

The Battle of the Camel

*Translation of
Al-Jamal wa'l-Nuṣrah li-Sayyid al-'Itrah
fī Ḥarb al-Baṣrah*

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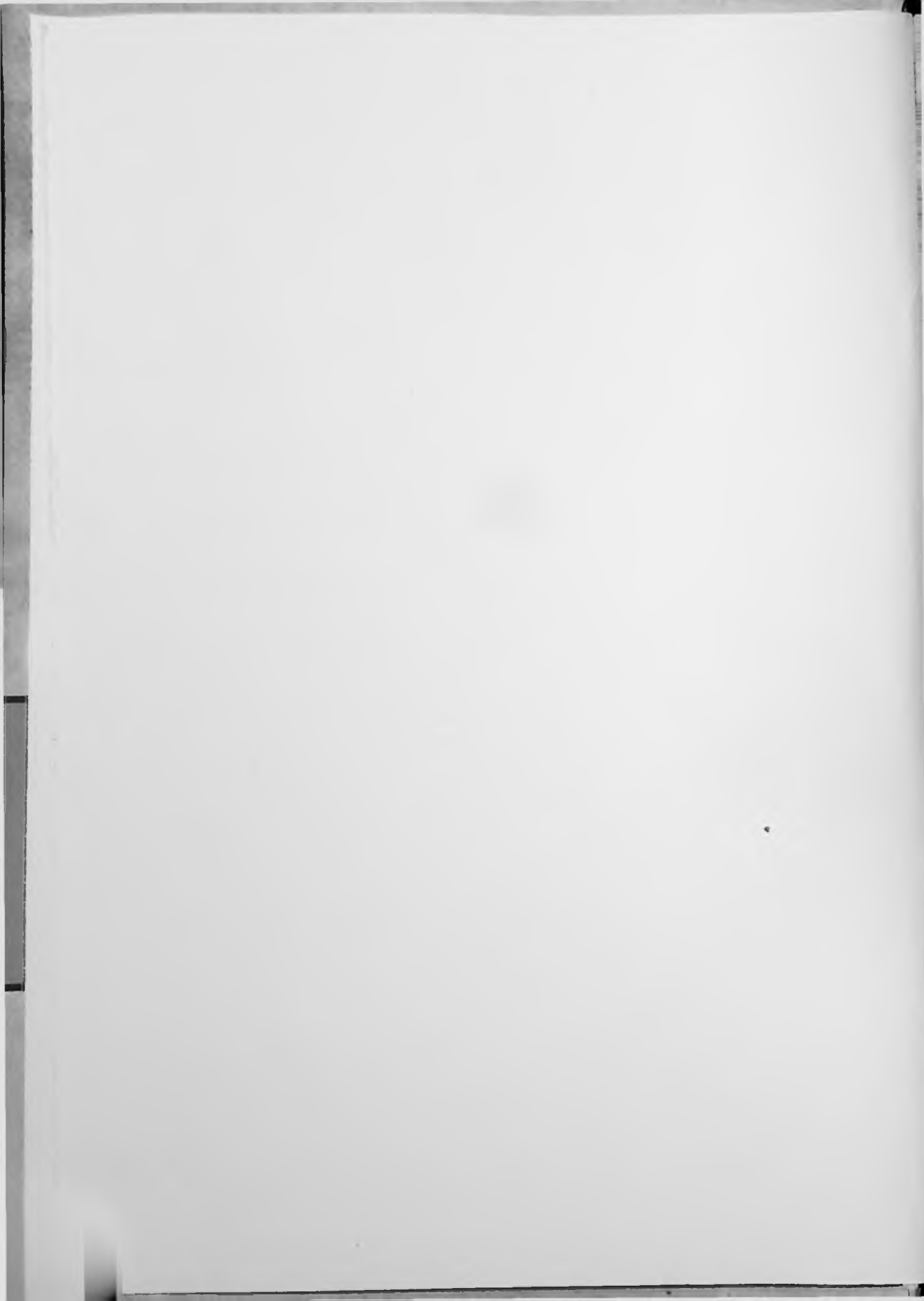
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THE BATTLE OF THE CAMEL

Translation of
Al-Jamal wa'l-Nuṣrah li-Sayyid al-'Itrah
fi Ḥarb al-Baṣrah

Shaykh al-Mufīd
Abū-'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān
al-'Ukbarī al-Baghdādī

Translated by
Badr Shahin

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fi Harb al-Basrah*

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بِسْمِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH,
THE BENEFICENT, THE MERCIFUL

CONTENTS

FOREWORD—11

The author—11

Birth and early life—13

Mentors—14

Students—14

Writings—15

Shaykh al-Mufīd's distinctive features—18

A. The standing of reason in his ideational methodology—19

B. Knowledgeability—21

Social status—23

Scholars' impressions—23

The end—26

The Battle of the Camel—28

Shaykh al-Mufīd's *al-Jamal*—29

Coming out of the book—32

Ascription of the book to its author—32

"Al-Jamal wa'l-Nuṣrah"—34

Versions of the book—37

The book's edition—37

The book Manuscripts—39

PART I: SUPPORTING THE CHIEF OF THE PROPHETIC FAMILY IN THE WAR OF AL-BAṢRAH—41

Introduction: The motive to writing the book—41

The Muslim nation's disagreements about the Sedition of the Camel and the laws of fighting therein—42

Opinions of the other Muslim sects about the parties of the Battle of the Camel—45

Opinion of the Ḥashwiyyah—45

Opinion of Sa'd ibn Abī-Waqqāṣ—45

Opinion of another group of the Ḥashwiyyah—46

Opinion of an insignificant group of the Ḥashwiyyah—47

- Opinion of a faction claiming acquaintance with jurisprudence—47
- Opinions of the Mu'tazilah—51
 - Opinion of Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā' and 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd—51
 - Opinion of Abū'l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf—53
 - Opinion of Abū-Bakr al-Aṣamm—53
 - Opinion of Hishām al-Fūṭī and 'Abbād ibn Sulaymān—54
 - Opinion of other advocates of the Mu'tazilah doctrine—55
- Opinion of the Khawārij—58
- Opinion of the Shī'ah—59
- Infallibility of Imam 'Alī—61
 - Discussions of the appositeness of Imam 'Alī's deeds—61
 - Proofs of Imam 'Alī's having been right in all of his wars—67
 - Objections and answers—70
 - The Khawārij, the Umawiyah, and the 'Uthmāniyyah deny the distinctions and merits of Imam 'Alī—72
 - Another proof on the propriety of Imam 'Alī's actions—74
- Paying homage to Imam 'Alī—75
 - Obedience to Imam 'Alī is a binding duty—78
 - Those who failed to follow Imam 'Alī—79
 - Reasons for failure to join Imam 'Alī in this war—82
 - Who paid homage to Imam 'Alī?—85
 - The Emigrants swear allegiance to Imam 'Alī—86
 - The Helpers swear allegiance to Imam 'Alī—89
 - The Banū-Hāshim swear allegiance to Imam 'Alī—90
 - The other Shī'ah swear allegiance to Imam 'Alī—91
 - Refutation of the claim that the people were forced to pay homage to Imam 'Alī—93
 - Compelling some people on paying homage to Abū-Bakr—96
 - 'Umar Compels the people to pay homage to Abū-Bakr—98
 - The celebrated personalities of the Emigrants hated Abū-Bakr's nominating 'Umar to the position of next leadership—101
 - The Shūrā farce and Imam 'Alī's refusal to pay homage to 'Uthmān—102
 - Imam 'Alī's sermon on the day of paying homage to him—104
 - Al-Shaqshaqiyyah; another sermon of Imam 'Alī—104
 - Imam 'Alī refrains from accepting the office of leadership—106
 - Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr swear allegiance to Imam 'Alī—108
 - Nullity of the opinions adopted by the other sects—110
 - Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's breach of homage—111
 - Reasons for the people's revolting against 'Uthmān—112
 - Imam 'Alī's innocence from the false accusation of rallying people against

- 'Uthmān—118
- Ṭalḥah's attitude to 'Uthmān—120
- Al-Zubayr's attitude to 'Uthmān—121
- 'Ā'ishah's attitude to 'Uthmān—122
- Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr regret pledge of allegiance to Imam 'Alī—125
- 'Ā'ishah joins the renegades and disobeys Allah's directive—126
- 'Ā'ishah's hatred toward Imam 'Alī—129
- 'Ā'ishah's contradictory situations—133
- Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr leave to Makkah—138
- Imam 'Alī's innocence from shedding 'Uthmān's blood—141
- 'Uthmān's Mischievous Deeds Denied by the Muslims—146
 - 'Uthmān cancels the punishment of 'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Umar—146
 - People of al-Kūfah complain to 'Uthmān against al-Walīd—147
 - Abū-Dharr objects to 'Uthmān—148
 - 'Uthmān's fury at executing punishment on al-Walīd—149
 - 'Uthmān returns al-Ḥakam to al-Madīnah—150
 - 'Uthmān appropriates the public treasury—151
 - 'Uthmān beats 'Ammār out of rage—153
 - Imam 'Alī advises 'Uthmān—154
 - 'Uthmān's speech—155
 - 'Uthmān's another speech—156
 - 'Uthmān's letter to Mu'āwiyah—159
- Different attitudes to 'Uthmān—160
 - Imam 'Alī's attitude to the events faced by 'Uthmān—162
- Al-Jāḥiẓ's opinion about Imam 'Alī—165
- The 'Uthmāniyyah's opinion about the slayers of 'Uthmān—168
- Refutations—172
- PART II: THE WAR OF THE CAMEL—182**
 - The onset of arranging for the sedition of al-Baṣrah—182
 - The renegades and the hypocrites meet in Makkah—182
 - Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr call 'Ā'ishah to provoke sedition—185
 - The oppositionists instigate the people to revolt—187
 - Conspiracy of the renegades—190
 - Lady Ummu-Salamah warns 'Ā'ishah—191
 - Imam 'Alī counsels with his companions—193
 - Imam 'Alī's letter to al-Ash'arī—195
 - Imam 'Alī's letter to the people of al-Kūfah—197
 - Imam al-Ḥasan delivers a speech—197
 - 'Ammār's speech—198

- Qays ibn Sa'd's speech—198
 Abū-Mūsā's speech—199
 Zayd ibn Ṣawḥān's reply—200
 'Abd-Khayr protests to Abū-Mūsā—200
 Mālīk al-Ashtar in al-Kūfah—201
 Al-Ashtar in the palace—203
 Imam al-Ḥasan delivers another speech—203
 'Ammār delivers another speech—204
 Al-Ashtar delivers a speech—204
 Ḥujr ibn 'Adī delivers a speech—205
 Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah and Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr in al-Kūfah—206
 Imam 'Alī's letter to the people of al-Kūfah—207
 Imam al-Ḥasan, 'Ammār, and Ibn 'Abbās in al-Kūfah—208
 'Ammār's another speech—210
 Imam al-Ḥasan's speech—210
 Ibn 'Abbās and Abū-Mūsā—210
 Imam 'Alī's sermon in Dhī-Qār—211
 Imam 'Alī's another sermon in Dhī-Qār—212
 Ibn 'Abbās in Dhī-Qār—215
 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf and the Renegades—217
 'Ā'ishah's letter to Ḥaḥṣah—219
 'Ā'ishah's speech in al-Mīrbad—220
 The renegades kill the guards of the public treasury house—222
 The uprising of Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah—223
 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf joins Imam 'Alī—225
 Imam 'Alī in the public treasury house—226
 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr objects to his father—226
 Hesitation of al-Zubayr—227
 Kulayb negotiates with Imam 'Alī—228
 Imam 'Alī foretells the number of the troops—230
 Al-Aḥnaf's situation—231
 'Ā'ishah's letter to the people of al-Madīnah—234
 'Ā'ishah's letter to the people of al-Yamāmah—234
 Ṭalḥah delivers a speech—236
 'Abdullāh ibn Ḥukaym objects to Ṭalḥah—237
 Ṭalḥah delivers another speech—237
 Objections to Ṭalḥah—238
 'Ā'ishah's speech—240

- 'Imrān ibn Ḥuṣayn objects to 'Ā'ishah—241
- Imam 'Alī's advices to the other party—242
- 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās vs. Ṭalḥah—242
- 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās vs. 'Ā'ishah—244
- Appointing commanders and arranging battalions for the war—247
- Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr recruits for the war—249
- 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr delivers a speech—251
- Imam al-Ḥasan delivers a speech—251
- Ṭalḥah delivers a speech—253
- Objections to Ṭalḥah—253
- Imam 'Alī delivers a speech—254
- Imam 'Alī's another sermon on encouragement on fighting—255
- Imam 'Alī releases himself from responsibility toward the other party—256
- Imam 'Alī's gives another advice to the other party—258
- The fight started—260
- Languish of 'Ā'ishah's troops—264
- Ka'b ibn Sūr killed—265
- Mālik with 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr—266
- Bishr al-'Āmirī and Ḥudhayfah—267
- Imam 'Alī rouses his son Muḥammad to the fight—269
- Imam 'Alī delivers a speech—270
- Imam 'Alī prepares for the fight—271
- The companions of the camel ready themselves for the fight—272
- Imam 'Alī forbids killing Abū-Sufyān ibn Ḥuwayṭib—273
- 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr relates the events of the battle—273
- Warning the youths of Quraysh against fighting—275
- 'Ammār's questions to the companions of the camel—277
- 'Ā'ishah frustrated—278
- Mu'ādh ibn 'Ubaydullāh reports the events of the war—282
- 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith reports the events of the war—283
- 'Ā'ishah's Howdah—284
- 'Ā'ishah reports the events of the war—285
- Marwān recounts the defeat of the companions of the camel—287
- Ḥabbah al-'Uranī recounts the events of the War of the Camel—288
- Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullāh killed—289
- The killing of al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām—292
- Imam 'Alī passes by the victims and speaks to them—295
- Burying the bodies of the martyrs—298
- Imam 'Alī's letter to the people of al-Madīnah—298

- Imam 'Alī's letter to Ummu-Hānī—299
- Imam 'Alī's letter to the people of al-Kūfah—300
- Imam 'Alī delivers a speech—301
- Asceticism of Imam 'Alī—301
- Imam 'Alī delivers a speech after the distribution of the money—303
- Imam 'Alī's letter to Qarāzah ibn Ka'b and the people of al-Kūfah—303
- Imam 'Alī's conducts with the people of al-Baṣrah—305
 - Imam 'Alī dispraises the people of al-Baṣrah—306
 - Reasons for 'Ā'ishah's grudge against Imam 'Alī—307
 - Youths of Quraysh plead for security—311
 - Carrying 'Ā'ishah to al-Madīnah—312
 - Marwān's confessions—313
 - The number of the casualties—315
 - Ibn 'Abbās; the new governor of al-Baṣrah—316
 - Imam 'Alī heads for al-Kūfah—317
- More reasons for 'Ā'ishah's harboring grudge against Imam 'Alī—319
 - Reasons for Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr having opposed Imam 'Alī—327

FOREWORD

The author

Shaykh al-Mufīd, Abū-‘Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn (i.e. the son of) Muḥammad ibn al-Nu‘mān al-Ḥārithī al-‘Ukbarī al-Baghdādī, was the most knowledgeable of all scholars, the most versed of all jurists, the head of theologians, the mentor of all legists, the reviver of Islam, the protector of the religion, the great figure of the Muslim community, the pride of the Shī‘ah Muslims, the miracle of his time, and the unmatched of his age—may Allah elevate his status. He was famously known as *Shaykh al-Mufīd*, a nickname that means the useful master scholar.

His gaining this nickname is traceable to the following incident as related by Shaykh al-Mufīd himself:

One day, my mentor Abū-Yāsir Ghulām Abi’l-Jaysh suggested to me, “You may study theology under ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā al-Rummānī and derive scholarly benefits from his knowledge in theology.”

I answered, “I would like to do so, but I neither know him nor am I familiar with him. You may kindly send with me a person to show him to me.”

Abū-Yāsir did and sent a person to show me that mentor. When I attended there, I found the place suffocated with people. So, I sat where I could find a place to sit it. Step by step, I tried to come nearer to the mentor as some people left. While I was there, someone came to him and said, “There is at the door a person from the people of al-Baṣrah who is willing to visit you and present himself before you.”

“Is he a scholar?” ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā asked.

“I have no idea about this,” the man answered. “Yet, I know that he would like to present himself before you.”

So, ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā permitted the man to be present before him. When the man did, the mentor received him with honor and conversed with him for a considerably long time. Within their discourse, the man asked ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā, “What is your opinion about the incident of the Ghadīr Day (i.e. the day when

the Holy Prophet is reported to have declared Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib as the successor to him) and the incident of the Ghār (i.e. Abū-Bakr's joining the Holy Prophet in a cave where they hid themselves during their flight from Makkah to al-Madinah)?"

'Alī ibn 'Īsā answered, "The incident of the Ghār is a fact, while the incident of the Ghadīr is a report. Of course, a report cannot attain the same level of authenticity of facts."

This answer confuted the man that he could not find any reply.

When it was my turn to ask, I said, "O scholar! I have a question."

"Go ahead and pose it," 'Alī ibn 'Īsā said.

I thus said, "What is your opinion about those who fight against the legal head (*imam*) of the Muslim community, who is known for his justice?"

Without hesitation, 'Alī ibn 'Īsā answered, "Such people are judged as unbelievers."

Having realized the consequences of his answer, he said, "They are judged as wicked."

I further asked, "How do you assess the Leader of the Believers (i.e. *amīr al-mu'minīn*); that is, 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib?"

"He was a leader of the community," he answered.

"Now," I went on, "what is your judgment about the Battle of the Camel as well as Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr?"

He answered, "These two persons repented thereafter."

Copying his previous answer, I said, "As for the Battle of the Camel, it was a fact, while the repentance of Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr is only a report!"

"Have you been present when that man from al-Baṣrah asked me?" 'Alī ibn 'Īsā asked.

"Yes, I have," I answered.

"So, this is a fact for a fact and a report for a report!" He commented.

He then asked, "What is your nickname and who is your mentor?"

I answered, "I am known as Ibn al-Mu'allim and I study under Shaykh Abū-'Abdullāh al-Ju'al."

"Stay in your place," he asked. He entered his house and then came to me

holding a sheet of paper on which he had written something and enveloped, "Take this to Abū-'Abdullāh," he asked.

I carried the paper to Abū-'Abdullāh who, having read it, laughed for a long time. He then asked me, "What did you do there at 'Alī ibn 'Īsā's session? He is, in this letter, advising me to take much care of you and he has given you the nickname *mufīd* (i.e. the useful)."

I told my mentor of the whole story. Upon hearing it, he smiled.⁽¹⁾

Birth and early life

Shaykh al-Mufīd was born in the village of Suwayqah ibn al-Baṣrī that is situated in the town of 'Ukbarā' (within the countryside of Baghdad) on the eleventh of Dhu'l-Qa'dah, AH 336.⁽²⁾ Growing up under the custody of his father, he learnt the Holy Qur'ān and some principles of Arabic literature. Accompanying him, he moved to Baghdad where he devoted his efforts to studying under Abū-'Abdullāh al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Baṣrī, known as al-Ju'al, the famous Mu'tazilite master scholar. He then moved to study under Abū-Yāsir Ghulām Abi'l-Jaysh. After many years of study and learning, Shaykh al-Mufīd became an insightful scholar, a great jurist, and a master theologian. Having been known as *al-Mufīd*, he received the headship of the Imāmiyyah Shī'ah sect. 'Aḍud al-Dawlah al-Daylamī, the Buyid Sultan, used to visit him in his house and go to see him whenever he fell sick, although Shaykh al-Mufīd was young.⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ Hillī al-, Abū-Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Aḥmad ibn Idrīs (died in AH 598), *al-Sarā'ir al-Ḥawī li-Tahrir al-Fatāwī*, vol. 3, pages 648-9, 2nd reprint, Islamic Publication Foundation – Qum, 1410 AH;

Warrām ibn Abi-Firās, Abū'l-Ḥusayn (died in AH 605), *Majmū'at Warrām*, pages 621-2, 2nd reprint, Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah – Tehran, AHS 1368.

On page 113 of his book *Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā'*, Ibn Shahr'āshūb writes down: "It was Imam al-Mahdī, the Patron of the Age, who gave him the nickname *Shaykh al-Mufīd*."

⁽²⁾ Najāshī al-, Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Alī (died in AH 450), *Rijāl al-Najāshī* (an index of the names of Shī'ah authors and writers), page 402, 1st edition, annotated by Sayyid Mūsā al-Shubayrī al-Zinjānī, Islamic Publication Foundation – Qum, AH 1407; Al-Hillī, *al-Sarā'ir* 3/648 [the first number represents the volume, while the second represents the number of the page]; *Majmū'at Warrām*, page 621.

However, it is also said that Shaykh al-Mufīd was born in the year AH 338. Refer to *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, page 406 and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Fihrist*, page 158.

⁽³⁾ Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Abū'l-Faḍl Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī (died in AH 852), *Lisān al-Mizān*, vol. 5, page 368, 2nd reprint, al-A'lamī Foundation – Beirut, 1986 AD / 1406 AH.

Mentors

Shaykh al-Mufid lived in the age of scientific renaissance; he thus met, studied under, and attended the classes of a great number of both Shī'ah and non-Shī'ah master scholars in such fields of knowledge as theology, study of the Prophetic traditions, and Muslim jurisprudence. The names of the most famous master scholars from whom Shaykh al-Mufid received his knowledge can be mentioned in the following list:

- Abū-Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, Shaykh al-Ṣadūq (died in AH 381).
- Abū-'Alī Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Jinnīd al-Iskāfī (died in AH 381).
- Abu'l-Qāsim Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Qawlawayh (died in AH 369).
- Abū-Ghālīb Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Rāzī (died in AH 368).
- Abū-'Ubaydullāh Muḥammad ibn 'Imrān al-Marzubānī (died in AH 384).
- Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Sālim al-Ju'ābī (died in AH 355).
- Abū-'Abdullāh al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ju'al al-Baṣrī (died in AH 369).
- 'Alī ibn 'Isā al-Rummānī (died in AH 384).

Students

Shaykh al-Mufid contributed to the graduation of a number of well-versed master scholars, the most prominent of whom were:

- Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā 'Alam al-Hudā 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī (died in AH 436).
- Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī (died in AH 406).
- Abū-Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, Shaykh al-Tūsī (died in AH 460).
- Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Najāshī (died in AH 450).
- Sallār ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Daylamī (died in AH 463).
- Abu'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Karājakī (died in AH 449).

- Abū-Ya'lā Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥamzah al-Ja'fari (died in AH 463).

Writings

Despite his time-consuming engagement in works and in learning and teaching, Shaykh al-Mufīd left behind him a huge scientific heritage that approximated two hundred books on various fields of knowledge.⁽¹⁾ In all of these works, he showed interesting investigations and provided fabulous benefits that revealed the wide scope of his scientific faculty and inclusive information, thus acting as relic for the generations that came after him. For this reason, it is noticeable that our master scholars have relied upon these books in their capacity as high appreciated and significant references. Unfortunately, the majority of these writings were lost, and nothing reached our hands except a very little number of them, such as the following ones:

1. *Kitāb al-Irshād fi Ma'rifat Hujaj Allāh 'alā al-'Ibād* (The Book of Guidance to the Recognition of Allah's Arguments against His Servants): The first of its kind, this book comprises the biographies of the Holy Imams ('a) and their history. For this reason, all those who wrote on these topics took this book for reference and depended upon it. The book has been reprinted many times. Shaykh Sulaymān al-Kāshānī commented on this book elaborately and it was published in Tehran in a voluminous book. Besides, a selection of *Kitāb al-Irshād* has been published in a book, which was given the title: *al-Mustajād min al-Irshād*. This selected book is said to have been written by 'Allāmah al-Hillī. It was lately translated into Persian and published.

Kitāb al-Irshād was translated into many languages, as follows:

Persian Versions

a) Mawlā Muḥammad Masīḥ al-Kāshānī translated the book into Persian and gave it the title: *al-Tuhfah al-Sulaymāniyyah*, as an indication of Shah Sulaymān the Safavid. This meticulous translation was published in a book in

⁽¹⁾ *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, pages 399-402; Ṭūsī al-, Abū-Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan (died in AH 460), *al-Fihrist*, page 158, prepared by Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm, al-Raḍī Publications – Qum. [Offset from al-Maktabah al-Raḍawīyyah Library, Holy Najaf]; Ibn Shahr'āshūb al-Māzandarānī, Abū-Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (died in AH 588), *Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā' fi Kutub al-Shī'ah wa-Asmā'i al-Muṣannifin minhum Qadīman wa-Ḥadīthan*, pages 113-4, prepared by Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm, al-Ḥaydariyyah Press – Holy Najaf, AD 1987 / AH 1407; Ṭūsī al-, Abū-Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan (died in AH 460), *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām fi Sharḥ al-Muqni'ah*, vol. 1, pages 22-30, prepared by Sayyid Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Khirsān, 3rd reprint, Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah – Tehran, AH 1364; McDermott, Martin, *The Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufid*, pages 36-60.

AH 1303.

b) 'Alī Bakhsh ibn Iskandar ibn 'Abbās Shāh ibn Fath-'Alī, the Qajar king, translated the chapter that deals with the biography of Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Tālib ('a). Yet, this translation has not been published yet. A manuscript of it is still saved in the Public Library of Ayatollah al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī, under no. 776.

c) Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ardakānī also translated this book for Muḥammad Walī al-Mīrzā. This translation has not been published either, and a copy of it is saved in the Central Library of Tehran University under no. 6933.

d) Muḥammad Bāqir al-Sā'idī al-Khurāsānī's Persian translation of the book was published in Tehran in AH 1351.

e) Finally, Sayyid Hāshim al-Rasūlī al-Maḥallātī's translation of the book was published along with the Arabic text in Tehran.

Urdu Versions

There are three Urdu translations of the book, made by these scholars:

- a) Shaykh Muḥammad I'jāz Ḥusayn,
- b) Malak Muḥammad Sharīf, and
- c) Sayyid Ṣafdar Ḥusayn al-Naqawī.⁽¹⁾

English Version

The English version of the book was translated by Dr. Howard and published in London and then in Iran by offset.⁽²⁾

2. *Al-Muqni'ah* (The Cogent): A highly valuable and elaborative, this book comprises all sections of the Muslim jurisprudence and begins with details about the principles of Islam. It is the foremost of all books on the jurisprudence of the Imāmiyyah Shī'ah sect. Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, the lofty student of Shaykh al-Mufid, wrote a commentary on this book in a ten-volume book that he entitled: *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*. This book, which was published many times, is considered one of the four most reliable reference books of traditions for the Shī'ah.

3. *Al-Jamal wa'l-Nuṣrah li-Sayyid al-'Itrah fī Ḥarb al-Baṣrah* (The Camel and Supporting the Chief of the Prophet's Progeny at the War of al-Baṣrah):

⁽¹⁾ *Tazkire 'ulemāye imāmiyyeh Pakistan*, pages 266, 315, and 138.

⁽²⁾ *Kitāb al-Irshād: The book of guidance into the lives of the Twelve Imams*. By: Shaykh al-Mufid. Translated into English by I. K. A. Howard. Published by Ansariyan Publications.

This is the current book, which we will discuss in details in the coming chapter of this introduction.

4. *Al-Amālī* (The Dictations): Also known as *al-Majālis* (The Sessions), this book was arranged according to the session that Shaykh al-Mufīd delivered and dictated. They are forty two sessions in number, the first of which was delivered by Shaykh al-Mufīd at the house of Ḍamrah Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fārisī, that was situated at Darb Rabāḥ Street, al-Zayyārīn Quarter, the city of Baghdad (also known as *Madīnat al-Salām*; meaning, the city of peace), on Saturday, the first of Ramaḍān, AH 404. The last of these sessions were held on Saturday, the twenty-seventh of Ramaḍān, AH. 411.⁽¹⁾

Recently, this book has been translated into Persian by Ḥusayn Ustād Walī. The translation can be found in a published book. Yet, a brief copy of the book is found as manuscript in the Public Library of Sayyid al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī under no. 1600, where the chains of authority were deleted.

5. *Al-'Uyūn wa'l-Maḥāsin* (Selections and Amenities): This book is a collection of debates led by Shaykh al-Mufīd with the followers of other sects. Sayyid al-Murtaḍā selected certain parts of this book and compiled them in a book that he entitled: *Al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārāh min al-'Uyūn wa'l-Maḥāsin*. This book was published in the holy city of al-Najaf and was translated into Persian by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Khānsārī. The Persian version of the book was published in Tehran.

6. *Awā'il al-Maqālāt fi'l-Madhāhib wa'l-Mukhtārāt* (Primary Treatises on the Sects and Schools of Theology): This precious book comprises the distinctive features of the Imāmiyyah School in the field of principles of theology. In fact, the book embodies the points that discriminate the Mu'tazilah thought from the Shī'ah thought in theology. Introducing this book, Shaykh al-Mufīd wrote down:

“By the will of Allah, and through the success granted to me by Him, I have mentioned in this book the differences between the Shī'ah and the Mu'tazilah. The book also comprises the points of similarity between the conception of the Divine ultimate justice as believed by the Shī'ah and a party of the Mu'tazilah, as well as the points of difference between the Imāmiyyah and them in the principles of theology they agreed upon, despite their difference in general.”⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, pages 1 and 350.

⁽²⁾ Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*, page 40.

7. *Taṣḥīḥ al-l'tiqād bi-Ṣawāb al-Intiqād* (Correcting the Beliefs through Accurate Criticism): This book is a critical commentary on the book of *Kitāb al-'Aqā'id* written by his mentor Shaykh al-Ṣadūq. In this book, Shaykh al-Mufīd weighs up and evaluates the views and opinions of Shaykh al-Ṣadūq with regard to issues of beliefs. The book was published with the revision and commentary of Sayyid Hibatullāh al-Shahristānī.

8. *Al-lfṣāḥ fī'l-Imāmah* (Clarification of Imamate): This book comprises a detailed study of proving the religious leadership of Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a). The author thus mentions and disproves of the points of evidence provided by the opponents to prove the opposite. Consequently, the author proves the Imamate of Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib.

9. *Al-Mas'alah al-Kāfiyah fī Ibṭāl Tawbat al-Khāṭiyah* (Adequate Explanation of Disproving the Repentance of the Wrongdoers): In this book, Shaykh al-Mufīd discusses the claims of the repentance of 'Ā'ishah, al-Zubayr, and Ṭalhah and their regret at the sin they committed during the Sedition of the Camel. This book was with 'Allāmah al-Majlisī, who quoted a part of it in his encyclopedic book, *Biḥār al-Anwār*. A copy of the book is also found in the library of the late Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī.⁽¹⁾

10. *Kitāb al-Mazār* (Book on Pilgrimages): Composed of two parts, the first part of the book is restricted to mentioning the merits of the cities of al-Kūfah, Karbalā' and the merits of pilgrimages to the holy tombs of Imam 'Alī and Imam al-Ḥusayn ('a) along with the etiquettes and method of visiting these tombs as well as the tombs of al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī and the martyrs of Karbalā'. In the second part of the book, the author mentions, yet briefly, the merits and the etiquettes and methods of visiting the tombs of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ), Lady Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' ('a), and the Holy Imams ('a). Lately, the book was published in Iran.

Shaykh al-Mufīd's distinctive features

Owing to his sublime reputation and praiseworthy excellences, Shaykh al-Mufīd is too famous to need introducing. Likewise, his virtuous contributions are too great to be described. He had the highest hand in a big variety of sciences, such as Muslim jurisprudence and its principles, theology, Prophetic traditions, history, and literature. Many studies have been written and

⁽¹⁾ Refer to: *Āshnāyi bā chand nuskheye khaṭṭī*, page 148. Lately, my friend Shaykh 'Alī Akbar Zamānī-Nejhād revised the book and dedicated a part of his revision to the amount of this book that was quoted in *Biḥār al-Anwār*. This revised copy of the book will be published by Shaykh al-Mufīd's Conference.

published about his scientific achievements. Besides, his name is mentioned in every book on the biography of scholars. Let us now refer to some of his features:

A. The standing of reason in his ideational methodology

Amongst the most distinguished features of Shaykh al-Mufid was his free thinking and rational methodology. He lived in the third and fourth centuries, which are considered epochs of the openness and circulation of the *ḥadīth* science (knowing, transmitting, and studying the Prophetic tradition and its terminology), since this field of religious knowledge attained its universal perfection during these two centuries when those studying this field of knowledge paid very much attention to the body of the Prophetic traditions and studied carefully the chains of authority and the transmission of these traditions without paying a due attention to the contents. Although these efforts are praiseworthy in themselves, it is argued that this methodology might act as obstacle from the integration and growth of sciences in general and as stumbling stone in the wheel of evolution and advancement of sciences generally and human progress particularly. In fact, this rigid methodology suspended all sciences on a stage of callosity and inflexibility.

Owing to his powerful cognizance and perfect awareness, Shaykh al-Mufid created a distinctive method of dealing with these sciences and succeeded to transfer them from the stage of rigidity to a new stage of flexibility within the depicted frame. Thanks to his distinctive features, he imparted to reason an independent and important role in the process of understanding and developing these sciences. As a result of his free thinking, sciences reached a stage of ideational and scientific integration in his age. For this reason, his books and writings are considered references on which the grand and virtuous scholars depend. His methodology of understanding the sciences is a station at which all well-versed scholars have to stop and adopt. Hence, the opponents cannot find any other way than keeping silent and succumbing to his methodology through which he could hurl reason into all sciences and give it a major role in all fields of knowledge. Thus, Shaykh al-Mufid's worked contributed to raising the scientific level and cultural growth of the Imāmiyyah ideology after it was surrounded by dangers from all sides.

At the hands of Shaykh al-Mufid, the Shi'ite ideology became powerful after it was forced to be weak and rigid because it was the target of both scholars and politicians who ruled in the earlier ages. For this reason, it was said about Shaykh al-Mufid, "He did favor to each and every follower of the Imāmiyyah

school.”⁽¹⁾

Applying his methodology to himself first, Shaykh al-Mufīd criticized with due respect and veneration the opinions of his mentor and master scholar, Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, in the issue of the number of the days of Ramaḍān. More importantly, he also criticized Shaykh al-Ṣadūq’s book known as *‘Aqā’id al-Ṣadūq* (i.e. the creeds), arguing that some of these creeds cannot be ascribed to the Shī’ah; rather, they were no more than illusions that came to Shaykh al-Ṣadūq. He therefore started on correcting the creeds that he deemed untrue.

On pages 34 and 35 of *Taṣḥīḥ al-I’tiqād*, Shaykh al-Mufīd, criticizing his mentor Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, writes down:

“What has been mentioned by Shaykh Abū-Ja’far—may Allah have mercy on him—in his book is inconceivable, since it entails contradiction and inconsistency. The reason is that he depended upon the apparent meanings held by different narrations and failed to act upon his mental vision; therefore, he failed to discriminate between the true and the false and to rest upon the provable ones only. Of course, any one who founds his beliefs on inconsistent and conflicting claims and follows the transmitters of traditions imitatively will have to encounter weakness, as we have already described.”

On page 63, *Chapter: Selves and Spirits*, Shaykh al-Mufīd further says:

“The words of Abū-Ja’far about selves and spirits are based on guesstimating but not on careful contemplation. If he had only mentioned the narrations and avoided explaining their purports, this would have been better than involving himself in an issue that his methodology is too narrow to break through it.”

On page 68, he argues:

“The statements of Abū-Ja’far in defining spirits and selves are not more than a copy of the claim of the Reincarnationists, although he failed to know that. Thus, he committed a great felony against himself and against others. His claim that selves are eternal is in fact blameworthy and incompatible with the words of the Qur’ān.”

On page 69, Shaykh al-Mufīd, criticizing his mentor Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, says:

“His whimsical words are in fact the same words adopted by many atheist philosophers who claimed that the self is neither transient nor liable to

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān* 5/368.

decay; rather, it is eternal, while it is only the compound bodies that are subjected to extinction and decay. Adopting the same idea, some of those who believe in reincarnation claim that selves are continuously repeating themselves in different images and physical figures, since they are neither created nor mortal and they will never cease to exist; that is, selves are perpetual and immortal. In fact, this is the most vicious view and the remotest from the truth and it involves very much hideousness and fallacy. The opponents of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) calumniated and made false charges against the Shī'ah, accusing them of adopting such ideas and indicting them as miscreants. If the writer of these ideas were to know what actually lies therein, he would never note them down. Unfortunately, some of our scholars who cling to the traditions are so naïve and inexperienced that they accept any tradition they hear without checking the chains of authority of these narrations; so, they fail to distinguish between the true and the false or to understand what would happen to them if they transmit these traditions before trying to understand the meanings they imply."

It is not strange for every one who enjoys free thinking and employs his intellect in all sciences to apply to himself this principle: "We are with the evidence; wherever it turns, we turn with it."

Shaykh al-Mufīd also criticized his other mentor, Ibn al-Jinnīd al-Iskāfī, on more than one occasion. For instance, he disagreed with him on the issue of employing personal views and orientation in the process of deducing religious opinions from their sources, which is terminologically known as *ijtihad*.

Shaykh al-Mufīd also criticized the book of his other mentor, 'Alī ibn 'Īsā al-Rummānī,⁽¹⁾ as well as many others. Examples of such criticism can easily be found in any of Shaykh al-Mufīd's books whose reader can stumble on excellent examples of his free thinking, scientific methodology, elegant realization, and integrated insight.

B. Knowledgeability

Shaykh al-Mufīd was characterized by extensive knowledgeability and vast comprehensibility of all fields of Islamic knowledge, as well as other sciences. In addition to his having been skilled master scholar of Muslim jurisprudence and its principles, he was man of letters, historian, theologian, experienced in the science of *ḥadīth*, and brilliant orator. He was the supreme authority of the Shī'ah as he assumed the office of leadership of the Imāmiyyah. He was also a talented teacher; tens of such skillful scholars as

⁽¹⁾Refer to *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, pages 399 and 402.

Sharif al-Murtaḍā, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, Shaykh al-Najāshī, and many others, studied under him and graduated from his school. He also assumed the office of giving answers to the different questions that were posed to him from all the countries of the Muslim world. He thus defended the Imāmiyyah school painstakingly and has full acquaintance with the requirements of the Islamic words; so, he wrote precious books on different fields of knowledge.

It is noteworthy that Shaykh al-Mufīd had very much knowledge with the history of Islam; therefore, he was unique, well-versed, and authority in historiography. He was the first to record comprehensively the history of the Holy Imams ('a) in his book *Kitāb al-Irshād*. All those who came after him took this book for reference, studied it thoroughly, and derived very much information from it. Thus, this book is considered the pioneer in the field of writing the biographies of the Holy Imams ('a).

Shaykh al-Mufīd also wrote a detailed book on the events that took place before, during, and after the Battle of the Camel in such a distinguished way that his book is regarded as the best of its kind. The book was thus written in a style that was not familiar in that age; that is, the style of investigation and thorough study of the events. In the fourth century, this work was considered to be semi-miraculous, since Shaykh al-Mufīd followed two unprecedented methods of writing: The first was the method of investigation and analysis. He did not write down all the narrations and tales that were reported about the Battle of the Camel; rather, he followed a new style founded on reason and logic. The second method was that Shaykh al-Mufīd, in this book, resorted to the oldest and most important references and overlooked the reports of al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas'ūdī, al-Ya'qūbī, al-Daynawarī, and the other well-known historians of that age, although his students, like Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, Sayyid al-Raḍī, and Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, used to quote these historians.

It is worth mentioning that Muḥammad ibn Idris al-Ḥillī, the famous Shī'ite master scholar of jurisprudence, made a mistake when he tried to evaluate Shaykh al-Mufīd's proficiency in history. He thus criticized him by saying:

"In his *Kitāb al-Irshād*, our master scholar Shaykh al-Mufīd claimed that the son of Imam al-Ḥusayn ('a) who was martyred in Karbalā' in the Battle of al-Ṭaff was 'Alī al-Aṣghar whose mother was from the Banī-Thaqīf tribe, while his other son who is known as 'Alī al-Akbar is the same Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn ('a) whose mother is a bondmaid; namely, Shāh-Zanān the daughter of Khosrow Yazdgerd. For acquainting oneself with the most accurate opinion in this regard, it is most proper to refer to those who are experienced in this field; namely, genealogists, biographers, and

historiographers, such as al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār... and Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Daynawarī.”⁽¹⁾

Self-evidently, these words are not accurate. In fact, this wrong idea was adopted by Ibn Idrīs because he was not well-conversant with history and he could not realize the superiority of Shaykh al-Mufīd in this field of knowledge; therefore, it is unfeasible to depend upon Ibn Idrīs’s opinion. Those who have the least familiarity with the knowledge of history know for sure that Shaykh al-Mufīd cannot be compared by Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Daynawarī, because the knowledge of the latter restricted to computation, logic, and botany.

Social status

During the lifetime of Shaykh al-Mufīd, the city of Baghdad was the capital of the Islamic State and was replete with scholars of various Islamic sects and schools. It was thus regarded as the cultural center of the Islamic world. Sessions of discussion, debate, research, and disputes about the preference of a certain school over the others were held continuously in the presence of the rulers and the ruling authorities. Shaykh al-Mufīd used to present himself in these sessions to debate, argue, and refute the spurious arguments that were raised by the scholars of other schools against the Imāmiyyah School. He also answered back whatever arguments that were said about the Shī’ah not only in Baghdad but also in every place he went during his journeys, as is indicated by some of his books.⁽²⁾

Shaykh al-Mufīd defended the Shī’ah and Shī’ism with his tongue and pen, leaving such a great influence in Baghdad that his enemies and opponents always hoped that he would die. They could not hide their joy and delight for his death. For instance, Ibn al-Naqīb held celebrations of joy when he heard about the passing away of Shaykh al-Mufīd. He thus declared, “Now, I do not care at which time I will die, because I have witnessed the death of Ibn al-Mu’allim (the son of the teacher; one of the nicknames of Shaykh al-Mufīd).”⁽³⁾

Scholars’ impressions

Not only did the virtuous and master scholars praised Shaykh al-Mufīd and gave credit to his knowledgeability, but also his opponents acknowledged his

⁽¹⁾ Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī, *al-Sarā’ir* 1/655.

⁽²⁾ Refer to: Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārāh*, pages 274 and 277.

⁽³⁾ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tarikh Baghdād* 10/382.

high scientific status. Because of our method of brevity, we will quote a few words of the scholars in praise of Shaykh al-Mufid:

Ibn al-Nadīm, introducing Shaykh al-Mufid, says:

“Ibn al-Mu'allim, Abū-'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān: In our age, he assumes the position of leadership of the Shi'ah Imāmiyyah scholars of jurisprudence, theology, and history. In the field of theology, he is the best of his acquaintances. He is meticulously shrewd and decisively sagacious. I met and found him excellent.”⁽¹⁾

Al-Najāshi says about him:

“Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān... is our mentor and master scholars—may Allah have mercy upon him. His superiority is too famous to be described, especially in the fields of jurisprudence, theology, narrations, trustworthiness, and knowledge.”⁽²⁾

As for Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, he says:

“Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān al-Mufid. His nickname is Abū-'Abdullāh, and he is known as Ibn al-Mu'allim. He was one of the master theologians of the Imāmiyyah scholars. At his time, he assumed the office of leadership of the Imāmiyyah School. He was an advanced master scholar in jurisprudence, intelligent, perspicacious, and ready-witted. He wrote about two hundred books, both small and voluminous. The index of his books is known to everyone.”⁽³⁾

Ibn al-Jawzī described him as follows:

“Ibn al-Mu'allim... was the chief and master scholar of the Imāmiyyah. He wrote many books on the Imāmiyyah School. Al-Murtaḍā was one of his students. He held sessions of debate in his house that was situated at Darb-Rabāḥ where scholars of different sects were present there. He enjoyed high standing in the sight of the rulers of the various countries whom he called to his sect.”⁽⁴⁾

As for 'Allāmah al-Ḥillī, he said:

“Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān: His teknonym is Abū-'Abdullāh and his nickname is al-Mufid. The reason for this nickname has

(1) Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, pages 226 and 247.

(2) *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, page 399.

(3) Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pages 157-158.

(4) Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Mutazam* 8/11.

been mentioned in my other book: *al-Kabir*. He, also known as Ibn al-Mu'allim, was one of the most distinguished master scholars of the Shī'ah and was their chief and mentor. All those who came after him depended upon his knowledge, which is too high to be described, especially in the fields of Shi'ite jurisprudence, theology, and Prophetic traditions. He was the most trustworthy and the most knowledgeable of all scholars of his time. At his time, he assumed the office of leadership of the Imāmiyyah School. He was intelligent, perspicacious, and ready-witted. He wrote about two hundred books, both small and voluminous."⁽¹⁾

Al-Dhahabī said about Shaykh al-Mufid:

"The master scholar of the Rāfiḍah and the writer of numerous books, Shaykh al-Mufid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān, was a Shi'ite dweller of Baghdad. He is also known as Ibn al-Mu'allim. He was a master scholar in many arts, such as the art of debate, theology, Mu'tazilah, and literature. Mentioning him in *Tarikh al-Imāmiyyah*, Ibn Abi-Tayy introduced him so richly and elaborately. He thus said: He was illustriously distinguished in all fields of knowledge, including jurisprudence, narrations, biographies of transmitters of traditions, Qur'ānic exegesis, grammar, and poetry. He debated the followers of every creed and enjoyed a great standing in the Buyid State and high position with the rulers. He was strong-spirited and enormously charitable. He was known for his remarkable submission as he used to offer prayers and observe fasting very frequently. He used to wear rough clothes (as a sign of asceticism). He always read books and educated himself. He was thus the best of all people in retaining and acquiring knowledge. He is said to have learnt each and every book written by the opponents. For this reason, he was able to give adequate answers to every spurious argument that was raised against his sect. He was the most desirous for learning; so, he always visited libraries and bookstores. 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, the Ḥamdānite ruler, is said to have visited him and said: Ask for anything, and it will be done for you."⁽²⁾

Al-Yāfi'i said:

"...This was also the year of the passing away of the master scholar of the Shī'ah and the leader of the Rāfiḍah, the author of numerous books; that is, their chief whom is known as Shaykh al-Mufid and also as Ibn al-

⁽¹⁾ 'Allāmah al-Ḥilli, *al-Rijāl*, page 147.

⁽²⁾ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'* 17/344.

Mu'allim. He was brilliant in theology, debates, and jurisprudence. He debated the followers of every creed and enjoyed a high and lofty position in the sight of the Buyid State. He was middle-sized, thin, and brown."⁽¹⁾

Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī said about him:

"Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān, Shaykh al-Mufid, the master scholar of the Rāfiḍah: Abū-'Abdullāh, Ibn al-Mu'allim, was the author of fabulous books, which were two hundred in number, in which he criticized the *ancestors*. He managed many debates against the opponents on account of the support he received from 'Aḍud al-Dawlah. He was known for his harsh asceticism, submission, and applying himself eagerly to knowledge and learning. A good number of scholars graduated from his school. He was so proficient in the Imāmiyyah knowledge to the degree that it was said about him, 'He did favor to each and every follower of the Imāmiyyah Sect.' His father was a teacher (*mu'allim*) in Wāsiṭ where he was born. He was killed in 'Ukabrā'. 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, the Ḥamdānite ruler, is said to have visited him at his house and pay a visit to him whenever he fell sick. Sharīf Abū-Ya'lā al-Ja'farī said: "'Aḍud al-Dawlah married Shaykh al-Mufid's daughter.' He never slept at night except for a few hours, while he used to spend the other time in offering prayers, reading, studying, and reciting the Holy Qur'ān."⁽²⁾

Introducing Shaykh al-Mufid, Ibn Kathīr said:

"Son of al-Nu'mān was the chief, writer, and defender of the Imāmiyyah. He enjoyed high standings in the view of the rulers, because the people of that time tended to Shī'ism. His sessions were attended by a huge number of scholars of all other sects. Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and Sharīf al-Raḍī were within his students."⁽³⁾

In his famous book *al-Iḥtijāj*, al-Ṭabarsī mentions that two documents were issued from the Holy Imam in favor of Shaykh al-Mufid.⁽⁴⁾

The end

Disorder attacked Baghdad, causing the ruling authorities to fall in confusion and submit to the sectarian seditions. As a result, Shaykh al-Mufid was exiled from Baghdad three times during the years AH 393, 398, and 409 or 408. Yet,

⁽¹⁾ Al-Yāfi'i, *Mir'āt al-Jinān* 3/28.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān* 5/368.

⁽³⁾ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 12/15.

⁽⁴⁾ Al-Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtijāj* 2/18, 325.

he was returned to the city a short time after exile with all due respect, honor, and high standing.

He passed away in Baghdad at Thursday night on the third of Ramaḍān, AH 413. His loyal student, Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, led the congregational Deceased Prayer for his body at the al-Ushnān Square. The people who attended the funeral were so many that the square was suffocated with them. About eighty thousand persons from the Shī'ah and a huge number of Sunnis participated in Shaykh al-Mufīd's funeral ceremony. Although he was aged, the news of his passing away astounded people. So, the day of his passing away became one of the famous days in the history of Baghdad because of the great numbers of people who participated in his funeral ceremony and who wept for losing him. For a few years, his dead body was buried in his house, but it was then moved to the holy shrine of Imam al-Kāzīm ('a) to be buried next to the grave of his mentor, Abu'l-Qāsim Ja'far ibn Qawlawayh, to the side of the feet of Imam al-Jawād ('a).⁽¹⁾

In the present day, Shaykh al-Mufīd's tomb is situated in the portico of Imam al-Kāzīm's holy shrine. It has become a pilgrimage place where all people, both the ordinary and the scholars, are visiting the tomb and seeking blessings therein. Many poets elegized Shaykh al-Mufīd, such as Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Ṣūrī, Mihyār al-Daylamī, and many others.

The poetic verses that are engraved on his tomb are said to have been composed by Imam al-Mahdī ('a). They read as follows:

May your death never be announced! In fact, the day of your death is an astounding day for the Prophet's Family.

If you have been hidden in a chest under the dust, justice and monotheism will always be known from you.

Al-Mahdī, the Rising Imam, rejoices whenever lessons of your knowledge are studied.⁽²⁾

Shaykh al-Mufīd was actually useful. He contributed greatly to the revival of the Islamic knowledge and Qur'ānic notions. He circulated the Shī'ite education and opened out the jurisprudence of the Imāmiyyah Shī'ah. During his lifetime, he was *mufīd* (useful) and he will always be useful through his

⁽¹⁾ *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, pages 402 and 403; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Fihrist*, page 158; 'Allāmah al-Ḥilli's *al-Rijāl*, page 147.

⁽²⁾ Nūrullāh al-Mar'ashī al-Shūshtārī, *Majālis al-Mu'minin* 1/477; Al-Mīrzā al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'* 5/177; Baḥr al-'Ulūm, *al-Rijāl* 3/322; 'Abbās al-Qummī, *al-Kunā wa'l-Alqāb* 3/165.

books and writings that we have received throughout history. Today, we are seeking enlightenment from his precious heritage. Peace be upon him the day he was born; peace be upon him the day he passed away; and peace be upon him the day he will be resurrected!

The Battle of the Camel

The battle or, more precisely, the sedition of the camel took place in the early stage of Imam 'Alī's government, in the year AH 36, and was led by 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr under the false pretext of revenging for 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān's assassination, although these people were within the participants in 'Uthmān's assassination as is frankly indicated by historical facts. It is worth mentioning that Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī-Sufyān was the motivator of all these events. Referring to this fact, Imam 'Alī the Leader of the Believers said in one of his speeches:

"It was Mu'āwiyah who had sent letters to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr from the Shām (i.e. Levant) to seduce them into revolting against me. Yet, they concealed the matter from me and revolted trying to make the rabble believe that they are demanding with revenging for the bloodshed of 'Uthmān."⁽¹⁾

Besides, there are numerous points of evidence confirming this fact. Yet, it is not proper to mention them here.

The Sedition of the Camel was the first civil between two Muslim parties. In fact, it was the most difficult war for all Muslims in general and for their jurisprudents in particular, because they could not acquaint themselves with the jurisprudential laws appertained to the prisoners of war as well as other related issues except through the conducts of Imam 'Alī ('a) during the Battle of the Camel. In this regard, Abū-Ḥanīfah, the founder of the Ḥanafīyyah School of Islamic Law, expresses:

"Had it not been for the conduct of Imam 'Alī ('a) with the transgressing party, we would never have been able to recognize the laws of treating with them."⁽²⁾

As for Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, the founder of the Shāfi'iyyah School of Islamic Law, he said:

"We could not have had any idea about the laws of the transgressing party

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Jamal*, page 268.

⁽²⁾ Al-Asad'ābādī, *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-Khamsah*, page 141.

except from the conduct of 'Alī ('a)."⁽¹⁾

In fact, the issue of the Battle of the Camel was generally discussed by two categories of scholars:

First: Theologians discussed this issue from a theological point of view, thus trying to answer such questions like: With which of the two parties of the Battle of the Camel was the truth? Which party was the right and which was the wrong?

Second: Historians recorded the events of the Battle of the Camel and wrote many books concerning it. This is a list of the names of some historians who wrote books concerning this battle and the events therein:

- Abū-Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā al-Azdī (died in AH 157).
- Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (died in AH 204).
- Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī (died in AH 207).
- Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim al-Minqarī (died in AH 212).
- 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Madā'inī (died in AH 225).
- 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī-Shaybah (died in AH 235)
- Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Thaqafī (died in AH 283).

It is necessary to attract the attention of the gentle reader that the events of this battle and these books were recorded and written during the reigns of the tyrannical rulers; therefore, it was natural that the writings must have been written according to the desires and recommendations of these rulers. For this reason, these books must have failed to convey the truth of that war and the true events that took place therein. Besides, the majority of these books and records went to waste and nothing of them reached us except a very little part.

Shaykh al-Mufīd's *al-Jamal*

The reason for Shaykh al-Mufīd having written a book on the War of the Camel was that he was asked by someone to write a simplified book about this war so that the common people would benefit from it greatly and the truth about this war would be unrevealed before them so clearly that its events would not remain unknown by anybody. Mentioning the reason for writing this book, Shaykh al-Mufīd says in the introduction:

“To begin with, you—may Allah support you with His grant of success—

⁽¹⁾ Jamāl al-Dīn al-Suyūrī, *Kanz al-'Irfān fī Fiqh al-Qur'ān*, page 386.

have asked me to mention to you the differences between the people of the kiblah (i.e. Muslims) about the event of the sedition that took place at al-Baṣrah, the details of the horrifying war that broke out between Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib on one hand and 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalhah, and al-Zubayr on the other, the attitude of the Muslim community to each party of that war with explanations and details, the reasons for the flaring up of this seditious event, and the reports that conveyed the situations of the fighting and deeds that took place between the two parties. In fact, every book that was written on this case comprised accounts whose meanings are ambiguous to the common people and none of the writers of such books mentioned the war that resulted from that seditious event by time order and arrangement; rather, they mixed the accounts so confusingly that it became difficult to recognize the defects and faults that led to the breaking out of this war and origination of the seditious events, although the case was in its time very clear and obvious. For these reasons, I have collected to you—may Allah support you—all that which was issued by those involved in these events and written it in this book to serve as evidence that leads those who ponder over it carefully to realize the accurate situation of those people as well as their names and deeds so that the reader may discriminate the disbelief from belief, the obedience from disobedience, and true guidance from deviation.”

Shaykh al-Mufīd divided his book, which he entitled: *Al-Jamal wa'l-Nuṣrah li-Sayyid al-'Itrah fī Ḥarb al-Baṣrah*, into two parts, in the first of which he talked over the opinions of theologians about the topic of the book and then surveyed their words on the rightness of the party on the right. In the second part, the author mentioned the accounts, reports, and events of the War of the Camel.

Shaykh al-Mufīd then ended his book with discussing the causes and factors that made 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalhah, and al-Zubayr hate Imam 'Alī Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('a).

Shaykh al-Mufīd's book is characterized by many distinctive features, some of which are to be mentioned hereinafter:

1. The author of the book is one of the master scholars, great jurists, trustworthy transmitters of narrations, and skillful theologians. Besides, he wrote his book on the War of the Camel at the last stage of his age; therefore, the book expressed the extract of his ideas and the summary of his attitude.
2. Because the other books that were written about the event of the War of the Camel did not reach us, Shaykh al-Mufīd's book is considered as a ring that

links us to these books. For this reason, this book is unique in its topic, especially that its author quoted from the books of Abū-Mikhnaf, al-Wāqidī, al-Madā'inī, al-Thaqafī, as well as other books that were dedicated to reporting the events of this war, but they were lost and none of them reached us. Of course, this point imparts very great significance to Shaykh al-Mufīd's book.

3. Shaykh al-Mufīd's book is the only one of its kind and exceptional in the topic it involves, since its author elaborated and simplified the book so methodically that all the aspects of the War of the Camel are inclusively discussed.

4. Upon reviewing the reports, accounts and opinions related to the topic of the book, the author treated them so evidentially and rationalistically. He did not side with a party against the other; rather, the results which he concluded were derived from demonstrations and evidence but were not based on fanaticism and personal desires. The evidence on this claim is that if you review the book from cover to cover, you will not smell any stink of fanaticism, swearing, insulting, humiliation, or reproach.

5. The author of the book cared very much for quoting all the texts and accounts of the event, including those which entailed words of reviling at Imam 'Alī ('a), to the degree that he even quoted 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr's speech in which he swore at the Imam ('a).

6. Shaykh al-Mufīd collected the material of this book from the most reliable reference books of the Sunnis, confirming that the transmitters of such reports are non-Shi'ah. Hinting at this point, he said:

"This is a set of accounts on the event that took place at al-Baṣrah, the reason for that seditious event, and the words of those who expressed their opinions about the sedition that accompanied it. I have quoted these words and opinions briefly, deliberately cited the accounts that were reported by non-Shi'ah transmitters of narrations other than Shi'ah transmitters, and avoided the Shi'ah denials and refutations of these claims."

7. A review of the book shows that the author alluded to some sermons of Imam 'Alī ('a), including the famous one known as *al-Shiqshiqiyyah*, which indicates that this sermon was actually said by Imam 'Alī ('a), since some people claimed that this sermon was composed by Sharīf al-Raḍī and ascribed to Imam 'Alī ('a). So, this book refutes this false claim and proves that this sermon was said by the Imam ('a). Thus, the book is considered to be one of

the reference books of *Nahj al-Balāghah*.⁽¹⁾

8. The book comprises some sermons, epistles, and aphorisms of Imam 'Ali ('a) that cannot be found in other books, because the reference books to which Shaykh al-Mufid referred in writing this one were all lost and went to waste.

9. The book is considered one of the ancient heritage of the Shi'ah Muslims, because it was written about one thousand years ago and is regarded by historians and master scholars as one of the invaluable masterpieces.

10. Aside from all the aforesaid distinctive features, the book is characterized by following the analytic method, in which each topic is probed and analyzed individually. Besides, the author did not quote whatever he heard from transmitters of traditions and whatever he found in the ancient books, which is the method followed by the majority of historians and authors and is still current in the present day; rather, he first investigated these accounts to discriminate the sound from the flawed.

Coming out of the book

Seemingly, the book was hidden from views after the passing away of Shaykh al-Mufid and it was not available for scholars for about one thousand years, since none quoted anything from the book all through this period. Even 'Allāmah al-Majlisī, who was known for his painstaking endeavors to collect the books of the Shi'ah, could not get the book; therefore, he did not quote any part of it in his encyclopedic book *Biḥār al-Anwār* where he made reference to all of the books that were written by Shi'ah authors. Neither did Mirzā 'Abdullāh al-Afandī.

Thanks to Allah, I finally found a copy of the book in the holy city of al-Najaf, which was published, yet with slight corrections. However, this copy of the book is unreliable because it contains a large number of mistakes and confusions; therefore, scholars and researchers unfortunately turned away from it.

Ascription of the book to its author

There is no doubt that the book of *al-Jamal* is one of the writings of Shaykh al-Mufid and no one raised any doubt about this matter. Moreover, the following points serve as evidence on this fact:

1. Al-Najāshī, the famous biographer and student of Shaykh al-Mufid, listed

(1) Compiled by Sharif al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah* is a book that comprises some sermons, epistles, and aphorisms of Imam 'Ali ibn Abi-Ṭālib ('a).

the book of *al-Jamal* within the book of Shaykh al-Mufid,⁽¹⁾ and so did Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, the other student of the author, upon mentioning the writings of his mentor, adding: "I read this book directly before Shaykh al-Mufid."⁽²⁾ As for Ibn Shahr'āshūb, he also mentioned the book within the writings of Shaykh al-Mufid.⁽³⁾

2. On page 132 of the book, Shaykh al-Mufid refers to the name of the author as follows: "Abū-'Abdullāh, Shaykh al-Mufid says:..." Similarly, on page 438, he concludes the book with the same words: "Abū-'Abdullāh says..." Of course, it is well known that Abū-'Abdullāh is the teknonym of Shaykh al-Mufid.

3. A review of the other books of Shaykh al-Mufid, such as *Kitāb al-Irshād*, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, and *al-Mas'alah al-Kāfiyah*, shows that a number of sermons of Imam 'Alī ('a), as well as other topics, which are mentioned in these books were copied in this book; namely, *al-Jamal*. Besides, some other narrations and texts that are mentioned in *al-Mas'alah al-Kāfiyah* are mentioned in this book with the same chain of authority and text. Supporting this fact, Shaykh al-Mufid discussed the issue of Imamate on many pages of this book. For example, on page 73, he writes down:

"An Imam must be as infallible and inerrant as the prophets. This fact can be proven through numerous points of evidence which I have declared in many chapters of my famous books that are dedicated to discussing the issues related to Imamate and in my answers to some definite questions raised about this issue."

Many of the questions to which the author referred in the previous quotation can be found in his book *al-Ifṣāḥ* as well as his treatises on the issue of Imamate.

4. On pages 58-9 of the book, the author writes down:

"Among those whom I debated about this issue was Abū-Bakr ibn al-Ṭayyib, known as Ibn al-Bāqillānī."

Those who mentioned the biography of Ibn al-Bāqillānī mentioned that he had many debates with Shaykh al-Mufid. A treatise that comprised some debates of Shaykh al-Mufid with this scholar has been lately published.⁽⁴⁾

(1) *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, page 399.

(2) Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist* page 158.

(3) Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā'*, page 113.

(4) *'Iddat Rasā'il*, page 181.

5. The style of writing and the method of argumentation in which the book of *al-Jamal* is written is the same style and method of argumentation Shaykh al-Mufid used in his other books. If we compare the *al-Jamal* with other books of Shaykh al-Mufid, such as *Kitāb al-Irshād*, *al-Iḥṣāḥ*, *al-Amālī*, and many others, we will come across this fact, which entails that the author of all these books was the same.

The book of *al-Jamal* is characterized by proficient presentation of the theme, influential explication, and overwhelming argumentation, which are the same features of Shaykh al-Mufid's writings. Besides, all our master scholars ascribed the book of *al-Jamal* to Shaykh al-Mufid without raising any doubt about it. Examples of such scholars are Shaykh Āghā Buzurg al-Tehrānī, 'Allāmah 'Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Amīnī, Sayyid 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Muqarram, Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī al-Tustarī, and Sayyid Murtaḍā al-'Askarī.⁽¹⁾

Finally, the following words are found at the end of a manuscript of this book, page 221:

"I have just finished copying this previous version that is entitled: *Kitāb al-Nuṣrah li-Sayyid al-'Itrah fī Ḥarb al-Baṣrah*; authored by the unmatched principal and uniquely well-versed scholar, Abū-'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān ibn 'Abd al-Salām ibn Jābir ibn al-Nu'mān al-'Akbarī, whose nickname is al-Shaykh al-Mufid..."

"Al-Jamal wa'l-Nuṣrah"

Al-Najāshī and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, as well as Ibn Shahr'āshūb, mentioned that Shaykh al-Mufid wrote three books on the War of the Camel; namely, *al-Jamal* (the Camel), *al-Nuṣrah li-Sayyid al-'Itrah fī Ḥarb al-Baṣrah* (Supporting the Chief of the Prophetic Family in the War of al-Baṣrah), and *al-Mas'alah al-Kāfiyah fī Ibṭāl Tawbat al-Khāṭiyah* (Adequate Argument for Refuting the Repentance of the Wrongdoers).⁽²⁾

(1) Refer to these reference books: Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭahrānī, *al-Dharī'ah* 5/141; Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn, *al-Ghadir* 2/38; Shaykh al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Jamal* (print of al-Najāf), pages 5-6 (the introduction), Muḥammad Taqī al-Shūshtarī, *Nahj al-Ṣibāghah* 6/330; and Murtaḍā al-'Askarī, *'Abdullāh ibn Saba'* 1/99.

(2) However, the titles of these books were mentioned in different ways by scholars. As for al-Najāshī, he mentioned the titles of these books as follows: *al-Jamal*, *al-Nuṣrah li-Sayyid al-'Itrah*, and *al-Mas'alah al-Kāfiyah fī Ibṭāl Tawbat al-Khāṭiyah*. As for Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, he mentioned the titles of these books as follows: *Aḥkām Ahl al-Jamal*, *al-Nuṣrah li-Sayyid al-'Itrah fī Aḥkām al-Bughāt 'Alayhi bi'l-Baṣrah*, and *al-Mas'alah al-Kāfiyah fī Ibṭāl Tawbat al-Khāṭiyah*. Ibn Shahr'āshūb mentioned the titles of these books as follows: *Aḥkām Ahl al-Jamal*, *al-Nuṣrah li-Sayyid al-'Itrah fī Aḥkām al-Bughāt 'Alayhi bi'l-Baṣrah*, and *al-*

In the third book, the author argues the repentance of 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr (after they had rebelled and waged war against Imam 'Alī), refuting the claims that these three persons repented and regretted their wrongdoing. We have earlier mentioned that a copy of this book was possessed by 'Allāmah al-Majlisī who quote part of it in his encyclopedic book *Biḥār al-Anwār*. As for the other two books, their titles may hint that the first one entitled *al-Jamal* was dedicated by the author to mentioning the narrations and texts related to the War of the Camel, while the other book to theological discussion and proof-based argumentation.

It seems necessary to answer the following question: With regard to the current book, is it *al-Jamal* or *al-Nuṣrah*?

To answer, most probably the current book is *al-Nuṣrah* but not *al-Jamal*. The two manuscripts of the book that we found mention that the current book is *al-Nuṣrah*, as is written on them as title. Yet, we have to answer the following question: If this book is *al-Nuṣrah*, where is the other book entitled *al-Jamal* and mentioned by al-Najāshī and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī to have been written by Shaykh al-Mufīd?

In fact, the current book is mainly divided into two parts; one is theological and the other historical. It is still improbable that Shaykh al-Mufīd wrote two independent books on the same topic; that is, the War of the Camel. This may serve as evidence that the current book is a collection of the two books; *al-Nuṣrah* and *al-Jamal*, and each book is covered by a part of the current book, as is believed by the late Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm and the late Sayyid 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Mūsawī al-Muqarram in the book's version that was printed in the city of al-Najaf.⁽¹⁾

Besides, we may prove this issue through a number of points, as follows:

1. It is improbable that Shaykh al-Mufīd authored two independent books on the same topic.
2. The book is divided into two main parts; the first part deals restrictively with theological argumentation, while the second part is an account of a number of narrations and sermons that were reported about and delivered on the occasion of the War of the Camel, along with investigations of these narrations and sermons. For this reason, the first part of the book is known as *al-Nuṣrah*, while the second as *al-Jamal*. Supporting this conclusion, one of

Mas'alah al-Kāfiyah fī Taḥṣīṣ al-Firqah al-Khāṭiyah.

⁽¹⁾ Martin J. McDermott, in his book *The Theology Of al-Shaykh al-Mufid* (page 59), adopted the same probability.

the titles of an early chapter of the first part of the book (page 49) reads: "*Discussions Of The Muslim Nation's Discrepancy About The Sedition Of The Camel And The Laws Of Fighting Therein.*" Beyond doubt, this title is purely theological, which proves that it must have been a chapter of the book of *al-Nuṣrah*.

In the beginning of the second part of the book, page 225, a chapter is entitled: "*Reports On How The Provokers Of The Sedition Of The Camel Began To Manage For It And Held Meetings For Working Towards Launching It, And The Confirmative Reports That Narrated This Issue.*" The author begins this chapter with the following words:

"Let us now start with narrating the story from the very beginning of how the provokers of this seditious matter worked..."

Of course, this part of the book, unlike the first part of it, is dedicated to mentioning the accounts and reports related to the issue of the War of the Camel.

3. After talking about some argumentative points in the beginning of the book, the author writes down on page 133:

"After finishing this part of the book, we will cite the accounts that reported the way the orders of starting fighting were given and the events that took place thereat. These reports will be cited methodically in their most appropriate places of the book. All of them will be mentioned systematically and in order, by the permission of Allah."

What is concluded from these words is that the book comprises two different and independent main topics. Thus, it seems that al-Najāshī and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī only meant this very point by saying that there are two books written by Shaykh al-Mufīd on the topic of the War of the Camel. It also seems that Shaykh al-Mufīd wrote the first part of the book and permitted his students to copy it before completing it; therefore, the first part of the book was commonly entitled *al-Nuṣrah*. Upon finishing writing the second part of the book, it came to hold the title: *al-Jamal*. This method of writing one book on two separate and independent topics was common to the past scholars, for the same method is followed by Shaykh al-Mufīd in his famous book: *al-Muqni'ah*, the first part of which deals with the principles of the religion, while the second part is dedicated to the jurisprudence and laws of the religion. In the introduction to his commentary on this book, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī wrote:

"I will leave the first part of the book in which the author focused on

issues related to the belief of monotheism, Divine justice, prophethood, and Imamate, because commentary on these issues demands time-consuming efforts. Besides, I do not intend by this book to discuss the issues related to the principles of the book.”⁽¹⁾

The same method was followed by many master scholars, such as Sharīf al-Murtadā in *Jumal al-'Ilm wa'l-'Amal*, Ibn Zahrah in *al-Ghaniyyah*, and Shaykh Ḥasan in *Ma'ālim*.

Versions of the book

Aside from the current English translation, the book was translated into two more languages:

1. After its publication in the city of al-Najaf, the book was translated into French and published in Paris. Although I tried hard to obtain a copy of its French version, I failed. Anyhow, I believe that the French translation of the book must have been compatible with the origin, because it was taken from the first edition, published in al-Najaf, which is full of deletions and errors.

2. The book was recently translated into Persian by Dr. Maḥmūd al-Mahdawī al-Dāmghānī and published in Tehran under the title *Naburd-e-Jamal*. Although this Persian version is good in itself, it comprised many problems. I will now list three only of these problems, which I regard basic:

A) The version was translated from the edition of al-Najaf, which comprised numerous errors and deletions.

B) Although the translator deleted some phrases and words that were difficult for him to translate, he did not make any reference to these deletions, thus creating irrelevancy and shortcomings in the argumentations mentioned by the author.

C) The translation lacked the required accuracy; the translator therefore mistranslated a number of the issues, although he should have committed to advanced accuracy in applying the translation to the original text and should have used an eloquent style.

The book's edition

We have earlier pointed out that the book was not available in the past, but it emerged approximately fifty years ago. The late Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm seems to be the first to correct and introduce this book, which was then published in the al-Ḥaydariyah Press at the holy city of al-Najaf

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* 1/3.

without an introduction and annotations. After the running out of the first edition, the book was edited and revised by the late Sayyid 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Mūsawī al-Muqarram, who introduced the book in a better way, writing an introduction and some useful annotations. This edition was also published in the al-Ḥaydariyah Press. Although the book was not given suitable revision and typesetting, it was very useful at that time and the efforts of the two editors were really appreciated. An Arab proverb says: "Thanks should always be expressed to those who embark on an effort, even if those who follow their steps do a better job."

At any rate, this edition of the book was full of mistakes to the degree that no page of the book was completely correct. Some of these mistakes were even in violation of our beliefs. For instance, on page 222, you can read the following lines:

"When the fighting was over, a group of the Quraysh clan regretted what they had done. So, they visited Imam 'Alī ('a) for making an apology, but the Imam said to them within his discourse, 'You then paid homage to 'Uthmān, but soon after that, you *exceeded all the proper bounds against him tyrannically* and murdered him!'"

According to the two manuscripts of the book, these words came as follows:

"... but soon after that, you criticized him..."

This form is also confirmed by al-Qāḍī (the judge) al-Nu'mān al-Miṣrī (of Egypt) in his book: *Sharḥ al-Akḥbār*, vol. 1, page 393.

Moreover, omissions were made in many parts of the book, and some titles did not match the topics they represented. More importantly, some parts of the book were slightly similar to what is mentioned in the famous book of *Tarīkh al-Ṭabarī*, but the reviser did not take the trouble of referring to the manuscript; rather, he only copied these parts from *Tarīkh al-Ṭabarī*. The same he did with some parts the like of which is found in *Nahj al-Balāghah*, adding some paragraphs to the book.

As examples of omission, let us now cite some paragraphs that cannot be found in the earlier edition of the book:

On page 127, the following words were deleted from the speech of Ummu-Salamah, the Holy Prophet's widow:

"Nay, by Allah! You and everyone else did not pay homage to 'Alī for fear of him; rather, you paid homage to him only after you came to know for sure that he is the best of the people of this nation and the most entitled to

this position before and now. By Allah! I shall never be able to claim that the Apostle of Allah, peace be upon him and his family, on the day he passed away, left behind him any one better or more entitled to this position than 'Alī. So, fear Allah, O servants of Allah! We only order you to fear Allah and to hold fast to His cord. Allah is our and your guardian."

On page 136, the following words were deleted from the speech of 'Ammār ibn Yāsir:

'Ammār then asked him, "Show me your hand, Abū-Mūsā!" Abū-Mūsā did and 'Ammār pressed on his hand and said, "May Allah overcome him who intends to overcome him and curse him who denies him!" 'Ammār then added, "O people! Abū-Mūsā was given knowledge, but he fluttered it away like roosters that flutter after getting out of water."

It is worth mentioning that some virtuous scholars had undertaken the mission of revising and editing this book before I did, but they did not finish the work and turned away from it. These scholars were Ḥujjat al-Islām Shaykh 'Abdullāh al-Nūrānī, Shaykh Riḍā Marwārīd, Abū-Fā'iz Ḥāmid al-Khaffāf, and Ḥusayn Ustād Walī.

Having seen their turning away from consummating this work, I, five years ago, decided to edit and revise the book, for the following two reasons:

First: The like of this book, which was written by such a great author and master scholar like Shaykh al-Mufīd, is rare, especially for the Shi'ah and in the field of historical studies.

Second: As a matter of giving due honor to Shaykh al-Mufīd, I believed that I should do something, which achieves the pleasure of Allah the Almighty, on the occasion of Shaykh al-Mufīd's millennium, which encouraged me to mend my pace in this work. So, I took over the mission of editing and revising his book, *al-Jamal*, and tried to typeset it in such a manner that fits the personality of this great scholar.

The book Manuscripts

Despite my hard efforts, insistent investigations, and frequent inquiries from scholars and experts, I could not find more than two manuscripts of the book, in addition to a copy of the published book. The first manuscript is the one preserved in the store of the library of the Islamic Consultative Assembly in Tehran. The manuscript, which consists of 73 pages and was handwritten in AH 1338, is found under number 10593, without mentioning the name of the copyist. However, it seems that this manuscript, which is the best and most

accurate of all copies, is owned by the late Shaykh al-Islām al-Zinjānī, as I have been told by the librarian.

The second manuscript is the one preserved in the store of the manuscripts of Imam al-Riḍā's Library in the holy city of Mashhad under number 7870. falling in 112 pages, this manuscript was written in AH 1352 by Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Urmawī, one of the most virtuous personalities of his time, who copied many of the Arabic books that he could have. He copied it from an ancient manuscript of the book and added some annotations in the margins.

The third manuscript is the one published by the al-Ḥaydariyyah Press in the holy city of al-Najaf. It was first published with revisions of Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm in 220 pages and was then reprinted with the annotations of Sayyid 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Muqarram in 234 pages. The al-Dāwarī Library in Qum reprinted the book by offset after deleting the name of the original publishing house.

Sayyid Mīr 'Alī Sharīfī

Qum, Jumādā II, 27, AH 1413.

PART I

SUPPORTING THE CHIEF OF THE PROPHETIC FAMILY IN THE WAR OF AL-BAŞRAH

INTRODUCTION

THE MOTIVE TO WRITING THE BOOK

All praise is due to Allah, Who guaranteed victory to those who support Him, helped to keep on the right through granting success to those who follow Him, and disappointed those who stubbornly turned away from and denied His religion. May His blessings be upon the choicest of His creatures and the lovers of Him, Muḥammad and his family whom He granted exclusively purity and immaculacy!

To begin with, you—may Allah support you with success from Him—have asked me to bring forward to you the disagreements among the people of the qiblah⁽¹⁾ about the account of the seditious issue that took place at al-Başrah,⁽²⁾ the appalling war between Imam 'Alī ('a) and 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and

⁽¹⁾ People of the qiblah is a term said to Muslims in general, because they agree, among many other things, on following the same direction (*qiblah*) while they perform the ritual prayers. [Translator]

⁽²⁾ Al-Başrah (Basra) is a city situated in Iraq. It was built by 'Utbah ibn Ghazwān during the reign of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in the year 17 AH. Hence, people started to settle there since the year 18. The Sedition of the Camel took place near this city on one Friday in the month Jumādā al-Thānīyah or Jumādā al-'Ūlā, 36 AH, exactly near the palace of 'Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād at a place known as al-Khuraybah. [Refer to the following reference books: Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt, *Tarikh*, page 181; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, page 32; *Tarikh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, page 182; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, page 377; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, vol. 1, page 363, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 1, page 430; al-Dhahabī, *Tarikh al-Islām*, page 485; and al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-Mi'ār*, page 105.

al-Zubayr that broke out because of that sedition, and the description of that war. You have also asked me to explain to you in details the attitudes of each group of the nation to that war and to prove the causes of that sedition and the accounts of fighting and deeds of each party of that war. In fact, all the books that were written on this topic included some accounts whose meanings confused the ordinary people, and none of those writers mentioned the details of this war in proper order and arrangement; rather, they mixed up the accounts so confusingly that the readers failed to have an idea about the flaws committed by one party of this war; therefore, I will make evident and explain all these details as exactly as they took place.

I have thus collected for you—may Allah support you—whatever was issued by them and written it down in this book so evidentially that the readers may conclude the most accurate situations and laws pertaining to these people, as well as their names and deeds that involved disbelief and belief, disobedience and obedience, and guidance and deviation, so that you—may Allah lead you to prosperity—will come to know these attitudes and events contemplatively and considerably and free yourself from imitation that destroys its followers. You will therefore put your hand on the truth when confusing suspicion about this event fades away from you and I will then have given adequate answers to your questions, holding fast to Allah the Almighty and All-majestic and praying Him for true guidance and direction. It is Allah Alone Whose help I seek.

The Muslim nation's disagreements about the Sedition of the Camel and the laws of fighting therein

As for those who were engaged in fighting in this seditious war, their deeds reflected their beliefs and their outward situations informed us about their actual attitudes. Facts verify that Imam 'Alī ('a), as well as his sons, family members from the Banū-Hāshim clan, his followers from the Muhājirūn⁽¹⁾ and the Anṣār,⁽²⁾ and the other believers, when they had to be involved in fighting and shedding the blood of their enemies, did not follow the same path of the criminals who, by waging that war, did not want but the transient gains of this world; so, they shun the reward of the otherworldly life. This intention could be clearly seen from their outwards and states, although they falsely pretended to be religious people and that they only sought nearness to Allah

⁽¹⁾ Emigrants: the early Muslims who fled their hometown and joined the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) in Yathrib, lately al-Madinah.

⁽²⁾ Supporters, or Helpers: the people of Yathrib who received and supported the Holy Prophet (ṣ) and the early Muslims who fled their hometown with him.

the All-glorified through engaging in this war, claiming that if they avoided doing so, this would be a ruining action that would bring about the Divine chastisement to them.

When he was asked about fighting these people, Imam 'Alī ('a) expressed, "I found no other way than either fighting them or renouncing what was revealed to Muḥammad (ṣ)." ⁽¹⁾

Also, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir (r) said, "O people! By Allah I swear this: these people had not accepted Islam; rather, they had only surrendered on the surface but they kept on infidelity covertly. So, when they found some people who would help them declare their infidelity, they showed it openly." ⁽²⁾

These two words, as well as many similar words declared by the adherents of ('a) but I cannot cite in this book for fear of lengthiness, prove this fact and are compatible with the declarations of the enemies whose appearances were contrary to their realities—a fact that is unquestionable for the scholars, although those who lack knowledge of the affairs may be deceived by them, since such people neither heard about the events nor investigated the historical facts.

Likewise, it is well-known that 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr, as well as the majority of those who supported them and took for creed fighting against Imam 'Alī ('a) and his supporters, pretended that they only sought nearness to Allah through exerting all efforts possible in fighting and that they only intended for gaining Allah's pleasure and demanding with revenge for the bloodshed of the so-called oppressed *caliph* who, as they claimed, was killed wrongfully. In fact, what they did was no more than a reflection of the faith they had to hide in themselves.

As a result, it is now clear that both the parties of the war deemed right their deeds and deemed wrong the other party's situation and deeds, testifying for themselves to be the saved party while the other party was deviant and countering perdition. However, Imam 'Alī the Leader of the Believers ('a) openly declared his judgment about those who fought against him and described them as perfidious and breakers of their faith. He also informed that

⁽¹⁾ Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, page 474; al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, page 236; al-Ḥākim al-Nayshābūrī, *al-Mustadrak* 3/115; Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon no. 54; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, page 185; Ibn Qudāmāh, *al-Mughnī* 20/75 [Part 2], Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 3/226; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 3/51; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tarjamat al-Imām 'Alī* 3/220.

⁽²⁾ Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, page 215-6; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 4/31; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/325.

the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) had ordered him to fight against them and made it obligatory upon him to practice jihad (i.e. holy war) against them.⁽¹⁾

As for the other party who waged the war against Imam 'Alī ('a), history has not recorded anything said by them about Imam 'Alī ('a) and has not recorded that they described him with any such descriptions that he said about them, although it is known that they believed that he was wrong when he fought against them and he was made a mistake when he adopted this attitude, refrained from resigning power, and refused to make the issue of leadership decided by the so-called *shūrā* (consultation) between them and to surrender the assassins of 'Uthmān to them. So, they decided that he, by adopting these situations, slipped from the truth and neglected what was obligatory upon him to do in their sight.

On the other hand, some personalities like Sa'd ibn Mālik (i.e. Abū-Waqqāṣ), 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar, Muḥammad ibn Maslamah al-Anṣārī, Usāmah ibn Zayd, and their likes who believed that they should not take part in this war and that those engaged in it must have invented a heresy—those people judged that Imam 'Alī ('a), al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, the sons of Abū-Ṭālib, and all the followers of Imam 'Alī ('a), including the members of the Banū-Hāshim clan, the Muhājirūn, the Anṣār, and those who believed that it was their duty to support Imam 'Alī ('a) and follow him in the issue of fighting against the other party were all deviant and wrong in their words and deeds. They also judged these people to have created a heretical innovation. They adopted the same judgment about the other party, including 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr and their followers who decided to fight Imam 'Alī. So, according to the judgment of these personalities, the two parties deviated from the truth and invented a heretical innovation when they deemed lawful shedding the blood of the Muslims. Yet, these personalities are not reported to have described any of the two parties as infidels or apostates because they engaged in war and fighting.⁽²⁾

(1) Sa'd ibn 'Abdullāh al-Ash'arī, *al-Maqālāt wa'l-Firaq*, page 11; al-Ḥasan al-Nūbakhti, *Firaq al-Shī'ah*, page 14, al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak* 3/139; Shaykh al-Mufid, *al-Iṣṣāḥ*, page 135; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 20/74; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tarīkh Baghdād* 13/187; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 3/53; al-Khawārmī, *Manāqib*, page 176; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tarjamat al-Imām 'Alī* 3/205; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah* 4/33; al-Kanjī, *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*, page 168; al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā*, page 110; al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 5/186; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Maṭālib al-'Āliyah* 4/297; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, *Taṭhīr al-Janān*, page 53; al-Tustarī, *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq* 6/59-78.

(2) Sa'd ibn 'Abdullāh al-Ash'arī, *al-Maqālāt wa'l-Firaq*, page 4; al-Ḥasan al-Nūbakhti, *Firaq al-Shī'ah*, page 5.

OPINIONS OF THE OTHER MUSLIM SECTS ABOUT THE PARTIES OF THE BATTLE OF THE CAMEL

Opinion of the Ḥashwiyyah

The disagreement, we have already mentioned among the generation of the Holy Prophet's companions after his passing away about the sedition under discussion, spread out to more ramifications than what we have mentioned and termed as disagreement. The Ḥashwiyyah,⁽¹⁾ who claim to belong to the Sunni Muslims, have had famous opinions in this regard and had been divided into many groups that are mentioned in the books of history.

Opinion of Sa'd ibn Abī-Waqqāṣ

A group of the Ḥashwiyyah adopted the opinion of Sa'd ibn Abī-Waqqāṣ and his partners, the Mu'tazilah, about the two parties of the War of the Camel and their beliefs. Sa'd condemned fighting in that battle and decided as wrong Imam 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās, Khuzaymah ibn Thābit Dhu'l-Shahādātayn, Abū-Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, Abu'l-

⁽¹⁾ Ḥashwiyyah is an insinuating name used for the majority of the Sunni Muslims and the *ahl al-ḥadīth* (people of the Prophetic tradition). This group of Sunnis introduce themselves as committing to and following the Prophetic traditions and the community of Muslims, claiming that they do not follow a certain sect. Yet, they unanimously believe that all deeds are predestined compulsory on human beings. They also believe that Allah the Almighty is a corporeal being that have certain human image and human organs, such as a face, legs, and hands. They also believe that the Holy Qur'ān is eternal, claiming that the majority of the second generation of Islam belong to them, while the people of this generation renounce this claim. They also deny and forbid theology and debate and act upon blind imitation and the apparent meaning of the words of the Holy Qur'ān, claiming that the Holy Qur'ān does not hold metaphor. Some of their personalities are Sufyān ibn Sa'id al-Thawrī, Ishāq Rāhawayh, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Karābisī, and Dāwūd ibn 'Alī al-Iṣfahānī. Accordingly, Ḥashwiyyah is another name of the majority of the *ahl al-sunnah* and *ahl al-ḥadīth*. Yet, in his book, *Taṣḥīḥ al-I'tiqād* (page 65), Shaykh al-Mufid describes some Shi'ite people as *the Ḥashwiyyah of the Shi'ah*. By this description, he only makes innuendoes and tries to liken some Shi'ite scholars to those Ḥashwiyyah. [Refer to Abū-Ḥātam al-Rāzī's *al-Zīnah*, page 267; Abū-Sa'id al-Ḥimyarī's *al-Ḥūr al-'in*, page 204; and al-Yamānī's *al-Munyah wa'l-Amal*, page 114]

Haytham ibn al-Tayhān, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, Qays ibn Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah, and their likes from the stars of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār. He also decided as wrong the other party, including 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and all those who followed them in this war and deemed lawful fighting against the Leader of the Believers, Imam 'Alī ('a). This group testified the acts of the two parties during that war to be wrong and confirmed that they failed to do the right thing. Nevertheless, they did not issue any clear judgment about them and did not decide that they would be exposed to punishment; rather, they hoped for them mercy and forgiveness. Hence, their hope for them was stronger than fearing lest they would be exposed to punishment.

Opinion of another group of the Hashwiyyah

Like the aforesaid group, another group of the Hashwiyyah claimed that the two parties were wrong and confirmed decisively that Imam 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Ibn 'Abbās, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, and Khuzaymah Dhu'l-Shahādātayn should be forgiven by the Lord although they made a mistake when they shed the blood of people during that war, because they had already been great in obedience to Allah the All-exalted and participation with the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) in fighting and wars, as well as their companionship and sacrifices they made for him. They adopted the same opinion with regard to 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and those who stood with them, because of their having been companions of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) and participants in the military campaigns he had led. Yet, as for the other people who were not companions of the Holy Prophet (ṣ), this group decided that they would be sent to Hellfire because they fought against Muslims and shed their blood.⁽¹⁾ Hence, some scholars and referential authorities who belonged to this group are reported to have summed up the whole question in this word: "The leaders are saved, but their followers have perished."⁽²⁾

They thus discriminated between the Companions and the other warriors, depending upon a Prophetic tradition that they reported from the Holy Prophet (ṣ) who, as they claimed, said to a Muslim who was not a Companion of him but he vied in glory with a Companion, "Beware of contending with my Companions! If you spend as much gold as Mount Uḥud in charity, you shall never attain the rank of any of my Companions and you shall not even

⁽¹⁾ Sa'd ibn 'Abdullāh al-Ash'arī, *al-Maqālāt wa'l-Firaq*, page 12; al-Ḥasan al-Nūbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shi'ah*, page 15; al-Isfarā'īnī, *al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq*, page 121.

⁽²⁾ This word is ascribed to Ḥawshab and Ḥāshim al-Awqaṣ. Refer to al-Isfarā'īnī's *al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq*, page 121.

attain the half of their rank.”⁽¹⁾

Opinion of an insignificant group of the Hashwiyyah

Another group of the Hashwiyyah adopted this opinion: It is not proper for anyone to criticize the Companions and to even mention the disputes, differences, and fighting that took place between any two of them, or to express his opinion about that or even think about it. Yet, it is required to turn away from discussing this issue and, if possible, let no one hear any of the news related to it, because if one violates this instruction, or listens to any report about the disagreements of the Companions, or speaks one word about it, or runs to issuing any judgment about them that disgraces a Muslim person, then he will have invented a heresy in the religion, violated the Islamic Law, defied the precepts of the Prophet, and failed to keep himself away from that against which the Prophet warned when he said, “Beware of intruding yourselves in the disagreements between my companions.”⁽²⁾

They also claimed that reporting anything about those who held the conspiratorial meeting under the shed of Banū-Sā'idah (*Saqifah*), the assassination of 'Uthmān, and the wars of the Camel and Šiffin is considered heresy. Likewise, writing anything about these events is deviation, and listening to anything about them is a sin.⁽³⁾

This is the opinion of an insignificant faction of the Hashwiyyah that is adopted by a big number of ordinary people whom I have seen. Those who pretend to be pious and ascetic and call people to keep silent, seek safety, and keep their tongues from surplus talking, call to this opinion. They must then be judged as aloof from knowledge and its people and they are inexperienced and ignorant people.

Opinion of a faction claiming acquaintance with jurisprudence

Another non-Shi'ite faction that belongs to the Hashwiyyah but employs contemplation over things, claims conversance with Muslim jurisprudence,

⁽¹⁾ Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* 3/11 and *Faḍā'il al-Šaḥābah* 1/51, 365; *Šaḥīḥ Muslim* 16/92; *Sunan Abi-Dāwūd* 4/214; *Sunan Ibn Mājah* 1/57; al-Bāqillānī, *al-Inṣāf*, page 64; Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *al-Fiṣal* 4/114; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāyah* 5/65; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 20/11; Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ash'arī, *al-Tamhīd wa'l-Bayān*, page 236; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 11/528.

⁽²⁾ Al-Bāqillānī, *al-Inṣāf*, page 69; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 20/11.

⁽³⁾ Al-Nāshī' al-Akbar, *Masā'il al-Imāmah*, page 65. Compare these opinions to what is written in al-Ash'arī's *al-Maqālāt wa'l-Firaq*, page 14 and al-Nūbakhtī's *Firaq al-Shī'ah*, pages 16 and 17.

and makes undue claims to meditation says: 'Ali ibn Abī-Ṭālib and those who stood with him, including the Muhājirūn, Anṣār, and the other ordinary people; and 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalhah, al-Zubayr, and all of their followers—all those were right despite their disagreements, disputes, fighting, hostility, bloodshed, and smiting the necks, because this was their very duty at which they reached after they had employed *ijtihād* (i.e. exerting all efforts possible to assume an opinion after deducing it from the sources of the Islamic Law). Having exerted their efforts in this issue, they did not abandon obedience to Allah and did not engage themselves in disobedience to Him; therefore, they all were right and were on the true guidance. Moreover, if they had failed to act according to their conclusions, they would have deviated from the truth and violated the course of rightness and guidance.

This faction also claimed that the two parties of the conflict were completely on good terms with each other, friendly to each other, loyal to each other, and well-wishers to each other, although they were engaged in shedding the blood of each other, killing each other, and confiscating the properties and lands of each other!!

The evidence they provided to prove this irony was that the two parties expressed: We found that each party cling to an argument that released them from answerability for what they did and make it obligatory upon them to do what they did. To explain, 'Ali ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) believed that it is forbidden to kill a group of people who participated in murdering one person,⁽¹⁾ which is one of the famous verdicts adopted by the followers of *Ijtihād*.⁽²⁾ Likewise, it

⁽¹⁾ I could not find the one who reported this verdict from Imam 'Ali Amir al-Mu'minin ('a); rather, there are many reports confirming the opposite. See, for instance, 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf* 9/477 and al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* 8/41.

⁽²⁾ Ijtihādists, or the followers of *Ijtihād*, are those who depend upon their personal inferences in the issuing of religious opinions. Here, the author means a certain party of them, whom are called *aṣḥāb al-ra'i*, or the Opinionists. They are namely the scholars of Iraq who followed Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān. Some of them were Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, Abū-Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Qāḍī (the judge), Zufar ibn al-Hudhayl, al-Ḥasan ibn Ziyād al-Lu'lu'i, Ibn Sumā'ah, 'Āfiyah al-Qāḍī, Abū-Muṭī' al-Balkhī, and Bishr al-Marisi. They were called Opinionists because they cared more than anything else for employing analogy to all issues and looked from the meanings deduced from the religious laws so as to rely their opinions on these meanings. Sometimes, they preferred analogy to the narrations reported by a single transmitter of Prophetic traditions. References: al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal* 1/207; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Ma'ārif*, pages 277-280. Abū-Ḥātam al-Rāzī, in *al-Zīnah*, page 268, writes: "They were called Opinionists because they licensed the employment of personal views and analogy in the issues appertained to the Muslim jurisprudence. They thus declared: It is allowable for us to employ our opinions in whatever seems confusing as long as we cannot find it in the Holy

was not proven for Imam 'Alī ('a) that those who participated in the assassination of 'Uthmān were loyalists to him, as it was claimed; therefore, he did not have the right to surrender them to those who asked him to do so in order that they would kill him as retaliation for assassinating 'Uthmān; rather, it was his duty to defend these people under all conditions.

On the other hand, 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr believed that it is legal to kill a group of people who had participated in murdering a person. In fact, this is the same opinion that was adopted by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and other Companions and a group of the next generation; therefore, a group of scholars of jurisprudence and *Ijtihādists* followed this opinion and issued the verdict that it is legal to kill a group of people who had participated in murdering one person.⁽¹⁾

Imam 'Alī ('a) did not surrender those who participated in the assassination of 'Uthmān so that the other party would kill them as retaliation for killing 'Uthmān who was considered as leader in the view of the other party who also believed that 'Uthmān was killed wrongfully; therefore, it was not allowable for them to leave demanding revenge and applying the law of retaliation to those who assassinated him, although this would require them to exert all efforts possible.

As a result, the two parties disagreed about this issue, following their personal conclusions, and each party acted upon their personal opinion. In fact, this means that each party will be awarded by Allah Who shall thank them for their efforts even if this led them to shed much blood and to spend much money!!⁽²⁾

This is the opinion of a group of people whom I saw, met, and discussed the issue with them; and they represent the opinion of a great number of people in the present day.

One of the master scholars of the Fatalists⁽³⁾ with whom I discussed this issue was Abū-Bakr al-Tammār, known as Darzān, who was at that time the chief

Book and the Prophetic Tradition.”

(1) Al-Shāfi'i, *Kitāb al-Umm* 6/22; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaḥ* 9/475; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* 8/42; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* 8/40-1; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 9/336-7.

(2) Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* 2/130; Al-Bāqillānī, *al-Inṣāf*, pages 67-8; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*, page 50; al-Isfārā'īnī, *al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq*, page 350; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 14/24.

(3) Fatalism is the translation of *mujbirah*; the doctrine that all events are predestinated by fate; i.e. all actions are imposed on their doers by God.

and the eldest of the followers of 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'id ibn Kulāb, and he was the foremost of them in holding debates with the others.

Another one was Muḥārib al-Ṣaydānī, whose nickname is Abu'l-'Alā'. He was the successor to Abu'l-Sā'ib in judgeship.

A third one was the one known as al-Rashfī.

A fourth one was Abū-'Abdullāh, known as Ibn Mujāhid al-Baṣrī al-Ash'arī, the acquaintance of al-Bāhili who was the student of 'Alī ibn Ismā'il ibn Abī-Bishr al-Ash'arī.

A fifth one was Abū-Bakr ibn al-Ṭayyib, known as Ibn al-Bāqillānī.

A sixth one was Abu'l-'Abbās ibn Abī'l-Ḥasan ibn Abī-'Amr, the judge.

All those Fatalists whom I debated in the issue under discussion were either Kulābiyyah⁽¹⁾ or Ash'ariyyah.⁽²⁾ Their opinion, in the present day, is being followed by the majority of the followers of al-Shāfi'ī⁽³⁾ in Baghdad, al-Baṣrah, Khuzestan, Persia, Khurāsān, and many other Islamic provinces. Generally, I do not know any follower of the Shāfi'iyyah School who is famous among his people but that he follows this doctrine in order to distance

(1) The Kulābiyyah, the followers of 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'id ibn Kulāb, is one of the factions ascribed to the Ḥadīthists and Sunnis who employ theological argumentations to their Sunni-based beliefs, unlike Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and the majority of the master scholars of ḥadīth; i.e. transmission of the Prophetic traditions. Al-Ash'arī, in *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* [vol. 1, pages 229-32], mentions the opinions and beliefs of this faction. Refer to: al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal* 1/93 and al-Yamānī, *al-Munyah wa'l-Amal*, pages 23 and 109.

(2) The Ash'ariyyah is a doctrine adopted by the followers of Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ismā'il ibn Abī-Bishr al-Ash'arī, who is considered the founder and chief of the Ash'ariyyah. After his death, his doctrine became the prevalent on the other doctrines of the Muslims and lasted up to the present day, although he had renounced his doctrine and followed the sect of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in al-Baṣrah and wrote his famous book, *al-Inābah*, according to the beliefs of the Ḥanbaliyyah School, which the school of the original Sunni sect. It was he who provided evidence on the beliefs of the Sunni Muslims, explained their beliefs, and added to each belief a new increment with clarifications and interpretations based on the principles of Ibn Kulāb, as is stated by al-Miqrīzī in *al-Khuṭaṭ*. Refer to: al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal* 1/98-103, al-Yamānī, *al-Munyah wa'l-Amal* page 23, and al-Miqrīzī, *al-Khuṭaṭ al-Miqrīziyyah* 2/358-60.

(3) Al-Shahristānī, the author of *al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal*, writes in vol. 1, page 207: "Among the followers of the Shāfi'iyyah School are Abū-Ibrāhīm Ismā'il ibn Yaḥyā al-Muzanī, al-Rabī' ibn Sulaymān al-Jizī, Ḥarmalah ibn Yaḥyā al-Tujibī, al-Rabī' ibn Sulaymān al-Murādī, Abū-Ya'qūb al-Būwītī, al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣabāḥ al-Za'farānī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abd al-Hakam al-Miṣrī, and Abū-Thawr Ibrāhīm ibn Khālīd al-Kalbī."

himself from the doctrines of the Shi'ah and the Mu'tazilah.

Opinions of the Mu'tazilah

Opinion of Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā' and 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd

Like the Ḥashwiyyah, the Mu'tazilah⁽¹⁾ have had different opinions about the issue of the War of the Camel. Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā' al-Ghazāl and 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd ibn Bāb al-Mukārī—the two chiefs and master scholars of the Mu'tazilah and their reverent leaders who are considered the founders of the I'tizāl doctrine and were the first to open the door to adopting this theological school and regarded as the pride and beauty of the Mu'tazilah that none else could attain their ranks—declared: One of the two parties of the war of al-Baṣrah was deviant, misleading, infidel, apostate from true faith and Islam, accursed, and deserving eternity in Hellfire, while the other party was guide and truly guided, on the right, and deserving divine reward and eternity in Paradise. Yet, these two persons claimed that there is no evidence to prove which party was the deviant and which was the truly guided and there is no proof at all through which one can distinguish one party from the other, since it is impracticable that 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, 'Abdullāh and Qutham and al-Faḍl and 'Ubaydullāh (the four sons of al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib), 'Abdullāh ibn Ja'far al-Ṭayyār, 'Ammār ibn

(1) The Mu'tazilah - literally "those who withdraw themselves"- movement is also called 'adliyyah (justicers) and *aṣḥāb al-'adl wa'l-tawḥīd* (advocators of justice and monotheism). The *Ḥadithists* (i.e. those who claim following and acting upon the Prophetic traditions) call the Mu'tazilah *qadariyyah* (i.e. Fatalists) as insinuation so as to apply to them the famous saying, which is ascribed to the Holy Prophet (ṣ), "The *qadariyyah* are the Magians of this nation." This description; i.e. *qadariyyah*, was said to the Mu'tazilah so exclusively that it was an indicative to them whenever it was said. The Mu'tazilah base their belief on five principles: monotheism (i.e. there is only One God), Divine justice (i.e. God is absolutely Just), in-between rank (i.e. man is neither compelled to do what he does nor is given absolute freedom to do what he does; rather, it is a rank between these two extremes), promise and threat (i.e. God always fulfils His promises and also His threats), and enjoining the right and forbidding the evil (i.e. it is the duty of everyone to bid the right and forbid the wrong). They also agree that the universe must have a creator who is eternal, the words of God are created and not eternal, man enjoys power to do what he does and he is the doer of his deeds, both the good and the evil, while God the Almighty does only what is good and beneficial. The Mu'tazilah have had different opinions about 'Uthmān after the events that he did and led to assassinating him; yet, the majority of them tried to find a reasonable justification for his deeds and tried to justify his personality. For more information, refer to: al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* 1/216-311; al-Asad'ābādī, *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-Khamsah*, page 123, al-Shahristānī, *al-Milāl wa'l-Niḥāl* 1/43-44; al-Yamānī, *al-Munyah wa'l-Amal*, page 126.

Yāsir, Khuzaymah ibn Thābit Dhu'l-Shahādātayn, Abū-Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, and Abū'l-Haytham ibn al-Tayyihān, as well as all the partisans of 'Alī and his followers from the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār, the veterans of the Battle of Badr, the people of the Riḍwān Allegiance, and the religious people who sided with them and were unquestionably proven to have been Muslims—it is unallowable to decide those people as the deviant party, the infidels who transgressed and apostatized their faith and Islam, the enemies of Allah, the rejecters of His religion, the accursed and the deservers of eternity in Hellfire. Thus, it must be that 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, al-Ḥakam ibn al-'Āṣ, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, 'Abdullāh ibn Abī-Sarḥ, al-Walid ibn 'Uqbah, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Kurayz ibn 'Abd-Shams, and those who sided with them from the people of al-Baṣrah were not the truly guided party, the leaders to Allah, the right party in the war they waged, and the deservers of reverence, glorification, and eternity in Paradise.

Wāṣil and 'Amr further said: It is true that we cannot deny that and, at the same time, we cannot accept it as true, as long as there is no evidence at all to make us believe so. Just as we decided 'Alī and his partisans to have been true, so also do we decided those who waged war against them to be so. In other words, we cannot deny that their followers and they were equal and we cannot deny that they were the deviant and accursed party who acted as enemies of Allah and apostatized from His religion and thus they deserved to be sent to Hellfire forever, while 'Alī and his followers were the guiding and truly guided party who acted loyal to Allah, exerted efforts for His sake, and were right to fight against 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr, and kill those whom they killed during that war, thus deserving Paradise and great reward from the Lord.

They further said: The two parties represented two parties of mutual imprecation; some of them were so infidel that none can distinguish and define except Allah the Almighty and All-majestic.⁽¹⁾

This opinion, which is famously known from these two persons, has been quoted from them by al-Jāḥiẓ in his book entitled: *Faḍilat al-Mu'tazilah* as well as by many authors, and scholars have not disagreed on ascribing this

(1) Al-Nāshī' al-Akbar, *Masā'il al-Imāmah*, page 54; al-Ash'arī, *al-Maqālāt wa'l-Firaq*, page 10; Abū'l-Husayn al-Khayyāt, *al-Intiṣār*, pages 97-8; al-Nūbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shī'ah*, page 12; al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* 2/130; Shaykh al-Mufid, *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*, page 50; al-Isfarā'īnī, *al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq*, pages 120 and 320 and *al-Tabṣīr fī'l-Dīn*, page 41; Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *al-Fiṣal* 4/153; al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal* 1/49; al-Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* 8/379.

opinion to these two persons, confirming that they departed from this world holding this opinion as one of their undoubted beliefs.

Opinion of Abu'l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf

Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā remarks that Abu'l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf held the same opinion about Imam 'Alī and about 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr, copying the opinion of the two previously mentioned men, and kept on this belief up to the last moments of his lifetime.⁽¹⁾

Opinion of Abū-Bakr al-Aṣamm

Abū-Bakr al-Aṣamm, nicknamed Kharbān,⁽²⁾ was another master scholar of the Mu'tazilah and a chief theologian in the fields of Muslim jurisprudence and principles of the Islamic Law. He said about the issue of the War of the Camel: "I support both parties of the war; therefore, I do not decide any party to have been wrong or right and I do not decisively judge any of them to be false or true neither elaborately nor simply. Yet, my conception is that if 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, by fighting against 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr, intended to suppress mischief, prevent sedition, repel them from overcoming him in leadership and transgressing against the people, then he must have been in the right and he would be awarded; but, on the other hand, if he only intended to persecute them, overtake power exclusively for himself without seeking to consult the matter with the scholars, rule over people by means of repression and harassment, then he would be decided as misleading, deviant, and an inhabitant of Hellfire!

Abū-Bakr continues: I said so only because the fact of affairs has not been clear for me and I could not recognize the actual intentions, since the reasons of falsity have been confused with the truth, which is still concealed from the people of rationality.

He adds: I hold the same opinion about the other party. To explain, if 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr, when they waged war against 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib and his fellows, only intended to stop monopolizing power without the pleasure of the scholars and wanted to demand the bloodshed of 'Uthmān and

⁽¹⁾ Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* 2/130; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, vol. 20, part 2, page 78; al-Isfarā'īnī, *al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq* page 321; Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *al-Fiṣal* 4/153.

⁽²⁾ Although another version of the current book holds that the nickname of this man was Kharbāl but not Kharbān, the most accurate is what is mentioned in the text above. According to *al-Tanbīh wa'l-Radd* (written by al-Maltī, a Shāfi'ite scholar) page 39: "Abu'l-Ḥusayn used to nickname Abū-Bakr as Kharbān, which is an originally Persian word meaning: the hirer of donkeys."

punishing his assassins through retaliating those who had wronged him so that the issue of leadership would be subjected to the system of consultation so that Muslims would choose their leader whom they see the most suitable for this office, then they must be decided as guides, pious, and deservers of reward; but, on the other hand, if they only sought for worldly pleasures and followed fanaticism and making mischief in this issue so that they would come to power against the will of the scholars, then they must be decided as deviants and deservers of curse and abiding in Hellfire forever. Yet, I lack any evidence that might prove their intentions and I lack any proof that might show their intentions from their acts; therefore, I suspended giving any judgment about them and about 'Alī and his followers alike, although the situation of Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr is better in my conception than the situation of 'Alī with regard to what he had done.⁽¹⁾

Opinion of Hishām al-Fūṭī and 'Abbād ibn Sulaymān

Having been heads of the Mu'tazilah doctrine, Hishām al-Fūṭī and his disciple 'Abbād ibn Sulaymān and Ṣaymarī⁽²⁾ said: 'Alī, as well as Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and 'Ā'ishah plus another group of the two parties of the conflict, were all in the right, on the true guidance, and vindicated, while the others who followed them were deviants and they brought perdition to themselves. This is so because 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr mutinied and went to al-Baṣrah so as to investigate the issue of assassinating 'Uthmān and then demanding retaliation on those who shed his blood, thus intending to bid the right and forbid the wrong, seeking Allah's pleasure. On the other hand, 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib faced them so as to agree with them in opinion and in managing the affairs and interests of Islam and its followers, thus intending to suppress provoking sedition and prevent the ordinary people from intruding themselves in affairs that were none of their business; rather, the whole matter should have been relegated to the chief scholars so that mutual consent would be established between the two parties on the basis of equality and working towards seeking the truth and unanimity. Yet, when the two parties met one another, the lowly people hurried to fighting, causing war to break out between the two parties although the leaders and chiefs had not wanted to engage themselves in that war. As a result, the affairs slipped away from those leaders and they could not avoid it. Thus, sedition was started and much

(1) Al-Ash'arī, *Al-Maqālāt wa'l-Firaq*, page 12; al-Nūbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shī'ah*, page 15; al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyin* 2/130; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, page 153.

(2) Or, al-Ḍamrī, according to al-Mālī's *al-Tanbih wa'l-Radd* page 39, Ibn al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist* page 215, and al-Isfarā'ī's *al-Tabṣīr fī'l-Dīn* page 82.

blood was shed, although neither 'Alī nor Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and 'Ā'ishah and their virtuous followers wanted that to take place. Consequently, the followers brought perdition to themselves, but the leaders were saved.⁽¹⁾

This opinion is similar to the previously mentioned opinion that I quoted from some ordinary people and, at the same time, dissimilar to it from another angle, since these two men, by citing this opinion, distinguished themselves from the others, cancelled out compulsion, which is known for sure, and rejected the reports of the eyewitnesses.

Opinion of other advocates of the Mu'tazilah doctrine

The other advocates of the Mu'tazilah doctrine—such as Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir, Abū-Mūsā al-Murdār, Ja'far ibn Mubashshir, al-Iskāfī, al-Khayyāt, al-Shahḥām, Abū-Mujālid, al-Balkhī, al-Jubbā'ī—as well as group of the Shi'ah,⁽²⁾ both the Imāmiyyah⁽³⁾ and the Zaydiyyah,⁽¹⁾ believed that Imam 'Alī

⁽¹⁾ Al-Nāshī' al-Akbar, *Masā'il al-Imāmah* page 55; al-Balkhī, *Faḍl al-I'tizāl* page 72; Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Khayyāt, *al-Intiṣār* pages 61-2 and 168-9. Compare these quotations with al-Isfarā'ī's *al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq*, page 121.

⁽²⁾ Shi'ah, literally meaning partisans, is a name said to those who acted loyally to Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, preferred him to all those who came to power before him, and professed that he is an Imam (i.e. leader) appointed by Allah the Almighty and he is the true direct successor to the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ). They, especially the Imāmiyyah Shi'ah, thus believe that the Holy Prophet (ṣ) declared Imam 'Alī ('a) openly and by name as his successor and the next leader of the Muslim nation, while the Jārūdiyyah believe that the Holy Prophet (ṣ) appointed Imam 'Alī ('a) as the next leader by description but not by name. The Shi'ah also believe that the sons and descendants of Imam 'Alī ('a) are the Imams. Refer to: al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* 1/65; al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal* 1/146; Abū-Sa'id al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-ʿĪn* page 154; al-Kirmānī, *al-Firaq al-Islāmiyyah* page 33; Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī [al-Shahīd al-Thānī], *al-Rawḍah al-Bahiyyah* 3/182.

⁽³⁾ The Imāmiyyah is a sect advocated by those who believe that 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) is the Imam, as well as eleven persons from his descendants, according to an unquestionable statement issued by the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) through which he, carrying out the command of the Almighty Allah, appointed Imam 'Alī ('a) as the leader of the Muslim nation and the direct successor to him. The Imāmiyyah Shi'ah thus say: On more than one occasion, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) appointed 'Alī ('a) openly as the next leader and, on other occasions, he referred to this Divine command suggestively. They; i.e. the Imāmiyyah, thus believe that acceptance of and loyalty to the leadership of the Holy Imams, who must be infallible and inerrant, is obligatory upon each and every Muslim. Besides, each Imam is required to nominate the Imam that would come after him. These Imāmiyyah Shi'ah are also known as the Ithnā'ashariyyah; i.e. the Twelver Shi'ah. Refer to: Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah* pages 239-40; al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal* 1/162; Abū-Sa'id al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-ʿĪn*, page 157; al-Kirmānī, *al-Firaq al-Islāmiyyah*, page 61; Zayn al-Dīn

('a) was in the right in all of the wars he led and was vindicated when he fought against the people of al-Baṣrah, Levant, and al-Nahrawān. Moreover, he shall be awarded by Allah for leading these wars, because he only carried out the duty of jihad imposed on him by Allah the Almighty; while all those who mutinied and fought against him in all campaigns were deviants, straying off from the path of true guidance, and deserving eternity in Hellfire for they had waged war against and opposed him.⁽²⁾ Yet, those Mu'tazilah in particular excluded 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr from the judgment of sentencing to punishment, claiming that these three persons were exempted from punishment and they deserved reward instead because they repented and regretted engagement in fighting against Imam 'Alī ('a);⁽³⁾ so, they issued a judgment that is opposite to the apparent deeds and words of these people and provided weak claim although they are well known of their mastery in argumentation. I believe that they feared from the ordinary people and wanted to flatter the rulers of that time through issuing such an erroneous judgment, because no spurious argument can confuse such scholars who are experienced in narration and rational views and are characterized by their skills in theology, since even the ordinary people can judge the invalidity of the view they adopted.

Amongst all the Mu'tazilah, al-Aṣamm opposed this view and claimed that Mu'āwiyah was the right leader because the Muslim nation agreed unanimously on his leadership after the assassination of Imam 'Alī ('a),⁽⁴⁾

al-'Āmili, *al-Rawḍah al-Bahiyyah* 3/182.

(1) The Zaydiyyah is a name said to the followers of Zayd ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ('a). They believe that Imamate is restricted to the descendants of Lady Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' ('a) the daughter of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (s) so exclusively that none else should be entitled to Imamate. Yet, they believe that every descendant of Lady Fāṭimah ('a) can be the Imam on condition that he is characterized by knowledge and bravery and that he leads an armed revolution; so, if such a person is found, it becomes obligatory to obey him, whether he is a descendant of Imam al-Ḥasan or Imam al-Ḥusayn. However, not all the beliefs of the Zaydiyyah were adopted by or derived from Zayd ibn 'Alī. Refer to: al-Ash'ari, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyin* 1/129-32; Shaykh al-Mufid, *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*, pages 46-7; al-Shahristāni, *al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal* 1/154-6; al-Yamāni, *al-Munyah wa'l-Amal*, page 89.

(2) Al-Nāshī' al-Akbar, *Masā'il al-Imāmah*, pages 57-8; al-Ash'ari, *al-Maqālāt wa'l-Firaq*, page 11, al-Nūbakhti, *Firaq al-Shi'ah*, pages 13-4; al-Ash'ari, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyin* 2/130; Shaykh al-Mufid, *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*, page 49; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal* 4/153; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-'Īn*, page 205; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Āli Abi-Ṭālib* 3/216.

(3) Al-Khayyāt, *Al-Intiṣār*, page 98; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 4/133; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadid, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/9, 6/214, 14/24, and 20/34.

(4) Al-Nāshī' al-Akbar, *Masā'il al-Imāmah*, page 60; al-Ash'ari, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyin* 2/131; al-Isfarā'īnī, *al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq*, page 164.

although he showed that he had doubted the leadership of Imam 'Alī ('a), as has been previously cited in this book.

Except al-Aṣamm who believes that Imam 'Alī ('a) was right while those who fought against him were infidels, all those whom we have previously mentioned confirm decisively that Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ should be in Hellfire and that they left this world as infidels, thus deserving perdition and eternal punishment, because they opposed Imam 'Alī ('a) and waged war against him. For those Mu'tazilah too, all those who died believing that Mu'āwiyah was the legitimate leader and was in the right when he fought against Imam 'Alī ('a) deviated from true guidance, renounced Islam, and deserved eternity in Hellfire.⁽¹⁾

The Khawārij⁽²⁾ agreed with those Mu'tazilah and with all the Shi'ah sects on the belief that Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ were wrong and astray when they fought against Imam 'Alī ('a). The same attitude was adopted by a group of the Murji'ah⁽³⁾ and the Traditionist⁽¹⁾ Mujbirah⁽²⁾ although these two groups

⁽¹⁾ Compare this with Ibn 'Asākir's *Tabyīn Kadhib al-Muftarī*, page 151.

⁽²⁾ The Khawārij, literally meaning the mutineers, is the name of a group who had been with Imam 'Alī ('a) but they mutinied when he accepted the farce of arbitration during the Battle of Ṣiffin, although it was they who forced him to accept the arbitration. Yet, when they saw that they were wrong, they renounced their support of the Imam and confessed that they had committed a big mistake when they accepted the arbitration; therefore, they repented and demanded Imam 'Alī ('a) declaring repentance from *infidelity*, which he—as they claimed—did when he accepted the farce of arbitration. Refer to al-Nūbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shi'ah*, page 6; al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* 1/156-96; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal* 1/114-37; al-Kirmānī, *al-Firaq al-Islāmiyyah*, page 62.

⁽³⁾ The Murji'ah, literally meaning those who advocate the idea of deferred judgment of people's belief, is the name of a sect of Muslims who emerged in the last years of the first century of Hegira. Their founder was Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah who was the first to discuss the doctrine of deferment of judging on people's belief, writing a treatise in which he tried to prove this belief. So, the Murji'ah acted loyally to Abū-Bakr and 'Umar and refused to be loyal to any other person, including 'Uthmān, Imam 'Alī ('a), Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr. This was their first *deferment*. As their doctrine developed, they based their creed on discussion of the issues of belief and disbelief, saying that belief is mere a word that does not require practice. They were called *murji'ah* because they believed that the threat with punishment is not final. In fact, this idea is the basis of their sect. They then broke up into different sects and classes. Among the Murji'ah from the second generation of Muslims were Sa'id ibn Jubayr and Ḥammād ibn Abi-Sulaymān. As for scholars of Muslim jurisprudence, Abū-Ḥanīfah and his fellows also advocated this sect. As for theologians, Muḥammad ibn Shabīb, al-Ṣāliḥī, al-Khālīdī, and Ghaylān were Murji'ah. Refer to al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān, *al-'Idāḥ*, pages 44-7; al-Nūbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shi'ah*, pages 6-10; Abū-Ḥātam al-Rāzī, *al-Zīnah*, pages 262-6; al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* 1/197-215; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal* 1/139-46; Ibn 'Asākir, *Mukhtaṣar Tarikh Dimashq* 7/70-1;

did not express any opinion regarding the punishment of Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ and did not decide that they should be sent to Hellfire; rather, they hoped for them, as well as all those who fought against Imam 'Alī ('a), amnesty of Allah the Almighty as long as these people pretended that they were Muslims. They adopted the same opinion about the Khawārij although they decided them as astray.⁽³⁾

Opinion of the Khawārij

Unanimously, all the Khawārij believed that Imam 'Alī ('a) was right when he fought the people of al-Baṣrah and the people of Levant, because they were infidels and astray when they waged wars against him, and they deserved eternity in the punishment of Hellfire. Yet, they claimed that he made a mistake when he stopped fighting against the people of Levant after they had raised copies of the Holy Qur'ān, resorting to trickery in order to make him stop fighting them. The Khawārij thus testified against themselves that they had committed a sin when they agreed to the suggestion of stopping fighting those transgressors. Yet, they, having regretted what they did, repented from this sin and called for resuming fight; thus, they released themselves from deviation and going astray and returned to Islam and true faith. Because Imam

al-Yamānī, *al-Munyah wa 'l-Amal*, page 24.

(1) Traditionists, *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, are those who claim depending upon the Prophetic traditions in their beliefs and verdicts; they therefore care very much for transmitting the Prophetic traditions without paying any attention to analogy, both the clear and the obscure, as long as there is a Prophetic tradition dealing with the subject. They are namely the scholars of al-Hijaz; the followers of Mālik ibn Anas, Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'i, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, and Dāwūd ibn 'Alī al-Iṣfahānī. [al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal* 1/206] Also refer to al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān, *al-Īḍāḥ*, pages 7-8; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Ma'ārif*, pages 280-93; Abū-Ḥātam al-Rāzī, *al-Zinah*, page 267.

(2) The Mujbirah are those who believe in *jabr*; i.e. predestination; a doctrine believed by a group of Muslims that emerged since the reign of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī-Sufyān and the Umayyad rulers contributed greatly to the spread of it. They believe that the actions of humans have already been predestined by God; therefore, belief and disbelief are already predestined by God's act while human beings can by no means change what has been predestined for them. Yet, the predestinarians were different sects and groups, some of which were the Kulābiyyah, the Najjāriyyah, and the Ash'ariyyah, the followers of Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī. The same doctrine was adopted by later scholars like 'Abd al-Malik al-Juwaynī, al-Ghazzālī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Rāzī, and Abū-Bakr al-Bāqillānī. Refer to al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal* 1/85-91; al-Kirmānī, *al-Firaq al-Islāmiyyah*, page 89; al-Yamānī, *al-Munyah wa 'l-Amal*, pages 105-9.

(3) Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* 2/130; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*, page 50; Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *al-Fiṣal* 4/153.

'Alī ('a) did not respond to their call of resuming fighting and concluded a truce with Mu'āwiyah and the people of Levant, he renounced Islam and apostatized from this religion.⁽¹⁾

In fact, their spurious claim is too weak to confuse every one who enjoys a contemplative view, because Imam 'Alī ('a) stopped fighting against his enemy because his followers disappointed him and failed to support him when they practically refrained from keeping on fighting the enemy. So, they forced him to respond to their urgent demands of accepting the so-called arbitration; therefore, it was impermissible for him to re-fight these people after he had to accept the farce of arbitration because he promised to stop fighting them during the period that was identified by the truce to which he was dragged against his will. Of course, breaking a promise leads to very much mischief and is not acceptable, neither in Islam nor in any other religion.

Opinion of the Shī'ah

The Shī'ah agreed in one word that those who fought against Imam 'Alī ('a) committed infidelity, but they did not decide them to have renounced Islam; therefore, the laws of Muslims were to be applied to them, since the infidelity of most of them, which was due to misinterpretation, was inside the borders of Islam but was not apostasy from the Islamic Law, because they were still observing some Islamic laws. Generally speaking, uttering the two professions of Islam saves from apostasy that takes one out of the religion of Islam, although they, by their infidelity, renounced faith and exposed themselves to curse and eternity in Hellfire.⁽²⁾

Those of the Mu'tazilah who decisively judged those who fought against Imam 'Alī ('a) as straying and off the course of Islam also judge them as infidel and deserving of eternity in Hellfire. Yet, they are not described as disbelievers and are not judged as having been apostates.⁽³⁾ The Khawārij, on the other hand, deem disbelievers the people of al-Baṣrah and Levant, consider them to have abandoned the creed of Islam, and describe them as

(1) Al-Ash'ari, *al-Maḳālāt wa'l-Firaq*, page 12; al-Nūbakhti, *Firaq al-Shī'ah*, page 15; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Awā'il al-Maḳālāt*, page 49; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 20/60, part 2; al-Isfarā'īnī, *al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq*, page 119 and *al-Tabṣīr fi'l-Dīn*, pages 26 and 41; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn Kadhib al-Muftarī*, page 151.

(2) Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Ifṣāḥ*, pages 122-9 and *Awā'il al-Maḳālāt*, page 49; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 3/107 and 4/131-3; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 14/24; al-Taftazānī, *Sharḥ al-Maḳāṣid* 5/308.

(3) Al-Ash'ari, *al-Maḳālāt wa'l-Firaq*, page 12; al-Nūbakhti, *Firaq al-Shī'ah*, page 14; al-Kirmānī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* 2/130; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 14/24.

infidels. Moreover, some of the Khawārij even describe them to have been polytheists in addition to having left the religion of Islam.⁽¹⁾

This has been a summary of the opinions of Muslims regarding the seditious event of al-Baṣrah and those whom were killed therein, as well as the judgments regarding the wars of Ṣiffīn⁽²⁾ and al-Nahrawān.⁽³⁾

I have cited the most famous opinions that I exerted my efforts to quote from the master scholars of these sects, although the followers of some of these sects are now not present and there is consensus on the worthlessness of their opinions. On the other hand, there are some followers of other sects and there is no consensus on the invalidity of their opinions, although there is clear-cut evidence on the invalidity of their opinions, especially for the people of good sense when they weight up these opinions.

By the will and help of Allah, I shall refer to a few argumentations against some of these sects whose followers had violated the truth and I shall prove, depending upon the reported traditions, the accuracy of Imam 'Alī's deeds with regard to the wars he led and the judgments he issued about those who mutinied against him, although I will opt for briefness in order to avoid lengthiness, using the least amount of words that express my discussions. After that, I shall mention some relevant topics, such as the reasons for the sedition of al-Baṣrah to which I have already referred in the beginning of the book.

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*, page 50; al-Isfarā'īnī, *al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq*, page 119; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Āl Abī-Ṭālib* 3/216-7.

⁽²⁾ Ṣiffīn is the name of a place near Shām where the war between Imam 'Alī Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn ('a) and Mu'āwīyah took place. [al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam Mastu'jīm*, 837]

⁽³⁾ Al-Nahrawān is the name of a big area that is situated between Baghdad and Wāsiṭ from the eastern part. Its upper border is connected to the city of Baghdad and it involves many towns. It was the place where the war between Imam 'Alī ('a) and the Khawārij took place. [Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* 5/324-5]

INFALLIBILITY OF IMAM 'ALĪ

Discussions of the appositeness of Imam 'Alī's deeds in all of the wars in which he participated, his rightness in all of his words and deeds, rightness attached to his opinions, and the falsity of the claims of his enemies and rivals who disagreed with him

Arguments prove clearly that Imam 'Alī ('a) was always flawless and incapable of erring in the religious issues. The infallibility of Imam 'Alī ('a) can be proven from two aspects; reason-based conclusion and authentic reports of the trustworthy.

As for reason-based conclusion that establishes the infallibility of Imam 'Alī ('a), this is the evidence of his Imamate (i.e. the Divinely commanded leadership and succession to the Holy Prophet) and the evidence that obedience to Imam 'Alī ('a) is a duty that is incumbent upon all human beings, since the Imam must enjoy infallibility like the infallibility of the prophets. This fact can be proven through numerous points of evidence, which I have mentioned in my other books on the issue of Imamate and the answers to the questions raised in this regard.⁽¹⁾

One of these reason-based proofs is the fact that the Imams must act as examples of religiosity, since the most utter meaning of taking a person for Imam is to patter after and follow him, and the fact of following someone is to imitate him in all of his words and deeds, basing this imitation on the fact that the words and deeds of that person act as overwhelming argument against those who follow him, but not imitating his deeds and words because evidence has proven that his words and deeds were true even in other issues that have not been proven as true. In fact, if imitating a person in his words and deeds is valid only after proving that his words and deeds were true, all people would be in the right when they imitate those whom they consider to

⁽¹⁾ Refer to Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Awā'il al-Maqālāt*, page 74; and see Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 1/299 and *al-Dhakhirah*, pages 430-1; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Tamhīd al-Uṣūl*, pages 359-61; al-Ḥalabī, *Taqrīb al-Ma'ārif*, pages 116-9; al-Ṭabarsī, *I'lām al-Warā*, page 157; al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, *al-Maslak fi 'Ilm al-Kalām*, pages 198-204; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, page 164; and Nūrullāh al-Shūshtārī, *al-Ṣawārim al-Muhriqah*, page 49.

be their leaders in their deeds and words including those which have not been proven as true; rather, they imitate them in all of their deeds and words even if no evidence is provided to prove that their deeds and words were right, but because they originally imitate their persons in their capacity as having been issued by the leaders. This is definitely untrue, because we may agree with the disbelieving Jews and Christians as well as all those who found false creeds in some of their words and deeds, since it has been proven that some of their words and deeds were true. Therefore, we are required to follow the words and deeds of those whom we consider leaders after proving that they were true leaders to be followed; otherwise, our imitation is unquestionably invalid.

Another reason-based proof is that one of the reasons for our need for Imams is that we, the ordinary people, are not infallible and we may make mistakes; therefore, we need infallible leaders to guide our steps, lead those of us who make mistakes to the right, reform us when we go astray, awaken us when we fall into inadvertence and negligence, and execute the penal laws on us when we commit a felony. In conclusion, if the Infallible Imams had not been infallible, as has been earlier proven, they would be—just like the ordinary people—in need for what we have just mentioned, would need leaders to guide them, and would fail to do without guardians and chiefs who should stand with them. Of course, the claim that the Imams are in need for other imams to lead them to the right is consensually void, because the Infallible Imams must be managing without leaders.

Apart from these two proofs, there are numerous reason-based proofs to establish the infallibility of the Imams. These proofs can be referred to in books dedicated to discussing this matter in detail and elaborately.⁽¹⁾

Having proven the infallibility of the Holy Imams and proven that the Muslim community agreed unanimously that if there were a leader to succeed the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) directly, it would be obligatory upon all people to obey him, we should now confirm unfalteringly that Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a), and none of those whom were claimed to be the leaders of the Muslim community, must have been the direct successor to the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) and must be the Imam the obedience to him is obligatory upon all people. This conclusion is based on the evidence that all Muslims agreed unanimously that no other one than Imam 'Alī ('a) was proven to have enjoyed infallibility, which we have earlier proven to be necessarily enjoyed by the one who

⁽¹⁾ For further detail, refer to Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥilli, *al-Alfayn*, pages 56-445, and al-Shūshtari, *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq* 2/286-313.

deserved to be the leader of the Muslim community. Besides, the Imāmiyyah Shi'ah agreed unanimously that Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) was exclusively granted infallibility other than all other people;⁽¹⁾ otherwise, the unanimity of Muslims would have been worthless and the reason-based evidence that the leaders of the Muslims must be infallible would have been proven false.

Besides, having proven that Imam 'Alī ('a) was infallible and incapable of erring in all affairs, we say that he must have shared equally the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) in this feature; i.e. the feature of infallibility; therefore, we must determinedly decide that all the words and deeds of Imam 'Alī ('a) must have been true, while those who opposed him must have been false and they must have been wrong in waging wars against him and, as a result, they must have deserved punishment for this violation. These facts are so clear for those who think of them contemplatively. Finally, it is only Allah Who leads to the right.

Another proof is that Imamate that is indispensably needed by people must be decided through the unanimity of people, while the leadership that comes through consultation or the opinions of certain persons is invalid. Taking this reason-based evidence in consideration, Imamate must be decided through a statement issued by Allah the Almighty. Practically, the leadership of Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) was commanded by Allah and declared openly by the Holy Prophet (ṣ), which proves that 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) is the actual infallible Imam, leader of the Muslim community and direct successor to the Holy Prophet (ṣ). This issue is thus revolving between two categories of people; one category believes undoubtedly that the leadership of the Muslim community must be decided through statements issued by the Lord and His Apostle; therefore, 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) must have been the leader and successor to the Holy Prophet (ṣ) unquestionably, apart from the other proofs that clearly confirm this fact. On the other hand, the other category objects to this belief and claims that leadership is decided through personal opinions. As it has been proven that the latter opinion is invalid, because it is definitely untrue to decide the leadership through personal opinions; rather, leadership should have been given to the true leaders of Islam that were appointed by name by the Lord and His Apostle, this proves Imam 'Alī's right to leadership and Imamate.

This issue can also be proven through reports and traditions, not to mention texts of the Holy Qur'ān that declared openly the general guardianship and

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 10; al-Ṭabarsī, *I'lām al-Warā*, page 157; al-Ḥimyari, *al-Ḥūr al-ʿĪn*, page 154; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥilli, *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, page 171.

leadership of Imam 'Alī ('a). For instance, Allah the Almighty declares in the Holy Qur'ān: "*Verily, your guardian is only Allah and His Apostle and those who believe—those who establish prayer and pay the poor-rate while they be bowing down in prayer.* [Sūrah al-Mā'idah 5, verse 55]"⁽¹⁾

This Qur'ānic verse entails a speech that is addressed to a group of people for whom Allah has decided guardians to lead them and manage their affairs. He, the All-exalted, attached these guardians to Him in mention. So, the guardians of the community of Muslims are Allah, His Apostle, and the believers who establish prayer and give away alms while they are bowing down in prayer.

It also confirms that *the people* who gave away alms while they were in state of offering a ritual prayer must have been certain people or, more precisely, a certain person. The evidence on this fact is rational. To explain, if Allah the Almighty had intended all duty-bound people in this statement, He would have annexed the word *guardian* to His Name, while it is impossible to annex something to the same thing; rather, something, or someone, is usually annexed to something, or someone, else. It has been proven for everyone that no specific group of people have been introduced as guardians of the others and the others have not been introduced as followers of a specific group of people with regard to guardianship and loyalty except those whom Allah the Almighty introduced as establishing prayers and giving away alms while they are in the state of bowing down in prayer. Accordingly, all other probabilities are removed except the claim of the Shi'ah who believed that it was Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) whom Allah the Almighty introduced as performing the prayers and giving away alms while they are in the state of the bowing down in the prayer, which means that Imam 'Alī ('a) is the guardian over the Muslim community, the Imam, and the one the obedience to whom has been imposed by Allah the Almighty over all people. Besides, no one else claimed to have given away alms while he was in the bowing down of the prayer except Imam 'Alī ('a). In conclusion, 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) must be the Imam and leader of the Muslims and the direct successor to the Holy Prophet (ṣ). As we have proven Imam 'Alī ('a) to be the one and only guardian of the Muslim community, this proves that he must be in the right in all of his deeds and words, while those who opposed him must have been wrong.

⁽¹⁾ This Qur'ānic verse was revealed in praise of Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) when he gave away his ring as alms while he was bowing down in a prayer. Narrations supporting this fact are too uninterruptedly reported to be denied. For details, it is advisable to refer to Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mūsawī's *al-Murāja'āt*, pages 142-4 and al-Amin's *al-Ghadir* 2/155-62.

Another proof is the Prophetic address to Imam 'Alī ('a), which is unanimously agreed upon by all Muslims, none of whom, especially the scholars of Prophetic traditions, has ever argued the authenticity of this Prophetic statement; that is, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) addressed Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) by saying, "Alī, your position to me is as same as the position of Aaron to Moses, except that there shall no prophet to come after me."⁽¹⁾

According to this Prophetic declaration, Imam 'Alī ('a) was given all the authorities and positions given to Prophet Aaron to act on behalf of his brother Prophet Moses except for prophethood; that is, Imam 'Alī ('a) is not prophet. One of these authorities is represented by the fact that Allah the Almighty imposed obedience to Imam 'Alī ('a) on the community of Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) as same as He imposed obedience to Prophet Aaron ('a) on the community of his brother Prophet Moses ('a); therefore, Imam 'Alī ('a) must be the leader and Imam as same as Prophet Aaron ('a) was the leader and imam of the community of Prophet Moses ('a). Just as the leadership of Prophet Aaron ('a) continued after the passing away of Prophet Moses ('a), so also must the leadership of Imam 'Alī ('a) have continued after the passing away of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ), and it is illegal to deprive Imam 'Alī ('a) of this leadership under any circumstances.

This stands for another proof of the Imamate and leadership of Imam 'Alī

(1) This Prophetic tradition has been cited in the following reference books of Prophetic traditions: Abū-Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad Abi-Dāwūd*, page 29; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf* 11/226; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah* 4/163; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqa al-Kubrā* 3/25; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad Aḥmad* 1/173, 175, 177, and 179; Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah 2/570; Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī 4/208; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim 15/174; Ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan* 1/42-3; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan* 5/596; al-Nasā'ī, *Khaṣā'is 'Alī ibn Abi-Ṭālib*, page 107; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr* 1/148; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* 2/337; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, vol. 2, part 1, page 158; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 3/34; Abū-Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'* 7/196; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* 9/40; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādī, *Tārikh Baghdād* 4/204; Ibn al-Maghāzili, *al-Manāqib*, page 30; al-Ṭabarsī, *I'lām al-Warā'*, page 167; al-Khawārizmī, *Manāqib*, page 129; *Tarjumat al-Imām 'Alī ibn Abi-Ṭālib* 1/307; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Alī Abi-Ṭālib* 3/15; Ibn al-Bīṭriq, *Umdat 'Uyūn Ṣiḥāḥ al-Akhbār*, page 126; Ibn al-Athīr, *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl* 8/651; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah* 4/26; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Ṭarā'if*, page 51; al-Irbili, *Kashf al-Ghumma* 1/334; al-Kanjī, *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*, page 281; al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhā'ir al-Uqbā'*, page 63; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, page 216; Ibn Balbān, *al-Iḥsān* 9/41; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 7/339; al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 9/109; al-Juwaynī, *Farā'id al-Simṭayn* 1/122; Ibn Ṣabbāgh, *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*, page 126; al-Suyūṭī, *Tārikh al-Khulafā'*, page 168; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-A'imma al-Ithnā'ashar*, page 52; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, *al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah*, page 121; and al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 11/606. For further details, refer to al-Shūshtari's *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq*, vol. 5, pages 132-234.

(‘a). This Imamate, in turns, stands for clear-cut evidence that he is infallible, as has been previously proven and described. Infallibility, in the sense of incapability of erring, necessarily denotes that Imam ‘Alī (‘a) was right in all of his deeds and words, including the wars he had to wage in defense of the Muslim community against his opponents who are also proven to have been wrong and straying off from the course of true guidance. Our previous discussions are full of points that prove this fact, thanks to Allah.

These proofs comprise our irrefutable answers to the spurious questions of our opponents, including the Mu‘tazilah, the Ḥashwiyyah, and the Khawārij. Besides, my other books⁽¹⁾ comprised more answers to these questions where I have refuted their spurious arguments through self-evident proofs and points of evidence. Avoiding lengthiness and repetition, I will not cite the details of these proofs in this book, because they are not needed here; rather, I have only mentioned these proofs and the reasons supporting them. So, in this book, I only mentioned the major proofs without referring to their particulars and fine points in order to prove the method of argumentation with regard to proving the Imam ‘Alī (‘a) was in the right, while his opponents and rivals who broke their allegiance to him were wrong in their ideas and opinions, hoping that the readers of this book will have an idea about this fact and recognize the truth through deliberate pondering over what I have written in the previous lines. However, if one wishes to acquaint oneself with the details, one may kindly refer to my other books, as well as the other books written by the followers of the truth,⁽²⁾ which are dedicated to this point. Finally, the main topic of this book does not need any review of these points of evidence that prove that Imam ‘Alī (‘a) was right in all of his wars, deeds, and words, while his enemies who fought against him were utterly wrong. This point, specifically, will be the main topic of the coming chapter of this book, where I will prove the Imamate of ‘Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (‘a) from the sources accepted as true by our opponents and through opinions that they themselves adopt, proving that their denial of Imamate is the result of their failure to understand the facts as they are—facts that I will prove through texts and rational premises, which is the same path I have adopted in the previous lines of this book.

⁽¹⁾ Refer to Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, pages 104-112 and *al-Iḥṣāh*, pages 117-130.

⁽²⁾ Refer to Sharīf al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, *al-Iḥṣāh*, *al-Dhakhīrah*, *al-Shāfi*, and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi*.

Proofs of Imam 'Alī's having been right in all of his wars

The first evidence to be provided for proving that Imam 'Alī ('a) was right in all of the wars he led while his opponents were wrong are the following authentically narrated statements of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) who addressed Imam 'Alī ('a) with these words:

"O 'Alī, waging war against you is as same as waging war against me, and to be at peace with you is to be at peace with me."⁽¹⁾

"O 'Alī, I am at war against him who wages war against you, and I am at peace with him who is at peace with you."⁽²⁾

These two Prophetic statements are reported through chains of authority trusted by both the Shi'ah and the non-Shi'ah scholars of Prophetic traditions. Besides, you cannot find even one scholar criticizing the authenticity of the chain of authority of these traditions neither can you find any person who has the least amount of knowledge with the Prophetic traditions claiming that these statements were fabricated against the Holy Prophet (ṣ). It is therefore obligatory to carry out and act upon the purport of narrations of such high degree of authenticity. Moreover, if one of these two narrations had been false, there must have been at least one scholar to deny it, give the lie to its transmitters, criticize it, mention reasons for fabricating it, and establish arguments derived from the words of Allah the Almighty prove it as having been forged. Because none of such matters has ever been claimed against these two Prophetic traditions, this means that they are utterly sound from any fabrication, which means that the indication of these statements can act as

(1) *Tafsīr Furāt al-Kūfi*, page 477; Sharif al-Murtadā, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, page 197 and *al-Ifṣāḥ*, page 128 and *al-Dhakhīrah*, page 495 and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 2/134-5; Ibn al-Maghāzili, *al-Manāqib*, page 50; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Āli Abī-Ṭālib* 3/217; al-Khawārizmī, *al-Manāqib*, page 129; al-Taftazānī, *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid* 5/308; Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān* 2/483; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/321.

(2) Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* 2/442; Ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan* 1/52; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan* 5/65, al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* 3/149; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārikh Baghdād* 7/137; Ibn al-Maghāzili, *al-Manāqib*, Abū-Ja'far al-Ṭabarī, *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā*, page 209; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Āli Abī-Ṭālib* 3/217; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah* 3/11; al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā*, page 25; Ibn Balbān, *al-Iḥṣān* 9/61; al-Haytamī, *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 9/169; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/321 (where this Prophetic narration is reported as such: "The Holy Prophet (ṣ) said: 'I am at war against those who are at war against you all (i.e. the Holy Prophet's family) and I am at peace with those who are at peace with you all.'" According to Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs's *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā*, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) said: "I am at war against him who wages war against 'Alī and I am at peace with him who is at peace with 'Alī."

self-evident evidence on their authenticity.

It is uninterruptedly reported that the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) said to Imam 'Alī ('a), "O 'Alī, you shall fight for the interpretation of the Qur'ān as same as I have fought for its revelation."⁽¹⁾

When Suhayl ibn 'Amr asked the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) to give up the slaves of Quraysh who had fled their masters, embraced Islam, and joined him in al-Madīnah, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) said to him, "If you, O people of the Quraysh, do not stop this, Allah shall send to you a man who strikes you for the sake of the interpretation of the Qur'ān as I stroke you for the sake of its revelation."

Some of the Companions who were present there asked, "Who is this man, O Allah's Apostle? Is he *so-and-so*?"

"No, he is not," the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) answered.

"So," they further asked. "He must be *so-and-so*!"

"No, he is not," the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) answered and declared, "He is the one who is now repairing the sandals inside that chamber."

The Companions checked and saw 'Alī in the chamber repairing the sandals of the Holy Prophet (ﷺ).⁽²⁾

On another occasion, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) addressed Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) with these words: "After me, you shall fight against the breakers of allegiance, the transgressors, and the apostates."

Like the previously mentioned narrations, this narration is sound of any criticism in its chain of authority, since there is no evidence on its inauthenticity. As the transmitters of this narration are decided as trustworthy by both Shī'ah and non-Shī'ah scholars, this is the best evidence on its authenticity.

⁽¹⁾ This Prophetic tradition is quoted in the following reference books of Prophetic traditions: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad* 3/33; al-Nasā'ī, *Khaṣā'is 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib*, page 285; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 65; Abū-Nu'aym, *Hilyat al-Awliyā'* 1/67; Ibn al-Maghāzili, *al-Manāqib*, page 298; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah* 4/32; al-Irbilī, *Kashf al-Ghummaḥ* 1/336; al-Juwaynī, *Farā'id al-Simṭayn* 1/160; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muhriqah*, page 123; al-Shūshṭarī, *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq* 6/24-38 (yet, with little difference).

⁽²⁾ Al-Nasā'ī, *Khaṣā'is 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib*, page 86; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* 2/138; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 64; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Iṣṣāḥ*, page 135; al-Ṭabarsī, *I'lām al-Warā bi-A'lām al-Hudā*, page 189; al-Khawārizmī, *al-Manāqib*, page 128; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib 'Alī Abī-Ṭālib* 2/85; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 40; Ibn al-Bitriq, *Umdat 'Uyūn Ṣiḥāḥ al-Akḥbār*, page 224; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah* 4/26; al-Irbilī, *Kashf al-Ghummaḥ* 1/335; 'Allāmah al-Ḥilli, *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, page 220; al-Juwaynī, *Farā'id al-Simṭayn* 1/162; Ibn Ḥajar, *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 5/186.

Likewise, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) is reported to have said, “‘Alī is with the truth, and the truth is with ‘Alī. O Allah, please make the truth revolve with ‘Alī wherever he turns.”⁽¹⁾

Like the previous ones, this Prophetic statement is reported by the non-Shi‘ah scholars of Prophetic traditions who wrote it down in their books that they claim to comprise only the authentic narrations. Besides, none of them objected to its chain of authority nor has any one of them dared to give the lie to its transmitters, nor is there single evidence, be it based on reason or narration, supporting the inauthenticity of this statement. For all these reasons, there remains no reason to deny the authenticity and accuracy of this Prophetic tradition.

The Holy Prophet (ﷺ) is also authentically reported to have said about Imam ‘Alī (‘a), “O Allah, please support anyone who supports ‘Alī, be the enemy of anyone who takes ‘Alī for enemy, defends anyone who defends ‘Alī, and oppose anyone who opposes ‘Alī.”⁽²⁾

This narration is too famous to require further discussion of its chain of authority. It is also unquestionable for the transmitters of the Prophetic traditions.

Addressing Imam ‘Alī (‘a), the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) also said: “May Allah fight those who fight against you and feud with those who provoke hostility against you.”⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ Al-Bāqillānī, *al-Inṣāf*, page 66; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak ‘alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* 3/124; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* 14/321; al-Ṭabarsī, *I’lām al-Warā*, page 159; al-Khawārizmī, *al-Manāqib*, page 104; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* (Biography of Imam ‘Alī) 3/151; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Ṭarā’if*, page 101; al-Irbilī, *Kashf al-Ghummaḥ* 1/143; al-Ḥillī, *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, page 224; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Farā’id al-Simṭayn* 1/176; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, *Taṭhīr al-Jinān*, page 51; al-Shūshtarī, *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq* 3/623-8.

⁽²⁾ Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad* 4/281; Faḍā’il al-Ṣaḥābah 2/596-7; Ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan* 1/43; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan* 5/591; al-Ḥabārī, *Tafsīr*, page 369; al-Nasā’i, *Khaṣā’iṣ*, page 150; al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/437; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak* 3/110; al-Mufid, *al-Irshād*, page 94; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, vol. 20, part 1, page 144; Abū-Nu’aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’* 5/364; Ibn al-Maghāzili, *al-Manāqib*, pages 16-9; al-Ṭabarsī, *I’lām al-Warā*, page 132; al-Khawārizmī, *al-Manāqib*, pages 155-6; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* (Biography of Imam ‘Alī) 2/46; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 29; Ibn al-Bitriq, *Umdat ‘Uyūn Ṣiḥāḥ al-Akḥbār*, page 92; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah* 4/28; al-Kanji, *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*, page 62; al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍīrah* 2/113; ‘Allāmah al-Ḥillī, *Kashf al-Murād*, page 369; Ibn Balbān, *al-Iḥsān* 9/42. For more details, refer to al-Shūshtarī, *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq* 6/225-304.

⁽³⁾ Shaykh al-Mufid, *al-Mas’alah al-Kāfiyah* (as is mentioned in *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/285);

This narration, too, is famous, well-known, and mentioned by all scholars of Prophetic traditions.

The Holy Prophet (ﷺ) also declared, "Whoever harasses 'Alī has in fact harassed me; and whoever harasses me has in fact harassed Allah the All-exalted."⁽¹⁾

According to this declaration, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) decided that to harm Imam 'Alī ('a) is to harm Allah the Almighty; while harming the Almighty Lord is a devastating act that takes out from the faith of Islam. In this regard, Allah the Almighty says in the Holy Qur'ān: "*Those who annoy Allah and His Messenger, Allah has cursed them in this world and in the Hereafter and has prepared for them a humiliating punishment.* [Sūrah al-Aḥzāb 33, verse 57]"

Apart from the narrations we have previously cited, innumerable are the narrations that indicate that Imam 'Alī ('a) is always in the right in all of his words, deeds, and attitudes, while those who oppose him are always wrong. Yet, if we cite all these narrations, this book will be too big to cover the other topics. However, the narrations we have mentioned are sufficient in proving and making clear the idea at issue, by the permission of Allah the All-exalted.

Objections and answers

It may be argued that the reports we have provided as evidence on the infallibility and inerrancy of Imam 'Alī ('a) were transmitted by one narrator only and were not reported uninterruptedly; i.e. by a continuous series of narrations. Such being the case, there is no difference between our opponents and us, since they cling to narrations that reported the Holy Prophet's praise of some personalities like Mu'āwiyah ibn Abi-Sufyān.

To answer, the narrations to which our opponents cling to claim virtues for those personalities have been of two types:

Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-Ghābah* 2/154; Ibn al-Muṭahhar, *Kashf al-Yaqīn*, pages 274-5; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī Tamyiz al-Ṣaḥābah* 1/501; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr* 2/60; al-Shūshtārī, *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq* 7/41-43; al-Qanadūzī, *Yanābi' al-Mawaddah*, page 185 (with little difference).

⁽¹⁾ Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad* 3/483; Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah 2/580; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsin wa'l-Masāwī'* 1/62; Shaykh al-Mufid, *al-Iṣāḥ*, page 128; al-Khawārizmī, *al-Manāqib*, page 154; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Alī Abī-Ṭālib* 3/212; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, pages 43-4; Ibn al-Bitriq, *'Umdat 'Uyūn Ṣiḥāḥ al-Akhbār*, page 276; al-Kanjī, *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*, page 276; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Ṭarā'if*, page 75; Binā' al-Maḥālah al-Fāṭimiyyah, page 78; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, *al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah*, page 172; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 11/601; al-Shūshtārī, *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq* 6/380-94; al-Qanadūzī, *Yanābi' al-Mawaddah*, page 205.

One type comprises narrations whose authenticity cannot be denied, although our opponents alone reported them while none of our scholars has ever narrated any of these narrations. On the other hand, the narrations we have provided as evidence on the virtues of Imam 'Alī ('a) have also been reported by our opponents, although they misinterpreted these narrations as a desperate attempt to prove virtues for their leaders, depending upon their own desires and conjecture.

The other type comprises narrations that our scholars have decisively judged that they were fabricated against the Holy Prophet (ṣ) and were untrue, providing self-manifest points of evidence that none can deny. These narrations are never equal to the narrations we have earlier provided as evidence on our claim, because it is positively approved that these narrations, which they alone narrated, were invalid and untrue, their chains of authority were untrustworthy, and their purports conflicted the unquestionable truths. Besides, our scholars have unanimously agreed on the accuracy of the narrations we have reported; therefore, their books were decorated with these narrations that they accepted as undeniable truths. I have already proven that no expert in the Prophetic traditions has even criticized these narrations; rather, all scholars have accepted them as true and cited them in their books.

These facts indicate clearly that all scholars believed in the authenticity of these narrations; therefore, they quoted them in their books and confirmed the trustworthiness of their reporters. In all arguments, it has been customary that there must be a certain point to which the arguer clings in order to argue against his opponents and defend his own opinion. Naturally, this point should be peculiar to that opinion and sect, while the opponent should be devoid of its like. So, if the opponent accepts this point as true, then this means that he has raised a spurious argument against his claim and proven true the claim of his opponent. Of course, there must always be some people who try to disprove the arguments, deny them, and criticize them in order to show them to be false. In the case under discussion, our claim is undeniably true because it is characterized by accuracy.

In brief, we have so far proven that the two sects of Muslims accepted as true the reports we have cited about the infallibility of Imam 'Alī ('a), although the two sects disagree about some details of this leadership, there is no way to accept the false claim the points of evidence we have provided are one-narrator reports. Thus, the case is not the same with regard to the proofs we have provided and the proofs our opponents have mentioned.

The Khawārij, the Umawiyah, and the 'Uthmāniyyah deny the distinctions and merits of Imam 'Alī

Our opponents, trying to refute our belief, may provide the Khawārij as evidence and claim that they (i.e. the Khawārij) disclaim the reports we have provided as evidence on the infallibility of Imam 'Alī ('a). They may also refer to the Umawiyah⁽¹⁾ whom are well known of their perverted behavior and denial of the reports confirming the infallibility of Imam 'Alī ('a). Hence, our opponents argued: "The Umawiyah deny our reports as same as they deny your reports. So, what is the difference between the two matters?"

In answer to them, I say that the difference between those Khawārij and us is so clear that it does not require further discussion. First of all, the Khawārij are not people of transmitting and reporting the Prophetic traditions, nor have they been known for memorizing the traditions and depending upon the reports, because they decided the entire community of Muslims as infidels and accused all Muslim groups of inaccuracy in reporting the Prophetic traditions. This is so because they depended upon the apparent meanings of the Holy Qur'ān and denied all other laws and religious duties that were not mentioned therein.⁽²⁾ Naturally, the opinion of one who has taken this course as faith and religion and denied the transmission and reporting of the Prophetic traditions must never be given the least importance under all conditions.

As for the course adopted by the Umawiyah and the opinion assumed by the 'Uthmāniyyah,⁽³⁾ the reason for their denial of Imam 'Alī's infallibility and

⁽¹⁾ Ascribed to Umayyah ibn 'Abd-Shams, the Umawiyah is the name of a political faction that adhered to and supported Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī-Sufyān ibn Ḥarb ibn Umayyah and also showed loyalty to the despotic rulers and tyrants who followed Mu'āwiyah. They thus defended these unjust ruling authorities, basing their trend on the claim of defending 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. So, the Umayyad tyrants founded their rule on this claim. The name *umawiyah* has been mentioned by al-Khayyāṭ in his book *al-Intiṣār*, page 132. The Umawiyah are said to have denied the belief of the final return.

⁽²⁾ Al-Ash'ari, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* 1/156; al-Khayyāṭ, *al-Intiṣār*, page 140; al-Isfarā'īnī, *al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq*, page 73; al-Yamānī, *al-Munyah wa'l-Amal*, page 104.

⁽³⁾ Being named after 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, the 'Uthmāniyyah is a faction adopted by those who prefer 'Uthmān over Imam 'Alī Amīr al-Mu'minin (ṣ) and claim that 'Uthmān was assassinated wrongfully. They therefore defend him. Their earliest generations, which are the same *ahl al-ḥadīth wa'l-sunnah*, used to criticize Imam 'Alī ('a) and revile at him openly, claiming that he was one of those who helped and paved the way for assassinating 'Uthmān; so, he must have been one of those who took part in shedding his blood. They also say that Imam 'Alī ('a) is not one of the leaders of true guidance; rather, he was a leader to seditions and chaos! Therefore, the majority of the 'Uthmāniyyah refused to report

merits is too clear to require explanation. It is namely their fear for their rule and their fanaticism towards their rulers and tyrants. Like the Khawārij, it is illogic to provide them as evidence in issues related to transmitting and reporting the Holy Prophet's traditions, because they are the remotest of all people from having the least familiarity with this field of knowledge and they failed to understand it; therefore, they refused acting upon the Prophetic traditions. Thanks to Allah, these factions are no longer existent; therefore, no one in the present day may claim following them or adopting their beliefs and none of them is counted with the scholars, because everybody agrees that they disagree with the master scholars of Islam. As a result, providing the beliefs of these factions as evidence to disprove the infallibility of Imam 'Alī ('a) is worthless, just like the Apostates⁽¹⁾ (i.e. the Khawārij) with regard to the Prophetic traditions, although the Khawārij criticize our reports through which we have proven the infallibility of Imam 'Alī ('a) from one angle only; that is, they decide such narrations as insignificant only because their reporters and transmitters did not follow the faith of the Khawārij, especially their belief that 'Alī ibn Abī-Tālib, 'Uthmān, Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and 'Ā'ishah the daughter of Abū-Bakr were all disbelievers and so was every one who took them for leaders and believed that they were Muslims. Of course, this criticism includes all transmitters of the Prophetic traditions without any exception; therefore, the objections and criticisms of the Khawārij can by no means be taken as valid proofs. On the other hand, we differ from the Khawārij in the question of refuting and criticizing the reports narrated by our opponents exclusively, especially the Nawāṣib, because we impugn the reporters of these traditions after we have proven them as liars and fabricators. We also challenge as false the purports of these fabricated reports, but we do not criticize their beliefs although we believe them to be worthless and invalid. This is the difference between our opponents and us with regard to criticizing some traditions that are ascribed to the Holy Prophet (ṣ).

any virtue of Imam 'Alī ('a). Refer to Ibn Qutaybah al-Daynawarī, *al-Ikhtilāf fi'l-Lafz*, page 47; al-Nāshī' al-Akbar, *Masā'il al-Imamah*, page 19; Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *al-Ḥūr al-'Īn*, page 180; al-Yamānī, *al-Munyah wa'l-Amal*, page 121.

⁽¹⁾ Apostates, or *al-Māriqah*, is another name said to the Khawārij. This name is derived from the Holy Prophet's words about the future of Dhu'l-Khuwayṣirah: "This man will have followers and partisans who will go excessively through the religion until they renounce it and come out of it as swiftly as an arrow goes out of the bow." On another occasion, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) said to Imam 'Alī ('a), "You shall fight against the breakers of their allegiance, the wrongdoers, and the apostates." Refer to Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-Nabawīyyah* 4/139 and al-Yamānī, *al-Munyah wa'l-Amal*, page 104.

Another proof on the propriety of Imam 'Alī's actions in the wars he led and the impropriety of his opponents and the deviation from the right of those who doubted his actions

We have earlier demonstrated that those who fought against Imam 'Alī ('a) were deviants and they strayed off the course of true guidance, while Imam 'Alī ('a) was absolutely in the right with regard to his decision about fighting these opponents. If we found our discussion on the fact that 'Alī ibn Abī-Tālib ('a) is a leader appointed by Allah the Almighty through clear-cut statements and he is infallible, as has been earlier proven in this book, then it is decisively proven that he is right in all of his deeds and words. Likewise, if the reports we have earlier mentioned, which entail that the Holy Prophet (ṣ) decided those who wage war against Imam 'Alī ('a) as wicked and out of the circle of faith in Islam, are proven as true and authentic, there is then no way to doubt the correctness of the Imam's words and deeds and the wrong of his opponents. The points we have previously mentioned in this regard are adequately persuasive for those who possess good reason and are sufficient arguments against their enemies. I will now explain the point with further details although I have earlier referred to the same point with regard to the opinions of our opponents about Imamate and proven that they were absolutely isolated from the truth as they engaged themselves in disagreement about the number of the Imams and, instead, agreed upon something else related to this issue, so that the reader of my book will notice the strength of the truth and how the supporters of it have been proficient in defending the truth. Finally, Allah is the guide to the right.

PAYING HOMAGE TO IMAM 'ALĪ

It has been proven through uninterruptedly reported traditions and supportively transmitted narrations and accounts that Imam 'Alī ('a) isolated himself from the sedition that ended up with the assassination of 'Uthmān; he therefore moved away from al-Madīnah⁽¹⁾ so that no one would even assume that the Imam had the desire to receive homage of the people for leadership. The Companions, immediately after the events that ended with the assassination of 'Uthmān, searched for Imam 'Alī (a) until they could find him; so, they gathered around him and asked him to assume the office of managing the affairs of the Muslim community, complaining to him about their anticipation that the community would be involved in mischief. Yet, Imam 'Alī ('a) hated to respond to him at once because he knew the consequences of affairs if he would accept assuming that office. He knew that some people would oppose him and help each other against him due to the animosity and hostility they had borne against him. However, the Imam's insistence on refusal did not prevent these people from insisting on him to accept their proposition. They adjured him by Allah the Almighty, saying, "No one except you is fit enough for leading the Muslims. Besides, you shall not find any other person ready to assume this office; so, fear Allah with regard to His religion and with regard to all Muslims."

The Imam ('a) then tested them through speaking of those who broke their homage to him after they had paid his homage with their hands, preferring him to everyone else. He also suggested that they might pay homage to one of the two men and promised that he would support their choice as long as these two men desired for the good of the religion and worked towards guarding Islam. Yet, the people refused to choose anyone over Imam 'Alī ('a) as their leader and refrained from paying homage to anyone save him. When Ṭalḥah

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī, *Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah* 4/1200-1; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil* 1/17; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* (famously known as *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*) 4/430; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/310; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Fā'iḳ* 2/103; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* 16/20; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3/167; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 2/148; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 13/103.

and al-Zubayr were informed of this, they declared their desire for paying homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) as their leader, expressing their full satisfaction with the Imam's having been preferred to them and chosen as leader by the people. Yet, the Imam ('a) refrained from accepting this leading position but they insisted on him to accept the homage they paid to him. Likewise, the entire community of Muslims agreed on accepting him and forsook leaving him off and choosing another one. They thus said [to him], "If you do not respond to what we have called you for; that is, assuming the position of leading the Muslim community and accepting the allegiance we have sworn to you, Islam will be exposed to a crack that will never be fixable and the religion will be exposed to a fracture that will never be set aright."

Upon hearing these words from them, not to mention their insistence on him to accept assuming the office of leadership and his refraining from accepting it so that his argument against him would be tremendously overwhelming, the Imam ('a) stretched his hand to accept their homage to him. So, they leaped upon him as the camels leap upon each other on their arrival for drinking water. As a result, they tore his sleeves and trod on al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn with their feet due to their overcrowding and their zeal to swear allegiance to him and touch his hand with their hands as a sign of paying homage to him. They did so as an expression of their desire to prefer him over all others and to confirm their satisfaction with him assuming their leadership, without looking forward to any other person or even thinking of any other solution to resort to. Consequently, the Emigrants, the Helpers, the veterans of the Battle of Badr, the participants in the 'Aqabah Homage, the fighters for the sake of Allah, the foremost Muslims, the believers, and the righteous and virtuous people of great contributions to the support of the religion and good relationship with the Holy Prophet (ṣ)—all those paid homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) as the leader of the Muslim community; therefore, his leadership was perfect and complete through the homage paid by those people.⁽¹⁾ So, the leadership of Imam 'Alī ('a) was not decided due to a homage paid by one, two, or three persons, or any limited number of persons, such like the homage that was paid to Abū-Bakr and due to which he became ruler over Muslims, since Abū-Bakr assumed this position due to the homage paid to him by a few number of his companions as well as Bashīr ibn Sa'd and accordingly he became ruler considering the homage of these people to have been enough for appointing him as the leader of Muslims. After that, some people followed

⁽¹⁾ Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farid* 4/72; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 30; Sharif al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, page 350, H. 229; al-Ṭabarsī, *al-Ihtijāj*, page 236; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/98.

these people and paid homage to Abū-Bakr. It is said that the homage to Abū-Bakr was completed by the homage paid by Bashīr ibn Sa'd and 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Others said that it was completed by these two men plus Abū-'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ and Sālim the former slave of Abū-Ḥudhayfah, depending on the claim that homage to the leader is not perfect unless four Muslims at least pay it to that leader. Others said that the homage to Abū-Bakr was completed because five persons paid it to him; they are namely Bashīr ibn Sa'd and Usayd ibn Ḥudayr from the anṣār and 'Umar, Abū-Ubaydah, and Sālim the former slave of Abū-Ḥudhayfah from the Muhājirūn. After that, the other people paid homage to Abū-Bakr although his leadership is compete due to the homage paid by those five persons in the first place. This opinion was adopted by al-Jubā'i and his son as well as their followers in the present day.⁽¹⁾

They provided the same claim to prove the legality of the leadership of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Those who believe that homage is legal even if it is paid by one person only claimed that the leadership of 'Umar was legal since Abū-Bakr paid homage to him and nominated him, and none else, to the position of leadership as his successor. This opinion was held by al-Khayyāt, al-Balkhī, and Abū-Mujālid as well as those Ikhtiyāriyyah who followed them.⁽²⁾

Once again, the same thing was provided to make lawful 'Uthmān's coming to power after 'Umar, claiming that 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf's homage to 'Uthmān was enough to make legal 'Uthmān's coming to power. Yet, those who added other people besides the previously mentioned ones disagreed to this opinion, claiming that the homage paid to 'Umar was valid because the previous ruler (i.e. Abū-Bakr) chose him as his successor, but the homage paid to 'Uthmān was valid because the rest of the members of the so-called Shūrā Committee paid homage to him. These members were five in number and one of them was 'Abd al-Raḥmān.⁽³⁾

Thus, this group of our opponents confessed of what can be taken as argument against them when they admitted that the coming to power by their leaders was an object of disagreement and discrepancy, those who paid homage to

(1) Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, part 1, vol. 20, pages 289-261 & part 2, pages 65 and 69; al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah*, pages 6-7; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, page 169-70.

(2) Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, part 2, vol. 20, pages 5-7; al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah*, page 7.

(3) Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, part 2, vol. 20, page 31; al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah*, page 7.

those leaders were engaged in discrepancy and were no more than five persons.

On the other hand, the leadership of Imam 'Alī ('a) was proven through the unanimity of the people of the Holy Madīnah, including all the Emigrants, Helpers, and those who participated in the Ridwān Homage, in addition to the people of Egypt and Iraq, including the Prophet's companions and their followers, who also paid homage to Imam 'Alī ('a).⁽¹⁾ No single person has ever claimed that the leadership of Imam 'Alī ('a) was valid due to the homage of one person, or a famous personality, or a restricted number of people, as it was claimed about the homage to Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān.⁽²⁾

Obedience to Imam 'Alī is a binding duty

As it has been proven that the famous personalities of Muslims, the virtuous believers, the Helpers, and the Emigrants—all those paid homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) unanimously and swore to be obedient to him and to prefer him to themselves, and the homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) was paid in the same way through which the homage to Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān was claimed by our opponents to have been valid, and the homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) was even more forceful, as I have earlier mentioned that all people expressed their deep desire that Imam 'Alī ('a) should be their leader and they—the Emigrants, the Helpers, and their followers—unanimously insisted on him to accept this office, as has been previously cited in this book, this shows decisively that it was obligatory upon all Muslims to obey Imam 'Alī ('a) and it was illegal for any person to oppose or disobey him. This also demonstrates the truth that those who opposed and waged war against Imam 'Alī ('a) should be decided as deviants and straying from the true guidance, and it should be decided that defying any of his orders is invalid and those who dare to disobey him must be decided as wicked and faithless, because Allah the All-exalted made it obligatory to obey those invested with authority. Thus, He says in His wise Book: "*O you who believe! Obey Allah and obey the Apostle and those vested with authority from among you.* [Sūrah al-Nisā' 4, verse 59]"

Thus, the Almighty Lord has matched the obedience to the Holy Imams to the

⁽¹⁾ *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī* 2/178; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/427-35; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/310; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 2/20/65-6; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, pages 56-9; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-Tārīkh* 3/190-3.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 1/20/260; al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah*, pages 6-7; al-Hillī, *Nahj al-Haqq*, pages 169-70.

obedience to Him and decided that the disobedience to them is as same as disobedience to Him with regard to ruling and subject. Likewise, the people of the kiblah (i.e. all Muslims), along with those to whom I have earlier referred, have agreed unanimously that those who waged war against the just rulers are wicked and faithless in whatever they committed, as is necessarily judged by reported traditions and by ration.⁽¹⁾

As long as Imam 'Ali ('a), after the public homage that was paid to him, did not do any act that is in violation of justice, nor did he, before that, ever do any act that seemed to be betrayal to the religion or breach of his Imamate, then those who broke their loyalty and obedience to him must have been deviant, not to mention those who waged war against him and deemed legal to shed his blood and the blood of the Muslim who were with him and those who seek for filling the lands with mischief. Hence, such people must be punished with the harshest sorts of punishments that are mentioned in the Holy Qur'ān where Allah the Almighty says: *"The punishment of those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger and strive with might and main for mischief through the land is: execution, or crucifixion, or the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides, or exile from the land. That is their disgrace in this world and a heavy punishment is theirs in the Hereafter."* [Sūrah al-Mā'idah 5, verse 33]"

This is so clear for those whom are not precluded by their fancies and those whom are not prevented from understanding by blindness. Finally, Allah is the patron of all success.

Those who failed to follow Imam 'Alī

If one says: "How do you claim that there was consensus on swearing allegiance to Amīr al-Mu'minīn while you have known that narrations proved that Sa'd ibn Abī-Waqqās, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Usāmah ibn Zayd, and Muḥammad ibn Maslamah failed to pay homage to him and openly declared their agreement on opposing his opinion when he decided to fight back those who waged war against him?"

The answer to this argument is as follows: With regard to the failing of those group to participate with Amīr al-Mu'minīn in his march to al-Baṣrah is famous, and their opinion about failing to fight with him is also well known, but this attitude of them is not in violation of the homage they paid to Imam 'Ali ('a) that they would prefer him to themselves, nor does it cancel out their confession of his leadership voluntarily. Yet, those who are claimed to have

⁽¹⁾ Refer to al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah*, pages 54-7.

refrained from paying homage to him have in fact fallen in confusion when they thought that those who failed to support him did so because they refused to pay homage to him. This is not accurate in fact, because it happens that one doubts whether the person whom he believed to have authority over him was or was not right concerning a certain issue, but the one in authority believes that he should not impose that person to follow him in the issue he doubted about him, because of disagreement in an opinion that is necessitated by the situation with regard to the correctness of management. It also happens that one believes that the other party is right, but he disagrees with him because of personal fancy; therefore, he engages himself in a spurious idea because of which most of people find him excused in what he does. Generally, not every one who believes that he should be obedient to his leader is obliged to agree with that leader in everything; rather, it happens that one believes a certain person to be the true leader in the religious issues but he at the same time disobeys him in some instructions. Had it not been so, those who recognize Allah would not have disobeyed Him and those who believe in a prophet would not have defied him. Besides, this is not believed by our opponents concerning the issue of Imamate. In conclusion, this explanation makes clear the falsity of those who aroused this spurious argument based on the narrations that reported that some people submitted to paying homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) although they insisted on giving up helping and supporting him and these narrations mentioned some justifications claimed by these people and showed that Imam 'Alī ('a) disapproved of their claims and proved to them that their claims were baseless.

For instance, Abū-Mikhnaḥ Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā al-Azdī, in his book on the War of al-Baṣrah, reported from his masters, and so did other narrators who quoted their masters, that Imam 'Alī ('a), after he had been determined to progress to al-Baṣrah [for fighting those who mutinied against him], was informed that Sa'd ibn Waqqāṣ, Ibn Maslamah, Usāmah ibn Zayd, and Ibn 'Umar refused to join him. So, he summoned them and, when they presented themselves before him, he said to them, "I have been informed of some situations of you that I detested. Yet, I do not force you to come with me. Are you still keeping your allegiance to me that you had sworn?"

"Yes, we are," they answered.

"What is then the matter that prevents you from accompanying me?" the Imam ('a) asked.

Sa'd said, "I do not prefer participating in this war because I fear lest I will strike a believer. If you give me a sword that distinguishes between the

believer and the unbeliever, I will fight in your side.”

As for Usāmah, he said, “You are verily the dearest of all creatures to me, but I had already made a covenant with Allah that I would never fight those who say: There is no god but Allah.”

In one of the military campaigns that was led by the Holy Prophet (ﷺ), Usāmah was about to stab a man from the polytheists with his spear, but the man feared him and immediately said, “There is no god but Allah.” Yet, Usāmah stabbed and killed him with his spear. When the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) was informed of this event, he said to Usāmah, “How could you kill a man who professed that there is no god but Allah?!”

Usāmah answered, “O Allah’s Apostle! The man said so in order to save his soul from me.”

The Holy Prophet (ﷺ) said, “Did you tear out his heart and made sure that his claim was false?”

Due to this event, Usāmah claimed that the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) ordered him not to use his sword except against the polytheists. So, Usāmah would strike a rock with his sword to break it before he would fight a Muslim person.”⁽¹⁾

As for ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar, he excused, “I do not know anything about the details of this war. So, I request you not to make me engage myself in something that I do not know.”

Answering them, Imam ‘Alī (‘a) said, “Not every deceived person is blamable. Are you still keeping the allegiance you have sworn to me?”

They answered in the affirmative; therefore, the Imam (‘a) said to them, “You may leave! Allah the All-exalted will most surely help me to do without you.”⁽²⁾

Accordingly, these people confessed of the homage they had paid to Imam ‘Alī (‘a) although they made excuses to justify their failure to join him in this war, but the Imam (‘a) did not accept their excuses; rather, he told them that they were led astray when they chose to forsake fighting with him. He did not

⁽¹⁾ The details of this event can be found in al-Wāqidi’s *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 2, page 723-6, and Ibn Hishām’s *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah*, vol. 4, page 271.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 3/444-5; Abū-Ja’far al-Iskāfī, *al-Mi’yār wa’l-Muwāzanah*, pages 105-6; Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Daynawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, pages 142-3; Ibn Hibbān, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah wa-Akhbār al-Khulafā’*, page 524-5; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, part 2, vol. 20, pages 66-7; Shaykh al-Tūsī, *al-Amālī* 2/327; Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 18/119; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/69-70.

deny their attitudes more emphatically than his informing them that they failed to do the right when they opposed him and his emphasis that they fell in the wrong when they chose to disagree with him. This is so because the indications that proved manifestly that he was in the right were so sufficient that there was no further need for arguing with them, and the Imam's full awareness of their actual intentions, although they showed the opposite in the form of excuses, freed him from the duty of warning for which those who fell asleep needed. Confirming what I have just explained and imposing the argument against such people, Allah the All-exalted says in the Holy Qur'ān: "*Indeed, man holds evidence even against himself although he may proffer his excuses.* [Sūrah al-Qiyāmah 75, verses 14 and 15]"

Reasons for failure to join Imam 'Alī in this war

A scholar said: "The reasons of these people's failure to support Imam 'Alī ('a) although they had already paid homage to him are well-known. The excuses they expressed in order to oppose him were no more than trickeries, camouflage, and covering for themselves, which they inferred for fear lest their actual intentions in this issue would be unmasked. As for Sa'd ibn Mālik (i.e. Abī-Waqqāṣ), the reason for his sitting around inactive and failure to support Amīr al-Mu'minin ('a) was the envy he bore against him and the greed for gaining the position that was occupied by Imam 'Alī ('a). So, when he despaired of gaining this office, his envy made him intend to disappoint the Imam and to oppose him in opinion. It was 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb who turned Sa'd into a wicked person, allured him to desire for the position of leadership, which Sa'd was never qualified for it, and provided him with impudent boldness to compare himself with Imam 'Alī ('a) when 'Umar added Sa'd to the list of the so-called Shūrā Committee and qualified him for the office of caliphate, making him believe that he might be fit enough to hold this position. As a result, Sa'd had the daring to claim this office, bringing to himself disgrace in this worldly life and the other-worldly life until he left with empty hands of what he desired.

As for Usāmah ibn Zayd, the Holy Prophet (ṣ), during his final ailment, appointed him as a commander while Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān were under his commandership,⁽¹⁾ but when the Holy Prophet (ṣ) passed away,

⁽¹⁾ Al-Wāqidi, *al-Maghāzī* 2/117; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 4/291; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 2/189-90; *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī* 2/113; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 3/184; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, part 1/20/348; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 4/147; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhiṣ al-Shāfi* 3/177; al-Ṭabarsī, *I'lām al-Warā*, page 135; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 2/334-5; 'Allāmah al-Ḥillī, *Kashf al-Murād*, page 375; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*,

these people left the camp of Usāmah and deceived him by calling him their commander to the rest of his lifetime although they took the office of caliphate for themselves and deprived him of any senior office. They also flattered him when they broke their promise to him to listen to and obey him. Usāmah, unfortunately, was deceived by their tricks; therefore, he approved of their flattering although he knew for sure that Amīr al-Mu'minīn would never accept to deceive him and would never flatter him as those people did. Hence, Imam 'Alī ('a) deprived him of the name that was given to him by these people and never raised him beyond the standing he deserved. The Imam ('a) behaved with him as same as he did with his servants and slaves, since Usāmah was manumitted after he had pledged to keep loyal to the Holy Prophet (ṣ). So, after the passing away of the Holy Prophet (ṣ), Usāmah was considered freeman although he was still obliged to act loyally to the Holy Prophet (ṣ). As a result, Usāmah did not like the idea that he would be divested of the false standing he was granted by these people and did not find any way to revolt except showing ingratitude, opposing his master, and disagreeing with his lord. That was why he behaved such and refrained from participating in the war led by Imam 'Alī ('a) against the mutineers.

As for Muḥammad ibn Maslamah, he was not only a close friend of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān but also one of his elites and retinue; therefore, his fanaticism led him to help those who falsely demand his blood and refused to pretend that he lined up with the other party who fought against them and refused their demands. His attitude to this issue, due to these reasons, did not encourage him to help those whom he regarded as enemies, neither did he allow himself to stand by Imam 'Alī ('a) and his supporters. This is why he proffered false excuses and failed to support Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('a) so as to hide his hideous intention and conning.

As for 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar, he was known for his feeble mind, lack of knowledge, and hatred towards Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('a), which he had inherited from his ancestors who showed obvious favoritism to the other party and antagonism to Imam 'Alī ('a). Besides, in a previous event, Imam 'Alī ('a) had brought him down because he allowed the bloodshed of his brother 'Ubaydullāh for he had slain al-Hurmuzān; hence, Imam 'Alī ('a) exiled him from al-Madīnah and banished him from the Muslim territories so that he would not be saved from the sword of any person who would meet him and he would be prey for the murder he had committed.⁽¹⁾

For these reasons, 'Abdullāh did not allow himself to obey Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('a), since the hatred he bore against him did not permit him to submit to supporting him. He therefore pretended to be bewildered with regard to fighting the transgressors and pretended that he doubted the reason and justification for doing so."

These very words have also been reported from Imam 'Alī ('a) when he explained the reasons for these people's failure to join him.⁽¹⁾ If this report is authentic, then it strengthens the Imam's argument; otherwise, these words have at least been said by a scholar, which is sufficient to prove that he enjoyed sound mentality and shrewd view.

Besides, if we condescendingly accept the claim of our opponents—that Sa'd, Muḥammad ibn Maslamah, Usāmah, and Ibn 'Umar refrained from, detested, and withdrew themselves from swearing allegiance to Imam 'Alī ('a), and added to them the other people who openly antagonized him, such as Zayd ibn Thābit, Ḥassān ibn Thābit, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Abi'l-ʿĀṣ, 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, the sons of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, a group of people who were with them in that house on the day of besieging, the feeble-minded persons of the Banū-Umayyah family whom were well known for their hatred, enmity, and rivalry towards the Banū-Hāshim before and after the advent of Islam—still this would not refute the evidence we have provided to prove the legality of Imam 'Alī's leadership and Imamate, which we have based on the beliefs of such opponents like the Ḥashwiyyah, the Murji'ah, the Khawārij, and the Mu'tazilah who all decided as a rule that a homage is proven valid when it is founded on the election of the people of sound reason. We have not claimed that this opinion is unanimously agreed upon by all Muslim sects; rather, we only mentioned points approved of by good reason and adopted by our opponents with regard to the validity of homage that is paid by the people of virtue and discernment. In order to emphasize this fact, we provided as proof the fact that the foremost Emigrants, the celebrated personalities of the Helpers, the honorable Muslims who lived in al-Madīnah these days, those who followed them in all good deeds, and the righteous elite people of Hijaz, Iraq, and Egypt as well as other Muslim territories who were present in al-Madīnah at that time—all these people, except for a very few number of persons whom our opponents are trying to adhere to their attitudes

4/239; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 4/305; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 4/124; Ibn 'Asākir, *Mukhtaṣar Tārikh Dimashq* 15/36-7.

⁽¹⁾ Abū-Ja'far al-Iskāfi, *al-Mi'yār wa'l-Muwāzanah*, page 108; Ibn Qutaybah al-Daynawārī, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/53-4; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 2/20/68.

desperately, although their number is limited, approved of the leadership of Imam 'Alī ('a) and wanted him anxiously to be their leader and to assume the office of leadership. They asked him urgently and believed that none deserved this office except him; therefore, they stood by him voluntarily and, after swearing allegiance to him, sacrificed themselves for him in fighting his enemy, believing that any failure to join him in fighting his enemies would be an annihilating deviation, wickedness, and against true faith.

Our opponents believe that homage is valid when it is paid by five persons only. Others believe that it is valid when it is paid by four, or two according to another group, or even one person as was decided the majority of our opponents, as we have earlier discussed. How is it then possible that the opposition of these persons who failed to join Imam 'Alī ('a) in his fighting against the breakers of their allegiance should refute the evidence we have provided on the validity of the leadership of Imam 'Alī ('a)? In fact, it is not reasonable to say that the leadership of Imam 'Alī ('a) should be proven invalid just because some people who had earlier sworn allegiance to him failed to join him and to agree with him with regard to his decision of fighting against his enemies. Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī-Sufyān and 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ sent letters to Imam 'Alī ('a) swearing allegiance to him and declaring their approval of his being the leader of the Muslim community and them on condition that he should keep them in the positions that had been given to them by 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, but Imam 'Alī ('a) refused this condition because he feared Allah the Almighty and acted upon the piety to which he had committed himself. For this reason, these two persons helped each other against him and opposed his leadership. This proves that our opponents are totally ignorant and they lack the least acquaintance with the different viewpoints and with the reports.

Who paid homage to Imam 'Alī?

Let us now mention the names of some people who paid homage to Imam 'Alī ('a), accepted him as their Imam and leader, and sacrificed themselves in the course of showing obedience to him, although we have already referred to a group of them yet briefly, so that the fair readers will identify the truth, after acquainting themselves with the names of these people, and will recognize their attitudes to the religion of Islam, their superiority over other Muslims, and their standings in the sight of the Prophet of True Guidance (ṣ). If only one person of these people chooses a certain person as the leader, his choice will be valid and that person will be decided as the leader, especially according to the belief of our opponents, not to mention their followers and those who agree with them in what they claim about the validity of leadership

that is given to someone by choice and by the opinion of certain men. This fact refutes the spurious arguments raised by the pro-Umayyads who aimed at rousing doubts about the points of evidence I have mentioned when they claimed that certain people, whom we have mentioned earlier, opposed to Imam 'Alī ('a), with further detailed that I have mentioned.

Among those who swore allegiance to Imam 'Alī ('a) as the leader of the nation without doubt and submitted to his Imamate unanimously and collectively and believed that obedience to him is obligatory while opposing or disobeying him was a forbidden act are those one thousand and five hundred persons who joined him to the War of al-Baṣrah, amongst whom were the elites of the foremost Emigrants who joined Islam before everyone else, the Helpers, the veterans of the Battle of Badr, those who swore allegiance to the Holy Prophet (ṣ) at al-'Aqabah, the members of the Riḍwān Allegiance amongst whom there were seven hundred persons from the Emigrants and eight hundred others from the Helpers, plus their sons, allies, fellows, and others from the famous Arab clans and those who followed them in good-doing, as has been mentioned by trustworthy reporters and authentic narrations.⁽¹⁾

The Emigrants swear allegiance to Imam 'Alī

Amongst the Emigrants, the following personalities swore allegiance to Imam 'Alī ('a):

1. 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, may Allah be pleased with him: He was not only a companion of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) but also an intimate friend of him, the closest of his companions to him, the most trustworthy in his sight before and after the start of his mission as a prophet of Allah, the best defender of him, and the best fighter in obedience to him. 'Ammār along with his father and mother were the first Muslims to have been tortured in Islam by the polytheists;⁽²⁾ hence, no other Muslim had ever tolerated the ordeals to which 'Ammār was exposed and no other Muslim had ever been tormented for his steadfastness on Islam. Nevertheless, he tolerated all these misfortunes and

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Tūsī, *al-Amālī* 2/336. Compare it to *Kitāb Sulaym*, page 172, Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt, *Tārikh*, page 184; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/367; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/54; al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh al-Islām*, page 484, and al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/215.

⁽²⁾ Refer to: Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1/342; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 3/249; Abū-Nu'aym, *Hilyat al-Awliyā'* 1/140; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti'āb* 2/477; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah* 4/44; al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh al-Islām*, page 571-2; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣābah* 2/512.

sufferings for the sake of Islam. He never cared for anything for the sake of Allah; so, he tolerated the most horrible tribulation for the sake of protecting his faith in Islam. The Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) granted him exclusively a shower of words of praise, the like of which he never said about any other one of his companions. So, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) declared that 'Ammār should be in Paradise unquestionably and warned those who would kill him that they would be in Hellfire, as is agreed upon by all reporters of the Prophetic traditions.

For instance, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) said, "Verily, Paradise longs for 'Ammār. Most surely, Paradise longs for it more passionately than 'Ammār's longing for Paradise."⁽¹⁾

He (ﷺ) also said, "Convey this news to the murderer of 'Ammār: The murderer and the one who loots 'Ammār shall be in Hellfire."⁽²⁾

He (ﷺ) also said, "'Ammār is a piece of my skin lying between my eyes and my nose."⁽³⁾

He (ﷺ) also said, "Never bother 'Ammār, for that bothers me."⁽⁴⁾

He (ﷺ) also said, "'Ammār is filled with faith and knowledge."⁽⁵⁾

⁽¹⁾ Compare this with: al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan* 5/626; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak* 3/137; Abū-Nu'aym, *Hilyat al-Awliyā'* 1/142; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 10/104; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, page 547; al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 9/344; al-Shūshtarī, *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq* 6/189-200.

⁽²⁾ *Musnad Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal* 4/198; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 3/261; Ibn 'Asākir, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq* 18/219; al-Tilmisānī, *al-Jawharah* 2/261; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, page 582; al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 9/297; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 11/724; al-Aminī, *al-Ghadir* 9/27 (with slight difference).

⁽³⁾ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 2/143; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/52; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, page 297; al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah* 2/72; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/274; al-Aminī, *al-Ghadir* 9/27.

⁽⁴⁾ In his book *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, al-Ḥākim al-Nayshābūrī reports the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) as saying: "Whoever reviles at 'Ammār, will be reviled by Allah; and whoever incurs the animosity of 'Ammār, Allah will be his enemy." See also Ibn 'Asākir's *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq* 18/215.

⁽⁵⁾ Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Fadā'il al-Ṣaḥābah* 2/858-9; *Sunan Ibn Mājah* 1/52; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak* 3/392; Abū-Nu'aym, *Hilyat al-Awliyā'* 1/139; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 2/478; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifāt al-Ṣafwah* 1/231; Ibn 'Asākir, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq* 18/213; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 10/103; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, page 573; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 11/724; al-Aminī, *al-Ghadir* 9/24-5 (with slight difference).

That was not all; the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) said about 'Ammār many words of praise and esteem like the aforesaid ones;

2 & 3. Among the Emigrants who paid homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) were al-Ḥuṣayn ibn al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and al-Ṭufayl ibn al-Ḥārith. These two were Emigrants and veterans of the Battle of Badr;

4. Miṣṭah ibn Uthāthah;

5. Jahjāh ibn Sa'id al-Ghifārī;

6. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥanbal al-Jumaḥī;

7. 'Abdullāh

8. and Muḥammad, the sons of Budayl al-Khuzā'ī;

9. Al-Ḥārith ibn 'Awf Abū-Wāqīd al-Laythī;

10. Al-Barā' ibn 'Āzib;⁽¹⁾

11. Zayd ibn Ṣawhān;

12. Yazīd ibn Nuwayrah⁽²⁾ whom the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) declared that he should be in Paradise;

13. Hāshim ibn 'Utbah al-Mirqāl;

14. Buraydah al-Aslamī;

15. 'Amr ibn al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā'ī whose emigration for the sake of Allah and His Apostle is too famous to be discussed, whose status in the sight of the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) is famous, and who received many famous words of praise from the Holy Prophet (ﷺ);

16. Al-Ḥārith ibn Surāqah;

17. Abū-Usayd ibn Rabī'ah;⁽³⁾

18. Mas'ūd ibn Abī-'Umar;

19. 'Abdullāh ibn 'Aqīl;

20. 'Amr ibn Muḥṣin;

⁽¹⁾ Al-Barā' was not an Emigrant. See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 1/139 and Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah* 1/142.

⁽²⁾ This one was not an Emigrant either. See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 3/655 and Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-Ghābah* 5/122.

⁽³⁾ This man, too, was not an Emigrant. See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 3/371 and Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah* 3/344.

21. 'Adī ibn Ḥātim; and
22. 'Uqbah ibn 'Āmir, not to mention many other personalities like those who lived during the lifetime of the Holy Prophet (ṣ), such as:
23. Ḥujr ibn 'Adī al-Kindī; and
24. Shaddād ibn Aws,⁽¹⁾ as well as other companions of the Holy Prophet (ṣ).

The like of those Emigrants whose names we have mentioned are so many, along with their different ranks of piety and religiosity, but if we want to mention all of them, the list will be too long to be included in this book.

The Helpers swear allegiance to Imam 'Alī

Some of the Helpers who paid homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) are the following:

1. Abū-Ayyūb Khālīd ibn Zayd, the companion of the Holy Prophet (ṣ);
2. Khuzayman ibn Thābit, known as the man of two testimonies (Dhu'l-Shahādātayn);
3. Abu'l-Haytham ibn al-Tayyihān;
4. Abū-Sa'id al-Khudrī;
5. 'Ubādah ibn al-Ṣāmit;
- 6 & 7. Sahl and 'Uthmān, the sons of Ḥunayf;
8. Abū-'Ayyāsh al-Zuraqī, the horseman of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) in the Battle of Uḥud;
9. Zayd ibn Arqam;
- 10 & 11. Sa'id and Qays, the sons of Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah;
12. Jābir ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Ḥarām;
13. Mas'ūd ibn Aslam;
14. 'Āmir ibn Ajbal;
15. Sahl ibn Sa'id;
16. Al-Nu'mān ibn 'Ajlān;
17. Sa'd ibn Ziyād;
18. Rifā'ah ibn Sa'd;

⁽¹⁾ Shaddād was not an Emigrant. See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 2/135 and Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah* 2/139.

19 & 20. Mukhallad and Khālīd, the sons of Abū-Khālīd;

21. Dirār ibn al-Šāmit;

22. Mas'ūd ibn Qays;

23. 'Amr ibn Bilāl;

24. 'Umārah ibn Aws;

25. Murrah al-Sā'idī;

26. Rifā'ah ibn Rāfi' ibn Mālik al-Zurqī;

27. Jālah ibn 'Amr al-Sā'idī;

28. 'Amr ibn Ḥazm;

29. Sahl ibn Sa'id al-Sā'idī; as well as many others of the Helpers who swore the two allegiance to the Holy Prophet (ṣ), performed prayers facing the two directions, and were granted exclusively words of praise mentioned in the Holy Qur'ān and said by the Holy Prophet (ṣ) and no one who has the least knowledge can deny this fact. If we list the names of all such people, this would make this book too lengthy, since no book can include the names of them all.

The Banū-Hāshim swear allegiance to Imam 'Alī

The members of the Banū-Hāshim clan, the members of the Holy Prophet's family who represented the core of the divine message and the place where the divine revelation used to come to and the angels used to visit frequently, also paid homage to Imam 'Alī ('a). Some of them were:

1 & 2. Imam al-Ḥasan and Imam al-Ḥusayn, the grandsons of the Prophet of Mercy and the two chiefs of the youths of Paradise, peace be upon them;

3. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah;

4. 'Abdullāh ibn Ja'far;

5. Muḥammad ibn Ja'far;

6. 'Awn ibn Ja'far;

7. 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib, the cousin of the Holy Prophet (ṣ);

8. Al-Faḍl ibn 'Abbās;

9. Qutham ibn 'Abbās;

10. 'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Abbās;
11. 'Utbah ibn Abī-Lahab;
12. 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib;
13. 'Abdullāh ibn Abī-Sufyān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; as well as all the descendants of Hāshim and of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

The other Shī'ah swear allegiance to Imam 'Alī

In addition to all these personalities, their friends and the elite Shī'ah who excelled all others in religiosity, faith, knowledge, experience in the Islamic Law, and skillfulness in the knowledge of the Holy Qur'ān and who dedicated all their activities and efforts to worshipping Allah the All-exalted, fighting for the sake of Him, and adhering steadfastly to the true faith—all those swore allegiance to Imam 'Alī ('a). Some of them were:

1. Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr, the foster son of Imam 'Alī ('a) who loved him very much;
2. Muḥammad ibn Abī-Ḥudhayfah the intimate friend and elite of Imam 'Alī ('a), who was martyred in defense of him;
3. Mālīk ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar al-Nakha'i, who acted as the sword of Imam 'Alī ('a) and his sincere loyalist;
4. Thābit ibn Qaysh al-Nakha'i;
5. Kumayl ibn Ziyād;
6. Ṣa'ṣa'ah ibn Ṣawḥān al-'Abdī;
7. 'Amr ibn Zurārah al-Nakha'i;
8. 'Abdullāh ibn al-Arqam;
9. Zayd ibn al-Mulaffaq;
10. Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad al-Khuzā'i;
11. Qabīṣah ibn Jābir;
- 12 & 13. 'Abdullāh and Muḥammad, the sons of Budayl al-Khuzā'i;
14. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Udays al-Balawī;
15. Uways al-Qaranī;
16. Hind al-Jamalī;
17. Jundab al-Azdī;

18. Al-Ash'ath ibn Sawwār;
19. Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah;
20. Rushayd al-Ḥajārī;
21. Ma'qil ibn Qays ibn Ḥanzalah;
22. Suwayd ibn al-Ḥārith;
23. Sa'd ibn Mubashshir;
24. 'Abdullāh ibn Wāl;
25. Mālīk ibn Ḍamarah;
26. Al-Ḥārith al-Hamadānī; and
27. Ḥubbah ibn Juwayn al-'Urānī.

Those were some of those who were in al-Madinah when 'Uthmān was assassinated; so, they agreed unanimously on agreeing to Imam 'Alī ('a) being the next leader. They swore allegiance to him that they should be at war with those who wage war against him and at peace with those who are peaceful to him and pledged that they should never fail to support him. Fulfilling their promises, they joined Imam 'Alī ('a) in all of the wars he led and none of them failed to join him until some of them were martyred for the sake of supporting him while those who survived the wars kept steadfast on loyalty to him. When Imam 'Alī ('a) passed away, those who were still alive preserved their loyalty to him and their belief that he was and would always be the best of all and the leader of all.

According to these facts about the consensus of those faithful believers on swearing allegiance, acting loyally and faithfully towards, obeying, and believing in Imam 'Alī ('a), all the objections of those who objected to his leadership, claiming falsely that the leading Muslims did not pay homage to him and failed to join him in the battles he led, are proven false. Thus, it has become evident that consensus on Imam 'Alī's leadership included all the emigrant Muslims except for a very little number. If there had been others who objected to Imam 'Alī's leadership, their opinions would have been known for people who mentioned the objectors and listed their names, and referred to them to have been displeased with Imam 'Alī's holding the position of leadership of Muslims. As a result, this proves the accuracy of our claim that the Emigrants, the Helpers, the veterans of the Battle of Badr, the participants in the Ridwān Allegiance, and the followers (*tābi'ūn*; the second generation of Muslims) agreed on swearing allegiance and paying homage to

Imam 'Alī ('a), just as I have mentioned earlier. This is a part of Allah's favor to us.

Refutation of the claim that the people were forced to pay homage to Imam 'Alī

It may be said: Within your arguments against those who disputed with you on the question of the validity of Imam 'Alī's leadership and the deviation of those who disagreed with him, which means that they renounced their faith in Islam, you argued that the Companions chose Imam 'Alī ('a) as their leader, were determined to make him the one who manage their affairs, and asked him urgently to hold this position, but he first refused to respond to them until all Muslims unanimously insisted on him to accept this office and they, including all the Emigrants and the Helpers, voluntarily and of their own accord, swore allegiance to him. Yet, narrations have reported the opposite of this claim, confirming that Imam 'Alī ('a) compelled the Muslim people to pay homage to him against their will. For instance, al-Wāqidī reported on the authority of Hāshim ibn 'Āṣim who reported al-Mundhir ibn al-Jahm to have said: I asked 'Abdullāh ibn Tha'labah, "In which way was 'Alī ('a) paid homage?"

He answered, "Well, I saw a homage headed by (Mālik) al-Ashtar who was shouting: 'Whoever refused to pay homage to 'Alī, I will behead him!' The same thing was declared by Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah and his people as well as the people of Mālik al-Ashtar. Now, what do you think about a homage on which people were forced against their will? I swear that I saw the people gathered forcefully to pay homage to 'Alī ('a); and when they tried to flee, they were brought by force, beaten, and compelled to do that. In this manner, some people had to pay homage while others could escape that."⁽¹⁾

Likewise, Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab is reported to have said: I met Sa'id ibn Zayd ibn Nufayl and asked him, "Have you paid homage (to Imam 'Alī)?" He answered, "What else could I do? If I refused, al-Ashtar and his companions would kill me."

All people knew that Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr used to say, "We paid homage against our will." Furthermore, they are reported to have said, "We paid homage to him (i.e. Imam 'Alī) with our hands, but our hearts did not pay homage to him."

Besides, it is known that Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullāh used to say, "I paid homage

⁽¹⁾ The details of this false narration can be found in Sharif al-Murtaḍā's *al-Shāfi*; 4/312-3.

(to Imam 'Alī) while the wavy-edged sword was on my neck."⁽¹⁾

In conclusion, if the people's homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) was on the basis of compulsion and force, then his leadership cannot be proven as valid and this homage cannot be proven as legal, unlike the people's homage to Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān.

To answer: Those who objected to what I have earlier proven and rejected what I have mentioned were two persons only. One of them is al-Wāqidi, who is known by everybody that he was a follower and a supporter of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. Thus, he was well-known for his alienation from Imam 'Alī ('a). What has been reported from him about forcing and compelling the people to pay homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) was a forgery and a fabrication, because this man is known for his fabricating lies against Imam 'Alī ('a). It is evidently provable that the testimony of the rivals against those whom he hated is invalid; and this is a fact that is unanimously agreed upon. Likewise, there is no dispute about the fact that the rival's claims against those whom they hate are unacceptable and the words of the accused people are objectionable. Accordingly, there is no argument to be deduced from the aforesaid narration that is reported from Ibn Tha'labah. Even if all our arguments are not applicable to this narrator, his narration is still unacceptable, because it is classified as one-reporter narration, which is in this case is invalid and unsound, because it came opposite to the other uninterruptedly reported narrations that conveyed the people's voluntary and consensual swearing of allegiance to Imam 'Alī ('a) as the leader of the Muslim community. In conclusion, the aforesaid objection is worthless and cannot stand as acceptable proof.

As for the other report of Ibn al-Musayyab on the authority of Sa'id ibn Zayd ibn Nufayl, first of all this narration holds a frank statement that all the people paid homage to Imam 'Alī ('a). Yet, he claimed that he paid homage out of fear of al-Ashtar. This claim is invalid, since the apparent meaning of his words is in violation of his claim of fear. Besides, not every one who fears something will act upon that fear; rather, the majority of those who fear something imagine unreal things, think of invalid things, and make up unsound results. Sa'id did not mention any sign of his fear of al-Ashtar; therefore, what he claimed cannot act as valid argument. Besides, no one said that al-Ashtar and the other partisans of Imam 'Alī ('a) injured or disturbed

⁽¹⁾ This narration can be found in *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/462; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih's *al-Iqd al-Farid* 4/314; Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3/239; and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mūsawī's *al-Naṣṣ wa'l-Ijtihād*, page 447.

any person who refrained from paying homage to Imam 'Alī ('a), or lashed him, or reproached him, or killed him, or beheaded him. Then, how did Sa'id fear al-Ashtar and how did his fear lead him to claim what he had claimed? This is in fact clear-cut evidence that al-Wāqidī told a lie when he mentioned Sa'id ibn Zayd's fear, or that Sa'id was not honest in what he claimed.

With regard to the claim that Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr paid homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) against their will, this claim is refuted in the same way I have refuted the false claim of Ibn al-Musayyab on the authority of Sa'id. Moreover, the accusation in this case is more emphatic, because Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr chose this claim to be their excuse for reneging the homage they had paid to Imam 'Alī ('a), mutinying against obedience to him, and demanding with leadership, but they failed to achieve any victory. Besides, it apparently seemed that they paid homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) voluntarily and willingly, since no one compelled them to do so, unless their claim that they were forced to do so is based on their inner selves and hidden intentions that none knew except Allah the All-exalted. Even so, according to the laws of Islam, homage is considered valid when it is paid practically, aside from intentions. Accordingly, it was obligatory upon them to respect and act upon the homage they paid to Imam 'Alī ('a) and to commit to and obey him; otherwise, they are decided as sinful. These two persons confessed of their homage to their leader and their shaking hands with him on this basis, which meant that they actually swore allegiance to him and it was their duty to act upon this allegiance, obey him, and never breach their homage. Thus, their claim that they did not intend to pay homage to him is worthless, because Islam decides according to the apparent facts and has nothing to do with consciences and intentions in such cases.

Besides, what invalidates their claim, too, is the fact that they openly disputed with Imam 'Alī ('a) and declared their animosity to him to the degree that they killed people and shed innocent blood in this way. Therefore, every claim that was issued by them against Imam 'Alī ('a) does not injure his honesty, nor does it shake his right to leadership or prevent him from enjoying all his rights against the people.

Additionally, even if we believe that the people were compelled to pay homage to Imam 'Alī ('a), as was claimed by his rivals, this does not injure his leadership and Imamate, especially for his partisans who believe that he is the true leader of all Muslims according to binding statements declared by the Holy Prophet (ṣ), because the Imam, the obedience to whom has been made obligatory upon all people according to clear-cut statements declared by Allah the Almighty and His Apostle, has the right to twist the arms of those who

reject to obey him, to lash them, and to beat them until they return to be obedient to the commands of Allah and to him; thereby, the Imam protects the people against seditious matters and corruptions expected from such unruly persons.

Similarly, according to the creed of the opponents who believe that the people's homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) was paid willingly and of their own accord, this does not injure his Imamate—in the sense of his divinely commissioned leadership—either, because they believe that if a certain number of virtuous people pay homage to a man, his leadership becomes valid⁽¹⁾ and the obedience to him becomes obligatory upon the rest of people and then he has the right to force the others who reject to pay homage to him and those who oppose and disobey him on that. He also has the right to use lashes and even swords in order to stop them from disobedience and mutiny and compel them to join the community of Muslims. It is well known that innumerable people sword allegiance to Imam 'Alī ('a) and expressed their pleasure to him being their leader; and some of those people participated with him in his military campaigns, sacrificed their lives in support of him and were among the Emigrants who had participated in the Battle of Badr and among the Helpers who had paid homage to the Holy Prophet (ṣ) twice as well as the other faithful believers who came after them. Earlier, I have mentioned the names of some of these people in this book. Thus, the claim of compelling the people on paying homage to Imam ('a) has been proven as false and invalid, not to mention that they depended, in this unfounded claim, on worthless narrations, the apparent meanings of which violated their claims and the opposite of which can be found in all reference books of narrations and history.

Compelling some people on paying homage to Abū-Bakr

Apart from the aforesaid arguments, it can be said in reply to the opponents that if compelling some people on paying homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) invalidates or injures his leadership, then uninterruptedly reported narrations have confirmed that some people were compelled to pay homage to Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān; therefore, their leaderships must be decided as invalid and unacceptable, too; otherwise, the claim of the validity of their leaderships is decided as contradictory in the sight of rational people.

It is widely known and spread, without the least doubt, that the Helpers

⁽¹⁾ Refer to Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, vol. 20, part 2, page 65; and al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah*, pages 6&7.

refused to pay homage to Abū-Bakr because they invited people to pay homage to Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah—may Allah be pleased with him—instead and they denied to pay homage to anyone save him. In the beginning, all of them agreed on preventing the people of Quraysh from holding the leadership of Muslims and they actually worked on this purpose, but they then disagreed with one another and were disunited when Bashir ibn Sa'd, who was one of them, revealed their secret and paid homage to Abū-Bakr out of envy he felt against his cousin whom he hated for his cousin to be the leader and hated that he should follow and prefer his cousin to himself. Thus, a seditious matter took place, swords were unsheathed, and 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb called for and urged on slaying Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah, shouting, "Kill Sa'd. May Allah kill Sa'd!" Then, the Helpers anticipated that they would not be victorious party in this dispute and that the people of Quraysh would kill their chief Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah; so, they carried Sa'd out of the Shed (i.e. Saqifah) because he was ailed and too weak to walk alone. His family members supported him and hated to pay homage to the person whom was paid homage, denied that Abū-Bakr should be the next leader, and threatened that they would never agree to that.⁽¹⁾

Reports supporting one another confirm that al-Zubayr ibn 'Awwām, too, was displeased with Abū-Bakr being the next ruler; so, he objected to that and revolted unsheathing his sword for fight, but a big number of people surrounded him, took his sword from his hand, threw stones on him, broke his sword into pieces, and led him enchained to Abū-Bakr, where he had to pay homage to him against his will and without granting him any other alternative than paying homage to Abū-Bakr.⁽²⁾

When Salmān the Persian—may Allah be pleased with him—came, he denied the whole matter, expressed his denial through meaningful words, and explained his attitude to the matter with eloquent Arabic words. So, he refrained from paying homage to Abū-Bakr, but they slapped him severely on the neck until it turned as red as beet.

Al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Holy Prophet's paternal uncle, too,

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah* 4/310; *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī* 2/124; Ibn Qutaybah al-Daynawarī, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/10; *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* 3/218-23; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/258; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 20/267, part 2; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 60; al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh al-Islām*, pages 6&11.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Qutaybah al-Daynawarī, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/11; *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī* 2/124; al-Nāshī' al-Akbar, *Masā'il al-Imāmah*, page 10; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/259; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 20/268, part 2; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-Tārikh* 2/325.

denied that the leadership should be turned away from the descendants of Hāshim and another man should be appointed as the next leader and homage should be paid to him; so, al-'Abbās asked Imam 'Alī ('a) to stretch his hand so that he would practically pay homage to him as the next leader. In this regard, al-'Abbās said, "O son of my brother! Stretch your hand so that I will pay homage to you and the people will say that the Holy Prophet's uncle paid homage to the Holy Prophet's cousin. When this takes place, no two people will disagree about you [being the next leader]." ⁽¹⁾

Abū-Sufyān, Ṣakhr ibn Ḥarb, too, shouted with the loudest tone of his voice, "O descendants of Hāshim! How do you accept that the descendants of Taym ibn Murrah become your leaders and rulers over the Arabs? How come that they even thought of giving themselves priority over the descendants of Hāshim with regard to the office of authority and leadership? Rise and throw away those people who had gathered to do wrong to you. Behold, I swear this by Allah; if you wish, I will fill in the place with horses and horsemen against those people."

Abū-Sufyān then composed these poetic verses:

O descendants of Hāshim! Do not let the others belittle you, especially the families of Taym ibn Murrah and 'Adī.

Most surely, the authority and leadership is for none except you and none deserves it except you; and none should hold it except Abū-Ḥasan 'Alī.

O Abū-Ḥasan! Act strongly on this matter with a hand of a firm person, for you are the best to grasp on this matter that is worth aspiring! ⁽²⁾

'Umar Compels the people to pay homage to Abū-Bakr

In the house of Lady Fāṭimah (the Holy Prophet's daughter), some people from the family of Hāshim as well as others gathered to oppose to and deny Abū-Bakr's holding the leadership of Muslims, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb sent (his servant) Qunfudh to them and instructed him by saying, "Take them all out of that house; but if they refuse to go out therefrom, then gather firewood and put it on the door of the house and inform them that they should come out to

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah*, 1/4; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, page 201; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 20/121, part 1; al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 2/149; al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah*, page 7; al-Ash'arī, *al-Tamlīd wa'l-Uṣūl*, page 387.

⁽²⁾ *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī* 2/126; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/257; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 102; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 20/121, part 1 (where the poetic verses are not mentioned); al-Ṭabarsī, *I'lām al-Warā*, page 138; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 6/17-8.

pay homage to Abū-Bakr or you will set the house on fire while they are therein.” Then, ‘Umar himself came, leading a group of people—among whom were al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah al-Thaqafī and Sālim the manumitted slave of Abū-Ḥudhayfah—to the door of Imam ‘Alī’s house, and shouted, “O Fāṭimah the daughter of Allah’s Apostle! Order those who have resorted to your house to leave it, come to pay homage, and join the Muslims in what they have decided; otherwise, I will set the house on fire while they are in it; I swear this by Allah!”⁽¹⁾

The narrations in this regard are too famous to require following up.

When the people of al-Yamāmah heard about Abū-Bakr’s coming to power, they denied it and refrained from handing the *zakāt* levies over to him. So, Abū-Bakr raided on them through a military campaign, killed them, and decided them to have renounced the faith of Islam.⁽²⁾

About this event, al-Ḥuṭay‘ah, a famous Arab poet from the tribe of ‘Abs, composed these verses:

*We obeyed Allah’s Apostle as long as he was alive amongst us
How strange this is! What is the meaning of Abū-Bakr’s royalty?
Are we obliged to accept Abū-Bakr as leader when he came to power after him?
By God, this is a back-breaking disaster!*⁽³⁾

‘Abdullāh ibn Abī-Sufyān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was outside the city of al-Madīnah when Abū-Bakr was paid homage as the next leader after the Holy Prophet’s passing away; so, once he entered the city, he stood in the middle of the Prophet’s Mosque and raised his voice with these poetic verses that he composed:

*I never imagined that the authority would be taken away from the descendants
of Hāshim and from Abu ‘l-Ḥasan particularly.
Was he not the first to have prayed facing the kiblah and the most
knowledgeable of all people with the traditions and the Prophet’s norms?
Was he not the last of all people to have been with the Prophet and was he not*

(1) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa’l-Siyāsah* 1/12-3; *Tārīkh al-Ya‘qūbī* 2/126; Ibn ‘Abd-Rabbih, *al-Iqd al-Farīd* 4/259-61; al-Shahristānī, *al-Milāl wa’l-Nihāl* 1/57; Ibn Abī ‘l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 2/56 and 6/48; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, page 271. Compare all these reference books to Sharīf al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Shāfi* 4/119.

(2) *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 2/246; Nūrullāh al-Shūshtarī, *al-Ṣawārim al-Muhriqah*, page 86.

(3) Ibn Qutaybah al-Daynawarī, *al-Shi‘r wa’l-Shu‘arā’*, page 65; Al-Nāshī ‘al-Akbar, *Masā’il al-Imāmah*, page 14; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 3/246; Abu ‘l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *al-Aghānī* 2/157. According to al-Ṭabarī, these poetic verses were said by ‘Abdullāh al-Laythī.

helped by Gabriel in bathing and enshrouding the Prophet's body?

They have no doubt about the things that he possessed and they did not; and there is no one amongst the people to have the virtues he had.

Now, what has made you refrain from him, so that we may be acquainted?

Behold! Your paying homage (to other than him) is indeed the beginning of seditions.⁽¹⁾

Abū-Mikhnaḥ Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā al-Azdi reported Muḥammad ibn Sā'ib al-Kalbī and Abū-Ṣāliḥ to have said the following, which is also reported from Zā'idah ibn Qudāmah: A group of Bedouins came to the city of al-Madīnah to buy food. The people were preoccupied by the passing away of Allah's Apostle (ṣ); so, nobody cared for them. They had to witness the process of paying homage to Abū-Bakr. 'Umar then summoned them and said, "Receive your shares from paying homage to the successor of Allah's Apostle and then go out to gather the people to force them to pay homage to him. If one refrains from responding to you, you may strike his head and forehead with your swords."

By God I swear this; I saw those Bedouins girding themselves, putting on aprons made in Sana'a, and holding in their hands bars of wood; and they went out beating the people randomly and bringing them against their will to pay homage to Abū-Bakr.⁽²⁾

In addition, there are a big number of narrations that confirmed compelling the people on paying homage to Abū-Bakr and forcing them to do so. Yet, these narrations are too many to be mentioned in this book.

In conclusion, if we take the claim of our opponent—that the people were forced to pay homage to Imam 'Alī ('a)—to be evidence on the invalidity of Imam 'Alī's leadership, although the reports on which he relied in his false claim are too weak and inauthentic to be taken for valid evidence; therefore, the authenticity of the narrations some of which I have mentioned stand as valid evidence on the invalidity of Abū-Bakr's leadership.

⁽¹⁾ *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*, page 28; *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī* 2/124; Shaykh al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 22; Sharif al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, page 216; al-Karājakī, *Kanz al-Fawā'id* 1/267; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 3/67; al-Ṭabarsī, *I'lām al-Warā*, page 184; al-Khawārizmī, *al-Manāqib*, page 40; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 6/21; al-Irbilī, *Kashf al-Ghummah* 1/67. However, there is big disagreement about the composer of these poetic verses.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to the one mentioned in Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd's *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/219.

The celebrated personalities of the Emigrants hated Abū-Bakr's nominating 'Umar to the position of next leadership

Above and beyond, the Muslim nation unanimously reported that when Abū-Bakr wanted to nominate 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb to the next leadership, some celebrated personalities of the Emigrants—among whom were Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and Sa'd ibn Abī-Waqqāṣ—visited him and said, "How will you answer your Lord when you appoint this coarse and hardhearted person as our leader?" We could not stand him when he was a subject of you. Now, how can we stand him while he is our leader? So, fear Allah with regard to Islam and its people and do not give this man free hand on the people."

Having heard these words, Abū-Bakr became enraged and said, "Help me sit! Help me sit!" The attendants helped him sit and some people inclined him to their chests, because he was too weak to sit. He then said to them, "Do you frighten me with Allah! Each one of you had the desire to hold this office. Yet, once you heard what I have decided regarding appointing 'Umar to this office, your noses swelled out of rage. I am most certain that if any one of you receives this position, he will most surely run to be tyrannically fond of giving orders and using curtains and silk cushions for yourselves so that you will turn this office into royalty like the royalty of the kings of Persia. Nay, by Allah! I will never respond to your requests. If I then meet my Lord and He asks me whom I have nominated to rule over you, I will answer: I have chosen the best of them to be their ruler."⁽¹⁾ This narration, which is so famous that scholars never disagree about its authenticity, indicates evidently that Abū-Bakr appointed 'Umar to the next leadership although the Companions, whom I have mentioned, were displeased with it; and it was made compulsorily against their wills and they were forced to accept it. Therefore, according to the opinion of the opponent, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's leadership was invalid, because it was against the will of those whom I have earlier mentioned.

(1) 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf* 5/415; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 3/199-200; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/18-9; *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* 3/433; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/267; Abu'l-Qāsim al-Kūfī, *al-Istighāthah fi Bida' al-Thalāthah*, page 54; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 20/6-8, part 2; Shaykh al-Tūsī, *Talkhiṣ al-Shāfi* 2/149-50; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Radd 'alā al-Muta'aṣṣib al-'Anīd*, page 70; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/163; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 19/152; al-Diyārbakrī, *Tārikh al-Khamīs* 2/241.

The Shūrā farce and Imam 'Alī's refusal to pay homage to 'Uthmān

He added: On that day of the convention of the so-called *Shūrā Committee*, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir—may Allah be pleased with him—was present. He stood up and said, "If you give the authority (i.e. the office of leadership) to 'Alī, we will listen to and obey him; but if you give it to 'Uthmān, we will listen to and disobey him."

Upon hearing this, al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah stood up and said, "O group of the People of the Shūrā (i.e. consultation)! If you give the authority to 'Uthmān, we will listen to and obey him; but if you give it to 'Alī, we will listen to and disobey him."

In response, 'Ammār reproached al-Walīd and said to him, "Why and since when should a wicked person like you intrude himself into the affairs of Muslims and into the matters that gather them?"

The two then reviled at one another and armed themselves to enter into a fight, but the others prevented them from that.

From behind the door, al-Miqdād—may Allah be pleased with him—said, "O group of Muslims! If you are determined to give the leadership to any of these people, then do not give it to one who did not participate in the Battle of Badr, who fled in the Battle of Uhūd, who was not present in the Ridwān Homage, and who turned back when the two fighting hosts met."⁽¹⁾

'Uthmān immediately said, "By Allah, if I assume this office, I will turn you back to your origin."⁽²⁾

When 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf shook 'Uthmān's hand as a sign of paying homage to him as the next leader of Muslims, Imam 'Alī ('a) whispered, "This man has taken sides with his brother-in-law⁽³⁾ and cast his faith behind his back."

He then turned his face towards 'Abd al-Raḥmān and said to him, "By Allah, you have done this because you are aspiring to gain what your old friend (i.e.

⁽¹⁾ This is an indication to this Qur'ānic verse: "Those of you who turned back on the day the two hosts met, it was Satan who caused them to fail, because of some evil they had done. But Allah has blotted out their fault: for Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Forbearing. [3/155]" Refer to Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-Iqd al-Farīd* 4/279.

⁽²⁾ Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, pages 114-5.

⁽³⁾ 'Abd al-Raḥmān's wife was Ummu-Kulthūm the daughter of 'Uqbah ibn Abī-Mu'īt and she was 'Uthmān's half-sister from his mother's side. 'Uthmān's mother was Arwā bint [i.e. the daughter of] Kurayz. Refer to Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/189.

'Umar) had aspired to take from his acquaintance (i.e. Abū-Bakr). May Allah create war between you and him!"⁽¹⁾

Imam 'Alī ('a) then left the place, denying intensely what 'Abd al-Raḥmān had done [when he gave the office of leadership to 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān], and refusing to pay homage to 'Uthmān. Thus, Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) did not pay homage to 'Uthmān until the latter faced his miserable destiny and Imam 'Alī ('a) was unanimously appointed to assume the office of leadership. All people, both the ordinary and the learnt, know Imam 'Alī's objections to and renunciation of the coming to power of those three men who took the leadership of Muslims before him.

In this regard, he declared on one occasion, "O Allah! I beseech you to help me against the people of Quraysh, for they have deprived me of my entitlement, prevented me from taking my legacy, and helped one another against me."⁽²⁾

On another occasion, he expressed, "I have been deprived of my right and wronged since the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) passed away."⁽³⁾

On a third occasion, he said, "The Apostle of Allah (ṣ) did inform me that the community will betray me after his passing away."⁽⁴⁾

On a fourth occasion, he stated, "I have been wronged as many as stones and as much as dust."⁽⁵⁾

On a fifth occasion, he praying to Allah said, "O Allah! Punish the people of

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 152.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/155; Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, page 204; *Nahj al-Balāghah*, page 336, sermon no. 217; Sharif al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 2/144; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Rasā'il al-'Ashr*, page 125; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib Āli Abi-Ṭālib* 2/115, 202 & 204; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 4/103-4 and 6/196; Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kashf al-Maḥajjah*, page 180.

⁽³⁾ Sharif al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 3/223; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 2/144 and 3/48&49; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Rasā'il al-'Ashr*, page 125; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib Āli Abi-Ṭālib* 2/115; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/306.

⁽⁴⁾ Al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārikh al-Kabīr* 2/174; al-Ḥākim al-Nayshābūrī, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* 3/140; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 151; Sharif al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 3/225; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 3/51; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārikh Baghdād* 11/116; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tarjamat al-Imām 'Alī* 3/148; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 4/107; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, page 330; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 11/617; al-Shūshtarī, *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq* 7/324-30.

⁽⁵⁾ Sharif al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 3/223; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 3/48; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib Āli Abi-Ṭālib* 2/115.

Quraysh on behalf of me with the severest of Your punishment, for they ruptured their relations with me, pushed me away from my entitlement, rallied the mindless people against me, and allowed the shedding of my blood.”⁽¹⁾

Imam ‘Alī’s sermon on the day of paying homage to him

When the position of leadership of the Muslim community was given to him, Imam ‘Alī (‘a) climbed the minbar⁽²⁾ and delivered a sermon, beginning it with statements of praising and commending Allah the Almighty. He then said, “Previously, you have done things in which your choices were not praiseworthy. Behold! If I wish to say something, I will say many things. Yet, I will say, ‘Allah has pardoned what is gone by.’ The two men are now past, but the third man stood up like a crow, which had no other concern than satisfying his stomach and his sexual lusts. Woe unto him! If his wing had been cut off and his head had been decapitated, that would most surely have been better for him...”⁽³⁾

Imam ‘Alī (‘a) went on delivering a sermon, which contained the most splendid expressive words and the most marvelous style. All scholars have unanimously agreed that this sermon was said by Imam ‘Alī (‘a). It has also been quoted by Abū-‘Ubaydah Ma‘mar ibn al-Muthannā⁽⁴⁾ who tried to explain the outstanding words of the sermon, as well as al-Madā‘inī in his books. Likewise, al-Jāhiz, although he is known for his open enmity and notorious antagonism towards Imam ‘Alī (‘a), quoted this sermon in his book entitled *al-Bayān wa’l-Tabyīn*.

Al-Shaqshaqiyyah; another sermon of Imam ‘Alī

Imam ‘Alī’s another sermon, which was reported by ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abbās, may Allah have mercy upon him, is too famous to mention its authenticity and to take the task of proving its having been said by him. Imam ‘Alī (‘a)

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa’l-Siyāsah* 1/55-6; Ibn Abi’l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/306.

⁽²⁾ Minbar is a small set of steps in a mosque from which sermons are delivered.

⁽³⁾ Al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān wa’l-Tabyīn* 1/50-1; Ibn Qutaybah, *‘Uyūn al-Akhbār* 2/236; Shaykh al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi* 8/68; al-Nu‘mān al-Miṣrī, *Sharḥ al-Akhbār* 1/372; Abū’l-Ḥasan al-Mas’ūdī, *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah*, page 126; Ibn ‘Abd-Rabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd* 4/66-7; Abū-Hilāl al-‘Askarī, *al-Awā’il*, page 138; Shaykh al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 128; Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, page 257, sermon no. 178; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 3/227; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 3/52; Maṣṣūr al-‘Ābī, *Nathr al-Durr* 1/271; Ibn Shahr’āshūb, *Manāqib ‘Alī Abī-Ṭālib* 2/115; Ibn Abi’l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/276; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, page 326.

⁽⁴⁾ As is quoted from him by al-Jāhiz in *al-Bayān wa’l-Tabyīn* 2/50-1.

begins this sermon with these words: "Beware! By Allah, the son of Abū-Quḥāfah (Abū-Bakr) dressed himself with it (the caliphate) and he certainly knew that my position in relation to it was the same as the position of the axis in relation to the hand-mill. The flood water flows down from me and the bird cannot fly up to me. Yet, I put a curtain against the caliphate and kept myself detached from it, while I watched the plundering of my inheritance. So, I adopted patience although there was pricking in the eye and suffocation of mortification in the throat..."

Referring to 'Umar's farce of *Shūrā*, Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "He (i.e. 'Umar) made me one of the six members and claimed that I should be one of them. But good Heavens! What had I to do with this *Shūrā*? Where was any doubt about me with regard to the first of them that I was now considered akin to these ones? But I remained low when they were low and flew high when they flew high, waiting for the period and the determined deadline..."⁽¹⁾

Although the sermon is much longer than that, I have summarized the main topic in the aforesaid lines. It stands for clear-cut evidence that Imam 'Alī ('a) was displeased with the leadership of those who came to power before him and he denied what they had done in this regard. However, our opponents, because they resist the truth and pretend to ignore the facts, employ some inauthentic reports about certain persons who hated to pay homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) as the leader of the Muslim community for proving, yet falsely, that Imam 'Alī's leadership was invalid. Thereby, they avoid the other reports, which I have earlier mentioned, that prove that the most celebrated Muslim personalities, not to mention the believers generally, the Helpers, and Emigrants, were forced to pay homage to Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān against their wills, which indicated evidently that their leaderships were invalid and illegal. Yet, our opponents, out of their ironical attitudes, do not take these authentic narrations for evidence on the illegality and invalidity of

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, *Ma'ānī al-Akḥbār*, page 361 and '*Ilal al-Sharā'i*' 1/150-1; *Nahj al-Balāghah*, page 48, sermon no. 3; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, pages 152-3; Maṣṣūr al-'Ābī, *Nathr al-Durr* 1/274-5; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Rasā'il* 3/107-14; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 3/53; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib Āli Abi-Ṭālib* 2/204-5; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, pages 124-5; al-Ṭabarsī, *al-Ihtijāj* 1/282-3; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Nahj al-Haqq*, pages 326-7.

About explanations of the words of this sermon, refer to the following reference books: Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, *Ma'ānī al-Akḥbār*, pages 362-4 and '*Ilal al-Sharā'i*' 1/152-3; Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī, *Ma'ārij Nahj al-Balāghah*, pages 80-4; Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Rāwandī, *Minhāj al-Barā'ah* 1/121-31; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/151-5; Ibn Maytham, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/251-70.

the coming to power of those three persons, but they resorted to inauthentic reports to adopt them as proofs on the illegality of Imam 'Alī's leadership, which was based on the unanimous agreement of all Muslims. How strange this is!

In the coming lines, I will quote some reports regarding the Muslims' swearing of allegiance to Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭalīb ('a), proving that it was as exactly as I have mentioned in an earlier chapter of this book; that is, Muslims insisted urgently on Imam 'Alī ('a) to accept to assume the office of leadership because he was the worthiest of occupying this post and they chose him willingly for this office, which means that his leadership was legitimate and valid in the conception of both his partisans and his opponents.

Imam 'Alī refrains from accepting the office of leadership

Abū-Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yahyā al-Azdī, the famous transmitter of narrations, was one of those who reported in details Imam 'Alī's refusal to accept the post of leadership when the people chose him and insisted on him to assume this office. In his book on the events of the War of al-Baṣrah, Abū-Mikhnaf quotes Sayf ibn 'Umar on the authority of Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Sawādah, Ṭalḥah ibn al-A'lam, and Abū-'Uthmān who said: Immediately after the assassination of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, the city of al-Madīnah remained under the leadership of al-Ghāfiqī ibn Ḥarb for five days, while the people were looking for any person to respond to them in assuming the leadership of the city, but none responded to them. The people of Egypt came frequently to Imam 'Alī ('a) begging him to hold this office, but he was hiding himself from them, resorting to the furthest orchard of al-Madīnah. Yet, when they could find him, he would refuse their demands.⁽¹⁾

Abū-Mikhnaf continues: Ishāq ibn Rāshid reported 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān that Ibn Abzā said: May I narrate to you what I have seen with my own eyes and heard with my own ears? When the people met near the public treasury office, 'Alī said to Ṭalḥah, "Stretch your hand so that I will pay homage to you [as the caliph]." Yet, Ṭalḥah refused and said, "You are worthier of this office than I am. Besides, the people who wish you to be their leader are more than those who wish me for this office."

Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "We fear none except you."

Ṭalḥah answered, "Do not fear me. By Allah, you will never be betrayed by me."

⁽¹⁾ *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/432; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3/192; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh* 2/603.

Then, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, Abu'l-Haytham ibn al-Tayyihān, Rifā'ah ibn Rāfi' ibn Mālīk ibn al-'Ajlān, Abū-Ayyūb Khālīd ibn Zayd spoke to Imam 'Alī ('a). They said to him, "Indeed, this office has been misused; and you have seen what 'Uthmān did and what happened to him because he violated the Book of Allah and the Prophet's traditions. So, stretch your hand and let us pay homage to you as our leader, so that the affairs of this community will be returned to correctitude after they have been led into corruption."

Yet, Imam 'Alī ('a) asked them to release him from this, saying, "You have witnessed what was done to me and you know for sure the opinion of those people about me. So, I do not need them."

They then came to the Helpers and said, "O groups of Helpers! You are the supporters of Allah and the supporters of His Apostle. Through His Apostle, Allah the All-exalted has honored you. You know for sure the excellence of 'Alī and his precedence to Islam as well as his close relation and high standing with the Prophet (ṣ). If he becomes the leader, he will bring to you all that which is prosperous."

The Helpers answered, "We are the most pleased of all people with him being the leader; and we will never desire for anyone else except him."

Thus, they all gathered around Imam 'Alī ('a) until they forced him to accept the office of leadership.⁽¹⁾

Through his chain of authority, Abū-Mikhnaḥ reports Abu'l-Haytham ibn al-Tayyihān to have said to the Helpers, "O groups of Helpers! You know my prudence, sincerity, status in the sight of Allah's Apostle (ṣ), and that he chose me over many others. So, give this authority back to the one who is the first of you all in joining Islam and the closest of you all to the Apostle of Allah (ṣ), so that Allah may gather you again on intimacy through him and stop your shedding the blood of one another."

Upon hearing these words, they all declared that they would listen to and obey him.⁽²⁾

Sayf ibn 'Umar reported on the authority of the men of his chain of authority that the people came to Imam 'Alī ('a) and asked him to be in charge of

⁽¹⁾ *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* 4/432-4; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi, *al-Futūḥ* 1/431-2; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 20/66, part 2; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Mas'alah al-Kāfiyah* [as is mentioned in 'Allāmah al-Majlisī's *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/32]; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārikh* 3/193; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayat al-Ḥayawān* 1/682.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to the one mentioned by Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi in *al-Futūḥ* 1/432.

running their affairs, paying homage to him. Yet, he asked, "Look for another one than me." They said, "We adjure you by Allah to accept our request. Do you not see how sedition has spread among the Muslims? Do you not fear Allah if you let this Muslim community suffer losses?"

Thus, when they insisted on him, he said to them, "If I respond to you, I will force you to act upon what I know, but if you leave me alone, I will act as one of you."

They all agreeably said, "We are pleased with your judgment; and no one of us will oppose you. So, lead us according to what you see."

Finally, they all paid homage to him as their leader.⁽¹⁾

Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr swear allegiance to Imam 'Alī

Abū-Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Thaqafī reports 'Uthmān ibn Abī-Shaybah to have quoted 'Abdullāh ibn Idrīs who quoted Muḥammad ibn 'Ajlān as saying: Zayd ibn Aslam reported: Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr came to Imam 'Alī ('a) while he was hiding himself in the orchards of al-Madinah. They entered and said to him, "Stretch your hand so that we will swear allegiance to you as the leader, because the people do not accept any other one than you."

"I do not need that," Imam 'Alī ('a) answered. "To work as assistant of you is better for me than being your leader. Now, let any one of you stretch his hand so that I will swear allegiance to him as the leader."

Yet, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr said, "The people do not accept anyone save you and they will not choose anyone over you. So, stretch your hand and let us be the first of all people to pay homage to you at this very place and then inside the mosque."

Thus, they both swore allegiance to Imam 'Alī ('a) before the others; and then the people swore allegiance to him while he was on the minbar; and the first to did that was Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullāh whose hand was paralyzed; so, he climbed the steps of the minbar and clapped his hand on Imam 'Alī's hand. A man from the Banū-Asad tribe⁽²⁾ was standing there looking at Ṭalḥah. When he saw that the first hand that clapped on Imam 'Alī's hand as a sign of paying homage to him was a paralyzed hand, he regarded this as an evil

⁽¹⁾ *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/434; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3;193. Compare this narration with the one mentioned by Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī in *al-Futūḥ* 1/431-2 and 'Allāmah al-Majlisī in *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/8.

⁽²⁾ His name was Ḥabīb ibn Dhu'ayb, or Qabiṣah ibn Jābir according to another narration.

portent and said, "We are Allah's and to Him shall we be returned. I see that this matter will not be accomplished."

Then, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr returned to their places and the other people started paying homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) [by putting the palms of their hands on the palm of his hand].⁽¹⁾

All these narrations, as well as many others that are too famous to be denied since they can be easily found in all books of history and quoted by all historians, evidently disprove the false claim of our opponents who claimed that the people were compelled and forced to pay homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) and thus prove false the suspicions raised about the legitimacy and validity of his leadership, such as the aforesaid report quoted by al-Wāqidi who was known for his support to 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān and animosity towards Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a).

Moreover, al-Wāqidi quoted in the book he compiled about the War of al-Baṣrah many narrations that are in compatibility with the narrations I have just mentioned and are contrary to the opposite claim about the invalidity of Imam 'Alī's leadership. For example, al-Wāqidi mentioned the following narration in his book: 'Abdullāh ibn Ja'far narrated to me on the authority of 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad who said: When 'Uthmān was killed, the people came to Imam 'Alī ('a) to pay homage to him, but he refused to respond to them. So, they said to him, "Please accept our homage to you and do not do the otherwise." Yet, he refused to respond to them, but they persistently took his hand by force, stretched it, and said, "Please accept our paying homage to you, for we do not find anyone worthier than you are and we will never be pleased with anyone other than you."⁽²⁾

Ismā'il ibn Muḥammad reported Muḥammad ibn Sa'd on the authority of his father who said: 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib summoned my father to make him pay homage to him, but my father said, "If no one remained except me, I will pay homage to you." 'Alī ('a) said, "Release Sa'd."

⁽¹⁾ Al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, page 205; *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* 4/428; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi, *al-Futūḥ* 1/432; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/310; Sharif al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, pages 181-2; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 20/66, part 2; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, pages 57-8; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārikh* 3/190-1; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 4/8; Ibn al-'Ubrī, *Tārikh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, page 105; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/7.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/156; al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, page 206; Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafi, *al-Ghārāt*, page 205; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 6/96-7.

He then summoned Usāmah ibn Zayd for the same reason, but Usāmah said, "I will obey you, but you should release me from fighting with you [or, I will not obey you if you order me to fight with you]." 'Alī ('a) said, "I never force anyone to pay homage to me."⁽¹⁾

According to these narrations, it is clear that all those who paid homage to him did that willingly and of their own accord, which means that our previous discussion was accurate while the claim of our opponents was false, thanks to Allah.

Nullity of the opinions adopted by the other sects

Shaykh Abū-'Abdullāh al-Mufīd, may Allah continue His support to him, says: I have so far proven the Imamate and the divinely commissioned leadership of Imam 'Alī ('a) through the sacred statements of Allah the Almighty and the Holy Prophet (ṣ) that appointed him as the next-in-line and the direct successor to the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) and through the choice made on him by the rational, knowledgeable, virtuous, and judicious people who selected him for the post of the leadership of the Muslim community; and this selection has been specified by our opponents as a condition of the legitimacy and validity of leadership. I have then proven Imam 'Alī's inerrancy and infallibility and I then explained in details the different opinions in this regard, quoting narrations that were reported by both Shi'ah and non-Shi'ah transmitters of traditions, all of which indicate the duty of giving Imam 'Alī ('a) his right to the leadership, the duty of all Muslims to obey him, and the forbiddance of doing the otherwise. All these points, which I have earlier mentioned, disprove all the false claims of all of our opponents who tried to deem lawful, argue the invalidity of, and rouse doubts about the inaccuracy of the acts of those who waged wars against Imam 'Alī ('a). Hence, the points I have earlier mentioned and through which I proved the invalidity of the claims and opinions of those who opposed Imam 'Alī ('a) suffice me from discussing the invalidity of the conceptions of Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā' and 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd, whose opinions I have discussed in the beginning of my book where I refuted the spurious arguments raised by al-Radhī, al-Aṣamm and their fellows. I also refuted the spurious arguments raised by al-Ḥashwiyyah and their likes who claimed falsely that those who opposed and fought against Imam 'Alī ('a) were on the right. In conclusion, I proved the inaccuracy of all such sects through many points of evidence, which I have mentioned there. I then proved the validity and accuracy of the opinions adopted by the Shi'ah about the other factions, such as the Mu'tazilah, the

⁽¹⁾ Al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, page 207.

Murji'ah, and the Khawārij. I then proved the accuracy of Imam 'Ali's opinion regarding the War of al-Baṣrah and the War of Levant and the wrongness of those who waged war against him in these two wars whom I proved them to have deviated from the right path. Likewise, I proved Imam 'Ali's inerrancy and infallibility and proved his right to the leadership of the Muslim nation and the succession to the Holy Prophet (ṣ); and these two points stand as clear-cut evidence on the invalidity of the opinions of the heretical Khawārij who denied the issue of arbitration and withdrew themselves from supporting Imam 'Alī ('a).

I will now add to all these points a new one appertained to the reasons for the breaking out of the sedition of al-Baṣrah, because many people are not acquainted with many hidden facts concerning this issue and they know nothing about it except what is apparent. After that, I will quote the narrations reported about the details of the fight and the events that accompanied it, in such an order that meets the needs and suits the sequence of the events.

Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's breach of homage

Apparently, the reason for the breaking out of sedition in al-Baṣrah city was that Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr breached the homage they had paid to Imam 'Ali ('a) voluntarily, willingly, and on account of their preferring him to all others concerning the leadership of the Muslim community. They thus left al-Madīnah to Makkah, claiming that they were willing to perform the ritual 'Umrah pilgrimage. Yet, when they arrived in Makkah, they held a meeting with 'Ā'ishah and with the former governors during 'Uthmān's reign—who had stolen the money of the public treasury of Muslims and brought them to Makkah—because they coveted for part of the money and because they feared that Imam 'Alī ('a) would take that money back to the public treasury. Thus, all the parties agreed on raising the slogan of demanding with revenge from 'Uthmān's assassins and claiming that those who had laid siege on 'Uthmān, refrained from supporting him, and assassinated him, who were groups of Emigrants, Helpers, and the people of Egypt and Iraq, all of them sided with Imam 'Alī ('a) and became within his troops and supporters. They also claimed that Imam 'Alī ('a) employed those people as soldiers of his army, treated them kindly, said praiseworthy words about them, and did not deny what they did to 'Uthmān. Through this false claim, the party of 'Ā'ishah persuaded the weak-minded people into supporting them, cheated the feeble-minded ones, and made them believe that 'Uthmān was killed wrongfully and that he did not do anything to deserve the siege and the removing that those people imposed on him and finally shed his blood. Thus, some people whom they could deceive responded to them and participated in the sedition they

broke out. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr then led them to the city of al-Baṣrah because they knew that the majority of its people were partisans of 'Uthmān and fellows of his cousin who was the governor of al-Baṣrah; namely, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Kurayz. This is the apparent reason for their revolt against Imam 'Alī ('a); while the hidden reason was the opposite, as is indicated by narrations, all of which make the judicious understand the actual reason for their mutiny and disobedience to their leader, Imam 'Alī ('a).

First of all, it was 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr who insisted on overthrowing 'Uthmān and it was they who drove the people to lay siege on and kill him. This fact is unanimously agreed upon by all scholars of history and narrations. On the other hand, Imam 'Alī ('a) did not stop preventing them from doing so. He also advised them against raiding on 'Uthmān and exerted all efforts possible for reconciling between 'Uthmān and those who denied his acts, found faults with him, and protested against his wrongdoings.⁽¹⁾ Whoever denies what I have just said or doubted what I have just described is indeed far away from any knowledge with the narrations, unaware of the details of historical events, seditions, and reports, and arrogantly trying to deny the truths. This issue must not be discussed with the opponents except those of them who are fair enough to confess the truth, to be acquainted with the narrations, and to accompany the scholars of historical events. Yet, as for those who lack any familiarity with the narrations, or those who withdraw themselves from following up the reports to inventing words only, or those who inadvertently inexperienced in the science of transmission of narrations, or those who are too luxurious to be interested in these fields of knowledge—all those must not be debated in such topics that depend upon the transmission of reports and narrations. Hence, my advice to them is that they should meet with the experts in these fields of knowledge and with the scholars so that they may benefit from their knowledge with regard to what I have mentioned.

Reasons for the people's revolting against 'Uthmān

Beseeching success from Allah the Almighty, I will hereinafter quote a summary of the reports confirming that the activities of Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and 'Ā'ishah during the reign of 'Uthmān were among the most emphatic reasons that led to overthrowing, laying siege on, and shedding the blood of

⁽¹⁾ Such was the situation of Imam 'Alī ('a) towards the popular revolution against 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, as was confessed by his opponents, such as 'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. For more details, refer to Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffin*, pages 82-3; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/540-1; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/100-1.

'Uthmān, as well as the corruptive deeds that followed.

One of these reports is the following one that is reported by Abū-Ḥudhayfah Ishāq ibn Bishr al-Qurashī and recorded in his book that he wrote about the assassination of 'Uthmān. Abū-Ḥudhayfah was one of the most famous Sunni scholars of traditions and he was known for his opposition of the Shī'ah; therefore, in the sight of his fellows, he is beyond accusation, especially in matters that he reported against his opponents, and beyond doubt with regard to the narrations he reported. He said: Muḥammad ibn Ishāq narrated to me on the authority of al-Zuhri who said: Six hundred riders from the people of Egypt came to al-Madinah. They were led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Udays al-Balawī. Amongst them were Kinānah ibn Bishr al-Kindī, Abū-'Amr ibn Budayl ibn Warqā' al-Khuzā'i, and Abū-'Urwah al-Laythī. They settled in Dhū-Khushub; a place between al-Madinah and Levant. There, they were joined by such personalities as Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah al-'Abdī, leading a group of the people of al-Baṣrah, as well as Kumayl ibn Ziyād, Mālik al-Ashtar, Ṣa'sa'ah ibn Ṣawḥān, Ḥujr ibn 'Adī, and a group of the people of al-Kūfah who were mentors of the Holy Qur'ān. Those people had been exiled by 'Uthmān from al-Madinah to Levant because they objected to his acts as same as did the Emigrants and the Helpers. Thus, all those people agreed on criticizing 'Uthmān and they used to mention his wrongdoings openly. 'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh al-Aṣamm and Ziyād ibn al-Naḍr passed by them and said, "If you wish, we may inform the Holy Prophet's widows; if they order you to go on, then you should go on."

They answered, "You may do that. When you tell all of the people, you should make 'Alī the last one whom you tell."

The two men went to do this mission. The first woman to whom they conveyed the news of the gathering of those people was 'Ā'ishah; and then they told the other widows of the Holy Prophet (ṣ). They then came to the Holy Prophet's companions and told them about the matter. The Companions agreed and ordered them to come to al-Madinah. Finally, they went to Imam 'Alī ('a) and asked him to permit those people to come to al-Madinah. "Did you visit anyone before you came to me?" Imam 'Alī ('a) asked. "Yes," they answered. "We saw 'Ā'ishah, the other wives of the Holy Prophet (ṣ), and the Companions, both the Emigrants and the Helpers; and all of them ordered those men to come to al-Madinah."

Yet, Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "As for me, I do not order them to do so. They should instead discuss the matter with 'Uthmān and advise him to stop these acts. If he responds to them, that will be better; otherwise, they know better

what to do next.”

The two men went back to the protesters and informed them about the answers of ‘Ā’ishah, the Companions, and Imam ‘Alī (‘a). Yet, a group of the people of al-Madinah hurried to them and held a meeting with the celebrated personalities.⁽¹⁾

When ‘Uthmān was informed about their meeting, he sent for Imam ‘Alī (‘a) and said to him, “Abu’l-Ḥasan, please go out to meet those people and stop them from doing what they have come to do.” Imam ‘Alī (‘a) responded and went to meet them. Once they saw him, they welcomed him warmly and said, “Abu’l-Ḥasan, you know what kind of misdeeds and evildoings this man (i.e. ‘Uthmān) did and you know what Muslims are suffering from his official authorities and him. We had already met and asked him to stop these misdeeds, but he refused to respond to us. We also talked to him, but he not only refused to listen to us but also threatened us. Now, we came demanding him to give up the office of the leadership, after we had consulted with the Emigrants, the Helpers, and the Mothers of the Believers, the wives of the Holy Prophet (ṣ). They all allowed us to enter the city of al-Madīnah; therefore, we are willing to do so.”

In reply, Imam ‘Alī (‘a) said to them, “O people! Slow down and do not hurry to do anything whose end result is unknown. I have blamed and talked to him about this, and he promised that he would stop these acts. So, you may now return home.”

They refused and said, “Abu’l-Ḥasan! It is now too late! We will never do that. The only thing that stops us from doing what we are determined to do is that he should resign the office of leadership so that one whom we trust as honest should take his place and assume this office.”

Imam ‘Alī (‘a) returned to ‘Uthmān and informed him about the determination of those people. Consequently, ‘Uthmān left his place, came to the mosque, mounted the minbar, and delivered a speech. He talked too much, asking the people to support and defend him. So, ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ stood up and said, “‘Uthmān! You have let the people to destructions; and they have decided to do with you the same. So, repent to Allah.”

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 3/64-5; Ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah* 3/1126; al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* 1/548-9; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/348-9; Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/405; Ibn ‘Abd-Rabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd* 4/286; Miskawayh al-Rāzī, *Tajārib al-Umam* 1/279; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-Tārīkh* 3/158-9; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, pages 438-9; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa’l-Nihāyah* 7/173-4.

'Uthmān said, "Are you here, O son of al-Nābighah?"⁽¹⁾ He then raised his hands towards the sky and declared, "I repent to Allah. O Allah! I am repenting to You. O Allah! I am repenting to You."⁽²⁾

Immediately, Imam 'Alī ('a) sent a person to inform the revolting people about what had just happened and that 'Uthmān had just declared repentance and quitting his previous misdeeds. Yet, they all came to al-Madinah where 'Amr ibn Ma'diyakrib received them, leading huge groups of people. He then rallied them against 'Uthmān, reminding them of 'Uthmān's policy of seizing the public treasury and dividing them amongst his relatives and family members, depriving the others of their shares and rights. He thus shouted with these poetic verses:

We have surely perished and no one wept over us!

The Quraysh said: "This is your fate! You should face it."

While we are in the first line, our eyebrows are bleeding,

But we are given nothing but the leftover!

On days of fight, we are treated as same as they are,

But when the matter is related to money, we are treated differently.⁽³⁾

Among the Emigrants, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr joined the revolting people, while another group of the Helpers did the same. Then, Imam 'Alī ('a) came out, faced them, and said, "O people! Fear Allah. What is your problem with the man? He did renounce the misdeeds that you denied and declared an open repentance from the minbar of the mosque."

Imam 'Alī ('a) kept on calming them down until their fury disappeared. Then, the people of Egypt asked Imam 'Alī ('a) to meet 'Uthmān and order him to discharge 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī-Sarḥ, who was the governor of Egypt. Similarly, the people of al-Kūfah asked Imam 'Alī ('a) to make 'Uthmān dismiss Sa'id ibn al-'Āṣ who was their governor. The people of al-Nahrawān did the same with regard to their governor Ibn Kurayz and further asked Imam 'Alī ('a) to make 'Uthmān quit his wrongdoings and wicked deeds.

Responding to their demands, Imam 'Alī ('a) headed for 'Uthmān and insisted

⁽¹⁾ Al-Nābighah bint Ḥarmalah was the mother of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ. See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's *al-Istī'āb* 2/508.

⁽²⁾ Al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* 1/564; *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbi* 2/175; *Tārikh al-Ṭabari* 4/360; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī 'l-Tārikh* 3/163; Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ash'arī, *al-Tamhīd wa 'l-Bayān*, pages 120-1; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa 'l-Nihāyah* 7/175.

⁽³⁾ Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 2/66; Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī* 15/243 (with little difference). It is however said that these poetic verses were said during the War of al-Qādisiyyah.

on him to respond to these people until he could convince him; so, 'Uthmān promised Imam 'Alī ('a) to do all these reforms, giving him his word and taking oaths on that.

Imam 'Alī ('a) then left 'Uthmān and conveyed to those revolting people what 'Uthmān had just promised him. As a result, they separated and each people returned home.⁽¹⁾

While the people of Egypt were on their way back to their home country, they saw a rider on the way, heading hurriedly towards Egypt. When he drew nearer to them, they recognized him; he was a servant of 'Uthmān riding on one of his she-camels. They doubted the matter and asked him, "Where are you going?"

"'Uthmān has sent me to do something for him," the servant mumbled.

"Where to has he sent you?" they asked.

The servant stammered so nervously that they reproached and scolded him. So, he had to tell the truth, "'Uthmān sent me to Egypt."

"What is the mission he asked you to do?" they asked.

"I do not know," the servant said with a suspicious tone.

Their doubt increased; so, they searched him and could not find anything with him. They then took his bag, searched it, and found there a letter written by 'Uthmān to be delivered to 'Abdullāh ibn Abī-Sarḥ, the governor of Egypt. The letter read: "Once you receive my letter, you should immediately behead Abū-'Amr ibn Budayl and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Balawī, cut off the hands and legs of 'Alqamah, Kinānah, and 'Urwah; and leave them bleeding. When they die, you should hang their bodies on trunks of palm-trees."

When they read the letter, they arrested the servant, returned to al-Madinah, asked permission to see [Imam] 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a), and gave him the letter whose contents panicked him so much that he hurried to 'Uthmān and said to him reproachfully, "You have asked me to be the mediator between these people and you and I have spared no efforts, working sincerely in this matter. Then I succeeded to grant you a respite from them."

'Uthmān asked, "So, what is the problem now?"

Imam 'Alī ('a) took out the letter, opened it, read it before 'Uthmān, and

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī, *Tārīkh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah* 4/1158-9; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/36-7; al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* 1/512-3.

denied this act. He then asked him, "Do you know who wrote this letter?"

'Uthmān said, "Handwritings are so similar that I cannot recognize the writer."

"So," Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "you must know the seal."

'Uthmān said, "Seals can easily be forged!"

Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "What is your answer about the camel that is now standing at the door of your house? Do you not know it either?"

'Uthmān said, "It is my camel, but I did not order any one to take or ride it."

Imam 'Alī ('a) asked, "Who sent your servant on a mission, then?"

'Uthmān said, "He must have been sent by any other one than me."

Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "From now on, I will dissociate myself from you and I will leave you alone with those people."

Imam 'Alī ('a) then left 'Uthmān, went immediately to his house, closed its door, and did not allow any person to visit him.⁽¹⁾

Seizing this opportunity, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr met the revolting people of Egypt and said to them, "'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib has withdrawn himself from this issue and relegated us to deal with you about the case of 'Uthmān." Upon hearing this, they gathered and besieged 'Uthmān. When he knew that they had laid siege on him and decided to overthrow him, he wrote a letter to Mu'āwiyah, calling him to lead the troops of Levant and come to support him. He wrote another letter to 'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir asking him to lead the troops of al-Baṣrah and Persia and come to help and protect him.⁽²⁾

When the revolting people of Egypt, Iraq, and Ḥijāz came to know that 'Uthmān had appealed for the aid of the people of Levant and his supporters from the people of al-Baṣrah, Persia, and Khuzestan, they intensified the siege on 'Uthmān, entrusting this mission to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, who prevented water from reaching 'Uthmān and practice very intensive procedures on him. Thus, Ṭalḥah stood on the door of 'Uthmān's house to prevent any person

(1) Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī, *Tārikh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah* 4/1151-61; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah*, pages 37-48; al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* 4/557-8; *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* 4/367-8; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/410-1; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/288-9; Ibn 'Asākir, *Mukhtaṣar Tārikh Dimashq* 16;198 and 229-30; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārikh* 3/168; Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah* 2/53; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 7/174-5.

(2) *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* 4/368; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/415.

from entering there carrying any food or drink to him and to prevent any person from coming out from there and go to any other house.⁽¹⁾

Imam 'Alī's innocence from the false accusation of rallying people against 'Uthmān

Now that I have quoted all these narrations from their reporters whose names I have mentioned, it has become evidently clear that Imam 'Alī ('a) is completely innocent from the charge that those who breached their allegiance to him had tried to stick to him, claiming that he rallied people against 'Uthmān and contributed to the shedding of his blood. No rational person can doubt that it was Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr who laid siege on 'Uthmān and led to his assassination, but they then accused Imam 'Alī ('a) of what they themselves had done. After that, they claimed themselves innocent from these deeds that they took for a spurious argument of the legality of fighting against Imam 'Alī ('a) after they had forged all these lies against him. This reveals that their claims of demanding with punishing those who shed the blood of 'Uthmān was definitely wrong, because they were the main reason for the slaying of 'Uthmān.

The following is one of the reports that narrated how Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr not only rallied the people against 'Uthmān but also participated in the shedding of his blood: Abū-Ishāq reported Ṣilah ibn Zufar to have said: I saw Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr putting on shields and swaggering during the event of 'Uthmān's assassination. After that, they came to 'Alī ('a) and swore allegiance to him willingly and without any pressure. Yet, they then did what they did.

Abū-Ḥudhayfah al-Qurashī reported that Ḥuṣayn ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān narrated on the authority of 'Amr ibn Jāwān that al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays said: I came to al-Madinah... [He then narrated a long story about the events of 'Uthmān's assassination] When the sedition was in its climax and the people gathered to lay siege on 'Uthmān while he was in a serious danger, I came to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and said to them, "I am sure that this man (i.e. 'Uthmān) will be sooner or later killed. Now, what is your instructions about the man whom you accept and to whom I should pay homage after him?" They both said, "Pay homage to 'Alī."

I then left al-Madinah and headed for Makkah where I met 'Ā'ishah and said

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is mentioned in *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* 4/385, Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih's *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/290, Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārikh* 3/172, and Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd's *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 2/148.

to her, "I am sure that 'Uthmān will be killed. Who is the one that you order me to pay homage to?" She answered, "Pay homage to 'Alī."

In Makkah, I performed the rituals of Ḥajj pilgrimage and then returned to al-Madīnah and found that 'Uthmān was killed. So, I paid homage to 'Alī ('a) and returned to al-Baṣrah. Suddenly, I saw Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and 'Ā'ishah coming there, demanding with retaliation from those who shed 'Uthmān's blood, and ordering us to fight against 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib. In fact, this was the strangest case I have ever seen.⁽¹⁾

On the authority of his trusted chain of authority, Abū-Ḥudhayfah reported: When the people agreed on dismissing 'Uthmān from the office of the leadership, they sent a messenger to him with this message: "Resign this post." Yet, 'Uthmān answered, "I will never strip myself of a dress with which Allah the All-exalted dressed me."

He then wrote a letter to Mu'āwiyah, asking him to lead the troops of Levant to al-Madīnah and wrote another letter to 'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Kurayz, asking him to lead the troops of al-Baṣrah to the capital [so that they would defend him against the revolting people]. Then, 'Uthmān came out of his house towards the mosque where he climbed the minbar and started delivering a speech. Once he started, a man from the Helpers stood up and said to him, "'Uthmān! Establish [the laws of] the Book of Allah."

'Uthmān answered, "I will do that."

The man repeated the same words, and 'Uthmān repeated the same answer. The man then repeated the same words for the third time, and 'Uthmān repeated the same answer for the third time. Finally, the man masked himself and sat down, but a group of the Helpers stood up and saved him.

'Uthmān was then stoned by the people so heavily that he fell to the ground fainted; so, men from the Banū-Umayyah clan carried him to his house.

'Alī ('a) then came asking about 'Uthmān's matter and manner, but the men of Banū-Umayyah shouted at him with one voice, "O 'Alī! You have ruined our affairs and done unbearable things to us. By Allah, if you attain that which you want, we will corrupt the whole world against you."

Upon hearing this, 'Alī ('a) left enraged; so the people said to al-'Abbās ibn al-Zibirqān ibn Zayd, whose sister was the wife of al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ḥakam the

⁽¹⁾ *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/497-8; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/319-20; Ibn Abī-Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf* 7/540-1; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 20/80-1, part 2; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-Tārīkh* 3/238; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Maṭālib al-'Āliyah* 4/297-8.

brother of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, "Go after him and say: Why do you do that to your cousin?"

The man did, but [Imam] 'Alī ('a) answered him furiously, "Allah ordered him to act in a certain way, but he acted in another way; therefore, he is now harvesting what he has sowed. Nevertheless, when I came asking about him, you are accusing me? Behold! By Allah, if I were not here to defend 'Uthmān, his head would most certainly have been cut."⁽¹⁾

Ṭalḥah's attitude to 'Uthmān

When 'Uthmān refused to resign, Ṭalḥah and Zubayr ran the process of laying siege on him; and all the people supported them in this act. So, they laid a very strict siege on 'Uthmān to the degree that they even deprived him of water. He then sent a messenger to Imam 'Alī ('a), complaining to him about this situation and saying, "Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr are about to kill me out of thirst. Yet, death by the strike of swords is even better than this kind of death." Immediately, Imam 'Alī ('a) came out reclining on al-Miswar ibn Makhramah al-Zuhri's had until he reached Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullāh who was sitting in his house, sharpening arrows and putting on a shirt made in India. Once Ṭalḥah's eyes fell on Imam 'Alī ('a), he welcomed him warmly and gave him the best place. Imam 'Alī ('a) spoke, "'Uthmān has sent to me a messenger, telling me that you are killing him out of thirst. This is never a good act, since killing with a sword is even better than this kind of death. Although I had beforehand taken upon myself not to stop against anyone in defense of 'Uthmān after what he had done with the people of Egypt, I would now like you to send water to him and keep on doing so until you decide whatever you want about him."

Ṭalḥah refused this request robustly and said, "No, by Allah. We will never show him any sort of respect and we will never allow him to eat or drink anything."

Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "I thought that no one of the people of Quraysh would ever refuse to respond to me in whatever I ask. Ṭalḥah, change your mind and relinquish this attitude."

Ṭalḥah impolitely answered, "'Alī, you have nothing to do with this matter."

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration with what is quoted in the following reference books: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā* 3/72; al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* 1/584; *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* 4/364-5 and 371; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi, *al-Futūḥ* 1/412-3; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/293; Ibn 'Asākir, *Mukhtaṣar Tārikh Dimashq* 16/196; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 7/176.

These words enraged Imam 'Alī ('a) who said in a furious accent, "You, O son of the lady from Ḥaḍramawt, will surely know whether I have something to do with this matter or not."⁽¹⁾ He then left Ṭalḥah.⁽²⁾

Abū-Ḥudhayfah also reported Ishāq ibn Bishr al-Qurashī to have said: Yazīd ibn Abī-Ziyād narrated to me on the authority of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī-Laylā who said: By Allah, I was looking at Ṭalḥah, when he laid siege on 'Uthmān, riding on a deep-black horse, carrying in his hand a lance, and wandering around 'Uthmān's house. I even saw the whiteness of the inside part of his mail-armor.⁽³⁾

Al-Zubayr's attitude to 'Uthmān

Abū-Ishāq reported: When the siege imposed on 'Uthmān attained its most intensified stage, some people of the Banū-Umayyah clan tried to take him out of his house and lead him to Makkah, but the people knew about this; so, they appointed guards to guard his house. The chief of the guards was Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullāh who was the first to shoot an arrow on 'Uthmān's house.

Having suffered harshly from that siege as well as from thirst, 'Uthmān took his head out of his house and called out, "O people! Give us a drink of water and feed us with something of what Allah has provided to you."

Yet, al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām shouted at him, "O Na'thal! No, by Allah! You will never taste it."

Abū-Ḥudhayfah al-Qurashī also reported al-A'mash who reported Ḥabīb ibn Abī-Thābit on the authority of Tha'labah ibn Yazīd al-Ḥimmānī who said: I came to al-Zubayr, who was at Aḥjār al-Zayt,⁽⁴⁾ and I said to him, "O Abū-

⁽¹⁾ Ṭalḥah's mother was al-Ṣa'bah the daughter of 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbād ibn Mālik ibn Rabi'ah ibn Akbar ibn Mālik ibn 'Uwayf ibn Mālik ibn al-Khazraj ibn Iyād ibn al-Ṣadīf. Her father's homeland was Ḥaḍrawamt [Hadhramaut; a region on the southern coast of Yemen] in Yemen. His father was well known by the nickname: al-Ḥaḍramī; i.e. of Ḥaḍramawt. See: al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 20/85; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 3/214; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 2/219.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī, *Tārīkh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah* 4/1202. Compare this narration to what is quoted in *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/385-6, Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd's *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 2/148 and 153-4, and Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ash'arī's *al-Tamhīd wa'l-Bayān*, pages 122-3.

⁽³⁾ Compare this narration with what is quoted by 'Allāmah al-Majlisī's *Bihār al-Anwār* 8/353.

⁽⁴⁾ Aḥjār al-Zayt is the name of a place in the city of al-Madinah where the prayers of seeking rainfall were usually held. See: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* 1/109.

‘Abdullāh! The people of ‘Uthmān’s house have been deprived of water.”

He looked towards ‘Uthmān’s house and recited this Qur’ānic verse: “*Something will intervene between them and whatever they crave to have, just as was done with their different sects long before. They have lived in such suspicious doubt!* [Sūrah Saba’ 34, verse 54]”⁽¹⁾

These narrations, as well as many others that hold the same theme, reveal clearly what I have earlier mentioned about those people’s (i.e. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr) dishonesty and betrayal when they helped each other in demanding with punishing those who shed ‘Uthmān’s blood, while it was they who did this act and none of them ever shown any respect to him; rather, they all the time blamed and dispraised him. Yet, when the people swore allegiance to Imam ‘Alī (‘a) as their leader, those persons expressed regret at what they had done; so, they accused Imam ‘Alī (‘a) falsely of what they themselves had done and excited sedition, the result of which was that they had to face the opposite of what they had hoped for. Thus, their apparent attitude was demanding with vengeance upon the killers of ‘Uthmān, while the actual fact was that it was they who killed ‘Uthmān and shed his blood.

‘Ā’ishah’s attitude to ‘Uthmān

The narrations on ‘Ā’ishah’s rallying the people against ‘Uthmān are much more than those narrated about Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr’s banding the people together against him.

One of these narrations is the following one reported by Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, the compiler of *Sīrah* (i.e. a book on biographies), on the authority of his mentors who reported Ḥukaym ibn ‘Abdullāh as saying: One day, I was in al-Madīnah city and I entered the Mosque. I saw there a hand raised up and its holder was shouting, “O people! It is still not that long time ago! These are the sandals of Allah’s Apostle and this is his shirt. Verily, there is now among you Pharaoh of this nation.”

The speaking one was ‘Ā’ishah, holding in her hand the shirt of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) and it was waving. Simultaneously, ‘Uthmān was standing there and shouting at her, “Be quiet!” He was then addressing the people with these words, “She is only a woman and her mind is a woman’s mind; therefore, do not listen to her.”⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Ibn ‘Abd-Rabbiḥ, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd* 4/299; Ibn Shahr’āshūb, *Mathālib al-Nawāṣīb*, part 4, paper 4; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 8/319.

⁽²⁾ ‘Allāmah al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 8/320.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Sa'd reported: 'Ā'ishah raised a paper of a copy of the Holy Qur'ān between two sticks while she was hiding herself behind a curtain and 'Uthmān was standing up. She then said, "O 'Uthmān! Act upon what is in this Book and judge according to its laws."

'Uthmān answered, "If you do not stop this, I will attack you with firebrands."

'Ā'ishah said, "By Allah I swear this; if you do such a thing to the wives of Allah's Apostle, you will most certainly be cursed by Allah and His Apostle. This is the shirt of Allah's Apostle; it has not changed yet, but you changed the Prophet's traditions, O Na'thal."⁽¹⁾

Layth ibn Abi-Sulaym narrated on the authority of Thābit ibn 'Ajlān al-Anṣārī who reported Ibn Abi-'Āmir, the manumitted servant of the Helpers, as saying: I was in the Mosque when 'Uthmān passed by it and 'Ā'ishah called upon him, "O trickster! O wicked! You have betrayed your trust and caused perdition to your subjects. Had it not been that you are performing the five prayers, the men would have come to you walking to slay you as same as a sheep is slaughtered."

In reply, 'Uthmān recited this Qur'ānic verse: "*Allah sets forth, for an example to the unbelievers, the wife of Noah and the wife of Lut: they were respectively under two of our righteous servants, but they were false to their husbands, and they profited nothing before Allah on their account, but were told: Enter the Fire along with others that enter!*" [Sūrah al-Taḥrīm 66, verse 10]"⁽²⁾

Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, al-Madā'inī, and Abū-Ḥudhayfah reported the following: When 'Ā'ishah became sure that 'Uthmān would be killed, she readied herself for a journey to Makkah, but Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam and Sa'id ibn al-'Āṣ came to her and said, "We are sure that the man will very soon be killed; and you are able to save him from this fate. If you only stay here,

(1) 'Allāmah al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 8/320. Compare it to what is quoted in Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd's *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 6/215. According to al-Nuwayrī in *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 5/80, "'Uthmān's enemies used to liken him to Na'thal, a man from Egypt who had a long beard. Others say that the word *na'thal* means brainless old man, or the male hyena. In this regard, 'Ā'ishah is reported to have said, "Kill Na'thal. May Allah kill Na'thal!" She meant 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān; and that was because of the dispute that took place between them and after which 'Ā'ishah was wrathful with him and she left to Makkah."

(2) Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/419; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 6/215; 'Allāmah al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 8/320. Compare this narration with what is quoted by al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān in *al-'Īdāh*, pages 141-2.

Allah will save him from death through you."

She answered, "I will never stay here; I have already prepared the stirrup, gathered my luggage, and made it obligatory upon myself to go on a Ḥajj pilgrimage journey."

Upon hearing this, Marwān left her while murmuring with this poetic verse:

*It was Qays who set the whole country on fire,
but when the fire glowed, he ran away hurriedly!*⁽¹⁾

ʿĀ'ishah heard him; so, she said, "O you who said this poetic verse, come to me. I heard what you have just said. Do you think I have doubts about your man? By Allah, I wish I could put him in my luggage so that when I pass by the sea, I would throw him there."

Marwān said, "By Allah, you have explained your attitude clearly. You have explained your attitude clearly."

ʿĀ'ishah moved on and met ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbbās in an area called al-Ṣalʿā while he was on his back to al-Madinah. She said to him, "You, O Ibn ʿAbbās, enjoy good reason and expressiveness. So, I warn you against preventing the people from killing the tyrant (i.e. ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān)."⁽²⁾

These are a little part of a big number of narrations that reported ʿĀ'ishah's rallying the people against ʿUthmān and the efforts she exerted for encouraging them on killing him. I have chosen only these narrations so as to avoid lengthiness. Yet, these narrations hold an evident proof that ʿĀ'ishah's demonstration of demanding with punishing the killers of ʿUthmān, her incurring the animosity of Imam ʿAlī (ʿa) openly, her gathering troops for waging war against him, and her endeavors to make the people break their covenants to him, violate his orders, and even shed his blood—all these acts and their likes were opposite to the reality of the matter. In other words, all her demands were founded on a hidden reason opposite to the declared one.

(1) This poetic verse was composed by al-Rabīʿ ibn Ziyād al-ʿAbsī, satirizing Qays ibn Zuhayr who fled from the land of the Arabs after he had irritated sedition therein. See: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 5/37; al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* 1/565; al-Jawhārī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* 5/1884; Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* 12/89, art. *j-dh-m*.

(2) Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 5/36-7; al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān, *al-ʾIdāḥ*, page 264; Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī, *Tārīkh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah* 4/1172; al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* 1/565; *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī* 2/175-6; Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/420; Ibn ʿAbd-Rabbih, *al-ʾIqd al-Farid* 4/229; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 4/69; Ibn Shahrʾāshūb, *Mathālib al-Nawāṣib*, part 3, paper 19; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 8/321. The poetic verse is mentioned in all of these reference books except *al-ʾIdāḥ*; and it is also mentioned in al-Jawhārī's *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* and Ibn Manzūr's *Lisān al-ʿArab*.

Those who understand the issue correctly know for sure this fact and they know the reasons for 'Ā'ishah's uprising, which was due to her hatred towards Imam 'Ali ('a) and nothing else. So, her claims of demanding with punishing 'Uthmān's killers were utterly false, because she was the main reason for the assassination of 'Uthmān. Now, I invite the shrewd, wise, and sharp-witted readers to think deliberately about what I have quoted and discussed so that they will conclude that the fact is only that which is compatible to what I have earlier mentioned. After all, I seek the help of Allah the Almighty.

Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr regret pledge of allegiance to Imam 'Alī

I have earlier mentioned the details of the acts of Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr who violated Imam 'Ali ('a), quit obedience to him, and sided against him. They disliked Imam 'Ali's leadership, denied him to be the ruler of Muslims, and did not accepted the people's pledge of allegiance to him, because they had the desire to be the rulers instead of him so that they would have control over the people, but they failed to win what they had dreamt of and regretted what they had done; and it was Allah the All-exalted who made them swear allegiance to Imam 'Ali ('a) voluntarily and of their own accord.

As soon as they found an opportunity that might justify their opposition to him, claiming falsely that they were forced to pay homage to him, they clung to it and used it as argument for going up against him; therefore, they accused him spuriously of the issue that they had committed and started hiding the facts from the ignorant people. Yet, the falsity of their claim became too evident to be concealed, because everybody knew that they chose to pay homage to Imam 'Ali ('a) willingly, preferred him to themselves with regard to the post of leadership, and accepted him as their leader—facts that all people recognized. Then, they knew that all their arguments would be futile and it was useless to refute the apparent fact by means of hidden matters and they knew that if they declared the actual reason for their renunciation, which was that they hated for Imam 'Ali ('a) to assume this office just because he ruled with justice and equality, their claim would not be accepted and their argument would be meaningless. This is so because it is irrational to object to the establishment of justice and it was unacceptable to stand against the determination of the Emigrants and the Helpers who unanimously accepted Imam 'Ali ('a) as their leader. With greater reason, it would be absolutely objectionable to stand against the leadership of one appointed to this office by Allah the Almighty apparently and intrinsically. Thus, they could not find any argument to provide as their reason for hating the leadership of Imam 'Ali ('a), because he enjoyed all virtues, preceded all others in belief in Islam, defended and protected Islam so bravely, did excellently in defending the

Holy Prophet (ﷺ), was the most knowledgeable of all people, practiced strict asceticism, distanced himself from worldly pleasures, kept himself away from whatever is forbidden by Allah, and enjoyed unprecedented experience in management of affairs and good judgment, not to mention his close relationship with the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) and other qualities that qualified him to be the best of all people and to assume the office of leadership of the Muslim nation deservingly. For instance, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) never put Imam 'Ali ('a) under the leadership of any person; and whenever he sent him within a brigade, he would appoint him as the commander, chief, leader, manager, and principal. During his lifetime, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) always chose Imam 'Ali ('a) to do a mission that the others had failed to accomplish; and when he assumed that mission, he would always accomplish it completely and flawlessly, amending the mistakes committed by those who had failed to do that mission. Whenever there was something difficult to do, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) would send Imam 'Ali ('a) to do it; and he never failed to do it excellently. Likewise, those who came to power after the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) and took the position of him used to resort to Imam 'Ali ('a) whenever they faced a problem; and he would solve that problem for them and they would employ the laws of the religion and the methods of the management of affairs that were unknown for them.

Thus, Ṭalhah and al-Zubayr knew that they would fail if they cling to the argument that they had been forced to pay homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) and none of the virtuous and knowledgeable people would endorse them in this claim, because even if their claim was true, this would be worsen their case, since, according to the Islamic law, the Imam has the right to compel the subjects to obey him and to force them to comply with whatever necessary in stopping seditions and achieving the interest of the Muslim nation.

When they realized these facts, and knew the consequences of the claims they were about to declare, and did not imagine that their claims would be futile and they would fail to achieve any gain if they declared it, they turned to the other claim of pretending that they would demand with punishing the killers of 'Uthmān and claimed that repented from what they had done concerning the assassination of 'Uthmān, and that their repentance would not be accepted unless they exert efforts in chasing his slayers and retaliating on them. As a result, they could deceive the weak-minded people and misled a big number of the ordinary people who were aloof from the laws of the religion.

'Ā'ishah joins the renegades and disobeys Allah's directive

Following the same track of Ṭalhah and al-Zubayr, 'Ā'ishah opposed Imam

'Alī ('a) and claimed demanding with punishing those who shed the blood of 'Uthmān and retaliating on them. It is well known in the laws of Muslims that neither 'Ā'ishah nor Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr had the right to do that; rather, they adopted a spurious argument whose invalidity is known for those who enjoy good reason and insight. That is because 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were not the heirs and guardians of 'Uthmān; therefore, they do not have the right to demand with punishing his slayers or retaliating on them. Besides, there is no family relationship between them and 'Uthmān due to which they have the right to litigate about the shedding of his blood. As for 'Ā'ishah, according to the Islamic law, women are not allowed to engage themselves in such cases, because they are exempted from the duty of jihad (i.e. fighting the enemies and defending the Muslims) and they are not allowed to assume offices of issuing orders regarding the country and the people. With greater reason, the Holy Prophet's wives must commit to these laws more firmly than the other women, because Allah the Almighty has granted them exclusively certain privileges and imposed on them certain laws that are not applied to the other Muslim women. Yet, what 'Ā'ishah did was in utter violation of the religious law; therefore, she challenged the religion when she mutinied against the legitimate leader and left her hometown, leading an army to wage war against him.

Allah the All-exalted stated in details the laws appertained to the Holy Prophet's wives. In the wise revelation, Allah, majestic be His Name, says, *"O Prophet, tell your wives and daughters, and believers' wives as well, to draw their cloaks close around themselves. That is more appropriate so they may be recognized."* [Sūrah al-Aḥzāb 33, verse 59]"

Allah the All-glorified made obligatory upon the Holy Prophet's wives to be chaste and to clothe themselves in garments so that they should not be known by anyone. Challenging this command, 'Ā'ishah did the opposite when she adorned herself, exposed her veil, cast away her garment, showed her face to the people, introduced herself to them, and appeared shamelessly among the ordinary people without there having been any excuse for her behaviors. What is more horrible was that she committed the sin of fighting the representative of Allah while it was obligatory upon her to revere and respect him; and it was also obligatory upon her to obey him and it was forbidden to disobey him. Also, through this act, she shed the blood of the believers and stirred up a seditious matter that caused disgrace to all Muslims. Her acts were completely discordant with the Holy Prophet's instructions to her that are reported in the following famous narration: One day, Ibn Umī-Maktūm, a blind man, asked permission to visit the Holy Prophet (ṣ). Before allowing the

man to enter, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) ordered his wife 'Ā'ishah to veil herself from him. She said, "O Allah's Apostle! He is blind and he cannot see me." The Holy Prophet (ﷺ) said, "If he cannot see you, you can see him."⁽¹⁾

Educating the companions of His Prophet (ﷺ), Allah the All-glorified said in the Holy Qur'ān: *"O you who believe, do not enter the Prophet's private quarters unless an invitation has been extended to you for a meal, though still without watching how it is prepared. However, once you have been invited, then go on in; and once you have been fed, then disperse, not indulging in conversation. That has been disturbing the Prophet and he feels ashamed to tell you so. Yet, God is not ashamed to raise the truth. Whenever you ask his wives for any object, ask them for it from behind a curtain. That will be purer for your hearts as well as for their hearts. It is not proper for you to annoy Allah's messenger, nor ever to marry his wives after him; that would be serious with Allah! [Sūrah al-Aḥzāb 33, verse 53]"*

In this verse of the Qur'ān, Allah—may His Name be Almighty—informs the believing companions of the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) that their speaking to his wives disturbs and bothers him and that conversing with them harmed him and it was hard for the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) to accept such things; therefore, the Almighty protected the Holy Prophet's wives as part of His protection and guard of His Apostle. The Almighty thus warned them against indulging in conversation with them or asking them for any object unless a curtain would be placed between them and these wives. He also warned them against staying at the Holy Prophet's house for a longer period than necessary, especially after their needs are met, such as when they are invited for a meal or anything like that, so that his wives would neither listen to their talk nor would they listen to the Holy Prophet's talk.

Of course, such instructions were terribly violated by 'Ā'ishah when she associated with those people, traveled with them, spoke to them privately for long times, put herself in a situation where any kind of chastity was absent, especially when she talked to them, ordered them to do certain things, and warned them against doing other things. Thus, it was so easily for them to speak to her entertainingly, since she assumed the office of the commander of the army and the chief of the soldiery, which necessitated her not to hide herself from the people. In fact, this is an extremely strange matter for those

⁽¹⁾ In the following reference books, this narration is reported about Ummu-Salamah and Maymūnah, the Holy Prophet's wives, but not 'Ā'ishah: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 8/178; Abū-Dāwūd, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* 4/63-4; and Abū-'Īsā al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (famously known as *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*) 5/94.

who ponder over it. Any judicious person will most surely judge that she, by doing so, had disobeyed Allah the Almighty and All-majestic, challenged His command, and belittled His prohibitions. Thus, whoever doubts that she had been wrong in this act must be regard himself as one of the dead.

Besides, Allah the Almighty and All-majestic says, "*O wives of the Prophet, you are not like any other women! If you do your duty, then do not act too deferential while talking to others lest someone whose heart contains malice may thereby be encouraged. Employ suitable speech. Remain in your homes and do not dress up fancily the way they used to dress during the time of primitive Ignorance.* [Sūrah al-Aḥzāb 33, verse 32]"

It is quite clear for every one who has good reason, has familiarity with the Islamic law, and has accepted Islam as religion, that if the wives, daughters, and cousins of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, who belonged to the family of Umayyah and were closer in family relationship to 'Uthmān than 'Ā'ishah, had done what 'Ā'ishah did, they would surely have been decided as disobedient and defiant to the honor of being Muslims. Now, what do you think about a woman who was strange to 'Uthmān in kinship and in beliefs, who encouraged the people to slay him, who took big steps in the course of shedding of his blood, who called for overthrowing him, and who prevented the people from supporting him? What new did 'Uthmān do so that 'Ā'ishah's attitude to him changed after she had denied all of his acts? Did he do something righteous after his assassination? Did Allah restore him to life and he asked 'Ā'ishah to support him? Did Allah reveal to 'Ā'ishah the hidden part of 'Uthmān's personality, which she had not known? Of course, the answers to all these questions are negative. Indeed, the reasons that made 'Ā'ishah wage war against Imam 'Alī ('a) and support those who incurred the animosity of him are too clear and too famous to be covered by pointless excuses and vain justifications. After all, all transmitters of narrations have unanimously conveyed and agreed upon what I aforesaid mentioned, proved, and clarified about the actual reasons for her revolt against Imam 'Alī ('a).

'Ā'ishah's hatred toward Imam 'Alī

All scholars reported 'Ā'ishah's famous saying, "The aloofness between 'Alī and me has always been the same aloofness that exists between a wife and her husband's close relatives."⁽¹⁾

Relating the story of those who accused her of an illegal relationship with

⁽¹⁾ As for 'Ā'ishah, her husband's closest relatives were al-'Abbās, Imam 'Alī, Ja'far, and Ḥamzah." See: Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* 14/198, root: ḥ-m-a.

Ṣafwān ibn al-Mu'attal during the military campaign on the Banu'l-Muṣṭalaq's quarters, after which the Holy Prophet (ṣ) deserted and separated himself from her and then consulted with Usāmah ibn Zayd, 'Ā'ishah said: "Usāmah was a righteous and trustworthy servant of Allah. When the Prophet (ṣ) discussed with him the case of those people's accusing me of having an illegal relationship with Ṣafwān, Usāmah said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Think of nothing but goodness, because this woman is trustworthy and Ṣafwān is a righteous man.' The Prophet (ṣ) then discussed the matter with 'Alī, asking for his advice, but 'Alī said, 'O Allah's Apostle! May Allah shower His blessings upon you! There are many women; and you may ask her she-servant Barīrah and take the fact from her mouth.'

The Apostle of Allah (ṣ) asked 'Alī, 'I will entrust the mission of interrogating the she-servant with you.'

So, 'Alī cut a palm branch and took Barīrah to a private place where he interrogated her about me, threatened, and terrified her. This is why I will never love 'Alī."⁽¹⁾

This is an open statement of 'Ā'ishah that she hated and despised Imam 'Alī ('a) for no justifiable reason, because Imam 'Alī, in that situation, acted sincerely to Allah and His Apostle, exerted efforts to give the most accurate opinion, complied with the command of the Holy Prophet (ṣ), and hurried to obey him.

Another narration is the following one that is reported by all scholars from 'Ikrimah and 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās: In this narration, 'Ikrimah told 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās that 'Ā'ishah narrated to him some events that took place during

⁽¹⁾ Al-Wāqidi, *al-Maghāzī* 1/430; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf* 5/415; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah* 3/313; Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī 3/155; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf* 4/453-4; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/194.

It is worth mentioning that the whole story is fabricated and it never took place. Although the story is said to have been the occasion of the revelation of some verses of Sūrah al-Nūr (no. 24), the fact is something else, because these verses were revealed about another story whose stars were 'Ā'ishah and Ḥāfṣah. These two women falsely accused Māriyyah the Coptic of a shameful act; therefore, the Divine revelation came with her innocence through these verses. Most surely, the author of this book—Shaykh al-Mufīd, the great scholar and mentor—must have known the truth, but he quoted 'Ā'ishah's narration as a sort of conformity to their historians so that he would record 'Ā'ishah's confession that she bore grudge against Imam 'Alī ('a) for a matter that he had nothing to do about it, but he only complied with the command of Allah's Apostle. Thereby, the reader will recognize the truth and find out the actuality. For further details, refer to *Tafsīr al-Qummi* 2/99-100 and al-Ṭabāṭabā'i's *Tafsīr al-Mizān* 15/96-105.

the final ailment of the Holy Prophet (ﷺ), after which he departed the life. In the last part of this narration, 'Ā'ishah said, "Then, the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) came out leaning on two men from his family members, one of whom was al-Faḍl ibn al-'Abbās..."

'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās asked 'Ikrimah, "Did she (i.e. 'Ā'ishah) name the other man?"

"No, by Allah," 'Ikrimah answered. "She did not."

"Do you know who the other man was?" 'Abdullāh asked.

"No, I do not," 'Ikrimah answered.

'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās said, "He was 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, but our mother never mentioned him in a praiseworthy manner, although she could do that."⁽¹⁾

Another famous narration that has been reported by 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās supports my claim: When 'Ā'ishah resided in the city of al-Baṣrah at the mansion of Ibn Khalaf, Imam 'Alī ('a) sent 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās as his messenger to her to order her to leave for her home country and return to her home. Having met her, Ibn 'Abbās said to her, "The Leader of the Believers (*Amīr al-Mu'minīn*) orders you to go back to your home."

Yet, she answered, "May Allah have mercy upon *the Leader of the Believers*, although our faces were frowned at him and our noses swelled, out of wrath with him!"⁽²⁾

This narration is so famous that it is recorded in all books that dealt with the topic of the Battle of the Camel,⁽³⁾ as well as many other books.

Likewise, many narrations whose authenticity is neither doubted nor disputed, because all narrators agreed on its validity, confirmed that when Imam 'Alī ('a) was martyred, a man came to al-Madinah to announce his death. Once 'Ā'ishah heard this news, she smiled and recited this poetic verse to express her joy:

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 2/231-2; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad* 6/38&228; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* 1/162; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* 4/138-9; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* 3/56; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 164; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* 1/31; Ibn Balbān, *al-Iḥsān* 8/198; Nūrullāh al-Shūshtarī, *al-Ṣawārim al-Muhriqah*, page 105.

⁽²⁾ Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/491; al-Nu'mān al-Miṣrī, *Sharḥ al-Akḥbār* 1/390; al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pages 57-8; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 6/229; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/269-70.

⁽³⁾ In the introduction to this book, a list of books that are dedicated to reporting the events of the Battle of the Camel is mentioned.

Even if he is remote, the person who came with the news of his death is one that dust may never cover his mouth.⁽¹⁾

Upon hearing this, Zaynab the daughter of Abū-Salamah denied and said in astonishment, "Do you say such a thing about 'Alī?"

'Ā'ishah laughed and said, "Well, I usually forget. From now on, whenever I forget something, you may remind me!"

She then prostrated herself to the ground to express thanks for receiving the news of Imam 'Alī's passing away. She then raised her head while repeating this poetic verse:

So, she threw her staff and settled after having been away,

Just as travelers delight at returning home.⁽²⁾

Moreover, Masrūq is reported to have said: One day, I visited 'Ā'ishah and she called upon one her servants whose name was 'Abd al-Raḥmān. When I asked her the reason for giving this name specifically to that servant, she answered: I named him so, out of my love for 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam, the slayer of 'Alī!"⁽³⁾

The following is another famously reported narration: When Imam 'Alī ('a) sent a messenger to 'Ā'ishah who was in al-Baṣrah that she should leave that city, she answered, "I will never leave this place of mine."

The messenger said on behalf of Imam 'Alī ('a), "By Allah, if you insist to stay there, I will send to you women from the tribe of Bakr ibn Wā'il who shall force you to leave it with sharp-edged swords."

'Ā'ishah replied, "I shall leave. By Allah I swear this: No place is more hated to me than a place at which 'Alī is present."⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ This poetic verse includes the Arabic proverb, "*may dust never cover his mouth,*" which is said for persons who convey glad tidings. So, 'Ā'ishah used this verse to express her delight and ecstasy for hearing the news of the death of Imam 'Alī ('a).

⁽²⁾ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 3/40; *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī* 5/150; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 4/355; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 4/157; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Mathālib al-Nawāṣib*, part 3, paper 20; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/340-1. Ibn Manẓūr, in *Lisān al-'Arab* 15/65, root: 'ṣ-ā, writes: "Ibn Barri said: 'This poetic verse was composed by 'Abd-Rabbih al-Aslamī, or Sulaym ibn Thumāmah al-Ḥanafī, according to another narration.' As for al-Āmudī, he thinks that the poetic verse was composed by Mu'aqqir ibn Ḥimār al-Bāriqī, and it became a proverb that is said to express acceptability and conformity to something."

⁽³⁾ Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 4/356; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 4/158; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Mathālib al-Nawāṣib*, part 3, paper 20; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/341.

⁽⁴⁾ Al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/274-5.

The like of these narrations is so many that if we quote them all, the current book will be too lengthy.

‘Ā'ishah's contradictory situations

As has been previously proven, the reason for ‘Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr's standing against Imam ‘Alī (‘a) and opposing him was neither that she aimed at establishing a truth nor attempting to give an opinion so that an act of obedience to Allah is done or a reward of Him is gained; rather, the reason was that those people bore rancor against Imam ‘Alī (‘a) that are traced back to old and recent issues, as well as that they had desired covetously for gaining some pleasures in the future, felt envious toward the Imam (‘a), and decided to be oppressive to him. I have also mentioned that ‘Ā'ishah violated the Islamic law when she left her home and led an army to wage war against Imam ‘Alī (‘a), as is confirmed by all scholars of Muslim jurisprudence.

Supporting these points, reporters of historical events and transmitters of narrations recounted unanimously that when ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān was slain, some people dispersed in the different regions of the Islamic State to announce his death. One of them came to the city of Makkah and announced this news. Once ‘Ā'ishah heard that, she expressed happiness and said, “It was his misdeeds that killed him. He did set afire the Book of Allah and put to death the traditions of Allah's Apostle; therefore, Allah killed him.” She then asked, “To whom did the people pay homage as the next leader?”

The announcer of ‘Uthmān's death replied, “Before I left al-Madīnah, I saw Ṭalḥah ibn ‘Ubaydullāh put his hand on ewes that were possessed by ‘Uthmān and make keys for the doors of the house of the public treasury. No doubt, the people must have sworn allegiance to Ṭalḥah as the next leader.”

‘Ā'ishah expressed, “Oh for you, O one with paralyzed finger. The people must have realized that you are apt enough for this post and you that you will lead them benevolently; therefore, they chose you as their leader.”

She then ordered her servants to pack up her luggage, saying, “I have accomplished the rites of my minor pilgrimage (i.e. *‘umrah*) and I will betake myself to my house.”

The luggage was packed up and ‘Ā'ishah sat on the camel and started her journey back to al-Madīnah. Once she reached a place called Sarif,⁽¹⁾ she met ‘Ubayd ibn Ummi-Kilāb whom she asked, “What are the latest news?”

⁽¹⁾ Sarif is a place six miles away from Makkah.

"Uthmān has been killed," he answered.

'Ā'ishah said in astonishment, "So, Na'thal has been killed."

"Yes," the man repeated. "Na'thal has been killed."

"Tell me the details; how and in which way he was killed," 'Ā'ishah asked.

The man spoke, "When the masses surrounded 'Uthmān and his house, I saw Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullāh controlling the whole matter and prevailing on everything; he laid hold of the keys of the centers of the public treasury and the hoards of money and he was ready for receiving the people who would pay homage to him as the new leader. Yet, immediately after the slaying of 'Uthmān, the people inclined to 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, without accepting anyone else, neither Ṭalḥah nor any other person, to hold this position. They thus went out seeking out for 'Alī, and on the top of them were Mālik al-Ashtar, Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr, and 'Ammār ibn Yāsir. They came to the house where 'Alī lived and they said to him, 'You may accept our homage and allegiance to you that we will obey you.' For some time, 'Alī lingered to respond to them, but al-Ashtar said to him, 'Alī, the people do not accept any other one than you for this post. So, you should not accept our homage to you before the people enter into discrepancy.'

Among those people, there were Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr whom I thought that they would enter into dispute with 'Alī, but al-Ashtar said to them, 'Ṭalḥah, stand up and pay homage to him. Zubayr, stand up and pay homage to him. What are you both waiting for?' Thus, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr stood up and paid homage to 'Alī. I saw them shake hands with 'Alī as a sign of swearing allegiance to and accepting his as the new leader.

After that, 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib went to the minbar and delivered a speech that I do not remember now. On that day, all the people paid homage to him while he was on the minbar, while the rest of them paid homage to him the next day.

One day after that, I left al-Madinah and I do not know what happened thereafter."

'Ā'ishah furiously asked, "O man of the Banū-Bakr tribe! Did you see Ṭalḥah swear allegiance to 'Alī with your own eyes?"

The man answered, "Yes, by Allah, I saw him swear allegiance to 'Alī. I have not said anything that I did not see. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were the first persons who paid homage to 'Alī."

Upon hearing this, 'Ā'ishah said in a sad tone, "We all are Allah's! Ṭalḥah must have been compelled to do so. I swear this by Allah. 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib

must have taken over them when he assumed this office. The successor of Allah (i.e. 'Uthmān) was slain wrongly! Take me back home. Take me back home." Thus, 'Ā'ishah interrupted her journey and returned to Makkah.

I walked along with her and she started asking me throughout our journey back to Makkah and I answered all of her questions and told her about what happened there in details.

She then said to me, "How such a thing should happen while I am still alive? I never imagined that the people would accept for this post any other one than Ṭalḥah, because of his painstaking efforts during the Battle of Uḥud."

I said, "If the office is given to the best one who fought during that battle, then the man ('Alī) whom has been paid homage did better and made more painstaking efforts on that day."

She said, "O brother of the Banū-Bakr tribe! I will not ask you anymore. When you enter Makkah and the people ask you what a situation the Mother of the Believers (i.e. 'Ā'ishah) will take, you should answer, 'She will demand with punishing the slayers of 'Uthmān and she will ask for taking actions against those who caused the shedding of his blood.'"

Ya'lā ibn Munyah came to 'Ā'ishah and said, "The man whom you have been stirring the masses to kill has been killed."

She said, "I renounce before Allah those who slew him."

Ya'lā said, "Now!" He added, "Repeat again your statement about renouncing those who slew him." Responding to him, 'Ā'ishah went out to the mosque and repeated her denial of those who killed 'Uthmān.⁽¹⁾

The content of this narration frankly states that 'Ā'ishah did not change her opinion regarding the legality of shedding the blood of 'Uthmān until she was informed that Imam 'Alī ('a) was chosen by the people to the post of leadership while neither Ṭalḥah nor al-Zubayr could gain that office. Hence, as soon as she knew that, she changed her opinion upside down and declared the opposite of what she had declared. Thus, if the post of leadership had been given to Ṭalḥah, 'Ā'ishah would not have changed her opinion about 'Uthmān and would have kept on her animosity to him. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, too, held

(1) Compare this narration to the one mentioned in the following reference books: Al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, pages 216 and 218; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/448; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi, *al-Futūḥ* 1/434; Sharif al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 4/357; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 4/159; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3/206; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 6/215-6.

the same opinion of 'Ā'ishah concerning 'Uthmān, but they unsaid their statements and attitudes to him, because they realized that it would be impossible for them to win what they had wished for, while their claim that they regretted their previous attitude to 'Uthmān was utterly false, because it was they who contributed greatly to the shedding of his blood and it was they who encouraged the people to slay him. In the same manner, their new attitude was not based on their false claim that they realized the fact after they had been astray. I have proven all these facts in my earlier discussion.

Accordingly, the claim of the Ḥashwiyyah that 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr depended upon their personal inferences in this case is definitely null and void; and the claim of the Mu'tazilah—who claimed that those persons made a mistake when they opposed Imam 'Alī ('a) but this mistake was neither purposeful nor deliberate; rather, it was only because they reached a wrong conclusion after they had exerted all efforts possible in the case—was inaccurate, too. Rather, the truth is only what the Shī'ah confirmed that those persons opposed Imam 'Alī ('a) on purpose because they had already born hatred and malice toward him, they had greedy desires that they expected to achieve, they covetously sought after worldly pleasures, and they hoped that they would have their own ways on the people, have control over them, and hold sway over them. The Shī'ah also believe that when Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, especially, despaired of coming to power, which was their greatest expectation, after they had seen that the Muslim community would never choose any one for this post except Imam 'Alī ('a) and known the opinions of the Emigrants and the Helpers concerning this issue, they wanted to win at least a good grace of Imam 'Alī ('a); they therefore hurried to pay homage to him, thinking that they, by this act, would be his partners in this office. Yet, when the conditions were well settled for him, they realized the reality and justice-based opinions of him and knew for sure that they would not occupy any office in his government. They still had a little hope; so, they wanted to test him through currying favor with him, especially after the Emigrants, the Helpers, the people of the Banū-Hāshim tribe, and all the people had paid homage to him, except for a few number of those who were the retainers of 'Uthmān, although they had hidden themselves lest the faithful people would shed their bloods. And so, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr tried to approach Imam 'Alī ('a) when the earlier asked him to appoint him as the governor of Iraq while the latter asked for holding the office of the governor of Levant. Imam 'Alī ('a) did not respond to them; therefore, they left him while they were furious and realized that they were right when they thought that Imam 'Alī ('a) would not give them any office in his government. They left him for two or three days and they returned to him, asking permission to visit him; so, he allowed

them in. He was sitting in a room in the second floor of his house when Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr went up to him, sat before him, and said, "O Leader of the Believers! You know well the conditions of these times and you know well the hardship by which we are passing. We have come to you, hoping that you would give us some money with which we may improve our financial conditions and pay back some duties that we have towards some people."

Imam 'Alī ('a) answered, "You know my orchard in Yanbu'.⁽¹⁾ If you wish, I will record for you some of its financial resources as much as I can."

They said, "We do not need your property that is in Yanbu'."

"What should I do for you?" Imam 'Alī ('a) asked.

They said, "You may give us from the money of the public treasury; money that is enough to meet our needs."

Imam 'Alī ('a) exclaimed, "Glory be to Allah! How strange this is! What hand do I have that may reach the money of the public treasury? Its money is for all of the Muslims and I am no more than a keeper and a guardian of their money. If you wish, I may go up the minbar and ask the Muslims to give you something of their money. Then, if they allow me to do so, I will do it. Yet, this is impossible for me to do, because this money is for all of the Muslims, both the attendant and the absent. I have just said so in order that you will not blame me and you will excuse me."

They said, "However, we would not ask you to do so; and even if we would, the Muslims would not respond to you."

"What else can I do for you?" Imam 'Alī ('a) asked.

They said, "We have heard all your options."

They came down to the yard of the house where there stood a she-servant of Imam 'Alī ('a).⁽²⁾ She heard them saying, "By Allah, we did not pay homage to you cordially although we paid homage to you orally."

Having informed of their words, Imam 'Alī ('a) quoted this Qur'ānic verse: *"Verily, those who swear their fealty to you do but swear fealty to Allah; the hand of Allah is above their hands; so, whoever violates his oath, does violate*

⁽¹⁾ Yanbu' is the name of a fortress that is situated between Makkah and al-Madinah where there are some orchards of date-palm trees, springs, and plants endowed to Imam 'Alī ('a). See: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* 5/450.

⁽²⁾ Her name was Ummu-Rāshid and she was a former servant of Ummu-Hānī', Imam 'Alī's sister.

it only to the hurt of his own self; and whoever fulfills what he has covenanted with Allah, soon will Allah grant him a great recompense. [Sūrah al-Fath 48, verse 10] ”⁽¹⁾

Talhah and al-Zubayr leave for Makkah

After that conversation, Talhah and al-Zubayr left Imam ‘Ali (‘a) for two other days. Then, they received news from Makkah that ‘Ā’ishah changed her opinion, denied Imam ‘Ali’s coming to power, renounced those who killed ‘Uthmān, called for supporting ‘Uthmān, and demanded with punishing those who shed his blood. They also heard that ‘Uthmān’s governmental officials had fled from Makkah to the different countries, taking with them the money of the public treasury that they could bear, because they feared that Imam ‘Ali (‘a), along with the Emigrants and the Helpers who sided with him, would most certainly punish them and that ‘Uthmān’s cousin Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, Ya‘lā ibn Munyah the governor of Yemen during ‘Uthmān’s reign, ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Āmir ibn Kurayz ‘Uthmān’s the son of ‘Uthmān’s maternal uncle⁽²⁾ and the governor of al-Baṣrah, all those met ‘Ā’ishah and decided to provoke a sedition against Imam ‘Ali’s new government. Having received this news, Talhah and al-Zubayr headed for Imam ‘Ali (‘a) and chose a time at which he was in privacy. They met him and said, “O Leader of the Believers! We have come to you asking you to permit us to go for Makkah for performing the ‘Umrah pilgrimage.”

Yet, Imam ‘Ali (‘a) rejected their request, but they said, “It has been a very long time since we performed the ‘Umrah pilgrimage for the last time. Please, permit us to go and do it.”

Imam ‘Ali (‘a) said, “No, by Allah. You do not want to go on the ‘Umrah pilgrimage; rather, you are willing to enter into an act of betrayal. You want to go to al-Baṣrah.”

They said, “May Allah forgive us! We only want to go for the ‘Umrah pilgrimage.”

Imam ‘Ali (‘a) asked them, “Take an oath by Allah the All-great that you are not determined to corrupt the affairs of the Muslims against me, you do not want to renege and breach your homage to me, and you do not seek for

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Mufid, *al-Mas‘alah al-Kāfiyah* (as is mentioned in al-Majlisi’s *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/32-3. Compare this narration with what is quoted in Ibn Abi-Shaybah’s *al-Muṣannaf* 7/537 and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī’s *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 59.

⁽²⁾ Al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* 1/517; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb* 2/359; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Mukhtaṣar Tārikh Dimashq* 12/285.

kindling a sedition.”

Here, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr started taking confirmatory oaths and swearing on every great thing that they should not do these things. Yet, immediately after the left him, they met ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abbās who asked them, “Did the Leader of the Believers permit you to go?”

“Yes, he did,” they answered.

Ibn ‘Abbās hurried to Imam ‘Alī (‘a) who said to him before letting him speak, “Have you known what happened, Ibn ‘Abbās?”

“Yes,” Ibn ‘Abbās answered, “I have just met Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr.”

Imam ‘Alī (‘a) explained, “They came and asked my permission to go on the ‘Umrah pilgrimage. I permitted them after I had made them give me their word and swear to me that they would not betray, breach their homage, and make mischief. By Allah, O Ibn ‘Abbās, they intended for nothing but creating sedition. I see coming that as long as they arrive in Makkah, they will help the others to wage war against me. Ya’lā ibn Munyah, the treacherous and licentious man seized the money of Iran and Persia to cover the expenditure of a campaign against me. These two men will work on mess up the affairs against me and will shed the blood of my partisans and supporters.”

‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abbās asked in astonishment, “If you know that, why did you allow them to go? You should have detained them, enchained them with iron chains, and stopped their evils against the Muslims.”

Imam ‘Alī (‘a) excused, “O Ibn ‘Abbās! Do you want me to start an act of injustice and to begin with an evildoing before giving an opportunity to the positive side? And do you want to me to punish on account of suspicion and accusation that has not been proven yet and to punish for an act that has not been committed yet? No, at all. By Allah, I will not violate that which Allah has ordered me to do; that is, judgment with justice and saying the decisive truth under any condition. O Ibn ‘Abbās! I have permitted them to go although I know for sure what mischievous deeds they will do. However, I seek the help of Allah against them. By Allah, I will kill them and they will be disappointed. Never will they win what they expected, for Allah will punish them for the wrongdoings they did against me, the breach of their allegiance to me, and the aggressions they will lead against me.”⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Ibn A‘tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/452; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Mas‘alah al-Kāfiyah* (as is mentioned in *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/32). Compare part of this narration with what is

This narration, as well as the one before it, can be found in the compilations of those who wrote the history of Islam. For instance, it was quoted by Abū-Mikhnaḥ Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā in the book he wrote about the events of the Battle of the Camel. Likewise, al-Thaqafī reported it from the chain of authority that he trusts, which contains transmitters of narrations from al-Kūfah, Levant, and other regions. None of the writers of traditions and historical events has ever wrote any narration that violates what is mentioned in the one involved and none of them has ever recorded the opposite of its purport. Whoever ponders a little over this narrations, knows for sure that these two men (i.e. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr) did not do what they did due to well-wishing conscience in the religion or due to sincerity to Islam; rather, their claims of demanding with punishing 'Uthmān's assassins was only a spurious argument and an attempt to cheat the ordinary and the feeble-minded people.

If they had not raised the slogan of retaliation on the slayers of 'Uthmān, accused his slayers and opposites of having wronged him, and declared regretting their previous acts of standing against 'Uthmān, no two persons, be they scholars or students, would ever have disagreed about the accuracy of the Muslims' opinion about 'Uthmān who agreed unanimously upon overthrowing and slaying him because he deserved such a fate, due to the horrible misdeeds that he did to the religion of Islam. However, these two men committed deviance when they showed what they showed and made even a greater mischief when they hid what they did. The feeble-minded people were influenced by such spurious arguments raised by these two men, because those unknowledgeable people were far away from any acquaintance with the reports or familiarity with the facts of history; therefore, the matter was misunderstood by the men of insight because of their lack of knowledge with the authentic traditions and narrations that I have recorded in this book and their staying away from recognizing the ways of reporting these narrations. Perhaps, the majority of them have not even heard any part of these narrations and have not pondered over them. Therefore, those who failed to follow the track of the truth did so because of the blind imitation and because of their holding good opinion about those whom should not be trusted and because they believed in those who should have been distrusted.

The actual situation of these two person can be realized through the way of fairness I have mentioned, the consideration of what I have described, the contemplation over the reports that I have recorded and explained, and the

mentioned in Shaykh al-Mufid's *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 166 and Ibn al-Muṭahhar's *Kashf al-Yaqīn*, page 135.

reference to the scholars who are experienced in the historical events, although they espouse different opinions and sects, as well as the reference to their books in which they analyzed these seditious matters. Whoever ponders over this issue will find out that it is as same as I have described. Finally, Allah the All-glorified and the All-exalted is the Patron of success.

Imam 'Alī's innocence from shedding 'Uthmān's blood

This is a new chapter appertained to the contents of my previous discussion.

Scholars of the different Islamic sects have had different opinions concerning Imam 'Alī's opinion and attitude to the acts of laying siege on and killing 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. I have not put my hand on any essay, written by our Imāmiyyah scholars, that restricts the discussion of this issue to a certain attitude. Likewise, I have not stumbled on any discourse dealing with this topic and clarifying the purpose that has become ambiguous for the rational people.

However, except for the Imāmiyyah Shi'ah, all Muslim scholars, despite their different sects and parties, depended upon conjecture and guesswork while discussing this issue; and none of them inclined on knowledge and certainty when discussing any section of the issue involved.

As for the events that the people did to 'Uthmān when they laid siege on him, demanded him to retire from the post of leadership, deprived him of food and drink so that he would have to respond to their demand, raided on and slew him, threw his dead body in a dunghill, refrained from performing the ritual Deceased Prayer on his body, refused to bury his dead body, and prevented the people from doing any of these acts to 'Uthmān's dead body—and all these events reached us through accounts and narrations the reporters and transmitters of which agreed unanimously on their authenticity and so did the experienced scholars⁽¹⁾—provable indications confirm that Imam 'Alī's attitude to all of these acts and their likes was that he hated them all and withdrew himself from their doers; yet, he neither agreed with the others, because he knew their actual intentions, nor did he disagree with the opposite party, because he knew their actual intention, too. To explain, Imam 'Alī ('a) did not jump hurriedly to join those who demanded 'Uthmān to leave the post of leadership and he did not agree with them when they laid siege on him and did the other nasty deeds to him. That was because Imam 'Alī ('a) predicted the consequences of such acts and was sure of what was going to happen

⁽¹⁾ Refer to Ibn Shabbah al-Numayri, *Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah*, volumes 3 and 4; and Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ash'arī, *al-Tamhīd wa'l-Bayān*.

thereafter; therefore, he expected that seditious matters would be agitated, causing wars, disagreements, and bloodshed in the new future. Imam 'Alī ('a) concluded that they would very soon accuse him of shedding 'Uthmān's blood or, at least, of encouraging the people on doing so. He concluded that from the fact that those people (i.e. Ṭalhah, al-Zubayr, 'Ā'ishah, and their supporters) had already born hatred, malice, detestation, envy, and oppression against Imam 'Alī ('a); therefore, they would betray him and make the feeble-minded people, who did not realize the scope of Imam 'Alī's knowledge, believe that he had a hand in the events of assassinating 'Uthmān. On the other hand, Imam 'Alī ('a) withdrew himself from the acts done to 'Uthmān, not because he was loyal to him or because 'Uthmān did not deserve that. How can he withdraw himself from those who believe that they had no other way than overthrowing, laying siege on, and slaying 'Uthmān because they believed that the post occupied by 'Uthmān was Imam 'Alī's pure right and they believed that Imam 'Alī's Imamate and political and religious leadership was proved through the law of Allah, especially that Imam 'Alī ('a) did not stop declaring and announcing that he was wronged when he was kept away from assuming the office of leadership after the passing away of the Holy Prophet (ṣ), those who did not deserve this office were given precedence to him, he was always belittle, put down, and the unintelligent people were always seduced into denying his excellence and rejecting his right. On incessant occasions, Imam 'Alī ('a) also complained about the wrongdoings to which he was always exposed at the hands of those people; and his complaints were declared openly, suggestively, frankly, and insinuatively.

For example, he once declared, "O Allah! I beseech you to help me against the people of Quraysh, for they have deprived me of my entitlement, prevented me from taking my legacy, and helped one another against me."

On another occasion, he praying to Allah said, "O Allah! Punish the people of Quraysh on behalf of me with the severest of Your punishment, for they ruptured their relations with me, pushed me away from my entitlement, rallied the mindless people against me, and allowed the shedding of my blood."

On a third occasion, he expressed, "I have been deprived of my right and wronged since the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) passed away."

On a fourth occasion, he said, "O Allah! Penalize 'Umar, for he wronged even stones and dust."⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration with what is quoted in Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *al-Shāfi* 3/223; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhiṣ al-Shāfi* 3/48; and 'Allāmah al-Majlisī's *Biḥār al-Anwār* 8/70.

On a fifth occasion, he said, "I swear by Him Who split the grain and created the souls, that the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) did inform me that the community will betray me after his passing away."

On a six occasion, he stated, "When Allah took His Prophet—may Allah's blessings be poured on him and on his family—to Him, Abū-Bakr took over the post of leadership, while we never thought that any person should be pleased to give this post to any other one except us, the Holy Prophet's household. Consequently, some people dared to challenge us and to usurp our entitlement from us."⁽¹⁾

On a seventh occasion, he said, "When our Prophet—may Allah's blessings be poured on him and on his family—passed away, Abū-Bakr took hold of the leadership, while he indeed knew that I am more entitled to this office than he was, just as I am more entitled to wear this shirt of mine than anyone else. I swear this by Allah."⁽²⁾ While saying these words, Imam 'Alī ('a) grasped his shirt.

Let us not forget Imam 'Alī's words in his famous sermon: "'Beware! By Allah, the son of Abū-Quḥāfah (Abū-Bakr) dressed himself with it (the caliphate) and he certainly knew that my position in relation to it was the same as the position of the axis in relation to the hand-mill. The flood water flows down from me and the bird cannot fly up to me. So, I adopted patience although there was pricking in the eye and suffocation of mortification in the throat. Yet when the time of his death came, he handed it over to his acquaintance 'Umar. How strange this is! During his lifetime, he quit it, but after his death, he arranged it for someone else..." Imam 'Alī ('a) continues to say with regard to the so-called *shūrā* committee and 'Umar's plan: "He (i.e. 'Umar) made me one of the six members and claimed that I should be one of them. But good Heavens! What had I to do with this *Shūrā*? Where was any doubt about me with regard to the first of them that I was now considered akin to these ones?"

The Imam ('a) then went on to mention the swearing of allegiance to 'Uthmān. He thus confirmed that 'Abd al-Raḥmān chose 'Uthmān over him, saying, "So, one of them inclined on its malice and the other took sides with his brother-in-law..."

'Abd al-Raḥmān was the husband of 'Uthmān's sister. This speech is too

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 131; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 3/48; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/307; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/111.

⁽²⁾ Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kashf al-Maḥajjah*, page 175.

famous to be doubted.

In the first sermon he delivered after the slaying of 'Uthmān and the people's swearing of allegiance to him, Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "Previously, you have done things in which your choices were not praiseworthy. Behold! If I wish to say something, I will say many things. Yet, I will say, '*Allah has pardoned what is gone by.*' The two men are now past, but the third man stood up like a crow, which had no other concern than satisfying his stomach and his sexual lusts. Woe unto him! If his wing had been cut off and his head had been decapitated, that would most surely have been better for him..." Imam 'Alī ('a) continued to say, "Allah indeed destroyed Pharaoh, Hāmān, and Qārūn..."

On the day of the meeting of the so-called *Shūrā Committee*, Imam 'Alī ('a) said to 'Abd al-Raḥmān who chose 'Uthmān and paid homage to him over Imam 'Alī ('a), "By Allah, you have done this because you are aspiring to gain what your old friend (i.e. 'Umar) had aspired to take from his acquaintance (i.e. Abū-Bakr). May Allah create war between you and him!" Immediately after saying these words, Imam 'Alī ('a) left the meeting.

There are many words of the same purport said by Imam 'Alī ('a), but they would make this book too lengthy if we quote all of them.

Likewise, the most evident proof that Imam 'Alī ('a) was not pleased with the coming to power of those who usurped his right to leadership and held the reins of government after the passing away of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) while he was the actual successor to the Holy Prophet (ṣ)—the most evident proof of this fact is the innumerable statements of the Holy Qur'ān and the uninterruptedly reported traditions of the Holy Prophet (ṣ), all of which frankly nominated Imam 'Alī ('a) to the post of Imamate and leadership after the Holy Prophet (ṣ). With greater reason, narrations that confirm what I have just mentioned are too many to be denied, especially with regard to Imam 'Alī's attitude to the political conditions of the Islamic nation after the passing away of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) and his attitude to those people. Even if we condescendingly neglect these clear-cut proofs of Imam 'Alī's having been appointed by Allah the Almighty and His Apostle (ṣ) to the office of direct succession to the Holy Prophet (ṣ), as well as his denial of the acts of those people who usurped this office from him, still the most overwhelming evidence is that Imam 'Alī ('a) was superior than all of them; a fact that they themselves confessed on numerous occasions. This fact indicates evidently that he disagreed with their act and denied their usurpation of this office from him. Again, even if the way to proving this fact is blocked and Imam 'Alī's

precedence to all others is doubted, then no one can doubt that he denied the mischievous deeds of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān that all the Emigrants, the Helpers, and those who followed them in goodness denied and no one can doubt the authenticity of the innumerable narrations that reported that Imam 'Alī's followers and partisans denied 'Uthmān's ill-behaved deeds frankly and on many occasions.

'UTHMĀN'S MISCHIEVOUS DEEDS DENIED BY THE MUSLIMS

'Uthmān cancels the punishment of 'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Umar

Consider the narrations that reported Imam 'Alī's denial of 'Uthmān's deed of averting the punishment that should have been executed on 'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb after he had deserved the punishment of retaliation because he killed al-Hurmuzān and other dhimmīs (i.e. non-Muslims enjoying the protection of the Muslim state) whom were killed wrongfully and in violation of the laws of Islam. When Imam 'Alī ('a) demanded 'Uthmān to execute the punishment of retaliation on 'Ubaydullāh, he once advanced as an excuse that 'Ubaydullāh's father had just been killed and it was not suitable to kill 'Ubaydullāh at that very time, claiming that this would sadden the Muslims and bring to them new sorrows and grief and that 'Uthmān feared lest this would bring about chaos and corruption to the affairs of Muslims. Refuting these unfounded justifications, Imam 'Alī ('a) told 'Uthmān that the punishments decided by Allah the Almighty must never be averted and it was illegal to challenge them for such baseless justifications. Having heard this reply from Imam 'Alī ('a), 'Uthmān found another excuse and insisted that the son of 'Umar should not be punished for this crime, thus opposing Imam 'Alī's opinion, resisting his advice, and violating the laws of Allah in this regard. Thus, 'Uthmān said, "Al-Hurmuzān is a strange man who has no heirs; therefore, I am the heir of the heirless Muslims. According to this right that is given to me, I see that I should pardon his slayer."

Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "The supreme authority of the Muslims does not have the right to avert a punishment⁽¹⁾ that is related to the creatures (i.e. the subjects of the Islamic state) unless the heirs of the murdered person pardon him. Accordingly, you do not have the right to pardon the son of 'Umar. However, if you want to avert this punishment from him, you should pay the blood-

⁽¹⁾ The punishments defined by Allah the Almighty for certain crimes are never averted, and no one's intercession is accepted in this regard, according to the Islamic Law. See; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad* 3/386; Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī 8/16; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim 11/186-7; Abū-Dāwūd, *al-Sunan* 4/132; Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, *Man-lā-Yaḥḍaruhu'l-Faqīh* 4/74; al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi* 7/254; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak* 4/379; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* 8/253-4.

money to the Muslims who are legally the heirs of al-Hurmuzān. You should then divide it, along with what is found in the public treasury, on the beneficiaries.”

Imam ‘Alī (‘a) noticed that ‘Uthmān would never stop defending ‘Ubaydullāh, finding excuses for him, and averting the punishment decided by Allah from him; therefore, he said, “As for you, you shall be accountable for the shedding of al-Hurmuzān’s blood on the Day when Allah will gather the creation for the judgment. As for me, I swear to Allah that if my eye falls on Ubaydulah ibn ‘Umar, I will most surely pull the right of Allah from him, even if some people will not be pleased with that.”

Having heard this, ‘Uthmān summoned ‘Ubaydullāh at night and ordered him to run away from Imam ‘Alī (‘a). So, ‘Ubaydullāh left the city of al-Madīnah at night after ‘Uthmān had provided him with a document due to which ‘Ubaydullāh would be given a part of the land of al-Kūfah, which is now known as the little Kūfah of ‘Umar’s son (*kuwayfat ibn ‘umar*).⁽¹⁾

‘Ubaydullāh lived in that land until Imam ‘Alī (‘a) became the political leader of Muslims. Hence, ‘Ubaydullāh was among those who opposed Imam ‘Alī’s government and he exerted all efforts in fighting against him with the troops of Levant. During one of these fights, Allah killed ‘Ubaydullāh as a result of his violent transgression, made him face his fact, and saved the Muslims from his evils.⁽²⁾

People of al-Kūfah complain to ‘Uthmān against al-Walīd

The people of al-Kūfah visited ‘Uthmān, complaining against their governor al-Walīd ibn ‘Uqbah ibn Abi-Mu‘iṭ and testifying that he used to consume wine, rule while he was drunk, led the people in a congregational Dawn Prayer while he was drunk, vomited wine while he was in the prayer niche, slept there until some people carried him home, and added a famous poetic verse in the place of the Qur’ān.

Having heard these complaints, ‘Uthmān because so angry with the witnesses,

(1) Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, in his book *Mu’jam al-Buldān* 4/496, defines this land as such: “*Kuwayfat*, which is also known as *kuwayfat ibn ‘umar*, is ascribed to ‘Ubaydullāh the son of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. After he had killed the daughter of Abū-Lu’lu’ah, al-Hurmuzān, and Jufaynah al-‘Ibādī, ‘Ubaydullāh resided in this land, which is situated near Bazīqiā.”

(2) Al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* 1/510; Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Daynawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-Ṭiwāl*, pages 161 and 178; *Tārīkh al-Ya’qūbī* 2/163-4; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 20/56, part 2; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 4/303-5; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 4/123-5; Ibn Abi’l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/54-5 and 3/59-62.

treated them badly, and ordered that they should be lashed. They then hurried to Imam 'Alī ('a) and complained to him about what they had faced from 'Uthmān. Immediately, Imam 'Alī ('a) left his place and came to 'Uthmān who, upon seeing him, said, "What is the matter with you, O son of Abū-Tālib? Did anything wrong happen?"

Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "Yes. A terrible thing has just taken place."

"What is that?" 'Uthmān asked.

Imam 'Alī ('a) expressed, "The punishments decided by Allah and the laws of the religion have been cancelled out; and the witnesses have been lashed."

"So, what do you suggest?" 'Uthmān asked.

Imam 'Alī ('a) answered, "I suggest that your brother should be dismissed from the office of the governorate of al-Kūfah, should be summoned officially, and should be sentenced to the punishments decided by Allah."

'Uthmān indifferently said, "I will see about that."⁽¹⁾

Abū-Dharr objects to 'Uthmān

Abū-Dharr—may Allah have mercy upon him—always objected to 'Uthmān because of his mischievous deeds. One day, Abū-Dharr visited 'Uthmān and found him surrounded by some people who were praising him falsely. Abū-Dharr took a handful of dust and threw it on their faces. 'Uthmān shouted at him, "Woe unto you! What is this? Do you throw dust on the faces of Muslim people?"

Abū-Dharr justified, "I did nothing but what Allah's Apostle—may Allah's blessings be upon him and his household—had ordered me to do. Be it known to you that I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'Whenever you see the praisers, then pour dust upon their faces.'⁽²⁾ I have seen that those people are currying favor with you through false things and praising you for things that you do not enjoy."

'Uthmān shouted, "You are a liar!" Then a dispute was started between 'Uthmān, who went on accusing Abū-Dharr of telling lies and using bad language with him, and Abū-Dharr, who went on proving the authenticity of what he had said. Meanwhile, Imam 'Alī ('a) entered, and 'Uthmān said to him, "O 'Alī! Do you not see this liar who is fabricating forgeries against

⁽¹⁾ *Tārīkh al-Ya 'qūbi* 2/165; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/344-5; Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī* 5/126; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil* 3/106-7.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa 'l-Nihāyah* 1/339; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 3/574.

Allah's Apostle?"

Imam 'Alī ('a) replied, "O 'Uthmān! You should consider him like the believer of the Pharaoh's people, about whom Allah—may His Name be Almighty—said, *'If he is a liar, then his lie falls upon himself; while if he is truthful, some of what he threatens you with will afflict you.* [Sūrah Ghāfir 40, verse 28]"

These words enraged 'Uthmān very much; so, he impolitely yelled at Imam 'Alī ('a), "Keep silent! May dust fill your mouth!"

Imam 'Alī ('a) sat on his knees⁽¹⁾ and said, "It is your mouth that will be filled with dust now."⁽²⁾

'Uthmān's fury at executing punishment on al-Walīd

When al-Walīd was summoned so that the punishment decided by Allah would be executed on him, 'Uthmān took the lash, threw it toward the Companions who were present there, and said in a very wrathful tone, "Whoever wishes, may now stand up and execute the punishment on my brother."

All the attendants refrained to do that; but Imam 'Alī ('a) stood up, took the lash, aimed at al-Walīd, and wanted to expose him to the punishment. Upon seeing this, al-Walīd left his place and went out. Yet, Imam 'Alī ('a) hurried toward him and grasped him. Immediately, al-Walīd swore at Imam 'Alī ('a) who, in turn, faced al-Walīd with words that described his manner aptly, pulled him by force, and put him in a place where the punishment decided by Allah would be executed on him.

'Uthmān flamed up with rage and said to Imam 'Alī ('a), "You, 'Alī, do not have the right to pull him this way or to swear at him."

Imam 'Alī ('a) replied, "This is wrong. I have the right to compel him to be exposed to the punishment. I swore at him only after he had sworn at me with words that are not applied to me; therefore, I said to him words that are applied to him."

Imam 'Alī ('a) then lashed him forty times with a two-head lash, considering that he lashed him eighty lashes.

⁽¹⁾ This is a sign of readying oneself for entering into vehement dispute.

⁽²⁾ Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi, *al-Futūḥ* 1/373-4; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 4/296-7; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī* 2/321-2; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/56-7; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 8/317.

'Uthmān's hatred towards Imam 'Alī ('a) increased from that situation.⁽¹⁾

'Uthmān returns al-Ḥakam to al-Madīnah

When 'Uthmān came to power, he returned al-Ḥakam ibn Abī'l-'Āṣ to al-Madīnah after the Holy Prophet (ṣ) had banished him from this city to al-Ṭā'if, because he used to molest him so harshly to the degree that he, once, climb the wall of the Holy Prophet's house to glance furtively at him with his wives. The Holy Prophet (ṣ) saw him looking at him from the wall; so, when the Prophet's eyes fell on al-Ḥakam, he frowned at the Holy Prophet's house and went down the wall. On other occasions, al-Ḥakam used to walk after the Holy Prophet (ṣ) and tried to imitate the Holy Prophet's way of walking. The Holy Prophet (ṣ) turned his face towards him and said, "Be as you are." Since then, al-Ḥakam could not walk except in a funny way. Whenever the Holy Prophet (ṣ) said the Divine Revelation, explained a religious law, preached the people, warned them, promised them, awakened their desire for the Lord's rewards, or taught them any religious item, al-Ḥakam would twist the corner of his mouth and imitated the way the Holy Prophet (ṣ) spoke, trying to mock at him. When al-Ḥakam's offensive acts went too far, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) banished him from al-Madīnah to al-Ṭā'if and allowed the Muslims to kill him wherever they would find him in the city of al-Madīnah. In fact, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) had granted respite to al-Ḥakam and had not punished him earlier because he respected his family; yet, when al-Ḥakam exceeded all boundaries, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) issued this judgment about him.

The Holy Prophet (ṣ) passed away while al-Ḥakam was still banished from al-Madīnah. When Abū-Bakr came to power, 'Uthmān came to him, asking him to allow al-Ḥakam into al-Madīnah, but Abū-Bakr rejected his request and said, "The Holy Prophet (ṣ) passed away without having cancelled this punishment; therefore, I will never allow him into al-Madīnah."

When Abū-Bakr died and 'Umar came to power, 'Uthmān came to and asked him to allow al-Ḥakam into al-Madīnah, but 'Umar, too, refused and said, "You had asked Allah's Apostle the same, but he rejected you. Then you came and asked Abū-Bakr the same, but he, too, rejected your request. It is not I who may respond to your request. Stop this, O 'Uthmān, for I never oppose my two companions."

⁽¹⁾ Al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* 1/520-1; *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī* 2/165; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-Iqd al-Farīd* 4/307-8; Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *al-Aghānī* 5/129-30; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 4/245; al-Ṭabari, *al-Riyāḍ al-Nadīrah* 2/78; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/18-20.

However, when 'Uthmān came to power, he returned al-Ḥakam from al-Ṭā'if to al-Madīnah, gave him the best dwelling, endowed him with innumerable gifts, gave him many presents, and invested him with a land near the city. This horrible act infuriated all the Muslims unbearably; so, they wondered, "How dared 'Uthmān bring back the one who was banished by Allah's Apostle? That was not all; he even conferred upon him with very much respect and gave him many gifts."

They then hurried to Imam 'Alī ('a), complaining to him about 'Uthmān's offensive act, asking him to send al-Ḥakam out of al-Madīnah and to return him to the place to which the Holy Prophet (ṣ) had banished him. In response, Imam 'Alī ('a) came to 'Uthmān and said, "You, 'Uthmān, knew that the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) had banished the man from this city and he died before he had allowed him into it again. The two who came to power before you followed the same course of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) when they kept the man banished from al-Madīnah, tagging on the Holy Prophet's practice. Your deed of allowing this man to return to al-Madīnah and giving him a dwelling has been considered insufferably horrible by the Muslims. Therefore, you must now banish him from al-Madīnah and follow the same course of Allah's Apostle (ṣ)."

'Uthmān replied, "O 'Alī! You know the status of this man with me; he is my uncle. The Prophet (ṣ) sent him out at night because he had been informed of false news about this man. The Prophet (ṣ) passed away and Abū-Bakr and 'Umar kept on following what he (ṣ) had seen. Yet, I see that I must build good relationships with my relatives and carry out my duties towards my uncle, who is not the evilest of the people of the earth; rather, there are others who are eviler than him."

Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "O 'Uthmān! I swear by Allah that if you keep this man as he is now, the people will most surely say things about you that are even eviler than what you expect and eviler than this man."⁽¹⁾

'Uthmān misappropriates the public treasury

'Uthmān distributed the funds of the public treasury exclusively among his family members and relatives, gave one fifth of the resources of Africa to Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, allowed him to have control on the whole income, gave Zayd ibn Thābit one hundred thousand dirhams (i.e. silver coins) from

⁽¹⁾ Al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* 1/513-4; *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī* 2/164; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/305; Sharif al-Murtadā, *al-Shāfi* 4/265-72; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 1/317-8; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah* 2/34; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/29-33 and 6/149-50; Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī Tamayiz al-Ṣaḥābah* 1/345-6.

the public treasury, granted many lands of the Muslims as fiefs to certain persons, and assigned to the poets a huge amount of the Muslims' money. These acts were oppressive for the Muslims to accept; therefore, they resorted to Imam 'Alī ('a), asking him to interfere. Imam 'Alī ('a) thus hurried to 'Uthmān, admonished him, and mentioned to him that the Muslims found his acts as offensive and hard to accept and denied them all. 'Uthmān, upon hearing this, kept silent and could not find any answer.

After a long wait, Imam 'Alī ('a) asked, "What should I convey to the Muslims on behalf of you now? Do you have any apology to make?"

'Uthmān said, "You may leave me now, O son of Abū-Ṭalib. I will come out to the mosque where you will hear my answers to what you have just said."

After some time, 'Uthmān went to the mosque and climbed the minbar. So, the Muslims gathered to listen to what he would say. 'Uthmān then spoke, "O groups of Muslims! I have been informed of what you said about my kindness to my family members, my building good relationships with them, and the grants that I have conferred upon some of my kinfolk, people, and relatives. Know that the Apostle of Allah (ṣ), who was a member of the Banū-Hāshim clan, did give things exclusively to his relatives, grant them presents, allotted and dedicated one fifth of the profits to them exceptionally, conferred upon them with the purest part of money formally, and sufficed them from begging the others. Similarly, Abū-Bakr favored his folks and allotted to them shares of the money as he liked. 'Umar, too, favored the Banū-'Adī clan, gave them the best of money, showed them exclusive honoring and respect, and gave them money as he wished. As for me, the Banū-Umayyah and the Banū-'Abd Shams are my folks and the closest people to me; therefore, I will give them exclusively money as I wish. Behold! By Allah I swear this: If I can have the keys to Paradise in my hand, I will deliver them to the people of Banū-Umayyah, even if the noses of some people will swell because of that (i.e. even if this will be against the will of many people)."

At that point, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir stood up, put his hand on his nose, and said, "I am the first person whose nose will swell because of that."

Thus, the Muslims flew apart while they were infuriated by 'Uthmān's words. The hoarders of the branches of the public treasury came and threw the keys of these hoards before 'Uthmān, saying, "We do not need to hold these keys anymore while we see you distributing the money of Allah in this futile way."⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 3/64; al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* 1/512, 514, 538, and

'Uthmān beats 'Ammār out of rage

The Muslims wrote a letter to 'Uthmān in which they condemned and denied his wrongdoings, hoping that this would stop him from violating their rights or at least that he would explain to them his opinion. They sought for a person who would convey their letter to him; therefore, they chose 'Ammār ibn Yāsir for this mission. 'Ammār guaranteed for them that he would hand their letter over to 'Uthmān. Having asked for permission to meet him, 'Uthmān allowed him in and, putting on his best clothes and sandals, welcomed 'Ammār, asking, "What for have you come?"

'Ammār answered, "I am here to convey this letter to you."

'Uthmān received the letter and once he read it, the color of his face changed and he flared up with rage, swearing at 'Ammār, "O you...⁽¹⁾ How dare you come to me carrying what I do not like?" He then jumped to 'Ammār, pushed him severely, tumbled him down to the ground, and trod on his stomach and private parts, causing him to excrete. That day, 'Ammār could not perform the obligatory prayers at midday, afternoon, sunset, and evening. When the Muslims knew about this event, they denied and condemned 'Uthmān intensely. Imam 'Alī's word about this incident is famous.

This event is reported by Muḥammad ibn Ishāq on the authority of al-Zuhri and by Abū-Ḥudhayfah al-Qurashī on the authority of his chain of authority, as well as other transmitters of historical narrations.⁽²⁾

On many occasions too, Imam 'Alī ('a) criticized, denounced, and admonished 'Uthmān openly. For that reason, there were many situations and occasions on which Imam 'Alī and 'Uthmān entered into mutual disputes, alienations, dissociations.

One of these situations was the following: Abū-Ḥudhayfah al-Qurashī reported that Ishāq ibn Muḥammad narrated to him that al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abdullāh informed him that 'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Abbās related to him on the

580; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, pages 70-1; Sharīf al-Murtadā, *al-Shāfi* 4/272-9; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 4/97-8; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/33-9; al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍīrah* 2/37; al-Ash'arī, *al-Tamhīd wa'l-Bayān*, page 163; al-Dhahabī, *Tarikh al-Islām*, page 432; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 7/152.

(1) 'Uthmān said an extremely obscene word.

(2) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah*, pages 32-3; al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* 1/539; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/372; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-Iqd al-Farīd* 4/307; Sharīf al-Murtadā, *al-Shāfi* 4/290-1; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 4/112; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/49; al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍīrah* 2/76; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Hillī, *Nahj al-Haqq*, pages 296-7.

authority of 'Ikrimah who quoted 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās as saying: During the reign of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib and 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān disputed about a certain case. Within this dispute, 'Uthmān said to Imam 'Alī ('a), "What is my fault? By Allah, the people of Quraysh will never like you, the descendants of Hāshim, after you have killed seventy men of them on that day of the Battle of Badr; and each one of them was like a golden earring."

Imam 'Alī advises 'Uthmān

Al-Madā'inī reported 'Alī ibn Ṣāliḥ as saying: Ibn Da'b said: When the people started condemning and finding fault with 'Uthmān for the evildoings that he committed, they came to 'Alī and asked him to convey their words to 'Uthmān or to advise him. Responding to them, Imam 'Alī ('a) visited 'Uthmān and said to him, "The people, who are now behind me, have asked me to convey their words to you. By Allah, I do not find words to say to you, since I do not know anything that you may deny and I cannot guide you to anything that you do not know. You know very well what we all know. We have not outdistanced you to anything that we should tell you about and we have not managed an affair without you so that we should inform you about it. You saw the same things that we saw and you heard the same things that we heard and you accompanied the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) as same as we did. Neither the son of Abū-Quḥāfah nor the son of al-Khaṭṭāb were worthier than you are in doing what is good and prosperous. You are yet closer to the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) than they were, for you gained a family relationship with him that they both did not gain. Fear Allah and beware of Him concerning what you are doing to yourself, for you, by Allah, are too insightful to be shown what is hidden and you are too knowledgeable to be taught what is unknown to you. Indeed, the track is evidently clear and the signposts of the religion are plainly well-established. You, 'Uthmān, should know that the best of Allah's servants in His sight are the just leaders who guide to the truth and through whom the others are guided aright, who keep alive a well-known religious tradition and put an end to an unknown heresy. The traditions of the religion are so luminous that they have manifest signs, while the heresies are so apparent that they have their own manifest signs, too. Likewise, the vilest of all people in the sight of Allah are the unjust leaders who misguide and through whom the others are misguided, who eradicate a well-known tradition and give rise to an abandoned heresy. I have indeed heard the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) saying, 'On the Resurrection Day, the unjust ruler is driven for judgment alone without having any supporter or excuser. He will be then cast in Hellfire where he will rotate there just like the rotation of hand-mills. Finally, he will collide with the abyss of Hellfire to settle there.' I now warn

you against being the leader of this nation who will be slain, for it has been predicted that, 'one of the leaders of this nation will be killed, opening a door to killing and fighting on this nation that will not be closed until the Resurrection Day. Because of that, the affairs of the nation will be confused and seditions will attack it from all sides. Then, they will fail to recognize the truth, because the falsity will have the upper hand, and the people will be heaved so intensely and will be jumbled restlessly.' So, do not make yourself an easily driven and mountable person by letting Marwān drive you wherever he wished, especially that you are now old enough to be so and your age should not allow you to do so."

Touched by these words, 'Uthmān asked Imam 'Alī ('a), "Speak to the people and convince them to wait until I release myself from the wrongdoings I have done to them."

Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "Those who are in al-Madīnah should not wait, but those who are absent should wait until your new situation reaches them."

'Uthmān agreed and said, "By Allah, I fully understand what you have just said. Behold! By Allah, if you were in my place, I would never reproach or find fault with you. Besides, I have not committed an evildoing or done a wrong thing when I do something that contributes to building good relationship with my relatives or satisfying their needs."⁽¹⁾

'Uthmān's speech

Afterwards, 'Uthmān came out, sat on the minbar enraged, and said, "To begin with, everything has its epidemic and every grace has its defect. The epidemic of this nation and the defect of this grace are some people who permanently find fault with the others and defame them; they show you what you like to see but they keep secret what you dislike; they speak to you and you speak to them; they are as mean and lowly as ostriches; they hurry to join the shepherd at the first call of him; they prefer the remotest watering place but they drink embittered water and do not come except to the turbid one; and they never choose a pioneer from amongst them. By Allah, you have carped at

⁽¹⁾ Al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* 1/549-50; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/337-8; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/308; Miskawayh al-Rāzī, *Tajārib al-Umam* 1/274; Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, pages 234-5, sermon no. 164; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/261-2; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil* 3/151-2; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 19/470-1; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 8/352-3. A part of this narration is quoted in al-Zamakhsharī's *Rabī' al-Abrār* 4/224. An explanation of this sermon can be referred to in the following reference books: Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, *Minhāj al-Barā'ah* 2/129-32; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/362-4; Ibn Maytham, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/303-4.

me something the like of which you have accepted from the son of al-Khaṭṭāb, because he trod you with his foot, slapped you with his hand, and suppressed you with his tongue, you yielded to him in things that you loved and hated. As for me, I made you tread on my shoulder and prevented my hand and tongue from molesting you, you had the audacity to find fault with me. Behold! I swear this by Allah; I am the mightiest in the number of followers, my supporters are closer to me than any other supporters, the number of my people is the biggest, and once I say, "Come on," all those will hurry to me more than anyone else. I have prepared for you rivals to face you, trained a bigger number of supporters than your number, and bared my teeth in your faces. It is you who made me cast out a quality that was not within my qualities and a speech that I did not use to say. So, fend your hands off from me and stop vilifying and finding faults with your governors. What have you lost from your rights? By Allah, I have never failed to attain that which those who came before me attained and I have never considered you to be different from them. Then, what is the wrong with you? Why should I not do with the surplus of what I have under my control whatever I wish to do? Then, what is the use of me being your leader?"

Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam stood up and shouted at the people, "If you wish, we may make the sword judge between you and us. Now, the parable of you and us is that which was expressed by the poet who said:

We planted our honorable origins for them;

So, their plants grew adequately after they used to grow on dunghills."

ʿUthmān shouted at him, "Keep silent! May Allah mute you! Leave me alone with my companions."

Then, ʿUthmān came down the minbar [and left].⁽¹⁾

ʿUthmān's another speech

After a few days, Imam ʿAlī (ʿa) revisited ʿUthmān to admonish him. But ʿUthmān said to him, "O ʿAlī, I do not hold you blameworthy, for I know your attitude to me. Please, leave me alone with my companions."

Imam ʿAlī (ʿa) said, "In any case, I have carried out the duty that Allah has made obligatory upon me," and left.

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah*, page 28; al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* 1/550; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/338-9; al-Bāqillānī, *Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān*, page 142; Miskawayh al-Rāzī, *Tajārib al-Umam* 1/275-6; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/265; Ibn al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil* 3/152-3; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-ʿArab* 19/472-36; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 7/169.

At once, 'Uthmān went to the mosque, went up the minbar, opened his speech with words of praising and thanking Allah, and then said: "To begin with, O people, I swear by Allah that I am fully aware of all the defects for which you have criticized me; yet, my own soul seduced me into wishes, advices have not helped me, and I have lost my rationality. I heard the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) saying, 'Whoever slips, must repent; and whoever commits an error, must repent. Do not persist in what brings about perdition to you, for, indeed, whoever persists in injustice, will stray off the right track.' I must be the first to take a warning from that. Now, I implore the forgiveness of Allah. From now on, whenever I commit an error, your celebrated persons may come to me to take me back to the truth. By Allah, if a slave takes me back to the truth, I will act as a slave of him; if he is enslaved, he acts patiently; and if he is manumitted, he acts appreciatively. There is no way to flee from Allah except the way of resorting to Him. Your most virtuous ones must not fail to come closer to me; then, if my right hand refrains from accepting them, my left hand will do."

Al-Miqdād ibn 'Amr⁽¹⁾ stood up and said, "O 'Uthmān! Do not choose as partners in your affairs except those who are harmed when you are harmed and who benefit from that which benefits you."

When 'Uthmān finished his speech and went home, he found there Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, Sa'id ibn al-'Āṣ, and a group of the Umayyad people waiting for him. When he sat down, Marwān asked, "O *Leader of the Believers*! May I say something or I should keep silent?"

Nā'ilah the daughter of al-Farāfiṣah, 'Uthmān's wife, intruded as said, "No, you would better keep silent. By Allah, you men will cause death to 'Uthmān and will destroy him. He has just something that it is impossible for him to retreat."

Marwān turned his face towards her and rebuked, "You have nothing to do with this matter. By Allah, your father died while he had not learnt how to do the ablution."

She answered back, "Slow down! Do not mention the fathers. You are speaking about an absent man and you are fabricating lies against him. Your

⁽¹⁾ According to *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/361, the person who said these words was Sa'id ibn Zayd, because al-Miqdād ibn 'Amr passed away in the year 33 AH, and it was 'Uthmān who led the ritual Deceased Prayer performed on the dead bodies. Refer to: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 3/473-4, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah* 4/411; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, pages 417-8.

father cannot defend him. By Allah I swear this; had it not been for that our Lord pardoned him, I would most surely have told you the truth and I would never have forged lies against him."

Marwān turned away from her and addressed 'Uthmān, "Now, may I say something or I should keep silent?"

'Uthmān allowed, "You may say what you have."

Marwān spoke, "May Allah accept my parents as ransom for you! I hoped that you had said these words while you were as mighty and strong as lion and you were protected from any harm. I would then have been the first to accept your words and help you put them into practice. However, you said what you have just said while the affairs have reached their climax of difficulty. Only the humble may give up and surrender. By Allah, to keep on a sin that you implore Allah to forgive it for you is much better than repentance that is followed by bad consequences. If you wish, you could have approached them through repentance without need to confession of your wrongdoings. Now, mountains of people are gathering on the door of your house."

'Uthmān said, "You may meet and speak to them, for I am too shy to say anything more to them."

Marwān stood up, opened the door of the house, and saw that the people were overcrowded. He asked them, "What do you want? O people, you have gathered here as if you want to collect spoils. May your faces be deformed! Let each one of you pull his companion from his ear and leave. Whom do you intend to see? You have come to deprive us of our royalty! Go away from us. By Allah I swear this; if you do any harm to us, we will most surely show you things that will not please you and then you will regret your opinion. Go back to your houses, for we, by Allah, are not unable to face and fight against you, but this choice will not please us."

Upon hearing these threatening words, the people returned, but some of them went straightly to Imam 'Alī ('a) and conveyed to him what Marwān had just said. Imam 'Alī ('a), enraged, went out to meet 'Uthmān. "O 'Uthmān!" he said. "Did you really approved of Marwān's words, while he will not stop until he deviates you from your religion and deceive you with regard to your intellect; and you have become just like a camel carrying loads that it is led wherever the its driver want it to go. By Allah, Marwān does not have a judicious opinion regarding neither his religion nor his intellect. By Allah I swear this; I see that he will most surely drive you to a derelict land and will never take you back to the right track. This is the last time I come to advise

you. After this, I will never come to blame you. By Allah, you have wasted your dignity and you have been deprived of your control over affairs.” Imam ‘Alī (‘a) then left ‘Uthmān.⁽¹⁾

‘Uthmān’s letter to Mu‘āwiyah

Without further delay, ‘Uthmān ordered al-Miswar ibn Makhramah al-Zuhri to carry his letter to Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī-Sufyān. The letter read: “Behold! I have written this letter to you while, by Allah, I do not know that when you will receive it, I will be dead or alive. I have tested you, accepted your status, trusted you, and placed my confidence in you, and known that my confidence in you will not end up with any other thing rather humility or death, one of which is better for you than the other. Once you receive my letter, send me an army as soon as possible—an army that is commanded by a person whom you trust. However, let that person be Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah whom you should order to mend his paces as much as he can, by covering the two night journey in one night and covering every two stations as if he has covered one station. If you can make that a surprise for me, then do it. In fact, I have laid down my arms and nothing remained except that the people would very soon order me to give and take and to pull me and I would have nothing to say but to accept and obey. Between that, there is an imminent death and a catastrophic end. Finally, problems are solved when they are caught in the proper time. Peace be with you!”⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa’l-Siyāsah*, pages 31-2; al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* 1/554; *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* 4/361-2; Miskawayh al-Rāzī, *Tajārib al-Umam* 1/286; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi’l-Tārikh* 3/164-6; Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 2/945-6; al-Nuwayri, *Nihāyat al-‘Arab* 19/481-3; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa’l-Nihāyah* 7/172-3.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration with what is quoted in al-Bulādhari’s *Ansāb al-Ashraf* 1/56, al-Ṭabarī’s *Tārikh al-Umam wa’l-Mulūk* 4/368, Ibn A’tham’s *al-Futūḥ* 1/415, and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s *al-Amālī* 2/325.

Al-Ya’qūbī, in his book on history 2/176, writes: “A siege was laid on ‘Uthmān for forty days. He was finally slain on the eighteenth of Dhu’l-Ḥijjah in the year 35 AH at the age of eighty three, or eighty six according to another narration. Those who took his life directly were Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr, Muḥammad ibn Abī-Ḥudhayfah, and Ibn Ḥazm. It is however said that Kinānah ibn Bishr al-Tujībī, ‘Amr ibn al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā’i, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Udays al-Balwī, and Sawdān ibn Ḥumrān were the slayers of ‘Uthmān whose dead body was not buried for three days. Finally, the ceremonies of burying his body was attended by Ḥakīm ibn Ḥuzām. Jubayr ibn Muṭ’im, Ḥuwaytib ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā and ‘Amr the son of ‘Uthmān. It was buried at night in a place known as Ḥashshu-Kawkab; and those four persons did the ritual Deceased Prayer on the body. Yet, others say that one of those four did or did not do this prayer; therefore, ‘Uthmān’s body was buried without prayer. He ruled for twelve years.

On many other occasions, Imam 'Alī ('a) spoke to 'Uthmān and blamed him for his wrongdoings. He also denied his conducts incessantly and finally decided not to interfere in this issue; therefore, he withdrew himself from 'Uthmān and left him alone with the revolting people until that ended with 'Uthmān's having been killed.

It was impossible for Imam 'Alī ('a) to agree with 'Uthmān because of the latter's violations and it was impossible for him to approve of his deeds. Although Imam 'Alī ('a) must have been displeased with 'Uthmān's wrongdoings and he must have shared the people in their opinion of considering 'Uthmān to have committed heresies and heterodoxies in the religion, yet, Imam 'Alī ('a) did not help those who laid siege on 'Uthmān, did not aid them to overthrow him, and did not participate in assassinating him, because, as has been earlier said, he predicted the bad consequences of this act and he was fully aware of 'Uthmān's bad intentions and awful deeds. However, he wanted to establish a clear-cut argument against those who would accuse him of shedding 'Uthmān's blood and to prove that their claims against him were utterly false and their accusations were utterly unfounded. This attitude was not contradictory to his opinion about 'Uthmān's having committed wrongdoings and violated all laws of the religion, the details of which have already been recorded and explained in this book. However, the further details about the religious laws appertained to those who slew, failed to support, and laid siege on 'Uthmān will be soon discussed in the coming chapter of the book.

Different attitudes to 'Uthmān

Be it known to you—may Allah guide you to the goodness, include you with the good-doers, and grant you success in whatever pleases Him—that I have not found any scholar hitting the mark in the different attitudes of those who denied 'Uthmān's deeds and disproved of the events that took place as a result of his misconducts, nor have I seen any one confirming the accuracy or inaccuracy of these different attitudes. However, the majority of those who denied 'Uthmān's misconducts relied either on conjectures that are too weak to be proven or on conclusions derived from previously believed ideas; therefore, their attitudes were restricted to certain beliefs. Nevertheless, in my conception, the people who denied and revolted against 'Uthmān adopted their attitudes due to different reasons and contradictory purposes.

Some of them clang to denying some events that 'Uthmān did, but they did not deny the like of them when they were done by others. They did so because they aspired to win the office held by 'Uthmān, hoped that they would be able

to overthrow him and seize his post, intended to come to power after him, and wanted to gain the leadership of Muslims through removing from power and slaying 'Uthmān. In previous chapters of this book, I have referred to some samples of such people who led the operations of laying siege on 'Uthmān, did that personally, appropriated the public treasury while he was alive, seized the keys of the houses of the public treasury, and exerted all efforts possible for shedding his blood through such acts like preventing him from water and causing the death of him. Thus, when they achieved what they had wanted and the man was slain, one of them worked toward gaining the office of leadership, thinking that he would be obeyed, elected, and followed by the people, but when the people forsook him and chose another man, he was disappointed; therefore, he lost what he had aspired, failed to gain what he had expected, and had to yield to the Imam by swearing allegiance to him, either because he wished to win some office from him or because he feared him. Yet, he soon after that changed his mind, breached his pledge of allegiance, broke his covenant, renounced the faith of Islam, and planned to wage war against the Imam, until his matter ended up with having him killed.

Another group were forced by 'Uthmān to adopt such attitudes because he deprived them of attaining their goals, rejected their requests, and invalidated their plans. They therefore bore a grudge against him, acted towards overthrowing and shedding his blood, and dreamt that the authority would be given, after 'Uthmān, to people whom they would be able to control and would be able to force them into satisfying their needs. However, when 'Uthmān was exposed to these events and horrible end, those people failed to achieve what they had aspired; therefore, they immediately turned upside down and adopted an attitude completely contradictory to their previous one. They thus expressed regretting what they had done and took sides with the first group, gathering against the current leader (i.e. Imam 'Alī), working painstakingly toward depriving him of the new post, and favoring those whom they hoped to support, obey, and listen to their demands. Yet, all those people had to face disappointment and the outcome of their expectations was perdition.

Another group revolted because 'Uthmān stopped what they used to receive from those who came to power before him, since those rulers used to honor and venerate them; therefore, they hated 'Uthmān and his leadership and worked towards overthrowing him.

Another group included those whom the former rulers used to invest with offices, but 'Uthmān displaced them and used others to occupy their posts, depriving them of the shares of the public treasury they used to receive in the

past. For this reason, they decided to overthrow him and helped others to kill him.

Another group deemed hideous and abominable some acts of 'Uthmān and believed that he had deviated from the right path; therefore, they were determined to overthrow him as a procedure of carrying out the religious duty of bidding the right and forbidding the evil. However, some of them might have been inaccurate in deeming hideous a certain procedure taken by 'Uthmān, while some others might have been right. Generally, their purpose was to support the religion of Islam. The members of this group were honest in denying 'Uthmān's misconducts and they were the original reason for overthrowing and slaying him.

Another group believed in Imamate—in the sense that God the Almighty had appointed a certain person (namely, Imam 'Alī) as the direct successor to the Holy Prophet (ﷺ)—considering it to be the criterion of choosing the leader and to be the one and only way to leading the Muslim nation; therefore, they believed that all those who supported and followed the same method of 'Uthmān in holding authority over the Muslims were partners in his deniable acts. It is true that they supported those who laid siege on 'Uthmān and finally slew him, but their intentions were different than the intentions of the previously mentioned groups. They only believed that if they had had the ability to do with the other two men who came to power before 'Uthmān what they did to 'Uthmān, they would certainly have hurried to doing it; yet, they did not have the opportunity to do so, but they had the opportunity to do that to 'Uthmān; therefore, they did it.

As for those who disappointed 'Uthmān, their purposes were divergent, since some of them held the same purposes of those who disappointed him and doubted his manners as well as the manners of those who laid siege on and slew him. For this reason, they neither deemed lawful to help against him nor did they support him.

Imam 'Alī's attitude to the events faced by 'Uthmān

Although Imam 'Alī Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('a) withdrew himself from supporting 'Uthmān and refrained from defending him, this situation was not based on that Imam 'Alī ('a) disappointed him because he deemed lawful to overthrow and kill him; rather, he based his opinion on his idea about those who had come to power before 'Uthmān. Besides, he was fully aware of the consequences of these events and he did not have the least doubt about acting upon what is for the interest of the Muslim nation. He believed that reconciliation, concord, calmness, and peacefulness must be adopted up to the

termination of the defined period; he therefore worked according to these principles since he knew that this would be the best means of managing the affairs. Accordingly, he refrained from defending 'Uthmān when he was laid under siege and then killed in the same way as he refrained from facing those who usurped his entitlement to the leadership. This situation of Imam 'Alī ('a) was based on these reasons; first, he did not have enough supporters to help him take back his right from those people and, second, he knew that the consequences would be harshly harmful if he opposed the majority of Muslims, which would most surely lead to entering into fight against them and causing sedition to the Muslim community.

Nevertheless, Imam 'Alī ('a) tried his best to defend 'Uthmān and fend off troubles from him through words and admonitions when the interest of Muslims necessitated so, and he refrained from denying 'Uthmān's misconducts when he noticed the attitude of the people and their unanimous agreement on laying siege on, overthrowing, and slaying him. Again, this attitude was based on his full awareness of the consequences of the affairs.

Even if Imam 'Alī ('a) had not been given the knowledge of all that, as is believed by the Shi'ah, his observations and analysis of the events would have been enough for him to adopt the attitude he adopted, because he saw how different and discrepant were the people of good reason upon that issue. Of course, the witness can see what cannot be seen by the absent. Hence, having seen the divergence and disagreements of the people, Imam 'Alī ('a) acted upon his knowledge about the consequences of the events and upon the true state of the affairs. For this reason, the ordinary people could not recognize his attitude to 'Uthmān and to the killing of 'Uthmān. Some people believed that he was pleased with what those people did to 'Uthmān. Others believed that he agreed with them and even rallied them against 'Uthmān. Others believed that he followed his personal desires and failed to do what he had to do towards 'Uthmān. Others believed that he loathed what these people did to 'Uthmān when they laid siege on him; therefore, they claimed that he was loyal to and pleased with 'Uthmān's deeds, but he was too weak to support him.

What contributed to raising doubts about Imam 'Alī's attitude was that he had different situations with 'Uthmān. Once, he denied his acts that the Muslims denied, at another time he defended him and warned the people of the different regions against shedding his blood, at a third time he denied the acts of those who deprived 'Uthmān of water, expressed his wrath for this act, and became angry, at a fourth time he secluded himself to his house while he was the people hurrying to kill and shed the blood of 'Uthmān without Imam 'Alī

(‘a) having admonished them or reminded them to fear Allah the Almighty. In the meantime, Imam ‘Alī (‘a) was obeyed and venerated by those people who would most surely listen to, do as he would say, and follow his orders. Besides, on other occasions, Imam ‘Alī (‘a) deserted ‘Uthmān, but sometimes he reconciled with them. Likewise, sometimes he disputed with him but at other times he made peace with him; sometimes he reproached him but at other times used nice words with him; and sometimes he worked toward making peace between the people and him but at other times he refrained from doing so for a long time. All these inconsistent attitudes made the people hold different opinions about Imam ‘Alī’s attitude to ‘Uthmān and to what happened to him. After all, Imam ‘Alī (‘a), after the slaying of ‘Uthmān, said many words whose apparent meanings opposed with one another and whose purports roused many reservations. For instance, he is reported to have said, “By Allah, I have neither killed ‘Uthmān nor helped those who killed him.”⁽¹⁾

On another occasion, Imam ‘Alī (‘a) said, “It was Allah Who killed ‘Uthmān, and I am with him.”⁽²⁾

On a third occasion, he said, “Even if no one will be allowed into Paradise except the murderer of ‘Uthmān, I will never enter it. Likewise, even if no one will be sent to Hellfire except the murderer of ‘Uthmān, I will not enter it, either.”⁽³⁾

Imam ‘Alī (‘a) is also reported to have said on a fourth occasion, “By Allah, the slaying of ‘Uthmān has neither displeased nor pleased me. I neither liked that nor abhorred it.”⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 3/82; Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī, *Tārikh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah* 4/1265; al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* 1/592; Abū-Hilāl al-‘Askarī, *Jamharat Amthāl al-‘Arab* 2/131; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, page 182, *al-Shāfi* 4/307-8; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 4/127; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Mukhtaṣar Tārikh Dimashq* 16/252; Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/66; al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍīrah* 2/70; Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab* 1/160 (root: m-l-); Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ash‘arī, *al-Tamhīd wa’l-Bayān*, page 190. Different versions of this famous saying of Imam ‘Alī (‘a) were mentioned in the different reference books.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī, *Tārikh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah* 4/1258, 1259, and 1268; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ta’wīl Mukhtalaf al-Ḥadīth*, page 40; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī* 20/40 and 57; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 4/308; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 4/128; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Mukhtaṣar Tārikh Dimashq* 16/254; Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/66.

⁽³⁾ Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī, *Tārikh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah* 4/1268; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ta’wīl Mukhtalaf al-Ḥadīth*, page 40; Ibn ‘Abd-Rabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd* 4/302; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Mukhtaṣar Tārikh Dimashq* 16/254.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī, *Tārikh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah* 4/1263; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-*

On another occasion, he ('a) said, "May Allah suppress those who killed 'Uthmān!"⁽¹⁾

When the renegades raised the slogan of demanding with punishing the murderers of 'Uthmān, Imam 'Alī ('a) delivered a sermon within which he said, "Now, let those who killed 'Uthmān stand up." Responding to him, four thousand people of those who took sides with him stood up. Imam 'Alī ('a) then said in an interrogative way, "Is it possible that all those four thousand persons are killed because they killed 'Uthmān? In fact, the murderers of 'Uthmān were his supporters, helpers, and companions, although 'Uthmān showed loyalty, respect, honor, and love to them; and he trusted and placed his confidence in them."⁽²⁾

All the same, Imam 'Alī ('a) is reported to have invoked Allah's wrath upon those who killed 'Uthmān, saying, "O Allah, please kill those who murdered 'Uthmān, whether they are on lands or in seas."⁽³⁾

Many other narrations have been reported from Imam 'Alī ('a) on the same topic. However, if we match these narrations to one another and try to understand each one of them on the basis of the others, we will find that they are compatible with and never contradictory to one another, especially when we take into consideration the circumstances under which each saying was said as well as Imam 'Alī's awareness of the consequences and considering the public interests of the Muslim community.

Al-Jāhīz's opinion about Imam 'Alī

Al-Jāhīz claimed that after the assassination of 'Uthmān, Imam 'Alī ('a) was exposed to unbearable ordeals, because all those who waged wars against him employed the killing of 'Uthmān as their argument and pretext. Al-Jāhīz thus says, "The apparent circumstances give the false impression that 'Alī was

Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah, page 47; al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* 4/595; Sharif al-Murtadā, *al-Shāfi* 4/307-8; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 4/127-8; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/65-6.

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī, *Tārīkh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah* 4/1262; Ibn 'Asākir, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq* 16/254; al-Ṭabari, *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah* 2/71.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted in Aḥmad ibn Dāwūd al-Daynawarī's *al-Akḥbār al-Ṭiwāl*, page 170.

⁽³⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted in Ibn Abī-Shaybah's *al-Muṣannaf* 7/539, al-Numayrī's *Tārīkh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah* 4/1261 and 1267, Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih's *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/305, Ibn Qudāmah's *al-Mughnī* 20/43, and al-Ṭabari's *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah* 2/70.

responsible for the slaying of 'Uthmān, because of his wavering attitude to him. Sometimes, 'Alī dissociated himself from 'Uthmān and, at other times, he deserted him for long periods. The people of Egypt and Iraq who denied 'Uthmān's deeds used to resort to 'Alī in order to mediate between 'Uthmān and them, because they listened to 'Alī, obeyed, revered, and trusted him. Yet, 'Alī refused to support 'Uthmān and then he became the leader after him, asking the slayers of 'Uthmān to support him against those who waged war against him. For these reasons, the people did not doubt that 'Alī was the killer of 'Uthmān."

Al-Jāhīz adds, "One of these reasons were enough to raise doubts against him; so, with greater reason, all these reasons together make the matter undoubted."

He continues to say, "The people knew for sure that in every country that is ruled by a governor, a vizier, or an official, there might be someone who believes that he is qualified enough to occupy that office instead of that governor and skilled enough to hold that post; and that person may be greedy to win the leadership won by that governor, but he failed to win it; therefore, he focuses on that governor through such acts that prevent him from running the affairs properly so that this would lead to overthrowing him from that post. As a result, such a governor secludes himself to his house and be careful lest that man would work towards dismissing him from his office and taking his place. Yet, that person finally passes away naturally, but the people do not doubt that the governor must have conspired on killing him or plotted to do so. However, if that man is killed by a celebrated personality for such a reason like causing harm to him or robbing his fortune, then the people would decisively believe that the governor had a hand in that crime and it was he who ran it. It also happens that the ruler may detain one of his subjects for a personal reason, but when that person passes away in the jail, the people swear by God that it was the ruler who killed him and the masses will have no doubt that the ruler had a share in shedding the blood of that person, even if the ruler takes tens of oaths that the death of that person was natural, the people will never deem him innocent from that crime and, moreover, they will employ the ruler's oaths as evidence proving their false impressions."

Al-Jāhīz then claims: "'Alī's sayings about 'Uthmān were contradictory and opposing one another, because he was in urgent need for releasing himself from the shedding of 'Uthmān's blood, so that he would stop the people of al-Baṣrah and Levant from attacking him. At the same time, he needed the ascription of shedding 'Uthmān's blood to him so that he would make the

subjects obedient to him and make them support him against his enemies.”⁽¹⁾

The fact is indeed the opposite of what al-Jāhiz claimed and the true story is not as he imagined; rather, al-Jāhiz said these words on account of his thinking that Imam ‘Alī (‘a) should have behaved in the same way chosen by the seekers of the worldly pleasures and by those who do not have faith, certitude, and piety. Hence, al-Jāhiz thought that Imam ‘Alī (‘a) should have acted like those whose deeds and words are aimed at gaining worldly victories without paying any attention to the Hereafter. Thus, the fact is that Imam ‘Alī’s acts and words, which have been earlier mentioned in this book, were founded on the purposes that I have mentioned when I proved that they were completely compatible with the religion and with the interests of Muslims; therefore, whoever ponders over what I have mentioned and thinks deliberately about it with a sound reason, will find the truth as exactly as what I have described.

⁽¹⁾ It is noteworthy that this was not the actual conception of al-Jāhiz concerning this issue; rather, he stated in one of his epistles that is entitled: *‘The Two Arbitrators and the Approval of the Accuracy of Imam ‘Alī’s Deeds, (Risālat al-Ḥakamayni wa-Taṣwībī Amīr al-Mu’minīna ‘Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib fī Fi’lih)’* that Imam ‘Alī (‘a) was absolutely innocent from the accusation of shedding ‘Uthmān’s blood. Al-Jāhiz thus says: “One of the greatest proofs of commending ‘Alī for he was released from the shedding of ‘Uthmān’s blood was that the ordinary people deemed horrible the shedding of ‘Uthmān’s blood but they at the same time deemed ‘Alī innocently not responsible for this deed. The majority of the troops of ‘Uthmān, the commanders of his army, and the chiefs of the tribes believed the otherwise, because they had a bad idea about ‘Uthmān and had a good idea about his slayers; and the people did not have any other troops than those. For this reason, if ‘Alī had demonstrated unflawed evidence that he released himself from ‘Uthmān’s slayers, he would have anticipated that the army of the state would revolt against him; therefore, he tried his best to evade saying anything about this issue. Yet, whenever he had to say something, he would say a word that could be interpreted in a way that satisfies the opinions of the two parties. If you were present there, you would most surely excuse him; if you knew the states to which he was exposed, you would most surely approve of his deeds and you, moreover, would know that there was no other alternative than the opinion he chose and there was no other correct option than the one he decided. Beware of judging the leaders to have made mistakes, for if he had not chosen this way because the interests that were hidden from the others lied in that way alone for fear of something or for achieving the public interest, it would have been obligatory upon him to avoid it. For this reason, ‘Alī is reported to have said, ‘I have neither killed ‘Uthmān nor have I ordered them to do so,’ and ‘I was neither displeased nor pleased with what they did to ‘Uthmān.’ He is also reported to have said, ‘It was Allah Who killed ‘Uthmān, and I am with Him,’ in addition to many other statements that can be interpreted into different purports.” Reference: al-Jāhiz, *al-Rasā’il al-Siyāsiyyah*, page 382.

The 'Uthmāniyyah's opinion about the slayers of 'Uthmān

The followers of 'Uthmān claimed that there are some points of evidence that prove Imam 'Alī's participation in the slaying of 'Uthmān; and these points have been confirmed by many reports and endorsed by the transmitters of narrations.

For instance, Imam 'Alī ('a) led the congregational prayer on the Immolation Day, while 'Uthmān was suffering from the siege laid on him, without asking his permission; rather, he prevailed on 'Uthmān in the performing of this ritual devotional act. Relying on this fact, al-Shāfi'i employed this incident as his evidence on the validity and legality of the ritual Friday Prayer and 'Īd Prayers when they are led by a person who prevails on the actual ruler. Al-Shāfi'i thus disagrees with the jurists of Iraq who denied this religious ruling and decided that the Friday and 'Īd Prayers are invalid when they are led by a person who prevails on the people while the actual ruler is there.

In this regard, al-Rabī' and al-Muzanī narrated that al-Shāfi'i said about this jurisprudential question, "It is not objectionable to establish the congregational Friday and 'Īd Prayers when they are led by the ruler or by a person who is under the actual ruler's rule. The evidence is that 'Alī led a congregational prayer while 'Uthmān was under the siege."⁽¹⁾

Abū-Hudhayfah al-Qurashī reported Muḥammad ibn Ishāq and others as saying: While 'Uthmān was under the siege, some people came to him and said, "Do you not see those who lead a congregational prayer on Friday while you are in this state? Why do you order them to do so?" That was because Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullāh led the people in the congregational Friday Prayer while 'Uthmān was under the siege. They thus reported 'Uthmān to have said, "If they do well, then you should follow them; but if they do the otherwise, then you should avoid them. Prayer is a good thing; so, you may follow them when they lead a prayer."⁽²⁾

The followers of 'Uthmān claimed that Imam 'Alī ('a) was accused of shedding the blood of 'Uthmān just because he led the people in a congregational prayer on the Immolation Day before obtaining 'Uthmān's permission. Al-Shāfi'i, too, claimed that Imam 'Alī ('a) prevailed on the legal

⁽¹⁾ Muḥammad ibn Idris al-Shāfi'i, *Kitāb al-Umm* 1/192 and 156; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, page 99.

⁽²⁾ Al-Numayrī, *Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah* 4/1215-6; Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ash'arī, *al-Tamhīd wa'l-Bayān*, page 116; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 13/88; *Mukhtaṣar Kanz al-'Ummāl* 5/25.

leader when he did so. Yet, no one of them accused Ṭalḥah of responsibility for the slaying of 'Uthmān although he, too, led the people in the congregational Friday Prayer while 'Uthmān was under the siege and no one accused Ṭalḥah to have prevailed on the *legal* leader; rather, they deemed him innocent from having any role in the shedding of 'Uthmān's blood, although it was Ṭalḥah who ran the operations of laying siege on 'Uthmān until he slew him. Their claim of releasing Ṭalḥah from responsibility was based on nothing but that Ṭalḥah opposed Imam 'Alī ('a) and raised the slogan of demanding with punishing the slayers of 'Uthmān, taking this slogan as argument for waging war against Imam 'Alī ('a). In fact, these people are feeble-minded and unintelligent; therefore, they are driven to spurious arguments easily.

Another false claim on which those people hold in their accusing Imam 'Alī ('a) of shedding 'Uthmān's blood after that which I have mentioned and listed, is that Imam 'Alī ('a) remained in al-Madīnah during the days of laying siege on 'Uthmān, although, they claim, Usāmah ibn Zayd advised him to leave the city. In this respect, Abū-Ḥudhayfah al-Qurashī reported those whom he trusted as saying: Usāmah ibn Zayd said to 'Alī, "O Abū'l-Ḥasan! You, by Allah, are dearer to me than my own hearing and sight; so, please obey me and leave the city for your land in Yanbu'. If 'Uthmān is killed while you are there, some people will accuse you of shedding his blood, but if this takes place while you are not there, then the people will never choose anyone over you." 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās answered Usāmah, "O Abū-Muḥammad! You are asking him to do something that is too late to do. Do you want him to accept the leadership after three people of Quraysh had taken his place?"⁽¹⁾

Yūsuf ibn Dinār narrated that 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Umayr al-Lakhmī reported Ibn Abī-Laylā as saying: During his visit to al-Kūfah, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān asked me about the way 'Uthmān was slain; so, I informed him of the details. He further asked, "Where was 'Alī on that day?" I said, "'Alī was on the chair of judgment; he was obeyed in everything he ordered or warned. I did see him at Aḥjar al-Zayt putting on his sword while someone was calling, 'Allah has secured all the people except the wretch Na'thal.'" 'Abd al-Malik asked, "Did you hear 'Alī say anything?" "No, I did not," I answered.⁽²⁾

Al-Nakha'ī reported 'Alqamah ibn Qays as saying: Ummu-Ḥabībah, the daughter of Abū-Sufyān, sent a messenger to 'Alī who was sitting in the

⁽¹⁾ Al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* 1/568.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration with what is quoted by Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī in *Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah* 4/1170.

mosque, asking him to grant security to her family members who were in their houses. [Imam] 'Alī ('a) answered, "All the people are secured except the wretch son of Abu'l-'Āṣ (i.e. 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, the grandson of Abu'l-'Āṣ)." "

Khālīd al-Ḥadhdhā' also reported a man of the Banū-Shaybān tribe as saying: "On the day 'Uthmān was killed, I saw 'Alī delivering a speech from the minbar while he was holding his sword."

The devotees of 'Uthmān employed these narrations and their likes as spurious argument to accuse Imam 'Alī ('a) of having a hand in the assassination of 'Uthmān. Besides, they also advanced as argument the fact that Imam 'Alī ('a), immediately after the slaying of 'Uthmān, took his riding animals and armors. About this incident, al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah, addressing the men of the Banū-Hāshim tribe, composed these poetic verses:

*O Banū-Hāshim! Give back the weapons of your sister's son,
And do not plunder him, for it is illegal for you to loot him!
O Banū-Hāshim! How can there be leniency amongst us,
While 'Alī has his armor and his best riding-animals?
O Banū-Hāshim! How can there be intimacy amongst us,
While you hold the clothes, furniture, and fortunes of Arwā's son?
O Banū-Hāshim! What is between you and us is like the cracking!
He who cracked a convention will never patch it up.
They killed him so that they will take his place,
Just like the satraps who betrayed Khosrow!
If you are not his slayers, then there is no difference
Between those who were peaceful to him and those who punched him!⁽¹⁾*

(1) Al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* 1/598; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, 1/452-3; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/356; Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī* 5/120 and 149-50; Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 3/636; Abu'Faḍl al-Nayshābūrī, *Majma' al-Amthāl* 1/426; Ibn 'Asākir, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq* 16/274; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/270; Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ash'arī, *al-Tamhīd wa'l-Bayān*, page 210; al-'Āṣimī, *Samt al-Nujūm al-'Awālī* 2/413.

Al-Faḍl ibn al-'Abbās ibn 'Utbah ibn Abī-Lahab composed some poetic verses in return to these verses whose composer accused the descendants of Hāshim of false things. He thus said:

*Do not demand us to give you back your sword,
For it was wasted, and its holder threw it away out of fear!
You likened him to Khosrow, while he is actually like him,
Yet in true guidance and in good deeds.
Ask the people of Egypt about the weapon of our sister's son,
For they plundered his sword and his fortunes.*

The fans of 'Uthmān also cited these poetic verses composed by Ḥassān ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī as evidence on the accuracy of their claim:

*They slew the gray-haired man who was a signpost of prostration!
He spent the night with glorifications and recitation of the Qur'ān!
I wish I could know, and were the birds to tell me,
What was the wrong of 'Affān's son in 'Alī's sight!
Very soon you will hear calls in the quarters of the Helpers and al-Madīnah:
"Allah is the Greatest! We are here to revenge for 'Uthmān!"⁽¹⁾*

On the same topic, Ḥassān composed these verses, too:

*Who blames me if I condemn al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥah,
For they excited a sedition that has its own whirlwind,
Then they told the people, "Catch the miscreant!"
Thus a fire flared up in al-Madīnah!
Muḥammad, Abū-Bakr's son, followed by 'Ammār,
Warmed themselves with that fire publicly!
'Alī, also, from his house, asked the people,
To slow down, while he had the updates of all events.
'Uthmān stretched his palms and gave away even his arms,
And he enjoyed full solemnity and gravity.
The Helpers let him down when death came upon him
While they were his most trusted people.
Just like the Jews who deviated from the religion
When their rabbis deceived them.⁽²⁾*

*'Alī is Allah's representative after Muḥammad,
And he was his partner in all situations.
'Alī, Allah's representative, supported His religion
While you were with the wretched ones who fought against him.
You are also a strange man and an alien,
So, none of us is your close friend that you may blame.
The All-beneficent Lord has revealed that you are wicked
And you have no share in Islam that you may demand!*

These verses are quoted in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī's *al-Futūḥ* 1/453, al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/356-7, Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd's *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/271, and al-'Āṣimī's *Samt al-Nujūm al-'Awālī* 2/413, where they are ascribed to 'Utbah ibn Abī-Lahab.

⁽¹⁾ Al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* 1/559; al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/425; Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ* 1/429; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/298; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, page 208; Ibn al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil* 3/198; al-Ash'arī, *al-Tamhīd wa'l-Bayān*, page 179; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 19/511-2; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, page 462; al-'Āṣimī, *Samt al-Nujūm al-'Awālī* 2/412.

⁽²⁾ Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ* 1/428; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/297; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*

The 'Uthmāniyyah cited the like of these poetic verses as points of evidence, as an attempt to prove their false claims. Yet, all these points are easily refutable, thanks to Allah the All-exalted.

Refutations

Regarding their claim that Imam 'Alī ('a) was responsible for shedding 'Uthmān's blood because he led the people in the congregational prayer on the Immolation day while 'Uthmān was under the siege, this claim is refutable from two standpoints:

First, the Shī'ah—who believe that Imam 'Alī ('a) was nominated to the direct succession to the Holy Prophet (ṣ) through decisive commands revealed by Allah the Almighty and declared openly by the Holy Prophet (ṣ), and they believe that he was the most entitled to the leadership of the Muslim nation directly after the Holy Prophet's passing away—argue that since Imam 'Alī ('a) was the leader, the obedience to whom is an obligatory duty, he has the right to do whatever he can do as necessitated by his being the Imam. So, the post of Imamate that he enjoyed necessitates that he should lead the Muslims in the congregational prayers, issue decisions regarding jihad and fighting, execute the penal laws of Islam, and establish the judgments according to the Islamic Law. Thus, when the Imam is allowed to do a thing that is within his authority over Muslims, then this does not mean that he participated in shedding anyone's blood or that he had the intention to kill him.

Second, according to the standpoint of the others who believe that leadership of the Muslim community should be decided through election, they believe that when the current leader changes a law, violates an Islamic rule, and does something due to which the pledge of allegiance to him is automatically revoked, then the most virtuous persons have the right to lead the people in the congregational prayers, and in bidding what is right and forbidding what is wrong, until a new leader is selected by the people. This rule is decided by those who believe that the leadership should be founded on elections. Consequently, 'Uthmān misbehaved and did horrible things that led the people to overthrow him; therefore, the duty of obeying him was cancelled and then the most virtuous persons were responsible for leading the others in the congregational prayers until a new leader, who deserved this post, would be selected. Even if some people believed that the leadership of 'Uthmān was not canceled because of the events he committed, but he was unable to lead the people in the congregational prayer, then it was the mission of the

virtuous persons to lead the people in the congregational prayers on behalf of him.

In conclusion, according to the two standpoints, it is unreasonable that Imam 'Alī ('a) is accused of shedding 'Uthmān's blood or of involving himself in slaying him just because he led the people in the congregational prayer on the Immolation Day while 'Uthmān was under the siege.

Moreover, our opponents reported that 'Uthmān permitted Ṭalḥah to lead the people in the congregational prayers; so, some people asked him to permit them to follow Ṭalḥah in these prayers; and 'Uthmān answered, "If they do well, then you should follow them; but if they do the otherwise, then you should avoid them." In view of that, although 'Uthmān was under the siege, he decided that the prayers of those people are acceptably good; and if this were not allowable, he would not permit those people to participate in these prayers; rather, he allowed it and described the leaders of these prayers as good-doers. Now, there is no way to accept the claim of those who employed Imam 'Alī's leading the people in the congregational prayer while 'Uthmān was under the siege as evidence on his shedding 'Uthmān's blood or participating in slaying him. In fact, those who claim so founded their false claim on their obstinacy and they must have deviated from the track of fairness.

The opponents also claimed that Imam 'Alī ('a) remained in al-Madīnah until 'Uthmān was slain; so, he neither left the city nor went away from those did what they did to 'Uthmān, although Usāmah advised him to leave the city and warned him against remaining there; otherwise, some people would hold him responsible for shedding 'Uthmān's blood. The opponents thus take this event for evidence on Imam 'Alī's liability for the slaying of 'Uthmān.

In fact, this claim is refutable too, since evidence cannot be proven through such insignificant argument. To discuss, it is not improbable that Imam 'Alī ('a) did not want to leave the city of al-Madīnah and, instead, he insisted to remain there because he wanted to be in a better position of defending 'Uthmān. If Imam 'Alī ('a) had left al-Madīnah, the people would have killed 'Uthmān at an earlier time and they might have committed further crimes, causing unavoidable sedition and inescapable chaos; therefore, Imam 'Alī ('a) stayed there, but not for the purpose of helping the slayers of 'Uthmān. In fact, if Imam 'Alī ('a) had left al-Madīnah while 'Uthmān was under the siege, the accusation of his slaying 'Uthmān would have been swifter.

The accusers then provided the words of 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās to Usāmah ibn Zayd as evidence on the claim that Imam 'Alī ('a) was responsible for the

slaying of 'Uthmān, since 'Abdullāh said, "Do you want him to accept the leadership after three people of Quraysh had taken his place?"

These words do not hold any evidence that 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās preferred to have 'Uthmān killed nor there is any evidence that Imam 'Alī ('a) and he involved themselves in the slaying of 'Uthmān; rather, these words meant that 'Abdullāh preferred that the next leadership of the Muslim community would be given to the Banū-Hāshim. It is not deniable that Imam 'Alī ('a), too, preferred that the leadership after 'Uthmān would be given to him so that he would establish the laws ordained by Allah the Almighty, put into practice the rules of the religion, and achieve the interests of Muslims. In fact, he who prefers holding the leadership for these purposes while he is qualified enough to run the affairs of leadership, must be praiseworthy. Besides, this is legal according to the Imāmiyyah Shī'ah, Zaydiyyah, and Jārudiyyah⁽¹⁾ who believe that Imam 'Alī ('a) was appointed as the direct successor to the Holy Prophet (ṣ) through statements issued by Allah the Almighty and His Apostle.⁽²⁾ It is also legal according to the beliefs of those who hold that the leader should be appointed by election.

To explain, as for those who believe that the leadership of the Muslims have been defined through sacred texts, they hold that Imam 'Alī ('a) was the legal leader of Muslims, and it was obligatory upon them to obey him; therefore, it was one of his duties to exert all efforts possible for reaching what legal leaders should establish and to run what they should run, without any negligence or indifference. As long as these acts are within the competences of the legal leader, then what Imam 'Alī ('a) intended must have been a praiseworthy thing. Additionally, the claim of the opponents that Imam 'Alī ('a) had the desire for coming to power after 'Uthmān for personal purposes is

⁽¹⁾ The Jārudiyyah, a branch of the Zaydiyyah, are the followers of Abu'l-Jārūd Ziyād ibn al-Mundhir al-'Abdī. They believe that the Holy Prophet (ṣ) nominated Imam 'Alī ('a) to the post of leadership directly after him by description but not by name; therefore, violating this Prophetic statement is considered disbelief. They also believe that Imam al-Ḥasan ('a) was the legal leader after his father Imam 'Alī ('a), and Imam al-Ḥusayn ('a) followed him. Yet, Imamate after that should be decided by means of consultation within the descendants of Imam al-Ḥasan and Imam al-Ḥusayn. Thus, a descendant (of the Imam) who revolts, unsheathing his sword and calling to the religion of Allah, is the legal Imam, on condition that he is knowledgeable and pious. For further information, refer to the following reference books: Al-Ḥasan al-Nūbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shī'ah*, page 21; Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* 1/133-6; al-Isfarā'īnī, *al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq*, page 30-2 and *al-Tabṣīr fi'l-Dīn*, page 16; al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal* 1/157-9; Abū-Sa'id al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-'īn*, pages 155-6; al-Yamānī, *al-Munyah wa'l-Amal*, page 20.

⁽²⁾ See 'Allāmah al-Hillī, *Kashf al-Murād*, page 366.

utterly mistaken, although it is not deniable that his staying in al-Madinah was purposed for avoiding that unqualified persons might jump to power after 'Uthmān would be killed; therefore, Imam 'Alī ('a) remained there because he wanted to defend the position of leadership as long as he would be amongst the people and because he knew for sure that the people would not choose any other one than him for this position. If Imam 'Alī ('a) had been away from al-Madinah, the post of leadership would have been seized by an unqualified person who could not be trusted to run the affairs of the religion, and then it would have been difficult to overthrow him. This belief is accepted by those who believe the leadership to be appointed by election as well as those who believe it to have been already appointed through sacred texts. In conclusion, there is no evidence on accusing Imam 'Alī ('a) of shedding 'Uthmān's blood.

As for the case that, immediately after the slaying of 'Uthmān, Imam 'Alī ('a) took the riding animals and the armors that were claimed to have been possessed by 'Uthmān,⁽¹⁾ this case does not entail any evidence that Imam 'Alī ('a) was responsible for the killing of 'Uthmān, as was provided by those who accused him of this act. Likewise, the poetic verses composed by al-Walid ibn 'Uqbah and have been earlier cited in this book cannot be taken for evidence. In fact, if Imam 'Alī ('a) had not hurried to take 'Uthmān's properties, they would have most surely been looted and robbed by one of the subjects who did not have the right to do so and then would have taken them for himself or for his master. Imam 'Alī ('a) was the legal leader after 'Uthmān as was unanimously agreed upon by all Muslims; therefore, the legal leader had the right to put his hand on the properties of Muslims and on the legacies of the dead ones so that he would then had them over to the beneficiaries, preventing them from reaching the hands of the others.

As al-Walid ibn 'Uqbah was prevented from taking what he did not deserve to take, this does not mean that those who prevented him from holding sway over these properties were betrayers or looters. Likewise, al-Walid's claims were always unacceptable and his testimonies were inadmissible, because the Qur'ān has declared him as wicked and evildoer. Thus, the Holy Qur'ān stated: *"O you who believe! If a wicked person comes to you with any news, ascertain the truth, lest you harm people unwittingly, and afterwards become full of repentance for what ye have done. [Sūrah al-Hujurāt 49, verse 6]"*

(1) When 'Uthmān was killed, Imam 'Alī ('a) ordered that whatever weapon, money, riding animals, and camels of the alms should be taken and put in the house of the public treasury. The other properties were divided by Imam 'Alī ('a) as inheritance among 'Uthmān's wives and children. See: Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/433-4 and Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī* 5/149.

Scholars of Qur'ānic exegesis reported that this Qur'ānic verse were revealed about al-Walid ibn 'Uqbah after the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) had sent him to collect the taxes of some people, but he returned and claimed that those people had refrained from giving him anything and even prepared themselves for waging a war against him. Upon hearing this, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) recruited a group of people to holding off their raid. Immediately after that, a messenger sent by those people came to the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) and belied al-Walid's claim and declared that they were Muslims and obedient to the Holy Prophet (ﷺ). On this occasion, Allah the All-glorified revealed the aforesaid Qur'ānic verse, declaring al-Walid to be a wicked person.⁽¹⁾

It has also been famously reported that al-Walid, one day, said to Imam 'Alī ('a) in a debate, "I have a more eloquent tongue than yours and my sword is sharper than yours."

Imam 'Alī ('a) answered, "Shut your mouth! You are a wicked, faithless man."

On this occasion, Allah the All-exalted revealed this Qur'ānic verse: "*Is then the man who believes no better than the man who is rebellious and wicked? Not equal are they.* [Sūrah al-Sajdah 32, verse 18]"⁽²⁾

Moreover, if Imam 'Alī ('a) had taken for himself the armors and the animals of 'Uthmān after his killing, 'Uthmān's wives and children would have been more entitled than al-Walid to possessing these things; and it would have been more appropriate for Imam 'Alī ('a) to give them to 'Uthmān's heirs than giving them to al-Walid and his likes from the descendants of Umayyah who did not any share in 'Uthmān's legacy. With all the more reason, these things were within the spoils of war in which all Muslims deserved to have shares, but 'Uthmān had seized and taken them for himself exclusively. Yet, when the people chose Imam 'Alī ('a) as their leader and swore allegiance to him, he took them wherefrom they were and distributed them among their

⁽¹⁾ Al-Wāqidi, *al-Maghāzī* 2/980-1; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-Nabawīyyah* 3/308; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* 26/78-9; Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *al-Aghānī* 5/141; Shaykh al-Tūsī, *al-Tibyān* 9/343; al-Wāhidī, *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*, pages 261-3; al-Zamakhshari, *al-Kashshāf* 4/359; al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma' al-Bayān* 9/132; al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr* 28/119; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* 4/223; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 6/553.

⁽²⁾ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* 21/67-8; Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *al-Aghānī* 5/140; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* 13/321; al-Wāhidī, *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*, pages 235-6; Ibn al-Maghāzili, *al-Manāqib*, page 324; al-Zamakhshari, *al-Kashshāf* 4/513-4; al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma' al-Bayān* 8/332; al-Khawārizmī, *al-Manāqib*, page 279; al-Irbilī, *Kashf al-Ghummaḥ* 1/120-1; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* 3/470.

beneficiaries. Does this act involve any accusation of killing 'Uthmān, except in the sight of the sightless people who failed to find any evidence to their false claim?

Ḥassān ibn Thābit's poetic verses that involved instigations against Imam 'Alī ('a) do not hold any evidence on accusing Imam 'Alī ('a) of killing 'Uthmān. Ḥassān thus composed:

*I wish I could know, and were the birds to tell me,
What was the wrong of 'Affān's son in 'Alī's sight!
Very soon you will hear calls in the quarters of the Helpers and al-Madīnah:
"Allah is the Greatest! We are here to revenge for 'Uthmān!"*

These poetic verses hold an evident accusation of shedding 'Uthmān's blood. Yet, they cannot stand as evidence, because their composer, Ḥassān, had never been an argument so that his words should be taken into consideration, nor had he ever been just and fair so that his testimony should be admitted. The Holy Qur'ān frankly stated that the testimony of Ḥassān and his likes should be rejected. Thus, Allah the Almighty and All-majestic states: "*And those who launch a charge against chaste women and do not produce four witnesses to support their allegations, then flog them with eighty stripes; and reject their evidence ever after, for such men are wicked transgressors.* [Sūrah al-Nūr 24, verse 4]"

Unquestionably, Ḥassān was one of those who launched a charge against 'Ā'ishah; therefore, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) sentenced him to the punishment of flogging, because his charge was false.⁽¹⁾ On the strength of the fact that the Holy Qur'ān prohibits Muslims from admitting the testimonies of the wicked transgressors, it is obligatory to reject Ḥassān's testimony under all conditions. Besides, all the jurisprudents of Iraq have unanimously agreed that the testimony of one who launches false charges is always rejected even if he repents.⁽²⁾ According to the jurisprudence of this school, Ḥassān's testimony is rejected under all conditions.

However, other scholars of Muslim jurisprudence issued that the testimony of one who launches false charges is accepted after he repents. Yet, there is disagreement among these scholars about the details of this question. Some of

(1) Al-Wāqidi, *al-Maghāzī* 1/434; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 2/616; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 1/340; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah* 2/6.

(2) Al-Shāfi'ī, *Kitāb al-Umm* 7/45; al-Qurṭubī, *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid* 2/457. According to Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥilli, in *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, page 565, "Abū-Ḥanīfah said: If one launches a false charge and then sentenced to its punishment of flogging, then his testimony will never be accepted even if he repents a thousand times."

them specify that the repentance of such a person is not accepted unless he stands in the very place where he launched his false charge, gives the lie to himself, and demonstrates repentance from his crime. Only then may his testimony be accepted.⁽¹⁾ According to this opinion, Ḥassān's testimony is still rejected, because no one informed that Ḥassān gave the lie to himself publicly and retreated from his false charge voluntarily; therefore, his repentance is not acceptable.

Other jurists, however, accepted the testimony of those who launch false charges are accepted after they declare repentance, without specifying the aforesaid conditions of repentance.⁽²⁾ Still, there is no evidence that Ḥassān repented from his offensive deed of launching false charge against a married woman; and the committers of such a sort of offence are decided as perverse and their testimonies are rejected according to the laws of Islam. In conclusion, Ḥassān's poetic verses cannot be held for evidence on the false claim of accusing Imam 'Alī ('a) of having shed 'Uthmān's blood. Besides, all Muslims have unanimously agreed that Ḥassān is a blameworthy person whose words are never to be accepted, as is believed by the followers of all Muslim sects and groups, because he, on the Ghadīr Day and in the presence of the Holy Prophet (ṣ), said what he had said about Imam 'Alī ('a), bearing witness that Imam 'Alī ('a) is the true leader after the Holy Prophet (ṣ) and that Allah the Almighty issued statements of nominating him to the leadership of the Muslim community directly after the Holy Prophet (ṣ). For this reason, the Mu'tazilah rejected Ḥassān's words, the Ḥashwiyyah denied him, the Khawārij discarded him, and all of Muslim sects and groups belied him except for the followers of the Shī'ah Imāmiyyah sect and the Jārūdiyyah.

Ḥassān's poetic verses that he composed and delivered on the Ghadīr Day, to which I have earlier referred, are the following:

*On the day of Ghadīr, their Prophet called them
In Khumm; How great the Prophet's call was!
Saying, "Who is your master and leader?"
They answered and showed no negligence:
"Your Lord is our Master and you are our Leader
And none of us will disobey you in this regard."
He said: "Stand up, 'Alī, for I will appoint you
The Imam and the guide after me
This is the leader of him whose master was I*

⁽¹⁾ Al-Shāfi'i, *Kitāb al-Umm* 7/45-6.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*

Hence, be faithful and sincere followers of him."

And then he prayed: "O Allah! Support his supporter

And be the enemy of him who will oppose 'Alī. '(1)

However, these words of Ḥassān are acceptable by the Shī'ah just because he said them in the presence of Allah's Apostle (ṣ) who did not deny them; therefore, these words stand for argument, because the Holy Prophet (ṣ) testified to their accuracy. On the other hand, all the Nawāṣib reject them and give the lie to Ḥassān in these words only, but they admit his other words that included false accusations and apparent sedition-making, without there being any clear evidence on his claims. Ḥassān's words when he described 'Uthmān to have been wronged with respect to the deeds to which he was exposed, and that he was innocent in the sight of Allah the All-exalted, and he was one of the people of true piety and faith are all unaccepted by the Emigrants, the Helpers, their followers in goodness, who laid siege on 'Uthmān, as well as the Shī'ah, the Khawārij, the Mu'tazilah, and the Butriyyah⁽²⁾—all of whom rejected and denied Ḥassān's words when he said:

They slew the gray-haired man who was a signpost of prostration!

He spent the night with glorifications and recitation of the Qur'ān!

Hence, as long as Ḥassān is decided as liar according to the opinions of the

(1) Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, page 460; Shaykh al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, pages 94-5; Sharif al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, pages 235-6; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Rasā'il al-'Ashr*, page 190; Abū-Nu'aym, *Mā Nazala fi'l-Qur'ān fi 'Alī*, pages 57-8; al-Karājaki, *Kanz al-Fawā'id* 1/268; al-Fattāl al-Nayshābūrī, *Rawḍat al-Wā'izīn*, page 103; al-Ṭabarsī, *I'lām al-Warā*, page 133; al-Khawārizmī, *al-Manāqib*, page 136; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Alī Abī-Ṭālib* 3/27-8; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 33; al-Kanjī, *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*, page 64; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Ṭarā'if*, page 146; al-Juwaynī, *Farā'id al-Simṭayn* 1/73-5; al-Bayāzī, *al-Ṣirāt al-Mustaqīm* 1/305.

(2) The Butriyyah sect, a group of the Zaydiyyah, is a faction that included the followers of al-Ḥasan ibn Ṣāliḥ and Kathīr al-Nawwā' who is nicknamed: al-Abtar. They believe that Imamate, in the sense of the political and leadership of the Muslim nation, must be based on consultation; and it is valid when two virtuous men of the community approve of it. Although they believe that Imam 'Alī ('a) was the best of all people after the Holy Prophet (ṣ), they deemed legal the leadership of the less virtuous over the more virtuous. Thus, they deem legal the leadership of Abū-Bakr and 'Umar and state, "Although the Muslim nation forsook the most qualified for leading the nation when they paid homage to Abū-Bakr and 'Umar, this mistake does not necessitate that these two men were disbelievers or disloyal." About 'Uthmān's leadership, the Butriyyah kept silent; neither praising nor dispraising him. For further information, refer to the following reference books: Al-Ḥasan al-Nūbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shī'ah*, page 13; Al-Ash'ari, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* 1/136; al-Isfarā'īnī, *al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq*, page 33; al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal* 1/161; Abū-Sa'id al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-'in*, page 155; al-Yamānī, *al-Munyah wa'l-Amal*, page 20.

Muslim sects that I have earlier mentioned and his testimony is decided as rejected and inadmissible because he had committed the offense of launching false charges against Muslim married women, none should derive evidence from his words that he fabricated except one who is overcast by failure.

Besides, Ḥassān, on another occasion, told untruths when he composed poetic verses on elegizing Abū-Bakr. Accordingly, he is decided as liar by all the different groups of the Shī'ah, the Mu'tazilah, the Murji'ah, and the Ḥashwiyyah who believed that Imam 'Alī ('a) was the best of all people after the Holy Prophet ('a). Al-Jubā'i, his son, their fellows, and all those who adopted their opinion of refraining from saying any word about the superiority in virtue of any of the four caliphs over one another—all those, too, gave the lie to Ḥassān who composed these verses:

*If you remember in grief a trustworthy brother of you,
Then remember your brother Abū-Bakr in what he did.
He was the best of all people, the most pious, and the fairest after the Prophet,
And he was the most sincere to what he was held responsible.
He was the second, the next, and the owner of the praiseworthy situation
And He was the first of all people to have believed in the Apostles.⁽¹⁾*

These facts reveal evidently the invalidity of the claims of those who depend upon Ḥassān's words in any of the religious issues and the worthlessness of the statements of those who provide his words as evidence. It is now obvious that all the words of Ḥassān ibn Thābit, be they poetry or prose, were no more than rhymed words that are usually composed by the poets who neither protect themselves from committing sins, nor abstain from erring, nor care for falling in slips and flaws. Such class of poets, to which Ḥassān belonged, embarked boldly upon composing false words and committing destructive deeds, as Allah the All-exalted described them in His Book, stating: "*Poets are followed around by them bewildered. Do you not see them staggering around in every river-valley? They preach what they never practice.*" [Sūrah al-Shu'arā' 26, verses 224-6]"

Ḥassān, by this attitude, was one of those who wanted to appreciate 'Uthmān's bestowals and benevolence to him, but he was not one of those

(1) Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah* 1/134-42; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, page 205; al-Ḥākim al-Nayshābūrī, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* 3/64; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Isfī'āb* 2/244; al-Karājaki, *Kanz al-Fawā'id* 1/267; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifāt al-Ṣafwah* 1/124; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah* 3/208; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 4/123; al-Haytamī, *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 9/43; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muhriqah*, page 76; al-Tustarī, *al-Ṣawārim al-Muhriqah*, page 335.

who observed piety; therefore, he had nothing to prevent him from fabricating false claims. Finally, one who depends upon the words of Ḥassān and his likes with respect to criticizing Imam 'Alī ('a) and deems lawful the acts of rallying the people against him and seducing them into his animosity—such one is most surely weightless in the sight of Allah the All-exalted, and his loss is too evident to be denied. Allah is always the source from Whom I seek for help.

PART II THE WAR OF THE CAMEL

The onset of arranging for the sedition of al-Baṣrah by its conspirers, their meetings for implementing their scheme, and the reliable narrations in this regard

I have earlier⁽¹⁾ mentioned the reasons for the sedition conspired against Imam 'Alī ('a) in the city of al-Baṣrah, the motives for it, and the purposes behind it. I have mentioned all that with true demonstrations and clear-cut points of evidence, concluding the most accurate facts in this regard and disproving the spurious arguments of the deviants.

Now, I will start with giving details of the story from its very beginning when its conspirers launched it, worked towards it, and had different opinions until they reached at the most proper method of putting it into practice. All these details will be cited according to the narrations and reports that elaborately spread among the experienced scholars of history events and famous occasions, Allah the All-exalted willing.

The renegades and the hypocrites meet in Makkah

[After the slaying of 'Uthmān] the pledge of allegiance to Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) was accomplished when all the members of the Banū-Hāshim clan, the celebrated personalities of the Emigrants, the Helpers, and their followers in goodness agreed on obeying him as their new leader, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr despaired of achieving what they had desired to gain by the killing of 'Uthmān, since they expected yearningly that the people would pay homage to one of them and choose them as the leaders of the nation. 'Ā'ishah, the daughter of Abū-Bakr, became sure that the issue of authority was given to Imam 'Alī ('a) completely and the people agreed unanimously on choosing him as their leader after they had refused to select Ṭalḥah or al-Zubayr for this post; therefore, she knew for sure that the city of al-Madīnah would not be the proper place for these two men after they failed to achieve what they

⁽¹⁾ i.e. in the first part of the book, which is entitled: *al-Nuṣrah li-Sayyid al-'Itrah fī Ḥarb al-Baṣrah* (Supporting the Chief of the Prophetic Family in the War of al-Baṣrah).

had hoped; namely, coming to power after 'Uthmān. Also, the governmental officials whom were employed by 'Uthmān knew for sure that Imam 'Alī ('a) would most certainly dismiss them from their offices and that if they remain in their places or join him, he would order them to deliver the money of Allah the Almighty to him. They also expected that he would punish them for their treason, for their misappropriation of the money of the publics, for their arrogance to the faithful believers, for their belittling the rights of the pious people, and for their employment of wicked and licentious people. Consequently, each one of them worked towards guarding himself against Imam 'Alī ('a), resorted to trickery for plotting against him, and exerted all efforts possible in order to make the publics separate themselves from him. Thus, all of them left for the city of Makkah, seeking shelter therein and finding an asylum for themselves, because they knew that 'Ā'ishah enjoyed a high esteem and position there; therefore, they looked forward to accomplishing their plots against Imam 'Alī ('a) through taking sides with 'Ā'ishah and deceiving the people through this act. As for 'Ā'ishah, she knew that the majority of people inclined to her due to her position to the Holy Prophet (ṣ), since she was regarded as one of the so-called mothers of the believers and the daughter of Abū-Bakr who enjoyed a reverent position in the sights of people. She also knew that all the enemies of Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) would resort to her if she showed opposition to him and called for waging war against him and ruining his affairs of leadership.

When she received the news of the slaying of 'Uthmān while she was in Makkah after she had been an enemy to him, she decided to go to al-Madīnah, hoping that she would be able to accomplish the mission of giving the leadership to Ṭalḥah or al-Zubayr who was her sister's husband,⁽¹⁾ because she did not know that the Muslims agreed to choose Imam 'Alī ('a) for the leadership. So, she started her journey to al-Madīnah. On her way, she met one who announced the death of 'Uthmān. Although this news pleased her joyfully, she turned upside down when she was told that the people had chosen Imam 'Alī ('a) for the leadership and they all paid homage to him after all the Emigrants, the Helpers, their followers in goodness, as well as the people of faith agreed unanimously upon giving preference to Imam 'Alī ('a) and approving of him acceptably as the new leader. This news displeased her very much; therefore, she showed remorse for her previous attitude of rallying the people against 'Uthmān and she hated the news of the completion of choosing Imam 'Alī ('a) for the leadership. As a result, she hurriedly returned to Makkah and resorted to a private place where she hid herself behind a

⁽¹⁾ Asmā' bint Abi-Bakr, 'Ā'ishah's sister, was al-Zubayr's wife.

curtain and asked someone to call the people to come to her. When the people gathered there, she spoke from behind the curtain, calling them to support 'Uthmān, declaring her sadness for hearing the news of his killing, weeping for him, and swearing that he was killed wrongfully.

'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir al-Ḥaḍramī, the ruler of Makkah during 'Uthmān's reign, came to her and said angrily, "Be delighted! 'Uthmān has been killed and you have attained what you desired."

She answered, "Glory be to Allah! How strange this is! Did I ask them to kill him? I only blamed him for something in which he should have pleased me. By Allah, 'Uthmān is very much better than the one who killed him, since he was more accepted by Allah and by the Muslims than his killer. By Allah, his killer has always been posterior since Muḥammad (ṣ) was sent. When Muḥammad passed away, the people refused to prefer that man and they, instead, chose the choicest companions of the Prophet (ṣ), since they never considered him to be qualified for running the affairs of leadership. Yet, he is a man who is fond of leadership. By Allah, we will never agree on choosing him or any of his sons up to the Resurrection Day."

She then addressed the Muslims, "O groups of Muslims! Verily, 'Uthmān was killed wrongfully; and even 'Uthmān's finger was better than the one who killed him."

Thus, 'Ā'ishah went on rallying the people against Imam 'Alī ('a) and calling them to oppose him and break the allegiances they made to him.

A group of hypocrites of Quraysh came to Makkah and the governmental officials during 'Uthmān's reign joined 'Ā'ishah after they had run away from Imam 'Alī ('a). Among those who joined 'Ā'ishah were 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, his brother 'Ubaydullāh, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, and 'Uthmān's sons, slaves, and relatives from the Banū-Umayyah clan. All those took sides with 'Ā'ishah and took her for an asylum and a center for planning for their conspiracies against Imam 'Alī ('a). Likewise, all those who opposed Imam 'Alī ('a) joined her, such as those who envied him, those who abhorred him, those who incurred the animosity of him, those who anticipated that he would take back the people's rights that they had misappropriated, those who intended to excite a sedition among Muslims, and those who desired to betrayed the Muslim community. 'Ā'ishah, in the midst of all that, insisted on her situation and went on lamenting 'Uthmān and releasing herself from his killers, swearing that 'Uthmān was just and good-doer, telling the people that he was killed wrongfully, and urging them on opposing Imam 'Alī ('a) and

uniting to overthrow him.⁽¹⁾

Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr call 'Ā'ishah to provoke sedition

When Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr came to know for sure the real state of affairs regarding the Muslims and themselves, they hurried to join 'Ā'ishah in order to collaborate on going up against Imam 'Alī ('a). The first step was that they asked him to allow them to go to Makkah for performing the 'umrah pilgrimage. The details of this issue have already been mentioned in the first part of this book. They succeeded to travel to Makkah. Once they arrived there along with their sons, retinues, and entourages who followed them, they circumambulated the Holy House [of God], as one of the rites of the ritual 'umrah pilgrimage, and then roamed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah, as another rite. Meanwhile, they sent 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr to 'Ā'ishah with the following message: "Go to your maternal aunt, offer our salutations to her, and say to her: The *leader of the believers* 'Uthmān was killed wrongfully, 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib compelled the people to pay homage to him as their leader, employing for this matter the mindless people who assumed the mission of slaying 'Uthmān. We thus fear that his supremacy will spread. If you do not mind, you may join us so that Allah may mend the rip of this community through you, repair their crack through you, and set aright their affairs through you."

'Abdullāh conveyed this message to 'Ā'ishah who, in the beginning, refrained from responding to their request and leaving Makkah, saying, "Son, I have not been ordered to leave my home, but I returned to Makkah so that I would inform the people about what was done to 'Uthmān their leader, since 'Uthmān declared repentance before the people, but they killed him while he was pious, pure, and innocent. I just wanted the people to decide about this issue and to know who was the one who seized the authority against their will and usurped their rights, neither counseling them in this matter nor listening to their opinions; rather, he did that on account of his arrogance and tyranny. He thought that the people might believe that he has the right to hold this position as they believed the same for the others. This is impossible. This is impossible. The son of Abū-Ṭālib imagined that he would be like the son of Abū-Quḥāfah with regard to the issue of authority and leadership. Nay, by Allah! Who can ever be like the son of Abū-Quḥāfah? All necks were

(1) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/52; *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī* 2/180; *Tārikh al-Ṭabari* 4/448-50; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/434; Sharif al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 4/357-8; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhiṣ al-Shāfi* 4/159; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-Tārikh* 3/206-8; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 7/229-30.

humbled down before him and all reins were given to him. By Allah, when the son of Abū-Quḥāfah held the authority, he went out of it as same as he came to it. Then, the brother of the Banū-ʿAdī clan assumed it and followed his own way in running it. When they both passed away, the son of ʿUthmān assumed it, and he was a man who had precedence and affinity with the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) as well as deeds with the Prophet (ṣ) that none of the Companions could do the like of these deeds that were dedicated to Allah. Because of his love for his relatives, he inclined a bit. Yet, when we asked him to repent, he did repent, but he was then killed; therefore, it is the Muslims' right to demand with revenge upon those who shed his blood."

ʿAbdullāh commented, "O mother! If this is your opinion about ʿAlī and your opinion about those who killed ʿUthmān, then what makes you avoid helping those who want to fight against ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib? There is around you such a big number of Muslims who are enough to make you attain what you want."

ʿĀ'ishah answered, "So, I will think about the matter and you may come back to me later."

ʿAbdullāh returned to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and said to them, "Thanks to Allah, our mother has responded to us."

They said to him, "You may go back to her tomorrow morning and remind her of the affairs of Muslims. You may also inform her that we will come to her to renew our covenant through her and conclude a contract with her."

The next morning, ʿAbdullāh visited her and repeated what he had said to her earlier. Hence, she responded to him and agreed to revolt and leave Makkah. So, a caller on her behalf called out, "The *Mother of the Believers* is determined to revolt and demand with vengeance for the shedding of ʿUthmān's blood. Whoever wants to join her, should prepare himself for that."

Then, Ṭalḥah visited her. Once she caught sight of him, she asked, "Abū-Muḥammad! Did you really kill ʿUthmān and pay homage to ʿAlī?"

He excused, "O mother. I was just like the old poet who said:

*I have regretted like the regret of al-Kusa'i
When his eyes saw what his hands did!"*⁽¹⁾

(1) Al-Kusa'i was a skilful shooter who shot a camel at night, but he thought that he had missed it; therefore, he broke his bow and cut his finger. The next morning, he noticed that he had actually shot that camel and his arrow was fixed in its body; so, he regretted his act very much. This man became an example of bitter regret.

As for al-Zubayr, he, too, came to 'Ā'ishah and greeted her. In reply, she said, "Abū-'Abdullāh! You had a share in the shedding of 'Uthmān's blood and then you paid homage to 'Alī while, by Allah, you deserved this post more than he did."

Al-Zubayr answered, "In fact, I regret what I did to 'Uthmān and I now resort to my Lord to forgive me my sin; and I will never quit demanding with vengeance for shedding his blood. By Allah, I only paid homage to 'Alī against my will. The mindless people of Egypt and Iraq surrounded me, unsheathed their swords, and frightened the people until they made them pay homage to him unwillingly."⁽¹⁾

'Abdullāh ibn Abī-Rabī'ah, the ruler of Ṣan'ā' (Sana'a) appointed by 'Uthmān, came to Makkah while his thigh was broken, because, as is reported by al-Wāqidī on the authority of his chain of authority, he had hurried to defend 'Uthmān once he received the news of laying siege on him. So, Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah met him while he was riding a horse, while 'Abdullāh was riding a mule. When the horse of Ṣafwān drew near 'Abdullāh's mule, it turned aside and threw its rider to the ground, causing his thigh to be broken. When 'Abdullāh knew that the people had killed 'Uthmān, he arrived in Makkah in the afternoon and found that 'Ā'ishah, on that day, was calling on the people to revolt and demand with revenge upon those who shed 'Uthmān's blood. So, he was put on a bed inside the mosque and he delivered a speech, saying, "Whoever revolts to demand with vengeance upon those who shed 'Uthmān's blood, I will furnish him with whatever luggage and weaponry he needs." Thus, 'Abdullāh gave weaponry and luggage to a big number of people, but he could not revolt with them because of his broken thigh.⁽²⁾

The oppositionists instigate the people to revolt

'Abdullāh ibn al-Sā'ib reported: I saw 'Abdullāh ibn Abī-Rabī'ah lying on a bed in the mosque and inciting the people to revolt for demanding with revenge upon those who shed 'Uthmān's blood, supplying everyone who

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by al-Bulādhari in *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, pages 221-4, al-Ya'qūbī in *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī* 2/180, al-Ṭabarī in *Tārikh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/444-9, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī in *al-Futūḥ* 1/452-4, al-Mas'ūdī in *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/336, Abū-Ḥātam al-Bastī in *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah wa-Akhhbār al-Khulafā'*, page 530, and Ibn al-Athīr in *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārikh* 3/206-8.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr in *al-Istī'āb* 2/299, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī in *al-Iṣābah fī Tamyiz al-Ṣaḥābah* 2/305, and al-'Āṣimī in *Samt al-Nujūm al-'Awālī* 2/433-4.

would come to him with whatever he needed for this journey.

Ya'lā ibn Munyah al-Tamīmī, the ally of the Banū-Nawfal tribe, was appointed by 'Uthmān as the ruler of al-Jand. In that year, he was present in Makkah for performing the Ḥajj pilgrimage. When he was informed of 'Abdullāh ibn Abī-Rabī'ah's offer, he went out of his house and announced, "O people! Whoever of you comes out to demand with punishing those who shed 'Uthmān's blood, I will afford his disbursements."

When he came to Makkah, 'Abdullāh ibn Abī-Rabī'ah brought with him a huge sum of money, which he spent on supplying the people with whatever they needed for going to al-Baṣrah.⁽¹⁾

Al-Wāqidī, reporting, said: Sālim ibn 'Abdullāh narrated to me on the authority of his father who reported his grandfather as saying: I saw Ya'lā ibn Munyah holding in his hand a parcel of money and I heard him saying, "This is ten thousand golden coins (i.e. dīnār). It is the best of my money; I will use them to finance every one who will revolt demanding with retaliation on those who shed 'Uthmān's blood." He then started giving money to the people. He also bought four hundred camels and made them kneel in al-Baṭḥā', ordering the people to mount them [and head for al-Baṣrah].⁽²⁾

When Imam 'Alī ('a) was informed of what 'Abdullāh ibn Abī-Rabī'ah and Ya'lā ibn Munyah had done and the money they had spent for opposing and revolting against him, he declared, "By Allah, if I catch the son of Munyah and the son of Abū-Rabī'ah, I will take their money and add them to the money of Allah the Almighty and All-majestic."

He ('a) added, "I have been informed that the son of Munyah had spent ten thousand golden coins on waging war against me. How could he have ten thousand golden coins? He must have stolen it from Yemen and brought it with him. If I find him, I will most surely make him take oath by what he believes in and I will then punish him for what he did."

On that day of the Battle of the Camel, Ya'lā ibn Munyah ran away with those who ran away after they were defeated.⁽³⁾

(1) Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 3/663. Compare this narration to what is quoted by al-'Āsimī in *Samt al-Nujūm al-'Awālī* 2/433-4.

(2) Compare this narration to what is quoted by al-Ṭabari in *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/450, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī in *al-Futūḥ* 1/454, and al-Nuwayrī in *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 20/28.

(3) Parts of this narration may be compared to what is quoted by Sayyid Ibn Tāwūs in *Kashf al-Maḥajjah*, page 182, al-'Āsimī in *Samt al-Nujūm al-'Awālī* 2/433-4, and Muḥammad al-Kāshānī in *Ma'ādin al-Ḥikmah* 1/161.

'Ā'ishah saw the gathering of those who joined her in Makkah, agreed on opposing and forsaking Imam 'Alī ('a), and obeying her in waging war against him; therefore, she prepared herself for journeying to al-Baṣrah. Each day, she ordered a caller to call on the people on behalf of her to prepare themselves for this journey. This caller used to cry out, "Whoever wants to go out, must do it now; for the *mother of the believers* is determined to travel to al-Baṣrah, demanding with punishing those who shed the blood of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, the wronged."⁽¹⁾

Al-Wāqidi reported Aflaḥ ibn Sa'id on the authority of Yazid ibn Ziyād who reported 'Abdullāh ibn Abī-Rāfi' to have quoted Lady Ummu-Salamah, the Holy Prophet's wife, as saying: In that year, I resided in Makkah until the month of Muḥarram commenced. Suddenly, a messenger from Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr visited me and said, "Your two sons, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, would like to inform you that 'Ā'ishah, the mother of the believers, is determined to revolt, demanding with punishing those who shed 'Uthmān's blood. If you come with us, then we hope that Allah will mend the tear that happened to this community through both of you."

I answered back, "By Allah, neither I nor was 'Ā'ishah ordered to do so. Allah ordered us to stay in our houses. How is it then possible for us to go out for fighting and waging war, since the heirs of 'Uthmān are other ones than us? By Allah, it is illegal for us to interfere in issues of pardon, peacemaking, and retaliation. All these issues must be undertaken by none except the sons of 'Uthmān. What is more, do you want us to fight against 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib the leader of excellences and the sufferer of ordeals [for the sake of Islam]? He is most surely the worthiest of all people to undertake this issue. By Allah, you, two, have not been fair to Allah's Apostle—may Allah's blessings be upon him and his family—with regard to his wives, when you want us to leave for Iraq while you leave your women at home."

Lady Ummu-Salamah then sent a messenger to 'Ā'ishah, warning her intensely against listening to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr who wanted her to leave her home and go for fighting 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a). Moreover, she reminded 'Ā'ishah of many things that 'Ā'ishah knew for sure. Thus, she said to her, "I adjure you by Allah to tell me the truth; do you know that Allah's Apostle (ṣ) said to you: Fear Allah and beware lest the dogs of al-Ḥaw'ab⁽²⁾ will bark on you."

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted in al-Nu'mān al-Miṣrī's *Sharḥ al-Akḥbār* 1/401, al-Asad'ābādī's *Tathbīt Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah* 1/296, al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 20/29, and al-Shabalnajī's *Nūr al-Absār*, page 183.

⁽²⁾ Al-Ḥaw'ab is the name of a spring on the road between al-Baṣrah and Makkah, although

'Ā'ishah received these words with little consideration and wanted to act upon them, but she later on changed her mind and decided to leave for al-Baṣrah to revolt against Imam 'Alī ('a).⁽¹⁾

Conspiracy of the renegades

When those people were determined to march to al-Baṣrah and readied themselves for this rebellious journey, Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and 'Ā'ishah held a meeting with some notables of their family members and corteges. They said, "We would like to hurry proceeding to al-Baṣrah, since there live the partisans and supporters of 'Uthmān as well as 'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Kurayz, 'Uthmān's official, relative, and kinsman. He had already asked for troops from Persia and the eastern regions to help him demand with vengeance upon the slayers of 'Uthmān. We also wrote a letter to Mu'āwiyah ibn Abi-Sufyān, asking him to send us troops from Levant. So, if we delay our journey, we fear that the son of Abū-Ṭālib, leading some of those who agree with him on incurring the enmity of 'Uthmān, may storm into us in Makkah or on the way to al-Baṣrah so that he will cause disunity to our union. But if we hurry marching to al-Baṣrah, succeed to dismiss the ruler appointed by 'Alī ('a) there, kill 'Alī's partisans, and seize the money of that city, we will make sure that we will win over the son of Abū-Ṭālib. Then, if he resides

it is nearer to al-Baṣrah than Makkah. This name was mentioned in one of the Prophetic traditions when the Holy Prophet (ṣ) said to 'Ā'ishah, "I see that you shall be the owner of the hairy camel and the dogs of al-Ḥaw'ab shall bark on you." [References: al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam Mastu'jim* 2/472. See also: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* 5/314 and al-Azhārī, *Tahdhib al-Lughah* 5/270.]

⁽¹⁾ Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/456; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 65.

The narration of the dogs of al-Ḥaw'ab is one of the uninterruptedly reported narrations. It has been mentioned in a big number of reference books of the Prophetic traditions, with a little difference, such as the following ones: Ibn Abi-Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf* 7/356; al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* 1/224; al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān, *al-'Idāh*, pages 75-6; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad Aḥmad* 6/52 and 97; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/63; *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbi* 2/181; *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* 4/469; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/456-7; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Id al-Farīd* 4/332; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsin wa'l-Masāwī* 1/76; Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, *Ma'ānī al-Akḥbār*, page 305; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Mas'alah al-Kāfiyah* (as is mentioned in *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/297); al-Māwardī, *A'lām al-Nubuwwah*, page 155; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb* 2/286; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Āli Abi-Ṭālib* 3/149; al-Ḥillī, *al-Sarā'ir* 3/627; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāyah* 1/456; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* 2/314; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil* 3/210; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 6/217; al-Kanjī, *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*, page 171; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 20/32; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 7/230-1; al-Haytamī, *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 7/234; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Maṭālib al-'Āliyah* 4/297 and *al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah*, page 119; al-'Āsimī, *Samt al-Nujūm al-'Awālī* 2/434; al-Shabalnajī, *Nūr al-Aḥṣār*, page 184.

in al-Madīnah, we will send our troops to lay siege on him and then either he will abdicate the leadership or we will kill him just as he killed 'Uthmān. But if he marches to us to fight us, then he will be exhausted while we are protected, since he will reside in the outskirts of al-Baṣrah while we will be in the middle of it, well-fortified. Soon after that, we will be able to defeat his troops through killing him and releasing the Muslims from his sedition."

Lady Ummu-Salamah warns 'Ā'ishah

When she was informed about the meeting of these people and the decisions they made there, Lady Ummu-Salamah wept so heavily that her veil wetted. She then asked for clothes to wear for going outside. She veiled herself and walked to 'Ā'ishah in order to admonish her, hoping that she would be able to make her change her opinion and stop incurring the animosity of Imam 'Alī ('a) so that 'Ā'ishah would stay at her home and avoid going out with those people. Hence, Lady Ummu-Salamah visited 'Ā'ishah in her house and said to her, "You are the door to Allah's Apostle among his people and your screen is let down due to his sanctity. The Qur'ān has ordered you to settle in your house; so, do not leave it; and it gave you shadow; so, do not go under the sunlight. Fear Allah and keep Him in your mind by acting upon this Qur'ānic verse. Allah's Apostle knew your status; so, if he had wished for you to leave your house, he would certainly have done so. Rather, he warned you against wandering in countries. The column of the religion is not set aright through women when it slopes, nor is it mended through them when it is exposed to crack. The most praiseworthy act of a woman is that she casts down her sight, does not appear the sides of her body, makes short her steps, and makes long the margins of her garment. What would you say if Allah's Apostle met you on your way to there while you are riding on a camel that leads you from one spring to another, violating his contract with you, leaving his sanctity, and defying your covenant to you? Verily, wherever you go, you will never evade Allah's looks; and, finally, you will go to meet Allah's Apostle. By Allah, if I did what you are determined to do and then I will be allowed into Paradise, I will most surely feel shy to meet Muḥammad, peace of Allah be upon him and his family, after I will have violated a screen that he covered me up with it. Make your house to be your fortress and make the center of your house to be your grave until you meet him while you are, by being so, the most obedient to Allah as long as you confine yourself to your house, and you are the best supporter to the religion as long as you sit in your house."

In reply, 'Ā'ishah said, "I know very well your admonition and I do accept your advices. Yet, I have been determined to resort to the best of all journeys I have ever made. Yet, I am reluctant between going on this journey and

lagging behind. If I sit here and do not go on that journey, I will do that not because I deem inappropriate the other option; and if I go on the journey, then I will head for what is there is no escape from getting more of it.”⁽¹⁾

Having realized that ‘Ā’ishah would not give up her decision of journeying, Lady Ummu-Salamah returned to her house and sent a messenger to a group of the Emigrants and the Helpers, conveying to them these words, “‘Uthmān was slain in your presence; and these two men (namely, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr) had planned for his slaying, as you saw. Yet, when Allah decided His decree about him, these two paid homage to ‘Ali. Now, they revolted, claiming that they are demanding with punishing those who shed ‘Uthmān’s blood. They also intend to take out with them the woman whom Allah’s Apostle ordered to stay at her house. In fact, Allah’s Apostle ordered all of his wives one order; that is, to stay in their houses. So, if ‘Ā’ishah held another order than this one, she must now show it to us so that we will know about it. Nay, by Allah! Neither you, O people, nor did anyone else swear allegiance to ‘Ali out of fear of him; rather, you all paid homage to him because you know for sure that he is the best of the men of this community and he has always been the most entitled to this authority before and now. By Allah, I am too weak to claim that when Allah’s Apostle passed away, he nominated to the succession of him anyone better than ‘Ali or more entitled to this office than him. So, O servants of Allah, fear Allah, for we order you to fear Him and to hold fast to His rope. Finally, Allah is your and our Patron.”⁽²⁾

Upon hearing these words of Lady Ummu-Salamah, a big number of Muslims renounced supporting Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. She then sent a message to ‘Ā’ishah, saying to her, “I have warned you, but you have not listened to my warnings. I had full awareness of your previous opinion about ‘Uthmān. In fact, if he had asked you for a drink of water, you would most surely have deprived him of it. Today, you are claiming that he was killed wrongfully and you intend to provoke fighting against the one who was and will always be

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Qutaybah, *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* 2/182 and *al-Imāmah wa’l-Siyāsah* 1/56-7; Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Balāghāt al-Nisā’*, pages 15-6; *Tārikh al-Ya’qūbī* 2/180-1; Ibn ‘Abd-Rabbih, *al-Iqd al-Farīd* 4/316-7; al-Nu’mān al-Miṣrī, *Sharḥ al-Akḥbār* 1/379-81; Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, *Ma’ānī al-Akḥbār*, pages 375-6; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Ikhtisāṣ*, pages 116-8; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Fā’iq* 1/168-9; al-Ṭabarsī, *al-Ihtijāj* 1/244-5; Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 6/219-21; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/151-2.

However, according to other reference books, Lady Ummu-Salamah wrote these words in a letter she sent to ‘Ā’ishah.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to what is recorded in Ibn A’tḥam al-Kūfī’s *al-Futūḥ* 1/456-7.

the most entitled to the authority. Now, fear Allah as He should be feared and do not expose yourself to His wrath."

In reply, 'Ā'ishah sent her this message: "As for my opinion about 'Uthmān, which you know very well, your words are true, but I cannot find any way out to release myself from my previous opinion about him except revolting and demanding with retaliation upon those who shed his blood. As for 'Alī, I will order him to return the issue of the leadership to the consultation of the people. If he refuses, I will most surely slap his face with the sword until Allah ordains what He wishes to ordain."

Lady Ummu-Salamah answered back, "As for me, I will never give you any advice anymore and I will never speak to you as much as I can. By Allah, I only fear for you that you will face destruction and then Hellfire. By Allah, you will be disappointed and Allah will certainly give victory to the son of Abū-Ṭālib against those who transgressed against him. You will soon realize the consequences of what I am saying to you. Peace be with you!"

Imam 'Alī counsels with his companions

When those people agreed on opposing Imam 'Alī ('a) and prepared themselves for heading for al-Baṣrah, the Imam ('a) received a letter with the details of their actions. He therefore sent for 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās, Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, and Sahl ibn Ḥunayf and acquainted them with the contents of the letter regarding those people's journey to al-Baṣrah.

Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr asked, "O Leader of the Believers, what do these people want?"

Imam 'Alī ('a) smiled and said, "They are demanding with punishing those who shed 'Uthmān's blood!"

Muḥammad commented, "By Allah, no one killed 'Uthmān except them."

Imam 'Alī ('a) asked, "Now, you may suggest to me so that I will listen to your suggestions and act upon them."

'Ammār ibn Yāsir suggested, "I see that we should march to al-Kūfah, for its people are our partisans, especially that those people have started their journey to al-Baṣrah."

As for 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās, he said, "As for me, I believe that you, O Leader of the Believers, may send men to al-Kūfah so that they will make its people swear allegiance to you and you may write a letter to al-Ash'arī (the governor of al-Kūfah) and ask him to do the same. You may then lead us to

go for al-Kūfah and overtake those people before they enter the city of al-Baṣrah. You may also write a letter to Ummu-Salamah and ask her to join you, for she will act as additional power for you."

Disapproving of Ibn 'Abbās's opinion, Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "I myself will march, leading those who are with me to follow the track taken by those people. If I catch them on the road, I will overtake them, but if I miss them, I will write a letter to al-Kūfah and ask for more troops for the other countries and then I will march to the enemies. As for Ummu-Salamah, I do not see that I should make her leave her house, as these two men did when they took 'Ā'ishah out of her house."

Meanwhile, Usāmah ibn Zayd ibn Ḥārithah joined them and said to Imam 'Alī ('a), "May my father and mother be sacrificed for you! Do not go straightly to them; rather, you may first go to Yanbu' and appoint someone to be your representative in al-Madīnah and you may stay there for any period you like, for the Arabs will join you in no time."

'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās, addressing Usāmah, said, "Supposing that your opinion is not founded on betrayal that you bear in your heart, then you have still failed to give a good advice. In fact, this advice should not come out from an insightful man. If he does so, he, by Allah, will be like a hyena detained in its hole."

Usāmah asked, "What is the best solution, then?"

Ibn 'Abbās said, "The best solution is either my suggestion or the suggestion made by the Leader of the Believers himself."⁽¹⁾

Imam 'Alī ('a) then declared to the people, "You may now prepare yourselves for marching, since Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr had breached their allegiance to me, broken their word, and made 'Ā'ishah leave her house and head for al-Baṣrah for the purpose of exciting sedition and shedding the blood of Muslims."

Imam 'Alī ('a) then raised his hands towards the sky, supplicating, "O Allah, these two men have transgressed against me, breached their covenant to me, broken their promise to me, and opposed me wrongfully, although they had no right to do so at all. O Allah, please overwhelm them for they have wronged me, help me catch me, and grant me victory over them."

He then marched, leading seven hundred men from the Emigrants and the Helpers, and appointed Tammām ibn al-'Abbās as the governor of al-Madīnah and Qutham ibn al-'Abbās as the governor of Makkah.

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted in *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/440.

When Imam 'Alī ('a) decided to march for pursuing those people, he rode on a red camel, led the most powerful horses he had, and started his journey by stating this couple of poetic verses:

*March in groups and mend your paces,
So that we will catch the man of the Taym tribe and al-Zubayr
For they designed for evil and abandoned the good.
O Lord, force them to enter the blazing fire in the morrow!*

Hurriedly, Imam 'Alī ('a) proceeded until he arrived in al-Rabadhah,⁽¹⁾ where he discovered that his enemies had passed through that village earlier and he missed them. He resided there for a short while and then headed for al-Baṣrah, while the Emigrants and the Helpers were to his right and left sides, surrounding him from all sides along with those who had heard about their march and therefore decided to follow them. Having reached Dhī-Qār,⁽²⁾ Imam 'Alī ('a) resided there.⁽³⁾

Imam 'Alī's letter to al-Ash'arī

Imam 'Alī ('a) summoned Hāshim ibn 'Utbah al-Mirqāl and ordered him to carry a letter he wrote to Abū-Mūsā al-Ash'arī who was the governor of al-Kūfah since the reign of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. He also ordered Hāshim to deliver the letter to Abū-Mūsā so that the latter would mobilize the people to participate in jihad with him. The letter read as follows:

"In the Name of Allah; the All-beneficent, the All-merciful. From 'Alī the Leader of the Believers, to 'Abdullāh ibn Qays: Behold! I have sent to you Hāshim ibn 'Utbah so that you will send with him the Muslims who are under your governance. They should head for facing some people who breached their homage which they had paid to me, killed my partisans, and made enormous mischief in this community. Now, you may send the people to me with Hāshim as soon as you receive this letter; and do not postpone this order, for I have not established you as the governor of the country you are governing now except that I wanted you to be one of my supporters and helpers in this issue. Peace be with you!"⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ Al-Rabadhah is a village that is three-day walk away from the city of al-Madinah.

⁽²⁾ Dhī-Qār is a spring situated between the city of al-Kūfah and the city of Wāsiṭ, and it is nearer to the earlier than the latter.

⁽³⁾ Al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, page 223; *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* 4/455 and 480; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārikh* 3/222.

⁽⁴⁾ *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* 4/499; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 14/8; Jamāl al-Dīn al-Mashgharī, *al-Durr al-Naẓīm* 1/122; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/85; Muḥammad al-

Hāshim did the mission and carried the letter to Abū-Mūsā who, upon reading it, summoned al-Sā'ib ibn Mālīk and read the letter to him, asking for his opinion. Al-Sā'ib advised, "Comply with what is written in this letter," but Abū-Mūsā refused, broke the letter, and erased it. He then sent for Hāshim ibn 'Utbah, frightened, and threatened him with prison.

Al-Sā'ib then recounted the next events, as follows: I came to Hāshim and informed him of what Abū-Mūsā had ordered about him. So, he wrote the following letter to 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a): "O Leader of the Believers! I have delivered your letter to a man who proved himself to be impious, wretched, merciless, and apparently treacherous and antagonist. For this reason, I have sent this letter to you with al-Muḥill ibn Khalīfah, from the Ṭayy tribe, and he is one of your partisans and supporters. He has full acquaintance with the details of what has happened here; therefore, you may ask him whatever you want and write to me back what I should do so that I will act upon your instructions. Peace be upon you!"⁽¹⁾

When the letter was received and read by Imam 'Alī ('a), he sent for his son al-Ḥasan, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, and Qays ibn Sa'd. He ordered them to go to Abū-Mūsā, carrying the following letter to him:

"From the servant of Allah, 'Alī the Leader of the Believers, to 'Abdullāh ibn Qays: Behold! Son of the liar. By Allah, I had already believed that dismissing you from this office that Allah has not allowed you to be qualified for it, not has He decided any share of it to you, would stop you from refusing my orders. I have now sent to you al-Ḥasan, 'Ammār, and Qays so that you will leave the country and its people for them and detach yourself from working on behalf of me while you are dispraised and driven away. If you reject, I have beforehand ordered them to throw you away. Verily, Allah dislikes the betrayers. If they grab hold of you, they will cut you off into pieces. Peace be upon those who appreciate graces, approve of paying homage, and work for the sake of Allah sincerely, hoping for the end result!"⁽²⁾

Kāshānī, *Ma'ādin al-Ḥikmah* 1/342-3.

⁽¹⁾ *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/499; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3/260; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 14/9; al-Mashgharī, *al-Durr al-Naẓīm* 1/122; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/86.

⁽²⁾ *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/500; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/368; Miskawayh al-Rāzī, *Tajārib al-Umam* 1/312-3; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 3/260-1; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 14/10; al-Mashgharī, *al-Durr al-Naẓīm* 1/124; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/86-7; Muḥammad al-Kāshānī, *Ma'ādin al-Ḥikmah* 1/343-4.

Imam 'Alī's letter to the people of al-Kūfah

Imam al-Ḥasan ('a), accompanied by 'Ammār and Qays, arrived in al-Kūfah, carrying with them the following letter:

In the Name of Allah; the All-compassionate, the All-merciful. From 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib to the people of al-Kūfah: Now, I am apprising you of what befell 'Uthmān so that its hearing may be like its seeing. People criticized him, and I was the most man from among the Emigrants who asked him to seek to satisfy the Muslims and to offend them the least. As for Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, their lightest step about him was hard and their softest voice was strong. 'Ā'ishah, too, was in a rage with him. Consequently, a group overpowered and killed him. Then, people swore allegiance to me, not by force or compulsion, but obediently and out of freewill. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were the first two persons to swear to me as same as they had sworn to the rulers who came before me. Then, they asked my permission to allow them to go on an 'umrah pilgrimage, although this was not their purpose. So, they breached their covenant with me, announced war against me, and made 'Ā'ishah leave her house, taking her for a source of sedition. They all marched to al-Baṣrah for they chose its people as their supporters, while I now choose to proceed to you. Behold! I swear by my own life, you will not respond to me; rather, you will respond to Allah and His Apostle. By Allah, I am not to fight against them while I have the least doubt about their deviation. I have thus sent for you my son al-Ḥasan as well as 'Ammār and Qays, to mobilize you. So, be as good as I think about you."⁽¹⁾

Imam al-Ḥasan delivers a speech

When Imam al-Ḥasan, along with 'Ammār and Qays, arrived in al-Kūfah carrying with them Imam 'Alī's letter to its people, he stood up and delivered the following speech: "O people! You have been acquainted with what happened to the Leader of the Believers; and we have come to you, asking you to be within his troops, because you are groups of supporters of him and you are the loftiest men of the Arabs. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr had breached their homage to him and revolted driving with 'Ā'ishah, a woman who lacks judiciousness just as Allah the Almighty and All-majestic said: '*Men have authority over women.* [Sūrah al-Nisā' 4, verse 34]' By Allah I swear, even if you refrain from supporting him, Allah the Almighty and All-majestic shall

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/66-7; Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, page 363; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī* 2/329; Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Rāwandī, *Minhāj al-Barā'ah* 3/7; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Alī Abī-Ṭālib* 3/151; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/72-3; Muḥammad al-Kāshānī, *Ma'ādin al-Ḥikmah* 1/212-4.

most surely aid him through the Emigrants, the Helpers, and the other people who have followed him. So, support your Lord in order that He will give you victory.”⁽¹⁾

‘Ammār’s speech

After that, ‘Ammār stood up and said, “O people of al-Kūfah! Although our bodies are absent from you, you must have received news about our affairs and events. The slayers of ‘Uthmān are not making an apology to the people for what they had done. They, moreover, have pretended that the Book of Allah should be the arbitrator between them and those who argue with them concerning this issue. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were the first to have criticized ‘Uthmān, the first to have ordered the people to shed his blood, and the first to have taken action for killing him. Yet, when ‘Uthmān was killed, these two paid homage to the Leader of the Believers voluntarily and on their own accord. They then breached their homage to him for no reason and for nothing shown by him towards them. This is the son of Allah’s Apostle (i.e. Imam al-Ḥasan) and you know now that he has sent him to you to mobilize you. He has chosen you over the Emigrants and the Helpers.”⁽²⁾

Qays ibn Sa’d’s speech

Then, Qays ibn Sa’d stood up and said, “O people! Even if the issue of authority were to be subjected to the principle of consultation, still Imam ‘Alī (‘a) the current leader of the believers would most surely be the worthiest of all people to hold it, due to his position to Allah’s Apostle (s); and then to fight against those who refuse his leadership would be legal. With greater reason, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr should be fought because they had sworn allegiance to him voluntarily but they then deposed him out of envy and transgression. ‘Alī has now come to you leading the Emigrants and the Helpers.”

He then said these poetic verses:

*We are pleased with what Allah has decided for us,
For He has chosen for us ‘Alī and the sons of Muḥammad the Apostle.
We thus said to them, “Welcome to you,”
Stretching to them our both hands, out of true guidance and love for them.*

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa ‘l-Siyāsah* 1/67; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī* 2/330; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/73; al-Kāshānī, *Ma’ādin al-Ḥikmah* 1/215.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa ‘l-Siyāsah* 1/67; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī* 2/330; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/73; al-Kāshānī, *Ma’ādin al-Ḥikmah* 1/215.

*Al-Zubayr, the breaker of his covenant, does not enjoy any sanctity,
Nor does his brother Ṭalḥah deserve any help from us.
Here has come to you the offspring of the Divinely Chosen Prophet,
And the son of his successor, for you are the most generous, thanks to Allah.
Among you are those who rise up, hoping to lead his horse to the battlefield,
Raising in his hand a straight lance, and unsheathing sharp swords.
He blackens the face of anyone who comes near him, without letting him defend
Although his goal is never black.
If he succeeds to do what we desire, then that is exactly what we want,
But if he misses what we desire, then this must be unintended by him.⁽¹⁾*

Abū-Mūsā's speech

When those three finished their speeches, Abū-Mūsā al-Ash'arī stood up and said, "O people! Obey me and you will be the chiefs of the Arabs, the wronged resort to you, and the fearful find haven with you. We, the companions of Muḥammad (ṣ), know best about what we have heard. When a seditious commotion takes place, it makes all affairs suspicious, but when it comes to an end, everything then will be evidently clear. The current sedition is as harmful as stomach ache where all kinds of winds, including the north, the south, the east, and west, blow from all sides. Moreover, sweeping storms blow there so disorderly that no one can expect the side from which it will blow. Sheath your swords, shorten your lances, break your bows, and retire to your houses. Leave the people of Quraysh alone to mend their rents and repair their cracks as long as they choose to leave the center of the Prophet's immigration and to depart themselves from the people who are experienced in the affairs of leadership. If they do, then they will do for themselves; but if they keep opposing, then they alone will undergo the consequences of their deeds and then their oil will drop in their own food. Seek advice from me and believe that I will not cheat you. By so doing, you will keep safe your religion and your world, while only those who provoked the chaos will be wretched by it."⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/68; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī* 2/330; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/73-4; al-Kāshānī, *Ma'ādīn al-Hikmah* 1/215-6. Some of the poetic verses are quoted in Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Amālī* and al-Majlisī's *Bihār al-Anwār*, where they are ascribed to al-Najāshī.

⁽²⁾ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/483-4; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3/228-9; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 14/14-5; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 20/49; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 7/236; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh* 2/613.

Zayd ibn Ṣawḥān's reply

Immediately, Zayd ibn Ṣawḥān, may Allah have mercy upon him, stood up and raised the rest of his hand, which was cut off in the Battle of Jalūlā', and said, "O Abū-Mūsā! Do you try to reverse the current of the river? No, it will never change its course, since it has just started flowing. If you can do this, then you are able to do whatever you want. Woe betide you! Leave that which you will never succeed to do."

Then, Zayd quoted this Qur'ānic verse: "*Alif, Lām, Mim. Do men think that they will be left alone on saying, 'We believe,' and that they will not be tested?* [Sūrah al-'Ankabūt 29, verses 1-2]"

He then continued, "O people! March to follow the Leader of the Believers and obey the son of the apostles' chief. So, go forth all of you. If you do so, you will hit the truth and win righteousness. By Allah, I have advised you; so, comply with my opinion and you will be on the right way."⁽¹⁾

'Abd-Khayr protests to Abū-Mūsā

After that, 'Abd-Khayr stood up and said to Abū-Mūsā, "Tell me, O Abū-Mūsā! Did those two men actually pay homage to 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, according to the information that reached you and according to your own knowledge?"

Abū-Mūsā answered, "Yes, they did."

"Now," 'Abd-Khayr continued, "did 'Alī commit something due to which the people had the right to release themselves from the covenant of obedience they had committed themselves with to him, just as the people's homage to 'Uthmān was legally revoked?"

Abū-Mūsā answered, "I do not know."

'Abd-Khayr reproachfully said to Abū-Mūsā, "May you never know and may you never be told? We will now leave you until you know then. Now, tell me, O Abū-Mūsā, whether you know someone who will be saved from this sedition that you claim it to be blind and you are warning the people against engaging themselves in it. Do you not know that this sedition separated the people into four sections; one section is that of 'Alī who is now in the back of al-Kūfah, another section is that of Ṭalhah and al-Zubayr who are now in al-

⁽¹⁾Abū-Ja'far al-Iskāfi, *al-Mi'yār wa'l-Muwāzanah*, page 120; Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Daynawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-Ṭiwāl*, page 145; al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/484; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 20/50; Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 7/236.

Başrah, a third section is that of Mu'āwiyah who is now in Levant, and a fourth section is that of those who are now in Ḥijāz. Yet, those people are so useless that they neither help those who execute the laws nor can their help be sought in fighting an enemy? Which of these sections is the one that follows the Qur'ān truly?"

Abū-Mūsā said, "The best of all people are the people of the section that withhold fighting."

'Abd-Khayr answered, "Truly, you are wrong and your knowledge has failed you, O Abū-Mūsā!"⁽¹⁾

Then, a man from the Bajilah tribe stood up and said these poetic verses:

*O son of Qays, 'Abd-Khayr has argued with you,
And you are today like a humble sheep!
You could hit neither a truth nor a deviation,
Thus, you returned, falling down to the abyss.
Abū-Mūsā, you have discussed with an evil opinion,
Which tells about your sick heart.
You have been so lost that you failed
To tell apart between five and six, black and white.
You have mentioned sedition that included everyone
You fell in it while you are trembling in nonsense!*

Mālik al-Ashtar in al-Kūfah

When Imam 'Alī ('a) received the news that Abū-Mūsā was discouraging the people to join and support him, Mālik al-Ashtar stood up and said, "O Leader of the Believers! You had first sent to al-Kūfah a man who met with hardships; therefore, I believe that he could not be proficient in anything. You then sent those men who are the best of those who may make the people obey you as you like. Yet, I do not know what will take place thereafter. If you do not mind, may I be sacrifice for you, you may send me after them, for the people of al-Kūfah obey me more than they do to these men. If I go to them, I hope that none of them will oppose me."

Imam 'Alī ('a) answered, "You may follow them in the name of Allah the Almighty and All-majestic."

Hence, al-Ashtar started his journey and arrived in al-Kūfah while the people

⁽¹⁾ Al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/486; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3/229-30; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 14/20; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 20/50-1; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 7/236.

were gathering in the grand mosque. All the way to the mosque, he invited every tribe that he passed by, whether they were gathering in a session or in a mosque, asking them to follow him to the palace. When he was near the palace, al-Ashtar, followed by a group of people, broke into the place while Abū-Mūsā was standing up in the grand mosque, delivering a speech to the people and inhibiting them from supporting Imam 'Alī ('a) in this seditious matter, saying, "O people! This is a blind and mute sedition. Whoever is engaged in it, will be trodden. The lying down is better than the sitting; and the sitting is better than the standing up; and the standing up is better than the walking; and the walking is better than the roaming; and the roaming is better than the riding. It is really a sedition that is as harmful as stomach ache. It has come upon you wherefrom you are safe; and it will turn the forbearing into an impatient person. Only when it ends, it will show its reality."⁽¹⁾

meanwhile, 'Ammār was arguing with him and al-Ḥasan was saying, "Step down from our office while you are humiliated, and withdraw yourself from our pulpit."

Abū-Mūsā said to 'Ammār, "This is my hand [I raised it for taking an oath]! I did hear the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) saying, 'There shall come a sedition commotion, in which the sitting shall be better than the standing up.'"⁽²⁾

'Ammār answered, "No, the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) to you exclusively, 'There shall come a seditious commotion in which you, O Abū-Mūsā, while sitting shall be better for you than standing up.' He did not say these words to anyone save you."⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ Al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 11/172.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.* page 171.

⁽³⁾ Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 20/48.

In *Musnad Abi-Ya'la* 3/203-4, Abū-Ya'la writes: 'Uqbah ibn Mukram narrated to us, saying: Yūnus ibn Bukayr narrated to us, saying: 'Alī ibn Abī-Fāṭimah narrated to us on the authority of Abū-Maryam who said: I heard 'Ammār ibn Yāsir saying: O Abū-Mūsā! I now adjure you by Allah to tell me the truth: Did you not hear Allah's Apostle (ṣ) saying, 'Whoever forges a lie against me, must find himself a place in Hellfire?' I now will ask you about the authenticity of some words said by Allah's Apostle. If you deliberately fail to tell the truth, I will send for some companions of Allah's Apostle to make you say the truth. I now again adjure you by Allah to tell the truth: Was it not that the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) addressed you alone when he said, 'There shall come to pass a sedition commotion in my community. As for you, O Abū-Mūsā, if you are sleeping in the midst of that commotion, it will be better for you than sitting; and if you are sitting, it will be better for you than standing up; and if you are standing up, it will be better for you than walking.' Thus, the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) said these words to you exclusively and he did not generalize them to

'Ammār added, "Show me your hand, Abū-Mūsā!"

As Abū-Mūsā did, 'Ammār grasped it and said, "May Allah defeat him who tries to defeat Him and may He curse him who tries to denies Him!"

Then, 'Ammār, addressing the people, said, "O people! Abū-Mūsā was given knowledge, but he shook it away from him just as a rooster shakes away water from its body when it comes out of a river."⁽¹⁾

Al-Ashtar in the palace

In the meantime, the servants of Abū-Mūsā entered the mosque while shouting, "Abū-Mūsā! Al-Ashtar is coming. Leave the mosque."

The companions of al-Ashtar entered the mosque and shouted at Abū-Mūsā, "Woe betide you! Leave the place. May Allah cause your soul to leave your body! By Allah, you are one of the hypocrites."

So, Abū-Mūsā left the place and sent someone to al-Ashtar, asking him respite for that evening only. Al-Ashtar accepted and said, "I grant you respite on condition that you will not spend this night in the palace; rather, you must find yourself a place away from it."

Then, the people entered to loot Abū-Mūsā's luggage, but al-Ashtar asked his companions to force these people out of the palace and to say to them that he was granted respite. Upon hearing this, the people stopped and went out.⁽²⁾

Imam al-Ḥasan delivers another speech

Imam al-Ḥasan ('a) then went up the minbar and delivered a speech. He started it with statements of praising and commending Allah the Almighty, made a mention of his grandfather the Holy Prophet, by invoking Allah's blessings upon him, and then said, "O people! Verily, 'Alī the Leader of the

include all the people. Is this true or not?" Abū-Mūsā left the place without saying any word.

This narration is also quoted by al-Haythamī in *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 7/246.

⁽¹⁾ This narration, except for the last paragraph, is quoted in the following reference books: Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/486-7; al-Nu'mān al-Miṣrī, *Sharḥ al-Akhbār* 1/384; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 68; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3/231; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 14/21; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 20/48 and 52-3; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 7/236; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh* 2/614; Ibn Ṣabbāgh, *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*, pages 73-4.

⁽²⁾ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/487; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3/231; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 14/21; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 20/52-3; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh* 2/614.

Believers is the door to true guidance; whoever enters from that door will be guided to the truth, but whoever opposes him, will fall away.”

‘Ammār delivers another speech

As Imam al-Ḥasan (‘a) came down the minbar, ‘Ammār went up to deliver a speech. He praised and commended Allah the Almighty, invoked His blessings upon the Holy Prophet (ṣ), and said, “O people! When we feared for this religion let its corners are demolished and its skin is stripped, we thought very deliberately about our affairs and our religion. In conclusion, we chose ‘Alī (‘a) as the caliph and accepted him as our leader. How excellent caliph and excellent educator he is. He is really an educator who does not need the education of anyone, a knowledgeable who does not need the teaching of anyone, a warrior whose situations are never deniable, and a foremost to Islam that none of the people ever embraced Islam before him. Now that some people of his companions have opposed him out of envy and transgression against him and they are now heading for al-Baṣrah, you should march to confront them. May Allah have mercy upon you all! If you only see and debate with them, it will be evident for you that they are wrongdoers.”⁽¹⁾

Al-Ashtar delivers a speech

Then, al-Ashtar, may Allah have mercy upon him, came up the minbar to deliver a speech. Starting his speech with statements of praising and commending Allah the Almighty, he said, “O people! Listen to me with your hearings and understand my words with your hearts. Verily, Allah the Almighty and All-majestic has bestowed upon you with the grace of Islam, which is a grace that you cannot estimate its real value and you are too short to appreciate it as it should be appreciated. You were enemies; the strong amongst you devoured the weak ones, the opulent amongst you robbed the impoverished, the inviolabilities of Allah were violated by you, the paths were scary, your polytheism was very much, your relations with your relatives were ruptured, and you were overcome by all nations. Then, Allah conferred upon you with Muḥammad, peace of Allah be upon him and his family; he therefore united this disunity, created terms of intimacy after you were enemies of one another, and augmented your number after you were few. Then, Allah the Almighty and All-majestic took him; so, two men prevailed over you after his passing away. After them, we were governed by a man who cast the Book of Allah behind his back and did to the laws of Allah

⁽¹⁾ Al-Iskāfī, *al-Mi'yār wa'l-Muwāzanah*, page 117; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 14/14.

according to his personal whims. We thus demanded him to step down from the office, but he refused and insisted on doing mischievous acts. We therefore preferred to send him to perdition over the perdition of our religion and worldly affairs. Allah does away only with the wrongdoing people. After him, Allah has brought to you the owner of the greatest position in the religion, the holiest of all people, and one whose share in Islam is bigger than the share of everyone else. He is the cousin of Allah's Apostle, the most knowledgeable of the religious issues, the closest to the Book of Allah, and the most courageous in facing the enemies in fighting. He is now asking you to go forth with him. So, what are you waiting for? Do you want to be ruled by Sa'id or by al-Walid who led you in a congregational prayer while he was drunk, thus violating the prohibitions of Allah? Which one of these two persons do you want? May Allah deform him who holds this opinion in his mind! Behold! You must now go forth with al-Ḥasan, the son of your Prophet's daughter, and no one of you who has enough power to join him must fall behind. By Allah I swear this; none of you can distinguish what benefits him from what harms. Behold! I am verily well-wisher and compassionate, and I fear for you, if you only have minds and sights. Tomorrow, by Allah's will, you must ready and prepare yourselves for this march. I have been so sincere to you."

Ḥujr ibn 'Adī delivers a speech

When al-Ashtar finished, Ḥujr ibn 'Adī al-Kindī, may Allah have mercy upon him, stood and said, "O people! This is al-Ḥasan the son of 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib. You know him very well; one of his fathers is the Ummi Prophet, may Allah's blessings be upon him and his family, and the other is the well-pleased and trustworthy leader and successor to the Holy Prophet (ṣ). Al-Ḥasan is one of two persons the like of whom is never found in Islam; these two are the chiefs of the youths of Paradise and the chiefs of the chiefs of the Arabs. He is the most righteous of all, the most knowledgeable, and the owner of the best deeds. He is now the messenger of his father to you; he is inviting you to the truth and asking your support. By Allah, a true happy is he who loves and supports them, while a true wretched is he who fails to join them and fails to sacrifice his life for them. Now, you—may Allah have mercy upon you all—may march off light or heavy-armed, intending your efforts for gaining the rewards of Allah, for Allah never waste the rewards of the good-doers."

Upon hearing these words, all the people responded, declaring their

obedience.⁽¹⁾

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah and Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr in al-Kūfah

Al-Wāqidi quoted that Imam 'Alī ('a), upon leaving al-Madīnah and before residing in Dhī-Qār, had sent many messengers to al-Kūfah and asked them to carry his letters to the people of that city. However, in another narration, al-Wāqidi reported that when Imam 'Alī ('a) was in al-Rabadhah and he knew that he missed Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr on their way to al-Baṣrah, he sent more messengers to al-Kūfah with more letters.

Thus, al-Wāqidi, Abū-Mikhnaf and other master scholars of historic narrations agreed upon what I have earlier mentioned, that Imam 'Alī ('a) sent more messengers with more letters to the people of al-Kūfah after he had resided in Dhī-Qār, asking them to march off, fight in support of him, and support him against his enemies who had reneged and revolted to wage war against him.

Within the narrations of al-Wāqidi is the following: 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Fuḍayl narrated to me on the authority of his father who said: When Imam 'Alī ('a), the Leader of the Believers, was determined to leave al-Madīnah for stopping Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, he sent Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah and Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr to al-Kūfah, whose governor was Abū-Mūsā al-Ash'ari. When they reached there, Abū-Mūsā received them with impolite and rude words, saying, "By Allah, allegiance to 'Uthmān has ever been in the neck of your acquaintance and mine [i.e. we are still required to act loyally towards 'Uthmān]. We have never released ourselves from it."

He then went up the minbar and said, "O people! We are the companions of Allah's Apostle and we know best what this seditious commotion is. So, beware of it. 'Ā'ishah wrote to me this letter: 'Save me from those who are under your command.' 'Alī is now coming to you, intending to shed the blood of Muslims through you; so, break your darts, cut off your strings, and smash your swords with rocks."⁽²⁾

Upon hearing these words and being acquainted with Abū-Mūsā's attitude, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah—may Allah be pleased with him—said to Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr, "O brother! This man does not have any good

⁽¹⁾ Al-Iskāfī, *al-Mi'yār wa'l-Muwāzanah*, page 121; al-Daynawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, page 145; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/485; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 7/236; Ibn Ṣabbāgh, *al-Fuṣūl al-Muḥimmah*, pages 74-5.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted in *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/477 and 482.

thing. Let us go back to the Leader of the Believers and convey this news to him."

They then returned to Imam 'Alī ('a) and informed him of what they had seen and heard. Imam 'Alī ('a) had sent with them a letter to Abū-Mūsā al-Ash'arī in which he ordered him to make the people under his governance swear allegiance to him. A paragraph of that letter read: "Draw your lash from the people's backs, take them out of your sway, and sit as ruler of the two provinces of Iraq; al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah. If you are light, then come to us; but if you are heavy, then stay there."

Upon reading this letter, Abū-Mūsā said, "I am too heavy to go to him. I am verily so."⁽¹⁾

Imam 'Alī's letter to the people of al-Kūfah

Having received the news about Abū-Mūsā's words and deeds, Imam 'Alī ('a) became intensely angry and he decided to send al-Ḥasan ('a) and 'Ammār ibn Yāsir to convey his letter to the people of al-Kūfah. The Imam's letter read as follow:

"In the Name of Allah, the All-beneficent, the All-merciful. From the servant of Allah, 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, the Leader of the Believers; to the believers and Muslims inhabitants of the city of al-Kūfah: Behold! The abode of the [Prophet's] migration has provoked its people; so, they set out from it, causing it to surge and boil like a pot on fire, doing what it had to do someday. The woman thus rode on the camel and the dogs of al-Ḥaw'ab barked in her face. The transgressive commotion started, led by some men who are demanding with punishing those who shed the blood that they themselves had shed, safeguarding an honor that they themselves had abused, and respecting an inviolability that they themselves had violated. They thus infringed what they had infringed while they are trying to make apologies for the people but not for Allah: *'They will swear to you that you may be pleased with them; but if you are pleased with them, Allah is not pleased with those who disobey.'*⁽²⁾ Be it known to you—may Allah have mercy upon you—that jihad is imposed as obligation upon the servants. Here have come to you those who encourage you to participate in it and offer to you that in which your guidance lies. Allah knows that I have not found any other way out than engaging myself in this issue [of leadership]. If I only had found anyone else

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted in *Nahj al-Balāghah*, letter no. 63, and al-Kāshānī's *Ma'ādin al-Hikmah* 1/341.

⁽²⁾ This is a quotation of the Holy Qur'ān, Sūrah al-Tawbah 9, verse 96.

who is more entitled to it than I was, then I would have never accepted it. Talḥah and al-Zubayr had sworn allegiance to me obediently without any compulsion, but they then revolted demanding with revenge upon those who shed 'Uthmān's blood, while it was most surely they who did to 'Uthmān what they did to him. I wonder at them in astonishment; how they obeyed Abū-Bakr and 'Umar by paying homage to them but they now refused to do the same to me! They know for sure I am not less than any one of them, although I had already suggested to both of them that I would pay homage to any one of them before they paid homage to me, but they said, 'We will never compete with you on this matter; rather, we will swear allegiance to you and prefer you to ourselves because you deserve so. Yet, they breached their homage after they had paid it to me. Peace be with the people of peace!'"⁽¹⁾

Imam al-Ḥasan, 'Ammār, and Ibn 'Abbās in al-Kūfah

Imam 'Alī ('a) left al-Madīnah and arrived in Fayd⁽²⁾ after he had changed his course towards the mountains of Ṭayyī' where 'Adī ibn Ḥātam joined him along with six hundred persons from his folks. There, Imam 'Alī ('a) asked 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās, "What do you think about the people of al-Kūfah and Abū-Mūsā al-Ash'arī?"

Ibn 'Abbās suggested, "You may send 'Ammār to them, for he is one of the foremost Muslims and he is a veteran of the Battle of Badr. If he speaks there, he will be able to make the people join you. I, too, will go with him. You may also send your son al-Ḥasan with us."

Imam 'Alī ('a) approved of this suggestion; and those three persons left for al-Kūfah where they would meet Abū-Mūsā al-Ash'arī. Once they reached there, Ibn 'Abbās said to al-Ḥasan and 'Ammār, "Abū-Mūsā is an insolent person; therefore, if we treat him leniently, we will succeed in what we have come for."

Both of them said, "You may do whatever you wish to do."

When they met Abū-Mūsā, Ibn 'Abbās said to him, "O Abū-Mūsā! The Leader of the Believers have sent us to you, because he knows that you always hurry to any matter that includes obedience to Allah the Almighty and All-majestic and to His Apostle (ṣ). He also knows you bear love for us, the

⁽¹⁾ Compare some parts of this narration to what is quoted in Ibn Shahr'āshūb's *Manāqib 'Āli Abī-Ṭālib* 3/151.

⁽²⁾ Fayd is a small village that is situated on the middle of the way from Makkah to al-Kūfah.

Holy Prophet's family members. As for you, you have a good idea about his excellencies and most advancement to Islam. He thus says to you that you may make the people pay homage to him so that you will keep your office and gain his pleasure."

Deceived by these words, Abū-Mūsā went up the minbar, called for swearing allegiance to Imam 'Alī for a while, and then came down.

Immediately after that, 'Ammār went up the minbar to deliver a speech. He said, "All praise is due to Allah, such praise that is magnificent, for He deserves all praise owing to His favors that we cannot count nor can we estimate them as they should be estimated or appreciate them as they should be appreciated. I bear witness that there is no god save Allah Alone and without having any partner; and I bear witness that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger. Allah has sent him with true guidance, plain light, and overwhelming argument. He is thus the trustworthy, the sincere well-wisher, the wise, and the most acceptable. He is also the messenger of the Lord of the Worlds, the guide of the believers, and the seal of the prophets. He came with the truth and confirmed the authenticity of the past messengers. He struggled for the sake of Allah until death came upon him. Now, the Leader of the Believers, 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib—may Allah save him, grant him invulnerable victory, and decide for him all that which is prudent—has sent me as well as his son to you, ordering you to march off towards him; therefore, march off to him, fear Allah the All-exalted, and obey Him. By Allah, if I knew that there is on the surface of the earth another person who is more knowledgeable with the Book of Allah and the traditions of His Apostle than 'Alī, I would never ask you to join him and I would never swear allegiance to him that I should defend him until death. O groups of the people of al-Kūfah! Observe Allah carefully on the subject of jihad. By Allah I swear, if the leadership is seized by another one than 'Alī, you will most surely be exposed to unbearable tribulations. Allah knows that I have only intended to give you advice and I have ordered you to do something of which I am absolutely certain: *'I do not want to oppose you in what I am forbidding you; I only want to improve matters so far as I can manage to. My success lies only with Allah; on Him have I relied and to Him do I refer.*'⁽¹⁾ Finally, I implore Allah's forgiveness for you and for me."⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ This is a quotation of the Holy Qur'ān, Sūrah Hūd 11, verse 88.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by al-Iskāfi in *al-Mi'yār wa'l-Muwāzanah*, pages 117-9.

'Ammār's another speech

'Ammār went down the minbar, waited for a short while, and then went up again to deliver another speech. After praising and commending Allah the Almighty, 'Ammār said, "O people! The cousin of your Prophet (ﷺ) has sent me to you, appealing for your help. Behold! Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr marched toward al-Baṣrah and took 'Ā'ishah with them for provoking a seditious matter. Thus, behold, Allah has tested you in your duty towards your mother and your duty towards your Lord. Certainly, your duties towards your Lord is worthier and greater on you than your duty towards your mother. Yet, Allah has tested you in this to see how you will behave. So, fear Allah, listen to, obey, and march off toward your caliph and your Prophet's son-in-law, for the companions of Allah's Apostle have paid homage to him in al-Madinah, which is the abode of your Prophet's migration and the center of Islam. I pray to Allah to lead you to success."

Finishing his speech, 'Ammār went down the minbar.⁽¹⁾

Imam al-Ḥasan's speech

After 'Ammār, Imam al-Ḥasan ('a) went up the minbar, started with statements of praise and commendation of Allah the Almighty, mentioned his grandfather the Holy Prophet (ﷺ), invoked Allah's blessings upon him, pointed out his father's excellencies, precedence to Islam, close relationship with Allah's Apostle, and entitlement to the office of leadership more than anyone else, and said, "O groups of people! Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr had paid homage to 'Alī obediently and never compulsorily. Yet, they then flew and broke their homage to him. Blessed be the one who hurries to fight against those who waged war against 'Alī, for fighting in his side is as same as fighting in the side of the Holy Prophet (ﷺ)." He then went down the minbar.⁽²⁾

Ibn 'Abbās and Abū-Mūsā

Imam 'Alī ('a) had sent with 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās a letter to Abū-Mūsā al-Ash'arī that contained harsh words. Ibn 'Abbās then related: I said to myself that it is inappropriate to come to a governor with such a letter, because he would not consider the letter; therefore, I decided to tear up Imam 'Alī's letter and write a letter in his name to Abū-Mūsā. So, I wrote a letter in this way: "I am sure of your love for us, the Holy Prophet's family, and I know for sure

⁽¹⁾ Al-Iskāfī, *al-Mi'yār wa'l-Muwāzanah*, page 115; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 20/51.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn Qutaybah in *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/67 and Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 14/12.

that you obey us alone. We, too, approve of you because we know your good opinion about us. Once you receive my letter, you may kindly make the people swear allegiance to me. Peace be with you."

When Abū-Mūsā read this letter, he asked me, "Who is the governor, I or you?"

I answered, "You are the governor."

Immediately, Abū-Mūsā called the people to swear allegiance to Imam 'Alī ('a). When he finished and declared his homage to the Imam, I stood up and walked to the minbar. He tried to prevent me, but I, threateningly, said, "Who is going to prevent me from going up? Is it you?" Meanwhile, I put my hand on the grip of my sword and said to him, "Stay where you are. By Allah, if I come down the minbar, I will cut you into pieces with this sword."

Thus, Abū-Mūsā could not move a single step from his place. I then took the people's homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) and at once dismissed Abū-Mūsā from his office and appointed Qarazah ibn Ka'b al-Anṣārī as the new governor of al-Kūfah. I did not leave al-Kūfah until I succeeded to mobilize seven thousand men whom I sent to join Imam 'Alī's army, marching to him from lands and from river. I joined him in Dhī-Qār and found that two thousand men from the Ṭayyi' tribe as well as other tribes had joined his army. When the people of al-Kūfah proceeded to Dhī-Qār and met Imam 'Alī ('a), they welcomed him and said, "All praise be to Allah Who has granted us exclusively the grace of love for you and honored us with supporting you." In response, Imam 'Alī ('a) thanked them and prayed to Allah to award them well for this step.⁽¹⁾

Imam 'Alī's sermon in Dhī-Qār

Then, Imam 'Alī ('a), the Leader of the Believers, stood up among them to address them. He praised and glorified Allah, invoked His blessings upon the Holy Prophet (ṣ), and said, "O people of al-Kūfah, you are the noblest of the Muslims, the most purposeful of them in following the correct course, the most upright of them in practice, the best of them in your participation in Islam, and the best among the Arabs in composition and origin. You are the fiercest of the Arabs in your love for the Prophet—may Allah bless him and his family—and the members of his House. I only chose you out of my trust in you, because of the fact that you will give your lives against Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's renunciation of their fealty to me, opposition to giving obedience to me, setting out with 'Ā'ishah to create discord and taking her from her house

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted in al-Bulādhari's *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, pages 230-1.

until they had brought her to al-Baṣrah. However, I have been informed that the people of al-Baṣrah were divided into two groups; one group included men of merit, virtue, and religiosity; and they had kept aloof and shown their dislike for what Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr did.”

Imam ‘Alī (‘a) then fell silent; so, the people of al-Kūfah declared, “We are your supporters and helpers against your enemy. If you summon us to weaken their hold over the people, we would consider that good and we would hope to do it and win the reward.”

Imam ‘Alī (‘a) answered them with nice words and appreciated their attitude.⁽¹⁾

Imam ‘Alī’s another sermon in Dhī-Qār

When he wanted to march to Dhī-Qār, Imam ‘Alī delivered another speech, which he started with eloquent statements of praising and commending Allah the Almighty. He then said, “Verily, Allah the Almighty and All-majestic sent Muḥammad, blessings of Allah be upon him and his family, to the whole mankind as mercy; so, he proclaimed what he was ordered to and conveyed the messages of his Lord. Thus, through him, Allah mended the crack, patched the rip, made safety the ways, spared the blood, and united those who had borne grudge against one another, those whose enmity towards one another was furiously situated in their breasts, and those who rancor was hidden in their hearts. Then, Allah the Almighty and All-majestic took him (i.e. the Holy Prophet) to Him praiseworthy after he had carried out his mission completely and acted sincerely towards the nation. When he—may Allah’s blessings be upon him and his family—departed this world, some people moved us aside from our right and appointed others in our positions. Then, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān came to power and he harassed you and you did in return what you did. Then, when he faced the end that you all know, you came to me and said, ‘Accept our allegiance to you.’ I answered, ‘I will not,’ but you insisted, ‘No, you must do it.’ I said, ‘No, I will not do it.’ So, I pulled my hand, but you stretched it and crowded around me like the crowding of ever-thirsty camels around a spring on the day of their quenching of water, to the degree that I feared lest you would kill me, or some of you would kill others. Finally, you paid homage to me while I was neither pleased nor overjoyed with that. Allah the All-glorified knows that I disliked governing on the community of Muḥammad—may Allah’s blessings be upon him and his family—after I had heard him saying, ‘No one who becomes in

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 133.

charge of any of my nation's affairs but that he will be brought on the Resurrection Day while his two hands are gripped at his throat in the presence of all the creatures. Then, his register of deeds will be opened; if he was just, he will be saved; but if he was unjust, he will fall over."⁽¹⁾ Then, your groups gathered around me unanimously and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr paid homage to me while I saw betrayal showing itself evidently on their faces and reneging manifested itself in their eyes. Then, they came to me asking me to permit them to go on an 'umrah pilgrimage, but I told them that they did not intend to go on pilgrimage. They thus left to Makkah, sneered at 'Ā'ishah, and deceived her. The sons of the Released Ones⁽²⁾ arose with them; so, they came to al-Baṣrah where they killed the Muslims and committed atrocious crimes. I wonder how they were straightforwardly obedient to Abū-Bakr and 'Umar, but they are now transgressing against 'Alī, although they know for sure that I am not less than any of these two in position. Moreover, if I willed, I would say many things. Mu'āwiyah, from Levant, had written to them a letter in which he seduced them deceptively, but they concealed this matter from me and revolted, deluding the mean people that they were demanding with vengeance upon those who shed 'Uthmān's blood. By Allah, they did not find anything wrong with me and they never treated me fairly. Verily, the shedding of 'Uthmān's blood was their own act and they are answerable for it. How disappointed is the caller, for what he called for and for the answer he received! By Allah, they both are indeed in mute deviation and blind ignorance. Satan has encouraged his troops to follow them and set upon them with his cavalry and manpower, intending to return oppression to its abode and to restitute falsity to its center."

Imam 'Alī ('a) then raised his hands toward the sky and prayed, "O Allah! Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr have ruptured their relationship with me, wronged me, and broken their homage to me; so, please untie all that which they tied, break all that which they ratified, never forgive them, and show them the disadvantages of what they did and expected."⁽³⁾

Mālik al-Ashtar, may Allah's mercy be upon him, stood up and said, "O

⁽¹⁾ Many traditions have been reported from the Holy Prophet (ṣ) in this sense. See, for example, al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 6/15-44.

⁽²⁾ On the day of the Conquest of Makkah, the Holy Prophet had captured the polytheists, but he then released them and they had to declare embracing Islam. For this reason, they are called *ṭulaqā'*, i.e. the Released Ones, such as Abū-Sufyān and Mu'āwiyah. [Translator]

⁽³⁾ Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/318; Shaykh al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, pages 130-1; al-Ṭabarsī, *al-Ihtijāj* 1/235-6; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadid, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/309-10; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/62-3.

Leader of the Believers, please take it easy. By Allah, the issue of Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr is never problematic for us. They had entered under your authority on their own accord but they then departed us for no injustice that we committed nor a heresy that we made in Islam. They then came to provoke sedition against us while they are arrogant and biased, since they do not have any argument to show nor do they have any evidence to define. They thus attired themselves with shame and headed for their home. If they claim that 'Uthmān was killed wrongfully, then it is the relatives of 'Uthmān who should demand with punishing his killers. O Leader of the Believers! I now ask Allah to witness that if these two will not re-join what they had left and refrain from coming back to obedience to you and to what they had declared, we will most surely make them join the son of 'Affān."⁽¹⁾

Then, Abu'l-Haytham ibn al-Tayyihān, may Allah's mercy be upon him, stood up and spoke, "O Leader of the Believers! Allah may make them face what they hate to face from the beginning of their days! If they come to us submitting to what we want from them, we will accept that from them; but if they keep on turning their backs to us, we will fight against them. I swear by my life, the people who killed the souls that Allah has forbidden to be killed, seized the money, and horrified the people of true faith do not deserve to be saved from conflict and punishment."

Then, Imam 'Alī ('a) turned his face toward 'Adī ibn Ḥātam and asked him, "'Adī! Will you present yourself with us, join us, and enter into what we are now in?"

'Adī answered, "Whether I am present or absent, you will always find me following only that which pleases you. The horses of my tribesmen and me are prepared for supporting you, our lances are sharpened, and our swords are unsheathed. If you order us to march forward, we will march forward; and if you order us to stop, we will stop. We are obedient to your orders; therefore, order us to do whatever you wish us to do; and we will hurry to comply with your commands."⁽²⁾

As for Abū-Zaynab al-Azdī, he said, "By Allah, if we are on the right, then you are the most rightly guided amongst us and you are the owner of the greatest share of goodness; but if we on the wrong, Allah forbid that we are deviants, then you will be the most responsible of all of us for this deviation

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/310-1; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/64.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn Qutaybah in *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/57.

and you will be the most liable for it. We have been willing to march toward those people after we had broken our friendship with them, released ourselves from their misdeeds, and shown enmity toward them, only intending to gain that which Allah the Almighty and All-majestic knows from us. Now, we beseech you in the name of Allah Who taught you what you had not known to answer our question: Are we not on the right while our enemies are on the wrong?"

Imam 'Alī ('a) answered, "I bear witness that if your march with us is intended to support your religion with a pure intention and if you break your friendship with those people and released yourself from them for this reason just as you have said, then you will most surely be under the shade of Allah's pleasure. Receive these good tidings, Abū-Zaynab! By Allah, you are on the right; so, do not doubt it, since you will fight against the parties that are against Islam."

Having received these words, Abū-Zaynab composed these poetic verses:

March forward to face the parties who are the enemies of the Prophet.

For the best of all people are the followers of 'Alī.

This is the best time to unsheathe the swords;

And to lead the horses and to shake the spears.⁽¹⁾

Ibn 'Abbās in Dhī-Qār

When the people of al-Kūfah finally decided to join Imam 'Alī ('a) and some of them even prepared themselves for this journey, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās and the other messengers led those who accepted to join the Imam to Dhī-Qār where Imam 'Alī ('a) had camped. Yet, Ibn 'Abbās joined Imam 'Alī ('a) first to tell him that the people of al-Kūfah were seriously sincere to obey him and they were on their way to him, but he preceded them so that he would grant them enough time to prepare themselves for this journey and for the expected war. Before he left al-Kūfah, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās had appointed Qarazāh ibn Ka'b as his representative there so that he would continue encouraging the people to join Imam 'Alī's army.⁽²⁾

At that time, Imam 'Alī ('a) received a letter sent to him from al-Baṣrah. The letter mentioned the details of what his enemies did to the governor of al-

⁽¹⁾ Naṣr ibn Muẓāḥim, *Waq'at Siffin*, pages 100-1; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/178-9. Yet, according to these two reference books, these poetic verses were composed by 'Ammār ibn Yāsir and the event took place before the Battle of Siffin but not the Battle of the Camel.

⁽²⁾ Compare this report to what is quoted by al-Bulādhārī in *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, page 230.

Baṣrah 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf as well as their other mischievous deeds that included the shedding of the blood of innocent people, the robbing of the public properties, the slaying of many of Imam 'Alī's partisans and supporters, and the seditious and mischievous deeds they committed in al-Baṣrah. Ibn 'Abbās reached Dhī-Qār and met Imam 'Alī ('a) who was deeply depressed, saddened, annoyed, and concerned by the bad news he had just received from al-Baṣrah; therefore, Ibn 'Abbās conveyed to Imam 'Alī ('a) the news of the obedience to the people of al-Kūfah to him and their promise to support him. This news delighted Imam 'Alī ('a) who decided to reside for longer time in Dhī-Qār waiting for the people of al-Kūfah and the aid that would help him win over his enemy.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 2/187, al-Haythamī in *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 7/236, and Aḥmad ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī in *Taḥḥir al-Janān*, page 51.

'UTHMĀN IBN ḤUNAYF AND THE RENEGADES

Amongst the many narrations the authenticity of which has been agreed upon by all transmitters of reports is the following one that reported what the enemies of Imam 'Alī ('a) did to 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf, the governor of al-Baṣrah, and to those who were with him:

Al-Wāqidi and Abū-Mikhnaḥ reported from their trustworthy transmitters of narrations; and al-Madā'inī and Ibn Da'b also reported from their mentors through chains of authority—that I will not mention in order to brief the issue although I depended on it because I found it in the books and compilations of non-Shī'ah scholars—that when 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr, along with those who followed them from the Banū-Umayyah, the former officials of 'Uthmān, and some people of the Quraysh tribe, marched toward al-Baṣrah from Makkah, they mended their paces until they arrived in al-Baṣrah and resided in a region of wells that were dug by Abū-Mūsā al-Ash'arī and known as Ḥafar Abī-Mūsā (on the way between Makkah and al-Baṣrah, about a five-night journey to the center of the city). When they resided there, 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf, Imam 'Alī's representative in al-Baṣrah, was informed about that. Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah, who was present there, asked 'Uthmān, "What information have you received?"

'Uthmān answered, "I have been informed that those people are now residing at Ḥafar Abī-Mūsā."

Ḥukaym suggested, "Allow me to go to them, for I am always obedient to the Leader of the Believers."

'Uthmān did not allow; rather, he said, "Stop this until I write to them."

Ḥukaym objected and said, "Unfortunately, you will kill yourself if you do so. I swear it by Allah."

'Uthmān did not respond to Ḥukaym; rather, he sent for 'Imrān ibn Ḥuṣayn and Abu'l-Aswad al-Du'alī to discuss the matter with them. He ordered them to go to those people, speak to them, ask them the reason for their coming, and prevent them from arousing a seditious commotion.

Responding to him, these two men left and visited 'Ā'ishah, whom they asked,

"O mother of the believers! What has made you undertake this journey?"

She answered, "When 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān raised his lash and stick against you, I became angry for you. Do you want me to stop my rage upon the shedding of his blood?"

They said, "You have nothing to do about 'Uthmān's lash and stick. You are only a detainee of Allah's Apostle. We now beseech you in the name of Allah not to be a reason for the shedding of more blood."

She answered, "Is there any one who dares to fight me?"

Abu'l-Aswad said, "Yes, by Allah. There are many people who will fight you such a fighting that the easiest of it is very intense."

Having left 'Ā'ishah, the two men went to al-Zubayr and said to him, "Abū-'Abdullāh! We beseech you in the name of Allah not to be a reason for the shedding of more blood."

Al-Zubayr refused their request and said, "Go back whereto you came and do not spoil this matter."

Having despaired of receiving a good reply from al-Zubayr, the two men left him and went to Ṭalḥah, to whom they repeated the same request: "We beseech you in the name of Allah not to be a reason for the shedding of more blood."

Ṭalḥah answered, "Does 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib think that the authority has become in his hand only because he held sway over al-Madinah and that there is no other authority but his? By Allah, we will show him. Now, leave me and return from where you came."

Thus, the two men left Ṭalḥah and returned to 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf to whom they conveyed what they had heard from these people.⁽¹⁾

Ibn Abī-Sabrah reported 'Īsā ibn Abī-'Īsā that he reported al-Sha'bī as saying: When Abu'l-Aswad al-Du'alī and 'Imrān visited 'Ā'ishah, they asked her, "What has made you come to this country, while you are the detainee of Allah's Apostle? Allah has ordered you to stay in your home."

She answered, "I have declared my rage when you were exposed to lashes and

⁽¹⁾ Al-Jāhīz, *al-Bayān wa'l-Tabyīn* 2/295-6; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/64-5; al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* 1/225-6; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/461-2; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-Iqd al-Farīd* 4/319; Abū-Hilāl al-'Askarī, *al-Awā'il*, page 139; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3/211; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 6/226-7 and 9/313; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/140-1.

to sticks. Should I not be raged for 'Uthmān when he was exposed to sword strikes?"

They said, "We beseech you in the name of Allah not to be a reason for the shedding of blood and not to rally some people against the others."

She answered, "I have only come to make reconciliation among the people."

Addressing 'Imrān ibn Ḥuṣayn, she said, "Will you convey this message to 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf?"

'Imrān answered, "I convey to him nothing but good things about you."

Yet, Abu'l-Aswad intruded and said to her, "I will convey your message to him. What is it?"

'Ā'ishah said, "Convey to him this letter on my behalf: You are a manumitted slave of the Banū-'Āmir tribe! Is it true that you want to face me in fighting?"

Abu'l-Aswad answered, "Yes, by Allah. He will most surely fight you."

'Ā'ishah reproachfully said to Abu'l-Aswad, "You, too, O Du'ali? I have received information about you in this regard. Stand up and leave me."

The two men left 'Ā'ishah and went to visit Ṭalḥah, to whom they said, "Abū-Muḥammad! Is it not true that all the people have unanimously agreed upon paying homage to the cousin of Allah's Apostle whom Allah the All-exalted preferred him to many others in such merits and excellences like..."

They went on mentioning the excellences, merits, and rights of Imam 'Alī ('a), but Ṭalḥah, in response, went on reviling and swearing at Imam 'Alī ('a). He then said, "It is true that there is no one equal to him, but, by Allah, we will show him the consequences of his deed."

They then left Ṭalḥah, murmuring, "This lowly man has become angry."

They then visited al-Zubayr and spoke to him with similar words, but this man, too, reviled and swore at Imam 'Alī ('a). He then said to some people who were present, "Surprise them in the morning before they take over you in the evening."

Having heard these attitudes, the two men left for 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf and told him of what they had seen. As a result, 'Uthmān declared war.

'Ā'ishah's letter to Ḥafṣah

When 'Ā'ishah was informed of Imam 'Alī's residence in Dhī-Qār, she wrote the following letter to Ḥafṣah, the daughter of 'Umar [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb]: "We

have resided in al-Baṣrah while 'Alī has resided in Dhī-Qār. By Allah, he has broken his own neck just as an egg is broken on a rock. As he is in Dhī-Qār, he has become like a blond horse; if he comes forward, he will be slaughtered; and if he goes backward, his legs will be cut off."

When she received and read 'Ā'ishah's letter, Ḥaḥṣah became so happy and overjoyed that she gathered the boys of the Banū-Taym and the Banū-'Adī tribes and gave tambourines to her bondmaids, ordering them to beat on them and sing these words: "What is the news? What is the news? 'Alī has become like a blond horse; if he comes forward, he will be slaughtered; and if he goes backward, his legs will be cut off!"

Lady Ummu-Salamah, may Allah be pleased with her, knew about the meeting of these women to revile and swear at Imam 'Alī ('a) and she knew about 'Ā'ishah's letter. In reaction, she wept heavily and said, "Give me my clothes; I will go out to see these women and scold at them."

Ummu-Kulthūm, the daughter of Imam 'Alī ('a), said to her, "I will do this mission on your behalf."

She thus put on clothes, disguises, and veiled her face. Accompanied by her bondmaids whom she ordered to veil their faces too, she went to these women pretending that she was one of the ordinary people. When she noticed the play and foolish behavior of them, she unmasked her face and said to Ḥaḥṣah, "It is not strange from you and your sister ['Ā'ishah] to help one another against the Leader of the Believers ('a), for you had already backed one another up against his brother the Apostle of Allah and, as a result, Allah the Almighty and All-majestic revealed about you what He revealed.⁽¹⁾ Still, Allah is managing against you two for the war you are waging against the Leader of the Believers."

Having heard these words, Ḥaḥṣah was vanquished and she showed shyness. Trying to find an excuse, she said, "It is these women who did so out of their ignorance." She thus ordered the women to leave the place immediately.⁽²⁾

'Ā'ishah's speech in al-Mirbad

When 'Ā'ishah received 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf's determination to fight her, she rode on the camel surrounded by the people, and proceeded until she stopped

⁽¹⁾ This is an indication of verses 3 and 4 of Sūrah al-Taḥrīm (no. 66), the Holy Qur'ān.

⁽²⁾ Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi, *al-Futūḥ* 1/467; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 14/13; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Mathālib al-Nawāṣib*, part 3, papers 37-8; al-Mashgharī, *al-Durr al-Naẓīm* 1/123; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/90-1.

at a place called al-Mirbad, which became overcrowded with the people who came to listen to her speech. From the back on the camel, 'Ā'ishah ordered, "Shut up! Shut up!" Thus, all people stopped talking and went on listening to her. Starting her speech with statements of praising Allah, 'Ā'ishah said, "Now that 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān had deviated and changed many things, he did not stop washing off his misdeeds through repentance until he returned like pure gold. Nevertheless, they transgressed against him and slew him in the middle of his house. They also killed some people with him inside his house wrongfully and oppressively. They then preferred 'Alī to all others and paid homage to him although none of the people was present, the law of consultation was not observed, and the selection of people was not taken into consideration. Thus, 'Alī, by Allah, blackmailed them into authority over them; and those who swore allegiance to him said, 'Take it for yourself and be careful, O Abu'l-Ḥasan!' ⁽¹⁾ I was furious at 'Uthmān for your sake when he used lashes against you. How does it come that I do not be furious when 'Uthmān was stricken with swords? Behold! Matters will not be fixed until the selection of the authority is traced back to what 'Umar had done when he founded the consultation principle, on condition that no one of those who had shed the blood of 'Uthmān should join this consultation."

Some people approved of her words while others disapproved; therefore, the two parties quarreled with each other to the degree that they even used their

⁽¹⁾ This is an indicative of the following event that is reported by historians: When Imam 'Alī ('a) finished his sermon that he delivered immediately after the people had paid homage to him as their new leader, a woman known as al-Saba'iyyah addressed him with these poetic verses:

*Take it for yourself and be careful, O Abu'l-Ḥasan!
We are passing this matter to you just as we pass halters.
We are the people whose attacks are like plowing ships
Holding swords that are as white as pure milk
We stab kings with soft and long spears like ropes of buckets
Until we make them submit without any haughtiness.*

In response, Imam 'Alī ('a) composed:

*I have failed such a failure that is inexcusable
After that I will do my best and keep on it
I will make up for my past failure
And I will gather the scattered matters
If the hasty and the injudicious will keep on quarrelling,
I will raise my weapon against them.*

References: al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/436-7; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārikh* 3/195; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidaywah wa'l-Nihāyah* 7/227.

sandals in fight. 'Ā'ishah left them and went to the al-Dabbāghīn quarter after the people had been divided into two groups; one group supported Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and 'Ā'ishah, while the other group held fast to their allegiance to and acceptance of Imam 'Alī ('a) as their leader. 'Ā'ishah left that place leading those who decided to follow her as well as Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, and 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr. They came to the governorate house and asked 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf to leave it, but he rejected their request. There, his supporters and a group of the people of al-Baṣrah faced the other group and fought one another so heavily up to midday. On that day, five hundred men from the Banū-'Abd al-Qays tribe who were supporters of 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf and partisans of Imam 'Alī ('a) were wounded, not to mention big numbers of other people. The fight continued so fiercely that the two combating forces encountered one another near the Banū-Māzin Graveyard and then left it toward the dam of al-Baṣrah until they reached the al-Zābūqah at the yard of the public treasury house. There, they fought each other so heavily that a big number of the two parties fell killed and wounded. Having seen this, some people of the two parties called for peace and some other people intruded because of the huge casualties they saw. Finally, they decided to make peace on condition that 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf would have the governorate house, the mosque, and the public treasury house, while Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr and 'Ā'ishah would occupy any other part of the al-Baṣrah city and they would not engage into another fight until Imam 'Alī ('a) would arrive there; and then they would either enter into obedience to him or fight against him. This peace treaty was documented and confirmed through many covenants and pledges, and the people were the witnesses. Thus, the two parties sheathed their weapons, 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf felt safe, and the people left him.⁽¹⁾

The renegades kill the guards of the public treasury house

Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were waiting for an opportunity, which came to them at a windy and dark night when they, followed by their supporters, went out and came to the governorate house without letting 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf know about their coming. The door of the governorate house was guarded by some

⁽¹⁾ Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, page 183; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/68-9; al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, pages 226-7; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/313; Abū-Hilāl al-'Askari, *al-Awā'il*, page 140; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/315-6 & 320. Compare this report to what is quoted by al-Ṭabarī in *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/464-7, Ibn al-Athīr in *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3/213-4, and al-Nuwayrī in *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 20/37-8.

people from the Sind province⁽¹⁾ who worked as constables in al-Baṣrah and belonged to the Zuṭṭ people and their mission was guarding the public treasury houses. They had converted to Islam and committed to its teachings and laws so devotedly that prayers and prostrations had their effects on their foreheads. 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf had employed and entrusted them with guarding the public treasury house and the governorate house. Abruptly, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr as well as their followers raided on those constables and laid siege on them from four sides. They then used their swords against them so harshly that they killed forty men of them after they had disarmed them. These crimes were committed under a direct supervision of al-Zubayr personally. They then raided on 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf and tied him up. 'Uthmān was heavy-bearded; so, they plucked out the hair of his beard leaving no single hair, while Ṭalḥah was shouting, "Torture this wicked man and pluck out even the hairs of his eyebrows and eyelashes and shackle him with iron fetters!"

When it dawned, the people gathered in the mosque and the caller announced the adhān (i.e. call to prayer). Ṭalḥah wanted to come forward to lead the people in that Dawn Prayer, but al-Zubayr pushed him aside to take his place; so, Ṭalḥah did the same thing with al-Zubayr, and the two men pushed one another for such a long time that the sun was about to rise. Having seen this, the people of al-Baṣrah shouted at them, "O companions of Allah's Apostle! Fear Allah and keep Him in your mind with regard to the prayer, since we fear that we will miss performing it in its prescribed time!" Trying to solve this problem, 'Ā'ishah said, "Choose another person than these two to lead the congregational prayer!" Ya'lā ibn Munyah suggested, "'Abdullāh the son of al-Zubayr may lead the people in the prayers one day while Muḥammad the son of Ṭalḥah may lead them on the other day until the people agree on a certain people whom they should take for an emir." Approving of this suggestion, 'Abdullāh the son of al-Zubayr went to the fore line and led the people in the prayer that day.⁽²⁾

The uprising of Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah

When he came to know what those people had done to 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf and how they had killed the righteous constables who were the guardians of the public treasury house, Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah al-'Abdī shouted at his folks,

⁽¹⁾ The Sind is a province to the south east of current Pakistan.

⁽²⁾ Al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* 1/227-8; *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī* 2/181; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/468-9; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/367; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/320-1.

"O my people! March off to those straying off and unjust people, for they have shed inviolable blood, killed righteous servants of Allah, and violated what Allah the All-exalted deemed inviolable."

Responding to him, seven hundred men from the Banū-'Abd al-Qays tribe came to the mosque and the other people gathered around Ḥukaym who said to them, "Have you not seen what those people did to my brother 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf? If I fail to support him, then I am not a real brother of him." He then raised his hands toward the sky and prayed to the Almighty, "O Allah! Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr did not intend nearness to You in what they have done; rather, they only intended to win worldly pleasures. O Allah! Please kill both of them for the murders they have committed and deprive them of what they have hoped to gain."

He then rode on his horse, holding his spear in the hand, and his companions followed him. Then, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr came leading those who followed them, and they were a very big number of people, and the two parties fought so heavily that their fight resulted in a huge number of victims and a similar number of wounded. A man from the other party went out to face Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah in a duel; so, he slashed him with his sword so heavily that he cut off his leg. Ḥukaym took his severed leg with his hand and threw it on that man and he was knocked down because of that.

Immediately after that, Ḥukaym's brother, known as al-Ashraf, came to his brother and asked, "Who struck you?" Ḥukaym pointed to the man; so, al-Ashraf caught him struck him with his sword so heavily that the man died. Yet, the people surrounded al-Ashraf and his brother in mass groups until they killed them. After this, the fight ceased and the people went back from where they came.⁽¹⁾

Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr went back and resided in the governorate house, holding sway over the public treasury house. So, 'Ā'ishah came and took some money of the public treasury to distribute it on her supporters. Likewise, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr entered into that house along with a group of their

(1) Compare this narration with what is quoted in Abū-Hilāl al-'Askari's *al-Awā'il*, page 140 and al-Nuwayri's *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 20/38-9.

In *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/322, Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadid writes, "When Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah was informed of what had happened to 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf by those people, he went out leading three hundred men from the Banū-'Abd al-Qays tribe to oppose and declare war on those people. Yet, they faced him and carried 'Ā'ishah on the back of a camel. For this reason, that conflict is known as the Minor Battle of the Camel, while their war against Imam 'Alī ('a) is known as the Major Battle of the Camel."

followers and they took a huge sum of money. When they left, they installed locks on the door of that house and appointed some people from their supporters to guard it. 'Ā'ishah then ordered that locks should be sealed on that door; therefore, Ṭalḥah advanced to do that, but al-Zubayr prevented him; and al-Zubayr went to do that, but Ṭalḥah prevented him. The two pushed one another, but when 'Ā'ishah was informed, she ordered, "Both of them must put their seals on that door. As for me, my sister's son, 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, should put a third seal on behalf of me." Thus, three seals were put on that door.

After that, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr asked 'Ā'ishah, "What will you order us to do about 'Uthmān [ibn Ḥunayf]? You know what has happened to him."

She ordered, "Kill him! May Allah kill him!"

A woman from the people of al-Baṣrah was present there when 'Ā'ishah issued this order; so, she said to 'Ā'ishah, "O mother! What are you saying? Do you order them to kill 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf while his brother Sahl is the governor of al-Madīnah? You know his position among the people of the Aws and the Khazraj tribes. By Allah, if you do it, there will be in al-Madīnah such a fierce onslaught in which the offspring of Quraysh will be massacred."

These words made 'Ā'ishah change her mind and say, "Do not kill him; rather, you may detain and suppress him until I decide about him."

Hence, 'Uthmān was detained for some days, but they then decided to release him for they feared that his brother would detain their chiefs in al-Madīnah and would punish them. Finally, 'Uthmān was released.⁽¹⁾

'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf joins Imam 'Alī

'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf left al-Baṣrah and joined Imam 'Alī ('a) who was residing in Dhī-Qār. When Imam 'Alī ('a) saw what those people had done to him, he wept and said, "'Uthmān, I sent you there as an old man with a heavy beard, but they sent you back to me as beardless." He then prayed, "O Allah! You know that they have defied You and violated what You deemed inviolable. O Allah, please kill them for the killings they have committed against my partisans and quicken Your punishment on them for what they

(1) Compare this report to what is quoted by al-Bulādhari in *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* 1/228-9, al-Ṭabari in *Tārikh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/474-5, al-'Askari in *al-Awā'il*, page 140, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr in *al-Isti'āb* 1/326-7; Ibn Shahr'āshūb in *Mathālib al-Nawāṣib* 3/25, Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzi in *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 67, Ibn al-Athīr in *al-Kāmil fi'l-Tārikh* 3/217-8, Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadid in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/321, and al-Nuwayrī in *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 20/38.

have done to my representative.”⁽¹⁾

Imam ‘Alī in the public treasury house

When ‘Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf left al-Baṣrah, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr returned to the public treasury house and looked amazingly at its contents. As they saw the gold and silver, they said, “These are the spoils and prizes that Allah has promised to give to us, as He has told us that He would give this money to us in this worldly life before the otherworldly one!”

Commenting on this situation, Abu’l-Aswad reported: “I personally have heard them saying these words. On the contrary, I also saw ‘Alī (‘a) enter the public treasury house of al-Baṣrah afterwards. When he saw its contents, he said, ‘O yellow gold and O white silver! Seduce someone other than me! Money is the leader of the wrongdoers; while I am the leader of the believers.’ By Allah I swear this; ‘Alī never reflected on what was there and never thought of what he saw. I saw that he considered these fortunes to be just like dust, because he always belittled them. Accordingly, I was astonished at his attitude to these fortunes and at the attitude of Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr to the same. I thus said to myself: ‘Definitely, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr are seekers of this-worldly gains while ‘Alī (‘a) is a seeker of the otherworldly rewards.’ This situation increased my faith in him.”⁽²⁾

‘Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr objects to his father

The party of ‘Ā’ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr had control over the affairs in al-Baṣrah after ‘Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf had left it and they knew that Imam ‘Alī (‘a) was in Dhī-Qār waiting for the troops to join him because he would not keep silent for what they had done to his companion and to the Muslims. ‘Ā’ishah ordered al-Zubayr to mobilize the people; so, he delivered a speech, ordering them to work seriously for facing Imam ‘Alī’s army. He said, “Your enemy has become very close to you. By Allah, if he grabs hold of you, he will never leave anyone of you safe and will never let any eye wink. So, rise up so that we will raid on him before his supporters join him.”

He then added, “You may now come to receive your prizes.”

⁽¹⁾ Compare this report to what is quoted by al-Ya’qūbī in *Tārīkh al-Ya’qūbī* 2/182, al-Ṭabarī in *Tārīkh al-Umam wa’l-Mulūk* 4/480, Ibn al-Athīr in *al-Kāmil fi’l-Tārīkh* 3/226, Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī in *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 68, Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/321, Ibn al-‘Ubrī in *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, page 106, and al-Nuwayrī in *Nihāyat al-‘Arab* 20/45.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Abī-Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf* 7/543; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/380; Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/249 and 9/322; al-Zubaydī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs* 3/369.

When he went back home after this speech, his son 'Abdullāh said to him reproachfully, "Have you promised these people to receive their prizes so that they will take the money and leave you before the coming of 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib? Your act will weaken your force. What a miserable act you have done!"

Al-Zubayr answered, "Woe betide you! Shut your mouth! What I have done is the only solution."

Ṭalḥah intruded and said, "Your son 'Abdullāh has said the truth! This money should not be given to anyone until 'Alī becomes close enough to us. Only then, we may use the money as it should be used and give it to those who will defend us."

Enraged, al-Zubayr said, "By Allah, if only one coin remains, I will distribute it among them."

'Ā'ishah, too, blamed al-Zubayr for this procedure, agreeing with what Ṭalḥah and 'Abdullāh had said.

Al-Zubayr furiously said, "If you do not leave me alone, I will join Mu'āwiyah in Levant, for the people have paid homage to him."

Having heard this threat, they stopped blaming him and kept silent.⁽¹⁾

Hesitation of al-Zubayr

Dāwūd ibn Abī-Hind narrated that Abū-'Amrah, the manumitted slave of al-Zubayr, said: On that day, al-Zubayr shouted, "If I can only find one thousand horsemen or at least five hundred ones to rise with me, I will lead them and march toward 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib. Then, I will either take him by surprise at night or in the morning so that I will kill him before his troops join him."

Yet, nobody responded to him—a matter that infuriated him to the degree that he expressed, "By Allah, this is the very sedition that we had already been told about."

Abū-'Amrah commented, "May Allah have mercy upon you, O Abū-'Abdullāh! Do you call it sedition and meanwhile you allow people to fight in it?"

Al-Zubayr answered, "We see things as they are but we cannot endure!"

One or two days later, al-Zubayr said, "By Allah, throughout my lifetime, I have always been sure of what I was going to do except this time. I do not

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi in *al-Futūḥ* 1/474-5.

know whether I should come forward or drop back!"

His son 'Abdullāh said to him, "No, by Allah! You do know what to do, but we are only feigning blindness. What makes you say such words is nothing but that you felt that the flags of 'Alī ibn Abī-Tālib are casting a shadow and inevitable death is lying under them."

Al-Zubayr shouted at him, "Go away, woe to you! You have no acquaintance with the affairs."⁽¹⁾

Al-Ḥārith ibn al-Faḍl reported Abū-'Abdullāh al-Agharr as saying: On that day, al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām said to his son, "Woe to you! You never leave us live in stability. By Allah, it is you who have ruptured our relations and scattered our unity when you make this march. Before that, I never cared who should be in charge of the leadership and who should assume the office of authority. By Allah, none of the people should assume this office except one who would act as same as 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb acted toward the people. Yet, who can act as same as 'Umar did? If we follow the policy of 'Uthmān, we will be killed. Now, what is my interest in this march and in making the people kill one another?"

His son 'Abdullāh answered, "Will you let 'Alī seize the power? You know for sure that 'Alī was the best of the members of the *Consultation Committee* in the sight of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb who, while he was wounded, said to the members, 'Please, make 'Alī understand that he will be chosen for the leadership; otherwise, he will cause to Islam such a rip that cannot be mended. Keep on making him expect the leadership until you chose another man than him.'"

When 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf arrived in Dhī-Qār, he resided there with Imam 'Alī ('a) while he was terribly sick, until the troops of the people of al-Kūfah joined Imam 'Alī ('a).

Kulayb negotiates with Imam 'Alī

Al-Wāqidī reported Shaybān ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān on the authority of 'Āṣim ibn Kulayb who reported his father, Kulayb, as saying: A few months after

(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/475-6; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughni* 20/86; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-Tārikh* 3/220; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 14/14 and 2/66; al-Mashgharī, *al-Durr al-Nāẓim* 1/23. Also, compare this narration to what is quoted in *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī* 2/182-3, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī's *al-Futūḥ* 1/474, al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/372, Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *al-Shāfi* 4/335, Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fi'l-Tārikh* 3/240, Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī's *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 71, and al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 20/64.

the killing of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr came to al-Baṣrah. A few days after that, 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib resided in Dhī-Qār. Two chiefs of our quarter suggested to me, "Accompany us to this man so that we will know his case and to what thing he invites." Responding to them, we came to Dhī-Qār to visit the smartest of all the Arabs. By Allah, once we met him, he told in details the lineage of my people that I said to myself, "He knows them better than I do and he is fully acquainted with them." He then asked us, "Who is the chief of the Banū-Rāsib clan?" I named their chief to him. He then asked, "Who is the chief of the Banū-Qudāmah?" I also named their chief to him. He then asked me, "Can you carry my two letters to them?" I answered in the affirmative. He then asked, "Will you not pay homage to me?" The two old men who were with me did, but I refused. At this juncture, some men the traces of prostration were clearly seen on their faces started to insist on me to pay homage to him, but he said to them, "Leave the man."

Then, I spoke, "My people have sent me to you as pioneer; therefore, my mission is only to convey to them what I see. So, if they accept to pay homage to you, I, too, will, but if they do not, I will not do it either."

Imam 'Alī ('a) said to me, "Suppose that your people have sent you as pioneer and overseer and you came upon a green land and a river; so, you said to them, 'O my people! Come here!' but they refused. Then, will you not save yourself?"

Upon hearing these words, I immediately held one of his fingers and said, "I now swear allegiance to you on condition that I will obey you as long as you obey Allah; but if you disobey Him, I will never obey you."

Imam 'Alī ('a) accepted this condition by saying, "Yes," with a prolonged tone. So, I shook hands with him as a sign of paying homage to him.

He then turned his face toward Muḥammad ibn Ḥaṭīb, who was sitting in a corner among the people, and said to him, "When you leave for your people, you may convey to them my letters and my words."

At once, Muḥammad jumped to sit in front of the Imam and said, "If I come to my people, they will ask me your opinion about 'Uthmān. What should I answer?"

Once they heard 'Uthmān's name, the attendants started to revile at him, but I noticed that 'Alī ('a) disliked this behavior so badly that his forehead started sweating. He, addressing them, said, "O people! Stop this! The man did not ask your opinion."

I, Kulayb, did not leave 'Alī's camp until the people of al-Kūfah arrived there

and went on saying, "Is it true that our brothers from the people of al-Baṣrah are willing to fight against us?" They kept on laughing astonishingly and saying, "By Allah, if we meet with them, we will establish the truth," as if they were sure that they would not fight against one another.

Then, I left carrying with me 'Alī's two letters to these two chiefs, one of whom accepted and responded to him. I was then guided to the other chief who was hiding himself from the people. If they had told him that Kulayb wanted to see him, he would never have accepted to meet me, but I could visit him and hand 'Alī's letter to him, saying, "This is a letter from 'Alī..." and I went on relating to him the whole situation. I also said to him, "I have told 'Alī that you are the chief of your people." But the man refused to take 'Alī's letter and refused to respond to him, saying, "Today, I do not need such a chiefship."

While I was still in al-Baṣrah and before I returned to 'Alī, I saw his troops in the city...etc.⁽¹⁾

Imam 'Alī foretells the number of the troops

Naṣr reported 'Amr ibn Sa'd on the authority of al-Ajlāḥ who reported Zayd ibn 'Alī as saying: We were few persons only in the camp of Imam 'Alī ('a) and we were unable to receive any news about the conditions in al-Baṣrah; so, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās then related: When I told Imam 'Alī ('a) about our apprehensions, he said to me, "Keep silent, O son of 'Abbās! By Allah, during these two days, six thousand and six hundred men will join us. They will overcome the people of al-Baṣrah; and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr will be killed."

Having heard these words, I could not wait for the news until I met a rider coming toward me. I stopped him and asked him what news he had; so, he told me the same number of troops who were on their way to join our camp, as exactly as Imam 'Alī ('a) told me.⁽²⁾

(1) Ibn Abī-Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaḥ* 7/532-4; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/305; Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, pages 244-5, sermon no. 170; al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī' al-Abrār* 1/710; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Āli Abī-Ṭālib* 2/46. Compare this narration to what is quoted in *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/490-2.

(2) Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 2/187; al-Mashgharī, *al-Durr al-Naẓīm* 1/124; al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 7/236; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, *Taḥīr al-Janān*, page 51. However, the authors of these reference books mentioned that the number of the troops foretold by Imam 'Alī ('a) was either six thousand and fifty-five hundred or six thousand and sixty hundred. Compare this narration to what is quoted by Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt in *Tārīkh*, page 184, al-Ṭabarī in *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/500, Shaykh al-Mufīd in

Isma'il ibn 'Abd al-Malik reported Yahyā ibn Shibl as saying: [Imam] Abū-Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī [al-Bāqir] said: Leading twelve thousand warriors, Imam 'Alī ('a) marched from Dhī-Qār to al-Baṣrah and resided in al-Khuraybah. On the right wing of his army, there was 'Ammār ibn Yāsir leading one thousand soldiers, while on the left wing, there was Mālik al-Ashtar leading one thousand soldiers. Imam 'Alī ('a) was in the center leading ten thousand soldiers. From al-Baṣrah, two thousand men went out to face him. All the men of the Rabi'ah tribe came except the men of the Mālik ibn Misma' clan. Also, all the men of the Banū-'Abd al-Qays tribe came except one man only who failed to join them. The men of the Banū-Bakr, headed by Shaqīq ibn Thawr al-Sadūsi, came, too. The chief of the Banū-'Abd al-Qays in this conflict was 'Amr ibn Jurmūz al-'Abdī. Al-Muhallab ibn Abī-Ṣufrah joined him leading the men of the al-Azd tribe.

Al-Aḥnaf's situation

Al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays sent a messenger to Imam 'Alī ('a) who conveyed to him this message: "I am steady on obedience to you as well as my folks. If you wish, I will join you with two hundred warriors from my family, or I can prevent four thousand swords of the Banū-Sa'd tribe from being unsheathed against you." In reply, Imam 'Alī ('a) sent him this message: "You may prevent those swords and stop where you are now."

Having received this message, al-Aḥnaf gathered his people and said to them, "O men of Banū-Sa'd! Withdraw yourselves from this sedition and sit in your homes. If the people of al-Baṣrah win, then they are your brothers and they will not oppress you; and if 'Alī wins, then you will be saved."

Thus, those people halted and quit the fight.

Hilāl ibn Wakī' al-Ḥanzalī, having been told of al-Aḥnaf's attitude, came to him and asked, "What do you, O our chief, say about this case?"

Al-Aḥnaf answered, "I can be your chief only when you die and I survive."

Hilāl said, "No, you are today our chief and master."

Al-Aḥnaf said, "I am the disobeyed old man of you, while you are the obeyed young man of us. Sit in your house and do not join Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr."

Yet, Hilāl refused to obey al-Aḥnaf; therefore, he called the men of the Tamīm tribe to join him; and they did except for a few number of them.

When Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr knew about al-Aḥnaf's words and deeds, they

sent him some messengers to convince him to join them. In reply, al-Aḥnaf said to them, "You may choose one of these three options; either I sit in my house and withdraw myself so that I will be neither with nor against you, or I will join 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, or I will go to al-Ahwāz and remain there."

They answered, "Give us some time to think about your options."

They thus counseled with those who were present with them, and they said, "If he joins 'Alī, then he is your enemy and it will be a big loss for you if al-Aḥnaf joins 'Alī. As for letting him go to al-Ahwāz, then this will encourage all those who do not want to participate in this fight to join him. Therefore, the best solution is to keep him in your vicinity so that if he moves against you, you will be able to smack him on his ear."

Acting upon this suggestion, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr ordered al-Aḥnaf to stay at home. So, he came to Wādī al-Sibā'⁽¹⁾ and resided there.⁽²⁾

When the messenger of al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays came to Imam 'Alī ('a) to inform him that al-Aḥnaf had decided and promised to prevent his people from entering into this fight, a man asked, "O Leader of the Believers! Who is this man?"

Imam 'Alī ('a) answered, "This is the craftiest of all the Arabs and the best of all of them to his people."

Imam 'Alī ('a) added, "Yes, he is so. I compare him to al-Mughirah ibn Shu'bah who withdrew himself to al-Ṭā'if and remained there to see whom the people will choose as leader."

The man said, "However, I believe that al-Aḥnaf is closer to what you want than al-Mughirah. Is he not?"

Imam 'Alī ('a) answered, "Yes, he is. Al-Mughirah does not care which flag will be raised, be it a flag of deviation or a flag of true guidance."⁽³⁾

(1) The region where al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām was killed, Wādī al-Sibā' is five miles away from the city of al-Baṣrah.

(2) Ibn Abi-Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf* 7/538; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/71; al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, page 237; *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* 4/498-9 and 504; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farid* 4/320; Miskawayh al-Rāzī, *Tajārib al-Umam* 1/322; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Alī Abī-Ṭālib* 3/152; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-Tārikh* 3/238-9.

(3) In his book *al-Amāli*, pages 217-8, Shaykh al-Mufid reports through his chain of authority from Suhayl ibn Mālik that he reported his father as saying: I was standing next to al-Mughirah ibn Shu'bah when 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib marched from al-Madīnah to al-Baṣrah. Meanwhile, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir came and said to al-Mughirah, "Will you not participate in

Al-Wāqidi reported the following: Ma'mar ibn Rāshid narrated to me on the authority of 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd who reported al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī as saying: Abū-Bakrah came to join Ṭalhah and al-Zubayr in their revolt, but when he saw 'Ā'ishah running the affairs by her personal opinions, he retreated. When he was asked about the reason, he said, "I saw a woman running their affairs. I have heard Allah's Apostle (ṣ) saying, while referring to the queen of Sheba, 'A people whose affairs are run by a woman will never succeed.' Therefore, I disliked joining them."⁽¹⁾

'Abdullāh ibn 'Atā' reported 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī-Bakrah as saying: My father refused to join 'Ā'ishah. He, justifying that, said, "I heard Allah's Apostle saying: A people whose affairs are run by a woman will not achieve anything."⁽²⁾

an act that is for the sake of Allah the Almighty and All-exalted?" Al-Mughīrah answered, "What is that act, 'Ammār?" He said, "You may join this invitation so that you will catch those who joined it before you and be the chief of those who will succeed you." Al-Mughīrah said, "There is something better than this, O Abu'l-Yaqzān." "What is that?" 'Ammār asked. Al-Mughīrah said, "It is that we enter our houses and close the doors of them until the fact of the matter is made clear for us. Then, we will go out while we can see clearly and we will avoid being like the one who cut the chain, intending to laugh, but he fell into depression." 'Ammār objected and said, "Far it is! Far it is! Do you want us to return to ignorance after we have become knowledgeable and to return to blindness after we have opened our eyes? Now, you may listen to my words. By Allah, you will not see me elsewhere except in the first line." At that juncture, Imam 'Alī ('a) arrived there and asked 'Ammār, "O Abu'l-Yaqzān! What was this one-eyed man saying to you? By Allah, he always confused the truth with falsity and misrepresented the truths. He will never follow anything of the religion unless that thing brings to him a worldly pleasure." He then said to al-Mughīrah, "Woe to you, O al-Mughīrah! This is an invitation that drives those who respond to it to Paradise." Al-Mughīrah said, "You are right, O Leader of the Believers. However, If I fail to join you, I will not be again you, at least."

According to Ibn Qutaybah, in *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/63, "Al-Mughīrah fled to al-Ṭā'if and did not participate in the Battle of the Camel and the Battle of Ṣiffin."

A similar narration has been quoted by Ibn Sa'd in *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 5/23-4.

⁽¹⁾ Al-Qāḍi Nu'mān, *Sharḥ al-Akḥbār* 1/396; Shaykh al-Tūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 4/164; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 6/227.

This Prophetic tradition has been quoted in the following reference books: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad* 5/38 and 47; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* 4/457; al-Ḥākim al-Nayshābūrī, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* 3/119 and 4/291; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 6/23, 31 and 79; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/194.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*

'Ā'ishah's letter to the people of al-Madīnah

Through his chain of authority, al-Wāqidi reported the following: When the party of Ṭalhah and al-Zubayr released 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf because they anticipated that his brother Sahl ibn Ḥunayf would take revenge on them, 'Ā'ishah wrote the following letter to the people of al-Madīnah: "In the Name of Allah: the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful: From the mother of the believers 'Ā'ishah, the wife of the Prophet (ṣ) and the daughter of al-Ṣiddiq, to the people of al-Madīnah: Now, Allah has made clear the truth and supported its seekers, for He—may His Name be Almighty—says, *'We hurl the truth against falsehood, so it knocks it down. Then it disappears.* [Sūrah al-Anbiyā' 21, verse 19]' So, fear Allah, O servants of Allah, listen, obey, and hold fast to the rope of Allah altogether and to the handle of the truth. Do not open a path against yourselves, for Allah has united the word of the people of al-Baṣrah who, thus, chosen as their leader al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām, who is now the commander of the troops; and all the people are unanimously united on listening to and obeying him. If the word of the believers is unanimously united on choosing their leaders through consensus and consultation, only then will we accept to join them in every good act they choose. When you receive this letter of mine, then listen, obey, and help in achieving the command of Allah that I have made you hear."

In the end of the letter, 'Abdullāh ibn Ka'b wrote the date, which was the fifth of Rabi' al-Awwal, AH 36.

'Ā'ishah's letter to the people of al-Yamāmah

'Ā'ishah wrote another letter to the people of al-Yamāmah and the surrounding areas: "Now, let me first remind you of Allah Who has bestowed His favors upon you and put you under the obligation of following Islam, for Allah says, *'No misfortune can happen on earth or in your souls but is recorded in a decree before We bring it into existence. That is truly easy for Allah.* [Sūrah al-Ḥadid 57, verse 22]' So, O servants of Allah, hold fast to His rope and be always in the side of His Book, for I—your mother—am well-wisher for you in that to which I am inviting you; namely, being angry for the sake of Allah and fighting against the one who killed the successor to His sanctities, usurped the authority over Muslims, but Allah has exposed him. The son of Ḥunayf, the deviant and the misleading, was in al-Baṣrah inviting the people to the path of Hellfire, but we came there inviting the Muslims to the Book of Allah and encouraging them to put the Qur'ān in front of them so that it will be a source of their pleasure and a case that unites their situations. In this, the Muslims' duty towards Allah the Almighty and All-majestic is to

obey Him so that we either achieve the goal for which we have risen up or release ourselves from this liability. Yet, when we came near al-Baṣrah and the son of Ḥunayf knew about that, he mobilized troops against us and ordered them to face us with arms so that they would fight against us and send us away from there. Moreover, they accused us of apostasy and spoke ill of us, but the Muslims gave the lie to them and denied their deeds. They said to 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf, 'Woe may betide you! We have only pattered after the Prophet's wife and the believers' mother as well as the Prophet's companions and the Muslims' leaders!' Yet, 'Uthmān persisted in error and insisted on his attitude. When the Muslims became sure that he had disobeyed them and refused to respond to them, they revolted angrily for the sake of Allah and for the sake of the believers' mother. All of a sudden, he attacked us, leading three thousand soldiers from the ignorant and feeble-minded Arabs and he lined them up in front of the mosque. We begged them to pay homage to the truth and not to prevent us from entering the mosque, but he rejected all of our requests. One Friday, after the people had accomplished the prayer and left in different directions, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, followed by the Muslims, broke into the place and opened its gate by force. They then chose 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr as the leader of the congregational prayer. We now fear lest 'Uthmān and his companions may overtake us and sweep over us surprisingly. When the Muslims came to know that they would not leave the place, they became on their guard against him, because he and those who were with them had not left the place before they raided on us until they reached the doorstep of my house, led by a person who was guiding them thereto, intending to shed my blood. Yet, they found standing on the step of my door a group of people who ward off and prevented them from breaking into my house. I was also surrounded by a group of some people from the Quraysh and the Azd tribes who defended me. Yet, some of them were killed and the others defeated, but we left the surviving ones to go freely and we spared the life of Ibn Ḥunayf out of a favor that we did to him. He then went to meet his companion. I have acquainted you, O servants of Allah, with these details so that you will be well-informed of the whole situation, although we know that your intention has always been to support the religion of Allah and to revolt angrily for the oppressed caliph."⁽¹⁾

Al-Wāqidī also reported 'Abd al-Salām ibn Ḥafṣ as saying: al-Minhāl ibn 'Amr ibn Salāmah al-Baṣrī narrated to me, saying: When Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr changed their mind concerning the detention of 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf

⁽¹⁾ Compare this to what is quoted in *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/472-4, where the author states that this letter was written to the people of al-Kūfah.

for they feared the reaction of his brother Sahl on their folks whom were left in al-Madinah, they released him; therefore, he immediately joined Imam 'Alī ('a) in Dhī-Qār.⁽¹⁾

Ṭalḥah delivers a speech

When Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr came to know that 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf had joined Imam 'Alī ('a), Ṭalḥah gathered the people and delivered a speech. He first expressed grief for the slaying of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān and spoke extremely ill of his slayers, reviling and swearing at them. He then accused Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) and his supporters of having killed 'Uthmān. He then mentioned that Imam 'Alī ('a) forced the people into paying homage to him. Within his speech, he said, "O groups of Muslims! Allah has brought to you the mother of the believers whose rights over you, position to the Prophet, and father's standing in Islam you know for sure. She is now bearing witness and testifying that we have not lied to you in all that which we have informed you, not have we seduced you into that which we have called you to do; that is, fighting against 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib and his companions who fend off the truth. By this, we do not seek to gain leadership or royalty; rather, we only warn you lest you will be overcome and then you will fail to support the truth. We thus hope that we will find with you an aid and support for us in the way of obedience to Allah and reformation of the community's affairs. You, the people of al-Baṣrah, are the worthiest of caring very much for the affairs and interests of the Muslims because you are fully aware of and deeply connected to the religion. If 'Alī had acted seriously in supporting your mother, he would have withdrawn himself from the authority so that the Muslims would choose for leading them one whom they accept for this office."

Having heard these words, the people of al-Baṣrah shouted, "Welcome to the mother of the believers and all praise be to Allah for He has honored us with her. As for you, you are an object of our pleasure and we have full confidence in you; therefore, we will sacrifice our lives for you and we are ready to die in obedience to you and in achieving your pleasure."

They then left toward 'Ā'ishah whom they greeted to whom they said, "We know for sure that our mother has not come to us except because she has put her confidence in us and she only wants to set aright the affairs, to stop bloodshed, to extinguish the sedition, and to establish intimacy and unity among Muslims. We thus wait for her orders in this regard, but if one refuses

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted in *Tārīkh al-Ṭabārī* 4/481.

to respond to her, we will fight against him until he returns to the truth.”⁽¹⁾

‘Abdullāh ibn Ḥukaym objects to Ṭalḥah

When ‘Abdullāh ibn Ḥukaym al-Tamīmī was informed of Ṭalḥah’s speech that he addressed to the people of al-Baṣrah, he came to him and said, “O Ṭalḥah! We still have your letters that you sent to us dispraising ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān and finding fault with him. We know for sure that it was you who rallied the people against ‘Uthmān until he was killed; and that you paid homage to ‘Alī just as a group of people did; and that you broke your allegiance to him after that for no clear reason and for no heresy that he committed. Now, you have to explain to me the words I have been informed that you just said and to tell me the reason for your coming after we had had an idea about your opinion about ‘Uthmān.”

Ṭalḥah, trying to explain, said, “As for my previous finding fault with ‘Uthmān and rallying the people against him, I confess that I did do so, but now I have no way out from the sin that I had committed except repentance from it or demanding with punishing those who shed his blood. As for my paying homage to ‘Alī, I was compelled to do it, and I feared that if I would not do that, he would rally the people against me and seduce those who he had seduced to kill ‘Uthmān into killing me.”

‘Abdullāh answered, “These are mere excuses that only Allah knows the reality of them. However, Allah’s help is sought against the bad consequences of the affairs that we fear.”⁽²⁾

Ṭalḥah delivers another speech

‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Ubaydah narrated the following: After ‘Abdullāh ibn Ḥukaym had blamed Ṭalḥah for his speech, Ṭalḥah stood up to deliver a new one. He praised and commended Allah the Almighty and then said, “O people! The Apostle of Allah (ṣ) passed away while he was pleased with us. We then stood with Abū-Bakr until Allah took his life; so, he passed away while he was pleased with us, too. Then, ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb came [to power] and we listened to and obeyed him until his soul was grasped; so, he died while he was pleased with us. Before his death, he ordered us to consult one another

⁽¹⁾ References to this sermon have been made by al-Bulādhari in *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, pages 226 and 229, Ibn Ṭawūs in *Kashf al-Maḥajjah*, page 183, and al-Majlisī in *Biḥār al-Anwār* 8/180.

⁽²⁾ Al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, pages 299-30; Ibn Abi’l-Ḥadid, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/318-9.

concerning the issue of choosing an authority after him; so, he chose six people whom he pleased to be the authorities. We thus agreed on selecting one of those six persons as our leader, made him assume the office of leadership, and agreed unanimously upon him. That man was 'Uthmān, who was well qualified for the office of leadership. For this reason, we swore allegiance to him, listened to him, and obeyed him. Yet, he did some unpleasant deeds after that—deeds that were not known during the reigns of Abū-Bakr and 'Umar. The people denied him for these acts and we had no other option than what we did. After him, this man seized the authority from us for himself without counseling the matter with us. He thus dominated on this office while we were equal to him. So, we were forced to present ourselves before him while we were the most hateful of all people to him. Our necks were shackled; therefore, we had to pay homage to him against our wills. Now, what we are demanding him to do is that he must extradite those who slew 'Uthmān to 'Uthmān's heirs, for he was killed wrongfully, to dismiss himself from this office, and to step down from the authority over Muslims so that they will consult with one another about the person who should be their leader, just like the tradition decided by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb when he made the selection of the next leader based on a mutual consultation of the Muslims. Thus, if we, as well as the people of Islam, decide on a certain person, we will pay homage to that person as our leader."⁽¹⁾

Objections to Ṭalḥah

Once Ṭalḥah finished his speech, one of the chiefs of the Banū-'Abd al-Qays tribe stood up to have his say. He praised and thanked Allah the Almighty and then said, "O people! The center and pillar of this affair has always been the Emigrants and the Helpers of al-Madīnah; and no one of the inhabitants of the other countries has had the right to revoke what he had concluded or to conclude what he had revoked. Thus, the Emigrants and the Helpers used to write a letter to the people of the other countries concerning whatever decision they made, while the mission of the people of the other countries was only to listen to and obey them. Behold! 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were the most antagonistic enemies of 'Uthmān and they kept on so until he was killed. Then, the people paid homage to 'Alī and so did Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. When we received the news that they paid homage to 'Alī, we did the same and paid homage to him. Now, no by Allah! We will never overthrow our leader and will never break our homage."

(1) Compare this report to what is quoted in al-Bulādhari's *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, page 226, and Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd's *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/314-5.

Having heard these words, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr shouted at the man and ordered their constables to tear out the hair of his beard; so, they did, without leaving a single hair on his face.

A man from the Banū-Jusham tribe stood up and spoke. He first introduced himself by mentioning his name as well as the name of his tribe so that the people would know that there was a tribe defending him if anything wrong would be caused to him by those who would disagree with him. He then said, "O people! If these people have come to here demanding with punishing those who shed 'Uthmān's blood, then it was not we who killed 'Uthmān. I swear this by Allah. But if they came to you out of fear, then they have come from the place where all people and birds are secured and safe.⁽¹⁾ So, do not be seduced by them; rather, you should listen to my words, obey me, and force these people to return to the place from which they came. Then, you must keep loyal to the homage you have made to your leader and you should obey him."

The people shouted at him from every corner of the mosque and tossed stones at him.⁽²⁾

An old man from the chiefs of the Banū-'Abd al-Qays then stood up and said, "O people! Lend me your ears so that I will say something to you."

But 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr intruded and said, "Woe to you! What do you know about speaking?"

The old man said, "What do I know about speaking? By Allah, I am the most excellent of those who can speak and no one can speak as excellently as I do."

He then praised and commended Allah the Almighty, invoked His blessings upon the Holy Prophet (ṣ), and said, "O groups of Emigrants! You were the first of all people to accept Islam. Allah sent Muḥammad, His Prophet, from amongst you; and when he invited you to the religion, you accepted and believed in Islam and we did the same on account of what you did. Thus, you have become the leaders of the religion and we have become followers of you. When the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) passed away, you paid homage to a man from you without seeking our permission. Nevertheless, we submitted to you. That man, then, passed away and appointed 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb as his successor. By Allah, when he did so, he did not seek our opinions. Yet, because you accepted that, we, too, accepted it and submitted. Then, 'Umar

⁽¹⁾ He meant the holy city of Makkah.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadid, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/314.

established a system of consultation for selecting the next leader and he chose six persons, one of whom should be appointed to the office of leadership on the basis of consultation. So, you selected one of those six persons and we submitted to and followed you. When the selected man came to power, he did things that you denied; therefore, you laid siege on him, overthrew him, and finally killed him without seeking our opinion or advice. Then, you paid homage to 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, again, without seeking our opinion about that. Nevertheless, we accepted, submitted, and followed you. Now, by Allah, we do not understand why you are antagonizing him and for what reason you are doing so. Is it because he seized properties for himself exclusively, or he ruled against what Allah has revealed, or he did something wrong! If you can tell us, we will be with you. By Allah, we only see that you have gone astray when you opposed him."

'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr said, "You have nothing to do with this matter."

Some people of al-Baṣrah prepared themselves for attacking the man, but his tribesmen defended him against them.

'Ā'ishah's speech

Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidi reported Mūsā ibn Ṭalḥah as saying: I was present on that day of the Battle of the Camel when the people asked 'Ā'ishah about 'Uthmān. I have not seen anyone more eloquent and more self-possessed than she was. She ordered the people to sit before her; and when they did, she delivered a speech, beginning it with statements of praising and commending Allah the Almighty. She then said, "O people! We have criticized 'Uthmān for three things that he did: he employed his relatives in the governmental posts, used the lashes against people, and misappropriated the fortunes [and dedicated them to his family members and himself]. When we blamed him for these things, the people washed him off like the washing of hands with soap and then transgressed against him, violating the three inviolable things: that is, the inviolability of the sacred month, the inviolability of the sacred city, and the inviolability of the post of succession [to the Holy Prophet]. By Allah I swear this: 'Uthmān was most certainly the pious of all of them with regard to his duties toward the Lord, the best of them all with regard to building the best relationships with his family members and relatives, and the purest of them all in the field of chastity. To end with, I implore Allah's forgiveness for you and me."⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah* 1/452 and 455; Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī, *Tārikh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah* 4/1243 and 1244; al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, pages 239-

Isrā'il ibn Yūnus reported Abū-Ishāq al-Hamdānī as saying: Julayd ibn Zuhayr al-Jushamī and 'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir al-Tamīmī visited 'Ā'ishah. As they greeted her, she asked, "Who are these two men?" "This man is Julayd ibn Zuhayr, the governor of Khurāsān, and the other is 'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir al-Tamīmī," she was answered. She then asked, "Are they with or against us?" The two men spoke, "We will be neither with nor against you until the reality of the issue is made clear to us." 'Ā'ishah commented, "Yet, withdrawing yourselves from it, is still sufficient support to us."

'Umar ibn Ṣabāḥ narrated: A group of the celebrated personalities of al-Baṣrah held a meeting with Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and said to them, "The heirs of 'Uthmān are other people than you two; therefore, let his heirs demand with punishing those who shed his blood. By Allah, we believe that you have not been fair to Allah's Apostle (ṣ) when you made his detainee (i.e. his wife 'Ā'ishah) leave her house, expose herself to winds, heat of the sun, and fight, while Allah the Almighty has ordered her to stay in her house and not to leave it. Yet, you left your women secured in houses and under shelters. Why did you not accompany your women with you?"

Yet, Ṭalḥah's response to them was nothing but reproach. He thus said, "Distance yourselves from us. May Allah pour disgrace upon you!"⁽¹⁾

'Imrān ibn Ḥuṣayn objects to 'Ā'ishah

'Imrān ibn Ḥuṣayn came to 'Ā'ishah and said, "O 'Ā'ishah! You should have learnt a lesson from your brethren and from the other mothers of the believers. Have you not heard this saying of Allah the Almighty and All-majestic: '*Remain in your homes.* [Sūrah al-Aḥzāb 33, verse 32]' If you had only carried out the command of Allah, it would most surely have been better for you."

In reply, 'Ā'ishah said, "O 'Imrān! What happened had actually happened. Now, do you have any support for us. If not, then keep your tongue in your mouth."

'Imrān answered, "Rather, I will separate myself from 'Alī and from you."

'Ā'ishah agreed, "I accept this situation from you."⁽²⁾

40; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/490; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* 12/262; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Fā'iḳ* 3/77; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/315 and 6/227; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab* 19/505; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3/213.

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by al-Ṭabarī in *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/465 and Ibn al-Athīr in *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3/213.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn Qudāmah in *al-Mughnī* 20/81.

IMAM 'ALĪ'S ADVICES TO THE OTHER PARTY

The moment Imam 'Alī ('a) left Dhī-Qār and marched toward al-Baṣrah, he commissioned Ṣa'ṣa'ah ibn Ṣawhān to carry a letter he had written to Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and 'Ā'ishah. In this letter, Imam 'Alī ('a) reminded them of the great dangers of violating the inviolabilities of Islam, threatened them with Allah's wrath and chastisement for what they had committed, mentioned to them the hideousness of the acts that they had perpetrated—when they killed the Muslims, mistreated and persecuted 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf, the Holy Prophet's companion, murdered another number of innocent Muslims who were disarmed—and admonished and invited them to be obedient to him.

Ṣa'ṣa'ah narrated: I carried this letter to them. The first one whom I visited was Ṭalḥah. After I had given him Imam 'Alī's letter and carried out my mission, Ṭalḥah said, "Is it now that 'Alī is calling us to these? Is it now that the son of Abū-Ṭālib is trying to treat us gently because the war is imminently falling between us?"

I then came to al-Zubayr, whose situation was more flexible than Ṭalḥah's. Yet, when I came to 'Ā'ishah, I found her the hastiest of all people to evil. She said, "I have revolted demanding with retaliating upon those who shed 'Uthmān's blood. By Allah, I will do *so-and-so...*" and she went on threatening and terrorizing.

I then came back to Imam 'Alī ('a) and met him before he had entered the city of al-Baṣrah. "What news do you bear to me, Ṣa'ṣa'ah?" Imam 'Alī ('a) asked.

"O Leader of the Believers," I said. "I met people who want nothing but to fight against you."

In reply, Imam 'Alī ('a) expressed, "It is Allah Alone Whose help is sought [against them]."

'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās vs. Ṭalḥah

Imam 'Alī ('a) then called 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās and ordered him, "Advance to meet these people, plead with them, and remind them of the pledge they have committed to me."

'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās related: Complying with his order, I came and started with Ṭalḥah. I reminded him of the pledge that he had made to Imam 'Alī ('a), but he answered, "O son of 'Abbās! By Allah, I paid homage to him because the edge of swords was on my neck."

I said, "No, I myself saw you swear allegiance to him obediently. Before you did, 'Alī said to you, 'If you wish, I will pay homage to you as the leader,'" but you answered, 'No, we will pay homage to you as our leader.' Did you not say so?"

Ṭalḥah confessed, "He only said these words to me after the others had paid homage to him; therefore, it was impossible for me to oppose them. O son of 'Abbās! By Allah, those people who are now with him are seducing him into erring. If we meet with him in fight, they will most surely give him up. You, O son of 'Abbās, should have known that al-Zubayr and I came to him, despite our well-known companionship with the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) and precedence to Islam, while he was surrounded by two thousand people carrying their swords and standing around him. He mockingly said to us, 'If you wish, I will pay homage to any one of you as the leader.'" If we had accepted his proposal, he would not have accepted to do it, especially after the people had already paid homage to him. Do you think that he would have dismissed himself from the post and paid homage to us? No, by Allah. He would never have done so. We thus feared that he would allow those who do not respect our inviolability to persecute us; therefore, we had to pay homage to him against our wills. Now, we have come demanding with retaliation upon those who shed 'Uthmān's blood. So, tell your cousin that if he really wants to stop bloodshed and set aright the affairs of this nation, then he should make us arrest those who killed 'Uthmān, for they are still with him, and he should also abdicate the office of authority and return it as it was when it was decided according to the consultation of the Muslims who, then, should choose for the leadership whomever they please. 'Alī is only one like all the others. If he refuses, we will unsheathe our swords against him, for we have nothing to give him except the strikes of our swords."

I said, "Abū-Muḥammad! You have not been fair. You known for sure that it was you who laid siege on 'Uthmān to the degree that he, for ten days, had nothing to drink except drops of water from his well, and it was you who deprived him of drinking the water of the Euphrates, but it was 'Alī who intruded and asked you to at least allow him to have water, but you refused. When the people of Egypt saw what you did and understood your attitude to 'Uthmān, while they regarded you as one of the Holy Prophet's companions, they broke into his house carrying weapons and killed him. Then, the people

swore allegiance to a man who enjoys such a precedence, virtue, great situations, and close relationship with the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) that no one can deny. Then, your acquaintance and you came obediently without any compulsion imposed on you and paid homage to him. Yet, you then renounced your homage. By Allah! How strange it is that you acknowledged the leaderships of Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān and paid homage to them, but you jumped against 'Alī ibn Abī-Tālib! By Allah! 'Alī has never been less than any of those three. As for your claim that 'Alī should give you free hand on the slayers of 'Uthmān, you know very well who killed 'Uthmān! As for your threat with swords, you know for sure that 'Alī cannot be threatened with swords."

Ṭalḥah, failing to answer, said, "Please, save me from your dispute."

'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās vs. 'Ā'ishah

'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās continued: When I left Ṭalḥah, I returned to Imam 'Alī ('a) and joined him when he had entered the houses of al-Baṣrah. "What news do you have for me?" Imam 'Alī ('a) asked. I informed him of the details; so, he prayed, "O Allah, 'Decide between us and between our people with truth, and You are the Best of Deciders.'⁽¹⁾"

He then ordered, "You may go back and visit 'Ā'ishah, to whom you should mention her mistake of leaving the house of Allah's Apostle. You may also warn her against violating the commands of Allah the Almighty and All-majestic and breaking her covenant of Allah's Apostle. You may thus say to her: Such affairs cannot be set aright by women. Besides, you have not been ordered to intrude in such affairs. Why is it then that you have agreed to break the command of Allah when you adorned yourself and left the house that the Prophet (ﷺ) ordered you to stay in? Thus, you marched to al-Baṣrah, killed the Muslims, attacked my officials and threw them out, broke the door of the public treasury house, ordered your constables to torture the Muslims, and deemed lawful the bloodshed of the righteous people. So, fear Allah the Almighty and All-majestic and watch Him when you do anything, for you know for sure that you were the harshest of all people to 'Uthmān. Now, how can you explain your current attitude and compare it to the previous one?"

'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās went on: I came to 'Ā'ishah, conveyed Imam 'Alī's message to her, and read his letter to her, but she said, "Son of 'Abbās! Your cousin thinks that he has had full control over the country. No, by Allah. Whatever he has under his control, we still have under our control bigger

⁽¹⁾ This is a quotation of verse 89 of Sūrah al-A'rāf (no. 7) of the Holy Qur'ān.

areas than he has.”

I answered, “O mother! The Leader of the Believers does have virtue, precedence to Islam, and great contributions to it.”

She said, “Will you not mention Ṭalḥah and his struggle during the Battle of Uhud?”

I said, “By Allah, we do not know any person who had greater contributions to the religion than ‘Alī’s.”

She said, “You say so while you hide many things that ‘Alī did.”

I said, “Fear Allah and keep Him in your mind with regard to the blood of Muslims.”

She answered, “Which blood of Muslims should be regarded except that ‘Alī is now killing himself and killing those who are with him?”

Upon hearing these words, I smiled. So, ‘Ā’ishah asked, “What for are you smiling, O son of ‘Abbās?”

I said, “By Allah, the people who are with ‘Alī are fully aware of what they are doing; therefore, they are ready to sacrifice their lives for him.”

She stated, “Allah is sufficient for us, and He is the most excellent Protector.”

Ibn ‘Abbās continued: Imam ‘Alī (‘a) had already ordered me to meet al-Zubayr too and to try to see him without the presence of his son ‘Abdullāh if possible. Yet, I came to al-Zubayr more than once but I always found his son ‘Abdullāh there. Finally, I visited him while his son was absent; so, al-Zubayr ordered his servant, Sarjis, to sit on the door of his house and prevent the people from coming in as long as we were there. When I talked to him, he said, “You have been furious just because we have opposed you! By Allah, you will very soon know the end of your cousin.”

As I understood that al-Zubayr was irritated, I used a soft language with him, but my language made him soft sometimes and hard at others. When Sarjis understood, he sent for ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr who was with Ṭalḥah. So, ‘Abdullāh came running until he joined us and said to me, “O son of ‘Abbās! Leave these nonsensical words. What is now standing between you and us is the breaking of a pledge to a leader as well as the bloodshed of him, not to mention the loneliness of one person and the union of three others, a mother whose reverence is obligatory, and a consultation of the ordinary people.”

I did not answer him for a while, but I then said, “If I wanted to reply, I would certainly do.”

The son of al-Zubayr said, "Why do you postpone it? The matter is now in its climax and it has reached a crisis."

I said, "As for your claim that there is standing between us a pledge made to a leader, be it known to you that 'Umar chose six persons as a committee of consultation for selecting the next leader, but those six persons relegated the matter to one person of them who should choose for them and release himself from this responsibility. So, when that person discussed the matter with 'Alī and 'Uthmān, the latter made a pledge but 'Alī refused to make any pledge; therefore, the man declared 'Uthmān as the next leader. Is this the pledge of the leader? As for shedding a leader's blood, the one whom should be retaliated for that is your father, because your father cannot be held irresponsible for either killing or disappointing 'Uthmān. As for your claim that 'Alī is alone while the other party is headed by three persons, when the people killed 'Uthmān, they resorted to 'Alī and paid homage to him voluntarily, leaving behind them your father and his acquaintance, since they did not accept any of them to be the next leader. As for your claim that you have in your side a mother whom should be revered, it was you who made this mother revolt, march off with you, and leave her house while Allah has ordered her to stay therein. So, you refused to leave her stay in her house, while your father you have known that the Prophet (ﷺ) warned her against leaving her house, saying to her, 'O red woman! Beware lest you will be the one barked by the dogs of al-Ḥaw'ab!' Nevertheless, she did what you have seen. As for your claim that the publics' advice should be sought about the selection of the new leader, how is it possible to seek their opinions about a person whom they have already chosen as their leader unanimously? You thus know that you father and Ṭalḥah paid homage to him obediently and without any compulsion."

In reply, 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr said, "By Allah, what you have said is completely false, O son of 'Abbās. When 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf was asked about the members of the *Shūrā* (i.e. the committee of consultation for selecting a leader), your man was the best to hold this position in his conception, but 'Umar included him with those people because he knew his reality; yet, he feared lest Islam will be exposed to a crack because of him. As for the slaying of the caliph, your man wrote to the people of the different regions to come to him; and when they did, they killed 'Uthmān while he was inside his house; thus, your man killed him through words and deeds, and I was there inside the house of the caliph, defending him so bravely that I was hit by more than ten wounds. As for your saying that 'Alī was paid homage by the people voluntarily, this is untrue, by Allah. The people had to pay

homage to him against their wills while swords were put on their necks. Thus, 'Alī usurped the authority from them."

Al-Zubayr intruded and said, "O son of 'Abbās! Leave these matters that you think you have come to pose them before us so that you will release yourself from responsibility."

'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās answered, "It was you who asked for this. By Allah, we have never seen you but one of the members of the Banū-Hāshim clan because we have always seen your kindness and love for them, but when this son of you attained maturity, he broke all family ties between your relatives and you."

Al-Zubayr said, "Leave these words, [for they are useless now]."⁽¹⁾

Appointing commanders and arranging battalions for the war

The messengers whom Imam 'Alī ('a) had sent for Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and 'Ā'ishah returned to him to inform him that those people had been insisting on opposing him, abiding by breaking their allegiances to him, and keeping on going up against him, positioning themselves for waging war against him, and shedding the blood of his partisans and that they would never listen to his admonitions, respond to his threats, or stop making mischief. Thus, Imam 'Alī ('a) had no further step to do except arranging battalions and lining up the troops.

He thus appointed 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās as the commander of the frontline of the army, Hind al-Murādī al-Jamalī as the commander of the extremes of the army. In this connection, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb is reported to have said that Hind al-Jamalī is the chief of the people of al-Kūfah, although his name is a female one.

Imam 'Alī ('a) appointed 'Ammār ibn Yāsir as the commander-in-chief of the cavalry and Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr as the commander-in-chief of the infantry soldiers. He then subdivided the cavalry, using Hind al-Jamalī as the commander of the cavalry of the Madhḥij tribe and Shurayḥ ibn Hānī' al-Ḥārithī as the commander of the infantry soldiers of this tribe. He used Sa'īd ibn Qays as the commander of the cavalry of the Hamdān tribe and Ziyād ibn Ka'b ibn Murrah as the commander of the infantry soldiers of this tribe. He then appointed Ḥujr ibn 'Adī as the commander of the cavalry of the Kindah

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih in *al-Iqd al-Farīd* 4/314; Maṣṣūr al-'Ābī in *Nathr al-Durr* 2/105, and Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 2/169.

tribe, Rifā'ah ibn Shaddād as the commander of the cavalry and infantry soldiers of the Bajilah tribe, 'Adī ibn Hātam as the commander of the cavalry and infantry soldiers of the Quḍā'ah tribe, 'Abdullāh ibn Zayd as the commander of the cavalry of the Khuzā'ah tribe and the other miscellaneous tribes and 'Amr ibn al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā'i as the commander of the infantry soldier of this platoon. He then used Jundab ibn Zuhayr as the commander of the cavalry of the al-Azd tribe and Abū-Zaynab as the commander of the infantry soldiers of this tribe. Abū-Zaynab was the one who testified against al-Walid ibn 'Uqbah when he drank wine; therefore, he was banished from al-Kūfah and exposed to the punishment.

Imam 'Alī ('a) appointed 'Abdullāh ibn Hāshim al-Sadūsī as the commander of the cavalry of the Bakr ibn Wā'il tribe and Ḥassān ibn Maḥdūj al-Dhuhālī as the commander of their infantry soldiers, Zayd ibn Ṣawḥān al-'Abdī as the commander of the cavalry of the Banū-'Abd al-Qays tribe of al-Kūfah and al-Ḥārith ibn Murrah al-'Abdī as the commander of their infantry soldiers, Sufyān ibn Thawr al-Sadūsī as the commander of the cavalry of the Bakr ibn Wā'il tribe of al-Baṣrah and al-Ḥuḍayn ibn al-Mundhir as the commander of their infantry soldiers. About al-Ḥuḍayn, Imam 'Alī ('a) composed this poetic verse on the day of the Battle of Ṣiffīn:

Whose is the red banner whose shadow is flapping?

When it is said, "Advance your banner," al-Ḥuḍayn advanced.⁽¹⁾

Imam 'Alī ('a) also appointed Ḥurayth ibn Jābir al-Ḥanafī as the commander of troops of the Lahzam tribe, Khālīd ibn al-Mu'ammār al-Sadūsī as the commander of the Dhuhayl tribe, al-Mundhir ibn al-Jārūd al-'Abdī as the commander of the cavalry of the Banū-'Abd al-Qays tribe of al-Baṣrah, Qubaysah ibn Jābir al-Asadī as the commander of the cavalry of the Banū-Asad tribe, al-'Akbar ibn Jadīr al-Asadī—who killed Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah during the Battle of the Camel—as the commander of their infantry soldiers, 'Umayr ibn 'Uṭārid as the commander of the cavalry of the Banū-Tamīm tribe of al-Kūfah, Ma'qīl ibn Qays—who then captured the Banū-Nājiyah tribe—as the commander of their infantry soldiers, 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ṭufayl al-Bakkā'i as the commander of the cavalry of the Qays-'Aylān tribe of al-Kūfah, Farwah ibn Nawfal al-Ashja'i—whose situation in al-Nukhaylah is well-known—as the commander of their infantry soldiers, Hāshim ibn 'Utbah ibn

⁽¹⁾ On the day of the Battle of Ṣiffīn, al-Ḥuḍayn ibn al-Mundhir, who was still a boy, came forward pulling behind him the red banner of the Rabi'ah tribe. Imam 'Alī ('a) was admired by al-Ḥuḍayn's fight and steadfastness; therefore, he composed the aforementioned poetic verse in praise of him. See Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pages 289-90 and Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 5/227.

Abi-Waqqāṣ al-Mirqāl as the commander of the cavalry of the Quraysh and Kinānah tribes and Hāshim ibn Hishām as the commander of their infantry soldiers, Jāriyah ibn Qudāmah al-Sa'dī as the commander of the cavalry of those of the Banū-Tamīm tribe of the people of al-Baṣrah who joined him later, and A'yan ibn Ḍubay'ah as the commander of their infantry soldiers.

Including the well-known horsemen and famous infantry soldiers, the number of the army mounted to sixteen thousand men.⁽¹⁾

Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr recruit for the war

On the other side, when Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were informed that Imam 'Alī ('a) had arranged battalions and lined up the troops for the war, they became sure that he was serious in fighting against them; therefore, started readying themselves for the war. The people of al-Baṣrah were divided into two parts; one part was ready to fight with them against the Imam while the other part refused. Al-Aḥnaf, leading the Banū-Sa'd tribe, refused to participate with them in that war, although they had been sure of the opposite; therefore, he disappointed them. The men of the al-Azd tribe also lagged behind when they came to know that Ka'b ibn Sūr, the judge and the chief of the al-Azd tribe and the Yemenite people who had lived in al-Baṣrah, would not support Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr in that war. So, they sent him a messenger, asking him for support and for fighting to their side, but Ka'b refused and said, "I will withdraw myself from the two parties." Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr concluded that if Ka'b would not be with them, the entire tribe of al-Azd would not support them. Thus, they realized the importance of convincing Ka'b. They themselves visited him and asked permission to see him, but he did not permit them. They then went to 'Ā'ishah and told her of the matter, asking her to go to Ka'b, but she refused to go to him; rather, she only sent him a letter, asking him to come to her, but he apologized. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr thus said to her, "O mother! If Ka'b stays behind, all the men of the al-Azd tribe, who form an entire quarter in the city of al-Baṣrah, will do the same. Now, you may ride your camel and go to him, for if you do that, he will not be able to disagree; rather, he will surely comply with your invitation." Hence, 'Ā'ishah rode on a mule, surrounded by a group of the people of al-Baṣrah, and went to Ka'b. She asked permission to see him, and she was granted that. Ka'b welcomed her; so, she said, "O son! I have sent you a messenger so that you should

(1) Compare parts of this narration to what is quoted in *Tārīkh* by Khalifah ibn Khayyāt, page 184, *al-Akḥbār al-Ṭiwāl* by Abū-Ḥanifah al-Daynawarī, page 146, *al-Futūḥ* by Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī 1/472-3, *Tārīkh al-Islām* by al-Dhahabī, page 485, and *Samt al-Nujūm al-'Awālī* by al-'Āṣimī 2/435.

support Allah the Almighty and All-majestic. Why have you been failed to join us?" Ka'b answered, "O mother! I do not need to engage myself in this sedition." 'Ā'ishah asked, "O son! Come out with me and take in your hand the halter of my camel, for I hope that this act will take you nearer to Paradise." She then started shedding tears; so, Ka'b ibn Sūr sympathized with her and responded. He hanged a copy of the Holy Qur'ān in his neck and went out with 'Ā'ishah. Having seen this scene, a servant from the Banū-Wahab tribe, who had already known that Ka'b refused totally to have any role in this sedition, composed these poetic verses:

*O Ka'b! Your situation, which was excellent,
Was very much better than your foolish one!
Al-Zubayr as well as Ṭalḥah came to you
Bearing a bereaving disaster!
They wanted to tempt you into their vanity
And your mother is falling downwardly
While the mother was well-kept,
She became a prey for every devourer!
The lands are carrying her from one place to another,
And she is giving answer to every questioner!
You thus threw her in the midst of the al-Sibā' quarter
And you exposed her to the callous grief!
You showed those people what was in your conscious
And responded to them like any other disappointed one!
They despaired of what they had hoped from you
And all their expectations failed.
You have no relationship with the Muḍar
And nothing you have to do with the Wā'il tribe.
So, do not be aggrieved when they will perish
Including those who are barefoot and those who are shod!*

When Ka'b ibn Sūr, leading the men of the al-Azd tribe, joined 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr decided to recruit their forces. Finally, they decided that al-Zubayr would be the commander-in-chief and the manager of the troops, Ṭalḥah would be the commander of the center of the army, 'Abdullāh ibn Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām ibn Khuwaylid would be the standard-bearer, Ka'b ibn Sūr would be the commander of the troops of the al-Azd tribe, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam would be the commander of the right wing of the cavalry, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Attāb ibn Usayd would be the commander of their infantry soldiers, Hilāl ibn Wakī' al-Dārimī would be the commander of the left wing of the cavalry whom were composed of the warriors of the Banū-Tamīm tribe as well as the Quḍā'ah and Hawāzin tribes, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn

Hishām would be the commander of the infantry soldiers of these tribes and then al-Ḥubāb ibn Yazīd was added to him, Mujāshi' ibn Mas'ūd would be the commander of the cavalry of the Qays-'Aylān tribe, Jābir ibn al-Nu'mān al-Bāhili would be the commander of the infantry soldiers of that tribe, 'Amr ibn Yathribī would be the commander of the cavalry of the al-Ribāb tribe, Kharashah ibn 'Amr al-Dabbī would be the commander of the infantry soldiers of that tribe, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Kurayz would be the commander of the warriors from the tribes of Quraysh and Thaḳīf who took sides with al-Zubayr's army, 'Abdullāh ibn Khalaf al-Khuzā'i would be the commander of the soldiers of al-Madinah, al-Rabī' ibn Ziyād al-Ḥārithī would be the commander of the infantry soldiers of the Midhḥaj tribe, 'Abdullāh ibn Jābir al-Rāsibī would be the commander of the infantry soldiers of the Quḍā'ah tribe, and Mālik ibn Misma' would be the commander of the soldiers of the Rabī'ah tribe who joined this army.

When the two armies finished appointing the commanders, each party started taking pride in its folks and their orators started rousing to the fight.⁽¹⁾

'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr delivers a speech

After that, 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr delivered a speech on the troops of his party. After praising and commended Allah, he said, "O people! This rough and tough man had killed 'Uthmān in al-Madinah and then came to you to snatch your affairs in al-Baṣrah, making all the people furious. Will you not defend your leader the wronged? Will you not protect your inviolabilities after they have been violated? Will you not fear Allah through giving something out of yourselves? Are you pleased that the people of al-Kūfah will attack you in the middle of your country? Flare up with rage, for you have been made angry; and fight, for you have been fought. 'Alī thinks that the authority is possessed by none except him. By Allah, if he overtakes you, he will annihilate both your religion and your worldly affairs..." He then went on saying the like of these words.⁽²⁾

Imam al-Ḥasan delivers a speech

When he was informed of that, Imam 'Alī ('a) said to his son al-Ḥasan, "O son, stand up and deliver a speech."

⁽¹⁾ Compare parts of this narration to what is quoted in *Tārīkh* by Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt, page 184, *al-Akḥbār al-Ṭiwāl* by Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Daynawarī, pages 146-7, *al-Futūḥ* by Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī 1/463-4, *Tārīkh al-Islām* by al-Dhahabī, page 485, and *Samṭ al-Nujūm al-'Awālī* by al-'Āṣimī 2/435.

⁽²⁾ Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/469.

Complying with his father's order, Imam al-Ḥasan ('a) stood up for delivering a speech. After praising and commending Allah the Almighty, he said, "O people! We have been informed of what the son of al-Zubayr had said. By Allah, his father used to fabricate lies against 'Uthmān through ascribing sins to him. He also suppressed him and laid siege on him until he was killed. As for Ṭalḥah, he fastened his flag on 'Uthmān's public treasury house while he was still alive. As for the son of al-Zubayr's claim that 'Alī ('a) usurped the authority over the people, in fact this claim is more applicable to his father, for he claimed that he paid homage to 'Alī ('a) with his hand but not with his heart, which means that he confessed that he had paid homage to him practically but he claimed what is hidden; therefore, he should provide evidence on his claim, but this is impossible for him to do. With regard to 'Abdullāh's wondering at the coming of the people of al-Kūfah upon the people of al-Baṣrah, what is the wrong with the coming of the people of truth upon the people of falsehood? By Allah and by my soul I swear that the people of al-Baṣrah will know best what will befall them. The appointment between them and us is the day when we will complain against them to Allah Who shall then judge with the truth and He is the Best of all deciders."

Once Imam al-Ḥasan ('a) finished his speech, a man called 'Umar ibn Maḥmūd stood up and recited some poetic verses in praise of Imam al-Ḥasan ('a) for the speech he had just delivered.⁽¹⁾

(1) Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/470-1. However, according to Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/146, 'Amr ibn Uḥayḥah composed the following poetic verses in praise of al-Ḥasan who delivered a speech as a reply to the speech delivered by 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr:

*O Ḥasan, the decent and the match of his father
 You have taken the place of the best of all speakers.
 You said a speech in which Allah fended off
 The people of defects from your father.
 You exposed the mask; so, the matter has become clear,
 And you set aright the blemished hearts.
 You are unlike the son of al-Zubayr who stammered
 And lowered the reins of a suspicious small camel.
 Allah wanted insistently that he would not succeed to do
 What the son of the Prophet's successor and the son of the highborn man does.
 Unquestionably, a man who lies between the Prophet
 And his successor is never fallible! May Allah grant you all goodness!*

More poetic verses of the same poem are mentioned by Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī in *al-Futūḥ* 1/470-1.

Ṭalḥah delivers a speech

When Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr received the news of Imam al-Ḥasan's speech and the praise said by that man to him, Ṭalḥah gathered his followers and delivered the following speech: "O people of al-Baṣrah! Allah has driven to you such a good thing that he has never driven to any other people. This good thing is the existence of your mother amongst you, who represents the sanctity of your Prophet, as well as the existence of the special disciple of him and the son of his maternal aunt, and the existence of the one who sacrificed his hand in defense of him. 'Alī usurped the rights of people from them in al-Ḥijāz and prepared himself for fighting the people of Levant, intending to shed the blood of Muslims and dominate over their countries. When he was informed about our marching to him and our destination, he came to you along with the hypocrites of the Muḍar tribe, the Christians of the Rabī'ah tribe, and the infantrymen of Yemen. Once you see those people, then head for them, do not fear them, and do not say that he is the cousin of Allah's Apostle, for you have with you the wife of Allah's Apostle, the dearest of all people to him, and al-Ṣiddīq's daughter whose father was the most beloved of all people by Allah's Apostle."

Objections to Ṭalḥah

A man from the people of al-Ḥijāz, whose name was Khayrān ibn 'Abdullāh and who had lived in al-Baṣrah since early age, stood up and said, "O Ṭalḥah! You have not left for us any sound side to sleep on when you swore at Rabī'ah, Muḍar, and the Yemen. If you have said the truth, then we are exactly like them and they are part of us and we are part of them and none separated between them and us except you and your acquaintance. We have earlier paid homage to 'Alī and it is incorrect to break it. We indeed know your past situation and your present one."

Immediately, some people wanted to attack the man, but the people of the Banū-Asad tribe defended him against them. The man then left them and hid himself in the house of Ibn Ṣuhbān, because he feared lest they would shed his blood.

Al-Aswad ibn 'Awf, having heard Ṭalḥah swearing at Rabī'ah, Muḍar, and the Yemen, stood up and said, "Listen, you! Allah has not separated between the people of the Muḍar tribe and us and the people of al-Kūfah are equal in our sight, whether they did or did not join 'Alī; they are our brethren. We have opposed them just because we followed your whims; therefore, release us from what you think."

He then left al-Baṣrah and went to Amman without participating in the Battle of the Camel and the Battle of Ṣiffin.

Imam 'Alī delivers a speech

When Imam 'Alī ('a) received the news of the clamor of the other party and their unanimity on fighting against him, he stood up to deliver a speech. He praised and commended Allah, invoked His blessings upon the Holy Prophet and his Household, and then said, "O people! Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr came to al-Baṣrah after its people had unanimously agreed upon obeying Allah and paying homage to me, but these two called them to disobey Allah and to oppose me. Therefore, whoever obeyed these two, they must have led him astray; but whoever disobeyed them, they killed him. You have been informed how they killed Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah and it is not hidden from you that they also killed the guardians of the public treasury house and they did what they did to 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf. Now, they have exposed their mask and announced war. Ṭalḥah has sworn at and slandered your religions. His acquaintance and he have thundered and lightened, although they are two men whom are accompanied by failure and we do not want you to throw what is in your inner selves on them or to show us what you bear in yourselves, since we do not thunder before we inflict damage and we do not flow before we rain first. They have left true guidance and joined deviation. We called them to the pleasure, but they called us to the displeasure. For this reason, it has become legal for you and us to force them to return to the truth and to fight against them and it has become legal to kill them on the basis of retaliation. By Allah, they have marched toward you mischievously and made you taste what is more harmful than flaming fire. When you meet with those people in the morrow, you should begin with calling them to return to the truth, act piously in the most excellent way, seek the aid of Allah, and be patient, for Allah is indeed with those who are steadfastly patient."

When the Imam ('a) finished his speech, Ḥabīb ibn Yasāf stood up and advanced forward until he stood in front of him. He then said these poetic verses:

*O Abū-Ḥasan! You have awakened every one who was asleep.
However, not every one who is invited to the truth is able to hear!
Not every one who gives pleasure can accept the same!
And not every one whom you give his due is satisfied with it.
You are a man who has given each and every direction
Its advantages. It is Allah Who gives and deprives!
You never show coarseness in any matter including the harmful ones*

*And you never desire to punish those who oppose you!
 Men who had paid homage to you but they then opposed
 Your guidance and ran in deviation are verily losers.
 Such men deserve that swords are unsheathed against them
 So are long spears and shaking lances!
 I do desire that the quern of death rotate on them
 Until they stand still and knocked down.
 Including Ṭalhah and al-Zubayr his friend
 Nothing can fend off from what Allah decides.
 If these two continue, then the war is the narrowest ring,
 But if they retreat that, then peace is always the broadest.
 They did not pay homage to him against their wills
 No single finger of them was forced to be stretched in homage.
 They neither slowed down in paying homage nor did they detach themselves
 Nor did they change their mind after seeing one person breaking his homage
 They thus committed four enormous mistakes:
 They made the mother of the believers come out with them
 They cheated after paying homage, they blamed the one of the bravest heart
 And they used as pretext the killing of 'Affān's son to cheat the others,
 While it was they who killed him. Yet, the swindler is always the most wicked.
 'Alī is the branch of a pure and noble tree of Hāshim,
 While they branched from a spongy tree.⁽¹⁾*

Imam 'Alī's another sermon on encouragement on fighting

Imam 'Alī ('a) granted the rebels a three-day respite in hope that they would stop and return to the truth, but when he came to know that they insisted on opposing him, he gathered his followers and delivered this speech: "Servants of God! Arise against these people, exposing your breasts to battle against them. They have reneged on their pledge of allegiance to me. They have expelled my governor after grievous blows and violent punishment, while he is a chief and a celebrated personality of the Helpers and the virtuous ones; so, they did not respect any of his inviolabilities. They have also killed the guardians of the public treasury house and killed Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah wrongfully and transgressively, just because he revolted for the sake of Allah. They then have followed my partisans after they had to escape, to capture them behind every wall and under every hillock. They brought them and executed them in chains. What is their purpose? 'May Allah fight them!

⁽¹⁾ Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/469; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Alī Abī-Ṭālib* 3/152; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/121.

Indeed they are liars.' So, O servants of Allah, arise against them and be fierce against them, for they are evils and those who help them in falsity are evil, too. Hurl yourself against them with endurance and with fore-thought, for you know that you are attacking and fighting them after you have disposed yourselves to give the most piercing thrust and the most severe blow and a contest of equals. Any individual among you who feels strong-hearted at the coming engagement and sees any of his brothers failing should defend his brother who is a benefit to him just as he would defend himself. If Allah wishes, he would do the same for him."⁽¹⁾

At this point, Shaddād ibn Shimr al-'Abdī stood up, praised Allah and commended Him, and then said, "Now, when the wrongdoers have been increased in number and the deniers rebelled, we restored to the family of our Prophet through whom we have been initially granted honor and guided aright against deviation. So, hold fast to them so that Allah may have mercy upon you, and leave those who held fast to the others to their right and left sides, for those people are blindly persisting in their arrogance and they are wavering in their deviation."

Imam 'Alī releases himself from responsibility toward the other party

The narrator continues: In Thursday morning on the tenth of Jumādā al-'Ūlā, Imam 'Alī ('a) led his troops toward those people. Mālīk al-Ashtar was the commander-in-chief of the right wing of the army while 'Ammār ibn Yāsir was the commander-in-chief of the left wing. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah, Imam 'Alī's son, was given the standard by his father who marched for a certain distance and then stopped and called out at his troops, "Do not hasten until I release myself from responsibility towards those people." He then called 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās, may Allah be pleased with him, and handed a copy of the Holy Qur'ān to him, saying, "Carry this Qur'ānic copy to Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and 'Ā'ishah and invite them to act upon what is there in it. Then, ask Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr on my behalf: Have you not paid homage to me on your own accord? Now, what has made you renege and break your allegiance to me? This is the Book of Allah; it is between you and me."⁽²⁾

'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās narrated: Carrying out Imam 'Alī's instructions, I started with al-Zubayr since I still believed that he was more lenient to us

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, pages 134-5.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted in al-Bulādhārī's *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, page 239 and Ibn Shahr'āshūb's *Manāqib 'Āli Abi-Ṭālib* 3/153-4.

than the others are. I thus spoke to him to retreat, saying, "The Leader of the Believers says to you: Have you not paid homage to me on your own accord and obediently? Why are you now deeming lawful your fight against me? This Qur'ān, along with whatever therein, is between you and me. If you wish, we will make it the arbitrator between us."

Al-Zubayr answered, "Go back to your acquaintance, for we have paid homage to him against our wills; and I have nothing to do with the arbitration to which he is calling."

I then left him and went to Ṭalḥah, carrying the Qur'ānic copy in my hand, while the people were preparing themselves for the fight. I thus found him putting on his armor and carrying his sword, while his riding animal was stopped next to him. I talked to him: "The Leader of the Believers says to you: What has made you revolt against me and on which basis have you broken your homage to me, while you are responsible for fulfilling your duties towards me?"

Ṭalḥah answered, "I only revolted to demand with punishing those who shed 'Uthmān's blood. Does your uncle's son think that he has authority over all things when he held sway over al-Kūfah? By Allah, I have written a letter to the people of al-Madīnah asking them to make the people of Makkah pay homage to me."

I said, "Fear Allah, O Ṭalḥah! You do not have the right to claiming the bloodshed of 'Uthmān, since his sons are more entitled to this right than you are. Abān, the son of 'Uthmān, is present, but he has not revolted demanding with punishing those who shed his father's blood."

Ṭalḥah answered, "We are more powerful than he is in this matter. Your uncle's son killed 'Uthmān and usurped the authority from us."

I said, "I remind you of Allah regarding the Muslims and the bloodshed of them. This Qur'ān is between you and us. By Allah, you have not acted fairly towards Allah's Apostle when you kept your women in your houses and drove out his woman whom Allah's Apostle order to stay at home."

Upon hearing these words, Ṭalḥah turned his face away from me and called at his companions, "Fight against these people, for you are too short to overcome the son of Abū-Ṭālib in a debate."

I said, "O Abū-Muḥammad! Do you threaten the son of Abū-Ṭālib with swords? By Allah I swear this; he will most surely descend swiftly upon you with swords."

He said, "It is sword that will judge between you and us."

I then left him and went to 'Ā'ishah while she was in an armored howdah⁽¹⁾ on her camel whose name was 'Askar⁽²⁾ while Ka'b ibn Sūr, the judge, was taking its bridle in his hand and the people of the al-Azd and the Dabbah tribes were surrounding 'Ā'ishah. When she glanced at me, she said, "O son of 'Abbās! What for are you here now? By Allah, I am not ready to hear any word from you. Go back to your acquaintance and say to him: Nothing is between you and us except the sword."

Having heard 'Ā'ishah's words, the surrounding people shouted at me, "O son of 'Abbās! God back; otherwise, we will shed your blood."

Imam 'Alī's gives another advice to the other party

'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās continued: I returned to the Leader of the Believers ('a) and told him about these people's answers. I said to him, "What are you waiting for? By Allah, those people will give you nothing but sword. Now, you may raid on them before they raid on you."

Imam 'Alī ('a) answered, "We will ask Allah to help us against them."

Before I changed my place, I received the arrows of those people coming to

⁽¹⁾ Howdah is a seat with a canopy carried on a camel's back.

⁽²⁾ According to Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī's *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, pages 65-6, "Al-Maydānī narrated that Ya'lā ibn Umayyah, who was the governor of the Yemen during 'Uthmān's reign, joined 'Ā'ishah while she was preparing herself for the journey to al-Baṣrah. He gave her four hundred thousand dirhams (i.e. silver coins) and gifted a camel that she rode on the day of the Battle of the Camel to her. The camel's name was 'Askar whom Ya'lā had bought from the Yemen with eighty dinars (i.e. golden coins). However, others said that the camel was owned by 'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir who gave it as present to 'Ā'ishah after he had bought it with two hundred dinars. Yet, Ibn Jarīr said that 'Ā'ishah herself bought that camel from a man from the 'Uraynah tribe with six hundred dirhams and a she-camel."

According to al-Kashshī in *Rijāl*, page 13, Imam al-Bāqir ('a) is reported to have said, "They bought the camel 'Askar with seven hundred dirhams, and it was a demon."

Al-Kashshī added, "Whenever Salmān saw the camel 'Askar, he would beat it. When he was asked why he beat the beast, he answered, 'This is not a beast. This is a genie called 'Askar the son of Kan'ān.' He then said to its owner, 'O Bedouin man! Do not offer it here; rather, you may take it to al-Ḥaw'ab where they will buy it from you in the price that you like.'"

As for Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/266, he said, "'Alī ('a) ordered that the camel should be burnt and then its ashes should be scattered in the air. Justifying this order, Imam 'Alī ('a) said, 'Curse of Allah be upon such an animal. It is most like the calf of the Children of Israel.'"

us like scattering locusts. I thus said again, "O Leader of the Believers! Do you not see what those people are doing? Order us to fend them off."

Imam 'Alī ('a) answered, "I will not do that before I advise them once more."

He then announced, "Which one of you is ready to take this copy of the Holy Qur'ān and call those people to it? Yet, he will be killed by them, but I guarantee Paradise to him."

None of the troops stood up to undertake this mission except a young man from the 'Abd al-Qays tribe, whose name was Muslim and who was putting on a white outer garment. He said, "O Leader of the Believers! I am ready to do this mission and offer to them the Qur'ān as arbitrator, because I have decided to do so for the sake of Allah the All-exalted."

Imam 'Alī, feeling compassionate with the young man, turned his face away from him and then called out again, "Which one of you is ready to take this copy of the Qur'ān and offer it to those people, knowing that they will kill him, but Paradise will be his reward?"

The same young man, Muslim, stood up and showed readiness, but Imam 'Alī, again, ignored him and shouted for the third time with the same words. Thus, no body responded except the young man, Muslim; therefore, Imam 'Alī ('a) gave him the copy of the Qur'ān and said to him, "Go to them, offer it to them, and call them to act upon what is therein."

Carrying out this mission, the young man advanced, stood in front of the enemy's lines, opened the book, and said, "This is the Book of Allah the Almighty and All-majestic. The Leader of the Believers is inviting you to act upon what is in this Book." 'Ā'ishah shouted, "Tear him into pieces with your lances. May Allah disfigure him!"

The people hurried to him and stabbed him with their lances from every side. His mother was present there; so, she screamed, threw herself on his body, and pulled him from that place. A group of Imam 'Alī's army followed and helped her carry her son's dead body. They put the dead body before Imam 'Alī ('a) while the young man's mother was weeping and lamenting him, saying,

O Lord! Muslim has only called them

Reciting the Book of Allah and showing no fear of them.

But they dyed their spears with his blood,

While their mother was standing up and seeing them

She was ordering them to kill him and she never warned them against that.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Abī-Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaḡ* 7/537; al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, page 241; al-

The fight started

When Imam 'Alī ('a) understood that the enemies were too stubborn to respond to him and they started shedding the inviolable blood, he raised his hands towards the sky and prayed, "O Allah! To you do all sights glaze, all hands are stretched, all hearts are turned, and all deeds are done in the intention of seeking nearness to You. 'O Lord! Decide between us and between our people with truth, and You are the Best of deciders.'"⁽¹⁾

He then sent for his son Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah and gave him the standard, which was the same standard of the Holy Prophet (ṣ), saying to him, "O son! This standard has never been defeated and it will never be defeated."

Muḥammad narrated: I received the standard while the wind was blowing on it. When I became able to bear it, the wind blew on the army of Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and the people of the camel. Once I wanted to walk carrying it, my father the Leader of the Believers instructed, "O son! Stop here until you receive my order."

He then shouted, "O people! Do not kill the absconders, do not finish off the wounded, do not uncover any private part, do not frighten the women, and do not cut the bodies of the killed."⁽²⁾

At the same time as Imam 'Alī ('a) was giving instructions to his followers, the arrows of the enemy overshadowed his army so heavily that one of his followers was killed. Upon seeing this scene, Imam 'Alī ('a) prayed, "O Allah, be the witness." Then, a son of 'Abdullāh ibn Budayl⁽³⁾ was shot to death; so, his father, helped by 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās, carried his body and

Ṭabari, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa 'l-Mulūk* 4/511-2; Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā, *Waq'at al-Jamal*, pages 37-8; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/370; al-Nu'mān al-Miṣrī, *Sharḥ al-Akhbār* 1/394; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Āli Abi-Ṭālib* 3/155; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi 'l-Tārīkh* 3/261-2 and 529; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, pages 71-2; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/112; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/174.

(1) The last sentence is a quotation of verse 89 of Sūrah al-A'rāf no. 7, of the Holy Qur'ān.

(2) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa 'l-Siyāsah* 1/77; al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, page 262; Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Daynawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, page 151; *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī* 2/183; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbiḥ, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/324; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/371; al-Nu'mān al-Miṣrī, *Sharḥ al-Akhbār* 1/395; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, pages 24 and 59; Miskawayh al-Rāzī, *Tajārib al-Umam* 1/330; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 3/243; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 72; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 6/228; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab* 20/68.

(3) According to Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/111 and al-Mas'ūdī in *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/371, the killed one was 'Abdullāh ibn Budayl's brother, not son.

put it before Imam 'Alī ('a). 'Abdullāh spoke, "O Leader of the Believers! Until when should we nod down our necks to the enemy so that they would kill us one by one? By Allah, we now have the argument to fight back if you are looking for justifications for fight."

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah continued: Imam 'Alī the Leader of the Believers then ordered me, "O son! Move forward with your standard." He then sent messengers to the commanders of the right and left wings of the army to move forward. He then asked for the armor of Allah's Apostle (ṣ), put it on, belted his belly with a band under his navel, asked for his mule, al-Shahbā', which was the same mule ridden by the Apostle of Allah (ṣ), rode on its back, and stopped before the lines of his followers. I raised the standard and stopped before him while the standard was spread out and ready. Immediately, Qays ibn Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah showed and said these poetic verses, which he addressed to Imam 'Alī ('a):

*This is the same standard that we used to stand
Around the Prophet while Gabriel was our aide.*

He whose secret-keepers are the Helpers

Will not be harmed even if he has no other aides.

They are a people when they fight

Their hands will stretch to the swords until they conquer the countries.⁽¹⁾

On the other side, 'Ā'ishah's followers lined up their troops, brought the camel on which there was a howdah that carried 'Ā'ishah, the camel's halter was in the hand of Ka'b ibn Sūr who hanged a copy of the Holy Qur'ān in his neck, the people of the al-Azd and the Banū-Ḍabbah surrounded the camel, 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr walked in front of 'Ā'ishah, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam was on her right side, al-Zubayr was managing the affairs of the army, Ṭalḥah was commanding the horsemen, and Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah was commanding the infantry soldiers.

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah continued: When he saw the enemy marching toward us, he ordered me, "Move forward with the standard." I did, and the Emigrants and the Helpers marched forward. When the enemy noticed that I had moved forward raising the standard of the army alone without anyone to follow me, they shelled me with arrows all at once, but I stopped in my place to survive their shots and thought that their shelling would stop after they shell once or twice, and then I would march forward again. Straight away, I saw the Leader of the Believers slap me between the shoulders with his hand.

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn Qutaybah in *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/75-6.

He took the standard from me and called out, “*yā manṣūr ‘amit!*”⁽¹⁾ By Allah, before I heard them, I saw the enemies’ feet shaking, writhing with fear, colliding with one another, and scattering to the right and the left that ‘Ā’ishah could see the location of each party of them.⁽²⁾

‘Ammār ibn Yāsir al-Mālik al-Ashtar advanced toward the enemy unsheathing their swords. Imam ‘Alī (‘a) called at Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr, ‘Ā’ishah’s half brother, “If ‘Ā’ishah is killed, it is then you who should bury her dead body and do the rituals of her funeral.”

Once they heard these words, the enemies waned and became confused, while Imam ‘Alī (‘a) was standing steadfastly in his own place. They then retreated after waning, gathered their powers, and called for dueling. Before the camel, a man from the Banū-‘Adī tribe⁽³⁾ advanced holding a sword in his hand and chanting these words:

*I will strike them, and if I see ‘Alī,
I will hit his head with a sharp sword
So that I will release my people the Banū-‘Adī from him.*⁽⁴⁾

Umayyah al-‘Abdī, a soldier in Imam ‘Alī’s army, attacked the man while repeating these words:

*This is ‘Alī. True guidance is his track.
Orthodoxy lies in him, while piety is his guide
Whoever follows the truth, his friend will be known.*

The two men exchanged strikes, but the man of ‘Ā’ishah’s army missed the man of Imam ‘Alī’s army; so, the latter stroke him heavily and killed him.

Another man from ‘Ā’ishah’s army, whose name was Abu’l-Jarbā’ ‘Āṣim ibn Murrah, took his killed mate’s place and marched forward, chanting these words:

*I am Abu’l-Jarbā’, and my name is ‘Āṣim
Our mother is a mother who enjoys inviolabilities.*

⁽¹⁾ Meaning, “O victorious one! Cause death [to them],” this is the slogan of the war, which expressed optimism of victory.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn Shahr’āshūb in *Manāqib ‘Āli Abī-Ṭālib* 3/155 and Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/257 and 9/111.

⁽³⁾ According to al-Khawārizmī in *al-Manāqib*, page 187, the man’s name was ‘Abdullāh ibn Yabrī, but Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd, in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/264, mentioned that his name was Khayyāb ibn ‘Amr al-Rāsibī.

⁽⁴⁾ Al-Khawārizmī, *al-Manāqib*, page 187; Ibn Shahr’āshūb, *Manāqib ‘Āli Abī-Ṭālib* 3/156; Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/264; al-Irbili, *Kashf al-Ghummaḥ* 1/242.

A man from Imam 'Alī's army attacked him while repeating these words:

*I am coming to you. I am a follower of 'Alī
And I abandon your mother forever
Because she defied the Book and the Prophet
And she committed forgeries regarding her affair.*

Abu'l-Jarbā' was killed by that fighter from Imam 'Alī's army. Then, another man whose name was al-Haytham ibn Kulayb al-Azdi showed up, singing these words:

*We are loyal to our mother, the well-pleased
And we support the Companions, the contented.*

A man from Imam 'Alī's army hurried toward him while reciting these poetic words:

*Your leader is the calf of the Umayyads
And your mother is loser and wretched
She has fallen in a murky sedition.*

He then stroke al-Haytham with his sword on the head, knocking him down to the ground.

After him, 'Amr ibn Yathrubī, who was one of the devils of 'Ā'ishah's army, pressed forward and shouted, "Is there anyone to duel with me?"

'Ilbā' ibn al-Haytham accepted the challenge and moved on to duel with him. When they stroke one another, 'Amr's strike hit 'Ilbā' and caused him death. May Allah have mercy upon him!

Hind ibn al-Murādī took his place in dueling. 'Amr hit him with his sword, but he survived his strike. 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr intruded and preoccupied Hind, granting 'Amr an opportunity to hit him again and, as a result, 'Abdullāh and 'Amr could kill Hind. After him, Zayd ibn Ṣawḥān al-'Abdī—may Allah have mercy upon him—took Hind's place and dueled with 'Amr. Then, a horseman from the camp of the camel came to stand beside 'Amr as his defender. Yet, Zayd stabbed him in the flank so heavily that it weakened him, but he hurried to him and struck him with his sword to death; so, he started priding himself and saying,

*If you do not know me, then I am the son of Yathribī
I am the slayer of 'Ilbā' and Hind al-Jamalī
And also the son of Ṣawḥān, who follows 'Alī's religion.⁽¹⁾*

⁽¹⁾ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-Nasab*, page 298; al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, page 244; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/517 and 530-1; Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā, *Waq'at al-Jamal*, page 44; Miskawayh al-Rāzī, *Tajārib al-Umam* 1/325; Ibn 'Asākir, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq*

Having heard these boastful words, Mālik al-Ashtar marched forward to duel with 'Amr; so, he struck him on the face so heavily that 'Amr fell to the ground, but his mates saved him. He thus stood up after gathering his power and said, "Death is inevitable. Lead me to 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib. If I catch sight of him, I will fill my sword with his head."

'Ammār ibn Yāsir—may Allah be pleased with him—challenged 'Amr in a duel, composing these poetic words:

O son of Yathribī, you will not leave the battlefield

Before I fight you for the religion of 'Alī,

By Allah's house I swear this: We are the closest to the Prophet.⁽¹⁾

Thus, 'Ammār hit him with his sword so heavily that he died and fell to the ground lifeless. Immediately, his people ran to him and carried his dead body to their camp.⁽²⁾

Languish of 'Ā'ishah's troops

When Imam 'Alī, the Leader of the Believers, noticed that the adversary troops had the dare to fight and they were ready to kill themselves in that course, he ordered his troops of the right wing of the army to stride toward the troops of the left wing of the army and called at the troops of the left wing to stride toward the troops of the right wing. In the center of the two wings, Imam 'Alī ('a) stood firmly and soon after that, the enemies languished and the swords of Imam 'Alī's soldiers found their places easily on their heads. They retreated after an uncountable number of them were killed and a big number of Imam 'Alī's troops were stricken. The soldiers from the al-Azd tribe, headed by Ka'b ibn Sūr, surrounded the camel on which 'Ā'ishah sat, while the halter was still held strongly in Ka'b's hand and those who were defeated gathered around him. 'Ā'ishah called at them, "O my sons! Go back and attack them. Be steadfast, for I will guarantee Paradise for you." Upon hearing this call, they surrounded her from every side and marched forward, coming close to Imam 'Alī's camp. 'Ā'ishah covered herself with a garment that she had with her, turned the right sleeve of the garment to her left side and the left sleeve to her right side, just as the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) used to do

18/227; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Āli Abī-Ṭālib* 3/156; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārikh* 3/248.

(1) Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Āli Abī-Ṭālib* 3/156.

(2) Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/517; Miskawayh al-Rāzī, *Tajārib al-Umam* 1/325; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Āli Abī-Ṭālib* 3/156; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārikh* 3/248.

when he prayed for rain, and then ordered, "Give me a handful of dust." When they did, she poured it upon the faces of Imam 'Alī's troops and said, "May your faces be deformed," just as the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) did during the Battle of Badr. Pulling the halter of 'Ā'ishah's camel, Ka'b ibn Sūr said, "O Allah! If You want to save bloodshed and extinguish this sedition, then kill 'Alī." When Imam 'Alī ('a) saw 'Ā'ishah do what she did, he said, "O 'Ā'ishah! You did not shoot anything when you shot, but it was Satan that threw them. Your evil will be returned against you, Allah willing."⁽¹⁾

Ummu-Dhurayḥ al-'Abdiyyah, a lady who was a loyal to Imam 'Alī ('a), composed these poetic verses:

*O 'Ā'ishah! If you have come to defeat us
And to spread the garment so as to overcome us
And to throw these pebbles on us,
You will face strikes and find awful our deeds
And you will have to face our swords when we attack
And we will shed any blood of you as we like.*

Ka'b ibn Sūr killed

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah continued: My father, the Leader of the Believers, ordered me, "O son! Move forward and raise the standard." He then lined up his troops, choosing al-Ḥasan ('a) as the commander of the right wing of the troops and al-Ḥusayn as the commander of the left wing. Hilāl ibn Wakī' was the commander of the right wing of 'Ā'ishah's army while Ṣabrah ibn Shaymān was the commander of the left wing. Thus, the two armies advanced toward one another. By Allah, the first person of 'Ā'ishah's army whom I saw falling victim to our army was Ka'b ibn Sūr. When his right hand, in which he was holding the halter of 'Ā'ishah's camel, was cut off, he took the halter in his left hand, but this hand was cut off, too. Then, he was killed along with his brother and two sons. A man from 'Ā'ishah's army took the halter in his hand and shouted,

*O our mother 'Ā'ishah! Do not panic!
All your sons are brave and courageous.⁽²⁾*

Instantaneously, the man's hands were cut off and he was stabbed to death. Another man took his place, but he, too, had his right hand cut off and

⁽¹⁾ Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/484; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/257.

⁽²⁾ Al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/518 and 526; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3/249; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/255. Compare this account to what is quoted by Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih in *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/314.

received a blow on his head that caused him death. Likewise, every man who took the halter of 'Ā'ishah's camel in his hand would have his hands or legs cut off, until eight hundred men were killed in this way. Before that, seventy men from the Quraysh tribe were killed around the camel. The last one who took the halter in his hand was a man from the Banū-Dabbah tribe, who went on saying these words:

We are the sons of Dabbah, the defenders of the camel.

We moan at the son of 'Affān with the edges of the spears.

You must give us back our chief and that is enough.⁽¹⁾

Mālik al-Ashtar faced him, saying these poetic words:

How can we give you back Na'thal after he had perished and his skin dried out?

The mother of demise carried him away and he departed.

Thus, Mālik struck the man on his head and split it into two parts; so, he fell to the ground dead.

Mālik with 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr

'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr resorted to the camel and took its halter in his hand; so, 'Ā'ishah asked, "Who is the one who has just taken the halter of my camel in his hand?"

He answered, "This is I, 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, your sister's son."

Upon hearing this, 'Ā'ishah clamored, "[My sister] Asmā' will very soon be bereft of you."

Once Mālik al-Ashtar marched toward 'Abdullāh, the latter left the halter and advanced toward him. So, a black slave took his place and held the camel's halter. 'Abdullāh and Mālik wrestled and fell to the ground together. When Mālik took hold of 'Abdullāh's neck, the latter repeated these words, "Kill me with Mālik, and kill Mālik with me."

Later on, Mālik al-Ashtar commented, "I was delighted because 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr said *Mālik* instead of *al-Ashtar*; otherwise, they would have killed me. By Allah, I was amazed at the idiocy of 'Abdullāh when he asked them to kill me along with him, while death would not benefit him when he and I

⁽¹⁾ Al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, pages 241-2; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/518 and 531; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/327; Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā, *Waq'at al-Jamal*, page 41; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/375; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/480; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāyah* 4/18 and *al-Kāmil fi'l-Tārīkh* 3/249; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 74; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/254; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (item: q-ḥ-l); al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab* 20/74.

would be killed together. No woman from the al-Nakha' tribe has ever given birth to one like me. Yet, I released 'Abdullāh and he ran away defeated while he had received a severe blow on the side of his face."

When the enemies left the camel alone and ran away, Imam 'Ali ('a) anticipated that the war would be re-broken out if the camel would still there; so, he ordered his soldiers, "Hamstring the camel." Immediately, his soldiers went to the camel and hamstrung it, and it fell to its side. Thus, 'Ā'ishah screamed so loudly that all those who were in the two camps heard her voice.⁽¹⁾

Many other narrations had mentioned in details the dueling of the two armies as well as their military poetries. Yet, mentioning all these details will make the book too lengthy; therefore, I only chose some of these details because I resorted to brevity and abridgment.

Bishr al-'Āmirī and Ḥudhayfah

With regard to the details of the Battle of the Camel and the cutting off of the hands and legs of every one who tried to take the camel's halter in his hand, Maslamah ibn 'Umārah reported the following: Bishr al-'Āmirī narrated to me, saying: During the reign of 'Uthmān, I one day left al-Madīnah and headed for al-Kūfah. On my way, I met a non-Arab miscreant who had put a page of the Holy Qur'ān on the face of his donkey. This scene provoked me so terribly that I swore at him. He said, "What do you want from me and why are you swearing at me?"

I answered, "Woe betide you! How dare you put a paper on which a Qur'ānic text is written on the face of your donkey?"

He answered, "Woe to you! In my country, this paper and its likes are thrown on junkyards and in places of relieving nature. The books of your acquaintance have been torn out and thrown in places of relieving nature."

When I met Ḥudhayfah, I informed him of this dialogue, so he said, "Did they really do that? I see coming that they will carry them with them. I swear this by Him Who send Muḥammad with the truth as His prophet. The people of the al-Azd and the Ḍabbah tribes will surrounded it. May Allah cut off their legs!"

⁽¹⁾ Al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, page 242; Abū-Ḥanifah al-Daynawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-Ṭiwāl*, page 150; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/519-20; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/376; al-Nu'mān al-Miṣrī, *Sharḥ al-Akḥbār* 1/397; Miskawayh al-Rāzī, *Tajārib al-Umam* 1/326; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-Tārīkh* 3/250-1; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/262-3.

I was then present in that fight that took place in al-Baṣrah and saw the people of the al-Azd, the Ḍabbah, and the Tamīm tribes surrounding the camel; and I saw the legs of the people of the al-Azd tribe cut off from the hamstrings and from beneath.

When Ka'b ibn Sūr was killed, I saw a boy from the al-Ḥuddān quarter in al-Baṣrah, whose name was Wā'il ibn 'Umar, weeping and saying these verses:

*O Lord! Have mercy upon the chief of all tribes;
Ka'b ibn Sūr, the pioneer of all people;
The best of all barefooted and shod ones;
And the best of all slain ones and the best of all slayers.
O Ka'b! Have the good news that you will win perfect welfare
Because you supported the truth and disposed of falsity.*

A man named 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Hāshim came out to face that boy and said in reply,

*May Allah never have mercy upon the son of Sūr who departed this world!
May Allah never show him any pardon or pleasure!
He judged unjustly when he decided on that thing
And he took up disbelief and did not defy his fancies
And he followed deviation led by the blind people
So, he joined in this sedition those who perished indeed.*

'Abd al-Raḥmān then struck Wā'il ibn 'Umar and could kill him.

Another man from the Banū-Qushayr tribe, whose name was Khaythamah ibn al-Aswad, marched forward to the battlefield, chanting these verses:

*We are the people of the honored camel
And we are the defender of its revered howdah
And we are the supporters of the wife of the all-honored prophet
This is Allah's religion, which we have always followed.*

A man from the partisans of 'Alī ('a), whose name was 'Ubaydullāh ibn Sālim al-Rib'ī, moved forward to combat that man, while he was uttering these verses:

*We, all of us, are obedient to 'Alī
While you, O wretched one, are plunging into corruption.
The sinful always follows the course of the sinful
The Prophet's wife has opposed the Prophet's order
When she left her house with those who have ruined themselves.*

He then struck Khaythaman with his sword on his hand and cut it off. So, the man fell to his side; and when his companions tried to save him, they crowded and treaded on him to death.

Imam 'Alī rouses his son Muḥammad to the fight

Al-Wāqidī reported the following: 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Fuḍayl narrated to me on the authority of his father who reported Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah, Imam 'Alī's son, as saying: When we resided in al-Baṣrah, camped there, and lined up our lines, my father gave the standard of the army to me and instructed, "Do not do anything before the enemies do first."

My father then slumbered, but the enemies shot us with arrows that troubled him. So, he woke up rubbing his eyes out of sleep, while the companions of the camel were shouting, "Revenge for 'Uthmān!"

Imam 'Alī ('a) came to the fore putting on one shirt only and ordered me, "Move forward and raise the standard." I did and then said to him, "O father! Do you put on one shirt only on such a day?" He ('a) answered, "Time of death is predefined! By Allah, I fought with Allah's Apostle while I was armorless more times than I did while I was armored."

He ('a) then drew near to Ṭalhah and al-Zubayr, spoke to them, and then came back while saying, "Those people refuse any other option than fight. Now, fight against them, for they have transgressed. He then asked for his one-sided armor, which was open from the back, to wear, although he had not worn it after the battles he had entered under the commandership of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) except on that day; therefore, the armor was notched in the point between the two shoulders.

He then came, holding in his hand a sandal thong. 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās asked, "O Leader of the Believers! What do you have to do with this sandal thong?"

He answered, "I want to tie the notched spot of this armor from the backside."

'Abdullāh said in wonderment, "Do you wear such an armor on such a day?"

"Why should I not?" Imam 'Alī ('a) asked.

'Abdullāh answered, "I fear for you."

Imam 'Alī ('a) reassured, "Do not fear that someone would dare to come from behind me. By Allah, O son of 'Abbās, I never turned my back in any fight."

He then ordered 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās to put on a special kind of coat of mail known as Sa'dī armor. Imam 'Alī ('a) then advanced to the right wing of the army and ordered, "Attack!" He then went to the left wing and ordered, "Attack!" He then pushed me from the back and said, "O son! Move on." So, I moved on until the enemies absconded from all sides.

Al-Wāqidī also reported Hishām ibn Sa'd as saying: A chief of a tribe from al-Baṣrah said: When 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) lined up his soldiers, he paused there for a considerable time while the soldiers were waiting for his command. When their waiting took a long time, they felt annoyed and they asked, "Until when should we wait?" At this point, Imam 'Alī ('a) slapped on of his hands on the other and said, "O servants of Allah! Do not be hasty. I always noticed that the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) would prefer to start an attack when wind blew." Thus, Imam 'Alī ('a) waited until midday and then offered a two-unit prayer and said, "Call my son to me." Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah, who was only nineteen years old, came and stood before his father who asked for the standard of the army to be instilled before him.

Imam 'Alī ('a) then praised and commended Allah the Almighty and said, "Behold! This standard has never been defeated and it shall never be defeated. Today, I will put it in the hand of one who deserves to raise it."

He then gave it to his son Muḥammad and ordered, "O son! Go forward."

When the enemies saw Muḥammad coming toward them and raising that standard, they declined. Before long, the people faced one another, saw the forehead of Imam 'Alī ('a), and felt the strikes of the weapons; therefore, they were defeated.

Al-Wāqidī also reported: 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib narrated to me on the authority of his father that when Imam 'Alī ('a) heard the loud voices of the people on the day of the Battle of the Camel, he asked his son Muḥammad, "What are they saying?"

Muḥammad answered, "They are shouting: Revenge for 'Uthmān."

Then Imam 'Alī's soldiers came to him and repeating straightly in his face, "The sun is rising and it is midday time."

Yet, Imam 'Alī ('a) answered them, "Patience is the most overwhelming argument."⁽¹⁾

Imam 'Alī delivers a speech

Imam 'Alī ('a) then stood up to deliver a speech, inclining on an Arab bow. Opening his speech with statements of praising and commending Allah the Almighty and invoking His blessings upon the Holy Prophet (ṣ), he said, "Behold! Certainly, death is a quick seeker. Neither does the steadfast escape it nor can the runner-away defy it. So, move forward and never shrink in fear.

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by al-Bulādhārī in *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, page 231.

These voices and sounds that you hear from your enemy are signs of failure and disagreement. In wars, we have always been ordered to keep silent. So, bit on your molars and endure steadfastly the strikes of swords. I swear by Him Who catches my soul in His hand, a thousand strikes of swords are very much easier for me to endure than one death on bed. So, fight against them patiently and on the basis of expecting the reward of Allah, for the Book of Allah is with you and so are the Prophet's traditions. Hence, the party who has these two things with him is definitely the more powerful party. Strike them as most powerfully as you can. Yet, if one of you feels that he is courageous, intrepid, and patient when facing the enemy, he must not be arrogant and over-active and must not feel that he is better than the others who are less powerful than he is. He who sees failure or weakness of his brother-in-fight must defend him as same as he defends himself, because if Allah willed, He would make the more powerful like the less powerful."⁽¹⁾

Imam 'Alī prepares for the fight

Imam 'Alī ('a) then asked for his mail-armor to wear. When he put the part of the mail-armor that covers his stomach on, he ordered his son Muḥammad to tie this part up with a turban. When Muḥammad did, Imam 'Alī ('a) unsheathed his sword and shook it to test its suitability for fight. He then sheathed it and girded himself with the sword along with its hanger. Meanwhile, his soldiers were still keeping themselves in the arrays already lined up by him and the enemies were approaching them. Imam 'Alī ('a), once more, ordered the lines of the soldiers to be arrayed finally; and when they did, he gave the standard of the army to his son Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah and ordered him, "Move forward while raising high the standard. Be it known to you that the standard must always be kept in front of your companions; therefore, always be in the fore so that those who are behind you should join you and one of your companions who makes a round of fighting should return to you."

Imam 'Alī ('a) divided the soldiers into three parts; he ordered the soldiers from the Muḍar tribe to be in the center, the soldiers of the Yemen to be on the right wing commanded by Mālik al-Ashtar, and the soldiers on the left wing commanded by 'Ammār ibn Yāsir.⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih al-Andalusī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/338 [yet, the author mentions that this speech was delivered by Imam 'Alī ('a) on the day of the Battle of Ṣiffin]; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 127. Compare it to what is quoted by al-Kulaynī in *al-Kāfi* 5/53-4.

⁽²⁾ Compare it to al-Bulādhari's *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, page 239.

The companions of the camel ready themselves for the fight

On the other side, the companions of the camel lined up, using Hilāl ibn Waki' as the commander of the soldiers from the Ḥanzalah tribe, 'Umayr ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Mirqad as the commander of the soldiers from the Banū-'Amr, a clan of the Banū-Tamīm tribe, Zayd ibn Jabalah ibn Mirdās as the commander of the soldiers of the Banū-Sa'd tribe, and 'Amr ibn Yathribī as the commander of the soldiers from the Banū-Dabbah al-Ribāb. The standard of the al-Azd tribe was raised by 'Amr ibn al-Ashraf al-'Atakī.

Muḥammad the son of Imam 'Alī ('a) continued: The two armies faced one another in fight, although the companions of the camel started the war before us and marched toward us; so, my father shouted at me, "Move on." Obeying his order, I moved on in front of him raising the standard and walking slow but sure. Before long, our soldiers moved on; so, the companions of the camel turned to a secure place. Fight broke up, swords struck one another, and my father, who was immediately behind me, shouted at me, "O son! Move forward." but I could not find any place to put my step on; therefore, I said, "I cannot find any place to put my feet on except spearheads!" This word enraged my father who said to me, "I told you to move forward, and you say that there is no place to step on except spearheads! My son, have confidence in yourself and move forward before me on the spearheads." Then, my father took the standard from me and move on, trotting while raising it high. Upon seeing this, I felt so enthusiastic that I ran after him and asked him to give me back the standard. He said, "Take it." Thus, I knew what my father had asked me to do.

He then proceeded me, unsheathed his sword, and started striking the enemies with it. I saw him strike a man with his sword so heavily that his forearm was cut off. He then said, "O son! Keep hold of your standard, for this is enough fighting." I watched my father beating them with his sword; he was sending forward and backward his sword, but I did not notice any trace of blood on his sword. But once he sent forward his sword speedily, blood was immediately seen rushing forth from the enemy.

We then surrounded the camel and the fight was centered round it. At this very point, the fight was so heated that I thought that I would not survive it. It was such a vehemently heated battle that no one saw its like before. Then, my father shouted, "O son of Abū-Bakr! Cut the saddle girth." When Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr did, the howdah fell down and suddenly the fight was ceased as if it was a firebrand on which water was poured.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by al-Ṭabarī in *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk*

Al-Wāqidī also reported Ibn Jurayj to have said: Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah—may Allah be pleased with him—was the bearer of his father's standard during the Battle of the Camel, but when his father noticed a sort of regression in him, he took the standard from him.

Muḥammad narrated: I ran after my father and begged him to give me back the standard, but he first refused. Finally, he gave it back to me and said, "Take it, raise it firmly, stand in the middle of your companions, and do not lower it under any circumstance; rather keep it as high as possible so that all your companions can see it." I followed my father's instructions; so, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir said to me, "O Abu'l-Qāsim! Today, you have raised the standard in the ever best way a standard can be raised." Imam 'Alī ('a) commented, "After what? He should have done that earlier." 'Ammār answered, "Well, knowledge cannot be gained except after learning."

Imam 'Alī forbids killing Abū-Sufyān ibn Ḥuwayṭib

Ibrāhīm ibn Nāfi' reported Sa'īd ibn Abī-Hind to have said: Our companions who were present in the fight of al-Baṣrah told me that 'Alī, on that day, fought in the most heated way. They heard him saying, "Blessed be Him Who permitted these swords to do what they have done." On that day, Imam 'Alī ('a) saw Abū-Sufyān ibn Ḥuwayṭib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā who was praying to Allah out of fear and evil that he expected; so, Imam 'Alī ('a) shouted at him, "Woe to you! Take sides with my companions and do not kill yourself." Abū-Sufyān joined Imam 'Alī's companions, but when the companions of the camel raided on Imam 'Alī ('a), Abū-Sufyān changed his course and joined them. A man from the Hamdān tribe attacked Abū-Sufyān and wanted to kill him, but Imam 'Alī ('a) shouted at him, "Stop attacking him," but the man of the Hamdān tribe failed to understand Imam 'Alī's order; so, he cut Abū-Sufyān into pieces. Upon this situation, Imam 'Alī ('a) expressed, "Woe to him! Swords have ruined him totally although I disliked him to be killed."

'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr relates the events of the battle

Ibn Abi'l-Zinād reported Hishām ibn 'Urwah who reported his father as saying: 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr reported the following: On that day of the Battle of the Camel, every one who took in his hand the halter of the camel on which 'Ā'ishah sat was immediately killed. Whenever one came to take the halter in his hand, 'Ā'ishah would ask him who he was. I was the last to go to

4/514-5, al-Mas'ūdī in *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/375, Miskawayh al-Rāzī in *Tajārib al-Umam* 1/324, al-Nuwayrī in *Nihāyat al-Arab* 20/70 and al-'Āsimī in *Samt al-Nujūm al-Awālī* 2/441.

her and take the halter in my hand when I did not see anyone else to do this mission. She, as usual, asked, "Who are you?" I answered, "I am 'Abdullāh, your sister's son." Upon hearing this, she clamored, "Oh for Asmā! She will certainly be bereft of you."

Then, al-Ashtar came toward us and he and I wrestled. During our wrestling, I went on shouting, "Kill me along with Mālik and kill Mālik with me." He, too, went on shouting, "Kill me with 'Abdullāh." However, if he had said, "Ibn al-Zubayr" instead of 'Abdullāh and if I had said, "al-Ashtar" instead of Mālik, both of us would certainly have been killed. Wounds impeded me from any further motion; therefore, I fell to the ground wounded and cast amongst the killed ones. Al-Aswad ibn Abī'l-Bakhtari came and found me thrown to the ground; so, he carried me across on his horse and moved away. Whenever he met one of 'Alī's companions, he would throw me down, but whenever there was none on his way, he would carry me again. He passed through a man who knew me. Immediately, that man attacked us, struck us with sword, but he missed us, while another man attacked us and hit the leg of the horse. He carried me away and finally put me near a man from the Banu'l-Ghabrā' tribe who had two wives, one of whom was from the Banū-Tamīm tribe while the other was from the Bakr tribe who was a loyalist of 'Uthmān. The woman washed off my wounds and stuffed the wounded parts of my body with camphor. Since she did so, no more bleeding was seen from my body.

Then, 'Ā'ishah started asking about my fate and she did not receive any news about me. When my wounds were healed, I said to the owner of the house wherein I was treated, "Go to 'Ā'ishah and tell her about my story, but beware lest Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr see you." I then started describing Muḥammad to him and told him that he was a short man... etc.

The man did and told 'Ā'ishah about me, saying, "'Abdullāh has ordered me not to let Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr see me."

'Ā'ishah ordered, "No! God now to Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr and tell him to come to me." That was after the war was ceased and the army of the camel was totally defeated.

The man went to Muḥammad and told him about his sister 'Ā'ishah's invitation. When Muḥammad appeared before her, 'Ā'ishah said to him, "O my brother! What will you do when I ask you to do me a favor?"

"What is that favor?" Muḥammad asked.

'Ā'ishah explained, "I want you to go to 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr and bring him to me."

Thus, Muḥammad came to the place where I was residing. When he entered, I feared him and said, "What is the matter with you? May Allah do *such-and-such* to you!"

Yet, Muḥammad answered, "Do not judge before you listen to me..." Thus, Muḥammad told me the whole story.

I thus left the place in the company of Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr. He sat on the horse and left a place for me thereon; so, I rode behind him and he rolled his garments so that no part of it would cope with my body and I did the same. He then led me to 'Ā'ishah where I could hear people swearing at 'Uthmān publicly. I wept and said, "I will never stay in a country where 'Uthmān is insulted openly."

I thus withdrew myself from the people and took a riding animal from my companion. On the gate of al-Baṣrah, there were guardians whom I tried to avoid so that they would not see me. I then met a man who was trying to avoid me and I was trying to avoid him, but I then noticed that he was 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith. I then saw a man on a horse that seemed to be not his. I thus said, "By Allah, this horse is al-Zubayr!" I wanted to kill the man, but 'Abd al-Raḥmān said, "Slow down! This man will not be missed by us." I then discovered that the man was the servant of al-Zubayr. He came to us and I asked him, "Where is al-Zubayr?" He answered, "I do not know." I thus concluded that al-Zubayr was killed.⁽¹⁾

Warning the youths of Quraysh against fighting

Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Ubayd reported 'Amr ibn Dinār to have quoted Ṣafwān as saying: When the two parties of the Battle of the Camel lined up for fight, a caller from the companions of the Leader of the Believers Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) called out, "O groups of the youths of Quraysh! I see that you have been forced into this war and you have been made join it against your will. I now adjure you in the Name of Allah to save your blood from being shed and to avoid being killed. Fear al-Ashtar al-Nakha'i and Jundab ibn Zuhayr al-'Āmirī, for al-Ashtar has spread his armor until its trace will be invisible and Jundab has pierces his armor until it will be taken off from him; and there is a red signal in his pennon."

When the two armies combated, al-Ashtar and Jundab stopped before the camel swaggering with their weapons until they killed 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn

⁽¹⁾ Compare a part of this narration to what is quoted by al-Mas'ūdī in *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/376 and al-Nuwayrī in *Nihāyat al-Arab* 20/76-7.

'Attāb ibn Usayd and Ma'bad ibn Zuhayr ibn Khalaf ibn Umayyah [whom were amongst the youths of Quraysh]. Jundab went to face 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, but when he met him, he said to him, "I will leave you for 'Ā'ishah."

Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Ubayd ibn Abi-Wahab narrated: On that day of the Battle of the Camel, 'Abd al-Raḥmān's hand was cut off while there was a ring in one of its fingers. An eagle picked up the ring and threw it in the land of al-Yamāmah whose people took that ring, pulled out its ruby stone, and a man of them bought it with five hundred golden coins. He then brought it to Makkah and sold it so expensively that he gained a big profit.⁽¹⁾

Muḥammad ibn Mūsā reported Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm on the authority of his father who said: I heard Mu'adh ibn 'Ubaydullāh al-Tamīmī, who was present in the Battle of the Camel, saying: When the two armies met and lined up themselves for the fight, a caller on behalf of 'Alī ibn Abi-Ṭālib ('a) called out, "O groups of Quraysh! Fear Allah with regard to yourselves, for I know for sure that you have participated in this without expecting that the matter would reach to this point. Now, fear Allah and keep Him in your minds with regard to yourselves. Swords do not leave anything behind them. If you wish, you may leave now so that we will judge those people; and if you wish, you may join me now, for if you do, I will grant you security of Allah."

We, the people of Quraysh, felt terribly ashamed when we considered the situation in which we were put, but it was our aim to protect our women and to fulfill our promises that made us stay steadfastly with 'Ā'ishah, but the result was that many of us were killed. By Allah, I saw the companions of 'Alī ('a) when they reached the camel and one of them shouted, "Hamstring the camel." Immediately, they did and the camel fell to the ground. Here, 'Alī ('a) called out, "Whoever throws away his weapon will be saved; and whoever goes back to his house will be saved." By Allah, I have never seen a nobler man than 'Alī ('a) when he pardoned his enemies.⁽²⁾

Sulaymān ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Uwaymir al-Aslamī narrated: 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr said: I was standing to the right side of a man from the Quraysh tribe when a caller called out, "O group of Quraysh! I warn you against two men; Jundab al-'Āmirī and al-Ashtar al-Nakha'i." I also heard 'Ammār speaking to

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Miskawayh in *Tajārib al-Umam* 1/331 and Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadid in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 11/124.

⁽²⁾ Al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, page 262; Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Daynawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-Ṭiwāl*, page 151; *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī* 2/183; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Sirah al-Nabawīyyah wa-Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, page 536; al-Nu'mān al-Miṣrī, *Sharḥ al-Akḥbār* 1/395; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, page 25.

our companions and asking, "What do you want from us? What are you asking for?" We called at him, "We demand with punishing the slayers of 'Uthmān. If you give them up, we will go back and leave you." 'Ammār said, "If you ask us to let you go back and leave us, then this is like the worst of all male sheep, for it the meanest of all sheep and its meat is the hardest of all meats. Thus, we will not respond to you."

Thus, the fight started heatedly and we called upon them, "Make us arrest and punish the slayers of 'Uthmān and we will go back and stop fighting against you." Yet, 'Ammār shouted at us, "We accept this. 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr killed 'Uthmān thirsty; so, start with them. And when you finish with them, then come to us and we will try our best to be fair with you." By these words, 'Ammār silenced all the companions of the camel.

'Ammār's questions to the companions of the camel

'Abdullāh ibn Rabāḥ, a manumitted servant of the Helpers, reported 'Abdullāh ibn Ziyād, the servant of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, as saying: On that day of the Battle of the Camel, 'Ammār proceeded and said to us (i.e. the other party), "O you people! What is the reason that you are fighting against us?"

Some of our party answered, "We fight you for the reason that 'Uthmān was killed as believer."

'Ammār said, "Yet, we are fighting you for the reason that 'Uthmān was killed as unbeliever."

I also heard 'Ammār saying, "By Allah, if you even beat us so heavily that you make us retreat to the leaves of the date palm trees of Hajar,⁽¹⁾ we still know for sure that we are on the right while you are on the wrong."⁽²⁾

I also heard him saying, "By Allah, the interpretation of this Qur'ānic verse has not been put into practice before today: *O you who believe! If any from among you turn back from his faith, soon will Allah produce a people whom He will love as they will love Him.* [Sūrah al-Mā'idah 5, verse 54]"

⁽¹⁾ Hajar is a far way region from the battlefield and it is well known for its orchards of date palm trees. 'Ammār ibn Yāsir—may Allah be pleased with him—mentioned this region exclusively in order to express that they would not retreat even if the enemy would make them go back to such an extremely long distance.

⁽²⁾ Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, page 322; Sharīf al-Murtadā, *al-Shāfi* 4/355; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhiṣ al-Shāfi* 4/157; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 2/479. However, the authors of *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* and *al-Istī'āb* mentioned that 'Ammār said these words during the Battle of Ṣiffīn but not the Battle of the Camel.

When the two armies combated against each others, a very big number of people were killed, and I could hear the sounds of swords on the heads of people like hard toys.

After the termination of the Battle of the Camel, I went to al-Baṣrah and passed by a monastery, I heard the sounds of clothes beaten on rocks; so, I immediately likened these sounds to the sounds of swords that fell on the heads during that battle. In that round of the fight, Ṭarīf ibn 'Adī ibn Ḥātim was killed, while 'Adī's eye was gouged out.⁽¹⁾

'Ā'ishah frustrated

Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh reported 'Amr ibn Dinār as saying: [On that day of the Battle of the Camel,] the Leader of the Believers ('a) said to his son Muḥammad, "Take the standard and move on." Imam 'Alī ('a), while standing behind his son Muḥammad, shouted at him, "O Abu'l-Qāsim!" Muḥammad answered, "I am at your service, O father!"

"O son," Imam 'Alī ('a) instructed. "Do not be incensed by what you will see. I had raised the standard when I was younger than you are now; nevertheless, my enemies could never frighten me. That was because whenever I met any of my enemies, I told myself that I would be able to kill him. Thus, tell yourself that Allah shall most surely help you overcome your enemy and never be frustrated by self-weakness as long as you have certitude. In fact, self-weakness and loss of certitude are the most intense sorts of breakdown."

Muḥammad answered, "O father! I hope that I will be as you want me to be, by the will of Allah."

Imam 'Alī ('a) further instructed, "Hold fast to your standard. When the lines of the two parties are mixed with one another, then stop at your place and amongst your companions, because even if you cannot see them, they will be able to see you."

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah related: By Allah, I stood in the middle of my companions, all of whom stood behind me and no one was between the enemy and me to defend me against them. While I was willing to move on, I suddenly felt that my father was straightly behind me unsheathing his sword: "Do not go on further until you make me move before you," my father instructed. He thus moved on before me trotting along with a group of his

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by al-Ṭabarī in *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/525, Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/248, and al-Nuwayrī in *Nihāyat al-Arab* 20/76.

companions. They struck the first line of the enemy and forced them to give ground. Therefore, I caught them raising the standard. They then stopped at a certain point where the two armies clashed, after which they stopped for a while and I saw my father open the lines of the people to the right and the left and drive them away in front of him. I had the intention to fall upon the enemy, but I stopped because I did not want to disobey my father's instructions when he told me that I should never leave the standard. My father finally reached at the place where the camel (that carried 'Ā'ishah) stood. He found four thousand soldiers from the tribes of Dabbah, al-Azd, Tamīm, and others surrounding the camel. He shouted, "Cut off the camel's belt."

Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr—may Allah have mercy upon him—hurried, cut off the camel's belt, and looked at the howdah that was on its back. 'Ā'ishah asked, "Who are you?" Muḥammad, her brother, answered, "I am the most hateful of your family members to you." She asked, "Are you the son of that woman of the Khath'am tribe?"⁽¹⁾ He answered, "Yes, I am. Yet, she was not less honorable than your mothers." 'Ā'ishah confessed, "I swear by my life that she was an honorable lady indeed. Do not say such words. However, all praise be to Allah Who has saved your life." Muḥammad commented, "Yes, He did, although you do not like this to be." 'Ā'ishah gently said, "O my brother! If I had really disliked you to be saved, I would not have said what I have just said." Muḥammad said, "No, you always wanted to be the victorious and you wanted me to be killed." 'Ā'ishah declared, "Well, I did want that to be, but when the affairs reached this level of heatedness, I wanted you to be saved because you are my relative. So, stop blaming me, do not search for the bygoners, treat me according to the current situation, and do not be blamer and censurer, for your father was neither blamer nor censurer."

Imam 'Alī ('a) approached and knocked the howdah with his spear and talked to 'Ā'ishah, "O little blonde one!"⁽²⁾ Did Allah's Apostle order you to do this?"

(1) 'Ā'ishah meant Asmā' bint 'Umayy—may Allah have mercy upon her—whom Abū-Bakr married after the martyrdom of Ja'far ibn Abī-Tālib.

(2) According to Shaykh al-Mufid's *al-Amālī*, page 24, Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "O little red one." Yaḥyā ibn Mu'īn, in his famous book on history 3/509, records the following: "I heard Yaḥyā saying that 'Abbād said: We asked Suhayl ibn Dhakwān, "Did you see 'Ā'ishah, the mother of the believers?" He answered, "Yes, I did." We asked, "So, describe her to us." He said, "She was a black woman." However, this is in violation of what is famous among people that 'Ā'ishah was the most beautiful of all the wives of Allah's Apostle. For this reason, she was known as *ḥumayrā'*, which means: the little red woman. Although this claim is the most famous among people, it can easily be refuted through many points of evidence, some of which are as follows:

She answered, "O son of Abū-Ṭālib! You have now overcome; so, pardon as excellently as you can."

ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir—may Allah be pleased with him—came to ʿĀ'ishah and said, "O *mother*! How do you estimate your sons' strikes with swords in defense of their religion?" She kept silent and refrained from giving any answer.

Mālik al-Ashtar, too, came to her and said in her face, "All praise be to Allah Who has given victory to His adherent and suppressed His enemy: *'Truth has come and falsehood vanished. Falsehood is always perishable!'*"⁽¹⁾ How do you consider what Allah made to you, ʿĀ'ishah?" ʿĀ'ishah asked impolitely, "Who are you? May your mother be bereft of you!" Mālik answered sarcastically, "I am al-Ashtar, your son." ʿĀ'ishah answered, "You are a liar. I am not your mother." Mālik said, "Yes, you are my mother, even if you dislike it." ʿĀ'ishah said, "It was you who wanted to bereave my sister Asmā' of her child." Mālik answered, "I apologize for Allah and for you. By Allah, it was that I did not eat anything for three days; otherwise, I would have rested you from him." He then invoked Allah's blessings upon the Holy Prophet (ṣ) and composed these verses:

O ʿĀ'ishah! Had it not been that I did not eat anything for three days,

1. ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbbās openly declared that ʿĀ'ishah was not the most beautiful wife of the Holy Prophet (ṣ). After the Battle of the Camel, ʿAbdullāh addressed ʿĀ'ishah, "You are not the most good-looking of the Prophet's wives nor are you the best of them in lineage." [Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi, *al-Futūḥ* 1/492]

2. In *Ansāb al-Ashraf* 1/456-8, al-Bulādhari reported that the Holy Prophet (ṣ) married Asmā' bint al-Nu'mān of Kindah, and she was one of the most beautiful women. He adds: "ʿĀ'ishah and Ḥafṣah combed her hair and toileted her at the night of her wedding. Abū-Usayd al-Sā'idī had brought her to al-Madinah. At the night of Asmā's wedding, ʿĀ'ishah and Ḥafṣah deceived her, saying, "The Apostle of Allah (ṣ) loves the woman that says to him, 'I seek Allah's protection against you,' once he draws near her!" This trick worked with Asmā'; therefore, when the Holy Prophet (ṣ) stretched his hand toward her, she said to him, "I seek Allah's protection against you?" Immediately, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) covered his face with his sleeve and answered, "You have sought the protection of One Who is always there for those who seek His protection." He repeated this statement thrice and order Abū-Usayd to take Asmā' back to her people.

Unquestionably, if ʿĀ'ishah was the most beautiful of the Holy Prophet's wives, she would not envy Asmā' for her beauty and she would not deceive her.

3. Al-Nawawī, in *Tahdhīb al-Asmā' wa'l-Lughāt* 2/362, reported Ibn al-Musayyab as saying that Lady Ummu-Salamah was one of the most beautiful women.

⁽¹⁾ This is a quotation of the Holy Qur'ān, Sūrah al-Isrā' 17, verse 81.

I would have left your sister's son perished⁽¹⁾

On that morning when he went on calling while spreads were playing on him,

With the loudest of his voice, "Kill me along with Mālik!"⁽²⁾

Upon hearing these words, 'Ā'ishah wept and said, "You have the right to pride on us, because you have overcome. Yet: Allah's command is always a pre-ordained decree."⁽³⁾

Imam 'Alī ('a) called at Muḥammad, "As for whether any lance or arrow had or had not hit her."

Muḥammad did, and she answered, "Yes, an arrow reached me and scarified my head, but I was saved from it. Allah will judge between you and me."

Muḥammad said, "By Allah, He will judge against you on the Resurrection Day. What was the problem between you and the Leader of the Believers that made you revolt against him, rally the people to fight him, and cast away the Book of Allah behind your back?"

She answered while the howdah in which she had sat was as thorny as a back of a hedgehog because of arrows, "Leave this subject, O Muḥammad. Ask your acquaintance to appoint guards to protect me."

Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr went to Imam 'Alī ('a) and told him of the details of his dialogue with 'Ā'ishah. Imam 'Alī ('a) advised, "She is a woman; and women are usually weak-minded. You may now undertake the mission of running her affairs and carry her to the house of the sons of Khalaf⁽⁴⁾ until we

(1) According to Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/63-4, "Mālik al-Ashtar used to keep fasting for three days before entering into any battle."

(2) Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/263; Jamāl al-Dīn al-Mashgharī, *al-Durr al-Naẓīm* 1/127; al-Irbilī, *Kashf al-Ghummah* 1/243; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/192.

According to these reference books, except for *al-Durr al-Naẓīm*, Mālik's next verses read as follows:

*Yet, they did not understand his request when he called upon them,
Because he was aggrieved by a giant hero sitting on his body in the midst of dust
What saved him from me was his eating and his youth
While I was an old man who had lost most of his power.*

(3) The italic statement is a quotation of the Holy Qur'ān, Sūrah al-Aḥzāb 33, verse 38.

Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn Qutaybah in *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/75-9 and Ibn al-Athīr in *al-Kāmil fi'l-Tārīkh* 3/254.

(4) The house of Khalaf's sons was the most handsome house in al-Baṣrah. Khalaf's sons were 'Abdullāh and 'Uthmān. As for the earlier, he participated in the Battle of the Camel and was martyred. As for his brother 'Uthmān, he was later on martyred in defense of Imam 'Alī ('a). Reference: al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab* 20/80 and 82.

decide about her.”

Muḥammad carried her to that house. All the way, she did not stop swearing at her brother Muḥammad and at Imam ‘Alī (‘a) and invoking Allah’s mercy upon the defenders of the camel.⁽¹⁾

Mu‘ādh ibn ‘Ubaydullāh reports the events of the war

Al-Wāqidi reported: Hishām ibn Sa’d narrated to us on the authority of ‘Abbās ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn Ma’bad who reported Mu‘ādh ibn ‘Ubaydullāh al-Tamīmī as saying: When we came to al-Baṣrah with ‘Ā’ishah and resided there for that long time, calling the people to support and revolt with us, some people responded to our call while others rejected. All that time, we never thought that we would fight against ‘Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (‘a), until we received the news of ‘Alī’s coming and residing near al-Baṣrah. However, the war broke out. Those who started it were the boys and the slaves. All of a sudden, we saw the camel move on and the people fall into the fight, since they knew that ‘Alī (‘a) would not camp there without moving forward for fight. Taking the initiative, our people shot, clamored, shouted, and overacted. I then heard ‘Ā’ishah saying, “This is the first sign of failure.” On the other camp, ‘Alī and his companions did not do any of these things; rather, they stood still. Then, ‘Alī had to line up his companions for the fight; he distributed the standards of the war, put them in their proper places, and gave the greatest standard to his son Muḥammad to raise it. It was a white standard that its size filled a spear. After that, ‘Alī stood in the center of the army and immediately the right and the left wings of his army attacked and so did the middle of the army. I heard ‘Alī call at his son Muḥammad, “Move forward while raising the standard, and stop in the middle of the heart of the army so that no one will go ahead of you. If they attack or defend, then those who lagged behind you will join you.”

I then heard him saying again, “Your companions are ahead of you. Move forward. Move forward.” ‘Alī (‘a) moved forward while the standard was between his shoulders, unsheathed his sword, struck a man with it, and cut off his forearm. After that, he reached the location where the camel [that carried

⁽¹⁾ Al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, pages 248-50; Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Daynawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, page 151; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/509-10, 519 and 533; Ibn A‘tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/489-90; Ibn ‘Abd-Rabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd* 4/328; Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā, *Waq‘at al-Jamal*, page 45; Shaykh al-Mufid, *al-Amālī*, pages 24-5; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib ‘Āli Abī-Ṭālib* 3/161-2; Ibn Abī-l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/263; al-Irbilī, *Kashf al-Ghummaḥ* 1/243; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab* 20/78-9; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/265-9.

'Ā'ishah] was positioned. He saw that the people had gathered around and surrounded the camel from every side in a disorderly way. The people covered themselves under the camel's belt, but, by Allah I swear this, I saw 'Alī calling at Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr, "Cut off the camel's belt." I also saw 'Alī killing ten people of those who took the camel's halter in their hands. Whenever he killed one, he wiped his sword with his garment and went to the next. We became like driven sheep in the hands of 'Alī's army. Finally, we failed to achieve anything and started blaming each other and regretting what we had engaged ourselves in.

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith reports the events of the war

Al-Wāqidi also reported the following: Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Ubayd narrated to us on the authority of 'Ikrimah ibn Khālīd who said: 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām said: Al-Aswad ibn Abī'l-Bakhtārī, 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, and I had promised each other and covenanted in al-Baṣrah that we would kill 'Alī or die when we meet with his troops and him. That was when 'Alī had not yet lined up his troops. After that, we looked at them after they had lined up their lines and arranged them into right and left wings. While I was standing with 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr and al-Aswad ibn Abī'l-Bakhtārī, I asked them, "What do you have in your minds?" They both said, "We are still committed to our promise."

Yet, the left wing of 'Alī's army raided on the right wing of ours and defeated them, and the right wing of his army raided on the left wing of ours and defeated them. I saw 'Alī ('a) moving on behind his son Muḥammad who raised a giant black flag while 'Alī was drawing his sword. He met with a man from the Ḍabbah tribe and killed him. He then struck another one with his sword to death. He then reached us and became so close to us; so, each one of us turned to the other seeking protection while al-Aswad was shouting, "Is there any way out?" Then, 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr moved on and took the camel's halter in his hand and he was the last of those who did so.

I saw 'Alī moving toward the camel while his sword was dropping blood. He put the sword on his shoulder and shouted at Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr, "Cut off the belt of the camel." That was the last stage of the defeat of our army. We did not see anything better than doing just like the majority of people did. When we were defeated, we absconded and left the place because we feared the weaponry of 'Alī. Our fear that 'Alī's army would chase us did not leave us until we became many stages away from the battlefield.

‘Ā’ishah’s Howdah

Al-Wāqidi reported Ibn al-Zubayr as saying: On that day of the Battle of the Camel, ‘Ā’ishah went to the battle riding on her camel ‘Askar, on whose back she made a canopy to sit in, surrounding it with armors so that the arrows would not reach her. ‘Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib marched off to meet with them. The two armies fought against each other so vehemently. On that day, seventy men from the Quraysh tribe took the halter of the camel, but all of them were killed. I saw Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam and ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr wounded on that day. When those people of Quraysh who took the halter of the camel in their hands were killed, a big number of men from the Ḍabbah tribe started taking the halter one after another. Yet, all of them were killed, too. Thus, every man who took the camel’s halter in his hand was killed until the camel sank with their blood. Then, Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr moved forward and cut off the belt of the camel. He, along with his companions, carried ‘Ā’ishah’s canopy and led her to one of the houses in al-Baṣrah. Al-Zubayr fled the battlefield after having been defeated, but Ib Jurmūz followed and killed him. When Marwān saw that all the people of the camel decided to run away, he looked at Ṭalḥah and saw him preparing himself for flight. He thus said, “By Allah, I will not miss taking revenge for ‘Uthmān.” So, Marwān shot an arrow on Ṭalḥah and cut off his ankle and caused him to fall down bleeding. When Ṭalḥah was carried away from that place, he said, “We are Allah’s. This arrow did not come to me from a far distance; rather, I am sure that it was shot from our camp. By Allah, I have never witnessed an eviler death of a chief than mine.” Soon after that, Ṭalḥah perished.⁽¹⁾

Al-Wāqidi also reported Mūsā ibn ‘Abdullāh on the authority of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Atiyyah who reported his father as saying: I was present in the camp of ‘Alī (‘a) on that day of the Battle of the Camel. I saw ‘Ā’ishah’s camel on whose back there was her howdah covered with iron armors. I then saw the same howdah heavily over-covered with arrows and darts. The camel was then hamstrung; so, I have never heard any sound like its sound. The companions of ‘Alī (‘a) shouted, “Hurry to the camel and hamstring it.” Immediately, some men raided on the camel and cut off its legs; so, it fell to the ground.⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Compare a part of this narration to what is quoted by al-Bulādhārī in *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, page 246-7, al-Ya’qūbī in *Tārīkh* 2/182, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr in *al-Istī’āb* 2/222, Ibn ‘Asākir in *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq* 11/207, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī in *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 77, Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/113, and al-Nuwayrī in *Nihāyat al-Arab* 20/87.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by al-Nuwayrī in *Nihāyat al-Arab* 20/77.

Yazīd ibn Abī-Ziyād reported 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abi-Laylā as saying: On the day of the Battle of the Camel, I looked at the howdah and it was like a hedgehog because of the innumerable number of arrows and darts that hit it.⁽¹⁾

Ibn Abī-Sabrah reported 'Alqamah ibn Abī-'Alqamah on the authority of his father who said: We made the howdah of wood with iron nails, and we made its ceiling of iron armors covered by sashes of green silk and on top of that we put red tanned skin. We put in it a hole in the size of an eye from which 'Ā'ishah would be able to see. Nevertheless, all that did not withstand the raids of the army.⁽²⁾

'Ā'ishah reports the events of the war

About the people of the camel's affairs, defeat in the Battle of the Camel, details of their conditions, and 'Ā'ishah's opinion about what happened on that day, al-Wāqidī reported his 'Uthmāniyyah transmitters of narrations on the authority of 'Ā'ishah, al-Wāqidī wrote: Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd narrated to us on the authority of Ḥumaydah bint 'Ubayd ibn Rifā'ah who reported her mother Kabshah bint Ka'b as saying: My father was deeply aggrieved for 'Uthmān's slaying. He wept for him so terribly that he lost his sight, and this was the reason that prevented him from revolting and participating in the War of the Camel. Out of his hatred and malice toward 'Alī, he did not pay homage to him. 'Alī ('a) left al-Madīnah and when 'Ā'ishah arrived there from al-Baṣrah after the Battle of the Camel, my father went to see her. He greeted her from the door of the house where she resided. He then entered to see her and there was a curtain hanged between him and her; so, she mentioned to him some events without elaborate explanation of the details. That evening, we sent someone to 'Ā'ishah to seek her permission for us to visit her that night. She permitted us. I, along with some women of the Helpers, visited her and she narrated to us how she revolted and went to al-Baṣrah, confirming that she never thought that the matter would reach this level of fighting and entering into a war.

'Ā'ishah thus spoke, "On the back of my camel, a howdah was made for me and it was covered by iron. I entered the howdah and rose in the middle of the people, calling them to peace and to following the Book of Allah and the

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Daynawarī in *al-Akhbār al-Tiwāl*, page 149, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī in *al-Futūḥ* 1/488, and al-Khawārizmī in *al-Manāqib*, page 188.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by al-Mas'ūdī in *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/370, Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 6/227, and al-Majlisī in *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/212.

traditions of the Prophet, but none of them could hear a single word of what I was saying. So, those who met us hurried to fighting and shot arrows on the adversary camp, but those people killed and knocked them down so swiftly that I came to know that one or two men of 'Alī's army were killed. Then the two armies approached one another and evil increasingly encountered that they had no other goal but to kill my camel. While I was on its back, some arrows pierced the howdah and wounded me..." Then, 'Ā'ishah showed us her arm and the trace of the wound that was still on her forearm. She then wept and made us weep for her.

She continued, "Whenever a man took in his hand the halter of my camel, he would very soon be killed. Finally, 'Abdullāh, my sister's son, took hold of the halter, but I shouted at him and adjured him in the name of my family relationship with him to leave me. Yet, he said, 'O mother! Death is inevitable. If one, who is completely dispenses with his companions, is killed while he holds a good intention, this will be very much better than him being killed after this good intention is abandoned by him.' Upon hearing his words, I shouted, 'Asmā' shall most surely be bereft of you.' 'Abdullāh answered, 'O mother! Keep silent, for you can see how the two armies are engaged in a heated combat.' Thus, I kept silent. Amongst us, there were some juveniles from the Quraysh tribe who were unskilled in the arts of wars and who had not participated in any fight before that day; therefore, they became like animals slaughtered by the army. While we were in the midst of this horrible situation and the people were surrounding my camel, they suddenly kept silent for a considerable time. I asked, 'Is this a sign of good or evil?' In fact, their silence was a sign of reaching at the climax of fighting. Abruptly, I saw the son of Abū-Ṭālib fighting by himself and I heard him shouting, 'The camel! The camel!' I thus thought that he would most surely slay me. Immediately after that, he, accompanied by my brother Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr, Mu'ādh ibn 'Ubaydullāh al-Tamīmī, and 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, drew nearer to me and they all cut off the belt that surrounded the camel. They then carried the howdah on their hands strutting with it. All those who were with us left me alone and I could not see even one of them or know any news about their destinies. A caller called out on behalf of 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, 'Do not chase those who are absconding. Do not finish off the wounded ones. Whoever throws his weapon will be safe.' Upon hearing these instructions, the people [of my camp] got rid of their fear. They thus walked on the people and felt ashamed of their deeds. I was led to the house of 'Abdullāh ibn Khalaf al-Khuzā'i who had been killed and his family members were still sad for losing him. All those who feared 'Alī because they had incurred the animosity of him joined me in that house, while my sister's son, 'Abdullāh,

was carried thereto because he was wounded. In the middle of that situation, I asked, 'What happened to Abū-Muḥammad Ṭalḥah?' The answer came, 'He was killed.' I then asked, 'What about Abū-Sulaymān [al-Zubayr]?' It was said to me, 'He was killed.' Once I heard these news, my two eyes froze, sadness cut me into pieces, and I started repeating very frequently statements of grief and regret.' When I recalled those whom were killed, I wept for them. In the middle of that situation, I asked about 'Abdullāh, but I was told that he had been killed, too. Upon hearing this, my grief and sorrow increased to the degree that my heart was about to split asunder. After that, I remained for three days and nights without letting any food or drink enter my mouth. I swear this by Allah. Although I was in the hospitality of a family who never failed to entertain me in the best way and their house was full of bread, I tried to eat anything, but I failed, out of my grief. I seek Allah's guard against ordeals and seditions. I had rallied the people against 'Uthmān until I caused him to encounter what he had encountered, but when he was slain, I regretted my deeds and discovered that the Muslims would never choose as caliph anyone like him. By Allah, he was the most forbearing of them all, the most worshipful, the most generous in calamities, and the best of all those who built nice relationships with their relatives."

Kabshah commented: When I came back home, my father asked, "What did 'Ā'ishah tell you?" I thus informed him of all these details. He expressed, "May Allah have mercy upon 'Ā'ishah and may He have mercy upon 'Uthmān *the leader of the believers!* Yes, 'Ā'ishah was the bitterest enemy of 'Uthmān, but she changed her attitude to him, repented, and wanted to retaliate for him, but things went against what she willed. May Allah have mercy upon both of them!"

He then added, "May Allah have mercy upon 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb! He saw coming all these events. One day, he said: If there is any discord to come, it will be between you; and when this discord comes to be, it will afflict you with all that which you dislike to come upon you."

Marwān recounts the defeat of the companions of the camel

Al-Wāqidī reported the following: Muḥammad ibn Najjār narrated to us on the authority of 'Ā'ishah bint Sa'd who said: One day, my father fell sick; so, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam paid him a visit. During that session, 'Ā'ishah was mentioned and Marwān said, "O Abū-Ishāq! I was present in many happenings and I was a witness, but I withdrew myself from them all on that day when 'Uthmān was killed. I was present there and I fought all those who were facing me until I fell wounded. I also was present on that day of the

Battle of the Camel and I myself saw the howdah in which 'Ā'ishah sat covered with iron armors, but all the people were defeated. All those who took hold of the halter of 'Ā'ishah's camel were immediately killed."

Weeping, my father asked him, "'Ammār was in the middle of all that. Was he not?"

"Yes, he was. I swear it by Allah," Marwān answered.

My father wept again and Marwān continued, "On that day, I participated in the war but I was then carried because I was wounded. In fact, I have never seen any other situation swifter in our defeat than that day of the Battle of the Camel."

My father commented, "I never wanted to be present on that day when 'Uthmān was slain his house, whether I am in this side or in that one; and I never wanted to be presented on that day of the Battle of the Camel, whether being in this side or in that side."

Marwān then left, but my father went on weeping. He then said, "If only I knew what 'Ammār and his companions had done to our companions! May Allah have mercy upon them and may He lodge them in Paradise!"

Ibn Abī-Sabrah reported 'Alqamah to have quoted his mother as saying: I heard 'Ā'ishah saying: On that day of the War of the Camel, I sat in my howdah [on the back of the camel] and it was covered with iron armors. Yet, arrows could pierce the howdah and reach me while I was inside it. All these hardships became easy in my sight whenever I recalled what we had done to 'Uthmān when we rallied the people against him until we killed him, and we embolden the deviating people to challenge him. Now, I seek Allah's protection against any disagreement amongst the Muslims.

Ḥabbah al-'Uranī recounts the events of the War of the Camel

Manṣūr ibn Abī'l-Aswad reported Muslim al-A'war on the authority of Ḥabbah al-'Uranī who said: By Allah, I was there looking at the man who beat the camel [that carried 'Ā'ishah] one strike on its buttock and it fell to its side. I heard the roar of the camel, which I have never heard deeper and more prolonged sound than that. When the camel was hamstrung, the belt of the howdah was cut off and it fell from the back of the animal. Upon seeing this, the people of al-Baṣrah ran away defeated, while 'Ammār ibn Yāsir and Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr went on cutting off the ropes and the straps that tied the camel's legs to its belly. They then carried the howdah and put it on the ground. Then, 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib came and stopped near 'Ā'ishah who was

still inside the howdah. He knocked the howdah with his spear and asked, "O little red woman! Did the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) order you to take upon yourself this journey and to take this situation?"

On that day too, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir called out, "Do not finish off the wounded and do not chase the absconders."

Sa'id and Abān, the two son of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, were captured on that day and were brought before 'Alī ibn Abī-Tālib ('a). When they were made stand before him, some people who were present said, "O Leader of the Believers! Kill both of them." Yet, 'Alī ('a) answered, "This is a very bad suggestion. I have granted security to all people; how should it be that I now kill these two men?" He then turned to the two men and said, "Repent from your deviation, stop your hostility, and go wherever you wish. If you like, you may reside with me so that I will regard your relatives nicely." They answered, "O Leader of the Believers! We will pay homage to you and leave." So, they paid homage to him and left.

Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullāh killed

Ismā'il ibn 'Abd al-Malik reported Yaḥyā ibn Shibl on the authority of Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ('a) who reported his father to have said: My father 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn ('a) said: Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam told me: When I saw that the people were defeated on that day of the Battle of the Camel, I said to myself, "By Allah, I will most surely retaliate upon those and I will win this opportunity now." So, I shot Ṭalḥah and I hit him in the back of the hip and his blood did not stop gushing forth. I shot him again and this time I hit him. They took and put him under a tree where he kept on bleeding to death.⁽¹⁾

Ibn Abī-Sulaymān reported Ibn Khaythamah to have said: One day, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān mentioned 'Uthmān, his slayers, and Ṭalḥah; and said, "Had it not been that it was my father who killed Ṭalḥah, I would still have felt a pain in my heart for his having been killed up to this day. I heard my father saying: On that day of the War of the Camel, I saw Ṭalḥah putting on a mail-armor and an iron head that covered his whole face except his eyes. I said to myself, "How can I take him over?" I then saw a rip in the mail-armor; so, I shot him there and hit his sciatic nerve and cut it off. I saw one of his servants carry him on his back and run away. Soon after that, Ṭalḥah died."⁽²⁾

(1) Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/36.

(2) Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn Sa'd in *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 3/223, Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī in *Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah* 4/1170, and Ibn Ḥajar al-

'Abd al-Ḥamid ibn 'Imrān reported Ibn Ka'b al-Qurazī on the authority of Rawāḥ ibn al-Ḥārith on the authority of 'Umayr who said: I met Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullāh and asked, "O Abū-Muḥammad! What has made you come here? You had paid homage to 'Alī in al-Madinah willingly. Have you not?"

He answered, "Leave me alone. By Allah, I only paid homage to him because swords were put on my neck."

When the two armies faced each other on that day of the Battle of the Camel, an arrow whose shooter was unknown hit Ṭalḥah and cut off his sciatic nerve. So, he bled to death.⁽¹⁾

Abū-Sahl reported al-Ḥasan as saying: When Ṭalḥah was shot, he rode on a mule and asked his servant, "Find me a place into which I should enter." The servant answered, "I do not know any such place to put you in." Ṭalḥah expressed, "I have never witnessed an eviler death of a chief than mine."

Al-Ḥasan commented, "*Allah's command is always a pre-ordained decree.*"⁽²⁾

'Alī ibn Zayd ibn Jad'ān reported: When Ṭalḥah came to know that al-Zubayr left the battle, he went to seek him. While he did not know that al-Zubayr had come back, he passed by Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam who said upon seeing him, "By Allah, I will never be able to retaliate the slayers of 'Uthmān if I do not do it this day, because the slayers of 'Uthmān are lying between the buttocks and chests of these camels."⁽³⁾ Thus, Marwān shot an arrow on Ṭalḥah and killed him.⁽⁴⁾

Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah reported Abū-Mūsā on the authority of al-Ḥasan ibn Abi'l-Ḥasan who said: Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullāh did not appreciate 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān who had given him spacious orchards, some of which were so

'Asqalānī in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* 5/20.

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted in *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/462, Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih's *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/321, Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 3/239, and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mūsawī's *al-Naṣṣ wa'l-Ijtihād*, page 447.

⁽²⁾ This is a quotation of the Holy Qur'ān, Sūrah al-Aḥzāb 33, verse 38.

⁽³⁾ The author of *Nihāyat al-Arab* 920/31) commented, "Marwān meant Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and 'Ā'ishah."

⁽⁴⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn Abī-Shaybah in *al-Muṣannaḥ* 7/542, Ibn Khayyāt in *Tārīkh*, page 181, al-Bulādhārī in *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, page 246, al-Ya'qūbī in *Tārīkh* 2/182, al-Nu'mān al-Miṣrī in *Sharḥ al-Akhbār* 1/403, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr in *al-Istī'āb* 2/222, Ibn 'Asākir in *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq* 11/207, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī in *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 77, Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/113, and al-Nuwayrī in *Nihāyat al-Arab* 20/87.

large that even one thousand riders of camels could kneel down their camels there and then drive them away. Instead, Ṭalḥah worked painstakingly for shedding 'Uthmān's blood. On that day of the Battle of the Camel in al-Baṣrah, Ṭalḥah went for fight, clad with a mail-armor in order to save himself from arrows. Yet, an arrow hit and killed him. '*Allah's command is always a pre-ordained decree.*' When he was hit by that arrow, he said, 'I have never witnessed an eviler death of a chief than mine.'

Al-Ḥasan commented: Before that, Ṭalḥah had participated in the holy wars commanded by the Apostle of Allah (ṣ). In one of these campaigns, he protected the Holy Prophet (ṣ) with his hand, but he wasted all that and wasted himself in his last situation. I saw that his grave was turned into a shelter for the water carriers who put their water skins on Ṭalḥah's grave to go for relieving nature. I have thus never seen more amazing people than those.

As for al-Zubayr, he came to one of the quarters of the Arabs and asked them, "Grant me asylum!" Before that day, he always granted people asylums and he was so brave that none could ever attack him. What had made him seek asylum? By Allah, none caused him that except his son.

Thus, Ibn Jurmūz chased al-Zubayr on a hillock of the hillocks of the Arabs. By Allah, I have never seen anyone like al-Zubayr with regard to his end result. Thus, he wasted his blood for nothing, and his grave in Wādī al-Sibā' has become a place for foxes to excrete on it. Those two revolted, but when they revolted, they failed to gain what they had desired and they failed to go back to what they had left. How painful for me is the wretchedness that was destined for them.⁽¹⁾

Qays ibn Abī-Ḥāzim reported the following: Ṭalḥah was shot with an arrow in the knees. He ran while blood was gushing forth. When they tried to block the source of the wound, his knees would swell. He thus shouted at them, "Leave it, for this was an arrow that Allah sent." He kept on bleeding until he died. He was then buried on the bank of the River Euphrates. Some people saw Ṭalḥah in dream telling them, "Relieve me from this water, for it has caused me intense harm." A man saw the same vision for three nights; so, the people dug up the grave and found it as green as chard. They took out the body and found that the earth had devoured part of his beard and face. Then, one of the houses of the Bakr tribe was bought for him with ten thousand dirhams and

⁽¹⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/113-4.

his body was re-buried there.⁽¹⁾

These were a brief and authentically reported collection of the reports that narrated the killing of Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullāh. Their ways of narrating from the channels of the non-Shi'ah are the clearest of all ways of narrating and their chains of authorities are the most reliable ones. The entire Muslim community does not have any disagreement on these facts, all of which indicate clearly that Ṭalḥah was killed while he was persisting on entering that war and he never regretted nor changed his attitude. Thus, all these narrations are in clear-cut violation of the opinion of the Ḥashwiyyah, opposing to the opinion of the Mu'tazilah, and indicatives of the falsity of their claim that Ṭalḥah had repented his attitude.⁽²⁾

The killing of al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām

Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Faḍālah reported Yazid ibn al-Hād to have quoted Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm as saying: Al-Zubayr ran away, riding his horse named Dhu'l-Khimār and arrived in Safwān. On his way, he passed by 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'id al-Mujāshi'i and Ibn Muṭarriḥ who said to him, "O disciple of Allah's Apostle! You are now under our protection and no one will be allowed to reach you." Thus, al-Zubayr went with them, walking in the middle of them. A man was led to al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays to whom he said, "I have a secret to tell you." Al-Aḥnaf allowed him to come nearer; so, the man whispered, "Al-Zubayr has run away and I saw him walking between two men from the Mujāshi' tribe and the Minqar tribe; and I believe that he was heading for al-Madīnah."

Yet, al-Aḥnaf said with a loud voice, "What should I do if al-Zubayr had cast sedition amongst Muslims and made them strike one another? Now, he is willing to go back to his family sound and safe!"

Ibn Jurmūz heard al-Aḥnaf's words; so, he stood up along with a man named Faḍālah ibn Ḥābis and they understood that al-Aḥnaf raised his voice with these words about al-Zubayr because he did not want al-Zubayr to be left

(1) Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 3/223-4; Khalifah ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, page 186; Ibn Abī-Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf* 7/536; al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, page 246; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/321-2; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Isṭī'āb* 2/223-4; al-Ṭabari, *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah* 2/230-1; Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ash'ari, *al-Tamhīd wa'l-Bayān*, pages 223-4; al-Nuwayri, *Nihāyat al-Arab* 20/88; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, page 528; al-'Āsimī, *Samī' al-Nujūm al-'Awālī* 2/445.

(2) For further details, refer to Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Intiṣār*, page 98; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/9, 14/24, and 20/34.

safe; rather, he wanted him to be killed.

So, the two men chased al-Zubayr; and when those who were accompanying al-Zubayr saw them, they said, "This is Ibn Jurmūz, and we fear that he would injure you." Al-Zubayr answered, "I will face him if you face the other man, Ibn Ḥābis." Thus, 'Amr (ibn Jurmūz) attacked al-Zubayr, but found him unbeatable; so, he shouted at his companion, "O Faḍālah, help me against this man, for he will kill me." So, Faḍālah helped 'Amr who finally attacked al-Zubayr, killed him, cut his head, and brought it to al-Aḥnaf, who, in turn, sent him to Imam 'Alī ('a). When the soldiers saw him, they did not recognize him; so, they asked, "Who are you?" "I am a messenger of al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays." Some of them welcomed him and expressed respect for the one who had sent him, while others said, "Neither you nor is the one you have come from welcomed here." Finally, the man stood at the pavilion of Imam 'Alī ('a) and a tall and big man came out from there to see the matter. He was Mālik al-Ashtar who asked, "Who are you?" "I am a messenger from al-Aḥnaf," the man answered. "Stop here so that I may obtain permission for you," Mālik said. When Mālik did, Imam 'Alī ('a) permitted the man to enter to him. The man entered and found Imam 'Alī ('a) leaning and there were some loaves of barley bread before him. The man greeted and congratulated Imam 'Alī ('a) for the victory on behalf of al-Aḥnaf, saying, "I am al-Aḥnaf's messenger to you. I have killed al-Zubayr. This is his head and this is his sword!" The man threw them before Imam 'Alī ('a) who questioned, "How did you kill him and what did he do before that?" The man explained to Imam 'Alī ('a) what he had done to al-Zubayr, but Imam 'Alī ('a) asked, "Hand over his sword to me." The man did and Imam 'Alī ('a) took the sword, unsheathed it, and said, "Yes, this is his sword. I know it very well. By Allah, he fought in defense of and under the commandership of Allah's Apostle (ṣ) more than once, but this is his destiny and his evil end."⁽¹⁾

Manṣūr ibn Abi'l-Aswad reported 'Aṭā' ibn al-Sā'ib to have quoted al-Bakhtarī as saying: When al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays sent al-Zubayr's head and sword to Imam 'Alī ('a) and his messenger met and congratulated him for the victory, Imam 'Alī ('a) recited this Qur'ānic verse: "*Such as those who try to catch you off guard, so if you receive some victory from Allah, they say: Were we not with you?*" [Sūrah al-Nisā' 4, verse 141]"

Zayd ibn Farās is reported to have quoted Ghazāl ibn Mālik as saying: When

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 3/110-2; al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, pages 254-8; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbiḥ, *al-Iqd al-Farīd* 4/323; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/372-3; Sharif al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, page 108.

al-Zubayr was killed and his head was brought to him, Imam 'Alī ('a) expressed, "By Allah, had it not been for what Ḥaṭīb ibn Abī-Balta'ah did,⁽¹⁾ Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr would never have had the dare to fight against me. However, al-Zubayr was closer to me than Ṭalḥah and he had still been one of us, the Prophet's family, until his son attained puberty and thus cut the relations between his father and us."⁽²⁾

'Abdullāh ibn Ja'far reported Ibn Abī-'Awn as saying: I heard Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam saying: On that day of the Battle of the Camel, I said to myself, "By Allah, I will most surely retaliate upon those who slew 'Uthmān." Therefore, I shot an arrow on Ṭalḥah that cutoff his sciatic nerve. Thus, whenever they tried to block the wound, the blood pressed inside his body and caused him unbearable harm. Finally, he said to his servant, "Leave it, because this is an arrow sent by Allah to me." He then said to his servant, "Woe be to you! Find me a shelter where I can guard myself." Yet, the servant failed to find such a shelter. Then, 'Ubaydullāh ibn Ma'mar carried Ṭalḥah and led him to a house owned by a Bedouin lady. He then left him there, but returned to him after a short time to find him dead.

As for al-Zubayr, he ran away to al-Madinah, but when he was in Wādā al-Sibā', al-Aḥnaf raised his voice with these words: "What can I do with al-Zubayr? He rallied two groups of people against each other until he caused them to kill one another. Now, he is willing to join his family." As Ibn Jurmūz heard these words, he went out to run after al-Zubayr, along with another man from the Mujāshi' tribe who followed him and finally the two men caught al-Zubayr. When he saw them, al-Zubayr feared them and he was cautious of them, but they deceptively said to him, "O disciple of Allah's Apostle! You are now under our protection; therefore, no one will be allowed to touch you." Thus, Ibn Jurmūz walked with al-Zubayr, trying to make him slow down, but al-Zubayr tried his best to detach himself from him. "O Abū-'Abdullāh," Ibn Jurmūz suggested. "You may take off your armor and put it on your horse, for it has overburdened and tired you out." As this trick worked with al-Zubayr, he took off the armor; so, 'Amr ibn Jurmūz drew himself back and tried to lag behind al-Zubayr, who asked him to join him while he was trying to make his horse run faster. Finally, al-Zubayr freed himself from worry and did not ask 'Amr to join him anymore. Suddenly,

(1) The story of Ḥaṭīb ibn Abī-Balta'ah can be found in the following reference books of history: al-Wāqidi, *al-Maghāzī* 2/797, Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-Nabawīyyah* 4/40, and al-Ṭabarsī, *I'lām al-Warā*, page 105.

(2) Compare part of this narration to what is quoted in *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/509.

'Amr attacked al-Zubayr, stabbed him between the two shoulders so heavily that his spearhead penetrated al-Zubayr's body and he took it out from between his bosoms. He then rode off, cut al-Zubayr's head, and brought it to al-Aḥnaf, who ordered him to carry al-Zubayr's head and sword and take them to Imam 'Alī ('a). Upon seeing the head and the sword, Imam 'Alī ('a) asked Ibn Jurmūz, "Hand over the sword to me." The man did, and Imam 'Alī ('a) took the sword, shook it, and expressed, "Many a time did this sword fight in defense of Allah's Apostle. Yet, such is the destiny and the evil end." He then looked fixedly at al-Zubayr's face and talked to it, "You had good company and family relationship with Allah's Apostle, but you let Satan penetrate into your nose and finally, Satan misled you into this fate."⁽¹⁾

Imam 'Alī passes by the killed and speaks to them

When the War of al-Baṣrah was over, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were killed, and 'Ā'ishah was taken to the mansion of the two sons of Khalaf, Imam 'Alī ('a) rode on his mount followed by his companions while 'Ammār—may Allah have mercy upon him— was walking accompanying him. He went to the victims of the war and wandered about them. He first passed by the dead body of 'Abdullāh ibn Khalaf al-Khuzā'i who was clad in the best and most distinguished clothes. The people expressed, "By Allah, this man is the head of all people," but Imam 'Alī ('a) corrected, "He is not the head of people; yet, he is an honorable and self-esteeming personality."

He then passed by the body of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Attāb ibn Usayd and said, "This is the chief and head of those people, but he is now thrown to the ground as you can see him."

He then reviewed the victims one by one; when he saw the chief of the Quraysh tribe knocked down and lying amongst the killed ones, he expressed, "I have cut off my own nose! Behold! By Allah, your being killed has indeed been unwanted by me, but I had already advised and warned you against the bites of swords. You were too youthful to realize what you are in now. Yet, it was only the deadline of your lifetimes and the evil death that you encountered. May Allah protect us against evil death!"

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 3/112; al-Bulādhārī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, pages 232-3 and 254-8; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/372-3; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, page, page 108; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhiṣ al-Shāfi* 4/137; al-Ṭabarsī, *al-Ihtijāj* 1/238-9; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 3/244; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, pages 77-8; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/235-6; Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ash'arī, *al-Tamhīd wa'l-Bayān*, pages 224-5; Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Maṭālib al-'Alīyah* 4/299-300.

Imam 'Alī ('a) continued and stopped at the dead body of Ka'b ibn Sūr the judge, while he was overthrown amongst the casualties while a copy of the Holy Qur'ān was still attached to his neck. Imam 'Alī ('a) ordered, "Take away the Qur'ānic copy and put it on a ceremonially pure place." He then asked them, "Make Ka'b's body in the posture of sitting." So, they did. While Ka'b's head was hanging down to the ground, Imam 'Alī ('a) spoke to the body, "O Ka'b ibn Sūr! I have found out that what our Lord promised us is true. Have you found out that that what your Lord promised you is true?" He then ordered them to make the body lie down. They did and Imam 'Alī ('a) passed and saw the dead body of Ṭalḥah thrown on the ground. He thus ordered, "Make this body in the posture of sitting." They did and Imam 'Alī ('a) spoke to the body, "O Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullāh! I have found out that what our Lord promised us is true. Have you found out that that what your Lord promised you is true?" He then ordered them to make the body lie down.

One of the reciters of the Holy Qur'ān stopped near Imam 'Alī ('a) and said, "O Leader of the Believers! These bodies have perished; they can neither hear your words nor answer you."

Imam 'Alī ('a) clarified, "By Allah! They can verily hear my words as same as those whom were killed in the battle of the well [of Badr] did when the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) spoke to them. If they were allowed to answer back, you would most surely hear amazing answers."⁽¹⁾

He then passed by the dead body of Ma'bid ibn al-Miqdād ibn 'Amr and said, "May Allah have mercy upon the father of this one! His attitude to us was better than this one's attitude."

'Ammār remarked, "All praise be to Allah, for He has thrown down this man and make his cheek the lowest. O Leader of the Believers! By Allah, for those who resisted the truth, we do not care who their father was and who their son is."

⁽¹⁾ By this answer, Imam 'Alī ('a) referred to the Holy Prophet's words by which he addressed the polytheists of Quraysh after they had been killed during the Battle of Badr and their bodies had been thrown in Well Badr by the command of the Holy Prophet (ṣ). According to Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 2/292, "The Apostle of Allah (ṣ) ordered his companions to throw the dead bodies of the polytheists who had fought against him in the Battle of Badr and they were killed there to be thrown in the well. When these bodies were thrown there, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) stopped at them and said, 'O people of the well. Have you found out that what your Lord promised is the truth? For, I have found out that what my Lord promised is the truth.' The Prophet's companions were taken by amazement; so, they asked, 'O Allah's Apostle! Are you speaking to dead people?' He (ṣ) answered, 'They have now found out that what their Lord promised is the truth.'"

Imam 'Alī ('a) agreeing answered, "May Allah have mercy upon you, O 'Ammār, and may he reward you on behalf of the truth the best of reward!"

Imam 'Alī ('a) then passed by the dead body of 'Abdullāh ibn Rabī'ah ibn Darrāj that was thrown amongst the other bodies, and said, "This wretched man did not revolt for the sake of supporting 'Uthmān. By Allah, 'Uthmān did not have good opinion about this man and about his father."

Passing by the body of Ma'bad ibn Zuhayr ibn Umayyah, Imam 'Alī ('a) expressed, "If the sedition were on the top of Pleiades, this boy would go there and take it. By Allah, he was too craven to declare his seditious situation publicly. One of those who saw him before his death told me that he kept on running away from the strikes of swords until he was killed for nothing. How wretched he was!"

Imam 'Alī ('a) then passed by the body of Muslim ibn Qarazah and said, "It was wheat that made this man revolt against me. He had once asked me to intermeditate for him with 'Uthmān with regard to a property that he claimed to have been his possession in Makkah. So, I insisted on 'Uthmān unrelentingly until he gave it to him and said, 'Had it not been for you to intermeditate for him, I would never have given him. Indeed, I know for sure that this one is very bad and he belongs to a wicked clan.' Nevertheless, he revolted in support of 'Uthmān."

He ('a) then passed by the body of 'Abdullāh ibn Ḥumayd ibn Zuhayr and said, "This, too, was one of those who galloped in to stir up dissension and to seduce people into fighting against us. He claimed, yet falsely, that he was demanding with punishing those who shed 'Uthmān's blood. Before that, he had sent me many letters that hurt 'Uthmān. Then, 'Uthmān gave him something and he was pleased with that."

Imam 'Alī ('a) then passed by the dead body of 'Abdullāh ibn Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām and said, "This man stood against his father who did not accept revolting against me. Although his father did not support us, he only paid homage and secluded himself to his house. I do not blame one who stopped supporting us and supporting our enemies; rather, the blameworthy are only those who fought against us."

When he passed by the body of 'Abdullāh ibn al-Mughīrah ibn al-Akhnas, Imam 'Alī ('a) told, "As for this one, his father was killed on that day when 'Uthmān was killed in his house.⁽¹⁾ so, he revolted because he was enraged by

(1) For details, refer to Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī, *Tārikh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah* 4/1290-3, al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* 1/570, *Tārikh al-Ṭabari* 4/382, and Miskawayh al-

the killing of his father, while he was still young and he did not estimate the end results of affairs.”

Finally, he (‘a) passed by the body of ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Uthmān ibn al-Akhnas ibn Shariq and said, “As for this one, I saw him absconding when the strikes of our swords took over the enemies; and I warned my soldiers not to kill him, but they did not listen to me; therefore, he was killed. Yet, he was one of those who loathed me. He was one of the inexperienced youths of Quraysh who lacked any skill of fighting. They were deceived and tripped up; but when the trick worked with them, the swords were unsheathed against him and they were killed.”⁽¹⁾

Burying the bodies of the martyrs

Then, Imam ‘Alī (‘a) ordered his caller to call out, “Whoever wishes to bury his killed companion, may do it now.” He (‘a) then said, “Bury our dead persons with their clothes that they were wearing when they were martyred, for they shall be resurrected on martyrdom, and I will indeed testify to them that they acted loyally.”

Imam ‘Alī’s letter to the people of al-Madīnah

Imam ‘Alī (‘a) then returned to his tent, sent for ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Abi-Rāfi’, his scribe, and ordered him to write the following letter to the people of al-Madinah:

“In the Name of Allah; the All-beneficent, the All-merciful. From the servant of Allah, ‘Alī ibn Abi-Ṭālib: Peace be with you! Before you, I indeed praise Allah except Whom there is no other deity. Now, out of His grace, favoring, and excellent bestowals to you and to me, Allah is an All-fair Judge. He, the All-glorified, has said in His Book, and He always says the truth only: *‘Verily never will Allah change the condition of a people until they change it themselves with their own souls. But when once Allah wills a people’s punishment, there can be no turning it back, nor will they find, besides Him, any to protect.’* [Sūrah al-Ra’d 13, verse 11]’ I will in this letter tell you the details of what we did and what those of the groups of the people of al-Baṣrah and those who joined them from the people of the Quraysh tribe and other tribes did, since we took this journey to face them, since they joined Ṭalḥah

Rāzi, *Tajārib al-Umam* 1/289.

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, pages 135-7 and *Taṣḥīḥ al-I’tiqād*, pages 72-3; Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 4/344; al-Tabarsī, *al-Ihtijāj* 1/105; Ibn Abi’l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/248-9; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/207-9.

and al-Zubayr who had renounced their allegiance that they had sworn to me. You already know that they had sworn allegiance to me while they both were fully obedience and they never were forced to do that. Thus, I left you leading those who followed me, those who hurried to paying homage to me and to the truth, and I then resided in Dhī-Qār where a group of the people of al-Kūfah joined me. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr went to al-Baṣrah and did what they did to 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf, my representative there. I thus sent to them messengers and made all arguments possible against them. Then, I resided in the backside of al-Baṣrah where I started calling them to the truth, provided them arguments, promised to pardon them for their slips and flaws, and invited them, as well as all those who were with them, to repent from their having broken their allegiance to me and failed to keep the words they had made to me. Nevertheless, they rejected all that and insisted on fighting me and fighting those who were with me. Moreover, they persisted in error; therefore, I did not find any other alternative than combating them. So, I combated them on the basis of jihad and Allah killed those whom He killed of them while they were keeping their reneging, while others ran away. I then sheathed the swords against them, treated them with pardon, applied to them the truth and the Prophetic tradition in judgment, and chose for them a governor whom I appointed to be their ruler; namely, 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās. Now, I am marching to al-Kūfah if Allah the All-exalted wills."

In the last line of the letter, 'Ubaydullāh ibn Abī-Rāfi' wrote the date: Jumādā al-'Ūlā, the year 36 of hegira.⁽¹⁾

Imam 'Alī's letter to Ummu-Hānī'

Imam 'Alī ('a) wrote another letter to [his sister] Ummu-Hānī', the daughter of Abū-Ṭālib, peace be upon him. The letter read: "Peace be with you. Before you, I praise Allah except Whom there is no other deity, for we had met with the transgressors and the wrongdoers in al-Baṣrah; and Allah, out of His might and power, granted us the victory, and inflicted upon them the things that are usually inflicted upon the wrongdoers; so, Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Attāb, as well as an innumerable number of them, were killed. From our party, the sons of Majdū', the two son of Ṣawḥān, 'Ilbā', Hind, and Thumāmah were martyred. They were among those regarded as Muslims. May Allah have mercy upon them. Peace be with you."⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Compare it to Shaykh al-Mufid's *Kitāb al-Irshād*, pages 137-8 and Sharif al-Murtadā's *al-Shāfi* 4/135-6. The same letter is quoted by al-Majlisī in *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/334.

⁽²⁾ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk* 4/542.

Imam 'Alī's letter to the people of al-Kūfah

Imam 'Alī ('a) dictated a third letter that he addressed to the people of al-Kūfah. The letter read: "In the Name of Allah, the All-beneficent, the All-merciful. From 'Alī, the Leader of the Believers, to the people of al-Kūfah: Peace be with you. Before you, I now praise Allah except whom there is no other deity. Behold! Indeed, Allah is an All-fair Judge and *'Verily never will Allah change the condition of a people until they change it themselves with their own souls. But when once Allah wills a people's punishment, there can be no turning it back, nor will they find, besides Him, any to protect.* [Sūrah al-Ra'd 13, verse 11]" I will in this letter tell you the details of what we did and what those of the groups of the people of al-Baṣrah and those who joined them from the people of the Quraysh tribe and other tribes who followed Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr did. After these two [i.e. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr] had broken the oaths they had taken with me, I rose from al-Madinah and I was then informed of what they had done to my representative there, 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf. I therefore came to Dhī-Qār from which I sent to you my son al-Ḥasan, as well as 'Ammār and Qays. So, when they asked you to join me in the fight for the sake of Allah, His Apostle, and us, your brethren responded to me so hurriedly that they joined me there. Thus, I led them, as well as those who always hurry for the obedience to Allah, until I resided in the backside of al-Baṣrah where I started calling them to the truth in the most excused way, I provided them with irrefutable arguments, I promised to pardon them for their slips and flaws, especially those who renounced their faith, from the people of Quraysh and other people, and I invited them to repent from their having broken their allegiance to me and their covenant to Allah, which I enjoyed over them. Nevertheless, they rejected all that and insisted on fighting me and fighting those who were with me. Moreover, they persisted in error; therefore, I withstood them through jihad and the result was that many of them were killed and the others ran away and fled to their countries. They then pleaded me to do that which I had already asked them to accept; that is, ceasing the fighting; therefore, I agreed and accepted that from them. Thus, I sheathed the swords against them, treated them with pardon, applied to them the truth and the Prophetic tradition in judgment, and chose 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās as the governor and ruler of al-Baṣrah. Now, I am marching to al-Kūfah if Allah the All-exalted wills. I have sent to you Zahr ibn Qays al-Ju'fi so that you may ask him and he will tell you all the news about us and them and tell you how they rejected the truth that we had offered them. As a result, Allah warded them off while they desisted that. Peace and Allah's mercy and blessings be upon you."

In the last line of the letter, 'Ubaydullāh ibn Abī-Rāfi' wrote the date: Jumādā al-'Ūlā, the year 36 of hegira.⁽¹⁾

Imam 'Alī delivers a speech

Upon finishing these letters and informing the people of the other provinces of his victory over the renegades, Imam 'Alī ('a) delivered a speech. Opening it with statements of praising and thanking Allah the All-exalted and invoking His blessings upon the Holy Prophet and his family, he ('a) said, "Now, Allah is indeed All-forgiving, All-merciful, Almighty, and Wielder of retribution. He dedicated His pardon and forgiveness to the people of obedience to Him, while He poured His chastisement and punishment exclusively upon those who disobey Him, defy His commands, and added to His religion things that are not really part of it. Through His mercy are the righteous ones gaining His aid. O people of al-Baṣrah, Allah has put me in a possession to overcome you and He has given you up because of your misdeeds. Now, beware of returning to do the like of what you have done, for you were the first to start the fight and opposition and you were the first to abandon the truth and fairness."⁽²⁾

Asceticism of Imam 'Alī

Having finished his speech, Imam 'Alī ('a) came down the minbar and called for a group of his companions. They walked with him to the house of the public treasury. He sent for the reciters of the Qur'ān and invited them to join him thereto. He then sent for the keepers of the public treasury and ordered them to open the doors of the chambers where the money was kept. Upon seeing the huge sums of money, he quoted, "This is my fruits, and the best of its kind is within it."⁽³⁾ He then distributed the money amongst his

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, pages 137-8; Sharif al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 4/329-30; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhiṣ al-Shāfi* 4/135-6; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/332-3; Muḥammad al-Kāshānī in *Ma'ādin al-Ḥikmah* 1/447-8.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Shaykh al-Mufid in *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 137 and al-Majlisī in *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/231.

⁽³⁾ According to Ibn Manẓūr in *Lisān al-'Arab* 14/155, when Imam 'Alī ('a) entered the house of the public treasury, he expressed, "O red coins (i.e. gold) and white coins (i.e. silver). Find another one than me to seduce. 'This is my fruits and the best of its kind is within it, although the collector of fruits can easily have for himself the best of it.'" Abū-'Ubayd said: This is an Arab proverb that is said when a man gives his friend the best of what he has as a sign of altruism. As for Ibn al-Kalbī, he quotes that this proverb was first said by 'Amr ibn 'Adī al-Lakhmī, the son of Jadhīmah's sister. Jadhīman resided at a certain place and ordered the people to collect truffles for him. Thus, some of them brought him the worst kind of truffles that they had found and kept the best kinds for themselves, while 'Amr brought him the best kind of what he had collected without eating any of it.

companions, each one of whom gained six thousand dirhams, while they were twelve thousand men. Imam 'Alī ('a) took for himself a share equal to what he gave each one of them. At that time, someone came to him and said, "O Leader of the Believers! My name seemed to have been deleted from the list of warriors, because I participated in that war as same as everyone else did." Thus, Imam 'Alī ('a) gave him his own share.⁽¹⁾

Al-Thawrī reported Dāwūd ibn Abī-Hind on the authority of Abū-Ḥarb ibn Abī'l-Aswad who said: In al-Baṣrah, I saw an amazing thing; two completely contrary situations. When Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr came there, they sent messengers to certain people of al-Baṣrah, one of whom was I. We all entered the house of the public treasury. When these two saw the money, they said, "This is what Allah and His Apostle has promised us." They then recited this Qur'ānic verse: "*Allah has promised you many gains that you shall acquire, and He has given you these beforehand; and He has restrained the hands of men from you, that it may be a sign for the believers and that He may guide you to a straight path.* [Sūrah al-Fath 48, verse 20]" They then expressed, "We are the most entitled of all others to taking this money for ourselves." Yet, after they were defeated in that war and 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib ('a) entered al-Baṣrah, he invited us to join him to the same house of the public treasury. When he saw the money that was there, he slapped one of his hands on the other and said, "O yellow coins and white coins! Seduce another one than me."⁽²⁾ He then distributed the entire money amongst his companions equally and nothing remained except five hundred dirhams that he took for himself. Yet, a man came to him and said that his name was not mentioned in the list of the fighters; therefore, Imam 'Alī ('a) ordered those five hundred dirhams to be given to that man. He then expressed, "All praise be to Allah, for nothing of that money has reached my hand; rather, all of it was given to the

Thus, when 'Amr brought his maternal uncle the best kind of truffles that he had found, he expressed, 'This is my gain, and the best of it is within it... etc.' When quoting this proverb, Imam 'Alī ('a) meant that his hands were never stained with anything of the Muslims' shares of the spoils of war; rather, he spent them as they should be spent.

(1) Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih al-Andalusī in *al-'Iqd al-Farid* 4/312, al-Mas'ūdī in *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/380, Abū-Nu'aym in *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'* 1/81, Ibn 'Asākir in *Tārīkh Dimashq, Part: Imam 'Alī's biography* 3/229, and Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 2/200.

(2) Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, page 137; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/380; Abū-Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'* 1/81; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq, Part: Imam 'Alī's biography* 3/229; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/249.

Muslims.”⁽¹⁾

Imam ‘Alī delivers a speech after the distribution of the money

Al-Wāqidī reported that when Imam ‘Alī (‘a) finished the distribution of the money, he stood up for delivering a speech. He praised and commended Allah and then said, “O people! I do praise Allah for His graces; Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were killed and ‘Ā’ishah was defeated. By Allah I take this oath; if ‘Ā’ishah had only demanded with something rightful and insulted what is wrong, she would most certainly have gained an abode in her house, for Allah has not imposed upon her to fight or to have a role in jihad. The first mistake she committed was against herself. By Allah, she was for those people more misfortunate than the she-camel of the people of the rocky track.⁽²⁾ What Allah has done to them did not increase your enemies but more grudge; and Satan has increased them nothing but more totalitarianism. They have come as wrong and left as wrongdoers. Your faithful brethren have striven for the sake of Allah and believed in Him, hoping for Allah’s forgiveness. Most surely, we are on the right, while our enemies are on the wrong. On the Day of Discrimination, Allah shall most surely gather us with them for judgment. Finally, I implore Allah’s forgiveness for you and me.”

Imam ‘Alī’s letter to Qarazah ibn Ka’b and the people of al-Kūfah

‘Umar ibn Sa’d reported Yazīd ibn Abī’l-Ṣalt to have quoted ‘Āmir al-Asadī as saying: Imam ‘Alī (‘a) commissioned ‘Amr ibn Salamah al-Arḥabī to convey the following letter that he wrote to the people of al-Kūfah, notifying them of his victory in the battle of al-Baṣrah: “From the servant of Allah, ‘Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, the leader of the believers; to Qarazah ibn Ka’b and the Muslims who are with him. Peace be with you. Before you, I praise Allah except Whom there is no other deity. Now, we have met with the people of our community who had renounced their homage to us, sowed disunity among us, and transgressed against us. We first provided arguments against them for the sake of Allah, and Allah granted us victory over them and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were killed. Before that, I had provided all justifications and asked the virtuous people of this community to testify against them for they had broken

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Abi-Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf* 7/543; al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/380; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq, Part: Imam ‘Alī’s biography* 3/329; Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/322 and 1/249-50; Jamāl al-Dīn al-Mashgharī, *al-Durr al-Naẓīm* 1/121-2.

⁽²⁾ The people of the rocky track are the people of Prophet Ṣāliḥ whose story has been mentioned in the Holy Qur’ān more than once. For further details, refer to *Tafsīr al-Ṭabari* 8/157-62; al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma’ al-Bayān* 4/441-3; al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabir* 14/162; al-Najjār, *Qaṣaṣ al-Anbiyā’*, pages 58-69.

their homage to me; yet, they neither obeyed the advisers nor responded positively to the exhorters. The people of al-Baṣrah had recourse to 'Ā'ishah; therefore, a great number of people that none can count except Allah were killed around her. Then, Allah struck the face of the rest and they absconded. Thus, the she-camel of the people of the rocky track were not less misfortunate than they were for the inhabitant of that country, not to mention 'Ā'ishah's enormous sin that she had committed when she disobeyed her Lord and her Prophet, seduced into evil those whom were deceived by her, caused disunity to be sowed among the believers, and shed the blood of the Muslims without there being any clear evidence, reasonable justification, or acceptable argument for her in what she did. When Allah defeated them, I ordered that the absconders should not be killed, the wounded ones should not be finished off, the privacies should not be exposed, the curtains should not be uncovered, and no house should be entered before the permission of its inhabitants is obtained. I have thus granted security to the people. Righteous men from our party were martyred. May Allah double their rewards, raise their ranks, grant them the rewards of the steadfastness, and reward them on behalf of the family of their Prophet with the best reward He ever gives to those who act obediently to Him and those who show gratitude for His graces! You have heard and obeyed; and when you were called, you responded. You are thus the most excellent brothers and helpers of the truth. Peace and Allah's mercy and blessings be upon you."

In the last line, 'Ubaydullāh ibn Abī-Rāfi' wrote the date: Rajab, the year 36 of hegira.⁽¹⁾

(1) Sharif al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 4/330-1; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 4/136-7; Shaykh al-Mufid, *al-Mas'alah al-Kāfiyah* (as quoted in al-Majlisī's *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/252-3); Mirzā al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il* 11/52.

IMAM 'ALĪ'S CONDUCTS WITH THE PEOPLE OF AL-BAṢRAH

Fiṭr ibn Khalīfah reported Mundhir al-Thawrī as saying: When the people were defeated on that day of the Battle of the Camel, Imam 'Alī ('a) ordered someone to call out, "Do not finish off the wounded and do not chase the absconders." He then distributed what was taken from the camp of the enemies, including weaponry and animals, amongst his companions.⁽¹⁾

Sufyān ibn Sa'īd narrated: 'Ammār—may Allah be pleased with him—asked Imam 'Alī ('a), "What do you decide about taking the folks of the enemies for captives?" Imam 'Alī ('a) answered, "I see that those people are blameless. We have only fought those who fought against us."

When Imam 'Alī ('a) distributed the spoils of the enemy's camp amongst his companions, some reciters of the Qur'ān from his companions asked, "You may decide for us some shares of the enemy's folks and properties, because we have the right to take them as long as we had the right to shed their blood. Hence, as same as we had the right to shed their blood, we must have the right to seize their properties."

Imam 'Alī ('a) answered, "There is no way for you to take their folks for captives as long as they live under the protection of Islam. We only fought those who waged war and transgressed against us. As for their properties, they are inheritances to be possessed by their beneficiaries who are the nearest relatives of them."

'Ammār asked, "Are we allowed to chase the absconders and to finish off the wounded?" and Imam 'Alī ('a) answered, "No, you are not, because I have granted them security."⁽²⁾

Sa'd ibn Jusham reported Khārijah ibn Muṣ'ab to have quoted his father as saying: We joined Imam 'Alī ('a) the Leader of the Believers in the Battle of the Camel. When we gained a victory over the enemy, we went out seeking food. We passed by gold and silver, but we did not even touch them, but when

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Abī-Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf* 7/543; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* 8/181.

⁽²⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Daynawarī in *al-Akhhār al-Tiwāl*, page 151.

we found food, we took it for ourselves. Imam 'Alī ('a) distributed the fragrance which was found in the camp of the enemy amongst our women and said, "Order the women of the people of al-Baṣrah whose husbands were killed in this battle to observe the legal term of waiting. Their properties must be distributed among their folks, for they are inheritances according to the law of Allah."

When a prisoner of war was brought before Imam 'Alī ('a), he would first inspect whether that man had killed one of his soldiers or not. If he had killed one of Imam 'Alī's camp, he would be sentenced to death, but if there is no sufficient evidence that he had killed one, Imam 'Alī ('a) would release him.

While distributing the properties of the enemy's camp amongst his companions, Imam 'Alī ('a) ordered a certain horse to be sold, but a man stood up and said, "O Leader of the Believers! This horse is owned by me, but I lent it to so-and-so while I did not know that he would use it in this fight."

Imam 'Alī ('a) asked the man for evidence and the man could prove that he had lent this horse to someone. Thus, Imam 'Alī ('a) gave it to him, but he distributed all the other belongings of the enemy's camp amongst his companions.⁽¹⁾

Imam 'Alī dispraises the people of al-Baṣrah

Naṣr reported 'Amr ibn Sa'd on the authority of Abū-Khālīd who reported 'Abdullāh ibn 'Āṣim to have quoted Muḥammad ibn Bishr al-Hamdāmī who reported al-Ḥārith ibn Sarī' as saying: When Imam 'Alī ('a) overcame the people of al-Baṣrah and distributed the properties of the enemy's camp among his companions, he stood up for delivering a speech. Opening his speech with words of praising and commending Allah and invoking His blessings upon Allah's Apostle, Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "O people! Verily, Allah the Almighty and All-majestic is the Lord of boundless mercy and ceaseless forgiveness for those who obey Him. He ordained that His retribution and chastisement is poured on those who disobey Him. O people of al-Baṣrah! O people of the overthrown town! O troops of the woman and followers of the beast! When it grumbled, you responded; and when it was hamstrung, you fled away. Your reasons are lowly, your pledges are ever broken, your faith is hypocrisy, and you are wicked and apostates. O people of al-Baṣrah! You are the evilest of Allah's creatures; your land is near to water and remote from the sky. Your intellects are weightless and your reasons are worthless. You unsheathed your

⁽¹⁾ A part of this narration may be compared to what is quoted by Ibn Qutaybah in *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāṣah* 1/77-8 and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Mashgharī in *al-Durr al-Naẓīm* 1/128.

swords, shed your blood, and opposed your leader. You are now the victim of those who seek victimization and the prey of those who win over you. Hellfire is hoarded for you and shame is an object of pride in your sights. O people of al-Baṣrah! You broke your allegiance to me and supported those who incurred the hostility of me. Now, O people of al-Baṣrah, what do you think?"⁽¹⁾

A man of the people of al-Baṣrah stood up and answered, "We think nothing but good, O Leader of the Believers. We see that you have overcome and you now have the power. If you punish us, then we [deserve that because we] have committed an offense, but if you pardon us, then pardon is dearer to the Lord of the Worlds."

Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "I now pardon you, but beware of inciting any seditious matter, for you were the first to renounce your homage to me and the first to sow disunity in this community. Retreat your enormous sin and be sincere in what is between Allah and you through repentance."

When Imam 'Alī ('a) finished his speech that was addressed to the people of al-Baṣrah, he rode on his mule, followed by the military police and groups of people.⁽²⁾

Reasons for 'Ā'ishah's grudge against Imam 'Alī

'Umar ibn Abān is reported to have said: When Imam 'Alī ('a) overcame the people of al-Baṣrah, some men of them came to him and asked, "O Leader of the Believers, what was the reason that made 'Ā'ishah counter you so intensely that she opposed and resisted you in this extreme way, while she

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn al-Akhbār* 1/217; Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Daynawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, pages 151-2; *Tafsīr al-Qummi* 2/339-40; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-Iqd al-Farid* 4/328; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/377; Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, sermons 13 and 14; Maṣṣūr al-'Ābī, *Nathr al-Durr* 1/315; al-Khawārizmī, *al-Manāqib*, page 189; al-Ṭabarsī, *al-Ihtijāj* 1/250; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* 1/436; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, pages 79-80; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/225-6; Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Rāwandī, *Minhāj al-Barā'ah* 1/160-3; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/251-3.

⁽²⁾ Defining the military police, al-Zubaydī, in *Tāj al-'Arūs* 19/407-8, writes, "The military police is the first battalion whose members witnesses a war and prepare themselves for death. This battalion consists of the choicest soldiers and a group of the ruler's private guards."

According to al-Kashshī in his *Rijāl*, page 6, "Imam 'Alī ('a) is reported to have said to 'Abdullāh ibn Yaḥyā al-Ḥaḍramī on the day of the Battle of the Camel, 'I will give you this good tidings: your father and you will be within the military police. The Apostle of Allah (ṣ) had already told me of your name as well as your father's to be within the military police. It is Allah Who gave you the name of *shurṭat al-khamīs* on the tongue of His Prophet (ṣ).' The military police were six or five thousand men."

was an ordinary woman that was neither ordered to fight nor imposed to lead jihad? Moreover, she was not allowed to leave her house and to display herself amongst men and she was not suitable enough to lead anything of what she had led."

Imam 'Alī ('a) answered: I will mention to you certain situations that made her bear a grudge against me, although I did not anything to do with any of these things; rather, she only falsely accused me of being the reason for these situations.

The **first** of these situations was that the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) preferred me to her father and chose me over him in all situations of virtue and high merits. She therefore harbored a grudge against me because of these situations and she knew that her father, too, harbored a grudge against me; therefore, she used to follow his opinion in these situations.

The **second** situation is that when the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) held fraternity bonds between each couple of his companions, he held fraternity bonds between her father and 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, but he held the same between me and him. She could not stand this situation; therefore, she envied me for it.⁽¹⁾

The **third** situation is that Allah the All-exalted, through revelation, ordered the Holy Prophet (ṣ) to block off all the doors of his companions' houses that were in the mosque except the door of my house. Thus, when the Holy Prophet (ṣ) ordered that the door of his father's house as well as his acquaintance should be blocked up and ordered that the door of my house to the mosque should be kept there, some of his relatives criticized him about this. So, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) spoke, "It was not I who blocked your doors and kept open the door of 'Alī's house; rather, it was Allah the Almighty and All-majestic who blocked up your doors and kept open the door of 'Alī's house."⁽²⁾ Nevertheless, Abū-Bakr could not stand this and he was extremely

⁽¹⁾ For details, refer to the following reference books: Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah* 2/150; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* 3/22; al-Tirmidhi, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* 5/595; al-Ḥākim al-Nayshābūrī, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* 3/14; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Āli Abi-Ṭālib* 2/184-9; Ibn al-Biṭriq, *'Umdat 'Uyūn Ṣiḥāḥ al-Akḥbār*, pages 166-75; al-Kanjī, *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*, page 194; al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāir al-'Uqbā*, page 66; al-Samḥūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā* 1/268; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, pages 217-8; al-Tustarī, *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq* 6/461-86.

⁽²⁾ Refer to the following references: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad* 4/369 and *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah* 2/581-2; al-Nassā'ī, *Khaṣā'is 'Alī ibn Abi-Ṭālib*, page 98; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak* 3/125; Abū-Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'* 4/153; Ibn al-Maghāzili, *al-Manāqib*, page 257; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Āli Abi-Ṭālib* 2/190; Ibn al-Biṭriq, *'Umdat Ṣiḥāḥ 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār*,

angry; he therefore spoke about the matter before his family members and 'Ā'ishah heard from him things that made her bear hatred against me.

The *fourth* situation is that the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) had given the standard of the war on that day of the War of Khaybar to her father and ordered him not to come back before he would achieve victory or be killed, but her father could not run the commandership of the army and he was defeated. The next morning, the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) gave the standard to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and ordered him as same as he had ordered his acquaintance [Abū-Bakr], but he, too, was defeated and he could not stand firm in the fight. This situation grieved the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) that he declared openly and in the presence of all of his companions, "Tomorrow, I will most surely hand over the standard to a man who loves Allah and His Apostle and whom is loved by Allah and His Apostle; he is always fearlessly attacker and he never absconds; he will not return until Allah conquers Khaybar at his hands."⁽¹⁾

The next day, the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) handed the standard over to me and I fought so steadfastly until Allah the All-exalted granted us victory at my hands. This situation aggrieved and saddened her father; therefore, she harbored a grudge against me because of that, although I was not guilty in any of these situations; rather, she bore hatred against me just because her father did.

The *fifth* situation is that the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) commissioned her father to recite Sūrah Barā'ah⁽²⁾ before the polytheists and ordered him to throw back their covenant to them and declare the new situation openly before them by reciting the new verses that he carried a copy of them with him. So, Abū-Bakr took the journey of carrying out this Prophetic command, but when he was in the middle of his journey, Allah the All-exalted, through revelation, ordered His Prophet (ﷺ) to cancel Abū-Bakr's mission, ask him to return, take the verses from him, and give them to me so that I would do this mission. So, Abū-Bakr returned and handed over the verses to me so that I would do that

page 175; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadid, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/173, al-Kanjī, *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*, pages 203-4; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, page 217; al-Tustarī, *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq* 5/540-86.

⁽¹⁾ Refer to Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad* 1/99; Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī 5/76; Sunan al-Tirmidhī 5/596; al-Nassā'ī, *Khaṣā'is 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib*, page 54; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak* 3/38; Abū-Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'* 1/62; Ibn al-Maghāzili, *al-Manāqib*, pages 176-89; Ibn al-Bitriq, *'Umdat Ṣiḥāḥ 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, pages 139-60; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, page 216; al-Tustarī, *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq* 5/368-86.

⁽²⁾ The Holy Qur'ān, Sūrah al-Tawbah, no. 9.

mission instead of him. Her father was dismissed from this mission by the permission of Allah the Almighty and All-majestic. Within His revelations to His Prophet, Allah ordered the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) that none should carry out his missions except a man from him;⁽¹⁾ and I was from Allah's Apostle and he was from me. As Abū-Bakr hated me for this situation, his daughter 'Ā'ishah imitated him and hated me.

The *sixth* situation is that 'Ā'ishah hated Khadijah bint Khuwaylid and bore malice against her as same as fellow wives did. That was because 'Ā'ishah realized Khadijah's high position in the sight of Allah's Apostle (ﷺ); therefore, she could not stand that. Thus, 'Ā'ishah's hatred toward Khadijah moved to Khadijah's daughter, Fāṭimah. As a result, 'Ā'ishah hated me as much as she hated Khadijah and Fāṭimah. However, this feeling is known among fellow wives.

The *seventh* situation is that one day I visited Allah's Apostle before it was revealed in the Holy Qur'ān that the Prophet's wives should be kept behind curtains. On that day, 'Ā'ishah was sitting near the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ), but once he saw me, he welcomed and asked, "Come near me, O 'Alī." He kept on asking me to be nearer to him until he ordered me to sit between 'Ā'ishah and him. Of course, she could not stand this situation at all; therefore, she turned her face toward me and said out of women's ill opinions and hastiness in answer, "Have you not found any other place for your buttocks, O 'Alī, except the place where I put my thigh?" Upon hearing these words, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) scolded her and said, "Do you say such words to 'Alī? By Allah, 'Alī is verily the first to have believed in me and given credence to me. He will be the first of all creatures to join me on the Divine Pond and he is the closest of all men to me. Whoever hates 'Alī, Allah will most surely throw him on his nasals in Hellfire."⁽²⁾ Thus, 'Ā'ishah's hatred toward me increased.

The *eighth* situation is that when 'Ā'ishah was accused of what she had been accused, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) was deeply depressed; therefore, he sought my

⁽¹⁾ Refer to: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad* 1/3 and 151 and *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah* 2/562; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* 5/256-7; al-Nassā'ī, *Khaṣā'is 'Alī ibn Abī-Tālib*, pages 144-9; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* 10/47; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak* 3/51; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān* 5/169; Ibn al-Bīṭriq, *'Umdat Ṣiḥāḥ 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, page 160; al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr* 15/218; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, pages 214-5.

⁽²⁾ Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī* 2/215; Ibn Ṭāwūs al-Ḥillī, *al-Yaqīn*, pages 134, 195, 202, and 203; al-Irbilī, *Kashf al-Ghummah* 1/342; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Kashf al-Yaqīn*, pages 273-4; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 22/241-2 and 37/297 and 303; al-Tustarī, *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq* 4/18. Compare this part of the narration to what is quoted by Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/194-5.

advice about her. "O Allah's Apostle," I said. "You may ask her she-servant Barirah and you will find the true answer with her. If you discover a wrong thing that she did do, then you may release her from your responsibility, for women are too many and you can marry anyone you want." Accepting my suggestion, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) ordered me to interrogate Barirah to know the reality of the situation. So, I did. Of course, this situation made 'Ā'ishah hold against me. By Allah, I did not mean anything evil to 'Ā'ishah; rather, I just wanted to act sincerely toward Allah and His Apostle (ﷺ).⁽¹⁾

In addition, there are many similar situations that made 'Ā'ishah hate me. You may ask her why she hates me so much that she revolted and joined those who renounced their pledge of allegiance to me, shed the blood of my partisans, and announced their animosity of me amongst the Muslims through transgression, disunity, and hatred, without there having been any religious justification for their deed. However, Allah's help is always sought.⁽²⁾

When Imam 'Alī ('a) finished his words, those people admitted, "Yes, O Leader of the Believers. The fact is exactly what you have just said. You have really removed the grief. We do bear witness that you are closer to Allah and to His Apostle (ﷺ) than those who antagonized you."

Al-Ḥajjāj ibn 'Amr then stood up and praised Imam 'Alī ('a) through some poetic verses, which I will not quote hereinafter, because what I have earlier mentioned is sufficient to reveal the truth.

Youths of Quraysh plead for security

Al-Wāqidi reported: When Imam 'Alī ('a) finished with the people of the camel, a group of the youths from the Quraysh tribe came to him and pleaded for security and for his accepting their pledge of allegiance to him. They asked 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās to intercede for them with Imam 'Alī ('a), and 'Abdullāh did and obtained for them the Imam's permission to visit him. When they sat before Imam 'Alī ('a), he reproached them, saying, "Woe to you, O people of Quraysh! Why have you fought me? Was it because I judged amongst you unjustly, or was it because I did not distribute the money amongst you equally, or was it because I preferred others to you, or was it because I am too far from Allah's Apostle, or was it because I failed to defend Islam?"

⁽¹⁾ Compare this part of the narration to what is quoted by Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadid in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/194.

⁽²⁾ Compare the narration to what is quoted by Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadid in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/192-9.

They humbly said, "O Leader of the Believers! We are now like the brothers of [Prophet] Joseph; so, pardon us and pray to Allah to forgive us."

Imam 'Alī ('a) looked at one of them and asked, "Who are you?"

"I am Musāḥiq ibn Makhramah," the youth answered. "I admit that I have committed a flaw and I confess that I have done a mistake. Now, I repent from my guilt."

Imam 'Alī ('a) declared, "I have remitted you. By Allah I swear this: among you now are those whom I do not care whether they pay homage to me with their hands or with their buttocks, for I know for sure that they will very soon renege."

Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, inclining on another man, stepped forward; so, Imam 'Alī ('a) asked him, "Do you suffer from an injury?" He answered, "Yes, I do, O Leader of the Believers! I see this injury will kill me." Upon hearing these words, Imam 'Alī ('a) smiled and said, "No, by Allah. You will not die for what you are suffering now; rather, this community will suffer from you and from your sons a bloody day." Marwān then paid homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) and left.

Then came 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām. When he saw him, Imam 'Alī ('a) expressed, "By Allah! You and your family members were people of peacefulness and luxury. Although I can do without you, I will pardon you. Yet, it was difficult for me to see you among these people, since I wished that such defeat would have been undergone by other people than you."

'Abd al-Raḥmān apologized, "That what you disliked to take place did take place." He then paid homage to Imam 'Alī ('a) and left.⁽¹⁾

Carrying 'Ā'ishah to al-Madīnah

Al-Wāqidī continued: When Imam 'Alī ('a) was determined to leave for al-Kūfah, he sent someone to tell 'Ā'ishah that she should prepare herself for a journey to al-Madīnah. As 'Ā'ishah did, Imam 'Alī ('a) ordered forty women to escort her. He ordered them to wear turbans and bonnets, gave them swords, and ordered them to guard 'Ā'ishah by walking on her left and right sides and behind her. On her way back to al-Madīnah, 'Ā'ishah repeated, "O Allah! Punish 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib for what he has done to me; he has sent men to accompany me and he has not regarded the sanctity of Allah's Apostle that I represent."

⁽¹⁾ Compare part of this narration to what is quoted by Sharīf al-Raḍī in *Nahj al-Balāghah*, sermon 73 and al-Majlisī in *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/235.

When she arrived in al-Madīnah along with these forty women, they threw away their turbans and swords and entered with 'Ā'ishah to her house. Upon seeing these women whom she could not recognize their gender all the way, 'Ā'ishah regretted her previous dispraising of Imam 'Alī ('a); so, she, changing her attitude, said, "May Allah reward the son of Abū-Ṭālib excellently, for he has regarded well the sanctity of Allah's Apostle."⁽¹⁾

Marwān's confessions

Abū-Mikhnaf and al-Mas'ūdī narrated Hāshim ibn al-Barīd on the authority of 'Abdullāh ibn Mukhāriq who reported Hāshim ibn Musāḥiq al-Qurashī to have said: My father narrated to me that when those people were defeated in the Battle of the Camel, a group of the people of Quraysh, among whom was Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, gathered with him and said to each other, "By Allah, we have indeed wronged this man; i.e. 'Alī ibn Abi-Ṭālib ('a), and renounced the homage we had paid to him for no reason. By Allah, now that he has overcome us, we have never seen anyone more excellent than him with regard to his behavior to us and we have never seen anyone nobler than him in pardon, after the Apostle of Allah (ṣ). Now, let us go, visit him, and apologize for him for what we have done." When we reached his door, we asked for permission, and he permitted us to visit him. When we sat before him, one of us spoke on behalf of us. Yet, Imam 'Alī ('a) said, "If you listen to me, I will spare you from further apology. I am only a mortal just like anyone of you; so, if I say the truth, then you should believe me, but if I say the otherwise, you have the right to refute. I now adjure you by Allah; do you know that when the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) passed away, I was the closest of all people to him and the most entitled to ruling over the people after him?" We all said, "Yes, we know that. We swear it by Allah."

"Yet," he continued. "You refrained from choosing me and instead paid homage to Abū-Bakr. Nevertheless, I kept silent because I did not want to sow disunity among the Muslims and to sow dissension among their community. Then, Abū-Bakr appointed 'Umar to the office of leadership after him; but I again kept silent and did not excite the people against him,

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/78; *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbi* 2/183; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 1/494; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/379; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 81. Compare this narration to what is quoted in *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* 4/544, Miskawayh al-Rāzī's *Tajārib al-Umam* 1/331, Ibn al-Athūr's *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārikh* 3/258, and al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-Arab* 20/83. It is worth mentioning that these reference books mentioned different numbers of the women ordered by Imam 'Alī ('a) to escort 'Ā'ishah to al-Madinah.

although I was sure that I had always been the closest of all people to Allah and to His Apostle and to his office [of leadership]. Nevertheless, I behaved patiently until 'Umar was killed after he had made me one of six members. Yet again, I kept silent and did not want to sow disunity amongst the Muslims. After that, you paid homage to 'Uthmān and then disapproved of him and finally slew him. While I was sitting in my house, you came to me and paid homage to me as same as you did with Abū-Bakr and 'Umar. Now, why did you fail to be loyal to me as same as you were loyal to Abū-Bakr and 'Umar? What was the matter that precluded you from breaking your pledges of allegiance to these two but encouraged you to break your pledges of allegiance to me?"

Finding no reply, we said, "O Leader of the Believers! Behave like the righteous servant of Allah, Joseph, who said, *'There shall be no reproof against you from this day; Allah may forgive you, and He is the Most Merciful of the merciful ones.'*"⁽¹⁾

Imam 'Alī ('a) declared, "There shall be no reproof against you from this day. Yet, there is among you a man who, if he pays homage to me with his hand, will most surely renounce it with his buttocks." He ('a) meant Marwān ibn al-Hakam.⁽²⁾

Al-Mas'ūdī also narrated Hāshim ibn al-Barīd on the authority of Abū-Sa'īd al-Taymī who reported Abū-Thābit, a former servant of Abū-Dharr, to have said: I joined Imam 'Alī ('a) in the Battle of the Camel. When I saw 'Ā'ishah standing between the frontlines of the two armies along with Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, I said to myself, "This is the mother of the believers and the wife of Allah's Apostle; and this is the disciple of Allah's Apostle; and the third is the Apostle's companion in the Battle of Uḥud. This is strange!" So, I was attacked by suspicion as same as all people were, but Allah dismissed that suspicion from my heart at the time of the Midday Prayer. I thus reconsidered the matter and said, "'Alī is the leader of the believers, the closest of all people to the Chief of the Apostles ('a), and the first of all people to have accepted Islam; therefore, it is impossible that he engages himself in a suspicious matter." Thus, I fought in support of Imam 'Alī ('a) as intensely as I could. When the war was over, I came to al-Madinah and walked to the house of Lady Ummu-Salamah, may Allah be pleased with her. I asked permission to visit her, but she first asked, "Who are you?" I answered, "I am

⁽¹⁾ The *italic* sentence is a quotation of the Holy Qur'ān, Sūrah Yūsuf 12, verse 92.

⁽²⁾ Al-Nu'mān al-Miṣrī, *Sharḥ al-Akḥbār* 1/392-3; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī* 2/120-1; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Mathālib al-Nawāṣib*, part 3, paper 55; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/262-3.

one who has a question to be answered." She ordered her servants, "Provide food to him!" Yet, I said, "By Allah, I have not come begging for food; rather, I am a former servant of Abū-Dharr, may Allah be pleased with him, and I have come asking a question concerning my religion." Upon hearing these words, Lady Ummu-Salamah said, "You are welcome."

I then related the whole story to her; so, she asked, "Where were you when the hearts flew away to the right and left sides?"

I said, "While I was thinking deliberately about the issue, Allah revealed the truth to my heart; so, I fought in support of the Leader of the Believers to the end of the battle."

Praising my attitude, Lady Ummu-Salamah said, "You have chosen an excellent thing. Verily, I heard the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) saying: 'Alī is with the Qur'ān and the Qur'ān is with 'Alī; they shall never depart from one another until they both will join me on the Divine Pond.'⁽¹⁾

The number of the casualties

Narrations have given different numbers with regard to the casualties of the war of al-Baṣrah; i.e. the Battle of the Camel. According to some narrations, twenty-five thousand persons were killed in that battle.⁽²⁾

'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, in an odd narration, reported that the victims were only fifteen thousand men. Some scholars then argued that although 'Abdullāh's number is the nearest to the truth, but it is still false because it

⁽¹⁾ Al-Ḥibārī, *Tafsīr*, pages 153-4; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Sahihayn* 3/124; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī* 2/120; al-Khawārizmī, *al-Manāqib*, pages 176-7; al-Irbili, *Kashf al-Ghummaḥ* 1/148; al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 9/134; al-Juwaynī, *Farā'id al-Simṭayn* 177; al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, page 173; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah*, page 124; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 11/603; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/206.

⁽²⁾ In *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār* 1/202, Ibn Qutaybah wrote: "Ummu-Af'ā al-'Abdiyyah visited 'Ā'ishah and said to her, 'O mother of the believers! What do you judge about a woman who killed her little child?' 'Ā'ishah answered, 'This woman will unquestionably be in Hellfire.' Ummu-Af'ā further asked, 'What do you judge about a woman who killed twenty thousand ones of her best children?' This was the number of the victims of the Battle of the Camel. 'Ā'ishah understood her point and immediately ordered, 'Drive this enemy of Allah away.'"

Al-Bulādhārī, in *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* 1/421, writes: "'Ā'ishah needed a mule to ride on and go for doing something; she therefore sent a messenger to Ibn Abi-'Atīq to ask him to borrow her mule to her. Yet, Ibn Abi-'Atīq said to the messenger, 'Convey these words to the mother of the believers: We have not yet released ourselves of the disgrace that afflicted us on that day of the Battle of the Camel; do you now want to create a day of the mule?'"

opposed the words of all of historians. Many authentically and famously reported narrations held that the number of those whose hands and legs were cut off during the Battle of the Camel and they were then killed is approximately fourteen thousand men.⁽¹⁾

Ibn 'Abbās; the new governor of al-Baṣrah

Reporting through his chain of authority, al-Wāqidī said: When Imam 'Alī ('a) decided to leave al-Baṣrah, he appointed 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās as the new governor and gave him instructions,⁽²⁾ parts of which were as follows: "O son of al-'Abbās! Adhere to piety to Allah and practice justice among those whom you have been appointed as their ruler. Meet people with a broad face, give them a spacious room in your session, and let your forbearance cover them all. Beware of anger, because it is a augury of Satan; and beware of personal whims, for they preclude you from keeping on the path of Allah. Be it known to you that whatever takes you nearer to Allah will drive you away from Hellfire. Remember Allah very much and do not be of the inattentive ones."⁽³⁾

Abū-Mikhnaḥ Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā reported: After Imam 'Alī ('a) had appointed 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās as the governor of al-Baṣrah, he delivered a speech, which he opened with statements of praising and commending Allah and invoking His blessings upon the Holy Prophet (ṣ), and then said, "O groups of people! I have appointed 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās as your ruler; therefore, listen to and obey him as long as he obeys Allah and His Apostle. But if he acts the otherwise or swerves from the truth, then you should let me know so that I will dismiss him from this office. I hope that he will be chaste, pious, and God-fearing, although I did not choose him for this office unless I knew that he is so. May Allah forgive you and us!"

'Abdullāh stayed in al-Baṣrah until Imam 'Alī ('a) decided to head for Levant; so, he ('a) appointed Ziyād ibn Abīh as the governor of al-Baṣrah on behalf of 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās and attached to him Abu'l-Aswad al-Du'alī.

⁽¹⁾ Compare to *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/539, Ibn A'tham's *al-Futūḥ* 1/495, Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih's *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/326, Ibn Shahr'āshūb's *Manāqib 'Āli Abī-Ṭālib* 3/126, and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī's *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, page 79.

⁽²⁾ According to Jamāl al-Dīn al-Mashgharī in *al-Durr al-Naẓīm* 1/128, "Imam 'Alī ('a) appointed 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās as the governor of al-Baṣrah, Ziyād ibn Abīh as his clerk, and Abu'l-Aswad al-Du'alī as the commander of the constables."

⁽³⁾ Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa'l-Siyāsah* 1/85-6 and Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, letter no. 76. Compare it to Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Daynawarī's *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, page 152 and al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/381.

Thus, 'Abdullāh joined Imam 'Alī ('a) to Šiffin.

Imam 'Alī heads for al-Kūfah

On the authority of his chain of authority, Abū-Mikhnaḥ Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā also reported the following: When Imam 'Alī ('a) decided to head for al-Kūfah, he stood among the people of al-Baṣrah and delivered the following speech: "O people of al-Baṣrah! What fault have you found with me?" He then pointed to his shirt and garment and said, "By Allah! These two pieces of clothes were spun by my wife. O people of al-Baṣrah! What fault have you found with me?" He again pointed to a parcel that he held in his hand and it contained his money and said, "By Allah! This money is the profit of my yield in al-Madinah. If I leave you carrying with me more than what you can see now, then I am one of the betrayers in the sight of Allah."

Imam 'Alī ('a) then left al-Baṣrah, seen off by the people; and al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays followed him to al-Kūfah. When he left the city and walked for a short distance, he, riding on the mule of the Apostle of Allah (ṣ), turned his face toward al-Kūfah and expressed, "All praise be to Allah, for He has made me leave the most repulsive of all lands; the city whose dust is the hardest of all dust; the city that will be ruined earlier than all other cities; and the city that is the nearest to the water and the remotest from the sky. The source of the abatement of water is in this city, which holds nine tenths of evil, and which is the abode of the jinn. Who leaves this city will be shown mercy, but he who joins it will commit a sin. Behold! Before the end of the world, every wicked person will come to this city and every believing one will leave it, until nothing of its mosque will remain except the like a prow of a ship."⁽¹⁾

These were a collection of the narrations appertained to the battle of al-Baṣrah, the reasons for the seditious revolt that was risen there, and the words and judgments of the scholars of the different Islamic schools about the sedition. I have mentioned only some of these narrations, seeking brevity, and I have recorded the narrations that were reported by non-Shī'ah transmitters of narrations and historians, without referring to the other narrations reported by Shī'ah scholars, because the main purpose of this book is to mention the details of the sedition of al-Baṣrah and the fight that took place there, as well as the demonstration of the deeds of those who resisted Imam 'Alī ('a) stubbornly, intended deliberately to wage war against him and to shed his

⁽¹⁾ Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Daynawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-Ṭiwāl*, page, page 152; Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, sermon no. 13; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* 1/436; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/245-6. For further explanation of this sermon, refer to Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd's *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/252-3 and Ibn Maytham's *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/290-4.

blood although they could not find any fault with him and they had no justifiable excuse for countering him. Besides, I meant to show clearly the falsity of the claims of those who claimed that Imam 'Ali's enemies had repented their transgressions and deviations in waging war against Imam 'Ali ('a), as well as the invalidity of the claim of the Mu'tazilah, Murji'ah, and Hashwiyyah who adopted the opinion that those people had repented and regretted their deeds.

EPILOGUE

MORE REASONS FOR 'Ā'ISHAH'S HARBORING GRUDGE AGAINST IMAM 'ALĪ

The reports that I have mentioned above indicate clearly that those people died while they were insisting on their deeds, without showing any repentance or regret. They even used their antagonism of Imam 'Alī ('a), their harboring grudge against him, their accusing him, his sons, his partisans, and his supporter of deviation and of creating heresies in the religion as a means of seeking nearness to Allah and a religious faith that they held. They also openly released themselves before Allah of 'Alī, his sons, and his partisans. On the other hand, Imam 'Alī ('a), too, held the same opinion about them; he sought nearness to Allah through struggling and fighting against them until he passed away.

Hereinafter, I will record more narrations—which all people of good reason and all experts in the art of the transmission of narrations, despite their different trends and sects, agreed submissively on their authenticity—supporting what I have earlier mentioned and testifying to the accuracy of what I have written. I had already collected these narrations in another place of one of my other books, but I will quote them in this book once more because they suit the points I would like to prove and support the purports, significances, and meanings of the coming narrations. Finally, I seek the help of Allah.

One of these narrations is that which was narrated to us by Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Ji'ābī who said: Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Uqdah narrated to us that Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Faḍāl, through his chain of authority on which he depended in his book entitled *al-Munbi'*, which is too famous to be referred to by scholars, reported Abān ibn 'Uthmān who quoted al-Ajlaḥ on the authority of Abū-Ṣāliḥ who reported 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās to have said: When the people of the slander launched a charge against 'Ā'ishah, the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) counseled with Imam 'Alī ('a) about that; so, Imam 'Alī ('a) suggested, "O Allah's Apostle! Women are many. Yet, you may ask the she-servant." When the she-servant, Barīrah, was interrogated, she said, "I knew nothing but

goodness.” When the details were conveyed to ‘Ā’ishah, She expressed, “I will never love ‘Alī after this situation of him.” She also used to say, “I do not love ‘Alī at all. It was he and his acquaintance who met separately with my she-servant and interrogated her about me. Was he not?”

The chain of authority of this narration is authentic and its way of narrating is obviously clear. The narration thus comprises an open statement of ‘Ā’ishah that she hates Imam ‘Alī (‘a), because he had always been sincere with the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ), he exerted all efforts in obeying him, and he offered him a suggestion that did not contain any injustice or transgression against ‘Ā’ishah. If Imam ‘Alī (‘a) had intended to wrong ‘Ā’ishah, Allah forbid, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) would not have listened to him, accepted his suggestion, approved of his opinion, or acted upon his advice. Thus, this indicates that Imam ‘Alī was on the right with regard to this issue while she who hated and incurred the animosity of him because of this situation was on the wrong.

Another narration reads: Muḥammad ibn Mihrān said: Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Khalaf narrated to us, saying: Muḥammad ibn Kathīr narrated to us on the authority of Ismā’il ibn Ziyād al-Bazzāz who reported Abū-Iḍrīs to have quoted Rāfi‘, ‘Ā’ishah’s servant, as saying: In my capacity as ‘Ā’ishah’s servant, I used to serve her and whenever the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) came to her, I would be closer to her for any service I would do. One day, the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) was with her when someone knocked on the door of her chamber. I went to open the door, and it was a she-servant carrying to her a covered container. I went to ‘Ā’ishah and informed her who was on the door, and she ordered me to let the she-servant in. So, the she-servant entered and put the container before ‘Ā’ishah who put it before the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ). Having eaten from the food that was in that container, the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) remarked, “I wish that the leader of the believers, the chief of the Muslims, and the principal of the pious would eat with me.” ‘Ā’ishah asked, “Who is that?” Immediately, the door was knocked again and I went to see the coming, who was ‘Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib. I returned to the Prophet (ﷺ) and said, “‘Alī is standing at the door.” The Prophet (ﷺ) ordered, “Let him in.” ‘Alī entered and the Prophet (ﷺ) received him with these words: “Welcome. I have just wished that you would join me; if you did not come, I was determined to beseech to Allah to bring you to me. Sit here and eat with me.” Thus, ‘Alī sat with the Prophet (ﷺ) who went on looking at him and saying, “May Allah fight those who will fight you! May Allah show enmity toward those who will feud with you!” ‘Ā’ishah asked, “Who will fight and feud with him?” The Holy Prophet

(§) answered, "You and those who are with you will do."⁽¹⁾

This narration is another indicative of 'Ā'ishah's antagonism to Imam 'Alī ('a); so, she asked about what she had already known because she just wanted to deny the truth. The Holy Prophet (§) invoked Allah's wrath upon those who would feud with Imam 'Alī ('a) because he knew that 'Ā'ishah would fight against him in the future. Besides, the Holy Prophet (§) invoked Allah's enmity against those who antagonize Imam 'Alī ('a) because he wanted to demonstrate his excellence and priority over all others, to show 'Ā'ishah's grudge and hostility, remove any suspicion that may be raised against his title and correctitude, and declare the falsity of those who antagonize him by means of opposition to and standing against him.

Another narration is that which is reported by many transmitters of narrations who narrated that al-Arqam ibn Shurahbīl reported 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās to have said: During his final ailment, the Apostle of Allah (§) ordered, "Send for 'Alī to come to me." 'Ā'ishah intruded and said, "Why do you not send for Abū-Bakr?" and Ḥafṣah said, "Why do you not send for 'Umar?" but the Holy Prophet (§) avoided answering them; so, they both sent for Abū-Bakr and 'Umar and these two presented themselves before the Holy Prophet (§). When he opened his eyes, the Holy Prophet (§) saw these two and said to them, "Leave me. If I have something that you can do for me, I will send for you."

Another narration is that which is reported by Ishāq ibn 'Ikrimah who quoted 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās as saying: The Holy Prophet (§) recovered consciousness after he had fainted. So, he ordered, "Send for my brother to come to me." 'Ā'ishah ordered that Abū-Bakr should be called to come. When Abū-Bakr came, the Apostle of Allah (§) turned his face away from him. Lady Ummu-Salamah intruded and said, "Send for 'Alī to come to the Prophet, for 'Alī is his brother and dearest one." 'Alī ('a) was called to come and when he came, he sat before the Holy Prophet (§) who, upon seeing him, asked him to draw nearer to him and began to whisper to him for a long time.⁽²⁾

This tradition, which is unquestionably authentic and clear in purport, and it

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Mas'alah al-Kāfiyah* [as is mentioned in 'Allāmah al-Majlisī's *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/282]; Abū-Ja'far al-Ṭabarī, *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā*, page 166; Ibn Ṭawūs al-Ḥillī, *al-Yaqīn*, pages 139-40, 190-200, and 246-7; Ibn al-Muṭahhar, *Kashf al-Yaqīn*, pages 274-5; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 38/351.

⁽²⁾ Al-Khawārizmī, *Maqṭal al-Husayn* 1/38; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq, Biography of Imam 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib* 3/17; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 7/359; al-Suyūṭī, *al-La'ālī' al-Maṣnū'ah* 1/361 and 375; al-'Āsimī, *Samt al-Nujūm al-'Awālī* 2/489; al-Aminī, *al-Ghadīr* 3/120.

has been by a very big number of both Shi'ah and non-Shi'ah transmitters of Prophetic traditions, indicates clearly that 'Ā'ishah antagonized and envied Imam 'Alī ('a).

Another point is that all transmitters of Prophetic traditions unanimously agreed that 'Ā'ishah used to testify to her father's accuracy when he deprived Lady Fāṭimah ('a) of Fadak,⁽¹⁾ thus opposing the testimony of Imam 'Alī ('a) who testified that Lady Fāṭimah ('a) was the rightful owner of Fadak. Hence, 'Ā'ishah supported Abū-Bakr in confiscating Fadak and banning Lady Fāṭimah ('a) from taking her father's legacy, although no one of the other wives of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) agreed with 'Ā'ishah.⁽²⁾

Another narration is that which is reported by Ishāq on the authority of al-Zuhri who reported 'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Abdullāh to have quoted 'Ā'ishah as saying: "The Apostle of Allah ('a) fell ailed while he was in the house of Maymūnah; so, he sent for his other wives and asked them to grant him permission that he would be treated in my house. The wives permitted that; so, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) left Maymūnah's house while he was walking heavily between two men from his family members; al-Faḍl ibn al-'Abbās and *another man*. His feet were heavily pulled on the ground and his head was wrapped with a piece of cloth until he entered my house."

I, 'Ubaydullāh, asked 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās about this narration, and he asked, "Do you know who *the other man* was?" "No, I do not know," I answered, and 'Abdullāh said, "He was 'Alī ibn Abī-Tālib ('a). Yet, our mother could not stand mentioning him for any good situation, although she could do that."

Another situation is that 'Ā'ishah used to dispraise 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān and his officials and used to describe him with all words of abhorrence and loathing. She used to raise the shirt of Allah's Apostle (ṣ) in his hand and say, "This is the shirt of Allah's Apostle; it has not been changed yet, but 'Uthmān changed the laws of Allah's Apostle."⁽³⁾

When the assassination of 'Uthmān was announced in Makkah, some people wept for him, but 'Ā'ishah ordered someone to call out on her behalf, "Why

(1) For details about the issue of Fadak, refer to Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ṣadr, *Fadak in History*, published by Ansariyan Publications – Qum, 2003. [Translator]

(2) For details, refer to the following reference books: Al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān, *al-'Idāh*, page 259-60, al-Ḥimyārī al-Qummī, *Qurb al-Isnād*, pages 47-8, Shaykh al-Mufid, *al-Amālī*, page 125, and al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 22/101.

(3) Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 6/215.

are you weeping for Na'thal's death? He wanted to extinguish the light of Allah, so Allah extinguished him; and he wanted to distort the traditions of Allah's Apostle, so Allah killed him."

Then, rumors in al-Madīnah had it that Ṭalḥah was chosen as the next leader and the people paid homage to him; so, 'Ā'ishah hurried to ride on its mule and headed for al-Madīnah glad and happy. But when she was in Saraf, she met 'Ubaydullāh ibn Abi-Salamah and asked him, "What news do you bear?" He said, "'Uthmān was slain." "What else do you have?" 'Ā'ishah asked. He answered, "The people paid homage to 'Alī, the cousin of Allah's Apostle." Upon hearing this news, 'Ā'ishah was shocked; so, she expressed, "By Allah, I prefer that the sky would fall upon the earth to that the one you have just mentioned would come to power." "Why is that?" 'Ubaydullāh asked. "By Allah, no breathing soul on this dusty earth is nobler in the sight of Allah than 'Alī. Why do you hate his judgment and rule?"

'Ā'ishah, changing her attitude to 'Uthmān upside down, answered, "We criticized 'Uthmān for certain deeds; so, we mentioned them to him and blamed him for them; and he regretted these deeds and implored Allah's forgiveness. Thus, the Muslims accepted that from him and did not find any other alternative. But your acquaintance jumped on and killed him. By Allah, one finger of 'Uthmān is better than 'Alī. 'Uthmān passed away like a cleansed garment."

She then returned to Makkah, mourning for 'Uthmān and declaring these words to the people.⁽¹⁾

After all that which I have quoted, is it now veritable for any rational people to suspect 'Ā'ishah's grudge against Imam 'Alī ('a), or does any duty-bound person doubt that she used to oppose him stubbornly? May Allah have mercy upon you!

Another narration is that which is reported by Nūḥ ibn Darraj on the authority of Abū-Ishāq who said: al-Minhāl narrated to me on the authority of a group of our acquaintances that when Ṭalḥah came to Makkah, he straightly visited 'Ā'ishah who, upon seeing him, asked, "Abū-Muḥammad! Did you really kill 'Uthmān and pay homage to 'Alī?" He excused, "O mother. I was just like the old poet who said:

⁽¹⁾Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī, *Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah* 4/1242; al-Bulādhari, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, pages 217-8; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* 4/448-9; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi, *al-Futūḥ* 1/434; Sharif al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfi* 4/357; Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi* 4/159; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-Tārīkh* 3/206.

*I have regretted like the regret of al-Kusa'i
When his eyes saw what his hands did!"*

Do you not see that 'Ā'ishah shows enmity to Imam 'Alī ('a) under all conditions and shows stubbornness by using all words possible?

Another situation is that she sent many letters to the different regions of the Islamic State, rallying the people of these regions against Imam 'Alī ('a) and dissuading them against supporting him, although she failed to raise any suspicion against him with regard to his deeds that were fully compatible with the religious laws. For instance, all transmitters of narrations unanimously reported that 'Ā'ishah wrote the following letter to Zayd ibn Ṣawhān: "In the Name of Allah; the All-beneficent, the All-merciful. From 'Ā'ishah, the daughter of Abū-Bakr, the mother of the believers, and the wife of the Prophet (ṣ); to her sincere son Zayd ibn Ṣawhān. Once you receive this letter of mine, leave your house and dissuade the people against supporting 'Alī until another order comes from me to you. Let me receive pleasurable news from you, for you are the most trustworthy of all my people in my sight. Peace be with you."

In reply, Zayd ibn Ṣawhān, may Allah be pleased with him, wrote back, "In the Name of Allah; the All-beneficent, the All-merciful. From Zayd ibn Ṣawhān; to 'Ā'ishah the daughter of Abū-Bakr: Allah has ordered you to do something specific and He ordered us to do something else. He ordered you to stay in your house and He ordered us to practice jihad. Nevertheless, I received your letter and found that it contained an order contrary to what Allah ordered you to do. This is the opposite of the truth. Peace be with you."⁽¹⁾

Another situation is the following letter sent by 'Ā'ishah to Ḥafṣah, which is supportively mentioned in all narrations and recorded in all books that were compiled about the War of al-Baṣrah and the related issues. The narration is also reported by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Aṣamm on the authority of al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī who said that when 'Alī ('a) resided in Dhī-Qār, 'Ā'ishah sent the following letter to Ḥafṣah... I have quoted the letter earlier in this book.

Bishr ibn al-Rabī' narrated that 'Ammār al-Duhanī quoted Sālim ibn Abī'l-Ja'd to have said: The Prophet (ṣ) predicted that one of his wives would revolt

⁽¹⁾ *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* 4/476-7; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbiḥ, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* 4/317-8; *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, page 67; *Miskawayh* al-Rāzī, *Tajārib al-Umam* 1/312; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārikh* 3/216; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 6/226-7; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/140.

and leave her house. He said that while 'Ā'ishah and 'Alī were present; so, 'Ā'ishah laughed and the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) turned his face toward 'Alī and said, "O 'Alī! Once you see anything made by this woman, then treat her leniently."⁽¹⁾

'Iṣām ibn Qudāmah al-Bajalī reported 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās as saying: The Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) said to his wives, "If I only knew which one of you is the rider of the heavy-haired camel! She will leave her home and she will be barked by the dogs of al-Ḥaw'ab. To her right and left sides, many people will be killed; and all of them will be in Hellfire. She will survive after she will have been about to perish."⁽²⁾

The same narration was reported by Abū-Bakr ibn 'Ayyāsh on the authority of al-Kalbī on the authority of Abū-Ṣāliḥ who reported it from 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās. al-Mas'ūdī, reporting the same, added, "The Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) said, "O 'Alī! If you catch her, then strike her companions and her."⁽³⁾

'Alī ibn Mus-hir reported Hishām ibn 'Urwah on the authority of his father who quoted 'Ā'ishah to have said: The Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) said to me, "O 'Ā'ishah! Twice did I see you in dream riding a camel that carries you on its back, on which there is a curtain made of silk. Whenever I uncovered the curtain, I saw you therein."⁽⁴⁾

Do you not see that the Apostle of Allah (ﷺ) had warned 'Ā'ishah against that? He also explained to her what she would do in the future and that he knew all that for sure as same as he knew her destiny and the end result. After that, he again warned her against it, deterred her, invoked Allah's punishment on her, and threatened her for that coming situation. Nevertheless, 'Ā'ishah embarked boldly upon this act while she knew for sure about the grudge she was harboring against Imam 'Alī ('a). She thus committed that which Allah's

⁽¹⁾ Al-Ḥākim al-Nayshābūrī, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* 3/119; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsin wa'l-Masāwī'* 1/76; al-Khawārizmī, *al-Manāqib*, page 176; Ibn Shahr'āshūb, *Manāqib 'Alī Abī-Ṭālib* 3/148; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/284.

⁽²⁾ In *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 9/311, Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd comments, "The Mu'tazilah scholars explain the Holy Prophet's words: 'She will survive...' to mean that 'Ā'ishah will survive Hellfire, while the Imāmiyyah [Shī'ah] explain them to mean that she will survive death."

However, according to al-Māwardī in *A'lām al-Nubuwwah*, page 155, "The Holy Prophet (ﷺ) said, 'She will survive being killed.' The same expression is mentioned by Ibn Shahr'āshūb in *Manāqib 'Alī Abī-Ṭālib* 3/149.

⁽³⁾ Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Mas'alah al-Kāfiyah* [as is mentioned in 'Allāmah al-Majlisī's *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/279]

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.* 32/285.

Apostle (ṣ) had warned her not to do, thus she acted stubbornly the opposite of what he had warned her about and committed that which he had deterred her from doing it, although she mentioned and knew it for sure and Imam 'Alī ('a) did not commit any spurious act that deserved her stubborn and standing against him. Moreover, Allah's Book—which is always preferred to all other proofs in citing arguments and adopted as the supportive factor that confirms the authenticity of all reports, narrations, and traditions—has explicitly declared through irrefutable proofs that 'Ā'ishah opposed Imam 'Alī ('a) for no reason or even suspicion that was raised against him, and she ventured to fight his partisans and him without there having been any excuse. Thus, the Book of Allah has already ordered her, as well as all the wives of Allah's Apostle, as follows: *“And stay in your abodes; and do not display your finery like the display of the ignorance of yore; and establish prayer; and give away the poor-rate... [Sūrah al-Aḥzāb 33, verse 33]”*

Yet, 'Ā'ishah left her abode, violating the command of Allah; displayed her finery in the presence of all people and troops in battlefield like the display of the ignorance of yore; decided lawful to shed the blood of Muslims; defied the religious laws amongst the believers; and created spurious arguments in the religious affairs in the minds of the simple-minded Muslims.

Another situation is that which is reported by Abū-Dāwūd al-Ṭuhawī who reported 'Abdullāh ibn Sharik to have quoted 'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir as saying: I heard 'Abdullāh ibn Budayl al-Khuzā'i saying to 'Ā'ishah, “I adjure you by Allah to tell the truth: Have we not heard you saying that you heard the Apostle of Allah (ṣ) saying, ‘‘Alī is with the truth and the truth is with 'Alī; and they shall never depart one another until they join me on the Divine Pond?’” 'Ā'ishah answered, “Yes, I did say that.” 'Abdullāh said, “No, why have you done this?” 'Ā'ishah, having found no convincing reply, said, “Leave me alone! I wish the two armies had killed each other to the last one of them.”⁽¹⁾

These narrations evidently prove that 'Ā'ishah fought against Imam 'Alī ('a) for no reason and she was so resolute and decisive in fighting him without any doubt. Thus, she plainly violated Allah and His Apostle (ṣ).

There are other numerous narrations that support this conclusion, but if I quote all of them, this book will be too lengthy to be read.

⁽¹⁾*Ibid.*

Reasons for Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr having opposed Imam 'Alī

As for the attitudes of Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr to Imam 'Alī ('a) when they stood against him tenaciously and dared to wage war against him, there is no doubt that they did all that only because they craved after coming to power after him. In fact, it was they who arranged for the slaying of 'Uthmān, but when this took place and Imam 'Alī ('a) was chosen by the people as their leader, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr lost hope in gaining what they had expected; namely, ruling over the people; therefore, they betook themselves deliberately to waging war against him and they accused him of that which they themselves did to 'Uthmān, standing against him stubbornly, contending him, and released themselves of the crime that they had committed when they killed 'Uthmān.

In this regard, Mūsā ibn Muṭayr reported al-A'mash to have quoted Masrūq as saying: When we visited al-Madīnah, the first person we went to was Ṭalḥah. He came out to receive us, wrapping himself in a red garment. We mentioned before him what happened to 'Uthmān and what the people were determined to do; so, he said, "Your weak-minded people were about to rise above your intelligent people." He then asked, "Have you carried with you firewood? If not, then take these two bundles of firewood, go to the door of 'Uthmān's house, put them there, and set his house on fire."

We then left him and headed for al-Zubayr, who said to us the same words of Ṭalḥah.

We left him, too, and went to 'Alī who was at Ahjār al-Zayt. When we discussed the matter of 'Uthmān with him, he said, "Demand 'Uthmān with repentance and do not rush, but if he refuses to accept from you and to recant, then you may reconsider what to do with him."⁽¹⁾

Muḥammad ibn Ishāq reported Abū-Ja'far al-Asadī on the authority of his father who quoted 'Abdullāh ibn Ja'far as saying: I was with 'Uthmān when he was under siege. When he became sure that they would slay him, he sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Azhar al-Zuhri and me to 'Alī ('a) after Ṭalḥah had took over the authority. 'Uthmān thus ordered us, "Go and say to 'Alī: You are worthier than the son of the woman of Ḥaḍramawt (i.e. Hadhramaut; a narrow region on the southern coast of Yemen) in this matter of authority over Muslims; so, do not let him win over you and take over the authority of your

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Mufid, *al-Mas'alah al-Kāfiyah* [as is mentioned in 'Allāmah al-Majlisī's *Biḥār al-Anwār* 8/353].

cousin.”⁽¹⁾

Al-Faḍl ibn Dukayn reported Fitr ibn Khalīfah on the authority of ‘Imrān al-Khuzā‘ī who reported Maysarah ibn Jarīr as saying: At Aḥjār al-Zayt, my hand was in al-Zubayr’s hand when a man came to him and said, “O Abū-‘Abdullāh! The people of the house [of ‘Uthmān] have been prevented from water.” Al-Zubayr commented, “So be it! Let them go away with their corruptive deeds.” He then recited this Qur’ānic verse: “*And a gulf shall be set between them and that which they desire, as was done to the likes of them of yore. Verily, they have been in a disquieting doubt.* [Sūrah Saba’ 34, verse 54]”⁽²⁾

These narrations and their likes conveyed what Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr did to ‘Uthmān when they allowed the others to shed his blood, while Imam ‘Alī (‘a) secluded himself from ‘Uthmān and defended him as much as he could. Nevertheless, these two men came thereafter demanding with punishing those who shed ‘Uthmān’s blood and claiming that it was Imam ‘Alī (‘a) who was responsible for the slaying of ‘Uthmān; thus, they accused him of what they themselves did, worked toward killing the people of true faith, provoked seditions in Islam, and caused the destruction of the people and the countries.

Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Umar reported his father on the authority of Nūḥ ibn Darrāj who said that Imam ‘Alī (‘a) said to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, “By Allah! You are not willing to go on the ‘Umrah; rather, I have been informed about your plan and the plan of that woman who joined you.” Yet, they denied and swore by Allah that they only seek permission to go to Makkah for performing the ‘Umrah.⁽³⁾

Al-Ḥasan ibn al-Mubārak reported Bakr ibn ‘Īsā to have said: ‘Alī (‘a) took covenants and pledges from Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr more than all the others that they should not oppose him or renounce their homage to him and they swore to him that they would not leave him except for offering the ‘Umrah, after which they should return to him. When they pledged of all that, Imam

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽²⁾ Ibn ‘Abd-Rabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd* 4/299; Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Mas’alah al-Kāfiyah* [as is mentioned in ‘Allāmah al-Majlisī’s *Bihār al-Anwār* 8/353].

⁽³⁾ Compare this narration to what is quoted by Ibn Abī-Shaybah in *al-Muṣannaf* 15/262, Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī in *al-Futūḥ* 1/452, al-Mas’ūdī in *Murūj al-Dhahab* 2/366, Shaykh al-Mufīd in *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 131 and *al-Mas’alah al-Kāfiyah* [as is mentioned in ‘Allāmah al-Majlisī’s *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/32], al-Ṭabarsī in *I’lām al-Warā*, pages 169-70, al-Muḥaqqiq al-Hillī in *al-Maslak fi ‘Ilm al-Kalām*, page 241, and Ibn al-Muṭahhar in *Kashf al-Yaqīn*, page 153.

'Alī ('a) allowed them to go; and they went to Makkah on this basis.⁽¹⁾

Ummu-Rāshid, the she-servant of Ummu-Hānī', reported: Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr visited Imam 'Alī ('a) to obtain his permission to go on the 'Umrah; therefore, he permitted them to go. Yet, once they left him, I heard them saying, "By Allah, we did not pay homage to him cordially although we paid homage to him orally." Having informed of their words, Imam 'Alī ('a) quoted this Qur'ānic verse: "*Verily, those who swear their fealty to you do but swear fealty to Allah; the hand of Allah is above their hands; so, whoever violates his oath, does violate it only to the hurt of his own self; and whoever fulfills what he has covenanted with Allah, soon will Allah grant him a great recompense.* [Sūrah al-Faṭḥ 48, verse 10]"

Imam 'Alī ('a) then stood up to deliver a speech, opening it with statements of praising and commending Allah. He then said, "To come to the point, when the Prophet (ṣ) passed away, we were the members of his household, his heirs, his folks, his successors, and the closest of all of Allah's creatures to him; and there is none to dispute with us about this fact. While we were declaring so, the hypocrites jumped and deprived us of the authority of our Prophet and gave us to others. By Allah I swear this: Only because I fear lest the Muslims would be disunited and that they would then return to disbelief, we would have changed that and defied it as much as we could. Now that you, O people, have entrusted us with authority over you, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were among those who paid homage to me, but they have revolted in al-Baṣrah in order to sow dissension amongst your groups and make some of you experience the violence of others. O Allah, please overtake them for they have cheated this nation and adopted evil recklessness."⁽²⁾

Abū-'Abdullāh said: There is no disagreement amongst scholars that 'Ā'ishah prevented that the body of Imam al-Ḥasan ('a) should be buried next to the grave of his grandfather the Holy Prophet (ṣ). Stating her opinion openly, 'Ā'ishah said, "What is the matter with you? What do you want from me? Do you want to lead in my house one whom I do not like?"

Of course, this statement of her is a clear-cut indication that she hated him and she injured him for reasons that we do not need to mention here.

⁽¹⁾ Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Mas'alah al-Kāfiyah* [as is mentioned in 'Allāmah al-Majlisī's *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/32-3].

⁽²⁾ Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, pages 154-5, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, page 131, and *al-Mas'alah al-Kāfiyah* [as is mentioned in 'Allāmah al-Majlisī's *Biḥār al-Anwār* 32/112]; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 1/490; Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/307-8.

I beseech to Allah Alone to lead me to be successful in doing whatever pleases Him and to make me do only that which draws me nearer to Him. I also beseech Him to guide me to the path of true guidance, for He is the Patron of response, the Nigh, and the Responsive. Allah praise be to Allah; and may His peace and blessings be upon Muḥammad and his household.

