Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. v, p. ۱۲۱ –۹

the linked learned to the Umayyads' caliphs, did make great endeavor bringing him to
.power. (۱) We had already spoken about him

To know both him and his policy in ruling the Islamic society, no matter Whether he
had a political or religious aim in has term, a point of great importance should be
taken into account. He had made great endeavor to bring justice to that society and
not to be a cruel rule. He also had directed his attention towards the accepted merits
of a typical Islamic society, observing religious tenets and respecting at least some of
.the popular individuals

He had tried to show a religious image of his caliphate too. Most likely, he had
understood that the situation of the society would lead soon to overthrowing of the
Umayyads. What was required then was a radical change for the stabilization of them.
It is worthwhile to review his reactions towards different groups from various
.aspects

Encountering the Shi'ite Muslims

Speaking about the Shi'ite Muslims, at first, does not imply that 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz
wanted to be good towards them. Some of the sources inclined to the Shi'ite Muslims
had tried to show that he was adherent of Imam 'Ali (a). They may have done so to
say that no one from among the Umayyads's caliphs had paid attention to Ahl al-Bayt
(as him. Reviling 'Ali (a) in sermons formally and publicly prevailed at that time. (۲)

He said that from then on, noone was permitted to do so. He himself, as it was

p: ٤٩٣

Ibid vol. v, p. ١٢٣-١

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ٤, p. ٥٦-٢

said, was doing so before, but later on, he came to know about his bad habit and always recalled 'Ali as a good man.^(١) Upon coming to power not only did he himself abandon this habit but also he had his agents give it up.^(٢) There is no doubt, based on historical sources, that he had done so.^(٣) Kuthayyir 'Azza, a Shi'ites poet, composed some verses in praising 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz before him

وليت فلم تشتم علياً ولم تخف بريئاً ولم تتبع مقاله مجرم

تكلمت بالحق المبين وإنما تبين آيات الهدى بالتكلم

Thou came to power and did not revile 'Ali (a), thou did listen to no culpable instead“ thou told the true word. Others came to know about Allah's signs by listening to thy ^(٤)word.”

It was said that he gradually enlarged his understanding of Imam 'Ali (a) specifically when he found 'Ali's letter in the Damascus public treasury. Then he informed all ^(٥)about it.

Ali is the most pious person in” ^(٦)أزهد الناس في الدنيا على, He had been quoted as saying “the world

However, it is doubtful whether he was courageous enough to be so on that occasion or not even if one disregards all of those quotations what was said about him is most likely true

Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, on the other hand, while on the pulpit quoted Allah's Prophet, regarding 'Ali (a) and rank tradition, as saying, “Your status in comparison with me is ^(٧)like that of Qur'an in comparison with Moses.”

Siyar a‘lam al-Nubala’, vol. ٥, p. ١١٧-١
al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. v, p. ٤٢; It was written in one of the footnotes of the book –٢
entitled “Tarikh al-Dawlat al-‘Arabiyya that Wellhausen who was a researcher was
doubtful about it but he had no reason for being so, see, p. ٢٩٩
See, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ٤, p. ٥٤; Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. ٢, –٣
p. ٣٠٥; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. ٣, p. ١٨٤
Dhahabi, Siyar a‘lam al-Nubala’, vol. ٤, p. ١٤٧; al-Aghani, vol. ٩, pp ٢٥٨,٢٥٩; Tarikh al- –٤
Ya’qubi, vol. ٢, p. ٣٠٥; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. v, p. ٤٢; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-
Balaghah, vol. ٤, p. ٥٩
Shrah Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid vol. ٤, p. ٧٢-٥
al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. ٣, p. ٤٠١-٤
Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. VI, p. ٢٧٨-٧

[\(was respecting Imam al-Baqir \(a\)\).\(1\)](#)

Another issue was returning Fadak to Fatima (a). It was a booty that was given to Fatima (a), with no war, by his father Muhammad (S). This land was taken from Fatima, thereafter, without any apparent reason. Returning it to the 'Alawites was an indication of nullifying the order of both caliphs I and II

On the other hand, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, the upholder of a jurisdiction that was mostly based on the conduct of the second caliph. Such action by him, as it was said by some of the researchers, shows that he was not following the second caliph but

[\(was somehow independent\).\(2\)](#)

Ibn Athir by giving false account of the ownership of Fadak during the time of Orthodox Caliphs had tried to show that such deviation goes back to the time of Mu'awiya in which he donated it to Marwan Ibn Hakam. It was also said that 'Uthman had done this not Marwan. Since from the very beginning of the first caliph's term, it was not under the ownership of Ahl al-Bayt

Ibn Athir said, “When 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz came to power, he returned it to Fatima's descendants. Later on, it was taken from them once again. Ma'mun, this (time, gave it back to them.)”

There are other narrations regarding his attention to Fatima's children. For instance, once he asked his governor in Medina to distribute ۱۰۰۰۰ diners among 'Ali's children.

He wrote back saying that 'Ali has children among various tribes. The caliph told

p: ۶۹۵

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XIII, pp ۷۷-۷۸ – ۱

(و معنى هذا انه لم يكن يتبعهما اتباعاً تاماً) Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. ۲۸۷ – ۲

al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. ۲, pp ۲۲۴, ۲۲۵; See, also vol. ۳, p. ۶۳ – ۳

(him to share it out among the children of Fatima.)

Abul-Faraj Isfahani had mentioned some instances of his attention to 'Abd Allah Ibn

(Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a).)

When the caliph was criticized for his action, he said, “I heard Allah's Prophet said Fatima is part of my body. Whoever makes her happy, he فاطمه بضعه مني يسرنى من يسرها “ shall make me happy”.

The he added “ ليس أحد من بنى هاشم الا-وله شفاعه (۳) “ There is no one from among the Hashimites who can intercede him before Allah except her

,When a Mawali of Imam 'Ali came to him, the caliph sat down on the ground and said “Both Allah and I are 'Ali's friends “ انا والله مولى على

Then he quoted this tradition from Allah's Prophet position of the caliph into account, one doubts about the validity of those narrations.

:Some poets admired him for what he had done. Sayyid Razi, for example composed

يا بن عبدالعزيز لو بكت العى ن فتى من أميه لبيك

غير أنى أقول أنك قد طب ت وإن لم يطب ولم يذك بيتك

O, son of 'Abd al-Aziz, if eyes are to weep for one of the Umayyads's youths, they will“ surely do this for thee. Thou have been purified but not thy household. Thou had [prevented us from hurling abuse at Ahl al-Bayt. I would reward thee if I could.”](#) [٥٤](#)

Since the 'Alawites were

p: ٤٩٤

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. ٣, p. ١٨٤ -١

al-Aghani, vol. ٩, pp ٢٤٢-٢٤٤ -٢

Ibid vol. ٩, p. ٢٤٣ -٣

Ibid vol. ٩, p. ٢٤٤ -٤

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ٤, p. ٤٠ -٥

the Umayyads's successors, heading them and subsiding their long-lived rage and hatred could be constructive in the process of 'Umar II's reform movement targetting [.at the Umayyads's stabilization](#)

At the same time, the Hashimites's call, the way paved by the 'Abbasids, started. 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz tried hard to suppress them and by justifying what they were [.doing guaranteed the survival of the Umayyads](#)

Encountering the Kharijites

Another group threatening Umayyads was the Kharijites. With their constant revolts, they were almost always irritating Umayyads's rulers and they could not stop them rising up against Iraqi governor and the Kharijites could defeat them. After a while, [.another army was sent to the battle](#)

This time, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, following his usual policy, wrote a letter to their leader, Bastam from Banu Yashkur tribe, saying, “I was informed that you had revolted just for the sake of Allah and His Prophet. Bear in mind that I am superior to you in this regard but let's debate. If we were right, you should follow us like others

”and if you were right, we would take your advice

.Bastam accepted what he said and sent a person to talk to him

In this regard, Tabari stopped short of saying anything but touching upon the fact that the Kharijites deemed it improper to pay allegiance to Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. Pretending not to know anything about this, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz said that he should think about it more. He also went on to say that he was poisoned to

p: ٤٩٧

[\(death by the Marwanids for what he had said.\)](#)

In contrast, Mas'udi gave an extended account thereof stating, “Admitting the caliph's approach as a fair and square one, the Kharijites declared (at least as a debate) that if .he were so, he would be at odds with his tribe and as a result a cruel one

So he should not only curse them but also turn away from them in disgust. Attempting to reprove them, by setting an example, 'Umar asked them whether they trusted Abu .Bakr and him or not. They said that they did

Then he said, “Abu Bakr had fought against the infidels and held captives, but once ”.'Umar came to power, he set them all free

.As a result, he nullified what Abu Bakr had done

”?Then he said, “Did he abhor him then

.No he did not”, the Kharijites replied“

Taking into account the Kharijites' reaction in just the same situation, he asked them if they despised one another or not. He said that for the very same reason he should not curse his dynasty. Out of those who were sent to debate, one did join the .Kharijites but the second one did not

Mas'udi further says that there are other narrations about the relationships between

'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz and the Kharijites. Besides, he has mentioned the debates and [exchange of letters in his book titled Akhbar al-Zaman and in other books.](#)

Obviously, these actions have been taken during two years or so of government according to a certain policy. This made

p: ٤٩٨

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, pp ٣١٠, ٣١١ –١
Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. ٣, pp ١٩٣–١٩١; Ibn Athir also quoted the same statement in –٢
addition to some other remarks, see al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. v, pp ٤٦–٤٨

.the Kharijites lose their agitation and not bother the community

Standing Against Cruelty and Public Extortion

Diminishing the pressure of the governors on individuals was another performance of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. People were pessimist about the governors. Since most of the time they were taking the biggest part of the booties themselves, they also were the owners of vast lands

These could give rise to an outburst of violence and provoke both the Kharijites and Shi'ite Muslims to support such uprising as that of 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Ash'ath's. The caliph so gave back whatsoever the Umayyads had taken from people to their real owners.

However, he was cautious not to take the possession of their lands. He even ordered the residents of Damascus to pay more gifts to the Umayyads but he refrained from doing the same to the residents of Iraq.

What is obvious is that he neither intended nor could do this since it would disperse the Umayyads, on one hand, and remove pressure from some individuals, on the other hand. Iraqis were from among those bearing the brunt. Not only were the Mawali residing in Iran, oppressed all the time leaving out 'Ali's term, but Arabs residing in Iraq as well were pressurized by the Umayyads rulers, in particular, Hajjaj

Tabari quoted a letter in which 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz had described the situation of
.the residents of Damascus to their governor

He said, "They were subject to ruthlessness, compulsion and malicious conducts of
inept governors while religion was in need of justice. Then he

p: ۶۹۹

Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. ۳۳۱; Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vo ۵, p. ۱۲۹; al-Aghani, vol. ۹, p. ۲۵۵ – ۱
Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. ۲, p. ۳۰۶ – ۲

ordered the governor of Kufa not to collect tax from those converted to Islam and the
destitute beyond their means. He also ordered them not to take anything from the
affluent but tax and not to ask people to pay the salaries of tax-collectors and finally
not to accept new year and Mihrgan's gifts as well as the money that was taken under
the name of Darahum al-Nikah or fee for writing the books or wages for the family.

(Also those who are converted Muslims shall not be received tributes. (۱)

The above-mentioned letter shows that the Umayyads governors were ransacking
public properties. They were also taking unfair advantages of Zoroastrian's customs
namely, The New Year and Ancient Autumnal Festivals by demanding presents from
them on those occasions. This was just what Mansur 'Abbasi was doing with the same
intention. According to Imam Kazim (a) what they were doing was reviving
(Zoroastrian's customs. (۲)

One further point of prime significance was collecting tax and tribute even form those
who had embraced Islam. This action was prevailed by Hajjaj to compensate for the
public treasury's losses. The conversion of many people to Islam and its consequence,
.tax reduction, he had faced many financial problems

Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, on the other hand, by exempting those converted to Islam'
from paying tax, a chief reason for most of Mawali to join 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn
Ash'ath, could prevent the re-occurrence of such riots. Seemingly, it was feasible and
.resulted in expansion of Islam

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ١٠٢-١

Musnad al-Imam al-Kazim (a), vol. I, pp ٥١-٥٢-٢

Ibn Wishah revolted against the governor of Khurasan, Umayya Ibn 'Abd Allah who had gone to Bukhara for another war, he was terrified that perhaps the number of his soldiers would not be sufficient to withstand them

However, he was told that it would suffice for him to have his town herald announce among people that whosoever embraces Islam, he shall be discharged from paying tax. In that case, he will see fifty thousand people who are the best in obedience [\(joining him.\)](#)^(١)

How Islam's growth was brought to a standstill due to the severity of this kind in Hajjaj's term is quite apparent. Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz has followed the same policy

Once an Arab and one of Mawali came to him. The second one told him, "O caliph, twenty thousand of Mawalis are fighting side by side with Arabs against unbelievers while they are not given anything of the spoils. An identical number of protected people (Proteges in accordance with an agreement) have embraced Islam but they are still paying tax

Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz commanded Khurasan's governor, Jarrah Ibn 'Abd Allah to exempt whosoever accepts Islam from paying tax and soon many people embraced Islam.[\(٢\)](#) The west barbarians had confronted just the same treatment as it quoted by [\(Baladhuri.\)](#)^(٣)

From among sermons as well letters quoted by him, many cases can be seen which depict the great importance attached to religion and piety. Even if they were exaggerated to a great extent to justify the Umayyads at least, on the whole

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ۱۲۹ –۱

Ibid vol. v, p. ۳۱۴ –۲

See Wellhausen, Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. ۲۸۵; Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۲۳۳ –۳

[\(۱\)](#) one can not deny them all.

It had been observed that he has been promoted to such an extent as Allah's favorites but, as a matter of fact, it was only in comparison with the other Umayyads governors that he could attract attention. Anyhow, he was ruling while being among an Umayyads family, so his attempt was directed towards consolidating such system

Khalid Ibn Rib'i was quoted as saying, "I have read in Torah that both the heaven and the earth will be weeping for forty days in 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz's mourning.[\(۲\)](#) It is quite obvious that following this way, they were attempting to increase his virtues

One of the scientific activities of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz was the issue of inscribing traditions proposed by him for the first time in spite of the fact that others did not heed it later. He ordered his commanders to commit the knowledge of their scholars on the paper for him.[\(۳\)](#) Zuhri, a scholar linked to Umayyads and contemporary with [\(۴\)](#) him was the first ever one embarking on it.

He himself had said that he was asked not only to write down traditions but also dispatch some copies thereof to other cities.[\(۵\)](#) As it was stated in another quotation, he wrote a letter to Abu Bakr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hazm Ansari, a hadith-narrator and Medina's ruler on behalf of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz saying to collect every single tradition he had heard from prophet (S) as well as whatsoever being quoted by 'Umar and

p: ۷۰۲

See, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, pp ۳۱۵, ۳۱۶, ۳۲۰, ۳۲۲; al-Aghani, vol. ۹, pp ۲۶۶, ۲۶۹ –۱

Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. v, p. ۱۴۲ –۲

Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. ۹, p. ۳۳۷ –۳

Jami' Bayan al-'Ilm, vol. ۱, pp, ۸۸, ۹۱ –۴

send them all to him for fear that they may be forgotten. (1) He has written the same (letter to the residents of Medina. (2)

In spite of the fact that it was a positive movement, even up to the midst of the third century A.H. most of the traditionalists were not still interested in writing traditions and it was considered as a great blow on prophet's biography among to the (Sunnites. (3)

In 101 A.H., 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz passed away. Then Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik who was adherent to the consistent policy of cruelty, extortion and pressure came to power. There is a quotation indicating that he was poisoned by the Umayyads, despite the probability of its occurrence, it is nothing but a quotation which is based on assumptions.

Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik's Succession

Even if we accept that 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz had carried out some reforms and improved people's attitude towards Umayyads. Thereafter, Arab caliphate of the Umayyads was rehabilitated again and extortion, cruelty towards people and inattentiveness to religion all re-appeared. As it was stated by 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Yazid Ibn Aslami once, in 101 A.H., Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik took the place of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. He ordered all to follow the same direction of 'Abd al-'Aziz

Forty of the elderly “ فأتى اربعين شيخاً فشهدوا له ما على الخلفاء حساب ولا عذاب (4) , On the other hand men approached him and bore witness before him that there would be neither chastisement nor accounts for caliphs ”.

Mas'udi has described him as, “Being a selfish man, he was after libidinous

p: 703

Muqadami'i bar Tarikh tadwin hadith (An introduction to History of Hadith – ٣
 Compilation), Qum
 Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ٢٤٦ –٤

pleasure and did not permit people to visit him. He was neither conversant with the
 (right work to do nor was he cognizant of wrongdoing to refrain from.”(١)

Before Yazid, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz had undertaken some fiscal reforms inspite of
 the damages incurred on the public treasury. He not only did not ask for tribute from
 Muslims, something which both after and before him was prevailing, but also
 exempted those from paying tax to some extent. Once he was asked why prices were
 higher in his term while they were not so before

In a reply he said, “Those before me were demanding the protected people to pay tax
 beyond their men means; consequently they were compelled to part with whatever
 they had and therefore became destitute. But I do not do this, so they can sell at
 (whatever price they want to.”(٢)

He was also called upon to collect tribute from Jews and Christians newly converted
 to Islam but he did not consent to it.(٣) He also ordered that the tax payers residing by
 the coast of the Euphrates be authorized to wear golden rings as well as Taylusan
 (mantle) (٤) and also be allowed to ride on horses while they were asked to pay the
 (surplus thereof.(٥)

It is visible that these undertakings were appeared to be rectifying ones in
 comparison with prior severity which had driven the protected people to their own
 native lands, then the names of those regions were sealed either on their hands or
 their foreheads

p: ٧٠٤

al-Tanbih wal-Ishraf, p. ٢٧٧ –١

al-Kharaj, p. ١٣٢ –٢

al-Kharaj, p. ۱۳۱ -۳

An Iranian woolen garment that was used by the learned and nobles -۴

Uyun al-Akhbar, vol.,۱, p. ۵۳۶ -۵

to prevent them from going out of there. Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, on the contrary, put
.an end to such reforms

He in ۱۰۵ A.H., commanded 'Umar Ibn Hubayra, Iraq's governor, to survey once again all of the farming lands thereof something which was ignored from the second caliph's term on, so previous statistics was utilized in this regard. His agents were levying tax even on palm trees and this incurred lots of damages on the people who were paying
tax while looking down on them

He also was taking both their offerings and whatever they gave him on such occasions as “New year as well as Mihrgan festivals and land tax was paid based on
(the latest area being measured by Ibn Hubayra. (۱

In Yemen, despite 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz's command to eliminate former severity being exerted by Hajjaj's brother, once 'Umar came to power, everything went back to its former states and he declared that they would not be forgiven as long as they
(were alive. (۲

The outcomes of such severity in Yazid's term were worse in Khurasan in the eastern parts of which there were many governors as well as kings who each had embraced Islam on their domains and agreed to pay tax. Among them, Sughdian who were numerous were held to be a great supporter for Muslim Arabs who were residing
.there and fighting with Turks settling in Transoxania

Re-imposing prior fiscal pressure in Yazid's term was the major cause of their
inclination to Turks with

p: ۷۰۵

assistance of whom they managed to stand against Muslims in ١٠٢ A.H.. In clashes between “Sa'id Khuzayna”, Khurasan governor, and Turks, on one hand, and a group of Sughdiyan, on the other hand, taking place concurrently, both Turks and Sughdiyan were defeated

At Sa'id's behest, Muslim forces stopped chasing them inasmuch as المومنين “Sughd is flower garden of Amir al-Mu'minin” فان السغد بستان امير

Then he added, “We do not intend to force them to leave this area.” Even subsequent to a minor skirmish Sa'id's herald once again put emphasis on what he had said.^(١) Following Sa'id's displacement, “Sa'id Ibn 'Amr al-Harathi” became Khurasan's governor. Feeling insecure due to Arab's presence there, Sughdiyan migrated to “Farghana” and were settled there by the king of that land

Sughdiyan were so important to Arabs that Iraq's governor, Ibn Hubayra, called upon them to go back to their former residence. Then he would single out whosoever they want as their ruler but they avoided doing so. From then on, clashes between Arabs and Turks, on one hand, and Sughdiyan, on the other hand, escalated ^(٢); as a result, the east of Khurasan was no longer secure for Arabs. Later on, once Nasr Ibn Sayyar was designated as Khurasan's governor, he received hard conditions on the part of ^(٣) Sughdiyan and reconciled with them.

It can be inferred from what Mas'udi had mentioned that Yazid, considering his personality, was a man after libidinous pleasures and womanizing. Being in love with a woman, he kept her corpse several days

p: ٧٠٦

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٥, p. ٣٥٥ -١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٥, pp ٣٦٢-٣٦٦ -٢

Ibid vol. ٧, p. ٥٠٨ -٣

after her death.^(١) Suppressing Yazid's revolt, Maslama Ibn 'Abd al-Malik came to

power but after a while he was dismissed owing to the fact that he had avoided paying tax. Subsequently, 'Umar Ibn Hubayra, one of the rigid governors of Umayyads in Iraq took his place

Yazid Ibn Muhallab's Uprising

During the last thirty years of Umayyads caliphate several uprisings came about each of which had originated from various regions with various objectives. From among those individuals and groups taking advantage of the outcomes of such riots were opportunists such as Yazid Ibn Muhallab, justice-seekers such as Harith Ibn Surayj, Kharijites, the 'Abbasids as well as Zayd Ibn 'Ali and his son, Yahya, from among 'Alawites

In ۱۰۲, Yazid Ibn Muhallab, the son of Muhallab Ibn Abi Safra and a member of Azd tribe whose fame was thanks to his battles against Kharijites during 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr and 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan's term, was nominated as Khurasan's governor. He had some conquests not only there but also in Gurgan. Owing to the fact that he had refused to hand over war spoils in his possession, once 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz took office, he was imprisoned.

He was still there when Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik came to power and was apprehensive of being killed accordingly, so he escaped to Iraq. The governor of Basra, 'Adi Ibn Artat at Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik's behest, put his family under lock and key. Resorting to a proper policy, Yazid Ibn Muhallab managed to attract not only some tribes to

p:۷۰۷

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. ۳, pp ۱۹۸-۱۹۹; Tarikh Gudhidih, p. ۲۸۳; Tarikh Mukhtasar al-duwal, pp ۱۱۵-۱۱۶
Al-Tanbih wal-Ishraf, p. ۲۷۷-۲

himself but three thousand people as well by displaying his generosity to them.

In a clash between 'Adi Ibn Artat and some of the people of Basra and Damascus residing there, on one hand, and Yazid Ibn Muhallab on the other hand, the

Umayyads's army was defeated and Basra went under Yazid's domination.^(۲) Subsequently, the same happened to some other eastern cities such as Ahwaz, Kirman, Makran, Sind and Hind as well

He designated a governor for each; nevertheless, in the west the army of Damascus termed as “Allah's soldiers”^(۳) by the Umayyads was threatening Iraqi rebels and prior experiences also endorsed it since they had been defeated by them and this time, the same happened

The residents of Basra being free from Umayyads's mischief paid allegiance to Yazid, who had promised to follow Qur'an and the prophets Sunna, and stipulated that he should not bring back conduct of Hajjaj, the wrong-doer.^(۴) Yazid told the people that fighting against the Umayyads was worthier than waging war against unbelievers and (a courageous army.^(۵)

It was obvious to some of the residents of Basra that Yazid Ibn Muhallab was still attached to the Umayyads. Being ruthless toward people just the same as them, he pretended that he was adherent to Qur'an as well as the prophet's Sunna once he recognized his interests were at risk. From among those individuals Hasan Basri was the one stimulating others to leave off bolstering him saying that it was Yazid who was joining hands with the Umayyads in

p: ۷۰۸

al-Futuh, vol. ۸, p. ۳ – ۱

Ibid vol. ۸, p. ۵ – ۲

Ibid vol. ۸, pp ۷, ۲۱ – ۳

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ۳۳۵; See, al-Futuh, vol. ۸, p. ۸ – ۴

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ۳۳۵ – ۵

(public oppression.^(۱)

”.In response people said, “He is calling us for following 'Umarayn tradition

They asked Hasan Basri why he was supporting the wrongdoers of Damascus who had destroyed sacred House of God and his prophet in addition to liquidating the
(residents of Medina during three days.)

Keeping silent as long as Yazid Ibn Muhallab was in Basra, Hasan Basri launched his propagation once again upon Yazid's departure from Basra to confront a dispatched army from Damascus. His position in Basra forced some of his supporters to give up
.backing Yazid

Marwan Ibn Muhallab, Yazid's brother and his successor said of him that he could only attract some of ignoble residents of Uballa and 'Alwaj in Basra who were most likely referred to non-Arabs. Upon hearing this, people made up their minds to war with the
(alm of supporting Hasan Basri but he prevented them from doing so.)

Considering this threat a serious one, Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik sent Maslama Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who was leading the commander of confrontations between Muslim Arabs and Romans, along with a corps to Iraq. Being undecided how to fight with him, Ibn Muhallab sought advice from his backers. Some were of the opinion that they advance eastward and settle on the course connecting Fars with Khurasan's
.mountains

Doing so, they would be secured and some will join them too. Another suggestion was that they go to Musil(۴), but Yazid did not accept it. The army of Damascus nearly consisted of fifty thousand soldiers but for Yazid

p: ۷۰۹

Ibid vol., ۵, p. ۳۳۶ – ۱

al-Futuh, vol. ۸, p. ۹ – ۲

Ibid vol. ۸, p. ۱۴; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ۷, p. ۳۴۱ – ۳

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ۷, p. ۳۳۷; al-Futuh, vol. ۸, p. ۱۳ – ۴

.Ibn Muhallab it was insignificant

Describing them, he told, “Most of them were from Jarajima, Saqaliba, Anbat, Jaramiqa and other tribes being all either farmers or ruffians.⁽¹⁾ Considering the point being quoted from his brother about 'Alwaj in Basra, this shows that Yazid's measure .was of Arabic aspect and even aristocratic and he took no effort to use Mawali

At the early stages of the war, compromise was proposed to Yazid but he preferred to fight. This war terminated while it left three thousand killed. From among them were ⁽²⁾Yazid and four brothers of him as well.⁽³⁾

The majority of captives of Basra, who themselves uncovered that by being remiss in that war they had paved the ground for the victory of the army of Damascus, were also slaughtered.⁽⁴⁾ This came about in Safar, ۱۰۲ A.H. in 'Aqr nearby Kufa which later .”came to be known as Yawm al-'Aqr, “Day of 'Aqr

The remainder of Ibn Muhallab's family ran away from Basra. Going eastward, they confronted with the army of Damascus, then they were massacred all in Qandabil in India. In that clash Iraqis such as Nu'man Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Ashtar as well as ⁽⁵⁾Muhammad Ibn Ishaq Ibn Ash'ath were also killed.⁽⁶⁾

One further point which should be taken into consideration is that almost all of the Umayyads's rulers were doomed either to be at the head of the government or in jail, the latter of whom were slaughtered most of the time. Once Yazid Ibn Muhallab was asked why he did not

p: ۷۱۰

al-Futuh, vol. ۸, p. ۱۴ –۱

Ibid vol. ۸, p. ۱۹ –۲

Ibid vol. ۸, pp ۲۰ –۲۲ –۳

Ibid vol. ۸, p. ۲۴ –۴

.build a house for himself

What he said in reply was that, “My domicile is either a royal palace or prison.”⁽⁷⁾ In all

.likelihood, he could not imagine that the grave was his third choice

From among the poets supporting him indirectly was “Thabit Qutna”, celebrated poet who was among the Murji'ites. He also had a hand in some conquests in the east where he incited people to back up Yazid Ibn Muhallab. Abul-Faraj Isfahani considered him a Murji'ites in his brief biography. In a poem, he has praised and has induced him to war with the Umayyads.^(۲) Later on, when Yazid was defeated, in a ^(۳)poem he reproached those leaving him alone.^(۳)

On the whole what can be said about Yazid Ibn Muhallab and his riot is that he was an opportunist going on the rampage after years of oppressing people merely because he was disfavored by the Umayyads. People who were tired of the Umayyads's cruelties and contemptuous attitude of the residents of Damascus toward Iraqis in particular were supporting him for a while despite the fact that they were not serious enough in that. That was why they could not be victorious

In describing Yazid Ibn Muhallab's riot, it is importuned to refer to another uprising in Africa. Tabari was quoted as saying that Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim wanted to adopt the style of Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf Thaqafi in Iraq in collecting tribute form the newly converted ones who were paying it prior to embracing Islam

Preventing him from following such

p: ۷۱۱

Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. ۱, pp ۲۳۳, ۳۱۲^۶ –۱

al-Aghani, vol. ۱۴, pp ۲۷۷–۲۷۸ –۲

al-Aghani, vol. ۱۴, p. ۲۷۹ –۳

policy, people put him to death. At the same time, they did not overlook the Umayyads domination and singled out Muhammad Ibn Yazid al-Ansari, their former governor, as their ruler and wrote a letter to Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik saying that they did not disobey him. In response, he mentioned that he was not gratified with what Yazid Ibn ^(۱)Abi Muslim had done but he was pleased with Muhammad Ibn Yazid.^(۱)

It is worth saying that Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim was Hajjaj's scribe formerly. Emulating [\(him, he desired to put his policy into practice.](#) [\(۲\)](#)

Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik's Succession

In Shawwal, ۱۰۵ A.H., Hisham took the place of his brother and until the year ۱۲۵, he was in the same position for about nineteen years and seven months. It was he who presided over one of the splendid and durable administrations of the Umayyads's [.dynasty](#)

Mas'udi described some specifications of him in particular his interest in horses. [\(۳\)](#) As Ya'qubi mentioned, he was renowned by such attributes as prudence, intelligence, [\(stinginess, jealousy, harshness and so forth.](#) [\(۴\)](#)

”He was both cruel and just“ [\(۵\)](#) [,Dhahabi also described him by stating](#)

He also had quoted some others as saying that he strongly disliked bloodshed. [\(۶\)](#) It is probable that for the very same reason he had ordered to suppress “Zayd Ibn 'Ali's” [.riot](#)

Abd Allah Ibn 'Ali, someone who had chased the remainder of the Umayyads's corps' and killed Marwan Ibn Muhammad, was quoted as saying, “I collected the chanceries of the Marwanids but none was as systematic as

p: ۷۱۲

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ۳۵۹; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. v, p. ۱۰۱ –۱

See, Nujum al-Zahira, vol. ۱, p. ۲۴۵ –۲

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. ۳, p. ۲۰۵, See, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, pp ۵۱۵–۵۲۰; al-'Iqd al- –۳
Farid, vol. v, p. ۱۹۲, about his interest in wearing clothes

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. ۲, p. ۳۲۸ –۴

Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. v, p. ۳۵۲ –۵

Ibid –۶

[\(that of Hisham's.”](#) [\(۱\)](#)

He was preventing the Marwanids from taking bounty out of public treasury excluding the time when they could either participate in war themselves or send someone else [\(on their behalf.\)](#)^(۲)

There is a quotation from Tabari stating that how Hisham was rebuking his son for his non-attendance in Friday prayers.^(۳) Just in the same way Sa'id dismissed his son, the [\(governor of Hims because of adultery.\)](#)^(۴)

On the other hand, Isfahani had touched on the ways Hisham treated Walid Ibn Yazid, his lewd successor, and vice versa – the account of which will be given at a later time. These are all definite indications that Hisham was a wine drinker too as well as being [\(trapped by lewd companions\)](#)^(۵) promoting people to bolster Yazid

Some other quotations indicate that Hisham was following the same route as Zuhri, an eminent traditionalist and linked to the Umayyads, or possibly others were lending [\(a helping hand in assassinating those who were after bullyism\)](#)

As a case in point, Jahm Ibn Safwan's murder can be mentioned. In a letter found later in Hisham's records, it is read that he had called upon Nasr Ibn Sayyar, Khurasan's governor, to search for someone coming from Dahris to that area and kill him.^(۶) Somewhere else we will comment on Jahm as well as “Ghaylan Dimashqi” both [\(being murdered by 'Abd al-Malik in ۱۱۹ A.H\)](#)

Apart from Zuhri who was much adored by Hisham, other traditionists such as Mansur Ibn Mu'tamir were attracted by him.^(۷) Abul-Zanad was

p: ۷۱۳

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ۵۱۶-۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ۵۱۵-۲

Ibid vol. v, p. ۵۱۶-۳

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. v, p. ۱۹۵-۴

al-Aghani, vol. ۷, pp ۵-۶-۵

Tarikh al-Jahmiyya wal-Mu'tazila, p. ۱۷-۶

also an scribe of the Umayyads.^(١) Zayd Ibn 'Ali's riot was a momentous incident in Hisham's term which will be discussed in more detail later

Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri, an outstanding governor of Hisham in Iraq, reigned there from the very early stages of his caliphate for almost twenty years. To some, he was similar to a bunch of governors as Ziyad Ibn Abih and Hajjaj.^(٢)

This was not an extremist view. Just as Hajjaj, Khalid was trustworthy and utterly loyal to the Umayyads. Being furious at him, Hisham refrained from endorsing what his predecessor had stated so that to accuse him of assisting the prophet's Household as well as being an stimulating element in Yazid's movement

In response, Hisham said to Yusuf Ibn 'Umar, "You are not more than a liar and by no means do we accuse him of disobedience."^(٣) His resemblance to Hajjaj will be quite apparent once the same utterance of him was said by Khalid. That statement was, "The caliph is superior to prophet."^(٤)

However later on Khalid bitterly said that some of the supporters of Hisham had said this sentence

Khalid was quoted as saying, "If, the commander of the believers - Hisham - instructs me to knock down Ka'ba and dispatch every stone thereof to Damascus, I will assuredly do the same"^(٥)

This was another feature bearing comparison with that of Hajjaj Khalid presided over Iraq, just about the eastern part of the Islamic lands, for almost fifty years at peace.

It was Khalid who prevented Yazid

p: ٧١٤

Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. v, p. ٤٤٩ -١

Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. ١١٦ -٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ٥٥٨ -٣

.Ibn 'Abd al-Malik from ousting his brother and substituting his son, Walid

That was why Hisham had trusted [\(١\)](#), adored and abided by him for fifty years. In as much as his mother was a Christian, he had built a synagogue for her, accordingly he was charged with propagating “Christianity” and in consequence he was despised severely by some poets. He was held to be responsible for “demolishing mosques, establishing synagogues, having Muslims under Magian's domination and having [\(٢\)](#) daughters of Muslims marrying the protected people”

Isfahani declared, “He was a heretic and his mother a Christian one. He had Muslims under Magians and Christians thumb and let them bother Muslims. The protected people were paying for slave girls and had sexual intercourse with them and yet [\(٣\)](#) Khalid did not show any objection.”

:Being imprisoned by him, Farazdaq wrote these verses in his reproach

أبلغ أمير المؤمنين رساله فعجل هداك الله نزعك خالد

بنى بيعة فيها الصليب لأمه وهدم من بغض الإله مساجد

Hisham! Hasten to transfer this message to the commander of the believers, May“ God guide you in Khalid's removal, he who dismantled mosques out of his grudge [\(٤\)](#) against Allah and established a synagogue instead. He put a cross therein too.”

,Referring to the way of his ruling, he vocalized

وكيف يؤم المسلمين وأمه تدين بأن الله ليس بواحد

[\(٥\)](#) How he leads Muslims while on no account is his mother a believer.

Isfahani accused him of having association with heretics [\(٦\)](#) Thinking about his mother as well as his accusations, one should not be surprised upon hearing that

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. ٢, p. ٣١٤ –١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ٤٥٨ –٢

al-Aghani, vol. ٢٢, p. ١٦ –٣

Ibid vol. ٢٢, p. ٢١ –٤

al-Aghani, vol. ٢٢, p. ٢١ –٥

Ibid vol. ٢٢, p. ٢٤ –٦

he was handling non-Muslims fittingly and in all likelihood he was inclined towards them.

Dealing with the Shi'ite Muslims as well as the Commander of the Believers in a harsh way, Khalid affronted Imam 'Ali (a) so openly and bitterly that it is deplorable to be reiterated. He said that Imam was in the midst of the hell. He was also paying money to people to curse him. Isfahani has a number of quotations in this regard^(١) and after mentioning each, he had damned Khalid by stating
 ”.May God curse Khalid and his puppet rulers woe betide them “ امير المؤمنين

Khalid was ousted in ١٢٠ A.H., the reason of which is hardly relevant to our discussion but as mentioned primarily it was owing to the fact that Hisham was emulating Khalid
 (in cereal production whose increase was a threat to his profits.^(٢)

Being dismissed, he headed for Damascus while he was tortured by Yusuf Ibn 'Umar for a while just in the same way he had treated 'Umar Ibn Hubayra once he came to power. In Damascus too, he was subject to Hisham's persecution. When Walid Ibn Yazid took office, he handed him over to Yusuf Ibn 'Umar By taking considerable amount of money, then, he killed Khalid. Later on, one of his offsprings took the life of
 (his father's murderer in Yazid Ibn Walid's jail.^(٣)

The prime reason that enabled Khalid to be the governor of Iraq as well as the eastern parts

Ibid vol. ۲۲, pp ۱۵-۱۸ -۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ۴۶۸ -۲

See, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, pp ۵۴۱,۵۴۳, ۵۵۹-۵۶۱ -۳

of Islamic lands for over fifty years was a special privilege devoted to him in return for his total adherence to the Umayyads's demands. From among them, one was absolute savagery, an one of his outstanding attributes, accordingly he was labeled [\(as “anti-truth tyrant” .۱\)](#)

Another one was hostility towards "Ali's lineage" which was notable in him as well. He was so strongly loyal to the Umayyads that individuals such as Yazid Ibn Muhallab were not comparable to him because once they became powerful, they thought that [.they were independent](#)

Kharijites' Rebellion in time of the Marwanids

An interval between ۶۰s and up to late ۷۰s, known as “Ash-Shurat” by the narrators thereof, was considered to be a crucial period of Kharijites' activities, although they did remain in power and fought against the 'Alawites and the Umayyads thereafter.

.The leading centers for their activities were Basra and Kufa's suburbs

Being driven out from there, they settled down in Fars, Kirman, Khuzistan and Sistan. What is more is that their settlement in each region was a transient one so they were almost always relocating. They managed to fortify themselves remarkably in a period between Yazid's death in ۶۴ A.H. and subsequent ineffectuality of the Umayyads in Iraq up to the time it was conquered by 'Abd al-Malik. Kharijites's advancement was mainly due to the Zubayrids's leniency for some years to such an extent that in ۶۸ A.H. [\(they could freely pay for pilgrimage in Mecca .۲\)](#)

Subsequent to Mu'awiya's death and Karbala's event while 'Ubayd Allah was reigning over Iraq, Mirdas Ibn

See, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, pp ٤٦٣-٤٦٤ -١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٤, p. ٥١٥; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. ٢, p. ٢٦٣ -٢

Udayya from Kharijites ran wild and was at a later time murdered by 'Ubayd Allah.^(١) Confronting a great number of Kharijites in Iraq, 'Ubayd Allah started demonstrating harsh treatment. He himself divulged that the worthiest action of him after believing in Allah's Unity was assassinating the Kharijites.^(٢)

Prior to deciding on a caliph for Damascus, he was shouldering this task subsequent to Yazid's death during which he was capturing those under suspicion. He termed that action, later on, as one of his significant undertakings.^(٣)

The relatives of those who were seized implored him to set them free and he, due to his unsatisfactory situation, admitted it; as a result, Kharijites were given more freedom. When he escaped to Damascus, there was no longer any obstacle before them. During Ibn Ziyad's ruling over Iraq, as it was quoted by Ibn Qutayba, he was searching for Kharijites under suspicion and after their apprehension he took their lives.^(٤)

What has been disclosed considering Ziyad and his son, 'Ubayd Allah, is that they shed the blood of at least ١٣٠٠٠ of them.^(٥) Exerting such pressure obliged some of the Kharijites to run away to Mecca that was under 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr's control who not only had cordial relationship with them but struggled diligently to take advantage of them in the Umayyads's confrontation as well

Thus, Kharijites who felt secure enough, then joined Ibn Zubayr. To justify what they had done, they proposed the idea of “defending the Sacred Territory of Allah”.^(٦)

Being adherent to

p: ٧١٨

al-'Araq fil-'asr al-Umawi, p. ٢٣٠ -١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٤, p. ١٠٩ -٢

Ibid vol. ٤, p. ١١٦ -٣

Uthman, Ibn Zubayr provoked his father strongly in Jamal war that started in revenge for 'Uthman's murder who was severely despised by Kharijites. The sole reason for Kharijites to join Ibn Zubayr was their common interests

Even if Satan“ [\(١\)](#) لو أعاننى الشيطان على أهل الشام لقبته [\(٢\)](#), Ibn Zubayr was quoted as saying ”protects me against the residents of Damascus, I would accept his help

Once Yazid's corps left Mecca upon hearing the news of his death, Kharijites went to Ibn Zubayr to inquire about his opinion regarding 'Uthman. Recognizing that he was loyal to 'Uthman left him alone

Apart from those Kharijites being conducted by Nafi' Ibn Azraq, the founder of Azariqa, another group also shaped up in Yamama, Bahrayn, 'Umman and Hajar under the leadership of Najda Ibn 'Amir Hanafi subsequent to Imam Husayn's martyrdom. In ٦٨ A.H., it was Najda who supervised the pilgrimage service for Kharijites but for one reason or another, he did not cooperate with Nafi' so he was [\(٣\)](#) dismissed by them. Then, Abu Fudayk substituted him and was killed after a while.

The Zubayrids's leniency in Iraq was a justification for Kharijites under the leadership of Nafi' Ibn Azraq (killed in ٦٥ A.H.) to put the residents of Basra in a great inconvenience so as to block the way to commercial caravans in the east and northeast thereof

Going out of patience, Basra's occupants considered Kharijites's threat a serious one and prepared to fight them. After a slight clash which was not a victorious one for

them eventually, they, along with Muhallab Ibn Abi Safra, whose reputation was due to his continual assaults on Kharijites for extensive periods, launched an attack on them. Fiscal support of Basra's merchants^(١) for Muhallab who was singled out as governor by 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr could suppress them for a while. In spite of the fact that they were not abundant in number in contrast with Iraqis, Kharijites managed to resist them

Muhallab in this regard said, سبحان الله العظيم ما رأيت ولا سمعت بمثل هؤلاء القوم ساعة قط كلما ينقص منهم أن يزيد فيهم (٢) “On no account had I seen or heard of such a tribe; the more they decrease in number, it seems the more they increase

In clashes of this kind, they repeatedly retreated while they left too many forces dead each time. Once they were chased up to Isfahan then they entered Fars and camped in Arrajan while they were over thirty two thousand.^(٣)

Apparently, the majority of those joining them were Iranians opposing the Umayyads. These clashes extended to Ahwaz and Nubandjan of Fars as well. After a while, Ibn Ma'mar substituted commander of Iraqis army but his continual defeats^(٤) verified that no one can make this war a victorious one but Muhallab

Accordingly, once again he was designated as commander by Ibn Zubayr. The Zubayrids were over thrown while the Umayyads still needed Muhallab and he had been fighting the Kharijites for nearly three years or so subsequent to Iraq's conquest. Then, they were divided into

p: ٧٢٠

al-Kamil fil-Adab, vol. ٣, p. ٣١٢; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ٤, pp -١

١٤٦, ١٨١

al-Futuh, vol. ٧, p. ٤٤ -٢

Ibid vol. ٤, p. ١٩ -٣

Ibid vol. ٤, p. ٣١-٤٦ -٤

branches not because of military failure but due to serious discrepancies among

.themselves. As a result, they were defeated

Qatari Ibn Fuja'a became their commander once Nafi' Ibn Azraq was killed in a clash in Ahwaz. Opposing some of the Kharijites in Kirman, he departed to Tabaristan and was murdered there.^(١) Two other groups, one under the leadership of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, the senior and the other Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, the junior fought separately and both were beaten. Prior to this, Muhallab had informed Hajjaj that one and the only ^(٢) way to overcome the Kharijites was creating tension among them.

The Azariqa were still there, that Shabib Khariji, a valorous one from the Kharijites, started combating Hajjaj. From ٧٦ A.H. on, he defeated the army of Iraq several times and conquered Kufa twice while in both cases, Hajjaj concealed himself in his palace. He made some linked individuals to the Umayyads such as Abu Burda, the son of Abu Musa Ash'ari pay allegiance to him.^(٣) At that time, only the army of Damascus contributed to him

,Hajjaj himself made it known to 'Abd al-Malik

وقد عجز أهل الكوفة عن قتال شبيب في مواطن كثيره في كل يقاتل أمراءهم

Kufiyans were incapable of fighting Shabib in various instances, in each of which their “^(٤) leaders were killed.”

This was in contrast with what Hajjaj had done to Iraqis, that is pressurizing and mobilizing them against the Kharijites by force.^(٥) Once he gave them three days to attack the Kharijites led by Muhallab. To prevent

p: ٧٢١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, pp ١٢٥-١٢٦-١

Ibid vol. v, pp ١٢١-١٢٢; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. ٢, p. ٢٧٦-٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ٧٧-٣

Ibid vol. v, p. ٨٥-٤

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. ٣, p. ١٣٠-٥

others from disobeying him, he killed an aged man regardless of his acceptable [\(1\)](#) reasons for not going to war.

Despite frequent vanquishments as well as losses that were imposed on them during several years, the Kharijites managed to save themselves from annihilation; nevertheless, considering their achievements of their aims, one should say they were not triumphant since they were fighting to overpower the Umayyads and by no means could they accomplish it.

Whenever they were united, soon they dispersed due to their enemy's assault. Therefore, it can be inferred that they were both victorious in that they protected themselves and defeated in achieving their objectives. The reasons of both cases should be determined.

From among factors contributing to their survival, possible repelling of their enemy's invasion as well as suppressing their opponents which enabled them to exercise influence on people [\(2\)](#) was their partisan wars in which they were routing their enemies swiftly before they could prepare themselves. They not only shocked their [\(3\)](#) enemy but destroyed them as well.

They uprooted their adversaries by taking advantage of internal elements and those selected as the Kharijites's executioners by governors were not secure from their revenge. To give an example, once they could not kill the murderer, they killed his [\(4\)](#) camel instead. Sometimes, they succeeded in taking their lives. [\(5\)](#)

Ibn Ziyad disclosed that "I know not" [\(6\)](#) ما أدري كيف اصنع ما أقتل رجلا- من هذه المارقه الا قاتله قاتله (6) what to do, I kill none of the Kharijites save they also killed

p: ٧٢٢

al-Kamil fil-Adab, vol. ٢, p. ٢١٢; al-Aghani, vol. ١٤, p. ٢٤٤ -١

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ٧, p. ٨٣ -٢

al-Hayawan, vol. I, from page ٤١٠ onwards -٣

(١)the spies giving information about the Kharijites to governors.”

Fighting against Hajjaj who was infamous, the Kharijites could somehow achieve fame. Being a dictator who was distinguished for his corruption, Hajjaj did not refrain from oppressing people and it was a typical feature of all Umayyads that the Kharijites were taking advantage of in provoking people both against them and themselves(٢) and even obliging some pious people to follow them. From among them, one can name Salih Ibn Masrah who, due to existing oppression, told his followers

متى انتم مقيمون هذا الجور قد فشا وهذا العدل قد عفى ولا تزداد هذه الولاه على الناس الا علواً وعتواً وتباعداً عن الحق وجرأه
على الرب

As long as you stay in power, cruelty runs, the justice disappears and the rulers“ foment bullying and domination as well as they are abstentious against the truth” and that was why the Kharijites did ask him to join them. He ran wild in ٧٦ A.H. and was (٣)killed later. Then Shabib who was from Kharijites replaced him.

Another one leading man of Kharijites was 'Abd Allah Ibn Yahya who was told as There, I did observe apparent “ saying, فرآى باليمن جوراً ظاهراً وعسفاً شديداً وسيره فى الناس قبيحه ”.injustice an unpleasant behavior towards people

لا ,Accordingly, for the very same reason he assembled his supporters and by saying Beholding these things, hesitation shall fly away he went “ يحل لنا المقام على مانرى ولا الصبر عليه “ (٤)”on a rampage.”

Abu Hamza Khariji in his speech in ١٢ A.H. also

.Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٤, p. ١٩ –٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ٥٦ –٣

al-Aghani, vol. ٢٠, p. ٩٧, vol. ٦, p. ١٤٩; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. v, –٤
p. ١٠٦

touched upon governor's cruelty as a stimulus factor (١) and it is quite obvious that the
.idea of combating cruelty could attract attention considerably

In as much as Iran was the major center for their operations, a great number of
Mawali joined them in spite of the fact that it was not the case for all Kharijites'
parties. This was a crucial advantage for them since Iranians were valorous enough
.to battle

Kharijites, as Muhallab was informed, “الموالى أشجع الخوارج وأشدهم جساره (٢)”,
As it was told were mainly blacksmiths, dyers, butchers, etc.” (٣) These people from the middle social
strata, were naturally acceding to style of the Kharijites since they were under hard
pressure. Additionally, Kharijites' fame for their piety (٤) was an outstanding factor for
(٥) them to absorb people. Some of them even were considered ascetics.

People's apprehension of them was another element assisting them in particular as
regards to those tribes as well as the residents of some cities who were doing so to
protect their children and themselves since they were not secure from their attack.
Here, one should point out that the very element was also one of the major hurdles in
.the way of their progress

Although people were contributing to the Kharijites fearing their lives, they gradually
turned to the Umayyads and assisted them to get rid of the Kharijites who were hard-
hearted in their views. The merchants of Basra and probably other areas who
deemed the Kharijites as a great threat to their interests backed them

p: ٧٢٤

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. v, p. ١١٤, See, also pp ١١٧, ١١٨, ١١٩ –١

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. ٢, p. ٢٤٢; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. ٣, p. ٣٧٣ –٢

al-Kamil fil-Adab, vol. ۳, p. ۳۱۴; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ۴, p. ۱۴۷-۳
The credibility of this statement is subject to debate since, for instance, there is a –۴
quotation about Shabib regarding his intention of joining the Kharijites indicating that
he was a financial motive ‘Allama Ja’far Murtad’a also remained dubious about their
asceticism In his book which has not published yet, there is a chapter under the title of
“al-Kharijites Tami’un am Zuhhad” in which he touched upon this despite the fact that
some of which are not quite valid In addition, there have been several quotations
indicating their piety in their personal lives which were not written in that book

Undoubtedly, regarding those things what the writer has said seemed quite true
al-Kamil fil-Adab, vol. II, p. ۱۴۹; al-’Araq fil-’asr al-Umawi, pp ۲۲۷,۲۳۰; Ansab al- – ۵
Ashraf, vol. ۴, p. ۸۹; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. v, p. ۱۰۶

.openly

The Kharijites frankness always made them lose their heads. Banning precaution
dissimulation by the Azariqa forced Khariji Azraqi to disobey them in any form and
under any circumstances. Then, he, along with fifty or a hundred soldiers, set off
untimely and irregular riots which led to their defeat. In contrast, the Shi'ite Muslims
succeeded in setting themselves free from the Umayyads' mischief by observing the
.very precautionary dissimulation

Prevailing Islam in Iraq especially in Kufa was an obstacle to Kharijites's domination.
It has been said that the Shi'ite Muslims whose Imam was martyred by Kharijites had
strong spite towards them and the Umayyads did take advantage of such feeling
greatly and that was why the Kharijites residing in Kufa were not as many as those in
[\(Basra.\)](#)

The Foundation of the Kharijites Principles

In formation of various sects most of the time the main controversial issue would
.later on become the central belief of that sect

At times, even the name of that sect would be derived thereof in spite of the fact that
occasionally the names of the leaders of sects would go back to them. In Kharijites'

case, the name of their sect originated from their effort to revolt against the Commander of the Believers and their endeavor in excommunicating both 'Ali (a) and 'Uthman was the leading belief of their sect

In fact, discussion about faith versus disbelief was an important point over which different parties debated and became somehow problematic for early sects. With reference to this, 'Uthman and the companions of Jamal were

p: ۷۲۵

al-'Araq fil-'asr al-Umawi, p. ۲۴۲ -۱

measured, then, it was turn of the residents of Damascus. Once Iraqis fought against Damascus people, knowing that they were infidels but confronting Arbitration, they hesitated about continuing the war

To eliminate this, they would rather believe in what the opponents had accepted to such an extent that they described Imam 'Ali (a) as infidel since he had endorsed Arbitration. One further point was that if someone were disbeliever due to advocating Arbitration which was considered as a cardinal sin, then what would happen to others ?committing cardinal sins

Based on the same extremist view which was the main reason of their defeat, they labeled them as unbelievers. It is known that Mu'tazila had termed those committing cardinal sins neither as a Muslim wrongdoer nor pious or infidel but purely as a wrongdoer. In contrast, in Imamiyya whoever testifies that there is no God besides Allah and Muhammad is the Allah's Prophet is Muslim and is entitled to enjoy the same rights as Muslims accordingly. Considering the doer of cardinal sin one should apply .(the term Muslim wrongdoer (not wrong-doer alone

In this regard, Shahrastani stated that, "All of them are of the opinion that despising 'Ali (a) as well as 'Uthman is a must. Considering this issue of prime importance they did (hold their marriages to be true merely when they were based on this belief." (1

The dispute over belief versus disbelief regarding Imam 'Ali (a) and 'Uthman from then on turned out to be the main principle for Kharijites and

p: ٧٢٤

al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. ١, p. ١٠٤; Tabsirat al-'Awam, p. ٤٤ -١

(the other one was showing resistance to rulers whenever they disregard Sunna. (١)

The Azariqa who was active during that time was one the most extremist groups of Kharijites who considered those men, women and even children not being a member (of the group as infidel and doomed to death. (٢)

:They referred to this verses

وَقَالَ نُوحٌ رَبِّ لَا تَذَرْنِي عَلَى الْأَرْضِ مِنَ الْكَافِرِينَ دَيَّارًا. إِنَّكَ إِن تَذَرْنَهُمْ يُضِلُّوا عِبَادَكَ وَلَا يَلِدُوا إِلَّا فَاجِرًا كَفَّارًا.

And Noah said, “My Lord! Leave me not one of the disbelievers in the land. If you“ (leave them, they will mislead the slaves and will beget none save lewd ingrates” (٣)

Moderate followers of the Azariqa such as Sufriyya sect were obtaining from killing children. Banning “Taqiyya” was one of the fundamental principles of the Azariqa over which they had discrepancy with the Kharijites form Yamama and ultimately, it led (them to be separated form Najda Haruri. (٤)

Moreover, books concerning sects as well as scholastic theology and jurisprudence compiled by their opponents were attributed to them. The Kharijites who were dispersed due to continual wars and were secluded from Muslims' scientific centers, as a result, less commented on this

Other than the Abad'iyya that still has some followers in 'Umman and North of Africa, all other sects have swept out and it is very difficult to confirm the credibility of the principles attributed to them. In addition, another feature of them was altering their principles. It seems as if the Abad'iyya were dubious whether to renounce 'Ali (a) or not and

al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. ١, p. ١٠٦-١

Ibid vol. ١, pp ١٠٩, ١٤٠; al-Aghani, vol. ٦, p. ١٤٢-٢

Nuh, ٧١: ٢٦, ٢٧-٣

al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. ١, p. ١١٢-٤

(in the latest scripts of some of them they expressed their devotion to 'Ali (a

Since some books of various sects were at odds with principles of Kharijites, there has been exaggeration about basic principles of them. Inasmuch as Kharijites were mainly composed of Mawali, they made up a new theory overlooking a condition for Imamate e namely being a member of Quraysh, a principle which the Sunnites (1) strongly upheld over six hundred years later.

Some Arab tribes bolstering Kharijites probably had endorsed this principle either because they did not value caliphate, which was independent from tribal power or they did this to compete with Quraysh

Yazidiyya, one of the Kharijites sects that, according to a few fragmented Jarudites, had extremist Kharijites beliefs about non-Arabism thought *عليه كتاباً قد كتبت في السماء ويترك شريعته محمداً المصطفى (٢)* It should be mentioned that Qur'an was revealed in the second century A.H. as a result, the Kharijites must have been following other sects in this regard. Anyway, some ideas of Mu'tazilites can be traced back in the Kharijites' ideologies

Shi'ite Muslims In The Last Decades Of The Umayyad State

The Shi'ite Muslims Under the Pressure of the Umayyads

As previously mentioned, Umayyads had three obstinate foes, namely Kharijites who were of great trouble to them during various periods. Shi'ite Muslims who were in opposition to Mu'awiya from 'Ali's term on and thereafter Imam Husayn (a), the penitents, Mukhtar, Zayd Ibn 'Ali and Yahya Ibn Yazid ran wild against them

Moreover, Shi'ites's ideology especially its political aspect based on which the 'Alawites authority

p: ٧٢٨

Ibid vol. ١, p. ١٠٧-١

Tabsirat al-'Awam, p. ٤١; al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. ١٢٢-٢

was a lawful one operated as an effective trend in the society producing a great threat to the Umayyads

In reality, subsequent to their eradication, Shi'ite Muslims were the Umayyads's successor and ultimately the third group was Iraqi people who regardless of their religion, went on the rampage against them since the treatment of Damascus towards them which probably stemmed from tribal or regional prejudice was a contemptuous one

In spite of the fact that such movements someTimes had leaders or some supporters who had good will, most of the time they covering their objectives as well as reviving the Prophet's Sunna as well as social justice

Although all of those groups were threatening the Umayyads, the two first groups were more threatening. It is known that the Kharijites at last could subjugate them in Iraq, then some of those so-called Shi'ite Muslims opportunistically overthrew the and came to power themselves. The Umayyads was striving hard to confine Shi'ite Muslims by any means to prevent them from increasing their influence

Formerly, we touched upon how the Umayyads bothered the 'Alawites. Now, by bringing some examples, matter is elucidated. During the Umayyads' rule excluding a short time during 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz,^(١) they insulted Imam 'Ali (a). From among them one can name Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri who did the same while being on the ^(٢)pulpit as well as describing him in the most biting way.^(٣)

And as one would expect to justify what he had done, he urged some traditionalists to

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. v, p. ۳۹۳-۳۹۴ -۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ۴۸۷ -۲

al-Aghani, vol. ۲۲, from p. ۱۵ on -۳

vilify him. For the very same reason, Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik wrote a letter to A'mash, a so-called Shi'ites in Kufa and called upon him to compile a book about 'Uthman's virtues and Imam 'Ali's wrongdoings but he refrained from doing so^(۱) while such individuals as Zuhri did never hesitated to do this

Since he had heard 'Ali (a) was using henna for dying his beard, he quoted from Torah, “Whosoever dyes his beard black is cursed”. ^(۲)۲۷۰۷

The Umayyads' agents used abusive words towards 'Ali's family throughout the Islamic land ^(۳) to taint their reputation and eliminate them from political as well as intellectual scene by rendering the worst accusations against them. That was why harsh treatment in damning 'Ali was quite justified for them

Once Hajjaj asked his governor in Fars to make 'Atiyya Ibn Sa'd damn 'Ali (a) and if avoided doing so, he should be whipped four hundred times and be shaved as punishment. They did this as Hajjaj had ordered.^(۴) Some individuals as Ibn Abi Layla, an Iraqi jurisprudent, was made to curse 'Ali (a) in public.^(۵)۲۷۱۰

It was quite common for Mu'awiya, Abu Bakr as well as 'Umar to fabricate Hadith to crush Shi'ite Muslims who were referred Rafid'i extremist and now most of those forged traditions compiled by the Sunnites are at hand.^(۶)۲۷۱۱

When Hisham in ۱۰۶ A.H., the second year of his caliphate, entered Hijaz for Hajj, Medina's governor, one of 'Uthman's grand children, by alluding to 'Uthman's virtues told caliph, “In this region, it is

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. I, p. ٤٤١ –٢
al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. ٣, p. ٢٢١ –٣
Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. ٤, p. ٣٠٤ –٤
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٢, p. ١٨١ –٥
al-Mawd'u'at, vol. ٢, p. ١٥, vol. ١, p. ٣٠٤ –٦

.”quite common to curse Abu Turab, now you can follow this custom too

Hisham in reply said, “Now I am here for Hajj and do not intend to curse anyone.”(١)٢٧١٢

This does not mean that Hisham was not a man of cursing others. In contrast all of his deeds revealed his hostility towards the Prophet's Household and their followers. He himself was the murderer of Zayd Ibn 'Ali and any Shi'ite Muslims and under those circumstances, he probably gave such reply to Sa'id Ibn 'Abd Allah for a specific reason.

When Zayd Ibn 'Ali (a) was in Damascus, Hisham shamelessly inquired him about his In this way, he demonstrated his مافعل اخوك البقره, brother, Imam as-Sadiq (a) and said malice towards him in his insulting question. In response, Zayd said The Messenger of Allah had called him al-Baqir and now you“ وتسميه البقره! لقد اختلفتما اذاً (٢) ”.are addressing him in this way

Then he went on to say Jabir's quotation in which Allah's Messenger had told him, ”.“Give Imam al-Baqir my best regards

Shi'ite Muslims such as Kumayt Ibn Zayd Asadi, an outstanding Arab poet, were pressurized in various forms. He was imprisoned for his beliefs and, in particular, having Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri satirizing the Umayyads. Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik demanded Khalid to pull his tongue out of his mouth and hang him from the door of his house.(٣)٢٧١٤

,Filled with terror, Kumayt wore his wife's clothes who had gone to see him in prison

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, pp ٤٨٤- ٤٨٥ -١

Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. ١, p. ٢١٢٤ -٢

al-Futuh, vol. ٨, pp ٨٢-٨٣ -٣

then he tried to escape. Having no way to do so, he took refuge in Maslama Ibn 'Abd al-Malik and finally he could satisfy Hisham and save his life.^(١) It was quite obvious that he was a Shi'ite since he was with Imam al-Baqir (a) and other Muhammad's descendants.^(٢) Also, his Hashimites followers are the best proof in this regard

Apart from suppressing Yazid Ibn 'Ali's uprising, Yusuf Ibn 'Umar, Iraq's governor from ١٢٠-١٢٦ A.H. martyred many of Shi'ite Muslims

Yusuf Ibn "According to Ibn A'tham, فقتل يوسف بن عمر من شيعة آل محمد خلقاً كثيراً رحمه الله عليهم (٣) ".Umar murdered large numbers of Shi'ite Muslims of Muhammad (S) 's progeny

In a letter addressing Hisham, Yusuf divulged the misery of this household arising from ruler's pressure.^(٤) ٢٧١٨

Umayyads negative propagation against Shi'ite Muslims, their politico-ideological opponent, forced Sunnis to adopt a bitter stance on them and despite the fact that the Umayyads themselves were affected by Jewish culture, they made Shi'ite Muslims be known like the Jews.^(٥) Such accusations were in fact reflections of the Umayyads's propagation. His mention of a detailed quotation, Imam al-Baqir (a) displays Shi'ite Muslims stance plainly

No one knows what sufferings we, Ahl al-Bayt, experienced from Quraysh's oppression and stance-taking, so did the Shi'ite Muslims. When Allah's prophet was about to depart this life told us that we were superior to people while the Quraysh who were collaborating with each other divorced this issue and did take advantage of our superiority to come to power

Then, the post

al-Futuh, vol. ٨, p. ٨٤ -١

Ibid vol. ٨, p. ٩٥ -٢

Ibid vol. ٨, p. ١٢٤ -٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٧, p. ٥٨٨ -٤

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. ٢, p. ٤١٠ -٥

of ruling rotated among them up to the time that once again Ahl al-Bayt restored it, but people who had paid allegiance to us disregarded it and launched an attack against us and 'Ali (a) experienced great hardness prior to his martyrdom

Then it was his son's turn and just the same happened to him. Thereafter, we were constantly irritated, deprived of our rights, threatened, murdered and driven out of our homelands to such an extent that neither us nor were our followers secure any longer. Then the liars and deniers of the truth paved the ground for themselves and approached the originators of injustice as well as their agents throughout the Islamic land

After that, they started forging and spreading traditions. They did quote us as saying things which were neither mentioned nor performed by us. They merely intended to sow the seed of hatred in the hearts of individuals. This was a policy being followed subsequent to Imam Hasan's martyrdom during Mu'awiya's term

Limbs were cut off and those eminent were plundered and their houses were destroyed. This situation worsened during 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad's term. Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf came to power in Kufa after him and he did the same to the Shi'ite Muslims. They were so hard pressed that they would rather be called Zindiq or infidels instead of Shi'ite Muslims

In consequence, the so-called pious people fabricated some traditions touching upon the superiority of the previous rulers something which was by no means true in

p: ٧٣٣

practice. The succeeding traditionalists verified what had been forged by them

inasmuch as they were not quoted by a bunch of unfaithful and lying people.”(۱)۲۷۲.

This was what Imam as-Sadiq (a) had stated regarding injustice imposed on Shi'ite
(Muslims.۲

Internal Events of Shi'ite Muslims

Possibly, there would be no other issue as important as pondering upon the socio-ideological attitude of the Shi'ite Muslims during that time, something which should make clear the stance of some groups surviving under the shadow of “Shi'a”. Earlier, discussing about 'Ali's Imamate, it had been stated that Imamate was considered as a “Divine Decree” among the companions and the Commander of the Faithful himself .had made great attempt to clarify it

Looking into Imam as-Sajjad's viewpoint regarding Imamate, evidence suggested that he considered Imamate as a divine decree and Imam as a person whose obedience is obligatory on behalf of God. Here, it is worth stating internal problems .the Shi'ite Muslims were tackling with

It was quite obvious that Shi'ite Muslims were misled mainly due to their detachment from their Imams and it was an apparent consequence since neither Imams nor the Shi'ite Muslims could contact each other directly. In spite of great endeavors being exerted by Imams, they did not have enough influence on the Shi'ite Muslims in particular those residing in Iraq far from them, let alone those in Khurasan, to guide .them ideologically

It is requisite to refer to the book entitled “the History of Shi'ism in Iran” overtured by “various forms of Shi'ism” to discern completely what had been mentioned

p: ۷۳۴

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ۱۱, p. ۴۴; al-Imam as-Sadiq, Abu - ۱
Zuhra, pp ۱۱۱-۱۱۲

Somewhere else, cruelties imposed on Ahl Bayt as well as the Shi'ite Muslims have - ۲
been mentioned See, Tarikh Tashayyu‘ dar Iran, pp ۳۸-۴۴

formerly. Here, some points would be referred to either dropped thoroughly or not discussed in detail

Exaggeration and the Exaggerators

An incident later came to be known as “Exaggeration” in Islamic history, a rooted deviation in Shi'ites internal affairs, did play a major role in distorting their image. This has been discussed in more detail in “History of Shi'ism” but we will touch upon it here too.

This occurrence goes back to 'Ali's time during which there had been two opposite views regarding him, namely the extremist one based on which he was dealt with as if he were an infidel and the opposite one according to which he was exaggerated to such an extent that he was characterized with divine features

In spite of the fact that there are serious discrepancies concerning peculiarities of views which are too complex to be clarified; however, taking historical events into account, one can make certain that these incidents did take place during Imam 'Ali's time. According to some researchers and as said before, 'Abd Allah Ibn Saba', the initiator of “Exaggeration”, was an imaginary person singled out to stain the Shi'ite Muslims' reputation. Denying him, however one should not equate it with disregarding such exaggerations among the Shi'ite Muslims at that time

What does Exaggeration imply? Its origin goes back to what had been attributed to Imam 'Ali (a) as well as his descendants that is blasphemy according to the Shi'ites doctrine and abundant traditions from Imams

To elaborate the meaning, it deems appropriate to suggest a piece of poem

p: ٧٣٥

:from Sayyid Himyari, a Shi'ite Muslims poet

قوم غلوا في علي لا أباً لهم وأجشموا أنفساً في حبه تعبا

قالوا هو الله جل الله خالقنا من أن يكون له ابن أو يكون أباً

Exaggerating about 'Ali (a), some people whose parents may be damned put great pressure on people to adore him saying that he was God and Almighty God was either [his father or his son.](#)" [\(1\)](#)

A group of those people were expelled to Mada'in by Imam. Being informed about 'Ali's martyrdom, they nullified it.[\(2\)](#) There are diverse quotations concerning Imam's severity on them in history books manipulated based on various inclinations. From among them, we can have the false account of burning as well as regarding them as [dualists.](#)[\(3\)](#)

Such ideas were also approved by some so-called Shi'ite Muslims during Imam Hasan's time. قيل للحسن بن علي أنّ أناساً من الشيعة يزعمون أنّ علياً دابه الارض... فقال, كذبوا, أولئك ليس بشيعة, Hasan Ibn 'Ali was told, "A few Shi'ite Muslims hold the view that 'Ali is a [" أولئك اعداؤه \(4\)](#) creature on the earth..." He said, "They tell a lie, these people are not Shi'ite Muslims, ".they are 'Ali's adversaries

Forgers of tradition probably had quoted wrong traditions from Imams repeatedly to subjugate and defame them

Subsequent to Karbala event when "the penitents" as well as Mukhtar's uprising took place, the viewpoints of the Exaggerators were still prevailing in Iraq. One point needs consideration, as mentioned before Mukhtar was accused of several wrongdoings .one of which was Exaggeration

,In the same books

p: ٧٣٦

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. ٢, p. ٢٤٥ -١

See, Maqatal 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib (a) (Turathuna Magazine, No ١٢), p. ١٢١ -٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٢, pp ١٦٦, ١٨١ -٣

Ibid vol. ٢, p. ١٤٢; Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXXVIII, p. ١١٢ (In footnote of "Ansab" for the -٤ meaning of "Dabbat al-Ard", See, Lisan al-'Arab, vol. ١, p. ٣٧٠, There this term was said .to be a sign of the arrival of the Day of Judgement

various sects in particular “Kisaniyya”, one of the Exaggerators from among Shi'ite Muslims, was given emphasis while being characterized by having so many divisions and principles. Most of them are still widespread among upcoming Exaggerators and attributed to others to defame Shi'ite Muslims as well as their Imams

Regardless of veracity of Kisannids's exaggerated principles, what can be inferred from Iman as-Sajjad's statements is that some statements identical to those of Jews and Christians about 'Aziz and Jesus Christ were expressed about Ahl al-Bayt

Love us as well as you do“ (١) ,Iman as-Sajjad (a) stated ,Islam and keep us as high as we are.” Somewhere else he told

إِنَّ قَوْمًا مِنْ شِيعَتِنَا سَيُحِبُّونَا حَتَّى يَقُولُوا فِينَا مَا قَالَتِ الْيَهُودُ فِي عَزِيرٍ وَمَا قَالَتِ النَّصَارَى فِي عَيْسَى بْنِ مَرْيَمَ فَلَا هُمْ مِنَّا وَلَا نَحْنُ مِنْهُمْ

Some of our Shi'ite Muslims are so kind- hearted toward us that ascribe what Jews told about 'Aziz and Christians about Christ to us. By no means are we from among (٢) (them nor do they.”

It is worthwhile mentioning that the Exaggerators vocalized Imam Husayn is still alive just the same as Jesus Christ, and As'ad Ibn Hanzala Shami was killed instead of (٣) (him.

Tabari quoted Abi Mikhnaf as saying that there had been some Exaggerators in Kufa. According to what Hasira Ibn 'Abd Allah had told Abu Mikhnaf in this quotation, from among Shi'ites Exaggerators were “Hind Bint al-Mutakallifa al-Na'itiyya whose house .was center of all Shi'ites Exaggerators

The

p: ٧٣٧

other one was "Layla Bint Qumama al-Muzayna who was not loved by his brother Rufa'a, a moderate Shi'ites. Once Ibn Hanifa was informed about their presence in Kufa, he wrote a letter to Shi'ite Muslims in there urging them to go to mosques and .praise Allah and not to choose their friends from among those who are not pious

If they actually are worried about themselves, they should be pious, cautious of liars, perform prayers while keeping in mind that it is at Allah's behest for all living beings to .be either loser or winner و كل نفس بما كسبت رهينه، ولا تزر وازره وزر أخرى والله قائم على كل نفس بما كسبت فاعملوا صالحاً وقدّموا لأنفسكم حسناً ولا تكونوا من الغافلين " Everyone falls responsible for his" practice and no one bears sin of others, God beholds one's deeds, so practice " [righteously, proceed onto virtues and avoid being among the negligent.](#)" [1](#)

As it was touched on before, some historians made every endeavor to define Exaggeration as having some principles much the same as that of the Twelfth Imam Shi'ism to attribute those principles to them but paying just a little attention, one can easily understand that they are forged. In Shi'ites sources as well, some people's stance such as Ibn Hanafiyya and Imam's speeches expressed without caution .removes any doubt completely

Confrontation of Imams with the Exaggerators

Shi'ites Imams openly took a stand against movements of exaggerators, instances of which could be seen during Imam as-Sadiq and al-Baqir's time, presenting true beliefs and religious principles. During

p: ٧٣٨

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٤, p. ٥٦٦, ٥٦٧; I'lam al-Nisa', vol. V, p. ٢٥٢ -١

Imam al-Baqir, such distortion manifested itself clearly and some corrupted .individuals from among them came to be leaders of their movement

Mughira Ibn Sa'id was one of them whose lifetime was mostly spent during Imam al-

Baqir's time and was burned to death in ۱۱۹ A.H. by Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri, Iraqi governor, calling him a magician, Tabari quoted that he along with seven others ran wild against the administration outside Kufa. Being on mosque pulpit, Khalid was told about this and requested water! It is good to mention that Mughira was one of Khalid [\(Ibn 'Abd Allah's Mawali.\)](#)

Later on, Khalid burned both his companions and him to death for they had not relinquished their beliefs. There are several quotations from Kashshi revealing Imam al-Baqir's abhorrence towards him.[\(۲\)](#) Some actions of him were manipulating Imam [\(al-Baqir's traditions and teaching magic as well as juggling.\)](#)[\(۳\)](#)

Regarding the Exaggerators' conduct towards Imam al-Baqir (a), Abu Hurayra 'Ijli ,wrote these verses

ابا جعفر أنت الولی أحبّه وأرضی بما ترضی به وأتابع

أتتنا رجال یحملون علیکم أحادیث قد ضافت بهن الاضالع

أحادیث افشاها المغیره فیهم وشر الامور المحدثات البدائع

O, Abu Ja'far, you are master and beloved one to me. I am satisfied with whatsoever“ you are satisfied with and I do follow you. There are some individuals attributing some traditions to you. This is something which downheart us. Mughira had forged some [\(traditions which is the worst heresy.\)](#) [\(۴\)](#)

Bayan Ibn Sam'an[\(۵\)](#) was another one supporting Mughira. He was also burned to death along with Mughira by Khalid

p: ۷۳۹

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp ۵۶۶,۵۶۷; al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. ۱۵۷; he has – ۱ mentioned his ideas as to analogy
Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. ۳۲۱ – ۲
Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. ۲۲۳ on – ۳
al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. ۱۵۱ – ۴

In some books it is mentioned “Banan” while in some others such as Tabari, it is – ٥
“Bayan” which the latter one is apparently true

[\(Ibn 'Abd Allah.\)](#)

In Shi'ite Muslims sources, Bayan Ibn Sam'an was bitterly reproached since he was said to have quoted false traditions. [\(٢\)](#) Hamza Ibn 'Amara al-Barbari just the same as [\(Abul-Khattab Ghali, Bazi' and Mughira Ibn Sa'id were all cursed by Imams.\)](#)

There are detailed descriptions of the Exaggerators and their beliefs in Sa'd Ibn 'Abd Allah and Nuwbakhti books. Despite the fact that both the Exaggerators and their leaders were corrupted, one should be heedful enough while dealing with what had been written concerning them in sectarian and religious books in particular those .which had been compiled by Sunnis with great pessimism

It deems appropriate to take Imam as-Sadiq's reactions towards the Exaggerators during his life throughout the Umayyads's time when both in this time and during the 'Abbasids they were very active

It should be noted that the Exaggerator's deviation was to such an extent that the religious principles were at risk. What they had in minds was not to leave a single principle of religion, either fundamental or practical one untainted. Anyhow, it appears that they had mystical inclinations according to which some people were deceived .after being fascinated by their attractions

The Exaggerators were more active in Hijaz than anywhere else since Iraq was a place where various cultures such as Iranian, Russian, Syriac and Jewish and so forth met and it had the capacity to put an impression on Muslims' attitudes. These .interactions confused most religious beliefs

The notion of Exaggeration threatened Shi'ism since it not only had falsified their

p: ٧٤٠

principles from within and secluded them but also distorted public images towards them in such a way that it seemed they were indifferent to the practical laws of [Islam.](#)^(۱)

Taking a glance at sectarian books, it can be perceived in spite of the fact that, considering sectarian divisions, Exaggeration is said to be a distinct one, not only the leaders of various sects but Sunnites scholars as well do not differentiate between various divisions of Shi'ism and prevent from endorsing their traditions

One of the reasons of such pessimism is influence of the ideas of Exaggerators on Shi'ite Muslims. Despite all efforts being made firstly by Imams and secondly their scholars, the effects are still more and less obvious. To bring an example, one can refer to some quotations from the Exaggerators regarding Qur'an's distortion in some [of the Shi'ites hadith books.](#)^(۲)

Imam as-Sadiq (a) and subsequent Imams opposed strongly that falsification. Previously, endeavors being made in an interval from 'Ali (a) to Imam al-Baqir had brought about Ahl al-Bayt's popularity as well as expansion of Shi'ism. Accordingly, the Exaggerators were trying hard to penetrate deep into Shi'ite Muslims with the intention of damaging it both internally and externally

From among crucial undertakings of Imam as-Sadiq (a) to preserve noble Islamic culture bestowed to Shi'ite Muslims were purification of Shi'ism, struggle to negate the Exaggerators as well as remove them from approaching Shi'ite Muslims' instances of which are to be divulged here

One of the central activities of Imam was preventing Shi'ite Muslims

they were needless of taking righteous actions and that they were spared from pain because of their evil deeds, See, al-Aghani, vol. XX, p. ١٠٧, quoted from al-'Aqidat wal-shari'a fil-Islam, p. ٢٠٣

See, Ukdhubat Tahrif al-Qur'an Bayn Ash-Shi'a wal-Sunna, p. ٦٦ -٢

from having relationship with the Exaggerators since it could magnetize some of the Shi'ite Muslims to them with all their possible attractions. Besides, they claimed that they were tied to Imams and upon denying them, they expressed what they had done .was simply out of dissimulation

Mufad'd'al quoted Imam as-Sadiq (a) as referred to Abul-Khattab as well as other O, Mufad'd'al, " يا مفضل! لا تقاعدوهم ولا تتواكلوهم ولا تشاربوهم ولا تصافحوهم " Exaggerators, as saying do avoid the Exaggerators, neither eat or drink with them and do not shake hands (with them." (١)

In another quotation once again Imam (a) accentuated the statement محمد ابى زينب الأجدع ملعون وأصحابه ملعونون، فلا تجالس اهل مقاتلتهم فانى منهم برئ وآبائى عليهم السلام منهم براء " Both Abul-Khattab and his followers are cursed. Do not have association with their supporters. My forefathers had abhorred him, so do I." (٢)

Imam (a) was in particular heedful to the Shi'ites youth stating احذروا على شبابكم الغلاه لا يفسدوهم، الغلاه شر خلق الله، يصغرون عظمه الله ويدعون الربوبيه لعباد الله " Remain watchful not to let the Exaggerators deviate your young men. They are the Allah's archfoes. Reducing His Majesty, they profess to His servants that they are God." (٣)

Imam as-Sadiq (a) had warned individuals against having association with not only the Exaggerators, but all the innovators as well stating Do not keep company with innovators inasmuch as it " القلب كفراً وضلالاً مبيناً " في

p: ٧٤٢

Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, hadith, ٥٢٥; Mustadrak al-Wasa'il, vol. ١٢, p. ٣١٥ -١

al-Ghayba, p. ١٧٧; Mustadrak al-Wasa'il, vol. ١٢, p. ٣١٥ -٢

al-Amali, Sheikh Tusi, vol. ٢, p. ٢٤٦ -٣

[sows the seeds of blasphemy in your heart as well as misleading you overtly.”](#) [\(1\)](#)

To exclude them from membership of a Shi'ites society, Imam as-Sadiq (a) found fault with their beliefs and urged people not to accept them by referring to Allah's Book for his evaluation

Shahristani quoted that Sudayr Sayrafi had gone to Imam and said, “May I be your sacrifice! Your followers have diverse opinions; some are of the belief that some one whispers in your ears; some say that Allah reveals secret to you; some think that you are inspired; some others assume that you see in your dreams or give decree based on your forefathers' command. Which one is true

In response, Imam said [لا تأخذ بشيء مما يقولون نحن حجة الله وأمناءه على خلقه، حلالنا من كتاب الله وحرامنا منه](#) “Do not accept whatsoever they tell you. We are Allah's witness and faithful ones for His servants and we do consider something either lawful or unlawful while having [reference to His Book.”](#) [\(2\)](#)

Quotations of this kind indicate that due to the wrong beliefs of the Exaggerators some were doubtful whether Imams introduced new religions or there would be new revelations. Underlining the fact that whatsoever they say comes from Allah's Book, Imam as-Sadiq (a) demanded people not to endorse those wrong beliefs

In another quotation, Shahristani stated that Fayd' Ibn Mukhtar went to Imam as-Sadiq (a) and said, “May I be your sacrifice! What is this divergence among our Shi'ite Muslims? At times, I attend

p: ٧٤٣

Mustadrak al-Wasa'il, vol. ١٢, p. ٣١٥; Misbah Ash-Shari'a, p. ٣٨٩ – ١
Turathuna Magazine No ١٢, pp ١٧-١٨, article, “Ahl Bayt fi ra'y sahib al-Milal wal- ٢
Nihal” quoted from Masabih al-Asrar

their meeting and I feel apprehensive about what they say. Then I refer to Mufad'd'al
”and find out what makes me calm there

In response Imam (a) said, اجل! انّ الناس اغروا بالكذب علينا حتى كأنّ الله فرضه عليهم لا يريد منهم غيره، وانى لأحدّث أحدهم الحديث، فلا يخرج منى حتى تتأوله على غير تأويله “ “ See individuals are fond of laying the blame on us as if Allah made them do so and not anything else. When I say something [\(1\)](#) to someone, he alters it soon before leaving me.”

Sahmi quoted 'Isa al-Hujrani as saying, “I went to Ja'far Ibn Muhammad as-as-Sadiq ”?and said,”Shall I retell what I heard from this tribe ”.Imam replied, “Say it

I said, فإنّ طائفه منهم عبدوك وآنخذوك الهاً من دون الله وطائفه أخرى والوا لك النبوه و... “ Some of these people do worship you and consider you a God quite different from Allah and another group do regard you as a prophet

Imam wepet bitter tears, then said ان أمكننى الله من هولاء فلم اسفك دمائهم سفك الله دم ولدى على يدى If I dominate them at Allah's behest, I will surely shed their blood; otherwise, Allah “ “ [\(2\)](#) will do the same to my son.”

Occasionally, the narrators of quotations manipulate what Imams had said according to their tests with the intention of nullifying basic principles of Shi'ite Muslims. .Thereafter, some of them will be mentioned

Mahdavitism was the central belief of the Exaggerators which was rejected by Imam as-Sadiq (a).[\(3\)](#) They also believe in prophecy

p: ٧٤٤

Masabih al-Asrar, Ibid p. ٢٤, Turathuna Magazine, No ١٢, p. ١٨ –١

Tarikh Jurjan, pp ٣٢٢, ٣٢٣ –٢

Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. ٣٠٠ –٣

.of some Imams

Imam as-Sadiq (a) told them من قال أنا انبياء فعليه لعنة الله ومن شك فى ذلك فعليه لعنة الله [\(1\)](#) God may “ .curse whosoever regards us as His Prophet and whosoever remains skeptical of it

هو الذى فى ,From among the Exaggerators, some had equated God with Imam saying
السماء اله وفى الارض اله قالوا هو الامام He is the one who exists in the heavens and earth, they
".said, "He is Imam

That was why Imam as-Sadiq (a) told that they were even worse than Magians, Jews,
(Christians and the unbelievers.)

Imam was at odds with the Exaggerators in particular with those beliefs based on
.which they attributed Godliness to Imams

The he went on to say , لعن الله من قال فينا ما لا نقوله فى انفسنا ولعن الله من ازالنا عن العبوديه لله والذى خلقنا واليه
May Allah curse those who quote us as saying what not told by us. " ما بنا ومعادنا ويده نواصينا "
May Allah curse those refraining us from worshipping Him, He who has created us and
(we all will to Him while He determines our fate.)"

As maintained by Islamic jurisprudence, it deems right to excommunicate individuals
denying basic principles of Islam. This is done to prevent violations provided that it do
develop through its normal course. Imam as-Sadiq (a) endeavored to excommunicate
the Exaggerators from Islamic society to frustrate them from distorting the Shi'ites
fundamental principles

One of the undertakings of the Exaggerators was symbolizing religious notions in
such a way

p: ٧٤٥

Ibid p. ٣٠١ -١

Ibid p. ٣٠٠ -٢

Ibid p. ٣٠٢ -٣

that they lose their basic significations. Imam as-Sadiq (a) in a letter addressing Abul-
Khattab, one of the Exaggerator's leaders, stated
الصلاه رجل وأن الصيام رجل وأن الفواحش رجل وليس هو كما تقول، انا اصل الحق، وفروع الحق طاعه الله، وعدونا أصل
You are said to be of the opinion that adultery, intoxication, prayer, الشر وفروعهم الفواحش "

fasting and mischief are all men with these names. What you said is not true. I am the supreme truth and in comparison worshipping Allah is subordinate one. Our enemies [\(are the major evil while their mischief is a minor thing in comparison.\)](#) ⁽¹⁾

In another quotation, Imam stated [, على أبي الخطاب لعنه الله والملائكة والناس اجمعين فاشهد أنه كافر فاسق](#) May Allah, His angels as well as His servants put a curse on Abul-Khattab. I do [مشرك “](#) ⁽²⁾ [confess that he is infidel, lewd and polytheist.”](#)

Somewhere else, by referring to the Exaggerators, Imam (a) stated [كفار مشركون “](#) ⁽³⁾ [Do repent your sins. You are undoubtedly lewd, infidel and polytheist.”](#)

Imam as-Sadiq excommunicated them so openly that, on one hand, they themselves perceived there was no longer any dissimulation and, on the other hand, Shi'ite Muslims stopped having communication with the Exaggerators completely

The Exaggerators could publicize their beliefs primarily due to the fact that they called on their followers not to observe either jurisprudic legals or inhibitions

They quoted Imam as-Sadiq (a) as saying, “Whomsoever knows Imam, he

p: ٧٤٦

Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal p. ٢١٩ –١

Ibid p. ٢٩٧ –٢

.Ibid., p. ٢٩٧ –٣

”shall be permitted to do whatsoever he wants to

To remove all doubts Imam said [, انما قلت: ان عرفت، فاعمل ما شئت من قليل الخير وكثيره، فإنه يقبل منك “](#) I said if you knew your Imam, you would surely do good either less or more. Such [\(cognition is the key to the acceptance of your practices.\)](#) ⁽¹⁾

Imam alluded to the fact that ordinances are subordinate to sainthood (Wilayat) or without which observing such rules is worthless. The Exaggerators did not take the primary meaning of that statement into account based on their non-observance of

the jurisprudic rules. They were quite distinguishable from those who were adherent
(to them.)^(۲)

One influential factor in the emergence of the Exaggerators was public stupidity.^(۳) At the same time, ambition as well as yearning to attract individuals, especially with regard to those who claimed succession of Imams and upgraded them to Godliness .with the intention of introducing themselves as prophets were other leading factors

Imam as-Sadiq (a) asserted *إِنَّ النَّاسَ أَوْلَعُوا بِالْكَذِبِ عَلَيْنَا... وَإِنِّي أُحَدِّثُ أَحَدَهُمْ بِحَدِيثٍ فَلَا يَخْرُجُ مِنْ عِنْدِي حَتَّى يَتَأَوَّلَهُ عَلَى غَيْرِ تَأْوِيلِهِ وَذَلِكَ أَنَّهُمْ لَا يَطْلُبُونَ بِحَدِيثِنَا وَبِحَبْنَا مَا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَإِنَّمَا يَطْلُبُونَ الدُّنْيَا* “Individuals are eager to falsify our accounts. Even before we end our speech, they reiterate it to others regardless of its exact meaning. Neither in learning traditions nor seeking our friendship do they desire what Allah wants rather they are after mammonism.”^(۴)

To discriminate the forged traditions of the Exaggerators from the authentic ones ,motioned by Ahl al-Bayt

p: ۷۴۷

al-Kafi, vol. ۴, p. ۴۶۴ –۱

Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, p. ۵۳۰ –۲

Ibid p. ۲۹۵ –۳

Ibid p. ۱۳۶ –۴

Imam as-Sadiq (a) referred to Qur'an as a criterion. Regarding this he stated

لَا تَقْبَلُوا عَلَيْنَا حَدِيثًا إِلَّا مَا وَافَقَ الْقُرْآنَ وَالسُّنَنَةَ أَوْ تَجِدُونَ مَعَهُ شَاهِدًا مِنْ أَحَادِيثِنَا الْمَتَّقِمَةِ فَإِنَّ الْمَغْيِرَةَ بِنِ سَعِيدٍ لَعَنَهُ اللَّهُ دَسَّ فِي كِتَابِ أَبِي إِحَادِيثٍ لَمْ يَحْدِثْ بِهَا أَبِي، فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَلَا تَقْبَلُوا عَلَيْنَا مَا خَالَفَ قَوْلَ رَبِّنَا تَعَالَى وَسُنَنَةَ نَبِيِّنَا صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ، فَإِنَّا إِذَا حَدَّثْنَا قُلْنَا قَالَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ “

Do not accept whatsoever they quote from us on condition that they are in accordance with either Qur'an or Sunna or our previous traditions. May Allah curse Mughira Ibn Sa'id, the one who quoted traditions from my father not told by him. Be pious and do not endorse whatsoever is at odds with Qur'an and Sunna since

[\(1\)](#) "whatsoever we quote is based on these two sources."

.There are some other quotations indicating the same action of the Exaggerators

For instance, Imam as-Sadiq (a) said, "Mughira took home the books being written by He "ويدسّ فيها الكفر والزندقه ويسندها الى ابي ثم يدفعها الى اصحابه " Imam al-Baqir's companions then quoted hadiths from the dualists and attributed them to my father after that, he ".returned those to their owners

Imam also stated [\(2\)](#) "فكلما كان في كتب اصحاب ابي من الغلو، فذاك ما دسّيه مغيره بن سعيد في كتبهم (2) Whatsoever can be found in the books of my father's companions regarding the "Exaggerators are nothing but what Mughira registered there

Such action of Imam as-Sadiq (a), on one hand, could differentiate

p: ٧٤٨

Ibid p. ٢٢٤ –١

Ibid p. ٢٢٥ –٢

the Shi'ite Muslims from the Exaggerators but, on the other hand, it had a negative effect on Shi'ite Muslims' expansion. Just because of the Exaggerators, Abu Hanifa told his followers not to reiterate Ghadir hadith.[\(1\)](#) Notwithstanding the fact that it was quite unacceptable, it could divulge the impact of the Exaggerators' action on .quoting the most accurate accounts of 'Ali's virtues

This was discussed in detail since it was supposed to reveal not only the Exaggerators' deviation in the History of Shi'ism but also the reaction of Imams in protecting Shi'ism from threat of the Exaggerators inasmuch as they roused public .hatred towards Ahl al-Bayt.[\(2\)](#) And they had to defend themselves

(Shi'ism when Giving Superiority to 'Ali (a

Speaking about the internal affairs of Shi'ism, there still is another form of Shi'ism which merely appreciates the 'Alawites and considers them as the true ones for

caliphate while according to its principle neither Imamate is a divine leadership nor Imam is someone whose obedience is mandatory. In the realm of policy and leadership, taking the distinct features of them in comparison with other influential tribes into account, one can observe that 'Ali (a) was superior than 'Uthman as well as [other caliphs.](#)

In view of such definition of Shi'ism, not only majority of the Sunnis traditionalists but Iraqi ones as well are Shi'ites. Reviewing Mizan al-I'tidal from Dhahabi, one can see that a great number of religious scholars later come to be known as Sunnites were believed to be Shi'ites at that time. From among them, there were some

p: ٧٤٩

Sheykh Mufid, al-Amali, p. ٢٧ – ١

al-'Aqidat wal-shari'a fil-Islam, p. ٢٠٧ – ٢

'This was scrutinized under the title of "Political Shi'ism" in Tarikh Tashayyu – ٣

people as Muhammad Ibn Jarir Tabari [\(١\)](#) and Hukaym Niyshaburi, the greatest Sunnites scholars in the ٣rd and ٤th centuries, who severely criticized Mu'awiya

These people were not few in Iraq in ١A.H. most of whom were irritated by Hajjaj and other Umayyads's rulers just due to their devotion to Imam 'Ali (a) as well as to the Prophet's progeny

What should not be left out of consideration regarding this group is that they were by no means Shi'ites based on its principles. The expansion of Shi'ism in Kufa due to the presence of both Imam 'Ali (a) and his son there for over five years was the basic cause of the formation of that group there. Embracing Shi'ism, some individuals at that time spread it in that region

On the other hand, there were also some traditionalists of Kufa affected by this morale. They refrained from quoting Imam 'Ali's virtues just the same as others since they were influenced by 'Uthman. He as well as his supporters criticized Kufiyan hadith-narrators since they did not observe the limitations being imposed by them on

not only quoting Ahl al-Bayt's virtues but the evils of companions for the very reason, such individuals as A'mash the so-called Shi'ites Muslim, was accused of forging [\(۲\)](#) hadiths narrated by the residents of Kufa.

Once Iraqis were said to be Shi'ites but by taking all limitations into account, one can understand what kind of Shi'ism it is, despite the fact that there were many Shi'ite Muslims who considered Ahl al-Bayt

p: ۷۵۰

Regarding his religion, we have an article in the book entitled “Jughrafiyay Insani – ۱”shi'a Shajarat al-Dhahab, vol. ۱, p. ۲۲۱ – ۲. merely as their Imams and leaders

A real Shi'ites follower is someone who only believes in the Imamate of 'Ali's descendants and regards them as the successor of the successors [\(۱\)](#) whose obedience is obligatory regardless of his political power. Belief in this principle was a criterion to distinguish ideological Shi'ism from others and those who were skeptical in this regard were not from Shi'ite Muslims

Aban Ibn Taghlib in this regard mentioned *والله، اخذوا بقول علي عليه السلام، واذا اختلف الناس عن علي اخذوا بقول جعفر بن محمد عليه السلام* “A Shi'ite Muslim is someone who endorses whatsoever Imam 'Ali (a) said, once people were at variance concerning what Allah's Messenger has said and when soever the same happened concerning 'Ali's utterances, he should accept whatever Ja'far Ibn [\(۲\)](#) Muhammad mentioned.”

This meaning of Imamate was based on “Ghadir hadith” and those who did not believe in this were called the Disavowers. Imams probably turned their back on them merely to keep face. [\(۳\)](#) Ahl al-Bayt's quotations, on the other hand, presented a clear definition of sainthood which was the cornerstone of Shi'ites beliefs. There are numerous quotations which equate sainthood with prayer, fasting, Hajj and tax alms

[\(۴\)](#) and at times, it is even more emphasized.

In practice, the Imams who were Shi'ites leadership asked people for paying their financial dues to them. They not only considered the rulers as oppressors and manifestation of tyranny but also said they are

p: ۷۵۱

This title “The successor of the successors (Wasi al-awsiya’)

 ۱ – was referred to Imams by ideological Shi‘ism when Jabir Ibn Yazid Ju‘fi quoted from Imam al-Baqir (a) O, the successor of the successors tell traditions for us This [حديثي وصي الاوصياء](#), he said was what dispersed the Sunnites narrators of hadith from him As Sufyan al-Thawri said he had disparaged them by his work See, al-Ma‘rifat wal-Tarikh, vol. ۲, p. ۷۱۶;

Mizan al-i‘tidal, vol. ۱, p. ۳۸۳; Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vol. ۲, p. ۴۹

Rijal al-Najashi, p. ۱۲, under the biography of Aban Ibn Taghlib –۲

Regarding Imam’s behavior towards Zurara Ibn A‘yan, one of the Sunnites, see, al- –۳

Ma‘rifat wal-Tarikh, vol. ۲, p. ۶۷۲; Mizan al-i‘tidal, vol. ۲, p. ۶۹

See, Wasa’il Ash-Shi‘a, vol. ۱, pp ۷, ۱۰, ۱۱, ۱۲, ۱۷, ۱۸ –۴

legitimate and divine Imams. Accordingly, they did carry out financial as well as .political responsibilities upon them

Once Imam al-Baqir (a) was asked about his father's inheritance, he said [ما ما كان لأبي](#), I am heir to my father's“ [بسبب الإمامه فهو لي وما كان غير ذلك فهو ميراث على كتاب الله وسنة نبيه \(۱\)](#) position and other things, except this, which are my father's personal features are to .be divided in accordance with Qur'an as well as Prophet's Sunna

There are some quotations regarding booties, in which the Imams made it quite clear that they have been the right owners of them. [\(۲\)](#) Unfortunately, some of the ignorant writers of Sunnis as well as the orientalist, regardless of so many quotations in various aspects of our Islamic jurisprudence, presented our Imams in such a way as if they did claim they were Imams and were attributed by others; however, there are numerous quotations from Shi'ite Muslims, as said before, which remove all historical .doubts

There were a great number of people in Iraq who were of the opinion that the Ahl al-Bayt were selected by Allah's Prophet and obeying from them was mandatory. However, they might be misled regarding some facts. Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik who was apprehensive of the 'Alawites' rebellion wrote a letter to Yusuf Ibn 'Umar expressing the opinion of Kufiyans

في غير مواضعهم لافتراضهم على انفسهم طاعتهم (ووظفوا عليهم شرائع دينهم) ونحلتهم اياهم عظيم

p: ٧٥٢

Wasa'il Ash-Shi'a, vol. ٦, p. ٣٧٤ - ١

See, al-Hukumat al-Islamiyya fi Ahadith Ash-Shi'at al-Imamiyya, pp ٨٤-٨٨ - ٢

You know quite well how Kufiyans adore Ahl al-Bayt. They “ ما هو كائن مما استأثر الله بعلمه دونهم ” exaggerate about them. They believe that they should obey them in their religious activities because they believe they have some kind of wisdom granted to no one but [\(them.\)](#) [\(١\)](#)

The content of this letter indicates that there has been a kind of ideological Shi'ism whose milestone was Imam, someone who defined the Islamic law for them and his obedience was incumbent. As referred before, this issue was subject to debate. Since Iraqi Shi'ite Muslims, on one hand, were from Medina, the main residence of Imams as well as other 'Alawites, and, on the other hand, they were pressurized by the Umayyads and later on, by the 'Abbasids rulers they, could not understand who the veritable Imam was; nevertheless, from the very beginning, it was believed that .only 'Ali's descendants were given the right to rule

To verify this, refer to what had been mentioned regarding political views of the Penitents. A matter of prime importance was Shi'ism in Qum originated from Kufa. The strong belief of the people of this city in Shi'ism indicated that the Ash'arites in this .city had learnt the basic principles of Shi'ism in Kufa

As it was previously mentioned, since Shi'ites Imams were far away from Medina, deviations in Shi'ism came about, one of which was the Imamate of Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya who was supposed to be veritable Imam subsequent to 'Ali (a), Imam

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٣٨; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ٤٨٩ –١

Imam Husayn (a). Despite the fact that this belief was not widespread, it did undoubtedly exist.

Kuthayyir 'Azza” died in ١٠٥ A.H. was among poets who had Shi'ites beliefs. (١) He was“ actually from the Kissanids who believed that Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya was an Imam.

:He wrote these verses

ألا إن الائمه من قريش ولاة الحق اربعة سواء
 على والثلاثة من بنيه هم الاسباط ليس بهم خفاء
 فسبط سبط ايمان وبرّ وسبط غيبته كربلاء
 وسبط لاتراه العين حتى يقود الخيل يقدمها اللواء
 تغيب لا يرى عنهم زمانا برضوى عنده غسل وماء

Take it into account that our Imams are four people from the Quraysh tribe. 'Ali and “ three children of him, one of them, Hasan Ibn 'Ali is the epitome of piety and kindness. The other one is the one being embraced by Karbala and the third is the one who can not be seen by eyes until an army appears with a flag in its forefront. For a while he (٢) would be on Rad'awi mountain, out of sight with honey and water at hand.”

.Rad'awi is one of the sacred mountains around Medina

Other poems from the very same author hint at his belief in Mahdavitism of Ibn ,Hanafiyya

فهديت يا مهدينا ابن المتهدي انت الذي نرقى به ونرتجى

انت ابن خيرالناس من بعد النبي انت إمام الحق لنسا نمترى

يا بن علي سر ومن مثل علي

O our leader! May He raise thy blessings, thou art the one whose light of guidance we seek to our sublimity and we stay fully hopeful of him. Thou art descendant of the best man after the

p: ٧٥٤

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. ٢٩٢; al-Aghani, vol. IX, p. ٣ -١
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٠٢; al-Aghani, vol. IX, p. ١٤; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. -٢
٧٨; Sayyid Himyari has composed similar piece of poem; al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. ٢٤٥

(Prophet (S)), no doubt our truthful Imam. O son of 'Ali! Thou art like 'Ali among us." (١)

Regardless of his misinterpretation of the true Shi'ism, Kuthayyir 'Azza basically believed in the cornerstone of Shi'ism, that is divine sainthood. Accordingly, he did not .accept caliphate subsequent to prophet

,In a poem, he wrote

برئت إلى الإله من ابن اروى ومن دين الخوارج اجمعينا

و من عمر برئت ومن عتيق غداه دعى امير المؤمنين

I invoke by God to resent 'Uthman and the Kharijites as well as 'Umar and Abu Bakr,“
(once called Amir al-Mu'minin." (٢)

One of the principles of ideological Shi'ism in rejecting the legitimacy of the first caliphs since based on it Imamate is at Allah's behest. Khandaq al-Asadi was a friend of Kuthayyir who once was in Hajj along with him. Suddenly he shouted, “You had relinquished both the truth and your Prophet's Household consisting of four people .”and they are right

Revolting against him, people beat him to death.(٣) Isfahani has a quotation in Aghani

revealing that Imam al-Baqir (a) had taken part in Kuthayyir's funeral ceremony and asked others to let him go under his coffin.^(٤) It was probable that Kuthayyir just the same as Sayyid Himyari in the course of time either had given up he Kissanids or due to his friendship with Ahl al-Bayt supported them

Sayyid Himyari, one of the Shi'ites poets, was a member of the Kissanids too. Addressing Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya who was believed to be alive on Rad'awi ,mount, he wrote these verses

ألا قل للوصى فدتك

p: ٧٥٥

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٨٩ –١
al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. II, p. ٢٤٤; Ash-Shi'r wal-Shu'ara', p. ٣١٤; Tarikh al-Adab – ٢
al-'Arabi, al-'Asr al-Islami, p. ٣٢٣; This poem is quoted from Sayyid Himyari in Aghani,
vol. VII, p. ٢٧٦, ٢٧٧
al-Aghani, vol. ١٢, p. ١٧٤ –٣
Ibid vol. ٩, p. ٣٧ –٤

نفسى اطلت بذلك الجبل المقاما

Tell the successor, May my life be sacrificed to you, you overstayed in that“
(mountain.” ^(١)

There are many poems about his religion. At the same time, there are some quotations indicating his change of religion, which are all declared untrue by Isfahani based on his reference to some narrators. Based on some poems attributed to him, it (was said that he believed in Imamate of Ja'far Ibn Muhammad Ibn as-Sadiq (a

It is not obvious why much effort was made to declare these verses untrue. Anyhow, it can have several reasons. For example, it had been proposed to say that he obeyed the Exaggerators not Imam as-Sadiq (a). In a poem regarding his conversion, he was In the name of Lord, the Exalted, I am turned to “تجعفرت باسم الله والله اكبر” quoted as saying

This verse is called in question, although not so strongly, since Sayyid because of his In another poem, he *تجعفرت باسم الله*, enough eloquence in speech could not have said ,went on to say

أيا راكباً نحو المدينة جسره عذا فره تهوى بها كل سبب
إذا ما هداك الله لاقيت جعفرأ فقل, يا امين الله وابن المهذب

O thou who art on sturdy camelback trotting through deserts“

(O noble! Once thou meet Ja'far, tell him he is trustee of God and the pure one.”(۳)

Kashshi also has a quotation(۴) indicating his conversion to Twelve-Imam Shi'ism. He had done so probably due to his argument with Mu'min al-Taq, one

p: ۷۵۶

Ibid vol. ۹, p. ۱۴; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۰۲; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ۷۹ –۱
al-Aghani, vol. ۷, p. ۲۱۳; see, Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. ۳, p. ۷۹ –۲
al-Aghani, vol. ۷, p. ۲۱۳; see, Muruj adh-Dhahab, vol. ۳, p. ۷۹ –۳
Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. ۲۸۸ –۴

of the companions of Imam as-Sadiq (a) and a man of debate, in which he was (defeated.(۱)

Since he died in Mansur's time, it was impossible for him to be still a Kissanids. On the other hand, the number of followers of this sect is not obvious or it is better to say that apart from some quotations mentioned previously, there is no other proof affirming the existence of other followers of this sect. Additionally, a number of followers were .decreased since they came to obey either 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya or the 'Abbasids

There also are some verses from Sayyid Himyari indicating his hatred towards the early caliphs.(۲) When Mahdi 'Abbasi was heir apparent, he asked him to cut off gifts been given to Banu Taym and Banu 'Adi inasmuch as they had deprived Ahl al-Bayt of

their rights after Prophet's departure. (٣) Aghani quoted that Imam as-Sadiq invoked (God's blessing for him. (٤)

The role of poets such as Kuthayyir 'Azza Sayyid Himyari, Kumayt Ibn Zayd Asadi was of a prime significance in depicting the characteristics of Ahl al-Bayt particularly 'Ali (a). They used the most delicate expressions in this regard. It was said that he never ,wrote a poem without mentioning this very verse

أجد بآل فاطمه البكور فدمع العين منهمر غزير

(Family of Fatima had a hard time, that is why tears roll down stormily (٥)

,or in another poem he said

أقسم بالله وآلائه والمرء عما قال مسؤل

أن عليّ بن ابي طالب على التّقى والبرّ مجبول

I do swear by Allah and his blessings, individuals shall be“

p: ٧٥٧

Ibid p. ٢٤٥ –١

al-Aghani, vol. ٧, pp ٢٧٣–٢٧٤ –٢

Ibid vol. VII, pp ٢٤٣–٢٤٤ –٣

Ibid vol. ٧, pp ٢٤٢, ٢٧٧ –٤

Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat ar-Rijal, p. ٢٨٨ –٥

”.asked about what they say, Surely 'Ali is created a pure one

Whosoever tells me“ (١) من أتاني بفضيله لعلي بن ابي طالب ما قلت فيها شعراً فله ألف دينار (١) He vocalized even one of the 'Ali's virtues about which I had not written a poem, I will give him one thousand Dinars

Demonstrating the role of the Shi'ites poet is a matter of great significance but can (not be discussed here. (٢)

True belief in Shi'ism, something which prevailed among all the Shi'ite Muslims had emanated from instructions being disseminated by Imams. During the above-mentioned time, Imam al-Baqir and as-Sadiq (a) played the same role. There were a great number of hadith narrators among the followers of Imam al-Baqir (a) with their [names mentioned in the Shi'ites scholastic books such as Rijal by Tusi.](#)

Verifying merely those traditions being narrated by the Imams regarding either the Islamic Jurisprudence or Shari'a was one of the basic requirements in accepting the divine leadership of Imams. In other words, Imams made every effort to introduce Ahl al-Bayt as the politico-religious pillar. Here, the issue of full-scale obedience is a central principle which requires all to refer to Ahl al-Bayt on different things, something reiterated in the speeches of the Infallible Imams from 'Ali's time onwards.

.Previously, we touched upon 'Ali's remarks concerning Ahl al-Bayt and their stances

During the late 1st and 2nd centuries when Imam al-Baqir and Imam as-Sadiq (a), led the Shi'ite Muslims, various sects appeared each of which claimed the leadership of Muslims. Accepting

p: ۷۵۸

Ibid p. ۲۵۷ –۱

Our knowledgeable friend, Mr as-Sadiq A'iniwand talks in detail about biography of –۲ the Shi'ites poets and the men of letters and the role in preserving values revolutionary Shi'ism, in his book titled Adabiyat Inqilab dar shi'a (Literature of Revolution in Shi'ism Rijal al-Tusi, p. ۱۰۲-۱۴۲ –۳

the political leadership of caliphs, the majority of them struggled to have the religious leadership in their own hands. On the other hand, the Shi'ites Imams, as it was mentioned in “Thaqalayn hadith”, underlined that the sole reliable sources are Qur'an and Ahl al-Bayt

Imam al-Baqir (a) in his speeches most of the time called on people to take advantage of the knowledge of Ahl al-Bayt and just accept what they say as true traditions. In his

speed, Imam Said to Salama Ibn Kuhayl and Hakam Ibn 'Uyayna
"صحیحاً الا شیئاً خرج من عندنا (۱)“ Traverse both the East and the West of the world, then you
”.will know no science is the accurate one save that of us

In another quotation referring to Hasan Basri, one of the renowned scholars of that
time, he said “فليذهب الحسن - يعنى البصرى - يميناً وشمالاً فوالله ما يوجد العلم الا ههنا (۲)“
Hasan Basri can go wherever he wants, but I swear by Allah he can acquire knowledge nowhere but
”.from us

In another quotation, Imam said “فليذهب الناس حيث شاءوا، فوالله ليس الأمر الا من ههنا- وأشار إلى بيته (۳)“
Individuals can go wherever they want, but I swear by Allah they can find it nowhere“
”.but here, then he referred to his house

Such utterances invite people to refer to Ahl al-Bayt to receive Islamic instructions.
.The acceptance was equal to embracing Shi'ism

Somewhere else, Imam al-Baqir (a) said

p: ۷۵۹

Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, pp ۲۰۹-۲۱۰; al-Kafi, vol. ۱, p. ۳۹۹; Basa'ir al-Darajat, p. ۹-۱
al-Kafi, vol. I, p. ۵۱; Wasa'il Ash-Shi'a, vol. ۱۸, p. ۴۲-۲
al-Kafi, vol. ۱, p. ۳۹۹; Basa'ir al-Darajat, p. ۱۲-۳

Muhammad's descendants are the gates of divine“ محمد ابواب الله والدعاه إلى الجنة والقاده اليها (۱)“
knowledge through which people can attract Allah's satisfaction. They call people to
”.the Heaven and drive them towards it

Imam also said “كلّ شىء لم يخرج من هذا البيت فهو وبال (۲)“
Whatsoever comes out of any house
”.other than this would be harmful

Our insistence in mentioning these statements be due to their notable effect on the
formatain of Shi'ism

Imam al-Baqir (a) also said “ايها الناس! أين تذهبون واين يراد بكم؟ بنا هدى الله أولكم وبنّا ختم آخركم (۳)“
O

people! Where are you going? And where have you been gone? From the very beginning, you have been guided by Ahl al-Bayt and at last, all of you will return to them.

When Hisham came to Medina, Imam said Praise be to Allah, He " [\(٤\)](#) الله على خلقه وخيرته على عباده وخلفائه، فالسعيد من أتبعنا والشقي من عادانا وخالفنا (٤) who selected Muhammad as our prophet. We were respected just because of him. Accordingly, we are selected caliphs from among his creatures. Only those who follow us are fortunate not those who consider us as their enemy and disobey us

Because of such utterances, Imam al-Baqir (a) was summoned to Damascus by Hisham. In Imam as-Sadiq's statements, it has been stressed that all other ways lead to their deviation. Imam (a) said

p: ٧٦٠

Tafsir al-Ayyashi, vol. ١, p. ٨٦; Wasa'il Ash-Shi'a, vol. ١٨, p. ٩ –١
al-Mizan, vol. ٣, p. ١٧٦ from Kafi –٢
al-Kafi, vol. ١, p. ٤٧٨ –٣
Dala'il al-Imamah, p. ١٠٤; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. ٤٦, p. ٣٠٦ –٤

O Shi'ite Muslims! It is upon you to take Prophet's Sunna" [\(١\)](#) الاثمه الهداه من اهل بيت رسول الله (١) "as well as the traditions of Imam from Ahl al-Bayt

Somewhere else, he told Yunus Ibn Dhubyan O Yunus! We have the true knowledge inasmuch as we " [\(٢\)](#) ورثنا واوتينا شرع الحكمه وفصل الخطاب (٢) have inherited the paths of wisdom and ways of distinguishing the credal error from (the gospel truth from Allah's Prophet." [\(٢\)](#)

Imam as-Sadiq (a) said "ان عندنا ما لا نحتاج معه إلى الناس، وإنّ الناس ليحتاجون إلينا وإنّ عندنا كتاباً باملاء رسول الله وخطّ على، صحيفه فيها كل حلال وحرام (٣) "We have something with which we are not in need of anyone while all are in need of us. We have a book which was dictated to 'Ali (a) by Allah's Prophet. This book contains all ordinances of the lawful or unlawful

This utterance was actually the repetition of what Imam 'Ali (a) had said to the residents of Kufa several times
أهل الكوفة! سلونا عما قال الله ورسوله، فانا أهل البيت أعلم بما قال الله ورسوله
O the residents of Kufa! Ask us of what Allah and his prophet has said. Ask us since“ (٤)
”.Ahl al-Bayt are the most informed source of what they have said

The evidence indicates that there has been a unanimous cultural movement on the part of Ahl al-Bayt and the Shi'ites Imams to introduce Ahl al-Bayt as the

p: ٧٦١

Wasa'il Ash-Shi'a, vol. ١٨, pp ٢٣,٦١; Rawd'at al-Kafi, p. ٥ -١

Wasa'il Ash-Shi'a, vol. ١٨, p. ٤٨ -٢

al-Kafi, vol. ١, p. ٢٤١ -٣

al-Ma'rifat wal-Tarikh, vol. ٢, p. ٧٥٩ -٤

.center of religion of the Muslims

One point should be taken into account is that the Shi'ite Muslims confronted some problems ideologically, as said before in discussing about the Exaggerators, due to dissimulation during the life of Imam al-Baqir and as-Sadiq (a) regarding both the corrupt administrations and public uproar. In addition, Imams themselves also faced some political problems not dealt with here

Regarding Ahl al-Bayt, as the authority was a justification for some linked to them as well as the Hashimites to be claimant and raise some difficulties for them. The 'Alawites internal divisions had paved the ground for such deviations, and on one hand, led to the formation of fragmentation in Shi'ism and deprived Imams of their rights of divine Imamate, on the other hand. Some of these divisions are to be discussed here

Zayd Ibn 'Ali's Uprising and the Zaydids in Shi'ism

Zaydism is one of the sects of Shi'ism and an internal inclination. The practical and principle laws are similar to those of Sunnis. It is also somehow based on the Mu'tazilites and Hanafites principles. But regarding political factors, it is mostly based on Shi'ism and all nations believe that this sect is actually a branch of Shi'ism

It is generally believed that this has emanated from Zayd Ibn 'Ali's approach and its basic principles have been effected by his rebellion and all other movements are subordinate to it. Now this is discussed historically

Zayd, the son of 'Ali Ibn Husayn (a), was born from an Umm Walad (a slave who had been freed) mother. It is supposed that

p: ٧٦٢

(Mukhtar had bestowed him to Iman as-Sajjad. (1)

He is one of the 'Alawites who organized the first uprising of them subsequent to Karbala's event. His action actually was the beginning of other rebellions of this kind initiated by the Zaydids thereafter throughout the Islamic land. They, most of the time, withstood the Umayyads and 'Abbasids' army while they were few

According to Dinwari, the date of his rebellion goes back to ١١٨ A.H. which is unreal. (2) On the other hand, Muhammad Ibn Ishaq said it was in the year ١٢٠ A.H. (3) While, based on other sources, it was most likely to be in ١٢١ or ١٢٢ A.H. and it was surely in Safar

While Ibn Kathir mentioned that it was in ١٢٢ A.H. (4) other people such as Ibn Abi al-Hadid (5), Zubayr Ibn Bakkar (6), Mas'udi (7), as well as some others were of the opinion that it was in ١٢١ A.H. (8)

A researcher referring to some evidence tried to say it occurred in ١٢٢ A.H. (9) Based on the evidence, in all probability, it happened in Safar, ١٢٢ A.H.. It is said that since Safar was the second month of the year and some of the preparatory steps of the rebellion have been taken in the previous year so it happened in ١٢٢ A.H

Based on another evidence, Khalid was deposed in Jumadi al-Awwal, ١٢٠ and by referring to the events taking place thereafter during the specific period mentioned by the historians in which Zayd was in Kufa, it is improbable to say that

p: ٧٦٣

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ٨٦ -١

Akhbar al-Tiwal p. ٣٢٨ -٢

Umdat al-Talib, p. ٢٥٨٢ -٣

al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. ٩, p. ٣٢٨ -٤

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ٧, p. ١٦٥ -٥

al-Tanbih wal-Ishraf, p. ٢٧٩ -٦

Umdat al-Talib (quoted by Waqidi) p. ١٢١; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. ٢, p. ٣٢٦; Tarikh at-

(Tabari, vol. v, p. ٤٨٢; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. ٣, p. ٢٠٦, (he has mentioned narration ١٢٢

See, Sirih wa qiyam Zayd Ibn 'Ali, p. ٢٤ -٨

..it took place at the beginning of the year ١٢١ A.H

The first happening of this rebellion is about the time when Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri or, as mentioned in some quotations, Tariq, Khalid's male slave (١) or his son Yazid confessed under torture when Yusuf Ibn 'Umar came to Iraq, individuals such as Zayd Ibn 'Ali, Dawud Ibn 'Ali and some others all owed them

Yusuf Ibn 'Umar informed Hisham about it. Then, he called upon Yazid and others to go to Damascus. They all said that such confession was not true. Accordingly, Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik sent them to Kufa to solve that problem before Khalid and Yusuf Ibn 'Umar. Zayd and others who were afraid of Yusuf Ibn 'Umar wrote a guarantee of clemency and even took someone to Kufa along with themselves to judge Hisham's treatment towards them

Later on, it came to be known that Khalid or his son or Tariq had done it since he was under torture and wanted to be released for a while. (٢) This happening might have occurred either after ١٢٠ A.H. or when Khalid was deposed. Again, at that time, Zayd was either in Medina, then was sent to Damascus at Hisham's behest once he was informed about what Khalid had done. (٣) Or he himself was in Damascus or in its outskirts, based on some evidence, to solve his problems with the Hasanites concerning 'Ali's charity in there

What some other quotations reveal is that Zayd had already travelled to Damascus.

Based

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٣١ –١

See, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, pp ٤٨٢,٤٨٣,٤٨٧; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp ٩٠-٩١; Ansab al-

Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٣١; al-Futuh, vol. ٨, p. ١١٠; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. ٢, p. ٣٢٥

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ٤٧٢ –٣

on them, Zayd who was at odd with 'Abd Allah Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan(a) over 'Ali's charity headed for Damascus so that Hisham personally might find the solution to this problem since it could not be settled in Medina but he refrained from visiting him and whenever Zayd wrote a letter to caliph, he wanted him to return to his home. Eventually, at Zayd's insistence, Hisham accepted to call upon him but he said that he could not admit what he has said and, after a shout while, made him to leave [\(1\)](#) Damascus. Setting out for Medina at first, Zayd then shifted his way to Iraq.

Apparently what this narration is to convey is different from why Zayd disapproved the Umayyads. It seems that Zayd went there before the time Khalid said. He was also troublesome to Zayd. Regarding Zayd's meeting with Hisham, the historians hinted at what made Zayd be angry with the Umayyads. Later on, Zayd himself told Jabir Ju'fi that he could not keep silent before Hisham while he was a tyrant and he [\(2\)](#) was against Qur'an

Zayd said, "I saw myself how a Christian insulted the Holy Prophet in his presence. I [\(3\)](#) said to him, "If I could, I would kill you

[\(4\)](#) But Hisham said, "Leave alone our friend."

In another encounter, Hisham addressed Zayd and told him, "You are told to be entitled for caliphate while you are no one but the son of a slave woman not being [\(5\)](#) competent for this task

In response Zayd said, "Isma'il was also

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ٣, p. ٢٨٦-٢٨٧; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, -١
p. ٤٨٦; Riyad' al-'Ulama', vol. ٢, pp ٣١٩-٣٢٣
Taysir al-Matalib, p. ١٠٩ -٢

the same as me, on the other hand, Ishaq like you was not born from a slave woman but before Allah he was superior to Ishaq and his descendants were the best among people” (١). Such an encounter implies that Zayd already thought of caliphate. It is said that he set forth his rebellion with his brother Imam al-Baqir (a), but it is known that Imam al-Baqir (a) had departed his life at least six years prior to that

Somewhere else, Hisham to insult Imam al-Baqir (a) asked Zayd “ما فعل أخوك البقره” “?What is your brother, Baqara (the cow) doing

In response Zayd said “سماه رسول الله باقراً وتسميه البقره لقد اختلفتما اذاً” Our holy prophet called him al-Baqir, why are you calling him Baqara? You are at variance with him in this (regard.” (٢)

Anyhow, Hisham sent Zayd to Iraq to call on Yusuf, but since he was apprehensive of him, he wrote a letter to Khalid saying that to let him not stay there even for an hour owing to the fact that he had a great power to attract the residents thereof to (himself.” (٣)

It is worth saying that once Zayd departed Damascus, Hisham said, “I swear by Allah that he will run wild” (٤). Resolving the problems arising from Khalid's confession, Zayd remained in Kufa and others who were wrongfully arrested went back to Medina.

Zayd Ibn 'Ali in Kufa

Kufa, the city center of Iraq, was once also the center of caliphate in which many tribes resided. Among the Islamic cities, it was Kufa that

p: ٧٦٦

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ٣, p. ٢٨٧; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. ٣, p. ٢٠٦;
‘Umdat al-Talib, p. ٢٥٥; al-Hur al-’Ayn, p. ١٨٩; Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. ٢, p. ٣٢٥
Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. ١, p. ٢١٢; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ٧, p. ١٣٢٢-٢
vol. ٣, p. ٢٨٦; ‘Umdat al-Talib, p. ١٩٤
Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. ٢, p. ٣٢٥-٣
Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XV, p. ٢٧٥-٤

was of great threat to the Umayyads accordingly. It was under tightened security and
.military measures

O Zayd! go “ يا زيد اخرج حيث شئت ولا تدخل الكوفة ”, When Zayd left Hisham, he said to him
(anywhere you want but do not enter Kufa.” (١)

He also had said the same to Yusuf. (٢) As said before, Zayd stayed in Kufa for a while
after he put an end to his dispute with Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah. Every day Yusuf Ibn
'Umar encouraged him to leave Kufa as soon as possible but each time he refrained
.from doing so under various pretexts

Once he said he was about to leave or he wanted to buy something but finally he was
forced to leave there. (٣) According to Ya'qubi, Zayd who was expelled from Kufa came
there once again for he was not under strict control. (٤) In a quotation from Ibn
A'tham, it is read that the soldiers of Ibn 'Umar accompanied him up to “Mantiqa al-
Ghudayb” and went back to Kufa. (٥) Following them, Zayd stayed there for four
(months. (٦)

Another quotation indicates that the Shi'ite Muslims were in touch with him. His
friends who were irritated by the Kufiyans' unfaithfulness (٧) wanted to leave Medina
so the rebellion has not been taken seriously. According to Zayd who was, on one
hand, pressurized by Yusuf Ibn 'Umar and, on the other hand, not so deeply
.concerned about the rebellion set out for Medina

Feeling that they lost golden opportunities, the Shi'ite Muslims of Kufa chased him

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۳, p. ۲۳۶ –۱
Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ۴۸۸ –۲
Ibid vol. v, p. ۴۸۷; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۹۱ –۳
Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. ۲, p. ۳۲۶ –۴
al-Futuh, vol. ۸, p. ۱۱۱ –۵
.Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ۴۸۸ –۶
Ibid vol. v, pp ۴۸۸,۴۸۹; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۲, p. ۲۳۳ –۷

and intercepted him in Qadisiyya. They asked him to return to Kufa to overthrow the Umayyads with their collaboration

They said, “O Zayd, the son of Allah's Prophet, why are you leaving Kufa while you will [\(۱\)](#) have hundreds of thousand of swordsmen prepared to fight with the Umayyads?”

They went on to say, “The number of the soldiers of Damascus in Kufa would not suffice and it was only Hamdan or Midhhaj tribe that could conquer them.” [\(۲\)](#) Then Zayd accepted to return to Kufa once the Shi'ite Muslims gave an undertaking to [\(۳\)](#) support him.

Zayd entered Kufa secretly in such a way that Yusuf Ibn 'Umar was not informed about it for a long period. Thereafter, he came to know about it since Hisham who was [\(۴\)](#) told about his arrival told him about it too.

Zayd stayed in Kufa for over ten months and spent two months out in Basra. [\(۵\)](#) During this period, Zayd who hid in different houses [\(۶\)](#) asked many to join him and he could not be found by the Umayyads for either they were not able to find his hiding place or they were totally unaware of his arrival there. It is said that Yusuf Ibn 'Umar could not believe at first that he had returned to Kufa in spite of all warnings on the part of Hisham about Zayd's riot. He said, “Zayd is a man of wisdom who will never get [\(۷\)](#) himself into hot water”.

Being informed both about Kufiyans' readiness for uprising and the support of Iraqi Ahl

al-Futuh, vol. ٨, p. ١١; al-Fakhri, p. ١٣٢; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ٩١ –١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٧, p. ٢٨٧ –٢

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ٩١ –٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٧, p. ٥٠٤ –٤

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ٩٢; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٧٣; 'Umdat al-Talib, p. ٢٥٦ –٥

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٣٧; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٧, p. ٤٩٢ –٦

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٣١ –٧

Sawad, the farmers of the cultivated lands surrounding Kufa and Iraq, Yusuf Ibn 'Umar commanded to check the way saying that all individuals should be frisked lest [\(١\)](#) any letter of Zayd might be sent somewhere else.

Nasr Ibn Khuzayma was one of the pre-eminent supporters of Zayd. He lived in his house for a while during which the Shi'ite Muslims from different places came there to visit him. [\(٢\)](#) Another hiding place of him was the house of a woman from Azd tribe who, later on, married him. [\(٣\)](#) Other happenings subsequent to his death divulge the fact that he had another wife as well as three children in that city.

Those points over which people had paid allegiance to Zayd, later on, turned to be the basis of the subsequent riots of this kind such as that of the penitents and Mukhtar's

إنا ندعوكم إلى كتاب الله وسنة نبيه (ص) وجهاد الظالمين والدفع عن المستضعفين وإعطاء المحرومين وقسم هذا الفىء بين اهله بالسواء وردّ الظالمين وإقفال المجمر ونصرنا أهل البيت على من نصب لنا وجهل حقنا

We enjoin you to follow both Qur'an and the Sunna of the Prophet, fight against the“ oppressor, defend the oppressed, divide booties among its real owners equally, and [\(٤\)](#) finally support Ahl al-Bayt against their foes.”

The same statements were quoted by Ibn A'tham. [\(٥\)](#) He also referred to one of the letters found in a way by the soldiers of Yusuf Ibn 'Umar in which he had addressed individuals saying, “You are not aware of what had happened to

al-Futuh, vol. ٨, p. ١١٤ –١

Ibid vol. ٨, p. ١١٢ –٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٧, p. ٤٩٢; al-Futuh, vol. ٨, p. ١١٣ –٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٧, p. ٢٩٢; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, pp ٢٣٧, ٢٣٨; Baladhuri instead –٤ of saying “Iqfal al-Mujammar” had said “Ifd’al al-Muhammara” Mahmudi, a researcher, in a footnote wrote, “If this word is right, it signifies the restoration of the Non-Arabs’ rights, since “Muhmara refers to Hamra” whose rights had been violated

See, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٣٨

al-Futuh, vol. ٨, p. ١١٣ –٥

you. There surely is a sedition in your religion and volatility in your livelihood. Bloodshed and plunder your share from the state treasury. I enjoin you to follow Qur'an and Sunna, defend the oppressed, fight against the oppressed who had [\(usurped the rights of Ahl al-Bayt.”](#)[\(١\)](#)

In his bidding, Zayd underlined points some of which were religious and financial ones. He also accentuated cruelties that Ahl al-Bayt had endured. Since the residents of Kufa were still dubious about what they had undertaken, Zayd paid allegiance to them [\(not so easily.](#)[\(٢\)](#)

During this period of his life, Zayd wrote letters to those fascinated to Ahl al-Bayt expressing the cruelties they endured to stimulate them to fight. In one of those [\(rather say you ran wild.”](#)[\(٣\)](#) “ [غضباً لكم](#) letters he wrote, “Do not say we rebelled [\(ولرسوله](#). To secure allegiance from individuals, Zayd dispatched his agents to other cities

For instance, he sent Yazid Ibn Abi Ziyad to Raqqa [\(٤\)](#), Mada'in as well as Wasit. Some of the residents of those cities joined him and that was why Yusuf Ibn 'Umar had the gates as well as the roads thereof checked strictly.[\(٥\)](#) Zayd also sent Ubdat Ibn [\(Kuthayyir and Hasan Ibn Sa'd to Khurasan.](#)[\(٦\)](#)

From among scholars and jurists taking part in Zayd's riot either directly or indirectly, one can name Abu Hanifa, one of the eminent jurists and experts in

religion in Iraq. Politically speaking, during 'Abbasids and Umayyads's, he opposed them. During the former time, he assisted Nafs Zakiyya and

p: ۷۷۰

Ibid vol. ۸, p. ۱۱۶-۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۳, p. ۲۳۸-۲

Ibid vol. II, p. ۲۳۸-۳

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۹۹-۴

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۳, p. ۲۴۰-۵

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۱۰۰-۶

.in the latter time, he aided Zayd

He was from among the Murji'ites and could not stop supporting riots of this kind. Although this sect was somehow against Shi'ism, it basically was a revolutionary movement. It has been proven in many sources that he was from among the Murji'ites.^(۱) Due to the same participation, in anti-government clashes, he has also [\(been charged with Jahmites.](#)^(۲)

Murji'ites are said to have been unwilling to equal anybody to Zayd.^(۳) As previously mentioned, the Jahmites originated from Jahm Ibn Safwan who himself is one of the major companions of Harith Ibn Surayj, a revolutionary figure of Khurasan. Of course, Abu Hanifa was once forced by Mansur to take care of some business.^(۴) Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Muhammad (a) indirectly acknowledged the report about his role in [\(Zayd's uprising.](#)^(۵)

Zamakhshari is quoted as saying that Abu Hanifa incited people to take part in Zayd's [\(uprising.](#)^(۶)

Baladhuri has written, "When Zayd sent for Abu Hanifa, he was shocked and said that who among jurists had accepted his call. He was told, Salama Ibn Kuhayl, Yazid Ibn Abi Ziyad, Hisham Barid, Abu Hashim Rammani and a number of others." Abu Hanifa said, "I have no authority of rebellion."; however, he sent some money for

[Zayd to be spent for strengthening his troops.](#)^(٧)

Isfahani also quoted in the same way from Abu Hanifa saying that, “I have some money, you can use it for yourself and your companions for buying armour and weapons.” He then gave some money to one of

p: ٧٧١

Jami‘ Bayan al-’Ilm, vol. ٢, p. ١٨٢; Tarikh Jurjan, p. ١١١; al-Majruhin, vol. ٣, p. ٦٣; al- Ma‘arif, p. ٢٦٨ There is a detailed discussion in this regard in the book entitled “Murji’a,

”Tarikh wa Andishih

Tarikh Baghdad, vol. II, p. ١٧٩; Tarikh Jurjan, p. ٢٢٥ –٢

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ٨٧ –٣

Nur al-Qabas, p. ٣٠٨ –٤

.Nur al-Qabas, p.٣٠٨ –٥

al-Kashshaf, p. ٢٣٢ –٦

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٣٩ –٧

[Zayd's slaves to be taken to him.](#)^(١)

Mansur Ibn al-Mu'tamir is among the jurists who provoked the people to help

[Zayd.](#)^(٢)

“ [He holds in himself a bit of Shi'ism.](#)”^(٣) [فيه تشيع قليل](#) ,It is said about him

Some have introduced him among the Khashabids, a title given to Mukhtar's companions.^(٤) Interestingly, Zayd was even attached to Zuhri who was a learned

man affiliated with the Umayyads

and asked him to rebel with Zayd

Zuhri said that he would not do so as long as Hisham was alive, but adding that once

[Walid was in power , he would be ready to do so.](#)^(٥)

Zuhri was one of the closest people to Hisham, still somewhere it is narrated that

when Zayd' head was sent to Hisham, Zuhri said, “This family had been engulfed due
”to their haste

”.Then the narrator says, “I questioned him whether they could come to power or not

Zuhri replied, “Yes, I heard 'Ali Ibn Husayn(a) quoting Fatima from the Prophet who
”.Mahdi is from my descendants“ (٤) المهدى من ولدك

Another one paying allgiance to Zayd was Hilal Ibn Habab, Mada'in's judge.(٧) It is
(uncertain whether Salama Ibn Kuhayl participated in Zayd's riot or not.(٨)

A'mash was one of the Iraqi jurisprudents who had Shi'istic inclinations

”.Uthman Ibn 'Umayr said, “Zayd sent me to A'mash to ask him for help'

In response, he said, “I am cognizant of Zayd's virtues better than you. Give him my
best regards and say that I am not sure whether people will help you or

p: ٧٧٢

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp ٩٩-١٠٠ -١

loc cit -٢

Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. I, p. ١٤٣ -٣

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VI, p. ٣٣٧ -٤

.Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣ , p.٢٣٩ -٥

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp ٩٧-٩٨ -٦

Ibid p. ٩٩ -٧

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٣٩ -٨

(not, but I would join you if I had three hundred people accompanying me.”(٩)

Apart from those paying allegiance to Zayd in Mada'in, Basra, Wasit, Riy, Musil,
.Khurasan, Jurjan and Jazira,(١٠) fifteen thousand others have been mentioned too

.There were many prominent figures among those paying allegiance to Zayd

Mas'udi said, “Zayd ran riot in Kufa while the noblemen and Qur'an readers allied with him^(۳) although it is not obvious how many joined him once the war was launched

There were also some of the Kharijites from among those paying allegiance. Accordingly, it is necessary to explain that Zayd in essence intended to absorb different groups by acting openly. Afterwards, this will be discussed in detail. Evidence of some kind indicates that the Kharijites, too, like other groups wanted to take advantage of Zayd's position and of course how many groups there were is not clear

Baladhuri says, “When Zayd came to Kufa, the Shi'ite Muslims surrounded him and the Kharijites came up to him as well insofar as the whole people from Mada'in, Basra and ... who paid allegiance to him numbered ۱۵۰۰۰^(۴) Ibn 'Inba, originally a Zaydids, [\(quoted the same thing.\)](#)^(۵)

Himyari, one of the Zaydids historians, in his book “Al-Di'ama”, quoted Sayyid Abu Talib as saying that different groups of people joined together in paying allegiance to Zayd in spite of their ideological differences in such a way that all, no matter whether they were from among the Zaydids, the Mu'tazilites or the Murji'ites, were equally [\(interested in doing so.\)](#)^(۶)

The very same

p: ۷۷۳

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۱۰۰; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۳, p. ۲۳۹ –۱
Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ۴۹۱; al-Fakhri, pp ۱۳۲–۱۳۳; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin p. ۹۲ –۲
Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ۲۰۷ –۳
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ۲۳۷ –۴
Umdat al-Talib, p. ۲۵۶ –۵
al-Hur al-'Ayn, pp ۱۸۵, ۱۸۶ –۶

author had touched upon the presence of various sects in that riot. This implies that the residents of Kufa left him while if the Kharijites were there they would surely support him

O 'Ali! The Kharijites who challenge you are not those who can survive when facing“
(you.”[\(1\)](#)

So it implicitly indicates that the Kharijites did not participate in that rebellion;
.nevertheless, they emotionally supported it

Zayd Ibn 'Ali's Clash with the Umayyads' Forces

In an extensive search to locate the hiding place of Zayd, Yusuf paid one of his servants some money to go within the Shi'ite Muslims and introduce himself as one of the Ahl al-Bayt's devotees coming from Khurasan. He had decided to find Zayd's whereabouts in this way.[\(2\)](#) He also at Hisham's command gathered all people together in the mosque and made them one by one to take an oath to disclose Zayd's
(hiding place if they knew it.[\(3\)](#)

Measures of this kind made Zayd revolt at least one week sooner than the expected time. At a Tuesday evening, once the riot was started at Yusuf's command all those suspected of backing Zayd as well as the nobles and renowned figures of the city were summoned to a mosque then his agents said that they would kill whosoever
.stayed out of mosque no matter whether they were Arabs or not

Accordingly, all were forced to go there.[\(4\)](#) Such an action prevented people from joining Zayd.[\(5\)](#) Then at Wednesday night that was very cold, Zayd along with
seventeen others left the

p: ٧٧٤

Ibid p. ١٨٧ -١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٤٤; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ٥٠٥ -٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٣٢ -٣

Ibid vol. ٢, p. ٢٤٣; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ٩٢; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ٤٩٩ -٤

.Maqatil at-Tabiyyin, p.١٠٠ -٥

house of Mu'awiyah Ibn Ishaq Ibn Zayd Ibn Haritha and lit a huge fire. The door of the

house of the Amirya Ibn Zayd Ibn Hanan and he a huge fire. The door of the mosque was still locked and the government agents let no one out, they were all [crying](#)”, “Allah Akbar (God is Great) and those able to join Zayd did so. [\(1\)](#)

The number of those who joined him that night and the day after is not distinct. Based on some sources, they were ۴۰۰ [\(۲\)](#) or ۲۲۰ [\(۳\)](#) people and based on some others, they were ۳۰۰ [\(۴\)](#) According to 'Awana, they were ۲۵۰ people [\(۵\)](#) What another quotation reveals is that there were ۴۰۰ accompanying Zayd but the number of them reduced to ۳۰۰ or less [\(۶\)](#) Sa'id Ibn Khaytham who was on the side of Zayd said that they had been [\(۵۰۰\) \(۷\)](#)

Since Abul-Faraj Isfahani et al had a lengthy discussion regarding events of a two-day clash, it is not necessary to mention them once again, so just those of prime importance are to be touched upon

Ya Mansur, Amit, Amit” was a slogan being chosen by Zayd in his riot which was the “same slogan in the war of Badr being chosen by the Holy Prophet. It was Zayd himself [\(who said this was the very same slogan being chanted by the Holy Prophet there\) \(۸\)](#)

By the very same reason, he selected the same in his riot [\(۹\)](#) and it, later on, came to be used in other riots. Observing that the Kufiyans again repeated what they had done to Husayn (a); seizing to support him, Zayd said

p: ۷۷۵

al-Futuh, vol. ۸, p. ۱۱۷; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۳, p. ۲۴۳; see, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. –۱

۴۹۹

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۳, p. ۲۴۳ –۲

al-Futuh, vol. ۸, p. ۱۱۸; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ۵۰۰; they are numbered ۲۱۸ in this –۳

source, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۲, p. ۲۴۴

Umdat al-Talib, p. ۲۵۷ –۴

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۳, p. ۲۴۹ –۵

loc cit –۶

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۹۵ –۷

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ١٤, p. ١٣٣ –٨
Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ٩٢; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٤٦; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٧, p. –٩
٤٩٩; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. ٢, p. ١٠٦

”(They treated me just in the same way they had treated Husayn (a“ [\(١\)](#) فعلوها حسينية

As referred before, the Kufiyans were hasty; on one hand, they made a decision very soon and, on the other hand, they regretted what they had done even sooner. This time in contrast it was not the matter of treachery since they were all besieged in mosque not being able to join him. Being severely in need of help in that predicament, This is not a“ [\(٢\)](#) ما هذا لمن بايعنا بعذر (٢) Zayd could not justify their absence and said
”justification for those paying allegiance to us

From the very beginning steps of their riot, Zayd had repeatedly reminded Nasr Ibn Khuzayma, one of his devotees, of what had happened to Husayn in Karbala by But Nasr said, “People are surrounded in the mosque and are not“ [\(٣\)](#) فعلوها حسينية, stating
”able to leave there

Then, they resolved to launch an attack on the mosque to set the people free. [\(٣\)](#) The Umayyads troops on the roof of the mosque did not let them open the door of the mosque by throwing stones on both the people inside and Zayd's forces outside. [\(٤\)](#) Striving to reach the door of the mosque, Zayd's forces shouted يا أهل المسجد اخرجوا من O people of mosque! Turn to exaltation guidance from“ [\(٥\)](#) الذل إلى العز ومن الضلالة إلى الهدى (٥) humiliation and deviation
”.

At that time, it was probable that even individuals being able to help

p: ٧٧٦

Tarikh Mukhtasar al-duwal, p. ١٦١ –١

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ٩٣ –٢

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ٩٤; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٤٧; al-Futuh, vol. ٨, p. ١١٩; –٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٧, pp ٥٠٠ –٥٠١

al-Futuh, vol. ٨, p. ١٢٠; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ٩٤ –٤

refrained to doing so. As said before, those who were surrounded in the mosque at least could have an excuse but the rest who had concealed themselves in their houses due to a fear of the government's agents were to blame for such treachery. In Kufasa where Zayd was extremely in need of help other than two or so no one else [helped him.](#)^(١)

Accepting the majority of the people being surrounded in the mosque, Zayd said ["Where art survivors to rush to us."](#)^(٢) الباقيون لا يخرجون إلينا

Ibn A'tham referred in his speeche to those staying in their houses while they heard [his cry of help.](#)^(٣)

In contrast to Karbala's event, the main opponents of Zayd in this riot were the forces of Damascus sent to Kufa in such critical situations. Zayd managed to kill most of them in his two-day clash but it did not suffice him since the Damascus army was composed [of ١٢٠٠٠ soldiers.](#)^(٤)

It was such a great army that the soldiers standing in lines could not move easily.^(٥) Being informed about what Zayd had done, Hisham dispatched ٨٠٠٠ soldiers to Iraq to [fight along with Yusuf Ibn 'Umar.](#)^(٦)

It is said that the women in Kufa asked Zayd to let them go to war. In reply, he said that he was disappointed of the men much less the women.^(٧) Once someone, who was from Damascus, said abusive words to Fatima (a). Weeping bitter tears, Zayd [said](#) , أما أحد يغضب لفاطمه بنت رسول الله

p: ٧٧٧

Ibid vol. ٢, p. ٢٤٦ –١

al-Futuh, vol. ٨, p. ١١٩ –٢

Ibid vol. ٨, p. ١١٩ –٣

.Maqatil at-Tabiyyin, p.٩٥ –٤

.Umdat at-Talib, p. ٢٥٧ -٥
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٤٨ -٦
Ibid vol. ٢, p. ٢٤٧ -٧

Is there not anyone who may share wrath of Fatima's, daughter of the Messenger“ (١)
”! ((S

Zayd's problems were doubled when Yusuf Ibn 'Umar ١٣٠٠ of his skilled archers, known as “Al-Qiqaniyya” who were apparently from Sind. They killed the remainders (of Zayd's army. (٢

(Yusuf Ibn 'Umar had paid someone ١٠٠٠ Dinars to behead Zayd Ibn 'Ali. (٣

Ibn A'tham said, “Zayd fought bravely just the same as his grandfather, Husayn (a) when all of a sudden an arrow pierced his forehead. (٤) Then he was sent to the house of someone from Hamdan tribe, one of the Shi'ites tribes in Iraq. Pulling the arrow out of his forehead, he passed away. (٥) When Zayd was martyred, he was ٤٢ years old (٦) and it was only after his martyrdom when the doors of the mosque were opened to (public. (٧

After Zayd's martyrdom, Yusuf Ibn 'Umar searched for his body to send his head for Hisham. Based on some different evidence, Zayd's servant who was from Sind or another servant or Hajjam was brought to him and he was someone who pulled the arrow out of his head, making known Zayd's burial place, to Yusuf. (٨) When they found his body, they sent his head for Hisham, then hung him in Kunasa. Nasr Ibn Khuzayma, Mu'awiya Ibn Ishaq Ibn Zayd Ibn Haritha and Ziyad Ibn 'Abd Allah Fihri, (Zayd's devotee, were all hanged too. (٩

Being furious at the Kufiyans, Yusuf Ibn 'Umar threatened them when they were in the mosque and hurled abusive words at Ahl al-Bayt. He

p: ٧٧٨

”Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۳, p. ۲۴۶; Isfahani in his book “Maqatil” called them “Najjariyya –۲
 Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۳, p. ۲۴۸ –۳
 al-Futuh, vol. ۸, p. ۱۲۱ –۴
 Ibid Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۳, p. ۲۵۰ –۵
 Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۸۸ –۶
 Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ۳, p. ۲۵۱ –۷
 Umdat al-Talib, p. ۲۵۷; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ۲۰۷; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۶ –۸
 ۵۰۳; al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. ۱۲۲; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۹۷; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp
 ۲۵۰–۲۵۲
 al-Futuh, vol. ۸, p. ۱۲۲ –۹

also ordered all the houses to be searched. After that, they either killed or burnt to
 death all the captives and the injured.

They also apprehended Zayd's wife, and after making her naked, they whipped her to
 death. 'Abd Allah Ibn Ya'qub whose daughter had married Yahya Ibn Zayd was also
 killed. Yusuf Ibn 'Umar also whipped a woman ۵۰۰ lashes that had told her mother
 to harbor Zayd's daughter. He also ruined many houses.

He ordered to cut the limbs of another woman who had helped Zayd and her husband
 was also killed. Yusuf Ibn 'Umar had ordered four hundreds of his soldiers to watch
 Zayd's dead body and at night ۱۰۰ soldiers did so.

Upon hearing about Zayd's martyrdom after four years, Walid Ibn Zayd ordered to
 burn his body then either to spatter its ashes around or throw to the Euphrates. He
 had a handmaid and three children of hers in Kufa. They were all given to Fad'l Ibn
 'Abd al-Rahman who was one of the sons of 'Abd al-Muttalib.

Although Hisham was angry because of Zayd's riot, he ordered not to cut Kufiyans'
 grants while regarding the Medinans and Meecans he forbidenned it for one
 year.

He also ordered his governor in Basra, Qasim Ibn Muhammad Thaqafi to send those
 who were from among the Hashimites in Iraq back to Medina. He ordered the

governor of Medina not to let some specific individuals go out of the city. These individuals who were released on bail were asked

p: ٧٧٩

Ibid vol. ٨, p. ١٢٣; see, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٧, p. ٥٠٤-١

al-Futuh, vol. ٨, p. ١٢٣; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٥٥-٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٥٥-٣

Ibid vol. II, p. ٢٥٥-٤

.Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٥٥-٥

Ibid vol. II, p. ٢٥٦-٦

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٢٠٧; 'Umdat al-Talib, p. ٢٥٨; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. -٧

٢٥٧; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٥٣٨

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٥٨-٨

al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. ١٢٤; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٥٩-٩

al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. ٢٢-١٠

.to report once a week they were inside the city

,In this regard Fad'l Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman wrote these verses

كلّما حدثوا بأرض نعيقا ضمنونا السجون أو سيرونا

اشخصونا إلى المدينة أسرى لا كفاهم ربى الذين يحذرونا

Whensoever a cry is heard on Earth, we are either in prison or about to move. We“ were captured and sent to Medina. May Allah not satisfy the demands of those scare

(us.” (١)

Ibn Abi l-Zanad, someone affiliated with the Umayyads, who was known as “Faqih al-Madina” stated that in comparison to the Umayyads' caliphs no one hated bloodshed like Hisham, but Zayd's uprising caused him heavy losses, so he could not keep calm

(until Zayd was decapitated. (٢)

Under no circumstances, as it was said, were people completely at ease but during

Hisham's time in which only Zayd's uprising in some parts of Kufa had turned there in a state of chaos until he was killed.^(۳) Quite obvious, it was untrue since during that period, the Kharijites revolted several times. At the same time, the people of Khurasan who were furious at the Umayyads ran wild under the leadership of Harith ?Ibn Surayj, so how is it possible to say that it was a peaceful age

Zayd's action, as it was told by Ya'qubi, made the Shi'ite Muslims in Khurasan openly disagree the Umayyads by stating their hideous cruelties and revile to all what they had done to Ahl al-Bayt. Accordingly, they could attract lots of supporters.^(۴)

(Zaydism, Shi'ism and Zayd Ibn 'Ali (a

Previously, it was said that Zaydism, a deviation in Shi'ism, initiated a

p: ۷۸۰

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VII, p. ۱۶۵-۱

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. v, p. ۳۲۶-۲

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. ۱۲۵-۳

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. ۲ p. ۳۲۶-۴

gap between the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims and the Zaydids to such an extent that during the last years of Imam as-Sadiq's time, they both accused each other of .hideous things

Accepting not that Zayd was the real founder of Zaydism, one can say that he played a significant role in its formation and this is the most important thing to be discussed. One of the basic principles Zaydism depending on and was expressed in various ways, was that despite the superiority of Ahl al-Bayt over others and only 'Ali (a) and Hasanayn, Imam Hasan and Imam Husayn (a) have been selected by Allah for Imamate, they were of the opinion that whosoever from among Ahl al-Bayt rises up .against the cruel, he shall deserve to be Imam

Such attitude indicates that Zaydism did not consider Imamate the same as the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims an important matter and even they were lenient with

Sheikhs that is Abu Bakr and 'Umar. They were of the opinion that it was true that they never let 'Ali (a) become a caliph and this was just a problem

Such leniency that had its own theological and juridical impacts led to the expansion of ties between the Zaydids and the Sunnites scholars having Shi'ism inclinations. For instance, the Zaydids were completely affected by Mu'tazilites theologically

They also came to endorse Abu Hanifa's school of thought which was influential in Iraq. Since they were indifferent towards Imamate, they could have a good relationship with the Sunnis. As a result

p: ٧٨١

there remained not more than a handful of juridical decrees intact. It would be a simplistic attitude to assume that the Zaydids followed the Sunnis completely, they instead struggled hard for centuries to maintain their Shi'ites identities

Whether such attitude regarding Imamate has emanated from Zayd's ideas as well as his conducts or not, discussion goes far in detail. The latest books concerning Zayd's life, the main of which are "Zayd ash-Shahid" from 'Allama Muqarram and "Sirah wa Qiyam Zayd Ibn 'Ali" from Mr. Kariman, all are written in such a way to show that Zayd did believe in the Imamate of 'Ali (a) and his sons

In the above-mentioned books, there is no trace of criticism regarding Zayd, instead there are abundant quotations all praising him and reflecting his strong belief in twelve Imams. Although this was true based on some evidence, more attention should be paid if it were supposed to say that it was quite true since some other evidence, on the other hand, contradict the previous ones and this should not be overlooked so simply, rather it is intended to overlook them as a precaution or *موتاكم بالخير* (١) "Recollect a good memory of thy dead ones."

Something written in many sources was an argument between Zayd and the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims during the very beginning steps of his riot about his attitude towards the Sheikhs. The Sunnites sources had tried hard to quote it in line with their

religious tendencies, but this should not

p: ٧٨٢

According to Ash'ari - ١, *وجميع فرق الزيديه مذاهبهم فى الاحكام ووالفرائض والمواريث مذاهب العامه*
Religions of all Zaydyids sects in rules are obligations and inherited religion of all“
people” al-Maqalat wal-Firaq, p. ١٩

.make us disregard it completely

When a group of eminent figures from among those paying allegiance to him asked of his opinion towards the Sheikhs, he said, “May Allah bless them, never have I heard
.”Ahl al-Bayt disgust them. Accordingly, I would not do this either

So why do you want to take Ahl al-Bayt's revenge of them who had violated your“
.rights?”, they asked

Zayd said, “The only thing I can say is that they did violate our right, but this could not
make me be an unbeliever. Although they usurped the throne and did not follow either
.”Qur'an or Sunna, they were fair to people

They asked, “Why they are not cruel to you like the previous rulers. Why do you intend
”?to wage a war against them

In reply he said, “Those rulers were not the same as them. They were cruel not only to
me and you but to themselves as well. I enjoin you to adhere to Qur'an and the
prophet's Sunna as well as eliminate the heresies. If you accept me, you would be
.”prosperous. If not, you should await the consequence

This reply made them not pay allegiance to Zayd. Taking into account the fact that at
that time Imam Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-al-Baqir (a) was not alive, the narrator quoted
them as saying, “Now Ja'far (a) should take the place of his father and we do not
.”follow Zayd

It is said that Zayd called them “Rafid'a” (the Disavowers) but they themselves are of

the opinion that it was

p: ٧٨٣

[\(Mughira Ibn Sa'id who had done this rather than Zayd.\)](#)

The same event was quoted by Himyari as well but because of his extremist Zaydids's stance he stated that the Prophet himself had called them the Disavowers. This would be discussed later

Himyari went on to say that the Disavowers addressed Zayd saying, “The Umayyads, in restoring your rights, were just the same as the Sheikhs.”[\(2\)](#) In al-Futuh, also there is the same statement from them adding that the Disavowers thereafter went to Ja'far Ibn Muhammad and told him what had happened to them but he asked them to go [\(back to Zayd.\)](#)

Baladhuri stated the same point of what the opponents had said, “Subsequent to Muhammad Ibn 'Ali (a) our Imam is al-Baqir, his son

Zayd send someone to Imam al-Baqir (a) to ask him whether he wanted to run a riot or not

They said, “He might practice dissimulation and as a result, they would not join him.”

It is worth stating that it was a false quotation since Imam al-Baqir (a) at that time was not alive. It is probable that in the very same utterance, the word Ja'far had been used instead of Abu Ja'far

One may not doubt about such an argument, on the other hand, it is quite obvious that the historians attempted to demonstrate Zayd as having non-Shi'ites inclinations to overcome the Disavowers who were from among the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims

They altered the very same happening to such an extent that another writer went on to say, “The Disavowers shot

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ٤٩٨ –١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. ٤٩٨; al-Hur al-'Ayn p. ١٨٥ –٢

al-Futuh, vol. ٨, pp ١١٦–١١٧ –٣

his forehead, then they hung him and compelled him to cut the hands of his wife. They [\(did the same to 'Ali, to Hasan, to Husayn and his children.\)](#)^(١)

Dissociation “ البراءه من خلفاء الثلاثة البراءه من على وعكسه ايضاً ” Some others quoted Zayd as saying [\(from three caliphs equals that from 'Ali and vice versa.\)](#)^(٢)

Despite the fact that Zayd did not accept caliph III, anyhow, there are some quotations in other sources that all indicate that Zayd called the opponents the [\(Disavowers.\)](#)^(٣)

Two further points in this regard should be taken into account. At first, it should be known whether Zayd did make that statement only for attracting others and because of dissimulation or it was really his own attitude. The second point is that whether the Shi'ite Muslims were called the Disavowers merely because of the above-mentioned reasons or there might be some other reasons as well

At first, Zayd's dissimulation should be discussed. Even if we suppose that Zayd did not believe in the Imamate of other Imams after Husayn (a), it seems impossible that Zayd had been praising the first or second caliph in spite of the efforts on the part of the Sunnites narrators, in this respect, made to show Zayd did praise them

There are many statements that indicate the Shi'ite Muslims disapproved of them. Another point is that, as it was mentioned by Zayd's opponents too, the illegality of those two caliphs was the basis of Shi'ism. They were of the opinion that their

Abd al-Jalil Razi Qazwini (al-Naqd', p. ٣٧٥) this quotation is from “Ba'd' Fad'a'ih al-rawafid” The very same statements being uttered out of prejudice is also in “Minhaj

As-Sunna”, vol. II, p. ١٢٤

Tarikh Baghdad, vol. ٢, p. ٨٩ –٢

Umdat al-Talib, p. ٢٥٧; Nasab Quraysh, p. ٤١; Tarikh Mukhtasar al-duwal, p. ١١٤; al-

Muhabbar, p. ٤٨٣; Lisan al-’Arab, vol. ٧, p. ١٥٨; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٤٤

.caliphate was a pure injustice

This opinion, later on, became the source of other political mistakes such as the formation of the Umayyads. As mentioned before, by Zayd's opponents, Zayd could not have said so. If he did not really accept their legitimacy, so there might be a specific reason for him to approve them. Just for a while, Zayd who had ran wild in .Kufa thought whether it was true or not about mobilizing all to oppose the Umayyads

In that situation, he attempted not to disperse a large number of people who are able to help him by taking position against 'Umar and 'Uthman. He even expected the Kharijites's support and it was quite obvious that if he had really divulged his stance, he would have dispersed all the opponents of the Umayyads who were not the Shi'ite Muslims. On the other hand, he might have mistaken counting on those forces for .coming to power, but he surely could not rise up without their help

In spite of what had been mentioned above, it can not be said for sure that Zayd did not believe in what he had said but it is probable that the Shi'ite Muslims who left him could not perceive that dissimulation. On the other hand, there are some evidence in this regard one of which is the cautious measures taken by the 'Abbasids who just the .same as the 'Alawites were Shi'ite Muslims

After coming to power, they still had the same position towards the caliphs

p: ٧٨٤

and it was reflected in the utterances of Saffah from the very beginning of their caliphates.(١) Attempting to hold the Banu 'Adi and Banu Taym (the Sheikhs' tribes) in high esteem in spite of what the 'Alawites had desired(٢), Mansur sowed the seed of .hatred between the 'Alawites and the 'Abbasids

But once Sayyid Himyari asked him to cut the grants of those tribes, when Mahdi 'Abbasi was heir apparent, he did so. This alone is an indication of heresy among the 'Abbasids let alone Zayd and the 'Alawites

Another evidence regarding Zayd's dissimulation is an utterance of someone saying, "Being injured, Zayd said 'Thou ask me of Abu' أئين سائلنى عن أبى بكر وعمر، هما أقامانى هذا المقام“ [\(Bakr and 'Umar, beware that they let me hold this position.\)](#) ⁽²⁾

If this statement is true, it will verify Zayd's dissimulation political outcome of which was quite obvious for him. For the very same reason, the Kharijites, the Murji'ites and [\(the Zaydids all participated in his uprising.\)](#) ⁽³⁾

Taking the above mentioned points into account, it can be said that Zayd's dissimulation, later on, turned to be the corner-stone of the Zaydids

One further point worthy of stating is that Zayd was said to call the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims, the Disavowers since they left him as soon as they became aware of what he had said about the Sheikhs

It should also be mentioned that Rafd' means "relinquishing the limitations". It also refers to an army that has left their leader. Each division of

p: ٧٨٧

Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. ٧, pp ١٤١, ١٤٢ -١

al-'Uyun wal-Hada'iq, p. ١٩٧ -٢

Tabsirat al-'Awam, pp ٣٤, ٣٥ from the book "al-Alfa'" by 'Abd al-Rahman Hamadani -٣

al-Hur al-'Ayn, p. ١٨٥ -٤

this army is then called "Rafid'a", the Disavowers. It also refers to someone who has set his cattle free to go wherever they want to. "Ibl al-Rafid'a" is also referred to the [\(camels that go to pasture without shepherd.\)](#) ⁽⁴⁾

This term is referred to the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims who did not accept the first and second caliphs, but were approved by those who had accepted their caliphate

Ash'ari, in this regard, had said, “The Shi'ite Muslims are called the Disavowers since [they rejected the caliphate of both 'Umar and Abu Bakr.](#)”[\(۲\)](#)

Relinquishing themselves from all restrictions, in contrast to them, the literalists, followed different rulers. In history, the distinctive feature of the Disavowers is that they did not accept the caliphate of the Sheikhs and criticized them repeatedly since [they had violated the rights of Imams.](#)[\(۳\)](#)

The writer of Tabsara al-'Awam in this regard had stated, “Once the enemy was asked about Rafd' and Rafid'i, he should answer, “It means giving up, throwing and in common usage, the Disavower is someone who believes in the Imamate of 'Ali not .Abu Bakr. Since this word means giving up, so they can be called the Disavowers

They relinquished the credal error and followed what was gospel truth. And if you want “Rafd’” as an expression, it implies that they never tilted towards Imamate of [Abu Bakr and this is just praise rather than reproach.](#)[\(۴\)](#)

Sayyid Himyari in front of Qad'i Bawar who had rejected his witness and called him a Disavower said [نحن على رغمك رافض](#)

p: ۷۸۸

Lisan al-'Arab, vol. VII, p. ۱۵۷ –۱
Maqalat al-Islamiyyin, vol. ۱, p. ۸۹; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. ۲, p. ۲۴۵; al-Khitat al- – ۲
Miqriziyya, vol. ۴, p. ۷۳
Mizan al-i'tidal, vol. ۳, pp ۲۴۹,۲۶۸,۳۲۴,۳۲۵; Ash-Shi'r wal-Shu'ara', p. ۳۱۶ –۳
Tabsirat al-'Awam, p. ۳۲ –۴

In spite of what you want, I am a Disavower, someone who rejects“ [لاهل الضلالة والمنكر \(۱\)](#) ”.aberation as well as unlawful

Some points should be taken into account regarding why Zayd called the Twelve-
.Imam Shi'ite Muslims Disavowers

The first point is that in contrast to what was mentioned before, in al-Maqalat wa al-

Firaq from Ash'ari, one of the first scripts about various sects in Shi'ism, this term denotes something else. This is the story, Once Mughira Ibn Sa'id who was from exaggerators said that he opposed Nafs Zakiyya in front of the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims and they excommunicated him. He "فزعم أنهم رافضه وأنه هو الذى سماهم بهذا الاسم" thought that they were the Disavowers and it was him who called them the "Disavowers."⁽²⁾

In a quotation from Tabari mentioned previously, the Shi'ite Muslims themselves had accepted this

The second point is that in an argument between Farazdaq and Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik about Imma Sajjad (a), Farazdaq wrote his popular poem regarding Imam, the caliph asked him "Are you a Disavower" "أورافضى أنت؟"

If loving Ahl al-Bayt is equal to being a "إن كان حب أهل البيت رفضاً فنعم (3)", He replied "Disavower, so yes, I am a Disavower too".

Thereafter, he was sent to prison. Since this had taken place during the life of Imam as-Sajjad (a) who passed away in 95 A.H., it can be understood that this meaning of Disavower had nothing to do with what was mentioned earlier in Zayd's time. It is probable that this term was

p: ٧٨٩

1- al-Fusul al-Mukhtara, pp ٦١-٦٣
2- al-Maqalat al-firaq, pp ٧٦,٧٧; al-Firaq Ash-Shi'a, p. ٦٣
3- al-Mahasin wal-Masawi, p. ٢١٣ In this quotation, 'Abd al-Malik was used instead of Hisham

used about the Shi'ite Muslims because of its literal usage at first and then to reject the legitimacy of the two caliphs

The third point is that this term had been used in various manners being quoted by Sha'bi regarding the Shi'ite Muslims. Since he had died years before Zayd's uprising, it

.can be inferred that at that time, too, the Shi'ite Muslims were called the Disavowers
,There are several quotations in this regard (١) one of which is what Sha'bi had said
أحب آل محمد ولا تكن رافضياً “ (٢) ”. (Adore Ahl al-Bayt, but do not be a Disavower.)

The fourth point is that as it was stated by the same scholars, individuals such as
Isfahani in Maqatil al-Talibin and Ibn Sa'd in Tabaqat had not this quotation. So it is an
.indication that shows they, especially Isfahani failed to accept it

The fifth point is that Fad'l Ibn Shadhan quoted the Sunnites narrators as saying,
Ibn Hasan (٣) مرقت علينا الرافضه كما مرقت الخوراج على علي (٣) “, Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a) had said
.Ibn Hasan had died before Zayd

It is probable that Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn 'Ali was the brothre of Nafs
Zakiyya who had died after him. Anyhow he, as a Zaydids, had told this. An important
point is that Fad'l in his reply had considered the literal meaning of this term, in the
.least referring not to Zayd

هم الذين لا يرون قتال احد الا مع امام عدل عالم بما يأتي ويذر He also said, “Rafd’

p: ٧٩٠

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. ٢, p. ٢٥٠; see, Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. ٧, p. ١٨٦ –١

Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. ١, p. ٦٠ –٢

See, Sirih wa qiyam Zayd Ibn 'Ali, p. ٢١٦; al-Id'ah, p. ٤٧٣ (printed in Tehran University) –٣

and see, Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. ٧, p. ٣٢٠

They art those who deem permissible fighting anyone joining no one but 'Ali who is“ (١)
”.well informed about all affairs

It is anyhow certain that probably from the late ١st century onwards, this term based
.on its literal meaning was used to refer to the Shi'ite Muslims

There also is a forged tradition in which the Holy Prophet had said, “At the end of time,
there will appear a tribe that is called the Disavowers. They are disbelievers and you

[\(have to kill them.”](#)[\(](#)

This statement was surely an insult. Later on, when the Zaydids cut their relationship with the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims, they used this statement when they spoke ironically about the Shi'ite Muslims. Zayd himself most likely, due to the terrible condition of that time, had used this term. For any reason this term was used and .basically its literal meaning had been taken into account

The above-mentioned tradition was prevalent during Imam as-Sadiq's time as a justification for the rulers to sacrifice the Shi'ite Muslims. Accordingly, this might show that the emergence of this word dates back to the time before Zayd's uprising. It was also said that some of the Shi'ite Muslims asked Imam as-Sadiq why their enemies .called them the Disavowers

In reply, Imam said, “They did not name you so but based on what was in the Torah and Gospel, you are called the Disavowers since seventy people of Pharaoh's servants left him and embraced the religion of Moses and they were called the Disavowers by Allah

p: ٧٩١

al-Id'ah, p. ٤٧٥ –١

Mizan al-i'tidal, vol. ٣, p. ٢٣٧ It is said that its validity because of Hajjaj Ibn Tamim is –٢ subject to debate; see al-Ilmam, vol. ١, p. ٣٣; As-Sawa'iq al-Muhriqa, the first preface just the same as them, you had joined Ahl al-Bayt and obeyed Allah's command ... [\(too.”](#)[\(](#)

By referring to the previous quotations, it can be understood that Imam had stressed the literal meaning of this word while calling those who had not accepted the ruling of the criminals. 'Ammar Duhni quoted one of the companions of Imam as-Sadiq as saying the same statements before the judge of Kufa that had called him a [\(Disavower.](#)[\(](#)

Criticizing the aforesaid tradition, Fad'l Ibn Shadhan proved that it was a forged one. Since it is nonsensical to say that someone who believes in both Allah and His Prophet to be called an unbeliever and deserves to be killed

He went on to say that in our view the Shi'ite Muslims– whom you call the Disavowers – disapprove Abu Bakr and 'Umar about 'Ali's excellences but they never said that both were vice-incarnated. They said 'Ali was superior to them in different ways.^(۲)

The Twelve– Imam Shi'ite Muslims and Zayd

The Twelve–Imam Shi'ite Muslims, being of the opinion that Imams have been selected by Allah and their obedience is requisite and had various stances regarding Zayd and his uprising. As the title implies, two points are to be discussed. Namely, the outlook of both Imams and their companions are to be mentioned

There are many narrations about Zayd which are difficult to be enumerated. Zayd has been approved in some. Some others had a skeptical view about him, but if we look positively at them, it can be seen that the Shi'ites Imams were optimist towards him

p: ۷۹۲

Tafsir Furat Kufi, p. ۱۳۹ (Najaf); Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXXXVIII, p. ۹۷-۹۸ –۱
Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXXXVIII, pp ۱۵۶, ۱۵۷ –۲
al-Id'ah, p. ۳۰۳ (Tehran University), for looking into this matter, refer to, Ta'liqat –۳
(suspensions) of the late Urmawi in al-Id'ah and also in the book of Naqd'

Justifying his uprising, the Shi'ite Imams were of the opinion that he could restore the rights of the oppressed if he would have been obeyed

It could not be understood from these quotations that either Zayd was triumphant in his uprising or he did so at Imam as-Sadiq's behest at all. Knowing that the uprisings of that kind were not likely to be victorious and even they were so at first, it was not clear what would happen at the end the Shi'ites Imams did not approve those uprisings. On the other hand, martyrdom of he who adores it in an attempt to fight with the oppressor is desirable

Sheykh Saduq in this regard by narrating about Imam Rid'a (a) to praise Zayd had stated, "I will bring more traditions from other Imams about Zayd to make the ideas of the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims regarding Zayd perceptible to all. (1) It is worth saying that none of his quotations implies that Zayd rose up at Imam's behest to bring them to power. One of those quotations which brightens Zayd's intention is to be mentioned here

Imam Rid'a (a) quoted his father and he had quoted Imam as-Sadiq (a) as saying "May Allah forgive my uncle, he" الله عمى زيدا ، انه دعا الى الرضا من آل محمد ولو ظفر لوفى بما دعا اليه (2) " who called on others to obey "Al-Rid'a Men Al Muhammad". If he had been victorious, ".he would surely have not broken his promise

"This phrase "Al-Rid'a Men Al Muhammad

p: ٧٩٣

Uyun Akhbar al-Rid'a, vol. ١, p. ١٩٥٠-١

Ibid See, Kifayat al-athar, p. ٣٢٧; Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. ٢٨٥; as it was - ٢ mentioned by Ibn Zuhra in Ghayat al-Ikhtisar, فهدا الخبر هو الذي سلم زيدا منهم وجعلهم يترحمون عليه It was the same report that kept Zayd immune from all harms and caused him to "be pitied by them" This news had made the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims praise him; as a result, Zayd was secured from their harm See, Ghayat al-Ikhtisar, p. ١٢٨

implies that he did not ask people to obey him. There are other quotations some of which are about Zayd's martyrdom in Kunasa and about Imam as-Sadiq's sorrow (1) accordingly and some others are on his approval.

An important point mentioned previously was Zayd's martyrdom or his defeat. Zayd's mother was said to have accused Imam of feeling envious upon hearing the news of (2) Zayd's martyrdom from Imam some time before it.

implies that Zayd had not been determined first to transfer (لوفى به) Most likely the term the power to the Imams, on the other hand, to trust Zayd very much, Imam as-Sadiq (a) was of the opinion that he would surely let Imam Rid'a come to power if only he

.could be victorious

Some of Imam al-Baqir's hadiths regarding Zayd's virtues in available sources have been compiled by Abul-Jarud Mundhir, one of the leaders of the Zaydids. Accordingly, they could not be trusted completely. For example, he had quoted Imam al-Baqir as

saying, أما زيد فلساني الذي انطلق به (٣) “(٤) But Zayd is as my tongue by which I speak.”

Amr Ibn Khalid who was also one of the leaders of the Zaydids said that Imam al-Baqir (a) by pointing to Zayd had said “(٥) He is the master of Ahl al-Bayt and someone who will take their revenge”.

Since the narrators of such quotations were people from the Zaydids, obviously, they might not be relied

وكان, Kashshi also had quoted Abu Ya'qub Muqri as saying

p: ٧٩٤

Uyun Akhbar al-Rid'a, vol. ١, pp ١٩٤-١٩٧; Kifayat al-athar, p. ٣٢٨' -١

Saduq, al-Amali, section, ١٠, p. ٤٠ -٢

Qamus al-Rijal, vol. ٤, p. ٢٤١ -٣

About the non-credibility of Abul-Jarud; see, Qamus al-Rijal, vol. ٤, pp ٢٢٨, ٢٣٠ -٤

Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, pp ٢٣١, ٢٣٢ -٥

Thereafter, من كبار الزيديه, He also had quoted 'Amr Ibn Khalid as saying وكان من كبار الزيديه, (١) Imam al-Baqir's utterance previously mentioned was once again reiterated.

What these narrations are to depict is that Zayd was the most important figure of Ahl al-Bayt. For instance, Imam al-Baqir as said regarded Zayd's superiority to others among Ahl al-Bayt

Himyari, one of the Zaydids scholars also in his book had quoted Imam as saying, (٢) And “There is no one among us comparable to Zayd.” هذا سيد بنى هاشم، اذا دعاكم فاجيبوه واذا استنصروكم فانصروه (٣) “He is the master of the Hashimites, you are to obey him once he calls on you and help him when he asks for help”.

In spite of the fact that these statements are not inconsistent with Imam as-Sadiq's view about Zayd, since Imam did not consider him as an opportunist but a purified man just the same as his honorable forefathers, so he was sorrowful about his martyrdom, they could barely be valid. Ibn A'tham said that upon hearing the news of his martyrdom, Imam had recited this verse of Qur'an

من المؤمنين رجال صدقوا ما عاهدوا الله عليه “

”Among the faithful, there are men who abide by their pledge to God and equated him with individuals such as 'Ali (a) and Imam Husayn (a) and ended his Woe unto their murderers from“ [\(٤\)](#) [ويل لقاتلهم من جبار الارض والسماء](#) speech by saying ”.revenge of Almighty God

Abul-Jarud also in the Sunnites books had said that

p: ٧٩٥

Ibid p. ٢٣١; Qamus al-Rijal, vol. ٤, p. ٢٦٦; Tanqih al-Maqal, vol. ١, p. ٤٦٨ –١
al-Hur al-'Ayn, pp ١٨٨-١٨٩ –٢
Ibid p. ١٨٩ –٣
al-Futuh, vol. ٨, p. ١٢٥ –٤

he was a confederate of Qur'an.[\(١\)](#) In the scholastic books, he was said to be not reliable.[\(٢\)](#) Fud'ayl al-Rassan had a narration on Zayd's virtues. He was also one of the [\(٣\)](#) followers of Abul-Jarud and Ibn Nadim considered him among the Jarudites.[\(٤\)](#)

There also is another narration in the Sunnites references indicating that some of the Disavowers had asked Imam as-Sadiq (a) about paying allegiance to Zayd. Imam said [\(٥\)](#) بايعوه والله افضلنا وسيدنا وخيرنا

It was also said that the Disavowers did not let others know what Imam had said.[\(٥\)](#) What was said in the narration shows clearly that it was not more than a fabricated one said only to beat the Shi'ite Muslims. It is a question whether the narrator was informed about it while the Disavowers had concealed it

Similar to this, 'Amr Ibn Qasim had said, “I went to Ja’far Ibn Muhammad and saw a
”.group of the Disavowers
”.Then I said, “They hate your uncle
”?Imam said, “My uncle, Zayd
”.I said, “yes

What was (٤) ... ”والله اقرؤنا لكتاب الله وأفقهنا في دين الله و... (٤).He said, “Their action is disliking Allah
said above was much the same as the narration being mentioned previously. Knowing
that Zayd was a pious man seeking Allah's satisfaction, Imam as-Sadiq by no means
abhorred him. Mas'udi, on the other hand, said that Imam al-Baqir (a) had asked his
brother, Zayd, not to trust the Kufiyans since they were well known for being
treacherous, so how it is possible that Imam had asked the Shi'ite Muslims to

p: ٧٩٤

Tanqih al-Maqal, vol. ١, p. ٤٦٧ –١
–٢ Ibid vol. ١, pp ٤٦٠–٤٦١, Ibn Nadim quoted Imam as-Sadiq as saying
القلب، أعمى البصر Muhammad Ibn Sanan said about him حتى شرب المسكر وتولى
الكافرين al-Fihrist, pp ٢٢٦–٢٢٧
–٣ al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. ١٤٩; al-Maqalat wal-Firaq, p. ٧٤, No ١٤٤
–٤ al-Fihrist, p. ٢٢٧
–٥ Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. ٥, p. ٤٩٩; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. ٣, p. ٢٤٠
–٦ Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq, vol. ٤, p. ١٨; Fawat al-Wafayat, vol. ١, p. ٢١٠; al-Khitat al-
Miqriyya, vol. ٤, p. ٣٠٧

pay allegiance to him. Imam also added out there, “Your grandfather, 'Ali (a), your
uncle, Hasan Ibn 'Ali, and your father, Husayn, have been martyred and the Kufiyans
”.hurled abusive words at Ahl al-Bayt

Then Imam informed him about what he knew regarding the Marwanids as well as
the news of the 'Abbasids ruling. But Zayd still insisted on what he wanted to do,

I am afraid “ إني أخاف عليك يا أخ أن تكون غدا المصلوب بكناسه الكوفه، وودعه ابو جعفر “
(1) of finding you hung in Kunasa of Kufa, so Imam said farewell to him.”

As it was mentioned in the aforesaid statement, Imam did not order him not to go there but advised him. Even if we do not doubt about its validity, we can understand that Imam was not optimistic about it. In quotations about Imam al-Baqir's view regarding Zayd, something which should be taken into account is that Zayd had wanted to rise up before. The number of these narrations on the other hand, may reveal that the narrator had wrongly written the name of Imam as-Sadiq instead of .al-Baqir or Ja'far instead of Abu Ja'far

It was also said, just the same as what Mas'udi had said, “Upon showing the letters that the Kufiyans had sent to Zayd asking him to rise up, Imam said, “Lest they might
” .humiliate you, so do not hasten

Zayd who got angry said, “Imam is not someone who stays at home, but he is
someone who defends his territory

p: ٧٩٧

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. ٣, p. ٢٠٦-١

(1) “and ...”

These narrations that accuse Zayd of bringing people around himself are not
In “ compatible with what was repeatedly said by Imam as-Sadiq about
case he wins, he keeps his word” and all other approvals, an example of which is
quotation from Husayn Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, who lived in time of Sheikh Tusi, in “Uyun
.al-Mu'jizat” which Afandi stated in his book too

Imam al-Baqir by referring to Zayd said
You will see my brother claiming something “ فيجتمع عليه خلق فيؤخذ ويقتل ويصلى في كناسه الكوفه “
which does not belong to him. He will call on people to gather around him. Some will do
“ (2) so, but after a while, he would be killed and hung in Kanasa of Kufa.”

As a conclusion, what should be noted is that Imams had praised Zayd while they had also informed him about the consequences of his action. So it can be understood that in this regard he was not after them or at least he had not asked them for a permission to rise up. Accordingly, Imams had praised him because he was a prominent figure who wanted to overthrow the Umayyads and called on others to do so. Abd al-Rahman Ibn Sayyaba was quoted as saying, "Ja'far Ibn ' محمد آل رضا من آل محمد", obey Muhammad gave me ١٠٠٠ Dinars to give to the families of those being killed in his uprising. Each of them was given

p: ٧٩٨

al-Kafi, vol. ١, p. ٣٥٧ -١

Riyad' al-'Ulama', vol. ٢, p. ٣٣٧ -٢

Dinars. (it was also said that the family of 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr Rasan was given ٤٤ (Dinars)).(١)

Regarding Zayd, Imam Rid'a was quoted as saying "فإنه كان من علماء آل محمد وغضب الله عز وجل فجاهد أعداءه حتى قتل في سبيله (٢) "He was one of the scholars of Ahl al-Bayt. Getting angry for Allah's sake, he was martyred in his fight against His enemies

Somewhere else, Imam as-Sadiq was said to be angry upon hearing that his companions backbited Zayd.(٣) He also had considered those reproaching him as (being equal to those having hand in his martyrdom).(٤)

The conversation between Zayd and the companions of both Imam al-Baqir and as-Sadiq (a) shows another dimension of the Twelve-Imam Shi'ites view regarding him. In this regard, there are many narrations pursuit of which are documented. Prior to mentioning them, it should be noted that some of the companions of Imam as-Sadiq in Kufa when Zayd rose up gave up supporting him once they talked to him about his uprising. This action unfolds the stance of the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims, if it could not show that of Imams

An interesting point is that the only one participating in Zayd's uprising from among

the companions of Imam al-Baqir was Sulayman Ibn Khalid. Najashi had said about him

كان قارئاً فقيهاً وجهاً روى عن أبي عبد الله وأبي جعفر عليهما السلام، خرج مع زيد ولم يخرج معه في أصحاب أبي جعفر عليه السلام غيره، فقطعت يده وكان الذي قطعها يوسف بن عمر بنفسه

Being a Qur'an"

p: ٧٩٩

Umdat al-Talib, p. ٢٥٨; Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. ٣٣٨^١ -١

Uyun Akhbar al-Rid'a, vol. ١, pp ١٩٤-١٩٥^٢ -٢

Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. ١٥٢ -٣

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. ١, p. ٣٥٣ -٤

reader, jurisprudent and an eminent figure among Imam al-Baqir and as-Sadiq's companions, he narrated what they had been saying. He joined Zayd while there was no one from Imam al-Baqir's companions to do so but him. His hands were cut by [\(Yusuf Ibn 'Umar.\)](#) ^(١)

Sheykh Tusi also had stressed that no one from the companions of Imam al-Baqir (a) [\(had participated in Zayd's uprising but him.\)](#) ^(٢)

By referring to Imam al-Baqir's companions, he had meant those prominent figures, not all of them. The emphasis of Najashi and Tusi, the most important scholars of the Shi'ite Muslims, is a strong evidence indicating that Imam al-Baqir's companions were not present in Zayd's uprising. They did not do this since they had no reason for doing so. Otherwise, it should be said that either they were afraid of doing so or they did it independently without consulting Imam. Anyhow, none of these reasons are acceptable.

Another narration regarding absence of Imam al-Baqir's companions in Zayd's uprising is worth mentioning. At that time, Husayn Ibn Ziyad entered Medina and went to Imam as-Sadiq (a) to speak about his beliefs. Imam said that his beliefs were the

زيد وأصحابه فليس أحد أسوأ حالاً عندهم منا وإن ظفر بنى اميه، فنحن عندهم بتلك المنزل، قال: فقال لي: ليس عليك بأس
true ones. He spoke about his anxiety. Imam asked him the reason. He replied
Our condition would be worst of all no matter whether Zayd overcomes
من أولى ومن أولى
the Umayyads or otherwise

p: ٨٠٠

Rijal al-Najashi, p. ١٣٠; see, Tanqih al-Maqal, vol. II, p. ٥٧-١
Rijal al-Tusi, p. ٢٠٧; Rijal al-'Allama Hilli, p. ٧٧, 'Allama Hilli brought a quotation form
Sa'd's book saying, "He had joined Zayd, but was saved
فمن الله عليه وتاب ورجع عن ذلك"
When God faored him, he repented and avoided doing that" so in the view of some of
the Shi'ites scholars, his participation in that uprising was not right because of the
word "repentance" in this quotation

“(١)“

Imam said, "Do not worry, neither of them can harm you." This conversation reveals
the fact that the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims, on one hand, were appeasing the
Zaydids and, on the other hand, the Umayyads

There had been considerable discussion between Zayd and some of the companions
of Imam as-Sadiq narrated by Kashshi. Some of the main points are to be discussed. A
matter of great importance was that whether there was Imam whose obedience had
?been necessary or not and if so who was him

Zurara Ibn A'yun is substantially quoted as saying, "Zayd, being before Imam as-
Sadiq (a), said to me
ما تقول يا فتى في رجل من آل محمد استنصرك"
What do you say to someone
".from Ahl al-Bayt who asks your help

If he were supposed
Zurara said
إن كان مفروض الطاعة نصرته وإن كان غير مفروض الطاعة فلي أن لا أفعل"
".to be obeyed, I would help him. If not, I can avoid helping him

When Zayd went out, Imam was satisfied with my answer since he was not able to
"say anything else", Zurara said. (٢)

The very last part of this narration indicates that Imam disliked Zayd's uprising. The answer of Zurara also shows his respect toward Zayd not anything else

The late Kulayni had also quoted a discussion between Mu'min al-Ta'q and Zayd from some of the companions of Imam, Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Isa, 'Ali Ibn Hakam, Aban Ibn Taghlib and Mu'min al-Ta'q himself

He said, "Hiding himself from the public, Zayd asked me whether I

p: ٨٠١

al-Amali, Sheykh Mufid, p. ٣٣ - ١

Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. ١٥٣ - ٢
مخرجاً
قال ابو عبدالله (ع), اخذته من بين يديه ومن خلفه وما تركت له

could see him. When I went to see him, he said, "O Abu Ja'far it seems that your way
"is different from ours. Don't you like to join us

.If your brother or your father were instead of you, I would do so", I replied"

."Zayd said, "I want to rise up and fight with these people. I also want you to join me

.May I be sacrificed to you! I can not do this," I said"

.Are you withholding your life from me", Zayd said"

I said, "I will die only once. If there is another proof for Allah on earth other than you, whosoever joins you instead of him, shall be subjugated and if there is no proof for
".him, it will make no difference to him whether he joins you or not

Zayd said, "O, Abu Ja'far, When my father and I were eating food with each other, my father made it cool for me to eat. While I was treated so kindly, you tell me now that the hellfire will not have mercy on me. How is it possible for my father to tell you about
"?(the proof) while I am not aware of it at all

I said to him, "He did not tell you anything about it since he was afraid that you might

not approve of it and meet the hell fire. But your father told me that if I accepted him, I would behave him well. May I be sacrificed to you, are you superior to the prophets?”

,”The prophets“

p: ٨٠٢

.he said

,I said, “Jacob told Josef

قَالَ يَا بُنَيَّ لَا تَقْصُصْ رُؤْيَاكَ عَلَىٰ إِخْوَتِكَ فَيَكِيدُوا لَكَ كَيْدًا إِنَّ الشَّيْطَانَ لِلْإِنْسَانِ عَدُوٌّ مُّبِينٌ.

”Alas! O son, he said, reveal not your dream to brothers for they fall in envy of you“

.”Your father also hid the truth from you since he was afraid of you

Zayd said, “Your master, he referred to Imam as-Sadiq (a), had told me that I would be killed in Medina and hung in Kunasa. He has a book in which there is the news of my martyrdom.”

Mu'min al-Taq said, “Thereafter, I went to Medina and informed Imam about what had happened between us, praising me for what I had done, Imam said that I had [closed all ways of reasoning to him.](#)”

This narration is evidentially true and quite logical. These points mentioned by Mu'min al-Taq were also taken into account by the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims. It is not intended, based on this narration, to conclude that Zayd claimed Imam rather it is stated to show that Zayd did not believe that Imam as-Sadiq (a) was to be obeyed obligatorily. The very same story was also said somewhere else. Based on this,

[Mu'min al-Taq had reiterated his conversation with Zayd to Imam as-Sadiq \(a\).](#)”

Quoting Zayd, Sawra Ibn Kulayb of Sadiqayn said, “How did you figure out that your master of the thing you say (i.e. his obedience is obligatory from God

”.Sawra said, “I told him, you asked a learned person

”.He said, “Tell me

,And I said, “We came to Muhammad Ibn 'Ali

p: ٨٠٣

al-Kafi, vol. I, p. ١٧٤ –١

Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, p. ١٨٦ –٢

your brother, and questioned him and he gave us the answer through

عز وجل في كتابه “The prophet and God in His Book said

When he passed away, we came to you of the Muhammad's progeny. Some of our questioned were answered while some others remained unanswered, until we came

to Ja’far, your brother's offspring, and he told us the same thing as your father

رسول الله وقال الله تعالى

(١) Zayd smiled and said, “Its reason is availability of 'Ali's books to him.”

The same discussion happened between Abu Bakr Had’rami, 'Alqama of Imam al-Baqir's companions and Zayd

Imam among us isn't “They heard Zayd as saying

”the one who covers himself, but he is the one who pulls his sword

Abu Bakr Had’rami, a not-tempted person, said to Zayd, “O father of Husayn! Tell me

”?weather 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib was Imam in the time of his isolation or his pulling sword

.Being reticent, Zayd didn't give any answers

Abu Bakr went on, “In the case of him to be Imam; therefore, for everyone after him

it's permissible to be Imam not having any sword in his hand. If not

”What caused thee to come here“ (٢)

Fad'l Ibn Shadhan of Imam's companions and Shi'ites scholars exists in the way of the afore said quotation. This narration has additionally been narrated in two different ways. As quoted in other narrations, Zayd confirmed

p: ٨٠٤

Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. ٣٧٤ Qamus al-Rijal, vol. IV, p. ٢٤٧ -١

Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. ٤١٤ -٢

that just three Imams exist and the forth is Qa'im (١), the one who pulls sword. This content, in essence, confirmed the idea about Imamate narrated by Zayd. Apparently there shouldn't be any rooms for doubt three Imams whose obedience is obligatory from God and the forth on condition of being Qa'im were considered by Zayd and this .Qa'im can only be of Fatima's dynasty

Zayd, in Furat Kufi's interpretation, was asked about an Imam who necessarily should be obeyed, and he said, "The Messenger was the prophetic Messenger and nobody can challenge him ... and after him 'Ali in legal and illegal considered the Muslim's Imam ... and everyone rejecting him is unbeliever ... and after him Hasan and Husayn are Muslim's Imams ... and then we, the Messenger's descendants, are of Hasan and .Husayn

None of us possessed their dignity to the Messenger and claimed the Prophet's remarks concerning Hasanayn for ourselves but our cordiality, friendship and help, as ... the Prophet's descendants, is every Muslim's duty

But among us, the offspring of Hasan and Husayn, no one neither my father nor my brother claimed to be Imam whose obedience is mandatory..., O father of Hashim! Among us, Imam whose obedience is the one revolting with sword invites to Qur'an and practice of the prophet ... we, among ourselves, don't know any Imam who necessarily should be obeyed, busy on his own, pinning hopes for his being truthful, his being locked up and waiting for the tyrants' rules to

p: ٨٠٥

(be executed.”(١)

The mentioned interpretations whose content existed in the aforesaid narrations are very clear. Quoting Zayd in other narrations of the same book, it's said that the Immaculates among us are five, the Messenger, 'Ali, Hasan, Husayn and Fatima and the rest like ordinary people do sins. Then Zayd refers to the high status of the household and their role in keeping Qur'an and tradition.(٢) Zayd's interpretation concerning Imamate is available in Kafi Kulayni's book.(٣) Quoting Zayd, Himyari in al-
(Hur al-'Ayn mentioned such a remark.(٤)

On the contrary to all these narrations, quoting Zayd, Sulayman Ibn Khalid – Imam al-
“ جعفر امامنا فى الحلال والحرام ,Baqir's only companion who took part in Zayd's uprising – said
(Ja'far is our Imam in legal and illegal.”(٥)

Zayd, in this remark, confesses to Imam al-Baqir's scientific Imamate. From this, it isn't inferred that Zayd considered his brother as Imam whose obedience is obligatory. Zayd, in the content of another quotation, confined that Imam 'Ali's books
من اراد الجهاد فالى ومن اراد العلم ,are available to him. Also Zayd in the other narration said
فجعفر بن محمد (٦) “ Whosoever wants to Jihad, he shall come to me and one who is after
”.knowledge, he shall meet Ja'far Ibn Muhammad

This indicates scientific Imamate and doesn't basically accept Imam as-Sadiq's political Imamate. The transfer of these narrations, especially what happened between Zurara and Zayd or Mu'min al-Ta'q and Zayd on precautionary dissimulation
(isn't right and lacks evidence.(٧)

However these narrations indicate Zayd's lack of belief in Imam who should

al-Kafi, vol. I, p. ۳۵۷ -۳
al-Hur al-'Ayn, p. ۱۸۸ -۴
Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. ۳۶۱; Qamus al-Rijal, vol. IV, p. ۲۶۷ -۵
Tanqih al-Maqal, vol. I, p. ۴۶۹ -۶
Tanqih al-Maqal, vol. I, p. ۴۶۸ -۷

be necessarily obeyed, some quotations in Kifayat al-Athar conformed Zayd's belief in Twelve Imam's Imamate and through a brief study, it was cleared up that the majority of these narrations were baseless and the authorities mentioned in their predication were mostly unknown

Narration of these hadith, four or five, by Wasiti and Fud'ayl al-Rassan who were of Abul-Jarud's companions of Zaydids's directors is the interesting point. In this case, how is it possible for two of Zaydids's directors to narrate hadiths in which their Imam i.e. Zayd believed in Twelve Imams? Abul-Jarud is of founders of Zaydids ideology, the one who doesn't basically accept any Imam whose obedience is obligatory after (Imam Husayn (a

With all these, it should be cleared up that Imams praised Zayd's personality for having good attributes and pure intentions, in these cases, this matter shouldn't be continued anymore. But different aspects of the issue should be considered

The owner of Riad' al-'Ulama inferring the point that his uprising happened without Imam al-Baqir's permission according to the narrations that there existed no banned prohibition of the uprising and Zayd was free to choose either self-sacrifice or worldly life.^(۱) It is obvious that he not only couldn't completely reject the slanderous narrations but also made it clear that his uprising was done without permission

The late Majlisi quoting interfering narrations said, "It's better both to have a favorable opinion about Zayd and for him not to be reproached and not to object Imam's descendants like him unless the rule based

on the aversion to people like Ja'far Ibn Kadhdhab shall be proved.^(١) It's clear that such an interpretation was said through precaution not reasoning

Although it should be accepted that of old, Shi'ites scholars were optimistic about Zayd, the slanderous narrations about him are all written.^(٢) We formerly observed that Sheikh Saduq made Shi'ite Muslims' opinion clear concerning favorable opinion about Zayd, as Ibn Kharraz Qumi, of forth A.H. concerning scholars, expressing the same opinion wrote that Zayd rebelled to enjoin the good and forbid the evil not to oppose Ja'far Ibn Muhammad, his brother's son

Of course the case was raised in a way that duality was basically denied and the emergence of this problem was merely resulted from Imam as-Sadiq's lack of uprising. Not relying on the discrepancy, we can insist on the lack of allegiance. Ya'qubi, as a Shi'ites historian just had a brief reference to Zayd's uprising. Such a stand was considered due to that of the Shi'ite Muslims in being heedless of Zayd's ^(٣) uprising.

Based on what mentioned in “Irshad” and “I'lam al-Wara”, the view points of Sheykh Mufid and Tabarsi is that Zayd was very honorable and called to “الرضا من آل محمد” Satisfaction of Prophet's family

People erroneously thought that he called people to himself while he was aware of his brother's merit, Imam al-Baqir as well as his will for Imam as-Sadiq.^(٤) According to what was said, accepting such an opinion to this extent is difficult. Having a favorable opinion about Zayd, al-'Amri

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Mirat al-'Uqul, vol. IV, p. ١٢٠ -١

Perhaps it's said that Saduq's opinion indicates that Shi'ites scholars rejected all the -٢ slanderous narrations In this regard, it demands mentioning that what Saduq said, can't be ascribed to all Shi'ite Muslims while most of his opinions are rejected by

Sheykh Mufid in Tashih al-I'tiqad

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۳۲۶; see, Bahth fi nash'at 'ilm al-Tarikh 'ind al-'Arab, p. ۵۳-۳
al-Irshad, p. ۲۶۸; A'lam al-Wara, p. ۲۵۷-۴

the Shi'ites genealogist of the ۵th century, considers the Zaydids as liars in their laying
[claim to Zayd.](#)^(۱)

This action, at the same time, includes both defense of Zayd and denial of Zaydids.
The late Muhaddith Nuri confirming Zayd rejected the slanderous narrations about
him.^(۲) As it has been stated, among the recent thinkers exist some like Husayn
[Kariman and Ayat Allah Muntaziri who tenaciously support Zayd.](#)^(۳)

This issue was briefly brought to an end; however, other quotations whose
significance is lesser than aforesaid ones exist, they demand a detailed and
investigative study to get a more realistic viewpoint and its fulfillment is impossible in
.this brief general history

Yahya Ibn Zayd's Uprising

Yahya, son of Zayd was among those who participated in his father's uprising. He
after father's martyrdom and his burial accompanied by father's Shi'ite Muslims, went
to Niynawa and Mada'in. He stayed there with a farmer for some time and then went
[to Riy and Khurasan.](#)^(۴)

Thinking Yahya was in Kufa, Yusuf Ibn 'Umar on top of pulpit reproached people that
Yahya hid himself in the women's bridal chamber.^(۵) He left Riy for Qumis and stayed
there with Ziyad Ibn Abi-Ziyad Qushayri for fairly a long time,^(۶) then he went to
.Niyshabur

It was there where he was asked to stay but he rejected and said, "Ali's flag will not
be raised over this city."^(۷) Maybe in that time, the situation in Niyshabur wasn't ready
.for a Shi'ites uprising

Yahya left Niyshabur for Sarakhs. He stayed there with a person named Yazid Ibn
'Umar Tamimi

al-Mujdi, pp ١٥٦-١٥٧; see, Ghayat al-Ikhtisar, pp ١٢٨-١٢٩ -١
 Mustadrak al-Wasa'il, vol. III, p. ٥٩٩ -٢
 Dirasat fi wilayat al-Faqih, vol. I, p. ٢٠٨ and the rest -٣
 Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ١٠٤; see, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٣٢٦ -٤
 Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٢٥٩; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٥٠٦ -٥
 al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. ١٢٧ -٦
 .Umdat at-Talib, p. ٢٥٦ -٧

for six months. (١) "Kharijites" went to him in Sarakhs and wanted to swear allegiance to him on the base of the war against the Umayyads. Yahya was pleased with their request but Yazid Ibn 'Umar prohibited him from doing that and said "من على واهل بيته" How did he want to help those expressed disgust for 'Ali and his household.

Afterwards, rejecting their request, Yahya through good remarks kept them at the distance. (٢) Staying in Sarakhs for six months, Yahya left there for Balkh and lived there with a person called Harish. He probably stayed there longer than others up to (the end of Hisham time and about the time of his death. (٣)

Being in pursuance of Yahya, Yusuf Ibn 'Umar heard of his going to Khurasan so he asked Nasr Ibn Sayyar to find him, with Yahya's entrance to Balkh or fairly a long time after that Khurasan government found out about his settlement there and based on Ibn A'tham's letter gathered all the people in A'zam mosque and investigated their houses one by one. Everyone famous for his affection of the Household was brought (and whipped to betray Yahya's place. (٤)

These investigations resulted in Harish's detention. Although he under torture didn't betray Yahya's place, his son did so. (٥) 'Aqil Ibn Ma'qal, the ruler of Balkh, sent someone to bring Yahya who was considered, according to Ibn A'tham's letter, to be in Yunus Ibn Salim's house. Then he was chained and sent to Nasr Ibn Sayyar who

al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. ١٢٧; ‘Umdat al-Talib, p. ٢٥٩; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ١٠٤ –١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٤٠; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ١٠٤ –٢

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٤١ –٣

al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. ١٢٨ –٤

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ١٠٥; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٣٥٦; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, –٥

p. ٢٤١

inspired him. (١) During this time, Khurasan heard about Hisham's death and Walid Ibn Yazid in response to Nasr's letter in which he asked about Yahya wrote to set him free (and let him go wherever he wished. (٢)

When Yahya was set free, a group of people of Khurasan went to the blacksmith who made Yahya get rid of the chains and wanted to buy the chains. Some raised the price to twenty thousands dhms. The blacksmith being afraid of news disclosure said to them to put some money together. Then he cut the chain into piece and gave everyone a piece for making rings or for Tabarruk that is a gift considered as bringing (good luck. (٣)

Yahya went to Sarakhs, writing a letter to its ruler, Nasr wanted him to send Yahya to Tus. He also wrote to the ruler of Tus to send Yahya to Abarshahr and leave him to 'Amr Ibn Zurara and Yahya was brought to Biyhaq. (٤) In there, Yahya asserted that he was afraid of going to Iraq for Yusuf Ibn 'Umar was still in power and will probably kill him. (٥) It was there where Yahya and his companions clashed with 'Amr Ibn Zurara. Although it's said that the number of Yahya's companions touched one hundred, that (of 'Amr reached ten thousands or even more, the winner was Yahya. (٦)

الم تر اهل نيشابور لما لقوا الابطال لم يغنوا قليلا

لقوا مئة وهم عشرون ألفاً فما صبروا ولا منعوا قليلا

Didn't you see the people of Niyshabur who confronted the champions when they“

al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. ١٢٩ -١

Ibid, vol. VIII, p. ١٣١, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٤١; Tarikh Gudhidih, p. ١٨٤ -٢

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ١٠٥ -٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٥٣٧ -٤

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٤١; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ١٠٦ -٥

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٥٣٧; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp ٢٣٠-٢٣١ -٦

were a few but when their number and that of Niyshabur was a hundred and twenty
(thousands respectively, they lacked resistance and were defeated.”(١)

Some more details concerning the time before and about the battle were written in
some narrations.(٢) Leaving there, Yahya went to Juzjan and there, he was joined by
a group of regional people as well as inhabitants of Taliqan and Fariyab. Number of
these people, according to the narrations, differed from one hundred and twenty,(٣)
one hundred and fifty(٤) or five hundred.(٥) And there arrived Nasr Ibn Sayyar's army
.led by Muslim Ibn Ahwaz

Yahya after three days of battle was hit on the forehead with an arrow. He
martyred(٦) and so did all his companions.(٧) This probably happened at the beginning
(of the year ١٢٦ A.H. in a place called “Arghuna or Arghuni” (٨)

Although being beheaded and buried, he was exhumed and hung up the vault of one
of the Juzjan's corridors due to Nasr Ibn Sayyar's order. Being hung to the Abu
Muslim's time, his corpse was brought down, prayed on and buried.(٩) Yahya's
uprising caused Walid Ibn Yazid to write to the ruler of Iraq. He wanted him to bring
.Zayd's corpse down, set it on fire and expose his ashes to the wind

Yahya's uprising, at any rate, made Khurasan more and more ready for a public
uprising against the Umayyads. Every child born in that year, according to what
(Mas'udi said was named Yahya or Zayd.(١٠)

As some mentioned, Yahya was the first for whom

al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. ١٣٣ -١
 Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٤٢; al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. ١٣٢ -٢
 Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp ٢٣٠-٢٣١ -٣
 Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٤٢ -٤
 Umdat al-Talib, p. ٢٤٠ -٥
 Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٢٤٢; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ١٠٧ -٦
 Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٢٣١ -٧
 Umdat al-Talib, p. ٢٤٦; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٢١٢; al-Hur al-'Ayn, p. ١٨٩ -٨
 al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. ١٣٦; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٢٤٣ -٩
 Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٢١٣ -١٠

(people clad in black and eulogized.)^(١)

After the victory, anyone of the Yahya's combatants whose names were mentioned in the registry book was found and killed by Abu Muslim.^(٢) The emotion flared up by martyrdom of Zayd and his son, Yahya, along with the public emotions to the benefit of the Household were considered the main reasons for 'Abd Allah's victory who at the (price of the Household benefited from these emotions.)^(٣)

Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya's Uprising

Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far's movement from ١٢٧ to ١٣١ can be considered as a Shi'ites movement due to the presence of some Hashimites and the 'Alawites. No one but his father named Mu'awiya at whose insistence, this infant was (named Mu'awiya as well.)^(٤)

Searching for poetry and literature, 'Abd Allah, Mu'awiya's offspring, before his military and political movement had companionship with people whose concern was poetry and literature as well. In the last years of the Umayyads rule, when there existed a battle between Marwan Ibn Muhammad who claimed caliphate and Ibrahim Ibn Walid Ibn Yazid, the Umayyads were strongly wanted especially the disputes created by tribal battles between northern and southern Arabs in Kufa made 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz some difficulties

In a narration, Tabari mentioned, observing the incapability of Iraq's ruler, Shi'ite Muslims called 'Abd Allah to swear allegiance whose responsibility was taken by a person called Hilal Ibn Abi l-Ward. 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar's presence in Hira gave 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya the opportunity to occupy Kufa and even

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Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۲۶۴-۱

al-Muhabbar, p. ۴۸۴; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ۱۰۲-۲

See, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid,, vol. VII, p. ۱۴۳-۳

al-Aghani, vol. XII, p. ۲۲۳-۴

made of Damascus in there swear allegiance to him. Some from Mada'in and Fam al-
.Nil swore allegiance to him

Having an inventive hostility with the Umayyads and considering their successors of the Hashimites, people of Kufa paid allegiance to him at once. Rabi'a tribe having a Shi'ites precedence backed 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya up. In the battle between 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, companions of 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya didn't seriously resist and left him alone with the head of Rabi'a
.tribe, 'Umar Ibn Ghad'ban

After that Rabi'a sought quarter for himself, 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya as well as his companions and sent him to Medina from Kufa. (۱) He, in Medina, reinforced and went to Jibal while accompanied by people of Kufa and its representative (۲) and for fairly a
(long time, ruled over around Isfahan, Qumis, Hulwan, Istakhr and Riy. (۳)

The battle against him was postponed due to the Umayyads' difficulties in their combats against Kharijites and other rebels. Having started his rebel in ۱۲۷, now he in ۱۲۸ weakly ruled over Isfahan and Istakhr. His brothers were sent to Fars, Jibal as well as Abu Ja'far Mansur ruled over Ahwaz (Idhaj) for some time then facing some
(difficulties, he could do nothing. (۴)

After some time, at least in ۱۲۹, he combated in Istakhr 'Amir Ibn Dhabbara who was

dispatched to him by the Umayyads in Iraq. Being defeated in the aforesaid battle, 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya went to Harat and there he was arrested by

p: ٨١٤

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. XII, p. ٢٢٣ -١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp ٦٠١-٦٠٤ -٢

See, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. ٦٣; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. ٣٨; al-Aghani, vol. XII, -٣
p. ٢٢٩

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ٦٣; Tarikh Isbahan, Abu Nu'aym,, vol. II, p. ٤٢; 'Umdat al- -٤
Talib, p. ٣٨

Abu Muslim's agent and sent to him. Abu Muslim of 'Abbasids' agents felt at risk on his side, so imprisoned him and ordered to treat hard on him

Baladhuri stated that while in prison, 'Abd Allah called people of Khurasan fools for their obedience to Abu Muslim.^(١) Hearing of this news, Abu Muslim put more pressure on him. The 'Alawites and the Talibites would be suppressed by Abu Muslim, for he was of the 'Abbasids' agents

According to a fully explained letter, written by 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya, he was put in chains.^(٢) Baladhuri through a narration stated that he, being in Abu Muslim's prison, passed away but in another quotation by Hisham Kalbi, it is mentioned that he was ^(٣)murdered by Abu Muslim.

An abstraction of all reports about him from different sources is prepared by Abul-Faraj in just a few pages. Some contradictions exist among them

Satisfaction of the "الرضا من آل محمد" According to one quotation, he called people to "Household" but in another one he invited them to his own allegiance

Also in news, it's mentioned that he dressed like "Sufis" and the majority of people of Kufa swore allegiance to him some others did not so and said, "No one is left for us" and most of us were killed with the people of this house

He also mentioned in details that although 'Abd Allah sent his brothers named Hasan, Yazid, 'Ali and Salih to Istakhr, Shiraz, Kirman and Qum, he went to Khurasan due to being

p: ۸۱۵

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۶۶ –۱

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. ۴۲۸; al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, pp ۸۵-۸۶ –۲

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۶۶ –۳

.unable to resist against the Umayyads

On his way, he was seen and asked, “Are you of the Messenger (S) 's progeny? Are you Ibrahim, the Imam?” But these questions were given a negative answer

”.The questioner asked, “So I'm free from your help

Abul-Faraj also stated, “Being greedy for Abu Muslim's help, 'Abd Allah went to him and was imprisoned. There, 'Abd Allah wrote his famous treatise to him but Abu [\(Muslim being afraid of corruptions of the people's opinion murdered him.\)](#) (۱)

His murder is narrated by others as well.[\(۲\)](#) This happened in ۱۳۱ A.H.[\(۳\)](#) Abul-Faraj in “Maqatil al-Talibin” mentioned the brief of this news.[\(۴\)](#) For 'Abd Allah was killed by the 'Abbasids' agent, there existed some forged news against him. An example of it was raised by 'Amir Ibn Dhabbara who accused 'Abd Allah and his companions of [\(assaulting against women.\)](#) (۵)

Here two points are of great significance his personality before the uprising and his stand after that

The news about him is reported by Abul-Faraj Isfahani Daraghani. In the portrait given by him, 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya was considered as a poet and a learned person with all the needed possibilities of that time. In addition, he was accompanied by some poets and some accused of dualism – although its purpose isn't clear but can't be [\(mere irreligiosity – and Isfahani named three dualists.\)](#) (۶)

In other narrations, he was explicitly accused of dualism.^(٧) Its correctness isn't exactly specified; however, on the whole it can't be judged. Undeniably in the tumult
of Kufa

p: ٨١٤

al-Aghani, vol. XII, p. ٢٣٠ -١

Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. ٤٢٧; al-Maqalat wal-Firaq, p. ٣٩; Firaq Ash-Shi'a, p. ٣٣ -٢

Ibn 'Inaba mentioned it to be happened in ١٣٣ quoting in Harat, he said that his -٣
tomb was people's shrine ... in the year ٩٧٤; 'Umdat al-Talib, p. ٣٨

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp ١٤٤-١١٦ -٤

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, pp ٤٠-٤١ -٥

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ١١٢; al-Aghani, vol. XII, p. ٢٥١ -٦

al-Aghani, vol. XII, p. ٢٣٣; see: Lisan al-Mizan, vol. III, p. ٣٦٤ -٧

he was accepted by people of there as a meritorious person for the battle against the
?Umayyads. In the case of his accusation of dualism, how such a thing is conceivable

كان سيديا ,The writer of al-Mujdi, the fifth A.H. century Shi'a genealogist praised him as
كريمًا (١) was a generous master and sad that his father made him as his successor for
He found in him nobility of characters and his call to the كرم الاخلاق
(٢) satisfaction of the Household is doubted.

At first, this motto basically indicates this faith that caliphate belongs to Muhammad's
progeny especially who is "Al-Rid'a". Secondly, it, for fairly a long time, was utilized by
the 'Abbasids' summoners to evade and gradually recognize its applicability in the
'Abbasids. Thirdly, it was regularly used by Zaydids

In fact, popularity belonged to one who called to the satisfaction of the Household not
to himself. It isn't cleared up whether such an issue was posed in the time of 'Abd
Allah's uprising or later on. In a narration by Tabari, what is worthy of attention is
.Zaydids's presence about 'Abd Allah's uprising

Zaydids were attacked by ,In one quotation, he stated
وحمل اهل القلب من اهل الشام على الزيديه

[\(the middle faction of enemy troops from Damascus.\)](#)

Sometimes else referring to the clash between Zaydiyya and people of Damascus, he [said, “Rabi'a sought quarter for himself, 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya and Zaydids.”](#)

.This aspect of the issue has not been indicated in other sources

p: ۸۱۷

al-Mujdi, p. ۲۹۷ –۱

Some said that he called to satisfaction of the Household (Nathr ad-Durr; vol. I, p. –۲
۴۲۷} and the other stated that he invited to Himself, ‘Umdat al-Talib, p. ۳۹

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۶۰۳ –۳

Ibid, vol. V, p. ۶۰۴ –۴

It demands reminding that to Zaydids, Imam should be from the 'Alawites; however, 'Abd Allah was a Talibites and naturally these beliefs were constantly formed later on. Perhaps Zaydids for defeating the Umayyads in that time helped him not for their belief in him

And every 'Alawites uprising, to historians, was probably considered as Zaydi in one way or another. In a narration, Tabari indicates that 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya was surrounded by Kharijites.[\(۱\)](#) And this can be considered as a good device to defame others

Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya has got a portrait in Firaq books. A party called Jinahiyya and led by 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya was considered of Shi'ites extremists.[\(۲\)](#) In the above-mentioned portrait, naturally there is no relation between 'Abd Allah's issue and that of Zaydids

Sa'd Ibn 'Abd Allah Ash'ari mentioned a party linked to him of the Kissanids who believed in Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya's Imamate and considered his son, Abu Hashim, as his successor. In continuation, they believed that he left will for 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya.[\(۳\)](#) Shahrastani mentioned a party named Harithiyya who believed that

We learned that Mada'in – where Ibn Ishaq was from – possessed a lot of Shi'ites extremists. It is likely to say that all these problems, after the murder of 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya, were probably raised by others while he didn't have anything to do with them. The same issue is true about Shi'ites Imams (a) whose spirits were

p: ٨١٨

Ibid, vol. VI, p. ٤٠ – ١

al-Wafi bil-Wafayat, vol. XVII, p. ٦٣; Farhang Firaq Islami, p. ١٤٢ – ٢

al-Maqalat wal-Firaq, p. ٣٨ – ٣

See, Farhang Firag Islami, pp ١٤٧–١٤٩ – ٤

.claimed to incarnate in some people

Anyway, this point is to be reminded that the Umayyads, the 'Abbasids and the majority of historians couldn't be pleased by a person like 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya for having rebelled against them as well as being of 'Alawites' swords holders. Therefore, he is at all sides surrounded. Naturally, he doesn't have anything to do with what happened after him and of course, such judgment doesn't mean the confirmation of .all his behaviors and companionship with various people

Most of the Hashimites attended the 'Abd Allah's movement and Abu Ja'far Mansur is a typical of that. We know that in that time, 'Abbasids worked independently and why .presence of Abu Ja'far alongside 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya is of great importance

Maybe the reason is that victory attainment wasn't seriously taken into account by the 'Abbasids. In that time, the concern of their efforts was to come to terms with 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya and 'Abd Allah Ibn Hasan known as Nafs Zakiyya at times to get .their share in the future

The Shi'ite Muslims and the 'Alawites' Last Position in the Umayyads's time

A great deal of evidence is available showing that to Iraq only 'Alawites were

considered as Umayyads's successors and when 'Abbasids through the force of Abu Muslim Khurasani and Abu Salama Khallal ruled, in that time the imagination of 'Abbasids' coming to power was raised. The whole situational climate was naturally to the benefit of 'Alawites and their political status was thoroughly clear

Satisfaction to the الرضا من آل محمد The ambiguous but meaningful interpretation of

p: ٨١٩

Household were applicable to 'Alawites. The imagination of those familiar with this term was the same but the disagreements among 'Alawites were problematic. This disagreement was mostly like that of Hasanids and Husaynids

On one side, Husaynids whose outstanding figures were Imam al-Baqir and Imam as-Sadiq distinguished among Shi'ite Muslims and other religious scholars due to the scientific and ethical position in Iraq community. Husaynids, having a great deal of Shi'ite Muslims believed in their Imamate and considered them as persons whose obedience is necessary

On the other side, Hasanids among whom 'Abd Allah Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan make effort to introduce his son, Muhammad, as the only 'Alawites candidate for the Umayyads's rule and succession had their own heritage of 'Alawites

It cannot exactly be cleared up whose influence was more than the other but 'Abd Allah Ibn Hasan possessing a better status among 'Alawites and Hashimites could to some extent strengthen his son's position⁽¹⁾; however, in Iraq a letter based on the acceptance of government was written to Imam as-Sadiq by Abu Salama, the 'Abbasids' great summoner and regardless of its being serious or not, it indicates Imam's political status

Imam as-Sadiq's Shi'ite Muslims and the kind of their beliefs were discussed in advance and now here is a brief look at efforts made by Nafs Zakiyya his father for attainment of leadership

Baladhuri, through a narration, indicated that one day, Hasan Muthanna, son of Imam

Mujtaba, who were superior to his brothers went to 'Abd al-Malik who asked him

p: ٨٢٠

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٧٤ –١

.about the reason for a premature aging

Yahya Ibn Hakam being present there said, "Iraqis wished who every year invite him
(for caliphate has done such a thing to him". (١)

Such a remark indicates that 'Alawites were gladly received by Iraqis; however, it lacked a clear direction. Even 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far's descendants had the same background. Some issues concerning 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far .were set forth in advance

Even before that, when Hajjaj decided to marry 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far's daughter, 'Abd Allah Ibn Marwan who was warned due the fact that this marriage along with the situation in Iraq to the benefit of this family may lead to the Umayyads' overthrow (interfered in it and Hajjaj divorced her. (٢)

In any case, 'Abd Allah doing a great deal of measures for his son, Muhammad known as Nafs Zakiyya and calling him "Mahdi", made him an important status among the Umayyads and others. As indicated in some historical news, some meetings were held in this regard and the Hashimites were called to swear some the 'Abbasids among .them Mansur and Saffah swore allegiance to him

Through a narration by Abul-Faraj, it is obvious that Hashimites going together in Abwa' made up their minds to select and pay allegiance to someone among themselves. 'Abd Allah stating that his son, Muhammad, is Mahdi wanted them to swear allegiance to him. Mansur being present there confirmed his allegiance to him.

(Abd Allah Ibn Hasan stated not to let Ja'far Ibn Muhammad (S

p: ٨٢١

Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. ۷۴ -۱

al-Kamil fil-Adab, vol. I, p. ۳۴۹; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. IV, p. ۵۶; Balaghat al-Nisa', p. ۱۱۱ -۲

.know since he will spoil everything

Hearing of this, Imam denied Mahdawism of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah and said, "I'm willing to give him a hand if his uprising is to enjoin good and forbid evil", but 'Abd Allah

[\(Ibn Hasan accused him of jealousy. ۱\)](#)

According to Baladhuri, after allegiance, Nafs Zakiyya went to Badiya and stayed there for some time and attended in public at times up to the time of allegiance to Abul-'Abbas Saffah. When Nafs Zakiyya was in Ghatfan region alongside Al Artat Ibn

[\(Shabiha, he was sent to Badiya and called Mahdi. ۲\)](#)

When the 'Abbasids came to power, he hid himself until his revolution in ۱۴۵ in Medina and he was killed. Mansur having paid allegiance to him was terribly afraid of him and just after his murder and his brother, Ibrahim Ibn 'Abd Allah found comfort

What is worthy of attention here is that the Abassids were independently doing some activities and Ibrahim, the Imam, sent some representatives to different regions. They took advantage of 'Ali's and his descendants' names to draw people's attention [\(۳\)](#) and ruled one after the other

Decline of the Marwanid

Harith Ibn Surayj in Khurasan

Khurasan was the major troubled spot for the Umayyads since it was not only far from the capital but also it had its own problems such as tribal wars between the Arab immigrants, cruelties of the Umayyads prevalent there and relative political and economic independence which had made there an important center among the eastern provinces

The formation of the crucial revolutions out there during the final

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp ٤٠-٤١; al-Irshad, p. ٢٧٧; Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. II, pp ١٧٢, ١٧٣ -١
Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. ٧٩ -٢
Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. ٢٣٣; see, Tarikh Tashayyu‘ dar Iran, p. ١٣٩-١٤٣ -٣

years of the Umayyads ruling was not something which could be easily overlooked by them. And finally from the very same spot appeared a massive army that overthrew the Umayyads. Now the riot of Harith Ibn Surayj, one of the important riots, from ١٦٦ .to ١٢٧ (A.H.) is to be discussed

One of the riots against the Umayyads in Khurasan was Harith's that paved the ground for the 'Abbasids to do so and gain victory. Harith was an Arab from Tamim .(tribe who opposed the Umayyads rulers from ١١٦ to ١٢٨ (A.H

Khurasan not only was far from the capital, as a crucial center, but it was suffering from tribal discords as well. In addition the wrong treatment of the Arab caliphate of the Umayyads towards Mawali (freed slaves) was another problem. The cruelties of the Umayyads rulers, which were increasing day by day except the brief period in .which 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz ruled, had resulted in some extended riots

Zayd's riot which happened after the riot of Yazid Ibn Muhallab was a more significant one.^(١) His main intention was supporting religion and bringing justice to the society. Being at odds with the Umayyads rulers, Harith had repeatedly proposed the idea of (counseling for appointing the ruler.^(٢)

The events regarding Harith's riot were described in Tabari and in other sources they .were disregarded either completely or partially

When Junayd 'Abd al-Rahman died in ١١٦, Harith appreciated this opportunity and gave start to his uprising. Within a short period of time he managed to

p: ٨٢٣

Yazid Ibn Muhallab's riot, as it was touched on before, was a political one, - ١
emanating from his opportunism

[\(١\)](#) seize some cities such as Balkh, Juzjan, Fariyab, Taliqan, Marw al-Rudh. [\(١\)](#)

Since the people of various cities hated the Umayyads rulers, they surrendered to Ibn Surayj, as later on 'Asim Ibn 'Abd Allah who was Khurasan governor said, easily at their own will. [\(٢\)](#) Accordingly, 'Asim wanted to ask for help from Damascus army. This .was a threat for most of the Iraqi rulers as well as the rulers of other areas

After some clashes between 'Asim Ibn 'Abd Allah and Harith, Harith was defeated and escaped towards Iraq. Those farmers who helped him upon hearing about his defeat went back to their own lands. [\(٣\)](#) Harith once again equipped his army. When 'Asim .became aware that he had been deposed, he compromised with Harith

He also suggested that they ask Hisham to follow Qur'an and Prophet's Sunna and if he did not accept them, they would revolt against him. At the end, those supporting 'Asim could not compromise after a clash with 'Asim, Harith retreated

Knowing about Harith's riots, Hisham asked Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri, the governor of Iraq, to send his brother Asad Ibn 'Abd Allah, the former governor of Khurasan, to suppress his riot. He along with the armies of Damascus and Iraq headed for Khurasan. After some clashes between Harith and him and a war between the residents of Tirmidh and again Harith, Harith was defeated and escaped eastwards to [\(٤\)](#) take refuge by the Turkish kings who were called Khaqan. [\(٤\)](#)

One of the well-known Turkish kings helping him later

p: ٨٢٤

al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. ١٠٩; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٤٢٩ -١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٤٢٩ -٢

Ibid vol. V, p. ٤٣٠; The word “farmers” here refers to the owner of big farms who -٣
had great power locally

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٤٣٨ -٤

on came to be known as Abu Muzahim for he was a trouble-maker for Arabs.^(۱) Asad Ibn 'Abd Allah by no means could disregard the behavior of the Turkish kings in spite of the fact that in his clashes with them most of the time he could defeat them

There were still clashes with the Turks when Nasr Ibn Sayyar was chosen as Khurasan's governor in ۱۲۱. He had led some of these clashes in Balkh. In those clashes Harith Ibn Surayj, along with the Turks, fought with Nasr Ibn Sayyar ^(۲). After his defeat in Balkh, Harith and his supporters all settled in Takharistan. Yusuf Ibn 'Umar, the governor of Iraq, asked then Nasr Ibn Sayyar to attack the city of Shash, ^(۳) that had harbored Harith, and beat it to the ground.^(۴)

Provoking people to help him, Nasr reached Shash after a minor clash. Then he ordered the king of that city who had compromised with him to expel Harith from there. He accordingly sent him to Fariyab

Harith and his supporters stayed there up to the time that Yazid Ibn Walid by killing Walid Ibn Yazid in ۱۲۶ came to rule the Umayyads. He wanted to reform the Umayyads affairs. Harith was one of the opponents of the Umayyads whose motto just the same as Yazid was resorting to Qur'an and Prophet's Sunna. Nasr who was fighting with Juday' Ibn 'Ali Kirmani thought that Harith was a greater threat to him, so he intended to compromise with him

Accordingly, on behalf

p: ۸۲۵

Ibid vol. V, p. ۴۴۳ -۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۴۹۳ -۲

Ibid vol. V, pp ۴۹۴-۴۹۵ -۳

of Yazid Ibn Walid, he sent him a guarantee of clemency so he could return to Khurasan. Yazid by stating that he had revolted for Allah's sake and since Allah's orders were overlooked and people were under constant oppression, then he could

return to Khurasan again. He also ordered the governor of Iraq to release his children and return his properties confiscated^(١) up to that time he had been residing in the Turkish lands for ١٢ years

In ١٢٧, Yazid Ibn Walid was killed. After him Ibrahim Ibn Walid also could not stay in power for a long time. Marwan Ibn Muhammad was the last Umayyads caliph who came to power after him. Knowing that Marwan would not continue the same policy as Yazid, Harith clashed with Nasr along with Kirmani. After a while, he had a clash with Juday' Ibn 'Ali Kirmani and Harith and the Mudrids fought against the residents of Yemen who joined the residents of Kirman. Harith was killed in that clash in ١٢٨. Some points regarding Harith's riot should be taken into account

There have been, at least, two major reasons for Harith's riot, even if he himself was not aware of them, they could attract public attention in addition to some other minor ones which led to his revolt against the Umayyads one of which was obeying both Qur'an and Prophet's Sunna and the other one was putting an end to the Umayyads's oppression

A brief look at Harith's utterances and behaviors will show clearly that in

p: ٨٢٦

Ibid vol. V, pp ٥٩٢-٥٩١-١

his riot from the start two things were important namely obeying Qur'an and Sunna and paying allegiance to someone who does so.^(١) He did so to divulge that the Umayyads rulers were by no means religious. Since the Umayyads for most of the Muslims were widely known irreligious, at that time referring to Qur'an and Sunna in most of the riots was useful

Once Harith in ١٢٦ went to Nasr Ibn Sayyar, Nasr gave him some gifts but he said, " I am neither after the pleasures of this worldly life nor do I intend to marry an Arab I want to obey Qur'an and Sunna *انما أسأل كتاب الله والعمل بالسنة واستعمال أهل الخير والفضل* rather ^(٢) (and the pious and learned people." ^(٢)

He also said that he had left Khurasan for thirteen years just for putting an end to cruelties.^{٤١٤} Many people joined him since he had written the main objectives of his riot and ordered his agents to read them for the public on the way to Marw and in [mosques too.](#)^{٤٢}

When he joined Kirmani, some of his supporters who observed how they were killed and their properties were plundered under the leadership of Bishr Ibn Jurmuz, once [نحن الفئة العادله ولا](#) one of the closest companions of Harith, separated from him saying [نقاتل الا من يقاتلنا](#) “We are just people and we do fight with no one expect him who wages [war against us.”](#)^{٤٣}

What has been said shows that Harith's mottos in his riot were adhering

p: ٨٢٧

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٤٢٨; Van Vloten in “As-Siyadat al-’Arabiyya” (p. ٤٢) said – ١ that he was inclined towards the Prophet’s Sunna He also referred to an article in Majallat al-asiwiyyat al-Firansiyya (october, ١٨٣٥, p. ٣٢٧) in which the same matter had been pointed out But in “Tabari”, the main source for Harith’s riot, this matter was told by no means This was told probably because of the condition of Khurasan at that time A piece of poem being quoted from Kumayt Ibn Zayd Asadi in Harith’s praise in “Tabari” also can be an evidence in this regard Although in this poem it was not told that Harith was a Shi’ite, but the phrase Rayat Sud (The black Flags) was used and based on some narrations “Malahim wa Fitan” regarding a riot in Khurasan and using black flags there was used The use of the phrase “Black Flags” indicates that Kumayt wanted to liken the uprising of Harith to a shi’i uprising It is mentioned in a report that Harith considered himself as “the man of the black flags ” (Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ٣) However, thereis no evidence that Harith was a Shi’i

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٤٠٤ –٢

Ibid vol. VI p. IV –٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. X –٤

to Qur'an and Prophet's Sunna and putting an end to the Umayyads's cruelties by

.which he could attract some people to himself

Other than the Arabs, some of the farmers who were under the pressure of the Umayyads rulers also joined him to get rid of their cruelties.⁽¹⁾ Actually he, as an Arab, accepted to defend non-Arabs who were in difficult condition, against the Umayyads

What he had done was of great significance both to non-Arabs and Mawali especially when the Sughdian were pressurized to leave their homeland and take refuge by Turks in spite of the fact that they had embraced Islam. For a long period, Harith was among Turks

The majority of them, as it seems, were the Muslims who had not accepted the ruling of Arabs and wanted to get rid of the Umayyads who were taking tribute even from the Muslims. On the other hand, some others did not give up their previous beliefs

They also fought against the Arabs. Gerlof Van Vloten by referring to a Muslim judge among the supporters of Harith in the Turkish land, as it had been stated by Tabari, concluded that there were some Muslims among them.⁽²⁾ This is a significant point for removing the doubt of some individuals as Nasr Ibn Sayyar who had accused Harith of fighting along with the unbelievers against the Muslims.⁽³⁾

The Murji'ites and the Jahmites in Harith's Uprising

The second point worthy of stating in Harith's riot is his relationship with Jahm Ibn Safwan and his attitude towards the Murji'ites. He was accused of

p: ۸۲۸

Ibid vol. V, pp ۴۲۹-۴۳۰. He especially had taken into account the farmers of Juzjan -۱

As-Siyadat al-'Arabiyya, p. ۶۶ -۲

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. ۶ -۳

being linked to both of them. Jahm who was from Mawali⁽¹⁾ after studying in Kufa for a while returned to Balkh. For some time, he joined Muqatil Ibn Sulayman, an expert commentator. Disagreeing him, he was exiled to Tirmidh. There he joined Harith and

.took part in his riot

Jahm's participation in Harith's riot is a significant point not because of his beliefs regarding Allah's attributes but because of the fact that by his participation both of them were accused of being Murji'ites. Politically, there are two opposite attitudes regarding the Murji'ites one of which is that they were accused of being linked to the cruel rulers since in their views, faith was an inner state and different from good deed, accordingly he who commits a sin is still faithful. This was a belief that the caliphs and other Mammonists after the wordly pleasure took advantage of

Another point which is opposite to what was said is that the Murji'ites participated in many uprisings such as that of Yazid Ibn Muhallab's. Abu Ru'ba, one of the leaders of the Murji'ites had taken part in Yazid Ibn Muhallab's uprising against the Umayyads at [\(the very beginning of the second century.\)](#)

The participation of some of the Murji'ites in Zayd's uprising and accusation of Harith of being linked to them both reveal that the Murji'ites were at odds with the ?Umayyads. So how can these two opposite points be judged

Despite the Kharijites who regarded the cardinal sinners as unbelievers and also the Mu'tazilites who

p: ۸۲۹

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. ۲ – ۱

Ibid vol. V, p. ۳۴۰ – ۲

regarded them as the unbelievers, the Murji'ites were of the opinion that they would be still assumed believers if they believe in two principles of Islam namely unity of Allah and Prophethood when they commit sins. This is a jurisprudic principle which is accepted by all of the Islamic sects

They had no distinct political stance regarding those who were unbelievers in the Kharijites' view. According to them, they should be left to Allah and be hopeful for His

Mercy. This also was a controversial point among Muslims regarding 'Uthman in Jamal and Siffin wars

During Hajjaj's tenure in Iraq (also in Africa) in which most of the local residents of Iran embraced Islam, the Umayyads's agents could no longer take tributes from them and increase their revenues. As a result, Hajjaj in consultation with the Umayyads's caliphs declared that only saying diploma is not enough for someone to be a believer

Instead, someone is Muslim who is able to read Qur'an. In addition, there might have been some other conditions, for example it must be clear whether he had been circumcised or not. Based on what was said, Hajjaj went on to collect tributes from those who had newly embraced Islam. There once again the same belief of the Murji'ites was beneficial

The Murji'ites in contrast with them were of the opinion that saying diploma was enough for being a Muslim and they declared the conditions that Hajjaj had set was unvalued in this regard. Accordingly, the Murji'ites started

p: ۸۳۰

to support the Iranians who had recently embraced Islam and the revolutionists took advantage of them

Penetration of scholastic and jurisprudic theology of Abu Hanifa in the East and the existence of the Murji'ites beliefs in Khurasan and even a village which was called Murji Abad in suburb of Balkh, all are the evidence regarding this matter. Being one of the leaders of the Murji'ites, Abu Hanifa not only participated in Zayd's uprising but (during the 'Abbasids's term helped the 'Alawites who had joined him as well. (1

Wellhausen by referring to the above-mentioned point regarding the Murji'ites added, "They attempted to create a common ground among all tribes and that was (opposing tyranny and defining the gospel truth" (2

Van Vloten in his research about the Murji'ites by referring to their role in solving this

difficult problem among various tribes of Muslims and also their emphasis on observing the rights of all Muslims both Arabs and non-Arabs, said that he refrained from judging the caliphs. He also had spoken about the Murji'ites taking part in Zayd's uprising who had helped him.^(۳) Anyway, Harith was among the Murji'ites according to Tabari

This verse from Nasr Ibn Sayyar, Khurasan's governor, is an evidence indicating that he was from the Murji'ites

وارجاءكم لذككم والشرك في قرن فانتم اهل اشراك ومرجوننا

“You are Murji'ites and are the same as atheists.”^(۴)

Tabari's narrations regarding Harith and his relationship with the Murji'ites are mostly about the events taking place during this period. It was said that Harith had asked Jahm to

p: ۸۳۱

To know about the beliefs as well as scholastic theology of the Murji'ites, refer to a –۱ book entitled “The Murji'ites, Tarikh wa Andishih” from the writer of the very same lines

Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya pp ۴۴۱, ۴۴۲ –۲

As-Siyadat al-'Arabiyya, pp ۶۴, ۶۵ –۳

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۴۳۳ –۴

^(۱) read a book in which Harith way of conduct was described.

It was also said that once he came back from Takharistan he had a clash with Nasr. Two people have been appointed as judge. One of them was Jahm himself and the other one was Muqatil Ibn Hayyan. They said finally that Nasr should not interfere so that they might themselves be able to consult with each other.^(۲) There also is another narration regarding Jahm's participation in that uprising. Based on that he

^(۳) was captured and killed then by Salm Ibn Ahwaz.^(۴)

A positive point in Harith's movement was regarding its mental aspect and this shows that although these movements shaped mostly in Transoxonia, somewhere far from the scientific centers, they were not merely political ones but they had their own mental principles.

At last, it should be said that the term Jahmi, based on the reaction of its opponents, and in a lesser degree, accusation of being Murji'ites are two curses that the traditionists had in their minds against their opponents. Some of the Jahm's beliefs were against incarnation and the subject narrations on simile, so the traditionists opposed him. Gradually, this term as a scientific curse was used while referring to most of the people with quite different beliefs. Khalid al-'Ali's book which was previously referred to can make this point clearer.

Walid Ibn Yazid's Caliphate and Extreme Corruption of the Umayyads

Without doubt, one of the main reasons of the overthrowing of Umayyads, being considered mostly by the rioters, was that their rulers were irreligious. In other words, since

p: ۸۳۲

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. ۲-۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. ۳-۲

Ibid vol. VI, p. ۶; al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. ۷۹-۳

they were indifferent towards both religious beliefs of the people and those of themselves, those religious people were made rise up against them. Walid Ibn Yazid was among those rulers. Being the worst of all, he was one of the last caliphs of the Umayyads who came to power after Hisham in Rabi' al-Thani, ۱۲۵ and was killed one year and two months later.

There are some poems descriptive stories and almost all historical sources indicating that he was a corrupted man.

Tabari, for example said, "There are many narration's regarding Walid's insult to

.”religion

He had not mentioned most of them to avoid circumlocution.⁽¹⁾ Mas'udi, on the other hand, had quoted some of them. He was very interested in drinking wine and passing nights among different singers and debauchees was his every day action.⁽²⁾ One of the worst actions, as it was told, was after reciting this verse

وَاسْتَفْتَحُوا وَخَابَ كُلُّ جَبَّارٍ عَنِيدٍ.

And (Allah's Prophets) asked for solutions and at last each obstinate tyrant became“
”disappointed

,He said that he disliked it. Then he put Qur'an somewhere and shot toward it saying

اتوعد كلَّ جبارٍ عنيدٍ فيها انا ذاك جبارٍ عنيدٍ

اذا ما جئت ربك يوم حشر فقل يارب حرقنى الوليد

Are you threatening Jabbar, the fighter. I am Jabbar the challenger. On the Day of
Judgement, say to Allah to set fire on me⁽³⁾

Somewhere else, Walid himself by denying Prophethood had openly said that he was
.an infidel

تلعب بالخلافه هاشمى بلا وحي أتاه ولا كتاب

A man of the Hashimites played with succession without being revealed a“

p: ٨٣٣

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٥٣٨ -١
Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٢١٣; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. ١٩٧; See, Tarikh - ٢
Mukhtasar al-duwal, p. ١١٨; al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. ٤٦
Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٢١٦; Tarikh Gudhidih, p. ٢٨٤; al-Hur al-'Ayn, p. ١٩٠; Bahj -٣
As-Sabaqa, vol. V, p. ٣٣٩; al-Aghani, vol. V, p. ٤٩; Nujum al-Zuhra, vol. I, p. ٢٩٩

Mustuwfi regarding his wrongdoing, had said, “It was said that on one Friday he had drunk wine with one of his bondmaids then he had sexual intercourse with her. Then she had forced the defiled drunken bondmaid to put turban on her head to cover her [\(۲\)](#) ringlet once she heard Iqama, then she preached sermon

Being a remiss, one who could not supervise the affairs of various cities, Walid, according to Ya'qubi, did many wrong things. For instance, he had in his mind to build [\(۳\)](#) a room upon the roof of Ka'ba for his debauchery so he ordered someone to do so.

It seems that his relatives prevented him from doing so for they were afraid of its consequences. Another time, he asked Nasr Ibn Sayyar to send him musical instruments. [\(۴\)](#) His brother, and accomplice in the murder of Yazid Ibn Walid, also endorsed that he was after sin and iniquity. [\(۵\)](#) It is worth saying that this sentence [\(۶\)](#) “O Walid, be afraid of death” Had been engraved on his ring.

The Umayyads degraded day by day simply because of what Walid did [\(۷\)](#) .وظهر للناس منه تهاون بالدين واستحفاف به

Abul-Faraj regarding him had said, “There has been written many poems about his wrongdoing.” [\(۸\)](#) In spite of the fact that nearly all of the Umayyads rulers were sinful and people were aware of this matter more or less, no one among them was comparable to Walid

p: ۸۳۴

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- ۱- Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ۲۱۶; al-Hur al-'Ayn, p. ۱۹۰; Bahj As-Sabaqa, vol. V, p. ۲۳۹
۲- Tarikh Gudhidih, p. ۲۸۶; al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. ۴۷
۳- Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۳۳۵; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۵۲۱ He wanted to take wine to that room Bahj As-Sabaqa, vol. V, p. ۳۴۰
۴- Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۵۳۳
۵- Ibid vol. V, p. ۵۵۵
۶- Ma'athir al-Inafa fi Ma'alim al-Khilafa, vol. I, p. ۱۵۶
۷- Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۵۲۱; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. ۲۰۶

.in this regard

His remissness in state affairs raised discord among the Umayyads and paved the ground for the opportunists among them to exert themselves more to prevent that dynasty from being fallen. Because of his actions, Walid was disgusted by others and they were ready to kill him

Abul-Faraj Isfahani, at the beginning of the seventh volume of Aghani had described him in detail. All of his life was past while he occupied himself with wine, women and music. He was also accused of being heretic. In Aghani there are some verses [\(1\)](#) indicating that he had believed that “Mani” was the first and the last prophet.

According to Mada'ini, he was disliked by people because of his aspirations, drinking and annoying the children of Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik.[\(2\)](#) Once his palace was surrounded by troops loyal to Yazid Ibn Walid, he asked people while he was there, “Why do you attack me while I was open-handed among you

Because you “*انتهاك ما حرم الله وشرب الخمر ونكاح أمهات اولاد أبيك واستخفافك بامر الله*” They answered have disregarded what Allah has regarded as being unlawful, you also married your father's bondwomen who had children from him

What Allah has “*وان فيما احل الله لسعه عما ذكرت (3)*” He said, “You are wrong.” Then he added declared as being lawful are more than what you are speaking about

When he was killed by a group of rioters, Yazid Ibn Walid who was also called Yazid III came to power

,Ayyub Sukhtiyani, who knew Qur'an by heart said

p: ٨٣٥

."I wish our caliph were alive"

(1) The narrator said, "He said this because he was afraid of being killed".

Later on, Rashid and his son Mahdi 'Abbasi, recalled Walid a good man and cursed his
(2) murderer, Yazid.

Yazid Ibn Walid's Riot

It was said that Yazid Ibn Walid, Yazid III, was similar to 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz in behavior. He, along with some of the Umayyads and renowned figures of Damascus managed to resist Walid and finally killed him in Jumadi al-Thani, ١٢٦ (A.H.). He was the first Umayyads caliph who was killed in such a way that all people knew about it.

What distinguished him from other Umayyads caliphs was that he was among the Qadarites.(3) This term, according to the traditionists, is referred to the Mu'tazilites. They were of the opinion that human beings have free will.

The Mu'tazilites were at odds with the traditionists since they were rationalists while the traditionists were superficial. Because of their influence on the Umayyads, the traditionists provoked them to suppress the Mu'tazilites, the Murji'ites and the Jahmites.

The formation of the Qadarites in Damascus goes back to the time of Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. Ghaylan Dimashqi, the founder of this sect in Damascus,(4) was killed in ١١٩
(5) by Hisham 'Abd al-Malik. Ghaylan was linked to the Murji'ites too.(6)

There were others among the Murji'ites in Damascus too. Tabari had quoted 'Amr Ibn Sharahil, who was himself among them, as saying, "In ١٢٦ some individuals interceded
(7) them with Walid but he praised Hisham's actions in killing or exiling the Qadarites.

al-Aghani, p. ٨٣ -٢

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٣٣٤; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٥٨١; Tarikh Gudhidih, p. -٣

٢٨٧

al-Firaq Bayn al-Firaq, p. ١١٧; al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. ٥١ -٤

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٥١٤ -٥

al-Firaq Bayn al-Firaq, p. ٢٠٥ -٦

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٥٣٩ -٧

In contrast with Hisham and Walid, Yazid Ibn Walid was more inclined towards the Qadarites

According to Shafi'i, he had gathered some of them around himself. The companions of Ghaylan Dimashqi were also among them.^(١) Abu Bakr Khawrazmi in one of his letters had written that he backed the companions of Ghaylan.^(٢) Mas'udi also said that he was a Mu'tazilites and like them believed in the five principles of them.^(٣)

At that time, however, some of the Mu'tazilites believed in those five principles completely. They, according to Mas'udi, resided in other areas of Damascus namely "Dariyya and al-Mizza". He also said that they helped Yazid once they saw that Walid was a sinner.^(٤) Since Yazid Ibn Walid was inclined toward the Mu'tazilites, his status in comparison with that of 'Umar Ibn Abd al-'Aziz was very high in their esteem.^(٥)

It should be noted that the traditionists during the second and third centuries were not rationalists at all. They only took into account the surface meaning of both Qur'an verses and traditions which were mostly fabricated ones. They believed in anthropomorphism. To oppose them, the Mu'tazilites emphasized the role of intellect

The first trend prevailed among the traditionists such as Zuhri, Abul-Zanad, Raja' Ibn Haywa who were linked to the Umayyads. The other one as a result opposed the Umayyads. Accordingly, they were attentive to the role of intellect in contrast with those who were attentive to the traditions that were written long ago and were mostly forged ones

These groups were

Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ۲۵۳; Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. V, p. ۳۷۶ –۱
See, Tarikh al-Jahmiyya wal-Mu'tazila, p. ۷۰ from Abu Bakr Kharazmi –۲

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ۲۲۱ –۳

Ibid vol. III, p. ۲۲۶ Because the residents of Mizza had paid allegiance to Walid – ۴

before his death; al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. ۷۵

Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. V, p. ۳۷۶ –۵

also experts in political affairs so they were opposing the Umayyads both because of their religious and political approaches. As it was touched upon before, Ghaylan Dimashqi, who was killed in ۱۱۹ A.H by Hisham, and Ja'd Ibn Dirham, who was sent to Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri by Hisham, were also among them. The latter was killed by [Khalid in the feast of sacrifice.](#)[\(۱\)](#)

Since Ja'd Ibn Dirham was one of the scholars of Marwan Ibn Muhammad, the last [caliph of the Umayyads, he was also called Marwan Ja'di.](#)[\(۲\)](#)

He was later on killed because he was at odds with the traditionists. He opposed anthropomorphism, which was prevailed among the Muslims by Jews. According to Shahrastani, this was a belief of a Jewish sect called the Readers. In Torah, also there [were some words about anthropomorphism.](#)[\(۳\)](#)

The same statement was also said by Ibn Khaldun.[\(۴\)](#) Ja'd Ibn Dirham could stand individuals such as Wahb Ibn Munabba and others who were Jewish. Wahb said to him, "Allah Himself said that He has hands and eyes, so we believe what he had said".[\(۵\)](#) Ibn Kuthayyir said, "His beliefs were identical to those of Lubayd Ibn al-A'tham."[\(۶\)](#) This statement according to some researchers was not true. He was said to [have such beliefs since he opposed the Jews.](#)[\(۷\)](#)

Jahm Ibn Safwan who was said to have, the same beliefs as Ja'd Ibn Dirham had also taken the same stance as him. He stood up to Muqatil Ibn Sulayman, who believed in anthropomorphism.[\(۸\)](#) These

Ibid vol. V, p. ٤٣٣ –١

Ma'athir al-Inafa, vol. I, p. ١٦٣; Nujum al-Zahira, vol. I, p. ٣٢٢ –٢

al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. ٩٣; see also, p. ١٠٦ –٣

Maqdamat Ibn Khaldun, p. ٤١٥; see Buhuth ma'a Ahl As-Sunna wal-Sulafiyya, pp ٧٦– –٤

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Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. V, p. ٤٣٣ –٥

al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. X, p. ١٩ –٦

(See, Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. V, p. ٤٣٢ (footnote –٧

Ibid vol. VI, p. ٢٧ –٨

people were killed not merely because of religious reasons but because they
opposed the Umayyads

To bring an example, we can refer to the companions of Ghaylan Dimashqi who cooperated with Yazid Ibn Walid. As it was said Jahm Ibn Safwan had joined Harith Ibn Surayj and was killed in his uprising. According to Qasimi, Jahm was killed not because of his religious beliefs, as it was said by some,^(١) but because of political reasons.^(٢) It is quite obvious that the traditionists were dominant during the Umayyads's time. Based on legal decision, the name of those being killed by the
Umayyads should not be divulged

Yazid Ibn Walid in his revolt against Walid Ibn Yazid wanted to carry out some reforms. In his first sermon he said, “We did not rise up for this worldly life to assert dominance over others rather for Allah's sake. We ask all to obey both Qur'an and Prophet's Sunna since the religious edicts have become outmoded, piety has been disregarded and the unlawful turned to be lawful. He also said, “The Sunna has
.”changed and there are obvious innovations

Referring to social justice, he said that he wanted to carry out some financial reform
When Muslims live in parity enable all to take “ حتى تستقيم المعيشة بين المسلمين وتكونوا فيه سواء ” to
advantage of equal rights.” He also added, “You can pay allegiance to me based on

.what I told you

If I break my promise, you can do whatever you want to and if

p: ٨٣٩

.Ibid vol. VI, p. ٢٧ –١

Tarikh al-Jahmiyya wal-Mu'tazila, p. ١٦ –٢

you could find someone more effective than I am, I myself will be the first one to pay allegiance to him. (١) When he nominated Mansur Ibn Jumhur as the governor of Iraq, he ordered him not to be as Walid since he was killed because of his cruelties towards (٢) people.

Yazid's intention, as he himself said, was not just ruling. He had this sentence written and hung from a post "انا ندعوكم الى كتاب الله وسننه نبيه صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم وأن يصير الأمر شورى" I ask you to obey Qur'an and Prophet's Sunna. I also want to solve the problem of ruling by (٣) counseling.

He also asked the residents of Hims who wanted to rise up against him in revenge for Walid's death. ولكنه يدعوهم الى شورى (٤). I want you to take advantage of counseling.

It should also be mentioned that even before Walid's death, the residents of (٥) Damascus had paid allegiance to him.

Yazid III was called "Imperfect" since he had cut the share of those who had greater share in public treasury during Walid's time. (٦) For the reason, he ruled just for six months. It seems that he could not put his plan into practice

However, he was somehow successful based on what he was saying and doing in this regard. From among his financial reforms, the issue of taking tribute from those who had recently embraced Islam during 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz's time can be taken into account.

He also had taken into account problems

al-Akhbar, vol. II, p. ٢٤٩; al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. ٧٠ –١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٥٧٦ –٢

Ibid vol. V, p. ٥٥٣ –٣

Ibid vol. V, p. ٥٦٥ –٤

Ibid vol. V, p. ٥٤٥ –٥

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٣٣٥ –٦

of those who were to send to exile merely because they were asked to pay tribute beyond their means. In this regard, he said "I will not ask people to pay tribute beyond their means so that I prevent them نسليم from leaving their home and become extinct."^(١)

He also ordered Harith Ibn Surayj to return from the Turkish land to his home. He had risen up against the Umayyads for the same reasons that Yazid had so he accepted to return home. However, when Yazid was killed, everything returned to its former state. (He was killed too.)^(٢)

After six months of his ruling, Yazid died in ١٢٦. According to Tabari, before his death, the Qadarites were repeatedly asking him to select a successor for himself. He asked others to pay allegiance to his brother, Ibrahim, and 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Hajjaj Ibn 'Abd (al-Malik.)^(٣)

The Impacts of Walid's Death on the Umayyads and Their Fall

From ٤١ (A.H.) up to the time when Yazid Ibn Walid came to power, the Umayyads have been weakened twice. The first time was in ٦٤ after the death of Mu'awiya II when it was intended to transfer power from the Sufyanids branch of the Umayyads to Marwanids having some clashes in Iraq and Damascus, the Umayyads managed to stay in power

Thereafter, the caliphs came to power one by one without any problem. It means that the caliphs who ruled never dismissed their heir apparents who were most of the time

Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. II, p. ٢٤٩٢ –١

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٥٩٢, ٥٩١ –٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ٥٩٣ –٣

caliphs sometimes bothered them. It was believed that they would never dismiss them since they had paid allegiance to them

When, for example, Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik who had chosen his brother Hisham as his successor, became regretful from doing so, then other people such as Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah disapproved of what he wanted to do. He said to Yazid, "What you want to do will sow the seed of discord between you. So people will criticize you." Yazid accepted [what he said](#)

Some of the caliphs such as 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, however, did not choose either their brothers or their sons as their successors. One of the main reasons for the Umayyads to stay in power was that they respected those principles regarding paying allegiance. As long as they themselves were loyal to those principles, there was no problem and people obeyed them too

That was why the Umayyads could suppress even the most serious riots. When Walid Ibn Yazid was killed and Yazid III came to power, most of the Umayyads wanted to take his position without considering the issue of allegiance. Upon hearing that Yazid Ibn Walid wanted to breach allegiance before Walid's death, Marwan Ibn Muhammad wrote a letter to Sa'id Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who was probably a renowned figure of the "Umayyads dynasty, saying, "Do not let them breach allegiance

He also added, "I have heard that some stupid men among the Umayyads want to breach allegiance. By their actions, there will be opened

[\(۱\)](#) a gate which would not be closed even by Allah unless much blood be shed.

Marwan knew if he breached allegiance, he would sow the seed of discord. Previously, Yazid Ibn Walid had consulted with 'Abbas Ibn Walid who, according to Isfahani, was honest just the same as 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. He then prevented him from doing so By God, the Marwanids“ [\(۳\)](#) [\(۲\)](#) After securing allegiance, he said [\(۲\)](#) too, هلك والله بنو مروان [\(۳\)](#) .came to be murdered

Once Yazid came to power, according to Ya'qubi, the country was in a state of turbulence. 'Abbas Ibn Walid in Hims, Bishr Ibn Walid in Qinnasrin, 'Umar Ibn Walid in Jordan and Yazid Ibn Sulayman in Palestine revolted against him

Ya'qubi went on to say, “During a five-month-caliphate of him nearly all countries of the world were in a state of turbulence. The Egyptians killed their ruler, Hafs Ibn Walid. The residents of Humas killed 'Abd Allah Ibn Shajara and the people of Medina [\(۴\)](#) removed their governor, 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, from office.

That was why the issue of succession, allegiance and absolute obedience all lost their significance among Arabs. They revolted against one another, as a result, respecting caliphate, something which was very important before was no longer important. This matter was so significant for them that Walid Ibn Yazid in his letter, had reminded [\(۵\)](#) people to select the successors of his sons Hakam 'Uthman.

In Armenia, Marwan Ibn Muhammad rose up against Yazid III to avenge for Walid's murder. He headed

p: ۸۴۳

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۴۵۵; see also p. ۵۸۱ -۱

al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. ۷۳ -۲

Ibid vol. VII, p. ۷۹ -۳

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۳۵ -۴

for Iraq to remove Yazid from office, but on his way to Harran he compromised with [\(him on condition that he surrender Armenia, Musil, Jazira and Adharbayjan to him.\)](#)

Ibrahim Ibn Walid came to power after Yazid. The Umayyads caliphate was so weakened that he was called “Amir”(commander) not caliph.[\(٢\)](#) This term was used for the independent governors who were ruling only during the time of transferring power. They were neither caliphs nor were chosen by a caliph

Marwan Ibn Muhammad who understood that it was the right moment to improve the situation, headed for Damascus. He could defeat their army in Safar, ١٢٧. He asked others to pay allegiance to Hakam and 'Uthman, Walid's successors. Knowing that both of them were killed in prison, then people paid allegiance to Marwan Ibn Muhammad.

To justify their action then, people said that both Hakam and 'Uthman had selected him as their successor and this was alluded in their poems that was composed in prison. So the last caliph of the Umayyads came to power

Marwan Ibn Muhammad and the Decline of the Umayyads

Marwan Ibn Muhammad was the last caliph of the Umayyads. He left Armenia and went to Damascus to prevent the Umayyads from overthrowing. He came to power by deposing Ibrahim. He had many problems one of which was a riot in Hims.

Dhahhak Ibn Qays, one of the leaders of the Kharijites, was a troublemaker for him

Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Hisham in Iraq and Thabit Ibn Na'im Judhami in Jordan revolted against him. Marwan could suppress those riots

p: ٨٤٤

Ibid vol. V, p. ٥٩٥ -١

Ibid vol. V, p. ٥٩٦; Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', p. ٣٧٧; Ma'athir al-Inafa, vol. I, p. ١٦١ -٢

then he nominated 'Amr Ibn Hubayra Fazari as Iraq's governor. He killed Dhahhak Ibn

Qays so he had everything under his control. The Kharijites who were from Yemen .were so powerful that they could participate in Hajj pilgrimage openly

Abu Hamza Mukhtar Ibn 'Awf was one of them who managed to have Medina in his control in Safar, ١٣٠ (A.H.) He was among the Abad'iyya. 'Abd Allah Ibn Yahya Kindi who had called himself Talib al-Haqq (the seeker of the truth). He said that he was the .Commander of the Faithful

He was among the Abad'iyya. In Medina Abu Hamza preached a sermon in a literary style that is very famous. The residents of Medina, as Ya'qubi said, said their prayer under the leadership of him. They were so proud of themselves that they decided to attack Damascus. But the Umayyads army defeated them. When they returned to .Medina their residents rose up against them. So they escaped to Yemen

The city of Khurasan was in a state of chaos too. Kirmani advanced but, according to .Ya'qubi, Abu Muslim was more successful than him

He quoted Abu Muslim as saying, "O, Allah, I help both Nasr and I Kirmani, not to defeat each other".^(١) Abu Muslim defeated Nasr and died when he wanted to escape to Sawi. Abu Muslim then entered Niyshabur in Ramad'an, ١٣٠. He selected some .governors for various districts of Khurasan

The army of Khurasan under the leadership of Quhtaba and his son turned toward west and could defeat

p: ٨٤٥

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٣٤١ –١

those armies that were behind the Umayyads. In Muharram, ١٣٢, this army defeated Ibn Hubayra in Iraq. The he escaped to West. Quhtaba once again defeated him and he was drowned in the Euphrates. So the Umayyads were doomed to decline. When Marwan Ibn Muhammad heard the army of Khurasan had defeated the army of Iraq without having commander, he said, "I swear by Allah that everything is over. Who

”?has ever heard that a dead body be able to defeat someone who is alive

Abu Salama Khallal in Iraq, asked people to pay allegiance to the 'Abbasids, once the Umayyads were dethroned, he sent Abul-'Abbas to Kufa and after a while, asked people to pay allegiance to him. Later on, he was told to bring the 'Alawites to power .so he was killed at Abu Muslim's behest

Saffah sent his uncle, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Ali to Damascus to fight against the Umayyads and kill Marwan. In Dhi al-Hajja, ١٣٢ Marwan was killed in a battlefront. It caused the downfall the Umayyads all over the east except Andalusia. According to Mas'udi, they ruled for nearly ninety years and eleven months and thirteen days that is nearly about [\(a thousand months.\)](#)^(١)

Different aspects of the Umayyads's decline were taken into account previously.^(٢) To elaborate them in detail philosophical discussions about history are needed. Historians do not discuss about them. In philosophical and ideological discussion, individuals can not overlook their personal attitudes so they might manipulate the historical accounts. It should be mentioned that

p: ٨٤٩

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٢٣٤ –١

Muhammad Kazim Khajawiyān has listed different attitudes of this kind in an article –٢ of the magazine of Mashhad's Faculty of Literature year, ١٩ pp ٥٠٣–٥٣٠

prior to the overthrowing of the Umayyads, no one had spoken about their decline since it was not obvious whether they could solve their problems or not. But after it, .the issue of their decline came to be discussed

Some points regarding the Umayyads should be taken into account one of which is their party demorality over which the Umayyads laid the foundation of their political power. This was closely related to the superiority of a specific tribe of Quraysh, which was called the Umayyads. They were supported by the residents of Damascus in the .northern part of the Hijaz

The skirmish between the tribes of northern and southern was almost always troublesome. During the very last years of their ruling, their hostility peaked such that it was not possible for them to improve the condition of some cities especially
Khurasan

There were also some other clashes throughout Arabic land mainly in Iraq and Iran, the residing places of most of the immigrant Arabs. In Iraq, the northern tribe and southern one were at odds with each other. During Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri's time, Arabs residing in the north that were called the Mud'rites were not satisfied with him
since he was living in the south

When Yusuf Ibn 'Umar came to power, the opposite thing happened. He killed Khalid and the condition was worse. Yusuf Ibn 'Umar then was sent to prison and killed by
[\(Yazid Ibn Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah.\)](#)

Tribal clashes, according to Mas'udi, were the main

p: ۸۴۷

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ۳۳۸ – ۱

reason of the Umayyads's overthrowing, he also said that Marwan Ibn Muhammad protected the Nazarites against the residents of Yemen. His action then made the
[\(residents of Yemen support his opponents from the Hashimites.\)](#)

There were more problems in Khurasan. This city was an escape route years before the Umayyads's overthrowing for Iraqi rebels. Harith Ibn Surayj doubled the problem of that city. Constant clashes between Arabs and the residents of Transoxania had
weakened Arabs there

This city also tackled a problem for decades that was Hajjaj's cruelties to the newly embraced Muslims and taking tribute from them. In that condition, the skirmish between the northern and southern Arabs threatened the Umayyads. Nasr Ibn Sayyar backed the Nazarites and Juday' Ibn 'Ali Kirmani supported northern Arabs

.and the residents of Yemen

Their skirmish was advantageous to the opponents of the Umayyads. Abu Muslim Khurasani could take advantage of the positive attitude of the residents of Khurasan towards Shi'ism while he had asked the 'Abbasids for their support. He was also a .good commander

The above-mentioned points altogether had paved the ground for a radical change in Khurasan. Khurasan was far from the capital so the Umayyads could not easily reach there. It also should be mentioned that the army of Damascus could not help Nasr Ibn Sayyar since it was, fighting against the Kharijites in Iraq. The Kharijites took .advantage of the clashes happening from ١٢٦ to ١٢٧

Dhahhak Ibn Qays was among them who was at odds with Marwan Ibn

p: ٨٤٨

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٢٣٢ –١

Muhammad for a long time. He was killed in ١٢٧. The Kharijites who were in Iraq and south of Iran were great threat to the Umayyads too. The victory of the 'Abbasids in Khurasan was the main reason of the Umayyads's decline. It was not obvious why the . 'Abbasids not others could take the place of the Umayyads

This has its own reasons related to their approaches not to the decline of the Umayyads, since the Hashimites were far better than the Umayyads in ruling, they could easily depose them. If they have not had this power, no one could ever imagine that they would be able to remove Quraysh from the scene. This tribe was so .powerful that could survive even after the overthrowing of the 'Abbasids by Mongols

The Umayyads's fall was somehow because of their internal clashes too. The internal clashes, as it said earlier, had paved the ground for both the caliphs and their heirs apparent who were almost more than two persons from the time of 'Abd al-Malik onward and they were plotting against each other. The riot of Yazid III also a threat

to their influence. Killing those who were supposed to come to power from ۱۲۶ to ۱۲۷ .reminds us of the Sassanids's kings during the very last years of their rules

The Umayyads was not held in high esteem by people because of their lack of attention to religion in spite of the efforts being made by 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz and Hisham. Walid

p: ۸۴۹

Ibn Yazid, on the other hand, made the condition worse with his corruption and .cruelties in ruling. In historical sources, there is more information in this regard

Some of these historical accounts, however, have been manipulated, for the writers .of them were either inclined toward the 'Abbasids or other sects

Another reason for the residents of Iraq and Khurasan to revolt against the Umayyads was that they were under their domination both politically and economically. The Umayyads were accused of being prejudiced toward the Mawalis. Non-Arabs, as it was said, had some influence on the Umayyads but it was not such .that to let them progress

Political Views of the Marwanids

It is certain that some issues such as people's right to decide on a way a caliph should be chosen, to reject or accept him as well as some other matters were the bases of political system of the Sunnis. In addition, the political stance of both Sahaba (The Companions of the Prophet) and Tabi'in (The followers of Sahaba) during the first .century should be taken into account in this regard

However, other events taking place thereafter during other centuries were also important in the formation of their policy. But those principles which were written by Mawardi (۴۵۰ AD) and Abu Ya'la (۴۵۸ AD) under the title of al-Ahkam as-Sultaniyya during the fifth century were mostly emanating from the political developments of the .۱st century

To emphasize some of the ordinances, some of political developments of the second century were also mentioned there. For instance, whatsoever both

p: ٨٥٠

Sahaba and Tabi'in did or what the others were doing in their presence without their objection were regarded as a "Divine Decree" which should be obeyed by others too

Mawardi said, "If what Sulayman had done is not proof endorsing both the scholars from Tabi'in contemporary with him and those who do not fear for Allah's sake will be (١) proof".

This attitude had emanated from the above-mentioned principle of the Sunnis regarding "Divine Decree".

The formation of the political system of the Sunnis and some other sects was discussed in detail formerly. Now what had happened in this regard during the period of the Marwanids is to be discussed

There has been a significant change in the concept of caliphate particularly during the Marwanids. The more the caliphs were separated from the religion, the more the concept of caliphate was held in high regard with the intention of deceiving people

At first, the meaning of caliphate in its political sense was equal to the succession of the Holy Prophet. Abu Bakr was not pleased to call such a person "Allah's Viceroy" (٢). But later on, gradually this term came to be used both in poems and sermons

Accordingly, caliphs were honored more and some sort of fatalism prevailed regarding caliphate. The ground has been paved much more during the Marwanids than in time of 'Uthman and Mu'awiya

The poets of that time used some terms in reference to the Marwanids's caliphs such as

خليفة الله من الارض، الامين المأمون، امام المسلمين، امين الله، امام الاسلام، جنه

Mawardi, al-Ahkam As-Sultaniyya, p. ١٣ (Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik is regarded – ١
(here
Musnad Ahmad, vol. I, pp ١٠-١١ – ٢

الدين، الخليفة المبارك، راعى الله في الارض، الامام المصطفى، وليّ الحق، الامام العادل، ولي عهد الله، امام الهدى، الامام
المبارك، امام العدل، الامام المنصور، خيار الله للناس، الحكم المصطفى، امام الورى، ربّ الجنود، خليفه الحق، الخليفه الافضل،
الملك المبارك

Allah's Viceroy, trustee and trusted, Muslims' leader, religion's shield, auspicious
caliph, public leader on behalf of God, selected Imam, guardian of the Truth, just
Imam, Allah's heir apparent, Imam of guidance, auspicious Imam, leader led by God,
selected ruler, supreme chief of council, forerunner of troops, truthful caliph, superior
[\(١\)](#) caliph and auspicious ruler, ...

The poets played a significant role in making these terms known to the public. Taking
into account the fact that their poets were important to Arabs, one can understand
the impact of using such terms by them. [\(٢\)](#) One of the Umayyads poems, Akhtal by
referring to 'Abd al-Malik said

وقد جعل الله الخلافة فيكم بابيض لا عارى الخوان ولا جذب
ولكن رآه الله موضع حقها على رغم اعداء وصدّاده كذب

Thou art Allah's successor, someone who is merciful and has a shining face. Despite
[\(٣\)](#) what your enemies desired Allah saw thee as the mere truth

,By referring to Bishr Ibn Marwan, he said

اعطاكم الله ما انتم أحق به اذا الملوک على امثاله اقترعوا

Allah has bestowed thee something that Thou deserve while all other kings have
[\(٤\)](#) something (which they do not deserve)

,By referring to 'Abd al-Malik, Jarir said

الله طَوَّقَكَ الخِلافه والهدى والله ليس لما قضى تبديل

ولّى الخِلافه والكرامه أهلها فالملك أفيح والعطاء جزيل

Thou have been appointed as Allah's vicegerent. What He had decided upon could

p: ٨٥٢

al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, pp ١٩-٢١ -١

Farazdaq was among those poets Despite his well-known poem in praising Iman -٢ as-Sajjad, he had composed many verses in praising both the Umayyads's rulers and their relatives By taking a glance at his poems, one can understand his great role in the Umayyads stabilization There are many verses in sanctifying the Umayyads caliphs in his Diwan See, Diwan Farazdaq, vol. I, pp ٢٤١-٢٤٨ There are some verses in praising Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Some of his poems regarding the stabilization of the Umayyads were mentioned before

Diwan Akhtal pp ٢١-٢٤; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. ٣٠ -٣

Diwan Akhtal p. ٣٧; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. ٣٠ -٤

not be changed. Allah has given caliphate and greatness to someone who deserves it.

(That is why thy kingdom is so vast and Thou art so generous)

Somewhere else to stress the caliphate of 'Abd al-Rahman as a "Divine Decree" he said,

انت الامين امين الله لاسرف فيما وليت ولا هتايه ورع

انت المبارك يهدى الله شيعته اذا تفرقت الاهواء والشيع

يا آل مروان ان الله فضلكم فضلاً عظيماً على من دينه البدع

Thou art Allah's trustee, someone who does not waste what has been given, someone who is fearless. Thou art the source of blessings. Whenever different parties go astray, Allah will guide His followers. O the Marwanids! Allah has regarded

(Thee.)

,He also composed

والله قدّر ان تكون خليفه خير البريه وارتضاك المرتضى

Allah had chosen thee as His viceroy. Thou are the right man for this

,Farazdaq said about 'Abd al-Malik

فالارض لله ولاها خليفته وصاحب الله فيها غير مغلوب

The owner of this land is Allah and thou art as His vicegerent. The owner of Allah's

(land would not be defeated there

,By referring to Walid Farazdaq said

اما وليد فان الله اورثه بعلمه فيه ملكاً ثابت الدّعم

As for Walid, with the knowledge of God, he was granted a firm monarchy

,By referring to Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, he said

به آمن الله البلاد، فساكن بكلّ طريق ليلها ونهارها

Allah selected thee as a peacemaker so a traveller can go whenever he wants to no

matter whether it is day or night

,Adi Ibn Riqah' regarding Walid said'

انّ الوليد اميرالمومنين له ملك عليه اعان الله فارتفعا

Walid, the Commander of the Faithful, is

p: ٨٥٣

Diwan Jarir, vol. I, p. ٩٥; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa –١

Diwan Jarir, vol. I, p. ٢٩٥ –٢

Ibid vol. II, p. ٦٢٠ –٣

Diwan Farazdaq, vol. I, p. ٢٤ –٤

١ a king. Allah assists him in his ruling, so he has been dignified by Allah

,Ahwas composed this verse about Walid

تَخَيَّرَهُ رَبُّ الْعِبَادِ لَخَلَقَهُ وَلِيًّا وَكَانَ اللَّهُ بِالنَّاسِ أَعْلَمًا

The Lord of the world had nominated him as His guardian. Taking into account that

٢ Allah is wiser than people

,He said about Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik

سُلَيْمَانَ إِذْ وُلَاكَ رَبُّكَ حَكْمَنَا وَسُلْطَانًا فَاحْكُم إِذَا قُلْتَ وَاعْدِلْ

O Sulayman! Since thou have been chosen by Allah as our king, tell the truth and be

٣ just whenever thou want to judge

,Farazdaq composed this verse about Sulayman

فَقَالَ اللَّهُ إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ أَعْلَى مِنَ الْمُتَمَلِّسِينَ لَكَ الْخَبَالَا

فَأَعْطَاكَ الْخِلَافَةَ غَيْرَ غَضَبٍ وَلَمْ تَرْكَبْ لِتَغْضَبِهَا قَبَالَا

Then Allah said, “Thou art far better than those who want to enervate thee–so thou

٤ deserve to be appointed as His viceroy. Thou did not roll thy sleeves to usurp it”

:Jarir composed these verses about Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik

أَمَّا يَزِيدٌ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ فَهَّمَهُ حَكْمًا وَأَعْطَاهُ مَلَكًا وَاضِحَ النُّورِ

يَكْفِي الْخَلِيفَةَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ فَضَّلَهُ عَزْمٍ وَثِيقٍ وَعِنْدَ غَيْرِ تَقْرِيرِ

Allah has given Yazid wisdom. Thou art as the source of light. Allah has given thee

٥ priority over others in will and it suffices thee

,Jarir Ibn Ayyub, Sulayman 'Abd al-Malik's son said

الله اعطاكم من علمه بكم حكماً وما بعد حكم الله تعقيب

Since Allah knew thee, He had appointed thee as the ruler, no one is permitted to
[\(disobey Allah's decree\)](#)

,He also said to 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz

انّ الذي بعث النبي محمداً جعل الخلفه في الامام العادل

,The One Who sent Muhammad as the Prophet

[\(Appointed the just Imam to the Khilafat.\)](#)

Farazdaq said to Yazid

p: ٨٥٤

al-Aghani, vol. I, p. ٢٩٩ – ١

Shi'r al-Ahwas, p. ١٩٣ – ٢

Ibid p. ١٧٣ – ٣

Diwan Farazdaq, vol. II, p. ١٠٠ – ٤

Diwan Jarir, vol. I, p. ١٤٥; Regarding the poets of these verses, see al-Umawiyyun – ٥

wal-Khilafa, p. ٣١–٣٥

Diwan Jarir, vol. I, p. ٣٤٩ – ٦

Diwan Jarir, vol. II, p. ٧٣٧ – ٧

,Ibn 'Abd al-Malik

اعطى بن عاتكه الذي ما فوقه غير النبوه والجلال الاجل

سلطانه وعصا النبي وخاتما القى اله بجرانه والكلكل

Allah bestowed something to son of 'Atika. Nothing is greater than it except the
[\(Prophethood and monotheism. Allah had given him both the stick and the ring.\)](#)

These verses quoted by 'Atwan were composed by Farazdaq and Jarir and others.

.There are many verses in this regard in Diwan(۲) Farazdaq

The residents of Damascus also honored caliphate from the time of Mu'awiya onward.(۳) During Ayyam al-Muwadi'a the years that the residents of Damascus were going to Mecca for pilgrimage while they were under the domination of Ibn Zubayr, 'Ubayd Ibn 'Umayr, the story-teller, backbited their caliph. They said to him,"O the pious man! Retract what you said and do not backbite Allah's Viceroy since (he should be honored even more than Ka'ba.(۴)

Hajjaj himself followed the same policy in Iraq. He told Hasan Muthanna, "O Hasan! You have to remind him as a good man. He is Allah's vicegerent on earth.(۵) In his first speech in Kufa he said ان امير المؤمنين عبدالملك بن مروان استخلفه الله عزوجل في بلاده وارتضاه اماماً على عباده Almighty God placed Amir al-Mu'minin, 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan, His Viceroy as well " (as His servants' leader." (۶)

Hajjaj in his letter to 'Abd al-Malik by referring to him said, "You are the Commander of the Faithful and Allah's Viceroy. You are infallible both in speech and in practice. You have been nominated as his guardian.(۷) Fatima, the daughter of 'Umar

p: ۸۵۵

Diwan Farazdaq, vol. II, p. ۱۲۵; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. ۳۶ The second line is – ۱ about camels They put their bellies and necks on the ground as a sign of obedience Quoted from Dawlat wa hukumat dar Islam "Government and Ruling in Islam" – ۲ written by Lambton, p. ۱۱۰, vol. III Montigomeri Watt also had quoted some verses regarding the meaning of the time, Allah's Viceroy during the Umayyads's time See Watt, God's caliph, Qur'anic Interpretations and Umayyads claims in Iran and Islam, Edinburgh, ۱۹۷۱, pp ۵۷۱–۵۷۲, see also Watt Islamic Political Thought, Edinburgh, pp ۳۳, ۱۳۷, No ۵, see also, Khalifa wa Sultan, pp ۱۶–۱۷ Prior to this Hassan Ibn Thabit had used the term "Allah's viceroy" in his poem – ۳ written in ۳۶ about 'Uthman Diwan Hassan Ibn Thabit, p. ۹۶, quoted from Government and Ruling in Islam, p. ۱۱۰ the third part of the footnote No ۷ Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. ۳۴۵ –۴

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. VI, p. ۲۲۲ –۵
al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. ۴۰ –۶
al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. ۲۵; Ash-Shura fil-'Asr al-Umawi, p. ۳۵ –۷

Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz said, after coming to power my father has not washed his body when
(sever he was defiled.)

The residents of Damascus were of the opinion that obeying him was equal to
.obeying Allah. They did not believe that he should obey Allah

Then they got angry and said, "You are disobeying the Commander of the Faithful. He
could get rid of him very hard." Hajjaj wanted to treat the residents of Iraq in the
.same way

He was told to say, "Do you believe that Allah does not reveal to me. O people of Iraq!
(I do swear by him that he still does so)"

He was also told to say, "Which one is superior a Messenger or a vicegerent?"
Probably he wanted to say that he as Allah's viceroy was superior to Allah's
Prophet. It should be mentioned that it is not certain whether these narrations are
true or not. Mas'udi attributed the very same statement to Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri,
.the governor of Mecca in ۸۹ AH

According to him, he compared Walid with Ibrahim (a). He said, "When Ibrahim asked
Allah for water, he sent him salty water while upon Walid's request, he sent fresh
water to him." Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz was of the opinion that not only Sulayman was
(nominated by Allah but he himself was as Allah's Viceroy too.

Amr Ibn Hubayra Fazari, Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik's agent in Iran and Khurasan,
regarding Yazid told Hasan Basri and others, "Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik is Allah's

p: ۸۵۶

Ibid vol. VI, p. ٢١٤-٣

Ibid vol. VI, p. ٢١٤; See al-Niza' wal-Takhasum, p. ٤٩; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya vol. IX, p. -٤
١٣٦; al-Nasa'ih al-Kafiya li man Yatawalla Mu'awiya, p. ٣١; Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. I٢, p.

٢٢٨

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ١٤٧-٥

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. ٥٤٧; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. V, p. ٤٠; Ash-Shura fil-'Asr al- -٤
Umawi, p. ٣٥

[\(Viceroy among people.\)](#) (١)

Accordingly, they tried to say that Allah had helped them to defeat all of their enemies such as the Zaydids and the Shi'ite Muslims, the Kharijites as well as individuals such as 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Ash'ath and Yazid Ibn Muhallab. For these reasons, he wanted [\(to prove that the Umayyads were not only legitimate but also invincible.\)](#) (٢)

The holiness of the Umayyads strengthened by attributing Mahdawism to their caliphs. This term was first likely to be used by Allah's prophet in his speeches. It was also said that Mukhtar Ibn Abi 'Ubayd had used this word in his letter to Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya. He had written “ [للمهدى محمد بن علي من المختار بن ابي عبيد؛ سلام عليك يا ايها المهدي](#) ” From Mukhtar Ibn Abi 'Ubayd to Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn Mukhtar. Peace be upon you. [\(O Mahdi!\)](#) (٣)

Probably, they wanted to emphasize on their role in leading by using this word, but overemphasizing it would decrease its probability. Mujahid was quoted as saying, (probably these narration's were attributed to them), “You would call Mu'awiya Mahdi if you could see him.” (٤) Farazdaq by referring to Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik used this term for some of the Umayyads's caliphs

ومن عبد شمس انت سادس سته خلائف كانوا منهم العم والاب

هداه ومهديين عثمان منهم ومروان وابن الابطحين المطيب

Thou art the sixth caliph among the children of 'Abd ash-Shams. Some of thy forefathers such as 'Uthman, Marwan and Mu'awiya were guided by Allah and they

Farazdaq composed this verse about

p: ٨٥٧

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. ٢١٢; Ash-Shura fil-'asr al-Umawi, p. ٣٥ – ١

٢ – ٨٨ – ٨٩ (Farazdaq in praising Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik said (Diwan, vol. I, pp

نصركم بجنوده وليس بمغلوب من الله صاحبه فما قام بعد الدار قواد فتنه ليشعلها الا ومروان ضاربه ابى الله الا ان ملككم الذى به

نيت الدين الشديد نصابه ٢١٥ (Diwan, vol. I, p. ٢١٥) Somewhere else he composed (Diwan, vol. I, p. ٢١٥) غلبتم الناس بالحق اذا

ضربوا عليهم وبضرب غير تعذير

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. ٦٢ – ٣

Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. ٥٣ – ٤

Diwan Farazdaq, vol. I, p. ٨٠; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa p. ٢٢ – ٥

,Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik

فان امامك المهدي يهدى به الرحمن من خشى الضلالا

Mahdi is standing before thee. He is someone who at Allah's behest can guide

[\(whosoever does not want to be led astray\)](#)

,He also said

فاجاب دعوتنا وانقذنا بخلافه المهدي من ضر

Allah accepted our prayers and protected us by His viceroy, Mahdi when we were in

[\(trouble\)](#)

,Jarir composed this verse about Sulayman

سليمان المبارك قد علمتم هو المهدي قد وضع السبيل

[\(Thou know that Sulayman is Mahdi, someone who guides thee\)](#)

The word was attributed to 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz in some other sources as well. [\(٤\)](#)

,Jarir composed this verse about him

انت المبارك والمهدى سيرته تعصى الهوى وتقوم الليل بالسور

Thou are ominous and thy conduct is just the same as that of Mahdi. Thou art not
after carnal desire. Thou spend nights by saying prayer

,He also composed this verse about Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik

فقلت لها الخليفة غير شك هو المهدى والحكم الرشيد

Then I said thou art Mahdi without doubt. Thou art a ruler who had been guided

,Farazdaq said about him

هو المالك المهدى والسابق الذى له اول المجد التليد و آخره

(He is Mahdi and superior to others. Praise does solely belong to thee

Referring to these verses, one can say for sure that in addition to these verses there
have been some other forged traditions in this regard which all indicate that this word
was deeply rooted in Mahdawism and it did not come to common usage simply

One of the main features of the Umayyads ruling that was mostly based on the
holiness of their caliphs was

p: ٨٥٨

Ibid vol. II, p. ٩٩ –١

Ibid vol. I, p. ٢٦٢ –٢

Diwan Jarir, vol. II, p. ٧٧١ –٣

See, Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. ٣٣٣; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. IX, pp ١٩٦, ١٩٢; – ٤
Shadharat al-Dhahab, vol. I, p. ١١٩; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. ٢٣; Tarikh al-

Khulafa', pp ٢٣٥, ٢٣٤, ٢٣٣

Diwan Jarir, vol. I, p. ٤١٦ –٥

Diwan Jarir vol. I, p. ٢٢٨ –٦

that their rulers were dictators. During the times of the first caliphs, counseling was apparently important in their ruling. But later on people interfered in their ruling and .by exerting influence on them they enervated rulers

Once they managed to come to power by force, they became dictators so they could .suppress their opponents under the pretext of religion and policy

Ibn Tiqtaqa described 'Abd al-Malik Marwan by saying, “He was someone who for the first time did not let peasants speak in front of caliphs while previously they could do (this.” (۱

Suyuti said, “He was the first ever one forebode enjoining the good and prohibiting the (evil.” (۲

In his first sermon 'Abd al-Malik said, “You are asking others to be pious while you (forget yourself. I swear by Allah that I will behead him who tells me to be pious” (۳

By referring to those who wanted him to be the same as Muhajirun, he said, “Do not (ask me to be the same as them since you are not following them yourself” (۴

Abd al-Malik supported Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf Thaqafi who was a dictator in Iraq. What he' was doing could uncover his despotic policy in ruling. Entering Kufa, Hajjaj told people, “The caliph had given me both a lash and a sword to come to you but on my way here (I missed the lash so what remained was a sword.” (۵

Abd al-Malik said, “He will not do either what the weak caliph ('Uthman) or what the' flattering caliph (Mu'awiya) did. He will just use his sword when

p: ۸۵۹

al-Fakhri, p. ۱۲۲ –۱

Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ۲۱۹ –۲

Ansab al-Ashraf (manuscript) vol. I, p. ۱۱۶۴ quoted from al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, –۳

pp ١٢٠, ١٢٢; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. ٥٢٢; Fawat al-Wafayat, vol.,II p. ٤٠٤
Amali Qali, vol. I, p. ١١; See also al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VIII, p. ٣١٦; al- - ٤
Umawiyun wal-Khilafa, p. ١٢٢
Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٢٧٣-٥

handling people. (١) Before his death, 'Abd al-Malik told his son, Walid, to kill those who
(had not paid allegiance to him. (٢

Later on, Mansur who himself was also a dictator described 'Abd al-Malik as being a
(dictator. (٣

When Mu'awiya Ibn Farra and Hajjaj went to see 'Abd al-Malik, he asked
?"Mu'awiya,"What is Hajjaj doing

."He replied,"If I tell you the truth, you will kill me. If not, God will punish me

(Then 'Abd al-Malik told Hajjaj, "Do not torture him instead exile him to Sind." (٤

The Marwanids were well-known for being tyrannical but some of them were
.somehow better in this regard

People of the Book including the Jewish and the Christians have strong cultural
influence on the credulous Muslims. This should be discussed in detail somewhere
else. What is relevant to our discussion is their roles in the political developments and
.particularly regarding the issue of caliphate

The credulous Muslims believed that in their Books there are many predictions about
them, about their caliphs, even about their names, some events of their lives as well
as the sequence of them. What is to be mentioned here is just a brief account of what
.was happening at that time

The Umayyads caliphs tried, by making use of either what the people of the Book told
to the Muslims or words they themselves put into their mouths or any other means, to
.pretend that their names had been written in the divine Books

This matter was of great importance concerning the legitimacy of their ruling. In

Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ٢١٨ -١
 Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. ٢٨٠-٢٨١; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ٢٢٠ -٢
 Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XV, p. ٢٤٣; and see al-Umawiyyun -٣
 wal-Khilafa, p. ١٢٨
 al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. IX, p. ١٣٩ -٤

could claim that such and such caliph had been chosen at Allah's behest. It is said that Mu'awiya had coveted caliphate once 'Uthman consulted with him and others about ,how to cope with his opponents. During Hajj rite someone read this verse

ان الامير بعده عليّ و في الزبير خلف رضّي

Verily 'Ali is Amir after him and Zubayr, too, is a good successor

Ka'b al-Ahbar told him, "You are telling lie. Mu'awiya will succeed 'Uthman". Then .Mu'awiya was informed about what he had said

."He said to Mu'awiya, "You will come to power after 'Uthman

He was very pleased with what he said to him.^(١) Someone whose name was Yusuf and had embraced Judism prophesied that 'Abd al-Malik would be caliph.^(٢) Wahb Ibn Munabba on the other hand, called 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz the guildler of the nation.^(٣) He, just the same as Ka'b al-Ahbar, quoted some statements from the Books of the Jews and Christians for the Muslims

Suyuti quoted 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz who had encountered a monk in Jazira, as saying, "The monk sat down just next to me while he had never .sitten next to anyone else

"?He told me, "Do you know why I came to meet you

."He said, "No

The monk said, "Because of your father since (based on what was written in our books) he is one of the just Imams

He is like Rajab among other Haram months are Dhi l-Qa'da, Dhil-Hajja and Muharram they stand for Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman. Rajab is the other one

p: ۸۶۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. ۳۴۳; al-Niza' wal-Takhasum, p. ۷۸; Ansab al-Ashraf al- - ۱
Juz' al-rabi', al-Qism al-Awwal, p. ۴۹۵, No, ۱۲۷۸; al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. ۲۰۸ (There,
the word "Mard'iyy" was used instead of "Rad'iyy") al-Kamil fil-Tarikh vol. III, p. ۱۲۳,
Ka'b al-Ahbar was one of the advisors and companions of 'Uthman; see Ansab ul
Ashraf, al-Ajuz' al-Rabi', al-Qism al-Awwal, p. ۵۴۲
Tarikh al-Khulafa', pp ۲۱۶-۲۱۷-۲
Ibid p. ۲۳۳-۳

(1) that is not after Muharram. It denotes 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz.

Accordingly, the name of those four caliphs-not the name of 'Ali-had been mentioned in the Jewish books. It was also said that 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz had told a
?"Christian,"Who would be the next caliph, based on your books, after Sulayman

.You", he said. (2) Hajjaj asked him about his successor"

".He said,"Someone whose name is Yazid will be your successor

(3) Hajjaj thought that he might be Yazid Ibn Muhallab so he deposed him.

Khalid Ibn Rib'i said,"We have founded in Torah that both the earth and the heaven will weep on 'Umar Ibn Abd al-'Aziz's death for forty days." (4) Muhammad Ibn Ka'b Qurad'i also by bringing an example from the Israelis wanted to warn all of the
(5) consequences of disobeying caliphs.

It was said that 'Abd al-Malik coined dhms and Dinars since Khalid had told him,"O caliph! the Jewish and Christian scholars told me that according to their books

whosoever among caliphs carves the name of Allah on coins, he shall be long-lived.”

Thereafter, he, for the first time, minted Islamic coins. (ع)

Observing these cases, the common people among the Muslims who were mostly affected by the predictions of the people of the Book justified the legitimacy of the Umayyads rulers. Referring to Ayyub, the son of Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, Jarir ,who was an eminent poet of the Umayyads composed these verses

انت الخليفة للرحمن يعرفه اهل الزبور وفي التوراه مكتوب

الله فضله والله وفقه توفيق يوسف اذا وصاه يعقوب

Thou art Allah's Viceroy. The Zoroastrians

p: ٨٤٢

Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ٢٣٣ -١

al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. ٣٥٢ -٢

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, pp ٣٩٣-٩٤ -٣

Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ٢٤٥ -٤

Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. II, p. ٨٤٣-٨٤٤, see also About Muhammad Ibn Ka'b to, - ٥

Qissikhanan dar Tarikh Islam, (Story-tellers in the History of Islam), pp ٦٩-٦٨

al-Nuqud al-Islamiyya, p. ١١, there is much to say in this regard, see al-'Iqd al-Munir -٦

fi ma yata'alluq bi l-dirham wal-dananir

know thee and thy name had been written in Torah. Allah had favored thee. Thou art just the same as Yusuf who became triumphant after his father's will, would be

(triumphant too) (ا)

It was also said that the Umayyads caliphs were of the opinion that their names had been written in Torah. Those who were familiar with the divine Books of both the Jewish and Christians had the same opinion

At the end, it seems appropriate to go over the treaty signed by Walid Ibn Yazid for the heir apparentship of his sons Hakam and 'Uthman. This treaty is a minute text

which can reflect some of the formal beliefs of the government. At the outset, he elucidated prophets' mission up to the time when Allah appointed Muhammad (S) as a prophet.

It was after him, when his caliphs pursued his course of action. Allah's caliphs came one after the other on the basis of what Allah bestowed from the prophets' heritage and offered that caliphate.

Allah destroyed everyone who took a stand against their right, and exterminated everyone who was separated from their company, and made the caliphs dominate everyone who disparage their sainthood and considered Allah's Judgment concerning them of a different kind, and made them a lesson for others. Allah treated those being out of the obedience ordered by him like this. Up to this point, the conquest of all anti-Umayyads rebellions is deemed to be a reason for the Umayyads' rightfulness.

Thereupon, for the purpose of setting forth the place

p: ٨٤٣

.Diwan al-Jarir, vol ١, p. ٣٤٩ –١

of caliphate he noted the verse of human being succession and angels' objection and correlated it with caliphate by stating, “Thus, through caliphate Allah preserves whatever is on the earth and via obedience makes humans prosperous. And Allah knows that nothing is stable and strong unless

Allah keeps His truth through an obedient servant, resettles His work, and hinders (the people) from disobedience, keep from unlawful matters and defends His limits. And everyone who profits by this obedience, is Allah's friend, and the obedient of His orders, and the one guided by Allah

Afterwards, with further elaboration he points out the significance of obedience stating, “It is through obedience that the prosperous attain their position, and via disobedience, Allah destroy the misled, rebellious and blind ones

He intermingled Allah's obedience together with that of caliphs. Afterwards he spoke of "treaty" by which he meant that very heir apparent ship. A treaty whose consolidation was inspired to caliphs by Allah, so that there would remain a hope and means of unity and intimacy amongst the people and the Satan would give up the .hope of demolishing religion

This treaty is indicative of Islam integrity and is amongst Allah's great grace the bondman has made indispensable for the servants. A matter through which Allah hampered the people from disunity, destroyed hypocrisy and kept them from any .disparity. Further, there has been more explanations on the significance of "treaty

Then he said, Amir al-Mu'minin, Commander of the Faithful, (Walid) regarded nothing of much more importance

p: ۸۶۴

than his treaty since Allah has granted caliphate, inasmuch as he knew its position in Muslims' work and at present asks Allah to make him succeed in this work. Amir al-Mu'minin is of the belief that he ought to have two treaty in succession. Afterwards, he made reference to his two sons Hakam and 'Uthman and appointed them to heir (apparentship one after the other.)

The most salient point of this treaty is that attending to heir apparentship has been deemed a momentous matter and a God-given gift maintaining the security and reverence of the believers' community. This importance is to the extent that he (regarded it as a taken of Islam integrity.)

Belief in predestination and sanctifying caliphate has been repeatedly mentioned in the treaty. As it's been pointed out, Allah's obedience has been considered the same as caliph's obedience, on the grounds that it was Allah who appointed caliphs as His .Viceroys on the earth and who inspired them with the idea of heir apparentship

Scholars Serve al-Marwan

At Umayyads's era, science was confined to al-Hadith, tradition, knowledge

incorporating juristic, ethical, historical and interpretative narrations. After the death of the Prophet's companions, just a few people showed some interest in science. In as much as the time was not prone for such a matter; besides, Umayyads didn't show an interest in that

After a long time, it comes to the mind of some people that they collect religious narrations and accounts so that it may be safeguarded against deviation and defilement. The order

p: ٨٦٥

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VII, pp ٢١٩-٢٢٤ (a report like translation –١)

This day have I perfected for you, your “ اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم ”, Compare with the verse –٢ religion” According to some traditionists and in the view of Shi‘ites Imams and Imamiyya scholars, refers to Imam ‘Ali (a) Imamate Perhaps that’s because of a sort of apposition, that they have put aside the stipulated Imamate which is indicative of religion integrity and replaced it with heirapparentship

to this action was issued by 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz at the beginning of the second [\(century A.H.١\)](#)

And this very fact indicates the strong neglect of the leaders to the religious science. In Mu'awiya times and after him, various types of heresy and deviation in religion didn't trigger any opposition. The reason behind this was that the people were not that acquainted with the religious science to resist this matter

Mu'awiya and Hajjaj [\(٢\)](#) went on with their efforts to revive the wrong religious traditions founded by 'Uthman and the others. In the meantime, on account of lack of attention to science in this era, even the people took no notice of the religious rules of [\(which they were in the utmost need.٣\)](#)

A number of traditions were in scholars' hands; however, afterwards this number reached to one million. [\(٤\)](#) This very fact showed how the forgotten tradition of the Prophet (S) was compensated by hadith making in the next one or two centuries

Umayyads were to be blamed for this, under the auspices of whose government no attention was paid to science, and they tried to lead the people to whatever path they [wish through the policy of keeping them ignorant.](#)

In the meantime, most if those having acquaintance with the Islamic science get to serve al-Marwan. Although a large number of those having Shi'ites tendencies and .being, for the most part, among Iraqi scholars, fought against Umayyads

Amongst the assenters, Muhammad Ibn Muslim Ibn Shahab Zuhri (۱۲۴ A.C.) who was taken

p: ۸۶۶

al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. IX, p. ۲۲۱ –۱

Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. ۱۴۶; al-Id'ah, p. ۱۸۲ –۲

See, al-Ahkam fi Usul al-Ahkam, vol. II, p. ۱۳۱; Nad'rat 'Amma fi Tarikh al-fiqh al- –۳
Islami, p. ۱۰; al-Imam al-al-Baqir (a), vol. I, pp ۲۱۵–۲۱۶; Dirasat wa buhuth fil-Tarikh
wal-Islam, vol. I, p. ۵۶–۵۷

See, Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, whenever confronted by a reciter, Dhahabi counted the –۴
.number of his traditions, and in this way the number increased

See, Dirasat wa buhuth fil-Tarikh wal-Islam, vol. I, p. ۵۶ –۵

.thoroughly in the service of Umayyads ought to be mentioned

At the time when he went along with one of Umayyads rulers to Abu Hazim, one of the last companions of the Prophet, Abu Hazim told him sarcastically, “At times Banu Isra'il went along the right path and the rulers were in need of the scholars ... however, as the rascals acquiring knowledge went to the rulers, the rulers got
”.needless of them

Zuhri standing aside Sulayman, the son of 'Abd al-Malik said, “It seems that you mean [me in my action.](#)” “That's what you've heard!” Replied Abu Hazim.

For the most part, he dealt with Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. Hisham paid his heavy

loans,^(۲) and sent his sons to him for education in return for this service of Zuhri. Furthermore, before him, his brothers as well as 'Abd al-Malik have given him financial assistance

The sister of this very Zuhri told the people not to believe in Zuhri speech. For, he has exchanged his religion for this worldly life and is working for the Umayyads.^(۳) Afterwards in the future, those admitting the Umayyads's Islam, lauded Zuhri (tremendously. Ibn Taymiyya said that Zuhri safeguarded Islam for ۷۰ years.^(۴)

And it was undoubtedly obvious that this Islam was the one liked by the Umayyads. Before him a lot of people were in the service of the Umayyads, making hadith for them, such as Samura Ibn Jundab and Abu Hurayra.^(۵) At any rate, Zuhri was among those interested in Hisham and other Umayyads,^(۶) and was

p: ۸۶۷

al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, pp ۱۰۸-۱۰۹ -۱

Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. I, p. ۱۰۹; al-Majruhin, vol. I, p. ۴۰; Shadharat al-Dhahab, vol. -۲ II, p. ۱۶۲

Ansab al-Ashraf (footnote), vol. I, p. ۲۶-۳

Shadharat al-Dhahab, vol. I, p. ۱۶۳-۴

See, al-Id'ah, p. ۲۱۰; Abu Hurayra; Sayyid Sharaf al-Din, pp ۴۲-۴۵ -۵

In this regard and other information concerning Zuhri see, Tarikh Abi Zar'at al- -۶ Dimashqi, vol. II, p. ۵۳۸, Turathuna magazine, No ۲۳, pp ۹-۲۷

trying to propagate deviating beliefs. It has been said that Zuhri and 'Awana Ibn Hakam who was follow of 'Uthman as well, relied upon predestination religion (specifically.^(۱)

It's interesting that Ibn Hibban said, "I knew no tradition narrated by Zuhri concerning (the virtues of Imam 'Ali by heart."^(۲)

Among other narrators being in the service of the family of Marwan, one can refer to .Ibrahim Nakha'i

Ibrahim always “ كان ابراهيم ياتي الأمراء ويسألهم الجوائز ”,It's been narrated from Ibn 'Awn that
”came to the rulers calling them for awards

According to what another one has written about him, Ibrahim himself offered some gifts to the rulers!^(٣) Abul-Zanad, Medina jurist, was among the narrators and Qur'an reciters who had some relationships with Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik.^(٤) Mughira Ibn Muqsam is among other Qur'an-reciters who was the follower of 'Uthman and ^(٥) treated Imam 'Ali (a) aggressively as well.

Amongst the renowned Qur'an reciters and narrators in the service of the Umayyads, Sha'bi ought to be pointed. He took part in 'Abd al-Rahman revolt; however, later on was pardoned through surrendering himself to Hajjaj and spent the rest of his life alongside him and 'Abd al-Malik,^(٦) making up untrue stories with regard to marring the face of some of Shi'ite Muslims, such as Mukhtar, which Tabari has collected in his
.book

Also 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar who lived up to Hajjaj times was more or less confirmed, particularly as 'Abd al-Malik wrote to Hajjaj that he might obey him.^(٧) Raja' Ibn Haywa, another narrator has been referred

p: ٨٤٨

al-Tarikh al-'Arabi wal-Mu'arrikhun, vol. I, p. ١٧٣ -١

al-Majruhin, vol. I, p. ٢٥٨ -٢

Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. I, p. ٧٢ -٣

Ibid, vol. I, p. ١٣٥ -٤

Ibid, vol. I, p. ١٤٥ -٥

Ibid, vol. I, p. ٧٨ -٦

Jami' Bayan al-'Ilm, vol. I, p. ١٤٦ -٧

to as “Sheikh Ahl ash-Sham”, Sheikh of Damascus people, and “Kabir al-Dawla al-Umawiyya”^(٨), the great of the Umayyads government

He was one of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan's relatives and it's been said that he was in

charge of the financial affairs when the rocks of Bayt al-Muqaddas, Jerusalem, were being built.^(۲) Wellhausen brought forth a description of his impression on 'Abd al-Malik government and his sons Walid and Sulayman and has pointed out how he ^(۳)instigated Sulayman to appoint 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz as his successor.

The only service these people were in a position to give was the forgery of those hadiths, traditions, which could be of benefit for the adherents of this family regarding .dispraising the Umayyads's foes and narrating their own dignity

Hadith-narration with regard to obeying the caliphs under any circumstances,^(۴) and being much efficient practically were among the rights of which they won't be put on trial by Allah,^(۵) on account of their being caliphs. When Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik wanted to act in accordance with 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz's conduct after him, forty old Caliphs won't be questioned of their“ ما على الخلفاء حساب ولا كتاب” men confirmed that ^(۶)“deeds.”

The son of Abu Musa Ash'ari, i.e. Abu Burda was among the other scholars dependent upon the Umayyads; who became a judge after the death of Kufa judge, Shurayh.^(۷) Among the dominant duties of such hadith-reciters, were to consolidate the position of Quraysh among the Arabs, and to make some hadith aimed at justifying the unjust

p: ۸۶۹

Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. I, p. ۱۱۸-۱

Ansab al-Ashraf, p. ۲۰۹; qtd in, Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, Wellhausen, p. ۲۰۹-۲

Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, pp ۲۵۶-۲۵۷-۳

Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, al-Musannaf, vol. I, pp ۲۲۹-۲۳۰-۴

Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. ۲۲۳-۵

Ibid p. ۲۴۶-۶

Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. I, p. ۹۵-۷

discrimination considered lawful by the Umayyads, regarding the superiority of Arabs .over non-Arabs

Precede the Quraysh and never let it precede “قدموا قريشاً ولا تقدموها” (1) A hadith such as you” (1) was the continuation of a policy exerted by Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik who (2) ordered those addressing Quraysh abusively to be whipped. (2)

Refuting the traditions narrated by Iraqi scholars and calling them hadith forgers was on the agenda of the Umayyads court. (3) The reason behind this perhaps is that Imam 'Ali (a)'s hadiths were usually circulated in Iraq and this was not satisfying for the Umayyads.

In contrast with those scholars serving the Umayyads in Hijaz or Damascus and sometimes even Iraq, a mass of Kufiyan scholars, both those being pure Shi'ite Muslims or Mutashayyi', a newly converted Shi'ite Muslims, on no account did they deal with the Umayyads, and instead they put their efforts into preserving the correct traditions.

Amongst these traditions typically is, those with respect to the Prophet's Household's virtues which have been preserved, for the most part, by Iraqi traditionalists. It is noteworthy that the Iraqi were not generically the followers of 'Uthmani religion, and were interested in Imam 'Ali (a) and the household of the Prophet; even so they cannot be deemed Shi'ite Muslims, although they were called so traditionally.

Anyhow, amongst these scholars so many were not compatible with the Umayyads and took part in the riots at every opportunity. The participation of a large number of Iraq scholars in Ibn Ash'ath as well as Zayd Ibn

p: ٨٧٠

Tarikh Baghdad, vol. II, p. ٦١ –١

al-Fa'iq fi Gharib al-Hadith, vol. I, p. ١٣٥ –٢

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VI, p. ٣٤٢ –٣

.Ali revolution demonstrates the power of such a position among Iraqi scholars'

Circulation of Israelites and the Prevalence of Story–telling

Among the momentous difficulties of the Islamic culture during the first century A.H., is the penetration of Israelites which have left deep marks at extensive dimensions in both cultural and political areas, to the extent that during ۱۴ centuries its impacts have constantly remained in the thoughts and various interpretive, historical, theological and juristic writings

The first person being tremendously active in this path was 'Abd Allah Ibn Sallam, one of the Jewish scribes who embraces Islam at the Prophet's (S) time. Sources as well as compilers of traditions have got so many of his narrations concerning the circulation of Jew culture among Muslims

Ka'b al-Ahbar was more prominent than him, and given the influence he had on the second caliph(۱), impressed so many companions of the Prophet (S) who narrated traditions, and was able to induce more pernicious damages to the Islamic culture and defile the world of tradition by his baseless narrations from the Jewish books. He was (even highly praised by Mu'awiya (۲)

Akrama, one of the Mawalis of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas, a prominent traditionist has' called him "Rabbani Hadhi al-Umma", "The Devine of this nation".(۳) Among the companions of the Prophet (S), Abu Hurayra and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amr respected him more than the others, to the extent that in some cases Abu Hurayra ascribed his narrations to the Prophet (S) aiming to make them common. In our discussion of the caliphate of the second caliph

p: ۸۷۱

Previously we've discussed this in noting the mental life of the second caliph –۱

Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. II, p. ۳۵۸ –۲

Ibid, vol. II, p. ۳۷۰ –۳

.we will speak of Ka'b al-Ahbar in detail

Ka'b al-Ahbar's actual inheritor was Wahb Ibn Munabba in the late first century and the beginning if the second century. According to what Zuhri has written about him, he

has got tremendous knowledge of the people of the book, and extremely favored in
(this regard.)⁽¹⁾

Wahb traditions have been compiled in Sahih Muslim and Bukhari through Wahb's
brother, Hammam, who himself was the narrator of traditions of Abu Hurayra being
(himself under the influence of Ka'b al-Ahbar.)⁽²⁾

Taking into account the multi-dimensional relationship of Abu Hurayra, Ka'b al-Ahbar,
Wahb Ibn Munabba, and Hammam Ibn Munabba demonstrates their contribution to
the circulation of He was the Ka'b al-Ahbar of his time, and Ka'b al-Ahbar is the most
knowledgeable of the people of his time. And now, what sort of a person is Wahb
(himself, having access to both sciences?!", said Dhahabi about Wahb.⁽³⁾
كتب الاسرائيات " (4) "He frequently narrated from Israelites books."

Wrote Dhahabi elsewhere about him. It's been narrated, by Wahb himself, that he
first believed in predestination; however, having read seventy or so heavenly books,
he recanted these beliefs.⁽⁴⁾

Elsewhere it's been noted that he has studied ٩٢ heavenly books.⁽⁵⁾ Ibn 'Imad Hanbali
has written about him, كان شديد الاعتناء بكتب الاولين واخبار الملاحم وقصصهم بحيث كان يشبه بكعب الاحبار
He took great heed of the books of the primacy people and accounts of the " في زمانه "
bloody fights as well as their stories, to the extent that he

p: ٨٧٢

Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. I, p. ١٠١ –١

loc cit –٢

loc cit –٣

Mizan al-i'tidal, vol. IV, p. ٣٥٣, Mu'jam al-Udaba', vol. XIX, p. ٢٥٩ –٤

Shajarat, vol. I, p. ١٥٠; Mu'jam al-Udaba', vol. XIX, p. ٢٥٩; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. –٥

٥٤٣

(resembled Ka'b al-Ahbar in his time.)⁽¹⁾

After some years, Wahb gained such a high position in Sunnites culture that they There will be“ (٢) [يكون في أمتي رجل يقال له وهب يهب الله له الحكمة](#) (narrated from the Prophet (S “a man among my nation called Wahb, to whom Allah will grant sagacity

He was definitely not heedless of the Umayyads, and he regarded 'Umar Ibn 'Abd (al-'Aziz as Mahdi al-Maw'ud. (٣)

The Umayyads policy not only didn't hinder the publication of Israelian articles and writings, but it did confine it as well. The Umayyads rulers derived many benefits from their knowledge for the popularization and application of their political thoughts in the society

Mu'awiya himself had a Christian counselor namely Sirjawn Ibn Mansur. He was that very person whom Yazid once made his doorkeeper and showed him a treaty – whether true or lie – from Mu'awiya, so that if the people in Kufa revolt, he would commission 'Ubayd Ibn Ziyad to go to Kufa. Afterwards, Sirjawn Ibn Mansur became (the counselor of Marwan Ibn Hakam as well. (٤)

It seems likely that, his son was responsible for the crucial duty of writing about the army and the tribute. (٥) According to some other records, Mu'awiya has reconstructed a ruined church. (٦) If need be, the caliphs referred to the narrations amongst whose narrators was Zuhri, with regard to the virtue of Bayt al-Muqaddas, Jerusalem

When Mecca was in 'Ubayd Ibn Ziyad's hand, Damascus people were faced with difficulty during their pilgrimage to Mecca. According to

p: ٨٧٣

Shajarat, vol. I, p. ١٥٠ -١

al-Majruhin, vol. I, p. ١٧٦ -٢

Tarikh al-Khulafa', pp ٢٣٣-٢٣٥ -٣

al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. ١٤١ -٤

Ibid, vol. V, p. ١٤٨ -٥

See, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. I, pp ٢٠٥-٢٢٨ (Leiden); al-Tanbih wal-Ishraf, pp ٣٠٢-٣٠٧ -٦
(Leiden) quoted in Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya

Ya'qubi, 'Abd al-Malik prevented them from going on pilgrimage to Mecca, in as much as Ibn Zubayr compelled them to pledge allegiance to him as the Muslims' caliph. When opposed to, 'Abd al-Malik told the people that Ibn Shahab Zuhri quoted from your Prophet to you لا تشد الرحال الا الى ثلاثه مساجد, المسجد الحرام ومسجدى ومسجد بيت المقدس وهو يقوم لكم مقام الكعبه " Pack not off but towards the mosque: al-Haram mosque, al-Nabi mosque and al-Aqsa mosque

It is the roach thereon the Holy Prophet allegedly stood during his ascension. Take it in lieu of Ka'ba. Having built a dome for and hung curtains around it, 'Abd al-Malik compelled the people to go around it as they do around Ka'ba. Such a rite had been performed during the Umayyads time. (١)

According to Ibn Khallakan people had congregated there on the day of 'Arafa (the ٩th day of Dhill-Hajja when the pilgrims perform specified actions in 'Arafat). (٢)

It might not have been explicitly mentioned in Arabic sources that performing Hajj in Bayt al-Muqaddas (Jerusalem) had been 'Abd al-Malik's initiation but the only pieces of information reported had been circumambulating around the rock as well as its holiness

Nevertheless, in non-Arabic sources, Europeans, it is precisely stressed that it had been 'Abd al-Malik's order. Utikhyus, one of the first historians in Europe had written it in his book called Annales. (٣) This action manifests how the Israelites had been made use of with the Umayyads's policies side by side

To hold Bayt al-Muqaddas

p: ٨٧٤

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. II, p. ٢٤١; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VIII, pp ٢٨٠, ٢٨١; Hayat al-Hayawan, vol. I, p. ٤٤

in esteem, both 'Abd al-Malik and Hajjaj had committed themselves to building two portals for it. The one built by 'Abd al-Malik was burnt to a crisp by a thunderbolt later.

Hajjaj wrote to him that the following Qur'anic verse was about them

وَاتْلُ عَلَيْهِمْ نَبَأَ بَنِي آدَمَ بِالْحَقِّ إِذْ قَرَّبَا قُرْبَانًا فَتَقَبَّلَ مِنْ أَحَدِهِمَا وَلَمْ يُتَقَبَّلْ مِنَ الْآخَرِ

And relate to them the story of the two sons of Adam with truth when they both“ offered an offering, but it was accepted from one of them and was not accepted from

(the other.” (١)

Any other cases concerning the impacts on 'Abd al-Malik through people of the Book are reported.(٢) During his long (twenty-year) rule over the oriental Islamic lands, Hajjaj was not secure from the scientific dignity of people of the Book therefore, he reinforced their influence on the community through being impressed with them

One of them dates back to the year ٨٤ when he founded the town of Wasit motivated by a Christian monk's prophecy as stated by Tabari. While he had stopped there, accompanied by his troops, he noticed a monk crossing the Tigris and urinating towards his mule at the same time. Dismounting from his mule, the monk removed the polluted soil and threw it in out the river. Hajjaj called him and asked about the reason

He responded that he had read in their books that in this very place a mosque would be built and Allah would be worshipped as long as there were monotheists

p: ٨٧٥

Wafayat al-A'yan, p. ٢٠٦ -١

Ibid vol. VII, pp,٦٨١-٧٨١ -٢

on that earth. Accordingly, Hajjaj laid the foundations for the town of Wasit there and (founded the principal mosque of the town in... (١)

The phrase “we have read in our books that ...” was common while narrating the Israelites statements. Some day when Hajjaj was on his way to Damascus to meet 'Abd al-Malik, he asked a monk whether he had read anything regarding the present status in their books

.”He answered, “Yes

”?He asked again, “By name or description

Sometimes by name without description and sometimes vice versa,” replied the“ monk. After a series of questions, Hajjaj asked about his successor. The answer was .that a man called Yazid would succeed him

.While I am dead or alive”? he asked“

.I do not know”, he answered“

”!Hajjaj asked, “Give a description of him

.”He would be treacherous to you,” said the monk, “I know nothing more“

Remembering Yazid Ibn Muhallab, Khurasan governor, who was also ousted later. (۲)

There is a strong probability that some merely with the aim of deposing Yazid had .conspired to incite the monk to utter such absurd talks

The Christian's penetration into the Umayyads's administration under the name of amanuenses and so on and so forth cleared the way for the Israelites expansion. Mothers of some rulers were Christian bondwomen, in their turns, influential in .disseminating Christian culture in Muslim community

Since Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri's mother was a Christian, Khalid was accused of his religion while being an Umayyads governor in Mecca and Iraq for years. He had built a synagogue for his

,mother to worship. Concerning him, Farazdaq had composed

وكيف يؤم الناس من كانت أمه تدين بان الله ليس بواحد

بنى بيعه فيها الصليب لأمه ويهدم من بغض منارالمساجد

How can he ever be a leader for a nation while his mother is unbeliever in monotheism? The man who had built a synagogue having a cross for her and has [ruined the minarets of the mosques spitefully](#)(١)

According to Isfahani, Khalid had been accused on his father's side as well, one of whose forefathers had been a Jew joining the tribe of Bujayla.(٢) Even Hisham had accused him of heeding more to Christians and Zoroastrians and apportioning [properties among them.](#)(٣)

Khalid Rib'i, well-acquainted with the Israelites, had said,"We found in Torah that sky [and the earth had shed tears for forty days after 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz"](#).(٤)

Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik also paid much attention to the Qur'an recites of Bayt al-Muqaddas. As stated by Ibn Abi 'Ulba, Walid had given many pieces of jewelry to him to distribute among them.(٥) A study of Islamic history can reveal hundreds of impacts [.that Christian and Jewish culture have had on Sunnites culture](#)

It has been also said why 'Abd al-Malik had for the first time coined was that he had been told that based on their books, the followers of the divine Books had been of this [opinion that the caliphs who sanctified Allah on the coins would outlive.](#)(٦)

,Imams took a position against such beliefs. Imam 'Ali (a) had stated

Anyone who has got a book from the early nations“

Wafayat al-A‘yan, vol. II, p. ٢٢٩; concerning ruining the minarets see Rabi‘ al-Abrar, –١
vol. I, p. ٣٢٨
al-Aghani, vol. V, p. ١٧; Wafayat al-A‘yan, vol. II, p. ٢٣٠ –٢
al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. ٢٩٢ –٣
Tarikh al-Khulafa’, p. ٢٤٥ –٤
Ibid p. ٢٢٤ –٥
al-Nuqud al-Islamiyya, al-Miqrizi, p. ١١ –٦

should dispose it as soon as he can.”^(١) It was while these kinds of books had been spread among Muslims. Imam as-Sadiq also in his turn reproached those scholars
(after the Israelites.^(٢)

Earlier, we noticed how Iman as-Sajjad prohibited Hasan Basri from recounting ,stories. It was exactly the continuation of the Prophet's policy that had emphasized

لا تسألوا أهل كتاب عن شيء

(Never ever ask the followers of the divine Books any question^(٣)

These people made efforts to recount the stories respecting the former prophets which had been distorted in Jewish books and usually contained many insults at them as well as false narrations in terms of scholastic theology and jurisprudence. It was .already addressed that story-telling became prevalent from caliph II onward

Later, during 'Uthman's time, telling the Prophet's stories based on Jewish books while interpreting the Qur'anic verses prevailed more than before. Once Mu'awiya
(urged a story-teller to stand up after the prayer and curse Imam 'Ali.^(٤)

The policy of cursing 'Ali (a) was carried on during the Umayyads's tenure by the story-tellers too. When the caliphs realized that the story-tellers needed to be under control, they fabricated some hadiths according to which story-tellers should have worked under the caliph's supervision and personally appointed them in order to .pursue their own political and cultural aims

It was the story-tellers who spread false hadiths among people and had even more

influence on people than hadith-narrators. Surprisingly, regardless of their influence on Sunnites's religious culture, hadith-narrators rejected them saying that it they are

p: ۸۷۸

Jami' Bayan al-'Ilm, vol. I, p. ۷۲-۱

Bihar al-Anwar, vol. II, p. ۱۰۸-۲

(al-Id'ah, p. ۳۱۱) (published by Tehran University -۳

Qissi khaman dar Tarikh Islam, p. ۴۶-۴

[told one hadith they will multiply it.](#)

The caliphs were mainly proponents of the story-tellers and as mentioned above they themselves appointed and dismissed them. Almost all stories dealt with the narrations made by the followers of the divine Books and were all discussed in detail

[elsewhere.](#)

Conquests by the Marwanids Until Late First Century

Although conquests had been somewhat resumed during the time of Yazid Ibn Mu'awiya, in this ۶۰s and until even ۷۳ when Ibn Zubayr was overthrown, they were halted. However, the ground was repaved for them subsequent to establishment of 'Abd al-Malik's broad-based government and Ibn Zubayr's fall

The conquests were limited to several areas, One was in the east including both transoxania and Sistan and the other in the western lands of Islam including Northern Africa and Northern Iraq and Syria called Armenia. Bearing this fact in mind that no consensus is reached on the date of conquests and the quality of their report which have been mingled with irrelevant epics, we present a concise report respecting these conquests

Oriental Conquests

When 'Umar was caliph, the conquests in oriental lands of Islam peaked following the overthrow of the Sassanids Empire. Arabs who considered the conquests as a mission

for expanding Islam and wiping off non-Muslims did not content themselves with the Sassanids' overthrow and advanced towards the vast Khurasan, half of which is now in Iran and the rest in Afghanistan and Middle Asian republics, so fast that they reached Transoxania.

After years of clashes with the local dynasties in such lands, Arabs could after all spread the religion

p: ۸۷۹

Ibid pp. ۸۶-۹۶ -۱

Ibid pp. ۶۵-۷۲ -۲

deeply as near as China. It is worth saying that aside from the motivation of both caliphs and rulers of the aforesaid areas as well as the people to battle against non-Muslims, a desire for gaining spoils was of central importance in Muslim's resistance too.

Khurasan was under the Sassanids' power then. Nevertheless, the more it was advanced towards the east, the less their influence grew and the stronger the local rulers became. The residents of that land were like Turks in Iranians' view. As soon as the conquests crossed the border of Khurasan, Iranians became motivated to cooperate. By the same token, the Iranian's all-out presence beside Arabs in the conquests was eye-catching in the last quarter of the first century.

Although the impediments facing Arabs in such lands were by no means few, their strength in defeating the Sassanids as a superpower together with Islamic attraction and Muslims's treatment could undermine the residents. Professor Gip commented, "Since Arabs' dominance often followed neither murder nor plunder and they contented themselves with the paid Jizya after the capture, the town was evacuated immediately with no serious resistance." [\(1\)](#)

The existing disputes among the local rulers were another reason for the fragility of these lands and consequently facilitative for Muslim Arabs. Muslims's attack to

Transoxania had in essence begun during Mu'awiya's time by Ziyad, Iraqi governor, in the early 50s.

In 51 A.H. he was set to send 5000 Arab families residing in Basra and Kufa out to Khurasan⁽²⁾ in order to materialize his aim which

p: 88.

Futuh al-'Arab dar asiyy markazi, p. 41-1

Futuh al-Buldan, p. 400-2

was stabilization of conquests. The urgency of these Arabs' presence for developing and stabilizing the conquered area was crystal clear. Furthermore, such a movement could precede a number of lateral problems for Muslims one of which was the protracted dispute among the Arab tribes in Khurasan, the origin of most clashes

The strife between the Mudrids and Rabi'a in Khurasan had ended in many deep-rooted conflicts. While Ibn Zubayr in power, 'Abd Allah Ibn Khazim, from among the Qaysids, was the governor. Succeeding Ibn Zubayr's suppression by 'Abd al-Malik, 'Abd Allah was asked to stay there at 'Abd al-Malik's demand

He declined however. 'Abd al-Malik as a consequence invoked Bukayr Ibn Wishah, an agent of 'Abd Allah's in Marw who accepted the request. In a battle between him and 'Abd Allah Ibn Khazim, Ibn Khazim was killed and 'Abd al-Malik could succeed in dominating that land as well.⁽¹⁾

No sooner had 'Abd Allah Ibn Khazim been appointed by Ibn Zubayr as Khurasan governor than the clashes among Arabs in Khurasan had Turks dare advance as near as Niyshabur.⁽²⁾ The clashes among the Arab residents of Khurasan were so prolonged even after Ibn Khazim's death that both Sistan and Khurasan were also entrusted to Hajjaj. Proficient enough during the war with the Kharijites, Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra was appointed by him in 78 to govern Khurasan

The governorship of Muhallab's family father and two sons, Yazid and Mufad'd'al) in

that land lasted about nine years. Nevertheless, following the grudge Hajjaj bore this
,family

p: ۸۸۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp ۲۱, ۲۲; Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۴۰۵-۱

Futuh al-Buldan, pp ۴۰۴, ۴۰۵-۲

he ousted them and substituted Qutayba Ibn Muslim for them. In ۸۰, concurrent with the attack Muhallab had launched on Kashsh, he stayed there for two years and combated non-Muslims. According to Tabari, since there had been no probability of conquest for him, his one and the only desire was to return the army safe and sound
(to Marw.)

Muhallab who passed away in ۸۲ on his way back from Kashsh was replaced by his son, Yazid. In ۸۴, an influential Turk in a fort in Badaghays to whom Yazid had laid siege had to hand over the entire treasure of the fort in a compromise to him and
(leave with his family.)

Hajjaj affected by an eminent follower of the divine Books suspected Yazid Ibn Muhallab in ۸۵ and designated his brother, Mufad'd'al, in place. (۳) As Yazid himself had perceived, such a measure was merely for impairing this family's influence and
.eventually wiping them off the political face of Khurasan and even oriental lands

During his nine-month ruler, Mufad'd'al invaded Badaghays and besides conquering it, he brought spoils. Such conquests of Muhallab's family appeared petty compared with those of Qutayba Ibn Muslim who stepped in Khurasan in ۸۶. At the same time 'Abd al-
.Malik died and his son, Walid, succeeded him

He was the one throughout whose age the greatest conquests were made reminiscent of the primary stages of conquests. Qutayba carried on conquering for nearly ten years during which he endeavored to capture the lands in Transoxania
whether south or

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۱۳۹ –۱

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp ۱۸۶, ۱۸۷ –۲

Ibid vol. V, p. ۱۹۱ –۳

north of Amudarya (Jiyhun). Both Tabari and Baladhuri have addressed these conquests in their books but the analysis of them is beyond the scope of this [chapter](#).[\(۱\)](#)

The reports respecting such issues are evaluated by professor Gibb within four units, Restitution of Takharistan [\(۸۶\)](#), Conquest of Bukhara [\(۸۷\)](#), Growth of influence [\(۹۱\)](#) and Military Expedition to the provinces [\(۹۲\)](#) with Qutayba's death, conquests were halted for a long time although Arabs were still dominant

Embracing Islam had gradually become so prevalent that the conversion of a number of monarchs to Islam by 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz's [\(۹۳\)](#) invitation set the scene for the caliphs' absolute dominance

Qutayba's conquests in the Orient reached China the most noticeable areas of which were Shash and Farghana; however, Arab dominance in that land was exposed to change. They all occurred during the last years of his life, ۹۴ and ۹۵. As soon as he [\(۹۴\)](#) learned Hajjaj's death, he relinquished conquering, upset, and returned to Marw

As reported by Narshakhi the principal mosque of Balkh was founded in ۹۴ [\(۹۵\)](#) indicative of Islam's widespread in the cities of Islamic land. Southern transoxania from Kabul to the south and from Kirman province in Iran to the east was called Sijistan

Two abortive attacks of Arabs one by 'Abd Allah Ibn Umayya and the other by 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Abi Bakra have been reported by Baladhuri. As far as the mountainous position of the area was concerned, the monarch named Ratbil or Zanbil could each [\(۹۶\)](#) time force Muslim Arabs to withdraw

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, the events during ۸۸-۹۵; Futuh al-Buldan, pp ۴۰۹-۴۱۱ -۱

Futuh at a'rab dar asiyyay markazi, from p. ۵۲ on -۲

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۴۱۵ -۳

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۲۶۳ -۴

Futuh at a'rab dar asiyyay markazi, p. ۶۵ -۵

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۳۹۰, ۳۹۱ -۶

Hajjaj dispatched an army headed by 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ash'ath to Sijistan in ۸۰, Zanbil asked for a compromise but 'Abd al-Rahman declined. Arabs could [conquer a large part of Sijistan and gain spoils subsequent to Zanbil's withdrawal.](#)[\(۱\)](#)

Contenting himself with these numbers, 'Abd al-Rahman informed Hajjaj of his decision. Hajjaj urged him, nevertheless, to keep on conquering. 'Abd al-Rahman as well as the Iraqis who had a potential dissatisfaction with Hajjaj revolted discussed [elsewhere in detail](#)

After being defeated, 'Abd al-Rahman sought refuge by Zanbil but in an agreement and under Hajjaj's threat 'Abd al-Rahman's head was sent to him under the conditions of a seven-year or nine-year truce and indemnity. As this period passed by Ashhab Ibn Bishr traveled there on Hajjaj's behalf but his harsh behavior toward [Zanbil made him send him back](#)

Dominant in Khurasan and Sijistan, Qutayba Ibn Muslim sent his brother, 'Amr, to Sijistan. Muslims' former defeats in that land which had cast a spell over it according to 'Amr resulted in a compromise. When Zanbil felt that Muslims had no longer the [ability to attack there, he discontinued paying to the rulers succeeding Hajjaj.](#)[\(۲\)](#)

In ۹۴, Muslims could advance toward India by the Sea of 'Umman and conquer a part of it in addition to Sijistan, under Zanbil's rule.[\(۳\)](#) Among the Indian key cities conquered first by Muslims in ۹۵ was Multan. Until then modern western Pakistan had

entirely been governed by Muslims. (۴

Occidental Conquests

The conquering of Egypt was the start of Muslim

p: ۸۸۴

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp ۱۴۱-۱۴۲; Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۳۹۱ -۱

Futuh al-Buldan, p. ۳۹۲ -۲

Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. ۲۵۷ -۳

Impira Turiyyat al-'Arab, p. ۲۶۰ -۴

conquests in Africa and their penetration into Spain. Egypt was conquered late during 'Umar's caliphate in ۲۰ and ۲۱ A.H. Two years later Tripoli was conquered but not staying there, Muslims came back to Barqa. After a while, the civil wars waged among Muslims had them miss the chance of more conquests in Africa

Muslim disputes in that land were mostly with the rulers designated by East Roman Emperor for Egypt, Ifriqiya (modern Tunisia) and littoral areas of the Mediterranean. Although the local tribes called Barbarians were among the greatest obstacles to conquests, they gradually embraced Islam as conquests multiplied

As already discussed, while Mu'awiya in power, 'Uqba Ibn Nafi', resumed conquering and established the town of Qirawan in ۵۰ as a base for Muslims' next conquests. Nonetheless, in an ambush among the Barbarians, he was killed in ۶۴. With successive attacks, he could penetrate into modern Morocco as near as Fas but he was killed en route back

Once 'Abd al-Malik had suppressed various riots and dominated the whole Islamic lands, conquests in Africa were resumed in ۷۶. At the same time, Hasan Ibn Nu'man launched his conquests by conquering Qartajanna and advanced towards Morocco. Meanwhile, Romans occupied Qartajanna but Hasan who could take it back in ۷۹ razed it to the ground not to allow them to infiltrate into it again. This time, the Barbarians united behind a woman, named Kahina, later, against Muslim Arabs and

.could succeed to get them to retreat as far as the primary conquests

p: ۸۸۵

The only place where Kahina and the Barbarians were overpowered was Tabarja in

۸۳

To pursue Hasan Ibn Nu'man's conquests, Musa Ibn Nusayr resumed them in Africa in ۸۶ and consequently conquered modern Morocco wholly. At the same time, as the Barbarians have been gradually embracing Islam the ground was getting fully [prepared for Arabs'](#) through dominance in northern littoral lands of Africa. [\(۱\)](#)

Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan was the caliph until then who was succeeded by his son' Walid whose endeavors in conquests were the most considerable among the former .caliphs according to Suyuti

One of the commanders of Musa Ibn Nusayr's army was Tariq Ibn Ziyad who has been allegedly a Barbarian although what his father's name indicated was that he might have converted to Islam long time ago. Due to his excellent competence as a commander, Tariq overstepped the bounds of North Africa and took Muslims to Spain .for the first time in ۹۳

A year later Musa Ibn Nusayr set out to Spain as well and maintained the act of conquering there. Among the conquered lands were Tulaytala, Marida, etc. Most areas with no war surrendered to Muslims and as a result Spain became entirely .'Muslim Arabs

Walid's death in ۹۷ and his succession by Sulayman made Musa Ibn Nusayr return to Damascus and be blacklisted by the Umayyads. He wished he had pursued conquests in Italy and France through Spain and then in Greece and constantinople. Walid's death as well as his deposal, however, caused Arabs to remain in

p: ۸۸۶

.Spain and even entrust the land to the Europeans after a couple of centuries

Armenia was among the lands the conquests of which had been begun from 'Umar's time and had been under heavy clashes in the late first century. A vast land was called Armenia by Muslims. Baladhuri has divided it into four parts including such cities as [\(1\)](#) Shimshat, Qaliqala, Busfurjan, Dubayl, Jurzan and Sijistan.

When 'Uthman in power, Habib Ibn Maslama Fihri attacked Qaliqala and not only he conquered it but also based on a treaty the residents were duty-bound to pay [\(2\)](#) Jizya (tributes). Tiflis, Eastern Armenia, was also surrounded by Habib

While 'Abd al-Malik and Ibn Zubayr were in clashes, the residents of such areas appreciated the opportunity and revolted, but they were suppressed after some time and ruled by the Umayyads. [\(3\)](#) During Walid's and Sulayman's age many attacks were made on the Roman central territory. Although in their attacks they even reached as near as the gates of Constantinople, Muslims could never succeed in conquering it

In a nutshell, it can be said that Muslims lost their primary magnificence from the late first century but in return Romans resumed their attacks and were still superior in the second century. Nevertheless, they could by no means conquer Eastern Rome entirely. It was done by 'Uthmanids later in the 10th century after Hijra

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About center

In the name of Allah

هَلِيسْتَوِيَالَّذِيْنَ يَعْلَمُوْنَ وَالَّذِيْنَ لَا يَعْلَمُوْنَ

?Are those who know equal to those who do not know

al-Zumar: ٩

:Introduction

Ghaemiyeh Computer Research Institute of Isfahan, from ۲۰۰۷, under the authority of Ayatollah Haj SayyedHasanFaqihImami (God blesses his soul), by sincere and daily efforts of university and seminary elites and sophisticated groups began its activities in religious, cultural and scientific fields

:Manifesto

Ghaemiyeh Computer Research Institute of Isfahan in order to facilitate and accelerate the accessibility of researchers to the books and tools of research, in the field of Islamic science, and regarding the multiplicity and dispersion of active centers in this field and numerous and inaccessible sources by a mere scientific intention and far from any kind of social, political, tribal and personal prejudices and currents, based on performing a project in the shape of (management of produced and published works from all Shia centers) tries to provide a rich and free collection of books and research papers for the experts, and helpful contents and discussions for the educated generation and all classes of people interested in reading, with various formats in the cyberspace

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.It's obvious that all the responsibilities are due to the author

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We would appreciate the centers, institutes, publications, authors and all honorable
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