History of The Caliphs

History of The Caliphs: From Death of Messenger To Decline of Umayyads

Rasul Ja'fariyan

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In this book, the author covers the history of Shi'i Islam from after the death of the Prophet . He discusses in detail the rule of the three Caliphs and of Imam Ali after that. He also delves into the history of the Ummayad rulers and their actions.

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Translator’s Note

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

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

Gratefulness must first be rendered to divine contributions, considering that the accomplishment of such a heavy task including its translation, requires plenty of time, energy, patience, knowledge, faith and aim. It demanded a great deal of energy and time excluding other factors to bring this to an end, but one thing drove me ahead and that was assistance granted by my Lord who removed all hindrances and obscurities and facilitated the task.

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

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Abu Bakr’s Caliphate

Saqifa

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

future following the demise of the Prophet (S) since the fall of Mecca to Muslims.

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

He addressed the Ansar and said, “These people (Muhajirun (Immigrants)) are your booties and your subjects and dare not stand against you.”[1] Hubab's words imply that what led the Ansar do this unwise act was merely their fear from and of competition with the Quraysh. On the other hand, a number of the Muhajirun who had shown suspicious behavior two weeks before the Prophet's passing, hearing about the Saqifa gathering, wasted no time in attending the place and arguing with the Ansar.

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

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

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

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

The spokesman of the Ansar said, “We, the Ansar, are the unified army of Islam and you, O Quraysh, were a small group of us and a minority among us!”

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

The speaker of Ansar said, “Let there be an emir from us and another from you.”[2]
I responded, “Two swords cannot be put in a scabbard. Then, I raised Abu Bakr's hand and swore allegiance to him.”

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

allegiance to another one and force us to obey him! Or make a tumult with our opposition.

Of course, swearing allegiance to Abu Bakr was impromptu, and it was not other than a divine blessing to repel a bad omen from us, and there is no likeness of. Therefore, whoever swears allegiance with a person without “Muslims' consultation”, neither he nor the sworn one deserves obedience; otherwise, both will be in danger of assassination.”[3]

The caliph gave a brief report on Saqifa, but it was enough for disclosing part of the realities. The comprehensive report on Saqifa is available in Abu Bakr Juwhari's (323 AD) as-Saqifa.[4]

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

Usayd Ibn Hu□ayr, one of the nobles of Aws, rose in objection and said, “Caliphate should remain in the Quraysh.” Others spoke against him. Bashir Ibn Sa'd defended the Quraysh and 'Uwaym Ibn Sa'ida said, “Caliphate will be exclusive to the Infallible Household of the Prophet (S). Put it where God has placed it.”[5] Ibn A'tham's report illustrates clearly the internal oppositions inside the Ansar.

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

According to Zubayr Ibn Bakkar, the people of Aws said, “It was Bashir Ibn Sa'd of Khazraj who swore allegiance first. And the people of Khazraj said it was Usayd Ibn Hu□ayr.” [6]

Abu Bakr knew about such a contention, so in Saqifa he said, “If the men of Aws assume power, the people of Khazraj will not accept it and there will be bloody fights among them.”[7]

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

He addressed the Ansar and stated, “Although you are people of essential excellence (but) there is no likeness of Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Ali (a) among you.”

Mundhir Ibn Arqam stood up and said, “We do not deny excellence of the people you named. If one of these people seeks caliphate (referring to Imam 'Ali (a)), there will be no objection to his request.” Then Bashir Ibn Sa'd and Usayd Ibn Hu□ayr rose and swore allegiance; and many followed them so that Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada was about to be killed in the stampede.[8]

Bara' Ibn 'Azib went to the Hashimites and said, “They swore allegiance to Abu Bakr.”
The men of the Hashimites said Muslims would never do that in their absence. “We are the offspring of Muhammad (S) !”

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

Ya'qubi adds, “The Muhajirun and the Ansar had no doubts on Imam 'Ali (a).”[9]
Tabari and Ibn Athir have said the Ansar or a number of them present in Saqifa said they swore allegiance only to 'Ali (a).[10]

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

He addressed the Ansar, “You must wait and see your children begging for a bowl of water and a loaf of bread in the doorsteps of the Quraysh.”[11]

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

They addressed the Ansar and said, “Arabs will only accept this race of Quraysh[12] and they will never accept prophethood in a family and caliphate in another family.” [13]

Abu Bakr in Saqifa said, **نحن قريش والأئمة منا** “ We are from the Quraysh and the Imams must be from us.”[14]

Later on, Imam 'Ali (a) expressed his objections to Abu Bakr and 'Umar about how they had relied on “kinship” knowing that he was closer to the Prophet (S). 'Umar replied to Imam 'Ali's (a) objections and said, “Arabs do not want to see prophethood and caliphate in a single family.[15] Prophethood belonged to you, so let the caliphate be for other families!”

There is little element of doubt that upon avoiding allegiance to 'Ali (a) in Saqifa, tribal opposition began and finally, the Quraysh introduced its “tribal superiority” to take advantage of the internal conflicts of the Ansar and win the caliphate despite their limited influence in Medina. Followers of Abu Bakr considered his age as a criterion at a time when Imam 'Ali (a) was young.

When Salman heard the news of the allegiance, he said, “You selected the most aged one but made a mistake about the Infallible Household of your prophet. If you swore allegiance to them, two people would not oppose you.”[16]

It should be noted that no reliable and documented words were uttered on the issue of Saqifa and the way of the caliph's selection. Of course, we must ignore the false quotations made up to present Abu Bakr as rightful[17] for the caliphate which states incorrectly that the Prophet (S) had chosen not only Abu Bakr, but also the succeeding caliphs.[18]

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

caliphate was exclusive to the Quraysh.

They did not rely on any traditions such as “The Imams are from the Quraysh,” and said Arabs would not obey any other race than the Quraysh. Among them, some great companions of the Prophet (S) such as Zubayr and Talha[19] did not regard Abu Bakr as the right one to assume power.

Therefore, there was no recognized method or preconditions for selecting Abu Bakr except his relationship with the Prophet (S), the so-called “tribal superiority” of the Quraysh and tribal criteria. Being from the Quraysh was not a prerequisite for assuming the title of caliph. Many years after his caliphate, 'Umar wished “Salim” Mawla Hudhayfa Ibn Yaman were alive to rule after him.[20]

Salim was not a man of the Quraysh. Some segments believe that the prerequisite of being from the Quraysh by descent was introduced in the Sunnites political jurisprudence in the third century.[21] The only criteria in Saqifa was linkage to the Quraysh and Abu Bakr's age. These were the only criteria of the Dark Age along with the political conflicts that granted him caliphate, not a combination of the pagan and Islamic criteria that Dr. Khayr al-Din Sawi has stated.[22]

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

Ibn 'Asakir says, “Some time after the conversion of Abu Sufyan to Islam; Bilal; Suhayb Rumi, and Salman scorned him. Abu Bakr asked angrily why they behaved that way with “the Sheikh and master of the Quraysh”. They complained about this in the presence of the Prophet (S) who upon hearing of the incident, asked Abu Bakr to apologize.[23]

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

Bara' adds, “I rushed to the door of the Hashimites to give the news.”[24] Their interest in allegiance was so immense that according to Ibn Abi Shayba, they did not even attend the funeral ceremony of the Prophet (S) and returned to the city after the ceremony.[25]

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

He said he believed that the Prophet (S) would live long to organize the affairs, but now he witnessed that the Qur'an was left among them and the people swore allegiance to the best companion of the Prophet (S).[26] This demonstrates 'Umar was waiting for the selection of the anticipated caliph.

Some people rose in objection, and in addition to two distinguished personalities of the Hashimites, i.e. Imam 'Ali (a) and 'Abbas, there was other influential people such as Zubayr Ibn 'Awam, Khalid Ibn Sa'id,

Miqdad Ibn 'Amr, Salman, Abu Dharr, 'Ammar, Bara' Ibn 'Azib, and Ubayy Ibn Ka'b.[27]

Abu Bakr's followers went to visit Ubayy Ibn Ka'b but he did not open the door for them.[28] 'Umar, Abu 'Ubayda Jarrah, Mughira Ibn Shu'ba and Khalid Ibn Walid were the chief organizers of this program. At Imam 'Ali's doorstep, 'Umar severely and seriously asked him to swear allegiance to Abu Bakr.

Imam Ali replied to Umar's request by stating:"Your greed for Abu Bakr's rule today is (in order) to have the caliphate tomorrow."[29]

Those who had gathered in Imam 'Ali's house faced the harsh behavior of 'Umar and his followers. 'Umar took Zubayr's sword and broke it, then threatened the residents of the house that he would set the house on fire. For the list of those sitting in Imam 'Ali's house and the names of those who broke into the house, refer to the following sources.[30]

According to Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 'Umar had a brand of fire in his hand and threatened to set the house on fire. When Fatima (a) asked him whether he was serious, he replied that indeed he was unless they accepted whatever the nation had accepted.[31]Fatima asked the sit-in people to disperse because she was certain 'Umar would set the house ablaze.[32]

Getting allegiance by force and threatening to set the house on fire, which were followed later on by the other caliphs (such as Ibn Zubayr in his exacting allegiance from the Hashimites) [33] could have stemmed from here.

Of course, the Quraysh started talks in addition to using force. Upon Mughira's advice, they went to 'Abbas to include him and his family, too, in the allegiance move and alleviate their problems by pleasing the Prophet's uncle, but 'Abbas rejected their invitation.[34]

Imam 'Ali (a) and Fatima did their best to return the right of caliphate from Abu Bakr to Imam 'Ali (a) but it was fruitless. Their efforts have been recorded in the books of Abu Bakr Juwhari and others.[35] There is no doubt that Fatima (a) was angry with Abu Bakr and 'Umar for trampling on her right in the issue of the Prophet's heritage, the Fadak case[36] and the Imamate of Muslims and she passed away with pain in her heart.[37]

Zuhri says, "Imam 'Ali (a) buried Fatima's body at night and did not let Abu Bakr know. Until before her death, Imam 'Ali (a) and none of the Hashimites men swore allegiance to Abu Bakr.[38] Later on, Imam 'Ali (a) swore allegiance to protect the unity of Muslims against the idolaters and infidels."[39]

In his response to Abu Sufyan's request who asked him not to let caliphate remain in the hands of the Banu Taym, Imam 'Ali said, "You have always been an enemy of Islam and Muslims."[40]

Regardless, there is no doubting that Imam 'Ali (a) did not swear allegiance to Abu Bakr until after the death of Fatima (a).[41]

Mada'ini has written that with the beginning of the war against the infidels, 'Uthman came to Imam 'Ali (a) and said, “No one will join you in your fight against infidels unless you swear allegiance to Abu Bakr.” He insisted and took Imam to Abu Bakr's place and 'Ali (a) swore allegiance and it made Muslims very happy.[42]

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

قدكان بعدك انباء وهينمة لوكنت شاهدها لم تكثر الخطب

“After you, there appeared events that if you had been alive to see them, you would have never made so many speeches.”[43]

Fatima's opposition was considerably important to the caliph as far as his public prestige was concerned. Abu Bakr did his best to come to mutual terms with her, however, she never accepted. This led the caliph to express his deep regret in the final years of his life for invading Fatima's house. Many historians have quoted him as wishing he had never inspected Fatima's house.[44]

Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada was another opponent of Abu Bakr.[45] He did not swear allegiance with Abu Bakr and went to Damascus, and as has been reported, was assassinated there during the time of the second caliph. The common narrative in historical documents is that genies killed him and they composed two verses on this incident. The truth however, according to Baladhuri and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, is that a man from Damascus was sent by 'Umar to ask him to swear allegiance and when 'Ubada did not accept, 'Umar killed him.[46]

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

"لا بيعة لي في عنقه وهو بالخيار من أمره"

‘Ali has no obligation nor commitment to swear allegiance to me and he is free in his choice.”[47]

Caliphate After the Prophet (S)

Abu Bakr, son of Abu Quhafa, was the first caliph after the Prophet's demise. There are differing views on his name being either 'Abd Allah or 'Atiq.[48] Apparently, many individuals have insisted on saying that his name was 'Abd Allah but he had previously been called 'Atiq. He belonged to the Banu Taym tribe, one of the tribes of the Quraysh.

During the Dark Age, this tribe maintained minimal special standing among the other tribes. This claim is evidenced by Abu Sufyan's words once Abu Bakr assumed power. He said, “How come the government has fallen to the least populated and meanest tribes of the Quraysh?”[49]

There is a story that one day, Abu Bakr was speaking with Dhaghfal about his lineage and both agreed that Banu Taym was one of the weakest tribes of the Quraysh.[50] Another time, Abu Bakr asked Qays Ibn 'Asim why he buried his daughters alive. Qays Ibn 'Asim replied, “So that they do not give birth to children like you.”[51]

There are different views also on his occupation prior to the advent of Islam.Those who intended to attribute a high position to him in the Dark Age, said he was a merchant. On the other hand, there are documents that say he had menial jobs such as milking and of that nature.[52]

Another story says Abu Bakr had financial problems and was a teacher in the Dark Age and later, became a tailor following the advent of Islam.[53]

Abu bakr was two years younger than the Prophet of Islam and he is considered to be among one of the first Muslims. There are however conflicting ideas concerning whether he was the first or the fifty-first Muslim as one quotation has put it.[54]

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

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

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

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

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

against them.

On the other hand, Fa□l Ibn 'Abbas and then, Imam 'Ali (a) praised the Ansar. Hassan Ibn Thabit composed poems in praise of Imam 'Ali (a) for his support of the Ansar and implicitly, referred to the efforts of some men of the Quraysh who wanted to take Imam 'Ali's position.[55] However, when oppositions heightened, the Ansar moved towards the claimants of prophethood and other apostates.

Abu Bakr reiterated several times that there were some people who deserved the caliphate more than him. After the people swore allegiance to him, he said in a sermon, “I took over the rule over you while I'm not any better than you. If I behave well, help me; if not, guide me. Obey me as long as I am obedient to God; otherwise, you won't need to obey me.”[56] This shows that Abu Bakr believed it was not necessary for a ruler to be the best of the people.

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

Later, Abu Bakr once pointed to his tongue and said, “This is what helped me reach this rank.”[57]

He has been quoted as saying, ” 'Umar is stronger than me and Salim is more pious.”[58] But his emphasis on having the rule is surprising. Abu Bakr introduced his government as the “Caliphate of Prophethood” to convey the religious aspect of his caliphate. He considered his rule not as a caliphate from God, but a succession to the Prophet (S) and named himself the “Caliph of the Messenger of Allah”.[59]

His first measure was dispatching Usama's army, an army which the Prophet (S) had prepared to send to Damascus in the final days of his life. Political opposition caused delays in the deployment of the army under the pretext of Usama's young age. Now that the issues seemed to have been settled, the same people who were opposed, decided to send Usama's army in spite of the critical situation on Hijaz.

Responding to opposition against the army's dispatch, they said they could not ignore doing something that the Prophet had wanted. Abu Bakr said he would send the army even if the beasts would tear him apart in Medina.[60] Usama's army left for Damascus and returned after forty days with no serious clashes. Since the Prophet (S) had included 'Umar in Usama's army, Abu Bakr asked Usama to let 'Umar stay with him.

The Issue of Apostasy

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

It is known that the Bedouin Arabs converted to Islam one after another following the conquest of

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

Another serious problem for them was paying the tax alms. In fact, they considered it an act of extortion by Muslims. According to the Bedouin Arabs, Muslims were only the people of the Quraysh, Aws and Khazraj. These currents each had its own motive, but the system of caliphate viewed all of them as apostasy and confronted them from this aspect. However, apostates can be classified into several groups given what has been said so far:

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

The news of apostasy has been brought up in several books. Tabari has used Sayf Ibn 'Umar's book as his major source. His book was “al-Futuh al-Kabir wa ar-Radda”. Biographers have all rejected Sayf's authenticity.61 Another independent work is the book of al-Futuh by Ibn A'tham Kufi that fortunately remains to date. Waqidi and Mada'ini had both books on apostasy. More recently, Waqidi's “ar-Radda” was published. It has many commonalities with the al-Futuh of Ibn A'tham. There are other sparse and relatively scattered references to apostasy in other books.

As for the claimants of prophethood, there was a main motive. Some ambitious tribes or individuals thought that they could also rule others by claiming prophethood if others had done so. This move led to the emergence of many claimants of prophethood. Aswad 'Ansa was the first of these who staged a rebellion in Yemen and wrote to the representatives of the Prophet,

" أمسكوا علينا ما أخذنا من أرضنا ”

Return to us whatever of our lands you have captured.”62

Hearing this, Prophet Muhammad (S) ordered him to be killed in “any way possible”. It took three months for Muslims to quell the Aswad mutiny and he was killed finally. It is said that the news of his death reached Medina a few days after the demise of the Prophet (S). An Iranian-born man named Firuz, belonging to the Yemeni tribe of Abna', had killed 'Ansa.63 There is also another reference to another Muslim named Dadhwayh who seems to be an Iranian.

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

Islam.

Upon his return, he thought about claiming prophethood and said to the people of Banu Hanifa, “I what to know how come the Quraysh is more deserving than you for caliphate and Imamate? I swear by God that their population is not more than yours. They are not braver than you. You have more lands and more properties.”64

Then, he claimed prophethood and wrote to the Prophet of Islam, “I have become your partner in prophethood. Half of the lands belong to us and the other half to the Quraysh, but the Quraysh are aggressive people.” The Prophet responded to him,

إِنَّ الْأَرْضَ لِلَّهِ يُورِثُهَا مَنْ يَشَاءُ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ وَالْعَاقِبَةُ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ.

“The earth belongs to Him, He gives it to whomever He wishes and the eternality is for the pious people.”65

This correspondence took place at the end of the 10th year from Hijra. When the Messenger of Allah passed away, Musaylima found an opportunity to gather some followers around himself. He used to compose rhythmic prose to imitate the Qur'an and recited the prose for his followers.66 Furthermore, he had told people he had exempted them from saying morning and evening prayers.67

Also, Sajah, the daughter of Harith Tamimi68, claimed prophethood but after meeting Musaylima, she married him. It is said that as Sajah's marriage portion, he exempted the people from saying morning and evening prayers.

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

Musaylima said, “For your marriage portion, I exempted your nation from saying prayers at dawn and dusk.”69

When Muslims went to Yamama with an army led by Khalid Ibn Walid, they came across some of Musaylima's followers and asked them what faith they were in.
They said, “**منا نبي ومنكم نبي**” “ We have our prophet and you have your prophet.”

It was then that a war broke out between them. The Yamama battle was one of the bloodiest wars of Muslims with claimants of prophethood and apostates. In this war, the Muslim army lost a great number of its men, 58 of whom were from the Muhajirun and the Ansar and 13 men out of them, had fought in the Battle of Badr.70 Ibn A'tham has put the number of Muslim martyrs at 1200 people, 700 of whom had memorized the Qur'an.71

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

أترضى بأنا لا تجف دماءنا وهذا عروس باليمامة خالد

"Do you please with our blood in dryness and this man keeps on living in relief in Yamama."

The news reached Abu Bakr and 'Umar said, "Khalid always does something which pains our heart." Abu Bakr wrote a strong-worded letter to Khalid. When Khalid read the letter, he laughed and said he was sure it was 'Umar's work because he knew Abu Bakr was satisfied with him.[72]

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

In a battle between his men and the Muslim's army, 'Uyayna Ibn Hisn and his tribesmen from Banu Fazarah were defeated heavily and Tulayha fled to Damascus. Thus, another revolt was suppressed.[73] 'Uyayna Ibn Hisn had repeatedly shown his enmity towards Islam during the life of the Prophet (S) but had finally embraced Islam. However, his presence in this current showed that he, like many others, had never believed in Islam truly.

When he was brought as a captive to Medina, people taunted him and said, "O, enemy of God! Did you become an infidel after converting to Islam?" But he swore he had not believed in Islam even for a moment.[74] Abu Bakr pardoned the captives of this war. Tulayha, too, came to Medina at the time of 'Umar and repented.

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

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

Apart from claimants of prophethood, some other tribes became apostates in the basics. There is no doubt that the situation was prepared for apostasy but it is not clear for sure who were the real apostates and who are those who did not accept the Medina government merely for political or religious reasons.[75]

For example, one such group was Malik Ibn Nuwayra's clan who were accused and killed mercilessly undoubtedly just because of Khalid's personal issues and his mean moral motives. This is a blot of shame for Khalid and those who defended him. They considered his crime in massacring a number of

Muslims and his adultery with Malik's wife after her husband's murder as a wrong interpretation of Ijtihad.[76]

Hearing about this, 'Umar was seriously incited against Khalid and asked Abu Bakr to oust him but the caliph called him the “sword of God” and refused to do so.[77]

Among the tribes considered to be apostate, there were some people who did not believe in Abu Bakr's caliphate and favored the government of the Prophet's Household. They said Abu Bakr had no “allegiance” to them so there was no need to obey him. They believed that the Muhajirun and Ansar had prevented the Prophet's Household from coming to power out of jealousy.[78]

According to Waqidi and Ibn A'tham, a clan from Kinda in Ha□ramawt was all apostates. Ziyad Ibn Lubayd was responsible for collecting tax alms in the region. Some men of the tribe agreed with paying tax alms while others did not. Once Ziyad chose a camel belonging to Ziyad Ibn Mu'awiya as tax alms, he asked for help from one of the influential men of Kinda named Haritha Ibn Suraqa and asked him to return his camel and take another one.

Haritha made the request from Ziyad but he did not accept. So, Haritha himself went among the camels set aside as tax alms and brought back Zayd's camel, saying, “We obeyed the Messenger of God as long as he was alive.” “**لو قام رجل من أهل بيته لأطعناه**” “ Today, we will obey anyone from his Household who comes to power.” Abu Bakr has no right of rule and allegiance upon us.

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

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

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

Some people of this tribe used to say, “We swear by God that we have come to be enslaved by the Quraysh. First, they send Muhajir Ibn Abi Umayya or Ziyad Ibn Lubayd to collect tax alms. Then, they threaten to fight against us.”[79]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Urfaja Ibn 'Abd Allah, another man of the tribe, said, “I swear by God, Harith is right. Expel this man from this place. His master is not eligible to be the caliph and the Muhajirun and Ansar are not better than the Prophet (S) in knowing the expediency of the government.”

Ziyad went to Medina and said, “The people of Kinda have revolted and have become apostate.”[80]

Ibn A'tham's further explanations on the disputes among the people of Kinda and Abu Bakr reveal their problem was Abu Bakr's caliphate. Making his mind to fight the Kinda tribes, Abu Bakr summoned 'Umar and said, “I want to send 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib to fight them because,

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

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

'Umar said, “You are right. 'Ali is as you say but I fear one thing. I fear he may refuse to fight them. If he does not go to war, no one else will do so unless with disgust.”[81]

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

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

the beginning but after some time, he learne that caliph was right.

The question was whether or not these tribes were apostate and if fighting them was permissible or not? Abu Bakr believed in their apostasy, so he even took their women and children captive and brought them to Medina.[82] It seems that 'Umar, like many Muslims, agreed with fighting them in principle but did not believe in their apostasy. According to Shahristani, it was because of this belief that 'Umar freed their captives[83] when he became the second caliph.

Another problem was that even if the tribes were apostate, many considered it illegitimate to take captives from apostates.[84]

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

They used to say, “We collect tax alms from the rich in our tribes and distribute it among the poor and needy among ourselves, but we will pay nothing to whom the Book and traditions have not recommended him.”[85] Ya'qubi, too, writes, “Some people only refused to pay tax alms to Abu Bakr.”[86]

As mentioned earlier, 'Umar opposed the idea of apostasy of these tribes. According to Ibn A'tham, when Abu Bakr wanted to kill the captives of the battles of Radda,[87] 'Umar said, “These people believe in Islam and they swear about it. Imprison them for the time being to see what happens next.”

Abu Bakr jailed them in the house of Ramla, daughter of Harith. After Abu Bakr's death, 'Umar told them, “You know what my opinion was about you. Now, you are all free without any ransom. Go wherever you want.”[88]

Qays on behalf of 'Asim Minqari was commissioned by the Prophet (S) to collect tax alms from his tribe. After the Prophet's demise, he collected the tax alms but instead of giving it to Abu Bakr, he distributed them among the poor in his tribe. This was considered as a criminal act. Even a proverb was made in this regard which said “More criminal than Qays be 'Asim.”[89]

Ibn Kathir, too, has reiterated that many Muslims refused to pay their tax alms to Abu Bakr.[90] Mawbakhti writes of a group that said they would not pay tax alms until it was known who was holding the government; therefore, they distributed the tax alms among the poor.[91]

Maqdisi, too, says, “A group of them refused to pay tax alms while others opposed rejected the principle of tax alms.”[92]

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

apostate.[93]

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

أطعنا رسول الله ما كان بيننا فيــا لعباد الله ما لأبي بكر

إذا مات بكر قام بكر مكانـه وتلكم لعمر الله قاصمة الظهر

We obeyed the Messenger when he was alive but why shall we obey Abu Bakr?
When Abu Bakr died, a man like him came to power, that is – by God – backbreaking.[94]

Thus, they did not deem it necessary to obey the rule of Medina and the rulers of Medina counted them among apostates.[95]

Muhammad Ibn Idris Shafi'i writes, “This was because Arabs living in the outskirts of Mecca knew no rule and resented being ruled by others. The reason they accepted to obey the Messenger of God, was because they did not consider anyone else deserving obedience.”[96]

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

وقلت خذوا أموالكم غير خائف ولا ناظـر فيما يجئ من الغد

فـإن قام بالأمر المخوّف قائم منعنا وقلنا: الدين دين محمد

“I told you to take your money (tax alms) with no fear and no worries of what happens tomorrow, If someone assumes power, we will tell him, the only religion is the religion of Muhammad.”[97]

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

He said, “If they do not pay me the tax alms they used to pay to the Prophet (S) every year, I will fight them.”[98]

There is no doubt that the majority of the Prophet's companions did not like Abu Bakr's idea of war[99] but they obeyed him regardless because he was the ruler.

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

majority of them accepted his rule. The opposition remained and some Muslims believed fighting them was a mistake.[100]

We quoted 'Umar as saying that 'Ali (a) might avoid fighting the Kinda people. Elsewhere, we said Abu Bakr was ready to fight them himself, but Imam 'Ali (a) asked him to stay in Medina[101] and send another one to fight them. Obviously, a group of those the caliph fought against were real apostates.

Another quotation from Mada'ini says after Imam 'Ali (a) opposed Abu Bakr, 'Uthman told Imam Ali, "Nobody will join the Muslim army to fight the apostates if you do not swear allegiance to Abu Bakr." 'Uthman's insistence made Imam 'Ali swear allegiance to Abu Bakr.[102]

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

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

The Ansari man replied, "Yes." [103] و لكنهم حالفوا أهل الردة على هدم الاسلام "They allied with the atheists to destroy Islam."

'Ayisha, too, has said about wide-scale discord in Medina in the first days of his father's caliphate.[104] Also, Mecca was about to return to absolute apostasy after the Prophet's demise, but Suhayl Ibn 'Amr's remarks stabilized Mecca's situation.

Ibn Athir writes, "After the Prophet's passing, Mecca was on the verge of apostasy and 'Attab Ibn Asid sought a hiding."

Suhayl Ibn 'Amr stood up and addressed the people of Mecca, لاتكونوا آخر من اسلم وأول من ارتد " Do not be the last one to embrace Islam and the first one to become an apostate."[105]

At any rate, we must not ignore the fact that Medina's resistance against apostasy helped the administration in the city to be stronger and bring other lands under its control after passing through this tortuous period. Khalifa Ibn Khayyat has listed the apostates as follows,
Tulayha Ibn Khuwaylad, Banu Salim, Banu Tamim, Banu Yamama, Banu Bahrayn, Banu Umman, Banu Najir, Ha□ramawt and Banu Yemen, Banu Radda.[106]

Abu Bakr's Agents

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

Although Abu Bakr was a major architect of the issue of caliphate and showed he was better than 'Umar

in his battles against apostates, accepted 'Umar's views in many cases due to 'Umar's seriousness and toughness. These two were complementary to each other. We wrote that during the Saqifa developments, too, they were always together. It was due to this insistence that during the Saqifa issue, Imam 'Ali (a) accused 'Umar of trying to secure his own future.[108]

Abu Bakr said of 'Umar, “He is the dearest of people to me.”[109]

Ibn Abi al-Hadid says, “Abu Bakr could not gain (the) caliphate if 'Umar had not helped him.”[110]
It is said that Abu Bakr appointed 'Umar as a judge.[111] Also, he used to lead congregational prayers when Abu Bakr was absent.[112]

It was in the 11th Hijra year that Abu Bakr appointed him “emir of the pilgrims to Mecca”.[113] Khalifa Ibn Khayyat, listing Abu Bakr's emirs, writes,

“ وعلى أمره كله والقضاء عمر بن الخطاب

Every affair including judiciary one of 'Umar Ibn Khattab.”[114][114]

'Umar's influence on Abu Bakr was so immense that he dissuaded the caliph from appointing Khalid Ibn Sa'id as the commander of the Muslim army dispatched to Damascus and instead, sent Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan. After returning to Medina and seeing Abu Bakr's choice, Khalid Ibn Sa'id refused to swear allegiance to the caliph for some time.[115]

'Umar, himself, was aware of his power so he made use of his rank and divided the properties of Mu'adh Ibn Jabal into two halves and took one half for Bayt al-Mal, the Treasury of Muslims.[116] He did the same thing later to the governors of cities when he assumed caliphate. Abu Bakr could not do anything in the absence of 'Umar, so when he wanted to send Usama's army to Damascus, he asked Usama, the commander of the army, to let 'Umar stay with the caliph and help him in the administration of affairs.[117]

Also, once when Khalid had made a mistake and Abu Bakr would not agree to write a letter of protest to him, 'Umar wrote a letter himself, but Khalid paid to attention to it and said he knew 'Umar had done it.[118]

At any rate, 'Umar's influence and the strong link between the two, made Abu Bakr appoint him as his successor. In other words, people did not consider their caliphate two separate things and from the very beginning, they saw one of them as successor to the other one.[119]

For the same reason, when Abu Bakr was in coma and wanted to write an agreement about his successor, his scribe, 'Uthman, wrote 'Umar's name in the agreement because he knew whom the caliph was thinking of.

Khalid Ibn Walid was another functionary of Abu Bakr. He belonged to the tribe of Banu Makhzum, a family of the Quraysh, who converted to Islam on Safar 1**st**, 8th AH.[120] He was physically a powerful man but void of ethical values. He committed various faults when the Prophet (S) was alive.

Some documents state it was the Prophet (S) who named him “God's sword” but Ibn Durayd and others say Abu Bakr gave him the title.[121] He got the title when he killed Malik Ibn Nuwayra unfairly and when people like 'Umar asked Abu Bakr to punish him. But the caliph said he was a sword hoisted by God and he would never bring it down.[122] According to Ibn A'tham, Khalid named himself “Sayf Allah or God's sword” and Abu Bakr approved it.[123]

It is said that Khalid was a supporter of Abu Bakr and an opponent of Imam 'Ali (a).[124] He also accompanied the group who invaded Imam 'Ali's house to force him into swearing allegiance with Abu Bakr.[125] He is widely believed to be a person who prepared the ground for Abu Bakr's caliphate.[126]

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

Abu Bakr defended Khalid with the justification that Khalid had acted on Ijtihad and so he did not deserve punishment. One day Khalid burnt some of the captives of apostates with fire. When 'Umar objected, Abu Bakr said he was God's sword.[127]

'Umar's objection was why he had appointed a commander who killed people and tortured them with fire.[128] Apparently, despite all his attention to 'Umar, the caliph was unwilling to stop backing Khalid, and still, it is interesting to know that when 'Umar, himself, took power as the second caliph, unlike his earlier emphasis on stoning Khalid for raping Malik Ibn Nuwayra's wife, he sufficed to sacking him.[129]

Khalid was sure his acts would meet no objection on the part of Abu Bakr and if he received a letter of punishment from the caliph, it was from 'Umar; otherwise, Abu Bakr trusted him.[130] Sometimes, he committed self-authorized acts because he was sure of Abu Bakr's support.[131]

Abu Bakr once said, “No mother can give birth to someone like Khalid.”[132] Once when he killed two people who had letters of clemency from Abu Bakr, some people complained about it, but Abu Bakr defended Khalid as usual.[133] When 'Umar sat on the throne as the second caliphate, he immediately fired Khalid from the command of Damascus's army and replaced him with Abu 'Ubayda Jarrah.

He said, “I sacked Khalid to show that God helps His religion.”[134]
When Khalid was busy fighting in Iraq and received his letter of abdication to Damascus, he said, ”'Umar's jealousy did not allow me to achieve the conquest of Iraq.”[135]
According to Anas Ibn Malik, 'Umar used to tell Abu Bakr, “Write to Khalid to ask for your permission before doing anything.”

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

'Umar said, “Dismiss him”, but the caliph did not accept.[136] Khalid died in Medina or Damascus[137]) in the 21st AH and accidentally, he appointed 'Umar as guardian of his will. Ibn Sa'd quoted 'Umar as saying, “We had ill thoughts about Khalid, but we were wrong.”[138]

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

However, he allowed the women of Banu Makhzum to cry for Khalid.[139] More surprising, 'Umar said at the time of his death, “If Khalid Ibn Walid were alive, I would appoint him as my successor.”[140]

Abu 'Ubayda Jarrah was another pillar of power for Abu Bakr's caliphate. He, along with 'Umar and Abu Bakr were present in Saqifa Banu Sa'ida. He had an oath of brotherhood with Salim Mawla Hudhayfa[141] who was also influential in the issue of caliphate.

'Umar said about him, “If Salim were alive, I would make him my successor.”[142]

It should be noted that 'Umar said the same thing about Abu 'Ubayda at the time of his death.[143] Abu 'Ubayda was first appointed in charge of the Treasury of Muslims but later, became the commander of the Damascus army and served until his death in 18th Hijra year when he died in Amawas plague.

The commanders and functionaries of Abu Bakr were Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan, 'Amr Ibn 'As, Shurahbil Ibn Hasana (18 H)[144] and 'Akrama Ibn Abi Jahl. Among his appointees, there were some people serving since the Prophet's time. Mu'adh Ibn Jabal in Yemen, 'Attab Ibn Asid in Mecca and 'Ala' Ibn Ha□rami in Bahrayn were some of these people.

According to some documents, Abu Bakr appointed Anas as the ruler of Bahrayn. Perhaps, it was another part of Bahrayn. Muhajir Ibn Abi Umayya ruled in San'a, Ziyad Ibn Lubayd in the coastal regions of Yemen, Ya'la Ibn Umayya in Khawlan, 'Uthman Ibn Abi l–'As in Ta'if, and Sulayt Ibn Qays ruled in Yamama. Also, it is said that 'Uthman was Abu Bakr's scribe.[145]

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

Conquest of Damascus

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

The name of Syria has always existed since ancient times and Herodot (425 AD) has called this land Syria. Probably, the name Syria has been taken from the word "'Ashuriyya" attributed to Assyrians, although some have rejected this notion.[146]

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

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

However, they had retained parts of their Arab nature. The first sign of their conversion to Christianity was mixing their Arab language with Syriac, and basically, Syriac had become their scientific language. Therefore, it was recommended later that Arabic should not be taught from Qa□a'a and Ghassan because they read books in Syriac and naturally, their language had become mixed.[147]

Shaykhu insists in showing that all Arabs living in the greater Syria had converted to Christianity before the advent of Islam. We believe this is an overstatement. Earlier, we negated his views on the Christianity of the tribes of Aws and Khazraj. At any rate – true of false – he has provided a list of Arab tribes who converted to Christianity.[148]

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

Damascus Arabs held different views from Arabs living on Hijaz and they had different social behavior as well. The Arabs of Damascus had left their Bedouin life because they lived in a developed area and had become city dwellers in Damascus, Halab (Aleppo), Hims, etc. Their commonalities with the Romans made some of them migrate to Rome after the advent of Islam.[149]

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

The Christians of Damascus believed in the Ya'qubi sect[150] and it was a heretical practice in view of the Eastern Church.

They believed that Damascus Christianity was excellent in innovation![151] The religious difference of Damascus's Arab Christians with the Eastern Roman Church, to many, was one of the reasons for the consecutive Islamic conquests in the greater Syria.[152]

In addition to the Arab residents of the greater Syria, numerous Nibtiyan, too, who were descendants of the earlier tribes and rulers in the region, lived in that land. Also, many Jews who are said to be between 100 to 200 thousands lived in that land.[153]

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

This tribe converted to Christianity in the 4th century AD. Jafna Ibn 'Amr, from the elders of the tribe, was the founder of the Ghassani dynasty and there are ambiguous quotations that between 11 to 32 rulers of this dynasty ruled in Damascus. There is little we know about a limited number of these more recent rulers. Harith Ibn Jabala was one of their renowned personalities who ruled between the years 529–569.

He fought the Lakhmids –the Arab rivals of the Ghasasina who ruled Iraq – and helped his tribe rise to fame. He won the title of "Philark" meaning chieftain and also Bitriq (Patrick) from the Roman emperor for his services. The Ya'qubiyya sect spread in Damascus in his time. After Harith, his son, Mundhir, replaced him and ruled until 581, when crisis engulfed Damascus.[154]

Between the years 611 and 614, Iranians fiercely invaded these regions and captured Jerusalem. Later, (Hiraql) Heraclitus could regain Jerusalem from Iranians. The names of Ghassani princes ruling some cities and their command of the battle between the Roman–Arab army and the army of Islam indicates that the Ghasasinah still had great influence in Damascus and Constantinople.

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

Heraclitus was the son of Herakleios, whose father ruled in Christian Africa on behalf of the Roman Empire. The Eastern Empire Roman Empire experienced serious crises in the closing years of the sixth century AD and the early years of the 7th century.

The attacks of Awars and Islaws from the West caused problems for this vast land, but most pressing were the civil wars. A sergeant named Fukas united people and revolted against the government of the aristocrats and killed Emperor Mavrikius and all his children. This civil unrest prompted Khusraw Parviz to invade the greater Syria and capture Jerusalem in 614. He continued his assaults on Asia Minor.

The aristocrats of Constantinople sought help from Heraclitos, the ruler of Africa. He sent his son, who was also named Heraclitos, to Rome. The son who was a brave man, succeeded in defeating Fukas and put on the crown of emperor. The capture of Jerusalem was a good pretext for inciting Christians to fight Iranians. After restoring calm, Heraclitos set off to fight Iranians in the year 622 and after six years of

sustaining consecutive defeats, he finally managed to pursue Iranians as far as the gate of Ctesiphon and made them accept peace.[155] These incidents took place in the 7th and 8th years of Hijra.

When Heraclitos was busy reorganizing his affairs, Muslims made their first attacks on Damascus and captured the city after a while. The last days of the empire coincided with the conquest of Egypt in 640 AD.[156]

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

The Prophet of Islam sent a few messengers to these regions. Harith Ibn 'Umayr was one of these messengers who took a letter to the ruler of Basra. He was killed by Shurahbil Ibn 'Amr of the Ghassani dynasty. Then, the Prophet of Islam sent his 3,000–strong army under the command of Ja'far Ibn Abi Talib, Zayd Ibn Haritha and 'Abd Allah Ibn–Rawaha to Muta in southern Damascus.

The army prepared to fight Muslims in Damascus– according to Ibn Ishaq – was a combination of the Roman army and the Arab tribes of Lakhm, Judham, Balqi, Buhra', and Bali.[157] Muslims were unsuccessful and after the martyrdom of their commanders and a number of others, they could only return to Medina. The Tabuk operations were the Prophet's next measure.

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

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

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

In his letters, he promised the booties in Rome. Numerous people rushed to Medina from tribes across Hijaz.[158] A strong army of Muslims left for Damascus in the 12th AH (633 AD). Abu Bakr divided the army of Islam into three armies with three commanders. The first army commanded by 'Amr Ibn 'As, was to leave for 'Ayla in the Gulf of 'Uqba. The second army's commander was Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan and the third commander was Shurahbil Ibn Hasana.

These two commanders were sent to a region between Tabuk and Mu'an. Khalid Ibn Sa'id was supposed to command one of these armies, but due to his objection to Abu Bakr's caliphate, upon 'Umar's emphasis, they replaced him with Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan.[159] A short while later, Abu 'Ubayda Jarrah joined them with his auxiliary men and he commanded all forces when they all operated in the same region. Some people believe he commanded an army from the beginning.

The first clashes of Muslims with Romans occurred in a region called “Wadi al-’Araba”, south of the Dead Sea. Palestinian governor, Sergius, was the commander of the Roman army. He was killed in this war and his army was defeated. The Muslims advanced along the Mediterranean coasts[160] and each of the armies fought in a region and joined others wherever necessary.[161] In the beginning, the Muslim armies had 3000 men each, but Abu Bakr sent fresh forces and the number of Muslim fighters in each army rose to 7500.

Shortly after, the total number of the army of Islam increased to 24000 men.[162]

After the 'Araba battle, the second encounter was made in a village of district of Ghazza called Dathin. This battle which took place in the month of Muharram of the 13th year of Hijra,[163] ended in Muslims' victory.

Baladhuri has written about the war of Dathin first and then, about the 'Araba battle, but he has mentioned a narration saying the battle of Dathin happened in the beginning. According to historians, the Muslim army did not face any obstacles which required them to use their weapons on their way from Hijaz to Wadi 'Araba. These sweeping victories frightened Heraclitos and made him recruit forces. The news of the Roman army's recruitment reached Medina and the caliph ordered stopping the operations temporarily on the Iraqi border.

He sent Khalid Ibn Walid and his army to Damascus. The Muslims captured Basra and Ma'ab after Dathin in Rabi' al-Awwal of the 13th Hijra year. Then, they moved towards Damascus. Hearing the news of the enemy's concentration in Ujnadayn, Muslims moved towards that place first. This bloody battle ended in the victory of Muslims in the Jumadi al-Awwal or Jumadi al-Thani of the 13th Hijra year although many Muslims, too, were martyred.[164]

It was after this defeat of the Romans that Heraclitos who was in Hims, left for Antioch. While Muslims were on their way to Damascus, the enemy regrouped and encountered the army of Islam in Marj as-Safar. This war took place in the month of Muharram of the 14th Hijra year and once again, Muslims defeated the enemy. After that, Damascus was totally besieged by the army of Islam.
It is said that while Abu 'Ubayda had managed to open his way into the city, the archbishop of the city signed a peace accord with Khalid Ibn Walid on the other hand and Abu 'Ubayda, too, had to accept it despite Muslims' objection.

The conquest of Damascus forced many residents of the city who were mostly Roman or Arabs affiliated to them, into leaving for Antioch and joining Heraclitos. After their departure, Muslims settled in their unsettled houses.[165] Damascus fell to Muslims in Rajab of 14th Hijra year, but Abu Bakr had died in Jumadi al-Thani of the 13th Hijra year after two years and three months and a few days of caliphate.

Conquest of Iraq

Iraq is an ancient land with an ancient civilization, known to the world as the Mesopotamian civilization. It is located in the north of Hijaz, East of the greater Syria and West of Iran (behind the Jibal region). Centuries before the advent of Islam, Arab tribes residing on Hijaz immigrated northwards to Syria and Iraq to escape the ever-increasing population.[166]

Their massive immigration and their many young forces gave them dominance over the native people of the regions and gradually, created an Arab environment. The Nibtiyan of Iraq and Syria were the descendants of the ancient settlers of this land.[167]

Iraq is known as “Sawad” for its fertile lands. Sawad means abundant farming.[168] During the advent of Islam, the Arab settlers of Damascus were said to be from the tribes of Tanukh, 'Ibadiyyin and Ahlaf (different allied tribes). The Euphrates river was the border between Arabs of Damascus and Iraq. The Iraqi Arabs were called “Fars Arab” and Arabs of Damascus were called “Roman Arab”.[169]

The immigrant Bedouin Arabs began to dwell in cities due to the vastness of fertile lands in Iraq and many of them converted to Christianity under the pressure imposed from the West. The 'Ibadiyyin, the majority of whom lived in Hira, were Christians at large.[170]

They believed in Nestorian Christianity and they were, indeed, a cultural tribe taught reading and writing to Arabs of Hijaz during the Dark Age.[171][171]

Hira was the chief city of Iraq that time. It is said that the word “Hira” had been taken from Harta, Hirta and Hirtu in Syriac, meaning military camp. According to Arab literature in the Dark Age, this city was highly important in Iraq and was the seat of Lakhmids kings. After the advent of Islam and the establishment of the city of Kufa in the vicinity of Hira, the city turned to ruin and its building materials were used for constructing Kufa.[172]

Hira was one league (six kms) away from Kufa and before Islam it was a center for interaction of various cultures such as the Persian Sassanids culture, the culture of Byzantium, Nestorian Christianity and local idolatry.[173] Remnants of this city still remain today.[174]

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

The Al Lakhm dynasty, known also as Al Nasr, Al Nu'man[175] and Dawlat al- Manadhara, had a situation like that of the Ghassanids or Al Jafna. Accidentally, both had similar fates, i.e. losing power in the early years of Islam. Iran and Rome jointly imposed pressure on them. Information existing about the Al Lakhm dynasty is ambiguous in history books and Jawad 'Ali has tried to organize these pieces of

information.[176] The first Lakhmi ruler was Judhayma al-Abrash also known as Shah Tanukh in some inscriptions.

Other famous kings of this dynasty were Imra' al-Qays (d. 328 AD) overstated as the "king of all Arab world".[177] Lakhmi kings were mostly idolaters but due to being influenced by the Zoroastrian culture from the East and the Christian culture from the West, every now and then, they tended towards either direction. What is certain is that Nu'man III of this dynasty who reigned until 602, was a Christian.

We wrote that Nestorian Christianity was predominant in Iraq and Western Iran. The Sassanids kings supported this sect because the government of Byzantium was fighting it and it was politically in favor of Iran to defend this sect of Christianity.[178]

During this period, the political fate of Iran and Iraq were intertwined because the Iraqi government had practically been installed by Iran and it could not resist the Al Ghassan or powerful Arab rivals from northern Saudi Arabia (like Kinda who claimed to rule the entire region and managed to wrest control of Hira from Lakhm for three years.[179]) Iran, on the other hand, had to defend Iraq against its enemies because Iraq was a barrier on the way of the invasion of Bedouin Arabs and the Byzantium government and its puppet government in Damascus.

This necessity made the Iranian government deploy soldiers to Hira and its surrounding regions to guard Iranian borders there. Iran had contacts with Arabs not only in Iraq but it was also their neighbor on the eastern Saudi borders in the southern shores of the Persian Gulf. Some historians have reported of Iran's influence in Yathrib[180] one or two centuries before the advent of Islam. Sometimes, Iran had to give control of a region like Ubulla to a powerful tribe such as Banu Shayban to defend the invasion of Bakr Ibn Wa'il.

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

Abraha, the commander of the operations and his son, Masruq, ruled for fifty years in Abyssinia until Sayf Ibn Dhi Yazan put an end to their rule over Yemen with an 8000-soldier Iranian army. Many of the Iranian remained in Yemen[181] and formed the Abna' or Persian generation of Yemen.

Their number grew to the extent that they joined the army of Islam in the conquest of Egypt. They had a district and a mosque in the name of Persians in Fastat that still existed until the third century.[182] When the Messenger of Allah invited the heads of states to convert to Islam, famed Bazan ruled Yemen. He had been installed by the Sassanids in Iran.

At any rate, Iran had important interests in Arab lands, especially in Iraq located on the border between Iran and Rome. Iran's interference in these regions was to the degree that in the year 602, Khusraw

Parviz ordered Nu'man III, the last king of the Lakhmi dynasty, to step down step down. After him, the Iranian government replaced him with a local Christian named Iyas Ibn Qubaysa to rule Hira and with him, an Iranian border guard was appointed.[183]

During a period of 30 years between the resignation of Al Lakhm and the first attacks of Muslims on Hira, drastic upheavals occurred in the relations of Iran and Byzantium, that required Iran's more direct interference in Iraqi affairs. In the years 611 to 614, Khusraw Parviz launched a lengthy attack against Byzantium and captured a major part of the greater Syria including Quds. For many years, this created problems for the Byzantium government. This defeat is referred to in Qur'an as the “Conquest of Rome”.

After a few years, Heraclitos succeeded in reinforcing his army and during six consecutive years of war, defeated the Iranian government until the year 628, when Khusraw Parviz was killed and Iran had to accept peace. It is clear that Iran's defeat opened the way for the invasion of Iraq by the Byzantium government and the most important of all, by the Bedouin rebels.

In the early years of the fourth decade of the seventh century AD, some chieftains of Arab tribes pleaded to the first caliph of Muslims to retake Iraq from Iran. They organized the first attack against Iran in 633 AD or 12th AH.

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

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

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

One of the influential tribes in southern Iraq was Banu Shayban, a branch of Bakr Ibn Wa'il tribe, Wa'il itself, was a branch of Rabi'a tribe. The region where Bakr Ibn Wa'il resided, started from Iraq and extended as far as Bahrayn in the Persian Gulf.[184]

Banu Shayban was a rival of Al Lakhm and one of those tribes whom Iranian had to give concessions to in the lands under their rule. One of the last Arabian–Iranian battles was Dhi Qar, in which Banu Shayban fought against Iranians and are said to have defeated them. One of this tribe's leaders was

Muthanna Ibn Haritha who is considered the main instigator of Muslims in the conquest of Iraq and then, Iran.

According to Dinwari, ever since Puran sat on the throne in Iran, rumors began to spread that there was nothing left of the Iranian glorious kingdom. Hearing about this, two people from Bakr Ibn Wa'il, Muthanna Ibn Haritha and Suwayd Ibn Qutba 'Ijali, attacked the land of Iranians with their men (the first attacked Hira and the second one invaded Ubulla). They would raid farmers and plunder them. Following these events, Muthanna wrote a letter to Abu Bakr and noted Iran's weakness.[185]

Abu Bakr who had heard about his assaults on the Iranians, said, “Who is this man, whose “news” reaches us before his “name”?” He was told the man was not an unknown person. After ending the war against apostates, Muthanna came to Medina and asked Abu Bakr's permission to fight the Iranians. Abu Bakr wrote an agreement for him. A few months later, he dispatched his brother to Medina to ask Abu Bakr to send forces to him and the caliph sent Khalid Ibn Walid to Iraq.[186]

According to Baladhuri, after getting the permission for war from Medina, Muthanna returned to his tribe in Khiffan and invited them to convert to Islam, which they all did. Abu Bakr then sent Khalid to Iraq and asked Muthanna to obey him.[187] Muthanna did his best to expand Islam in Iraq for some years until his death. It has been said that he and his tribe had come to the Prophet (S) and therefore, was considered one of the companions.[188] The Muslim army in these attacks is said to have been numbered at around 18000.[189]

It should be noted here that the Iranians' war in the conquest of Iraq was not against Arabs. What has been reported about the conquests indicates that the Iranian armies were the main side of these clashes, although it has been said that some men from Hijaz and Arab Christians. In the conquest of Ubulla, the commander of the enemy's army was a man named Hurmuz whose part of army was commanded by Qubad and the other part, by Anushjan.[190]

In fact, after the collapse of the Lakhmids, Iranians guarded this land and it was natural that in the Arabic environment of Iraq. Lakhmids could do this better than the Iranians and therefore, it has been said that due to the fall of the Lakhmids, the southern wing of the Sassanids government was left almost without any support.[191]

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

It is said that Khalid first captured Ubulla, although Waqidi rejects it.[192] Another source says this city was captured by 'Utba Ibn Ghazwan. Also, we read that the city of 'Ullays was conquered based on a peace accord and then, Muslims moved toward Hira from there. There are contradictory views on whether Hira resisted Arab Muslims or not.[193]

The nobles of Hira have said that Ayas Ibn Qubaysa was among them and they gave up the city peacefully provided that they would not destroy churches and palaces. Hira's tributes were the first sent to Medina.[194] Hira fell in Dhi Qa'da, 12th AH.

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

It should be noted that before the conquest of the city by Muslims, the Romans had burnt the city.[195] This indicates that a year before Iraq's conquest, Romans had done serious damage to the region. 'Ayn al-Tamr, in addition to Ubulla and Khurayba, were the places used for the stationing of Iranian border guards. They were either captured by force or peace. One of the captives of this city was Yasar, the ancestor of Muhammad Ibn Ishaq, the author of "Sira Nabawi."[196]

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

However, Iranians were aware of the changes in Hijaz and the battles against apostasy, because they had much influence on Bahrayn and Yamama. It is illogical to accept that they were unaware of these incidents and of the state of Muslims. Secondly, Iranians could not do anything even after taking Arabs' assaults seriously.

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

Spuler writes on the speedy withdrawal of the Iranian army from Iraq, "The speedy victories of Arabs and fast retreat of Iranian forces from the region had more deep-rooted reasons. On the one hand, Mesopotamia, with its Aramaic or Aramaic-turned settlers which was largely populated by Christians and besides them, followers of Baptism and Jews and limited number of Manicheans, opposed the rule of Iran in the region.

On the other hand, there were few Iranians in the region and villagers showed no resistance against the advance of Arabs, although they did not welcome the invading Arabs as it was done simultaneously in Egypt extremely excited by the acts of Byzantium. However, the situation in Mesopotamia was similar to that of Egypt."[197]

1. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp. 24-25
2. Hubab Ibn Mundhir said that neither Muhajirun nor Ansar accepted each other Masa'il al-Imamah, p. 13
3. Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. VII, p. 431 ('Umar said, "فمن دعا إلى مثلها فهو الذي لا بيعة له ولا لمن بايعه" " Whoever calls on people do this, neither his allegiance nor that of someone's who calls to his obedience is acceptable " 'Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, pp 442-445 (briefly said); Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 344; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, pp 204-206; see distorted and disgraceful narrations of 'Umar's speech in, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 581
4. This book is lost but major part of it is mentioned by Ibn Abi al-Hadid in Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah These quotations have been collected by Muhammad Hadi Amini in a separate book titled "As-Saqifa wa Fadak" and published
5. al-Futuh, vol. I, pp 3-4; Waqidi, Kitab ar-Ridda, pp 32-33
6. al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. 578; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, p. 272 Hubab Ibn Mundhir said to Bashir Ibn Sa'd in Saqifa, "You swore allegiance to Abu Bakr out of envy towards Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada (Kitab ar-Ridda, p. 42)

When Usayd Ibn Hu□ayr passed away, 'Umar paid off all his debts (al-Fa'iq fi gharib al-hadith, vol. I, p. 108) Hubab Ibn Mundhir composed poem in Saqifa in reproaching those two men, part of which is so (Kitab ar-Ridda, p. 38) ابن حضير في الفساد لجاجة وأسرع سعي منه في الفساد بشير Ibn Hu□ayr much embraced on evil-doings and Bashir did more than him

7. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 14; al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. III, p. 298; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 27; Masa'il al-Imamah, p. 13
8. Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada never paid allegiance to Abu Bakr and when he was in Damascus, caliph sent somebody to kill him and he was killed; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 250
9. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp 123-124; one of the Ansar is reported to have said, "If 'Ali and other people of the Hashimites had not been engaged in burying the Messenger (S) in the house and not been there in worry about him, no one would have had caprice of caliphate, Kitab ar-Ridda, pp 45-46.

Waqidi's report reveals that 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf talked to the Ansar after Saqifa event Evidence of a good number indicates that nobody was present at Saqifa except three people of Muhajirun Later on, Bashir Ibn Sa'd Ansari, after hearing of Imam 'Ali's reasoning said to him, "In case people had heard you speaking this way before, nobody would have disagreed with you and all would have paid allegiance to you But you stayed home and people thought you were not in need of caliphate!

Imam responded, "O son of Bashir ! Should I have left the Messenger's corpse at home and quarelling with people on succession?" Abu Bakr said, "They have paid allegiance to me now and if I had known your will, I would have never sought after it myself You're free to swear allegiance to me " Imam paid allegiance to him seventy five days after departure of the Messenger (S) when Fatimah (a) passed away, Kitab ar-Ridda, p. 47

10. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. 208; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. II, p. 325
11. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 27; Kitab ar-Ridda, p. 42 Harra event, Juwhari says, in 63 A H confirmed what Hubab said to Abu Bakr, "I fear not of you but of those after you (Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. 313) About Ansar's repentance after Saqifa, al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. 583 Hubab said, "Since we killed their fathers in wars, they would take revenge on us " (Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 580); al-Fa'iq fi gharib al-hadith, vol. III, p. 166; Masa'il al-Imamah, p. 135.

In this case, we should see how Imam was treated in Badr, they have murdered half of Quraysh totaling seventy people. Certainly, it has to be known that the Ansar felt remorseful of what they had done and so they stood against defending 'Ali, Quraysh and its political party, from 'Uthman and Mu'awiya to Talha, Zubayr and 'Ayisha in Jamal, Siffin or before by having a hand in 'Uthman's murder or staying silent towards it. Even a few days after Saqifa, their remorse was revealed and Hassan Ibn Thabit's then poems best prove that. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp 127-128.

12. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 582
13. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, p. 38
14. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 583, والعرب لا ترضى أن يؤمّركم وبينها من غيركم ولكن يؤمرون من كانت النبوة فيهم "Arabs never appoint you as ruler but those who were in touch with prophethood " Kitab ar-Ridda, p. 39; Abu Bakr in his speech relied on this,

قريش أوسط العرب داراً وأكرمهم أحساباً“ ً

The Qurayshites are the most outstanding and noble ‘Arab dynasty ” Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. II, p. 269; Following above sentence quoted from Abu Bakr, in Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 13 it is added through Abu Bakr, “وأحسنهم وجوهاً أكثر الناس ولادة في العرب “ The most good-looking people were more among those who were given birth among Arabs ”.Abu Bakr said, نحن قريش والأئمة منا “ We are the Qurayshites and Imams are from us” as a hadith although this was attributed to him later.

15. al-Iah, p. 87.‘Umar said to Ibn ‘Abbas, “Your people did not want to have the prophethood and caliphate in your family because, in that case, pride elevated you to the sky; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 28
16. As-Saqifa wa Fadak, p. 43; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, p. 49 and Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 590; Abu ‘Ubayda Jarrah talked about ‘Ali’s youth when Imam objected, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, pp 2-5.
17. ‘Ayisha is quoted to have been questioned, “Whom did the Messenger (S) find as his successor?” “Abu Bakr”, she replied “Who would be his successor?”, she was asked “‘Umar”, she answered “And after ‘Umar”, she was questioned “Abu ‘Ubayda Jarrah”, she replied (Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. VII, p. 433) The date of forging this hadith shall be found within the proper hadith.
18. al-Ghadir, vol. V (issue, Silicate al-Mawu‘at fil-khilafa) pp 333-356 According to Waqidi in ar-Ridda (pp 35-37) it seems that the Messenger (S) has placed Abu Bakr as his successor as clarified in Saqifa several times!
19. Nihayat al-’Irab, vol. XIX, p. 39
20. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. 190; al-’Iqd al-Farid, vol. II, p. 274, vol. III, p. 407; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 881; Masa’il al-Imamah, p. 63; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XII, p. 69
21. Tatawwur al-fikr As-Siyasi ‘Ind ahl As-Sunna, p. 38
22. Tatawwur al-fikr As-Siyasi, p. 38, footnote IV
23. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. V, p. 261
24. As-Saqifa wa Fadak, p. 46
25. Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. VII, p. 432 Hisham Ibn ‘Urwa quotes his father, ان ابا بكر وعمر لم يشهدا دفن النبي (ص) وكانا في الانصار فدفن قبل ان يرجعا Abu Bakr and ‘Umar were with the Ansar when the Prophet (S) was to be buried, and before they came back, the Prophet (S) had been buried Waqidi says, “What seems correct to me is that the Prophet (S) has been buried Saturday (al-Bad’ wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 47).

Therefore, it is clear that Abu Bakr and his fellow had been busy since Monday till tomorrow when the Prophet (S) passed away and they could not come by his dead body These two people are hardly mentioned among those named in reports concerned with his burial

26. al-Bad’ wal-Tarikh, vol. IV, pp 65-66
27. Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 124
28. As-Saqifa wa Fadak, p. 47
29. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 587 According to Ibn Qutayba, ‘Ali said to him, “Milk in a way you can have part of it; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 29
30. Ma‘alim al-Madrisatayn, vol. II, pp 163-166; Talkhis Ash-Shafi, pp 76, 156
31. al-’Iqd al-Farid, vol. III, p. 64; Tarikh ’Abi l-fida’, vol. I, p. 156 quoted from, Ma‘alim al-Madrisatayn, vol. II, p. 167 About other sources talking about threat, Ma‘alim al-Madrisatayn, vol. II, pp 167-168 Abu Bakr in his time of death was concerned about a few things, one was that he wished he had never opened Fatimah’s house door even if they had closed it with the aim of war (Ma‘alim al-Madrisatayn,, vol. II, p. 165, footnote LXV from various sources.
32. al-Mudhakkar wal-tadhkir wal-dhikr, p. 91; Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. VII, p. 432 The Shi‘ite Muslims believed in such an action.
33. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XX, p. 147.
34. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. 220; Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, pp 124-125
35. Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 126; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, pp 5-28 and 67; Waq‘at As-Siffin, p. 182; Kitab ar-Ridda, p. 46
36. About what happened to Fadak during the Umayya and the ‘Abbasids, al-Kharaj wa Sana‘at al-kitaba, pp 259-260

37. ‘Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, p. 472 The same quotation comes from Zuhri in Bukhari, vol. VI, p. 122 Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VI, pp 49-50; vol. XVI, pp 253,281,282; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. V, pp 285,287

38. ‘Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, p. 472

39. It was for the same reason Imam opposed to Abu Sufyan who had been willing to pay allegiance to Imam, Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. 400

40. Nihayat al-’Irab, vol. XIX, p. 40

41. Aside from false narrations against the chronicles, Imam swore allegiance just when ‘Umar and Abu Bakr stopped by him in his house, Nihayat al-’Irab, vol. XIX, pp 39,40

42. Talkhis Ash-Shafi, vol. III, p. 77

43. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 304; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, p. 50, vol. VI, p. 43, vol. XVI, pp 212, 251; al-Bad’ wal-Tarikh, vol. V, pp 68-69, there, “Wahaynama” is replaced with “Wahanbatha”; in addition, another line is added too

44. Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 24; Kanz al-’Ummal, vol. V, No 14113; Ibn Sallam, al-Amwal, p. 194

45. Nihayat al-’Irab, vol. XIX, p. 38; it is cited there a group of Khazrajis failed to pay allegiance in Saqifa

46. al-Mi‘yar wal-Muwazana, p. 232 (quoted from Baladhuri and Ibn ‘Abdirabbih in the footnote) Interestingly, Ibn Abi al-Hadid (XVII, 223-224) says that some knew Abu Bakr as his murderer but he has not found a historical report concerningly This is while the aforesaid report is cited in two historical sources, of course about caliph II

47. As-Sirat al-halabiyya, vol. III, p. 389 (al-Ghadir, vol. V, p. 368)

48. al-Ma‘rifa wal-Tarikh, vol. I, p. 238, Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 298

49. ‘Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, p. 451; Mustadrak, vol. II, p. 78

50. Majma‘ al-Amthal, vol. I, p. 27

51. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XIII, p. 177

52. al-Fa’iq fi gharib al-hadith, vol. IV, p. 12

53. al-Ifsah, p. 176

54. As-Sahih Min Sira al-Nabi, vol. I, pp 247,289,290; Tarikh at-Tabari, (vol. II, p. 60), in a weakened narration by Himself, says that fifty people embraced Islam before Abu Bakr

55. Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 128

56. ‘Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. XI, p. 326; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. 336; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 34

57. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 13

58. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 15

59. Abuya‘la, al-Ahkam As-Sultaniyya, p. 17 Despite what is said, caliph I, in his first oration, said, وقد استخلف الله عليكم خليفة God hath ordained a caliph to unify thee and to strengthen thy words, Al-Imama wa’l-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 34 Damascus Muslims are quoted to have called Abu Bakr as “God’s Caliph” Al-Imama wa’l-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 38 (Damascus people were expected to say this but nothing else) Once he was called “God’s Viceroy”, but he said, “I’m not vicegerent of God, I am caliph of the Prophet (S) and I am pleased with it! (Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. VII, p. 433) ‘Adi Ibn Hatam told Abu Bakr, “We obeyed God’s Messenger (S) because of his obedience and you are obeyed for you obey the Propher (S) (Kitab ar-Ridda, p. 66) His intention lies in the same word of caliph

60. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, pp 100-101

61. ‘Abd Allah Ibn Saba’, in his book, deals with narrations of the same person by considering narrations of Sayf by ‘Allama ‘Askari.

62. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. II, p. 229.

63. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p.. 117.

64. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 23.

65. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. II, p. 149; al-Kharaj wa Sana‘a al-kitaba, p. 282.

66. For example, لا اقسم بهذا البلد، ولا تبرح هذا البلد، حتى تكون ذا مال وولد، ووفر وصفد وخيل وعدد، الى آخر الابد، علي رغم من حسد Kitab ar-Rida, p. 111; and another example in, al-Bad’ wal-Tarikh, vol. V, pp 161-162,164 These cases are morally ill.

67. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VI, p. 326.

68. In some sources, she is called daughter of Aws Ibn Hurayz, Jamharat an-Nasab, p. 226.

69. al-Futuh (Persian translation), p. 20-21; al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 165.
70. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, vol. I, pp 111-115
71. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 40
72. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 43-44; Kitab ar-Ridda, pp 144-146
73. al-Futuh, vol. I, pp 14-15; Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, pp 102-103
74. Al-Futuh,ol I,p. 17; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, ol II,p. 129
75. The Shi'ite Muslims disagreed on saying that all people hae been atheist rebels Kanz al-fawa'id, vol. II, p. 346
76. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 105, Abu Bakr was told هل يزيد خالد على ان يكون تأول فأخطأ Does Khalid want to express and go wrong. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. II,p. 278; Tabaqat Ash-Shu'ara',p. 48
77. Tarikh at-Tabari,vol. II,p. 279, al-Aghani,vol. xv,p. 302
78. al-Futuh,vol. I,pp 58,60 and 61; ar-Ridda,pp 171,176 and 177 والله مأ ا زلتموها عن أهلها الاّ حسداً منكم لهم By God you seized caliphate away from them just out of envy
79. ar-Ridda,pp 169-174
80. ar-Ridda,pp 173-179; al-Futuh, vol. I,pp 57-61
81. al-Futuh,vol. I,p. 71-72
82. al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq,vol. x, p. 176; Abu Bakr once ordered his men to set atheists on fire and fall them down the mountain Al-Jassas, Ahkam al-qur'an, vol. III, pp 67 and 81
83. al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. 31; Jami' al-bayan al-'Ilm, vol. II, p. 129
84. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. III, p. 151
85. al-Ifsah, p. 121
86. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 128
87. Maqdisi says, "Abu Bakr sent Khalid to sword-kill people of Ridda, set fire to them, hold their children and women captive and share their properties Al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. v, p. 157
88. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 75; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, PP 101-102
89. ad-Durra al-fakhira, p. 324; Majma' al-Amthal, vol. II, p. 65
90. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VI, p. 311
91. Firaq Ash-Shi'a, p. 4
92. al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 151
93. Tarikh al-'Arab wal-Islam, p. 71 Hasan Ibrahim Hasan says, "The atheists were those who refused to pay Zakat, tax alms, thinking that the Messenger (S) blackmails them It is to be noted that they never challenged and loathed Islam... they agreed on monotheism, foundation of Islam but they thought they had to pay tax alms only to the Prophet (S) " Tarikh Siyasi Islam, vol. I, p. 216 'Aqqad also says, "A group of others believed in mere tax alms but they never took faith in those who had to pay tax alms " 'Abqariyya As-Siddiq, pp 124-125
94. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. II, p. 246; Masa'il al-Imamah, p. 14; Kitab ar-Ridda, pp 171-172; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. III, p. 409; al-Aghani, vol. II, p. 157; al-Jamal, p. 181; Ash-Shi'r wal-Shu'ara', p. 65; al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 156; Tatawwur al-fikr As-Siyasi 'Ind ahl As-Sunna, p. 38, footnote II; Muqaddama fi Tarikh Sadr al-Islam, p. 51
95. Tarikh al-'Arab wal-Islam, p. 71; Tatawwur al-fikr As-Siyasi 'Ind ahl As-Sunna, p. 38 Nashi' Akbar says, "Some believed they were not atheist but they refused to pay poll tax, saying that the poor are superior to that, They would pay that to the agents of the Prophet (S) just for the sake of the Prophet and now that he has passed away, people would give it to any poor one they wished Masa'il al-Imamah, p. 14
96. al-Risala, p. 80
97. Tabaqat fuhul Ash-Shu'ara', vol. I,p. 206; Tabaqat fuhul Ash-Shu'ara', 1400 H; word of religion in the subject poem means government as footnoted by the proofreader
98. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 35
99. Jami' al-bayan al-'Ilm, vol. II, pp 104 and 125
100. al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 123
101. al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazana, p. 94
102. Talkhis Ash-Shafi, vol. III,p. 77

103. Rabi‘ al-Abrar, vol. I, pp 708-709 They allied with the atheists to destroy Islam.

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

105. Usd al-Ghaba, vol. II, pp 371-372.

106. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, pp. 102-117.

107. Sahmi, Tarikh Jurjan, p. 96.

108. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 567; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VI, p. 11; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 11; Anas Ibn Malik says, “On Saqifa, I saw ‘Umar forcing Abu Bakr to go on pulpit al-Musannaf, ‘Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. 438

109. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 17; Gharib al-Hadith, vol. III, p. 222; al-adab al-Mufrad, p. 29

110. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. 174

111. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 665; Ibn Juzi, Manaqib ‘Umar, p. 48; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, ol II, p. 420; al-Tanbih wal-Ishraf, p. 249

112. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 186; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. II, p. 425

113. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 187

114. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 123

115. al-Musannaf, ‘Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. 454; Hayat As-Sahaba, ol II, p. 20

116. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, pp 585-588

117. Ibid vol. I, pp 29-30; Hayat al-Hayawan, vol. I, p. 48

118. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 44; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, ol I, p. 179

119. Maqdisi says, “People raised no doubt that ‘Umar would become Abu Bakr’s caliph al-Bad’ wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 167

120. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, p. 394

121. al-Ishtiqaq, p. 149; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, pp 158-159

122. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 23; al-Musannaf, ‘Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. 212; al-I□ah, pp 72-73; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. 179

123. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 149

124. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. III, p. 22

125. Ibid vol. VI, p. 48-49

126. Ibid vol. XVIII, p. 306-307

127. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, p. 369

128. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 107

129. According to Tadhkirat al-Khawas (p. 160), ‘Umar separated Malik from his wife after her pregnancy with Khalid and her delivery.

130. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 44

131. Ibn Hajar quotes Zubayr Ibn Bakkar saying when Khalid took one fifth of booties, he never submitted any account to Abu Bakr He always did things, including attempted murder of Malik without informing Abu Bakr Al-Isaba, vol. I, p. 414-415

132. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. II, p. 389

133. Ibid vol. II, p. 398

134. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 122

135. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. II, p. 397

136. al-Isaba, vol. I, p. 415

137. Ibid Ibn Hajar says they believe he has died in Damascus (Hims).

138. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, p. 397-398; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, p. 115

139. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, p. 116

140. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 887; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 42

141. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 410

142. Ibid vol III, p. 343; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 86

143. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 16; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 42; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 412 and 343; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 227

144. al-Musannaf, vol. V, p. 454; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. II, p. 394

145. Tarikh Khalifat, Ibn Khayyat, p.. 123.
146. Tarikh Suriya and Lubnan and Filistin, pp 62–63
147. Suyuti, al–Muzhir, quoted from, al–Nasraniyya wa Adabuha, p. 31
148. al–Nasraniyya wa Adabuha, pp 124–141
149. Futuh al–Buldan, pp 128 and 137
150. Ya‘qubi’s creed is ascribed to Ya‘qub Barda‘i (b. 578 AD) his followers are called monophysicist. The said creed is about the Christ believing in one divine nature rather than two divine human natures. Ya‘qubi expanded the sect throughout Syria, so named after the sect It spread through Syria in the north to Armenia and to Egypt in the south and that is why the Armenians and Egyptians still keep this belief Parallel to this, in Mesopotamia, there emerged Nestorian sect adopting two natures in Messiah though finding them not unified. The founder is Nestorius and it emerged several decades before Ya‘qubi’s creed Tarikh Suriya and Lubnan and Flistin, pp 412–413; Will Durant’s Tarikh Tamaddun, vol. IV (Age of Faith, part I) pp 63–64
151. al–Nasraniyya wa Adabuha, p. 38
152. concerning different views in this respect, Ash–Sham fi Sadr al–Islam, pp 63–64; Tarikh Tamaddun, vol. IV, p. 64
153. Ash–Sham fi Sadr al–Islam, p. 62
154. Tarikh Suriya and Lubnan and Filistin, pp 447–450
155. The beginning Verses of Sura ar–Rum referring to defeat of Romans and promising their imminent victory are concerned with the same events
156. About life of Heraclitos and the events in his time, Tarikh Tamaddun, vol. IV (Age of Faith, part I) pp 543–545
157. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. I, p. 37
158. Futuh al–Buldan,p. 115
159. Ibid p. 116
160. Tarikh Suriya and Lubnan and Flistin, vol. II, p. 6
161. Futuh al–Buldan, p. 123
162. Futuh al–Buldan, p. 116
163. Atlas Tarikh Islam, p. 126
164. Futuh al–Buldan, p. 121
165. Futuh al–Buldan, pp 128–129
166. There is a disagreement on departure time of these tribes al–Mufassal fi Tarikh al–’Arab qabl al–Islam, vol. III, p. 162
167. al–Mufassal, vol. III, pp 172–173
168. al–Tariq ’lla al–Mada’in, p. 132
169. al–Mufassal, vol. III, p. 165
170. Ibid vol. III, pp 169–171
171. Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. III, p. 712
172. al–Mufassal, vol. III, p. 159
173. Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. III, p. 710
174. About that, Usul Asma’ al–Mudun wal–mawaqi‘ al–’Araqiyya, vol. I, pp 100–101
175. it seems the reason is that there are several people named “Nu‘man” among kings of this dynasty as well as several people named ” Mundhir ”
176. al–Mufassal, vol. III, from p. 177 on
177. Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol.III, p.712
178. al–Nasraniyya wa Adabuha bayn ‘Arab al–jahiliyya, p. 87
179. Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. III, p. 715
180. Tarikh Iran vol. III, p. 713–714
181. Tarikh Iran, vol. III, p. 720
182. Futuh misr wa akhbaruha, p. 129
183. Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. III, p. 720
184. al–Tariq ’lla al–Mada’in, p. 202

185. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 111
186. al-Isaba, vol. III, p. 361
187. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 242
188. al-Isti'ab (on the margin of al-Isaba) vol. III, p. 522; al-Isaba, vol. III, p. 362
189. al-Tariq 'Ila al-Mada'in, pp 209-211
190. Ibid pp 215-216
191. Spuler, Tarikh Iran, vol. I, p. 6
192. Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. I, p. 431
193. Spuler, Tarikh Iran, vol. I, p. 8
194. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 244
195. Usul Asma' al-Mudun wal-mawaqi' al-'Araqiyya, vol. I, p. 31
196. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 248
197. Spuler, Tarikh Iran, vol. I, p. 13

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SHARES

Umar's Caliphate

About Caliph II

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

Many sources say he converted in the sixth year of the Prophethood of Prophet Muhammad (S). Mas'udi says he converted four years before Hijra, i.e. the ninth year of the Prophethood of Prophet Muhammad (S).1

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

In this connection, he was like Abu Bakr. We wrote that the Prophet (S) made them brothers by contract.2 They were inseparable throughout the entire life of the Prophet (S). They held common stances in the developments of Saqifa and it was because of 'Umar's insistence on stabilizing Abu Bakr's caliphate that Imam 'Ali (a) accused him of working for his own future.3 This was well justified for others.

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

He replied, “I do not know for sure, but I shall be the first one to obey it!” The person said, “But I know what it is.” **أمّرته عام أوّل وأمّرك العام** “ The first year you appointed him caliph and the second year, he installed you as the caliph of Muslims.”[4]

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

Qays Ibn Abi Hazim says, “I saw 'Umar in the mosque, with a stick of date branch in his hand trying to make people sit down. Abu Bakr's servant, named Shudayd, came to the mosque and read a message from Abu Bakr and then, 'Umar mounted the pulpit.”[5] “It is true to say that Abu Bakr would not be a caliph if it were not for 'Umar.[6]

When Abu Bakr wanted to appoint Khalid Ibn Sa'id as commander of the army, 'Umar managed to change his mind because Khalid swore allegiance to Abu Bakr only three months after the Saqifa gathering.[7] Abu Bakr used to say he loved 'Umar more than others.”[8]

'Umar addressed Ibn 'Abbas and said, “Indeed, if Abu Bakr did not believe me, he would set aside your share of the government, and in that case, your tribesmen (Quraysh) would hate you.”[9] It was this belief in 'Umar that made Abu Bakr write an accord appointing 'Umar as his successor. Once he said, “I appointed 'Umar to succeed me because I was afraid of eruption of any tension.”[10]

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

He said, ”'Umar's nature is better than his countenance.”[11] This is all the consultation Abu Bakr made with the nobles of the Quraysh before appointing 'Umar.

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

He did so and Abu Bakr approved it.[12] Following this, Talha came to Abu Bakr and said, “You witnessed how 'Umar behaves beside you and with your presence. Then, we do not know what he will do without you.” Abu Bakr was angered by his objection.[13]

Another quotation says the people objected to Abu Bakr for appointing a bad-tempered man to rule them.[14] According to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Abu Bakr asked Mu'ayqab al-Rusi about the people's opinion regarding the appointment of 'Umar and he replied, “Some are satisfied, some are not.”

Abu Bakr said, “Which group is greater in number?”
He said, “Those who are dissatisfied.”

Abu Bakr said, “The truth always shows its ugly face first, but it is finally the winner.”[15] 'Umar, himself, in his first sermon said he was aware of the fact that some people hated his caliphate.[16] Ibn Qutayba has said that after hearing the news of Abu Bakr's death, Muslims in Damascus expressed their concern over 'Umar's likely coming to power and said, “If 'Umar assumes power, he will not be our “master” and we will topple him.”[17]

Abu Bakr did not make any serious consultations about 'Umar's caliphate.[18] He believed that many of the Muhajirun were thinking about occupying the seat of caliphate. Once he told 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf that many men of Muhajirun were yearning for the seat of caliphate since the start of his caliphate.[19] In his deathbed, Abu Bakr warned 'Umar about the Muhajirun and their greed for ruling.[20]

Abu Bakr's act of setting an age for caliphate, the principle of “succession” became legitimate in the political jurisprudence of the Sunnites sect. However, according to Sunnites sources, this had no background in the Prophet's biography. The succession rule shares two pillars of hereditary government. In a hereditary government, the first pillar is succession and the second pillar is family and hereditary advantages. Its first pillar in the caliphate's biography took on a legitimate form. Just as Muhammad Rashid Ri□a has noted, this brought about hereditary caliphate in the time of the Umayya.[21]

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

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

The Caliph’s Character

The caliph was a quick-tempered man[22] and an extremist[23] and both characteristics seriously affected his political and administrative career. Management to him was some kind of strictness by which he did his best to maintain control over the Bedouin Arabs. His inner being was easily detectable in his thoughts and deeds during the lifetime of the Prophet of Islam.

We know that in the war of Badr, he asked the Prophet (S) to kill all captives. His harsh treatment with Suhayl Ibn 'Amr, in the case of the Hudaybiyya peace deal, has been recorded in history. He also held extreme stances against the Hudaybiyya peace accord. On his first day of caliphate, he said, “O God! I am hot-tempered. Soften my behavior!”[24]

He knew he could not live without his lash. Therefore, he was the first one in Islam who took the lash of “Dirra” in his hand.[25] They have said his cane was more horrendous than the sword of Hajjaj.[26]

As said, Talha objected to Abu Bakr as to why he imposed 'Umar upon them knowing that he is hot-tempered.[27]

According to Ibn Shubba, a man told 'Umar, “People are mad at you; they hate you.”
'Umar asked, ” why.”
He replied, “They complain of your tongue and cane!”[28]

One day, Zubayr's slave was standing in prayers after evening prayers when he saw 'Umar approaching him with his Dirra (cane). The slave fled right then but 'Umar caught him. The slave said, “I'll never do so again!”[29]

After the death of Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan, 'Umar proposed marrying his wife but she did not accept because she believed 'Umar was ill-tempered when both leaving and entering the house.[30] Even 'Ayisha who had close relations with the caliph, prevented his marriage with her sister for the same reason.[31] 'Abd al-Razzaq San'ani quoted Ibrahim Nakha'i as saying that some day 'Umar was passing near a group of women when he smelled a perfume.

He said, “If only I knew whose perfume this is. Then, I would know what to do with her. Women should wear perfume for their husbands only.” According to the same story, the woman who had worn perfume urinated out of fear[32] and another woman who saw her had a miscarriage.[33]

As a matter of fact, no one dared ask a question from 'Umar and he preferred to do it through 'Uthman or someone else.[34]

'Umar considered the criterion of strictness in selecting his rulers for the states.[35] He did not show mercy to offenders, no matter what tribe they belonged to. This made Jabala Ibn 'Ayham, a ruler of Damascus, who had committed a fault flee from Mecca to Damascus and turn away from Islam.[36]

Even governors and the caliph's children were not immune to his wrath. One day, he beat up one of his sons for the exquisite garment he had put on and the son burst into tears. When Hafsa objected, 'Umar said, “He was acting proudly and I punished him to belittle him.”[37]

He beat one of his children to death for drinking wine.[38] Apparently, 'Amr Ibn 'As had lashed him in Egypt for the same reason and on his return to Medina, his father beat him to death. When he was about to die, he told his father, “You killed me!”

'Umar said, “If you should see God, tell Him we observe his punishment (Hadd) on earth.”[39] His severe treatment raised public hatred and dissatisfaction. The people asked 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf to talk to him in this regard and tell him that girls fear him even in their houses.

'Umar replied, “People will not be reformed except with this method; otherwise, they will even strip me of my clothes.”[40] He, himself, admitted that people feared him because of his harshness.[41] In essence, the same treatments could stop public disagreement on his approach.[42] When the Prophet (S) ordered men not to beat their wives, 'Umar asked the Prophet (S) to let men beat their wives like in the past but he did not accept.[43]

We said that 'Umar's concept of religion had made an extremist out of him. Punishing his son to death for drinking wine was one example. He was very strict towards women and did not let them attend morning and evening congregational prayers. He did not have sensible military courage but he attached special significance to Jihad.[44]

This is why he omitted “Hayya 'Ala Khayr al-’Amal” (Rush to the best deed) from Adhan (the call to prayers, under the pretext that people would not go to the holy war. Of course, he added a good part to Adhan and that was saying, “Prayer is better than sleep”. Iman as-Sajjad and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar considered “Hayya 'Ala Khayr al-’Amal” (hasten to good deed) obligatory in Adhan[45] and Abu Hanifa believed that “as-Salat Khayr min al-Nawm” (Prayer is better than sleep) should be told after Adhan because it is not part of it.[46]

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

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

“There is no prophethood not to be abolished by the “land”. I will take refuge in God when prophets turn to be “kings” and I will seek God's shelter when I feel a great man in myself but be despicable in view of people. You will soon see emirs coming after us, and you will know them soon and will deny them.”[47]

It was a general attitude that time and many people were sure that the caliphate would turn into kingdom. 'Umar, himself, used to say he wondered whether he was a caliph or a king. Ka'b al-Ahbar assured him he was a caliph and that he had found his name in the divine books![48] Apparently, Abu Bakr imagined himself a king.[49]

Despite 'Umar's harsh behavior, many dared criticize him. When Bilal was getting ready to say the Adhan, 'Umar objected to him, saying it was not time for prayers, but Bilal responded, “I knew the time when you were more astray than the ass of your tribe.”[50]

'Umar used to say, “Guide me if you see a fault in me.”
A Bedouin Arab replied, “We will guide you with a sword if we see a fault in you.” Hearing this, 'Umar thanked God that there was somebody in the tribe to guide him by force.[51] On the contrary, 'Ayisha,

daughter of 'Uthman, believed that 'Umar's roughness prevented ordinary people from criticizing him.[52]

'Umar himself, believed that the best policy for leading Muhammad's nation was to act with power and not by force, to be soft but not lax, to bestow but not go to extremes, and to have abstinence but without stinginess.[53]

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

A sign of this was his understanding of the verses, "أَذْهَبْتُمْ طَيِّبَاتِكُمْ فِي حَيَاتِكُمْ الدُّنْيَا." "You selfishly used your pure gifts in your worldly life," that allows Muslims to be so. Of course, he was objected to for this and when he learned that the verse concerned infidels,[54]

he accepted it. His pious life did not mean that he had no wealth during his caliphate;, but rather, it has been mentioned in sources that 'Umar was among the wealthiest of the Quraysh.[55]

Someone asked Nafi', "Was 'Umar in debt?"
Nafi' said, "How could he be in debt when one of his inheritors, alone, sold his inheritance at 100000 dhms?[56] 'Umar had set his wife's marriage portion at 4000 dhms.[57] Also once, he bestowed tens of thousands of dhms from his original wealth to his son-in-law.[58] More pious than 'Umar was Salman who warned him against luxury life.[59]

Umar's Functionaries

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

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

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

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

- **Yemen,** 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Rabi'a Makhzumi

- **Bahrayn**, 'Ala' Ha□rami, Qudamat Ibn Maz'un, 'Uthman Ibn Abi l-'As, Abu Hurayrah, Ayyash Ibn Abi Thawr

● **'Amman**, Someone from the Ansar and then 'Uthman Ibn Abi l–'As

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

● **Yamama**, Salama Ibn Sallama Ansari

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

● **Ta'if**, 'Uthman Ibn Abi l–'As, Sufyan Ibn 'Abd Allah Thaqafi

● **Greater Syria**, Abu 'Ubayda Jarrah, Mu'adh Ibn Jabal, Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan, Mu'awiya Ibn Abi Sufyan[60]

● **Palestine**, Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan, 'Amr Ibn 'As

● **Egypt**, 'Amr Ibn 'As

● **Hijaz and A**dharbayjan, 'Aya Ibn Ghanam, Habib Ibn Maslama Fihri, 'Umayr Ibn Sa'd Ansari [61]

It has been stated that, for sometime, Salman used to rule Ctesiphon.[62]

As indicated by the above–mentioned names, 'Umar selected few people from among the companions to run the affairs. Once he was asked about it, 'Umar answered he did not intend to corrupt them with executive affairs.[63] This has been quoted by several historians. Most answers are the same as mentioned.[64]

Sha'bi,who is the reliable source of the Sunnis, however says, "'Umar did not allow the Muhajir s to leave Medina and told them, "What I fear most is that you will become scattered in towns and cities." He has added, "If any of them asked permission to go to war, 'Umar would say, "As you have fought alongside the Prophet, that should suffice you."[65]

Also, Hasan Basri says, "If any of the companions wanted to leave Medina, he had to seek 'Umar's permission."[66] Preventing the companions' exit, as some people have said, was not limited to the Quraysh; rather, he basically prevented the exit of those companions who could turn into a pivotal figure in any city and could somehow stand against the caliph.

Another reason for his choices was found in that 'Umar wanted to prevent the spread of the Prophet's hadiths in different towns and cities. Khatib Baghdadi has narrated that 'Umar sent messages to Abul–Darda' Abu Mas'ud Ansari and 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud, saying, "What are all these hadiths you are quoting from Prophet Muhammad?" Later, these people were not allowed to leave Medina[67] until 'Umar was killed.

According to the same quote, Qar at Ibn Ka'b says, "When we were leaving Medina, 'Umar saw us off. Then, he asked, "Do you know why I am seeing you off? I wanted to tell you not to narrate the hadiths of

the Prophet for the people in the cities you go. I, too, am your partner." Qar□at says, "Afterwards, I did not narrate any more hadiths."[68]

Preventing the exit of the companions and not employing them was a policy 'Umar followed carefully. People such as Sha'bi sought the problem of 'Uthman in his policy which was exactly the opposite of 'Umar's. It is said that once, Zubayr asked 'Umar to let him take part in wars.'Umar responded, "I will not allow the companions of the Prophet to go to different cities and mislead the people."[69]

Also, it was once protested to him, "Why do you give the affairs to people such as Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan, Sa'id Ibn 'As, Mu'awiya and the like who are from the "مؤلفة قلوبهم" و"طلقاء" 'Those whose hearts are captured as well as those who are the liberated ones but you avoid using 'Ali, 'Abbas, Zubayr and Talha?" 'Umar said he was afraid they would go stir trouble in cities.[70]

Also, 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf asked 'Umar, "Why don't you allow them to go to jihad?" 'Umar said, "If I remain silent and refrain from answering your question, it would be better."[71] The unacceptable justification of Ahmad Amin is that it was due to the importance of Medina that 'Umar kept the Ansar in the city.[72] This viewpoint is different from that of Sha'bi and Hasan Basri!

Ibn Sa'd says, "'Umar appointed people such as 'Amr Ibn 'As, Mu'awiya and Mughira, but not people like 'Uthman, 'Umar, Talha, Zubayr and 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf because the formers were strong and well-informed in executive affairs. Moreover, 'Umar dominated them and was an awful figure for them. When he was asked why he did not use the great companions of the Prophet, he would say,أكره أن أدنّسَهم بالعمل " I please not to taint them with action."[73]

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

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

Mughira said, "Appoint me as the city's governor."
'Umar answered, "You are a lewd man!"

Mughira said, "My efficiency is for you and my lewdness for myself." 'Umar liked his response and appointed him as governor of Kufa.[74] Before that, Mughira had ruled Basra for a while. There, he had illicit relations with a married woman named Umm Jamil. This affair was so explicit that four people saw him during adultery. But, only one of them gave false testimony and that saved Mughira from being stoned.

Different sources are unanimous that 'Umar had asked the fourth person to testify in such a manner.[75]

'Umar's policy of choosing such people caused Hudhayfa Ibn Yaman to protest to the caliph about his appointment of corrupt people.'Umar answered, “I use his power (in running the affairs).”[76]

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

That man said, “When I attended the caliph's court, I took on a serious expression. It was then that I realized 'Umar paid more attention to me,” after a while, he asked me.
“Where are you working now?” I answered.
'Umar said, “From now on, you are appointed in that region directly by me.”[77]

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

In this concern, 'Umar considered almost all his functionaries[78] to be guilty and halved their belongings when they returned from the region of service. He gave half of the wealth to them and gave the other half to the Bayt al-Mal. This act is called the “dividing in two halves of the wealth.”

It was natural for 'Umar to believe that his functionaries had gathered the wealth illegally, but as he did not know a particular way for separating the legal from the illegal. He had decided to divide the wealth as mentioned except in a few cases. One of these governors was Abu Hurayra who ruled Bahrayn. When he returned from his mission, 'Umar divided his wealth and ordered him to be punished. Then, 'Umar asked him to go back to work! Abu Hurayra said he would not accept to return because his money had been seized, he had been disgraced and he had been beaten as well![79]

'Amr Ibn 'As, too, saw his wealth divided.[80] Other people to have the same fate were Abu Musa Ash'ari, Harith Ibn Ka'b and 'Utba Ibn Sufyan who were in charge of collecting alms in Ta'if.[81]
Abu Bakra was another governor whose wealth was divided. He protested to 'Umar and said, “If all these riches belong to God, who don't you take them all and if they are mine, why are you doing so, then?”[82]

As we said earlier, after dividing the wealth of his functionaries, 'Umar re-appointed them to their posts. Imam 'Ali has been quoted as having the same protest of Abu Bakr about why the functionaries were returned to work. One such instance was that one of 'Umar's functionaries had returned from Yemen and was wearing an exquisite robe. 'Umar ordered his attire to be taken off and ordered him to return to his post.[83]

Also, 'Umar once heard that his governor in the city of Hims had built a nice house and had set a door-keeper for it. 'Umar sent someone to burn the door of his house, but after a while, sent him back to work.[84]

This act even trapped people such as Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas. Baladhuri has provided a list of those governors whose wealth was divided, Nafi' Ibn Harith, Nafi' Ibn Harith, Bushr Ibn Muhtafar, Jaz Ibn Mu'awiya, Khalid Ibn Harith, Qays Ibn 'Asim, Samura Ibn Jundab, Mujashi' Ibn Mas'ud, Shibl Ibn Ma'bad and Abu Maryam Ibn Muhrash. These people, as said by Baladhuri, were mostly responsible for collecting alms in the cities.[85] Of course, the names of people such as Salman and 'Ammar Ibn Yasir are included on the list.

Controlling his functionaries was a principle in 'Umar's policies. This supervision mostly focused on the financial aspect. When 'Umar heard that 'Amr Ibn 'As had taken some money from the Bayt al-Mal, he wrote to him, “I knew people from the Muhajirun who were much better than you, but I appointed you thinking that you had little need.” After that, 'Umar sent Muhammad Ibn Maslama to divide the wealth of 'Amr Ibn 'As.[86]

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

Once, 'Aya decided to get rid of his situation with the mediation of 'Umar's wife. When 'Umar found out, he harshly told his wife, “This is not your business! You are a mere means of joy that is discarded after having fun.[87] Now, you are meddling in the affairs of me and Muslims?” Then, with 'Uthman's arbitration, 'Umar sent 'Aya back to his post and committed him not to return to his previous situation.[88]

Sometimes, 'Umar would go to the house of his agents, accompanied by someone. He would remain silent and his friend would ask permission for entry. Then, he entered the house unexpectedly and this way, he tried to supervise their way of life.[89] In one occasion, he heard that Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas had built a palace and had set a portal for the building. 'Umar sent someone to Kufa to set the gate on fire.[90]

Of course, some of 'Umar's functionaries lived luxurious lives, but 'Umar was not strict with them. two instances were 'Amr Ibn 'As and Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan.[91] This could have been due to his trust in their management skills.

In some cases, too, he had special interest in certain persons. For example, he was greatly fond of Zayd Ibn Thabit. Once, Abu Bakr asked 'Umar to appoint Zayd, then a teenager, to a post in financial affairs. When 'Umar came to power and Zayd returned to him with some money, 'Umar bestowed on Zayd all the money he had brought with him.[92]

One day, 'Umar heard that Abu Musa Ash'ari had lashed one of the fighters of the army and had shaved his head. He wrote to Abu Musa that if he had done this in public, he must receive Qisas or get retaliatory punishment in public. And, if he had done it secretly, again he would have to be punished in the same manner. When Abu Musa was getting ready for Qisas, the lashed man forgave him.[93]

At any rate, 'Umar's orders and letters to the governors of different lands, his questioning of the emirs of cities and his urging them to observe justice, have been mentioned in numerous occasions by various sources.[94] This situation, whatever reason it had, did not last after 'Umar. 'Uthman, during his years of caliphate, left his functionaries to themselves. This prevented a personality such as Imam 'Ali from controlling the situation.

The narrator says, “Once, some money was brought to 'Umar. His child took one dhm, put it in its mouth and went away. 'Umar went after him and took the money.” The narrator adds, “I was sitting with 'Uthman when some money was brought to him, His child took a coin and then, his servant took one, but he did not protest. I burst into tears. When 'Uthman asked the reason, I told him the story.

'Uthman said, ”'Umar did not give to his relatives for God's sake, but I am giving to my folks for God's sake.”[95]

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

'Umar did not remove Mu'awiya from office when he called him the Arab Caesar.[96] Once, 'Umar told Mu'awiya that he did not abide by enjoining to good and forbidding from evil.[97] During 'Umar's rule, the entire Damascus was under Mu'awiya's control.[98] Even at the time of death, 'Umar told the six–man council, “Do not have differences with each other because Mu'awiya is in Damascus![99]

Also, Qa□i 'Abd al–Jabbar, a fanatic Sunnites, says, “Although 'Umar strictly controlled his agents and sometimes changed them, he never had such a behavior towards Mu'awiya.”[100]

Abu Bakr Asam said, “Mu'awiya was rightful in his war against 'Ali because 'Umar had appointed him.”[101] Later, 'Umar's political and religious conduct turned into a tradition. Once, when there was a dispute between Talha and Imam 'Ali over a pitcher at the presence of 'Uthman.
Mu'awiya asked, “Did it exist at the time of 'Umar?”
They said, “Yes.”
He answered, “Can you change something which was fixed during 'Umar's period?”[102]

Before Mu'awiya, his brother, Yazid, was the governor of parts of Damascus. This issue began at the time of Abu Bakr. When he appointed Khalid Ibn Sa'id as the commander of an army in Damascus, 'Umar insisted that he be replaced with Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan because Khalid Ibn Sa'id who was in Yemen on behalf of Prophet Muhammad, returned after the Prophet's demise and complained to Imam 'Ali about Abu Bakr's coming to power.

That was why 'Umar preferred Yazid Ibn Sufyan to him.[103] After Yazid's death, Mu'awiya succeeded him and ruled Damascus during the last four years of 'Umar's caliphate.[104] Jahiz has interesting

interpretations about the gradual reinforcement of Mu'awiya's position in Damascus from the time of Abu Bakr until 'Uthman.[105]

Among the caliph's agents, in addition to Mughira, there were other lewd people, too. One of them was Qudama Ibn Maz'un who was a drunkard and was lashed for this.[106] Another governor of 'Umar, Nu'man Ibn 'Adi, wrote poems on wine and drunkenness.[107] It was reported to 'Umar that Nu'man ran the affairs in the best possible way, but did not say his prayers on time.[108]

At the end of this part, it would be suitable to mention some other points considered by the caliph in choosing his agents. During his early years in Iraq and Damascus, 'Umar showed that if he did not choose his commanders from among the noble companions, he could not go beyond the limits of the Quraysh and their allies such as the Thaqif and sometimes, the Ansar who were trusted by the Quraysh. Therefore, despite the fact that Muthanna Ibn Haritha had grown his power in Iraq and was apparently trusted, 'Umar did not appoint him as commander in the war against Iranians.

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

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

In response, 'Umar said, “It is better that Mughira rules Basra, not Mujashi' because Mujashi' is from nomads and Mughira is a city-dweller.”[109] Mughira was a Thaqafi residing in Ta'if.

Thoughts of the Second Caliph

The second caliph, more than any other personality, influenced the thoughts and ideas of the Sunnites. As his period of caliphate was a highly crucial juncture in the history of Islam, his thoughts and deeds, too, were of great significance for Sunnites Muslims. This is the extent to which he is considered as a role model who made no mistakes and every word or act of him can be trusted as a religious tradition. Therefore, it is necessary to talk about him here.

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

In a narration found in Bukhari, Muslim and in addition toothers, Abu Hurayra has been quoted as saying that the Prophet Muhammad said, “There were people among the Israelian tribe who received revelations without being a prophet. If there is anyone in my Umma who is such, that person is certainly 'Umar.” According to Qastalani, the commentator of the book of Bukhari, the “if” in the above-mentioned

sentence, does not mean “hesitation” but means “emphasis”.

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

It is interesting that in some cases, the viewpoint of the Prophet was in conflict with 'Umar's, but God has sent down verses agreeing with 'Umar's idea! 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar has been quoted as saying that all the verses God sent down about something discussed by 'Umar and others, were in accordance with 'Umar's idea. Some of such examples are saying prayers for Ibrahim, the verse of Hijab, the Badr captives, banning drinking, not saying prayers for hypocrites and so on. It is evident, then, why 'Umar's status was close to prophethood and later, his way of behavior was regarded superior even to that of the Prophet.

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

It was due to this weakness in knowledge that 'Umar did not like religious discussions and debates and once, when someone asked him the meaning of **وَالذَّارِيَاتِ ذَرْوًا**. “I Swear to pollinating winds,” 'Umar beat him up.[110]

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

In cases where he found himself incompetent, he would hold consultations and deliberations with the Companions to get things done. Narrating an interesting story told by Tabari is appropriate here to realize the caliph's idea about his authorities, ”'Imran Ibn Sawad says, “I said the morning prayers with 'Umar and then, followed him.”

He asked, “You have a request?”
I said, “Yes, advice!”
He said, “Bravo! Go on!”
I said, “People find faults with you in several things.”
Holding his lash under his chin, 'Umar said, “Well?”

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

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

I asked, “You have banned the temporary marriage of women while the Prophet had allowed it?”
'Umar said, “I am equal to Muhammad; I make them full and do so and so for them. If I do not do so (harsh behavior), I'll abandon the truth (this is ironical of his having right to do so).”[111]

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

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

This sentence had no relation with 'Umar's response to the questions raised[112] but on the contrary, it was really misleading and was intentionally aimed at misleading the minds. 'Umar says he is equal to the Prophet, meaning he could enjoin to or forbid from something or label things as lawful or unlawful just as the Prophet could.

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

What has been said about the caliph's ban on narrating hadith and writing is that it[113] exactly conforms to this idea of the caliph. It seems the caliph believed that only the Qur'an could remain unchanged, but not hadith. Therefore, the ruler can act at any time based on his expedience regarding this matter. In other words, what has been quoted from Prophet Muhammad, only refer to his authorities as a ruler and these are authorities 'Umar, too, had as a ruler.

It is unlikely to find any caliph other than 'Umar and 'Uthman who considered their authorities to include divine legislation and interference in religious affairs. Nasr Allah Munshi, in the preface to “Kelilih wa Dimnih”, quotes 'Umar as saying, “What the “state” bans people from is prior to what the “Qur'an” prohibits.”[114]

'Umar cut the share of **المؤلفة قلوبهم** “ Those whose hearts are captured,” that God paid from the tax alms, saying, Islam has no fear of them any more.[115] He believed an unclean person who needs water should not say prayers if he cannot find water. When 'Ammar Yasir taught him the Prophet's tradition in Tayammum (making ablution with earth or sand), **اتق الله يا عمار** “ O 'Ammar! Fear God!”
'Ammar answered, “If you please so, I will not tell you the hadith of the Prophet!”[116]

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

him.

When they got to Medina, 'Umar complained about him to the Prophet, but the Prophet said, “I would have done the same if I were in his conditions.”[117] Of course, if nothing occurred to his mind, 'Umar would follow the Prophet's Sunna.[118]

Ibn 'Abbas says, “During the time of the Prophet and Abu Bakr and in two years of 'Umar's caliphate, if someone divorced his wife three times, it would be considered once. But, 'Umar considered it three divorces.[119] Malik Ibn Anas, Imam of Malikiyya, narrates, ”'Umar was afraid that a non-Arab would receive inheritance from an Arab unless he was born among Arabs!”[120]

These rulings were among the caliph's personal Ijtihads which were mostly based on his favored “interests”. Temporary marriage during Hajj and temporary marriage of women are among the main religious affairs allowed by Prophet Muhammad, but banned by the caliph.[121] As we mentioned, 'Umar believed these affairs were permissible at the time of the Prophet due to certain necessity.

Another example is dropping the line “Hayya 'Ala Khayr al-'Amal” (Rush to the best deed) from the Adhan[122] whereas people such as 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar and Iman as-Sajjad (a) always said this line in the call to prayers.[123]

Word has it that 'Umar was the first person to initiate the rising of Rama□an. He did it in the 14th year of Hijra and ordered all towns and cities to do so.[124] This is the same nightly prayers of Rama□an still common among Sunnis. Because 'Umar saw himself entitled to such authorities, he issued contradictory rulings in some cases. Such instances can be found in the issue of inheritance.[125]

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

Comparing the successful policy of 'Umar and Mu'awiya with that of Imam 'Ali, Ahmad Amin says the former two considered themselves free in interpreting religious texts while 'Ali believed in them.[126] Also, Suhayl Zakkar has referred to the point that 'Umar saw himself entitled to interpret new issues.[127] His instructions to Shurayh are also considerable for following the rules.[128]

As mentioned earlier, one principle of the caliph's thoughts was that he tried to only rely on the Qur'an as proof, so he ignored hadiths. His remark which said, [129] حسبنا كتاب الله “We relied on the Book of Allah.”

This has been cited in many historical and hadith sources and implies nothing other than there is no need for hadith. Of course, this has no contradiction with 'Umar's use of the Prophet's quotations if he

could not think of a certain solution. However, in return, he would do something if it were to his interest even if Prophet Muhammad had a special belief in that regard.

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

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

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

In these cases, too, if they saw it to their benefit, they would oppose the word of the Prophet. For example, the Prophet ordered Abu Bakr and 'Umar to join the army of Usama, but they refused to do so as they did not see it agreeable to the state interests. These happened during Prophet Muhammad's lifetime, he saw them and did not deny them!...

The companions, collectively and individually, neglected many words of Prophet Muhammad and this was due to the interests they saw in doing so such as the shares of **ذوي القربى والمؤلفة قلوبهم** “Relatives and those whose hearts are captured.”

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

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

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

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

Ibn Abi al-Hadid says, “My master, Abu Ja’far Naqib, did not believe in Imam and did not obey them. Neither did he accept the words of Shi'ites fanatics. Yet, he had such an analysis.[130]

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

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

It was during his period that for the first time, the title of “Amir al-Mu'minin” or “Commander of the Faithful” became a common term to refer to the caliph. Before that, he was called “Khalifa Rasul Allah” or the “Caliph of the Prophet”. But, according to quotations, he got the title of Amir al-Mu'minin in the year 17 A.H. from either Mughira Ibn Shu'ba, Abu Musa Ash'ari or 'Adi Ibn Hatim.[131]

One the caliph's measures which had an important role in organizing the ruling system and establishing the government was the formation of “Diwans” in the year 20 A.H.[132] Prophet Muhammad was a pioneer in registering the names of Muslims, especially fighters.[133]

'Umar ordered the registration of the Companions and classified them based on tribal origins and religious records.[134] Then, he divided the huge booties gained during conquests. 'Umar began with the Hashimites and among them, with 'Abd al-Muttalib.50 The policy of the Prophet and Abu Bakr differed with 'Umar's policy[135] in that they divided the riches equally while 'Umar's division was based on different tribes and the people's record in Islam. It is said that 'Umar objected to Abu Bakr for observing equality.[136]

This act of the caliph led to the reinforcement of tribal strata among Arabs based on which, some tribes claimed superiority over others. This remark of Maqdisi who has quoted 'Umar as saying that he had learnt justice from Chosroe[137] gives strength to the probability that he had been somehow influenced by the Iranian system of social classification, though there is no other evidence to prove this claim. Word has said that towards the end of his life, 'Umar doubted the rightfulness of this method and said if he lived more, he would act equally towards all people.[138]

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

Regarding the sources of the second caliph's religious and political thoughts, we must note another point. Besides what he had gained from Islamic teachings, 'Umar tried to enrich his thoughts from other sources also. One of these sources was the knowledge of the people of the book and Jews had plenty of

such knowledge in Hijaz.

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

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

Their religious texts had many things in common with Islam and it was on this basis that they claimed to have some knowledge about the interpretation of the Qur'an. Moreover, they said that in the earlier texts, the Prophet's ordainment had been announced.

They went on as far as claiming that in divine books, there had a lot of information about the trend of developments in the Islamic society, the story of caliphs, events and wars. Muslims' belief in this issue made it much easier for the people of the book. We had better set aside our general discussion in this regard, which has also been reiterated by Ibn Khadlun[139] and return to our main topic.

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

A quotation says, كانت اليهود يحدثون اصحاب رسول الله " The Jews spoke with the companions of the Prophet (S)." When Prophet Muhammad heard of that, he said, "Do not confirm or deny them."[140] Though it seems that gradually, things got more serious until the Prophet banned the companions from listening to Jews or copying their works.

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

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

Then, the Prophet said, "I have brought everything for you."[141] Elsewhere, 'Umar has been quoted as telling Prophet Muhammad, "I came across a "brother from Qurayza" who copied the Torah for me. Shall I offer it to you?" This question angered the Prophet.[142]

Zuhri says that "Hafsa who was 'Umar's daughter and also the Prophet's wife, brought to the Prophet a book of stories about Joseph and read out the book. At the same moment, the Prophet's face turned red with anger and he said, "I swear by God that if Joseph and I were among you and you followed him and

abandoned me, you would be mistaken."[143] The fact that 'Umar and his daughter tried at the time of the Prophet to read the texts of other religions could not have been a mere incidence. This issue is clarified with the point told by Ibn Shahab Zuhri about 'Umar's naming as Faruq, the distinguisher.

He says, "The first people to call 'Umar as Faruq were the people of the book while no news has reached us to indicate that the Prophet called him so."[144]

When 'Umar came to power, he pondered in this regard with a more peace of mind and right at the time when he encountered a Muslim-turned Jew from Yemen, he could benefit from him more. This person was Ka'b Ibn Mati' Himyari known as Ka'b al-Ahbar.[145]

He converted to Islam after the Prophet's demise at the time of Abu Bakr or 'Umar and then came to Medina. Later, he took permission from the caliph and headed to Damascus. It seems that his departure to Damascus and at the time of the second caliph, to Bayt al-Muqaddas, was to sign a peace deal with Christians and Ka'b accompanied him. Ka'b al-Ahbar died during 'Uthman's caliphate in the year 32 or 33 A.H in the town of Hims.[146]

This is while a tomb with a high dome was built for him in Egypt. Ka'b al-Ahbar was a trusted and reliable source for centuries and his quotations have filled books of history and interpretation.[147] But currently, given the new researches carried out, the image of Ka'b al-Ahbar has been shrouded in mystery and has made decision-making difficult for Sunnites scholars and religious men.

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

Ka'b al-Ahbar and Wahb Ibn Munabba are two main sources of the spread of Israelite in the Islamic culture. Since the anti-Israelite current gained force among Sunnis, the task of deciding about Ka'b has been made difficult.[148] We should not forget here that twice as much what Ka'b has quoted from earlier books, has been falsely attributed to him by others and he has been exaggerated.

Dhahabi says about him, "He had knowledge of Jewish books and had a special talent in recognizing false and true texts."[149]

Here, the second caliph's trust in him, despite sufficient evidence, has not been trusted by those who did not believe the Israelites in general and Ka'b, in particular. Ibn Kathir says Ka'b al-Ahbar was the best of them (Muslim-turned Jews) who are quoted. He embraced Islam at the time of 'Umar and quoted the people of the book. 'Umar approved some of his quotations because they were truthful.[150]

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

Kathir has implicitly admitted that 'Umar helped Ka'b find a place among the people who turned to him. Due to the cultural power of the people of the book, as soon as Ka'b arrived in Medina, people gathered around him and asked him to read them some news about the future events from the books of the predecessors.[151]

What made people trust him was that he claimed his words were all based on “the Revealed Book of God”. Here, book means the Torah about which Ka'b had told Qays Ibn Kharasha, “The Torah says there is no inch of land other than what happens on it until the Day of Judgment.”[152]

Ka'b spread his words among the people by underlining that he was quoting from the “Book of God”. Above all, the second caliph benefited from him and his knowledge. There are several instances to prove this. Hisham Kalbi says, “There was famine at the time of 'Umar. Ka'b al-Ahbar told him, “When the same situation occurred for the Israelian tribe, they resorted to their prophet's Household and said the prayer for rain.

This advice led 'Umar to ask 'Abbas to say this prayer.”[153] Another quotation says 'Umar asked Ka'b to talk about “death” for him. While Ka'b was elaborating on death, tears rolled down the caliph's cheeks.[154] In another case, 'Umar asked him, which of Adam's sons had offspring and he talked in this regard in detail.[155]

When 'Umar wanted to travel to Iraq, Ka'b told him, “Do not go to Iraq because the genies are there, as are their men and nine-tenth of sorcery, too.”[156]

The quotation of Sayf Ibn 'Umar says that during the outbreak of plague, 'Umar called on his courtiers to guide him about different cities. Ka'b said the following about Iraq in response to 'Umar's seeking consultation.[157]

According to 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud who met 'Umar with Ka'b, Ka'b said, “Allow me to tell you the sweetest thing which I have read in “The Books of Prophets”. With 'Umar's approval, Ka'b al-Ahbar quoted parts of the book which is more than a page.[158] 'Umar asked Ka'b to tell him about Ka'ba and he said, “God sent down to earth a hollow sapphire[159] and ...” In another occasion, Ka'b was sitting in the mosque when 'Umar entered and asked him to intimidate him and others.
He said, “O Ka'b! Frighten us!”[160]

'Umar said, “Prophet Muhammad told me, “My greatest fear for my Umma is from the side of misleading Imam.”

Ka'b said, “I swear by God that fear for the Umma is from no one other than them.”[161] Another quotation says once at the time of 'Umar, Ka'b stood up and asked, “What was the last word of your Prophet?”

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

prayers."

Ka'b said, "This is the last oath of all prophets to which they have been obliged and ordained."[162]
Ka'b wanted to show himself well-versed in all books of prophets and in other cases, to make people accept what he said. Apparently later, some people noticed the problem that they could not rely on the distorted Torah.

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

His justification was that he was afraid some people would use that book as a base for their reasoning. After narrating this story, Dhahabi says, "Now, this Torah is not in our hands and after that, we cannot rely on the existing book of Torah."[163]

However at the same time, Ibn 'Abbas rejected the Torah as distorted and cautioned people against asking questions from the people of the book.[164]

Another narration says 'Umar had ordered someone to be lashed as punishment. When he was being lashed, he said, "Subhan Allah" or "Praise be to God". 'Umar told the executioner to stop the lashing. Ka'b al-Ahbar burst into laughter.

'Umar said, "Why do you laugh?"
Ka'b answered, "I swear by God that Subhan Allah is a mitigation of divine punishment."[165] In another case, 'Umar and Ka'b were standing.

Hutay'a, the poet recited a poem which said, "Someone who does a good deed, his reward will never be wasted because "the good deed" is ever lasting between God and his people."
Ka'b said, "By God, that it says the same thing in the Torah."[166]

Once, 'Umar asked Ka'b al-Ahbar about different cities.
He said, "When God created the word and what is in it, Wisdom said, "I shall go to Iraq." Knowledge said, "I shall be with you." Wealth said, "I go to Damascus." Trouble said, "I am with you."[167]

In another occasion, Ka'b al-Ahbar entered the court of 'Umar and sat down at some distance from him. 'Umar asked him why he had done so. Ka'b pointed to the wisdom of Luqman and said, "One should not sit close to a person of power because someone else may enter the assembly who is more endeared; then, you will have to sit back a little. This way, you will be belittled."[168]

'Umar asked Ka'b, "How does knowledge leave the mind of someone who has learnt it?"
Ka'b responded, "Through greed and stretching one's hand out to the people."[169]

Once again, Ka'b told 'Umar, "Woe unto the "Sultan of the Earth" from the "Sultan of the Heaven"?"

'Umar said, “Unless for someone who checks himself.”

Ka'b said, “I swear by God that this has been mentioned in the Torah exactly.”[170] In another occasion, 'Umar asked Ka'b al-Ahbar to tell him about virtue.[171] Once 'Umar told Ka'b who was seeking permission to go to Damascus, “Do not leave Medina which is the place of the Prophet's Hijra and his city of burial.” Ka'b said he had read in the Revealed Book of Allah that Damascus was God's treasure upon the earth.[172]

In another case, a verse was discussed,

كُلَّمَا نَضِجَتْ جُلُودُهُمْ بَدَّلْنَاهُمْ جُلُودًا غَيْرَهَا

.

“Whatsoever their skin is fried, it is replaced with a new one to taste the pain.”[173]

Ka'b said, “I have an interpretation about this verse which dates back to the period before the advent of Islam.”
'Umar said, “Say it, but we will confirm your words only when they conform to those of the Prophet (S).”

Ka'b said, “It means I will change their skin a hundred times each hour.”
'Umar said, “I heard the same thing from the Prophet (S) !”[174]
In Bayt al-Muqaddas, 'Umar asked Ka'b about the location of the “Sakhra” and he talked in this regard in detail.[175]

Despite these examples, only Abu Zur'a Dimashqi has quoted 'Umar as telling Ka'b, “Quit the narration of “Hadith al-Uwal” the first hadith or I shall banish you to the land of apes!”[176]

In another case, in continuation of a report from a follower of another religion talking about the traits of the caliphs in the Torah, 'Umar has been quoted as having cautioned people against quoting the people of the book.[177] Also, once 'Umar heard that someone in Kufa had the book of Daniel. 'Umar called him to Medina and afterwards, that person agreed to burn whatever he had.[178]

Such a position, even if existed, was not so firm towards Ka'b and the instances mentioned earlier, are proofs to our opinion. Once Ka'b came to 'Umar and asked permission to read the Torah. 'Umar answered, “If you know that this is the same Torah sent down by God upon Moses in Mount Sinai, then read it day and night.”[179]

During these consultations, once 'Umar noticed that Ka'b had not given up his Jewish thoughts yet. In the year that 'Umar went to Bayt al-Muqaddas, Ka'b accompanied him. On this journey when there were talks with others including a monk,[180] 'Umar asked Ka'b to determine the place of the mosque of Bayt al-Muqaddas. So, he asked Ka'b, “In your opinion, in which direction should we place the altar?”

Ka'b said, “Towards the Sakhra (Jewish Qibla).”

'Umar said, “You speak in favor of Jews! I also saw that upon entering the mosque, you took off your shoes.”[181] However, even after that, Ka'b's position remained the same to the caliph.

One interesting point here is the claim of Ka'b al-Ahbar and the people of the book about finding the name and characteristics of the second caliph in previous divine books. 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud has been quoted as saying, ”'Umar was riding a horse when it suddenly threw him off. At that moment, 'Umar's thigh was revealed. The people of Najran who saw a black mole on his thigh said, “This is the same person who, our books say, drives us out of our homeland.”[182]

Later, Wahb Ibn Munabba claimed that 'Umar's description had been mentioned in the Torah.[183] Aqra' who was 'Umar's Mu'adhdhin, says, “The caliph sent me to fetch the bishop. I brought him so that he sat under the same shade with 'Umar.
'Umar asked the bishop, “Have you seen my name in your books?”

The bishop replied, “Yes.”
'Umar inquired, “How?”
The bishop answered, “Like a horn!”
'Umar lifted his lash and said, “What is on my horn?”

The bishop said, “An iron horn, reliable and strong.”
'Umar asked, “Who succeeds to caliphate after me?”
The bishop answered, “A righteous caliph who sacrifices his life for his relatives.”
'Umar asked, “Who is next after him?”

The bishop said, “A righteous caliph who has drawn out his sword has shed blood!”[184] Although this narration is unknown, first of all, it is likely that its beginning part is correct and the bishop said these things only about 'Umar. Second, even despite being an entire fabrication, those people have been mentioned by other bishops and those familiar with the pre-Islamic books.

Ibn Shubba says, “During 'Umar's journey to Damascus, an old man approached the army on the way and complained about heavy taxes. He asked to talk to the caliph.
Talha asked him, “Have you found the news of the caliph's descent in your books?”

He said, “Yes, we know the descriptions of your chief and the one before him as well as your prophet.” Then, he mentioned those traits one by one![185] Amali Muhammad Ibn Habib has been quoted as saying

that Ibn 'Abbas said, “Towards the end of his caliphate, 'Umar wished death for himself.

One day when I was with him, he asked Ka'b al-Ahbar, “I see my death close. First, what is your opinion about 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib and second, what do you find in this regard in your books, because you believe that our affairs have been written in your books?”

Ka'b said, “In my opinion, 'Ali is not suitable for his job because he is a strictly religious man. He does not overlook any mistake, does not act to his Ijtihad and this way, he cannot control his subjects. But, what we find in our books is that the government does not fall to him or his sons.”
'Umar said, “Then, who gets the rule?”

Ka'b al-Ahbar said, “We find it so that after the believer in Shari'a and two of his companions, the government will reach those people with whom the Prophet (S) has fought over the principle of religion,186 that is the Umayya.” Also in another occasion, someone from the people of the book came to 'Umar and said, ” Oh, King of Arab, greetings upon you.”

'Umar asked, “Has such a thing been mentioned in your books? Has it not been said that the “Prophet” comes, then the “caliph” and then “Amir al-Mu'minin”?”
He said, “Yes.”187 This quotation is evidently a mere lie. At the time of 'Uthman, Ka'b al-Ahbar responded to someone who had said in a poem that after 'Uthman, 'Ali would come to power.

He said, “You are lying. The caliphate will go to Mu'awiya.”188
According to historians, Ka'b deviated from Imam 'Ali (a) and Imam, too, introduced him as a “Liar.”189 Ka'b said he had read the news of the cities' conquests in the Torah and that these conquests would take place at the hands of a righteous man.190

'Umar's familiarity with the people of the book, especially his friendship with Ka'b, caused him to sometimes say something or take an action by relying on what the people of the book had stated.

One of the companions says, “Prophet Muhammad (S) had said the afternoon prayers. After that, a man stood up to say prayers. 'Umar grasped him by his clothes and said, “ 'Sit down.' The people of the book were lost because there was no rest between their prayers.”191 Also, the caliph's important decision in preventing the Prophet's hadiths from being written down was made under the influence of the people of the book.192

Zuhri quotes 'Urwa Ibn Zubayr as saying, ”'Umar decided to write down the hadiths and Sunna of the Prophet (S). He consulted the companions in this regard. They all agreed. 'Umar thought about the decision for a month and then said, “I have thought about it. I saw that before you, the people of the book had written books on the book of God and relied on them. As a result, they abandoned the book of God. But, I will not cover the book of God with anything else.”193

Despite the Prophet's clear ban on reading the works of the people of the book – including obvious

examples that were addressed to 'Umar, himself[194] some people freely spread these ideas. It is interesting that besides spreading these thoughts, the writing and narration of the hadiths was prevented.[195]

In order to complete this plan one side of which was the permission for spreading Jewish thoughts and the other one was blocking the narration of the hadith, a hadith was narrated, or in better words, was fabricated which quoted Prophet Muhammad as saying, “Do not write any of my words and instead, narrate anything you want from the people of Israel.”[196]

This is while people such as Ibn 'Abbas and Ibn Mas'ud openly voiced concern over the accessibility of the works of the people of the book for Muslims and rejected them.[197]

One of the phenomena which was created in this period and whose origin should be considered as a consequence of the spread of the Israelite, was story telling. Certain people known as “Qas”, the story-tellers quoted the historical-Religious stories of Jews and used them as the interpretation of the historical verses of the Qur'an. Their main source for these stories was the Torah and the verbal quotations common among Jewish and Christian scribes.

These people made speeches for the people before and after the public prayers. This phenomenon did not exist at the time of the Prophet (S) and Abu Bakr, but became common at the time of the second caliph, with his permission and continued later on. The phenomenon of story-telling raised positive and negative reactions among the companions (Sahaba) and the followers (Tabi'in) which we have elaborated on in a special book.[198]

What is concerned here is that for the first time, Tamim al-Dari began story-telling with the permission of the second caliph.[199] 'Umar allowed him to preach through story-telling before the Friday prayers sermons. Later, 'Uthman allowed him to do so twice a week.[200] Tamim al-Dari was a Christian-turned-Muslim and many stories have been narrated about his virtue. This became the basis of a kind of Christian-style piety later greatly spread in the Islamic society.

Examples of these pious people who constantly quoted news from Jews and Christian monks, are abundant in the book of “Hiliyat al-Awliya” by Abu Na'im Isfahani. It has been said that Tamim al-Dari had learnt his stories in the synagogues of Damascus and from the preachers of that land.[201] Also, another person named 'Ubayd Ibn 'Umayr was permitted to tell stories at the time of 'Umar.[202] We will see later that Imam 'Ali (a) was seriously opposed to story-telling.

‘Umar’s Murder

According to certain narrations and more specifically what has been narrated by Tabari, some people have claimed that 'Umar was murdered with the plot of Ka'b al-Ahbar..Historians and narrators of Sunnites hadiths brought this news in their books for centuries. However, they believed so much in the

predictions and reports of Ka'b and people like him that they did not have the least suspicion about Ka'b's role in the caliph's murder.

Jahiz who is a rationalist critic, has this opinion about what Ka'b has narrated from the Torah (although there is no such thing in the Torah), I believe that many of these reports which have been quoted with phrases such as “We find them in the books” or “written in the Torah”, have in fact been taken from the “Book of prophets” and works from the books of Solomon and Isaiah, the prophet. If the stories quoted from him about the characteristics of 'Umar, are from him (because he, himself, did not fabricate news), the problem cannot be solved unless with our justification.[203]

Therefore, Jahiz Mu'tazili, too, has not been able to have any doubts about Ka'b al-Ahbar. At any rate, forecasting 'Umar's murder before the actual incident and the opinion that Ka'b had seen the news in previous books did not attract the attention of the Prophet's companions and other Muslims. Infact, it is only in recent years that something has been said in this regard.

In our opinion, there is doubt about the truthfulness of what has been said by Ka'b. What has led to the linking of this fabricated news to Ka'b was nothing but the interest of some simple-minded people in the point that the caliph's martyrdom has been mentioned in the Torah or other books and especially that the title of “martyr” has been particularly emphasized.

Moreover, many stories have been quoted in different sources saying that others had reported on 'Umar's murder. Some of them have been collected by Ibn Sa'd and most of them have been related to “the invisible voice” or “genie”. They said, for example, a voice could be heard reading a poem and saying the news but no one could be seen.[204] What has come in certain texts is that Ka'b had told the caliph before his murder that he had found him a just and martyred Imam in the Torah.

'Umar had said, “How will he be martyred in Medina?” [205]
After 'Umar received a deadly blow at the mosque, Ka'b came to him and said, “Didn't I tell you that you are a martyr?” [206]

If the news ended here, there would be no problem, but Ibn Sa'd has another quotation from Sa'd al-Jari who was 'Umar's freed slave, Umm Kulthum told 'Umar, “Ka'b, the Jew, says, "'Umar is standing at one of the doors of hell.” 'Umar sent for Ka'b. Ka'b came to him and said, “I swear by God that Dhil-Hajja will not pass unless you are in heaven.”

'Umar said, “How is it that once I am standing at the gate of hell and the other time, I'm in heaven?” Ka'b said, “We have found in the Book of God that you are standing at the door of hell and do not let anyone in, but after you die, people will again go to hell!” [207]

We think what reveals the importance of the matter is a narration by Ibn Sa'd. He has quoted Ka'b as telling 'Umar, “In the tribe of Israel, there was a king who reminds us of you when we think of him. There was a prophet at the time of the king. Once he told the king, “Write down your will. You will die three

days later.” The king said, “God! If you see that I am doing justice in my rule and obey you in the affairs, increase my life until my son grows up and my Umma increases in number.”

God conveyed these words to his prophet and said, “I added fifteen years to his life.”
After 'Umar was wounded, Ka'b told him, “If you ask, God will keep you alive.”
The news reached 'Umar but 'Umar said, “God, take my life at a time when I am not blamed and disabled.” 208

In our opinion, this news has been distorted and it seems as if three days before 'Umar's murder (which in fact was three days before 'Umar's death and after his being wounded), Ka'b had told him, “You will die within three days, so ask God not to die.” Interestingly, it has been said that Ka'b came on the second day and said, “One day is left.” This news seems to be right.

Now, let's go to Tabari's report which is the distorted form of the original news and has been quoted from Miswar Ibn Makhrama. He says, “After Abu Lu'lu"s negotiations with 'Umar over his taxes and 'Umar's request from him for building a mill, Abu Lu'lu' threatened him sarcastically.
The day after that, Ka'b al–Ahbar went to the caliph and said, “Make your will; you will die three days from now.”

'Umar asked, “Have you seen my name in the Torah?”
Ka'b said, “No, but I've seen your description and that your life has come to its end.”
'Umar did not feel any pain.

The next day, Ka'b came and said, “One day of the three days has passed and two days remain.” Again, Ka'b came the other day and said, “Two days are gone and one day and one day are left.” The next morning, Abu Lu'lu' attacked 'Umar at the mosque and dealt six blows on him.209

The above news is evident in that Ka'b knew of 'Umar's murder beforehand, but when this news is compared with that of Ibn Sa'd, we realize that the story was such, Having adopted the news of the Israelian king and the prophet of his time, Ka'b came to 'Umar after he had been wounded and told him that story from the Torah and the three days.

Incidentally, 'Umar passed away on the third day after being injured. However later, the news underwent some changes to sound unnatural. This could have been intentional to gain some credit for the caliph by relying on Muslims' fascination with the divine news of the people of scriptures.

The quotation that after 'Umar's injury, Ka'b had told him if he called on God to delay his death, He would do so210, is a proof to the comparison made by Ka'b between 'Umar and the Israelian king. Out of his interests in the caliph, Ka'b advised him to ask God to delay his death so that he could live for fifteen more years.

As said earlier, despite the existence of quotations from Tabari and others, historians did not have any

suspicions about Ka'b al-Ahbar. We believe that the true story was something else but the reason for the historian's belief in Ka'b was their real trust in him and the caliph's virtues.

Meanwhile, some of the new Sunnites researchers who are influenced by anti-Israelism have ignored 'Umar's trust in Ka'b and have interpreted the above-mentioned news as a Jewish plot to murder 'Umar.[211] One of these writers has named Ka'b al-Ahbar as the mastermind of 'Umar's murder, saying he had instigated Abu Lu'lu' to kill 'Umar. His sources are the news of Tabari and the quotation mentioned by Ibn Athir from Tabari.[212]

About the caliph's murder, what has been clearly reported in history indicates that this issue was solely related to 'Umar and Abu Lu'lu' and the motive behind the act was, at least it appears so, that the murderer felt some injustice had been done to him and he had been overcharged.

He complained to 'Umar in this regard. But, the caliph said that the money taken from him was not so much compared to his abilities and skills and naturally, his income. Some time later, the assassination occurred and it could be natural that the incident was totally or partially related to the argument which had taken place earlier between the murderer and the caliph.

Mas'udi reports the incident as such, 'Umar did not allow non-Arabs to arrive in Medina.[213]

Mughira wrote to him, “I have a servant who has been a painter, blacksmith and carpenter and can be useful for the people of Medina. If you agree, I shall send him to you.” 'Umar agreed and Abu Lu'lu' came to Medina. Mughira got two dhms from him per day. Once, Abu Lu'lu' went to 'Umar and complained about the heavy tax.

'Umar said, “What works do you do?”
Abu Lu'lu' explained his works as a painter, iron-smith and carpenter.
'Umar said, “Considering the jobs you do, your tax is not so much.”

After a few days, 'Umar asked Abu Lu'lu' to build a windmill for him. Abu Lu'lu' said he would build such a windmill for 'Umar that all people would talk about it! 'Umar smelled threat from these words but said nothing.

It was after this encounter that Abu Lu'lu' murdered 'Umar at dawn in a mosque. He injured twelve others six,of whom died later. Then, he killed himself with a sword.[214] Mas'udi said Abu Lu'lu' was a Jew but some sources have termed him as a Christian.[215] This story shows that the murder was personally motivated.[216]

Abu Lu'lu' has been quoted as saying that apparently, after 'Umar did not respond to his protest, he said, “How is it that the caliph's justice covers everyone except me?”[217] Among his motives, one can also notice the point that Abu Lu'lu' wanted to take revenge in this way because Iranians felt defeated at the hands of Muslims. However, the evidence for this claim is lacking.

There are several possibilities about who had incited Abu Lu'lu'. One is 'Ubayd Allah, the son of 'Umar. Claiming that Hurmuzan was Abu Lu'lu' accomplice in the incident and he had seen them together the previous day, 'Ubayd Allah killed Hurmuzan as well as Abu Lu'lu"s wife and daughter.

He had no reason for this act and naturally, had to be killed as Qisas, retaliation for the murder of three people for whose blood there was no supporter but the government. Even Ya'qubi says 'Umar had recommended that 'Ubayd Allah receive the Qisas![218] But 'Uthman did not agree and said, “People will say, yesterday they killed the father and today, the son.[219]

The second guess coming from the caliph, himself, was that maybe some of the Muhajirun were involved in the murder. So, he sent Ibn 'Abbas to them and asked, **أعن ملأ منكم؟** “ Did you order my murder?” And they said, [220] **معاذ الله! ما علمنا وما اطلعنا** “God forbid! We did not know and were not aware of it.”

The date of the caliph's passing has been reported as the 26th or 27th of Dhil-Hajja in the year 23 A.H whereas, he was only 55 years old.[221] Although elsewhere, Mu'awiya has been quoted as saying that he was 63 years old.[222] This forging may have been done to show that he died at the same age of Prophet Muhammad (S).

In his last days when he had been wounded, 'Umar seemed not be so satisfied with his worldly life. He repeatedly said,

يا ليتني لم أك شيئاً، ليت لم تلدني أمي، ليتني كنت نسياً، يا ليتني كنت حائكاً اعيش من عمل يد

ي

“I wish I were nothing. I wish my mother had not given birth to me. I wish I had been forsaken. I wish I were a weaver and would earn my own living.”[223]

Continued Conquests in Damascus and Egypt

After conquering Damascus, the consecutive victories of Muslim Arabs forced many cities to ask for peace beforehand as they could gain more concessions. The city of Ba'labakk was peacefully conquered in the year 15th A.H. In the month of Rabi' al-Thani of the same year, the city of Hims which was considered one of the biggest cities of Damascus, was invaded by Muslims.

According to Baladhuri, the people of Hims who witnessed the escape of Heraclitos from their city and were aware of the repeated victories of Muslims and their patience and perseverance, took refuge inside the city after a brief encounter outside the town and called for mercy from Muslims.

In the peace deal concluded, in addition to guarantees for their life and properties, it was agreed that the city wall and churches would remain intact. Only a quarter of the Johannes church was excluded for the construction of a mosque. Muslims, too, settled down in deserted areas and in houses abandoned by their owners.224

At that time, Abu 'Ubayda divided the governorship of different regions among army commanders. Yazid Abi Sufyan was chosen for ruling Damascus, Shurahbil Ibn Hasana for Jordan, 'Amr Ibn 'As for Palestine and 'Ubayda Ibn Samit for Hims. Abu 'Ubayda, himself, set off towards Humat and Shayzar for expanding the conquests.

Heraclitos who had now lost key centers in Damascus, once again tried to organize a huge army of Romans, Damascus people, the people of Hijaz and Armenians besides the Arab tribes of Judham, Lakhm and others to fight Muslims. In historical sources, these tribes have been named as “al-Musta'raba”.225

This big war took place at the Yarmuk region which was the name of a river. Muslims are said to have numbered at 24000 and the Roman army and its allies at 200000. But, one should not forget that Heraclitos did a last-ditch effort to keep Damascus. This war was so tough for Muslims that even Muslim women had to fight.226

The Yarmuk battle ended in Muslims' victory and following his defeat, Heraclitos left for Constantinople. In this war, Jabala Ibn 'Ayham commanded the front line army of Rome. There are different stories in various sources about whether he had converted to Islam or not, why he had taken offense from 'Umar and why 'Umar had repented from his treatment of him.227

One year after the Yarmuk battle, Muslims succeeded in surrounding Bayt al-Muqaddas. Abu 'Ubayda first invited them to either accept Islam or pay Jaziyya (poll tax paid in lieu of conversion to Islam).

However, when they refused, they had to lay a siege on the city. The Nazarene community of the city, who found the situation critical, gave in to a compromise, provided that the caliph would come to al-Quds and sign the contract personally.228

'Umar was doubtful about going to Quds. So, he consulted some of the Companions. 'Uthman was opposed to the idea, but in the presence of Imam 'Ali (a), he encouraged 'Umar to go, saying it was to the benefit of Islam and Muslims. 'Umar accepted his idea. After appointing 'Uthman as his vicegerent in Medina, he headed for Quds.229 He moved towards Damascus arguably in the year 16th or 17th A.H.230

A variety of agreements were mentioned in the peace accord 'Umar signed with Damascus's Nazarene community. They received assurances that their lives would be spared. They were also assured that no church would be damaged nor any swastika broken. One of the key conditions of the accord was that Muslims should not allow Jews to live in Quds, nor should there any obligation in faith.

The residents of al-Quds also pledged to pay toll like the people of Ctesiphon. Additionally, the Romans had to leave the city. The people were also free to move their belongings to Rome or anywhere else.[231] It was on this trip that 'Umar entered the mosque and inquired Ka'b al-Ahbar about the site of the altar.

“The altar should be built towards the cliff which used to be the Qibla of Jews,” Ka'b said..
'Umar was infuriated at the response, saying, “Your response resembles the words of Jews.”[232]

Some time after the return of 'Umar from Damascus, a dreadful epidemic of plague dubbed ”'Amwas” swept Damascus in 18 A.H. The plague claimed the lives of several Muslims including the top governor of Damascus.

Chief among the victims were Abu 'Ubayda Ibn Jarrah, Mu'adh Ibn Jabal, Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan, Shurahbil Ibn Hasana, Fa□l Ibn 'Abbas and Suhayl Ibn 'Amr. Yazid died a few while after Abu 'Ubayda as he had replaced him. After his death, 'Umar appointed Mu'awiya. Abu Sufyan, who had lost his eyesight at that time, appreciated 'Umar for visiting him.[233] In the last few years of 'Umar's caliphate, Mu'awiya was the governor of the Greater Syria.[234]

One of the key towns conquered in the reign of Mu'awiya was Caesarea. It was arguably conquered in 18 or 19 A.H.[235] The Arab troops were conquering further territories in the Greater Syria. In the meantime, the small towns accepted the peace treaty on their own. Many Arabs and Nazarenes adopted Islam.[236]

When 'Umar was in Damascus, 'Amr Ibn 'As asked for his permission to expedite towards Egypt to conquer it. It is said that in the Dark Age, he had gone to Egypt for business. So, he was somewhat familiar with it.[237]

'Umar was afraid of launching such a bid. As a result of 'Amr's insistence and his efforts in playing down the risk of the attack, he eventually gave in. Amro, headed by a troop of between 3500 to 4000 men, headed for Egypt. It has been narrated that after the expedition of 'Amr, 'Umar withdrew his support and told 'Amr that if he had not yet entered Egypt, eh should return. However, 'Amr had entered Egypt. It seems 'Uthman had accused 'Amr of expansionism, and had magnified the danger of the elimination of Arab troops before 'Umar.[238]

Egypt's governor whom Arabs called “Muqawqis” had been appointed by Romans to rule the country. He was Coptic. Hence, Prophet Muhammad (S), in a letter to him, had called him the “Chief Coptic”. The war between Muslims and the Muqawqis army lasted two years. In the meantime, Muslims conquered many areas and towns.

The main reason behind the conquest of Egypt was the difference between Egyptian Coptics and Romans. The Coptics were not very willing to defend the Romans. Muqawqis, himself, was doubtful over this matter and waited to see what would happen. His brother, Benjamin, was the bishop of Alexandria.

In the meantime, Cyrus, the envoy of the Roman emperor, had arrived in Egypt to reform the affairs. The stringent behavior further distanced the Coptics from the Romans.[239] The news of the consecutive conquests of the Arab troops in the Greater Syria encouraged further people to surrender.[240]

The prolonged conquest of Alexandria, which dragged on for four months, necessitated the dispatch of auxiliary forces to Egypt.[241] The town eventually fell to Muslims in 20 A.H. There is debate as to whether Egypt gave in through force or peace. The same doubt exists for many other towns. After the deployment of Muslims, they turned the town of Fustat, which was their military base, to their administration center and left Alexandria. This was interesting from political and militarily viewpoints.

Among the troops of 'Amr Ibn 'As, there were some non-Arab fighters, some of whom were ethnic Romans and were called "Hamra'". The other group was the Yemeni-based Persians who had moved, along with the Arab tribes, to these regions. Following the conquest of Egypt, the Iranians were accommodated in a certain place. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, the mosque raised by Muslims at the site was famous until his age in the 3rd century A.H.[242]

A variety of matters have been mentioned over the reasons for the escalation of Arab conquests. The conquest of every region had certain reasons. The conquest of Iran, for instance, had a totally different reason from that of Damascus. These conquests were entirely achieved by Arab Muslims.

So, it is evident that their will was the first reason for these conquests. This will stemmed, on the one hand, from their faith, and on the other from their leadership and the Muslims' administrative and legal systems over war booties.

Islam allocated a large portion for the warriors and it was natural for the needy and the hungry Arabs to go the battlefield to earn something for their families, provided that they would emerge alive from the battlefield. As a matter of fact, Muslims had no concern whatsoever of being killed, because they saw martyrdom in the path of Allah as a great achievement.

The staggering point about their will and determination was that Muslims had a high sense of self-confidence. Prophet Muhammad (S) promised Muslims victory over the Roman Empire and Iran saying, "The treasures of Caesar and Chosroe will fall to you". Therefore, Muslims moved towards the battlefield with an iron will and full confidence in the forecast of the Prophet. Initial gains made them stronger, livelier and more confident for later conquests.

Another point is that the power of Muslims did no depend on a particular caliph, because a survey of these conquests from their start to the end of the first century A.H indicates that every caliph who had the chance of conquest, managed to capture several lands. The people's belief in the administration was a driving force of these conquests.

No opposition was raised from the side of Medina rulers. The rulers under the caliph were totally obedient. It should be noted that the caliphs picked their appointees from among the people of the

second generation of the Companions who were totally submissive to them. Yet, the significance of the conquests crated an atmosphere in which even potential opponents abandoned their dream of a political rebellion. Under these circumstances, the masses of troops pressed ahead with their conquests more comfortably.

The success of Arabs in Damascus had several reasons, one of which was that the majority of the Damascus residents were Arabs, and in spite of being Christians, they were racially linked to Hijaz. Meantime, they maintained their distance from the Romans. In the early years of the conquests, some tribes including Lakhm and Judham joined Muslims, but when they found out that the war was serious, they fled to the nearby villages and left the Muslims alone.[243]

According to Jabala Ibn 'Ayham, the relationship of the Ansar, who originally came from the southern tribes, to him was, **أنتم اخوتنا وبنو أبينا** " You are our brethren and children of our fathers."

During the conquest of Qinnasrin, the residents of the town hinted that they were also Arabs and did not want to fight against the conquerors. So, Khalid accepted their peace overture.[244] The Taghlab tribe, who had teamed up with the Romans and fought along with them, said in the 13th century A.H that they would fight along with their tribe.[245] There were, however, a number of other tribes who remained allied with the Romans till the end, and immigrated to the Roman territories after the conquest of the Greater Syria by Muslims.

Apart from the Arab residents of Damascus disassociated themselves from the Romans, others including Jews, the Nibti community and the Egyptian Coptics, had the same situation. Faced with the mild dealing of Muslims, they felt they could live up with Muslims and see their rights met. As soon as Muslims captured Hims, they found themselves involved elsewhere in the Yarmuk war.

They believed that they might not emerge victorious out of the Yarmuk battle, they decided to return the money received from the people of Hims to provide for their security. Faced with such a conduct, the people of Hims said, "Your friendship and justice is more likeable to us than the oppression which we are living under. We will defend our town along with you."[246]

It has been said that the Nibtis aggressively cooperated with Muslims, and as the Romans did not suspect them, they spied for Muslims.[247]

The other point is that the there were religious differences between Damascus and Rome. Considering the fact that the Romans did not treat these people properly from both economic and political viewpoints, the remarks of Will Durant hold true, "As the conqueror Arabs invaded Egypt and the Far East, half the people of those regions welcomed their arrival, because they viewed them as their liberator from the clutches of religious, political and economic oppression of the Byzantine capital."[248] At any rate, after the expansion of conquests, several towns followed the line of surrender.[249]

Continued Conquests in Iraq and the Conquest of Iran

'Umar's caliphate was accompanied with several conquests of Muslim troops in Syria, which started with the conquest of Damascus. In these circumstances, some measures had to be adopted in Iraq. Firstly they were needed to stabilize its situation in favor of Muslims and, secondly, to expand the conquests. In the meantime, the town of Hira was freed from the Iranian control. Hence, Iranians were waiting for an opportunity to repel the new threat.

Arab troops were led by Muthanna Ibn Haritha. Yet, Medina's caliph, like the era of Abu Bakr, was determined to dispatch a commander from the known Saudi clans to Iraq. The nominee was Abu 'Ubayd Ibn Mas'ud Thaqafi, the father of Mukhtar, from the Thaqafi clan, which used to be an ally of the Quraysh. Heading a 5000-strong troop250, Abu 'Ubayd encouraged many tribes on his way to conduct Jihad and win booties.

A large number of people joined him.251 It was decided that Muthanna work under the command of Abu 'Ubayd. Iranians amassed a troop headed by Bahman Jadiwayh (Men of Shah Hajib) east of the Euphrates, whereas Abu 'Ubayd's forces lined up on the western side of the Euphrates. The Arabs crossed the bridge and launched the battle.

Despite the bravery of Muslims, the mammoth elephants existing in the Iranian army frightened the horses of Arab forces. As the Arabs had damaged the bridge, they had no way back. So, they sustained heavy losses and casualties. At any rate, a temporary bridge was built over the river and the Arabs lost out the war to Iran which was dubbed “Yawm al-Jisr” or the Day of the Bridge with a death toll of 4000 people.252

Ibn A'tham, however, has narrated this event in a manner that it seems Muslims could defeat the Iranians and return to their army base.253 Yet, the fact that the Iranians did not chase the Muslims indicates that they lacked the necessary readiness to do so. This even probably occurred in Sha'ban or Ramadan 13 A.H.254

Abu Mikhnaf and others say 'Umar was upset even until one year after the Jisr event. In the meantime, Muthanna Ibn Haritha called the Arabs to Jihad. 'Umar gradually thought of continuing the operation. Afterwards, around 700 people headed by Mikhnaf Ibn Salim, thousands headed by 'Adi Ibn Hatim, and a number of people from the Banu Tamim tribe joined the Arab troops in Iraq.255 The Bujayla tribe also joined the Arab force, under the condition that one-fourth of the booties would be given to them.256

The Arabs clashed with the 12000-strong Iranian troops, headed by Mihran Ibn Mihrbandad (Mihrwayh Hamadani)257 at the Buwayb, a river branching out from the Euphrates River. Mihran was killed in the battle and the Iranian army suffered a crushing defeat. Several Iranians were captured and Muslims earned large amounts of booties.

Muthanna displayed noticeable bravery in the battle. The poems of 'Urwa Ibn Zayd al-Khayl about the command of Muthanna are notably exaggerating, “Among the commanders of Iraq, we have not seen anybody like Muthanna who belongs to ash-Shayban.”[258] Some time after the event, Muthanna Ibn Haritha died from the wounds he had sustained in the Jisr battle.

The battle occurred arguably in the 13th or 14th A.H. As 'Umar did not take any action for battle until a year later, this event should have not taken place sooner than 14 A.H. The victory boosted the morale and courage of Muslims and they constantly invaded the Iraqi lands which were still under the control of the Iranians. They also invaded a large market place set up near Baghdad. This issue indicated that Iran was not capable of providing the security of Iraq and had to think of a solution as soon as possible.

According to Dinwari, when Suwayd Ibn Qutba (who had some power around Basra) heard the news of these wars from Muthanna Ibn Haritha, he demanded 'Umar to strengthen the weak situation of southern Iraq and dispatch some forces to the region. 'Umar who seemingly did not have much trust in Suwayd to transfer the military command to him, sent a contingent of 1000 people, headed by 'Utba Ibn Ghazwan, to the region. 'Umar accompanied 'Utba out of Medina.

Referring to the passage of Muslims forces from the Euphrates through Hira to Ctesiphon, he told him to move towards Ahwaz and dissuade its residents from helping the Iranian army. 'Utba reached the place nowadays called Basra where there were only a number of ruined houses. It was the residence of Iranian border guards, who were commissioned with preventing the aggression of Bedouin Arabs.

The first region attacked was Ubulla, on the outskirts of Baghdad. 'Utba wrote the news of this victory to the caliph, describing the town as a harbor of ships coming from 'Umman, Bahrayn, Fars, India and China.[259] When the news of the victory reached Medina, the people asked 'Utba's envoy about the situation of the region. He told them about the amounts of gold and silver which Muslims had obtained. The news triggered an influx of Arabs towards the region.[260]

Ubulla was located four leagues from Basra. It apparently existed until the 7th century A.H.[261] With the development of Basra, Ubulla lost its grandeur. Ubulla and other towns like Khurayba which was conquered shortly later, were said to be the concentration center of Iranian border guards.

Yaqut says, “Basra was built beside an ancient Iranian city named Vahishtabad Ardishir. This city was ruined in the attacks of Muthanna Ibn Haritha, so when Muslims went to that region to build Basra, they called the city “Khurayba” (ruin).[262] Afterwards, Khurayba became a district of Basra.

According to Dinwari, the conquest and establishment of Basra took place before the Qadisiyya war. The fact that Basra was constructed before Kufa indicates that 'Utba had reached southern Iraq before reaching Qadisiyya. Noting this issue, Yaqut has mentioned that after reaching Qadisiyya, 'Utba moved to southern Iraq and to Basra.[263]

What is important is that around 15 and 16 A.H, two war fronts were opened against Iran, one in Kufa

where some troops were advancing towards Ctesiphon, and the other in Basra from where the Arabs were moving to capture the southern Iranian lands in Khuzistan.

The two fronts led to the establishment of the two important towns of Basra and Kufa in Iraq, which later laid the cornerstone of the Islamic Iraq, in addition to Baghdad which was built in the 2nd century A.H. It is said Basra refers to a land which has black pebbles.[264] Quoting Hamza Isfahani, Yaqut says that according to Mubadh Ibn Asawhasht, Basra is the Arabic form of “Bas Rah”, meaning so many roads, because several routed led to this town.[265]

After the conquest of Ubulla, 'Utba Ibn Ghazwan asked the caliph to set up a town for Arab immigrants. After studying the regional situation, 'Umar authorized the construction of the town. Thus, Basra was founded. After a while, 'Utba felt that Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas was exceeding his limits in giving him unrelated orders. 'Utba, who considered himself an appointee of 'Umar, protested to Sa'd and left for Medina.

As soon as 'Umar heard the news, he asked, “Why is he not ready to accept the rule of a man from the Quraysh who has been a Sahabi, too?” 'Utba protested that he, too, was a ruler from the Quraysh and that Prophet Muhammad (S) had said, **مولى القوم منهم** “ Lord of people is from Ahl al-Bayt.”

It seems that 'Umar had asked 'Utba him to return to Basra, but 'Utba died shortly.[266]

In an address to the people of Basra, 'Utba said in 17 A.H that,

“ إنه لم تكن النبوة إلا تناسخها مُلك، فأعوذ بالله أن يُدركنا ذلك الزمان الذي يكون فيه السلطان مُلكاً

There is no prophethood not to have been rejected by a king. I seek refuge in that the Allah from the day Sultan becomes the king.”[267]

We said that the Buwayb event frightened the Iranians. This time, the Iranians mobilized a larger army led by Rustam Farrukhzad—the commander of Iranian forces in Adharbayjan—to prevent Arabs' invasion. Ibn A'tham has described the way Bahram, the governor of Hamadan; Shirzad, the governor of Qum and Kashan; Banduwan, the provincial governor of Isfahan and Khurshid, the governor of Riy, dispatched their forces to the battlefield.[268]

In return, the caliph had to find a powerful commander for his troops. 'Umar initially thought he would travel to Iraq, but the Medina notables advised him against it. A number of people were nominated for the command, one of them Imam 'Ali (a). Advised by 'Umar, 'Uthman talked with Imam 'Ali (a). Yet, Imam shunned accepting the responsibility. The next choice was Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas who was suffering from

a thigh injury.269

He could not even mount on the horseback.270 So, he did not attend the battle. The battle ever marked the worst defeat of the Iranians was called the “Qadisiyya war”. Qadisiyya was the name of a small border town located amid the Taff Desert, 50 miles from Kufa. The town had a fortress and some palm groves and plantations. Around 4–6 miles from Qadisiyya, there was a resort named 'Udhayb which had a spring, and was virtually the end of the desert. Sa'd set up his camp at 'Udhayb, whereas Rustam camped outside Qadisiyya.271[468]

Wild conjectures have been given over the number of Iranian and Arab forces. Yet, it can be guessed that the Arab forces numbered between 20 to 30 thousand272 and the Iranians were between 3 to 4 thousand more. Meanwhile, Ibn A'tham has put the number of Arab forces at 60 thousand.70 Rustam remained at Diyr A'war273 for four months to settle the matter peacefully. Rustam tried to satisfy the Arabs, whom he thought, were fighting for food.274

Additionally, the four months of stay at the camp could weaken the power of Arab forces. On the other hand, Muslims did not abandon their condition that the Iranians should accept Islam and pay toll or engage in war. Acceptance of the first two proposals of the Arabs was impossible, because Iran was a superpower. So, Rustam had to give in to war.

Ibn A'tham writes, “At the request of Yazdgard, Sa'd sent some envoys including Mughira h to Ctesiphon to Yazdgard's court. As they entered the court, they sat on the ground except Mughira h who sat by the king on his seat.
The king asked him, “What are these clothes? What are you wearing?”
Mughirah replied, “It is Yemeni silk.”

Yazdgard took this as bad omen and said in Persian, “Burdand Jahan ra,” meaning “They plundered the world”.275 So, he ordered the start of the war. The Qadisiyya battle lasted only four days, with each day having a specific name. They were called Armath, Aghwath, 'Ammas and Qadisiyya.276 The battle ended in favor of Arabs and Rustam was killed during the war. The Iranian forces withdrew as far as Diyr Ka'b where new forces under the command of Nukharijan helped them.

Therefore, the Iranians refurbished their army and made a new onslaught. Dinwari says as Nukharijan entered the battlefield, he began crying out “any man, any man” to invite a contender.277 Nukharijan was, however, killed by Zuhayr Ibn Sulaym (Mikhnaf Ibn Sulaym's brother). This time, too, the Iranians were defeated and withdrew as far as Ctesiphon.

The Arabs achieved the win very hard, because they suffered huge losses. It is said that a group of Iranians gathered around Iran's black flag, saying, “We will not abandon our place unless we are killed.” and they did so.278 The bravery of the Iranians made it difficult for the Arabs to defeat them. Abu Raja' Farsi quoted his grandfather, who had been in the Iranian army at the Qadisiyya war, as saying that the Arabs had to spray many arrows on the Iranians and the battle had become so tough for them.279

There are differences of opinion on the year of this war. Waqidi has conceded that it took place in 16 A.H.[280] Armenian historian, Ilyas Nusaybini, has cited Jumadi al-Awwal 16 A.H as the date of the war. Meanwhile, Ibn Ishaq has mentioned 15 A.H as the year of the war. A researcher has said that the war occurred in the month of Sha'ban, 15 A.H.[281] During the war, the emblem of the Sassanids troops fell to Muslims;[282] an issue which indicates the crushing blow that the Iranian government suffered in the war.

In the aftermath of the war, Sa'd found out the necessity for establishing a town named "Dar al-Hijra" for the tribes who had immigrated to the region from Hijaz for war. Had Basra been established by then, it could have been a model for Kufa. Yaqut has cited ten reasons for the naming of Kufa.[283]

It is said that a number of places were surveyed. As the site was suitable for the raising of sheep, horses and camels, 'Umar preferred Kufa[284], which was previously called Surastan.[285] After the site of the mosque and the palace of administration were determined, the nearby regions were divided between the northern and southern tribes.

The town initially seemed transient because the tribes set up their houses from reed. So, at times of Jihad, they removed the reed framework and ceded them to others. As they took their wives with themselves to the war, they had to build new quarters after their return. It was only at the time of Mughira that people began to build clay structures. Yet, they did not build any rooms inside. Under the reign of Ziyad Ibn Abih, brick houses became popular.

Yaqut writes that the caliph wrote to Sa'd, saying the mosque should have enough space to accommodate the participants in the war. So, it was built with a capacity of 40 thousand people.[286]

Hence, Kufa became one of the most important Islamic towns. At the same time, 'Umar sent a letter to the people of Kufa, writing, "To the people of Kufa, to the center of Islam." He also said of Kufa that it was,

" إلى أهل الكوفة، إلى رأس الإسلام

To Kufiyans, to center of Islam." And saying about that,

" هم رمح الله وكنز الإيمان وجمجمة العرب

They are divine spear, treasure of faith and renowned among Arabs."

Salman has also called Kufa as the place “where there is Islam”.[287]

After the Qadisiyya war, Muslims chased the Iranians and set up a military camp on the western rim of the Euphrates n front of Ctesiphon. According to Dinwari, they stayed there for 28 months, so long that they could eat dates of the palm trees twice![288] By that time, Muslims had dominated parts of Ctesiphon or Ctesiphon—meaning towns in Arabic.

Ctesiphon consisted of seven nearby towns, protected by barracks. Entry into the greater town was possible through symmetrical gates designed around the city. On the Western side of the Tigris, were the cities of Bih Ardishir (Arabic, Bihrasir), Seleucids (Sulukiyya), Darzijan, Sabat and Mahuza while on the river's eastern side were the cities of Ctesiphon, Asbanbar and Rumiyya which was called Wiya Andyu Khusraw. The king resided at Ctesiphon's white palace and the palace of Mada'in where the banquets and parties were held, was located in Asbanbar.[289]

Muslims captured the Western area after a brief clash and were stationed in Bihrasir. The destruction of bridges by Iranians[290] kept Arabs behind the Tigris for a long time but they finally managed to cross the river and enter the town. When Iranians saw the Arabs, they cried out, “The devils came! The devils came!”[291]

Kharihzad was initially supposed to stay in Mada'in as long as possible. However, when Arab crossed the Tigris and reached behind the city gates, fled from the town's eastern side and retreated towards western Iran.[292] The Arab's entry into the city was as a big victory for them. Now, the capital of the Sassanids kingdom had been conquered and numerous booties were available to Arabs. Among them, were things Arab had never seen until then. For instance, they poured camphor into their food, thinking it was salt![293]

Before that, Yazdgard had taken the royal family along with the treasures and other portable belongings and had fled to Qasr Shirin[294] in Iran's western mountains. From there, he went to the town of Hulwan near the present-day town of Sar Pul Dhahab. Kharihzad, too, who had failed to keep Ctesiphon, set off in the same direction and settled in Jalula.

In order to keep Ctesiphon, Arabs had no way but to chase this army. Therefore, Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas sent an army led by Hashim Ibn 'Utba to follow them. Iranians dug a ditch around them in Jalula, waiting for the arrival of backup forces from Yazdgard, Jibal and Isfahan. But, Muslims did not wait for these forces and launched the offensive.

In this battle, Hujr Ibn 'Adi commanded the left wing of the army of Islam. Iranian forces were defeated in the war and had to retreat to Hulwan. After that, Yazdgard did not see it right to stay any longer in Hulwan, so he fled towards the region of Jibal in Qum and Kashan. A 4000-strong force of Muslim Arabs was tasked with protecting Iraq against the infiltration of Iranians in Jalula.[295] Now, Muslims were on the eastern side of the Tigris as well and were conquering those regions. Mihrud and Khaniqayn were in that part. Finally, Muslims dominated all regions around the Tigris.[296]

Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas was no longer interested in extending the war towards Hulwan and this annoyed some of his troops. So, he ordered an advance as far as Hulwan.297 Then, he returned to Kufa and ruled the city for more than three years until he was replaced with 'Ammar Ibn Yasir. According to Ya'qubi, after conquering Ctesiphon, Sa'd came to Kufa and the Jalula attack took place three years later in 19 A.H.298 Baladhuri, too, has mentioned the same date299, so it seems to be correct.

Now, Muslims had entered Iran from three fronts, on one side, Ctesiphon was in their hands. On the other side, Abu Musa Ash'ari has come towards Ahwaz from Basra. And the third front which had opened by 'Ala' Ibn al-Ha□rami in the beginning of 'Umar's rule in Bahrayn and had achieved some success300, now had initiated a new move and had made some penetrations in some parts of Fars.301

Given the two latter fronts, Fars which was one Iran's important regions, was now threatened by invasion. Hurmuzan asked Yazdgard to dispatch him to Khuzistan and Fars for protecting those regions so that he could serve as a barrier on the way of Arabs' advance and even gather forces to help Yazdgard. Hurmuzan, along with an army, set off for Tustar (Shushtar). The news of this army reached Muslims and they started a lot of activities to prepare troops.

'Ammar was tasked with joining Abu Musa along with half of the people of Kufa. Before that, Nu'man Ibn Muqarran and thousands of his men had joined Abu Musa. Even 3000 of the 4000-strong Arab border guards who had stayed in Jalula rushed to help. The army of Islam set off towards Tustar. At first, some clashes erupted outside the city and after 1600 Iranians were killed, Hurmuzan was forced to go inside the city and close the gates.

There were also some martyrs on the side of Muslims. One of the well-known martyrs was Bara' Ibn Malik. The city was besieged for some time until one of the city's nobles showed them a secret way to enter the city. 200 Muslims forces broke into the city from that way and after killing the guards, opened the gates on Muslims.

The city was conquered and Hurmuzan took refuge in a palace. He only gave himself up after getting life assurance and under the condition that he would be sent to Medina to the caliph. 'Umar forgave him in Medina until after 'Umar's murder, hi son, 'Ubayd Allah, killed Hurmuzan under the baseless pretext that he had been seen with 'Umar's murderer, Abu Lu'lu', the day before.

After the end of the war, 'Ammar returned to Kufa and Abu Musa continued conquering other cities of Khuzistan such as Susa (Shush).302

At that time, Yazdgard was in Qum, according to Dinwari. He called on all people of Iran to assist him against Arabs who were getting closer every moment. People from Qumis (Damghan), Tabaristan, Gurgan, Damawand, Riy and Isfahan rushed to his help. They gathered a huge army and set off for war against Arab conquerors. 'Ammar wrote the news of this army to 'Umar who called on the people from the pulpit to head for Iraq.

There, 'Uthman asked 'Umar to send the Muslim army from Yemen and Damascus to Iraq. Moreover, he said the caliph, too, should go to Iraq. However, Imam 'Ali opposed this suggestion and said, “This will prompt the Romans to attack Damascus. Also, if Muslims soldiers from Yemen, there will be the threat of an assault from Abyssinia.” Imam opposed the caliph's trip to Iraq because he said Iranians would fight with more fervor if they heard the Arab king's presence.303

At any rate, an army was prepared and its command was given to Nu'man Ibn Muqarran, one of the Companions of Prophet Muhammad (S). It was decided that if he were martyred, Hudhayfa Ibn Yaman, Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah, Mughira Ibn Shu'ba and Ash'ath Ibn Qays would replace him respectively. Two armies were stationed near Nahawand. Nahawand was located between two fronts of Arabs' war against Iranians, one from Ctesiphon and the other from Ahwaz.

The two armies clashed with each other and fought intensely for four days, from Tuesday to Friday. On the last day, the confrontation was really heavy and despite the martyrdom of Nu'man Ibn Muqarran, the Iranian army was defeated.304 This victory was of great significance for Arabs, so it was named “Fath al-Futuh” (the victory of victories).305 This battle probably occurred in the year 20 A.H. In this war, a number of Muslim Arabs including their commander was martyred. They were all buried in a graveyard remained in Nahawand's history in memory of the battle's martyrs.

During the years 16 to 20 A.H, conquests continued in northern Iraq as well Muslims advanced as far as Musil, bringing Iraq under their entire control. Among the conquered regions were the cities of Harran, Nusaybin, Qirqisiya' and Samisat and many regions around the Euphrates and the Tigris.

About Iran’s Conquest

The quick conquest of Iran and the fall of the Sassanids dynasty with all its grandeur was a surprising event that cannot be easily explained. Although similar events have occurred in Iran and other world countries and a comparative study of them can help further understanding of realities. In Iraq and Iran, many governments and dynasties, even the long-lived 'Abbasids dynasty, collapsed at the hands of Mongol nomads.

For instance, the Safawids stable and firm for more than 200 years was overthrown by several thousand Ghalzayi Afghans who had come at least 12000 kilometers to reach Isfahan. However, each of these developments must have its particular reasons. Here, it is suitable to quote a source about the political situation of Iran's government after the defeat of Iranian forces against the Roman government in the year 428 A.D.

After Iran's defeat in the war against Rome, Khusraw Parviz looking for scapegoats to blame them for his failure and among them, he decided to execute Shahrbaraz. But before he could carry out his intention, there was a rebellion and Khusraw was imprisoned and then murdered in late February, 628 A.D. Khusraw's son, Shirwayh, ascended to the throne with the title of Kuwad II.

He had joined the insurgents and had agreed with his father's murder. The new king immediately called for peace with Heraclius and accepted to recall the Sassanids armies from Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor and western Mesopotamia and recognize the pre-war borders.

It was also agreed that all prisoners of war be extradited and the Swastika and other emblems be returned. Both sides were happy with the end of the war operations which had worn out the two empires for several years. But, Shahrbaraz was dissatisfied over the establishment of peace and he was dangerous as he commanded a large army.

Kuwad II passed away after less than a year in power possibly due to plague and his son, Ardishir III, who was a little child, ascended to the throne. Shahrbaraz decided to claim the throne himself.

So, in June of 629 A.D, backed by Heraclius, he went to Ctesiphon, defeated Ardishir's forces and murdered him along with several of his prominent figures. Shahrbaraz sat on the throne, but his rule didn't last long and he, too, was murdered in less than two months. Also, another claimant in the eastern part of the empire who was Khusraw's nephew, was killed before he could come to the capital with the title of Khusraw III.

As none of Khusraw's sons was left alive, the nobles named his daughter, Puran, as the ruler. Puran was the first woman to ascend to the throne, but she, too, passed away after less than a year in power. A group of kings took power one after the other and each stayed for only a few months. The only thing we know about them is their names as follows, Puran's sister, Adharmidukht; Piruz II, Hurmuz V and Khusraw IV.

Finally, in the year 632 A.D, the nobles named Yazdgard III, the son of Shahriyar and the grandson of Khusraw II, who was almost the last survival of the Sassanids dynasty, to take the throne. Yazdgard lived in virtual hiding in the Istakhr of Fars and it was there that the last Sassanids king was crowned in a fire temple which was named after the first Sassanids king.[306]

These developments occurred before the start of Iraq's conquest and naturally, they destroyed Iran's political and military structures. It is clear that Yazdgard needed years to put the situation of Iran, which was under domestic and foreign pressure, back on track. But, Arabs' assaults stripped him from such an opportunity and further dealt fatal blows on Iran. The conquest of Iraq located near Ctesiphon, the Sassanids capital, was the first deadly incident which rang the alarm bell for the Sassanids rulers. Those consecutive blows disintegrated that hollow government and shattered it into pieces.

Despite the weakness of the Sassanids government, Iran's defeat cannot be entirely blamed on this incompetence. The Sassanids government did its best, as far as it could. From the Qadisiyya battle to Nahawand's Fath al-Futuh, it tried hard to stop the advancing Arabs. Each time, massive troops were prepared, multiplying the Arabs, but the Iranians' bravery and courage could not resist the will of Arabs who were sure of their victory. The most important point was Arab's faith and their full confidence in the victory of their religion because spreading Islam was their main goal.

Spuler writes, “Today, there is no doubt that the religion of monotheism was the strongest driving force behind Arabs' conquest of lands.”[307] We should also remember that while fighting for monotheism, Arabs expected booties, too, after victory. They headed for battlefronts after hearing Prophet Muhammad's words who had promised them, the treasures of Caesar and Chosroe. When 'Umar wanted to provoke them, he said,

> أيها الناس! إن الله عز وجل وعد نبيه محمداً صلي الله عليه واله وسلم، أن يفتح عليه فارس والروم، والله لا يخلف وعده ولا يخذل جنده، فسارعوا رحمكم الله إلي جهاد أعدائكم من الفرس، فإنكم بالحجاز في غير دار مقام وقد وعدكم الله عز وجل كنوز كسرى وقيصر، والمواعيد من الله عز وجل مضمونة وأمر الله تعالي مفعول، والقول من رسول الله صلي الله عليه مقبول، وما لم يورثكموه الله عز وجل اليوم، يورثكموه غداً وانكم لن تغنموا حتي تغيروا ولن تستشهدوا حتي تقاتلوا

“O people! The Almighty God certainly promised His Messenger, brought Iran and Rome under his conquest. He keeps His promise and never abandons His troops. God bless thee! Perform a Jihad with Iran's enemies knowing that Hijaz is not a place to stay as He, the Exalted, promised thee riches of Chosroes and Caesaer and be aware that His promises are assured and His decrees are achieved. His Messenger's words are approved as well and what He leaves thee inherited today shall be inherited tomorrow too; thou never attain booties unless thou art changed and never do thou welcome martyrdom unless thou challenge the foes.”[308]

The tyranny and oppression of the Sassanids government was more or less effective in arousing the people's resentment or in other words, destroying their motivation for defending the Sassanids dynasty.

It led to a reduction of military activities of the Iranian army in the battlefield. Apart from temporary collaboration which may be deemed as treason such as the cooperation of some nobles of Tustar[309] and Nahawand[310] in showing the way into the city, the joining of 4000 men from the Qadisiyya army to Arabs cannot be justified as treason.

Baladhuri writes, “4000 men (who were considered among the king's army) from Diylaman who were at the service of the Sassanids government, were in Qadisiyya with Rustam. When the Iranian army was defeated, they were standing at a corner. Feeling they had no shelter, they decided to embrace Islam.

After that, they called on Muslims to let them live wherever they wished and to ally with any tribe they wanted. Sa'd accepted their demand. A chief was chosen for them who were called Hamra' Diylam. Basically, Arabs called non-Arabs “Hamra'”, meaning having a white complexion. These people took part in the conquest of Ctesiphon and the Jalula battle.[311] There are other examples as well which show that right after Muslims' attacks, some peasants and farmers converted to Islam.[312]

Qazwini has written, “Treacherous and Arabized Iranians! From the provinces' officials and nearby border guards, threw themselves into the arms of Arabs as soon as they felt the Sassanids dynasty was

shaky and the Iranian army had been defeated several times at the hands of the Arab troops.

These Iranians not only helped Arabs in their conquests, but also called on Arab commanders to occupy other Iranian lands which were in their territory and had not been attacked by Arabs yet. They submitted the keys of castles and treasuries to Arabs provided that Arabs would let them stay in power in some regions."313

The late Jalal Al Ahmad writes, "Before Islam came to confront us, we invited it. Let's forget about Rustam Farrukhzadi who desperately defended the Sassanids ferocity and the Zoroastrians' backward traditions. But, the people, Ctesiphon went into their alleys with bread and dates to welcome the Arabs who went to plunder the king's palace and the carpet of Baharistan.314

The proper treatment of victorious Arabs with the people of the cities they conquered, could encourage the people towards the sincerity of Muslims. Peace accords did not force the people into abandoning their religion and traditions. Even there was no emphasis on destroying the fire temples. The tax paid was, in most cases, less than what was received by the Sassanids government and the provincial governors from the people.

So, what reason could they have to sacrifice their lives for the Sassanids rulers. It has been said in this regard, "The peace accords of Arab armies with different town and cities, which in many cases, entailed much lighter obligations for the people compared to the taxes paid previously to the central Sassanids government, urged many Iranian to give up. They were not interested in fighting for a court that did not pay any attention to them. We should welcome the new gods who take lower taxes instead of fighting against them. This was the psychology of many Iranians."315

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1. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 321
2. Sahmi, Tarikh Jurjan p. 96.
3. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 587; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VI, p. 11; Anas Ibn Malik says, "On Saqifa, I saw 'Umar forcing Abu Bakr to sit on the pulpit al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. 438
4. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. 174 Once Abu Bakr transferred a piece of land to someone with a title deed registered under his name, but 'Umar took the deed and destroyed it Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 47 Interesting to know is that they call them " 'Umarayn" meaning two 'Umars
5. Abu Bakr Khallal, As-Sunna, p. 277
6. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 38 Ibn Abi al-Hadid writes, هو (عمر) الذي شيد بيعة ابي بكر ورقم المخالفين فيها وكسر سيف زبير... ودفع صدر مقداد... ولولاه لم يثبت لأبي بكر أمره ولا قامت له قائمته ' Umar was someone who straightened Abu Bakr's allegiance and removed the dissenters, spit apart Zubayr's sword, beat chest of Miqdad, if he had not helped, Abu Bakr's caliphate would never be organized; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. 174
7. al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. 254
8. Gharib al-Hadith, vol. II, p. 222; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 17; al-Fa'iq fi Gharib al-Hadith, vol. III, p. 333; al-Adab al-Mufrad, Bukhari, p. 29
9. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 28
10. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 200
11. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. 428; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 199

12. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. 429; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, pp 163-165; Nathr ad-Durr, ol II, pp 15 and 23; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. II, p. 425; Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 26; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 200

13. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. 433 'Ayisha mentions objection of "so and so", Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 274 Abu Bakr was told, "When he was not "caliph", he harshly treated us " "Oh, if he becomes a ruler, what will he do to us?" al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. 449 Others complained of his "tongue and stick" al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 38 'Ali also objected to Abu Bakr, Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 274; Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 26

14. Abu Bakr Khallal, As-Sunna, p. 275

15. Bahjat al-Majalis, vol. I, p. 579 and about other objections, Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. 183; al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 152; al-Fa'iq fi Gharib al-Hadith, vol. I, pp 99-100

16. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 61 He, in the same speech, asked God to make him "good-tempered" Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 274

17. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 38

18. Khayr al-Din Sawi writes, "Abu Bakr consulted with the companions before selecting 'Umar(Tatawwur al-fikr As-Siyasi, p. 40) Such a viewpoint clashes with historical facts and consultation with Ibn 'Awf and 'Uthman is only knowm to us Of course, disagreements are more informative to us Faruq Nabhan, too, claimed that Abu Bakr always received advice from the faithful people (Ni³am al-hukm fil-Islam, p. 93)

19. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 16

20. Ibid vol. II, p. 22

21. al-Khilafa wal-Imama, al-'U³ma quoted from, Andishih siyasi dar Islam mu'asir, p. 150; before Rashid Ri□a, Marwan Ibn Hakam referred to Abu Bakr's measure of making caliphate hereditary!

22. Ibn Abi al-Hadid writes,وكان في اخلاق عمر والفاظه جفاء وعنجهية ظاهرة ' Umar's ethics and words represented self-pride of some kind Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. 183

23. The caliph, in appearance, was tall and had a brown-colored face and on front part of head, he was hairless, "Asla'" According to Muhammad Ibn Habib, he had deceitful eyes al-Muhabbar p. 303; al-Munammaq, p. 405

24. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 274; Abu Bakr Khallal, As-Sunna اللهم إني غليظ فليّنّي! O God! I am hot-tempered, make me soft-tempered

25. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 209; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 137; Hayat al-Hayawan, vol. I, p. 346; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 282 The first one to be lashed by Dirrah was Umm Farwa, Abu Bakr's sister when she was crying for Abu Bakr after his death and 'Umar deemed crying for the dead unrightful Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. 181

26. Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. III, p. 188; Hayat al-Hayawan, vol. I, p. 51; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. 188; al-Taratib al-idariyya, vol. II, p. 376; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 281

27. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. VI, p. 343, vol. I, p. 164; Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, pp 128 and 130

28. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 858

29. al-Ma'rifa wal-Tarikh, vol. I, pp 364-365

30. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. 61يدخل عابساً ويخرج عابساً He entered with sullen face and went out in the same way

31. al-Aghani, vol. XVI, p. 93; al-Isti'ab, vol. I, p. 273

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

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

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

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

36. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. I,p. 265; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 302-304; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. 183 About him, different stories are said of 'Umar's treatment and his repentance in manner of treating him Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 147

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

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

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

40. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 35; 'Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. I, p. 12

41. Hayat al-Hayawan, vol. I, p. 49

42. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. IV, PP 34-35
43. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VIII, p. 205
44. al-Aghani, vol. VI, p. 279
45. Huwiyyat al-tashayyu', p. 47 from, al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, Sunan Biyhaqi
46. Ibid p. 46 from, Taysir al-usul
47. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, pp 6-7
48. Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 36; al-Taratib al-idariyya, vol. I, p. 13; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 211; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 306
49. Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. III, pp 475-476
50. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq vol. XI, p. 276
51. Tafsir al-Manar, vol. XI, p. 266
52. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. IV, p. 34
53. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 879; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, pp 344-345
54. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. 182
55. Kashf al-astar, vol. II, p. 303; Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. 347
56. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 935; Jami' al-bayan al-'Ilm, vol. II, p. 17
57. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VIII, p. 464; al-Taratib al-idariyya, vol. II, p. 405; al-Bahr al-zakhkhar, vol. III, p. 101; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 190; al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, vol. IV, p. 190
58. Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 120; Kanz al-'Ummal, vol. II, p. 317; Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 356
59. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. X, p. 46
60. Khalifa Ibn KhayyaT makes it clear that Mu'awiya ruled Greater Syria in ending years of 'Umar's caliphate
61. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, pp 153-156
62. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 306
63. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 499
64. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. II, p. 361; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 106
65. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. 397; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, pp 159-160
66. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. 396
67. Sharaf Ashab al-hadith, p. 87
68. Sharaf Ashab al-hadith, p. 88
69. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XX, p. 20
70. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. IX, pp 29-30; al-Fitnat al-Kubra, pp 80-81
71. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 158; there, he said that if Quraysh were permitted to leave, they would be led to the left and right wings
72. Fajr al-Islam, p. 172
73. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 183and 283
74. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 155; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. I, p. 22; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 80
75. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 146; al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. VII, pp 384-385; al-Aghani, vol. XVI, p. 94 about other cases, al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. VIII, p. 217-219
76. Gharib al-Hadith, vol. III, p. 239; al-Fa'iq, vol. III, p. 215
77. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. I, pp 14-15
78. For example, he accused Abu Hurayra of theft Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. IV, p. 335
79. 'Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. I, pp 53-54; Futuh al-Buldan, p. 93; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. I, p. 45
80. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. IV, p. 335
81. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. 175
82. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. I, p. 46
83. Ibid vol. I, p. 46
84. Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. I, p. 112
85. Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 210; from, Kanz al-'Ummal, vol. III, p. 166

86. Futuh al-Buldan, pp 90,299 and 396

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

88. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 817; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. 178(with a little difference

89. Ibid vol. III, p. 836

90. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 124; Futuh al-Buldan, p. 277

91. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 8333

92. Ibid vol. III, pp 854-855; al-Isaba, vol. I, p. 85

93. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara vol. III, p. 809

94. See a collection of commands, letters and speeches in, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XII, pp 194-196 He wrote to the people of cities, "I have not sent my agents to oppress you or seize your property I've sent them to teach you religion and tradition Anyone iolated this, complain to me for retaliating him because I saw the Prophet (S) doing so, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XII, p. 22 and for treating harshly that is because of lack of understanding the Qur'anic verses, Ibid vol. XII, pp 15 and 17

95. al-Amali fi Athar As-Sahaba, pp 53-54; the heritage the Sunnites know as biography of "Orthodox Caliphs" excluding what Imam 'Ali said and reflected more in culture of Shia belongs not to Abu Bakr and 'Uthman but to 'Umar What history tells of this heritage is legion and the Sunnites typically adopted its acceptability through 'Umar's letters and catch phrases It is to admitted that, apart from caliph's certain matters concerned with Imamate, the Hashimites and some juriprudic rulers as well as religious values, what persists has had and still has a high place in contrast to 'Umar's, the Umayya's and the 'Abbasids's biography The Sunnites refomists portrayed this considerably and undeniably See, Tarikh falsafih dar Islam, vol. II, article on "Tafakkur siyasi dar Sadr Islam" is maily vested upon the same acceptability transferred from 'Umar and presented an idealistic image of the Islamic government and principles of Islamic policy The caliph held that the assets of Bayt al-Mal are not privately owned but it is divine property,"Mal Allah" at his disposal(Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, pp 275-276) while 'Uthman regarded it as personal propewrty, 'Umar Himself moved around the city as a "night guard"(Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 281

96. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 61; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. III, p. 365

97. Dala'il As-Sidq, vol. III, p. 312 quoted from Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. 184

98. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, vol. I, p. 157 This is against the idea of Ibn Kathir who believes that 'Umar had him control some parts of greater Syria al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. III, p. 124

99. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 37

100. Tathbit Dala'il al-Nubuwwa, p. 593

101. Masa'il al-Imamah, p. 60

102. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 499, No 1286; Ibn 'Asakir mentions various evidence concerningly Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, pp 18-25 and 44-73

103. al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. 454

104. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 838

105. Rasa'il al-Jahiz, al-Rasail As-Siyasiyya, p. 344

106. al-Ishtiqaq, p. 13; al-Fa'iq, vol. I, p. 431; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. 560-561

107. Mus'ab Zubayri, Nasab Quraysh, p. 382

108. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. 560

109. Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. I, p. 432

110. al-Ibana 'An shari'a al-firqa al-Najiya, vol. I, p. 415; 'Aqida As-Salaf Ashab al-hadith, Abu 'Uthman Isma'il Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman As-Sabuni, pp 67-68

111. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 225; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XII, pp 121-122; al-Fa'iq fi gharib al-hadith, vol. I, pp 433-434(above translation in brief

112. Ibn Abi al-Hadid presents a worse justification, vol. XII, p. 124

113. Muqaddamihyi bar Tarikh tadwin hadith (An Introduction to History of Compiling Hadith) by the author of the same context

114. Minawi, Translation of Kililih wa Dimnih, p. 4

115. al-Taratib al-idariyya, vol. I, p. 228; al-Iةah, p. 97

116. al-Ghadir, vol. VI, pp 83-85 from, Sunan Abu Dawud, vol. I, p. 53; Sunan Ibn Maja, vol. I, p. 200; Musnad Ahmad, vol. IV, p. 265; Sunan Nasa'i, vol. I, pp 59 and 61; Sunan Biyhaqi, voil I, p. 209 and other sources

117. Futuh Misr wa Akhbaruha, p. 249

118. Musnad Ahmad, vol. I, pp 190 and 195

119. al-Ghadir, vol. VIU, pp 178-180 from, Musnad Ahmad, vol. I, p. 314; Sahih Muslim, vol. I, p. 574; Sunan Biyhaqi, ol VII, p. 336; Mustadrak Hakim, vol. II, p. 196; Tafsir Qurubi, vol. III, p. 130; Irshad As-Sari, vol. VIII, p. 127; Durr al-Manthur, vol. I, p. 279 and other sources

120. al-Muwatta', vol. II, p. 12

121. See the sources in works of the Sunnites in, al-Ghadir, vol. VI, pp 198-213 and more, Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. I, pp 716-720

122. Iman as-Sajjad(a) said: "Due to people remaining strong in Jihad, 'Umar removed the sentence, حي علي خيرالعمل " Haste for good deed" From Azan; Kitab al-'Ulum, vol. I, p. 92

123. As-Sirat al-halabiyya, vol. II, p. 110

124. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 281

125. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. 181

126. Zahr al-Islam,vol. IV, p. 38

127. Tarikh al-'Arab wal-Islam, p. 88

128. Jami' al-bayan al-'Ilm wa Faةla, vol. II, pp 79-72

129. 'Umar said this on Yawm al-khamis event when the Prophet asked for pen and paper to write something to prevent people from going astray after he is dead About the sources, 'Ali-Bukhari, Kitab al-'Ulum, Bab Kitab al-'Ulum; Kitab al-Jihad, Bab Hal yastashfa' Ila ahl al-dhamma wa bab Ikhraj al-yahud min jazira al-'Arab; Kitab hglaghazi; Bab maraة al-Nabi; Kitab al-Marةa, Bab qawl al-Mariة: Qumu 'Anni, kitab hg-I'tisam, Bab kirahiyya al-khalaf, al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. V, p. 438 and 439; Musnad Ahmad, vol. I, p. 336; Dala'il al-Nubuwwa, vol. VII,p. 183; Jami' al-bayan al-'Ilm, vol. I, p. 77; Kanz al-'Ummal, vol. X,p. 292, hadith, 29475; for more sources, Tadwin As-Sunna Ash-Sharifa, Fihrist MusTalahat, under, Hasbuna kitab Allah

130. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XII, pp 82-90

131. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 150; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 305; al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 157

132. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 153

133. Taratib al-idariyya, vol. I, p. 227 Some believe the Prophet has initiated preparing administrative tribunal Ibid p. 228 Some others consider 'Umar's policy in preparing it affected by monarchy system Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 209 Some people regard it to be influenced by the Sassanid government; al-Fakhri, p. 38

134. Kattani writes in defining administrative tribunal, دفتر يكتب فيه أسماء اهل العطاء والعساكر على القبائل والبطون He had an account book in which he registered names of those who deserve to be gifted according to tribes Taratib al-idariyya, vol. I, p. 225

135. Taratib al-idariyya, vol. I, p. 226

136. Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 222

137. Ahsan al-taqasim, p. 18

138. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 154

139. al-Muqaddama, Chapter of the 'Ilm al-tafsir

140. al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. VI, p. 111

141. Ibid vol. XI, p. 111; Lisan al-Mizan, vol. II, p. 408; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. 207; Gharib al-Hadith, vol. IV, pp 48-49; Sunan al-Darimi, vol. I, p. 116; al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. VI, pp 112-113; Majma' al-zawa'id, vol. I, pp 172-173; Taqyid al-'Ilm, p. 52(in the footnote), Jami' al-bayan al-'Ilm, vol. II, p. 42; Usd al-Ghaba, vol. IU, p. 235; vol. III, p. 126; Zamm al-Kalam, p. 64

142. al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. VI, p. 113

143. al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. VI, p. 114; vol. XI, p. 110

144. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. I, p. 66; al-Muntakhab Min Dhiyl al-Mudhayyal, p. 504, It is quoted from Ka'b al-Ahbar sayting to Mu'awiya, "'Umar al-Faruq " is titled in Torah Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXI, p. 186

145. About his life, Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, pp 446-447; Tahdhib al-kamal, vol. XXIV, p. 193; Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. VI, p. 45; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXI, pp 181-182; Siyar 'A'lam al-Nubala', vol. III, p. 489

146. A□wa' 'ala l-sunna al-Muhammadiyya, p. 148, footnoteIII

147. More than others, Abu Na'im Isfahani has quoted one hundred pages from him under his biography section in Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. V and VI

148. In recent times, Mahmud Aburiyya more than any other researcher has talked about negative role of Ka'b al-Ahbar and the like on outbreak of the Israelites A□wa' 'ala l-sunna al-Muhammadiyya, pp 145-194

149. Siyar 'A'lam al-Nubala', vol. II, p. 490

150. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. II, p. 123

151. al-Futuh, vol. IV, pp 326-328; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXV, p. 315

152. A□wa' 'ala l-sunna al-Muhammadiyya, p. 148; quoted from Tarikh at-Tabari, Biyhaqi as well as al-Isti'ab, vol. II, p. 533; al-Islam wal-Hi□ara al-'Arabiyya, p. 164

153. Ansab al-Ashraf, al-juz' al-thalith, p. 7

154. Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. VI, p. 44 vol. V, p. 365

155. al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 26

156. Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. VI, p. 23; al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. XI, p. 251

157. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 59-60

158. Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. V, p. 391

159. Tarikh makka, vol. I, p. 40

160. Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. V, pp 391, 381 and 371; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXI, p. 185

161. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXI, p. 181; Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. 233

162. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. II, p. 262

163. Siyar 'A'lam al-Nubala', vol. III, pp 393-394 quoted from Tarikh Ibn Abi l-Khaythama

164. al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. VI, pp 110 and 112

165. Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. V, p. 390

166. Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. I, p. 44; Al_Mahasin wal-Masawi, vol.,I, p. 123

167. Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol.,I, p. 48; al-Munta¨am, vol. VIII, p. 70

168. Bahjat al-Majalis, vol. I, p. 48; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXI, p. 185; al-Jawhar al-Nafis fi Siyasa al-ri'is, p. 114

169. Bahjat al-Majalis, vol. I, p. 159

170. Bahjat al-Majalis, ol I, p. 368; Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. V, p. 389; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 125 Ka'b's policy was that when 'Umar or Abu Hurayra or others spoke against his taste, he said, "The very word is cited in the Torah He said about Abu Hurayra, "I have never seen anyone like Abu Hurayra who has not read the Torah but his words accord with it this much ´A□wa' 'ala l-sunna al-Muhammadiyya, p. 207 from Ta□kira al-huffa¨

171. Maqamat al-'Ulama' bayn yaday al-khulafa' wal-'Umara', p. 163

172. al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. XI, p. 251 Ka'b praised Damascus very much in front of Medina and Mecca This is somewhat religiously and Jewishly rooted and is of a political motive to some extent for strengthening Mu'awiya They may have been later fabricated by the Umayya

173. Nisa', p. 56

174. Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. V, p. 375

175. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, p. 59

176. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya vol. VIII, p. 110, Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXI, p. 187 Aburiyya has said accordingly, "'Umar initially paid attention to his speech but later he found his weakness 'A□wa', p. 152-153 As mentioned in the context, there are plenty of examples showing 'Umar's giving him freedom of speech

177. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol.,III, p. 1081

178. al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol.,VI, p. 114

179. Gharib al-Hadith, vol. IV, p. 262; al-Fa'iq fi Gharib al-Hadith, vol. I, p. 651, إن كنت تعلم أن فيه التوراة الّتي أنزلها الله على

موسى عليه السلام بطور سيناء فاقرأها آناء الليل والنهار

180. Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. VI, p. 7

181. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, pp 57 and 650, al-Manar al-Munif, pp 89-90; 'A□wa', pp 166-167 Once Ibn 'Abbas hearing Ka'b speak, اما تركت اليهودية؟ Al-Kaf Ash-Shaf, p. 139 quoted from, 'A□wa', p. 165

182. Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. 205(in its footnote); al-Mu'jam al-kabir, vol. I, p. 20; Majma' al-zawa'id, vol. IX, p. 61; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 336

183. Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. 213

184. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1078-1079; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 121 Someone who forged the news had a moderate belief towards 'Uthman and 'Ali (a) In a similar quotation we read, 'Umar sent for Ka'b al-Ahbar and he was asked, "How do find my attributes in Torah?" Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. VI, pp 25-26

185. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, pp 1079-1080

186. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XII, pp 80-81; elsewhere it is quoted that the Jews came to 'Umar and said, "A verse has been called to you, if it were called to us, we would celebrate the day of call The verse reads, الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ... I complemented your religion 'Umar said, "Yes, I do remember that thr verse was sent on the day of "'Arafa"(9th of Dhi Hajja) to the Prophet!! al-Qand fi Tarikh Samarqand, pp 434-435

187. al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, vol. VII, p. 529

188. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, pp 24-25; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 434; al-Niza' wal-Takhasum, p. 78; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 495, No 1278; al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 208; al-Kamil wal-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 123

189. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. 77

190. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 228

191. Usd al-Ghaba, vcol V, p. 199

192. Buhuth ma'a ahl As-Sunna wal-salafiyya, p. 97; As-Sahih Min Sira al-Nabi 'A"am (S), vol. I, p. 27

193. Taqyid al-'Ilm, p. 50(in its footnote); Jami' al-bayan al-'Ilm, vol. I, p. 64; Kanz al-'Ummal, vol. V, p. 239; Dham al-kalam, p. 63; in another manner in, Taqyid al-'Ilm, p. 51; Ta□kira al-huffa", vol. I, p. 5; Kanz al-'Ummal, vol. I, p. 174

194. Gharib al-Hadith, vol. IV, pp 48-49; vol. III, pp 28-29

195. Abu Hurayra says, "As long as 'Umar lived, we never dared say, قال رسول الله The Prophet (S) said, al-Bidaya wa'l-Nihaya, vol. VIII, p. 110

196. Taqyid al-'Ilm, p. 31 لا تكتبوا عني شيئاً الا القرآن... وحدثوا عن بني اسرائيل ولا حرج Quote me just about Quran and unworriedly speak about Banu Isra'il

197. Gharib al-Hadith, vol. IV, p. 48; 'Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. VI, pp 110,112

198. Pazhuhishi darbariyi naqshih dini wa Ijtima'i qissI khanan dar Tarikh Islam, Qum, 1991

199. Musnad Ahmad, vol. III, p. 449; al-Qussas wal-mudhakkirin, p. 22; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. V, p. 321; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. I, p. 186

200. al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. III, p. 219; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. I, p. 11; al-Khitat al-Maqriziyya, vol. II, p. 253; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. V, p. 321

201. al-Mufassal fi Tarikh al-'Arab qabl al-Islam, vol. VIII, p. 378

202. al-Qussas wal-mudhakkirin, p. 22

203. al-Hayawan, vol. IV, pp 202-203

204. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, pp 334-374, Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, pp 888-891

205. Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. V, p. 388, vol. VI, p. 13; See the detailed form in, Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 392; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 133

206. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 342; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XII, p. 191; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 40

207. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 322; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 140; Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. VI, p. 23

208. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 354; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 154

209. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 191; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 26; Nihayat al-'Irab, vol. XIX, p. 374 The same report is quoted by Ibn Shabba with a little difference 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf is the person commonly mentioned in Tarikh at-Tabari's and Ibn Shabba's references Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 891

210. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 361; ‘Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. X, p. 225

211. It seems Aburiyya, before everyone else, has mentioned this thanks to Tarikh at-Tabari’s reports ’A□wa’ ‘ala l-sunna al-Muhammadiyya, pp 153-155; Fi l-‘ubur al-hi□ari “Ka‘b al-Ahbar”, pp 200-204

212. Athar ahl al-kitab fil-fitan wal-hurub al-ahliyya, pp 237,240

213. According to sources, ‘Umar never let mature Arabs enter Medina As a matter of fact, the same man who was permitted to enter Medina, embraced on killing the caliph Afterwards, ‘Umar reproached those who agreed on entering of these people into Medina and called them his murder Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, pp 889,903,904; al-Nihaya fi Gharib al-Hadith, vol. III, p. 286 Those disagreeing with him said that Medina would be renewed just because of entry of the ‘Alwaj

214. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, pp 320-321; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 888; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 345; Ibn Juzi, Manaqib ‘Umar, p. 210

215. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. 190

216. Therefore, it seems unjust for any sect to defend him, although some traditionally knew him a Muslim, believing that his murder arises from religious differences al-Bad’ wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 194

217. Hayat al-Hayawan, vol. I, p. 51

218. Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 161

219. Tarikh Guzidih, p. 186

220. Tarikh Guzidih, p. 184; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 348; ‘Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. VI, p. 52; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 904

221. Ibn Qutayba, al-Ma‘arif, p. 183; For other sources, Ma‘rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, from 194 on

222. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 53

223. al-Zuhd wal-Raqa’iq, pp 79-80,145,146; Bahjat al-Majalis, vol. II, p. 399; Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 115; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, pp 360-361; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 920; Sheykh Mufid, al-Amali, p. 50

224. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 137

225. Ibid p. 140

226. Ibid p. 141

227. Ibid p. 141-142

228. al-Uns al-jalil, vol. I, p. 126

229. al-Uns al-jalil p. 250

230. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 145 (some people have said that ‘Umar traveled to Damascus four times during his caliphate) Futuh Misr wa Akhbaruha, p. 56 (footnote

231. al-Uns al-jalil, vol. I, pp 253-254

232. Ibid pp 256-257

233. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 146

234. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 157

235. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 148

236. Ibid p. 151

237. Futuh Misr wa Akhbaruha, p. 53

238. Futuh Misr wa Akhbaruha, pp 57-58

239. Atlas Tarikh al-Islam, p. 133

240. One said to another, ان هؤلاء القوم لا يتوجهون الى أحد الا ظهروا عليه “ These people declare war with no one but when they overcome” Futuh Misr wa Akhbaruha, pp 59

241. Ibid p. 61

242. Futuh Misr wa Akhbaruha p. 129

243. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. 570

244. Ibid vol. III, p. 601

245. Ibid vol. III, p. 464

246. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 143

247. al-Futuh, vol. I, pp 143-144
248. Tarikh Tamaddun, vol. IV, p. 64; Ash-Sham fi Sadr al-Islam, pp 63-64, footnote
249. See the list in, Ash-Sham fi Sadr al-Islam, pp 60-70
250. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 165
251. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 251; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 113
252. Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. IV, p. 15
253. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 170
254. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 114; Atlas Tarikh al-Islam, p. 128 The author made a mistake about the fact that the king, in this time, regarded Iran as the city of Buraz, next, Shiriwayh and then Buran In essence, Yazdgard, since 632, succeeded them and conquering Iraq began from his time
255. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 114
256. In time of war, Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah Bijili promised his tribesmen that they would be the only Arabs to be benefited much in case this city were to be entered Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 115
257. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 114; Ibn A'tham (Al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 168) says that Mihrdad has been king of Adharbayjan
258. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 115
259. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 116
260. Ibid p. 117
261. al-Tariq Ila l-Mada'in, p. 213
262. Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. II, p. 363
263. Ibid vol. I, p. 432
264. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 117
265. Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. I, p. 430
266. Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol.I, p.432.
267. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, p. 7
268. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 201
269. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 310
270. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 121
271. Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. IV, p. 17
272. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 119 (he mentions the forces to be twenty thousand people but he further refers to the troops joining him from Basra and other places) Al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 175 (there, there is a census of tribal people
273. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 120
274. Ibid pp 120-121 (This was exactly referred when Rostam spoke with Mughira
275. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 197 (Ibn A'tham mentions the exact speech of the king in Persian
276. Ibn A'tham cites the names in a different way al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 20
277. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 123 (Dinwari mentions his very calling "a man of challenge" in Persian)
278. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 259
279. Ibid p. 260
280. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. 590; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 319
281. al-Qadisiyya, pp 216-232
282. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 319
283. Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. IV, pp 490-491
284. 'Umar wrote to Sa'd, Arabs resemble camels, wherever camels lay well, Arabs find it well too Futuh al-Buldan, p. 275
285. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 275
286. Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. IV, p. 491
287. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 287; al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 288
288. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 126; Futuh al-Buldan, p. 262
289. Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. IV, p. 18 Yaqut speaks of seven-fold cities of Mada'in this way, Isfabur (Isfanbar), Wah Ardishir (Bihrsir), Hanbushafur (Jundishabur), Darznidan (Darzijan), Wah Jundyu Khusruw

(Rumiyya), Nunyafaj and Kirdafadh (His mentioned names slightly differ from what has been quoted from Tarikh Iran) He adds, Mada'in, in our time, is a village six leagues far from Baghdad Citizens are mainly farmers and followers of Imam 'Ali (a) Salman Farsi's tombstone rests in eastern Medina Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. V, p. 75

290. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 212
291. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 216; Futuh al-Buldan, p. 262
292. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 127
293. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 263
294. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 278
295. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 129
296. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 264
297. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 279-280
298. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 151
299. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 265
300. al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 183
301. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 133
302. Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp 130-132
303. Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp 134-135
304. Ibid pp 136-137
305. al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 182
306. Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. III, p. 267
307. Tarikh Iran, vol. I, p. 7
308. al-Futuh, vol.I, p.165.
309. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 131
310. Ibid p. 137
311. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 279
312. Spuler, Tarikh Iran, vol. I, p. 17
313. Bist Maqalih Qazwin quoted from, Khadamat Mutaqabil Iran wa Islam, p. 79
314. Gharbzadigi, p. 48
315. Tarikh Iran, Cambridge (Persian translation), vol. III, part I, p. 271

[1] [1]
SHARES

Uthman's Caliphate

Caliphate Council and 'Uthman's Election

'Umar consulted with Prophet's (S) companions in several cases while never compelling himself to fulfill their notions. It should be said when 'Umar had no idea in some cases, he benefited others'. In judicial issues, he preferred Imam 'Ali's idea tens of times.

He consulted with companions about Hijra calendering and conceded Imam's opinion on determining "Prophet's Hijra" as the beginning (era) of Islamic date.1

Another example of consulting with Imam leading to his approved idea was about lands of Iraq.[2] The other one is about going out of Medina during the war with Iranians and defining a leader for Iranian troops.[3] In his suggesting to do some things, 'Umar cited favoring companions and consulting with them.[4]

Considering these counsellings, some have said that basically a consultative assembly was regularly taking place in a mosque and the political system during 'Umar's rule was a kind of democracy, even close to a republic.[5]

This view fails to comply with the truth of that time and what history has reported. Occasional counsels are parted from parliaments that adopt the majority of votes and regularly interfere with the affairs. The source of Amir 'Ali's utterance is what Qa□i Abu Yusuf [6] said as in the mosque there was the meeting of upper class among whom were the heads of tribes coming to Medina.

He has named this group “people of Shura.” Mentioning Amir 'Ali's inaccuracy in using words like “parliament,” about the current meaning of this word, and Ibrahim Bay□un says, “There was nothing called “parliament” as an established and influential board in the regime in that age.”

As 'Umar had a great influence in domestic and foreign political and all governmental affairs, this issue is more applicable in 'Umar's time. In fact, the afore-mentioned is the extension of the same thing in the Prophet's age.[7] It has been quoted from Imam as-Sadiq (a) that emigrants usually sat in the mosque and 'Umar confided the events in them, e.g. he asked them how to treat Magi (Majus), then “Prophet treated them as Muslims”, 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf said.[8]

As said, 'Umar also consulted with the companions about writing traditions and 'Ali, unlike their approval, refused to do so.

In caliph's opinion, another example of consultation is matter of caliphate. For the first time, he confessed the truth of Abu Bakr's election, in his speech in Medina he said that election was without consulting the Muslims, thereafter caliphate should be based on Muslims' consultation; if anyone swore allegiance to someone without consulting, both should be killed.[9]

This speech led to the idea of one principle in choosing the caliph as outlined in this brief narrated phrase of caliph “al-Imara Shura”.[10] What 'Umar said about the matter of succession shows that he himself was perplexed. In the beginning, he wished his old friends were alive to make them caliphs.

One of them was Mu'adh Ibn Jabal.[11] The second person was Abu 'Ubayda Jarrah, third, present emigrants in Saqifa,[12] and the forth one Salim Mawla Hudhayfa who was not of Quraysh.[13] Surprisingly, despite all 'Umar's disagreements with Khalid Ibn Walid,[14] he had been quoted saying, “If Khalid Ibn Walid were alive, he would be my successor.” [15] Thus, it becomes obvious if one of these people were alive, it would not be a turn for Shura.[16]

In fact, all of his candidates for caliphate had passed away. Thus, it was the turn for those alive.

"'Umar was with an Ansari (one companion)," says 'Abd al-Rahman Qari "when he got assured that the present people were confidant, he asked him about public opinion about his successor. He named some emigrants without mentioning 'Ali's. 'Umar objected and said, "Why not Abu al-Hasan? If he comes to power, he will lead people to the truth."[17]

Mughira Ibn Shu'ba says, "'Umar asked me, who is qualified to be the successor?" I responded, "'Uthman!"

He criticised 'Uthman. I also named five people of the council, on each of whom he placed an imperfection and accused Imam of being witty."[18] Though he said, "If he comes to power, he will lead all to the Truth."[19]

'Umar asked Ka'b al-Ahbar (who 'Umar believed was dealing with Scriptures)[20] about his successor, he replied, "'Ali is not qualified for it and as he had read in the books, those who have quarrelled with the Prophet (S) over faith could be caliphs.[21] It seems that he had meant no one but the Umayyads and ahead of them 'Uthman. 'Uthman had a great influence during the ages of Abu Bakr and 'Umar.

"In your opinion, once he asked Hudhayfa, who was known as prophet's confidant, whom will people accept as the ruler after me?"

Hudhayfa replied, "I think people would leave themselves to 'Uthman Ibn 'Affan."[22] Hudhayfa's perception was right because the Qurayshites were all 'Uthman's advocates.
It should be mentioned that 'Umar was annoyed by the Hashimites. The discussion between 'Umar and Ibn 'Abbas contains notable points.

'Umar, Tabari writes, told Ibn 'Abbas, "Do you know why your tribe, (Quraysh) banned you from being prophet's successor?"
I answered "No."

Because they detested, 'Umar said, your caliphate and prophecy, then you would have so much vanity and glory. So Quraysh seized caliphate and it was the right thing to do.
"May I speak?" says Ibn 'Abbas.
'Umar said, "Yes."

I said, Ibn 'Abbas says, about what you say Quraysh seized the caliphate, I should say that if Quraysh had picked what God had chosen, it was on the right path without being involved in any denial and envy. But what you say about their reluctancy of prophecy and caliphate in one family, God has defined hideously such a tribe, ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ كَرِهُوا مَا أَنزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأَحْبَطَ أَعْمَالَهُمْ. "Such they attested what God had sent, then their deeds faded away."

O, son of 'Abbas, 'Umar said, I've heard things about you I don't want to believe, if so, you'll be

underrated.

If I'm saying the truth, Ibn 'Abbas replied, why my status would be underrated, and if you think it's credal error as wrong egoism he has kept away from himself. “I've heard you said they divested 'Ali of caliphate for (their) envy and oppression”, 'Umar said.

As for oppression, replied Ibn 'Abbas, any ignorant and wise man knows, and as for envy, devil envied Adam, and we who are being envied, are his offsprings too. Also, said 'Umar, By God, O Hashimites! Your hearts are filled with an indelible jealousy.

O 'Umar!, replied Ibn 'Abbas, don't charge the hearts, impurified by God, with having envy and alloy. Prophet (S) 's heart is of Hashimites'.[23] Some time, it was him who refused to recruit Khalid Ibn Sa'id because of his scruple objection with Abu Bakr's caliphate, it was obvious that he couldn't be contented with Imam 'Ali (a) who had sidestepped all this time and also, in the beginning, had withheld to swear allegiance for several months.

However, 'Umar was demoralized in choosing his successor. When Hafsa heard his father thinking of putting no one as the caliph, he told his father, “If you had a shepherd looking after your sheep and if he had left his duty, you would have regarded him as a waster, so considering people becomes worse.”

'Umar said that if he did not put anyone as the caliph, he had treated like Prophet (S) and if he chose someone, then he had done like Abu Bakr[24] both seemed to him religious traditions. 'Umar stated that during his life he had been shouldering the responsibility which he wouldn't want to do so after death.[25] However, he couldn't leave the caliphate.

'Umar said, “Some people, according to Baladhuri, have said (and he himself accepted that) swearing allegiance to Abu Bakr was unbased and without cosultation. This would be done in “Shura” after me.[26] 'Umar chose six people instead of one, putting the responsibility on 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf[27] to consult with each other and choose one of themselves.

I found, 'Umar said, you are public headmen and this should be done by no one but you. Caliph, as said, placed an imperfection on each of them except Ibn 'Awf whom he praised.[28] 'Umar determined the council members as well as saying its quality of task. They were supposed to gather in a house where fifty companions guarded them till they would choose a caliph.

It seemed that Talha was not in Medina; (Baladhuri says this is true) if five people chose someone with whom one person disagreed, he had to be decapitated; if two of them disagreed with four people's decision, they had to be killed; if three people were on one side and three on the other side, they had to agree with 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar's arbitration and if they didn't accept it, the group in which was 'Abd al-Rahman 'Awf, was preferred. And if the other three people disagreed with them, they had to be killed.[29]

'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar's role in this council of six people, had a consultative aspect, but he himself couldn't

be as a candidate for caliphate because in his father's opinion, he couldn't even decide about divorcing his wife much less that.30

Beyond all this, 'Umar had said this affair was for “people of Badr” as long as one of them survives, after them came people of “Uhud” as long as one of them survives. As for the released ones and their offsprings and the people who became Muslims in Mecca's conquest, they have no rights.31 'Amr Ibn 'As also tried hard to become a member of the Shura.

But 'Umar told him he would not leave the task to someone who had fought against Prophet (S) 32 and he meant when 'Amr Ibn 'As was an infidel.

In the beginning, 'Abbas asked 'Ali (a) not to enter Shura. But Imam said that first he was afraid of schism, second, what 'Umar had said, “Your tribe doesn't agree with the prophecy and caliphate in the same lineage”, should be proved wrong.33 When Shura was shaped of members, Imam 'Ali (a)'s opinion was that 'Uthman would be chosen.

Imam's analysis was that ”'Uthman and I are in this congress and we should obey the majority.” Sa'd would not object to his cousin, 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf (who both were of Banu Zuhra). Besides, 'Abd al-Rahman is 'Uthman's brother-in-law and they wouldn't disagree with each other, so 'Abd al-Rahman would choose him;34 therefore, if there are only two persons remained, that is Talha and Zubayr staying with me, it is of no benefit because of Ibn 'Awf they would be preferred.35 Moreover, since Prophet's time there was a pledge of brotherhood between 'Uthman and 'Abd al-Rahman'Awf. 36

'Abd al-Rahman announced that he favored not caliphate, others normally were not disposed to caliphate, Sa'd left the task to Ibn 'Awf, but he said that in his opinion, 'Ali was superior to 'Uthman.37 Thus, caliphate was exclusive to 'Ali (a) and 'Uthman. Now, schism in society, Quraysh and non-Quraysh came to be real.

One should know that, here, Quraysh is “political Quraysh” which excludes the Hashimites. According to Tabari, 'Abd al-Rahman had been consulting several nights. All emirs, noblemen and people recommended him to choose 'Uthman.38 After three days, people gathered in a mosque in the morning. According to Zuhri, 'Abd al-Rahman attended the meeting and Ibn 'Awf said that he had asked people and they had qualified no one but 'Uthman.39

“Then 'Ammar Ibn Yasir, Tabari says, cried,”If you don't want “Muslims” to get involved in conflicts, choose 'Ali.”
“He is right ” Miqdad Ibn Aswad ratified.

“If you don't want, said 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abi Sarh (whom the Prophet ostracized), Quraysh to come into conflict with each other, choose 'Uthman.” Tabari adds that “the Umayyads” and ” the Hashimites” negotiated.40 'Ammar and Miqdad were on the Hashimithes' side.

“O, people!” 'Ammar said in the mosque, “God graced us by his Prophet and by his religion, He endeared us. Why do you divest it from his “Household”?”

A man of Banu Makhzum (he was 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd and was allied, in ignorance, with the Umayyads and Abul- Jahl and Khalid Ibn Walid were of them) replied, “O 'Ammar! You have stepped off your limits! How does the emirate of Quraysh relate to you?” 41
Then 'Abd al-Rahman called 'Ali, “Do you swear, saying that, if you come to power, you would follow the Book, the biography of Prophet and Sheikhs!”

“I hope I behave in the bounds of my knowledge and ability (Baladhuri, Ijtihad)”, Imam said.42 'Abd al-Rahman called 'Uthman and he accepted Ibn 'Awf's conditions. Thus, 'Abd al-Rahman chose 'Uthman as the caliph and swore allegiance to him. “You chose 'Uthman to return you to the caliphate”, 'Ali (a) said.43

The evidence of Imam's speech was when 'Uthman got sick, then he called his scribe to write a letter of allegiance for 'Abd al-Rahman's caliphate after him.44 Later, 'Uthman recuperated, the treaty dissolved and evoked hostility between Ibn 'Awf and him.

I haven't seen, Miqdad said, the Prophet (S) 's Household behaves like this after him. I wonder how “Quraysh” leaves a man whom I know no one wiser and more just. People look, 'Ali (a) said, at “Quraysh” and Quraysh does at his “lineage”. If the Hashimites comes to power, they would stay in power forever, but they can rotate caliphate in their lineage.

Talha who came to Medina the same day asked, “Is Quraysh pleased with 'Uthman? ”
“Yes!” they replied. So he swore allegiance.
“You did the right thing to choose 'Uthman”, Mughira Ibn Shu'ba told Ibn 'Awf. “We would not be consent if you were not elected”, he told 'Uthman.
'Abd al-Rahman accused him of lying.45 Another account of Tabari says about what Shura members said in the mosque.

“We are the lineage of Nubuwwat, mine of theosophy, refuge of earth people and redemptive for those who seek salvation,”46 Imam 'Ali (a) says. Imam regarded Ibn 'Awf's deal in posing conduct of Sheikhs as a ″deceit″.47 The narrator has considered that 'Amr Ibn 'As's had a hand in this craft but it's clear that it could not be done without Ibn 'Awf.

'Abbas believed Shura is settled in a way that it would result in 'Uthman's caliphate. Because of this, he asked 'Ali not to join Shura.48 According to Ibn Abi al-Hadid, 'Umar asked the six people, “Is everyone favored in caliphate?”

Zubayr replied, “Yes. If you become a caliph, our rank and acquaintances would not be less than you in ″Quraysh″.”

Jahiz says, “If Zubayr was not certain of 'Umar's death, he wouldn't dare say it in front of him.”[49] He further says, “Zubayr supported 'Ali[50] and because Talha was of Banu Tamim and Abu Bakr's causin, he was on the side of 'Uthman who was against the Hashimites.” [51]

According to Ibn 'Abbas, 'Umar threatened Shura members, saying that if they are at odds, Mu'awiya would overcome them. He was then in Damascus.[52] After allegiance was sworn, Imam (a) returned home. However, 'Ammar said,

يا ناعي السلام قم فانعه قد مات عرف وأتى منكر

'O thou who declare death of religion, rise up because goodness vanished and badness ruled.”[53] Here, some points should be noted:

First, since then the Umayyads who were politicians of Quraysh, owned caliphate. This time, 'Uthman represented them and they favored him a lot. It goes to say that, أحبك والرحمن حبّ قريش عثمان 566 “By the Merciful God, I like you as much as Quraysh liked 'Uthman.”

In contrast, Quraysh was hostile to 'Ali and it was 'Uthman who told 'Ali, “It is not my fault that Quraysh dislikes you.” [54] But this time, a noble branch of Quraysh came to power while it was not so during Abu Bakr and 'Uthman. Although 'Umar was wealthy [55], he did not lead an aristocratic life. Yet, 'Uthman was a nobleman with an Islamic past.[56] Then, the government gradually moved towards the aristocratic rulership of Quraysh and extremely used tribal norms overly in choosing the caliph.[57]

It is said that at the very moment of election, Abu Sufyan told 'Uthman, **اجعل الأمر أمر الجاهلية,** by which he meant to say, “Revive the customs of the pre-Islamic era.” And he, of course, meant nothing but caliphate.[58]

As mentioned earlier, being a member of Quraysh was not a constitutional prerequisite for caliphate and the tradition الأئمة من قريش had not yet become the basis of justify the rule of Quraysh, as it is not consistent with 'Umar's idea of making Salim Mawla Hudhayfa his successor, so he wished his survival and being a Qurayshite as an invalid condition, as 'Umar says, is what Shi'a since long has remained critical of. 572

Second, Shura and deliberation about caliphate came to be posed for the first time. This Shura had two aspects, one was the six-member council framework of heads of Quraysh and the caliphate was in hands of no one but them. 'Umar had determined the rules of election and based it on the majority and the minority573 and if equal, set the balance

heavier on the part of three people among whom was Ibn 'Awf.

Another is Ibn 'Awf's consultation with people lasting several nights according to what is said. Of course, Ibn 'Awf was blamed for choosing 'Uthman because of his kinship and this consultation could cover it. Moreover, just like Abu Bakr and 'Umar, they had made a pledge of brotherhood.

It should be noted that later there appeared a conflict between 'Uthman and Ibn 'Awf and when Ibn 'Awf was badly thrashed by 'Uthman's agents, he passed away while being discontented with 'Uthman.[59] What is important is the role of Shura.

However, Shura consisted of six chosen people and this number could resolve choosing one person out of six. This was a kind of limited Shura among a few Quraysh elites, so no one could interfere save them. This effective method was seen, in the next periods, among some of Imam's opponents as well as among the Zubayrids who were against the Umayyads. This will be dealt with later.

The **Third** point concerned was allegiance. After Ibn 'Awf and other Shura members swore allegiance, 'Ali (a) still avoided doing so.

"Swear allegiance", Ibn 'Awf told him, "or I will decapitate you."
Imam left the house. Shura companions followed him and said, **بايع وإلّا جاهدناك** " Swear an allegiance or we will Jihad with you."

Imam (a) followed them and swore an allegiance to 'Uthman.[60] This is something that is criticized.[61]

"If you are a man of fighting, we will help you." Miqdad asked 'Ali (a).
Imam said, "Who will help me to fight them?"
'Ammar also said the same thing.[62]

This was based on what 'Umar had said, "If anyone refused to swear allegiance, he should be beheaded."

As mentioned before, 'Umar was one of those who believed in securing allegiance by force [63]– despite what is ascribed to Abu Bakr. 'Umar could not believe some people were trying for schism.

At first, when he appointed Shura members, he said, "If you all choose one person and one of you disagrees with them, you could kill him."[64] Later, it remains to be seen that after Imam (a) came to power, he ceased to agree to secure allegiance by force from those who refused to do so.

The last point is that one of marginal effects of Shura was the members caprice for caliphate. In 'Umar's opinion, they all had the privilege to seize caliphate and this aroused their expectations.

As said, "When you become a caliph", Zubayr told him at the presence of 'Umar. "we could also be caliphs because we are not lower in rank than you from the viewpoint of being a Quraysh and our

precedence.” 65 Normally, this Shura would make them expect more. There was a reason why 'Amr Ibn 'As and Mughira Ibn Shu'ba were trying to join this council. Such an expectation resulted in provoking next revolts and also objections against 'Uthman and later against 'Ali (a).

Mu'awiya's analysis was that since Talha, Zubayr and Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas supposed that they are eligible for caliphate, 'Umar's Shura raised differences among Muslims.66 Sheykh Mufid also writes about Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas, “Personally, he didn't identify himself equal to 'Ali (a) but as he joined Shura, he came to this feeling that he has the authority of caliphate, and this ruined his faith and life.”67

Ibn Abi al-Hadid has quoted his professor's analysis that each of Shura members, inside themselves, had this feeling that they were capable of caliphate.This preoccupied them till the next differences appeared.68

In Jamal battle, Talha told 'Ali (a), “Resign from caliphate, then we leave it to ″Shura″.” “We were also in Shura, two people who didn't want you, now have passed away, we are also three”, he added.

“You should have said that before swearing an allegiance but now that you have swore, you should be faithful”,69 'Ali replied.

‘Uthman’s Caliphate

'Uthman was one of those Muslims who became a Muslim as called by Abu Bakr in the first years. He was one of the Umayyads and his Islam was strange in a family most of whom were anti-Islam people.

He was one of those who migrated to Ethiopia, but soon he returned Mecca and migrated to Medina. There, he married two of the Prophet (S) 's daughters respectively who died soon. Because of his wife's sickness, 'Uthman did not attend Badr. Also, in Uhud he was with the fugitives who, indeed, were blessed. Later, there is no memory of him except in the issue of Hudaybiyya.70[585]

In Abu Bakr's time, he was close to him and was his scribe. It was him who wrote 'Umar's allegiance – Abu Bakr said – while he was unconscious. Also, he had a great influence in 'Umar's time and was the Umayyads' envoy in that situation.

Afterwards, 'Uthman as Umayyads' envoy and Imam 'Ali (a) as the Hashimites' seemed to be atop of those who will lead the society in the future. 'Umar had probably realized or practically had the inclination that 'Uthman was more capable of leading an Islamic society because of his influence and Popularity in Quraysh.

Whatever his opinion was, it can't be neglected that Quraysh wanted him. When he rather came in grips with Imam in the time of 'Uthman's succession, he told Imam, **ما ذنبي إن لم يحبك قريش** “ Is it my fault that Quraysh doesn't like you?”71[586]

Ibn Qutayba also declares that 'Uthman was favored by Quraysh, so it was said,

أحبك والرحمن حب قريش عثمان

“By the Compassionate God, I love thee as Quraysh loved 'Uthman.”72

As swearing allegiance to 'Uthman ended in the last day of Dhi l–Hajja, 23 A.H., he sat on the Messenger's (S) rostrum. The difference between him and previous caliphs was that Abu Bakr sat one step down where the Prophet (S) used to sit, 'Umar one step down Abu Bakr and unlike them, 'Uthman sat where Prophet sat.73 When he mounted the rostrum, he couldn't speak. He thought a bit and then, “you need a just Imam more than a lecturer”, he said. Then he came down the rostrum and went home.74

His first action was to overlook 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Umar's punishment. He killed three people, Iranian Hurmuzan and Abu Lu'lu' 's family who were accused of murdering his father, 'Umar. 'Uthman as the ruler dispensed with his Qisas, retaliation, and changed it to blood money and stood against protesters.75

'Uthman's caliphate must be considered as the beginning of the Umayyads' caliphate. Ibn A'tham has named him ″Doyen of the Umayyads″ quoting from Ibn 'Awf.76 The Umayyads thought of lordship but they were ignorant. When people, Abu Bakr Juwhari says, swore allegiance to 'Uthman, “this”, said Abu Sufyan, “was in Taym's hands (Abu Bakr's tribe) while it didn't concern them; thereafter, ″'Adi″ (tribe) took hold that was much farther.” “Now it has returned to its reservation.”

“Leave it hereditary among your offsprings, there is neither a heaven nor a hell”, he told 'Uthman and the Umayyads.”77

According to Mas'udi, 'Ammar who had heard Abu Sufyan in the mosque, stood up and began to protest. Miqdad also did the same after him and said he was worried about turning Ahl al–Bayt from this affair.78 Ibn 'Asakir has also narrated that Abu Sufyan told 'Uthman, اجعل الاَمر أمر الجاهلية “Settle the case out of ignorance.”79

Of course, this evidence only specifies Abu Sufyan's idea not 'Uthman's; however, 'Uthman's caliphate is

Abu Sufyan's hope for the throwback of the Umayyads' dominance. His caliphate begins with mightiness of Quraysh's nobleness. Therefore, it is said that he was more favored by Quraysh than 'Umar.[80]

The strife of Muslim world after the Prophet (S) was indeed the conflict between the Islamic norms and tribal ones. Quraysh's victory was regarded as the triumph of tribal norms; however, in the time of the first two caliphs, this victory was tempered with the Islamic norms but it should not be considered permanent, for Quraysh actually came to power by 'Uthman's caliphate.

'Uthman had never been a weak caliph despite rumors and robustly handled the affairs from scratch. His murder by Prophet (S) 's companions and other protesters did not mean his lack of enough power but because the protest against him was so much that he and his companions could not control it.

Besides, leaving the tasks to people like Marwan or other Sufyani members was not his weakness but he was basically thinking of reposing the caliphate to the Umayyads and he did all this as an introduction to Umayyidize all political affairs. Accidentally as he supposed, he acted intelligently because during the first six years of caliphate, he acted peacefully and tried to consolidate his position.

Later, during the second half of the caliphate, he manifested his radical policies and gradually began to change political structure of various regions. In his initiatives, he had the support of Quraysh. He tried to consider their portion instead. But in the second half, his task was to empower the particular tribe of the Umayyads. This infuriated some people of Quraysh. He disentitled people like 'Amr Ibn 'As and empowered 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abi Sarh. Umayyads's members ruling over people spurred anger of many and instigated people to openly revolt against him.

The main point of his regime was one, the victories and the other, more important, was to study this revolt against him, that had a great influence in the Islamic world and most of the subsequent conflicts in Muslim world were arisen from Muslim's approach towards 'Uthman and his opponents.

Reasons of Anti-'Uthman Rebellion

There are so many reasons for rebelling against 'Uthman mentioned in historical books. Tabari and other historians did not want to record these facts.

"There is something said about this which I hesitate to narrate", Tabari says.[81] Narrating all of what the companions have said about 'Uthman may cause the Sunnites to have problematic vciews about companions, especially caliphs. Regarding what is said about reasons of rebeling against 'Uthman, they can be divided into three categories,

(1) The first type of objections concerns the issues through which the caliph was accused of religious heresy.

"How soon you apostatized your Prophet's tradition!" It's quoted from 'Ayisha who told 'Uthman.[82] "His

deeds burnt him, he set fire to God's book and abandoned the Prophet's tradition", said 'Ayisha when she heard about 'Uthman's death.[83] 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf claimed 'Uthman had also violated tradition of Sheikhs.

When he objected to him, he was thrashed.[84] In a letter written to provoke people against 'Uthman, it was said that the Book and the Prophet's tradition have been changed, so has Sheikhs' tradition.[85] 'Uthman's disregarding Hurmuzan's murder by 'Ubayd Allah raised public anger. 'Uthman forgave 'Ubayd Allah instead of retaliating him for the death of three people.[86]

For doing this, Imam blamed 'Uthman and said, "You will be upbraided in Dooms Day for Hurmuzan." "If I see 'Ubayd Allah, I will let him obey divine rule even if some people do not like it."[87]

When 'Uthman saw this, he forced 'Ubayd Allah away Kufa at night and there, he gave him a land named Kuwayfa Ibn 'Umar.[88]

People said when 'Uthman was enlarging the Prophet's mosque. **يوسّع مسجد رسول الله ويُغيّر سنَّته** "He expands the mosque of the Messenger but changes his Sunna."[89]

Another clear example was that unlike the Prophet (S), 'Uthman prayed completely in Mina, that instigated some people against him.

"This is my belief", said 'Uthman when they objected.[90]

'Ammar, who was one of his known opponents, said, [91] **قتلناه كافراً** "We killed him while being an unbeliever."

He stood against rebels in the day of Jamal and asked them, "Why do you fight with us?"

"Because 'Uthman was murdered while he was a Muslim", they replied.

"We fight with you because he was a pagan when he was killed", 'Ammar said.[92]
"Why did you anathematize 'Uthman?" Zayd Ibn Arqam was asked.
"We had three reasons one of which was not following the Book", he replied.[93]

Isfahani has mentioned some opponents who told 'Uthman, "Fear God and do not exceed divine limits."[94]

"He had changed the Book", said Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr explaining his reason of opposing 'Uthman.[95]

And it's quoted from him, "'Uthman has treated unrightfully and distorted Qur'an's word."

وَمَنْ لَمْ يَحْكُمْ بِمَا أَنزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُوْلَئِكَ هُمْ الْكَافِرُون

“Whosoever judges not as to what God has said, he shall be an infidel.” 96[611]

After public objections, he repented in front of them and promised to follow the Book and the Prophet's tradition.97

It is quoted from 'Ayisha who named 'Uthman ″Na'thal″, old stupid man. **اقتلوا نعثلاً فقد كفر**. “Murder 'Uthman who has sought infidelity.”98

“At first, 'Uthman behaved as to God's consent but later he changed his path”, is also quoted from Mu'awiya.99

One of the objections to 'Uthman was his unifying the existing Qur'ans. At that time, a scatter of companions in cities and Arabic accents problem in reading Qur'an escalated the difference among reciters.

It's said that Hudhayfa wrote to 'Uthman, “If it continues to be so, Qur'an will be distorted.” 'Uthman decided to collect all Qur'ans and eliminate them after arranging a version. He did not consult with some of the people who considered themselves as experts of the job. One of them was 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud.

He was chosen for this job instead of Zayd Ibn Thabit who was young at the Prophet's time. No matter what help 'Uthman should get from people like Ibn Mas'ud and no matter how he treated other versions, (burnt them or ruined in other ways), his original action was right and Imam 'Ali (a) had highly ratified it.100

(2) Another objection to 'Uthman was devolving upon people of the Umayyads governing the cities. Concerning Abu Sufyan's suggestion in the beginning of caliphate, this seemed normal unless he did not deem it right to do so in his first six years of caliphate. But during the second half, he tried to increase the Umayyads' political and administrative power.

The routine was that he had certainly considered Mu'awiya or another person of the Umayyads as his successor. The problem was not just using these people but people of this family who had other problems.

Typically, Hakam Ibn Abi l-'As whom the Prophet (S) exiled and Sheikhs did not repatriate, was called back to Medina and was employed to collect charity of Khuza'a's tribe.101 He also employed Harith Ibn Hakam to work in Medina market.102 He also gave the rulership of Kufa to Walid Ibn 'Uqba Ibn Abi Mu'ayt who was his uncle.103

Walid whom God called evil-doer104 and the Prophet (S) promised him hell105, was obviously a man of sin and iniquity. He deserved punishment because he was a winebibber according to the testament of witnesses. First, 'Uthman did not accept the testament and Imam 'Ali (a) blamed him saying, **دفعت الشهود وابطلت الحدود** “ You led away the witnesses and abandoned divine limits.”

When he accepted, people were afraid of 'Uthman to punish him. Imam 'Ali rose, dropped him on the ground and exerted whip punishment on him.[106]

“Five years in Kufa”, writes a Persian historian about Walid's drinking wine, “Walid lived in serendipity, had pleasurful nights, drank by draughts and in the morning reveled in bodily pleasure from red wine, he went to the mosque witlessly and said four units of prayers instead of two as the morning prayers.”

And according to a narration he said, “I'm very cheerful today, I can say more prayers if you want.”[107]

Walid Ibn 'Uqba's successor was Sa'id Ibn 'As who was also of this tribe. At first, he tried to behave peacefully. But a little later, he was fulminated by people because of insulting Hisham Ibn 'Utba who had lost his eye in Yarmuk and ironically was called him one-eyed man.

But the serious problem was Iraq – which is fertile lands of Iraq – all belong to Quraysh”, he said in Kufa. Malik Ashtar was seething with this word. Sa'id wrote 'Uthman about Malik's objection and “people who named themselves readers of Qur'an are indeed crazy doing such and such”, he said. The result was that 'Uthman exiled Malik and some others to Damascus.[108] Later, when Kufa faced escalated riot, 'Uthman said that Abu Musa Ash'ari who was there for 'Umar to be given a rulership.[109]

Basra had not a better situation, there after deposing Abu Musa Ash'ari he placed 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir, only twenty five, who was caliph's cousin. According to Ibn A'tham, on Friday, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir Ibn Kurayz wanted to preach. He sat on the rostrum and meeting the crowd he was horrified, so he couldn't talk. **ألحمد لله الذي خلق السماوات والأ رض في ست سنين** “ Praise be to God (the Exalted) who created heaven and earth in six years”, he said as the prologue. [110]

Another 'Uthman's measure was to depose 'Amr Ibn 'As form ruling Egypt and leaving him to 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abi Sarh. Tyranny of this man who was outcast by the Prophet (S) towards people of Egypt was one of the causes of these people rebelling against 'Uthman, their coming to Medina to murder him.

“Don't you want”, Imam 'Ali (a) told 'Uthman, “to leave off the Umayyads doing with Muslims' honor and property? I swear if one of your agents tyrannizes people till the sunset, you'll share his sin too.”[111]

This was the same thing some had said about 'Uthman, that is to say he was the first one who began to tyrannize[112] because he did not his agents oppressing people. At the same level, Mu'awiya's reinstatement in Damascus should be mentioned.

Damascus was basically considered as 'Uthman's safe region so he sent his exiles there. The difference between Damascus and Iraq was that Mu'awiya himself had trained them from the beginning but in Kufa people like 'Ammar and 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud had fostered them. Thus, Iraq revolted against 'Uthman while Damascus did not move at all.

According to Ibn Kathir, people protested why he had unseated the Prophet (S) 's companions.[113] “You have assigned ignorant rulers for us”, was 'Ammar's objection.[114]

'Uthman's policy in employing the Umayyads to handle the country affairs revealed a kind of “Lineal Monarchy” in Islamic caliphate. This way of ruling was the negation of the Islamic values and the settlement of tribal habitudes as well as marking the hereditariness of caliphate.

In this kind of statehood, each of the princes came to power in a province. Anywhere the found a fertile land, they possessed. Sa'id Ibn 'As of the Umayyads, ruler of Kufa, named the lands of Iraq “Garden of Quraysh”[115] so people's protest against 'Uthman began here.[116]

(3) The third objection of rebells to 'Uthman was, his prodigality to the Umayyads' family. These prodigality which at first to all Quraysh eminent people and then just to the Umayyads, was at a very large extent. The opposition of Talha and Zubayr was because of this recent thorough turnabout of 'Uthman for the Umayyads.

Thus, “If he gives money to you, you will be satisfied, but if he gives it to his own kinsmen, you'll offend him”[117], 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amr truly said about some of the opponents. Moreover, lavishing and aristocracy in 'Uthman's government versus the past, spurred opposition. In Medina, 'Uthman built a sturdy house of stone with elegant wooden doors[118] and this dazzled a lot of people, comparing financial policy of 'Umar.

When he was objected, “I've made this house using Bayt al-Mal (public property), won't it belong to you after me?”[119] he replied.

He conferred Harith Ibn Hakam (Marwan's brother) the land which is said to be of the Prophet (S) 's charity. Also, Fadak over which Zahra (a) and Abu Bakr had a disagreement and had taken it as public belonging was granted to Marwan Ibn Hakam, caliph's son-in-law.[120] A poet compared Sheikhs' dealing with 'Uthman about Bayt al-Mal in his poem and in the end, he mentioned about granting to Marwan the fifth share of African booties which were nearly equal to five thousands of Dinars.

وأعطيت مروان خمس العباد فهيهات شأوك ممن سعى

“Thou granted Marwan a share fifth of Allah's servants, thy ideals are actually far from those in pursuit of virtues.”[121]

According to Ibn Qutayba, 'Uthman paid Hakam Ibn Abi l-'As one hundred thousand dhms[122] and according to other sources, three hundred thousand dhms.[123] Also, he conferred Khalid Ibn Usayd four hundred thousands dhms.[124]

'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abi Sarh had also benefited from African booties.[125] 'Uthman set high marriage portion for his wives too.[126] Considering the given historical information, 'Allama Amini has tabulated these grants to the mentioned people as well as to people like Zubayr, Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas, Ya'la Ibn Umayya, Zayd Ibn Thabit and the like.[127]

Concerning financial affairs, 'Uthman struggled with some people of whom Abu Dharr was the most important one. It is said that Abu Dharr attaked hard on 'Uthman citing “verse of Kanz”. According to Suyuti, 'Uthman tried to omit “and” (واو) from the beginning of the verse so that it just refers to the people of Book.

But because of Ubayy Ibn Ka'b's strong objection, he turned.[128] Also, 'Uthman had a difference with Abu Dharr over other financial affairs.[129] The result of 'Uthman's opinion which he had gained by asking Ka'b al-Ahbar's legal opinion, was that Bayt al-Mal belongs to the caliph and he can use it in whatever way he wishes.

“You are our “stockman” !” said 'Uthman to Ibn Mas'ud who had the Bayt al-Mal of Kufa.
“I thought”, Ibn Mas'ud replied, “I was “Muslims' stockman”. Now, if I'm supposed to be your stockman, this is the key all yours.”

When Ibn Mas'ud came to Medina from Kufa and gave him the key of Bayt al-Mal in such a way, after outraging, 'Uthman ordered to wallop him and dump him from the mosque. Objecting to 'Uthman, Imam 'Ali (a) took Ibn Mas'ud to his house. Ibn Mas'ud died two years before 'Uthman and had made a will stating that 'Ammar should pray on his body rather than 'Uthman.[130]

The same thing happened to 'Abd Allah Ibn Arqam and he also said he thought he was the Muslims' stockman, but now that it was determined he was the caliph's stockman, he didn't want to take the responsibility.[131]

“O Aba Ishaq!”, 'Uthman asked Ka'b Ibn al-Ahbar in the presence of Abu Dharr, ” what do you think about collecting the money which is given as offerings, spent for desolate people and used for piety (be given to relative).”

“I wish charity for its possessor”, Ka'b Ibn Abi l-Ahbar replied. Abu Dharr boiled and raised his stick to beat his head.[132]

Abu Dharr told 'Uthman quoting from the Prophet (S) “The dearest of you to me is the one who keeps the promise given to me, so that he will join me; you are all involved in earthly things except me who have kept my promise.” [133][648]

Mu'awiya called the property of Bayt al-Mal “Mal Allah” (divine property) to confine possession to himself or basically limit it to himself. Abu Dharr objected why he called “Mal al-Muslimin” as “Mal Allah”.[134] Perchance, this was proved by another story. According to Zuhri, in the treasury of Bayt al-Mal, there was so much remittance 'Uthman had granted some to his kinsmen. Thus, some people quipped him.

“This is “Mal Allah” which is given to anyone I wish”, he said after being told.

When 'Ammar opposed him, they walloped him to fall in a faint.[135] In practical policy of 'Uthman and his agents, there can be seen a strong mammonism. Mu'awiya led these activities and was in power in

Damascus. Later, he will be talked about more.

Mawdudi begins to discuss 'Uthman's leaving to his kinsmen the important provinces in his book under the title of “from the leading caliphate to emperorship”. In his opinion, the rule of these agents who were mostly of “suburbs”, had been a kind of tribal reign over Muslim society.[136]

'Uthman entrusted Damascus to Mu'awiya and kept him as the ruler for that region for several years, considering this as one of his faults. He considers it as the result of Mu'awiya's independence and not obeying the headquarters.[137] 'Uthman's justification for this prodigality was that unlike 'Umar who was not interested in piety, he had decided to do so![138]

As far as dealing of 'Uthman and his companions with Bayt al-Mal is concerned, one of the main reasons of rebelling against 'Uthman should go to the tribes' eminent people who got some property for themselves and other Muslims by force of sword and now seeing that Quraysh, especially the tribe of Umayyads, was ready to seize it.

This challenge actually appeared between the ruling townsmen of Quraysh and warrior nomadic tribes. A scholar[139] indicating this theory, regards the central reign as a sign of Islamic orientation! and consider the protests of cities as crystallizing nationalism of tribes and tribal norms.

He regards murdering of 'Uthman as the victory of “cities” and in fact, victory of tribalism. What seems right is that Quraysh was up to domineer on the fate of Islamic nation resulting in instigation of the tribes. In fact, 'Uthman, in one sense, is the crystallization of departing Islamic orientations towards tribal norms and his killing fails to stand for the end of Islamic orientation and dominating tribalism.

In our opinion, the right view is that the control of Quraysh over the caliphate caused the protest of the tribes which had taken the whole weight of the conquests while watching that Quraysh had confined two things to itself, one was the reign and the other was wealth; in this situation, Iraqi tribes were tricked.

“The city of Iraq”, when Sa'id Ibn 'As Umawi said in Kufa, “which is the rich lands of it, is the garden of Quraysh.”

“Do you consider what God has given us by means of our swords, as a garden for yourself and your tribe?”[140] replied Malik Ashtar.

According to al-Duri[141], this financial distinction between Quraysh and non-Quraysh was somewhat originated from 'Umar's financial policy; however, Abu Bakr had equally divided the property and conditioned people's records just as to their divine return. 'Umar divided the property of Bayt al-Mal as to the their records.

This caused the priority of emigrants (Muhajirun) and helpers (Ansar) over Arabs and tribes which shouldered the whole weight of conquests after the Prophet (S). The assets of the headmen of the helpers represent the effects of 'Umar's financial policy which 'Uthman followed. When 'Uthman sent

Sa'id Ibn 'As to Kufa as the ruler, he wrote to 'Uthman that, in the city, noble families and pedigree families with a record were subdued and Arabs (tribes) had overcome them.

“Advantage those with a precedence over them”, 'Uthman wrote him back, “and make others follow them, … dedicate to each, his particular status.”[142]

To al-Duri, the main reason of uprising against 'Uthman was primarily anti-Quraysh tribes. It should be mentioned that 'Uthman was the crystallization of tribal orientation towards advantaging Quraysh dominance, especially the Umayyads, over the whole Islamic world.

However, most of the rebels were the idealists who wanted the victory of true Islam. Imam 'Ali (a)'s coming to power is proof of that. Also, Mr. Bay□un finds measure of protesters a kind of Islamic orientation and that of 'Uthman's a tribal one.[143] Of course, it can be said that one of the results of this rioting was to weaken the central government, one main problem of Imam 'Ali (a).

The last word is that a list of 'Uthman's wrongs can be found in a letter the helpers had written to him.[144]

Uthman’s Opponents

The dominating 'Uthmani view of Islamic society since the reign of the Umayyads (41 H.) resulted in acquitting and purifying 'Uthman from any kind of charge. The Umayyads imposed this view on the Islamic society except Iraq which slightly stood up against it.

Thus, the Sunnites assented 'Uthman's oppressedness and rightfulness against the dissenters. With this view, how did they judge dissenters? One way was that they realistically knew his dissenters and considered them as their religion enemies. If they had chosen to do so, the leading companions would be exposed to accusation.

Another way was to consider his dissenters people, with no companions among them, who had come from Iraq and Egypt. They chose this way and when some companions were said to be among 'Uthman's opponents, falsely saying that he had sent their sons to 'Uthman's house to defend him (and it is not apparent why they did not go themselves), they began to support the companions in order not to be accused of being 'Uthman's enemies.

It should be noted that “Sunnites historians” deemed it necessary to avoid mentioning companions' mperfection.[145] If any one narrated their imperfection, it meant that he was a Shi'ites Muslim. Clearly, the implication of one of the companions in killing 'Uthman was obviously regarded as his imperfection. With this compiled policy, most of the historical facts related to political positions of companions faded away.

Here, forgery happened in two forms, first, not to right the truths of history, second, to make fake news. During the events of this era, Sayf Ibn 'Umar, the lie-maker, radically denied the presence of

companions and knew an unknown person called 'Abd Allah Ibn Saba' responsible for all these months-long serious events in which all of Islamic cities, especially the caliphate center in Medina played a great role.

According to Sayf, traveling to different cities, this man had provoked people against 'Uthman[146] and had been able to arouse Kufa and Egypt. In Sayf's opinion, 'Abd Allah was also the founder of Shi'a religion. If Sayf is true, it is not clear what should be said about a society so fragile that a Jewish can induce it against the caliph and it ends up murdering him? What is certain is that first in all scholastic books Sayf is accused of lying and heresy.

Second, there is not such a thing in any of the books which were the first sources of Islamic history and even the name of 'Abd Allah Ibn Saba' is not mentioned. In other words, from all sources of 3rd and 4th centuries remained, Tabari had just used Sayf's books and for this he kept his forgery.

However, in some books like Akhbar al-Tiwal, al-Imamat wa as-Siyasa, Ansab al-Ashraf and Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, there is nothing mentioned about these events. Unfortunately, the next books like al-Bidayat wal-Nihaya and Kamil Ibn Athir which used Tabari have cited these forgeries and in recent years this has been accepted since it is mostly consistent with the Sunnites beliefs.

Now, a lot of Sunnites and Shi'ites researchers and orientalists seriously remain doubtful about it and do not concede it. Of the Shi'ites researchers is Murta□a Askari [147] and of the Sunnites ones is Taha Husayn.[148] The forgery is also revealed to the orientalists.

Most of the Muslim historians[149], Bernard Lewis writes, attribute the commencement of revolutionary Shi'ism to 'Abd Allah Ibn Saba' who co-lived with 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib (a). He was a Yemeni Jewish and had been publicizing 'Ali's divinity and finally was burnt because of his deeds.
In this way, the starting point of hard-line Shi'ite Muslims and exaggerators is ascribed to him and to a Jewish principle through him.

Yet, new investigations show that this is some sort of circumstances and second century thoughts into the past rendered by “hadith-writers”. Wellhausen and Friedlander by means of narration and looking into sources have demonstrated that the conspiracy attributed to Ibn Saba' is heresy coming after. Kietani, in a substantiated chapter, has shown that an intrigue with an ideology and organization ascribed to Ibn Saba' is beyond imagination in an Arabially patriarchal and tribal community in 35 A.H..[150]

Anyhow, in so far as it is related to 'Uthman's opponents, a great deal of facts can be obtained through the quest for historical and literary sources. With regard to what has been mentioned in these sources, the companions of the prophet, especially the Ansar, have played a leading role in instigating the people against 'Uthman.

By probing into various sources, 'Allama Amini has stated that more than 80 names of the companions

are included among 'Uthman's opponents, such as, Talha, Zubayr, 'Ayisha, 'Ammar, Abu Dharr, 'Abd al–Rahman Ibn 'Awf, 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud, Miqdad, Hujr Ibn 'Adi, Hashim Ibn 'Utba, Sahl Ibn Hunayf, Abu Ayyub Ansari, Jabir Ibn 'Abd Allah Ansari whose oppositions against 'Uthman have benn quoted by 'Allama Amini.[151]

It should be taken into consideration that all of them did not believe in the murder of 'Uthman or nor did they deem it advisable, yet they criticized his political– religious actions sharply. Abu Sa'id Khudri said, About 800 companions have implicated in 'Uthman's killing.[152] Busr Ibn Artat's bitter talk to the Medinans in 40 A.H. is evidence that Ansar were strongly implicated in killing 'Uthman.[153])

Talha and Zubayr were ranked among the most hardline critics of 'Uthman. Imam 'Ali (a) used to say about them, they are demanding of me a right which they have abandoned, and a blood that they have themselves shed.[154] Numerous sources have revealed Talha's strong enmity towards 'Uthman.[155] Due to this very fact, Marwan Ibn Hakam, who stayed alongside Talha in the battle of Jamal, observing that the war was coming to an end put an arrow in the bow and killed Talha. In this way, he took 'Uthman's revenge against Talha.

Afterwards, 'Abd al–Malik Marwan said, “Unless my father had told me that he has killed Talha, I would murder all Talha's progeny in revenge for 'Uthman's blood.”[156] While laying siege to 'Uthman's house, Talha was reportedly the head of house guards and he did not let people, food and water in the house.[157]

Yet, becoming informed of the delivery of food and water, he said, “What sort of siege is this one in which food and water are delivered?”[158] When 'Uthman was stopped having water, Imam met Talha and spoke to him about letting water in 'Uthman's house, however, Talha was unwilling to do so.[159] Some day 'Uthman sent somebody after Imam 'Ali (a) and told him that Talha was killing him through thirst, while it's more worthwhile to be killed with the sword.[160] Sheykh Mufid has devoted a full chapter to his stances against 'Uthman.[161]

'Amr Ibn 'As was also ranked among bitter dissenters of 'Uthman.[162] 'Ayisha also attacked 'Uthman strongly,[163] when her grant of bounty was cut under 'Uthman's order.[164] It was she who called 'Uthman Na'thal, an old stupid man due to his bushy beard.[165]

According to a witness, I was in mosque when 'Uthman entered, then 'Ayisha yelled, “O traitor! O sinner! You spoiled the servants through breach of trust; if five units of prayer never existed, people would come to you and thereby, you were slaughtered as if you were a sheep.”

'Uthman revealed to her[166] the verse related to Noah's wife.[167] It seeds that in these last days, every time when 'Uthman came to mosque for prayer, he was rebuked by 'Ayisha whose house was ajacent to the mosque. As to Baladhuri, once this objection led to a clash between those for and against 'Ayisha and 'Uthman so that they thrashed each other with shoes.

Baladhuri further says,تلك أوّل قتال وقع بين المسلمين بعد النبي (ص) “It was the first clash occurred between Muslims after the Prophet (S).”168

Muhammad, the son of Talha, maintained that 'Ayisha is responsible for one-third of 'Uthman's blood.169

Sa'd Waqqas also has been quoted as saying, ”'Uthman was killed with 'Ayisha's unshielded swords.”170

There is historically much to tell about 'Ammar, Abu Dharr and 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf and many others, insofar as there will be no room for doubt.

At the time when the revolt was kicked against 'Uthman, there were few who would agree with him. Specifically when the Medinans received a letter sealed by 'Uthman to Egypt's ruler in which murder of people was ordered, public anger was fired up.171 When Mu'awiya put a question to 'Uthman, Umm al-Khayr answered, People selected him as a caliph, which they actually hated him. Afterwards, they killed him, while being pleased to do so.172

Ansar were considered to be the main residents of Medina. Their disagreement with Quraysh was the motive behind the first mistake they made in Saqifa. In the event of the assassination of 'Uthman, beloved to Quraysh, most of Ansar were numbered among 'Uthman's dissenters, whereas a few where among 'Uthman's assenters. The anti-'Uthman movement was led by Ansar, Muhajirun and a number of the Kufiyans and Egyptians.

Yet, in as much as Medina was Ansar's place of abode, the Umayya put the blame for this event on Ansar. It was then they decided to take revenge of them. As far as Yazid is concerned, the cruel suppression of Medina in Harra event by Muslim Ibn 'Uqba, branded as prodigal due to his abundant massacre, is regarded as 'Uthman's retaliation against the Medinans.173

Thabit, the son of 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr used to say to 'Abd al-Malik, “The Medinans downgraded 'Uthman in as much as he was killed among them, and they did not support him.”174 Some time, Thabit insulted the Syrians.

'Uthman's son told him, “You insult them, for your father was killed by them.”
He replied, “Yes!” But O 'Uthman's son! Beware. Your father has been killed by Muhajirun and Ansar.175

Sa'd Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman said to Hassan, “A group of Ansar went to Mu'awiya in Syria.

Mu'awiya asked them, “Which one, Quraysh or you, are more helpful?... You humiliated 'Uthman when he was under siege and killed his followes in Jamal.”176

After 'Uthman's murder, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir, Basra's ruler, considered his killing as an unjust action. In Jariya Ibn Qudama's opinion, 'Uthman was killed in the presence of Ansar and Muhajirun, yet they showed no reaction against murderers.177 In this respect, a poet has said,

إن ابن عفان أصيب وحوله إخوانه وجماعة من الأنصار

"'Uthman Ibn 'Affan was murdered when his brothers and a group of Ansar surrounded him."[178]
In continuation, this poet regrets that how is it possible for those who call themselves the companions of the Prophet (S) not to support 'Uthman. Mu'awiya asked Abu Tufayl, were you one of killers of 'Uthman? He replied, "No, I was present over there, however, I did not advocated him."
Mu'awiya further asked, "Why?"

Abu Tufayl answered, "Since Muhajirun and Ansar didn't came to his help."[179]
Thereafter, Sa'd Ibn Musayyib was questioned by people as why did the companions of the prophet (S) downgrade 'Uthman?[180]

'Abd al-Malik used to say to the Medinans, "As long as we recall the Umayya's killing and you remembered Harra, nor can we like each other."[181]

So due to the Umayya's animosity towards Ansar the Umayya were obliged to induce Akhtal, the poet to, satirize Ansar.[182] Concerning the role of Ansar in 'Uthman's murder, it's interesting to mention 'Uthman's letter to Mu'awiya when bringing him under siege, in which is was written, The Medinans have become atheist, have baulked at following their Imam and have broken their promise.[183] Hassan Ibn Thabit, being one of the tenacious supporters of 'Uthman in these days, points out the matter of Ansar's downgrading 'Uthman in his poems. In fact, in addition to the following interpretation,

خذلته الأنصار اذ حضر الموت وكانت ولاته الأنصار

"Ansar, even though having sainthood, was present when 'Uthman was killed, but they left him alone."[184]

He further mentions the implication of Talha, Zubayr, Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr and 'Ammar in the assassination of 'Uthman. The Umayya's hostility to Ansar, the 'Uthmanids preferred Syria to Medina.[185] Afterwards, Yahya, the son of Hakam Ibn Abi l-'As called Medina as an "evil land" and Syria as a "sacred land".[186] This interpretation reveals their aversion to Islam.

The evidence indicates that Muhajirun and Ansar have played a central role in opposition to 'Uthman. Historians have quoted the content of the letter Muhajirun wrote to the cities (aiming at) asking them to go to Medina for the reform of circumstances.

In the letter it was written as follows:

Form the early Muhajirun and the remaining members of council to the Egyptians including Ansar and followers (Tabi'in). Come to us and find out Caliphate, before it brings the people to an end. Verily, Qur'an has been distorted, the tradition of the Prophet has been changed and the Sheikhs' rules have

been altered. We hereby ajure all the remaining of and Tabi'in by Allah to return to us if they believe in Allah and the Resurrection Day... the caliphate coming after the Prophet was the caliphate of Prophet hood and blessing, whereas it's already become kingdom and sovereignty.[187]

Based on another narration, a group of the companions of the prophet (S) assembled and after discussion determined on writing a letter to 'Uthman in order to remind him of his violating the Sunna. This letter, a highly significant document was given to 'Uthman by 'Ammar, yet it was answered in no way but thrashing 'Ammar.[188]

It is appropriate to quote a remark from Hashim Ibn 'Utba known as Abu Mirqal on his answer to a Syrian in Siffin who said that your Imam does not say prayer and has killed our caliph; what do you have to do with Ibn 'Affan? **إنما قتله أصحاب محمد وقرّاء الناس** "Verily Muhammad's companions as well as public Qur'an-reciters killed him."[189]

'Uthman had a scarcity of assenters in Medina, each financially benefited from 'Uthman in one way or another. Among them was 'Abd Allah Ibn Sallam. He was amongst the Muslim-turned Jews who went up the 'Uthman's roof in the course of the siege of his house and said, "I found 'Uthman's name is Torah in which it's been mentioned, Your caliph is the oppressed, the martyr."

People shouted, O the Jew! He's fed you up and dressed your body.[190] This very narration should have been made at a later time by those who were apt to label 'Uthman as martyr in Torah. Elsewhere it goes to say that such an issue has also been touched upon in terms of the second caliph. Anyhow, 'Abd Allah Ibn Sallam has been ranked among the tenacious assenters of 'Uthman.[191]

Zayd Ibn Thabit was another supporter of 'Uthman once he began to advocate 'Uthman, people accused him of a support which was due to being fed up by 'Uthman. Zayd was keeper of 'Uthman's treasury.[192] He was later on profited by Mu'awiya's treasury.[193]

Waqidi says, "Among the companions of the Prophet (S) no one supported 'Uthman but Zayd Ibn Thabit, Abu Usayd Sa'idi, Ka'b Ibn Malik and Hassan Ibn Thabit."[194]

According to Ibn Ishaq, when 'Uthman migrated to Medina, he went to Aws Ibn Thabit, Hassan's brother. Thereafter, 'Uthman appealed to Hassan. Then, after his killing, Hassan cried for him.[195]
To Mas'udi, **وكان حسان عثمانياً منحرفاً** Hassan was both a supporter of 'Uthman and a deviator."[196] "

In addition to the persons mentioned by Waqidi, Abu Hurayra has also been reckoned among 'Uthman's supporters.[197]

Apart from a handful of supporters, 'Uthman died in Medina in such a stranger hood that no one dared to bury him in Baqi'. Only few of them buried him by night in a place called "Hashsh Kawkab", a garden which was later on attached to Baqi' by Mu'awiya.[198]

‘Uthman’s Contact with Dissenters

As long as 'Uthman found himself in high position, he did not surrender to dissenters' criticisms by no means whatsoever. Yet, he treated harshly to them and tried to render them obedient and calm through trashing and exile. The Umayya was all 'Uthman's concern. Indeed, 'Uthman was yielded and, in a sense, feeble towards the members of this family; however, he treated the great companions of the Prophet (S) having a longer precedence bitterly and with asperity.

This was highly influential in inciting the people once more. Contact with Abu Dharr who had a morally and spiritually special position in community can be mentioned typically. Abu Dharr strived to keep 'Uthman away from extravagance. It was indeed all Abu Dharr's concern. Yet, 'Uthman brought a charge of sedition against him saying, “You are a man fond of sedition.”199

Then, Abu Dharr being forbidden from indulging said to 'Uthman, “Even if I am put to the sword, I won't refrain from narrating what the Prophet (S) has said.”

Abu Dharr supported Imam 'Ali explicitly. He used to quote the Prophet (S) as saying, “There will be a sedition thereafter, if you were entrapped by it, so adhere to Allah's Book and 'Ali.”

He further quotes the Prophet (S) as saying, “The first who shakes hands with me in the Day of Judgment.”200 'Uthman consulted with Ka'b al–Ahbar whether it is permissible for Imam to withdraw whatever he wants of the public treasury and return it whenever he wishes.
Ka'b replied him, “Yes.”

Then, he was objected by Abu Dharr, “O you the son of Jew! Are you teaching us our religion?”201 After viewing such a situation, 'Uthman sent Abu Dharr to Syria on exile. There, Abu Dharr did not desist from objecting and criticizing. Thus, through a letter, Mu'awiya deemed his presence dangerous for Syria and even for Iraq and asked 'Uthman to let him return to Medina and so did 'Uthman. Then, Abu Dharr was exiled to Medina on a hard horseback,202 while his thigh run out of flesh. Afterwards, his objection to 'Uthman resulted in his exile to Raba□a where he died in isolation.

Abu Dharr, about whom the Prophet (S) had told, “Abu Dharr is the most truthful under shadow of sky, was accused by 'Uthman of being a liar.”203

Accordingly, Imam 'Ali was inclined to back Abu Dharr inexorably. At the time of exiling Abu Dharr, 'Uthman ordered people not to see Abu Dharr off, however. Imam 'Ali together with his descendants did so. Although, he objected Imam 'Ali,

Imam said to Abu Dharr, “O Abu Dharr! You become angry with them for the sake of Allah and they were afraid of themselves for the fear of their worldly life.” At the time when Abu Dharr was seen off by 'Ali (a) and his descendants, he cast a look at Imam and said, “Seeing you and your descendants reminds me of the Prophet (S) 's remark about you and makes me burst into tears.”204 He passed away

in Raba□a, while according to his will, nobody including commander, leader and mail had the right to shroud and bury him.205

'Uthman's contact with Abu Dharr was so bitter and provocative that afterwards Jahiz wrote, “People killed 'Uthman, for he had exiled Abu Dharr.”206 It is a ridiculous point to write that, afterwards, Abu Dharr went to Raba□a through his own will, not on exile.

Not only Abu Dharr, but also most of the Kufiyans who objected to Sa'id Ibn 'As were sent to Syria on exile by order of caliph. In caliph's opinion, Syria was too a secure place. It should be said principally that 'Uthman did the chief part of Mu'awiya.

The on-exile persons, well-known as Kufa's “readers” are as follows, Malik Ashtar, Zayd, Sa'sa'a (Suhan's children), Shurayh Ibn 'Awfi, Hurqus Ibn Zuhayr, Jundab Ibn Zuhayr, Ka'b Ibn 'Abada, 'Adi Ibn Hatim, Kidam Ibn Hadhri, Malik Ibn Habib, Qays Ibn 'Utarud, Ziyad Ibn Hafsa, Yazid Ibn Qays and some others.207 They all opposed Sa'id Ibn 'As's remarks, inasmuch as he considered Iraq's lands as belonging to Quraysh.

However, after their return to Kufa, they were led by Malik, whereupon Malik hindered Sa'id from entering Kufa, Moreover, he himself called Friday prayer. 'Uthman regarded all these people and their actions as being prompted by 'Ali.208 'Amir Ibn 'Abd Qays who went to 'Uthman in order to criticize was also sent on exile.209

The companions and followers of Kufa had a key role in the developments of this period. 'Amr Ibn Zurara Ibn Qays Nakha'i along with Kumayl Ibn Ziyad and a man from Banu Sahban were reportedly the first who spoke of dethroning 'Uthman and enthroning the Imam.210

Another figure who come to grips with 'Uthman was 'Ammar Ibn Yasir. According to Ibn Qutayba and others, a number of companions convened and decided to inform 'Uthman of his faults through a letter. After the letter was written, 'Ammar was supposed to hand it over to 'Uthman. But 'Uthman averted taking the letter.

Thereafter, 'Ammar told him, “This letter is written by number of the companions as an advice to you.”

'Uthman answered, “O the son of Sumayya! You are lying.” Whereupon, 'Uthman ordered him to be sent out of the house through thrashing, with some of his chest ribs broken. After being knocked unconscious, he was dragged out of the house.

Then, Marwan Ibn Hakam being the major element behind all stimulations said to 'Uthman, “If you kill 'Uthman, you will get rid of others.”211

One of the impacts of 'Uthman's thrashing 'Ammar was that 'Ammar was unable to control his urine up to the end of his life.212 It appears that 'Ammar had been thrashed before Abu Dharr has reportedly recalled such a thing in his criticisms.213

'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud was the other opponent. He got the grips with Walid Ibn 'Uqba, the sinful, in Kufa. Then, through a letter Walid instigated 'Uthman against him. In answer to his letter, 'Uthman called for sending him on exile from Kufa to Medina.

When being in Kufa, he was deprived of getting his due from the public treasury for a period of three years.214 Based on the will Ibn Mas'ud made at the time of death, 'Ammar rather than 'Uthman was requested to say prayer over his corpse.215

To solve the matter with these objections, 'Uthman assembled the members of his own family and consulted with them. Some of them proposed him to send the companions and other protesters to the outlying battlefields so long as he become free of their criticisms.

Some others recommended him to be more benevolent towards people intending to calm them. He along with his family took it for granted that every thing is possible save surrounding to opponents. Mu'awiya urged 'Uthman to set same former agent to work without paying any attention to the opponents.216

Once 'Uthman tried to send a commodity to Abu Dharr, yet Abu Dharr sent it back.217 Mu'awiya also sent some money to Abu Dharr in order to deceive him.218 Furthermore, 'Uthman sent 30000 drachmae enclosed with some garments to Ibn Abi Hudhayfa who was one of the bitter critics of Caliph. Then, 'Ali Hudhayfa put the sum of money and the garment in the middle of the mosque saying, O, Muslims! Do you see that 'Uthman is intending to deceive me in the case of my religion?219

'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir also recommended 'Uthman to satisfy opposers through granting money.220 Kufa's ruler, Sa'id Ibn 'As, also bade his emissary to send Imam 'Ali (a) a gift and tell him that he is given preference over others in this regard whereupon, Imam got the emissary away through a bitter reaction.221

'Uthman assumed that he should ravish like 'Umar. Thus, he'd rather behave harshly. Unaware of the fact that 'Umar did not lead such a tranquil life like him. So it was this very fact which got in the way of his opponents. 'Uthman unrightfully believed that 'Umar was not objected by anyone, despite of doing what he did, yet I am objected due to my flexibility.222

Of course, 'Umar had also some religious innovations, yet, as stated previously he obstructed opponents financially and even behaved very strictly towards all of his agents. Moreover, he did not set his kindreds to work. By all accounts, 'Uthman was not soft-natured by no means whatsoever, and he had Prophet as well. Once Imam 'Ali (a) objected to 'Uthman concerning Abu Dharr's exiling, caliph said to him, “You yourself are more deserving of exile!”

A noteworthy point in these incidents is that it was not only allowable but also necessary for the companions to protest against the anti-government measures. They resisted the government hardly as long as they and their caliph could survive. This issue labeled as 'Revolt Against Ruler,' later on became

a highly momentous issue and drew the attention of all political and religious sects in the world of Islam. It's suitable here to center upon the aforesaid issue.

A question of a great significance was, in what case the people can come to oppose their ruler? Or principally, whether or not they have the right to do so. In this respect, much has been mentioned in political opinions of Islamic sects. Besides, the opinions of groups such as Shi'ites Kharijites and large groups of Mu'tazilites are totally different from the ruling Sunnites.

On the whole, what has been reported in this regard, like other issues, derives largely from the objectives realities and political events of the advent of Islam. In this regard, there are two various and, in a sense, contradictory issue which ought to be solved. The first issue is that, if an emir orders against Allah's Judgment, whether or not people ought to obey him?

Based on the known religious principles, if obedience to ruler's order leads to disobedience to Allah, it will be inadmissible. A narration supports this, The Messenger of Allah (S) sent 'Abd Allah Ibn Hudhafa, a humorist, to a tribe under the command of a group. After traversing a short distance, they stopped to rest and kindled a fire.

Then 'Abd Allah said to them, “Am I not rightful to be obeyed by you?”
They answered, “Yes!”

He further added, “If it is so, you ought to obey whatever I order.”
They accepted. Then, he ordered them, “According to my right. I order you to throw yourself into fire.”
Yet, thereafter he imparted that he was just pulling their leg.

Once the Messenger of Allah (S) was informed of 'Abd Allah's attitude, he said, “Don't obey someone who orders you to disobey Allah.”223

This was the Messenger of Allah's conduct which is condensed into the short statement, **لا طاعة لمخلوق في معصية الخالق** “ Where a sin is committed, never ever should a creature be obeyed.”

Thereafter, Abu Bakr notified in his first speech that the Messenger was kept infallible through inspiration and he was given care by an angel, yet, to me he seems as a devil who has subdued me occasionally, when I get angry, get away from me …

As long as I obey Allah and his Messenger, obey me; however, at the time of disobedience to Allah and his Messenger I am not rightful to be obeyed by you.224 'Umar had a harshly daring treatment to the extent that few people had power or courage to oppose him. Anyhow, some people have been reported to oppose him, and in some cases he responded them positively.

Another point lay behind the principle, **لا طاعة لمخلوق في معصية الخالق** Which was contrary to it.

According to this point, a person's opposition to an emir will pave the way for the disunity of the

community or the so-called Congregation. While “the order to maintain congregation” being the most vital principle for solidifying the community is quite contrary to the expression of opposition. Naturally, in non-critical situations, this issue can somewhat be solved through toleration on the part of two parties. However, in case of an unusual circumstance or if the objection gives rise to a critical condition, this issue will be more intricate.

In books of Hadith a full section has been devoted to the maintenance of congregation, which is mainly based on obedience to ruler.225 Of course, it is clear that ruler's benefits lie more in observing the principle of “Congregation” than that of “lack of obedience at the time of disobedience”.

'Abd al-Razzaq San'ani, in his book entitled as “Musannaf” has mentioned some narrations labeled as “the section on the necessity of the community” some of which are to be expounded.

Quoting from the Messenger of Allah (S), Abu Hurayra said, “The one who dies while he has become separately apart from congregation, and does not obey, indeed he has died in ignorance.

The one who has revolted against my people with the sword and strikes good and bad ... he's not among my people. According to Ibn 'Abbas, the one who goes out of obedience by an inch, he has died in ignorance.”

It's been quoted that the Messenger of Allah (S) has ordered five things, compliance, obedience, congregation, immigration and Jihad in the way of Allah; The one who distances himself from congregation by an inch, he will be no longer a Muslim.

'Umar has also quoted the Prophet (S) as saying, “The one who longs for paradise, maybe maintains the congregation.”

Furthermore, he's been quoted as saying, “The one who rebels against any people while they are united intending to divide them, kill him in any possible case.”

Hudhayfa has reportedly said that the people who tried to downgrade “Allah's Sultan on earth”, should be humiliated by Allah. Moreover, the Messenger of Allah (S) has said about the Emirate of the insane people that some emirs will come after me who are not guided by me and do not comply with my Sunna; the one who affirms their lie is helping them with their oppression, so we are not from each other and he won't come on me in the Pond of Abundance (Kawthar).

In another hadith he said, “Nothing is better than speaking in justice before a tyrant Sultan. Avoiding people should not hinder you from speaking in truth.”

The narrator of this hadith, Abu Sa'id Khudri, after narrating it, burst into tears and said, “By God! We refrained from so doing.”

One day Abu Dharr came to 'Uthman and found fault with him. Thereafter, while reclining on stick 'Ali (a)

joined them.

'Uthman asked, “What should I do with him?”
'Ali (a) answered, “Allah has said about him that, if he be a liar, on him will be his lie, and if he be truthful, there will befall you some of that which he threatens you with (The Believer, (Ghafir) 28).”
Then 'Uthman said to 'Ali (a), “Keep quiet, woe back onto you! You asked me something and I answered you.”226

'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud has also quoted the Messenger of Allah (S) as saying to him, “What do you do while seeing emirs who do not comply with my Sunna and never say prayer on time.”
Ibn Mas'ud answered, “I asked what to do?”

Then, the Messenger of Allah (S) said, “You are asking me what to do!227” **لا طاعة لمخلوق في معصية الله**

In continuation of this narration and before that numerous narrations have been mentioned concerning these emirs who never say prayer on time. Once seeing that Walid Ibn 'Uqba has refrained from timely prayer, Ibn Mas'ud requested Mu'adhdhin to recite Adhan.

Then, he himself began to say prayer. Thereafter, answering to Walid's objection, he said, “Allah and His Messenger do not accept us to wait for you while you are going about your business.”228
Some Scholar as Hasan Basri, Zuhri and Qatada has reportedly said prayer alongside emirs, even if these emirs did not do it on its due time.229 Concerning 'Uthman, it's been stated that Hasan Basri was questioned in this way, who did say prayer after sermon (in feast of prayer)?

He answered, ”'Uthman always says prayer at the outset and then he makes a sermon.” However, seeing that many people do not stay for sermon, he decided to make sermon at first and say prayer thereafter.230

These were samples of narrations quoted by 'Abd al-Razzaq San'ani in this regard. It should be said, however, that opposition to bid for disobedience was once considered as prescription of criticism and the other time as revolt. The second not the first is more momentous concerning separation of community.

Many issues are available as regards 'Uthman as well as historical experience of his caliphate, e.g. for him, opposition and criticism were beyond endurance. Once in 26 A.H, 'Uthman merged some neighboring houses together to develop the sacred Mosque and tried to sponsor for it by public treasury, some people burst into objection.

Hence, ordering to imprison them, 'Uthman said, “What dared you stand against me is your forbearance; otherwise, 'Umar himself did so.”

Eventually, prisoners were all released under the mediation of 'Abd Allah Ibn Khalid Ibn Usayd.231
However, having remembered the prior conduct in which any criticism was permissible, the comparisons and the followers criticized 'Uthman whenever the ground was prepared. He resisted these objections

and never surrendered to them, in cases of a sever pressure–due to the siege of his house–he admitted objections temporarily, yet, as soon as the pressure was removed he acted cruelly.

At the time when Imam 'Ali (a) was accompanying Abu Dharr, 'Uthman said, “Didn't you hear that I ordered not to accompany Abu Dharr?”

Then, Imam answered, “Must we obey your orders, while we find them contrary to Allah's Judgment? By Allah, we don't do so.”

'Uthman became angry with Imam 'Ali (a) and told him that Marwan has been given superiority over him. The next day, 'Uthman went to Muhajirun and Ansar so as to grumble about Imam 'Ali (a). He noted that 'Ali finds faults with him and supports those raising difficulty, that is, 'Ammar, Abu Dharr and others. Thereafter, people brought about a compromise between 'Ali (a) and 'Uthman, and 'Ali (a) stated that his accompanying of Abu Dharr had been merely for the sake of Allah.232

Marwan Ibn Hakam says, “In midway of Mecca and Medina, I witnessed the contact between 'Ali and 'Uthman, in which 'Uthman banned performing lesser pilgrimage in Hajj months (or both lesser and greater pilgrimage).”

Seeing such a thing, 'Ali (a) said, “I become clothed in a pilgrimage state, then he said Labbayk for both of them.”

'Uthman objected to him asking, “Are you doing what I forbid?”

Imam answered, “I do not give up the Sunna of the Messenger (S) on behalf of anybody.”233
Ibn Mas'ud was also one of the tenacious dissenters of 'Uthman. He was some time among those who said, “If 'Uthman says a four rak'at–prayer rather than a two rak'at one in Mina, he is to be obeyed, since opposition is considered as an evil.234

Elsewhere he has said, ”'Uthman is Imam, so I do not oppose him, for opposition is considered as an evil.”235 Though, later on he acted so intensely against 'Uthman.236

A large number of companions were unanimous in opposition to 'Uthman. Later, the Sunnis disbelieved the companions under the auspices of disagreeing with the ruler as legitimate political conduct and mainly pretended that a bunch of rascals rose in revolt against 'Uthman. 'Uthman was objected by Imam 'Ali (a) when he said a four rak'at–prayer in 29 A.H. in Mina, because it was contrary to the Messenger (S) and former caliphs' conducts.

In answer to Imam presenting the Messenger (S) 's conduct, 'Uthman said,”This is what I believed in.”237

'Uthman's despotism established a modern process in the course of despotism in caliphate organizations. Anyway, due to the relative strength of Islamic values in the community, 'Uthman with all

his importunity could not suppress the oppositions; on the contrary, he was removed by increasingly growing opposition. This was a new experience for the history of Islamic caliphate which became later on an essential theoretical issue in Islamic political jurisprudence.

Uthman and Mu‘awiya

Damascus gained victory with the help of Abu 'Ubayda Jarrah, Khalid Ibn Walid and Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan. After extinction of this generation, 'Umar left their legacy to Mu'awiya from that time on Mu'awiya thought of caliphate. When 'Uthman was enthroned, Mu'awiya's position became thoroughly firm.

He intended to bring 'Uthman to Syria in a tumult of anti–'Uthman objections so as to settle every thing fine for himself. However, 'Uthman rejected him.[238] Anyway, with regard to 'Uthman's policies in employing the Umayya, it seems unlikely for caliph himself to be unmindful of this tendency that caliphate should remain in the Umayya.

Anti–'Uthman revolt was equivocal for Mu'awiya. What should he have done against the companions of the Prophet (S) ? He opted to neglect 'Uthman's repeated invitations, his humble requests for support and the dispatch of troops as well as wait for the consequence of domestic quarrel between 'Uthman and the companions.

Put it another way, if 'Uthman reinstated, Mu'awiya could come on power once more, however, 'Uthman's killing would pave the way for a domestic war in which Mu'awiya hoped for victory, that is, a war waged under the pretext of vengeance on 'Uthman. It was currently quite clear to many companions that Mu'awiya looked forward to 'Uthman's killing. Realizing this very fact, though 'Uthman was unable to resolve it seriously. As soon as 'Uthman was killed, his dress was sent to Mu'awiya by his wife, Na'ila.[239]

Meanwhile, Mu'awiya started his efforts to stupefy Syrians against Medinans and the companions of the Prophet (S). He further determined to marry 'Uthman's wife to himself in order to revenge himself on 'Uthman more readily. Anyhow, 'Uthman's wife refused such a thing, and even she broke her teeth to dissuade Mu'awiya.[240]

According to Ya'qubi, 'Uthman when under siege wrote letters to Mu'awiya over and over to request help, yet Mu'awiya refrained from dispatching troops. This negligence was to such an extent that 'Uthman realized the fact of the matter. In last days, Mu'awiya launched 1200 soldiers to Syria and notified their commander to stay over there until they are ordered. In the meantime, he sent someone to 'Uthman; seeing Mu'awiya's emissary, 'Uthman asked, “Have you got any help?”

The emissary replied, “I've come to become aware of your situation.”
'Uthman said, “No, you've come here in order to kill me.”[241]

After some days, Syrians were informed of 'Uthman's killing, so an army was turned back to Syria. Based on Juwayriyya, following 'Uthman's asking for help, Mu'awiya dispatched an army and declared their

commander to stay at Dhi Khushub. They stayed there till 'Uthman was killed. Juwayriyya says that Mu'awiya deliberately did so in order for 'Uthman to be killed.[242]

Imam 'Ali (a) wrote to Mu'awiya, “You came to 'Uthman's assistance when it was for the benefit of yourself, and humiliated him when it brought about your victory.”[243] And in another letter it was written, “Did I kill 'Uthman or you? Since I helped him in any case, while you neglected helping him, despite his request for help, until you heard of his killing.”[244]

According to another letter by Imam Ali to Mu'awiya, “By Allah! O Mu'awiya! No one but you killed 'Uthman and downgraded him.”[245]

Abu Tufayl also said to Mu'awiya, “Why didn't you stand by 'Uthman while people were along with you?”[246]

In Siffin, Abu Ayyub Ansari wrote a letter to Mu'awiya as an answer to his blaming of Ansar for 'Uthman's killing saying, “He was killed by Yazid Ibn Asad whom you sent in an attempt to back 'Uthman, yet he being stopped in his way, wasn't of any help to 'Uthman.”[247] In fact, the afore-mentioned person was ordered by Mu'awiya not to go over there.

In a letter to Mu'awiya, Shabath Ibn Rib'i accused him of failing to support 'Uthman saying, “You liked 'Uthman to be killed, for his killing would give you an excuse.”[248]

Ibn 'Abbas also wrote a letter to 'Uthman saying, “You were interested in killing 'Uthman.”[249]

Afterwards, being accused by Yazid of implication in the assassination of 'Uthman Ibn 'Abbas answered, ” I did not play any role in this event; however, it was your father who neglected to support him and prevented his troops from helping him when requested.”[250]

Shahristani says, “In essence, all Mu'awiya's agents in different cities avoided helping him.[251] Letters by different persons are pieces of evidence for this matter.[252]

Mu'awiya says, “I myself feel sorry for (about) not helping 'Uthman when demanded.”[253]
'Amr Ibn 'As also induced Mu'awiya for disgracing 'Uthman through failing to support him.[254]
Coming together in Basra, Jamal companions remembered to go to Syria and joined Mu'awiya. However, they became frightened of Mu'awiya's failure to help 'Uthman when requested, accordingly they didn't go to Syria.

The last point in this regard is that 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'id Ibn Abi Sarh, 'Uthman's killing and resided over there, since he was unwilling to be alongside 'Uthman. According to him, he hated to be along with a man (Mu'awiya) who liked 'Uthman to be killed.[255]

Imam ‘Ali (a) and ‘Uthman

After Imam 'Ali was withdrawn with power in Saqifa; besides, Imam's efforts to bring power back came to a deadlock, he tried to maintain roots and branches of Islam as well as to keep down through his own religious knowledge.

Meanwhile, he remembered his forgotten right in every appropriate atmosphere. The second caliph in spite of strictly employing his opponents attempted to solve judicial and in some cases political problems by using Imam's scientific ability. Some examples of caliph's consultation with Imam were previously mentioned.

There are numerous narrations in sources concerning judicial problems, some of which are compiled by 'Allama Amini in the sixth version of al-Ghadir under the title of “Nawadir al-Athar fi 'Ilm 'Umar”. In this regard, a scripture is in hand showing 'Umar's emphasis in judicial issue on acting Imam's orders.256

In this respect, 'Uthman's pride was so much so that we can hardly find any model for it in 'Umar's time. Previous enmities of the Umayyads and Hashimites together with Badr, Uhud and killers of the Umayyads might have been influential in this case. Especially, 'Uthman's enthroning was just followed by removal of Imam 'Ali. 'Uthman's distraction from the proper way and Imam's insistence on defending right caused 'Uthman to be more hostile towards Imam 'Ali (a).

Once 'Uthman determined to exile 'Ammar, yet being objected by Imam, he answered, “You yourself are more deserving of exile!”257 There are other examples of 'Uthman's bitter treatment with Imam in sources.258

According to Sa'id Ibn Musayyib, “I witnessed that a verbal clash occurred between 'Ali and 'Uthman. 'Uthman held up the lash to knock 'Ali, but I hindered.”259 It's been repeatedly quoted that 'Uthman would have objected Imam before 'Abbas.260 Imam's resistance to 'Uthman's wrong response induced 'Uthman to object Imam's saying, **انك لكثير الخلاف علينا** “You put yourself in trouble for us again.”261

Iman as-Sajjad quoted Marwan as saying, “I saw 'Uthman in the pilgrimage banning from performing the lesser pilgrimage in pilgrimage days. Consequently, such a thing caused Imam 'Ali to become clothed in pilgrim garment for both lesser and greater pilgrimage.
'Uthman said, “There you do again while I'm forbidding.”

Imam replied, “I do not desist from the Messenger (S) 's Sunna for the sake of anyone.”262 Apparently, the political conditions of 'Uthman's time gave rise to more public criticisms. Perhaps, public accompaniment with these criticizing movements is one main reason. When Walid Ibn 'Uqba was brought to Medina to be punished, Imam allowing no one to punish him threw him on the ground, thereafter facing 'Uthman's objection to his very action Imam began to punish 'Uthman in Walid's stead.263

It can be found out from the whole events of anti–'Uthman revolts that opponents, for the most part, supported Imam in his candidacy for caliphate. Although some of them such as 'Amr Ibn 'As, Talha and Zubayr were not willing to do so, Imam's influence over opponents induced 'Uthman to take a dual line against him.

On one part, 'Uthman believed Imam to be the major motive behind these incidents; on the other part, he having no alternative asked Imam to mediate and calm opponents, in so far as they listened to him.264

According to some accounts, Imam was recognized as “the spokesman of opponents”.265 Anyway, this fact neither meant that they were totally under the control of Imam, nor did it mean that Imam was for all their actions. The key question to be posed here is concerning Imam's opinion on 'Uthman. It should be taken into account that Imam living among people who killed 'Uthman couldn't speak freely.

Regarding Imam's political opinion, it can simply be said that neither was Imam for 'Uthman's killing, nor did he deem his killing advisable. Due to realizing that this was not but an action for Mu'awiya's benefit, Imam tried to prevent from 'Uthman's killing in any case.

Even, at the outset, he made effort to reconciliate people with him and suppress the revolt. Once he said about his political supports, I backed 'Uthman to such an extent that I am afraid of committing any sin in this regard.266 Later on he said that you killed 'Uthman while I was in my house.267

It's better, though, to make a distinction between Imam's “religious view” and “political view”. It's likely that Imam believed 'Uthman to be deserving of such a treatment by people due to making deliberate errors regarding Islam and its rules together with destructing the circumstances of the community, although it's impossible to comment precisely on this case. Yet some interpretations are possibly put on Imam's explanations in this regard. Imam was once asked whether he implicated in killing 'Uthman or not. He replied, Allah killed 'Uthman and I'm with Allah.268

He further said, “Neither I liked 'Uthman to be killed, nor did I loathe his killing.”269 He also added, I am neither happy nor sad about 'Uthman's killing.270

Elsewhere Imam called 'Uthman “the element of all wrongdoers”.271 When he was asked whether 'Uthman was killed in an oppressed manner or not, Imam answered, He sacrificed himself to the people of house in a very bad manner, and you treated him very badly.272

Imam wrote to Kufiyans about his contact with 'Uthman, Now, I am appraising you of what befell 'Uthman so (correctly) that its hearing maybe like its seeing. People criticized him, and I was the only man from among the Muhajirun who asked him to seek to satisfy (the Muslims) the most and to offend them the least.

Furthermore, Talha and Zubayr rushed, teased and debilitated 'Uthman very easily. Then, 'Ayisha who was in a rage with him appeared as well and vented her wrath on him, in so doing she gave people an

opportunity to overpower and kill him.[273]

At the time when being selected as an ambassador by people, Imam said to 'Uthman, “People are behind me and they have made me an ambassador between you and themselves. But by Allah! I do not know what to say. I know nothing (in this matter) which you do not know, nor can I lead you to any matter of which you are not aware ....

You should not behave as the carrying beast for Marwan so that he may drag you wherever he likes, despite your seniority of age and length of life.” 'Uthman answered, “Don't ask people to grant me respite in order that I can compensate for my oppressive treatment towards them.”

Whereupon Imam said, “So far as Medina is concerned here is no question of time. As for remoter areas you can have the time needed for your order to reach there.”[274]

According to historians,[275] Imam considered Marwan as the major factor behind these movements.[276] Anyway, Imam was opposed to the murder of 'Uthman, primarily due to the dominance of people over their ruler which was, in itself, followed by a brawl. In as much as it's a tremendously risky task to have the mere feeling that it's very simple to kill every ruler.

Muslims recently heard of Sassanids' experience concerning reigning of some kings in about several years and their immediate killing. Hence, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar warned them, “Are you doing it heraclitusly, killing any king whenever growing angry with him?”

The selection of Imam by Medinans, those who entered Medina and some who played a crucial role in anti–'Uthman revolt induced the Umayyads to accuse Imam of killing 'Uthman. 'Amr Ibn Hamiq Khuza'i assuming to be one of the four who attacked 'Uthman's house was ranked among the pure Shi'ite Muslims.[277]

The same is true with Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr. Likewise, once 'Uthman's house was under siege, Imam said feast prayer. And when 'Uthman came in power, initially he said prayers and then he made sermon just like before. Yet, noting that people leave great mosque after sermon, he decided to make sermon at the outset, and say prayer in the end.[278]

However, while saying feast prayer, Imam said prayer firstly and made sermon secondly.[279] It appears that Imam has said feast prayer without 'Uthman's permission. Anyway, 'Uthman had confessed that he prefers 'Ali to take charge rather than any body else.[280]

When 'Uthman's house was under siege, Sahl Ibn Hunayf said congregational prayer, perhaps by 'Uthman's permission.[281] Imam was accused due to his presence in Medina in these circumstances. Thus, it's been said that Usama insisted on Imam's going to Mecca or Yanbu'.[282] Of course, in as much as Imam was a crucial factor for coping with the situations, his leaving of Medina did not seem to be reasonable.

Imam repeatedly rejected the blame for 'Uthman's killing attributed to him, anyhow, 'Uthmanids' propagation was to the extent that it occasioned Jamal and Siffin. Walid Ibn 'Uqba, the wrongdoer, addressed Banu Hashim in a poem, **هم قتلوه حتى يكونوا مكانه** " Banu Hashim killed 'Uthman so as to take his place.283"

He further said, "Walid had the most hostile manner towards Imam"; moreover, according to Nasr Ibn Muzahim's poems, Walid instigated Mu'awiya to wage a war against Imam 'Ali (a). this apart from his father's murder in Badr was due to enforcing punishment of drinking on him by Imam in front of people and 'Uthman.284

'Uthman himself put the blame on Imam, on account of opponents' attention to him. He has even revealed ironically in his poem that he is looking forward to Imam's killing.285 This was suggested to him by Marwan Ibn Hakam, the sinner, the evildoer. Marwan has been quoted as saying to people, "At the outset, a handful of people came from Egypt, yet they were ordered to come back and assemble a large multitude."286

Imam repeatedly refused to have any role in 'Uthman's murder saying, "If I know that the Umayyads believe something through swearing, I would swear to the Black Stone and the status of Ibrahim that I did not kill 'Uthman."287

Imam wrote to Mu'awiya, "If one judges me, he will certainly imagine that I am the purest man."288

He further said, "I did not kill 'Uthman, nor did I order to kill him."289

Verily, Ibn Sirin said, "'Ali was accused of 'Uthman's assassination while being selected as caliph."290 Ibn Shubba has allocated a full chapter to Imam's statements concerning his refusal of any implication in killing 'Uthman.291

It seems interesting to note that despite all these remarks, 'Uthman sought assistance just from Imam and no one else.292 Typically, when 'Uthman was stopped having water by Talha, he asked Imam for help. Accordingly, Imam came to Talha and requested him to let water into 'Uthman's house. Then, he got his son to take a bowl of water to 'Uthman.293

Afterwards, in Karbala Ibn Ziyad ordered not to let Imam Husayn drink any water, as regards 'Uthman was stopped having water when under siege. Under these circumstances in which no one was able to help 'Uthman, nor did he dare to do so, it was Imam who came to his assistance. Ibn Shubba has labeled a chapter as 'Uthman's asking Imam 'Ali for help.294

Another good-to-know note is that Malik, as one of the extreme adherents of Imam, attempted to release 'Uthman from (being under) siege with the help of Hudaj Umm Habiba, while his house was under siege.295

Though, not being allowed to enter the house by the besiegers, he seemingly intended to save him from

the besiegers in secret. The final word of Ibn Shubba in his chapter is that, in Siffin, Imam did not accept in the presence of 'Uthman's representatives that 'Uthman has been killed oppressively.[296] Consequently, his very statement meant that Imam seems to be guilty at any rate.

Assassination of ‘Uthman

As objections against 'Uthman were gradually intensified, some men explicitly used to stand up before 'Uthman in mosque and object to him. 'Uthman was obliged to use violence so as to calm them and this, in turn, would lead to more clash on the part of them. To 'Urwa Ibn Zubayr, I witnessed that 'Uthman entered the mosque. Some people surrounded him and called him Na'thal, old stupid man.

Then, 'Uthman went up the pulpit and began to speak. Jahjah Ibn Sa'd Ghifari who was among those who swore allegiance to his family began to object. At the same time, the circumstances turned in a way that 'Uthman could not continue to speak, so he came down the pulpit and Sahl Ibn Hunayf said Friday prayer on that day.[297]

Once objections against 'Uthman heightened, some Kufiyans and Egyptians departed for Medina at the request of the companions alongside in protest against the Umayya rulers of these cities. This crowd was headed by 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Udays Balawi who was among those who swore allegiance to his family,[298]together with Muhammad Ibn Abi Hudhayfa. Ibn Shubba also carried a letter written by the Egyptians to 'Uthman prior to going to Medina.

They notified the necessity for implementing the divine orders with regard to the Qur'anic verses saying, You are claimant for being rightful to be obeyed by us, whereas based on Qur'an, obedience to the one who disobeys Allah is not permissible. If you obey Allah, in consequence, we'll soon find out that you have it in mind to perish yourself along with.[299]

'Uthman sent 'Ammar there in order to calm the Egyptians. However, he was unaware that 'Ammar himself after being sent to Egypt instigated people against 'Uthman. In the wake of 'Ammar's driving out, some people reckoned to be about 400 to 700 came into Medina. This group visited 'Uthman and his representative and set forth their demands as follows.

Firstly, to return on-exile persons. Secondly, to pay the deprived's rights. Thirdly, to act upon Qur'an and the deprived's rights. 'Uthman repented officially towards them and warned them to avert disunity.[300]

In terms of 'Uthman's agreements, a mutual treaty was written between 'Uthman and Imam 'Ali who was made as an ambassador between people and caliph. Five clauses were laid out in this very treaty, among which three have been mentioned above, and the forth one is to observe justice in distributing and employing people who are worthy and strong enough to manage the affairs. Then, a number of the companions attested to this treaty.[301]

This very action resulted in the Egyptians' return.

Another cultural city for opponents was Kufa. Sa'd Ibn 'As wrote to 'Uthman saying that some people who call themselves “readers” and are indeed stupid have thrashed my chief–police and thereby looked down on me.
'Uthman answered, “Send them to Syria in order that they might fight a war.”

After being sent to Syria, they got to grips with Mu'awiya. Hence, this induced Mu'awiya to send them to Hims. Yet, after a while since Sa'd Ibn 'As was sent away from Kufa by people, they came back to Kufa. It was then the Kufiyans enumerated 'Uthmans' mistakes through a letter. This very letter together with the Egyptians' letter is an indicative of the extent to which people made effort to shed light on caliph's mind not withstanding that 'Uthman never catch on the fact.

The Kufiyans' letter was brought to Medina by Abu Rabi' at al–'Anzi. Thereafter through a letter by 'Uthman, Sa'd was ordered to give him twenty lashes and exile him to Damawand mount.302

Once the Egyptians returned to their own city, they met a horsman called Yuhanna and was 'Uthman's slave who was riding rapidly to Egypt, they hold him and grabbed a letter from him. The letter had been sealed by 'Uthman and addressed to 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd. as a matter of fact, he was ordered by 'Uthman to kill some protesters and put some others into prison and …

This provoked protesters to return to Medina angrily. After coming back to Medina, first of all they went to Imam 'Ali (a) who was the mediator of peace. Imam took their letter to 'Uthman. But 'Uthman swore that he has not written the letters; besides, he is kept uninformed of it. It is interesting to mention that the Umayyads and even 'Uthman himself blamed Imam by stating, He has written the letter so as to incite the people against caliph.303 Word came that the Egyptians have Kufa and 100 people from Basra came to Medina and besieged 'Uthman.

As Zuhri states, “I asked Sa'd Ibn Musayyib, How was 'Uthman killed and why did the companions downgrade him?”

He replied, “Once 'Uthman was in power, a discontent befell some of the companions, for he liked his own family, typically, he set an abundance of those who were not reckoned among the companions to work.”

In consequence, his action gave rise to a hatred among the companions. In the second six–year term of caliphate, 'Uthman got the Umayya to take control of affairs; furthermore, he appointed 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd to Egypt. Yet, the latter created an obligation on the part of the Egyptians. As a matter of fact, prior to this, 'Uthman had also some contacts with 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud, Abu Dharr and 'Ammar which resulted in discontent on part of their tribes.

Then, the Egyptians arrived in Medina. Imam 'Ali (a) acted as an intermediary between them, thus it was determined that another figure will take the position of 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd, namely Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr. 'Uthman signed for his sainthood and then they left the place. They met a horseman on the way

who was carrying a letter concerning caliph's bitter instruction to 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd. it was then all the protesters returned to Medina angrily.

Then, all the Medinans vented their wrath on 'Uthman; moreover, as for the people, public complex concerning what befell 'Ammar, Abu Dharr and 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud developed. Imam 'Ali along with a number of people went to 'Uthman. The handwriting indicated that the letter had been written by Marwan. Then, the protesters asked 'Uthman to hand over Marwan who is ordering to carnage so dauntlessly. However, 'Uthman avoided doing so. This very action caused people to besiege 'Uthman and shop him having water.304

A noteworthy point is that dissenters did not think of caliph's assassination from the beginning. Rather, in the list stage they pled him to be dethroned. However, 'Uthman refused to be dethroned. It was the first time that caliph's dethronement was spoken. The caliph, in what case, can dethrone himself or do the others have the right to do so?

Such an issue was repeatedly posed during the caliphate history. But historically it was first raised when rebels asked 'Uthman to dethrone. 'Uthman, in response to their suggestion, said that God has granted caliphate to him and he is not willing to abdicate.

Quoting him, the Messenger (S) said to him, “O 'Uthman! God will put a garment on you and hypocrites of dethronement will ask you for it, don't take it off until you join me.”305

This hadith is definitely a forged one and ascribed to 'Uthman and the Messenger (S). But 'Uthman, in essence, believed that caliphate is garment God put him on and he is not willing to take it off. Such a thing indicated that 'Uthman, by linking Caliphate to God, intends to deny public vole and their decision upon his dethronement.

When 'Uthman was suggested dethronement, he said, “Even if I'm beheaded, I'll never abdicate.”306

'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar said, “He asked me in the time of 'Uthman's siege, “What do you think of Mughira Ibn Akhnas's suggestion?”

He said, “They want you to dethrone unless you'll be murdered so you should leave it to them.”
'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar said, “I told 'Uthman, is there anything more important than your murder unless you dethrone?”

He replied, “No.”
I said, “To me, you'd better not include such an innovation in Islam that every time a group of rebels revolt in an aim to dethrone their emir; don't take the garment of God has put you on!” 307
Some who laid siege are heard to say that we just intend to dethrone him not to murder him; 'Uthman said, “Not my dethronement but my murder.”308[823]

When Egyptian opponents, on their way back, found 'Uthman's letter to 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd, in which he

was ordered to bother, annoy and murder opposes, they turned back to Medina. 'Uthman said that the letter writer was not him and then the fact that the main culpable was Marwan Ibn Hakam was cleared up. He was asked by the opponents to dethrone due to his incapability in government administration, but he rejected. 309

Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr, later on, confirmed, “We wanted him to dethrone but he rejected.” 310 According to another narration, 'Uthman sent for Malik Ashtar and asked him, “What do people want me?”

Malik said, “One of the two things, either to dethrone yourself and leave the caliphate for people or to retaliate yourself maybe it refers to the retaliation of annoyance done to Ibn Mas'ud, 'Ammar and others; otherwise, you'll be fighted.”

'Uthman said, “I shan't take the garment off God put me on. Abu Bakr and 'Umar were doing chastisement concerning retaliation and such a thing didn't exist. But in the case of my murder, you'll be in a lot of trouble.”311

During this time, 'Uthman asked different cities for help. He wrote a letter to people of Mecca to be read in 'Arafa Day. In aforesaid letter, he wrote, “I'm under siege and I've got no food but a trivial supply. I ajure everyone to whom my letter is read to hasten for my help.” 312

'Ayisha was on her way to Hajj. Marwan was sent by 'Uthman to help him in people dispersion but she rejected.313

For forty days, 'Uthman was under siege and at last Friday early evening, the 18th Dhi l–Hajja, 35 A.H. he was murdered. His murderer's name is not exactly specified. Someone's name as Aswadan Ibn Hamran from Tujib in Egypt was cited.314

Kunana said, “I heard on Egyptian crying around 'Uthman's house that he murdered Na'thal but no one had anything to do with him.”315

Quoting 'Urwa, 'Uthman's corpse was in Hashsh Kawkab for three days but no one did prayer on it.316 Afterwards, four people among whom were Jubayr Ibn Mut'im and Hukaym Ibn Hizam assembled and buried him there out of Baqi' by night.317

Ongoing Victories

Geographical extension of Islamic country was the major aim of second caliph. All the tribes were mobilized for this purpose and a great deal were sent to different areas. In this era, stabilization of Arab's rule over conquered areas in east and partly in west was the major action of victories. Alexandria, in 25 A.H., started revolution and made effort to rise up against Muslims by a hidden connection to Romans. Arabs, once more, obliged to conquer this city.

Riy citizens rebelled as well as Adharbayjan so Hudhayfa obliged to calm these areas by force. The gate of Ifriqiya was westerly opened in 26–7 A.H. and Islam was expanded to the heart of Africa. These areas were easily opened and their booties brought Islam a great capital. In 33 A.H., after the renewed revolution in this area and its renewed opening, its people became calm and tractable. But in Umayya's time, due to excessive pressure on them–in Hisham 'Abd al–Malik time–they rebelled.[318]

First in 29 A.H., Muslims were allowed to pass the sea and open the gate of Cyprus. People of Fars and Istakhr, in the year 29 A.H. started revolution and once more its gate was opened, in an attack, by Muslims. Muslims' first attacks on Tabaristan launched in 30 A.H. and through them, Gurgan was occupied.

Yazdgard, the last Sassanids king after a lot of vagrancy in 32 A.H. was murdered by a miller in Marw and his dynasty was overwhelmed forever. The gate of Khurasan, part of which has been conquered and once again rebelled, was opened. Iranian people being still inclined to accept Arab's rule, due to the lack of a definite leadership, rebelled temporarily.

But such revolutions comparing to Arab's strong and well–organized forces lacked resistance. In other words, since Iranian religious, tribal, and citizenship solidarity has been lost, it couldn't resist seriously. In the same years, people of Khurasan and Kirman violating their peace, were defeated in no time.

Effects of Victories and Islamic Community

Victories were undoubtedly considered as great changes for both Muslims and human world. This movement and its consequences induced great ethnic and religious changes in human world during 100 years and some centuries respectively. Great immigrations changed some areas ethnically and great religions were exposed to restriction. In addition to nearly a full– scale defeat of Zoroastrian religion, in west Christianity and in east Buddhist were grounded.

But the new religion conquered the inhabited quarter of the earth and its particular effect. In this regard, some issues should be taken into consideration. When the effects of victories for victorious Arabs are considered, we observe that the majority of Bedouins left their homes in Hijaz for conquered areas. Their only offering for these country was holy Qur'an and to some extent hadith.

Apart from these two, we face Arabs who got used to Bedouin but now have extreme money and wealth. In Peninsula, they lacked any government but now inherit Sassanids extensive government.

Culturally, possessing strict ethnic customs but, for the time being, Arabs in conquered regions encounter a new social and aristocratic life. Hereafter, in conquered lands, there is a sort of cultural duality and Arabs should stake out a clear stand against it. These people's existence cannot naturally be denied or compelled to endure Arabian life.

'Umar dissuated Arabs from imitation and turning into non–Arabs. Such a thing was difficult since most of

the Arabs possessed Roman and Iranian slave-girls, they brought them children and a new generation was gradually forming.

'Umar made effort not only to keep them away from fighting against non-Arabs. The residents of conquered lands in Iraq and Iran were allowed to keep them but just pay their land-taxes to 'Umar. Not only leaving the lands for Arabs wasn't technically a right thing due to their lack of expertise, but it brought them about some political problems.

'Umar tried to back non-Arab aristocrats up. Like Arabs, a grant of bounty was determined for non-Arab aristocrats. Some shares like Firuz Ibn Yazdjird, Fulluja farmers, Hurmuzan, and Babul's farmer, Bastam Ibn Narsi have been mentioned. 'Umar considered his aim of doing this as the combination of people's (Iranian's) hearts through attracting aristocrats.319

But Arabs as a victorious and rightful nation were considered superior to others and 'Umar made every possible effort not to mix them with others. The presence of non-Arabs (considered as non-Arab unbelievers by 'Umar) by no means was allowed in Medina, the capital of Islamic country.320

'Umar was accidentally murdered by a non-Arab unbeliever had come to Medina through Mughira's intercession. His complaint when he was almost to die was, “Didn't I tell you not to have entrance of non-Arabs into Medina”.321

Additionally, he was to set free all the captives of wars against Arabs like Radda or the conquest of Iraq and Syria when the number of non-Arab captives was high.322 He said, “Since God has opened the gates of non-Arab lands to us, it isn't worthwhile having Arab captives for we've got enough non Arab ones.”323

For this, a great deal of money was paid from public treasury to set non-Arab captives free.324 For Arabs not to imitate non-Arabs, 'Umar ordered that no one had the right to speak in any language but Arabic.325 It was forbidden for an Arab to dress in a non-Arab garment and for Arabs not to be mistaken with non-Arabs.326

To 'Umar, Arab Christians should be treated differently from non-Arab ones.327 In his opinion, Arab was Islam substance 328 and in that time, it was certainly a true thing to be said. 'Umar wanted his rulers not to bother Arabs in their areas in one way or another to bring about their humiliation.329

The marriage of Arab women and non-Arabs were severely prohibited by 'Umar.330 It disturbed him a lot when he learnt Nafi' Ibn Harith placed a non-Arab instead of himself to come to Medina.331 Ma'mun said to a Nabataean (Nibti) who cried “Alas! 'Umar” in his time, ”'Umar believed that if an Arab is in lack of money and his neighbor is a Nabataean, he can sell him! This is 'Umar's biography, do you like to treat you according to it?” 332

One time, made up his mind to propose marriage to 'Umar's daughter. It wasn't done for 'Umar's family

came and wanted him to abdicate.333 Meeting people, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar said, “Peace be upon you.” But visiting a Negro, he said, “O Frog, peace be upon you.”334 It was natural that later on, Khalid Ibn Safwan in the marriage contract of his slave-girl and a slave said, “God's name is superior than being mentioned in the marriage sermon of these two dogs. I announce this adulteress and adulterer, man and wife!”335

'Uthman, to some extent, followed the same policy. The most important factors bringing about destruction of Islamic Community, to 'Uthman, are as follow, **تكامل النعم، بلوغ أولادكم من السبايا، قراءة الأعراب والأعاجم للقرآن** “ Abundance, the new generation of captive mothers, and Qur'an recitation by non-Arabs.”336

Ethnic mixture in Arab brought some effects about which cannot be prevented. Arabs' possession of some tribal customs and their lack of a disciplined and regular culture were considered the major reasons. Meanwhile, Arab tribal structure strengthened through 'Umar's measure in forming Diwan based on ethnic system played a key role in the protection of Arab culture.

Setting Arab tribes was the aim of stabilization of pure Arab cities however very soon, captives of war and non-Arab immigrants settled there. These cities internally possessed some divided tribes and non-Arabs in there had got special parishes. These cities were distinctive from those in the past for they have been formed through Islamic and Arab features.

The number of Arab immigrants most of whom left Iraq for Iran was excessive. It is said that in Kufa, fifty thousand and twenty-four thousand houses were allocated to Rabi'a, Mu□ar and other Arabs respectively. In Imam 'Ali (a) time, the number of people whose names existed in Basra administration tribunal touched sixty thousands.337[852]

The quick regional influence of Islam was considered as one of the important effects of Arab residence in Iran. In Adharbayjan, the expansion of Islam was the result of Arab residence there. Arabs bought a great deal of lands there and started a permanent residence. It is said that going to Adharbayjan, Ash'ath Ibn Qays observed a lot of Muslims reciting Qur'an.338

Arabs' other residence was Riy due to its significance. Arab cities were few, according to Ya'qubi.339 Qazwin, because of its frontier significance with Diylam, was the residence of Arabs who left Kufa for this region. In al-Buldan, Ya'qubi considered human geography of cities, which is of great importance, in regard to Arab and non-Arab.340

According to some narrations, Qum was basically on Arab residence and some tribes like Ash'ari and Midhhaj settled there. After repeated victories different regions of Iran were permanent residences of Arabs. Meanwhile, unlike Egypt and north of Africa, Iran didn't turn into Arabian, on the contrary, its Arab residents gradually turned into Iranian.

Financially, victories greatly affected Muslims. Arabs, before Islam, severely suffered from economic

deprivation. But after victories, they had a comfortable life resulted from booties abundance.

This issue brought about some particular ethnical consequences from which in Islamic community resulted constant corruption due to the lack of continuous training. Figuring out such conditions, 'Umar strictly made effort to keep noble men of companions away from comfort and extravagance. However, in 'Uthman's time, the society severely suffered from sedition and corruption for 'Uthman himself was an aristocrat and unable to control the situation.

The natural point was new community's lack of forces for religious teaching and learning. This problem was to some extent solved by companions but neither their number nor their knowledge can cover such an extensive land.

In 'Uthman's time, companions obtained a lot of wealth and clever Muslims kept the limit of their wealth. Mas'udi made some useful information available to us.[341] In spite of 'Umar's carefulness in this regard, he caused Badri companions to obtain a great wealth in no time through his system for distribution of “grant of bounty”.

Forming an aristocratic life, 'Uthman later on, was a typical of aristocracy prevalence among people. This aristocracy, for the most part, existed among the Muhajirun for their superiority to the Ansar in the arrangement of tribunal based on 'Umar's policy.[342] And this policy of Quraysh's superiority to non–Quraysh, was followed by 'Uthman as well.[343] While religiously comparing Ansar were in a better position than Quraysh.

Ibn 'Abbas said, “Most of the Messenger (S) ' hadiths were available to Ansar.”[344]

It is said that Ansar's women in religion obtained understanding[345] and were more religious than the Muhajirun.[346] Also, in Quraysh, just one person who knew Qur'an by heart existed according to the narration.[347]

Taha Husayn studied 'Uthman's Qurayshi policies and its effect on Ansar's seclusion and the rule of Quraysh over other Arabs.[348] Policy of the Muhajirun's superiority to the Ansar and Quraysh to non–Quraysh was, to some extent, accepted in the community so that its settlement by Imam 'Ali (a), with all his influence, was not possible. Their objection to Imam was why didn't he, like 'Umar, consider them superior to others?[349]

Aristocracy along with the lack of religious training intensified the community problem so that Kufa witnessed adultery of Mughira Ibn Shu'ba and drinking of Walid Ibn 'Uqba, governors of such an important city. Mu'awiya was also a typical of that and not wanting to be included in Kanz verse, he made up his mind to omit the first “v” letter so that it might include the people of The Book.[350]

The names of some Quraysh been punished by whip are mentioned by Muhammad Ibn Habib. Among them is 'Umar's son, Abu Shahma, who committed adultery to 'Umar's step–daughter and he was

punished by a whip. 'Ubayd Allah and 'Asim, 'Umar's offsprings were whipped by 'Umar and 'Uthman respectively for drinking.351

Imam Husayn (a) witnessed the latter and this caused, accordingly to Muhammad Ibn Habib, enmity between family of 'Umar and that of 'Ali. Suhayl Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf was whipped for drinking.352

Among these, the names of other companions' sons had been mentioned. The lack of punishment in the case of others didn't mean that they were in a better position. Take the example of 'Umar, son of Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas, who martyred Imam Husayn (a) Karbala. Karbala's event principally indicates the depth of mental and ethical corruption and deviation in the Islamic community.

To caliphs, victories were considered a sacred Jihad which not only had a lot of booties but can save Arabs from hunger. This Jihad is considered sacred even if it is accompanied by some mistakes like that of Khalid Ibn Walid with Malik Ibn Nuwayra. Such mistakes don't bring about the lack of his title, i.e. God's sword.

In second caliph's opinion, if the sentence, **حي على خير العمل** " Hasten to good deeds," was omitted from the prayer call, Jihad would be most important to people than prayer, people's concern about victories and not having anything to do with the internal affairs was another feature of victories.

For 'Uthman, being entangled in revolution, one of the solutions was to send opposers to the borders to fight there against enemies.353 But those aware of the reality wrote to the frontier controllers that Jihad exists in Medina not Diylam.354 Mu'awiya benefited from this weapon for opponents dispersion.355

In order to recognize deviations made in the community, in fact, difficulties of Imam 'Ali (a) who made his Messengership the community reform should be recognized.

People depended on public treasury and their grants of bounty to the extent that 'Umar said, "If I want, I can make these people unbelievers."

They asked, "How?"
He replied, "I'll cut their shares."356
Also Abu Ja'far Naqib said, "No one would object to 'Umar if he changed their Qibla from Ka'ba to Jerusalem or omitted one of the five unit prayers for people made every effort to obtain money and wealth and they kept still when they reached it." 357

To Imam 'Ali (a) on the threshold of his caliphate, the situation of the community was like that of pre-Islam.358

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1. There is a disagreement on whether the Messenger (S) set Hijra as the originating history or such an action has been

taken in time of ‘Umar Seemingly, due to significance of Hijra, Muslims had been using Hijra as one origin in the very beginning years of it but this has been formalized in ‘Umar’s time

2. Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, pp 151-152

3. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, pp 309-310

4. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. 4, p. 227

5. Mukhtasar Tarikh al-’Arab wal-tamaddun al-Islami, Amir ‘Ali, p. 90

6. Kitab al-Kharaj, p. 30

7. Min Dawlat ‘Umar Ila Dawlat ‘Abd al-Malik, p. 89-91

8. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 853; Futuh al-Buldan, pp 266-267

9. Previously the sources of the quotation have been mentioned in detail ‘Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. 5, p. 445; Fath al-bari, vol. 12, p. 124; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 344; Masa’il al-Imamah, p. 63; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 881; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. 12, p. 69; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. 4, p. 227

10. ‘Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. 5, p. 446; vol. 7, p. 278; vol. 10, p. 103

11. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 590; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 42

12. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 16; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 42; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 412; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. 4, p. 227

13. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 343; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 86

14. When ‘Umar came to power, he said, “I depose Khalid to make known if God helps his religion, Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, vol. I, p. 106

15. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 887; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 42

16. He explicitly interpreted that, “If Salim had been alive, I would have not made Shura responsible for the affairs; Tarikh Abi Zar‘a al-dimashqi, vol. I, p. 272; and he added, “If he had been alive, I would have never doubted his supremacy over the Prophet’s companions; al-Muqni‘ fil-Imama, p. 59

17. ‘Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. 5, p. 446

18. Ibid vol. 5, pp 447-448; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 880; al-Ahkam As-Sultaniyya, vol. 12, Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 49; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 4, p. 501, No 1291; Kitab al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 85-86

19. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 4, p. 501, No 1290

20. See, Caliph’s Thoughts

21. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XII, p. 81; Gharib al-Hadith, vol. III, p. 239; al-Fa’iq fi Gharib al-Hadith, vol. II, p. 16; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 87; The Umayya meant that ‘Uthman was among them although he imself never fought with the Prophet over religion Later on, Ka‘b al-Ahbar said Mu‘awiya basically possessed succession after ‘Uthman as if heavenly books reported this way Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 495, No 1278

22. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 333

23. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 223

24. ‘Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, pp 448-449; Hafsa’s reasoning is the simplest one in Shi‘a for the necessity of succession by the Messenger (S) Others also with the same reasoning asked ‘Umar to designate a successor, Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 343

25. al-Ahkam As-Sultaniyya, p. 13; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 342; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 501, No 1290

26. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 500, No 1288

27. Ibid vol. IV, p. 505, No 1303; Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 33

28. Ibid vol. IV, p. 229; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I2, pp 258-259

29. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 42; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 229; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 504, No 1300,1301

30. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 343; Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 160 An imagination that is not so unbased is that ‘Umar feared heriditary caliphate and he had this as a principle in his mind that ruler should not use his relatives in handling the affairs or assigning them as his successors He mentioned this as an advice to ‘Ali (a) and ‘Uthman adding, “If you became caliph, lest you might have the Hashimites or family of Abi Mu‘ayT dominate people, al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 43

31. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 342

32. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 503, No 1295; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 230

33. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. 189

34. Imam says in Nahj al-Balaghah, ومال الآخر لصهره Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah,, vol. I, p. 184 After ‘Abd al-Rahman payed allegiance to ‘Uthman, ‘Ali (a) said, مال الرجل إلى صهره ونبذ دينه وراء ظهره “ He tilted towards his kins and set religion aside” Al-Jamal, p. 123; ‘Uthman’s sister was Ibn ‘Awf’s wife merely on the part of his mother Umm Kulthum, daughter of ‘Uqba Ibn Abi Mu‘ayT Ibn Abi al-Hadid,Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. 189

35. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 230; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. 191; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 505, No 1304

36. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 955

37. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 506, No 1308; Makhul Shami says, “Sa‘d was not in Shura because of his abdication Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 507, No 1309

38. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 928; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 230; Zuhri says, “That night Ibn ‘Awf consulted the outstanding people of Muhajir and Ansar”, al-Musannaf, vol. V, p. 482 But we know even if he had consulted all of them, he would have observed only what Quraysh had said; ‘Abd al-’Aziz, al-Duri says, “This supportive counselling of ‘Uthman indicates that the Umayya were active from conquest of Mecca on in achieving a landslide so far as all agreed on ‘Uthman’s coming to power Muqadama fi Tarikh Sadr al-Islam, p. 59

39. ‘Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. IV, p. 477

40. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 233; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I2, p. 194

41. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, pp 929-930; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 233; According to Mufid (al-Jamal, p. 122), Miqdad shouted, “Do not swear allegiance to someone who was present in Badr, escaped Uhud and was absent in Ri□wan alleginace (he meant ‘Uthman)”; ‘Uthman said, “By God, if I come to power, I’ll return you to your previous conditions, al-Amali, Sheykh Mufid, pp 114-115 Amali, Sheykh Mufid, pp 114-115

42. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 233,238; Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 162; Ya‘qubi says, “In front of the condition of practising according to biography of Shiykhs, Imam said, “Following Book of God and tradition of the Messenger requires hiring of nobody; you’re trying to make me overlook caliphate, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 508, No 1311; al-Bad’ wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 192; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. 188, vol. I2, pp 194,264 Zuhri fails to mention anything about Imam ‘Ali (a) and only suffices to say, “‘Abd al-Rahman set this condition for ‘Uthman and he approved ”; ‘Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, p. 477

43. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 930; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 233-234; al-’Iqd al-Farid, vol. III, p. 76

44. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, pp 1028,1029; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. VII, p. 254

45. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 233-234,239; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 502, No 1294; and concerning Talha, p. 504, No 1300 Talha was rewarded although he was ranked as the worst enemy of ‘Uthman in the course of his seige Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 506, No 1306; Regarding position of Miqdad, Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 163; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, pp 930-931

46. Kitab al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 96-97; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 237, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I2, p. 195

47. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 238-239; perhaps deceit ment the same quotation of Imam by Ya‘qubi as Ibn ‘Awf set the condition to keep him away from caliphate Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 162

48. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol.I, p.189.

49. Ibid vol. I, p. 185

50. Ibid vol. I, p. 187

51. Ibid vol. I, pp 187-188; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 37

52. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I, p. 187

53. al-Bad’ wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 193

54. Ma‘rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. 1301; this statement is attributed to ‘Umar that ‘Uthman may probably be named rather than ‘Umar, al-Muqanna‘, p. 110; Manaqib, vol. III, p. 220

55. Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. 347, Kashf al-astar, vol. II0, p. 303; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 935

56. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. I1, p. 67

57. Muqadama fi Tarikh Sadr al-Islam, pp 58-59

58. When ‘Umar asked Ibn ‘Abbas about ‘Uthman, he said, “He keeps love of this world and the world hereafter in his heart

and if he comes to power, he'll have family of Abi Mu'ayT rule people; al-I□ah, p. 86 In the very night of succession (beginning of Muharram, 24 H), when 'Uthman was on his way to the mosque to say night prayers, there were people ahead of him carrying candles and Miqdad said, "What innovation this is!" (Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 163); he referred to starting point of ceremonial functions! Ibn A'tham quoted Ibn 'Awf as saying that, "I am pleased with the succession of the doyen of the Umayya "; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 909

59. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. 196; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 1033; 'Ali (a) is said to have cursed Ibn 'Awf when selecting 'Uthman and Abu Hilal 'Askari says, "'Uthman and Ibn 'Awf were in disagreement over fulfilment of 'Ali's invokation; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XII, p. 196

60. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 508, No 1311; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IX, p. 55; vol. I2, p. 265; al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 193; Habib As-Siyar, vol. I, p. 496; Imam Himself expressed his statement that he has been told If he failed to swear allegiance, he would be fought He also says, "I unwillingly pledged allegiance; al-Gharat, vol. I, p. 318 However, fanatic narrators have said that 'Ali was the first one to swear allegiance after Ibn'Awf! Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 63

61. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I2, p. 259 (according to Sayyid Murta□a

62. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I2, pp 265-266; al-Amali, Mufid, p. 115

63. al-I□ah, pp 187-188

64. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 91; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 61

65. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. 185; Abu Bakr said to 'Umar that he had to be careful of Muhajirun because many of them were capricious of succession; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. II, pp 16,22

66. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV, p. 281; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IX, p. 85

67. al-Jamal, p. 97

68. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. IX, pp 28-29

69. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 95

70. See, issue of Hudaybiyya in Tarikh Siyasi Islam, vol. I, "Biography of the Messenger (S) "

71. Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. 301

72. al-Ma'arif, p. 192; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 11

73. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 163

74. al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. I, p. 345

75. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 294-295

76. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 99

77. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, pp 44-45; from As-Saqifa by Abu Bakr Juwhari; al-Aghani, vol. VI, p. 356; al-Fa'iq, vol. II, p. 117; al-Niza' wal-Takhasum, p. 56

78. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 343

79. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. I1, p. 67

80. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 64

81. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 356,365; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 167

82. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 48; al-Aghani, vol. V, p. 130

83. al-Jamal, p. 161; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. VI, p. 216

84. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 57; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 70; al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, vol. I5, p. 223, (India); al-Futuh, p. 2151

85. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 53

86. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, p. 147; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 141

87. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 24

88. al-Jamal, p. 176; Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. IV, p. 496; Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. I, p. 146

89. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 38

90. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 39; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, pp 154,171; Sunan Nasa'i, vol. III, p. 12; al-MuwaTTa', vol. I, p. 282

91. al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazana, p. 71

92. al-Jamal, p. 336

93. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. III, p. 51; Ibn Abi al-Hadid says this speech is quoted from Zayd in different ways

94. al-Aghani, vol. V, p. 131

95. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, p. 175

96. al-Gharat, vol. I, p. 284

97. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 216

98. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 206

99. Tarikh Ibn al-wardi, p. 203; It should be said, ويل لمن كفّره نمرود Woe unto someone whom Namrud excommunicates

100. Concerning this, see, Ukdhuba tahrif al-qur'an bayn Ash-Shi'a wal-Sunna, pp 89-90

101. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 235; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 151

102. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 151

103. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 347

104. See, Tafsir books in commentary of the verse, يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِنْ جَاءَكُمْ فَاسِقٌ بِنَبَإٍ فَتَبَيَّنُوا أَنْ تُصِيبُوا قَوْمًا بِجَهَالَةٍ فَتُصْبِحُوا عَلَى مَا فَعَلْتُمْ نَادِمِينَ

105. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 235

106. Ibid vol. II, pp 235-236; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 168

107. Habib As-Siyar, vol. II, pp 171-173

108. al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 171-173

109. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 238

110. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 101 (the proofreader in the footnote quoted this part from the Persian translation) al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. 251

111. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IX, p. 15 from "Kitab Ash-Shura" by Waqidi

112. al-Aghani, vol. I7, p. 152

113. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, p. 170

114. al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, vol. I5, p. 221

115. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 529, No 1376

116. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IX, p. 308

117. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1115

118. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 332

119. al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. 602

120. al-Ma'arif, p. 195

121. Ibid p. 195; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 27,38

122. al-Ma'arif, p. 194

123. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 28 This money came from the poll tax ruled to be received

124. al-Ma'arif, pp 194,195

125. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VII, p. 172

126. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 13

127. al-Ghadir, vol. VIII, p. 286

128. ad-Durr al-Manthur, vol. III, p. 232

129. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, pp 339-340

130. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp 31, 36, 37; Tarikh Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 171

131. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp 58,88

132. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, pp 1306-1307 and in its footnote, Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. IV, p. 232; al-Hilyat al-'Awliya', vol. I, p. 160; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 2860; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. II, p. 376; vol. III, p. 54; Nihayat al-'Irab, vol. I9, p. 443; al-Tamhid wal-bayan, sheet, 70

133. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 1040

134. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 83

135. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 580, No 1485 Abu Dharr said, "Mu'awiya intends to name Muslims off everything " This is

an interesting idea It will be considered that the reason for attaching caliph to God is for naming off people as well as removing his responsibility in front of the people and God

136. Khilafat wa Mulukiyyat, pp 119–121

137. Ibid pp 129–130

138. Rabi‘ al–Abrar, vol. III, p. 575

139. Khayr al–din sawi influenced by his professor, ‘Abd al–’Aziz al–Duri in the book, Tatawwur al–fikr As–Siyasi ‘Ind ahl As–Sunna, pp 42–43

140. Muruj al–Dhahab, vol. II, p. 337; Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. IV, pp 469–470 Concerning the opinion of one of the people in Muhajirun’s ruling for selecting caliph and monopolizing caliphate

141. Muqaddama fi Tarikh Sadr al–Islam, pp 50–58

142. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. IV, p. 279

143. See, Min Dawlat ‘Umar Ila Dawlat ‘Abd al–Malik, p. 107

144. al–Imamah wal–Siyasah, vol. I, p. 50

145. Ahmad Ibn Hanbal seriously banned Sunnites narrators to narrate the companions’ imperfection He believed if anyone narrated these things about companions, he should be avoided Some time, he Himself listened to traditions through ‘Abd al–Razzaq San‘ani When ‘Abd al–Razzaq retold these kinds of narrations, Ahmad kept away and he was back to class sessions when he began new subjects In other cases, when the companions imperfection were discussed, Ahmad covered his ears with two fingers “It can not be quoted from ‘Ubayd Allah Ibn Musa ‘Abasi”, he said because يحدث باحاديث فيها تنقص لاصحاب رسول الله He narrated hadiths which lowered rank of the Prophet’s companions Also he did not allow any one to quote a person who imprecated Mu‘awiya Some times, accounting that companions had said these words while they were angry, he did not permit their narrations It is said that Salim Ibn Abi MuTi‘ took Abu ‘Awana’s book and ruined the main traditions which were concerned with imperfection of companions As for these words and similar narrations, As–Sana, Abu Khallal, pp 500–511

146. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. III, pp 378–379

147. In his three books, this researcher has studied Sayf’s narrations and has correctly shown his style of writing which is a kind of story telling

148. al–Fitnat al–Kubra, the chapter on ‘Abd Allah Ibn Saba’

149. As mentioned, “this majority” is the people who used Tarikh at–Tabari, otherwise the first rate books of the third century had not basically cited these events

150. Tarikh Isma‘iliyan, p. 33

151. al–Ghadir, vol. VIII and IX

152. Tarikh al–Madinat al–Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1175

153. al–Gharat, p. 219 (Persian translation

154. Nahj As–Sa‘ada, vol. I, pp 247–248

155. al–Ma‘arif, p. 228; Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. V, p. 80; Tarikh al–Madina al–Munawwara, vol. III,p. 1169 كان أشد الصحابة على عثمان طلحة بن عبيد الله Talha Ibn ‘Abd Allah among the companions treated ‘Uthman most harshly

156. Tabaqat al–Kubra, vol. III, p. 223; Tarikh al–Madinat al–Munawwara, vol. II, p. 1170

157. al–Jamal, p. 141, see, Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. IV, p. 385; al–’Iqd al–Farid, vol. IV, p. 290

158. al–Imamah wal–Siyasah, vol. I, p. 57

159. Tarikh al–Madinat al–Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1169

160. Ibid, vol. III, p. 1202

161. al–Jamal, pp 145–146

162. Tarikh al–Madinat al–Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1089

163. al–Mi‘yar wal–Muwazana, p. 27; Tabaqat al–Kubra, vol. III, p. 37

164. al–Futuh, vol. III, p. 123

165. al–Mi‘yar wal–Muwazana, p. 27

166. al–Jamal, p. 148; al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 225; Ibn Abi al–Hadid, Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, vol. VI, p. 215

167. Tahrim, verse 10

168. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 34
169. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1173
170. Ibid, p. 1174
171. Tarikh al-Khamis, vol. II, p. 261
172. Subh al-a'sha, vol. I, p. 251
173. al-Aghani, vol. I, p. 26
174. al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. 152; al-Imta' wal-Mu'anisa, vol. III, p. 165
175. al-Imta' wal-Mu'anisa, vol. III, p. 165
176. Ibid, vol. III, pp 168-169
177. al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 269-270
178. Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. III, p. 341; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 263
179. al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. 154
180. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV, p. 287
181. al-Basa'ír wal-dhaka'ir, vol. I, p. 18
182. al-Aghani, vol. XV, p. 107
183. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. 402
184. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 347
185. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 42; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 71; Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. LXX, pp 204,205,212,223,227; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. 421
186. al-Aghani, vol. LXXX, p. 334
187. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp 53-54
188. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp 50.
189. Waq'at Siffin, p. 354
190. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 61 Most probably this remark, "... I found 'Uthman's name in Torah" has been ascribed to 'Abd Allah Ibn Sallam afterwards Yet, he has been amongst 'Uthman's assenters
191. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, pp 1175-1186
192. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 222
193. Tarikh Abuzar'a al-dimashqi, vol. I, p. 190
194. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 60
195. Ibn Hisham, As-Sirat al-Nabawiyya, vol. II, p. 479
196. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. I, p. 347
197. See, Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, pp 89-170 and vol. IV, p. 340
198. al-Ma'arif, p. 197 Ibn Qutayba says, Hash means garden and Kawkab is the name of a man from Ansar
199. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 158
200. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 118
201. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 52
202. al-Ma'arif, p. 195; al-Isti'ab, vol. I, p. 214; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 1580-189; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1038 According to Ibn A'tham, 'Uthman said to Abu Dharr, "Go out of Medina " Abu Dharr answered, "I want to go to Syria " 'Uthman did not accept Abu Dharr proposed Iraq, but then again 'Uthman rejected it, and said to him, " I said you to the worst city, that is, Raba□a So go over there and never return here "
203. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 157
204. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 173; see al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 159-160;Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 54
205. Nath ad-Durr, vol. II, p. 78
206. al-Hayawan, vol. IV, p. 277
207. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, pp 39 -43
208. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp 45-46; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 337
209. al-Isaba, vol. III, p. 85
210. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 30

211. See al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp 50-51; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 153-155; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 49

212. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, pp 1099-1100; 'Ammar may have been thrashed once again See Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 48

213. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 155

214. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1049

215. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp 31,36,37; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 171; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. III, pp 42-43 There, 'Abd Allah's thrashing and his objections of 'Uthman have been explained in detail

216. See al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 178-179; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, pp 237-238; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, p. 135; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya vol. VII, p. 167; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 44

217. Lubab al-Adab, p. 305

218. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 53

219. Ibid, vol. V, p. 51; vol. II, p. 388

220. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1095

221. Sharh ma yaqa' fih l-Tashif wal-Tahrif, p. 107

222. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VIII, p. 113; al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. I, p. 377

223. Ibn Hisham, As-Sirat al-Nabawiyya, vol. IV, p. 640; 'Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. XI, p. 335; Sahih al-bukhari, Kitab al-Ahkam Hadith, vol. IV; Musnad Ahmad, vol. III, p. 67; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. V p. 171; vol. XII, p. 104

224. 'Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. XI, p. 336

225. See al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras Lialfa¨ al-hadith al-Nabawi, vol. IV, below the word "Taw'", obedience

226. 'Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. XI, pp 339-349

227. Ibid, vol. II, p. 384

228. 'Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. II, p. 384

229. Ibid, vol. II, p. 385; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, p. 402

230. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 385; Musnad Abi Dawud, vol. I, p. 297

231. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 259

232. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, pp 341-342; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 173

233. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, pp 1043-1044

234. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 268; al-Ghadir, vol. VIII, p. 99, quoted from, Sunan Abi Dawud, vol. I, p. 308; Qa□i Abu Yusuf, al-Athar, p. 30; Shafi'i, Kitab al-Umm, vol. I, p. 159; vol. VII, p. 175; Biyhaqi, Sunnan al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 144

235. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. III, p. 42

236. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, pp 524 -527; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, pp 1049-1054

237. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 267

238. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 157

239. Baladhuri has been quoted as saying, Umm Habiba, Mu'awiya's sister and the Prophet (S) 's wife, had brought this bloody dress See Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 291

240. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. IV, p. 62; Balaghat al-Nisa', p. 139; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. VI, p. 90

241. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 165

242. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1289

243. Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. IV, p. 169; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IV, p. 57; al-Hayat As-Siyasiya li l-Imam al-Hasan(a), p. 146, from, al-Nasayih al-Kafiya, p. 20; Buhrani, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. V, p. 81

244. Nahj al-Balaghah, letter 28

245. Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. IV, p. 212

246. al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. 154; al-Hayat As-Siyasiya li l-Imam al-Hasan(a), p. 147, from, various sources

247. Waq'at Siffin, p. 368; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 131; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VIII, p. 44; al-Ghadir, vol. IX, p. 151

248. Waq'at Siffin, p. 187; al-Ghadir, vol. IX, p. 151; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. 270

249. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XVI, p. 155

250. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 19

251. al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. 26
252. al-Ghadir, vol. IX, pp 149-150; vol. X, p. 333; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 223; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV, p. 334; Tadhkirat al-Khawas, pp 85,201; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 353
253. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 287
254. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 287
255. al-Ma'rifa wal-Tarikh, vol. I, p. 254; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1153
256. Sayyid Ra□i, al-Khasa'is, p. 59
257. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp 54 -55
258. al-Kamil fil-Adab, vol. I, p. 22
259. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 132
260. al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. 611; 'Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. III, p. 92
261. Musnad Ahmad, vol. I, p. 100
262. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1043
263. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 165; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 33
264. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 61
265. Ibid, p. V, p. 26
266. Subhi, Nahj al-Balaghah, p. 358
267. al-Jamal, p. 417
268. 'Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. II, p. 207
269. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 101; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 82
270. al-Ghadir, vol. IX, p. 29; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 12633 ما امرت ولانهيت ولاسرني ولا ساءني قتل عثمان I neither ordered nor hindered anyone, he neither respected me nor did wrong to me
271. al-Muwaffaqiyyat, vol. XIII; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IX, p. 17
272. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. 274; al-Aghani, vol. VI, p. 233; 'Abd, Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 27
273. Nahj al-Balaghah, letter 1
274. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 164
275. al-Fakhri, p. 98
276. Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. IV, p. 27
277. Usd al-Ghaba, vol. IV, p. 100 he was martyred by Mu'awiya's agents in 50 A H and his head was sent to Syria His tomb was made by Hamdaniyan in Musil Thereafter, an ample clash befell between Shi'ite Muslims and 'Uthmanids
278. Musnad Abi Dawud, vol. I, p. 297; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 964
279. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1216
280. Ibid, vol. III, p. 1206
281. Ibid, vol. III, p. 1218
282. Ibid, vol. III, p. 1211
283. al-Kamil fil-Adab, vol. III, p. 38; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 104
284. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 350
285. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. 63; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 62
286. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 89
287. Ibid, vol. V, p. 81
288. Waq'at Siffin, p. 29
289. Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. XV, p. 228; see Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 100
290. Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. XV, p. 229
291. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1285
292. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 82; Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. I, p. 415
293. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1202
294. Ibid, vol. III, pp 1219-1223
295. Ibid, vol. III, p. 1313

296. Waq‘at Siffin, pp 201–202
297. Tarikh al–Madinat al–Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1111
298. Ibid, vol. III, p. 1155
299. Ibid, vol. III, p. 1121
300. Ibid, vol. III, pp 1135–1137
301. Tarikh al–Madinat al–Munawwara, pp 1137–1140
302. Ibid, vol. III, pp 1142–1143
303. Ibid, vol. III, pp 1150–1151, 1155
304. Tarikh al–Madinat al–Munawwara, vol. III, pp 1159–1161; Ibn Abi al–Hadid, Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, vol. I, p. 229; al–Ghadir, vol. IX, p. 180
305. al–Imamah wal–Siyasah, vol. I, p. 61 Tabaqat al–Kubra, vol. III, p. 66
306. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 170, see Tarikh al–Islam, ‘Ahd al–khulafa’ al–rashidin, p. 445
307. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 567, num 1445 Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 170 Tabaqat al–Kubra, vol. III, p. 66
308. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 567 num 1446
309. Tathbit Dala’il al–Nubuwwa, p. 573
310. al–Gharat, p. 104
311. Tabaqat al–Kubra, vol. III, pp 72–73; Tarikh Ibn KhayyaT, p. 170; al–Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba,vol. VII, p. 441, 514; Tarikh al–Islam, ‘Ahd al–khulafa’ al–rashidin, p. 446; see Tarikh al–Madinat al–Munawwara, vol. II, p. 1286
312. Tarikh al–Madinat al–Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1166; al–Imamah wal–Siyasah, vol. I, pp 54–56; al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 217
313. Ibid, vol. III, p. 1172
314. Ibid, vol. III, p. 1231
315. Ma‘rifat As–Sahaba, vol. I, p. 253; Tarikh al–Madinat al–Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1308
316. Ma‘rifat As–Sahaba, vol. I, p. 259
317. Tarikh al–Madinat al–Munawwara, vol. III, p. 1166
318. al–Kamil fil–Tarikh, vol. III, pp 92 – 93
319. Tarikh al–Ya’qubi, vol. II, pp 153 – 154; al–Ma‘arif, p. 361
320. ‘Abd al–Razzaq, al–Musannaf, vol. V, p. 474, vol. VI, pp 51–54; Tabaqat al–Kubra, vol. III, p. 345
321. Tabaqat al–Kubra, vol. IV, pp 349 – 350
322. ‘Umar’s first measure was to return Arab captives, he said, أول فعل عمر رد سبايا العرب قال: كرهت أن يسير سنة على العرب What ‘Umar did first was to expatriate ‘Umar’s captives saying, “I am happy! This becomes a tradition degrading Arabs Tarikh al–Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 139; ‘Abd al–Razzaq, al–Musannaf, vol. VII, p. 380
323. al–Kamil fil–Tarikh, vol. II, p. 382
324. Abu ‘Ubayd, al–Amwal, p. 133; Futuh al–Buldan, p. 104
325. Rabi‘ al–Abrar,vol. I, p. 796; ‘Abd al–Razzaq, al–Musannaf, vol. V, pp 496– 497; Tarikh Jurjan, p. 486
326. Hayat sahaba, vol. II, p. 802
327. Futuh al–Buldan, pp 185–186; ‘Abd al–Razzaq, al–Musannaf,vol. VI, p. 99, al–Kharaj, p. 221
328. Tabaqat al–Kubra, vol. IV, pp 337 – 339; ‘Abd al–Razzaq, al–Musannaf,vol. I, p. 325
329. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. I,p. 2741; Imtidad al–’Arab, p. 22
330. Imtidad al–’Arab, p. 22
331. ‘Abd al–Razzaq, al–Musannaf,vol. XI, p. 439; Hayat sahaba,vol. II, p. 150
332. ‘Uyun al–Akhbar, vol. I, p. 230; see al–Mahasin wal–Masawi, vol. II, p. 227
333. Hilyat al–Awliya’, vol. I, p. 186; LuTf al–tadbir, p. 199; al–Zuhd wal–Raqa’iq, Juz’ Nu‘aym Ibn Hammad, p. 52
334. Tabaqat al–Kubra, vol. IV, p. 160
335. al–Bayan wal–Tabyin,vol. II, p. 250
336. al–Fitnat al–Kubra, p. 72
337. Imtidad al–’Arab, p. 26
338. Futuh al–Buldan, p. 329; Imtidad al–’Arab, p. 23
339. al–Buldan, p. 269

340. Dr Salih al-'Ali, in "Imtidad al-'Arab fi Sadr al-Islam", studied the Arabs' jouney and their settlement in cities of Iran based on Ya'qubi's source and other books
341. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, pp 332-333
342. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VIII, p. 111
343. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 989
344. Sunnan al-Darimi, introduction, section 46
345. 'Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. I, pp 314 -315
346. Hayat sahaba, vol. II, p. 87
347. Ibn Juzi, al-Adhkiya', p. 102
348. al-Fitnat al-Kubra, pp 68-85-86
349. Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. I pp 199, 200, 207, 272, 228, 229; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VII, pp 41-43
350. See ad-Durr al-Manthur, vol. III, p. 232
351. al-Munammaq, pp 367-395
352. Ibid, p. 397
353. al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 178- 179; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 237; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 149; Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. II, p. 1096
354. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 150
355. Ya'qubi says, "Mu'awiya by dint of money made the opponents quiet, sometimes he was sent to the war especially the front " Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 238
356. al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. 87
357. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XII, p. 96
358. Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. I, p. 189

[1] [1]
SHARES

Imam 'Ali's Imamate

Imam 'Ali alongside the Prophet

In the first version of the book, we proportionately and briefly discussed about Imam 'Ali (a)'s role in the changes of Prophet's significant time. Imam's position and his reliability to the Messenger (S) is briefly discussed. Imam 'Ali (a) had the honor to be brought up in the house of Messenger (S).1

In this regard, a great deal of attractive narrations collected by Ibn Abi al-Hadid exist. Among them, in a narration by Zayd Ibn 'Ali Ibn Husayn, he said that in that time the Messenger made meat and date soft by putting it in his mouth for being easily eaten and then it was put in Imam 'Ali's mouth.2 Imam 'Ali (a) was the first one who believed in the Messenger (S) due to this kinship.

He said, "No one but the Messenger took me the lead in prayer."3

Since, in this regard, a great deal of witnesses and evidence exists; therefore, there is no room for

doubts of equitable people. Concerning Imam's embrace Islam, it is reportedly said that he was invited by the Messenger (S) to embrace Islam and this indicates Imam's mental maturity.[4]
Mas'udi says, “Some said that Imam in the time of his embrace Islam was not old enough so he was only an infant in that time.”[5]

The prophet truly knew the value of devoted companions, while Imam's self-sacrifice in all the fields was observed, hoe the prophet can consider him like the others. This triggered that in every right time, Imam's reliability and value was expresses to people through the prophet's remarks about Imam's features and characteristics.

These are the issues available to us in reliable sources of history and hadith under the title of Imam's virtues. Later on when in second century, the books of hadith were compiled, their compilers and narrators were to the most part influenced by tendencies of 'Uthman's followers who couldn't tolerate any virtue for Imam.

Additionally what the Umayyads and 'Uthman supporters in the Umayya time made about caliphs and companion defenders was narrated. Some of these fakes ascribed to caliphs were, in essence, Imam's virtues. These distortions came to a deadlock for Imam's narrated virtues and their narrators were respectively serious and reliable to be remained in books. Narrators of Kufa, in this regard, played a significant role in keeping these virtues.

Ahmad Ibn Hanbal said, ”'Ali is the one for whom a great deal of true virtues is said.”[6]
He said, [7] **إن ابن أبي طالب لا يقاس به أحد** “No noe deserves being compared to 'Ali.”

Among these virtues, some narrations for whose correctness there is no doubt can be mentioned. Significance of some is to the extent that through them Imam's personality in the Messenger's eyes can be imagined.

Abu Sa'id Khudri said,

> كان لعلي من النبي (ص) دخلة ليست لأحد وكان للنبي (ص) من علي دخلة ليست لأحد غيره فكانت دخلة النبي (ص) من علي ان النبي (ص) كان يدخل عليهم كل يوم

“No one met the prophet more than 'Ali, so did the Prophet. The Prophet's meeting was to come up to them every day.”[8]

Also Zayd Ibn Thabit said to Imam, [9] **أنت من رسول الله (ص) بالمكان الذي لا يعدله أحد** “No one owns thy dignity in front of the Messenger (S).”

These words were said by Zayd when he used to tenaciously support 'Uthman. This caused Imam to know the Prophet (S) as long as none of the other companions did so.[10] One evidence indicating the

Prophet's heed to Imam was that he married Fatima (S), world selected women, to him. Abu Bakr and 'Umar had popped the question to Fatima before but they were rejected by the Prophet.

But Imam (a) proposing marriage to Fatima was accepted and said, [11]**لست بدجال** "I'm not deceiver." "Fatima is yours."

Having married Fatima, Imam (a) was asked to find a house but it was far from the Prophet's. And this was done through Harith Ibn Nu'man's devotion and leaving his house for 'Ali.[12]

Perhaps due to such a reason, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar said, "For knowing 'Ali's status to the prophet, you'd better see location of his house to that of the prophet."[13]

In the course of the brotherhood, the Messenger selected 'Ali (a) as his "brother".[14] When the Messenger made sermon, Imam 'Ali (a) used to repeat his remarks in a farther distance.[15] And in the time of the Prophet's anger, no one but 'Ali (a) dared to talk to him.[16] People made 'Ali (a) as their mediator in solving their problems.[17]

Quoting 'Ayisha, the Sunnites said, "Fatima among the women and 'Ali among the men were the most beloved to the Messenger." [18]

In Manzalat tradition which is one of the most definite merits of Imam, the Messenger regarded his relationship with 'Ali (a) as that of Moses with Aaron.[19] In case of any problem, when someone was to be sent for settling things, The Messenger sent 'Ali (a).[20]

Once Imam was asked, why is it that you quote traditions more than the other companions? He answered,

" لأني كنت إذا سألته أنبأني وإذا سكتّ ابتدأني

Because When I asked the Messenger a question, He taught me the knowledge and when I kept silent, he started to speak himself."[21]

Imam used to say, I faced nothing unknown unless I asked of the Messenger about it and committed the answer to my memory[22]. I memorized everything he said and never forgot anything.[23] In a letter he wrote,

" وأنا من رسول الله كالصنو من الصنو والذراع من العضد

My relation with the Messenger is that of one branch with another or of the wrist with the arm."[24]

He said, "I followed the Messenger just as a baby camel follows its mother."[25]

إني لم أردّ على الله ولا على رسوله ساعة قطّ

"I never disobeyed God or his Messenger at all."[26]

Concerning the declaration of aquittance, God told His Messenger, This message must be delivered either by you or someone on behalf of you. That is why he made Abu Bakr return midway and handed the message to Imam 'Ali so that it might be read on "Greater Pilgrimage".[27] There are beautiful sentences, in Qasi'a sermon, about Imam's intimacy with the Messenger. Here are some of his remarks,

"You know my position of close kinship and special relationship with the Prophet. From the very beginning of my life he took me in his lap and kept me embraced to his chest. He used to lay me beside him in his bed, bring his body close to mine and make me smell his fragrance. He used to feed me with his hands often chewing something for me. He never heard me lying nor did he see me doing something wrong. When he was weaned, God appointed his greatest angel to be with him day and night so that he might cover the paths of greatness and avail himself of the worldly virtues.

And I used to follow him like a young camel following in the footprints of its mother. Every day he showed me in the form of a banner some of his high traits and commanded me to follow them. Every year he used to go in seclusion in Hara'.I saw him and no one did so but me. In those days, Islam was the religion of Holy Prophet and his wife, Khadija exclusively. I was the third of the trio. I beheld the divine light of revelation and prophethood and smelled the heavenly fragrance of messengership."[28]

Being on such intimate terms with the Messenger, Imam said, "By God, there is no verse revealed unless I know about what and where in it was sent.[29] According to Ibn 'Abbas, no verse was sent by God unless 'Ali (a) was Amir and noble. God reproved Muhammad's companions but always spoke highly of 'Ali (a).[30]

Regarding those who wondered at 'Ali (a) being the divider of Heaven and Hell, Ahmad Ibn Hanbal said, "Hasn't this been narrated that the Messenger told 'Ali (a), **لا يحبك إلا مؤمن ولا يبغضك إلا منافق** "Only the believer loes thee and only the hypocrite loathes thee." "Yes", they said. Continued he, "As the believer abides in the heaven and the hypocrite abides in the Hell, 'Ali (a) is the divider of the Heaven and the Hell."[31]

'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz used to say, "If this ignorant people were informed of what we knew about 'Ali (a), not two of them would obey us."[32]

As Salman states, "Should 'Ali (a) leave you, there would remain nobody to inform you of the prophet's

secrets."[33] How right Ibn Abi al-Hadid is to say, "No one helped the Prophet as much as Abu Talib and his sons,'Ali (a) and Ja'far did."[34]Once somebody complained to the Prophet about 'Ali (a) and he stated three times, Leave 'Ali (a) alone.[35]

فإن علياً مني وأنا منه وهو ولي كل مومن

"'Ali is from me and I am from him; he is guardian of every faithful."

At the night of immigration, 'Ali (a) saved prophet's life [36]. In the battle of Badr 30 polytheists were put to death by him. In the battle of Uhud, where many escaped the battle, he remained with prophet and saved his life. One stroke of 'Ali's sword inflicted on 'Amr Ibn 'Abdiwad in Khandaq was considered by the Prophet to be worth more than the worship of Jinn and mankind. This blow put the enemy to rout.[37] In most battles, Imam was the flag bearer of Muslim's army.[38]

Undoubtedly, Imam's knowledge had no parallel in Prophet's companions. This is an issue cited by the prophet and his companions, and testified by history.

This word of the Messenger, **انا مدينه العلم وعلي بابها** " I am the city of knowledge and 'Ali (a) is its door," bears abundant evidence of this. Uttered on the pulpit, Imam 's remark, **سلوني قبل ان تفقدوني** "Ask me before you miss me,"[39] was also indicative of the superiority of his knowledge. This claim, according to Sa'id Ibn Musayyib, was laid by no one but Imam.[40]

The Prophet (S) charged him with the duty of teaching ablution and tradition to people.[41] 'Ayisha, whose animosity toward Fatima and 'Ali (a) dated back to prophet's time, said, [42] **علي أعلم الناس بالسنة** "'Ali is most conscious of Sunna."

According to one of the well-known successors called 'Ata', 'Ali is the most impoverished one among the Prophet's companions.[43]

'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz also called him the most devout of the companions.[44] Hundreds of pages can be written about Imam's virtues but this amount will suffice our book which is a short review of Islam's history.

Imam 'Ali and Caliphs

If it is true to assume that at Messenger's time, Muhajirun were of two different political fronts and some were trying to win the caliphate, then one must accept that the relations between Imam and Sheikhs were rather strained.

Reports say nothing to prove their disputes, but nor does any reminiscence show their friendship. On 'Ayisha's own confession, her being at enmity with Imam went back to Prophet's time and this can be

considered as bearing witness to the differences between the families of 'Ali and Abu Bakr.

It has been said that when Fatima passed away, all Messenger's wives attended the Hashimites mourning ceremony except for 'Ayisha who feigning illness, didn't participate and even was told to be expressing joy of that.45

Anyway, Immediately after Abu Bakr's caliphacy and Imam's insistence on proving his rightfulness, unfriendly relations between them were developed. Attacking Imam's house, Fatima's being in sulk as well as not permitting Sheikhs to attend Imam's funeral,46 all aggravated the differences, following that, Imam secluded and went on with his own life.

The administration expected Imam, in addition to taking the oath of allegiance, to refrain from assertion of rightfulness and embark on consolidating their authoritative realm while having swords in hand but

He refused to do so. Naturally, adopting such a position Imam was to be humiliated by the administration in front of people. This policy could result in Imam's further solitude.

Cursing Quraysh, Imam said,"Oh God, I seek your help against the Quraysh and those supporting them." **فإنهم قطعو رحمي وصغروا عظيم منزلتي وأجمعوا على منازعتي أمراً هو لي** " They have cut asunder my kinship,lowered my high position and joined together to contest the right to which I was entitled."47

Continues he, "I looked around but found no one to shield and help me except the members of my family. I refrained from fighting them to death, so I overlooked with grieved eyes"48

This remark refers to Caliphs' policy of humiliating Imam. In sermon of Shiqshiqiyya, referring to the consultation Imam states, "When he ('Umar) was due to die, he selected a group of candidates and included me among them. Oh, good Heavens! What had I to do with this consultation? I wonder why they never equaled me to the first of them but to these people while I was as competent as him."49

It was intolerable for Imam to be among Talha, Zubayr and 'Uthman who held him in contempt. Strange to say, 'Umar blamed all 6 men chosen by him for some wrongdoings. What Imam was blamed for, in this regard, was extremely unfounded and humiliating. He was blamed for being kind of a joker, **فيه دعابة**50. Later, based on this very remark of 'Umar, Mu'awiya51 and 'Amr Ibn 'As told about Imam, **فيه تلعابة** 52 "He is a humorous man."

Seroiusly rejecting this accusation laid against him by 'Amr Ibn 'As, Imam in fact rejected 'Umar's remark. 53 The life of Imam who was secluded in Medina caused him to remain unknown. The time went by fast, and the Imam, by himself, in Medina, particularly among the old companions of Prophet (S) seemed as acquaintance. Yet, no one knew Imam in Iraq and Damascus. Just a few Yemeni tribes seeing him since his few-month-long trip to Yemen were acquaintance to him.

Jundab Ibn 'Abd Allah said, "Once after swearing (on oath of) allegiance to 'Uthman I went to Iraq, therein I quoted 'Ali's virtues for the people. The best answer I heard from the people was, "Discard

these remarks. Think of something of your benefit."

I answered, "These issues are beneficial for both of us." Yet, after my statement, he was to stand up and leave.[54]

According to Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Muhammad Ibn Sulayman's interpretation was that one of the factors leading to discard in 'Uthman's era was the constitution of council. For, each member of the council had serious aspiration for caliphate. Typically, Talha was among those who looked forward to caliphate.

Besides, Zubayr not only helped him but also regarded himself as deserving of governing. Their hope for the caliphate was more than that of Imam 'Ali (a). Inasmuch as the two Sheikhs discredited him and held him in low esteem.

Hence, he was forgotten. Most of those knowing his virtues had been died at the time of the Prophet (S), and a new generation was found that deemed him the same as other Muslims. What merely left among his honors was that he is the cousin of the Prophet (S), his daughter's husband and his grandchildren's father. The remainder of facts was forgotten. Quraysh also felt such a hatred for him that was never felt for anyone. To the same extent, Quraysh loved Talha and Zubayr, since there was no reason for abhorring them.[55]

Ibn Abi al-Hadid himself, having pointed out that the people in Siffin were waiting to regard 'Ammar's presence in a front as the rightfulness of that front, said, "How surprising the peoples are! Since they accept 'Ammar as the criterion of truth and error; however, they don't regard the very 'Ali (a) as a criterion about whom the Prophet (S) has cited the hadith of sainthood and also said, **لا يحبك إلا مؤمن ولا يبغضك إلا منافق** " Only the believer loves thee, and only the hypocrite loathes thee."

This is because all Quraysh tried to, from the very beginning, cover his virtues, remove public memory from him, ruin his features and eliminate his high status in the hearts of people.[56] Ibn Abi al-Hadid nicely analyzes the reasons behind the Quraysh's grudge against Imam 'Ali (a).[57]

Once Imam was asked:"Do you think if the Messenger (S) had a mature son, Arabs would hand the governorship over to him?"

Imam responded: "If he had done something different from what I did, he would have been killed." Arabs hated what Muhammad (S) did and felt envious of what God had granted him... they from that time attempted to disentitle Ahl al-Bayt after his departure. Quraysh found his name a means of domination and ladder of promotion and if other wise, they never worshipped God even one day after him and would become apostate.

A while after, conquests, come one after another, no hunger and poverty remained after starvation and destitution. This led to popularity of Islam and they kept religion in their many a heart because, however, truth brought this about. Afterwards, these conquests were attributed to strategy and thought of emirs.

Among them, some were magnified and some others were forgotten,

> فكنا ممن خمل ذكره وخبت ناره وانقطع صوته وصيته، حتى أكل الدهر علينا وشرب، ومضت السنون والاحقاب بما فيها، ومات كثير ممن يعرف ونشأ كثير ممن لا يعرف "

We were from someone whose memory was last whose luminosity was cut and whose outcry was stopped as if time swallowed us. Years passed this way, many known figures were dead and those unknown came into stage.

Under these conditions, what curled the son's son do? You know that the Messenger (S) never kept me close to himself for his kinship, with me but he did it in time of Jihad ad and advice.[58] It was just for the same reason of Imam being forgotten in Muslim community he, in his caliphate time, tried to use every chase to introduce himself and speak about his efforts for Islam in the Messenger's time.[59]

Imam held cold relationship with Abu Bakr with no seemingly left memory. In his contact with 'Umar, Imam's memories are many available, that mainly relied upon his judiciary assistance to 'Umar as well as response to some consultations discussed earlier. 'Umar refused to blatantly slander Imam and probably Imam did so.

But 'Uthman was different and never did he bear Imam's ideas and once he told Imam:"You are not better than Marwan Ibn Hakam to me?"[60]

'Abbas asked 'Uthman to stand by Imam.

'Uthman said:"What I first fell you is that if 'Ali wants, no one stands dearer to me than him.[61] Of course, Imam was unwilling to overlook deviations for his friendship with him. For this, Imam's relationship with 'Uthman was partly closer and partly harsher."[62]

Once an Ansari woman had a quarrel with one of the Hashimites women and when she was acquitted, she was told by 'Uthman, "This is your cousin, 'Ali's decision!"[63]

Opposition to government was difficult for Imam. He attempted, in early years, to resort to seclusion to avoid faring the government. Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada was a good experiment. He failed to pay allegiance and immediately in time of caliph I or II, he was told to have been killed by Jinns. Previously mention was made from some sources that his murder had been politically planned.[64]

According to Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Abu Ja'far Naqib (Yahya Ibn Abi Zayd) was asked:"I am amazed how 'Ali survived this long after the Messenger's demise, from all Quraysh's vengeance."
Abu Ja'far said:"Had he not belittled and isolated himself, he might have been killed."

He let himself off memories and became engaged in worshipping, Qur'an reading and prayer, leaving his first state of mind and sword as if he were like a sinner who had repented, probing the earth and living

on the mountains like a monk. He survived because he obeyed rulers of the time; other wise he would have been killed".

He then refers to Khalid's action to kill Imam.[65] Mu'min al-Taq also believe that Imam made no political effort in this time because he feared being murdered by jinns (like Sa'd).[66]

Of course, this did not mean that Imam never tried to use chances to take back his rights. From the very outset, he refused to swear allegiance for a few months.[67] Further, from early times, he joined his family to homes of Ansar to revert back his rights. He insisted so much that he was blamed for having a greedy eye on caliphate.

Imam quoting someone said:"O son of Abu Talib! You raise a greed on this!

He said:"No, by God, you are greedier than I am. You are for from the Messenger (S) and I'm closer to him. I asked for the right I possessed, but you refrain me from having it".[68]

Imam made reasoning of this kind a lot,

يا معشر قريش! إنا أهل البيت أحق بهذا الامر منكم، أما كان فينا من يقرء القرآن ويعرف السنّة ويدين بدين الحق؟

O Quraysh people! We, Ahl al-Bayt deserve more than you in caliphate! Are there no people among us who read Qur'an and follow Sunna and true religion."[69]

On Imam's evaluating successorship of three caliphs, it is to be said that he was in no time free to offer his appraisal of Sheikhs. Unlike 'Uthman, what he believed, he found a chance to retell it. It was why his troops in Kufa were included of those, except a few, had approved of Sheikhs and he could not talk freely about them. Once he found a chance to talk some part of his sufferings but he was stopped talking. Upon 'Abbas's insistence, he kept on talking, **تلك شقشقة هدرت** " No, Ibn 'Abbas! What you heard was flame of grief that rose."[70]

Imam with all caution was never prepared to adopt conditions of 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf for caliphate during council of caliphate. Ibn'Awf conditioned that if Imam were willing to act upon conduct of Sheikhs, he would place him caliph.
Imam said:"I would act according to my Ijtihad".

Imam openly rejected conduct of Sheikhs and believed that it was in the most part against conduct of the Messenger (S) and based on improper Ijtihad. Imam says he has obeyed Abu Bakr in affairs he obeyed God.[71] Imam's words and his approach here show that he never admired past manners.
In later times, Mu'awiya wrote to Imam that he felt envious of early caliphs and rebelled against them!

Imam wrote back, "you think I am against them an dwant to take revenge. If so, why are you worried to be inquired? You are not blamed... and you said you found me like a camel harnessed to swear

allegiance. By God, you wanted to scold, praise and scandalize but you're scandalized yourself. What belittles a Muslim who is oppressed and assured of his religion. His certainty is strong and his hesitation is aside? … And I never apologize for caviling 'Uthman because of innovations.[72]

Despite Imam's explicit criticism, particularly his attitude in council, one cannot refer to Imam's familial relationships with 'Umar, or 'Uthman for his belief in their proper rule. Even his praise of some caliphs compared to others cannot be a reason for his basic approval of them.

When he learned that he could not face the party and a campaign waged is not beneficial to Islam, he chose to compromise. Imam justified his allegiance to Abu Bakr and his approval according to Muhajir and Ansar as to a necessity and preservation of unity among Muslims.[73]

Imam referred to Aaron's speech in front of Moses(a) for justifying his silence, Aaron said,

إِنِّي خَشِيتُ أَنْ تَقُولَ فَرَّقْتَ بَيْنَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ.

“I feared lest thou shouldst say: Thou hast caused division among the Children of Israel.”[74]

Imam said of Saqifa,

“ بل عرفت أنّ حقي هو المأخوذ وقد تركته لهم، تجاوز الله عنهم

When I learned I am withdrawn with my rights, I left to them, may God punish them.”[75]

In the past, Sunnis never accepted that Ahl al-Bayt found themselves more qualified for caliphate than others, that is early caliphs. Yet, now somewhat broad-minded factions of Sunnis admit that 'Ali (a) simply pledged allegiance just for unison with Abu Bakr while knowing himself rightful for caliphate.[76]

Anyway, Imam's isolated life in that society indicates that both Imam and caliphs knew they can not treat others in such a way that it might mean confirmation of their view, particularly about caliphate. Meanwhile, frequenting to the mosque and even establishing familial links like 'Umar's marriage to Umm Kulthum had been usual.

This marriage was insisted by 'Umar and Imam agreed in spite of his early opposition. Not to mention, Imam married Abu Bakr's wife, that is Asma', daughter of 'Umays to himself after Abu Bakr died and brought up Muhammad, Abu Bakr's son in his house.

Shi‘ism During Imam’s Caliphate

Muslims' disagreements over caliphacy as well as other fields were dealt with in previous parts in detail. Now in the light of carrying out more precise researches, it is not fair of anyone to deny the existence of the 'Alawites and Quraysh parties in Messenger's time let alone denying it from Saqifa on. al-Duri approves the two parties being present earlier than Saqifa.[77]

This political disagreement which, from the very beginning, had a religious root, fomented the religious differences. For example, it was of great importance that initially, some companions considered merely Qur'an as proof.

In other words, not deeming the decrees of prophet as proof and prohibiting people from writing and quoting traditions did influence theology.'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf's laying it down that caliphate will be turned over to anyone accepting to act according to the conduct of Sheikhs, and Imam's stating that he will act only in accordance with his own individual reasoning, indicate the aggravation of religious differences.

As long as 'Umar was in power, the majority of people, excluding Imam's supporters, believed in rulership.

But when 'Uthman, because of heretical religious deeds, was denied by a large number of companions, the problematic question was it that whose words should people regard as the religion and whom should they imitate.

Imam 'Ali replaced 'Uthman. In the very beginning he was not accepted by the people of Damascus. Little by little, though temporarily, Basra went a different way as well. In Medina proper, though few, some companions balked at obeying or swearing allegiance to Imam.

Apart from political issues, the important case was elucidating the religion especially in the case of differences or novel matters. Here two political and naturally religious parties began to emerge. The first group consisted of those having accepted Imam and deeming it necessary to obey him. The second group, motivated by 'Uthman's oppressedness, didn't accept Imam's leadership and opposed him.

In this regard, Apostates and Deviators had no difference. At this point two terms, religious and political, were coined "'Ali's Shi'a and 'Uthman's Shi'a" were gradually distinguished as respectively “Shi'a or al-Shi'a” and “Uthmani or al-’Uthmaniyya”.

Generally “Shi'a” was in opposition to “Uthmani”. But this title was not applicable to all individuals. There were some Shi'ite Muslims who were called so merely because they opposed 'Uthman or stood for Imam as the Shi'istically legitimate caliph.

There were also some who regarded Imam as basically appointed by the Messenger and believed in a

kind of divine right for his leadership.

Of course this doesn't necessarily mean that they should have refrained to cooperate with the early caliphs. Conditions being so, Imam himself had kept silent for Muslim interests and had repeatedly notified this point. What should be told about 'Uthmanids is that upholding the idea of Imam's illegitimacy, the Umayyads managed to dominate this view over a great part of Muslim community.

But except for Basra, this opinion was not favored in Iraq. By contrast, in every appropriate accasion, the belief in 'Alawi's rightfulness emerged in the field of politics. Hijaz also did not fully surrender to the Umayyads, but tried to maintain another idea, content with Sheikhs. During the first to third century, religious and political changes triggered a great transition in that classification.

Now, the matter related to our discussion is to show that the group known to us as Shi'ite Muslims did believe in 'Ali's divine designation. After swearing allegiance to 'Ali, Khuzayma Ibn Thabit said," We chose one whom God chose for us."[78]

In response to 'Umar who said, "Quraysh refrained from choosing 'Ali because they abominated both prophethood and caliphate being in my family."

Ibn 'Abbas replied, "They abominated what God had sent down."[79]

Opposing Mu'awiya, Darimiyya Hajuniyya said,

> واليت عليًا على حبّه المساكين وإعطائه أهل السبيل وفقهه في الدين وبذله الحق من نفسه وما عقد له رسول الله من الولاية "

He loved 'Ali because the Messenger confined the sainthood to him."[80]

According to Tabari, once 'Ali returned to Kufa from Siffin and Kharijites parted with him, The Shi'ite Muslims remained with him saying that they are charged with another allegiance, **نحن أولياء من واليت وأعداء من عاديت** "We are amiable to your friends and opposed to your enemies."[81]

According to Iskafi, the majority of people, based on the Book and tradition, and Imam's Shi'ite Muslims, on being amiable to the friends and enemies with the enemies, swore allegiance to 'Ali.[82]

The emphasis on such an allegiance as the second allegiance and its content implies that allegiance–swearers tended toward Shi'a. In the original tradition, the emphasis is put on the allegiance of "'Ali's Shi'a".

Abu Dharr, passed away at 'Uthman's time, called people toward the People of House and commemorated Prophet's family this way,

ايها الناس! إن آل محمد هم الأسرة من نوح والآل من إبراهيم والصفوة والسلالة من إسماعيل والعترة الطيبة الهادية من محمد، فأنزلوا آل محمد بمنزلة الرأس من الجسد بل بمنزلة العينين من الرأس فانهم منكم كالسماء المرفوعة وكالجبال المنصوبة والشمس الضاحية وكالشجرة الزيتونة اضاء زيتها وبورك زندها "

The family of Muhammad (S), is the family of Noah and Ibraham and the selected progeny of Isma'il and saint posterity. Regard them as the head attached to body and the eyes attached to head, the high sky, firm mountains, shining sun and olive tree." Added he**,** "Muhammad (S) is the heir of Adam, other prophets are not superior to him and 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib is the legatee of him and the heir of his knowledge."

Addressing people he said," If you, the folk astounded after the Prophet had preferred whom God had preferred, deferred whom God had deferred and confined sainthood and heritage to the People of the House, you would have benefited from all blessings."[83]

Elsewhere Abu Dharr has been quoted, "Oh, people! In case of being involved in prospective seditions, resort to Imam 'Ali and the Book.[84]When he was to be exiled to Raba□a and Imam and his children went to see him off, having a look at Imam, Abu Dharr said, seeing you and your children reminds me of what Prophet told about you and makes me cry.[85]

Expressing regret for people not benefiting from Imam while he lives, Salman said," I swear by God, after him, no one will inform you of the secrets of your Prophet."

Quoting the Messenger of God, Miqdad said, "knowing the family of Muhammad (S) is the released from fire, loving his family is the pass from the Path and sainthood of his family is the security from chastisement.[86]

'Ammar also narrated a tradition from the Messenger, I advice the one believing in God and admitting me with the guardianship of 'Ali, son of Abi Talib, "Anyone loving 'Ali, loves me and anyone loving me, loves God."[87]

There are lots of these quotations from Abu Dharr, Salman, 'Ammar, Miqdad indicating their Shi'istic beliefs. Abu Hatim Razi puts the definition of "Shi'a" this way," This is the title of those who loved 'Ali during the Messenger's time, for instance, Salman, Abu Dharr, Miqdad Ibn Aswad, 'Ammar Ibn Yasir and etc.

Commenting on these four, The Messenger stated, "The Heaven looks forward to four men, Salman, Abu Dharr, Miqdad and 'Ammar.[88]

Describing 'Ali, Umm Sanan, the daughter of Khaythama Ibn Kharasha, composed this,

قدكنت بعد محمد خلفاً لنا أوصى إليك بنا فكنت وفيا

“You are Muhammad's remainder to us, He made his will to thee about us and thou art the faithful.”89

Inciting 'Ali's troops at Siffin,Umm al-Khayr said,

هلموا رحمكم الله إلى الإمام العدل والتقي الوفي والصديق الوصي

“May God bless you. Hasten toward the sincere, pious and just successor.”90

The point that Imam 'Ali is regarded by these and many of his companions as “the Successor”, shows that they imagined him far beyond a caliph who has gained the caliphacy through public allegiance.

The sources contain lots of poems indicating the use of this comment by Hujr Ibn 'Adi, Ibn Tayyihan, Ibn 'Ijlan and other Shi'ites companions of Imam.91

Inviting the people to swear allegiance to 'Ali, Malik Ashtar stated, **هذا وصيّ الأوصياء ووارث علم الأنبياء** “ O people! He is “the successor of the successors” and “The heir of Prophets' knowledge.”92

In Siffin, he composed this,

من رآى عزة الوصيّ عليّ إنه في دجى الحنادس نور

“Everyone knows 'Ali, the chief successor, he is the very man who illuminates dark night.”93
Lamenting over 'Ali's martyrdom, Umm 'Irban said,

وكنا قبل مقتله بخير نرى مولى رسول الله فينا

“We had a good life before he was killed because we stayed with the Messenger (S).”94

A lot of poems composed by the Messenger's companions some of which were 'Ali's supporters, interpret Ghadir tradition as sainthood and leadership. For instance, the poems of Qays Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada, Hassan Ibn Thabit as well as Imam 'Ali himself.95 Qays Ibn Sa'd composed this about Ghadir:

وعـليّ إمامـنا وإمـام لسـوانا أتى به التنـزيل

يوم قال النبي من كنت مولا ه فهذا مولاه خطب جليل

انّ ما قاله النبيّ على الأمـ ة حتم ما فيـه قال وقيل

”'Ali is our Imam and everyone's, he is the one who has introduced Qur'an
It was on a great day when the Prophet (S) said, ”'Ali is the lord of whomever I am his lord”
What the Prophet (S) said to Umma ends up all babbles”[96]

Hassan Ibn Thabit also composed this one about the same,

يناديهم يوم الغدير نبيهم بخـم واسمع بالرسول مناديا

فقال له قم يا علي فانني جعلتك من بعدي اماما وهاديا

“Their Prophet called them to obey God at Ghadir Khum, a great herald whose call must be heard
'Ali was told, “O rise up! For I placed thee an Imam after myself.”[97]

The combination of these quotations indicates the recognition of 'Ali as an Imam introduced by the Messenger. They regarded Imam's rightfulness in his legation on the part of Messenger and asked the others to follow him as the legatee of the Messenger.

According to Ibn Tayyihan, verily our Imam and guardian, is the legatee of the Messenger.

Ibn 'Ijlan used to say, “How possibly can we separate while the guardian is our Imam.”[98]
According to Hujr, the son of 'Adi, he is the guardian after the Messenger, and the prophet consented to his being the legatee.[99]

A newly converted man called Zadan Farrukh came upon Kharijites on his way. They asked him about 'Ali, he said, “The Commander of the Faithful is the legatee of the Messenger and the lord of mankind”.[100]

They killed him. In his well-known letter to Mu'awiya, Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr mentioned Imam as **وارث رسول الله ووصيه** “ T he Heir of the Messenger and his successor.”[101]

There is also a poem quoted from 'Ubayda Ibn Samit which is composed during Saqifa.[102]

The measures taken by Imam for propagating the idea of “Divine leadership” are among the most important reasons of Shi'istic propagation and its distinction from his caliphate. He himself has composed a poem about the content of Ghadir Tradition, in which he has interpreted the mentioned tradition as indicating the necessity of sainthood over people.

فأوجب لي ولايته عليكم رسول الله يوم غدير خم

“The Messenger (S) deemed his sainthood for you obligatory on the of Ghadir Khum.”[103]

In a lengthy letter to Mu'awiya, Imam has explained this issue in detail. The letter contains significant points about Imam's contribution to the propagation of Shi'istic sainthood. Some major parts of the letter are quoted here for its great importance in terms of “Imamate Thought”.

“The Almighty God says, “Obey God and execute the commands of the Messenger as well as Holders of Authority”. This verse addresses us, The People of the House, not you. Then, Qur'an forbade affray and disunity and ordered surrender and unity. You are the folk acknowledging God and his prophet and admitting them. God informed you that” Muhammad (S) is the father of none of your men, he is the God's Messenger and the Seal of The Prophets “and also said, “Retreat if he is killed or dead ” and Mu'awiya, you and your companion retreated, apostatized and broke your pledge to God as well as your allegiance, and all these will not harm God.

Oh, Mu'awiya! don't you know that Imams are from among us not you. God informed you that Holders of Authority must be capable of deducing the knowledge and you must refer to God, his Messenger and Holders of Authority, the bearers of knowledge, in all that you disagree. So anyone keeping his pledge to God, shall find Him faithful to His promise.

We are the family of Ibrahim envied by all and you are those who envy us. There was a party of Banu Isra'il who told their prophet, “Send us a king; we will fight for God's sake.”104And when God sent Saul as a king for them, they envied him and said,” How can he hold control over us?” 105and deemed themselves more deserving of kingdom.

These all are the past happenings and now we narrate them to you and their interpretation and esoteric exegesis are available to us, and anyone ascribing lies to us will fall into despair. You are typical of that... Let it be known to you that we, the People of House, are the envied family of Ibrahim. We were envied as our fathers were envied before.

The Almighty God said, “The family of Ibrahim, the family of Lot, the family of Jacob, the family of Moses, the family of Aaron and the family of David; we, too, are the family of our prophet, Muhammad (S). “Oh, Mu'awiya, don't you know that Allah says, “The closest people to Ibrahim are those who follow him as well as this prophet and the believers, God is the believer's patron.” 106

We are kins by blood cited in this verse,”The prophet merits more than the believers to themselves and his wives are the mothers of believers and according to the holy Qur'an the genealogical relatives are merited over Muhajirun and Ansar (Helpers).”107

We are the People of House, God has chosen us “Nabuwwat”, prophethood, is ordained to us the Book, wisdom and knowledge belong to us and Ka'ba and Isma'il's House and Ibrahim's abode belong to us. So we deserve sovereignty. Woe is to you Mu'awiya. We are more deserving of Ibrahim, we are his family and the family of 'Imran are more deserving of Him... and the family of Muhammad (S) are more deserving of him...We are the people of house from whom God has removed all impurity.108

Every prophet has an invitation exclusive to him, his progeny and family and every prophet leaves a testament for his family. Don't you know that Ibrahim gave his last testament to his son Jacob and when Jacob was due to die, he also left a will and Muhammad (S) made a will.This was the tradition of Ibrahim and other prophets and Muhammad (S) followed them by order of God.

The Book is sent down to us and the Messenger has been raised up from among us and the verses have been read to us. We depend on, witness, call to and uphold the Book. Oh, Mu'awiya! Do you seek another God but Allah or another book except Allah's Book? Or another Qibla but Ka'ba, the House of God, home of Isma'il and abode of our father, Ibrahim.

Do you want another religion but that of Ibrahim or another sovereign and commander but God? God has placed this sovereignty and commandership in us. You revealed your animosity toward us, well showed your spite and jealousy and proved that you break your pledge to God and distort his verses as this one revealed to Ibrahim, “God has selected your religion for you.”109

Do you turn away from Ibrahim's religion while God has selected him in this world and he is from among the virtues in the Hereafter. Do you seek another decree but that of Allah? Or another Imam not from our family? The leadership belongs to Ibrahim, his progeny and the believers who follow them and do not turn away from his religion. It was also said, anyone who follows me is from me.”110

Agitated at Imam's calling himself the relative of all prophets, Mu'awiya wrote in response,

“Not content with your kinship with the Messenger, now you relate yourself to all the prophets. Beware that Muhammad (S) was one of the prophets raised up for all, he delivered God's messages and had nothing more. Now tell us what is the merit of your kinship and the superiority of your right and where in the Book did you find your name? Wherein is your sovereignty, leadership and superiority mentioned?

Yes, you as well as us, follow the previous Imams and caliphs.”

Then he mentioned his being 'Uthman's heir. Repelling him, Imam accused him of animosity toward the prophets and interest in his unbelieving forefathers and added,

“Beware that we are the People of Messenger's House. The infidel dislikes us and the believer bears us no grudge. You have denied Muhammad's leadership and regarded him as Messenger not Imam This denial makes you deny the leadership of all prophet's. But we testify that he was both Messenger and Imam and about your denying my kinship with the Messenger and my right, verily our due and right is mentioned in the Holy Book, and God mentions us as having an equal share with the Prophet where he says,” A fifth of anything that you acquire as spoils belongs to God, the Messenger and the relatives.”111

And elsewhere is said, “so give the relative his due.”112 Don't you see that our due is mentioned with that of God and Messenger and yours is mentioned with the strangers…you deny my leadership and sovereignty. Haven't you seen that in the Book, the almighty God says he has made the family of

Ibrahim superior to the world.[113] He is God who has exalted us over all mortals. If you can, separate us from Ibrahim, Isma'il, Muhammad (S) and his family, in the Holy Book.[114]

The aforesaid letter is quoted by Abu Ishaq Thaqafi, a Shi'ites historian of the third century A.H.(283 A.D.) The belief in “divine leadership” of the Commander of the Faithful is completely obvious in the letter and different deductive aspects of it are outstanding.

The most important part is the relation and link between prophethood, succession, and leadership as a noble course of action in the history of prophets. Mu'awiya's denial of the Messenger's leadership is also remarkable in this letter. Anyhow,in his words, Imam has tried his very best in proving the superiority of “The People of House “over others and having a “divine right.”

Proving such a right, Imam considers leadership as an integral part of it, to which the other caliphs are not entitled. There are also some other proofs indicating the Shi'ite thought in works handed down by Imam In a sermon about the People of the House, Imam says, “They (the descendants of Muhammad) are the trustees of his secret.

Anyone taking refuge to them will be led towards God. They are the center of knowledge about him, the preachers of his religious commandments, the protectors of Qur'an and Sunna, and mountain –like citadels which guard the religion and make the Islam stable, firm and powerful.”[115]

Elsewhere he states:

> فأين تذهبون وأنى توفكون والأعلام قائمة والآيات واضحة والمنار منصوبة فأين يتاه بكم بل كيف تعمهون وبينكم عترة نبيكم وهم أزمة الحق وأعلام الدين وألسنة الصدق فأنزلوهم بأحسن منازل القرآن وردوهم ورود الهيم العطاش “

Where are you going and when are you due to return? The landmarks are fixed, beacons are lighted and direction indicators are set up. To what extent are you being misled and confused? The descendants of the holy Prophet (S) are amongst you. They are the reins of right, ensigns of faith and speakers in the language of truth. Place them in the best Qur'anic positions turn to them as thirsty camels gather round water springs.”[116]

“We are the tree of prophethood, the centers which receive the messages of God and descending place of blessing angels.

We are mines of knowledge and springs of wisdom. Our friend awaits blessings of God and our enemy awaits punishment and wrath.” [117]

Elsewhere it is said, “Muhammad's progeny revives the knowledge and kills the ignorance; you are informed of their knowledge because of their prudence, their appearance out of their inward, and their

silence because of their philosophy of expression. They are neither at odds with the gospel truth nor render it wrong.

They are pillars of religion and the shelter that harbor the people; upon their return, the gospel truth re-settled and the credal error, from there, was driven away and cut off with tongue. They knew, learned and applied the religion as they had to, not just lending an ear to it. Religion narrators are legion but its protectors are few in number."[118]

Elsewhere it has been stated, "Beware, when infant, my saint progeny is the most patient and when adult they are the most knowledgeable of all. Beware that we are from among the People of House whose knowledge and decree is rooted in God's knowledge and decree. In case, you follow us, you will be guided through our wisdom and if not, God will have you brought to ruin."

Elsewhere it goes to say, "They embarked on seas of sedition, adopted heresies and abandoned traditions. The faithful were isolated and wicked liars got loud in declaring their views. We are particular people, companions, the treasures of prophethood and the pearls of prophetic mission.

Houses should be entered through their doors and whoever stepping into the house not through their doors should be called a thief. They are true applications of long Qur'anic verses and treasures of beneficent Allah; Once they speak, they tell naught but the truth and in case they remain quiet, they are not outpaced."[119]

Elsewhere he states this way, "Where are those, who falsely and unjustly deemed themselves and not us as the most knowledgeable. God raised us in position and kept them inferior to us. He has conferred on us the eminence of which he deprived them.

He allowed us the entry to sphere of divine favor from which he dismissed them. With us guidance is to be sought and blindness (of misguidance) is to be changed into brightness. Verily Imams are from among the Quraysh, the tree of which is planted in the family of H?shim. The others do not deserve it nor would others be suitable as heads of affairs."[120]

In these sentences as well as the previously mentioned letter, a kind of prophetic inheritance for transferring the right of leadership is put forth by Imam This is not the inheritance used for transferring the material rights but the one accompanied by executorship, knowledge, wisdom, purity and inerrancy.

This is the culture raised up by Qur'an among prophets and the right Ibrahim wants for his progeny. God says," The despots never access to my mission." Despite the key role that "selection" plays, God considers the prophets as each others descendants. Treating it as an ordinary heritage.

The Sunnites accuse the Shi'ite Muslims of having such an idea about leadership while Shi'a approves of the text which is within the framework of divine heritage existing in Qur'anic culture. In a letter indicating his dispute with Quraysh, Imam wrote about his being insistent on caliphacy, "Am I greedy to ask for my

inheritance and the right granted to me by the Messenger and God?”[121] In this phrase, inheritance and divine right are cited together.

More important is Imam's reference to the Ghadir tradition at the threshold of entering Kufa– After suppressing those who broke their allegiance in the battle of Jamal. As several Sunnites sources specify, The people of Kufa as well as Messenger's companions were brought together by Imam at the mosque of Kufa and all those who had witnessed and heard the Messenger uttering the Ghadir tradition were asked to stand up and give evidence of that.

A large number, only twelve of which had participated the battle of Badr, bore witness. Referring to this tradition publicly in fact implied his reference to “divine right “on “Sainthood”.[122] The culture of “Proof” in Qur'an confirms the leading attitude of Imam This concept is applicable only to the Prophet (S) and those chosen by God and resembling them in rank.

Imam has stated, “God never allowed the creation to remain without a prophet deputed by Him or a Book sent down from Him or a binding argument.”[123]

Elsewhere he said, “Verily the earth is never devoid of those who maintain God's binding argument either openly and reputedly or fearfully and secretly so that God's binding argument and proof should not be rebutted or his signs overlooked.”[124]

In a letter to the one in charge of collecting alms, Imam included instructions for treating people and telling them,

عباد‌الله! أرسلني ولي الله وخليفته لآخذ منكم حق الله في أموالكم

“O servants of God! The vicegerent of God and His caliph sent me to you for collecting God's share in your properties.”[125]

The comments “The vicegerent of God and His caliph” Imam attributed to himself are totally Shi'ite concepts. Anyhow, having been formed during the caliphate of Imam, this theory constitutes the main identity of Shi'ites thought about Imamate.

During his caliphate, by referring to upcoming incidents entitled “Malahim wa Fitan” in various sermons, he turned out to be a figure not rivaling an ordinary caliph, he foretold the future but not as a political analyst.

The charisma of Imam's personality in the eyes of gnostic and Sufism, was deeply rooted in the conception leading the public to deem him deserving of “sainthood” in its full sense and also in remarks and conducts of him who officially claimed to be omniscient and asked all people to question him before they miss him.[126]

At the end of these proofs, it will be proper to mention another important narration. When 'Ayisha was ready to revolt against 'Ali, the Messenger's graceful wife, Umm Salama, tried to stop her going.

'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr said objectingly, “You harbor old animosity towards the family of Zubayr.”
Umm Salama answered, “Do you think people will turn to Talha and your father while 'Ali about whom God said, **عليّ وليّ كل مؤمن ومؤمنة** ” 'Ali is the guardian of all believing men and women” is present.

'Abd Allah said, “We haven't heard him saying such a thing.”
Umm Salama replied, “You may have not, but your aunt, 'Ayisha, has.”
I myself heard the Messenger saying,

عليّ خليفتي عليكم في حياتي ومماتي فمن عصاه فقد عصاني

Alive or dead, I place 'Ali as my caliph to you, so whoever disobeys him, he has disobeyed me.” 'Ayisha has also confirmed this.[127]

Based on things mentioned, what should be said about the interpretation of comments written in Nahj al-Balagha on the allegiance of Muhajirun and Ansar is that at that time, the allegiance of these two was the principle behind selecting a caliph, and Imam enjoyed this principle. Facing the opposition of deviators and apostates Imam Ali had to refer to this principle.

With this deduction of Imam lots of people followed him and fought his enemies. There is a poem quoted from one of Imam's adherents who compared his pledge to that of early caliphs to prove his rightfulness and public commitments to him,

له في رقاب الناس عهد وذمة كعهد ابي حفص وعهد ابي بكر

فبايع ولا ترجع علي العقب كافراً أعيذك بالله العزيز من الكفر

“People owe him just as 'Umar and Abu Bakr do. So swear an allegiance and avoid infidelity, do you excuse yourself in atheism!”[128]

But neither Imam considered this as a legitimate way of leadership nor did his close companions who deemed his leadership far beyond the allegiance of Muhajirun and Ansar, accept such a basis. In conclusion, the differences from Saqifa to the martyrdom of Imam have been influential in many of the Islamic thoughts, but related to our discussion are issues concerning ruler ship and caliphate.

Here, a brief conclusion is drawn from the effects these events had on forming of political views. Obviously, as mentioned earlier, in the course of murdering 'Uthman and 'Ali's caliphacy, Shi'ism

changed both in quality and quantity.

Previous to this, only a few companions tended towards Shi'a but because of aforesaid reasons it spread in Iraq. This trend is called "'Alawites and Shi'ites". Its full version can be regarded in 'Uthman's rejection and the proof of 'Ali's caliphate. The full version of it includes 'Ali's Imamate after the Messenger and his superiority over the other caliphs. There has been some controversy over the quality and quantity of some exaggerated trends emerging at that time.[129]

The other trend was called "'Uthmanids". This trend was crystallized during to wars of Jamal and Siffin.The aforesaid course of action came to a dead end in Jamal but its impacts on Basra remained to be seen and the people of that city were reckoned as "'Uthmanids".[130]

The second trend prevailed over Damascus and Iraq during the Umayyads. The Umayyads ruling was the manifestation of 'Uthmanids sect's prevalence. This sect deemed no legitimacy for 'Ali's caliphacy on the pretext of the third caliph being murdered either by 'Ali himself or at his instigation.

They also said not all of the people had approved of him. This has been a common belief among the ancestors of Sunnites who were called the 'Uthmanids. During that period "Shi'ite Muslims" and "'Uthmanids" were opposed to each other. The 'Uthmanids believed that 'Uthman was to replace Mu'awiya in caliphate. Their legitimacy was based on Mu'awiya 's claim to be a relative of 'Uthman and consequently his blood-wit.[131]

Basra and Kufa, tending towards 'Uthmanids and Shi'a respectively, were rivals to each other. The distinction between Shi'ism and 'Uthmani's sect was the interesting point about the battle of Jamal.

The murderer of one of Imam's companions called Zayd Ibn Suhan said he had killed him while he believed in 'Ali.

Opposing 'Ammar he composed this:

لا تبرح العرصة يا بن اليثربي حتى اقاتلك على دين علي

"O Yathrib-born! Leave not the battlefield so that I might fight you by relying on 'Ali's religion."[132]

"'Uthman's religion" was coined versus "'Ali's religion". A poet from Damascus, told about the Damascus army:

ثمانين الف "دين عثمان" دينهم كتائب فيها جبرئيل يقودها

"80 thousands are those whose religion is that of 'Uthman's, troops who are led by Gabriel."[133]

A poet participating in Siffin, introduced himself this way,

انا ابن ارباب الملوك غسان والدائن اليوم به دين عثمان

“I am son of king of kings and today I follow 'Uthman's religion.”[134]
In a poem Rufa'a Ibn shaddad told,

انا ابن شداد على “دين علي” لست لعثمان بن اروى بولي

“I am Ibn Shaddad, a follower of 'Ali's religion and never am I guardian of 'Uthman Ibn 'Arwa.”[135]

It has been said that 80 thousand of Damascus army believed in ”'Uthman's religion ”.[136] There was also a third trend, in addition to Shi'a and 'Uthmani, called “Qa'idin”. Nashi' Akbar recognizes this group in two different names and trends. The first one was “Hulaysiyya” who believed that when a sedition is raised one must stay around his/her house.

They deemed both groups as misled and infernal. To them religion was seen as tarry to war and sedition as getting involved in it. 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, Muhammad Ibn Maslama and Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas belonged to this group. They believed that only one of the two groups was right but the righteous group was unknown to them. Abu Musa Ash'ari, Abu Sa'id Khudri and Abu Mas'ud Ansari were from among this group.

As Nashi' Akbar clarifies,these were called “Mu'tazilites”. Later, Wasil Ibn 'Ata' and 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd also thought the same about Talha and Zubayr.[137]Considering the situation of that time, these groups put the emphasis on the concept of “Sedition”, to them, being ”'Abd Allah, the murdered” was preferable to being ”'Abd Allah, the murderer”.[138]

People’s Allegiance to ‘Ali (a)

Without doubt, during the caliphacy of the first three caliphs, Imam was not politically active in the current affairs and except for counseling some Judicial cases and, to a lesser extent political issues, did not take an active part in politics. In other words, he did not take part in the ruling system of caliphs, but just led the opposition party indirectly.

His victory after 'Uthman, in large measures, indicated the domination of anti–Quraysh and anti–Umayyads. These opponents enjoyed the support of Iraqi tribes, Egyptian migrants and also the assistance of Ansar and native Medinans. Some of Muhajirun at the head of which was 'Ammar Ibn Yasir, were reckoned among this group. These formed a part of 'Uthman's adversaries.

But because of 'Uthman's being inattentive to a group of Quraysh itself and his over attention to

Umayyads, the former had also joined the opposition party. Talha, Zubayr and 'Ayisha were presiding over this group. 'Amr Ibn 'As who was deposed from Egyptian rule, opposed 'Uthman. Of course all these claimed that 'Uthman had stood aloof from the practice of Prophet.

Therefore the overall direction of the rebellion was returning to the Prophet's conduct, fostering justice and not being cruel or unjust to people. The head companions who had lived up to that time, and participated in 'Umar's election council– especially Talha who was supported by 'Ayisha were candidates for caliphate.

Their joining to the opposition party was a glimmer of hope for caliphate. Despite their fame in Iraq and Hijaz, concerning records, knowledge and piety none of them could hold a candle to 'Ali; moreover, 'Uthman's failure as the representative of Quraysh naturally resulted in the power of 'Ali, the representative of the opposition party who had opposed the ruler's policy from the very beginning.[139]

From the starting–point of public opposition to 'Uthman, Imam 'Ali (a) was as the mediator of the two parties or on the other hand, opponents' spokesman and he transferred people's oppositions to 'Uthman. Although being considered as the mediator, Imam (a) acted moderately. Having objected to 'Uthman's some indecent behaviors[140], Imam (a) under the conditions of being mediator obeyed 'Uthman's rights, took him on oath of promise and calm opponents along with obeying opponents' conditions.

It was natural that although Imam (a) didn't play any role in 'Uthman's murder and his coming to power, the Umayyads and some parties of Quraysh accused him of doing so. In spite of it, most of those being of Imam's close companions ranked among the opponents and even being accused of having a hand in 'Uthman's murder.

Imam's supporters were all anti–'Uthman. And as indicated before, this was the starting–point of Shi'ism forming among people of Kufa whose important political activity was opposition to the ruling caliphate. They were indeed satisfied with Abu Bakr and 'Umar.

At any rate, Imam's supporting party consisting of Ansar, the majority of companions as well as Kufa's Qur'an reciters was strong to the extent that Talha and Zubayr weren't allowed any appearance. Also there existed no reference to Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas[141]. In continuation of Sa'id Ibn Musayyib's long narrations concerning 'Uthman's murder, it's mentioned that after that 'Ali (a) came to his house and all the people rushing to his house asserted 'Ali (a)'s caliphate.

They wanted him to reach out his hand to people for allegiance but Imam (a) said, “Allegiance is Badr's companions' not yours. And the caliph is the one they choose.”

After that, all the people of Badr who were alive came to 'Ali (a) and called for allegiance to Imam (a).[142]

Confronted by the insistence of the Prophet (S) 's companions, Imam averted the admission of caliphate. Tabari quoted from Muhammad Ibn Hunayf that after 'Uthman's murder, a number of companions came

to my father saying "that we know no body more deserving of caliphate than you."

'Ali (a) said, “It's better for me to be your vizier rather than your emir”.
They answered, “We admit nothing but swearing allegiance to you.”[143]
Imam said that his allegiance ought to be in mosque rather than in secrecy.

According to Ibn 'Abbas, “I feared lest a problem might be arisen in the mosque.”[144] When he went to the mosque, Muhajirun and Ansar went there and pledged allegiance to him. Besides, Abu Bashir 'Abidi has been quoted as saying that after the assassination of 'Uthman, the people went repeatedly to 'Ali (a) till they managed to compel him admit the caliphate.

Imam ascended the pulpit and said, “He was not in want of caliphate and he admitted it reluctantly, and shall accept to govern them providing that people will adhere thoroughly to him.”

It's been noted in the narrations that Talha and Zubayr were within this throng of the people as well. When all gathered in the mosque, Talha was the first to swear allegiance. Averting allegiance, Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas said that he won't swear allegiance as well.

Tabari points out a narration with respect to the belief that Talha and Zubayr's allegiance arose from their fear of Malik's sword. However, the narration is not in conformity with the other ones. Imam asked them to be caliph themselves, and he shall swear allegiance to them.

Yet, in so far as, by no means, they found themselves apt, they were satisfied with swearing allegiance to Imam, in order that they hereby find a position for themselves. By chance, their later remarks made it known that by compelled allegiance they meant that they didn't have anybody at Medina to whom they swear allegiance, whereas Imam 'Ali (a) has had abundant number of supporters.

Previously, in our discussion on allegiance, we've pointed out that, in principle, Imam was among those compelling others to swear allegiance. As after the riot of Jamal rebels, he never forced Marwan to swear allegiance as quoted by him.[145]

Immediately after allegiance Imam was asked to turn over Basra and Kufa but he refused to do so.

Muhammad Ibn Hanifa says, “All Ansars except a few, swore the oath of allegiance to 'Ali. The opponents consisted of Hassan Ibn Thabit, Ka'b Ibn Malik, Maslama Ibn Mukhallad, Muhammad Ibn Maslama and some others reckoned among the 'Uthmanids, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, Zayd Ibn Thabit and Usama Ibn Yazid were among non–Ansar opponents who all benefited from generosity of 'Uthman's caliphate.

Tabari says, “As far as we know, not even one of Ansars infringed the allegiance to 'Ali. Hence, some who allegedly did not swear allegiance to 'Ali were probably those not taking part in battles of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawan not those not taking the oath of allegiance to 'Ali.[146]

As Diyar Bakri relates, All the Badr participants who had lived up to that time swore allegiance to 'Ali.[147]'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Abzi has been quoted, 800 of us who were present at Ri wan allegiance, took part at Siffin 63 of whom including 'Ammar were killed.[148] As Ibn A'tham narrates, at first Imam rejected the allegiance saying, "I beheld in everything a profound disintegration which neither hearts can stand nor intelligence can accept."

Then, accompanied by people, he went to Talha and asked him to accept the caliphate.
Talha said, "There is no one more deserving than you."
The same happened to Zubayr and both of them undertook not to do anything contrary to Imam's will.[149]

Ibn A'tham talks about the role of Ansar in taking the oath of allegiance to 'Ali and about their deputies who addressed the people in the mosque some of whom where Iraqi and Egyptian migrants.

People said," You are "God's helpers" and we will do what you say."

They too introduced 'Ali as the caliph and the cheering people approved him as well. That day people left the mosque and next day Imam entered the mosque and said, choose someone that fits your purpose and I shall follow you.

They said, "We haven't changed our mind since yesterday."

At first, Talha who was paralyzed in hand took the oath. This was considered as ill omen! Then Zubayr took the oath and following him Muhajirun and Ansar and all Arabs, non-Arabs and kinsfolk present in Medina did so. Imam Ali's words, better than anything else are expressive of why he refused to accept the burden of people's allegiance.

The first reason was that to him, the society was so decadent that he couldn't either lead it or enforce his criterion and intentions. On the day of allegiance he told:

"Leave me alone and go in search of someone else. We are facing a matter with several faces and colors, which neither hearts can stand nor intelligence can accept The clouds of sedition have darkened the skies thoroughly and the right path can't be discerned. Let it be known to you that if I accept your request I shall make you act according to my own judgments and will not care about the suggestions and blames of the reproachful."[150]

Imam knew that amidst those sedition, leading the society properly was beyond the bounds of possibility. Once he got that people won't leave him to himself, he managed to place them under the obligation of obeying him fully and resigning themselves to his will.[151]

Following happenings made the hardships of working within sedition and doubts dawn on Imam Once he said, "If I knew the heightened situation, I would have never got involved in it from scratch."[152]

Later on, he wrote about the day of allegiance, "When you revolted against 'Uthman and killed him,

turning toward me you wanted to swear allegiance to me. I balked at doing so and held my hand back. You struggled to open my hand and I prevented it.

You pulled my hand and I resisted. You crowded so densely round me that I thought you will either kill each other or me, you said" we swear allegiance to you for we find no one but you and will consent to no one except you and after the allegiance we will neither get separated nor will there be in any disagreement between us." so I felt compelled to accept your request and called the people to take the oath of allegiance.

I accepted the allegiance of any one swearing at will. Not taking aversion to the one not willing to take the oath, I left him to himself. Talha and Zubayr were from among those swearing allegiance to me and if they didn't want to do so, I would compel neither them nor any one else."[153]

Once, in Kufa, Imam saw a man called Abu Maryam from whom he asked the reason for his coming there.

He answered," I have come for my promise to you because you said if you had come to power, you would have done so and so."

Imam said, "I have kept my word, but I am in grips with the most malignant people who do not obey me at all."[154]

There are some significant points about 'Ali's election as the Community leader. First, people's participation in the first Caliph's election was initially confined to the participants in Saqifa and evidence shows some sort of previous conspiracy or at least coordination of anti-Hashimites party earlier than allegiance.[155] 'Umar was appointed through a will and 'Uthman, too,was selected by a confined council. By contrast, 'Ali's election was largely demanded by Medinans.

As a matter of fact, this was the only allegiance and election which can be called a public one. The new point about this allegiance was the participation of Iraqi and Egyptian delegates in addition to Muhajirun and Ansar. Of course, based on the common, well-established tradition of those days, according to which only Muhajirun and Ansar were of good standing, no credence was attached to their choice.

Despite of that, their presence did increase public turnout in Imam's election. This was not an unknown phenomenon for Imam and the others. During a sermon Imam said,
Your allegiance to me was not a hasty and precipitate action nor is my and your position the same. I seek you for Allah's sake and you seek me for your own benefits.[156]

This, according to Ibn Abi al-Hadid[157] is an allusion to Abu Bakr's election. In order to prevent the idea of opportunism and conspiracy in public opinion, Imam didn't allow people to take the oath at his house, stating that, "There can be no allegiance without Muslim's consent.[158]

The allegiance should not take place secretly. I go to the mosque, anyone who wishes can come there

to take the oath to me." Then he entered the mosque and people took the oath to him. [159]This is one of the reasons of Imam's delay in accepting people's request.

Secondly, Apart from what was set forth about Imam and his true Shi'ite Muslims' belief in his Imamate, the "tradition of allegiance" was fully established and Imam could not trespass it. This was a good proof against Imam's opponents and for him who was publicly selected.

According to Dinwari, during a speech following allegiance Imam stated, "Oh, people! You took the oath of allegiance to me in accordance with the previous traditions. Prior to the allegiance, the choice was yours but after that you have no choice. Imam must be firm and the folk must resign themselves to his will. This was a public allegiance, anyone denying it, has in fact denied Islam, allegiance to me was not precipitate.[160]

Notwithstanding, Imam was determined not to force anyone to take the oath. He even didn't call to account those who had sworn the oath but were inattentive in settling the case of apostates. When Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, Muhammad Ibn Maslama and Usama Ibn Zayd made some excuse for not performing Imam's command, Malik Ashtar said, "Oh, the Commander of the Faithful! Although we are not from among the Muhajirun and Ansar but we are from "The followers of righteousness".[161]

Despite Muhajirun and Ansar's superiority in Islam, they are not supreme in what they share with us. This has been a public allegiance, anyone going back upon it deserves to be reprimanded. Coax those who intend to violate the allegiance and imprison them in case they refuse.

Imam stated, "I call them but they are decided in their very votes."[162]

Hasan and Husayn told their father," Marwan –who after 'Uthman's murder, had sworn allegiance and now was taken into captivity in the battle of Jamal – will take the oath to you."

Imam answered, "Did he not swear me allegiance after 'Uthman's murder? I don't need the allegiance of such a treacherous person with a hand like that of Jews.[163]

According to Baladhuri, following Jamal, Marwan told 'Ali (a), "Unless forced, I won't swear allegiance to you." [164]

Obviously, not taking the oath differs form rebelling. Once according to the accepted standards the oath is taken and the public allegiance is accomplished anyone disobeying rebelliously or claiming caliphate, must be restrained;otherwise, what the caliphate would mean?[165] Despite this, Imam gloried in not forcing anyone to take the oath to him.[166]

'Adi Ibn Hatim also told Mu'awiya, "'Ali (a) compelled no one to take the oath."[167]

The third point is that the accepted method of allegiance, was that of Muhajirun and Ansar based on

which, Imam was nationally accepted as the caliph and apostates were rejected.[168] Even it has been said that even if Imam were the one killing 'Uthman, he remains the caliph, for Muhajirun and Ansar who dominate over people have taken the oath of allegiance to him.[169]

Obviously, Imam relied on this method with the purpose of convincing his opponents who, based on the same method, approved Muhajirun and Ansar and the legitimacy of previous caliphs. Not to mention that in addition to Muhajirun and Ansar, the delegates from Iraqi tribes and some Egyptians had also sworn allegiance to 'Ali (a), and this point was taken into consideration by Malik Ashtar.[170]

In a letter to Mu'awiya Imam wrote, “Those who took the oath of allegiance to Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman, have sworn allegiance to me in the same way.” Now he who was present at the election have no right to go back upon his oath and he who was absent has no right to deny the oath of participants. Consultation is confined to Muhajirun and Ansar.

God feels satisfaction at they gathering round a man and selecting him as their caliph. Should anybody go against such decision or fall into heresy, they will return him to the position from where he kept away and should he refuse to fall in line with others, then war is the only course left open to be adopted against him.[171]

As far as the initial caliphs were in power, this was deemed as an acceptable principle, except for the time when some 'Uthmanids relied on a few companions not swearing the oath and they also, making an excuse of Muslims fratricide, evaded to act in obedience to the orders of 'Ali (a) in combating his enemies.[172]

Mu'tamir Ibn Sulayman narrated, “I told my father, people say the allegiance to 'Ali (a) was not accomplished." He answered, “My son, allegiance belongs to the people of Mecca and Medina who did take the oath.”[173]

Another point is that on what allegiance was sworn. 'Uthman was recognized as outcast because he violated divine rules and in early caliphs time, it was an acceptable principle to act upon the Book and the Prophet's tradition.

Although a few of them disregarded some dimensions of the Prophet's biography and even Qur'an, after 'Umar, condition of Sheikhs biography was included in allegiance that Imam 'Ali rejected. According to Tabari, swearing allegiance to 'Ali happened to say that Book of God has to be referred about the close, the mean, the endeared and the stranger.[174] This position reflects issues during 'Uthman.

An Egyptian, Ibn A'tham says, named Sudan Ibn Hamran Muradi who is to be murderer of 'Uthman said, “O Abu Hasan! we swear allegiance to you provided that if you acted like 'Uthman,you'll be killed”.

That's right, replied 'Ali (a), then people acted according to Book of God and the Prophet's tradition.[175]

One person insisted on including Sheikhs biography as terms of allegiance in addition to above two, yet

Imam disapproved and saying that even if Abu Bakr and 'Umar act upon something except the Book and the tradition, they are untruthful.[176]

Imam merely found himself yielded to Qur'an and tradition and unwilling to disobey it and so were his companions and commanders.

O people!, said Qays Ibn Sa'd, we swore allegiance to a man better of whom we never know after the Prophets (S). Rise up and swear allegiance to the Book and His Prophet. If we failed to do so, allegiance is withdrawn.[177]

Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr, Egyptian ruler said if you observe in my deeds obedience and fear from God, I praise God because of this gift bestowed upon me and it has guided me. If not, I have to be scolded.[178]

Imam himself disapproved those who wanted to condition the allegiance to make Imam overlook what they have in their hands and said the only right they have in front of him is to comply with the Book and the tradition and nothing else.[179]

Qa'idin and no Congregation Formation

There emerged no agreement like that of Sheikhs time in the course of swearing allegiance to Imam and despite allegiance of the Ansar and Muhajirun. A few people opposed in the course of allegiance to Abu Bakr but congregation formed since, later, opponents also swore allegiance.

Then, 'Umar claimed that the opponents must join “congregation”. This congregation faced no problems in time of 'Umar. It wasn't first time when a rebellion shaped in time of 'Umar and congregation split apart. 'Uthman's improper attitude led to fragmentation in the Islamic community.

In that time Kufiyans and a major part of Egyptians found 'Uthman a wrongdoer if not willing to kill him, they did not consider him to be qualified for caliphate either. This idea wasn't strongly rooted in Kufa and 'Uthman was never admitted by people. Later on, it wasn't known that if anyone wants martyrdom, he shall go to Dar al-Bittikh in Kufa for compassion of 'Uthman.[180] Medinans were hesitant about this and they are said to be followers of Abu Bakr and 'Umar. They never approved 'Uthman.

There were people of Damascus and Umayyads who retained sanctity of 'Uthman and founded "'Uthmanids"[181], recalled as “anti-Shi'a religion”. As a matter of time, the Sunnites approved 'Uthman. From third century on, the 'Uthmanids with a gradual change of name into people of Sunnat and Jama'at approved 'Ali (a).

Anyway, “Jama'at” persisted till 'Umar and up to mid-rule of 'Uthman[182] and broke up into branches. This congregation in a real sense ceased to return until Mu'awiya that strangled all opposition by force and trick. However, it is obvious that the congregation differed from that of the old one foundationally.

Allegiance to Imam 'Ali met the requirements of a proper one. Muhajirun and Ansar in addition to emissaries of Iraq and Egypt swore allegiance to him. But due to disagreements continued by Qa'idin, the wicked ones, the deviators and the apostates and that a full-scale congregation came not to be formed, the subject congregation wasn't so legitimate in the eyes of the majority of the companions through support of which the disagreements can be challenged and their founders can be called "rebels".

This wasn't accepted by the Sunnites save the basis of the mentioned rebellions on the part of the companions that wasn't regarded as "Ijtihad", exertion, and so they were exonerated. They didn't analyze the Kharijites this way calling them real rebels.

The "legitimate congregation" resisted against "rebellion" through support of a Qur'anic verse in the chapter of Hijrat that says, "If two groups of the faithful began to fight each other, try to bring them to a compromise. And if one offended the other, try to fight the offender to bring it back to bow to God. If it did so, make a just peace between them and exert justice for God love just people".183

If, Abu Hanafiyya said later, Amir al-Mu'minin(a) had no conduct of Jihad with the rebels, we didn't know the rules of fighting with them.184

The Commander of the Faithful held that the mere swearing no allegiance and even expressing dissent verbally can not justify armed campaigning against them. The first disagreement came from Qa'idin, those who likely swore allegiance to 'Ali but refrained from helping him in his war with the Infidels and the Deviators. Baladhuri narrates that they didn't swear allegiance.

Some of such as 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar said that they will be the last people to swear allegiance.185 These people believed that "congregation" is not organized.

Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas said, "I will swear allegiance when I'm the last one".186

Imam left them alone in front of these oppositions. Here it is to be noted that there must be a distinction between the particular and general allegiance when a forcible allegiance is in question.

In fact, when the "particular" people swear allegiance, caliphate is established, afterward all must attend the general allegiance. Malik Ashtar's speech against the disagreement of Qa'idin denotes such a case. Imam rejected force too.187

When the Kharijites opposed, they were said to be silent, if they want to be safe. If they say something, they will be given reasons and in case they turn to swords, they will be resisted.

And he further said, "As long as you remember Allah, we keep our mosques open to you and as long as you stay with us, we keep your share of booty but if you pull your swords out, we launch a war with you."188

Anyway, Qa'idin regarded “congregation” incomplete to justify their opposition and naturally questioned 'Ali's caliphate. They said people of Damascus would complement this congregation whilst until then allegiance of people of Haram wasn't considered sufficient. Mu'awiya too having a large number of Damascus people in his control denied forming of “congregation” along with 'Ali and naturally rejected his caliphate.

In front of 'Ali's call, Mu'awiya wrote to people of obedience and congregation, “The community you're talking about is also available to us.” He accused 'Ali of murdering their caliph and dispersing their community.[189]

There is no reasonable justification about the Infidels. The evidence show that these people opposed merely because of authoritarianism despite the commitments they had in allegiance. Imam tried hard to rehabilitate peace and in no case he resorted to weapon. Imam regarded their launching war the only permit to wage war.[190]

Aside from all incentives and internal problems, the events in period of caliphate resulted in different sectarian and religious tilts that left behind works not only in jurisprudic–ideological matters but also in the field of Imamate issues.

Later, “political community” came to posed again and the Sunnites calling themselves independent of “people of innovation” and devaluing their participation in or separation from “congregation” named themselves “people of congregation.”

Abu Hatim Razi writes about the term of congregation for the Sunnites, “Since the majority of people accepted caliphate of the Umayyads during Mu'awiya and after in Marwanids time, people from the followers asserting this called themselves people of congregation.... And saying that “if anyone opposes us, he breaks apart the unity, opposes Umma and abandons the tradition.

By “people of Sunnat and Jama'at”, they meant that they named themselves so because they were unanimous by the same Imam despite all sectarian differences they had.[191] The pivotal role in “congregation” is in fact the same Imamate.

According to a Sunnites mind, community appears when all people generally agree on an Imam who is in power in whatever way. Such an Imam is entirely legitimate according to a Sunnites. In Shi'a thinking, Imam is beyond a mere political consensus and community normally has its given sense.

Allegiance wasn't sworn to Imam on Friday, Dhil–Hajja 18,36 H.

Imam’s Problems

When Imam took charge of caliphate, he faced tremendous problems. These obstacles in addition to political disorder after death of 'Uthman darkly imaged the future. Here, problems are reviewed and the

solutions ahead of Imam will be discussed.

Before everything it is to known that these problems were important for a person like Imam who showed more sensitivity to observing principles and applications than anybody else. Some time earlier, every caliph had opened a way temporarily and just for the purpose of expanding the conquests.

But now it wasn't obvious that many of those ways were off the roads and time passed had shown this. Typically, 'Umar considered tribal tenets in regulating chancery. Presently after fifteen years, its social and even political negative consequences have turned up. To arrange the issue more, Imam's problems are multi-dimensionally dealt with,

(1) The first problem wasn't to follow economic justice. Earlier referred that 'Umar set the chancery in accordance with the Islamic records of people and tribal shape. Those of the companions who had embraced Islam sooner than others shared more. The same condition kept on during 'Uthman as well.

He began his generosity leading to greater rich-poor distance in the community. All this property includes the fifth of booties and tributes that were annually received and came from the conquered territories belonging to all people. When Imam came to power, he raised equal sharing of this property. His reason rested upon what the Prophet (S) had done.

Imam in his very speech referring to the point that he will act upon the Prophet's biography spoke of his fiscal policy and called virtue of Muhajir and Ansar superior over others, that is kept and rewarded by God.

وإني حاملكم على منهج نبيكم صلى الله عليه وآله

But in this world, anyone who accepts call of God and His Messenger (S) and becomes a Muslim and pray before Qibla, he will benefit from all rights and Islamic rules. You're servants of God, Imam added, and property is God's that will equally be divided among you. The pious people are well rewarded by God.

Underlining his policy, Imam said, “Lest someone tomorrow say”, 192 **حرمنا علي بن ابي طالب حقوقنا** Imam tomorrow that day ordered 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Abi Rafi', Anyone came, give him three Dinars.
In there Sahl Ibn Hunayf said, this man wasn't my slave who wasn't set free yesterday.

Imam said, “All are given three Dinars and no one is over another.”

A group of Umayyads elites as well as Talha and Zubayr did'nt turn up to get their share. Tomorrow that day, Walid Ibn 'Uqba with a number of people came to Imam and referring to his father's murder by 'Ali in Uhud, murder of Sa'd Ibn 'As in there, humiliation of Marwan's father in front of 'Uthman and....

Asked Imam not to take back at least what has been given to them of the property. Besides, 'Uthman's

murderers are retaliated. Imam turned him down and so they started to reveal their discords.

Tomorrow again, Imam made a sermon and based his sharing of property on the Book out of wrath. Imam came down the pulpit and after rendering two units of pray sat with Talha and Zubayr on the corner of mosque. These two people spoke of first, Imam's not consulting with them and second,

خلافك عمر بن الخطاب في القسم

A major disadvantage is that you disagree on the way of division comparing 'Umar. You gave our share just like that of others who took no sufferings for Islam.

Imam said, ؛As long as there is a rule in Qur'an, consultation is not required. Otherwise, I would've consulted with you. As for equal sharing, we all witnessed that the Messenger (S) did as the Book says."[193]

Zubayr said, "This is our reward? We acted in this way for him! To have 'Uthman killed and he today puts people over us whom we were over."[194]

Ibn Abi al-Hadid regards public habit a major problem for disagreement of companions with Imam while Abu Bakr had the same manner as the Prophet's and nobody opposed him.

Imam in response to companions who objected to his method and referred to 'Umar's manner said, **أفسنّة رسول الله أولى بالاتباع أم سنة عمر** " Does obeying the Prophet's tradition stand first or that of 'Umar's."[195]

Serious disapproval of this manner induced some companions of Imam to go to Imam to ask him to prefer Arab and Quraysh noblemen than Mawali and non-Arabs.

He rejected them and said, "Are you telling me that I gain victory through cruelty."[196]

Later, Ibn 'Abbas writing to Imam Hasan said, "People left your father alone and went to Mu'awiya because he equally shared the property among them and they never endured this act of your father."[197]Some people explicitly reasoned their opposition as that 'Ali failed to observe their equal rights.[198]

Anyway, one feature Imam became known after wasn't that, [199]**قسم بالسوية وعدل في الرعية**

(2) Elsewhere it wasn't referred that one of the consequences of conquests wasn't that different races of Arab, Iran, Nabat, Byzantine and Barbar were intermingled with one another. Many of them were gone or taken to other regions by migration or for war.

A large number of them were prisoners from Arab tribes brought to Damascus, Iraq and Saudi Arabia from different parts. The captives released were called "Mawali". This meant that the prisoner belonged

to this Arab tribe and now he is linked to that tribe in one way or another. It wasn't natural that Mawali were of lower class of Arabs and enjoyed less rights.

One of the difficulties the government had wasn't how it should treat this case. What is certain is when Imam came to power, the community had assumed Arab superiority over Mawali a definite principle. This disturbed Imam's justice-seeking morale that never found religiously a reason for veracity of the above-mentioned distinction but adversely equality of Muslims had clear reasons.

'Umar had said that the Arab slaves be released by means of public property,200 thus differentiating diverse races, Imam rejected the distinction. Two women are said to have come to Imam 'Ali and expressed their destitution.

It is, Imam said, up to us to help you in case you tell the truth. Then he sent a man to market to buy them dress and food and pay them one hundred dhms.

One of them said in objection, "I'm an Arab while the other is Mawali, why should we be treated equally?"

Imam replied, "I read Qur'an and I thought, there I noticed no superiority, as small as a mosquito's wing, of Isma'il children over those of Isaac."201

Once Imam intending to divide some property said, "Adam gave birth to neither a male slave nor a female one, servants of God are all free and now some property is with me and I'll divide it among the black and white people equally with no distinction."202

Treating Arabs and non-Arabs in parity was not something endurable for Arabs. Umm Hani, Imam 'Ali's sister, came to Imam to get her grant and Imam granted her twenty dhms. Her non-Arab slave also came to Imam and he gave her twenty dhms. When Umm Hani heard this, she went to see Imam in fury. Imam's response to her accorded with Qur'an that he has not seen any differentiation between Arabs and non-Arabs there.203

Imam elsewhere told Muhajirun and Ansar that he never gives anybody anything aimlessly and, **لأسوين بين الأسود والأحمر** " The black and the white will be treated in parity."204

Imam's just treatment towards Mawali and non-Arabs raised protest of prejudiced people like Ash'ath Ibn Qays.

When Imam wasn't up on pulpit, Ash'ath shouted, **غلبتنا عليك الحمراء** "The white Mawali has overcome us and you see that." 'Ali became angry hearing that.

Ibn Suhan said, "It'll become clear today what status Arabs are placed in."

'Ali said, "Who excuses me to penalize these sturdy-body people resting in their beds till mid-noon while

a group of people stay away their beds because of vigil nights? Are you telling me that I should abandon them and become an oppressor. I swear to One that grew the seed and created the creatures and I heard Muhammad (S) saying,

I swear to God they beat you (Arabs) to return to religion just as you did to them to accept Islam.[205] Mughira Dhabbi says, 'Ali (a) was interested in Mawali and was kind to them but 'Umar loathed them and kept away from them."[206]

Included in Imam's poetry, there is a piece of poem that talks about negating the effect of racial problems on divine and human honor,

لعمرك ما الإنسـان إلاّ بـدينه فلا تترك التقوى اتكالاً علي الحسب

فقد رفع الإسلام سلمان فارس وقد هجن الشرك الشـريف أبا لهب

"Religion, swear by thy soul, brings value to man
Thou not for a lineage seek divine piety Whilst Abu Lahab was down for no deity."[207]

(3) More important problem ahead of Imam was religious deviations and the very thing companions accused 'Uthman of that under title of innovationism. Apart from the innovations, the other major problem was that many people were not well-informed about religion and no action was taken to religiously inform them. A few objective typical distortions Imam was engaged are mentioned herein,

One of the problems earlier talked about is that a group of companions and a number of caliphs brought up rules despite availability of Qur'an and tradition and merely based on "expediency".

Inter alia, this regarding tradition is more clearly and substantially is cited in historical and hadith sources. Perhaps what Abu Ja'far Naqib said could be the clearest statement one moderate Sunnites has expressed about.

The companions, he says, unanimously rejected most of the verses {the words of the Messenger (S) and it was because of the interest they discovered in rejecting them such as sharing portion of Dhawi al-Qurba and that of Mu'allafa Qulubuhum.[208]}

Imam criticized this approach while making a detailed speech and at the same time showed his commitment to the tradition. Referring to the fact that for resolving one problem there has been given different views and the ruler has proved all those views, he says this is when their God is One, their prophet is one and their Book is one.

God said to them to go a different direction and they have obeyed His command? Or they have been

prohibited from disagreement and they have disobeyed Him? Or what God sent is an incomplete religion and He asked them to help for making it complete? Or they are His partners and they have right to say and God must be pleased of the path they seek? Or the religion God sent was complete and the Prophet (S) has failed in conveying it?

This is while God say, “We avoided not a thing in the Book”.209

Imam expresses amazement in his another speech about the wrongs of different groups and that, “They neither receive a prophet nor the deed of a successor… they follow sceptisism and go after passion and lust.

Well-known to them is something that they know and are pleased of and deny what they are not happy with. In tribulations they only rely on themselves and in undoing the problems they depend on their own ideas. It seems each of them is his Imam who finds, in his rule, to have snatched and used the sturdiest means.”210

What was interesting was that “according to caliph II and III” they had the right to have their own special divine legislation in some affairs and put aside the tradition (like 'Uthman who, unlike the prophet and his own pre-caliphs, performed completely his praying service in Mina). Yet, Muslims as a matter of time deemed the actions of caliphs unbreachable as a religious tradition.

'Umar himself when dying said, “Assigning not a successor is a tradition (Prophet!) and assigning is also a tradition (Abu Bakr).”211

Therefore, to him, what Abu Bakr did had also been considered “tradition”. After his death, 'Abd al-Rahman had conditioned that he would leave the caliphate to someone who practices the tradition of the Prophet and Sheikhs.

One clear typical response of Imam to these innovations was his approach towards nightly prayers of Rama□an that 'Umar set up accepting it to be an innovation-though he believed it was a good innovation. When Imam was in Kufa, some people came to ask him to designate an Imam to perform their nightly prayers of Rama□an. He banned them doing so. At night they cried out, “O Rama□an”.

Harith A'war came to Imam and said, “People are moaning and are upset about what you said.”
Imam said, “Leave them alone to do whatever they want and whomever to choose for congregational Imam.”212

This quotation shows that what tribe Imam has been dealing with and how they have been following him.

Imam in a letter to Malik, referring to selection of righteous people and about the worldly-minded religious people said,

فإنّ هذا الدين كان أسيراً في أيدي الأشرار ، يعمل فيه بالهوى وتطلب به الدنيا

.

“This religion has been in the shackles of the wrong people, they moved forward out of passion and captured the world under the name of religion.”213

One of the important deviations that essentially led to other ones was that scribing was prevented. Rashid Ri□a referred to point that this has irreparably damaged the Islamic culture.214 Such an action as mentioned earlier was because of disregarding the tradition.

The action of caliphs to collect Qur'an and disregard the Qur'an 'Ali brought as well as to comment and downgrade its verses indicated inattention to the Prophet's speech Imam recorded.

Imam 'Ali regarded doubt and scepticism among people a major cause for emerging civil wars among Muslims,

“ ولكنّا إنما أصبحنا نقاتل إخواننا في الاسلام على ما دخل فيه من الزيغ والإعوجاج والشبهة والتأويل

We today fight our Muslim brethren because they mixed Islam with deviation, scepticism and distraction.”215

Imam underscored the concept of scepticism. He elsewhere said, “Scepticism is called scepticism for it resembles the right.”216

(4) Another problem Imam had wasn't social corruption. Serious public welfare triggered loosening of religious ideals and values in society and religion wasn't just valued in appearance. When caliph III turned to serious welfare, His subjects also turned to it and this created a problem for society in respect of religion. The society involved in sedition and corruption cannot simply turn back to moral balance. Imam in one of his speeches introduces his society like that of ignorant one.

He says, “Your condition today looks like the day God raised up His Messenger (S).”217

Imam there spoke of reversed values in that society and of the necessity to change it. This society has to be screened, those moved forward be brought back and those left behind be driven ahead.
Know that, he also said, after Hijra –and learning from Shari'a– you were back to nomadic nature and following compromise you were fragmented..... knowing that you cast off your link to Islam, went beyond its limits and failed to follow its rules.218

Imam also stated about corruption of the time:

> واعلموا رحمكم الله أنكم في زمان القائل فيه بالحق قليل واللسان عن الصدق كليل واللازم للحق ذليل. أهله معتكفون على العصيان، مصطلحون على الادهان، فتاهم عارم وشائبهم آثم وعالمهم منافق وقارئهم مماذق لا يعظم ضعيرهم كبيرهم ولايعول غنيهم فقيرهم "

Know that may God bless you! You are living at a time the truth- seeker is little and tongue falls short of truth. Those following truth are humiliated and people are grappling with disobedience and ready to accept compromise. The young are bad-tempered and the old are sinful, the reciter is after profit. Neither the small respects the aged nor do the potent aid the destitute.219

Emergence of Mu'awiya as a deceitful and deviated man in the field of Islamic politics wasn't itself the greatest element of sedition and corruption in society, so were the 'Uthmanids tendency in Basra as well as the Kharijites in Kufa. These were ill currents that blocked the way of followers of truth at times by knowing that they were wrong and at other times imagining that they are going after truth.

Observing Mu'awiya's sedition, Imam began to say, "I verified the case and I learned that I have no way but fighting or I stand infidel against what Muhammad (S) said."220

Reformation, Imam's Fundamental Policy

Imam considered his major mission a reformation. This was because he abided by religion and tradition. In addition, it is to be noted that Imam was basically brought to power by those who had murdered the former caliph due to his corruption and hoped that the new caliph reform the shortcomings.

The aim of this group in proportionate to character of Imam was one of the main reasons of their approach towards him. The policy of early caliphs was to expand the conquests. This also expanded Islam and naturally could be an advantage for caliphs, not to mention, it would fill the pockets of people with dhms and Dinars.

Imam now had to make up for the shortcomings of this time. It was very difficult for him to do so because he had to stand against many of the noblemen and influential people. Here, Imam's reformational actions are reviewed.

First, it is to be noted that these actions contained two parts. One part was to be done by means of speech and peaceful social actions, but the second part was to be carried out through war with those who were not ready to observe the rights of the legitimate ruler of society and had rebelled against him. Some of the actions taken in the first part are dealt with here.

One of the moral problems in the society Imam was engaged in was mammonism, welfarism and acquisitiveness of triumphant Arabs. This case had engaged them so much that it can be said Jamal war

was resulted and Imam was not prepared to raise shares of Talha and Zubayr more than the others. Under such circumstances, Imam was determined to speak in detail in his speeches about this and protract people from mammonism.

By contrast, he prohibited them from sitting at the majestic entertainment tables by writing letters to his agents, something that was very natural in time of 'Uthman. In case Imam's words about reproaching the world outright, it would become a detailed book.221

Nahj al-Balagha is replete with these words and this, in great number, shows that Imam insisted very much in this regard. Presenting an outstanding paradigm of man with a piety is seen in the sermon known as

"Hammam". In some of the sermons, Imam explicitly scolds people due to mammonism, "You have forgotten the death in your hearts and deceiving aspirations have been substituted. This world has captured you more than the other world."222

Imam placed elucidation of religion atop of his reformational actions and tried to lead the society to improvement by raising up the Prophet's tradition as well as resuscitating the forgotten rules and positive laws of religion. Imam on explaining his activities for reforming the society says:

> ألم أعمل فيكم بالثقل الأكبر وأترك فيكم الثقل الاصغر وركزت فيكم راية الايمان ووقفتكم على حدود الحلال والحرام والبستكم العافية من عدلي وفرشتكم المعروف من قولي وفعلي وأريتكم كرائم الأخلاق من نفسي.

Did I not raise rule of Qur'an among you and my two offsprings – who are the lamp of religion path after me – and did I not leave for you the selective jewels that is the Prophet's progeny. I set up banner of faith among you and separated you from limits of legal and illegal. I clad you in garment of health out of justice and spread the known among you through my word and deed and revealed to you the best ethics through my ethicality."223

Imam in his speech emphatically referred to practicing the Book and the Prophet's tradition. The Imam's faithfulness to the Messenger's tradition is an important point in his reformational policies. Basically, violating the tradition according to him, is one of the blatant signs of deviation.

In the early times when Talha and Zubayr complained of Imam's not consulting with them, Imam said, "By God I had no inclination to caliphate and no need of rulership, but you made me be in charge of that. As I came to power, I looked at the Book and what it has prescribed to us and the rules we are bound to obey and I did so. I followed the tradition set by the Messenger (S). I required not to ask you of your idea about this but you."224

Imam in his contact with 'Uthman about being clothed in a pilgrim state during Hajj or about doing the same in the visitation and Hajj together says on the tradition of the Messenger (S):

ما كنت لأدع سنّة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم لأحد من الناس

I never leave tradition of the Messenger (S) because of anybody."[225]

'Uthman was sick one year of the years he used to perform his prayers in Mina so he asked Imam to perform prayers instead.

Imam said, "If I perform prayers, I'll do it as the Prophet did."
'Uthman said, "No. Do as I do."
Imam rejected his request.[226]

Imam said, "If I'm absent, then who will be among you to act upon the Prophet's conduct?"[227]

I was doing prayer service, Mutrif Ibn 'Abd Allah says, along with 'Imran Ibn Husayn (one of the Prophet's companions) behind Imam 'Ali. After the service 'Imran held my hand and said,

(لقد صلى صلاة محمد، ولقد ذكّرني صلاة محمد (ص

"He performed the service like that of the Prophet's. He reminded me of how the Prophet said the prayers."[228]

Abu Musa Ash'ari who performed the service just behind Imam said,

(ذكرنا علي بن ابي طالب صلاة النبي (ص

"'Ali reminded us of the Prophet's prayers."[229]

It was very important to revive the Prophet (S) 's biography for Imam's reformational policies. The pure companions of Imam realized this fact as well.

'Ammar said about the constructie measures of Imam,

' لو أن علياً لم يعمل عملاً ولم يصنع شيئاً الا أنه أحيا التكبيرتين عند السجود لكان قد أصاب بذلك فضلاً عظيماً

'Ali has done nothing but reviving two "Allah Akbar" when prostrating back, for this, he has achieved a high virtue."[230]

Imam declared up on pulpit in the face of 'Umar's policy of not scribing hadith, "Those who are willing to put down knowledge, they can bring paper and pen".

Harith A'war provided means of writing and wrote what Imam said.231 Afterwards, Imam Hasan(a) also advised his offsprings to write the Prophet (S) 's hadith.232 We know that Imam 'Ali himself wrote the Messenger's hadiths. After that, his hadith booklets were available to Ahl al-Bayt and they regularly narrated hadith for Shi'ite Muslims from "'Ali's booklet".233

As seen in time of caliph II, the story reciters alongside preventing from scription of hadith were permitted to narrate for people in the mosque about the Jewish sagas on former prophets and Christian priests. Imam stood against the development of story reciting and banned it while spreading hadith scription. Imam in principle opposed narration of Jewish works.

He is quoted to say, "Whoever has a book from the antecedent, he shall ruin it".

Imam stood against someone who had narrated story of Rev. David (a) with Awriya from Jewish sources and said, "If someone says it, he'll be executed Hadd, whipping".234

It is known that Rev. David is attributed to murder by intention and adultery in this fake story. When he came to Basra, the story reciters were expelled out of mosque.235 After him, Imam Hasan (a) was also hindered from story reciting.236 Iman as-Sajjad (a) stopped Hasan Basri,once being a story reciter, reciting stories and he admitted to do so.237

Imam in one of his first speeches said, **وإني حاملكم على منهج نبيكم صلي الله عليه وآله** " I will spread tradition of the Prophet (S) among you."238

One of the reasons that caused Imam 'Ali, more than the other companions, to describe the personality and morality of the Messenger (S) in historical books, is that he himself followed the Prophet's manner. For the same reason, he kept in his mind all actions of the Prophet (S) from the very beginning and later he tried to delineate his personality most eloquently.239

Hasan Basri in response to someone who asked him of Imam said, **أراهم السبيل وأقام لهم الدين اذا اعوجّ** "He showed the way to people and straightened religion when it went astray."240

This very well-considered statement made by Hasan exactly accorded with the policy Imam adopted during his caliphate.

Another poet, addressing Imam, composed this:

أوضحت من ديننا ما كان مشتبها جزاك ربك عنا فيه إحسانا

"What was skeptical is now clarified by you, may God grant thee virtues and benevolence."241
Abu Dharr when describing Imam said, **علي رز الدين** "'Ali strengthens religion."242

Imam himself insisted on matching his conduct with that of the Messenger (S) 's. After Jamal war, he

talked about his attitude towards Basrans, “I acted in treating Basrans as the Prophet did to Meccans.243 Imam mentions resuscitation of tradition as one of the functions of “Imam”.244 Elsewhere, he regards the best servant of God a just Imam who attempts to revive the tradition and the most evil-doing servant of God a cruel Imam who destroys it.”245

In general, Imam 'Ali seriously avoids the concept of innovation and says, in this regard, that a tradition fades away when an innovation emerges.246

Imam poses two points as his testament, stop blasphemizing and preserving tradition of the Prophet (S).247

He considers the saints those people who, **يحيون سنن الله وسنن رسوله** “ Revive traditions of God and His Messenger (S).”248

He says hypocrite dissidents are those who swim in the sea of sedition, use innovations and put aside traditions.249

Imam says people are divided in two groups,250 **متبع شرعة ومبتدع بدعة**

These statements and the like in Nahj al-Balagha reveal Imam's strong mind in following tradition and avoiding the innovation. This position was adopted in front of those who created innovations at least in some cases and when they were objected, they said, “If they are innovations, they are good ones”.

Imam was not willing to cheat in the field of religion and he said,

“ والله لا أدهنت في ديني

I swear by God I never cheated in the field of religion.”251

Once a man of Banu Asad was brought to Imam for execution of whipping (retribution). Banu Asad asked Imam to dispense with his whipping.

Imam said, “Ask me to do something at my discretion.”
They came out while being contented.

Imam executed whipping for the man and said, “This was owned by God and I had no control over it.”252

Imam said about his role of guiding Umma, “O people! I gave you advice the prophets did to their Umma and I let out what the legatees spread out after themselves. I behaved you with the lash of “preaching”, but you rejected and I called you with the speech to bar you from disobeying, yet you failed to do so. By God! Do you expect an Imam but me to join you in the straight path?”253

Also, he said of himself, “Verily I look like a lamp in the dark among you; one who steps in the dark, he shall use light of that lamp.”254

Anyway, Imam insisted on exact compliance with the Prophet (S) 's tradition such that he even tried to act like the Prophet (S) in his actions.

When Imam objected why he serves people in the mosque with good food but he himself eats wheat germ with bread at home, he weepingly replied, “I swear by God I had never seen bread without wheat germ in the Prophet (S) 's home.255 What Imam said meant that he attempted to have his food like that of the Prophet (S) 's.

Imam in the Face of Infidels (Jamal War)

Only several months after Imam came to power in 36H., the first civil war happened in Jumadi al-Thani of that year among Muslims instigated by a group of promise-breachers led by Talha, Zubayr and 'Ayisha. To further clarify the historical background of this bitter event, it is to review the political lines of then Medina.

It was mentioned in the post-demise of the Messenger (S) that there had been two tendencies of the Umayyads and the Hashimites none of which could attain caliphate after Imam, The Umayyads due to being long-standingly anti-Islam and the Hashimites because of Quraysh's envy and problems they had with Imam 'Ali.

The middle faction of Quraysh, that is Abu Bakr and 'Umar, came to power leading to this group being set aside. No matter what happened during these two men, a suitable ground was prepared for 'Uthman, one of the Umayyads, among all Quraysh.

As said in the section relating to selection of 'Uthman, he was so popular among Quraysh people. When 'Uthman dealt with just the Umayyads around Quraysh, the middle line once again was capricious of caliphate. Among them, Talha, a fellow-tribe of Abu Bakr of Banu Taym, wanted to attain caliphate with the support of 'Ayisha. Zubayr also helped him for a while and he himself was eager to grab caliphate.

When Jamal war was waged, Ibn 'Abbas said to Zubayr, ”'Ayisha wants the government for Talha, what are you doing here?”256

This middle line failed to find an opportunity in Medina and observed that 'Ali of the Hashimites, after abdication of the Umayyads, assumed power. Now what had to be done?

It first approved of the new government assuming that it can play a major role in the new government. Talha and Zubayr suggested to rule over Basra, Kufa or Damascus. Imam smartly said that they were more needed in Medina.257

This aim was not fulfilled and Talha and Zubayr, leaders of the middle line, departed to Mecca to do the lesser pilgrimage and there they could talk to 'Ayisha, gone to Mecca before the death of 'Uthman and was still there.

Up to now there are three political lines. The Hashimites, the Umayyads, and the middle line of Quraysh that long time after appeared as “Abna' al-Muhajirun” in rebelling against 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr. Jamal movement crystallized showdown of Quraysh's middle line knowing itself follower of Abu Bakr and 'Umar.

Talha and Zubayr could satisfy 'Ayisha to join them and this was the greatest breakthrough for them. 'Ayisha both had familial relationship with Talha and showed mercy on her nephew. In this trip, 'Abd Allah played a major role in accompanying 'Ayisha. They could absorb three thousand people and move up to Basra.

The infidels made excuse for three reasons. First, 'Uthman was oppressedly murdered. This was posed while Talha, Zubayr and 'Ayisha were among those who mostly contributed to rebellion resulting in 'Uthman's murder. They recklessly said that they had repented and now they were ready to make up for what they have done by seeking revenge for oppressed caliph!

Certainly, this was raised for stupefied Muslims who were unaware of the real story. Another point was that they were forced to swear allegiance in Medina; therefore, the allegiance is improper and Imam's government is illegitimate at least to them as they are not committed to obey caliph because of the forcible allegiance according to what they said. The solution they brought up was that everything should be resolved in a way raised in the end of 'Umar's lifetime, that is “Shura”.

When 'Ayisha asked Talha and Zubayr of her duty, she was told, “Go and tell the people that 'Uthman was oppressedly killed and the affairs have to go back to council of Muslims meaning the situation created by 'Umar.”[258]

The council in which Talha and Zubayr took part raised a hope for their caliphate. This council caused Talha, Zubayr and Waqqas to imagine that they are fully illegible for caliphate. Zubayr in the midst of Jamal war told Imam 'Ali that he was not more illegible for caliphate than them.[259]

The Umayyads residing in Hijaz rushed to help this group opportunistically. Marwan Ibn Hakam, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir,'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Attab Ibn Abi l-'As and Sa'id Ibn 'As were among those who instigated people. A little while after, Sa'id Ibn 'As and Mughira Ibn Shu'ba, initially one of the defenders, abdicated.[260]

The Umayyads's assistance, at this time, was just because of opportunism and for believing in what Talha and Zubayr said. We know that Marwan at the end of Jamal war spear-killed Talha in revenge for 'Uthman.

More contemplation has to be made about 'Ayisha, wife of the Prophet (S). 'Ayisha had a high status

during her father's rule and 'Umar's, her father's friend. 'Umar gave her share more than the other wives of the Messenger (S) and this wasn't because she played a leading role in changes of his caliphate.261 'Ayisha is said to have owed a lot to 'Umar.262

'Ayisha said, "During mourning service of 'Umar, she heard jinns263 elegizing for him. Even in her sleep, she dreamed as if 'Umar were endowed with prophethood."264

By taking advantage of her talent in narrating hadith and credited with being the Prophet (S) 's wife, she maintained this to the end, although she and Mu'awiya could not get along well. 'Ayisha, during these years, tried to recognize herself as the dearest wife of the Messenger (S) leaving behind an acceptable image of herself and her father. She said she was six or seven when engaged and nine when married.265

Despite the news that the Prophet (S) at times excused her from Abu Bakr,266 she said, "Her marriage to the Prophet (S) ordained from God.267 This is while we know that Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, was the only wife of the Prophet (S) who was so proud of that.268

In the later times of 'Uthman's caliphate, 'Ayisha challenged him hard. Having been influenced by anti-'Uthman opposition as well as her own criticisms, she stood against him.

Unlike other wives of the Prophet (S), 'Ayisha primarily became involved in politics and naturally had a political personality. She could not remain silent in front of a wave of anti-'Uthman rebellion. The considerable point is that what compelled her to engage in such a venturous political action in spite of a lot of problems she faced?

To us, as far as her disagreement with Imam was concerned, the only incentive she had to take part in this was the vengeance she exerted against the Hashimites, Fatima and 'Ali within the years of the Prophet (S) 's lifetime. Sheykh Mufid has mentioned a few examples of 'Ayisha's grudge.269 Otherwise, we know that she wasn't the most conscious people to be concerned with 'Ali's exoneration from 'Uthman's murder.270

In addition, she wasn't interested in reversion of caliphate to Banu Taym. When anti-'Uthman opposition peaked, 'Ayisha had gone to Mecca for the Hajj. There, she heard that 'Uthman wasn't murdered and Talha succeeded him. She became happy and went up to Medina to reach Saraf. She wasn't told there people have sworn allegiance to 'Ali.

Hearing this news, she returned to Mecca and cried out, "O the oppressed 'Uthman."271

When 'Ayisha heard that people swore allegiance to 'Ali, she said, "One night of 'Uthman equals the entire lifetime of 'Ali."272

After Imam wasn't martyred, 'Ayisha named the child brought to her "'Abd al-Rahman!"273

After Jamal war came to a defeat, 'Ayisha said to Ibn 'Abbas, “No town I'm more angry at than the one where you, the Hashimites, live in.”274

'Ayisha also said when informing about the Prophet (S) 's arrival in ending days of his life, “Two people helped him by his arms. One of them wasn't Qutham Ibn 'Abbas and there wasn't another man!” According to narrator, by another man she meant 'Ali.275 Of course, she sometimes confessed that the dearest man to the Prophet (S) was 'Ali and the dearest woman was Fatima. When she was questioned why she did so, she said with a brown face, “It was something done!”276

'Ali himself mentions the reasons why she exerted vengeance against him:

First, the Messenger (S) had preferred him than her father in different cases.

Second, there wasn't brotherhood between Imam and the Prophet (S) and so 'Umar wasn't selected for Abu Bakr.

Third, keeping doors of companions' houses closed into the mosque and leaving Imam's house door open to it.

Fourth, when Abu Bakr failed to do anything the day before, banner of triumph wasn't handed to Imam in Khaybar war.

Fifth, there wasn't the story of declaring the exoneration for which the Prophet (S) firstly dispatched Abu Bakr, but he wasn't brought back as ordered by God and Imam took charge of it.

Sixth, it wasn't 'Ayisha's grudge against Khadija whose daughter, Fatima, also had experienced that.

Seventh, there wasn't popularity of Imam towards the Prophet (S) in such a way that once 'Ali came up to the Prophet and he wasn't given a seat next to him.

The Prophet (S) praised him in response to 'Ayisha's objection. This greatly raised her vengeance against Imam.277 Sheykh Mufid in his ending part of his book “al-Jamal” details another chapter on why 'Ayisha rendered grudge against Imam.278

Later on, when Imam Hasan (a) was to be buried near the Prophet (S), she opposed and said, “Why do you want to bury in my house someone whom I dislike?”279

Ahmad Amin explains about the reasons why 'Ayisha exerted vengeance against Fatima(a).280
Talha and Zubayr came to Mecca and well learned that they couldn't do anything without 'Ayisha.281

They said to her, “If Basrans meet you, they will be united with you.”282
Imam said about 'Ayisha, “She is most obeyed among people.”283

Through various talks, 'Ayisha was convinced to join them to Basra. It was not so easy to go because

she had to, in the first place, respond to her blatant disagreement on this Qur'anic verse that obligates the Prophet (S) 's wives to stay in their homes, **وقرن في بيوتكن.**

This verse clearly bans the Prophet (S) 's wives from leaving their homes meaning their participation in political struggles. As said that 'Umar even was doubtful about their going on the Hajj and he only once permitted them to do this by setting a lot of restrictions. Some wives such as Suda and Zaynab were not willing to go on pilgrimage for the same reason.284

Umm Salama tried hard to stop 'Ayisha going. Interesting to know is that 'Ayisha had asked her to join them to Basra. She said to Umm Salama quoting from 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir, “One hundred thousand swords are ready in Basra. Have you come to fix this?

In revenge for 'Uthman!, Said Umm Salama, were you not the hardest against him? Were you not the one who called him “Na'thal”, the old stupid man?

Umm Salama described a few virtues of Imam 'Ali and asked him not to oppose someone to whom Muhajir and Ansar have sworn allegiance.

She referred to this speech of the Prophet (S), **عليّ ولي كل مؤمن ومؤمنة.**

'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr standing at the door said, “We haven't heard the Prophet say such a thing”. But your aunt, said Umm Salama, has heard that and this speech of the Prophet who said, **علي خليفتي عليكم في حياتي ومماتي.** 'Ayisha confirmed that she has heard such a thing285.

'Ayisha spoke of her action taken for the improvement of Muslims' affairs! She attempted to absorb Hafsa.

He has the same idea, Hafsa said, as 'Ayisha's. In this way, he decided to go to Basra but 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar stopped him helping Jamal companions.286

Umm Salama, one of Ahl al-Bayt enthusiasts, wrote to Imam telling about the action of rebels, “By God if the Prophet (S) 's wives had not been banned leaving their homes, I would have come with you. Now I let the most beloved of my loved ones, that is my son, 'Umar Ibn Abi Salama, come with you.”287

Umm Salama began to publicize Imam 'Ali among Meccans and said to them, “I call you to seek after divine piety and in this time I know no one better than 'Ali.”288

When Maymuna, another wife the Prophet (S), heard about Talha and Zubayr's rebellion, she told the bearer of the news, “Join 'Ali because he has never gone astray and nobody has been let astray by him”. She repeated this three times289.

Umm Fa□l, daughter of Harith, in a letter by a courier to Imam, told him about the readiness of rebels.290

Medina was already in control of the Hashimites and the rebels could not return. Damascus was also

under the yoke of Mu'awiya and it was obvious that they would not benefit from going to Damascus.[291]

Because Mu'awiya is obeyed there and they will become only his plaything. On the other hand, they had the common aim with Mu'awiya and that was they had to prevent from Imam's caliphate. Now that Damascus is in the hands of Mu'awiya, Iraq must be decontrolled by Imam. People like 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir, who was after rule of Basra, insisted more on that.

Walid Ibn 'Uqba is said to have stopped them from going to Damascus since Mu'awiya was not ready to help 'Uthman, then how could he leave everything to a guess?[292] Mu'awiya also faild to take any interest in their coming to Damascus, so he falsely wrote to Zubayr that he has secured allegiance of Damascus people.

He asked Zubayr to seize Iraq, Damascus will be ready for him. In that case, there remains nothing for 'Ali. These talks led to their moving on to Basra hoping that friends of Talha and Zubayr in Basra and Kufa [293] to assist them. Ya'la Ibn Umayya arriving with a lot of property from Yemen, gave them all to rebels and they mobilized a group and mounted them on Ya'la Ibn Umayya's horses and moved up to Basra.

Referring to the fact that she is Umm al-Mu'minin and a rightful mother of Muslims, 'Ayisha tried to attract people towards the rebels.[294]

When the rebels came to Basra, Ka'b Ibn Sur, leader of Azd tribe, intended to abdicate. 'Ayisha came up to him and invited him. He initially insisting on his abdication said that he could not help but fulfilling what his mother said.[295] Anyway, 'Ayisha's name was very effective in attracting the people.

Later, Talha in his speech in Basra said, “God has brought 'Ayisha to you. You know that how dignified she was in front of the Prophet (S) and what status she had in Islam.”
Basrans just for the sake of 'Ayisha declared they would defend the rebels.[296]

When fighting began, Talha said, “O people! 'Ali has come to shed the blood of Muslims. Tell not that he is the Messenger's cousin. Someone who is with you is wife of the Prophet and trustworthy Abu Bakr's daughter, she is the one whose father was the most beloved to the Prophet.”[297]
On the day of attack, one of Basran companions of rebels said in a piece of poetry:

نحن نوالي أمّنا الرضية وننصر الصّحابة المرضية

“We hold sainthood of our contented mother and help Companions pleased by God.”[298]

In Basra, 'Abd Allah Ibn Hukaym Tamimi, brought to Basrans the letters Talha wrote to them and used them against 'Uthman and said to him, “Do you know these letters?”

Talha said, “Yes, but I knew repentance and revenging for 'Uthman the only way to compensate!”[299]

Jamal troops moved on. In midway, in Huw'ab region, 'Ayisha heard dogs barking. She all of a sudden recalled a report from the Prophet (S) that he kept away his wives from a sedition trap when hearing barking of the dogs on the way. 'Ayisha became determined to go back but 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr brought to her fifty people of Banu 'Amir to testify that the region was not called Huw'ab.300

'Uthman Ibn Hunayf was ruler of Basra on behalf of Imam (a). He dispatched Abu al-Aswad Du'ali and 'Imran Ibn Husayn to Jamal rebels near Basra. They asked Jamal companions why they had gone there.

They replied, “We have come in revenge for 'Uthman and that the caliphate be left to Shura.”

'Uthman Ibn Hunayf ordered the people to bear arms. The rebels came to Basra reaching Mirbad region and in there Talha first spoke of the oppressedness of 'Uthman.

He said, “People have sworn allegiance to 'Ali only by force.” He further said that now he must abdicate the resign from caliphate and selection of caliph in Shura be the same tradition of 'Umar Ibn Khattab.301

Zubayr and after him 'Ayisha made speech. Some people acknowledged him and some others shouted that he is telling lies. At this time the crowd parted in two and attacked each other with shoes. This resulted in an armed figting.302

One of the opponents, of 'Abd al-Qays great men, cried out, “These people were the harshest against 'Uthman. After that they swore allegiance to 'Ali and we were told about that and we too did so.”

Talha ordered to catch him and shaed his head and face.303 According to Ibn Khayyat, some of the people sheld them with stones when arriving in Basra.304

At any rate, after relatively controlling Basra, they signed a contract with Ibn Hunayf saying that they wait for Imam 'Ali to come provided the royal residence, public property and mosque remain in the hands of 'Uthman Ibn Hunayf.

Despite the contract being signed, the rebels breached the contract fearing that Imam might come and they could not stand against him, so they nightly marched into the mosque and arrested 'Uthman Ibn Hunayf while he was up at doing the night prayer. They shaved his head and face and overlooked killing him305, instead expelled him out of the city merely because they feared his brother Sahl Ibn Hunayf whom Imam had placed instead of himself. Observing him in this condition, Imam began to cry.306

The rebels looted the public property after killing about fifty people307 as well as its watch-outs.

When Talha and Zubayr saw the public property, they said, 308.هذا ما وعدنا الله ورسوله!

According to a narration, Talha at the very beginning of his arrival in Basra, asked about dhms that had been promised to him.309

With the relative control of rebels over Basra, there emerged a disagreement between Talha and Zubayr

over saying the prayers. This conflict temporarily came to an end with a compromise over their saying the prayers each on a day. At this time, Hukaym Ibn Jabala, commander of 'Uthman Ibn Hunayf–led forces, began to fight with the rebels with several hundred people. This fighting led to his martyrdom and his three brothers.310

From Basra, 'Ayisha wrote letters to people of Medina and Yamama and called them to support Jamal rebels.

In her letter to people of Yamama, she wrote, “The deviated 'Uthman Ibn Hunayf calls people on the way to hell while we call people to the Book of God.”

She had written this letter before Imam's arrival to justify the crimes of rebels in Basra event.311 She also wrote to Medinans telling them about the victory of rebels in Basra. The letter dated Rabi' al–Awwal 5th, 36 H.312

When Imam (a) heard about the departure of rebels, he substituted Sahl Ibn Hunayf in place of himself and quickly moved to Iraq accompanied by a large number of the Prophet's companions and some other Medinans who are reportedly considered to be four thousand people.313 According to Sa'id Ibn Jubayr, eight hundred people of Ansar and four hundred of those who attended the Ri□wan allegiance, joined Imam (a) in Jamal.314

When Imam sent Hashim Ibn 'Utba Ibn Abi Waqqas from Raba□a to tell Abu Musa to mobilize people to join Imam. Abu Musa disagreed on Kufiyans support from Imam. By saying that this is a sedition and being absent in sedition is better than attending it315, he did not allow people to rush to support Imam (a).

In addition, he threatened Hashim as well. Hashim came up to Imam and Imam sent 'Abd Allah and Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr to mobilize people in Kufa, but they failed to do so. This time, Imam sent his son, Imam Hasan (a) along with 'Ammar to Kufa. Besides, he deposed Abu Musa and posed Qaraza Ibn Ka'b Ansari over Kufa.

The enthusiastic speech of Imam Hasan (a) caused nine thousand six hundred and fifty people of Kufa to join Imam's troops.316 Hujr Ibn 'Adi, of Kufa pure and virtuous men called people to support Imam. Afterwards, people were set to back their Imam up under any circumstances.317

Imam Hasan (a) appearing as the Prophet's descendant played a key role in inciting Kufiyans. Similarly, 'Ammar, once ruller of Kufa, was known after piety and people recognized him as a criterion of credal error and gospel truth based on the narration, الحق مع عمّار يدور معه حيث دار 318
Kufiyan troops joined Imam in Dhi Qar and moved towards Basra.

Basran tribes were subdivided in three groups. One group including Rabi'a joined Imam. Another group such as Banu Dhabba joined 'Ayisha and the other one such as Ahnaf Ibn Qays, of Banu Tamim

leaders, resigned from the war.319

Abdication of a large number of tribes showed that it is very difficult for many to make decisions. Some of the tribes appearing in the two sides brought about to some extent tribal disputes.

Talha in his speech in time of war said, “Some of the Mu□ari hypocrite dissidents, Rabi'a Christians and Yemeni foot soldiers helped Imam 'Ali (a).

His speech raised objection of those who had come to war imagining defense of cause of rebels and this made them resign.320

Many people deemed rebellion right merely because it was led by Talha, Zubayr and 'Ayisha.
Harith Ibn Hut told Imam, “Do you think that Talha, Zubayr and 'Ayisha are unrightful?”
Imam replied,321 **اعرف الحق تعرف اهله، واعرف الباطل تعرف اهله**

Apart from ten thousand Kufiyans with two thousand people from 'Abd al-Qays and twelve thousand people comprising Imam's troops,a large number of Basran tribes in addition to a great multitude of Medinans among whom there were scores of the Prophet (S) 's companions, accompanied Imam.322

Imam 'Ali by no means was willing to wage this war. Hence, three days after arrival in Basra, by sending frequent massages, he asked the rebels to join back to “congregation” and “obedience”. But he received no positive response from them.323

Imam sent Sa'sa'a Ibn Suhan with a letter to Basra. He spoke with Talha and Zubayr but when he talked to 'Ayisha, he felt that she intended to raise wrong doing more than the other two. After Imam's return, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas was sent to Basra.

He said to Talha, “Haven't you sworn allegiance?”
Talha said, “I was forced by sword to do so.”
Ibn 'Abbas said, “I myself observed that you voluntarily swore an allegiance.”
Talha spoke about 'Uthman's blood.

Ibn 'Abbas said, “Was it not true that 'Uthman drank water from his own house well for ten days? and you did not let him drink fresh water. Then 'Ali came to you asking you to let him drink water.”
After that, Ibn 'Abbas talked to 'Ayisha and Talha.

'Ayisha was so confident about her victory that she did not show any flexibility.
Ibn 'Abbas attempted by making sound reasoning to warn them of the danger waiting for them, yet they failed to accept it.324

However, Imam insisted that war not take place. He stopped his companions launching the war and officially announced that no one has the right to launch war.325 Even on the day of war, before noon, Imam (a) handed a Qur'an to Ibn 'Abbas to go to Talha and Zubayr and talk to them while calling them to

Qur'an.

Ibn 'Abbas talked to Talha and Zubayr but 'Ayisha even did not permit them to talk and said, “Go and tell your lord that sword will rule between us.”

Ibn 'Abbas says, “I was not very far from them when they showered us with their spears.”326

On the morning of Jumadi al-Awwal 10th 327, Imam's division was prepared. Khurayba was the region of fighting where existed before Basra and later it became a place of Basra. That day up to noon, Imam resisted against the rebellion troops and advised them.

Imam (a) said to 'Ayisha, “God ordered you to stay at home, fear God and go back.”

Imam scolded Talha and Zubayr for bringing 'Ayisha. Malik was placed commander of the right wing, 'Ammar Yasir as the commander of the left wing, Nu'man Ibn Rib'i Ansari, according to some sources, Jundab Ibn Zuhayr Azdi was placed over the infantry and the banner was given to Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya Khariba.

Imam (a) with his fiery speech prepared the troops for battling the enemy.328
On the other side, 'Ayisha rode on camel-litter covered with armor. She appeared in the battlefield and made speech regularly talking about the oppressedness of 'Uthman.

Imam primarily handed a Qur'an to one of the 'Abd al-Qays people to go to the battlefield calling the rebels to Qur'an and warning them of disunity. The rebels speared him martyred. Mother of this young man present there jumped herself over her son. The companions helped bring his body to Imam.329

Imam (a) who, until that time, had ordered his troops not to launch the war by observing martyrdom of that man commanded Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya to attack the enemy.330 Fighting kept on from noon to night. It was most intense around 'Ayisha's camel and as said over seventy hands were amputated wanting to reach her camel's reins. 'Ayisha picked a handful of soil and tried to stupify people and did just as the Prophet (S) had done. She spattered the soil towards Imam's troops and said, “Woe betide you!”

Imam said to her, وَمَا رَمَيْتَ إِذْ رَمَيْتَ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ رَمَى. “One who speared was not thee but the devil.”331

When rebelling troops were defeated, Marwan Ibn Hakam knowing that the murderer of 'Uthman is nobody but Talha, speared him killed.332

Interestingly, Ibn Khayyat says, “Once the war was begun, the first one killed was Talha.333 This shows that Marwan mainly has come to war to kill Talha. Later on, he felt proud of this such that he himself told the story to Iman as-Sajjad (a).334

It has been said that Imam (a) called Talha in a battlefield and said to him, “Go Abu Muhammad! Do you

remember what the Prophet said about me?” اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه “ O Allah! Love his friends and loathe his enemies.” Talha replied, “I ask the repentance from God! If I had remembered that, I would have never risen up.335

Zubayr stayed with the troops to the insistence of his son, 'Abd Allah and did not leave the battlefield even with the Imam's speech. In one case, Imam (a) remembered what the Prophet had said, “Your aunt's son, that is Zubayr, will rebel against you.”

Zubayr acknowledged the report.336

The sources saying that Zubayr anyway had run away from the stage of fighting337 or had deserted the battlefield while being remorseful, are in clash with each other.

After Imam's speech, Zubayr intended to go back, but returned to the battlefield by the insistence of his son, it is probable that this might have caused his last run away to be assumed as his repentance. While if he were really remorseful, he would make his serious decision to return in the very beginning. When he left the battlefield, a person named Ibn Jurmuz chased and killed him in the right occasion.

Imam said about him, “Zubayr was closer to me than Talha. He was always from us, Ahl al-Bayt, so long as his son 'Abd Allah grew up and separated us.”338

Malik played a role in Imam's caliphate as much as when he came in grips with 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr, he was almost to kill him but in front of those of his troops whom he was separated from, 'Abd Allah said, “Kill me with Malik Ashtar.”339 His purpose was to have Malik killed.

'Adi Ibn Hatim Ta'i was among Imam's defenders who lost both one eye and one of his sons in this war. 'Amr Ibn Himaq Khuza'i was another companion of the Prophet (S) who stayed close to Imam in this war. He was, according to Dinwari, among the pious people of Kufa and many pious people joined him.

Observing the resistance of Basrans around Jamal, Imam ordered the camel to be killed. Some of Imam's companions surrounded the camel and killed it.

Later on, 'Ayisha said, “I could see 'Ali from inside the camel litter who was engaged in war shouting, al-Jamal, al-Jamal.”340

Imam neared the camel litter and blamed 'Ayisha addressing her, “Ya Shaqira'.” 341

One point is worth saying that 'Ayisha watched outside from inside the camel litter through the hole made.
Once she asked a person who had the reins of the camel in hand, “Is 'Ali present among the people?”

He replied, “Yes.”
'Ayisha asked him to show 'Ali to her. When 'Ali was shown to her, she said, “How identical he is to his

brother!”
The man questioned, “Whom do you mean?”
She said, “The Prophet.”
Once the man heard that, he let the camel's reins loose and joined Imam's troops.[342]

After the war came to an end, 'Ayisha who was motionless like a stiff, was taken out and sent along with her brother, Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr, to Basra and after some days she could leave there. Afterwards, she was sent to Medina with a number of Basran men and women.[343] A long time after, 'Ayisha frequently expressed remorse of what she had done.[344] When she read the verse, **وقرن في بيوتكن** she cried so much that her veil became wet.[345]

Ibn Qutayba says, “A woman came to 'Ayisha and said, What do you say about the woman who has killed her little child?”

'Ayisha said, “She must go to hell.”
The woman said, “What do you say about the woman who has killed (that is 'Ayisha) twenty thousand of her elder children?”[346]

'Ayisha herself when dying, said, “I have created events after the Prophet. Bury me near other wives (rather than beside the Prophet).”[347]

According to another narration, 'Ayisha said, “My absence in Jamal would have been better than having ten sons of the Prophet.”[348]

Many Basrans from different tribes were killed in this war. According to Baladhuri, only two thousand five hundred and fifty two people of Azd tribe were killed.

Eight hundred from Bakr Ibn Wa'il, five hundred from Banu Dhabba and seven hundred people from Banu Tamim had been killed.[349]

There seem to be other exaggerative numbers given. For example, Jamal war victims are said to be totally twenty thousand people.[350]

'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr also says that there have been fifteen thousand people killed.
According to Sheykh Mufid, the same number of twenty thousand people seems correct.[351]
Abu Hatim Nami quoting from his grandfather that the people killed in Jamal numbered twenty thousand people.[352]

This number seems incorrect because in a war lasting only five to six hours, there could be not many casualties to this extent. Imam's troops martyrs are said to number between four hundred to five hundred people.[353]

Known figures among martyrs of Imam's companions number six. Among them, Zayd and Sayhan are

children of Sawhan. There are two more people called Saq'ab and 'Abd Allah, brothers of Salim Ibn Mikhnaf (Abu Mikhnaf's grandfather) as well as two others named 'Alba' Ibn Harith Sadusi and Hind Jamali.354

What is certain is that the immediate defeat of Basra troops (five hundred people killed compared to over nineteen thousand people of the rebels killed) shows that rebelling troops had no strong incentives although Umm al-Mu'minin was present among them. Major problem was that Talha and 'Ayisha despite the fame they won in the affair of 'Uthman, were more notorious than that they can deceive people of Basra considering themselves as avengers for 'Uthman.

After the war was put to an end, Imam (a) ordered his troops not to chase anybody. Whoever gave in, he shall not be killed and no wounded shall be murdered. Imam set free even people like Marwan and children of 'Uthman.

At that time, Marwan said, "He will not swear allegiance unless he is forced to do so."

Imam said, "Even if he swears allegiance, like Jews, he will violate his allegiance." 355
Imam did not let people take advantage of private property of people except what the enemy had used in war. This was amazing to the people who up to now gained booties after any victorious war. Imam was objected concerningly, and he ashamed them by saying that who would take 'Ayisha if the property is to be shared?

However, simple-minded Arabs had this problem in mind that how it is rightly possible to kill people of a tribe but their property seizure is forbidden.356

Imam (a) began to search among those killed. When he saw Ka'b Ibn Thur-former judge of Basra on behalf of 'Umar-he had Qur'an hang from his neck. Imam said to take Qur'an off his neck.

He then ordered to have Ka'b be seated in front of him, and talked to his dead body just as the prophet had done to Quraysh's killed people in Uhud, "O Ka'b! I found what my God had promised. You also found what your God had promised you!"357

After Jamal fracas came to an end, Imam (a) entered congregation mosque and began to reproach the Basran infidels who were the first people standing against their Imam.

Imam called them358 womanish troops and animal followers: جند المراةً واتباع البهيمةً.

Imam wrote in letters to Medina and Kufa about the story of Basra.359 Then he ordered to have the public property shared among his companions who are said to number twelve thousand people. Unlike Talha and Zubayr who said when observing Bayt al-Mal, "This is the same promise of God and his messenger", this time Imam (a) said, "O white and yellow jewels, deceive people but me."360

After some time, sojourning in Basra, Imam went up to Kufa on Monday, Rajab 12th or 16th, year 36

H.361 after appointing 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas as the ruler of Basra. His arrival in Kufa is said to be on Monday, 12th of Rajab.362

Imam Stays in Kufa

Imam departed to Kufa after subsiding rebellion of infidels.

Imam stayed over in Kufa until his martyrdom. It is outlandish to say that Imam generally decided to leave Medina, although it is even far from fact his return to Medina might have been possible after his stay in Kufa. His departure to Kufa has to be considered as some kind of action to safeguard religion from the harm of infidels such as Mu'awiya.

Iraq was in a touchy situation. In principal, after beginning of conquests and expansion of Islamic realm, two points triggered increased importance of Damascus and Iraq over Medina and in other words Hijaz. First, a large number of tribes had come to Damascus and Iraq from Hijaz among whom there were seen many of companions. Second, the extent, possibilities and hidden talents in this regions had been incomparable to Hijaz.

When infidel rebels began their movement in Mecca, they well came to this conclusion to move towards Iraq before 'Ali (a) captures it. In case they could succeed in seizing Kufa and Basra, Hijaz would come in their hands. The problem was that they first assumed power in Basra but an incomplete one. Second, Kufa was taken totally out of their control.

In contrast, Imam could bring Kufa under his control, placing it as a base for his Shi'ite Muslims in the future. Regretfully, the same action of the infidel rebels caused Basra not only to tilt towards 'Uthmani religion but there emerges a permanent enmity between Basra and Kufa in Iraq, fading out solidarity in this region.

It was not easy for Imam to get out of Madinat al-Nabi and there was no way out just as when the Prophet (S) left Mecca with all sanctity and his sense of patriotism. In that time, he had not so many followers in Mecca. In contrast, Medina bowed to him knowing that it was economically reliable.

Now Imam 'Ali (a) had felt that his two strong enemies, one having Damascus in control and another Basra, trying to take Kufa out of his control. Seizure of these two cities meant that the whole Iran with all of its economic capacities has come under their control.

Imam (a) was not the man to become discouraged in the face of these problems and to abdicate from caliphate, something the rebels thought of and imagined that Imam leaves the affairs to Shura by observing this condition. On the contrary, he was determined to fight with the rebels and for the same reason he swiftly moved towards Iraq.

The major reason was that Medina could not stand and resist for some factors.

First, economically speaking, Hijaz was unable to bear confrontation with Iraq or Damascus. Medina, the best region, could not properly meet the needs of its people. Now how could it feed a huge army?

Second, Medina was not able to endure an all-out war with Damascus in terms of human power. The maximum number of those Medinans who aided Imam (a) in Jamal war is four thousand people.1236 This population could not undo the problems of succession in facing his plenty of enemies.

Third, Medinans save Ansar were not so much interested in Imam 'Ali (a). Muhajirun (immigrants), their children as well as Meccans were great number of people who had departed to this city after departure of the Prophet (S). Families of the Umayyads and those of Jamal rebels did not allow people to completely assist Imam (a).

The people of this city, during 'Uthman period, suffering from increased desire of welfare took away their fighting spirit. Moreover, the citizens, particularly some companions, like 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas, Muhammad Ibn Maslama, Usama Ibn Zayd, Zayd Ibn Thabit and many others did not show the least interest to Imam (a), knowing themselves more religious jurist than that they lend an ear to his speech. When Imam was in Kufa, Sahl Ibn Hunayf, Imam's ruler in Kufa, told Imam that many people are attracted by Mu'awiya.

Imam in a letter wrote to Sahl: "I have been told that people staying with you some of whom secretly go to Mu'awiya. Do not feel sorry that number of your men is decreased and their assistance is stopped. Their deviation and your release from their suffering suffice to say that they are escaping from the truth and rushing to ignorance. They are people of this world and they are after it. They have seen and heard the justice and knew that people are equal in front of justice. So, they ran away to have their own ends meet alone. May they be far from the blessing of God"363

Meccans had no better situation either. When Imam (a) wrote to Khalid Ibn 'As to secure allegiance from Meccans but they refused to do so.364

Kufa in different ways and just in the face of Medina had an entirely good condition. In the first place, Iraq had no problem of population. There were many tribes living there, those who had shown their military power in conquering Iran. Iraq economically was the most important source for people of this land. Furthermore, there were a lot of tax and tribute from Iran and Iraq, an unlimited wealth, in the hands of Muslims. When 'Uqba Ibn 'Amir asked Imam not to leave Medina and get somebody else to go.

Imam said, **إن الأموال والرجال بالعراق** " The properties and the men are in Iraq."365

This was quite clear for others. 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir leaving Basra for Mecca after 'Uthman was murdered, he was told in a piece of poetry by Walid Ibn 'Uqba, “You left Iraq, center of men and came to a silent city!”366

Ibn A'tham presents importance of Iraq as if Damascus has been only a corner of it.367 Fundamental aim of Imam (a) was to face Mu'awiya after stifling of Jamal rebellion. It was impossible to do this without Imam's appearance in Iraq that was near Damascus.368

Besides, Imam had a lot of supporters from among Yemeni tribes who were actually his devotees. They played a very important role in the war when Imam assumed caliphate and they stood in all battle scenes to the very end.

Of course it is to be noted that Iraq had its own specific problems. Later on, more explanation will be given about Iraqis on the occasion of confusion in this city at the beginning of Imam Hasan (a)'s succession.

It is only to refer that Kufiyans were recognized the most controversial people over trifles. They were enthusiastic people and not showing moderation in this regard. Also, the strong force of tribes headmen was one of the serious problems of Imam during his caliphate.

War with oppressively perverse people in Siffin

Upon his arrival in Kufa, Imam did not go to ruler's palace. The palace, in many years, had been converted to an aristocratic one.

When Imam was asked to go there, he said, “I'll never go to palace of the owls.”

He then went to altar of Kufa mosque and temporarily resided there. Afterwards, he went to Ju'da's house, son of his sister, Umm Hani.369

Kufiyans as the victorious people in Basra warmly red-carpetted Imam.370 At this time Damascus was the most important problem for Imam to think of.

From the years before Imam assumed caliphate, Damascus belonged to the Umayyads. Perhaps 'Umar who had placed Damascus at the discretion of Yazid and next Mu'awiya, children of Abu Sufyan, thought that the Umayyads deserve having Damascus if not rightful of seizing caliphate but because they were leaders of Quraysh. Henceforth, as earlier said, he did not make any changes to Damascus and even never remained critical of Mu'awiya.

With the arrival of 'Uthman, Mu'awiya was completely stabilized in situation. At this time, he regarded Damascus to be his own kinghood and mainly the imagination that he someday is deposed never occurred to him. Mu'awiya was very vigilant to have Damascus people be mentally fed by him and not by

any other people. For the same reason he never let Abu Dharr stay there.

Subsequently, whoever came to Damascus intending to effect the minds of the people as Mu'awiya thought, he would be expelled out of there.371 Anti–'Uthman rebellion on the part of the companions and other people made him treat the case cautiously.

On one hand, he never decided to stand against the companions. In this case, it was hoped that if someone came to power, he would have no pretext to demote Mu'awiya because of supporting the deviated caliph. On the other hand, with the confidence Mu'awiya took in Damascus people, he could count on this point that he would have an excuse for rebellion given the fact that he is being set aside. It happened to be so.

Having come to power, Imam (a) was up to send 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas to rule over Damascus. He primarily wrote a letter to Mu'awiya in which he asked Mu'awiya to accompany the aristocrats of Damascus to Medina, informing him that people murdered 'Uthman without his consultation but now they have selected him as caliph with consultation and consensus.

Mu'awiya failed to reply Imam's letter and he only sent him a white letter writing, “From Mu'awiya to 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib.”

The person who had carried the letter to Imam (a) said, “I am coming from the people who believe that you have murdered 'Uthman and they are pleased with nothing else but killing you.”372

This story was linked to the beginning affair of Jamal rebels that engaged Imam's mind for some time. In this time, the story of Jamal provided Mu'awiya with another propagandistic chance. By referring to turbulence of Talha, Zubayr and 'Ayisha, as the Prophet's wife, he could fix Imam's having a hand in murder of 'Uthman in the minds of Damascus people better than before.

After Jamal story came to an end, Imam (a) settled in Kufa because it was obvious that he would soon fight with Damascus troops. In this case, it was only Iraq that could do such a thing. In the very moment Imam arrived in Kufa, Shann Ibn 'Abd Qays composed, “Now we are relieved from war with the infidels, but there is a horrendous snake in Damascus that if stinks anyone, he'll be filled with a dead fatal venom in his body; therefore, in order to remedy, before it stinks, smash its head and throw it aside.373

It is to be noted that challenge between Damascus and Iraq, in principle, predated the Sassanids period. Arabs of these two regions, each was engaged in fighting in support of one of the two great powers of that time, that is Romans and the Sassanids. Of course, presently new immigrants entered this region and had different incentives compared to the past, but the old grounds could also affect it. Damascus surrender meant that its people had yielded to Iraqis. This could be true in the other way round. Ka'b Ibn Ju'ayl composed,

أرى الشام تكره ملك العراق وأهل العراق لها كارهونا

وكل لصاحبه مبغض يرى كلّ ما كان من ذاك دينا

“Damascus people dislike Iraq's rulership and so do Iraqis, they call each other enemies and dismiss each other's doings as bad.”374

This was not an easy confrontation and it was clear from scratch that Iraqis and Damascus people will have hard days ahead.

'Amr Ibn 'As, some time in the midst of Siffin war, wrote to Ibn 'Abbas, “The situation has become very critical and know that,

إن الشام لا تملك الا بهلاك العراق، وأن العراق لا تملك إلا بهلاك الشام

.

“Damascus is only captured by destroying the Iraqis and so is Iraq by killing Damascus people.”375

Shurahbil Ibn Simt objected to Imam's envoy saying that, “You have come to annex Damascus to Iraq?”376

In this time, other towns except Damascus and its suburbs swore allegiance to Imam 377 and Imam in Kufa designated rulers for different regions of Iraq and Iran.378 Malik Ashatar was dispatched to Jazira (including Musil, Nasibayn, Dara, Sinjar, Amid, Hit and 'Anat). This region was specifically a key region because it was situated near Damascus and Dhahhak Ibn Qays was in power there on behalf of Mu'awiya.

Jazira people held 'Uthmani religion379 and those of “the 'Uthmanids” having fled from Kufa and Basra, had taken shelter in some parts of Jazira cominated by Mu'awiya.380 Dhahhak–controled regions included cities of Raqqa, Ruha and Qirqisiya'. When Malik Ashtar went to Jazira, he prepared troops and attacked Haran. He had an intense fighting with Dhahhak troops in this invasion. He could bring this region under his control.381

It goes to say that Imam (a) on his arrival in Kufa tried to brighten public minds about different matters and prepare them for supporting him in the subsequent developments. He talked to the great people and noblemen and asked their support for himself against Mu'awiya. Iraq was then dominated by the same noblemen.

Headmen of tribes were more powerful than the ruler of the city and Imam (a) could not reorganize things without attracting their attention. At the same time, Imam's procedure was not to make progress in the affairs without consultation of people. This for people with no political perception created more desire of cooperation.

In response to Imam who said that he intended to write a letter to Mu'awiya calling to his obedience, people said, “Whatever you do, we obey you. We obey you just as we obeyed the Prophet.” 382 Imam also decided to reveal the fact to those rulers of the cities who were appointed by 'Uthman and had no certain problems. Included among them were Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah Bajali, ruler of Hamadan and Ash'ath Ibn Qays, ruler of Adharbayjan.

According to Dinwari, one of the reasons of anti–'Uthman rebellion was to give rulership of Adharbayjan to Ash'ath. This happened after 'Uthman married Ash'ath's daughter to his son.383 Ash'ath decided to flee to Damascus and only the shame he had from the side of his friends and their opposition to this action he took caused him to stay there.384

Noblemen of Kufa and other parts were given an audience by Imam and made excuses for justifying their no support of Imam in Jamal while strengthening their allegiance to him. Speaking about preparing to join Mu'awiya was something they were engaged in. for example, cooperation of Ahnaf Ibn Qays on behalf of Imam led to coming of Banu Sa'd and Banu Tamim tribes to Kufa from Basra and this largely affected consolidation of Kufa385.

By sending a letter to Mu'awiya from Kufa, Imam attempted to convince him to obey Imam of Muslims. Imam in a letter told him that his caliphate was based on then criteria and he had to admit it. Imam wrote:

“verily the allegiance people in Medina swore to me is mandatory for you in Damascus too. The same people who had sworn allegiance to Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman have done so to me similarly, so everybody present here has no way but to decide upon allegiance and everyone absent has no alternative except abandoning it. Shura is the right of Muhajirun and Ansar and when it is formed and the members agreed on leadership of a man called Imam, then this is the very consent of God.386

If you are rebellious, I'll fight you asking help of God. You've talked a lot about murderers of 'Uthman. First, go on the way Muslims cover and come with them to me for trial, so I oblige you and them to follow Book of God…and know that you're released on parole and the liberated prisoners do not deserve caliphate and participating in Shura”.387

When Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah handed Imam's letter to Mu'awiya in which he asked him to stop his seditious actions and join the community of Muslims, Mu'awiya asked people to assemble in the mosque.

While praising Damascus as “sacred territory”, he said, “I am your caliph on behalf of 'Umar Ibn Khattab and 'Uthman. I am guardian for blood of 'Uthman who has been oppressedly killed. What do you say

about blood of 'Uthman?”

All people declared their support of his revenge for 'Uthman. This was Mu'awiya's response to Imam (a). What was more interesting in Mu'awiya's speech was that he said he had been appointed to rule Damascus on behalf of 'Umar.388

'Uthman also said, “How should I depose Mu'awiya from Damascus while 'Umar has appointed him?”

This was while he had demoted many of 'Umar's agents from different cities.389 By deceiving Shurahbil Simt Kindi, one of Damascus noblemen and headman of Yemenis390, Mu'awiya could draw support of many of Damascus people.391 Mu'awiya regularly sent people to him to give testimony that 'Ali has murdered 'Uthman. Account of this deception shows stupidity of Shurahbil and those who followed him and Mu'awiya.392

Mu'awiya told Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah, representative of Imam, “Write to 'Ali to set Damascus and Egypt for me and when he passed away, he should not leave allegiance of anybody to me. In this case, I entrust everything to him and know him a caliph.” Jarir wrote this to Imam and Imam replied, “Mughira in Medina suggested this to me and I rejected. I do not do such a thing because, **لم يكن الله ليراني أتّخذ المضلين عضداً** “ God never sees me in a position of taking advantage of the deviators as my arms.”393

In fact, Mu'awiya tended to capture Damascus unequivocally and even if Imam 'Ali is caliph, the region should be in his control in the form of an independent emirate. When Mu'awiya made speech in Damascus, he said, “Why is 'Ali in caliphate superior to me. If Hijaz people have sworn allegiance to him, Damascus people have done so to me. These two regions are equal in this regard.”

He also in a letter wrote to Imam, “As long as people of Hijaz observe the truth, they were more preferred than Damascus people. But now since they have abandoned the truth, the truth belongs to the Damascus people.”394

Replying him, Imam wrote, “As for what you said about “now people of Damascus are superior to people of Hijaz”, show me a man from Quraysh who can be approved in Shura or his caliphate can be legal. If you claim so, Muhajirun and Ansar deny you … allegiance to me is generally sworn and nobody can oppose it and there will be no revision.” 395

At this time, Mu'awiya was called emir rather than “Amir al-Mu'minin” in Damascus; nevertheless, there were people who applied this term to Mu'awiya. The first man to call Mu'awiya Amir al-Mu'minin was Hajjaj Ibn Khuzayma who in his first meeting with Mu'awiya said, “Your uncles descendants from Banu 'Abd al-Mutallib killed your Sheikh.” 396

However, Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah Bajali returned from Damascus to Kufa after four months.397 Malik punished him hard and blamed him for selling his religion to Mu'awiya in Damascus. A short while later, Jarir left Kufa for Qirqisa while a large number of people from Bajala-excluding nineteen people-joined

him. After Jarir along with Thuwayr Ibn 'Amir left for the place, Imam set ablaze their houses.398

This time, 'Amr Ibn 'As lived in Palestine. He stood aside and went to Palestine after his opposition to 'Uthman that essentially emanated from 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abi Sarh who was put in his place in Egypt. From there, he provoked people and even serfs against 'Uthman.399 He is said after murder of 'Uthman to have asked his children what he must do.

His son said, “Go to 'Ali.”
'Amr said, “If I go to 'Ali now, he'll say, “You are like one of the Muslims enjoying equal rights as they do”, “but Mu'awiya considers me as his partner.”400

Mu'awiya felt that he could be of an important help to him. At the same time, Mu'awiya as in all cases, by touching 'Amr's weak point that is government of Egypt, asked his accompaniment. Mu'awiya, it is said, asked 'Amr to rush to him after he received Imam's letter through Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah.401

It is also said that his son, 'Abd Allah, bewared him of his action 402, but Muhammad, his another son, induced him to do that. 'Amr himself expressed his initial hesitation in a piece of poetry.403

However, 'Amr Ibn 'As was more corrupt than to overlook government of Egypt. He was primarily one member of Abu Bakr and 'Umar's band. He commanded the conquests and 'Uthman had set him aside because he used the help of his relatives in this regard. In essence, 'Amr was one of the organs of Quraysh party who was at odds with the Hashimites.

He quickly made his decision and joined hands with Mu'awiya after being assured that he could gain the world, that according to him was government of Egypt, by selling his religion. Talking to Mu'awiya, he composed,

معاوي لا اعطيك ديني ولم أنل بذلك دنيا فانظر كيف تصنع

فإن تعطني مصراً فأربح بصفقة أخذت بها شيخاً يضرّ وينفع

“O Mu'awiya! I sell not my religion for you and I sought not a benefit from your world, now this is you and all this, so if you give rulership of Egypt to me, I am fully benefitted.”404

It was a great success for Mu'awiya to see 'Amr joining him. The first thing Mu'awiya consulted was about Roman troops. 'Amr proposed a compromise and said that Romans would quickly accept it.405 Mu'awiya put this into effect and Imam (a) mentioned it in one of his speeches.406

'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Umar joining Mu'awiya in Damascus– that was because he feared Imam retaliating him for murder of Hurmuzan and two other people in Medina407– complemented Mu'awiya's excuse in

having son of caliph II in his hands and this was publicly and highly important to Mu'awiya who counted on this.[408]

Mu'awiya began his propaganda for betraying people of Medina and Mecca as well as the renowned authorities in different cities. He wrote to Medinans that we have risen up in revenge for 'Uthman. If we become victorious, we will settle everything as Shura manipulated by 'Umar and we are not after caliphate.

Medinans were irritated by what Mu'awiya and 'Amr said about caliphate and mentioned this important principle to them that “Tulaqa” (those released on parole) have no right to speak about caliphate.[409]

Mu'awiya made an effort to deceive people like Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, Muhammad Ibn Maslama and Usama Ibn Zayd whom he heard had not sworn allegiance to Imam (a) or had been unwilling to obey him in his wars. He in these letters regularly talked about Shura. None of the people mentioned responded him favorably.

Sa'd Waqqas also wrote, ”'Umar let no body in Shura unless those who were rightful of the caliphate. Presently, there is some disagreement with 'Ali on the fact that it would be good if Talha and Zubayr stayed home.” [410]

We know that the bottom line of all Sa'd's speech was that he deserved caliphate because 'Ali (a) has a problem and others are all dead. The only person remaining is Sa'd Waqqas!

'Ali's idea about “Qa'idin” was that, **خذلوا الحق ولم ينصروا الباطل** “ These people downgraded the gospel truth and assisted not the credal error.”[411]

Mu'awiya wrote to 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, “He does not want caliphate for himself but he wants it for you. 'Abd Allah rejected his suggestion.” [412]

This time, Imam (a) and Mu'awiya exchanged two detaile letters which contained important points.

Mu'awiya in his letter wrote to Imam that, “After the Prophet there were caliphs who came to power and you were envious of them and rebelled against them and we realized that rebellion in your wrathful look, your outcry, your sigh and in your delayed allegiance to caliphs, seeing that you were pulled like a male nose-ringed two-humped camel by force to reluctantly pay allegiance to them.”

Further, Mu'awiya spoke about Imam's enmity to 'Uthman and the fact that he was killed in his house and he remained quiet.

Mu'awiya also said that, “If 'Ali wanted to stop 'Uthman's murder, he could do it, but he did not. Now if 'Ali tells he truth, he can leave 'Uthman's murderers to me for allegiance.”

In his response, 'Ali (a) by referring to the victory God bestowed on the Prophet (S) and that He

suppressed his enemies, mentioned that, “The people who mostly insisted on provocation against him were his family.” Imam further said that they, Ahl al-Bayt, was the first people who believed the Prophet (S) while his tribesmen were up to kill their Prophets, wanted to uproot them and leave them in their hearts with sorrow and did the intemperate things to them.

He also added: “We were banned from having good food and drinking fresh clean water and granted us dismay. We were placed spies and guards, were forced to climb up unevenly impassable mount and were waged war. They put down a treaty not to eat, drink, marry and trade with us and never join hands with us, leaving us unsafe unless we hand them the Prophet (S) to be killed.”

By mentioning what pains he had taken in the wars in time of the Prophet (S), Imam further said: “You spoke of my envy of caliphs of my belated allegiance to them and of my rebellion against them. As for rebellion, I invoke by God if that could be true. Concerning my delayed approval of them as well as being displeased with what they did, I never apologize anybody for this.”

Imam (a) continued to say his reason for his rightfulness of caliphate. He also talked about his no implication in murdering of 'Uthman, citing Abu Sufyan's idea about Saqifa event and that he asked Imam not to let Abu Bakr capture caliphate but to make him pay allegiance to him. “I refused, Imam added, to do so because people were almost close to days of infidelity and I strongly feared disunity among Muslims.” 413

This letter is a major proof of Imam's attitude towards caliphs and his idea about his rightful caliphate. After this, he wrote letters to Mu'awiya and 'Amr Ibn 'As, trying to keep them away from the wrong way they were after.414

Imam (a) became determined to Jihad with Mu'awiya. He repetitively recited this to himself, **امرت بقتال الناكثين والقاسطين والمارقين** “Now, it is turn of the deviators, the apostates and the infidels to be launched a Jihad by Imam.”415

Imam called his outstanding companions of Muhajirun and Ansar, asking them to express their idea about going to Damascus. Hashim Ibn 'Utba, nephew of Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas said that those people allegedly claim about revenge for 'Uthman. They seek after this world and they must be suppressed as soon as possible.

'Ammar said that if they rushed one day earlier, it would be better. He composed,

سيروا إلى الأحزاب أعداء النبي سيروا فخير الناس أتباع علي

“Move towards the parties and enemies of the Prophet because the best people are 'Ali's followers.”416

Qays Ibn Sa'd said, “Making Jihad with them is more obligatory than the one with the Turks and

Romans.

Sahl Ibn Hunayf also declared Ansar's readiness for joining and obeying Imam (a). Among the people there, one person objected and said, “You want to dispatch us to kill our Damascus brethren as you took us, yesterday, to kill our Basran brothers!” People began to crack him down. The man ran away and the people after him leading to his murder in public turbulence in Bazar.417

Malik Ashtar said, “You shouldn't be fretted with what this wretched traitor said. All people are your Shi'ite Muslims.” 418

Kufa environment was, at this time, so good that no one dared disagree or even express dissent. Among the people, one who raised such and idea was Hanzala Ibn Rabi'a. His tribesmen put him under so much pressure that he nightly fled and joined Mu'awiya though he seemed not to have taken part in the war.419

However, even people who were fairly decent more or less remained in doubt. Abu Zubayb Ibn 'Awf asked Imam to officially testify that the way followed to cut off Wilayat's link to Damascus troops and replaced with enmity to them is a true one. Imam attested that. After Imam (a), 'Ammar attested that and he became assured of his way, relying on the two testimonies.420

Some people from companions of 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud – once in charge of Kufa's Bayt al-Mal – came to Imam and said, “We come with you but our division base will be independent. This is because we want to see who is after the credal error and embarks on rebellion.”

Imam approved of their idea. One group of four hundred people led by Rabi'a Ibn Khuthaym, expressing doubt about the war, asked Imam to send them to one of the borderlines. Imam sent them to Riy borderline and Bahila people who were displeased with Imam (a) and nor was Imam pleased with them were sent to Diylam frontier after he granted them their bounties.421

'Abd Allah Ibn Badil while in his speech confirming Imam's position said to Imam, “Their opposition to you is because of your previous strikes against them.” He then said to people, “How should Mu'awiya pay allegiance to 'Ali while his brother, Hanzala, his uncle, Walid and his grandfather, 'Utba are all killed in one war?” 422

Hujr Ibn 'Adi and 'Amr Ibn Hamiq marched and began to curse Damascus people. Imam summoned them and said that he did not like them to be known after curses. Instead, they could ask God to stop bloodshed and make peace.

'Amr Ibn Hamiq stressed over hid friendship with Imam and Imam prayed for him.423 'Amr stood on his pledge until he was martyred by Ibn Umm al-Hakam, Mu'awiya's ruler in Jazira.

Imam in a public sermon called all people to Jihad after he was assured of the fact that Mu'awiya receives nothing but force and on the other hand, lords of Kufa defend him in war with Damascus.

After him, Imam Hasan (a) began to speak, “God prepared for battling against your enemy, Mu'awiya and his troops because he is already in state of alert. Leave not your spirit of campaign that, if abandoned, casts off bonds of hearts and that careering of sword and spear assures assistance and prevention of defeat.”

After him, Imam Husayn (a) induced people, in a speech, to fight with Damascus people. 424

Imam wrote to Ibn 'Abbas to ask for Basrans' help. Many Basrans, after being called by Imam, joined Ibn 'Abbas to Kufa. Ibn 'Abbas put Abul-Aswad Du'ali in his place in Basra. He wrote to Mikhnaf Ibn Salim to put somebody in his place in Isfahan and join Imam and he did so.

At this time, Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr was ruler of Egypt on behalf of Imam. Writing a detailed letter to Mu'awiya, he blamed Mu'awiya for countering with Imam.

Muhammad wrote as to Imam 'Ali's background: “Now I see that you talk about being his counterpart while you're you and he's he who beats all with his unique record of all alms and virtues. He is from the people of the first man who has embraced Islam, more reliable in faith, more purified in family, having an honorable wife who stands higher than all people and he is of the best people to his cousin.

Whilst you are damned of the cursed son. You and your father flamed seditions against religion of God and attempted to put out glow of Islam. You organized factions and parties, collected properties and for so doing, you held familiar company with anti-Islam tribes.

Your father died after this way and you substituted him and the evidence is that the remaining groups, opposition parties, hypocrite leaders who have taken refuge in you are against the Prophet (S) and you have supported them. And the evidence for 'Ali, in addition to his public superiority and his Islamic initiative, is his companions of Muhajirun and Ansar whose virtues are cited in Qur'an and left in memories and God praised them ….

Woe unto you! How do you parallel yourself to 'Ali whereas he is legatee of the Prophet (S) and his descendants and is the first man who obeyed him and stood up to his promise until his last days of life. The Messenger (S) kept him his confidant and his partner.”

Replying him, Mu'awiya wrote: “To one who reproaches his father. Your letter is received … You charged your father intemperately … We and your father were together in the lifetime of the Prophet. We know that we have to respect the right of son of Abu Talib and his supremacy over us is apparent, …

After the Prophet in that time, your father and his discriminator were the first people who disentitled 'Ali of his right and opposed him and they both unanimously allied with each other in this regard … They never let him in their works and never revealed their secrets to him as long as they passed away…

Therefore, if what we are up to is true, your father initiated it and if it is cruelty, your father again founded it. We are his partners and we followed his guidelines. In case your father had not covered this way

before us, we would have never opposed son of Abu Talib and would have surrendered ourselves. But we observed what your father did and we too followed his foot-prints and modeled his manner." 425

Kufa poised for battle with Damascus. Imam ordered the warriors in Nukhayla, a military camp in Kufa, to come together. Decorating pulpit of Kufa with the bloody garment of 'Uthman, while seventy thousand Sheikhs weeping around it, Mu'awiya was made to prepare Damascus people for battling Iraqi troops.426

Imam's uprising from Nukhayla happened on 5th of Shawwal, 36 H.427 The first dispute raised in Imam's troops was conflict over headmanship of Yemeni tribes. Imam (a) deposed Ash'ath and posed Hassan Ibn Makhduj. This spurred conflict between Kinda and Rabi'a.

Upon hearing about this conflict, Mu'awiya compelled one of Kinda poets to stimulate Ash'ath against Imam but he obtained no luck in that time and this was finished by placing him over the left wing of Iraqi troops.428

Unfortunately, the enfeebled, spoiled and opportunist spirit of Ash'ath caused him to stand against Imam. It has been said that he had been writing letters to Mu'awiya ever since Imam called him to Adharbayjan and ordered to have his properties appraised.429 Ya'qubi has mentioned his relationship with Mu'awiya when Qur'ans were raised up.430

Imam (a) en route arrived in Ctesiphon and asked the citizens to join his troops. Behind Imam, eight hundred people along with Qays Ibn Sa'd and a short while later about four hundred people along with his son, Yazid, joined Imam's troops. Imam on the way turned down all gifts of Iranian headmen and bewared them of welcoming emirs in such a way.431

Upon request of his companions, Imam wrote another letter to Mu'awiya and called him to Book of God, tradition of the Prophet (S) and prevention of bloodshed but Mu'awiya poetically responded him that there rules sword between them.432 On the way, Imam (a) demanded Raqqa 'Uthmani – religion people433 who were supporters of Mu'awiya to install a bridge over the river for the troops to pass.

Citizens refused to do so and they finally did it under the threat of Malik. Imam kept three thousand people with Malik until all the forces pass through. In the end, Malik was the last one who crossed the bridge.434 On passing through Iraq, when Imam reached Karbala, he reported about the horrendous event that would happen to Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (S) in this land.435

In northern Iraq and Syria, front troops at Roman border, by passing through Hit, Qirqisiya' and Raqqa faced front forces of Damascus led by Abul-A'war Sulami.

Imam sent Malik forward to counter with them reaffirming to him that he, at any rate, should not initiate the war. Upon his arrival, Damascus troops launched fighting and the two sides were engaged in combat for some time. Afterwards, Damascus troops pulled back.

Concerning the time of Siffin war, there appear contradictory historical reports.

It seems that there exist two quotations. Baladhuri has cited Imam's arrival in Siffin to be on Dhil-Hajja (36).436 He reports the war from Dhil-Hajja (in the year of 36), referring to fightings in this month and after in Safar when major war took place.437

Ya'qubi says water dilemma goes to Dhi l-Hajja, 36 H. and that war in the year of 37 H. lasted forty days. However, he says arbitration goes to Rama□an, 38 H.438 he means that the arbitration happened in Safar, 37 H. about one and a half year after Siffin war! Based on this report, a treaty was put down in Safar and as prescribed it will be brought to an end by Rama□an.

Ibn Athir began events of Siffin from Dhi l-Hajja, 36 H. and ended in Safar, 37 H., referring to arbitration within events of the same year.439

According to Khalifa Ibn Khayyat, Siffin war intensely lasted from 7th to 10th of Safar, 37 H.440 It seems war exceeded those days.

According to another report by Nasr Ibn Muzahim, the first date specified is that when Imam (a) reached Siffin, he had correspondences with Damascus troops in the region of Siffin during months of Rabi'a al-Akhir to Jumadi al-Thani.441 Following this, Ibn Muzahim mentions events of Rajab. This condition continued up to Dhil-Hajja during which forces from the two sides fought with each other.

After that, in Muharram, hostilities came to a cessation and the main war was waged in Safar.442 Naturally, months of Rabi' al-Awwal and the two months of Jumadi can not be said to relate to the year of 36H. because Imam had arrived in Kufa in Rajab of that year.

As Nasr said, Siffin war was launched from the second month of the year 37, lasting up to Safar of next year. In this way, Ibn Muzahim's mention of dates exceed one year beyond those of Baladhuri's and some other historians. Dinwari's dates are exactly what Nasr mentioned.443

This is while Dinwari has set date of arbitration in Safar of the year 37 despite his reference to Rabi'a al-Awwal and the two Jumadis and it can not be true according to his previous settings. As his book's proofreader said, Muharram of the year 37 H. is the month when war stopped.444 It is to be said that Ibn A'tham regards arrival of Imam's troops to be in Muharram of the year 38 H.445 That seems untrue.

If this statement that Kharijites selected 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb their leader in Zayd Ibn Husayn's house in the late Shawwal, 37 H. and that Imam 'Ali's war with them happened in Safar of the year 38 H. is true446, it is inevitably to be accepted that what Nasr Ibn Muzahim said is not true. Overally, it is to be said that the majority agree on major fighting happening in Safar of the year 37 H.

The region of fighting was in Siffin after which the war was known. Siffin is a cramped village of Roman villages that stands at a rifle - shut of the Euphrates. Alongside the Euphrates, there rest trees around which water surround and in the wilderness of two Farsangs (leagues) and there was no passing way except the Euphrates that is restricted and paved. 447

When Iraqi troops approached Damascus troops, they noticed that they had stationed in the region having the paved route, passing through swamp, under their control. They had positioned bowmen and horsemen to prevent Iraqis from frequenting to the coast of the Euphrates.

Number of Damascus troops is said to be amounting to one hundred twenty thousand people.448

Imam's troops moving out of Kufa also numbered eighty thousand people who were added by many of Ctesiphon people on the way.449 Imam (a) sent Sa'sa'a to Mu'awiya to tell him that his troops launched the war whereas Imam was up to talk to him again make an ultimatum.

“Now, Sa'sa'a said, you have barred us from water and Iraqi troops can not remain silent, with all this, Imam doesn't want to launch the war.”

Mu'awiya rejected what Sa'sa'a said. 'Amr Ibn 'As opposed Mu'awiya's decision. He spoke about 'Ali's valor and also said that, “You – that is Mu'awiya – and I have heard 'Ali when Fatima's house was inspected saying if he had forty men … 450.”

But Mu'awiya could not admit that and fighting began. The story of banning the water, on one hand linked to that of the water not reaching 'Uthman451 and on the other hand it was associated with the event of Karbala.

Iraqi troops dominated the water through fighting with the courage of Malik452 and Imam ordered the troops not to ban Damascus forces from using water. By breaking out a news (through a spear on which there was a letter sent to Imam's troops but the sender was anonymous, perhaps it was from a friend!) that Imam controlled region will be enundated, Mu'awiya displaced Iraqi troops.

Imam who opposed the displacement of troops yielded to Iraqi's decision and Iraqi troops could only control the water after re–fighting. What Ibn A'tham said about these events slightly differ from Nasr's report.453 In all these events, Malik played a pirotal role and strongly treated the Damascus troops.454

Large numbers of forces had been killed in the fighting about which Nasr has given an account in the form of boastful speeches and wars. A number of Qur'an reciters from Iraq and Damascus mediated between the two armies, trying to resolve the dispute through talks. These mediatory attempts continued for a long time.

As referred, with Dhil–Hajja coming to an end, Muharram came and war was supposed to come to a cessation.455

Negotiations of Imam's envoys with Mu'awiya came to a deadlock. Murdering of people such as 'Ammar, 'Adi Ibn Hatim, Malik and those who, according to him, had a hand in murder of 'Uthman, was set by him as his condition. This was something unacceptable both by Imam and by Iraqi tribes. Imam (a) once in front of Abu Muslim Khawlani asked murderers of 'Uthman to be prepared. In that time, mosque became filled with crowds saying that they were the murderers of 'Uthman.456

In Siffin, the same thing happened and about twenty thousand people of Iraqi troops stood away and said that they were 'Uthman's killers.457

Mu'awiya's insistence on this condition was because he knew they would never accept that. He attempted to deceive those who had come as representatives and had been apt to be deceived. He said to Ziyad Ibn Hafsa, “I want you to join us with your family and I make a pledge, after victory, to dispose you with each one of the two cities you want.”

Ziyad said, “I have an axiom from my God for what He betowed me and I want not to be patron of wrongdoers.” 458

With the elapse of Muharram, month of illegals came to an end and Siffin war was launched between Malik and Habib Ibn Muslim in the first day of Safar, that as said, had been Wednesday! 459 In the night of war being launched, Imam advised all his forces:

لا تقاتلوا القوم حتى يبدءوكم

“Avoid fighting these people until they start the fighting.” 1334

Imam (a) here intended to leave a chance for return of Damascus troops to truth. Imam advised his troops this way: “If they did not initiate war, you don't fight them because you have full proof as to praise of God and as you leave them to launch the war, this is another proof for you and against them. If you fought and defeated the enemy, do not kill any fugitive and wounded, keep the pudenda veiled and do not mutilate any killed.

In case you rushed into enemy camp, disgrace not anybody and enter not any house unless under my order. Take not away any of their property save what exists in the division camp. No woman has to be harmed although your honor is abused and your commanders and good relatives are charged with abuse because those women are weak in respect of soul and wisdom. We had the duty (in time of the Prophet «s») not to harm them when they were pagan.”460

However, war began on Safar 1st 461 and the two sides intensely fought with each other. It seemed that each day one of Imam's commanders led the frontline. Malik on first day, Hashim Ibn 'Utba on second day, 'Ammar Yasir on third day, Muhammad Hanafiyya on fourth day and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas on fifth day commanded the frontline.462

War escalated in the next Thursday and the left wing of Iraqi army split apart but it was compensated with bravery of Imam himself.463 Imam himself was present among the troops and regularly called them

to resistance by praying and preaching.464 Nasr Ibn Muzahim carefully formulated most of his invocations and speeches and portrayed two-peopled war scenes as far as possible.

Qays Ibn Sa'd, each day, spoke for Ansar and incited them against Damascus people465, emphasizing that companions of the Messenger (S) are with them. Seventy people, he said, of those in Badr stay with us and our commander is cousin of the Prophet (S), "a trustworthy person of Badr."466

Ya'qubi has put that seventy people of Badris, seven hundred people of Ri□wan allegiance – prayers as well as four hundred people of Muhajir and Ansar stayed with Imam 'Ali (a). From Ansar, there stayed nobody with Mu'awiya except Nu'man Ibn Bashir and Maslama Ibn Mukhallad.467 Just as Imam once brought Ansar together, moving towards Damascus troops, so Mu'awiya readied those two people and moved ahead.468

'Ammar Yasir was among the people who directly talked against Mu'awiya.
In response to some one who asked him how he would fight these Muslims while the Prophet (S) said, "I have a duty to fight as long as they declare monotheism, then their life and property is secure."

'Ammar said, "This is true, but these people have not embraced Islam. They inwardly rendered blasphemy until they found helpers today."469 In another speech in Siffin, he rightly stressed over the point that these people deceitfully posed blood of 'Uthman, yet their aim is, **ليكونوا بذ لك جبابرة وملوكاً** He may become a tyrant by doing this."470 "

In Siffin, 'Ammar seemed to many a sign of distinguishing gospel truth from credal error. The Prophet (S) said about him, **تقتلك الفئة الباغية** " You will be killed by an aggressive group."471
This successive narration led some people to see in what front 'Ammar stands and is martyred.

'Amr Ibn 'As himself had narrated this hadith. Mu'awiya objected why he had narrated that. 'Amr composed a piece of poetry saying, "I didn't know this would happen in Siffin."472

This made a problem for Damascus troops as 'Amr was supposed to arrange a face-to-face debate with 'Ammar at the presence of a number of people from the two sides. 'Ammar said to 'Amr who, in the very beginning, made a profession of faith (Tashahhud), "You had abandoned this from time of the Prophet (S) and on."

'Amr who in deceit was saying, "What are we fighting for?"
Was told by 'Ammar, "You are the most obeyed among the troops. Do something to stop bloodshed."

He said, "Now I tell why I am fighting you.The Prophet (S) ordered me to fight with the infidels as well as with the deviators who are the very you, as for the apostates "Kharijites" .... I wonder if I have to consider them or not. O You who are devoid of good qualities! Do you know not that the Messenger (S) said for 'Ali (a), **من كنت مولاه فهذا عليّ مولاه ، اللّهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه** " I love God, his Messenger (S) and after him 'Ali." 'Ammar continued to talk about 'Uthman, "He opened to you gates of evils."

'Amr asked, “Did 'Ali kill him?” 'Ammar said, “No, but God of 'Ali killed him.” He said, “Were you among the murderers?” 'Ammar replied, “I helped those who killed him and this day I fight with enemy helping them.”[473]

'Amr Ibn 'As said to accompanying Damascus troops, “He confesses to murder of 'Uthman.” 'Ammar was martyred in one of the days of intense fighting. Several people of Damascus troops claimed responsibility for his murder.[474] It is also said that some Damascus people said prayers over his stiff ![475]

To Mu'awiya, murder of 'Ammar Yasir was “conquering the conquests.”[476]
'Ammar composed about war with Damascus troops in a poetic line, religious justification of which is said to be interesting,

نحن ضربناكم على تنزيله فاليوم نضربكم على تأويله

“Earlier, We beat thee for his descension and now we beat thee for his interpretation.”[477]

It meant although Damascus people have embraced Qur'an and Islam, they really never confessed to it. Muslims also made use of sense of “rebellion”.
Mughira Ibn Harith Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib said in a poem,

أهل الصلاة قتلناهم ببغيهم والمشركون قتلناهم بما جحدوا

“Prayer-holders are killed for their rebellion and the atheists are murdered for their denial.”[478]
In the midst of fighting, Imam handed a Qur'an to one of his troops to go to Damascus troops and call them to Qur'anic arbitration, but they killed him.[479]

Imam's troops superiority was utterly apparent. Once, 'Abd Allah Ibn Badil neared Mu'awiya's settlement and made him retreat. Another time, 'Utba Ibn Abi Sufyan suffered so much a defeat that he took aback as far as twenty leagues.[480]

Of course, in some cases, left or right wing of Iraqi army temporarily disintegrated. Reports say that Imam himself fought and killed different people, one of whom was Hurayth, Mu'awiya's Mawali and a very strong man. He himself defied Imam and in the very beginning was sworded killed by Imam.[481]

'Urwa Dimashqi asked Imam for a challenge and was split in halves by Imam.[482] Another report says that Imam had trace of three strikes on his head and two on his face.

Nasr Ibn Muzahim reporting this says that Imam (a) was never wounded.[483] Imam asked Mu'awiya for a combat. Whoever wins the battle, he shall assume power. Mu'awiya turned down his request.[484] Imam

once faced 'Amr but he could run away the battle by unveiling his genitals because Imam was very ashamed of what he did.[485] The same thing happened to Busr Ibn Artat.[486]

Fighting was so intense that these days only in one battle over five hundred people (Ibn A'tham, One thousand) confronted with the same number of Damascus troops and none survived the battle![487]

Siffin war was tribally formed. Many tribes half of whom in Iraq and another half in Damascus stood against each other. Rabi'a[488] and Hamdan tribes, headman of the latter of which was Sa'id Ibn Qays sacrificed in the most part in as much as Imam said in a piece of poetry:

فلوكنت بوّاباً على باب جنة لقلت لهمدان ادخلوا بسلام

"If I were gate keeper of Heaven, I would tell Banu Hamdan people to enter there in goodness."[489] Imam said about Rabi'a as well, **" وكان علي (ع) لا يعدل بربيعة أحداً من شدة محبته لهم** 'Ali never equaled Banu Rabi'a to anyone for his love extended to them."[490]

Mu'awiya advised Damascus troops to aim at no people but Hamdanis since they stand as 'Uthman's adversary.[491]

The truth is that Mu'awiya feared them and he was at weakening them. 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Umar, one of Damascus troops commanders, was murdered by one of Hamdanis in one of these battles. Dhi l-Kila', one of the greatest commanders of Damascus troops, was killed in Siffin.

He is said to have heard through 'Amr Ibn 'As, in time of 'Umar, (seemingly through a person named Abu Nuh who quoted this to him from 'Amr Ibn 'As in Siffin)[492] the Prophet (S) saying that 'Ammar is killed by an aggressive tribe, so he used to fight while being in doubt. Mu'awiya liked very much to kill him fearing that he might be a trouble for Damascus troops.

In contrast, a good many of marked troops of Imam (a) were also martyred. One of Siffin martyrs, Uwiys Qarani[493], is the noted Gnostic who was and, still is, highly ranked among Muslims. Ibn A'tham while reporting his martyrdom in Siffin made an account of him.[494]

Hashim Ibn 'Utba, known as Hashim al-Mirqal, who had lost one eye in conquests, was the most devoted companions of Imam being martyred in Siffin. He was Sa'd Waqqas's nephew and unlike his position of being among Qa'idin stayed with Imam with complete assurance until he was martyred.[495]

Khuzayma, another companion of Imam, was also martyred in Siffin and Imam approved his one testimony as two, for which he was known after "Dhu ash-Shahadatayn" meaning two witnesses.

After their martyrdom, there were still seen famous people in troops, like Ashtar (who was nicknamed by Mu'awiya as lion of army)[496], 'Adi Ibn Hatim and Qays Ibn Sa'd.

It is to be noted that a number of Kufiyan women also attended Siffin war, exhorting Iraqi forces against those of Damascus by making poems in which Imam was praised and his virtues were retold. Among them, there were Suda, daughter of 'Umara Hamdani, Umm Sanan[497], Zarqa', daughter of 'Adi Hamdani[498] and others whose biographies are mentioned in various sources.
Umm Sanan addressed 'Ali in Siffin and said:

قد كنت بعد محمد خلفاً لنا أوصى اليك بنا وكنت وفيّا

“After Muhammad (S), he was his successor among us and he kept his promise well in front of us.”[499]

One of these women named Umm al-Khayr said in Siffin:

إنها إحن بدريّة وضغائن جاهلية وأحقاد احديّة، وثب معاوية عند الغفلة ليدرك بها الفرصة من ثارات عبد شمس

“Mu'awiya's waging war comes from his vengeance in Badr, Uhud and from his ignorant bigotry and it is because he wants to take revenge for 'Abd-e Shams.”[500]

Another woman was Jurwa, daughter of Murra Ibn Ghalib Tamimi who was later brought by Mu'awiya to Damascus. When she was asked by Mu'awiya about Imam 'Ali (a), she said,

حاز والله الشرف حتى لا يوصف ، وغاية حتى لا تعرف,

“By God, he attained an indescribable nobility and reached a station beyond imagination.”[501]

Mu'awiya tried to break apart Iraqi army in ways except war. Writing different letters to Abu Ayyub Ansari, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas and others under the pretext of stopping bloodshed and even of promising caliphate to Ibn 'Abbas[502], he attempted to force them to oppose Imam (a). Besides, he changed the condition by frequently granting money to his troops,

“ لم يبق من أهل العراق أحد فى قلبه مرض إلاّ طمع فى معاوية

There remained no one but the problematic Iraqis who joined Mu'awiya in his caprice and this was such that Imam was bothered.”[503]

Mu'awiya also wrote to Imam asking him to leave Damascus to him without wanting to obey him. This was the same thing he had demanded before and as mentioned, he intended to establish an independent emirate in Damascus. Imam turned him down.[504]

This time, Damascus people strongly spoke about severe bloodshed and publicized their aim of ending the war. Such a measure was taken just to hinder Damascus conquest, and probably to bring about a gap and discard in Iraq's army. This was what Mu'awiya failed to do repeatedly; yet as we shall wee later, he finally made it. In one of these days, one of the Damascus people came between the two armies and proposed that Iraq any return to Iraq and Damascus army to Damascus, so to avert a bloodshed.

Confirming his truthfulness, Imam said: "I know that you made this proposal out of benevolence and pity; however, I have considered well, contemplated carefully and assessed the dimensions of this deed haunting me, and I have found no way but submitting to was, or refuting what Allah has inspired the Prophet (S).

Indeed, Allah, the blessed and exalted, doesn't like His friends to remain reticent and submit while tyranny and mutiny are prevailing on the earth, and not to enjoin the good and forbid from the evil. That's why I realized that to me, the war (with all its hardship) is easier than enduring the hell with its chains."505

In one of the last war days, the battle became so intense that it started by the morning prayer and continued up to the mid-night. During all this period, Ashtar was busy provoking the army. This night was called "Layla al-Harir", the night of clamor. Again the war started from the middle of that night and continued up to the noon of the next day.

"The enemy fought to its last grasp", said Imam, in a sermon.

Mu'awiya and 'Amr thinking that everything was finished and feeling that they cannot be so hopeful of Damascus army, embarked on a trick. The next day after the night of clamor, when the war lasted to the moon of that day,506 500 Qur'ans were raised above the spears of the Damascus people.

There were loud voices crying, "O group of Arabs! Think of your women and girls. If you'll be killed, who will stand up to Romans, Turks and Persians tomorrow?" 507

As a result of this measure, little by little, this proclamation was heard within the Iraqi army that the enemy has admitted the arbitration of Qur'an, and we don't have the right to fight them. Imam defined this remarks strongly and announced that this deed is nothing but a trick. Sa'sa'a said that Mu'awiya took this measure after he heard Ash'ath Ibn Qays reminding of the women and girls at the night of clamor, and that Arabs are collapsing.508

Besides, Ash'ath was the first person opposing Imam on the continuation of the war. We've previously pointed out that the account of his correspondence with Mu'awiya, since his dismissal from Adharbayjan has been mentioned in historical records. Here, Ya'qubi as well clarified that Mu'awiya conciliating Ash'ath wrote to him and invited him there.509 Ash'ath's measure was supported by the Yemeni.510

The minimum problem concerning Ash'ath was that he was apt to deviation from the outset, and was drawn to this path. In the thick of the clashes, we have in hand some of his remarks against Mu'awiya and with respect to instigating Iraq army.511 It ought to be known that tribal obstinacy played a crucial role and in all likelihood, Imam's true heed to Malik caused Ash'ath to take umbrage.

The escalation of the discrepancy amongst the army of Imam, has induced much more hardships for him. Imam felt that he is no more the commander, and the people have tied his hands, and turned out to be his emir.

Even so, Imam stood up and said, “I deserve to admit the arbitration of Allah's book more than the others; however, Mu'awiya and his companions are not the companions of religion and Qur'an. I know them better than you. I was with them since my childhood.”

At this moment, about 20000 of the Iraq army came to Imam, and without calling him “Amir al-Mu'minin”, asked him to accept the arbitration of Qur'an. Among these people were a group of Qur'an-reciters being contented with Qur'an recitation, and a number of whom joining the Kharijites's range.512

At this time, Ashtar at the front line approached Mu'awiya division camp while fighting. War dissenters asked Imam to order Ashtar back. Imam sent Yazid Ibn Hani for him.
Ashtar sent a message that, “Now it is not the time for a return.” “You've prompted him to fight, if Ashtar doesn't return, we'll kill you.” Said the dissenters.

As a result of this statement, Ashtar returned and he was stopped. In a letter to Mu'awiya, Imam noting that we know you're not the follower of Qur'an, pointed out the acceptance of Qur'an arbitration.513

Ash'ath went to Mu'awiya asking him regarding the way of executing Qur'an precept. He said that it's better that one of our people and one of yours sit together and express their opinion concerning Qur'an precept in this regard. He forwarded this opinion to Imam.

Afterwards, a group of Damascus and Iraq Qur'an-reciters came between the two armies and recited Qur'an for some time and agreed to revive what the Qur'an has revived. Thereafter, Damascus people appointed 'Amr Ibn 'As. Ash'ath and a number of those joining the Kharijites later, proposed Abu Musa Ash'ari.

Imam refused him on account of his opposition to him in Jamal battle, but they insisted in this regard. Imam's proposal was either Ibn 'Abbas or Ashtar, but they said that Ashtar believes in war, Ibn 'Abbas shouldn't be either, for 'Amr Ibn 'As is from Mudhar tribe, so the other side should be Yemeni.

“ لا والله لايحكم فيها مضريان حتى تقوم الساعة

By Allah, two persons from Mu□rids won't judge in that until the Day of Resurrection.”514

Imam saw that insistence is out of place and said, “Do whatever you want.”[515]

Later on Ibn 'Abbas said, “Had at that time some companions been patient, the victory would have been imminent.”[516]

So it was agreed that a convention will be written. In this convention pointing to the appointment of these two persons by Damascus and Iraq people, it was mentioned that these two persons are due to comment on the matter of their disagreement:

“Provided that these two abide by the divine covenant and pledge in the firmest and greatest manner which Allah has extracted promise from each of his creatures. And that during the duty on which they were dispatched, they put Qur'an before themselves, and do not exceed, I their judgment, what has been written in the Qur'an, and if they don't find, they will act on the basis of the comprehensive Sunna of the Prophet (S), and they should in no way, act in conformity with their desires, neither should they be entangled in suspicion.”

Besides, it was agreed that in case of the death of one of these two, before judgment, the commander of the aforesaid side would be able to appoint somebody else. During this span of time, if one of the two commanders passed away, the people of that area will appoint another just person instead of him.

Further, it was stated that: “it is compulsory for the judges to adhere to the divine treaty and pledge and not to offer an interpretative judgment of their own in opposition to the Qur'anic text, and not to oppress deliberately and not to be entangled in suspicion and not to overlook the order of Qur'an and Sunna of the Prophet (S) in their judgment. And if they don't do so, the people won't submit to their judgment, neither will they admit the treaty and the liability approved by those two.”

In the convention, the date of the arbitration was sset on the end of the next Rama□an (to wit eight months from Safar to Rama□an) and it was agreed that the issue will be resolves anyhow up to the pilgrimage season. “If they don't judge on the basis of the Qur'an and Prophet's (S) Sunna till the end of the season, the Muslims will remain at war as they were from the onset, and there is no condition between the two groups in this regard.” The aforesaid treaty was concluded on Wednesday (according th Abu Mikhnaf, on Friday)[517], on Safar 17, 37 A.H.[518]

In this convention, equal rights were been determined for Imam and Mu'awiya. In the first stage, Imam's name was accompanied by the title “Amir al-Mu'minin”, the Commander of the Faithful, but it was not acceptable for Mu'awiya.

Ash'ath insisted on the elimination of this title, Imam said, “Glory be to Allah, A Sunna like The Prophet's (S) one, where Suhayl Ibn 'Amr, the representative of polytheists, insisted on the ommition of “Rasul Allah”, the Messenger of Allah, in Hudaybiyyah peace pact.”[519]

Anyhow, the convention was written, but among a group of Imam's companion, a riot broke out which

paved the way for Kharijites incidents later. Some disagreed with the convention there except for those being truly among the Shi'ite Muslims of Imam, and bearing the arbitration course for Imam's sake.

Malik was among them, when Imam (a) was told that Malik is not satisfied with this convention, Imam (a) said, “When I will be satisfied, Malik will be so as well, and I'm satisfied. You said he has kept himself aloof from me, but I don't reckon that he'll do so. There are not two persons or even one person amongst you like him, who think so about their foe.”520

Imam returned to Kufa along with the army on Rabi' al-Awwal 37 A.H.521 In Kufa, loud voices of cries and weeps were heard from each house, and Imam confirming the martyrdom of their martyrs, offered his condolence to them. Finally, Imam sent Abu Musa to the arbitration site.

Imam dispatched 400 persons along with Abu Musa Ash'ari, accompanied by Shurayh Ibn Hani as their commander, and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas as their congregational prayer leader. Additionally, Imam notified Abu Musa of the defiled nature of Mu'awiya and advised him tremendously.522

At this time, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, Mughira Ibn Shu'ba, 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr had to come to Mu'awiya and were present at the meeting incident of 'Amr Ibn 'As and Abu Musa.523 'Amr Ibn 'As, when meeting Abu Musa, spoke of the virtues! of Mu'awiya and noted that Mu'awiya is the blood-wit of 'Uthman, and Allah has put a “Sultan” for blood-wit.

Abu Musa relied on the revival of 'Umar tradition concerning the issue of council. Once he spoke of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, but 'Amr said that a weak person like him could not take the responsibility of such a deed. It was not only unclear under which principles this council being regarded as a pretext by the dissenters, ought to be shaped, but not obvious who should be the member of such a council. Once 'Umar relying on his own power has placed caliphate among six persons so that they will choose one out of them. What was the connection of this matter to leaving the work to the “Council among Muslims”, so to select one for themselves?

Abu Musa insisted on this matter and an account of that he was of the belief that firstly we ought to leave this belief aside that one of the two persons either Imam or Mu'awiya should be the caliph, so that thereupon we shall select some one. Hence, for Abu Musa's part, the declaration of these two commands' deposition of Imam's commentary on the pulpit, 'Amr Ibn 'As announced that he has just the right to depose 'Ali (a); however, I have the caliphate to Mu'awiya!

Abu Musa cried out in protest and insulted 'Amr Ibn 'As. Abu Musa called 'Amr a dog, and 'Amr called Abu Musa a donkey and the session turned out in chaos. So hereby, without speaking of the Qur'an and the Sunna of the Prophet (S), and merely under the pretext of 'Umar tradition, the arbitration course itself gave rise to another disagreement between Damascus and Iraq.524

From that time on, the people of Damascus called Mu'awiya “Amir al-Mu'minin”, and this was the most significant outcome of the arbitration for the Damascus people. Abu Mikhnaf stated that when Iraqi

people were going to Siffin, they were all amiable and kind towards each other. When they returned, however, they all had hostility and hatred towards each other.

The Kharijites said, “You were flaccid in implementing Allah's order”, and another group told them, “You disobeyed Imam and our group.” Imam became sorrowful on account of their remarks.[525]

War with Extremist Kharijites

Exactly when Ash'ath Ibn Qays read the arbitration convention for various groups of the army, a group of the army cried out in front of him, **لا حكم الا لله** “ The only judgment is that of Allah's.”[526]
According to Nasr Ibn Muzahim, some people from Banu Murad, Banu Rasib, and Banu Tamim chanting aloud, and expressing their disgust concerning the arbitration of men said, “Just Allah merits arbitration.”

Among the dissenters, 'Amr Ibn Udayya (and in another narration 'Urwa Ibn Judayr)[527] attacked Ash'ath. His sword was quietly dropped on Ash'ath's horse. Shortly after the coming of Ash'ath to Imam and his declaring that all but few of the people were satisfied, the shouts of “the only judgment is that of Allah” grew louder.

Their question was, “What about our murdered persons?” Allah has settled Mu'awiya's work, and Allah's order is nothing but suppressing Damascus army. It is obvious that in front of some people like Ash'ath, many people of Iraqi army were not ready to submit themselves to Damascus people whatever reason there might be when one group won't do so?

They asked Imam to forsake the issue of arbitration, and in principle, to report of his former opinion which has led to polytheism. Imam by referring to the verse, **اوفوا بالعقود** “ Fulfill the obligations,” said that now the agreement has been reached and we have no remedy but patience up to the end of the duration of this convention.[528]

Imam said to them, “As you see, most of this crowd are not in line with war, and if you wage war these people will be together than Damascus people towards you.”[529]

In their way back to Siffin, the people were divided into two groups, a group protesting against the arbitration, and another group accusing them of being separated from the company. Near to Kufa, a group was little by little separated from the army and went to Harura' area half a league away from Kufa.[530] That's why later on these people were referred to as Haruriyya.

The most outstanding persons of Kharijites were as follows, Hurqus Ibn Zuhayr Tamimi, Shurayh Ibn Awfi al–’Absi, Farwa Ibn Nawfal Ashja'i, 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb Rasibi. These people came to Imam, after his entering Kufa, and asked him not to dispatch Abu Musa for the arbitration.

Imam said, “We have admitted something that we cannot violate.”[531] As it seems from the names of these persons, no one amongst them was from the renowned people of Iraq. In contrast, they belonged

typically to a nomadic tribes such as Bakr Ibn Wa'il and Banu Tamim.[532]

The Kharijites, for the most part, were from nomads who, in principal, had no idea concerning Imamate and politics as being matters beyond tribal issue. They demonstrated this tendency of theirs within a framework out of a deviated interpretation from the slogan “the only judgment is that of Allah”. Amongst the Kharijites was 'Itris Ibn 'Arqub Shaybani who was from the companions of 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud.[533]

Kharijites put forward some crucial issues. Their first question was that how Imam consented to the arbitration of “men” in the act of “religion”. Their second question was that why Imam was contented to have his title of caliphate, to wit Amir al-Mu'minin, omitted. Their problem, as Ya'qubi puts it, was that Imam spoilt his executorship through this measure.[534]

Their another question was that why Imam didn't give the permission of distributing booties after their triumph over the infidels. How is it that their killing was permissible, but taking their possessions was not lawful?[535]

With respect to the omission of the title “Amir al-Mu'minin”, Imam invoked the omission of the title “Rasul Allah”, Allah's Messenger, in the Hudaybiyya peace pact.

Besides, he said regarding arbitration, “I disagreed with this arbitration from the outset, later, as well, when I yielded to it on account of the people's compulsion, I stipulated that I will abide by their judgment provided that they judge on the basis of Allah's book, inasmuch as we have originally admitted the arbitration of Qur'an rather than that of men.”

Moreover, Imam announced his decision concerning the continuation of war against Damascus, after the collection of tribute. Thus hereby, many of those joining the Kharijites, joined Imam's adherents' group.[536]

Yet, there were a lot still sticking to their own beliefs. They disagreed with the arbitration by referring to the only judgment is that of Allah. Sticking to appearances, and drawing hardline deductions through **ضرب القرآن بعضه ببعض** “ He put Qur'an aside,” were considered among Kharijites' peculiarities.

Imam said in front of those chanting this slogan and protesting against him in the mosque, **كلمة حق يراد بها الباطل** “ This is a truthful statement aimed at drawing an untruthful interpretation from it.”

Imam, encountering his foreign dissenters, said that if they remained reticent, we would leave them on their own. If they propagated and spoke in return, we would speak with them and if they revolted against us, we would wage war against them. At this moment, one of the Kharijites stood up and said, “O Allah! We seek refuge with you from submitting to abjectness in your religion, this is a frailty and shall lead to Allah's wrath.”[537]

According to another narration, it's been pointed out that the continuation of Kharijites protest lasting for six months after Imam's return from Siffin resulted in Imam's dispatch of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas and

Sa'sa'a Ibn Suhan to them for the purpose of discussion. They didn't submit to these two persons' request concerning their return to the group. Imam asked them to select 12 persons and he himself separated this number and held talks with them.

Initially, Imam spoke with them about the Qur'an evidence with regard to arbitration and said, “I, 'Ali, despite disagreeing with their request, was fearful that they might invoke those verses concerning the admissibility of arbitration.”538

Kharijites' orator stood up and said, “We fought side with you so far as you were confident of your action at Jamal and Siffin battle; however, at present you are dubious. You must repent and attest to the fact that you've been misled. In that case, we will be with you.”

Imam said, “From the moment when I embraced Islam, I was not a bit doubtful about it. Allah has basically guided you and rescued you from infidelity, through us. I had said that two judges ought to judge on the basis of Allah's book. If they didn't do so, to me, their judgment will be of no value.”539

Their leader, Ibn al-Kawwa' detached himself from them along with 500 persons. Some have noted that he was with the Kharijites in Nahrawan, and therein was involved in a wrangle with Imam.540 Kharijites' problem was that they regarded the acceptance of arbitration as infidelity, and therefore they asked Imam to witness his infidelity and repent of it,541 not that he has merely committed a sin. Hence, Imam said in a poem:

يا شاهد الله عليّ فاشهد آمنت بالله ولي احمد

من شك في الله فاني مهتد

“O thou, Allah's witness!
To me, thou be a witness!
I believed in Allah, the Master of Ahmad
Whoever doubts Allah
I have been guided”542

Anyhow, the repeated remarks of Imam and his companions failed to bring a number of Kharijites back from the path they've chosen. On Shawwal, 31 A.H. the Kharijites gathered at Zayd Ibn Husayn's house and selecting 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb Rasibi as their leader,543 they resettled their political and military situation.

This decision was made after Rama□an month in which Abu Musa was dispatched for arbitration. Following the arbitration, they didn't allow staying in Kufa and decided to go to Mada'in. There from, they wrote to their Basri co-thinkers inviting them to come round to them.

Some of them didn't deem it advisable to go to Mada'in on account of the presence of Imam 'Ali's (a) Shi'ite Muslims and chose Nahrawan. After the announcement of arbitration result, Imam 'Ali (a) declaring his opposition to the arbitration result, asked the people to congregate to the division camp for fighting the infidels.544

Imam sent for the Kharijites and told them, “These two judges acted in opposition to the Qur'an, and I'm leaving for Damascus. You accompany me as well.”545

They said, “we are not allowed to appoint you as Imam.” After the congregation of people in Nukhayla, Iraq moved to Anbar city and left there for Shahi village, and therefore they went to Dabaha and to Dimimma.546The Kharijites gathering at Nahrawan by now, encountered 'Abd Allah the son of Khabbab Ibn Arat on their way. They asked 'Abd Allah's opinion concerning Imam 'Ali (a).

He said, “Amir al-Mu'minin and Imam of the Muslims.” They killed 'Abd Allah along with his pregnant wife. It's been said that the Kharijites, on their way, asked everybody encountered by them, about his opinion regarding arbitration. They killed him in case of not being in line with them. This movement led Imam to decide to confront them.547

The reason behind this matter was that Imam was not able to leave Kufa alone with such criminals, while therein there were just the women and children. Imam went over to Mada'in and there from headed for Nahrawan.

Imam, in a letter to Kharijites invited them to return to the group. 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb, in the answer of Imam's letter, pointing to what has so far taken place, notified of the same former remarks concerning Imam's doubt in religion and the necessity of his repentance. Qays Ibn Sa'd and Abu Ayyub Ansari were against them and asked them to join them for fighting Mu'awiya.

Kharijites said that they didn't admit the Imamate of the Imam. They will be ready to accompany them, only if their leadership will be in the hands of some like 'Umar.548 As soon as Imam realized that these people were not submissive, he put his troops being 14000 in number, into array against Kharijites.

At that moment, Farwa Ibn Nawfal along with 500 persons of Kharijites were separated from the Kharijites and resided in Bandanijayn and Daskara.549 Another number of them left gradually, to the extent that just 1800 cavalry men and 1500 infantry men remained alongside 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb.550

At this time, Imam also asked his companions not to initiate the war.551 Kharijites started the war. They were overthrown, and their leader was very swiftly killed.552

Apart from the fugitives, four hundreds of those having been fallen in the battlefield were delivered to their families. This clash took place on Safar 9, 38 A.H.553

When the war was terminated, Imam asked the people to head for Damascus to fight the infidels. The people, however, showed signs of fatigue, and the remarks of Ash'ath Ibn Qays led Imam to return to

Nukhayla, the people went to Kufa, and just 300 persons remained with the Imam.554

Consequently, Imam returned to Kufa. From that time on, Imam invited the people for Jihad, holy was, against the Damascus people once in a while, but no one gave a favorable answer. It was here where Imam in his long sermons, reproached Kufa people and spoke repeatedly of their disloyalty up to the end.

Here another movement ought to be taken into account as well, a movement somewhat resembling that of Kharijites. Khirrit Ibn Rashid, taking part in Siffin battle, in his way back to Kufa, objected to Imam and said that he won't pray along with him anymore.

His objection was similar to Kharijites' remarks. He considered arbitration a mistake. At night, he left Kufa together with his companions for Kaskar. Qaradha Ibn Ka'b, the governor of Sawad areas, wrote a letter to Imam reporting that an army from Kufa has arrived this area and when encountering a person from the peasants of Euphrates areas namely Zadhan Farrukh, have asked him about his religion. He said that he was a Muslim. They asked his opinion concerning Amir al-Mu'minin (a). He replied that he was the commander of the faithful and the successor of Allah's Messenger (S). Hence, they cut him into pieces by their swords.555

This measure of theirs was exactly the same as Kharijites' when encountering 'Abd Allah Ibn Khabbab. Imam wrote to Ziyad Ibn Khasafa commissioning him to suppress Banu Najiya under the leadership of Khirrit Ibn Rashid. Subsequent to the sever clash during which five companions of Khirrit were killed and two persons of Imam's army were martyred,556 the rebels headed towards Ahwaz.

Therein some natives as well as some Kurds joined them. Imam was compelled to dispatch a separate force to suppress them. Ma'qil Ibn Qays Riyahi was selected for this commission, and he headed towards them along with some armies.

When the rebels were moving towards Ramhurmuz, Ma'qil, on his way reaches them and fought them. During this conflict, 70 persons from Banu Najiya and 300 of Kurds and the other natives accompanying him were killed. Khirrit headed hurriedly towards the coast, and therein he was able to deceive a number of people from Banu 'Abd al-Qays.

Imam wrote a letter to the residents of that area calling them for “obedience”. They scattered from around Khirrit too. Once again, Ma'qil clashed with him, and this time Khirrit and most of those along with him were killed.

According to Baladhuri, Khirrit acted in such a way that the Kharijites assumed that he is of their opinion.557

The Kharijites, Formation and Characteristics

The Kharijites' emergence in religious sects arenas, is one of the significant political and mental alterations in the history of Islam. In fact, the advent of this group is the symbol of hard-line tendencies of the Islamic world in the political and mental areas.

A sect which strived for having a place in the realm of politics along two or three countries through applying their extreme view points, but exactly due to this very extremity, were not able to gain a privilege. The important question is that how these incidents appeared.

Generally, it ought to be said that when some discrepancies appeared in the Islamic society, various stands were adopted to confront the disputable issues. Some stands had some principal aspects and some others were within the two extremes.

If we separate the deviation of apostates and infidels from the Islamic current, the tarring of some people like 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar and Sa'd Waqqas and some others in front of that stand deems a sort of extreme act. In opposition to that, Imam's act was a realistic and principled one.

In a stage where this movement failed to pursue its natural course on account of some people's opposition, the hard-line tendency displayed itself. This tendency ought to resist all the currents. Apart from the infidels and fronting the principled movement of Imam, every moment such a stand had a tendency to more extremity and was obliged to separate all the dissenters from its front by the hallmark of infidelity, and to justify its holy war against them.

The tendency towards extremity amongst the Kharijites was not merely due to the political and intellectual currents, but it had its own specific social and mental aspects as well. Some points should be taken into consideration for understanding the conditions leading, in principle, to such a branching in the society,

(1) During the years when the nomad immigrants had come to Iraq, every time, through participating in the conquest, they gained some noticeable victories, and took the possessions of some countless booties.

The front being against them was that of fidelity, the war against which was lawful easily justifiable. They were the mere truth, and the opposite front was the mere error. Jamal battle was the first action during which the Muslims clashed with their coreligionists.

In this war despite the victory, there was not any booty and this issue brought about a problem for the aforesaid. Their question was that how it was possible that shedding somebody's blood was allowed, whereas taking his money was not so.[558]

This problem demonstrated itself at Jamal battle and naturally caused the primary interpretation of the

Muslim nomads to be altered from the holy war and the forces opposing them. The aforesaid problem was attributed to Imam 'Ali (a) by Kharijites through their objections.

Later on, this issue caused the Kharijites not to leave a medium between infidelity and faith (say unbeliever and infidel libertine, or even a Muslim libertine), rather to bring the problem to an end and to call some (including just themselves) believers and the opposite group unbeliever whose blood was allowed to be shed and whose money to be taken as well.

(2) The other problem arose from the reasons behind revolting against 'Uthman and finally his murdering. This caliph was accused of religious heresies and his stands caused two diverse deductions from Islam to be drawn among his dissenters and assenters.

Such issue have not been recorded before then. In principle, this measure caused the monotonous religious attitude among Muslims to be changed and some suspicions regarding which one is the right of Islam to be induced. It is obvious that this issue itself called for positions against it, which inevitably showed itself within the two extremes.

'Uthman's murdering caused the religious leadership to be out of the hands of the government and to be in the hands of some personally claiming to be theologians. One of these clans was Kufa and Damascus[559] “Qur'an reciters” that through relying on this Qur'an recitation, restrained themselves from taking part in the battle, and stood between the two armies to see which one is the rightful!

The contribution of the Qur'an-reciters to the conversions leading to the Kharijites's appearance and even the presence of a number of them amongst the Kharijites is indicative of this very point. Besides, the independent positions of 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud refusing to follow the Imamate of the society have been pointed out. They observed that 'Abd Allah himself took a stand against 'Uthman and has called 'Uthman's legitimacy into a serious question, through not allowing 'Uthman to say his prayers.

Through repudiating Imamate, the Kharijites indicated that they have been impressed with this point. That is to say, they believed that they themselves ought to make decisions on the religion and even their other political affairs, and that, in principle, there is no need to have an Imam.

The superficial justification of this matter was that Qur'an makes them dispense with the need for having an Imam. This arose from the hard-line attitude of the Qur'an reciters who considered themselves to surpass others and determine their way more properly.

(3) The problem of tribes' domination over the central sovereignty is not an issue to be overlooked easily. This matter was crystallized firstly through the fact that the tribes were not content with Quraysh's domination. Even their admitting of Imam to this extent, was due t the fact that Imam himself was against rather than alongside Quraysh. This is well obvious from the Imam's remarks. Imam regarded Quraysh as his foe.[560]

However, ultimately Iraq tribes refused to accept even the Imam, inasmuch as their animosity was far more sever than that permitting them to accept a person having a blood retaliation with Quraysh anyhow. It should be kept in mind that the Kharijites were a sect not accepting being from Quraysh as a condition for caliphate.

As it's been noted, one of the motives behind revolting against 'Uthman was Egyptian and Iraqi tribes' concern over the indisputable domination of Quraysh, and the Umayya, in particular, over the Muslims' regulations, and specially their financial affairs.

The tribal structure in the new Islamic community, had preserved its power. During the first years, the prevalence of central power via religion had somewhat outshined the tribal criteria. However, presently by the victories subsiding, the Iraq tribes have taken notice of themselves, and after revolting against 'Uthman, their power has been enhanced.

When one could dethrone a caliph on account of the crimes he has committed, one could stand up to the next caliph and threaten him with death. Imam (a) was exposed to this issue. He went to Iraq, so to suppress the infidels' riot. Thus he was naturally in need of Kufiyan tribes' forces. They assisted him to extinguish the sedition.

Afterwards, the heads of the tribes having a worthy influence in their own tribe, benefited from this power as a lever in confronting Imam. Having undermined the central power, finally this issue led to the defeat of this power against Damascus enemy. At Siffin battle, each tribe resisted, in an orderly way, its enemy through preserving its own tribal structure.

From the onset of the establishment, the composition of Kufiyan population was also on this basis. The influence of tribes' needs was very sweeping and was regarded as a government in a government. Tribes' mutiny against the first two caliphs was unprecedented. 'Uthman as well withstood these tribes as before.

However, his killing demonstrated that he has been defeated against the tribes. It ought to be known that this situation was repeated in Imam 'Ali's (a) caliphate. When the Qur'ans were raised above the spears, the head of Kinda tribes, Ash'ath Ibn Qays said, “You have to send for Ashtar to stop fighting; otherwise, we will kill you as we killed 'Uthman.”[561]

Both he and those later being ranked amongst the Kharijites, compelled Imam to accept Abu Musa Ash'ari as his representative.[562] Another group known as Qur'an–reciters, and having a party under this title in 'Uthman killing incident, withstood 'Ali (a) and asked him to accept Damascus army request concerning invitation to Qur'an.

Those later on joining the Kharijites, threatened him that if he won't accept their request, they will kill him just like 'Uthman.[563] So hereby, the arbitration was imposed on Imam and Imam pointed out repeatedly his unwillingness in this regard,[564] and he regarded this that, لا امر لمن لايطاع “ The one not obeyed, can

give no order,”[565] as his problem.

When a man went out of the houses of his tribe and went to those of another tribe, and while shouting, sought help from his tribe, his target is to induce disturbance and sedition. The people of the tribe he was among whom, attacked him and beat him. He returned to his tribe and kicked a great disorder, a chaos in which the swords were drawn from the sheaths and a war was waged.[566]

Amir al-Mu'minin himself introduced the “aged”, and the elders as the main foundation of obstinacy, and the chief pillars of sedition.[567] Thereafter, Imam was entangled with these tribes. Some groups from the Iraqi Arabs stood up to him, they were the Kharijites who not only resisted him, but also wounded his son Imam Hasan (a) after him. Supposing that, he has taken no notice of their request concerning the war against Mu'awiya.

(4) All these incidents happened in an area where, before Islam, there were diverse Christian, Zoroastrian, Mazdaki and various Christian and Jewish tendencies that had crucial influence on the present mental disturbances in these areas. It is not strange to see that major sectarian trends appeared in Iraq.

Even amongst the Sunnis, various theological and juristic trends are the fruits of scientific efforts of Iraqi cities. In this regard, Damascus can in no way be compared with Iraq. In contrast, Damascus under Umayya's control chose an easy way in accordance with what the Umayya propagated. As a result of this matter, Damascus dominated Iraq without any trouble and it owed this victory to its unity. Besides, this point should be taken into account that, that number of companions coming to Iraq didn't go to Damascus. This issue was influential in bringing about diverse and apposing courses in Iraq.

(5) The significant concept which can notify of these mental and political disturbances is that of sedition from which every group benefited for their own benefit. Imam 'Ali (a) dissenters, in Imam's was against apostates, believed that this war was nothing but sedition. They believed that in sedition, one ought to be ”'Abd Allah, the murdered”, rather than ”'Abd Allah, the murderer”.[568]

For Imam 'Ali's (a) part, “sedition” title referred to a disturbance in the political circumstances, as well as disobedience to the former caliph of the Muslims. According to the application of sedition in Nahj al-Balagha, Imam called those acts leading to Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawan battles seditious[569], and asked those being alongside it to be like an adolescent camel that has neither a back strong enough for ridding, nor udders for milking.[570]

This means that lack of obedience on the part of a rebelling group is called sedition.[571] “Doubt” is the concept resembling sedition, in which the truth and error are intermingled together and remained unknown.[572]

Thus, in this way, Jamal and Siffin battles ought to be regarded as one of the most basic incidents influencing Muslims' political thoughts and making evaluation more difficult for the masses of people due

to those doubts raised later on.

The emergence of doubt and sedition had an important impact on the formation of hard-line sects trying to bring the work to an end and wipe sedition off the society by drawing clear lines. The application of equivocal concept made the work much more difficult. The extreme use of “infidelity” concept arose from this need.

(6) The main problem if this group's formation is based on two interrelated implications. The first point is that “judgment” is merely confined to Allah and it is not correct to leave arbitration to “men”. The second point is that this incorrectness is not a simple one, rather it is at the extent of “infidelity” and those learning arbitration to “men” became “infidel”.

At the outset, this infidelity was put forward with regard to Imam. Supposing that, as it was natural, 'Uthman should have been considered an infidel too. Talha and Zubayr as well, were not immune to that. Hence, in this way, the concept of “infidelity” took a crucial role in their thought.

As for the issue of *the only judgment is that of Allah*, the problem lied in defining the term “judgment” According to the evidences, it seems that they have defined “judgment” as “judge”. As a result of this issue, not only the arbitration of Abu Musa Ash'ari was rejected, but also the “Islamic ruler” existence was doubted. Such a matter sounded unnatural, but it was declared and was repudiated by Amir al-Mu'minin (a).

Imam said, “They stated that there is no need for governance, whereas, there is no escape for men from “Imam” pure or impure.”

This sentence, (the only judgment is that of Allah) is a truthful statement, but what (they think) it means, is wrong.573 Is it possible that the Kharijites thought concerning not being in need of Imam, arose from their spirit of tribalism and pan-Arabism? It should be known that they had some Qur'anic reasons, however, their hasty interpretation, originally arising from their harsh morale, resulted in extremely unified meanings.574

The Kharijites, during the Imamate of Imam 'Ali (a), didn't have opportunity to put forward their other viewpoints. However, later on, they put forth novel viewpoints in the arenas of political affairs and specifically Imamate. It's noteworthy that their belief concerning “infidelity” had such a profound impact on the theological discussions that it forced the Islamic sects to react to the subtle definition of faith and infidelity.

The Kharijites extremity with regard to generalizing the concept of infidelity caused all the groups to express their opinion in this regard. One of these groups was Murjiyan who said that it is not possible for them to clarify precisely the truth and error, and all ought to be deemed Muslims, and the Shi'ite Muslims and 'Uthmani disputes as well as judging cardinal sinners should all be left to Allah.

Thabit Qutna, a Murji'i poet said:

نرجي الامور اذ كانت مشبهة ونصدق القول فيمن جار أو عندا

“We leave (to Allah) all the dubious affairs, and we judge correctly the oppressor or obstinate.”575

This curse tried to regard all the opposing groups as Muslim, and hereby to decrease the differences. Fighting the Kharijites was not a simple measure. The Kharijites, for the most part, were among the Qur'an reciters and those being apparently people of Qur'an and prayer, and their leader, 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb was renowned as Dhu al–Thafanat (the one whose forehead has been marked by prostration.)

In spite of that, he was the most pious of all of them. Hence, he could easily persuade the people of Kufa and his Shi'ite followers into fighting them. Imam's opinion concerning the Kharijites has been noted in various sermons. Amongst these remarks, there is an interesting narration. Imam was asked whether the Kharijites are infidel.

Imam replied, “They have escaped infidelity.”
Again he was asked, “Are they hypocrite?”
Imam said, “The hypocrite remember Allah just a bit, whereas these people call Allah day and night.”
He was asked, “So what kind of people are they?”
Imam said, “They are a group who have been entangled in sedition and thereupon have become blind and deaf.”576

Imam 'Ali narrated that once the Prophet of Allah (S) said, “O 'Ali, people will fall into sedition through their wealth, will show obligation on account of their religion, will desire his mercy, and will feel safe from his clout, and regard his unlawful matters as lawful by raising false doubts and by their misguiding desires. They will then hold lawful (the use of) wine by calling it barley water, a bribe by calling it a gift, and taking if usurious interest by calling it sale.”

Imam added, “I asked the Prophet of Allah (S), how should I deal with them at that time, whether to hold them have gone back in heresy or just in sedition?”
He said, “Sedition.”577

Perhaps this very remark of the Prophet of Allah (S), caused Imam's attitude with respect to sedition to be so strong that he indeed regarded the incidents facing him as sedition. The Kharijites themselves were unable to comprehend this meaning. They expected all to be either faithful or infidel. Anyhow, perhaps on account of the asceticism and the warship that the Kharijites displayed out of themselves, fighting them was more difficult. However, Mu'awiya's sedition was far stronger and more dreadful than them.

Hence, Imam said elsewhere, “I have put out the eye of sedition. No one except me advanced towards it

when its gloom was swelling and its madness was intense ... when seditions come they refuse (gospel truth against credal error) and when they clear away they leave a warning. They cannot be known at the time of approach but are recognized at the time of return. They blew like the blowing of winds, striking some cities and missing others. Beware that the worst sedition for you in my view, is that of the Umayya, since it is blind dim."[578]

That's why Imam asked his Shi'ite Muslims not to waste their energy fighting the Kharijites:

لا تقتلوا الخوارج من بعدي فليس من طلب الحق فاخطأه كمن طلب الباطل فأدركه

"Do not kill the Kharijites after me, since the one seeking the gospel truth, but going the wrong path is not like the one seeking the credal error and finding it."[579]

By the second group, Imam exactly meant Mu'awiya and Damascus people. Imam's remark concerning the Kharijites was that you thought the Kharijites have been eliminated, but they still exist in the loins of men and wombs of women. Whenever a chief would appear from among them, he would be cut down till the last of them would turn thieves and robbers.[580]

The Kharijites remained, they went to remote cities, plundering everywhere under the pretext of infidelity. Finally, they went to Sijistan, and were ranked among those calling themselves 'Ayyar, wanderer.

A point proved to be true regarding Kharijites and other hardliners is that, their aims may sound more eminent from some aspects; however, their way if action is in such a manner that masses of people cannot be compatible with them. This issue that they regard every cardinal sinner as infidel, is, in itself, a matter that the society cannot admit.

Even the Mu'tazilites who considered cardinal sinner neither a faithful nor infidel, rather a libertine person, couldn't influence masses of people. Superficialism is another Kharijites characteristic. They were amongst the Qur'an-reciters and even some of Kufiyan worshipers. Such members of the society are always threatened with being entangled in the risk of extremity.

Invasions of Damascus Army

It was already discussed how Imam's endeavor was focused on re-mobilization of the Iraqis for a battle against Damascus; however, those declaring readiness were few. Though Imam, in his sermons, asked people for an aid, rarely ever did they follow.

In a sermon he has stated: "I come in grips with the crowd laying disobedient when ordered and remaining silent when called. O wrong crowd! Why on earth thou keep waiting? Why thou stand still in helping divine religion? Where is thy religion that prepares thee? Where is thy fervor that outrages thee?

Cry I make and help I seek. Neither to my word thou lend an ear nor my order, thou obey until the end comes and the evility turns up. Neither a reprisal thou can join nor can thou lend a hand for an aim to stop thee leaving. Moan thou nipped and move thou never made."[581]

And in another sermon: "O people in diversity with distressed hearts in reversity! In bodies thou are nude, in intellect thou are dude. In knowing the Truth I cherish thee like a foster-mother. From the Truth you trotter away as goats from a roaring lion. Alas! with thee off justice the darkness I clear, uncrooked path of Truth I gear."[582]

"O people laying disobedient if ordered and remaining silent if called! The provided chance never thou take, the challenge never thou dare, thou reproach when likely the crowd prepared behind an Imam, thou withdraw when unwillingly involved in a hard task. O cowards! Why on earth thou keep waiting? Why thou stand still in aiding and taking back thy rights?

May thou be dead or despised! By Allah, far away from me thou shall remain if my hour comes, for thy company I hate. With thee when I am, without help really I am. Who on earth in truth art thou? Thou hast no religion to prepare thee? Thou hast no fervor to propel thee? Not a surprise rogues follow Mu'awiya when called enjoying no benefit a bit. Thee I call the survivors of Islam and piety to benefit thee a lot. On me thou turn back and with me thou art at odds... What I adore more is death to come forth".[583]

Addressing the people these speeches were delivered by Imam in 39 and 40. They manifest his firm will before the Qasitin (the oppressors). Mu'awiya, conscious of the prevailing state in Iraq as well as the resident's weakness, was set to undermine Imam's might and set the scene for entering Iraq through attacking on areas ruled by Imam in Hijaz and even in Iraq. He expressed his intention as follows, "The Iraqis will be overawed with such murders and plunder, the dissidents and the secessionists will become valorous and those saved of disputes will be absorbed".[584]

The attacks known as "Gharat" were repeated every now and then and martyred many a real Shi'ite Muslim anywhere. Abu Ishaq Thaqafi Shi'i (born in 283) has presented a list of the Gharat in his book authored in the third century under the same title. The reports of such attacks can be found in other historical sources too.

Egypt was the first attacked land. When elected as the caliph, Imam appointed Qays Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada to Egypt governorship. Nevertheless, when he left for Iraq to suppress the Nakithin, (allegiance breachers) he urged him to return from Egypt.[585] Qays set out to Medina and then to Iraq[586] to participate in Siffin. Subsequent to Siffin once Egypt was in unrest and an uprising against Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr was likely, Imam determined to dispatch Malik to Egypt.

Appointed for the second time as the governor of Hijaz after Siffin, Malik received a letter to go to Egypt. As soon as Mu'awiya was informed, he wrote to the treasurer in Qulzum to remove Malik in any way possible and in exchange not to deliver the remainder of treasure. Accordingly, he martyred Malik with poisonous honey.[587] Where he was martyred was called 'Ayn Shams.

Upon learning Malik's muder, Mu'awiya said, "'Ali had got two arms one of which was 'Ammar cut off in Siffin and the other was Malik cut off now."588

On the other hand, when Imam heard the news, sorrow was visible on his face for a number of days stating, "What good features Allah had granted Malik! Who Malik really was! If a mountain, a great mountain he was. If a rock, a solid rock he was. O Malik! By Almighty Allah, over your demise many are grieved while many are thrilled. For such a person tears should be shed. Shall any one be ever re-born like Malik?"589

Now Damascus had access to Egypt, agitated. It not only was ajacent to Damascus but also had many from among the 'Uthmanids who could back the Damascus army. In addition, it was the time to fulfill the promise Mu'awiya had given to cunning 'Amr Ibn 'As, the governorship of Egypt. Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr was the governor in Egypt then.

'Amr Ibn 'As who had led the Arabs' army when conquering Egypt before advanced with a massive army. In a letter, he warned Muhammad to surrender if willing to remain secure. Another threatening letter was sent by Mu'awiya reading, he knew no other enemy for 'Uthman but Muhammad, so the time was ripe for a reprisal.

Writing to Imam, he enclosed the two letters with his. Imam recommended him to resist and ordered him to send Kinana Ibn Bishr (allegedly the one who hit 'Uthman on the head with a mace590) to Damascus accompanied by an army but stay with another army in the city. Kinana left with two thousand soldiers and Muhammad stayed there on alert with the same number.

In bravely clashes with Damascus army, Kinana along with his troops were martyred. Muhammad who was left all alone in Egypt took refuge in a ruined place. The commander of the vanguards in the army was Mu'awiya Ibn Khudayj who traced Muhammad, beheaded him, set him inside a carcass and then burned it.591 It was the policy that Mu'awiya and his followers pursued in martyring the divine figures under the pretext of 'Uthman's murder.

As soon as Imam was told, he turned so gloomy that he made very pungent remarks addressing Kufa people.

In his sermon, he pointed out, "It exceeded fifty days that I seek help. After such a long period the army recruited is the least mighty one."592

It was in this very sermon when Imam declaimed, **ألا دين يجمعكم ألا حميّة تغضبكم؟** "Where is thy religion that prepares thee? Where is thy fervor that outrages thee? "593

When asked for what his grief was Imam responded, "He was as dear as my sons".594 Suffering the loss of Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr, one of his closest companions, as well as Egypt, Imam wrote to all Muslims in various spots recounting the agonies he had suffered since the Prophet's departure.

He, in the letter, referred to the unjust attitude that there had been concerning the Prophet's household following his departure, nation's allegiance, how Nakithin breached their allegiance, how the war of Siffin was waged and how the Kharijites stood against him. Then touching upon the excuses people made he added:

“What thou nagged was Blunt art our swords and blank art our quiver. No bayonets do our spears hast and sticks at what we call spears. Let us return to get prepared with the best of horses and weapons...' I did order thee to dismount in Nukhayla, set up a camp and stay there on standby ... A crowd of thee stayed with me making unjustifiable excuses and another group left me disobeying.

Neither firm were those who stayed nor returned those who left. Once noticing the camp, less than fifty soldiers I found. I headed for Kufa disappointedly but as yet, out hast thou never stepped. Why on earth thou keep waiting? A blind eye hast thou turned to that thy lands get shrunk, thy towns get occupied and my Shi'ite Muslims get slayed? Not a border guard is seen on the borders but enemy's.” Furthermore, Imam urged them to prepare against the rival.595

Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr's murder was considered as a triumph for the 'Uthmanids around the globe in Mu'awiya's view.596 Egypt which was now out of Imam's hand was ruled by 'Amr Ibn 'As as late as his death in 43 for three or four years who preferred the worldly life in exchange for the abiding one in the Hereafter.

Mu'awiya was hopeful about Basra as well, as Basra 'Uthmanids had written to him seeking for help. He was well aware of the grudge Basra people bore Imam 'Ali (a) for they had lost many in Jamal war.

According to Thaqafi, in order to consult 'Amr Ibn 'As Mu'awiya wrote, “Nowhere can a belligerent and invincible crowd be found as many as Basra people.” Mu'awiya called upon 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir Ha□rami to travel to Basra to mobilize Mu'awiya's followers under the slogan of revenge for 'Uthman's murder and occupy the town. Meeting the Tamimites in Basra, 'Abd Allah talked to the 'Uthmanids having gathered.

On propounding his aim Dhahhak Ibn 'Abd Allah Hilali objected to him as saying, “Do you order us to unsheathe our swords once again (after Nakithin) and battle with one another in order to let Mu'awiya still be on the throne and you be his minister and to breach the allegiance we have sworn to 'Ali (a)? By Allah, one single day of 'Ali's lifetime spent when the Prophet alive was far much better than whatsoever Mu'awiya and his lineage have ever carried out.” Some were in 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir's side and some in Dhahhak's.

As a rule, the majority backed Ibn Amir other than a few like Ahnaf Ibn Qays. Between the Mu□ari and Yemeni Arabs there was a strife; however, Mu'awiya had previously advised 'Abd Allah to trust the Mu□ari ones. It upset the Azdites. At the same time Ziyad Ibn 'Ubayd who was the vicegerent of Basra governor resorted to Sabra Ibn Shayman Azdi and wrote to 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas, Basra governor, in Kufa; as a result, the news of Basra spread.

On the one hand Ziyad supported by the Azdites led Friday prayer and urged then to back Amir al-Mu'minin with whom Ansar and Muhajirun were and stand against the Tamimites. On the other hand Ibn 'Amir organized an army in Basra and took the possession of some properties. The news of the Azdites' support for Ziyad and the Tamimites' for Ibn 'Amir created chaos in Kufa.

Imam was demanded by Shabath Ibn Rib'i not to let the Azdites overcome the Tamimites. Nonetheless, Mikhnaf Ibn Sulaym advocated the Azdites. Urging them to back the principles of the religion, Imam advised, “Thou should restrain from battling and insulting one another for the sake of Islam and its reputation and unite”.

Imam sent Ziyad Ibn Dhubay'a from the tribe of Tamim to Basra for hindering the Tamimites to support Ibn 'Amir. His attempt was a little fruitful. Bu while asleep at night, a number of the Kharijites attacked him and killed him running away.

Sent by Imam together with fifty of the Tamimites to Basra, Jaria Ibn Qudama met with the Shi'ite Muslims and read out Imam's letter to them. Regarding the allegiance people had sworn Imam had written:

“If keep thy allegiance, if follow my advice and if obey my order, in line with the Divine Book and the Prophet's tradition I shall treat thee and the path of Truth I shall raise among thee. By Allah, no other ruler do I know to be well aware of his tradition but myself since Muhammad passed away. The gospel truth is what I tell. I intend neither to reproach the deceased nor to find fault with their deeds.”

Then Imam had added that if they breached their allegiance, he would suppress them with his army. To make up the incident of Jamal, the Azdites declared their readiness for a battle against Ibn 'Amir. After a time of being under siege, the 'Uthmanids's houses were razed to the ground at Jaria's behest. In a letter Ziyad notified Imam that a number were burned, a number who fled fell prey to swords and a number who surrendered were pardoned.[597]

The movement led by Dhahhak Ibn Qays, a well-known commander of Damascus army, is among Damascus invasions. As reported by Thaqafi when the Kharijites revolted against Imam, 'Umara Ibn 'Uqba Ibn Abi Mu'ayt wrote to Mu'awiya: “A group of the Qur'an reciters and the devout from among 'Ali's followers have stood against him. Combating them, 'Ali has killed them. And now since his army and the inhabitants of his town have taken up arms against him, the seeds of discord are sowed among them.”

Mu'awiya, extremely delighted, sent Dhahhak Ibn Qays along with a three – or four – thousand soldier army to Iraq and ordered him to loot anywhere he went, kill any Shi'ite Muslim he noticed and then leave there promptly for another place. Dhahhak who went to Kufa not only plundered people's properties but also rushed a caravan of pilgrims and killed a number. Imam 'Ali (a) in Kufa called upon people to defend themselves.

When Imam found them that indifferent, he told them, “By Almighty Allah, I wish I had one of thee in lieu

of a hundred men of thee.” Once more Imam desired to be dead! Then Imam sent Hujr Ibn 'Adi with four thousand troops to stop Dhahhak. Hujr encountered him in Tadmur and in their clash, nineteen soldiers from the rival army were killed and two people on Hujr's side were martyred. With Dhahhak's overnight escape another invasion of Damascus was ended.

In the meanwhile 'Aqil Ibn Abi Talib wrote to Imam to be kept abreast of the latest developments. Describing Dhahhak's invasion abortive, Imam referred to the injustice Quraysh had done to him and wrote: “O Allah! A calamity thou descend for Quraysh to sever their kinship with me, for those allying and usurping my right of ruling left behind by my brother, Muhammad. To the one they gave it whose neither kinship with the Prophet (S) nor record in Islam was like those of mine”. The letter indicates how Imam constantly mentioned his usurped right any chance he got.598

The other invasion made by Damascus army to Iraq was the one headed by Nu'man Ibn Bashir with two thousand soldiers. He was supposed to attack on 'Ayn al-Tamr, on the outskirts of the Euphrates. He was the one and the only one from Ansar who had joined the 'Uthmanids. Although there were a number of Ansar who had balked at supporting Imam 'Ali (a), never did they join Mu'awiya.

When Malik Ibn Ka'b deployed with a hundred heard about Bashir's probable attack, he asked Sulaym for help who was the treasurer in that side of the Euphrates. Imam learning the news of Nu'man's attack on the one hand and observing the Kufiyans hesitant to rise on the other hand objected to them as uttering,”O Kufiyans! When the vanguards of Damascus army thou notice, the doors thou shut and into homes thou creep like a lizard in to its hole and a hyena in to its den. By Allah, how abject is the one whose helpers art thou!”

Sulaym sent fifty of his troops led by his son, 'Abd Allah, for Malik's aid. Damascus army afraid of the aid army upcoming fled after a short clash. Mu'awiya said his intention of sending the army had been “To jeopardize the Iraqis”. Anyhow, this attack was fruitless as well.

Following Imam's remarks it was 'Adi Ibn Hatim who accompanied a thousand people from the tribe of Tayy to Nukhayla. Another a thousand also joined him and they advanced towards the banks of Euphrates and made several attacks on southern part of Damascus.599

Mu'awiya sent an army to Dumat al-Jandal to have them, obedient to neither Damascus nor Iraq, pay tax alms (statutory Islamic levy on specified items to be used for Muslims' welfare). Another army led by Malik Ibn Ka'b was sent by Imam too. A fight was started between them which lasted a whole day long. Next day Damascus army returned while Malik stayed there for ten days inviting people to help. Not being helped, he returned disappointedly as well.600

One of the other invasions made against Iraq was led by Sufyan Ibn 'Awf Ghamidi along with six thousand toward Hit and then toward Anbar. Imam's adherents were few there none of whom were willing helpers except a very small number with Ashras Ibn Hassan Bakri who resisted unit being martyred.

After plundering Anbar, the invaders went back. On being informed, Imam on the pulpit of the mosque, summoned people to gather in Nukhayla and move to stop them. In the answer, nothing came up but silence. Imam left the mosque and sent Sa'id Ibn Qays Hamdani together with an eight-thousand army to stop them but they had already arrived in Damascus.

When Sa'id returned, he found Imam so seriously sick that he could in no way stand on the pulpit. Imam therefore wrote a letter complaining about Kufiyan people, sat on the platform by the mosque gate and asked Sa'd, one of his Mawalis (freed slaves) to read it out loud. "If any other option there were, never a word would I breath to blame thee ...

O people, Jihad (holy Islamic war) is a portal of the Heaven portals opened to Allah's special friends, attire of piety, chain mail of solidity and a shield of inflexibility... Be informed, daily and nightly, overtly and covertly for a battle with thy foes I invited thee, to attack them before being attacked ...?

Enable thou remained and disobedient thou laid until the enemy occupied thy homeland. It was Ghamidi who assaulted Anbar, slayed Ashras Ibn Hassan, plundered the weapons and massacred the righteous men. Even I heard no one stopped the man, from among thy foes, who invaded the house of a Muslim woman, under our protection, took her anklets off her ankles and her earrings off her ears.

Yet, safe and sound they returned with not a single injury. If this life a Muslim man departed ashamed and saddened of such an act, never should he be blamed for my part. Wonder! What grief I suffer and what pain I bear when in accord I find them in credal error and in discord I find thee gospel in Truth ...!

O wrong crowd under the guise of right men! O gang of the foolish like the kids and the brides in bridal chambers! Allah solely knows how dejectedly I keep living amongst thee! I beg Him from thee to take me and toward Himself to ascend me...".601

These remarks could merely persuade three hundred to gather in Nukhayla. Imam's next sermons bore no fruit as well.602

Prior to Hajj season in 39 AH. Mu'awiya dispatched an army to Mecca with Yazid Ibn SHajara Rahawi as the head to absorb people to Mu'awiya during Hajj period. On the other hand, Imam being told of his intention, sent a group commanded by Ma'qal Ibn Qays Riyahi to Mecca. Qutham Ibn 'Abbas who was the governor imagined that no one would defend him, so decided to leave Mecca first but they trusted its holiness and stayed.

It was Dhil-Hajja 7th when Damascus army arrived in Mecca. To avoid clashes, the commander for whom observing the holiness of the city was allegedly significant sent a message to Qutham that both give up leading the congregational prayers and let people pick one out.

As soon as Hajj ritual terminated, Damascus army returned. Following the Damascus army, Ma'qal Ibn Qays went to Mecca and moved as far as Wadi al-Qura. They could only capture a few numbers of the

fatigued ones who were exchanged later for Iraqi captives.

After the event, Imam told people: “Defeated thou hast become be this nation … for the more active they get, the more passive thou go; the harder they try, the lazier thou become. I do behold disunity among thee as unity among them…”603

One of their most notorious attacks was Busr Ibn Artat's on Hijaz and Yemen. He, a ruthless criminal, was ordered by Mu'awiya to massacre 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims anywhere he traced. Why Busr was dispatched was the 'Uthmanids living in Yemen had revolted against 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Abbas, the governor, after realizing weakness within Iraqi troops.

They had written to Mu'awiya seeking for help. First Busr entered Medina of which governor, Abu Ayyub Ansari, had been appointed by Imam. Having no troop he had to flee. Busr set fire to his and others' houses, secured allegiance from people by force, designated Abu Hurayra as the governor and sent him to Mecca.

Qutham Ibn 'Abbas also left there and fled. Busr then set out to Ta'if where he sent a man from Quraysh to Tabala therein many a Shi'ite Muslim resided. At his behest, all were slayed and their possessions were plundered. Mecca residents, panic–stricken, had to flee among whom were 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Abbas's wife along with his two sons, Sulayman and Dawud captured and both beheaded.

It is said that they were murdered in Yemen concealed in an Iranian–born man's house. Keeping on his trip, he went to Najran where he killed 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Abbas's father in law, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abd al–Muddan. This very event is very considerable in Mu'awiya's shameful political life. When Busr arrived in Yemen, 'Ubayd Allah had already left. Although a number of Shi'ite Muslims defied for a while many were martyred. Busr committed countless crimes.

He beheaded one hundred Iranian–born Shi'ite Muslims. Then he moved toward Ha□ramawt where allegedly numerous Shi'ite Muslims resided. He had said he would kill one out of four. Upon being informed, Imam sent Jaria Ibn Qudama with an army to follow him. When Jaria heard that Busr had gone to Mecca, he went there but he had already left. When arriving in Kufa, Jaria found Imam 'Ali (a) martyred, so he swore allegiance to Imam Hasan (a).

Imam who was extremely annoyed with the Kufiyans, pronounced a malediction, for not only had they left Imam helpless but also they never protected their wives and daughters and allowed Damascus wicked men to access them. As an instance we narrate a malediction of Imam 'Ali's here,”I saw 'Ali (a) speaking to people”, Abu Salih Hanafi, “While having the Holy Qur'an on his head, the papers of which rustling”. 'Ali was uttering, “O Allah! From whatever written in this Book they prevented me. Upon me thou bestow any what of this Book”.

O Allah! In disfavor I hold them as so they hold me and of them I hast become tried as of me they haste become so. Unlike my nature is what they force me to act, an action unknown to me as yet. O Allah!

Better than them grant me helpers but worse than me to them. O Allah! Dissolve their heart like salt in water.[604]

Imam Ali's Martyrdom

In was Ramaḍan, 19th 40 A.H. at dawn when Imam was preparing to head for Siffin to battle once again with Mu'awiya but he was wounded by the most black-hearted man in the world named 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Muljam Muradi and martyred three days later on Ramaḍan 21st.

As reported by Ibn Sa'd, three Kharijites called 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Muljam, Burak Ibn 'Abd Allah Tamimi and 'Amr Ibn Bukayr Tamimi allied in Mecca to kill Imam 'Ali (a), Mu'awiya and 'Amr Ibn 'As.

To visit his Kharijites' friends, 'Abd al-Rahman went to Kufa. Once he went to meet a group from the tribe of "Taym al-Rabbab", he saw a girl called Qutam Bnt Shajanna Ibn 'Adi whose father and brothers had been killed in Nahrawan. When Ibn Muljam proposed to her, she declared that her marriage portion should be 3000 (Dinar!) in addition to Imam 'Ali's murder. He told that by accident with this very aim he had traveled to Kufa.[605]

He smeared his sword with poison and attacked Imam on the head. The deepness of the wound as well as the poison of the sword martyred Imam. Reportedly, Ibn Muljam had been in Ash'ath Ibn Qays's house that night.[606]

Various narrations indicate that Imam was attacked by Ibn Muljam inside the mosque.[607] In accordance to other ones, he attacked Imam while he was waking people up for prayer.[608] Many historical sources have referred to the former although many reports recorded say Imam was attacked while doing prayer.

Maytham Tammar had reported that Imam had started his Dawn Prayer and no sooner had he recited eleven verses of the Sura of "the Prophets" than Ibn Muljam wounded Imam on the head.[609] As narrated by one of Ju'da Ibn Hubayra's descendants, Imam was wounded while doing his prayer.[610]

The man above-mentioned, Ju'da, had been Umm Hani's son who every so often had led the prayers as a substitute leader and narratedly he had been the one who completed the prayer when Imam was attacked. Sheikh Tusi has also confirmed the aforesaid narration.[611] Yet, Muttaqi Hindi's report had been that Ibn Muljam had hit Imam when Imam was prostrating back.[612]

Ibn Hanbal[613] together with Ibn 'Asakir[614] has confirmed the report. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr stated that there had been no consensus on whether Imam was attacked while doing the prayer or before it and whether any one substituted him or he himself led the prayer to the end. Many are of the opinion that Imam had Ju'da Ibn Hubayra lead the incomplete prayer.[615]

A great number of hadiths have been narrated by the Holy Prophet's Household and the Sunnis concerning how Imam felt during the night before being wounded. Ibn Abi l-Dunya quoted Imam al-

Baqir (a) as saying that Imam had been fully aware of his martyrdom.616 As soon as being injured, Imam shouted out, فزت ورب الكعبة " By Allah of Ka'ba, to salvation I reached."617

Ibn Abi al–Dunya has narrated Imam's will in different ways which included both financial and religious issues. The salient issues recommended by Imam were as follows:

Observation of kinship, heed to the orphans and the neighbors, following the guidelines of the Holy Qur'an, performing prayers as the pillar of the religion, Hajj, fasting, Jihad, Zakat (tax alms) following the Holy Prophet's infallible Household, serving Allah's servants, enjoining to good and forbidding from evil.

Reportedly, on Rama□an 21st, while Imam was whispering, لااله الا الله " There is no God but Allah" and the verse of, فمن يعمل مثقال ذرة خيراً يره ومن يعمل مثقال ذرة شراً يره " So he who has done an atom's weight of good shall see it. And he who had done an atom's weight of evil shall see it" Breathed his last.618

According to another narration, after Imam's martyrdom, Imam Hasan (a) and Imam Husayn (a), Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya, 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far as well as few numbers from the household took Imam (a) out of Kufa nightly and hiddenly from sight buried him. It was because the Kharijites and the Umayyads might exhume Imam.619

Upon hearing the news of Imam 'Ali's martyrdom, a group of the Exaggerators in Ctesiphon did never believe their ears. This group is the initiator of the exaggerating thoughts among the Shi'ite Muslims whom we will address later. Ibn Abi l–Dunya's report in this respect referred to a person named Ibn as–Sawda' from the tribe of Hamdan know as 'Abd Allah Ibn Saba'.

Elsewhere, the name of 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb as–Saba'i, was mentioned and that such a claim had been made in Ctesiphon.620 Both narrations reveal that the person had even been anonymous. See also 'Uthman's Opponents.

Imam 'Ali's Life

The analysis of Imam's lifestyle as a paragon seems beyond the possibility here; yet, we refer to some aspects for luck in brief.

Imam's political and social life is so exemplary that it can be deemed utopian. At times, so uniquely firm was he regarding divine decrees that not a single one could ever emulate him as he himself had pointed to it in a letter.621

For those yearning to be faithful to it, his lifestyle is a perfect pattern. Every time we can learn from it but the way is still too long to go. In other wards, Imam's lifestyle has been the best during man's life. It belongs to a perfect man who can indeed be called human and Allah's successor on the earth. Such an engrossing life did he have that it had his friends reach the zenith of amity and his enemies reach the zenith of enmity in front of him.

In this regard, the Prophet (S) has stated:

يهلك فيك الرجلان محب مفرط ومبغض مفرط

His withstanding for the sake of the path of Truth does incense the enemy that it makes him go to extremes whereas it does fan the blames of his friend's love that he may go to extremes.622

The one feeling affection for him can ascend as highly as the rank to be called a devoted Shi'ite Muslim but if he neglected slightly he would be affected by the exaggerating tendency. Rarely ever has it be seen that divinity be attributed to a person. 'Ali (a), however, in a community where Allah had underscored the humanity of the prophet Muhammad (S) was targeted by such attribution although Imam opposed it severely.

Imam's asceticism is what overshadowed all his life. He was an ascetic man who turned back on anything though he was entitled to possess everything. A group asked about the most ascetic man in the presence of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz. Some named Abu Dharr and 'Umar but 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz said:

أزهد الناس علي بن ابيطالب (ع)

"No one is the most ascetic but 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib."623

Imam not only associated with the poor but also behaved kindly towards them.624 He was sometimes seen doing prayer or delivering a sermon wearing his one and the only shirt wet. Repeatedly, Imam has referred to his simple life in Nahj al–Balagha. Noticing that Imam ate very frugal food, one of his disciples told him,

أبالعراق تصنع هذا؟ العراق أكثر خيراً وأكثر طعاماً

Do you eat such food in Iraq where the best food can he found?"625

Imam was the first one who practiced what he peached objecting to 'Uthman Ibn Hunayf in Nahj al–Balagha or in his public sermons concerning this worldly life.

Aswad Ibn Qays recounted that Imam 'Ali (a) fed the Kufiyans on the fertile land of the mosque but he himself ate the food in his house.

One of his disciples said, "I said to myself that 'Ali eats more delicious food at home than what he gives people. So I left my food half eaten and followed him. He called Fi[illegible]a and asked her to prepare the

food. She brought a loaf of bread and yogurt diluted with water. He dipped the pieces of bread in the liquid while it was with bran. I asked him why he had not asked for bread baked with flour without bran. Shedding tears, he answered, “By Allah, neverever bread without bran was found in the Prophet's house.”626

'Uqba Ibn 'Alqama narrated,”When I met Imam 'Ali (a), there was sour yogurt diluted with water in front of him that was so sour and watery that it upset me. I asked him whether he would eat it.O Aba l-Khabub, worse than this was the prophet's food and rougher than mine was his clothes.

Imam answered, “I fear if I did not do what he had done, I would never join him”.627 When a special food was brought for Imam, Imam stated, “Never do I eat what the Prophet (S) had never eaten”.628

It does not imply that eating such food is unlawful but sheer act of following Allah's Messenger is of supreme importance for an Imam.

Presenting another example appears appropriate. As recounted by Abul-Sheikh Ansari, born in 369, Imam appointed 'Amr Ibn Salama as the governor of Isfahan. When setting out for Kufa, 'Amr was intercepted by the Kharijites. With the tributes and the gifts, he had to settle in Hulwan. As soon as the Kharijites went away, he left the tributes in Hulwan and took the gifts with him to Kufa.

Imam ordered him to lay them on the fertile land by Kufa Mosque and then distribute among Muslims. Umm Kulthum, Imam's daughter, sent for 'Amr to send her some honey brought. He sent her two cans then.

When Imam came to the mosque for prayer, he realized that the honeys were two less. He called 'Amr and asked where the two others were. He answered, “Do not ask what happened”, then he went and brought two cans of honey and added to them.

Imam repeated,”I only wanted to know what happened to those two”.
“Umm Kulthum demanded to send honey to her”, answered 'Amr.
“Not have I told you to distribute the gifts among people?” Imam asked.

He sent for her to send the honey back. When brought back a little was consumed. He sent for the traders to estimate the price of the subtracted amount. It was three or so dhms. Imam sent for Umm Kulthum to pay for it. Then, the honey was distributed among Muslims. 629

Numerous examples can be found in al-Gharat and other books.

It is Imam's own statement, 630 أنا الذي أهنت الدنيا “I am the one who despised this world.”

That manifests his stance against this worldly life. Imam's behavior towards the agents is another dimension of his life addressed in historical sources. From any point of view, Imam supervised his agents and during his short term, many letters were written by him reprimanding them. After 'Ali's

martyrdom, Suda, 'Umara Hamdani's daughter, came up to Mu'awiya. She had participated in Siffin.

For a short while, Mu'awiya talked her about Siffin. She requested him to depose Busr Ibn Artat oppressing them. He declined, however. Suda consequently prostrated and an hour later rose up. Mu'awiya asked her what it was for.

She responded,"When I went to 'Ali to complain about the man responsible for our alms, he was busy with praying. After his prayer, he asked me what I wanted. On hearing with no delay he took a piece of skin out of his pocket and urging him to observe justice he wrote, "As soon as receiving the letter, do what ordered until I send one to replace you. He gave the letter to me to hand in him. He was deposed accordingly."631

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1. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 90
2. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XII, pp 198-201
3. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 131
4. al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, pp 68-69; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 112
5. al-Tanbih wal-Ishraf, p. 198
6. Ibn Juzi, Manaqib Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, p. 160; Tabaqat al-Hanabila, vol. I, p. 319
7. Manaqib Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, pp 163
8. 'Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. X, p. 140; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 98 and in the footnote of Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXXVIII, p. 33; Amali Ibn Ash-Shiykh, p. 33; Hadith III, section 27
9. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 165
10. See Subul al-huda wal-Rishad, vol. VI, p. 642
11. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VIII, p. 22 this can be read in two ways " لست' lastu" and " ´لست lasta" Ibn Sa'd considered the first one and interpreted as I am not deceiver It means that the prophet had pledged 'Ali of his marriage to Fatimah A research in the narration of proposal, show there existed no promise So what does the Prophet's remark mean? Hence the reading lasta seems to be more probable, implying a reference to the previous suitors
12. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VIII, p. 22
13. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 180-181
14. Sahih Tirmidhi, vol. XIII, p. 170; Ibn Abi Shayba, al-Musannaf, vol. XII, pp 62 – 82; al-Mustadrak, vol. III, p. 14; Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. I, p. 807; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 270, vol. II, p. 145
15. Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. III, p. 732
16. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 107; al-Mustadrak, vol. III, p. 130
17. al-Taratib al-idariyya, vol. I, pp 56-58
18. al-Isti'ab, vol. I, p. 378; Tarikh Jurjan, p. 218
19. As mentioned in the text, no one doubts this tradition
20. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VII, p. 435; al-Taratib al-Idariyya, vol. I, p. p. 443,444;3
21. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 98
22. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 208
23. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 121
24. Nahj al-Balaghah, Letter 45
25. Tasnif Nahj al-Balaghah, p. 355
26. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 195
27. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 382; vol. II, p. p. 123,155
28. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon192

29. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 99
30. Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, p. 298; al-Mu'jam al-Kabir, vol. XI, p. 264; Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. I, p. 64
31. Tabaqat al-Hanabila, vol. I, p. 320
32. Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. I, p. 499
33. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 183
34. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VII, p. 174
35. al-Amali fi Athar As-Sahaba, p. 80, footnote of Musnad Ahmad, vol. IV, p. 437, Sahih Tirmidhi, no 3796; Musnad Tayalisi No 829; Traits of 'Ali (a), Nasa'i, p. 65; al-Hilyat al-'Awliya', vol. VI, p. 294; al-Mustadrak, vol. III, p. 110; al-Mu'jam al-Kabir, vol. XVIII, p. 128; and see, vol. IV, p. 322
36. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 260
37. Tarikh Mukhtasar al-duwal, p. 95; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah vol. V, p. 7
38. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 91,94; Hayat sahaba, vol. II, p. p. 514-515
39. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 189
40. Tarikh Yahya Ibn Mu'ayn,vol. III,p. 143
41. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. IV, p. 52
42. Tarikh al-Kabir, Bukhari,vol. II, p. 255
43. Maqtal al-Imam al-Amir al-Mu'minin (a
44. Ibid, p. 107
45. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah,, vol. IX, p. 198
46. See, al-Mustadrak, vol. III, p. 162; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VIII, p. p. 29-30; al-Tanbih al-Ashraf, p. 250; Wafa' al-wafa', p. p. 995-996,1000
47. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 172; al-Gharat, vol. I, p. 309
48. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 217; some parts have been added to this sermon of Nahj al-Balaghah; See,al-Jamal, p. 123;Ibid footnote of, al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 155; al-Gharat, p. 204
49. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 3
50. Tarikh Mukhtasar al-duwal, p. 103
51. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. 25
52. al-Imta' wal-mu'anisa, vol. III, p. 183
53. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 84; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 127,145,151; Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. II, p. 88
54. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IX, p. 58
55. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IX, p. 28
56. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VIII, p. 18
57. Ibid vol. XIII, p. 299-300
58. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XX, p. 298-299
59. For example, Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. II, pp 222,314
60. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 342
61. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 14
62. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, pp 1045-1046
63. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara vol. III, p. 967; Muntakhab Kanz al-'Ummal, vol. II, p. 204
64. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XVII, p. 62
65. Ibid vol. XIII, p. 301-302
66. Ibid vol. XVII, p. 62
67. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 1, p. 585; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. 2, p. 325
68. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 172, al-Gharat, vol. I, p. 307
69. Al-Gharat, vol. 1, p. 307
70. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 3, Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. 274
71. al-Gharat, vol. I, p. 307
72. Nahj al-Balaghah, letter 28; Waq'at Siffin, pp 86-91 Here, Mu'awiya's letter to Imam and Imam's reply are fully

mentioned

73. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 281; al-Gharat, pp 110-111

74. Taha, verse 94; al-Muqni‘, p. 109

75. Waq‘at Siffin, p. 91

76. Tafsir al-Manar, vol. VIII, p. 224

77. Muqadama fi Tarikh Sadr al-Islam, p. 48

78. al-Mi‘yar wal-Muwazina, p. 51

79. al-I□ah, p. 88; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XII, p. 53

80. al-Wafidat min l-Nisa’ Ala Mu‘awiya, p. 41

81. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 64; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 348

82. al-Mi‘yar wal-Muwazina, p. 194

83. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. V, p. 77; Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 171

84. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 118

85. Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 173

86. Sunan Ibn Maja, vol. II, p. 1270; ... 3862

87. al-Muwafiqiyyat, p. 312; Dhakha’ir al-’Uqba, p. 95

88. Kitab al-Zina, p. 259

89. al-Wafidat, p. 24

90. al-Wafidat, p. 29; Balaghat al-Nisa’, p. 67; Tarikh Dimashq, Tarajim al-Nisa’, p. 531

91. Waq‘at Siffin, pp 18,23,24,46,381,385,416,436; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, pp 143-150; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XI, p. 229; al-Fusul Mukhtara, pp 217-218; See, Nahj As-Sabagha,vol. III, p. p. 55-57; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 246; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 484; vol. III, pp 246,270 246,270

92. Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 179

93. al-Futuh, vol. III, p. 226

94. Maqtal al-Imam al-Amir al-Mu‘minin (a), Ibn Abi l-Dunya, Turathuna Magazine,no 12; p. 126

95. See, al-Ghadir, vol. II, p. p. 25,34,78 from different sources, al-Muqni‘ fil-Imama, p. p. 75-76 and in the footnote of different sources This has been quoted from Hassan, in Tarikh al-Ya’qubi (vol. II, p. 128) and al-Muqni‘ (p. 133) as well as other sources, حفظت رسول الله فينا وعهده إليك ومن أولى به منك، من ومن ألست اخاه في الاخاء ووصيه وأعلـم فهرا بالكتاب وبالسنن Thou safeguarded the Prophet ‘s religion left to thee After all, who transcends thee in front of him Are you not his brother and successor and not the most learned one of Banu Fahr about the Book ans Sunna

96. al-Ghadir, vol. II, p. 68

97. al-Ghadir, vol. II, p. 34

98. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. 143,149

99. Ibid,vol. I, p. 145

100. al-Gharat, p. 123

101. Waq‘at Siffin, p. p. 118-119 for more uses of the word “Legation”,see,Ma‘alim al-Madrisatayn,vol. I, pp. 295-328

102. al-Muqni‘ fil-Imama, p. 125 for more poems about the same, see, Ibid, pp. 126-127

103. al-Ghadir, vol. II, p. 25 of Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, p. 377; Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p. 62 and other sources

104. Al-Baqara, 2:246

105. Ibid, verse 247

106. Ale Imran, 3:68

107. Al-Ahzab, 33:60

108. “Tatheer” verse, see, Al-Ahzab, 33:33

109. Al-Baqara, 2:132

110. Ibrahim, 14:36

111. Al-Anfal, 8:41

112. Rum, 30:38

113. Referring to the Ale Imran, 3:33

114. al-Gharat, p. p. 67-71; al-Gharat, Urmawi, vol. I, p. p. 195-204
115. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 3; Rabi'al-Abrar, vol. III, p. 536
116. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 87
117. Ibid, sermon 109
118. Ibid, sermon 239
119. Nahj al-Balaghah,sermon 154
120. Ibid, sermon 144
121. al-Gharat, p. 111
122. Facing Talha in the battle of Jamal, Imam referred to this tradition;Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XI, p. 204
123. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 1
124. Ibid, sayings, No 147
125. Ibid, letter 25
126. See Nahj As-Sa'ada fi Mustadrak Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. II, p. p. 314,627
127. al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 282-283
128. Waq'at Siffin, p. 46
129. See Ibn Abi Dunya,, Maqtal al-Imam Amir al-Mu'minin, p. 92
130. This has been stated about Basra, قطعة من الشام نزلت بيننا Tabaqat al-Kubra,vol. VI,p. 333
131. al-Gharat, p. 70
132. al-Jamal, p. 346
133. al-Jamal, p. 346
134. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 43
135. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 233
136. Tarikh Dimashq, vol. VIII, p. 52
137. Masa'il al-Imamah, p. p. 16-17; See, Murji'a, Tarikh wa Andishih, 19-26; al-zina, p. 273; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. p. 57-58
138. Masa'il al-Imamah, p. 16
139. From fabricated narrations in Tarikh at-Tabari
140. Sa'id Ibn Musayyib said, "I witnessed 'Ali (S)'s rebel contention and that of Uthman until Uthman wanted to scourge 'Ali (a) and I caused them to make up with each other See Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 132, No 112
141. Sa'id in the conflict of arbitration claimed that no one but he is of superior quality in caliphate, for having no hand in Uthman's murder and the recent seditions See Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 344
142. Ansab al-Ashraf, al-Juz' al-rabi', pp 559-560, No 1419
143. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 429; see Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 219
144. In Iskafi's narration it's been cited, I was afraid that some of the ignorants might say something in mosque or the ones who have lost their own fathers or uncles in the Prophet's Maghazi might object, al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. 50
145. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 263
146. Herein some other evidence will be mentioned According to Ya'qubi, All people took the oath except three of Quraysh one of whom swore the oath thereafter See, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. p. 178-179
147. Tarikh al-Khamis, vol. II, p. 261 About the allegiance of Muhajirun and Ansar see, al-Jamal, p. p. 102-110
148. Tarikh Khalifa Ibn Khayyat, p. 196
149. These two were also tied to seizing caliphate and Talha was supported by 'Ayisha Baladhuri states, When 'Uthman was murdered, 'Ayisha was on her way from Mecca to Medina Hearing about people swearing allegiance to Talha she cheered up, but being informed of 'Ali's caliphate, she returned to Mecca and declared she would take revenge for 'Uthman, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 213
150. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 92
151. Tarikh at-Tabari,vol. IV,p. 428
152. Ansab al-Ashraf,vol. II,p. 213
153. al-Gharat, p. 112

154. Akhbar al-Buldan, Ibn Faqih Hamadani, pp 4-5 (Sezgin publication)
155. 'Abd al-Aziz al-Duri denies Lammens's belief considering Saqifa as the result of Abu Bakr,'Umar and Abu 'Ubayda's conspiracy but confirms the former agreement of Anti-Hashimites party Muqadama fi Tarikh Sadr al-Islam,p. 56
156. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 136
157. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IX, p. 31
158. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 427
159. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 210
160. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 140; See, al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. 105
161. This refers to the verse 100,Mu'minun
162. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 143 See, al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. 106
163. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 73
164. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 262
165. In a letter to Mu'awiya, Imam wrote,...and now the fact about deeming yourself different from Talha and Zubayr is that there exists no difference between you Because mine has been a "public allegiance" to which no body disagreed So necessarily it is to be accepted by all Waq'at Siffin, p. 58
166. al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. 52; al-Jamal, p. 131 This has been stated in the first letter in Nahj al-Balaghah,"People swore me allegiance freely and willingly " Trying to emphasize the role of Malik, 'Uthmanids and Umayyads intend to prove that people took the oath for fear of him
167. Waq'at Siffin, p. 65
168. Ibid, p. 16
169. Ibid, p. 45
170. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 143, No 10
171. Nahj al-Balaghah, Letter 6
172. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 207
173. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 208
174. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 435
175. al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 246-247
176. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 76
177. al-Gharat, p. 75
178. Ibid p. 83
179. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp 178-179
180. Tarikh Yahya Ibn Mu'ayn, vol. II, p. 238
181. This sect was also called" Sufyaniya","Nabita" and" Nawasib"
182. Al-Risalat al-Nabita dar Rasa'il al-Jahiz (al-Rasa'il al-Kalamiyya),p. 239
183. al-Hujurat, 49:9
184. Sharh Usul al-Khamsa, p. 141; al-Bahr al-ra'iq, vol. VI, pp 151,153; Ahkam al-qur'an, Jassas, vol. III, p. 400, Jawahir al-kalam, vol. XXI,p. 332
185. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 207
186. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 207; Iskafi says that they said that they accept allegiance but they resent to war with the people of prayer In return, Imam said, "Abu Bakr permitted war with them(Imam meant people who refused to pay tax alms) How didn't you oppose him? See al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazana,p. 106
187. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp 72-73
188. al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. 106; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 143
189. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. 35
190. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 240; al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. 158
191. Kitab al-Zina, p. 225
192. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VII, pp 36-37
193. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VII, pp 37-42; al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. 111-114; Da'a'im al-Islam,

vol. I, p. 384; Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. I, pp 200,415 and Ibid from, Tuhaf al-'Uqul, p. 125;Amali, Ibn Ash-Shiykh, section 44, p. 91, No 5, Raw□a al-Kafi, No 551

194. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VII, pp 37-42

195. Da'a'im al-Islam, vol. I, p. 384; Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. I, p. 229

196. al-Gharat, vol. I, p. 75; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. 318

197. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. 16, p. 23; al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 149

198. Bahj As-Sabaqa, vol. II, pp 197-203

199. al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. 227; see,Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 113

200. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 342

201. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 141; al-Gharat (And in footnote from Wasa'il Ash-Shi'a, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Bihar al-Anwar) Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 183

202. Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. I, p. 189

203. Ibid, vol. 1, p. 212

204. Ibid, vol.1, p. 212 – 213; from: al-Ikhtisas, p. 151; Bihar, vol. 41, p. 106; Mustadrak al-Wasa'il, vol. 11, p. 93

205. al-Gharat, p. 186 – 187; Gharib al-Hadith, Abu 'Ubayd, vol. 3, p. 484; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. 19, p. 184

206. al-Gharat, p. 187 (Persian translation)

207. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. 10, p. 46

208. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. 12, pp 82-90

209. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 18

210. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 88

211. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol.III, p.342.

212. Mustatrafat As-Sara'ir, p. 146, and in its footnote, Bihar, vol. 96, p. 38; Wasa'il Ash-Shi'a, vol. 5, p. 193; Tafsir 'Ayyashi, vol. I, p. 175

213. Nahj al-Balaghah, letter 53

214. al-Manar, vol. 6, p. 288

215. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 123

216. Ibid sermon 38

217. Ibid sermon 16

218. Nahj al-Balaghah sermon 192

219. Ibid sermon 233; Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. 1, p. 96

220. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 54

221. Zamakhshari has mentioned some parts in Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. 1 from page 41 on

222. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 113

223. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 87

224. Nahj al-Balaghah sermon 205

225. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. 3, pp 1043-1044

226. al-Amali fi Athar sahaba, p. 50

227. al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. 10, p. 124

228. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 2, p. 180

229. Tarikh al-Kabir, Bukhari, vol. 4, p. 33; al-Ghadir, vol. 9, p. 66, vol. 10, p. 201

230. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 179; al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, vol. I, p. 204 (printed in India

231. Taqyid al-'Ilm, p. 90; Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. III, PP 226,294; Tarikh Baghdad, vol. 8, p. 357; al-Taratib al-Idariyya, vol. II,p. 259; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. 6, p. 116

232. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan (a), Ibn Sa'd, p. 156

233. concerning " Kitab 'Ali bi Imla'al-Nabi (S) ",Ahmadi Miyaniji, the master, completed a detailed research about "Makatib al-rasul" and extracted some cases narrated by the Infallible Imams from 'Ali's booklet

234. Majma' al-Bayan, vol. 8, p. 472

235. Qut al-Qulub, vol. II, p. 302; Wasa'il Ash-Shi'a, vol. II, p. 515; al-Tahdhib, vol. II, p. 486; al-Kafi, vol. II, p. 312; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. 312; Akhbar Isbahan, vol. I,p. 89

236. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp 227-228

237. Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. I, p. 70 Concerning positions of other Imams, "Qissih khanan dar Tarikh Islam wa Iran",pp 93 - 102, Qum, 1999

238. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. 7, p. 36

239. See one detailed example of that in, Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. I, pp 74-79 and the sources in there We mentioned other sources in the first vol.ume of the book under the topic of " the historical role of the Messenger (S) "

240. al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, vol. 12, p. 36

241. Naq,p. 496; Tuhaf al-'Uqul, pp 338-342; Musnad al-Imam al-Hadi, p. 207; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 38, p. 245

242. al-Fa'iq fi Gharib al-Hadith, vol. II, p. 108

243. Ansab al-Ashraf, ol II, p. 273

244. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 105

245. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 164

246. Ibid sermon 145

247. Ibid sermon 149

248. Ibid sermon 192

249. Ibid sermon 154

250. Ibid sermon 176

251. Nahj As-Sa'ada, vol. II, p. 537

252. Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. I, p. 530

253. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 182

254. Ibid sermon 187

255. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 187

256. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 252(footnote)of, Tarikh Dimashq, vol. 28, p. 67; Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq, vol. 5, p. 364

257. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. 4, p. 429; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 218

258. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 223 Major source on Jamal war is the book of "al-Jamal" by Sheykh Mufid who has prepared it out of tens of sources accessible to him in that time We have used this book as well as others previously written

259. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 255

260. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 222-223; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. 5, p. 34

261. As earlier said, when Abu Bakr said prayers, just one, instead of the Prophet (S), according to Imam 'Ali, 'Ayisha was the one who, from inside of home, introduced Abu Bakr

262. Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 300

263. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 274

264. Tarikh al-Madinat al-Munawwara, vol. III, p. 942

265. Concerning different statements and what she herself said in contradiction to this idea, Hadith al-Ifk, from p. 158 on

266. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. 8, p. 81

267. Ibid, vol. 8, p. 68

268. Ibid, vol. 8, p. 103

269. al-Jamal, pp 157-160

270. See the section on "'Uthman's Opponents"

271. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 217-218; vol. 5, p. 91; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. 6, p. 215

272. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 5, p. 91

273. al-Jamal, p. 160 and in the footnote from,Ash-Shafi,vol. 4, p. 356; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 32, p. 341

274. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 337; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. 4, p. 21

275. Musnad Ahmad, vol. 6, pp 34, 38

276. Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. I, p. 821

277. al-Jamal, pp 409-412

278. Ibid, pp 425–434
279. Ibid, p. 438
280. Zahr al–Islam, vol. 4, pp 38–39
281. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. 4, p. 451
282. Akhbar al–Tiwal, p. 144
283. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 238
284. al–Mu‘jam al–Kabir, vol. 24, p. 34
285. al–Futuh, vol. II, PP 282–283
286. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. 4, p. 451; al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 284
287. al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 284
288. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 224
289. al–Mu‘jam al–Kabir, vol. 24, p. 10; Majma‘ al–Zawa’id, vol. 9, p. 135
290. al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 286
291. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 221
292. al–Futuh, vol. II, pp 279–280
293. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, pp 221–222
294. Nathr ad–Durr, vol. 4, p. 15–16
295. Akhbar al–Tiwal, p. 144; al–Jamal, p. 322
296. al–Jamal, p. 304
297. al–Jamal, p. 329
298. Ibid p. 345
299. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, pp 229–230; al–Jamal, p. 305
300. al–Musannaf, ‘Abd al–Razzaq, vol. 11, p. 365; Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 224; al–Mustadrak, vol. III, p. 120; al–Isti‘ab, vol. 4, p. 361; (Ibn ‘Abd al–Barr says, “This hadith is among the reasons of the Prophet’s prophethood and it is more correctly documented requiring no discussion ”) Futuh al–Buldan, p. 549; al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 288; Nathr ad–Durr, vol. II, p. 227; Majma‘ al–Zawa’id, vol. 7, p. 234
301. al–Jamal, p. 306
302. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, pp 226–227
303. al–Jamal, p. 307
304. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 182
305. al–Jamal, p. 284
306. Ibid p. 285
307. al–Ma‘arif, p. 208
308. al–Jamal, p. 401
309. al–Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, vol. 15, p. 283
310. al–Jamal, pp 283–284
311. al–Jamal, pp 301–302
312. Ibid pp 299–300
313. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 184
314. loc cit
315. Akhbar al–Tiwal, p. 145
316. Ibid p. 145; Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, pp 234–235
317. Akhbar al–Tiwal, p. 145
318. Dinwari (Akhbar al–Tiwal, p. 147) says, “when Zubayr heard that ‘Ammar is with Imam ‘Ali, he remained doubtful due to hadith of «الحق مع عمار» and hadith «تقتلك الفئة الباغية » This statement seems incorrect thanks to Zubayr’s spoiled soul ‘Ammar was from the very beginning with Imam, how has Zubayr not thought of this so far?”
319. Concerning the tribes and their positions, Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 237
320. al–Jamal, p. 330

321. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 239,274

322. About the attendance of the Prophet's companions, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 267-269 (footnote).

323. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 147

324. al-Jamal, pp 314-318

325. Waq'at al-Jamal, p. 36

326. al-Jamal, pp 336-339

327. Ibid p. 336; According to Baladhuri, war happened on Jumadi al-Thani 10th Ansab al-Ashraf, p. 238; Imam's letter to Kufiyans telling about the triumph over Jamal companions is dated Jumadi al-Awwal al-Jamal, p. 399

328. al-Jamal, p. 334

329. al-Jamal, pp 339-340; al-Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, vol. 7, p. 537; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 241

330. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 240-241

331. al-Jamal, p. 348; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. I, p. 257

332. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 246-247

333. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 185

334. al-Jamal, p. 383

335. Waq'at al-Jamal, al-Ghallabi, p. 42; Tarikh Mukhtasar Dimashq, vol. 11, p. 204

336. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 255; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 147

337. Abu Mikhnaf comments that Zubayr left the battlefield after troops failure and he was killed on his way to Medina Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 254; This means that he has left the battlefield and nothing else

338. al-Jamal, p. 389; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. 9, p. 24

339. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 150

340. Al-Jamal, p. 379

341. Ibid p. 369

342. SamT al-Nujum al-'Awali, vol. II, p. 440

343. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 249

344. Ibid vol. II, p. 265

345. Ibid vol. II, p. 266

346. 'Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. I, p. 202

347. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. 8, p. 74

348. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 241; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. 5, p. 6

349. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 248

350. Ibid. vol.II, p.265.

351. al-Jamal, p. 419

352. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 186

353. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 186.

354. Ibid p. 190

355. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 263 (context and footnote

356. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 151

357. al-Jamal, p. 392

358. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 151; al-Jamal, p. 407; Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. I, p. 308

359. al-Jamal, pp 395-399

360. Ibid pp 401-402

361. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 374; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 152; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 273; It is to be said that Imam has written letter to Qara¨a Ibn Ka'b, ruler of Kufa, to inform about the victory in Rajab 36 H al-Jamal, p. 404

362. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 153

363. Nahj al-Balaghah, letter 70

364. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 210-211

365. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 143; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 268; al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. 98

366. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 271
367. al-Futuh, vol. I, p. 134
368. Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. I, p. 47
369. Waq'at Siffin, pp 3,5; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 349 It is to be said that the most comprehensive work on the event of Siffin is the valuable book "Waq'at Siffin", written by Nasr Ibn Muzahim, dead in 212 Ibn A'tham has mainly used this book in reporting about Siffin and he has condensed the book Sources such as Tarikh at-Tabari and Baladhuri have quoted mainly from Abu Mikhnaf except a few sporadic reports
370. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 347
371. Ibid vol. II, pp 360-361
372. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 211-212
373. Waq'at Siffin, p. 8
374. Waq'at Siffin, p. 56; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 432; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 160
375. Waq'at Siffin, p. 411
376. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 403
377. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 212
378. Waq'at Siffin, pp 12-13
379. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 350
380. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 297
381. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 350; Waq'at Siffin, p. 113; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 167
382. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 352
383. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 156
384. Waq'at Siffin, p. 21; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 370-371
385. Waq'at Siffin, p. 27
386. 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Ghanm Azdi who was known as "Afqah ahl Sham"(Horizon of Damascus people) said to Shurahbil in Damascus, "Even if 'Ali has murdered 'Uthman, he would be caliph of Muslims since Muhajirun and Ansar have sworn allegiance to him and they are "superior to people" Waq'at Siffin, p. 45
387. Waq'at Siffin, p. 29; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 374-375; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 157
388. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 380
389. Waq'at Siffin, p. 32
390. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 411, he was proud not because of being from Damascus but because he was a Yemeni
391. al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 406-407; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 160
392. Waq'at Siffin, pp 44-52; al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 397-401; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 275-276 (footnote); Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 159
393. Waq'at Siffin, p. 52; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 392
394. al-Futuh, vol. II, pp 429-430
395. Waq'at Siffin, p. 58; al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 432
396. Waq'at Siffin, p. 77
397. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 404
398. Waq'at Siffin, p. 61
399. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 283
400. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 284; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 157
401. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 382
402. In Sunnites sources 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'As, one of Sahaba hadith-writers, is defended while 'Abd Allah was present in Siffin arm in arm with his father 'Abd Allah commanded the left wing of Damascus troops Waq'at Siffin, p. 206 It goes to say that when his father asked him to hold the banner, he first rejected and said, "I'll never fight anyone who has not been even one moment an atheist " His father obligated him to hold the banner, he took it and said, "If the Prophet had not said, "Obey your father", "I would have never done this!!" al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 35
403. Waq'at Siffin, p. 35; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 285; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 185

404. Waq‘at Siffin, p. 39; Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 288; Tarikh al–Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 186 ‘Amr lived only until 43 H and was ruler of Egypt
405. Waq‘at Siffin, pp 37,44; al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 386
406. al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 441
407. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 294; Akhbar al–Tiwal, p. 161
408. Waq‘at Siffin, pp 82–83; al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 413
409. Waq‘at Siffin, p. 63; al–Futuh, vol. II, pp 416–417
410. Waq‘at Siffin, vol. 75; Tarikh al–Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 187; al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 421
411. Nahj al–Balaghah, sayings, No 18
412. al–Futuh, vol. II, pp 418–419
413. Waq‘at Siffin, pp 86–91; Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, pp 277–282; Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. 15, p. 73; al–Futuh, vol. II, pp 474–475; Nahj As–Sa‘ada, vol. 4, p. 185
414. Waq‘at Siffin, pp 110–111; al–Futuh, vol. II, pp 477–480
415. al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 460
416. Waq‘at Siffin, p. 101; al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 460
417. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 293; al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 362; Akhbar al–Tiwal, p. 164 Imam paid his blood money out of public property
418. Waq‘at Siffin, pp 92–96
419. Ibid pp 98–99; al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 444
420. Waq‘at Siffin, p. 101
421. Ibid p. 115; Akhbar al–Tiwal, p. 165, he seems to be the same Khajih Rabi‘ whose tombstone, in Mashhad is visited very much
422. Waq‘at Siffin, p. 102; al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 447
423. Waq‘at Siffin, p. 103; al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 448, Akhbar al–Tiwal, p. 165
424. Waq‘at Siffin, pp 114–115
425. Waq‘at Siffin, pp 118–121; Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, pp 393–397 and in the footnote of Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. III, p. 188; Muruj al–Dhahab, vol. III, p. 10; SamT al–Nujum al–’Awali, vol. II, p. 465
426. Waq‘at Siffin, p. 127
427. Ibid p. 131
428. al–Futuh, vol. III, pp 105–107
429. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, pp 296–297
430. Tarikh al–Ya’qubi, vol. II, pp 188–189
431. Waq‘at Siffin, vol. II, p. 144; al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 468
432. Waq‘at Siffin, pp 150–151; Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 297
433. Tarikh al–Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 187
434. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 298; al–Futuh, vol. II, pp 487–488
435. al–Futuh, vol. II, pp 462–466; Waq‘at Siffin, pp 140–142
436. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 299
437. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 303
438. Tarikh al–Ya’qubi, vol. II, pp 188,190
439. al–Kamil fil–Tarikh, vol. III, pp 293,321
440. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 191
441. Waq‘at Siffin, p. 190
442. Ibid p. 196
443. Akhbar al–Tiwal, pp 169–172
444. Ibid p. 171
445. al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 495
446. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 362

447. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 168
448. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 439
449. Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp 166-167
450. Waq'at Siffin, p. 163
451. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 298; al-Futuh, vol. III, p. 2
452. al-Futuh, vol. III, p. 13
453. Ibid vol. III, p. 15
454. Nasr Ibn Muzahim says, وكان اكثر القوم حروباً الاشتر Waq'at Siffin, p. 195
455. Waq'at Siffin, p. 196
456. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 163
457. Ibid p. 170
458. Waq'at Siffin, p. 199
459. Ibid p. 214; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 303
460. Waq'at Siffin, pp 203-204
461. Despite mention of the date in several sources, 12th of Safar is regarded by Baladhuri (Ansab, vol. II, p. 323) to be on Friday that is inconsistent with this date But regarding the report by Nasr about the citation of arbitration agreement of Wednesday 17th of Safar, Baladhuri's reference to Friday 12th of Safar is approved
462. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 303-305
463. Ibid vol. II, pp 305-306
464. Waq'at Siffin, pp 230-232
465. Waq'at Siffin, p. 447
466. Ibid p. 236; Ashtar in his speech said that roughly one hundred people from Badr stay with us Waq'at Siffin, p. 238
467. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 188
468. al-Futuh, vol. III, pp 180-181
469. Waq'at Siffin, p. 215
470. Ibid p. 319
471. Concerning the sources, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 312-313 (footnote) in the following pages 'Amr Ibn 'As is quoted to have said the afore-mentioned hadith
472. al-Futuh, vol. III, p. 131
473. Waq'at Siffin, p. 239; al-Futuh, vol. III, pp 124-125
474. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 311-313
475. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. 5, p. 236
476. al-Muhabbar, p. 296
477. Waq'at Siffin, p. 340; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 310
478. al-Futuh, vol. III, p. 271
479. Waq'at Siffin, p. 244
480. Waq'at Siffin, p. 360
481. al-Futuh, vol. II, p. 41; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 176
482. al-Futuh, vol. III, p. 187
483. Waq'at Siffin, p. 363
484. Ibid p. 274; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 176
485. Waq'at Siffin, p. 407; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 330; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 177
486. al-Futuh, vol. III, pp 173-174
487. Waq'at Siffin, p. 293; al-Futuh, vol. III, p. 55
488. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 325; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 186
489. Waq'at Siffin, p. 437; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 322; al-Futuh, vol. III, pp 43 – 44
490. al-Futuh, vol. III, p. 163
491. al-Futuh, vol. III, p. 163

492. al–Futuh, vol. III, pp 119–120

493. Waq‘at Siffin, p. 324; Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 320 Baladhuri hesitates to report about martyrdom of Uwiys The proof reader mentions on pages 320–322 various sources in which this undeniable report is referred

494. al–Futuh, vol. II, pp 451–460

495. He is reported in detail in Waq‘at Siffin including, pp 346–356

496. al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 67

497. Ibid vol. II, p. 101

498. Ibid vol. III, p. 142

499. al–Futuh, vol. III, p. 103

500. al–Wafidat min l–Nisa’ ‘ala Mu‘awiya, p. 29

501. Ibid p. 36

502. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 307

503. Waq‘at Siffin, p. 435; al–Futuh, vol. III, pp 221–222

504. Waq‘at Siffin, pp 470–471

505. Ibid, p. 474; al–Futuh, vol. III, pp 264–65

506. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 323

507. Waq‘at Siffin, p. 478

508. Ibid, p. 481

509. Tarikh al–Ya’qubi, vol. II, pp 188–89

510. Ibid, vol. II, p. 189

511. al–Futuh, vol. II, p. 74

512. Waq‘at Siffin

513. Ibid, pp 490–494

514. Regrettably Mu□ri and Yemeni competition induced problem at Siffin battle

515. Waq‘at Siffin, pp 499–500

516. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 331

517. Ibid, vol. II, p. 337; see, p. 338

518. Akhbar al–Tiwal, pp 194–196, Waq‘at Siffin, pp 504–570, see, Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, pp 334–335

519. Waq‘at Siffin, p. 508; Tarikh al–Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 189

520. Waq‘at Siffin, p. 521; see, Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 236

521. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 237

522. Nathr ad–Durr, vol. I, p. 421

523. Waq‘at Siffin, pp 540–541

524. Waq‘at Siffin pp 545–546; Akhbar al–Tiwal, pp 199–201; Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, pp 350–51

525. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 342

526. Akhbar al–Tiwal, p. 196

527. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 339

528. Waq‘at Siffin, pp 413–414; Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 351

529. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, pp 331–338

530. Tarikh al–Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 191

531. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 359

532. Ibid, vol. II, p. 350

533. Ibid, vol. II, p. 363

534. Tarikh al–Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 192

535. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 360

536. Ibid, vol. II, p. 349

537. Ibid, vol. II, p. 352

538. The verses, Al Imran 3:23; al–Ma’ida 5:95; al–Nisa’ 4:35

539. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 354
540. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 209
541. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 361
542. Ibid, vol. II, pp 356-369
543. Ibid, vol. II, p. 364
544. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 366, and in its footnote from, al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 143
545. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 206
546. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 367
547. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 362-368
548. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 370; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 207
549. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 210
550. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 371
551. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 210.
552. One of them is Yazid Ibn Nuwayra Ansari whose being a heavenly man was witnessed twice by The Prophet (S) (al-Isaba, vol. II, p. 348) The list of the martyrs of this war has been noted by Ibn A'tham (vol. IV, p. 121) and Ibn Abi al-Hadid (vol. II, p. 29) See their narrations with martyrs' names at Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 314, (footnote
553. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 374-375 It's been noted in Futuh (vol. III, p. 277) that when Imam ended his war with Kharijites and went to Kufa, 17 days were remained from Rama□an
554. Ibid, vol. I, p. 319
555. al-Gharat, vol. I, p. 346.
556. al-Gharat, vol. I, p. 346.
557. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 413-418
558. al-Fa'iq,vol. IV,p. 129
559. See, Waq'at Siffin, following al-Qurra' at the list of tribes and clans
560. See, al-Irshad, vol. I, p. 254
561. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 50
562. Ibid, vol. V, p. 51
563. Ibid, vol. V, p. 49, Waq'at Siffin, pp 489-490, Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. X, pp 56,60,239; Tatawwur al-Fikr As-Siyasi 'Ind ahl As-Sunna, pp 43-44
564. Ibid, vol. V, pp 84-85
565. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 27
566. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XIII, pp 167-168
567. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 192
568. Masa'il al-Imamah, p. 16
569. See, Nahj al-Balaghah, sermons 93,101,121,192; letters 1,65; Qisar al-Hikam, No 1
570. Nahj al-Balaghah, see, Kalamat Qisar, No 1
571. For sedition, see, Bernard Lewis, article "Mafahim Inqilab dar Islam", Tahqiqat Islami Magazine, No 2/7, pp 93-97
572. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermons 38,122, Qisar al-Hikam, No 113
573. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 361-377; Nahj al-Balaghah
574. For instance they regarded all those accepting arbitration, and subsequent to that, everyone not considering 'Ali (a) infidel, as infidel, by referring to the verse وَمَنْ لَمْ يَحْكُمْ بِمَا أَنزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُوْلَئِكَ هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ "and whoever did not judge by what Allah revealed, those are they that are the unbelievers" and ordered their dissenters' women and children to be murdered by referring to this verse رَبِّ لَا تَذَرْ عَلَى الْأَرْضِ مِنْ الْكَافِرِينَ دَيَّارًا "My Lord! Leave not upon the land any dweller from among the unbelievers" which was Noah's prayer See, Masa'il al-Imamah, p. 19
575. al-Aghani, vol. XIV, p. 269; see, Murji'a, Tarikh wa Andishih, pp 32-39
576. Lisan al-'Arab, vol. IV, p. 461 (following religion)
577. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 157
578. Ibid, sermon 93

579. Ibid, sermon 61
580. Ibid, sermon 60
581. Futuh al-Buldan, sermon 39
582. Ibid sermon 131
583. Futuh al-Buldan, sermon 180
584. al-Gharat, p. 176 (Persion version)
585. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 390-392
586. As reported by Baladhuri in Ashraf, vol. II, pp 300-301 when Qays arrived in Medina, Imam had written to Sahl Ibn Hunayf to go to Kufa Meanwhile, Marwan and Aswad Ibn Abi al-Bakhtari were active in acting against Imam in Medina They threatened Qays with murder Without a moment's hesitation he left there for Iraq It proves that except Ansar accompanying Imam to Iraq how much Medina was against Imam
587. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, pp 398-399
588. al-Gharat, vol. I, p. 264; in Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 399 the name of Qays Ibn Sa'd is referred to mistakenly
589. al-Gharat, vol. I, p. 265 (The Persion translation is adapted from Ayati's book
590. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 401
591. al-Gharat, vol. I, pp 276-289
592. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 404
593. al-Gharat, vol. I, p. 291
594. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 404 Muhammad's mother, Asma' Bint 'Umays, was first Ja'far's wife after whose martyrdom got married Abu Bakr After Abu Bakr's demise she married Imam 'Ali (a), thus Muhammad was cherished in Imam's family
595. al-Gharat, vol. I, pp 302-322
596. Ibid vol. II, p. 377
597. al-Gharat, vol. II, pp 373-412
598. al-Gharat, vol. II, pp 416-442
599. al-Gharat, vol. II, pp 445-459
600. al-Gharat, vol. II, pp 459-461
601. al-Gharat, pp 179-181 (Persian version); Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp 211-212
602. al-Gharat, pp 464-503
603. Ibid vol. II, pp 504-516
604. al-Gharat p. 174 (translated by Ayati)
605. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. 3, pp 35-38
606. Maqtal al-Imam Amir al-Mu'minin, p. 36, No 13
607. Ibid p. 29, No 4; p. 35, No 12
608. Ibid pp. 28,33, No 11
609. Ibid p. 30, No 5
610. Ibid p. 30, No 6
611. al-Amali, al-Juz' al-Thalith, No 18
612. Kanz al-'Ummal, vol. XV, p. 170 (2nd edition); al-Amali fi Athar Sahaba, pp 103-104
613. al-Fa□a'il, p. 38, No 63 (published in Qum)
614. Tarjamat al-Imam 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib (a), vol. III, p. 361 (2nd edition)
615. al-Isti'ab (in the margin of al-Isaba), vol. III, p. 59
616. al-Isti'ab pp 33-34, No 12; Abu Nu'aym along with many others have narrated that the Prophet had already foretold his martyrdom Ma'rifat As-Sahaba, vol. I, pp 295-296
617. Ibid p. 39, No 20; footnote, al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, p. 160, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 499
618. Maqtal al-Imam Amir al-Mu'minin, pp 45-46
619. Ibid p. 79, No 68
620. Ibid p. 92, No 85; p. 96, No 91
621. Nahj al-Balaghah, letter 45

622. This Hadith is the one repeated many times Imam also stated, يهلك فيك الرجلان، محب مفرط ومبغض مفرط Two people are murdered for me, extremist friend and hardline foe Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 127
623. al-Mi'yar wal-Muwazina, p. 240
624. Ibid p. 240
625. Ibid p. 244
626. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II p. 187; al-Gharat, vol. I, pp 85,87,88
627. al-Gharat, vol. I, p. 85
628. Ibid pp 88-89; the footnotes of the same pages
629. Tabaqat al-Muhaddithin bi-Isbahan, vol. I, Akhbar Isbahan, vol. I, p. 72
630. Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 310
631. al-Futuh, vol. III, pp 90-92

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SHARES

Imam Hasan's Imamate

Acquaintance with the Kufiyan's

Iraq has been an Islamic land that dominated over Islamic world throughout caliphate life for centuries and therein numerous important developments were embedded. With two cities of Basra and Kufa it initially appeared under the name of "'Araqiyan" and later with the appearance of Baghdad it played a more important role. The time we talk about is when it is still a hundred years left to Baghdad emergence. Basra, for years after the event of Jamal, was 'Uthmanids.1

Although it was somewhat moderated with the Mu'tazilites' (schismatic) penetration later. On the other hand, Kufa has always been known as a Shi'ites center that did adhere to its belief during the Umayyads's authority and later on. On different occasions this city has been "reproached" on the one hand and admired on the other, thus different judgments have been passed about the Kufa people as follows:

A. These people on different occasions took different positions. Once they rose for defending Ahl al-Bayt and strengthened the 'Alawites with their courage and it was their assistance that helped Imam defeat Nakithin. Yet, it was the last years of Imam 'Ali's caliphate when they hesitated to help him, so the gospel. Truth was defeated and the credal error won.

Though many2, later they left Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a) helpless on his own as well. Such a tragedy was also repeated in Muharram 61 A.H. However, many of them under the name of Tawwabin (the Penitents) repended and in a movement were martyred.

Another group allied with Mukhtar Ibn Abi 'Ubayd to take revenge for Imam Husayn's assassin to show their Shi'ites stance. With not helping Zayd Ibn 'Ali in 122 A.H. they proved their unfaithfulness to the 'Alawites.

B. The why of such contradictory judgments is the existence of various political and religious groups in the city. One group was the Kharijites, another was somehow the Umayyads' accomplice as the noble and the other group was the Shi'ite Muslims, Ahl al-Bayt's devotees from among whom the righteous were praised for their right deeds and the wicked kept on until they murdered the prophet's son.

C. The existence of the tribes was also influential in people's quick stance changing. They went to extremes in their tribal prejudice so irrationally that they made rash decisions on any trivial affair. Mostly in favor of the tribes were the decisions, so they threatened the Kufiyan's unity, exactly what the Umayyads took advantage of several times.

Here it looks essential that we get acquainted with the Iraqi's state on the threshold of Hasan Ibn 'Ali's Imamate. Were these people familiarized, the next developments in Iraq would be well comprehended.

Doing research on Imam Hasan's disciples, Sheykh Mufid classified people into categories. Imam 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims; the Kharijites who were intent on fighting Mu'awiya and due to Imam Mujtaba's intention of battling against Damascus allied with him. Those greedy for the booty; Common people negligent of what to do; and the group included those with tribal prejudice who obeyed their chiefs disregarding the religion.3[1509]

The number of those belonging to the third group exceeded all. As Iraq was the center of eastern conquests, they gained a great deal of booty in all wars. Yet, since Imam 'Ali's entrance to the land civil wars began; therefore, they assumed the 'Alawites as debtors.4

After Nahrawan, they did not deem to the good of themselves to start a new war in the prevailing status. With the rumors spread by Mu'awiya's spies in Iraq, doubt expanded among the Iraqis. The Kharijites' emergence added to their doubt and undermined them to understand the situation.

Regardless of what said above, the people of Iraq, as matter of fact, had expressed themselves encountering the rulers of a hundred years. The honor they had gained during the years of conquering Iran had made them dominant over the Prophet's Medina and when dissatisfied of any ruler, they compelled even 'Umar to depose him.

The figures who were not among the tricksters seemed to be defeated. 'Ammar Ibn Yasir as a righteous man as well as Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas as an un-political person could never tolerate the state of Kufa. In spite of it Mughira Ibn Shu'ba, a powerful debauchee (as described by 'Umar), could rule over Kufa for years.5[1511]

Later on, with Imam 'Ali's emigration from Medina to Kufa, it developed and the significance of its role in

the Islamic world multiplied. His ethical and scientific background as well as his devotion during the life of Islam led people to rise up and help him.

The Prophet's disciples and his own close followers joining to his army added to his might and allowed no one to overcome him for a time. but, after the issue of arbitration was broached in Siffin, they found a justification for standing against Imam 'Ali (a) and after suppressing the Kharijites, they, under the pretext of fatigue, drew back from the internal affairs. Imam stated that although a ruler, he had been oppressed by people.6

People's present state made Imam announce that he was by no means able to reform them. Though he could rule over them by force, it was never the way he did ever choose.

He himself has described them well enough, “O people of Kufa! With Qur'anic advice thee I reproached, fruitless it was. With rods thee I threatened, useless it was. With whips thee I punished, pointless if was. The only means to reform thee is sword, but at a cost of thy reforming never do I excite discord.”7

Sword was the one and the only thing that could make the people of Iraq obedient. This fact has been confirmed throughout history. If anyone like 'Ali (a) and his progeny had never desired to make use of force, that is to impose something the people hated, neverever could he have succeeded.

Such rulers as Ziyad, his son, 'Ubayd Allah, or Hajjaj could pacify Iraq. Despotism was what could remove the tensions. Mukhtar also could rule for a short time with his policy but because not despotic, he could never unite Kufa let alone Iraq.

Amir al-Mu'minin, the Commander of the Faithful, has expressively described this nation. He has likened them to a pregnant woman who aborts her baby at the very last moment after bearing the sever pain of pregnancy.8 To camels without riders he also likened them that are gathered from one side but scattered on the other.9[1515]

It is quite natural that such morale can on no accounts tolerate a calm and reformist ruler who resorts to human and logical ways. At the end, the more Imam insisted on people's unity against Damascus, the less they even tried to defend Iraq.

It was then when Imam addressed them reproaching:

> أيتها الفرقة التي إذا امرت لم تطع وإذا دعوت لم تجب، لله أنتم، أما دين يجمعكم، أما حمية تشخدكم؟ أوليس عجباً أنَّ معاوية يدعو الجفاة الطغام فيتبعونه غير معونة ولا عطاء وأنا أدعوكم وأنتم تريكة الاسلام، أنه لايخرج إليكم من امري رضاَ ترضونه ولا سُخط فتجتمعون عليه وإن احبَّ ما أنا لاق إلي الموت

“O the crowd laying disobedient when ordered and remaining silent when called. Thou hast no religion to prepare thee? Thou hast no fervor to propel thee? Not a surprise rogues follow Mu'awiya without

expecting money and he is obeyed. I call you, the survivors of Islam, but you never follow me even I am not outraged for this. The only desire I seek is death."[10][1516]

These people treat 'Ali such while having brilliant records as far as he desires death. Of course, Imam could attract people, like Mu'awiya, through non-Islamic ways or force them to war. But Imam behaved them this way now that they like staying and he never intended to force them to accept something they did not want[11] because if he did so, his leadership is not "Imamate " but "Monarchy".

This was something Mu'awiya stayed proud of. Anyway, such people faced Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a)'s succession, the eople unwilling to admit their Imam's command to defend Iraq and they went their homse from Nahrawan for rest and never returned.[12]

Mu'awiya's position in Damascus had strengthened as well. Damascus people who had already called Mu'awiya Amir now called him Amir al-Mu'minin. The Iraqi solidarity was not like that of Siffin time. The death toll in Siffin and Nahrawan had undermined the Iraqi's spirit.[13] Since Hasan Ibn 'Ali was Imam 'Ali's son, it had added to the difficulties.

Yet, Iraq was afraid of being dominated by Damascus. Although they disobeyed their Imam, they were not contended with his murder. In other words, because they did not want to be under Mu'awiya's dominance, they had no other alternative but swearing allegiance to Imam 'Ali's son.

Under those circumstances no one could lead Iraq but Imam Hasan (a). Supposing that he did not exist, the Umayyads would naturally rule over Iraq. Nevertheless, the Iraqis' allegiance was not so wholehearted to keep them faithful to their new Imam. As seen later, on the horns of a dilemma, they preferred to be beside the Umayyads, yet unwillingly. Therefore, among these people there was no room for Imam. He had to head for Medina.

Imam Hasan's Character

Regarding Imam Hasan's virtues many narrations are recorded the narrators of which have been both Shi'ite Muslims and Sunnites scholars.[14] Many historical books have been written containing his virtues but regretfully until recently no serious effort had been made about the events in his life.

Like any other time, the events are compiled with no serious research done nor is a detailed evaluation made. Most of the recorded virtues concerned with this magnanimous Imam reveal how much the two brothers were adored by Allah's Apostle who expressed his affection even publicly. Coming down the pulpit, kissing them and then going up the pulpit indicated that there was a reason behind the scenes.[15]

It is additionally quoted from the prophet that he advised the present to recount to the absentees how he expressed affection for Imam Hasan (a).[16]

He had also stated, "I do love him and the one loving him." [17]

Imam's presence in Mubahala (cursing each other) and among the people of Kasa' (covering) shows the credit the prophet had considered for him. Appealingly, when Imam Mujtaba (a) took part in Ri wan allegiance, the Prophet swore allegiance to him.[18]

In a narration he has stated, **لوكان العقل رجلاً لكان الحسن** " If wisdom was imagined in a man, he would be Hasan."[19]

Imam Hasan's power in persuading the Kufiyans, when Nakithin[20] revolted, manifests his importance and popularity among the people. As far as these hadiths are concerned, Muslims considered Fatima al–Zahra's descendants as the Apostle's, and despite the Umayyads's and later the 'Abbasids's denial there was no doubt for Muslims in this regard.[21]

It was due to his eminent characteristic that when Imam 'Ali introduced him publicly as his successor, the people of Iraq and other areas swore allegiance to him as an official caliph. Meanwhile, the spiteful around tried to mar his characteristic introducing him as the one with no policy and prudence on the one hand and a worldly figure with an opposite position to those of 'Ali (a) and Husayn (a) on the other hand.

For example, with recourse to a handful of counterfeited reports they tried to rumor that Imam Mujtaba (a) had been constantly marrying and divorcing.[22] Related to the reports of the compromise, they claimed that he abdicated through a number of financial conditions. It implies that he had been after Darabjird and Ahwaz revenues as well as the public found in Kufa.[23]

In such reports they have declared that since Imam did not deem caliphate his right, he submitted it to Mu'awiya. This utterance is nothing but an accusation because Imam had regularly made it clear that caliphate had been his right yet he had to give it up under duress.[24]

In addition to blemishing his reputation mostly done by the 'Abbasids under the pressure of the Hasanides they abused Imam's position to condemn 'Ali (a) and even Husayn Ibn 'Ali (a). They falsely quoted Imam as saying,"For the sake of kingdom, never will I fight Mu'awiya".[25]

It could seem useful to Sunnites bigots to condemn Imam 'Ali's wars. It is also narrated that when Imam Hasan was born, his father liked to name him Harb (war)[26]. They implied that from the very beginning he did naturally love to fight.

Elsewhere they have quoted him as saying, "The entire Arab might is in my hand so it will be with me whether I fight or compromise.[27] One hundred thousand or forty thousand people swore allegiance to him and even loved him more than his father".[28]

Anyone who believes such untrue remarks, he will inevitably assume that Imam left the authority of his own volition not by force. These two are worlds apart.

The other point was that this group of historians had been determined to prove in their historical reports that the two brothers had been in discord with different attitudes. In a narration they have quoted the

Prophet as saying, “Hasan is from me but Husayn from 'Ali”.29

Whereas as one of Imam Husayn's virtues repeated over and over is, **حسين مني وانا من حسين** “ Husayn is from me and I am from Husayn.”

Why this narration was counterfeited is to introduce 'Ali and his son, Husayn, both as the seekers of murder.

Concerning the differences between the two brothers, they have quoted Imam Husayn as saying to his brother, “I wish my heart were yours and your tongue mine”.30 They have also quoted Abu Bakr, upon seeing Hasan Ibn 'Ali, as saying, **بابي شبيه بالنبي ليس شبيهاً بعلي** “By my father, he looks more like the Prophet than 'Ali.”31

These are all narrated as virtue by the later generations while they had been counterfeited with the mentioned aim. Such a view could help the 'Uthmanids to damage Imam 'Ali's reputation and 'Ashura.

One of the accusations made against Imam was his 'Uthmanids stance, that is to say that he had been at odds with his father and refused to bloodshed in civil wars.

Misunderstanding the concept of compromise counted for the accusation. It was falsely claimed that although powerful enough, Imam relinquished authority to Mu'awiya. But an unfounded accusation it is nothing. It was maintained to the extent that they narrated that he had accused his father of participating in 'Uthman's assassination.32

Earlier it was discussed that no one but the Umayyads with political intention accused Imam 'Ali of being an accomplice in 'Uthman's murder. By the same token how can it be ever possible for his son to accuse him of so?

Surprisingly, a group of historians have said that Imam had sent his son to 'Uthman's house to defend him. Given that it is true,33 he had been set to prevent him from being killed. Furthermore, Imam Hasan had been among the participants in Jamal war who played pivotal roles against the 'Uthmanidses.

Imam 'Ali's representative to persuade the Kufiyans to take part in war was he who could persuade some ten thousand people into the anti–'Uthmanid war with his sermon in Kufa mosque.34 Prior to that, he had defended Abu Dharr when in dispute with 'Uthman and when parting Abu Dharr at the time of being sent into exile he told him,”Put up with the difficulties they have made to you until you visit Allah's Apostle while satisfied with you”35

In the thick of Siffin war 'Ubayd Allah, 'Umar's son, who had killed Hurmuzan, his wife and his Abu Lu'lu' scared of Imam 'Ali's retaliation tried foolishly in vain to have Imam Hasan stand against his father. It was after he rejected him angrily that Mu'awiya said, “He is indeed his father's son”.36

In Siffin, Imam Mujtaba (a) provoked people against Qasitin. Once he had addressed them,

فاحتشدوا في قتال عدّوكم معاوية وجنوده فإنه قد حضر ولاتخاذلوا فإن الخذلان يقطع نياط القلوب

Unite against your enemy, Mu'awiya and his army, and never droop for it does sever the nerves of your heart."37

He also, in a letter written to Mu'awiya at the beginning of his term, alluded to Ahl al-Bayt's rightfulness and oppressedness after the Prophet's departure. These are all convincing reasons for confirming what a great helper Imam had been to his father Under any circumstances.

In a narration when Imam Mujtaba saw Abu Bakr on the pulpit he said, **إنزل عن منبر أبي** " Climb down my father's pulpit!"

Immediately Imam 'Ali (a) said,**إن هذا شيء عن غير ملاء منا** "This is something exceptional in our tribe."38

Imam Hasan's strong position in fighting against Mu'awiya after assuming the caliphate was exactly like that of his father. Imam's hostility towards the Umayyads was to the extent that Marwan did not allow his corpse to be buried next to the Prophet's grave, saying,"Why 'Uthman was buried outside Baqi' but Hasan Ibn 'Ali next to the Prophet?"39

It does manifest how strong had been Imam Mujtaba's position against 'Uthmanids's attitude. Yet, as mentioned earlier regarding the issue of compromise and in order to legitimize Mu'awiya's rule, Imam's position was distorted.

Imam Mujtaba and Imamate

The trace of the 'Uthmanids's attitude in Sunnism proves that Imam Mujtaba's six-month caliphate was neglected considered neither as the Orthodox caliphs' term nor as the monarch's.40 In other words, his caliphate was not that legitimate.

The survivors of Muhajirun and Ansar in Kufa, yet along with the people of Iraq and the oriental lands of Islam had acquiesced to him as Muslim's caliph. Meanwhile Mu'awiya had also claimed caliphate in Damascus though according to himself only one from among Ansar had joined him, hence a wide gap was created among Muslims.41

It was evident that not only the principle of analyzing caliphate was not accepted at that time but also to the end of the historical caliphate era it was assumed impossible to exist two caliphs simultaneously in the Islamic world.

The present situation of Iraq when Imam Hasan(a) assumed the power was far worse than that of Damascus. In addition to the defeat the Iraqi people had experienced concerning arbitration, the Kharijites's revolt did severely undermine their morale and after three wars had gone weary. In very last days of his life, the more Imam 'Ali tried to mobilize them, the less they obeyed.42

Now after Imam 'Ali's martyrdom and the Iraqi people's concern about Damascus domination, it looked probable that they resist. They should have chosen an Imam and as referred to previously, they had no other alternative. Qays Ibn Sa'd's and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas's allegiance to Imam paved the way for the Iraqis's allegiance. Following them, the residents of Hijaz after a while of delay swore allegiance.

Among the people the Shi'ite Muslims were found whose belief was profoundly in Imam Mujtaba's Imamate and whose sworn allegiance was based on it as well. As a matter of fact, the tendency of the majority in Kufa was towards Shi'ism, namely denying 'Uthman and approving 'Ali (a).

They, during Imam's five-year term, being influenced by Imam and his disciples had become 'Alawites and hated the 'Uthmanids. Opposition to 'Uthman as well as his infamy in the city from the very time of Imam 'Ali (a) was to the extent that Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah Bajali had said that he would no longer stay where 'Uthman was officially insulted.[43]

Whom could people choose other than Imam Mujtaba after 'Ali's martyrdom? Among Muhajirun and Ansar or even the Qurayshites, of course, there were a group of the Prophet's disciples such as 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas in Kufa who without a shadow of doubt had faith in Imam Mujtaba and never ever did they think of someone else.

The meaning was not that the Iraqi people liked Hasan Ibn 'Ali more than his father,[44] it was owing to the fact that there was no other choice. It is pointed out because some are set to declare that the convenient opportunity was provided to Imam Hasan but he himself declined to keep on his struggle.

As far as the theory of Shi'ites Imamate is concerned, there is evidence that Imam 'Ali had introduced his son as his successor though the Sunnis have not referred to such evidence for succession.[45] A narration is quoted from the Prophet in this respect in many a source as stating,

" الحسن والحسين امامان، قاما أو قعدا

Hasan and Husayn are the Imams whether they rise up or not."[46]

This Hadith makes it clear that the two brothers' Imamate had been expressly stated. Historically, there are reports as proofs of Imam Mujtaba's Imamate.

As reported by Nasr Ibn Muzahim, A'war Shanni had addressed Imam 'Ali (a), "May Allah endow you more with success for a glance you have cast at divine light... The leader is you. Were you killed, the leaders would be these two, Hasan and Husayn.

Lend an ear to what I have composed, "O Hasan's father! The dazzling sun of the midday is you and the shining moon is your sons. Until the Day of Judgement, thou and these two will go together as an ear with an eye. The generous are thou whose generosity is so sublime that no man can keep up with.[47]

Mundhir Ibn Ya'mur told Imam in Siffin,

“ فان تهلك فهذان الحسن والحسين أئمتنا من بعدك

Hasan and Husayn would be our Imams after you even if you were killed.”

In a poem he had composed,

ابا حسن أنت شمس النهار وهذان في الداجيات القمر

وأنت وهذان حتي الممات بمنزلة السمع بعد البصر

O Hasan's father, the midday sun dazzling is thee and the shining moon is these two. Until the Day of Judgement thou and these two will go together as an ear with an eye. 48

It clarifies that Imam's disciples even from his time knew both Imam Hasan and Imam Husayn as his successors as after Imam Mujtaba's martyrdom Kufiyan Shi'ite Muslims went after Imam Husayn (a). 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas also called the people to listen to Imam Mujtaba who said, “Swear allegiance to him who is your Prophet's son and your Imam's successor”.49

In a letter, Imam Mujtaba also wrote to Mu'awiya “On the threshold of demise, my father entrusted the power to me.”50

Haytham Ibn 'Adi has quoted his chiefs as saying, “Hasan Ibn 'Ali is his father's successor”.51 When Abul-Aswad Du'ali secured allegiance for Imam in Basra, said that, “Successorship and Imamate ” had been entrusted to him by his father.”52

People also told Imam, “You are our caliph and your father's successor and we are you followers”.53

Anyhow it can be borne in mind that Imam 'Ali (a) had introduced his son as his successor.54 One Friday when Imam did not feel fine, he asked Hasan to lead the Prayer.55 Heedless of the fact that Kufa Shi'ite Muslims had come up with Imam Mujtaba based on their beliefs, the special Shi'ites concepts of Ahl al-Bayt and the dignity of Imam should be taken into account.

Imam's first-ever sermon as reported by all related sources is, “Anyone who knows me, all right but anyone who does not know me, I am Hasan, Muhammad's son. The son of the Bearer of good news and the Warner is I. I am the son of Allah's Apostle and with His permission the guidance light. I am from among Ahl al-Bayt from whom any filth and sin is kept away; whom are purified and whose affection Allah has made incumbent upon you in His Book, say, for my mission I want thee naught but affection

for my kinsfolk's.[56]

And (anyone who does good, we do multiply his good), so this good is feeling affection for us, Ahl al-Bayt."[57]

Mas'udi has presented a part of Imam Hasan's one sermon as follows, "The saved Allah's party and close kin's of Allah's Apostle are we. We are the purified ones and one of the two weighty things left behind by the prophet. The other one is the divine Book to which no wrong can ever penetrate

... Obey us then, for our obedience is incumbent, for besides obeying Allah and His Apostle about the men of authorities it is ordered too. Anything which was in dispute, refer to Allah and His Apostle... If you referred to the Apostle and the authorities, they would surely figure it out, for they are the people of science inference".[58]

Hilal Ibn Yasaf has recounted that he was present when Hasan Ibn 'Ali delivered a sermon saying, "O Kufiyans! Fear from Allah concerning us. We are your emirs and your guests. We are the ones about whom Allah has stated, [59] انما يريد الله ليذهب عنكم الرجس البيت ويطهركم تطهيراً "Allah only desires to keep away the uncleanness from you, O people of the House! And to give you a thorough purifying."

This sermon appears to be made after Imam Hasan was wounded in Sabat.

In spite of Muhajirun's and Ansar's allegiance to the former caliphs, Imam Mujtaba like his father deemed caliphate his right. His letter to Mu'awiya like that of Imam 'Ali (a) included censure for the former caliphs' designation.

Pointing to Quraysh's reasoning in Saqifa, kinship to the Prophet (S) and Arabs' approval of such reasoning, Imam in his letter wrote,"Although such reasoning we also had, Quraysh never behaved justly towards us as were behaved by Arabs. They altogether oppressed us and stood against us. Since we feared from the hypocrites and the parties, we had to bear them until we now come to grips with you who have no precedence in Islam and whose father had been the archenemy of Allah's Apostle and Book". Then Imam urged him to swear allegiance to him like people.

In his response, Mu'awiya referred to his reaction against the event of Saqifa and wrote, "So you explicitly have denounced not only Abu Bakr, 'Umar and Abu 'Ubayda but Muhajirun and Ansar. We never deny your virtues and precedence. That day they preferred them to you for protecting Islam. Today the discord between you and me is the same as that between Abu Bakr and you after the Prophet's departure.

If I were certain that you were better than me as a lord of peasants and supporter of the nation or stronger than me in collecting properties and in encountering the enemies, I would swear allegiance to you. Since I am more experienced in ruling and older than you, you had better concede my sovereignty. If you do so, I will entrust the authority to you after myself, grant you a great quantity from Iraqi Bayt al-

Mal (Public fund) and the revenues of anywhere you demanded in Iraq."[60]

The mention Mu'awiya had made about the similarity between his dispute with 'Ali and his son and that of Abu Bakr and 'Ali was also seen in the letters exchanged between Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr and Mu'awiya.[61]

Considering himself as the successor of Abu Bakr and 'Umar, Mu'awiya insisted on it for he was pursuing a political intention as well.

Once he had written to Imam 'Ali (a),"You did injustice to the caliphs all".

If I did so, answered Imam, I should not apologize to you. The latter added,"I never did injustice. Only did I blame them and for what I did I will apologize to no one."[62]

For whatever reason the people of Iraq and Hijaz swore allegiance to Imam Hasan. It is said that when swearing allegiance, Qays Ibn Sa'd said, "For the sake of the Holy Book, the prophet's Sunna and Jihad against the oppressors I do swear allegiance to you."

Imam only preferred the first and the second ones saying, "These two are superior".[63] As recounted by Mada'ini after Imam 'Ali (a) died a martyr Ibn 'Abbas left home and cried out "One it left behind 'Ali (a) if willing, invite him to come out and you swear allegiance to him but if unwilling no one forces you".

While they were weeping for Imam 'Ali (a), people showed satisfaction. Imam stepped out of home and after delivering a sermon and reciting the verse of Tathir (purification) and the crowd swore allegiance to him.[64] Later on Imam had addressed them, "Of your own volition you swore allegiance to me not under duress".[65]

According to what Isfahani has narrated, when Ibn 'Abbas called on the crowd to swear allegiance to him they announced that they knew no other one to be lovelier and more rightful than him, they announced that they knew no other one to be lovelier and more rightful than him, thus, they swore.[66]

Another point which merits to be taken into account is that the political principle agreed on caliphate is the allegiance of both Mecca and Medina. At the moment after about thirty years after the Prophet's departure, the majority of Prophet's disciples have been killed in conquests and also in Jamal and Siffin. Medina was no longer the center of caliphate.

Therefore, the above-mentioned principle that was the allegiance of Muhajirun and Ansar residing in Medina was called in to two questions. The problem per se foreboded how the situation was converted. It will be discussed later that the principle was not only dissolved but also substituted by the principle of succession on the part of Mu'awiya. In addition, from among the chiefs of Quraysh a few survived to claim caliphate.

In a letter Mu'awiya had written to Ibn 'Abbas, "Now you have to be concerned about Quraysh! Only six

are alive, two in Damascus namely 'Amr Ibn 'As and I, two in Hijaz, Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar and two in Iraq, you and Hasan Ibn 'Ali".67

Under such circumstances, Iraq could only trust Imam 'Ali's son. However there was a problem due to which the Iraqis were not able to be firm in their chosen way. When swearing allegiance to Imam a group was set to swear provided that Imam did battle with Mu'awiya.

Imam Mujtaba by no means approved their condition and said that he would not accept their allegiance unless they vowed to battle against anyone he battled and compromise with anyone he compromised.68

It seems quite natural that no leader can swear allegiance under such a condition. He ought to be fully empowered to battle or compromise. Imam's remark never implies that form the very beginning he was not intent on war69, but his next actions showed that he was among the ones who insisted on war. The main reason for rejecting this condition was preserving his sovereignty as Imam of a community. If the condition had been approved, they indeed must have chosen a military commander not an Imam.

Sheykh Mufid has recorded that Imam was sworn allegiance on Friday Rama□an 21st, 40.70

First Actions of Imam and Mu'awiya

Earlier we referred to one of Imam's letters to Mu'awiya and its answer. The exchanged letters recorded by Isfahani71 bore no fruit. Imam himself was absolutely aware that would never surrender with such letters, yet, it is of great significance that these letters be recorded as evidence to indicate explicitly what the reasoning of the both sides were for their legitimacy.

Mu'awiya did his utmost to be kept abreast of the state in Kufa and Basra through his spies. But the spies were all identified and killed.72

Both Imam and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas had written to Mu'awiya admonishing him for his violation. For the last time Imam warned Mu'awiya if he did not surrender, he with the Muslim army would attack,

" فحاكمتك الى الله حتى يحكم الله بيننا وبينكم وهو خير الحاكمين

We entrust the arbitration between you and me to Allah to judge and He is the best arbitrator."73

When writing letters was fruitless, Imam wrote to Mu'awiya, "Between you and I, sword will judge".74

In a letter, then, to his agents in various areas besides expressing his delight in Imam 'Ali's effortless murder, Mu'awiya informed them of Kufa in chaos. "The nobles and the leaders in Kufa have written to me for guarantee of clemency for themselves and their families", added he truly or falsely, "as soon as you receive the letter, move to me with your armies because time is ripe for revenge". Accompanied by

his army Mu'awiya advanced towards Manbaj bridge. At the same time, Imam Hasan (a) sent Hujr Ibn 'Adi for people and his agents to get prepared for fighting.

In Kufa Imam after reciting the verse of, **واصبروا ان الله مع الصابرين** " And be patient; surely Allah is with the patient,"[75] addressed the gathering, "O people, but through patience with what you dislike. You can never reach what you like. I learnt that Mu'awiya is moving towards us. Hasten to Nukhayla you all".[76] Isfahani recounts that Imam was speaking as if doubtful about people's readiness. No one breathed a word.

All of a sudden 'Adi Ibn Hatim broke the silence saying, "I am Hatim's son. Why on earth do you keep waiting? Do you not obey your Imam and your Prophet's son?" Then he assured Imam and headed for Nukhayla. A number of people from the tribe of Tayy whose chief was 'Adi Ibn Hatim accompanied him. According to Ya'qubi, there were a hundred fighters in Tayy who never dared to disobey 'Adi.[77]

Later, Qays Ibn Sa'd, Ma'qal Ibn Qays and Ziyad Ibn Sa'sa'a gave speeches; therefore, around twelve thousand soldiers gathered in Nukhayla. Imam accompanied them up to 'Abd al-Rahman Convent.[78]

It should not be ignored that the Iraqis' morale had been undermined after the event of arbitration. They had prepared themselves for a compromise with Qasitin. On the other hand, whenever they imagined to be dominated by Mu'awiya, their hair stood on end.

At this juncture, a group feigned ignorance, another group was quite doubtful and only one group, the minority, joined Imam. Setting out for the camp, Imam left his paternal cousin, Mughira Ibn Nawfal, in Kufa to convince people to join. Harith Hamdani has said that those willing to join Imam went to Nukhayla while many balked at going among whom some had already promised to cooperate.[79] As a result, Imam had to return to Kufa and mobilize support.

Imam's such position-taking is despite what Zuhri and others have said, **كان الحسن لايؤثر القتال ويميل إلى حقن الدماء**[80] "Hasan is as a matter of fact reluctant to battle." **ولم يكن في نية الحسن أن يقاتل أحداً ولكن غلبوه على رأيه**[81] "Since Hasan was not determined to battle, he compromised."

In addition, Imam had given people raises in order to strengthen their spirit.[82] They got the raise form the very beginning of caliphate to get ready for the war against Damascus.

The total number gathered in Nukhayla was twelve thousand. They had to go there following their chiefs and under the pressure of propaganda. Though this figure is stipulated in many historical sources, some believe that it was forty thousand. It is said that the troops with Imam going to 'Abd al-Rahman Convent had been forty thousand form among whom a thousand were sent as the vanguard led by Qays Ibn Sa'd.[83]

This mentioned figure can by no means be correct because, the historical narrations certify that all at first remained silent when called. How is it possible that the number augmented suddenly and

miraculously?

If Imam's supporters were that many, there would be no need to go to Ctesiphon and summon forces nor to risk and leave the army all on its own. Many historians such as Ya'qubi, Abul-Faraj Isfahani and Ibn 'Asakir who have accurately recorded the report have approved the twelve-thousand figure. 84

There is a strong probability that this false narration refers to those who swore allegiance to him after Imam 'Ali's martyrdom. The number mentioned in that narration is forty thousand who were supposed to battle with Damascus.85

According to some86, this narration had made a group of people assume that this great number had been prepared to aid Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a) although the allegiance of this number to Imam 'Ali (a) is open to doubt by itself. Regarding Imam 'Ali's repeated remarks in Nahj al-Balagha and other sources about reproaching Kufa people for not helping him in the war against Damascus, it beggars belief that such a large crowd help his son.

As it will be seen later the main cause for the compromise was people's non-collaboration. Which can be easily inferred from Imam's remarks. It is clear-cut that with the presence of forty thousand soliers such rematks should not have been quoted from him.

'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Abbas was the commander of Imam's army but Zuhri has mistakenly named 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas.87 Some others have mentioned Qays Ibn Sa'd,88 after 'Ubayd Allah fled, who seized his position. There is no doubt that Imam had appointed 'Ubayd Allah.89

Why Imam chose him was that in the present situation full of doubt Imam had no other choice but appointing one form his own lineage. Moreover, 'Ubayd Allah bore Mu'awiya a grudge because Busr Ibn Artat, one of Mu'awiya's commanders, in an attack on Hijaz had beheaded his two sons before their mother's very eyes. Yet, Imam treated it with caution and appointed two deputies for him, Qays Ibn Sa'd and Sa'id Ibn Qays.

Sending them towards the enemy, Imam headed for Sabat in Ctesiphon. But before they go, he gave 'Ubayd Allah some advice, **ألن جانبك** " Behave softly" **ابسط ووجهك** " Try to look cheerful" **أفرش لهم جناحك** "Cast the umbrella of your affection over them." **ادنهم من مجلسك** " Try to keep close to them" **وشاور هذين** " Consult these two" **فلا تقاتله حتى يقتلك** " Never start battling before being stated."

Imam also pointed out that those people were the survivors of the ones whom Imam 'Ali (a) trusted. Then Imam added that they should move to the Euphrates and then to Maskan to defend themselves against Mu'awiya and stay there until being ordered.90

Imam himself went to Sabat. As recorded by Dinwari, Mu'awiya sent an army with 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir Ibn Kurayz to Anbar and then to Ctesiphon. Comprehending the situation, Imam had to set out to Ctesiphon.91 The incident occurred there and is reported by all historians, was the Kharijites attack on

Imam.

Such historians as Dinwari, Baladhuri, Abul-Faraj Isfahani and even Sheykh Mufid quoting Isfahani have said that form Imam's remarks the probalility of compromise could be inferred. Due to this reason the Kharijites attacked him. It can not be acceptable. How could Imam, who had gone to Ctesiphon prevent the enemy's invasion or recruit people, give such utterances with the implicit aim of compromise before the war be started? Ya'qubi has recounted clearly what happened.

Mu'awiya, who never ever gave up trickery, sent Mughira Ibn Shu'ba and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir to Sabat to talk to Imam about compromise. When returning disppointedly in order to provoke the Kharijites and under their breath in a way to be heard, they said, “Allah indeed prevented blood shedding and suppressed the sedition by the Prophet's son. At last he accepted to compromise”.

Ya'qubi added that it was then that on heating, the army grew furious and never doubted their truthfulness, so they attacked Hasan (a) and plundered what he possessed.92 The Shi'ite Muslims protected Imam in the middle and kept him away.

Meanwhile Jarrah Ibn Sanan shouting, “Like your father you have become polytheist” struck Imam on his thigh. Shi'ite Muslims attacked Jarrah and killed him. Imam then had to take a rest in the house of Sabat governor, Sa'd Ibn Mas'ud Thaqafi who was Mukhtar's paternal uncle, for treatment.93

Ya'qubi's narration of the riot in Ctesiphon uncovered the fact that event was also plotted by Mu'awiya and his commonders, specially, Mughira Ibn Shu'ba, a corrupt man.

After Imam was wounded, he addressed people,

> اتقوا الله فينا، فانا أمراؤكم وضفيانكم، أهل البيت الذين قال الله, إنّما يُريدُ الله ليذهبَ عَنكُمُ الرّجسَ أهلَ البيتِ ويطهّركُم تطهيراً

Seek divine behavior towards us for we are the best rulers among you, that is the same Household about whom God said, “Verily God hast the will to purge evils off thee in thy purity.” The narrator says,”The listeners were all weeping”.94

Imam's separation from the army for mobilizing forces and preparing Ctesiphon to avert the entrance of Damascus plunderers, created particular problems. The two armies stood against each other in Habubiyya village of Maskan. Mu'awiya as usual had recourse to trickery to delude the rival army. He sent 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Samura to falsely inform 'Ubayd Allah and his army of Imam Hasan's demand for compromise. People, nevertheless, denied and cursed him.95

Later, he secretly sent one to give a message to 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Abbas, “Hasan has requested us to compromise. If you join us, I will pay you a million dhms. You take the half now and the other half when

we entered Kufa."

While people waited for 'Ubayd Allah to come for the Dawn Prayer, he had nightly joined Mu'awiya. Qays Ibn Sa'd led the prayer and then talked behind 'Abbas how he had assisted the unbelievers in Badr until he was arrested. Then he talked behind 'Ubayd Allah how in Yemen he fled and let Busr Ibn Artat murder his sons.96

Suggesting bribery on the part of Mu'awiya and other reports reveal well that Mu'awiya had under false pretences propounded the request for compromise on behalf of Imam. If, as a matter of fact, Imam had accepted the compromise, there would have been no need for Mu'awiya to pay a million dhms to 'Ubayd Allah.

Most Iraqis were on the qui vive to see Imam's tendency towards compromising and immediately leave the army. As soon as 'Ubayd Allah left, about two thirds of the army joined Mu'awiya97; therefore, four thousand people remained with Qays Ibn Sa'd.

Mu'awiya supposed that after 'Ubayd Allah and a part of his army sought refuge no one had remained. When he sent Busr Ibn Artat to the Iraqi army, they attacked him. He had to return and with an army attack them. Once again Qays and the army resisted and made them withdraw. A number were killed in the clash.98

Mu'awiya tried to deceive Qays as well, but Qyas said about his religion he would never be deceived. Belittling him, Mu'awiya called him a Jew the son of a Jew and said, "Look how your tribe left your father alone as he breathed his last on his own in Hawran of Damascus."

In his answer Qays called him an idol the son of an idol and wrote, "From the very beginning you unwillingly embraced Islam and you did nothing for it but sowing the seeds of discord and then willingly you deviated from it. You have always been in battle with Allah and His Apostle and a party from the polytheist parties."99

Isfahani after recounting the event has referred to a delegation sent by Mu'awiya to Sabat for talks with Imam Hasan. It indicates that Mu'awiya's aim for taking the former action had been only deceiving 'Ubayd Allah.

Before the Iraqis were informed of Imam's injury, the spies had informed Mu'awiya. Upon hearing the news, he wrote to Qays that his defiance was futile, for Hasan's disciples had revolted and wounded him Sabat. It made Qays to wait for a message from Imam.100

When the noble in Iraq realized that the victory would probably be Mu'awiya's, they one after another either joined him or sent him the message of allegiance. According to Baladhuri the distinguished figures of Iraq went to Mu'awiya and swore allegiance the first of whom was Khalid Ibn Ma'mar. He said that his allegiance was equal to those of Rabi'a tribe.

Later on, a poet had composed for Mu'awiya,"Hold Khalid Ibn Ma'mar in esteem for without him you would never secured the authority".[101]

The policy that Mu'awiya manipulated was spreading rumors in three areas of Kufa, Sabat and the war field. The Kufiyans thought that everything was over. In the war field it was said that your Imam had demanded to compromise. And in Sabat Imam was said that 'Ubayd Allah along with a majority had joined the enemy and it was even rumored that Qays Ibn Sa'd also had compromised.

The only historian who has taken these multi-lateral rumors into consideration is Ya'qubi.

He has said, "On one hand, Mu'awiya sent a group to Imam's military camp to report that Qays Ibn Sa'd has compromised. On the other hand, he sent another group to rumor among Qays's troops that Hasan (a) has requested to compromise".[102]

Regretfully, a number of historians have recorded such rumors as historical reports. As an instance, Muhammad Ibn Sa'd has recorded Mughira Ibn Shu'ba's trickery which led to the revolt of some people in Sabat of Ctesiphon as a historical report and added that it was where Imam accepted any condition laid down by Mu'awiya.[103]

Even a group of the Iraqi nobles who had joined Mu'awiya had told him that they were ready to hand in Hasan locked up. As narrated by Ibn A'tham, when Qays in a letter informed Imam of the army's surrender, Imam called on the distinguished among his disciples saying: "O Iraqi people! What should I do with you?

This is a letter from Qays who has written that your chiefs have joined Mu'awiya. By Allah it comes as no surprise. In Siffin you forced my father to accept the arbitration and when he did so you objected.

When for the second time he summoned you to war against Mu'awiya, you delayed until he was endowed with divine generosity. Quite unwillingly after that you swore allegiance to me. I trusted your allegiance and took a step. Allah Himself is fully aware of my intention. But see what you have done. O people, these all suffice me, deceive not me about my religion."[104]

Imam's remarks prove that he had not even the least doubt about the war but people's unpleasant behavior had harassed him.

Mu'awiya and Request for Compromise

What elucidates Imam's stance is that he had on no accounts demanded to compromise. It was Mu'awiya who desired to besiege Iraq with no trouble and insisted to convince Imam to abdicate. In spite of the fact, some sources based on the rumors and those narrators who called them historical reports have claimed that it was Imam who suggested the compromise willingly.[105]

Yet in return we mention some proofs one of which is what Ya'qubi has recounted. Mu'awiya sent a group to Sabat for talks with Imam Hasan (a) about the compromise. It was exactly the meeting therein Imam declined to compromise.[106] Accordingly, Mu'awiya's first request was declined. Another proof is Imam's letters in which he had persisted in war and threatened that if he did not surrender, he would face his army.

Imam also told Mu'awiya's envoy,"Tell that sword will judge between you and me." All demonstrate that Imam's intention was to battle.

The other one was what Imam told people," Mu'awiya has suggested a compromise there is no honor in. If prepared, I am with you to battle but if worldly life is vital for you, tell me to compromise."[107]

Sibt Ibn Jawzi narrated,
"When Imam Hasan (a) found out people have left him alone and have betrayed him, he had to accept to compromise. Earlier Mu'awiya had requested but Imam had rejected. And it was Mu'awiya who wrote to him many times."[108]

"Mu'awiya wrote to Imam about compromise", Sheykh Mufid has said.[109]

As we discussed earlier, the rumors Mu'awiya had spread had made some historians believe that Imam had been the one suggesting the compromise. Reportedly, Mu'awiya sent his spies to rumor among the vanguard that Hasan has in a letter demanded Mu'awiya to compromise and say,"What do you jeopardize your life for?"[110] Also in order to mislead 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Abbas, he wrote, **ان الحسن قد راسلني في الصلح**[111] "Hasan wrote to me about compromising."

These rumors later were recorded as historical narrations and changed the reality diametrically.

Why the Compromise Was Accepted

There were several reasons that hindered Imam to achieve his goal, a mighty and honorable battle against Mu'awiya. To safeguard the principal Islam and impede fruitless bloodshedding, he had to avoid battling. We point to some reasons below,

A. The most crucial reason for why Imam adopted a new position was people's weakness in supporting him. No one can ever claim that Imam was never determined to fight with Mu'awiya inasmuch as his remarks and position had already proved the reverse.

What took place in Sabat obviously showed how incapable were the people in keeping on their struggle. It was then, according to Sheykh Mufid, Imam found out that people had disparaged him.[112]

A large number from among these people had been killed in wars of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawan and now tired of any battle not only they felt no strength to fight but also they considered Ahl al-Bayt as

debtors. They believed that Imam was responsible for the murdered.

As soon as Imam learnt that many soldiers have fled, he addressed people as saying,"You disobeyed my father to continue fighting and let the arbitrators judge while my father disagreed. He called upon you to keep on the war but you feared until he was killed.

Later you came up to me and swore allegiance. You vowed to battle against any one I battled and compromise with any one I compromised. Today I heard that your nobles have joined Mu'awiya. It dose suffice me. Deceive me not about my religion."113

Concerning the reason for Imam's abdication, Jahiz has written,"When he found these people's behavior towards his father and had known how capricious they were, he had to relinquish the power."114

Imam realized that he could not trust such people. This inconfidence was not only for lack of cooperation on their part but Imam stated,

والله لو قاتلت معاويه لأخذوا بعنقي حتى يدفعوني اليه سلماً

"By Almighty Allah, if I clash with Mu'awiya, they will grasp hold of my neck and hand me over locked up."115

Elsewhere he has said,

" ورأيت أهل العراق، لايثق بهم أحد أبداً الا غلب

Iraqi people are those whom anyone trusted, was defeated, for no one agrees with another. They are never serious either about the wrong or the right."116

With such people battling with determined and united people of Damascus was impossible. The sad remarks of Imam 'Ali (a) made in 39 and 40 A.H. do convince any equitable individual that there was no other alternative but handing Iraq to Damascus. Never ever could Imam Hasan (a) surrender himself and a number of his Shi'ite Muslims bare-handed to Damascus people whose commander was Busr Ibn Artat, bloodthirsty.

Now compromising was the only way for protecting Iraq from being plundered. Although it seemed possible that Imam and his small army resist and be martyred, rarely did it bear fruit. Mu'awiya had poisoned the atmosphere through the slogan of 'Uthman's blood. In addition to Damascus, Egypt and other areas were now in his hand. At this point, Imam with that precedence and eloquence could do

nothing and it had no reason but Iraq's ineptness before Damascus.

Hence, Imam's martyrdom could solve no problem. Mu'awiya was absolutely infamous and there was no need to make him known. At times, Imam was mistakenly introduced as the one loathing bloodshedding. It can never be accepted. He participated in wars of Jamal and Siffin actively and confirmed his father's tradition. What Imam loathed was futile bloodshedding with no politically clear results.

B. Another reason was that waging a war normally depended upon people's presence and a ruler to a limited extent could force them to battle. Two points merit consideration. One is whether a Muslim ruler could under any circumstances and even with overt disagreement of the majority start the war. If he were entitled to, under what conditions should he do so? The other point is that supposing he did so, would it be for the good of the Muslim nation or not?

The Prophet's tradition was that he basically consulted the Muslims on war affairs. Considering the wars during his lifetime, we discussed it in detail. It occurred while firstly he had already secured allegiance from them and secondly since Jihad was one of the practical laws of Islam, it was Muslims' duty the same as prayer.

So why did he consult them regardless of these two points? One reason was because war was a heavy burden which was supposed to be carried by people. Prayer took a little time for a Muslim to do whereas war might cause heavy casualties and damages or make many homeless. When one was martyred, a tribe was bereaved.

Naturally, people themselves should have become aware through consultation and shouldered the responsibility a bit. Although Jihad was a practical law of Islam, Allah's Apostle did never call upon Ansar to participate in wars before Badr because they had committed not. Only in Badr did they participate after their leaders declared readiness. Later on, he had also consulted them in Uhud and Ahzab.

Whether to compose people to combat or not is a point that should be considered. Imam 'Ali (a) has always been set to convince them either through advice or perhaps through having a whip in hand. Under no circumstances, did he try to coerce them by sword or torture.[117]

He stated explicitly, “Yesterday I was the one who commanded, but today I am commanded. Yesterday I was the one who prohibited but today I am prohibited. You love to survive and, **ليس لي أن احملكم ما تكرهون** I never ever compel you to do what you dislike. [118]

Imam Mujtaba (a) was also faithful to this very method. When finding that they were not willing to have such an Imam nor were they prepared to defend themselves against Damascus, it looked quite natural that he left Iraq for Medina after giving essential advice that was mostly given in advance by his father.

Imam 'Ali (a) had already foretold them what an intolerable situation they would have in the future,”Be informed that thou will get into three great difficulties after me, an epidemic objectless, fatal sword and

despotism. Then thou will desire that thou could have seen me, helped me and sacrificed thyself for me." 119

Facing such hard status in Iraq and people's indifference to his demands for a war, Imam Hasan (a) expressed his transparent position under the pressure of Mu'awiya's insistence on his resignation. First of all Imam declared that there was no doubt about the war against Damascus.

" والله لا يثنينا عن أهل الشام شك ولا ندم، وإنما نقاتل أهل الشام بالصبر والسلامة

No doubt or regret will prevent us from battling with Damascus. Forebearingly and calmly we will fight."

Concerning people's morale, he added,"You differ greatly from the past. Once you were getting prepared for Siffin, your religion was prior but today you give priority to this worldly life over your religion.

Now between two bloody wars of Siffin and Nahrawan you weep for those you have lost and want to take revenge... but Mu'awiya has called upon us to compromise while in the compromise no honor and justice can be ever found, **ألا وانّ معاوية دعانا الى أمر ليس فيه عزّ ولا نصفة** " Beware that Mu'awiya called us to do something neither of sublimity nor fairness."

Therefore, Imam announced that compromising would on no accounts be for the good of the nation after all. Then he urged people to tell him what course to pursue

فان أردتم الموت رددناه عليه وحاكمناه الى الله عز وجل بظبى السيوف، وان أردتم الحياة قبلناه وأخذنا لكم .
" الرضى

If you are prepared to fight, let's decline their request and rely on our swords, allow Allah to pass judgment. But if you like to survive, let's accept their request and provide you with security."

At the same time, people shouted from four corners of the mosque saying, **البقية البقية** " The remainders, the remainders..." and signed the peace pact. 120

Elsewhere he said,

" اني رأيت هوى عظم الناس في الصلح، وكرهوا الحرب فلم احب أن أحملهم على ما يكرهون

I found people mostly willing to compromise yet unwilling to fight. Never do I like to impose what they dislike."121

أرى أكثركم قد نكل عن الحرب وفشل في القتال ولست أرى أحملكم على ما تكرهون

“I realized how weak you have gone and how reluctant you have turned to fight. So I am not the one who compels you to do what you disgust.”[122]

Imam referred to people's non-cooperation as the reason for abandoning his caliphate. There was no other solution the normal situation. He stated,

والله اني سلّمت الامر لاني لم أجد انصاراً ولو وجدت نصاراً لقاتلتة ليلي ونهاري حتى يحكم الله بيننا وبينه

“By Almighty Allah, I abandoned it for I had no helper. If there were a helper to me, I would fight him day in and day out until Allah judge between him and me.”[123]

C. Imam's other reason for accepting the compromise was to protect the Shi'ite Muslims' lives. Those objecting to Imam were of two groups, the extremists, the Kharijites, who had the same clash with Imam 'Ali (a) as well and the revolutionary Shi'ite Muslims who could never stand compromising.

There was a few among those objecting who described Imam as, **مذلّ المؤمنين** “ the one who humiliates the believers.”

Yet, in return Imam considered the acceptance of the compromise as honor and described himself as, **معز المؤمنين** “ The one who holds the believers dear.”

He justified it as follows, **اني لمّا رأيت ليس بكم عليهم قوّة، سلمت الامر لأبقى أنا وأنتم بين أظهركم** “ When I found thee not powerful enough, I preferred to compromise so that thou and I could survive.”

Next utterances manifest that by their and his surviving he meant safeguarding Shi'ism. Somewhere else, Imam has likened his action to piercing the ship by a scholar with Moses whose aim was preserving the ship for her owners.[124]

He also had said,

“ فصالحت بقياً على شيعتنا خاصّة من القتل فرأيت دفع هذه الحروب الى يوم مّا، فانّ اللّه كل يوم هو في شأن

I did compromise to save the Shi'ite Muslims' lives. I pondered over delaying these wars for every day Allah deals with an affair.”[125]

In an answer to one of the objectors Imam said,

“ ما أردت بمصالحتي معاوية الا أن أدفع عنكم القتل عندما رأيت تباطيء أصحابي عن الحرب ونكولهم عن القتال

With the aim of at least protecting your lives I compromised with Mu'awiya when I found my disciples

weak and unwilling to fight."[126]

Answering another objector, Imam likened his compromise to the Prophet's with a difference that had been a compromise with the disbelievers, **بالتنزيل** " Ordered directly by Allah with revelation."

But his compromise was with the disbelievers **بالتأويل** " Indirectly through interpretation."

Then he added, **ولولا ما أتيت، لما ترك من شيعتنا على وجه الارض أحد الا قتل** " If I had not done so, no Shi'ite Muslim would have survived."[127]

When Hujr Ibn 'Adi objected, Imam reacted as saying,

" يا حجر! ليس كل الناس يحب ما تحب، وما فعلت الا ابقاءً عليك، والله كل يوم هو في الشأن

O Hujr! all do not like what you like. I did so for nothing but saving your life and others'. Allah also –deals with an affair every day."[128]

> يا مالك! لاتقل ذلك، اني لما رأيت الناس تركوا ذلك الا أهله، خشيت أن تجتثّوا عن وجه الارض، فأردت أن يكون للدين في الارض ناعي "

O Malik! say not so, Imam addressed Malik Ibn Dhamra when objecting, when I saw how people but a few left me on my own, I feared you be wipped off the face of the earth. Hence, I decided to make one survive cry out for the religion on the earth."[129]

He also said,–

> انما هادنت حقناً للدماء وصيانتاً واشفاقاً على نفسي وأهلي والمخلصين من أصحابي "

I agreed to compromise to both prevent bloodshed and save my life, my family's and my faithful disciples."[130]

The objectors were mostly faithful to Ahl al–Bayt. Such individuals from among them as Hujr Ibn 'Adi who deemed caliphate no one's right but 'Ali's family tried to resist anyway due to their hatred of the Umayyads as well as their revolutionary spirit. The above mentioned remarks that were intentionally elaborated demonstrate Imam's great insight and logic.

He was well aware that Mu'awiya, in the guise a rightful man, with his large and foolish army could easily suppress limited Iraqi troops and massacre the distinguished Shi'ite Muslims and 'Alawites under the

pretext of revenge for 'Uthman's murder. Mu'awiya had changed anything for his benefit.

Only a few eminent disciples were survived who were mighty enough to stand against him. Until then he could make Iraq have doubts as well. With any possible way he could keep the Iraqis far away from Imam.

When Mu'awiya intended to conquer Iraq at the end of Imam 'Ali's term, Imam could do nothing other than what his son, Hasan, did. The devoted persons with Imam Hasan were too few to wage a war. In order to prove that if Imam 'Ali (a) were in such a situation, he would surely have no other alternative, we refer to the issue of arbitration.

When a number objected to Imam 'Ali why he accepted arbitration, he said,"You see how disobedient my army has become. In comparing to their population you are very few. If we fight, this vast majority of war opponents will turn more hostile towards you than the Damascus army. If they ally with the Damascus troops, all of you will be massacred. By Almighty Allah, I myself am never pleased with arbitration but I had to approve the majority decision for I was greatly worried about your lives".131

Anyhow, Shi'ite Muslims' protection was an incumbent duty that made Imam to approve what for which valor was needed. It is of significance for an Imam or anyone of this type that he carry out his lawful responsibility not care about people's harsh sarcasm which leads to his and his companies' annihilation.

Regarding his compromising, Imam Mujtaba said,

> " والله، الذي عملت، خير لشيعتي مما طلعت عليه الشمس

By Allah, what I did was far better than what sun shines and sets for my Shi'ite Muslims."132

In the same respect Imam al-Baqir (a) has said,

> والله، الذي صنع الحسن بن علي (ع) كان خيراً لهذه الامة مما طلعت عليه الشمس

"By Allah, what Hasan Ibn 'Ali did was far better than what to which sun shines for this nation."133

Imam Husayn (a) and Compromise

We discussed earlier that a group of historians and tradionists have done their utmost to introduce the two brothers different. The false notion concerning their opinions about compromise was propounded in such a way as though Imam Husayn had denied the compromise and objected to his brother.

It was justified, however, that Imam Husayn (a) had been faithful to his father's policy whereas Imam Hasan had not approved of the policy of fighting. As already shown, Imam Mujtaba had been of the

same mind about the war and it was quite explicit in his remarks.

Imam Husayn is quoted as objecting to his brother, **أعيذك بالله ان تكذّب علياً في قبره وتصدّق معاوية** " I take refuge in Allah that you deny 'Ali in grave and confirm Mu'awiya!"[134]

It is also narrated in Mada'ini that Imam Husayn (a) balked at compromising until his brother convinced him.[135] Against such claims there are many proofs indicating that Imam Husayn (a) had known no other way more appropriate than compromising and had called upon people to obey his brother.

> First, Imam Husayn's practical way of conduct was indifference to the remarks and actions trying to set him against his brother and introduce him as the Shi'ite Muslims' leader in Iraq. To the very last moment of his brother's life, Imam Husayn was beside him living like him in Medina. For eleven years even after his brother's martyrdom, his position was exactly as that of his brother's. It demonstrates that without a shadow of a doubt he agreed to compromise.

Second, Resentful of compromising, the extremist Shi'ite Muslims came up to Imam Husayn urging him to undertake their leadership.

'Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Bashir Hamdani recounted, "Sufyan Ibn Abi Layla and I went to Medina to meet Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a). When we stepped in, Musayyib Ibn Najba along with a number was there. I greeted him, **السلام عليك يا مذل المؤمنين** " Peace be upon you who humiliated the believers."

Peace be upon you too, said Imam calmly, sit down. I never humiliated the believers but I held then dear. I compromised for the sake of naught but protecting you.

He added, "We went to visit his brother, Husayn, and inform him of what Hasan had said".

Imam Husayn said,

> صدق ابو محمد، فليكن كل رجل منكم حلساً من أحلاس بيته مادام هذا الانسان حياً فان يهلك وانتم احياء رجونا أن يخيّر الله لنا ويؤتنا رشدنا ولايكلنا الى انفسنا "

My brother is true. All of you should stay at home as long as Mu'awiya is alive. If he were dead and you alive, may Allah do what our progress is in and may He leave us not on our own."[136]

When he was demanded to rise up, Imam Husayn said,

> أما أنا، فليس رأيي اليوم ذلك، فالصقوا رحمكم الله بالارض واكمنوا البيوت واحترسوا الظنة مادام معاوية حياً "

Now I do not believe so. Mercy on you, as long as Mu'awiya is alive, stay at home and avoid being suspected."[137]

Imam's referring to Mu'awiya's existence reveals that he was fully conscious of the prevailing situation which led to compromising. The role Mu'awiya played was pivotal. Anyhow, afte the compromise was finalized, the two brothers left Kufa for Medina.

Peace Pact

Concerning the articles stipulated in the pact and signed by Imam Hasan (a) and Mu'awiya, there is no perfect consensus in historical sources. Not only the rumors spread then, but also the spitefulness of historians and Tradionists impacted on the articles. Magnifying some articles, censoring some others, counterfeiting some and ignoring the principal conditions are seen in historical narrations as distortion.[138]

Heedless of these cases, there are various narrations in this regard each of which has mentioned one part of the authentic text. Al Yasin and some others have compiled these narrations and presented as a whole. Here we present the authentic text and then other narrations sporadically reported.

A number of sources by Ibn A'tham Kufi, Baladhuri and Ibn Shahr Ashub have described the perfect text of the pact as an official treaty. The prefaces confirm the authenticity of the text.

According to Ibn A'tham, when the clash between Imam and Mu'awiya culminated in a compromise, Imam Hasan (a) sent 'Abd Allah Ibn Nawfal to warn Mu'awiya that he would never swear allegiance to him unless he vowed that people and their belongings were secure.

Nonetheless, when 'Abd Allah came up to Mu'awiya, he told him on his own behalf that there were a number of conditions he should meet if he wanted to compromise. First, caliphate would be his provided that he designated Imam Hasan as the caliph after himself. Secondly, he should pay fifty five thousand dhms from the public fund to him annually. Finally, he should not merely pay the taxes collected from Darabjird to him but also provide people with high security.

Accepting the conditions, Mu'awiya asked for a white sheet, signed it at the bottom and sent it to Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a). When 'Abd Allah returned and recounted what happened, Imam told him, "Never do I want the caliphate after Mu'awiya. And about the financial conditions you suggested I should say that it is in no way Mu'awiya's right to commit himself to paying me from Muslims' treasury.

Then Imam called his amanuensis to write as follows,

> بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، هذا ما اصطلح عليه الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب، معاوية بن أبي سفيان، صالحه على أن يسلم اليه ولاية أمر المسلمين على أن يعمل فيهم بكتاب الله وسنة نبيه محمد صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم وسيرة

الخلفاء الصالحين؛ وليس لمعاوية بن أبي سفيان أن يعهد لأحد من بعده عهداً، بل يكون الأمر من بعده شورى بين المسلمين، وعلى أن الناس آمنون حيث كانوا من أرض الله، شامهم وعراقهم وتهامهم وحجازهم، وعلى أن اصحاب علي وشيعته آمنون على أنفسهم وأموالهم ونسائهم وأولادهم، وعلى معاوية بن أبي سفيان بذلك عهد الله وميثاقه وما أخذ الله على أحد من خلقه بالوفاء بما أعطى الله من نفسه، وعلى أنه لا يبغي للحسن بن علي ولا لأخيه الحسين ولا لأحد من اهل بيت النبي صلى الله عليه واله وسلم، غائلة سراً وعلانيةً ولا يخيف أحداً منهم في أفق من الافاق.1645

This is a compromise between Hasan Ibn Abi Talib and Mu'awiya Ibn Abi Sufyan. He compromises with him and entrusts caliphate to him provided that he will designate no successor after himself and will allow Muslims' council to designate any one judged competent, for his death is imminent. Another condition is that Muslims must entirely be secure from him. He should behave well towards people.

The third condition is that 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib's Shi'ite Muslims, family and agents must be safe anywhere they are and no aggression should be made against them. Hereby Mu'awiya Ibn Abi Sufyan swears allegiance to Allah and makes a pledge to be faithful to his allegiance and not to take in.

He promises not to do an ill turn to Hasan Ibn 'Ali, his brother Husayn and neither of their wives, children, relatives and disciples either overtly or covertly. Anywhere they are they should be safe and never threatened. That is it.[139]

As recorded by Baladhuri, Mu'awiya wrote a peace pact himself and sent it to Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a) as follows,"I did compromise with you on the conditions that the caliphate after me be yours, I conspire not against you, I pay you a million dhms from the public fund plus taxes of Fasa and Darabjird [or Darabjard]."

This text is confirmed by both Muhammad Ibn Ash'ath Kindi and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir which was written in Rabi' al-Akhir, 41.A.H.

As soon as Imam read the foregoing text, he said,"He has stipulated something if I yearned for it, never ever would I relinquish the authority". Then he sent 'Abd Allah Ibn Harth Ibn Nawfal (Ibn Harth Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib) to tell Mu'awiya, "If people will be safe, I swear allegiance to him."
Mu'awiya gave him a white sheet and said, "Write whatever you like".

Imam Hasan (a) also wrote what we referred what we referred to previously.[140] The text was cited by Ibn Shahr Ashub in Manaqib.[141] Mada'ini[142] and Ibn Sabbagh Maliki[143] also have confirmed the report related to 'Abd Allah Ibn Nawfal's dispatch and the conditions laid down.

Many sources have referred to the condition of Imam Hasan's successorship after Mu'awiya with presenting no particular text.[144] Some other sources also have confirmed the financial commitments made with regard to the taxes of Darabjird, Fasa and Ahwaz in addition to the one-million payment per year.[145] Reportedly, the other condition had been that Mu'awiya should never curse Amir al-Mu'minin

(a).[146]

Here, two points merit to be taken into account concerning two conditions, the financial condition and caliphate condition. About the financial condition which is mentioned in different sources and for justifying which a group of Shi'ite Muslims have even discussed in any way[147] it should be kept in mind that the only text we confirm is the one shown before; accordingly, imposing any condition in the accord is basically deemed false.

The cogent evidence is the reaction Imam had when finding out that 'Abd Allah Ibn Nawfal had on his own behalf laid down such conditions and said, “Mu'awiya is not entitled to commit himself paying me from the Fund.”

As far as we know what Imams' way of conduct had been, such reasoning is clearly conceivable. The question, however, raised here is how the historians have propounded this condition. The answer can easily be inferred form what discussed above. Ibn A'tham had narrated that the condition had been laid down by 'Abd Allah Ibn Nawfal. As reported by Baladhuri, Mu'awiya himself had imposed the financial condition among the conditions.

Furthermore, seemingly in order to mar Imam's reputation, Mu'awiya's spies and later courtier historians had spread a number of rumors. It appears that the financial condition had been suggested by the delegation sent by Mu'awiya to Sabat in Ctesiphon for talks on compromising.[148] Another evidence for proving that there had been no financial condition in the pact is when after the compromise Sulayman Ibn Surad Khuza'i objected to Imam why he had not assigned a proportion.[149]

Such reasoning can also be found for the condition of Imam's successorship after Mu'awiya. It is narrated that based on the signed accord Imam Hasan had been supposed to replace Mu'awiya and if he were dead, his brother should be the successor.[150]

This time again Imam was not content to accept what 'Abd Allah Ibn Nawfal or according to Baladhuri and others[151] what Mu'awiya had suggested. In return in a text, Imam deprived Mu'awiya of appointing any successor to himself. He stressed that Muslims should shoulder this responsibility.

Since Imam was aware that Mu'awiya had always been set to make caliphate hereditary, he decided to tie his hands in the accord in this respect. If Imam had said something about his successorship, it would have been the confirmation of hereditary system per se. The term of “Muslim council”, however general, could be a way to dispense with the hereditary concept. It might be criticized that it is by no means compatible with the belief in “Nass” (textual nomination) about Shi'ites Imams.

It should be said that firstly the majority of the people among whom Imam lived did not believe in Nass and but this way, they had no other choice. Secondly, if legitimacy was judged by Nass, it would not be incompatible with the principle any way because people's approval is evidently essential in a ruler's legitimacy as a leader in a community. Some points within the peace pact merit consideration:

A. The first vital point was practicing the divine Book, the Prophet's tradition as well as the pious caliphs' lifstyles. Imam's intention was to limit Mu'awiya within a framework. He referred to this very point while making a speech on the pulpit when Mu'awiya had come to Kufa.

He said,

> إنما الخليفة من سار بسيرة رسول الله وعمل بطاعته وليس الخليفة من دان بالجور وعطَّل السنن واتخذ الدنيا أباً وأُمّاً "

The caliph is the one who practices the Prophet's tradition and obeys him. The caliph is never the one who oppresses, disregards the Prophet's tradition and adores the worldly life like his parents."

> وَإِنْ أَدْرِي لَعَلَّهُ فِتْنَةٌ لَكُمْ وَمَتَاعٌ إِلَى حِينٍ.

Who knows, perhaps it is an acid test for you and little goods for Mu'awiya he added. Mu'awiya turned furious at Imam's remarks.[152]

At the same sermon Imam announced, "On a right Mu'awiya disputed me that was mine but for the good of the nation and hindering bloodshed I ignored it." [153]

B. Another point was Imam's opposition to a hereditary caliphate that we already discussed in detail.

C. The Shi'ite Muslims' security was one of the crucial principles of the contract. As mentioned before, Imam at the first leg of his talks with Mu'awiya affirmed that he would never swear allegiance to him unless Mu'awiya promised to provide people with security. It is referred to in some narration's that Imam asked clemency of guarantee even for Ahmar and Aswad. It may imply that Imam stressed on Mawali's (freed slaves) security as well who were very respectable in Imam 'Ali's sight.

D. Imam's other condition which had a particular significance was that there should be no covert or overt conspiracy against him or his brother, Imam Husayn (a).

With no prerequisite, Mu'awiya signed the contract owing to the fact that the only thing he wanted was the conquest of Iraq. Mu'awiya and also Imam himself were certain that he would turn a blind eye to any condition.

Mu'awiya was faithful to none of the conditions.

He not only did not follow Qur'an and the tradition, but also went to extremes more than 'Uthman. He appointed Yazid as his successor, and deprived 'Ali's followers (Shi'ites) of security, imposing Ziyad and other tyrants to rule over them.

Husayn bin Mundhir used to say: Mu'awiya did not observe any of the conditions he had agreed to in his treaty with Hasan. He killed Hujr and his companions, appointed Yazid as his successor and did not delegate the matter of succession to a counsel, and poisoned Hasan."

Mu'awiya came to Kufa and said, **ألا إني كنتُ شرطت شروطاً أردت بها الأُلفة ووضع الحرب، ألا وإنها تحت قدمي** " I agreed on the conditions to put out the fire of sedition and reconcile the people, yet now I disregard them all."[154]

It is also quoted form him as saying, "Never did I fight to have you perform prayers, fast, go Hajj (pilgrimage) or pay poll tax, I fought to rule over you. And Allah bestowed it to me whereas you were all unwilling".[155]

A group of residents led by Humran Ibn Aban decided to revolt against Mu'awiya in Basra. As reported he had been summoning people to swear allegiance to Imam Husayn (a). In order to suppress him, Mu'awiya sent 'Amr Ibn Artat or his brother, Busr to Basra.[156]

By the same token, he could manage to dominate Iraq. He appointed Mughira Ibn Shu'ba to Kufa governorship for nine years as long as he was alive and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir as Basra governor.

Imam Hasan's caliphate began in Ramaḍan 40 and terminated in Rabi' al-Akhir, 41H. after seven months.[157]

Imam Mujtaba's Character

Imam Hasan was born on Ramaḍan 15, 3 A.H. He looked like his forefather, Allah's Apostle.[158] After his father was martyred, he became the Shi'ite Muslims' leader. It is narrated from Abi Razin as saying that Imam, wearing black robe and a turban, delivered sermons.[159]

Imam Hasan was one of the most morally eminent figures whose conduct was an example to follow. We already discussed how repeatedly the Prophet admired him in his remarks and recommended all to feel affection for him.

For instance, **أللهم إني قد أحببته فأحبَّه وأحِبَّ من يحبه** " O Allah! I love him, so adore him and the one who loves him."[160] **من أحبَّني فليحبه وليبلغ الشاهد منكم الغائب** " The one who loves me surely loves him. Tell it to the absentees too."[161]

" من أحب الحسن والحسين فقد أحبني، ومن أبغضهما فقد أبغضي

Anyone who loves Hasan and Husayn, he indeed loves me and anyone who annoys them, he indeed annoys me."[162]

" من سرّه أن ينظر الي سيد شباب أهل الجنة فلينظر إلي الحسن بن علي

Anyone who likes to see the master of the youth in Heaven can look at Hasan Ibn 'Ali and some utterances the Prophet has made about Imam Hasan (a)."[163]

Many narrations also are recorded in the light of Imam's ideological features for example his trips as a pilgrim gone on foot. He has said,

" إني لأستحي من ربي أن ألقاه ولم أمش إلي بيته، فمشي عشرين مرة من المدينة علي رجليه

I am really ashamed of meeting Allah if I go to His House on horsebac."

He visited there as a pilgrim twenty times.[164] According to another narration, he had gone to Mecca for pilgrimage twenty five times on foot,[165] yet Ibn Sa'd has recorded it as fifteen times.[166]

His generosity for Allah's sake was a proverbial aspect of his ethical character. When Isma'il Ibn Yasar along with 'Abd Allah Ibn Anas went to meet Mu'awiya in Damascus and take money from him but they did not succeed, Isma'il in a poem addressed his friend Ibn Anas as follows:

لعمرك ما إلى حسن رحلنا و لا زرنا حسيناً يا بن انس

"O Ibn Anas by you we did not go to meet Hasan and Husayn."[167]

He implied that if they had gone to those two brothers, never would they have returned empty-handed. It is narrated that some one went to meet Imam Hasan while needy.

Imam told him, "Write down whatsoever you need antd then give it to me". When the man gave him the list of what he needed, Imam offered him twice as much.[168] It is pointed out elsewhere that during his lifetime Imam granted three times each time half as much as the property he had for Allah's sake.[169]

A man named Abu Harun recounted, "On our way to Medina for pilgrimage we decided to drop in on the Prophet's son. Visiting him, we talked about our Journey. When we returned, he sent us each four hundred Dinars. We went back to him and said that our condition was okay. He answered, **لا تردّوا عليّ معروفي**[170] "Reject not my generosity."

Imam Hasan was told, **فيك عظمة** " You are great enough." Imam said, لا بل عزَّة، قال الله تعالى, فللّه **العِزَّةُ ولرسوله وللمؤمنين** " It is not greatness but honor. Allah has stated that honor belongs to both Allah and His

Apostle as well as the believers."[171]

After the compromise, the Kufa's Shi'ite Muslims who came to Hijaz for pilgrimage constantly were in touch with Imam during his eight or nine-year residence in Medina. It was natural that they had approved him as their Imam and tried to avail themselves of him ideologically.

A man from Damascus recounted,"One day I ran in to a handsome and serene man wearing smartly on horseback. I asked who he was. They said he was Hasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib (a). I was filled with rage and felt jealous of 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib for having such a unique son.

I approached him asking, "Are you 'Ali's son?" As soon as I heard his positive answer, I heaped abusive words onto him as many as I could. When I stopped he asked me if I was a stranger. "Yes", I replied.

Then kindly he said, "If you have no place to live, I give it to you, if you need money, I pay you". I parted him while I had no one as dear as him in my heart".[172]

Imam Hasan's Martydom

One of Mu'awiya's unforgivable crimes is martyring Imam Hasan (a) who was the apple of the Apostle's eye about which there is no doubt historically. As usual, Mu'awiya hatched a plot and prompted Ju'da, Imam's wife and cursed Ash'ath Ibn Qays's daughter, to kill her husband.

When Medina was plundered in the course of Harra event in 63 AH. this cursed woman's house was plundered too. Nevertheless, due to her cooperation in her husband's murder, her properties all were back. The report of Imam's martyrdom by Ju'da as well as Mu'awiya's conspiracy is recorded in numerous sources.[173]

As narrated by Haytham Ibn 'Adi, Imam had been poisoned by Suhayl Ibn 'Amr's daughter prompted by Mu'awiya.[174] The poison had Imam stay in bed ill for forty days until he achieved martyrdom.[175]

Miswar's daughter, Umm Bakr said, "Imam had been poisoned many times. Although each time he survived, the last time the poison was so strong that it made the pieces of his liver come out through his throat." [176]

After he was martyred, he was supposed to be buried next to the Prophet's grave according to his last will, but 'Ayisha and Marwan, the ruler of Medina then, did not allow. Imam had advised that if they faced any problem, he should be buried in Baqi'.[177] 'Ayisha did reveal his sheer spite towards Zahra (a), Her Excellency, and her son once more. No sooner had Imam's corpse been approached to the Prophet's grave than 'Ayisha warned, هذا الأمر لايكون ابداً " Under no circumstances, such an action is possible."[178]

Both Abu Sa'id Khudri and Abu Hurayra addressed Marwan, "Do you prevent Hasan from being buried beside his forefather whereas the Apostle (S) had called him the master of the youth in Heaven?"

“If such individuals as you, said Marwan sarcastically, did not narrate the Prophet's hadiths, they would be dissolved soon.”179

Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya has narrated that when Imam was killed, Medina turned thoroughly mournful and all people wept. It was Marwan who let Mu'awiya know saying him,”They want to bury Hasan by the Prophet, but as long as I am alive, I will never allow them.”

Imam Husayn come up to the Prophet's grave and ordered to dig the ground. Sa'id Ibn 'As who was Medina governor pulled back but Marwan commanded the Umayyads to be armed on alert.

“It is impossible to let you”, said Marwan.
“It is non of your concern”, Imam Husayn (a) told him.
“You are not the governor, are you?” Marwan answered.
“No, but as long as I am alive, I will never let you do this”.

Imam Husayn (a) asked Hilf al-Fu□ul (the agreement reached during pre-Islamic period for ensuring the safty of the pilgrims) who were always with the Hashimites for help. A number of people belonging to the tribes of Taym, Zuhra, Asad and Ja'uba took up arms then. Imam Husayn (a) and Marwan holding a flag in hand each opened fire on each other.

Yet a group of people demanded Imam to practice the will Imam Hasan had made.”If there were a probability that someone be killed, bury me beside my mother in Baqi'.” At last they could convince Imam Husayn.180 As inferred form another narration, Marwan who was deposed by then was intent to make Mu'awiya gratified with him by such an action.181 When Marwan flourished to change Imam's mind, he reported to Mu'awiya in a bombastic manner.182

He said,”How is it possible to see the son of 'Uthman's murderer buried next to the prophet but 'Uthman in Baqi'?”183 Beyond any doubt, Marwan had been among the wickedest figures of the Umayyads throughout whose term as Medina governor cursed Imam 'Ali as well as the Hashimites.

Some believe that Imam was martyred in Rabi' al-Awwal, 49H. While some others have recorded it Rabi' al-Awwal, 50 H.184 The former seems to be more reliable. As soon as Imam was martyred, the Hashimites sent some persons to different spots of Medina and the suburbs to inform Ansar. Reportedly, no one could ever stay at home.185

The Hashimites women moaned his loss all day long for a month.186 Tabari has quoted Imam al-Baqir (a) as saying that Medina people shut their shops mourning for him for seven days.187 He added that in Imam's burial ceremony the participants were so many that there was no elbow- room.188 News of Imam's martyrdom in Basra led the Shi'ite Muslims there to mourn.189

After Imam Mujtaba's demise, Kufiyan Shi'ite Muslims wrote a letter of consolation to Imam Husayn (a), in which Imam's demise was regarded, on one hand, a tragedy for all Umma and particularly for Shi'ite

Muslims, on other hand.

This shows formation of “Shi'a” and even its terminological usage around 50 H. They talked about Imam Mujtaba (a) with these titles, ”'Alam al-Huda and Nur al-Bilad”, someone who was hoped to raise up religion and rehabilitation of conduct of the righteous people. They hoped God would return Imam Husayn's right to him. 190 The letter had to be considered as one of the documents forming Imamate and ideological Shi'a in Kufa.

'Amr Ba'ja says, “The first humiliation that befell to Arabs was Imam Mujtaba's demise.191

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1. Musnad Ibn Ja‘d, vol. I, p. 527 the report was denied that Qatada in the second century heard that there be a number in Basra who claimed that they considered ‘Ali superior to ‘Uthman “By Allah, no resident before you had ever believed so”, he said
2. These Shi‘ites Muslims were mostly political and they never believed that Imam Hasan (a) was oppointed by Allah as an Imam.
3. al-Irshad,Vol II,p. 10;al-Fusul al-Muhimma, p. 147;Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, pp 46, 56; Manaqib, Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. IV, p. 32; Sulh al-Imam al-Hasan (a), pp 68-69
4. Later you will see how Imam Mujtaba has proved it
5. See the section about “Caliph II’s Agent”
6. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 199
7. al-Irshad, vol. I, p. 281 وما كنت متحرياً صلاحكم بفساد نفسي I sought not my ruin through thy reform
8. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 70
9. al-Irshad, vol. I, p. 283 يا اشباه الإبل غاب عنها رعاتها، كلما اجتمعت من جانب تفرقت من جوانب أخرى Thou look like camels left unharnessed by camel drivers, if they are gathered on one side, they shall be dispersed on the other side
10. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. X, p. 67
11. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XI, p. 29 وقد أحببتم البقاء وليس لي أن أحملكم على ما تكرهون “ Thou preferred to stay, so I have not the right to force thee to do something unpleasing to thee ”
12. Ibid vol. II, p. 193; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 418
13. Although the killed on Imam’s side were a few, many Kharijites who were killed were from Kufa people’s relatives
14. Such as Tarjamat al-Hasan from Ibn ‘Asakir in Tarikh Dimashq and Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan from Ibn Sa‘d in Tabaqat al-Kubra
15. Nur al-Absar , pp 119-120, Manaqib Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. IV, p. 24; Nazm Durar As-Simtayn, p. 195
16. al-Mustadrak, Hukaym Niyshaburi, vol. III, pp 147, 173; al-Ithaf bi-Hubb al-Ashraf, p. 34
17. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan (a), Ibn Sa‘d, p. 134
18. al-Hayat As-Siyasiya li al-Imam al-Hasan, pp 24,44
19. Fara’id As-Simtayn, vol. II, p. 68
20. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa‘d, p. 49
21. al-Hayat As-Siasiyya Li-Imam al-Hasan, p. 27 According to a narration in Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. I, p. 550, Mu‘awiya tried to call Hasan (a) and Husayn (a) Imam ‘Ali’s sons not the Prophet’s
22. al-Ithaf, p. 34
23. It will be discussed later
24. al-Amali, Shiykh Tusi, vol. II, p. 172; Bahj As-Sabaqa, vol. III, p. 448; Hayat al-Hayawan, vol. I, p. 58; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, pp 30,56; Manaqib Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. IV, p. 34
25. Dhakha’ir al-’Uqba, p. 139; Nazm Durar As-Simtayn, p. 195
26. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa‘d, p. 126

27. Ibid p. 167; Dhakha'ir al-'Uqba, p. 139

28. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vol. II, p. 299; Dhakha'ir al-'Uqba, pp 138-139; Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IV, p. 212; al-Ithaf, p. 35

29. Dhakha'ir al-'Uqba, p. 132

30. Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. II, p. 243; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn Ibn 'Asakir, pp 145-146

31. Manaqib Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. IV, p. 121

32. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II,p. 12 According to this narration, Hasan has objected to Imam 'Ali (a) It is true but this Hasan had been Hasan Basri not Imam Mujtaba

33. Professor Sayyid Ja'far Murta□a is skeptical of this issue al-Hayat As-Siyasiya li l-Imam al-Hasan, pp 149-150

34. Waq'at Siffin, p. 15; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. 63

35. al-Hayat As-Siyasiya li al-Imam al-Hasan (a), p. 113; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. VIII, p. 253; al-Ghadir, vol. VIII, p. 301; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 172

36. Waq'at Siffin, p. 297; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. V, p. 233; Manaqib, Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. III, pp 186,199

37. Waq'at Siffin, p. 114

38. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 160; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 26; Ibn Sa'd(219) has referred to such a reaction by Imam Husayn (a)

39. Nazm Durar As-Simtayn, p. 205; Raw□a al-Wa'i³in, p. 168; Manaqib, Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. IV, p. 44; Dhakha'ir al-'Uqba, p. 142

40. In historical books it is mentioned that after Imam 'Ali's martyrdom he took power with the allegiance of those present in Kufa In Tarikh al-Khulafa', Suyuti, Mas'udi has said that considering Imam Hasan's caliphate the narration of الخلافة بعدي ثلاثون سنة " The caliphate after me is thirty years" Would be right as seen in some historical books Later, he referring to the duration of each caliph had confirmed the caliphate until the early third century

41. Tabaqat Ash-Shu'ara', p. 109; al-Imta' wal-Mu'anisa, vol. III, p. 170

42. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. X, p. 67

43. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. VI, p. 30; vol. VII, p. 282

44. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, p. 171

45. Maqtal Amir al-Mu'minin, p. 61, Ibn Abi al-Dunya has said that no successor 'Ali introduced

46. Majma' al-Bayan, vol. II, p. 403; Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. II, p. 159; al-Irshad, p. 220

47. Waq'at Siffin, pp 424-425 (Siffin Battle, p. 580); Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 34

48. al-Futuh, vol. III, p. 147

49. al-Irshad, vol. II, p. 8 In a book by Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I6, pp 30-31 and Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 33 the word of successor is not referred to

50. al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 151;(in Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, Isfahani, p. 36 and) Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. I6, p. 24, it is narrated, و لانّي المسلمون الامر من بعده " After him, I am Muslims' leader" The difference between the two is clear

51. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV, p. 474

52. al-Aghani, vol. I1, p. 116

53. Bihar al-Anwar, vol. IV4, p. 43

54. al-Hayat As-Siyasiyya li al-Imam al-Hasan, pp 48-49

55. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 431

56. It is the first part of the verse to the last part which only was referred in the narration

57. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 33; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, pp 30-31; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 167; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 28; Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. III, pp 526-527

58. Muruj al-Dhahab, Vol II, p. 432 (The Women, 83)

59. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan (a), Ibn Sa'd, p. 167

60. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, pp 33-36 (simplified); al-Futuh, vol. IV, pp 151-153; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp 64-68

61. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 31 Mu'awiya wrote to Muhammad Ibn Abu Bakr "You father and I knew well that 'Ali was

superior but after the Prophet passed away", فكان أبوك وفاروقه أوّل من ابتزّ حقّه وخالفه على أمره " Your father and his horrible friend were the first ones who usurped his right and opposed him" Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, pp 11-13

62. Nahj al-Balaghah, letter 28
63. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 158
64. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, pp 22, 28
65. al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 156
66. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. 31
67. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 133; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 105, No 315
68. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp 154-155; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 158; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 29
69. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 29
70. al-Irshad, vol. II, p. 9
71. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp 62-68
72. Ibid p. 62; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. 31; al-Irshad, vol. II, p. 9
73. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 66
74. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. 26
75. 'Anfal, p. 46
76. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 69
77. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 181
78. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp 70-71
79. Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, p. 44
80. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 158; Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p. 196
81. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VIII, p. 14
82. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 64
83. al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 153; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 61
84. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 71; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 214; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, p. 167
85. Dhakha'ir al-'Uqba, pp 138-139
86. Sulh al-Hasan, Al Yasin, p. 123
87. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 168
88. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, p. 176
89. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 34
90. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 71; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. 40
91. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 216
92. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 215
93. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 72
94. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp 167,169,170; al-Mu'jam al-Kabir, Vol III, p. 96, No 2761; Majma' al-Zawa'id, vol. VI, p. 167
95. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 37
96. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 73
97. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 38
98. Ibid, vol. III, p. 38
99. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 74; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp 39-40
100. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 38
101. Ibid vol. III, p. 39
102. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 215
103. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 169
104. al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 157; compare with Imam's distorted remarks in Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 39
105. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VIII, p. 14; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 205
106. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 215.

107. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn ‘Asakir, pp 178-179; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 406; (A‘lam al-Din) p. 181; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, p. 21; Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p. 199

108. Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p. 197

109. Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, p. 48

110. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XI, p. 42

111. Ibid

112. al-Irshad, vol. II, p. 13

113. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XVI, p. 22

114. Risalat Jahiz fi Banu Umayya printed in ‘Asr Ma’mun, vol. III, p. 7

115. ’I‘lam al-wara, p. 205; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, p. 20; ‘Awalim al-’Ulum, vol. XVI, p. 175

116. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 405

117. al-Gharat, p. 173 (Persian version)

118. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 208; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. II, p. 220; vol. XI, p. 29

119. al-Gharat, p. 185

120. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan (a), Ibn ‘Asakir, pp 178-179; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 406; A‘lam al-Din, p. 181; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, p. 21; Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p. 199

121. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 220

122. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 217

123. Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, p. 147; pp 45-46

124. Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, p. 19; Tuhaf al-’Uqul, p. 227; ‘Awalim al-’Ulum, vol. XVI, p. 175; Fara’id As-Simtayn, vol. II, p. 120

125. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 220; Manaqib Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. IV, p. 35

126. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 221

127. ‘Ilal Ash-Shara’I‘, vol. I, p. 211; ‘Awalim al-’Ulum, vol. XVI, p. 174

128. Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, pp 29, 57; Manaqib Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. IV, p. 35; ‘Awalim al-’Ulum, vol. XVI, p. 170

129. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn ‘Asakir, p. 203

130. ‘Awalim al-’Ulum, vol. XVI, pp 169-170

131. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 338; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn ‘Asakir, p. 203 (footnote

132. Fara’id As-Simtayn, vol. II, p. 124; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, p. 19

133. Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, p. 25; Raw□a al-Kafi, p. 330

134. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn ‘Asakir, p. 178

135. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. 23; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VIII, p. 26; Usd al-Ghaba, vol. II, p. 20; Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. II p. 247; Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p. 197

136. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 150; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 221; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 187

137. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 222

138. As an example, see Zuhri’s report in Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn ‘Asakir, p. 168

139. al-Futuh (translated by Muhammad Mustuwfi Hirawi into Persian), pp 765-766

140. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp 41-42

141. al-Manaqib, vol. IV, p. 33

142. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. 22

143. al-Fusul al-Muhimma, pp 162-163; ‘Awalim al-’Ulum, vol. XVI, p. 172

144. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn ‘Asakir, pp 172,178

145. Tarikh al-Khulafa’, p. 74; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn ‘Asakir, pp 176-177; Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp 217-218

146. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn ‘Asakir, p. 176; A‘lam al-Wara, p. 206

147. For instance it was said that according to the verse of مَا أَفَاءَ اللَّهُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْقُرَى فَلِلَّهِ وَلِلرَّسُولِ وَلِذِي الْقُرْبَى “What God granted His Messenger (S) belongs to Him, the Prophet and his descendants” Imam had a share in Bayt al-Mal, so he had claimed his proportion Bihar al-Anwar, Vol IV4, p. 10 (footnote); another justification was that Imam had asked the tributes of Darabjird for the families of Jamal and Siffin martyrs; Bihar al-Anwar, Vol XXXXVI, p. 3; ‘Awalim al-’Ulum, Vol XVI, pp

182, 187, 188

148. Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IV p. 224; Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p. 198

149. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 48; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, p. 29

150. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 14; 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 67

151. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XVI, p. 21

152. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp 171, 172

153. Dhakha'ir al-'Uqba, p. 140; Nazm Durar As-Simtayn, pp 200-101; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, p. 42; al-Mahasin wal-Masawi, vol. I, p. 53; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 173; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 43

154. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp 44-46; al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 163; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. 46

155. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. 46

156. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 52; al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 168

157. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 54

158. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp 130-131

159. Ibid Ibn Sa'd, p. 163

160. Ibid Ibn Sa'd, p. 139; Sunan al-Tirmidhi, vol. V, p. 661

161. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 138; Musnad Ahmad, vol. V, p. 366; Mustadrak, vol. III, p. 173

162. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp 138,143; Tadhkirat Tayalisi, No 2502; Tadhkirat Ahmad, vol. II, p. 440; al-Mustadrak, vo III, p. 166

163. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 138; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VIII, p. 35

164. Akhbar Isbahan, vol. I, p. 44

165. Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 73

166. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 159

167. al-Aghani, vol. IV, p. 419

168. al-Mahasin wal-Masawi, p. 55

169. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 159; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 73; Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p. 196

170. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 155

171. Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. III, p. 177

172. al-Kamil fil-Adab, vol. I, p. 235

173. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp 175-176; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp 55-88 Professor Mahmudi has quoted the report above from many sources in the footnotes of the mentioned pages Yet, Ibn Khaldun, with his religious Prejudice and unlike all historical proof, has said, وحاشا لمعاوية ذلك " Never ever can Mu'awiya do so " Tarikh Ibn Khaldun, vol. II, part 2, p. 18

174. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 59

175. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 176

176. al-Muntakhab Min Dhiyl al-Mudhayyal, p. 514

177. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp 61, 64; footnotes of pp 61-62

178. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 184

179. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 65; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp 184-185

180. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp 177-179

181. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp 180, 187

182. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd,, p. 188

183. Ibid p. 183 'Uthman was not even buried in Baqi' because people prevented

184. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 66; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, pp 183, 189, 190

185. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 181; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, No 371

186. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 182; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, No 338

187. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'd, p. 182

188. al-Muntakhab Dhiyl al-Mudhayyal, p. 514; al-Mustadrak 'ala l-sahihayn, vol. III, p. 173; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn Sa'dp 182; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, Ibn 'Asakir, No 372

189. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. V, p. 224
190. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 228
191. Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan (a), p. 183

[1] [1]
SHARES

Mu'awiya's Monarchy

Mu'awiya, the Founder of the Umayyad Monarchy

Upon seizure of Iraq, center of government since 36, all Islamic territories came under the yoke of Mu'awiya, who took power thirty years after the Prophet's demise.

Before becoming a caliph, he governed Damascus and the Greater Syria for roughly twenty years. The Umayyads martially leading the Quraysh in Dark Age, stood against Islam as far as possible and they embraced Islam only when they had no way but this. Not only through their behavior but also by knowing about Abu Sufyan and Mu'awiya, in particular, Imam 'Ali's statement shall be acknowledged as to the fact that they embraced Islam only because of interests.1

Zubayr also thought of Abu Sufyan in the same way.2 Yazid Ibn Abu Sufyan commanded the troops when conquering. Greater Syria and Abu Bakr granted Mu'awiya sainthood besides his brother.3

After Yazid died, Mu'awiya was designated as the ruler of Damascus in 'Umar's tenure. As mentioned before, 'Umar's rigorlessness to Mu'awiya had astonished a number of people.4

According to Ibn 'Asakir, 'Umar entrusted Damascus thoroughly to Mu'awiya5 and by the same token, Mu'awiya affirmed that by Almighty Allah he could accomplish to dominate over people merely through his high esteem by 'Umar.6

Once encountering Mu'awiya going and accompanied majestically by his retinue, 'Umar asked about the ground. Mu'awiya responded that the more the enemy spies multiply, the more our grandeur has to heighten; yet, I will abide by what you command.

"By no means do I enjoin him nor prohibit him", said 'Umar.7

Mu'awiya himself deemed his firm standing as consequence of 'Umar's way of behaving towards him.8 Reacting against objections to Mu'awiya, 'Uthman said that how he was ever able to depose him designated by 'Umar.

Nevertheless, Imam 'Ali's response to him in this respect was, “Although Mu'awiya held 'Umar in reverence, he now does perform whatever without taking counsel with you”.[9]

What 'Umar frequently stated was, “You are naming Kasra (title of Sassanian kings) and Caesar whereas Mu'awiya is amongst you.”[10]

Succeeding 'Uthman's assassination, in his remarks addressing people, Mu'awiya announced that he has been the caliph of 'Umar as well as 'Uthman amongst them.[11] In 'Uthman's tenure Damascus was regarded as his security zone. He did banish Kufa reciters along with Abu Dharr there.[12]

Mu'awiya did expel them from Damascus soley owing to retaining his position and likewise avoiding their influence on nation. Damascus has been trained by Mu'awiya and in the course of the Umayya's governorship the in-depth devotion of its dwellers to them clearly manifested the fact.

It is quoted that the Umayya rulers have attested in the presence of “Saffah” that they considered no relative for the Holy Prophet (S) save the Umayya.[13]

Mu'awiya has been quoted as stating,[14] **نحن شجرة رسول الله (ص)** “We are from the lineage of Allah's Apostle.”

Furthermore, under the guises of the revelation amanuensis and Khal al-Mu'minin (the uncle of the faithful) he did strive in order to fortify his religious stance. He compelled a number of hadith (tradition) narrators as well to fabricate tens of hadiths concerning his supremacy and disseminate them among people.[15]

Mu'awiya's rule was the one and the only experience of a ruler who flourished to secure the sovereignty by employing coercion as well as devising political stratagems vis-a-vis all prevailing political-Religious or perhaps tribal and regional disputes. Until then neither a military expedition had been occurred, nor had duress been officially manipulated in order to obtain the political authority.

And now how can it be ever justified whereas the rule was thoroughly established by force? It should be borne in mind that this very fact had to be endorsed like other political facts emerging at the beginning of caliphate term that afterwards did turn legitimately into a governmental theory.

In order to secure allegiance, when a sovereign could suppress all the dissenters through his political authority, Jama'a (congregation) has subsequently appeared. What dilemma was now there for those who stressed the concept of community and said that they would be the last ones swearing an oath of allegiance?

Under the pretext of the self of Community, they, heedless of how the ruler has secured the authority, swore allegiance to a caliph with whom all were agreed. Mu'awiya himself declared that he had secured the caliphate neither through nation's amity, nor with their gratification but by sword.[16]

Mu'awiya named that year as “the year of Jama'a”. Touching upon that Mu'awiya not only secured the authority that year, but also he held sway over other members of the Shura (council), Muhajiruns and Ansars, Jahi’ has stated, “Mu'awiya named that year as **عام الجماعة** “The year of Community” whereas that year was, **عام فُرقةٍ وقهر وجبر وغلبة** “The year of separation, wrath, constraint and predominance.”

The year therein Imamate turned into monarchism and Kasra system and caliphate became usurped and Caesarean.[17] Afterwards, the principle of “Sovereignty does belong to the one who suppress others” turned an incontrovertible principle in political Fiqh (religious jurisprudence) of Sunnism.

Since the inception of his revolt against Imam 'Ali (a), Mu'awiya's legal mainstay has been his recourse to his kinship with 'Uthman in addition to his self-introduction as his next of kin. He alleged that the assassin of 'Uthman had been 'Ali (a) and he as his next of kin would retaliate his assassins.

And gradually it turned into hereditary transfer of caliphate from 'Uthman to Mu'awiya in the view of Damascus dwellers, for materializing which Mu'awiya himself played a pivotal role. Prior to this, it should be taken into consideration that Mu'awiya deemed himself the successor of Qurayshi power which had transferred from Abu Bakr and 'Umar to 'Uthman. We earlier referred to Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr's letter to Mu'awiya therein the former had reproached him for his insistence on inequity about 'Ali (a).

As its response, Mu'awiya wrote, “Your father and I during our prophet's lifetime had held 'Ali's right incontestable and had indeed discerned his supremacy; nevertheless, usurping his right, your father and 'Umar, after prophet's departure, were the ever-first ones who summoned him to swear allegiance to them.

He did swear allegiance under duress, they two, yet, granted naught as an allotment to him. After those two, 'Uthman secured the authority. If it were assumed a blunder, your father had blundered for the first time and we were all his accomplices, yet if it were approved, we emulated your father. If you intend to reproach, you had better reproach your father first.”[18]

From the beginning of his revolt against 'Uthman, Mu'awiya was doing his utmost to exploit him. Once he requested 'Uthman to proceed to him in Damascus in order to be immune from the dissenters, 'Uthman rejected however.[19] Later on, when the revolt aggravated, Mu'awiya found no alternative except 'Uthman's assassination.

He could abuse the people's confidence in Damascus in this regard. Mu'awiya accordingly never aided 'Uthman until 'Uthman eventually perceived it when deeply in trouble, hence he wrote a reproving letter to him.[20] Immediately in the wake of 'Uthman's assassination as well as his wife's escaping to Damascus, Mu'awiya proposed to her but she declined.[21]

He, in his letters to Imam 'Ali (a), asserted, “Our caliph 'Uthman is assassinated oppressedly and since Allah has said, 'When one is murdered oppressedly, we have assigned a power for his guardian', we are more preferable to 'Uthman and his descendants.”[22]

Mu'awiya's stress on 'Uthman's succession had culminated in an influence on Sunnis' historical-political line of thinking that for two centuries thereafter Kufa Shi'ite Muslims, other than the Shi'ite Muslims and few Sunnis, imagined that Orthodox Caliphs were merely three and following them the only possible and legitimate caliph was Mu'awiya. Afterwards, the notion of "Tarbi'" was broached by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal wherein 'Ali (a) had been introduced the fourth caliph.

Having composed numerous verses of poems as laudation for the Umayya, Farazdaq has manifested in his poetry the assumption that the Umayya regarded themselves as 'Uthman's heirs apparent. In a poem addressing 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan, he has composed,

تراث عثمان كانوا الاولياء له سربال ملك عليهم غير مسلوب

"They are the custodians of 'Uthman's inheritance and this royal robe can by no means be divested."[23]

He in another poem addressing Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, has certified that his caliphate has been transferred from 'Uthman[24] and elsewhere he has composed addressing Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik that the caliphate has been transferred from 'Uthman to Mu'awiya and then to him among the Umayya[25],

ورثت ابن حرب وابن مروان والذي به نصـر الله النبي محمـدا

"You are the heir of Harb's son, Marwan's son and the heir of the one with whose assistance Allah made Muhammad (S) vanquish (he has probably meant 'Uthman by the last one)"[26]

And for Walid Ibn Yazid he has composed,

ورثوا مشورُتها لعثمان التي كانت تراث نبينا المتخيّر

"They are the heirs of Shura (the council) which designated 'Uthman, the Shura which is the inheritance of the Chosen Prophet's caliphate."[27]

Jahiz has also specified that Mu'awiya justified his right for caliphate through 'Uthman's blood.[28]

Mu'awiya, from the outset of his opposition to 'Ali (a), announced that he did never seek after caliphate but as a matter of fact he had already prepared himself for securing caliphate. At the very starting point of caliphate, Imam 'Ali (a) urged Mu'awiya's envoy to inform him that under no circumstances was he was contented with his emirate over Damascus, nor would the nation be gratified with it.[29]

His inward aim was overt for the majority but seemingly he commenced to delude them. Prior to Jamal war, he wrote to Zubayr that he had secured allegiance from Damacsus people for him and if he

accomplished to conquer Iraq, he would definitely encounter no trouble in Damascus. Zubayr became very thrilled at the letter.30

Irrespective of Zubayr, Mu'awiya must have elaborated to what way he had acceded for an admissible caliph to be designated. Consequently, he propounded “Muslims' Council” in this respect. Within the letters written to a number of celebrities of Medina from Siffin, he had referred to this issue already discussed in Siffin event.

Mu'awiya was determined to absorb one of the political figures of Quraysh mainly from those attending the councilin order to exploit him politically because Imam had censured him for neither of those from Quraysh in Damascus was permitted in the council and their caliphate was unauthorized.31

In a letter to Imam 'Ali (a) as well, Mu'awiya did propound the issue of Council.32 There matters were on no accounts serious on the part of Mu'awiya.

Reportedly, the dwellers of Damascus at first had sworn allegiance to him as an emir not Amir al-Mu'minin (the Commander of the Faithful) but in the wake of 'Ali's martyrdom he pretended to the caliphate, so the nation did swear allegiance to him as Amir al-Mu'minin.33

Since the inception, he decided to secure allegiance as the one seeking retaliation for 'Uthman's blood and as the emir coveting not caliphate so that this responsibility would be entrusted to the Council.34 It is hinted in “Al-Imama wal-Siyasah” that prior to Siffin, Mu'awiya had secured allegiance as an emir.

Mu'awiya wrote to Hims governor to secure allegiance for him in the same way Damascus people had sworn. Affirming that they would certainly not assemble for retaliating 'Uthman's blood without a caliph, the nobles of Damascus were not convinced to swear allegiance to Mu'awiya as an emir.

As a result, the dwellers of Hims were the ever-first ones swearing allegiance to Mu'awiya as a “caliph”. After the spread of the news in Damascus the people thereof did swear allegiance to him as well.35 It is stated that Hajjaj Ibn Wasma had been the first one addressing him as a caliph and being gratified at it.36

Procuring caliphate for Mu'awiya had been confronted with another hindrance and it was that he was by no means among the precedented Muslims. He together with his father as well as most members of the family had battledwith Islam and subsequent to his conversion to Islam he was among Tulaqa (the captives whom Allah's Apostle set free after a triumph). It was a contemptuous lable.

Although Mu'awiya had fulfilled to reinforce his position somewhat in Damascus by introducing himself as “Khal al-Mu'minin” and “the revelation amanuensis” as well as relying on 'Umar's232 and 'Uthman's assistance, Hijaz and Iraq were both well-acquainted with his nature. Once 'Umar had saud that caliphate did only belong to Badr participants but if neither of them were survived, caliphate would be for Uhud participants as long as even one were alive, yet, caliphate would neverever be entrusted to

Tulaqa, nor to their descendants.[37]

It is probable that this narration had been ascribed to 'Umar; however, it should have been engraved in Muslims' minds after him. In his remarks in Siffin, 'Ammar had said that they, the Umayya, had no background in Islam in order to be entitled to be the guardians of the nation or be abided by.[38] Even 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar responding Mu'awiya's letter also wrote, “O Mu'awiya, what do you have to do with caliphate? You are from Tulaqa!”[39]

Enclosing with the letter of 'Umar's son, a number of verses belonging to a poet from among Ansar were dispatched reading that Mu'awiya was too minor to converse about the council participants.[40] And once 'Ali (a) reprimanded Mu'awiya when he expressed his ideas about allotments among Muhajirun and Ansar and told him that such affairs have no pertinence to Tulaqa![41]

When Mu'awiya set out to Medina to assure the opposers of Yazid's succession to the throne, 'Ayisha dissented and accused him of her brother Muhammad's murder. She reiterated, “You are from among Tulaqa for whom caliphate is interdicted.”[42]

This defect was not of significance for Mu'awiya, however, who had surmounted more formidable hurdles. Not only did he designate himself enforcedly as Muslims' caliph, but he nominated his son, infamous for being a debauchee, for that very rank as well.

The Umayya' rule was also a kind of Qurayshi one; therefore, it was on no accounts distinct from the former ones. This circumstance was perpetuated in the 'Abbasids dynasty too. Now what merits consideration is to perceive when the prerequisite of being from Quraysh had become one of the indispensable prerequisites for caliphate.

We already discussed that the prerequisite of being from Quraysh had never been stipulated among prerequisites of Fiqh for caliphate. Although the Shi'ite Muslims, the Twelvers, had faith in Imamate belonging exclusively and citedly to 'Ali (a) and his descendants, those even believing not in citation never considered the element of being from Quraysh a prerequisite for caliphate. Hudhayfa had been quoted subsequent to swearing allegiance to 'Ali(a) as saying that he had would in no way swear allegiance to any Qurayshi after him.[43]

This utterance by one of the renowned Companions (disciples) does justify that the prerequisite of being from Quraysh had by no means been treated legitimate and incontrovertable. Nontheless, the Umayya who were the principal substructure of Quraysh with securing the authority, propounded the prerequisite of being from Quraysh in earnest and Hadith-fabricaters began fabricating Hadiths in this respect. It has been quoted from Mu'awiya as alleging that this empire and caliphate has been laid amongst Quraysh except whom no other one has the eligibility of a caliph.[44]

Addressing the dwellers of Medina who hesitated to swear allegiance to Yazid, Rawh Ibn Zinba' belonging to the tribe of Judham and from among the devotees of the Umayya in Damascus said, “We

are not soliciting you to swear allegiance to the tribes of Lakhm, Judham or Kalb,

“ ولكنا ندعوكم الى قريش ومن جعل الله له هذا الأمر واختصّه

We are summoning you toward Quraysh and the one for whom Allah has uniquely assigned this authority, namely Yazid Ibn Mu'awiya.”45

The counterfeit Hadiths prevailing were plentiful among which were “The one disdaining Quraysh has indeed disdained Allah”.46 “The formost Imams for the nation are the ones from Quraysh.”47 It is astonishing that to substantiate their nobleness, they availed themselves of their consanguinity with Allah's Apostle (S) 48, though they antagonized his close kins.

The Umayya's Quraysh-oriented policy was manifest in Umayya's ruthlessness against Ansar.

Akhtal, an Umayya poet, had composed, “Quraysh is the possessor of the entire virtuousness and greatness whereas contemptability is under the turban of Ansar.49 Enumerating the grounds for his triumph over 'Ali (a), Mu'awiya referred to his fine relation with Quraysh.50

Mu'tazila has indicted Mu'awiya for initiating fatalism in the Islamic world.51 It can be avowed that faith in fatalism in Arab world has had it's antecedent in Dark Age as those of a number of Christians and the Jews of Hijaz.

Also succeeding the emergence of Islam, much or less, a number of people have inflamed the subject of fatalism; on the contrary, the fact is that this belief predominated in the Umayya's tenure and gradually turned into a principle in tribal disputes. Employing this principle on caliphate has been revealed in the well-know utterance ascribed to 'Uthman. The revolters' insistence was his dethrone but in return 'Uthman acknowledged that he would never ever remove the robe which Allah had made him wear.

It was wholly evident that he attributed his caliphate to Allah whereas it was in reality emanated from 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf's notion. Mu'awiya did take considerable strides in this regard. Mu'awiya is quoted as saying, as the entire affairs are under Allah's control, endeavors are all in vain.52

Elsewhere he said, “This caliphate is a decree from among Divine decrees along with a destiny from among Divine destinies.”53

Reacting to 'Ayisha's dissent from the succession of Yazid, Mu'awiya responded, “This affair is a Divine destiny but which no one has any other alternative.”54

In his famous sermon, Ziyad Ibn Abih, Mu'awiya's governor in Basra and Kufa declaimed, “O people, we are all the politicians and the advocates of yours. We govern you with recourse to the power bestowed by Allah.”55

In addition, Yazid in his inaugural sermon, stated that since his father had been a servant from among Allah's servants, Allah, magnanimous enough, bestowed him the caliphate. Now He has laid it with him.[56]

In an answer to 'Uthman's son who objected to Yazid's succession and said, “It was our father after whom you secured the authority”.

Mu'awiya said, “This sovereignty is what Allah has granted us.”[57]

To induce Mu'awiya to introduce his son a caliph, Miskin Darami composed:

بني خلفاء الله مهلاً فأنّما يُبوئها الرّحمن حيث يزيد

اذا المنبر الغربي خلّاه ربّه فإن اميرالمؤمنين يزيد

“O descendants of Allah's caliphs, slow down, Allah will rest the rule anywhere He ordains. When the western pulpit of Damascus voided (when Mu'awiya passed away), Yazid would be Amir al-Mu'minin.”[58]

Eventually we will find out how the caliphate simply denoting the succession of Allah's Apostle (S) at first, gradually conveyed the sense of Divine caliphate. The cardinal matter in Mu'awiya's caliphate was that he did abolish the tradition of caliphate and declared monarchism officially in stead.

By “officially” what we intend is that prior to that in 'Uthman's tenure the ground had been paved for monarchism (discussed earlier in the section concerning 'Uthman). Narrated by Ibn 'Asakir, on hearing the news of 'Uthman's murder, Thumama Ibn 'Adi, one of the prophet's disciples, wept and stated that he was among those taking the “Prophetic caliphate” from “Muhammad's household” and turning it into a despotic monarchy.[59]

Although of 'Uthman's was murdered, a great number of people dissented him, later on account of the Umayya dominion they acquitted and cleansed 'Uthman of all those flaws. Nevertheless, they still did somewhat cleave to the principle that Mu'awiya's dominion equals a termination to caliphate era and a commencement to monarchism. This conversion by no means did make them doubt its legitimacy. As a matter of fact, they justified that legitimacy is something and the perfectness of the rule something else.

Regarding this very conversion, a Hadith is attributed to the Holy prophet (S) as stating, **خلافة النبوة ثلاثون سنة**. “Prophetic caliphate lasts for thirty years,”[60] and elsewhere as, **الخلافة ثلاثون عاماً ثم يكن بعد ذلك الملك** “Caliphate is for thirty years after which monarchism appears.”[61] “

These Hadiths do never seem authentic. What should be taken into account is that Mu'awiya was pleased with using the term of monarchism about himself. Mu'awiya constantly repeated, **أنا اول الملوك** “ I

am the first monarch."

In order to fortify his authority and erase all traces of caliphate, it was possible for him to counterfeit such a Hadith as many other instances have been seen. Ka'b al-Ahbar one of the admirers of 'Uthman and Mu'awiya stated that in the Old Testament he had found Allah's Apostle (S) as the one who would be born in Mecca, migrate to Taba and whose rule is in Damascus.62

And this might have made Mu'awiya think of transmitting the Holy Prophet's pulpit as well as his waking-cane from Medina to Damascus.63 It is also quoted from Abu Hurayra as stating,

" الملك في قريش والقضاء في الانصار

Monarchism is for Quraysh but governorship for Ansar" 64 and

" الخلافة في قريش والحكم في الانصار

Caliphate is for Quraysh but governorship for Ansar."65

And in another narration, one of those possesing bibles had told to Mu'awiya that he had noticed his attribute within the Divine Books as the one who would for the first time turn caliphate into monarchism, yet, Allah is merciful and forgiving after all.66 The Hadith according to which caliphate would last for thirty years had been narrated by Sufayna who was reportedly one of the prophet's Mawali (freed slaves).

He affirmed that he had heard from the prophet (S) saying, **الخلافة ثلاثون عاماً ثم يكون بعد ذلك الملك** "Caliphate lasts for thirty years and after which monarchism appears."

Consequently, he reckoned that two years for Abu Bakr, ten years for 'Umar, twelve years for 'Uthman and six years for 'Ali (a).67

However, it is known that Imam's authority did merely lasted for four years and nine months not longer. A further reckoning was narrated by Mas'udi as follows, two years, three months and eight days for Abu Bakr, ten years and six months for 'Umar, eleven years, eleven months and thirteen days for 'Uthman, four years, seven months minus afew days for 'Ali (a) and eight months and ten days for Hasan (a) that altogether equals precisely thirty years.68

Primarily other Hadiths dealing with caliphate are virtually of this category unless, the conclusive evidence vindicate their authenticity otherwise.

The narration of, **ان الخلفاء من قريش الى أن تقوم الساعة** " "Caliphate does belong to Quraysh until the Day of Judgement"69 would be of this type as well unless in compliance with our belief it corresponded to Nass

(textual nomination) of Imam 'Ali (a) together with his succeeding Imams.

Heedless of the origin of the Hadith, the historical evidence indicated the start of a thoroughgoing monarchism within the domain of the Islamic caliphate. The term of monarchism as a substitute for caliphate equates to the existence of despotism which is deemed as one of the fundamental features of the rule. As the completion of the narration of this very Hadith "after thirty years" has come, **ثم تكون ملكاً عاضاً جبرية** " After which monarchism forcibly appears."[70]

The noticeable instances of which were Kasra's rule in Iran and those of Caesar's and Heraclitus's in Rome and Damascus. Mu'awiya was a great enthusiast for the background of Damascus in particular. Muslims were all well acquainted with these two rulers.

In one of his sermons concerning Qasitin (the oppossers), Imam 'Ali (a) said, "Combat Allah's foes, those striving to extingish Allah's light. Battle against the misled wrongdoers, the felons who are neither Qur'an recitors, nor religious jurisprudents, scholars of paraphrase and those having no background in Islam. I do swear by Almighty Allah that if they could secure the authority, they would undoubtedly perform what was done by Kasra and Heraclitus."[71]

'Ammar also regarding Qasitin said that 'Uthman's assassination was a pretext to them until, **ليكونوا بذلك جبابرةً ملوكا** " The oppressors became monarchs."[72]

It was the approach that Mu'awiya had singled out in order to secure the authority and govern an Islamic land. He himself divulged, "By Almighty Allah I did neverever combat for the sake of performing prayers, observing fast, pilgrimage nor paying Zakat (poor-rate as prescribed by Islam). You yourself were acting them all. I did combat to dominate you and although Allah bestowed it to me, you never contented."[73]

On entering Kufa he announced that the one swearing not allegiance to him would in no way be secure. He set a three-day respite for allegiance.[74] Quoted from Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and Jahiz, he did secure allegiance from the nation as loathing for 'Ali (a).[75]

In a letter to 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far to swear allegiance to Yazid, he had written, "If you swear allegiance, you will be adored; otherwised, you will be coerced." [76]

Allegedly, he had ordered to slay the one who avoids swearing.[77] About figures like Qays Ibn Sa'd, having a kind of influence, he secured allegiance by clasping his hand and compelling him to pat his hand whereas Qays was refraining.[78]

Mu'awiya's aristocratic lifestyle and his procedures adopted in caliphate, pompted Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas as well to address him a "monarch" when meeting.[79] In Damascus he was determined to find the works created about ruler's biographies in Damascus.[80]

Later on, Jahiz recorded that Mu'awiya turned the rule into the rule of Kasra and Caesar.[81] Historians have also introduced him as the ever-first monarch.[82] And Sa'id Ibn Musayyib affirmed that Mu'awiya

was the first one converting caliphate into monarchism.[83]

Mughira Ibn Shu'ba described Mu'awiya as an emir and specified that there should be a difference between a peasant and an emir.[84] Reportedly, the first one who substituted, ملك يوم الدين " Master of the Day of Judgment" for مالك يوم الدين " Owner of the Day of Judgment" was Mu'awiya.[85]

Ya'qubi has enumerated what he did as indications of monarchism as follows, being seated on a platform and making others sit in a lower position, singling out the best propertys of the people and allotting them all to himself.[86] He commanded to devote whatsoever Iranian kings had possessed in farmlands or anywhere else to him.[87]

Mu'awiya's status was so conspicuous that 'Umar had named him Kasra in his tenure.[88] It should be asserted that Mu'awiya was set to establish a "caliphate of Islamic royalty". He considered himself as a king but described as a caliph concerning old traditions. Making efforts to transport Prophets' pulpit from Medina to Damascus, he intended to fortify his Islamic strength although he could never succeed.[89]

Mawdudi has itemized a number of characteristics for clarifying the distinction between Mu'awiya's monarchism and his predecessors' caliphate as follows, first, the way of designating a caliph converted. In spite of his predecessors who never rose up for caliphate, Mu'awiya in any way exerted to gain the caliphate. As soon as he secured the authority, no one was able to dissent him. Anyone had to swear on oath of allegiance to him.

It was what Mu'awiya himself had confessed, "I was absolutely aware of nation's discontent with my caliphate; however, I secured it by sword".[90]

It gradually culminated in hereditary caliphate by Mu'awiya. Secondly, the lifestyle of the caliphs converted. Following the approaches of monarchism of Iran and Rome did commence from Mu'awiya's tenure on. The third feature is concerned with Bayt al-Mal (public fund). At this juncture, public treasury changed in to the king's and his lineage's personal wealth. No one had the right to reprimand the government for the accounts thereof.

Fourthly, it was the termination of freedom of speech. At this period, not a single one had an ability to enjoin the good nor prohibit the evil. This new process began in Mu'awiya's term after Hujr Ibn 'Adi's assassination. Fifthly, it was the end of freedom of judiciary branch. The end of the council-oriented government was the sixth characteristic of a monarchical government. The seventh was the emergence of racial and tribal prejudices. And also elimination of superiority for law has been deemed as the eighth feature.[91]

Mawdudi has presented many historical instances for each characteristic.

Shi‘ite Muslims in Mu‘awiya’s time

In Mu'awiya's term, one of the crucial issues was the Shi'ites beliefs amongst a number of people specifically Iraqis. We have already discussed the emergence of Shi'ism. Now we are to evaluate the interactions between Shi'ite Muslims and the Umayya.

Beyond any doubt, Shi'ite Muslims have always been Mu'awiya's archenemies as the Kharijites were considered as other foes for him. Nevertheless, the Kharijites were not of great significance. The universal pessimism on the part of Muslims about them, their oppression as well as their baseless position–taking had resulted in having no support among people. On the contrary, Shi'ite Muslims particularly in Iraq were all endowed with a mighty support like Imam 'Ali (a) and others from Ahl al–Bayt (Prophet's infallible household).

The culture disseminated by Imam 'Ali (a) in Iraq was indeed thoroughly Islamic and although people had to keep silence under Mu'awiya's compulsion, they were all able to distinguish 'Ali's truthfulness and Mu'awiya's wrongfulness.

Mu'awiya and with his agents confronted this process with diverse ways, from reconciliation and gentleness to vast harshness. The latter was wide–ranging especially in Iraq. Creating hatred for 'Ali (a) was one the most critical approach used. Mu'awiya and other Umayyads succeeding him have persistently been endeavoring to wipe 'Ali (a) off the face of the earth and introduce him as an element, aggressive, bloodthirsty and the like.

In Holy Prophet's term and later on in caliphs' terms and his own caliphate especially, Imam 'Ali's life verified his unique glory in both scientific and practical domains. His sermons were narrated chest by chest. The statements regarding his scientific supremacy, the Hadiths quoted from the Holy Prophet (S) concerning his excellence as well as his praiseworthy and extraordinary judgments were all recounted by people to one another in hadith assemblies.

These all led to dissemination of that culture among people, the culture which prompted Imam 'Ali's disciples to retain this affection for him even at the cost of their martyrdom. And above all, this culture could naturally perpetuate among Imam 'Ali's descendants, from Prophet's household. In as much as the Umayyads had perceived this fact, they consequently were determined to stigmatize the Imam, express their disgust for him in every assembly and curse him. Ibn Abi al–Hadid has written a chapter entitled “the hadiths counterfeited by Mu'awiya concerning 'Ali (a) through stimulating a number of disciples and Tabi'in” in his book.92

When Marwan Ibn Hakam was asked why they were doing so, he responded, لا يستقيم لنا الامر الا بذلك Our governorship will on no accounts be abiding but through this way.”93 “

Principally, the Umayya's sovereignty could never perpetuate except the policy of insulting 'Ali (a).

Cursing His Excellency, highlighting other caliphs as well as introducing them as superior to 'Ali (a) were constantly pursued. As stated by some, since Hadith–fabricators aimed to approach the Umayya with recourse to these Hadiths, most Hadiths concerned with disciples' virtues had been fabricated in the Umayya's tenure.[94]

At this juncture, individuals like 'Ayisha were introduced as a source for Hadiths[95] and others like Zayd Ibn Thabit, being on 'Uthman's side, were appointed to be the source of advice on legal or religious matters for Mu'awiya.[96]

Attributing Hadiths by Imam 'Ali (a) to himself or others was among what Mu'awiya did so that others could at times attribute them to Mu'awiya as well. Jahiz who had realized the fact denied the attribution of such Hadiths to Mu'awiya owing to the fact that he had no relation with the devout.[97]

This Hadith narrated by Imam, **ما رأيت سرفاً الا الي جانبها حق مضيّع** " I have seen no lavishment unless someone's right was disregarded therein"[98] was ascribed to Mu'awiya.

In another case, one of Imam's Hadiths was attributed to a Bedouin.[99] "We ascribe 'Ali's letter to Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr to Abu Bakr", Mu'awiya himself had confessed.[100]

'Ali's malediction to the Kufiyans was attributed to 'Umar.[101]

Insulting and cursing 'Ali was prolonged as a tradition until it was ceased in 'Umar 'Abd al–'Aziz's time.[102] Mu'awiya himself stressed that it must be spread to the extent that the offspring mature with this slogan, the youths grow old and no one narrates his excellence.[103]

From among the disciples, some contributed to Mu'awiya in this regard. There existed a Hadith by Abu Hurayra concerning the mischief–making among the nation that says it is about 'Ali, yet, the Holy Prophet (S) has cursed such a person.[104]

It has also been narrated that Mu'awiya rewarded Samura Ibn Jundab with 400,000 dhms to alege that the following verse (2:204) had been revealed about 'Ali (a):

وَمِنْ النَّاسِ مَنْ يُعْجِبُكَ قَوْلُهُ فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَيُشْهِدُ اللَّهَ عَلَى مَا فِي قَلْبِهِ وَهُوَ أَلَدُّ الْخِصَامِ.

"And among men is the one whose speech about this worldly life causes you to wonder, and he calls on Allah to witness as to what is in his heart, yet he is the most violent of adversaries."[105]

Ibn Abi al–Hadid has written that Mu'awiya had stimulated a number of disciples to narrate some Hadiths against Imam 'Ali(a) among whom were Abu Hurayra, 'Amr Ibn 'As, Mughira Ibn Shu'ba and 'Urwa Ibn Zubayr.[106]

In his letters to his agents in cities, Mu'awiya wrote, "The Hadiths regarding 'Uthman's virtues are being

augmented in cities, as soon as you received my letter, urge people to begin narrating the excellences of companions and caliphs and also narrate a Hadith contradicting any Hadith narrated concerning Abu Turab's (Imam 'Ali) virtues."

Accordng to Ibn Abi al-Hadid, most of them in order to get closer to the Umayya fabricated Hadiths expressing disciples' excellences.[107] To replace the Hadith about the brotherhood between 'Ali(a) and the Holy Prophet (S), they counterfeited it therein the Prophet (S) stated, "If I intended to designate a successor for myself, he would undoubtedly be Abu Bakr."

They had fabricated the hadith of "Khawkha" opposite to Hadith of "Sadd al-Abwab".[108]

Mu'awiya was extremely bound to curse Imam 'Ali (a) as the conclusion of his sermons.[109] He even compelled Imam's disciples to go up the pulpit and curse him.[110] Any agent of Mu'awiya who did not abide by the tradition of cursing was deposed and replaced right away.[111] He had eaniced people into daring not to name their babies 'Ali[112] but call them Mu'awiya instead.[113]

He had announced that if anyone narrated the excellences of 'Ali, he would never warrant his security. Subsequently all preachers expressed their disgust for Imam 'Ali (a) and cursed him.[114] However, in return he commanded his agents to support the one narrating 'Uthman's excellences.[115]

A great number also lived either in Damascus or Iraq who loathed Imam 'Ali (a) for their kins' murder. And now the opportunity was provided to them to disclose their rancor by insulting and cursing him. When Hariz Ibn 'Uthman was asked why he cursed Imam (a) seventy times every morning and night, his response was, "How can I abstain from it whereas he has beheaded my forefathers with suspicion."[116]

We will discuss later that the pressure exercising on Ahl al-Bayt was wholly for the sake of hindering 'Ali's name to be commemorated. As one of the reasons for murdering Hasan Ibn 'Ali(a) by poison, Ibn Jawzi has pointed to his entry into Damascus[117] which was naturally intolerable.

All of these harsh treatments in order to wipe 'Ali's name off the face of the earth occasioned people not to have the courage to narrate 'Ali's virtues. Awza'i, a renowned traditionist, did narrate nothing concerned with Ahl al-Bayt's virtues save the Hadith to inform the revelation of the verse of "Tathir" (purification) about them[118], the same as Zuhri who narrated not more than a virtue.[119]

It seemed quite natural that all these repeated and universal curses could eventually influence people's hearts, particularly in Hijaz and Damascus, and gradually change public opinions. It was, in every respect, what Mu'awiya sought. Because Islamic leadership lay with Imam 'Ali, eliminating him could lead to elimination of the religion from the society. As an emphasis, Mu'awiya secured allegiance from people by prerequisite of loathing 'Ali (a)[120] in the same mannar that he had forced them for the first time to swear.[121]

Mu'awiya's another action facing Shi'ite Muslims was excercising compulsion. The manifestation of his

rancor to Imam and Shi'ite Muslims was in his brutal treatments. Imam Hasan Mujtaba's martyrdom, a conspiracy by Mu'awiya, was in line with this very policy. It is what historical sources have reported and accordingly, they have in truth discredited Mu'awiya among Muslims. The opposition of Umm al-Mu'minin (mother of the faithful, 'Ayisha) in Imam's burial beside the Prophet (S) exhibited the immense oppressedness of Imam together with his Shi'ite Muslims.[122]

Mu'awiya who believed that it was not feasible to delude the people of Iraq in the same way as silly people of Damascus, he had to choose the route of slaying and chastizing. Besides, Iraqi dwellers, including both Shi'ite Muslims and non-Shi'ite Muslims, were so sensitive that even a slight irritation could result in chanting bitter slogans against the Umayya although they were all obedient under the sword of Ziyad and Hajjaj.

The common term describing Shi'ite Muslims was "Turabiyya" in the Umayya's tenure.[123] It was derived from "Abu Turab", (the father of soil), the title use by the Umayya for scorning Imam 'Ali (a); nevertheless, later on a number of "Ghulat" (the Exaggerators) availed themselves of it for proving the Divinity of Imam 'Ali.

Slaying Shi'ite Muslims had begun since Imam 'Ali's term. After Imam's forces dispersed and there was no security found but in Iraq, Mu'awiya deployed his troops along with some envoys to various areas among whom were Busr Ibn Artat, Sufyan Ibn 'Awf Ghamidi and Dhahhak Ibn Qays. Their responsibility in cities was to trace and, **فيقتلوا كلّ من وجده من شيعة علي** " Kill any Shi'ites they noticed at Mu'awiya's behest."

Busr set out to Medina were he martyred many of 'Ali's disciples and enthusiasts and demolished their houses as well. He then went to Mecca and Sarat respectively and slayed any Shi'ite Muslim he discovered. Ultimately, he left there for Najran and martyred 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abd al-Muddan as well as his son. Earlier we presented a profile of his crimes.

Among areas that Busr passed en route and plundered was an area the residents of which were from the tribe of Hamdan, 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims.

Ambushing them, Busr killed numerous men and captured a number of women and children. For the ever-first time Muslim women and children were captured.[124] These measures were once again adopted later in Karbala. About Busr, Mas'udi has written that he slayed a number from the tribes of Khuza'a and Hamdan together with a group known as al-Abna' (from Iranian race) in Yemen. **ولم يبلغه عن أحد انه يمالي علياً او يهواه الا قتله** He killed anyone of whose attachment to 'Ali he heard."[125]

Setting out to Anbar, 'Awf Ibn Sufyan martyred Ibn Hassan al-Bakri in addition to Shi'ites men and women.[126]

After Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a) had to compromise with Mu'awiya, one of the menaces Imam felt was the security of 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims. Hence it was stipulated within the contract that 'Ali's disciples should be

all endowed with security. Although Mu'awiya had conceded it, immediately on the same day he announced that he would disregard the entire commitments.

Since Kufa was the center of Shi'ite Muslims' political and religious tendencies, Mu'awiya had to appoint one who can curb such people. Following the clashes between 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'As and Mughira Ibn Shu'ba who could keep up with Mu'awiya in deception, Mughira eventually flourished to be appointed as the governor of Kufa.

Mu'awiya's endeavor was to have politically peaceful treatments towards the opponents as much as he could. The bases of two groups of the Umayya adversaries such as the Kharijites and Shi'ite Muslims were in Iraq. The Kharijites revolted several times but were suppressed with all possible haste.

But on the other hand, Shi'ite Muslims by virtue of the contract signed between Hasan Ibn 'Ali and Mu'awiya, did not permit themselves to transgress. Mughira also intended to take no action except against the one revolting. As a result, even the Kharijites of Kufa also had apparent relations with one another.[127]

Among the Iraqi tribes, the tribes of Rabi'a, Hamdan[128], Banu 'Abd al-Qays and Khuza'a (few in Iraq) had Shi'ites inclination.

In his remarks addressing the tribe of Banu 'Abd al-Qays, Sa'sa'a Ibn Suhan said, "When apostasy was common, you did remain beside the religion and when some followed 'Ayisha, Talha, Zubayr and 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb Rasibi, you declared that, **انا لا نريد إلا أهل البيت الذي ابتدأنا الله من قبلهم بالكرامة** " You seek naught save Ahl al-Bayt, at first by whom Allah had granted you blessing."[129]

Sa'sa'a under other circumstances availed himself of the opportunities provided for spreading his beliefs which were mostly censuring 'Uthman and eulogizing 'Ali (a).

When Mughira was notified of such movements, he summoned Sa'sa'a and told him, "Far more than you we are acquainted with his excellences but

> هذه السلطان قد ظهر وأخذنا بإظهار عيبه للناس فندع كثيراً مما أمرنا به ونذكر الشيء الذي لانجد منه بداً نرفع به هؤلاء القوم عن أنفسنا تقيّة "

Because as soon as this ruler appeared, we had to denounce 'Ali and relinguish many of what we were ordered to merely in order to extricate ourselves from this race (the Umayya)."[130]

Anyhow Mughira the same as other agents were compelled to denounce Imam 'Ali (a) and exonerate 'Uthman. Owing to this fact

> يتعرّض لعليٍّ في مجلسه وخطبه ويدعو لعثمان ويترحّم له "

He variably denounced 'Ali (a) in every assembly and sermon in the mosque but commemorated 'Uthman and pled mercy for him."[131]

Subsquent to Mughira's death (probably in 49 or 50 A.H.) the status quo converted. Although Ziyad Ibn Abih was the governor of Basra at that time, Mu'awiya added Kufa to this realm as well. At the time of Imam 'Ali (a), Ziyad Ibn Abih was the governor of Fars. Since Mu'awiya's intention was deluding 'Ali's disciples, he decided to delude Ziyad too. His defect was lacking a definite begetter that Mu'awiya solved the problem by naming him Ziyad Ibn Abi Sufyan. Despite Imam 'Ali's forewarning to him[132], Ziyad did never resent it and ultimately a while after of compromising he took refuge in Mu'awiya's side.

Ziyad as well as his toughness were quite well known to Mu'awiya. He also knew that Ziyad had been in Iraq for some time and knew 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims all well. Accordingly, first he despatched him to Basra and added Kufa to his realm after Mughira's death. Mu'awiya might realize that the Shi'ite Muslims in Kufa enjoyed relative freedom and at times could openly object in presence of Mughira in the mosque. It was considered a real threat which Mu'awiya removed by Ziyad's dispatch.

The first measure taken by Ziyad was cutting off the hands of those (nearly eighty) who were not convinced to swear allegiance to him.[133] Ziyad's harsh treatment in Basra, with a group of the Kharijites in addition to Shi'ite Muslims, was proverbial. He had declared a kind of martial law in Basra.

At nights, following the night prayer, the opportunity people had for staying outdoors was as long as reciting the Sura (chapter) of The Cow. During the curfew, Ziyad's soldiers slayed anyone they traced.[134] Historians have introduced Ziyad as the ever-first one who drew his sword to people, arrested them by accusing them and chastized them with suspicion.[135]

Among the Shi'ite Muslims martyred by Ziyad were Muslim Ibn Zaymur and 'Abd Allah Ibn Nuja who were both from the tribe of Ha□ram. In a letter to Mu'awiya succeeding Hujr's martyrdom, Imam Husayn (a) had commemorated their martyrdom too.[136]

Ziyad's main mission was to suppress the Shi'ite Muslims of Kufa throughout Iraq.
"He was always seeking after Shi'ite Muslims and anywhere tracing he slayed them", Ibn A'tham said.

He cut off the limbs of people and blinded them. Mu'awiya himself murdered a great number as well.[137] Elsewhere it has been written that Mu'awiya had issued the verdict of executing a group of Shi'ite Muslims.[138] Ziyad assembled Shi'ite Muslims in a mosque in order to make them express loathing for 'Ali.[139] He also searched for Shi'ite Muslims in Basra to kill.[140]

In a letter Imam Hasan (a) objected to Mu'awiya in this regard.[141] Treating the same way, Samura Ibn Jundab, a substitute for him in Basra, had allegedly augmented the number of orphans in Basra and massacred nearly 8000 people until Ziyad objected him.[142]

Although the accuracy of the abovementioned figures is not definite, it manifests a profile of their

atrocities. Ziyad's treatment towards 'Ali's friends was unjust, in a real sense[143] exactly the same as that of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir, Mu'awiya's another governor.[144] Nu'man Ibn Bashir, ex-governor of this area, on account of his acute rancor to dwellers of Kufa did not even want to obey Mu'awiya's order to increase their provisions from Bayt al-Mal (public fund).[145]

Under the guise of a peace-seeking character, Mu'awiya had commanded Ziyad to decimate anyone at 'Ali's religion.[146]

“Kill anyone amongst you who is from 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims or accused of his amity”, he wrote to his agents, “and for it find evidence even hidden under the rocks even though it was solely an assumption”.[147] “Exclude the name of the one for whose amity to 'Ali you found any proof from Bayt al-Mal”, he added, “and discontinue his provision.”

He then wrote in conclusion, **من اتهمتموه بموالاة هولاء القوم فنكّلوا به واهدموا داره** “Kill any one from among yourselves who is accused of having devotion to 'Ali and demolish his house as well.”[148]

Ibn Abi al-Hadid has also written that as far as Ziyad was well-aquainted with Shi'ite Muslims,

> قتلهم تحت كل حجر ومدر وأخافهم وقطع الأيدي والأرجل وسمل العيون وصلبهم على جذوع النخل وطرَّدهم وشرّدهم

“He massacred them all anywhere whom he noticed, intimidated them, cut off their limbs, blinded them, hung them from tree branches and banished them.”[149]

The impetus of such treatments was totally obvious. According to Ahnaf Ibn Qays, one of the headmen of Banu Tamim tribe had told about Mu'awiya that he had captured Iraq not by force but through commitement and contracts;[150] Anytime it was probable for people to revolt against Mu'awiya or “a catastrophe”, as he called it, take place.[151]

It was as a result, necessary that any rebellion be suppressed. Dissatisfied with the Umayya's the people of Iraq had to yield to them reluctantly. Imam Hasan (a) also had reminded Mu'awiya of this point.[152] By the same token, as mentioned by Jahiz it was in truth a blunder that Mu'awiya had named 41 A.H. as **عام الجماعة** “The year of congregation” on the contrary, it must have been named as, **عام التفرقة** “The year of separation”[153]

These all accounted for the lack of factual collaboration and even the potential enmity of the Kufiyans towards Mu'awiya. In spite of the compulsion exercised by individuals like Ziyad and deception practised by Mughira to impede the growth of adversaries, Shi'ite Muslims were still wholeheartedly faithful to their allegiance.

Imam 'Ali (a) had recommended them to curse him if they were under duress, but neverever loathe

him.[154] Anyhow, Kufa was like fire under ashes that should have been thwarted with great effort not to catch fire again.

The Suppression of Hujr Ibn ‘Adi’s Shi‘ite Movement

Hujr al-Khayr or Hujr Ibn 'Adi who had been among the Holy Prophet's disciples, did later range himself with 'Ali's firm and devoted Shi'ite Muslims. He belonged to the tribe of Kinda, a southern tribe in Hijaz, who had migrated to Iraq in 17 A.H. This tribe was involved in Iraqi events as participants in Siffin and later on in Mukhtar's uprising.[155]

A crowd from among them was at odds with Husayn Ibn 'Ali (a) in Karbala. In the course of Siffin, his activity was utterly broad and he played a role as a commander in 'Ali's army, yet when many abandoned Imam (a)[156], up to the very last moment he stayed beside him.[157] Hujr could be found amid the most pious disciples of Allah's Apostle (S). Hukaym Niyshaburi called him the monk of Prophet's disciples.[158]

After 'Ali's martyrdom, he was amongt the ones stimulating the nation to swear allegiance to Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a). In the process of compromising, Hujr seemed discontented but Imam elaborated that he had to consent merely due to protecting the lives of individuals like him.[159] Nontheless later Mu'awiya by no means remained faithful to his pledge and martyred both Hujr and his followers.[160]

During the governorship of Mughira over Kufa that lasted until the beginning of 50s, in spite of relative freedom, insults were still hurled at Imam 'Ali (a) in the masque. The leadership of 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims was lain with the characters such as Hujr Ibn 'Adi and 'Amr Ibn Hamiq Khuza'i.[161]

Hujr was among those who frequently objected to Mughira accustomed to insult Imam 'Ali (a). When Mughira was paved the way to send a caravan carrying some properties to Mu'awiya who was in need, Hujr intercepted the caravan and declared that as long as he has not granted the rights of the rightful, on no accounts would he allow these properties to be conveyed.[162] At Mu'awiya's behest, Mughira had commanded them to take part in the congregational prayer at the mosque.[163]

Once Hujr was urged by Mughira to go up the pulpit and curse Imam 'Ali (a) he went up and said, “Mughira propels me to curse 'Ali (a), curse him you all.”[164]

Immediately, the congregation perceived that his intention had been Mughira himself. Mughira, however, had already declared that he never intended to be the first one murdering the celebrity of Kufa and as a result contribute to Mu'awiya's grandeur in this world and his own abjectness in the Hereafter.[165] This statement was the response to those objecting why he did not arrest or harass Hujr.

Following the demise of Mughira and Ziyad's governorship over Kufa, the status quo altered perceptibly.

Ziyad, from the very first night of his governorship, did commence his rigors. His exceptional sermon for threatening Kufa people, has been recorded as a typical Arab sermon in historical sourcesat that

juncture.

Well acquainted with Hujr Ibn 'Adi, he warned him stating, “You and I have been in the same situation that you know yourself (concerning 'Ali's amity) but today anything has converted. Hold your tongue and stay at your home. My throne can be yours too. I will doubtlessly meet all your demands provided that you get along with me although you are rash”.

Seemingly, Hujr who was convinced went away.[166]

Once again the status quo changed. It is said that one time Hujr interrupted Ziyad's remarks protracted and the time of prayer was elasping, yelling out, “Al-Salat” (prayer).[167] It is also narrated that he along with other Shi'ite Muslims had been convening meetings after Ziyad's departure to Basra. Ziyad's substitute, 'Amr Ibn Hurayth, wrote to Ziyad that if he desired to maintain Kufa, he should return without delay.[168]

In this respect, Hujr was not merely solitary, but also he was under any circumstances accompanied by a number of Shi'ite Muslims. Quotedly, when Hujr protested against Mughira in the mosque, more than one- third of the audience validated his remarks.[169]

As written by Abul-Faraj, in the absence of Ziyad, being in Basra, Hujr together with his companions occupied one-third or half of the mosque and began denouncing and vilifying Mu'awiya.[170] Ziyad himself had denounced the nobles of Kufa that **أنتم معي وإخوانكم وأبنائكم وعشائركم مع حجر** “You are on my side whereas your brothers, offspring and tribes are on Hujr's side.”[171] “

After a while, a multitude of those on Hujr's side dispersed since the chiefs of tribes had menaced the members of the tribes. Therefore, there was no more companion remained with Hujr.

When a group was sent to arrest him, he addressed his friends as saying, “Since you are by no means able to defy them, there is no way for any struggle.[172] Eventually, Hujr conceded to surrender provided that for drawing deduction he should be taken to meet Mu'awiya.[173]

Having accepted the condition, Ziyad was making an attempt on the other hand to expose him to murder. By the same token, he compelled four characters having been appointed as the chiefs of the tribes in Kufa to make an affidavit against Hujr. It was stipulated in the affidavit that Hujr had formed some assemblies wherein Mu'awiya had been cursed.

His belief was that no one merited the caliphate save those from Talib's lineage. As stated by them having caused chaos within the town, he had expelled 'Amr Ibn Hurayth, the governor; furthermore, he had not only saluted 'Ali, but expressed his disgust for his foes and those having combated him.

Ziyad who had on no accounts approved the aforesaid affidavit ordered Abu Burda, son of Abu Musa Ash'ari, to prepare a more pungent one. What he wrote as a result was,

إن حجر خلع الطاعة وفارق الجماعة ولعن الخليفة ودعا إلي الحرب والفتنة وجمع إليه الجموع يدعوهم إلى نكث البيعة وخلع اميرالمؤمنين معاويه وكفر بالله كفرة صلعاء

“Hujr has declined to comply with the caliph and seceded from “Jama'a”. He has cursed the caliph and summoned all to a battle and sedition. Having congregated the people around himself, he has urged them to breach their pledges. He dethroned Mu'awiya, Amir al-Mu'minin, from the caliphate and blasphemed against Allah in addition.”[174]

This time Hujr was labeled a blasphemer. Abu Burda who was one of the eminent Sunnites traditionists bore the witness of it.[175] Ziyad persuaded others to sign it too. Among the signitories were Ishaq and Moses, sons of Talha, Mundhir, Zubayr's son, 'Umar, son of Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas and 'Umara, son of 'Uqba Ibn Abi Mu'ayt.[176]

As narrated by historians, while Hujr was being arrested, he yelled out, “I am still faithful to my allegiance”. He was absolutely right because he neverever intended to revolt againt Mu'awiya. What he insisted on was about 'Ali not to be insulted. And it was precisely what had been stipulated in Mu'awiya's commitment and conceded by him.

Fascinatingly, it was specified in the affidavit that Hujr believed that caliphate was well deserved to no one but those from Talib's lineage. It was the manifestation of Hujr's purifiedly Shi'ites belief. “Purified Shi'ite Muslims” denotes those being religious Shi'ite Muslims. The belief of such Shi'ite Muslims is that Imamate does solely belong to prophet's household (Ahl al-Bayt).

In a poem quoted from Hujr we read, **" فإنه كان له وليًّا ثم ارتضاه بعده وصيّاً** Ali was a friend of the Prophet's (S) and he was gratified with his executorship.”[177]

Hujr described 'Ali as Prophet's friend and executor. At that time many were of this belief in Iraq. When Abul-Aswad Du'ali was sneered due to his in-depth enthusiasm for 'Ali, he stated in a poem,

أحب محمداً حبّاً شديداً وعباساً وحمزة والوصيا

“I adore Muhammad (S), 'Abbas, Hamza and the executor ('Ali)”[178]

He did introduce 'Ali as the Holy Prophet's executor manifestubg his successorship. Corresponding to it is Malik's statement regarding 'Ali, **هذا وصي الأوصياء ووارث علم الأنبياء** “The executor of the executors and the inheritor of all prophets' body of knowledge is he.”[179]

This description was also what Imam al-Baqir's Shi'ite Muslims like Jabir Ibn Yazid Ju'fi uttered about 'Ali (a).[180] Further instances have been presented earlier in discussion of Shi'ism at Imam 'Ali's time.

Ultimately, Hujr along with his fourteen companions, known as the heads of Hujr's followers[181], was sent

to Damascus. A few of them were interceded and forgiven by Mu'awiya in Damascus.

Although Hujr also was interceded, Mu'awiya did in no way accept. Reportedly, Mu'awiya was at first ambivalent and on this account he had already written to Ziyad that he believed that Hujr should never be murdered but Ziyad had replied that liberating him would result in corruption of Iraq[182], and he could allow Hujr to return Iraq on the condition that he did not require Kufa.[183]

Mu'awiya eventually made a decision to assassinate Hujr; notwithstanding, since he was terrified to meet him face to face, he commanded to detain them in Marj 'Adhra' a few Farsangs far away from Damascus.[184]

Later he read out the affidavit of dwellers of Kufa to those of Damascus and appealed to them to voice their opinions! It was utterly evident that what they could ever say when the disciples' descendants were of that opinion!

Mu'awiya deployed a number to Marj 'Adhra' to carry out what they were supposed to. They were at first duty-bound to propose them that if they expressed their loathing for 'Ali (a), the verdict would be declared null and void. Under no circumstances did Hujr and his companions agree. And it might have been owing to this fact that Imam 'Ali (a) had asserted that after him if they were impelled to insult him, they should abide by but neverever express loathing for him.[185]

Subsequently, digging their own graves, Hujr and his companions spent dusk to dawn in worshiping. Eight out of them were set free but six of them announced their readiness for martyrdom.

Next morning they were again requested to express their idea about 'Uthman, **أول من جار في الحكم** "The ever-first one who did injustice was 'Uthman", they retorted. They were asked whether they would pronounce disgust for 'Ali. They responded, **لا، بل نتولاه ونتبرأ ممن تبرأ منه** " No, never, we do all love him and hate those who hate him."

Then they prepared themselves for being martyred. Hujr who was prominent among the devout of Iraq said a very-long-two-Rak'at prayer (Rak'at, unit of prayer consisting of three postures) and stated, **والله ماصليت قطّ أقصر منها ولولا أن تروا أن ما بي جزع من الموت أحببت أن استكثر منها** " As yet, I have never performed a prayer shorter than this and I yearned to prolong it if you did not accuse me of being scared of decease."

Six of them were martyred. Karim Ibn 'Afif Khath'ami and 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Hassan al-'Anzi were both taken to meet Mu'awiya. Karim was interceded but when it was 'Abd al-Rahman's turn, Mu'awiya questioned him about 'Ali (a).

"You had better not enquire any question", he responded. When Mu'awiya insisted, he declared,

" أشهد أنه من الذاكرين الله كثيراً ومن الآمرين بالحق والقائمين بالقسط والعافين عن الناس

I do attest that he was among the ones bearing Allah invariably in mind, enjoining good, establishing justice and being magnanimous.” And when he was asked about 'Uthman, he replied, **هو اوّل من فتح باب الظلم وارتجع ابواب الحق** “He was the first one who opened the door of injustice and closed the doors of justice.”

Mu'awiya sent him to Iraq and instructed Ziyad to kill him brutally. Then, he was buried alive at Ziyad's behest.[186]

Repercussions of Hujr’s Martyrdom

Hujr's martyrdom did mar the reputation of Mu'awiya as well as other Umayyads incredibly. As far as his fame for devoutness and worship among the Prophet's disciples was concerned, rarely could anyone be found unacquainted with his piety. Being among the chiefs of the tribe of Kinda had magnified his eminence too.

Therefore, eruption of objections against the Umayya in general and Mu'awiya in particular seemed quite natural. Although the heavy pressure exerted could impede the occurance of probable riots in Iraq, it could on the contrary intensify the nation's devotion to Shi'ism on the one hand and their rancor to Mu'awiya on the other hand. Later, a multitude including Hujr's sons such as 'Abd Allah and 'Abd al-Rahman took part in Mukhtar's uprising.[187]

On hearing the news of Hujr's martyrdom, even a number of Ziyad's agents like the governor of Khurasan, Rabi' Ibn Ziyad Harithi, deplored greatly. It is said that Rabi' prayed for being died soon and by accident, he did fall down and pass away on the same day.[188] 'Ayisha was also among the protesters. She had dispatched 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Harith to Mu'awiya to recommend him not to murdering Hujr but prior to his arrival Hujr had been martyred.[189]

Later, 'Ayisha reproached Mu'awiya for Hujr's murder[190] as saying, “I would object to you for Hujr's murder if it were not the case that anything we dissented occurred in a worser form”.[191]
Hujr's devoutness had prompted 'Ayisha to object to Mu'awiya in this regard though his standing in Jamal War was for Imam 'Ali (a) and against 'Ayisha.

As usuall, Mu'awiya resorted to deception and deniedthat he had murdered him.
“Those who testified against him were his murderer”, he added.[192]

The consequences of such a claim in sight of some like Hasan Basri[193] were their disbelief in the Umayya and then their discredit among people.

It was quoted from Mu'awiya as declaring, “Anyone whom I slayed I knew why I did it except about Hujr.”[194]

Abi Zur'a has narrated, “Whenever I met Mu'awiya, he recalled Hujr.”[195]

While in the agony of death, he had stated, **أي يوم من حجر وأصحاب حجر** “Where are those days with Hujr and his followers.”[196]

In his very last breath, Hujr had requested to be buried with the same shirt owing to the fact that he desired to stand before Mu'awiya with that state on the Day of Judgment. [197]

Historians have said, **أول ذل دخل الكوفة قتل الحجر وقتل الحسين ودعوة زياد** “The first abjectness for Kufa was the martyrdom of both Hujr Ibn 'Adi and Imam Husayn plus Ziyad's claim to be Abu Sufyan's son.”[198]

Gragually the relation between Imam Husayn and his Shi'ite Muslims improved rapidly. Having paniced, in a letter, Mu'awiya warned Imam not to creat separation, sedition and corruption among the nation. As a riposte, Imam protested against martyring 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims, the foremost of whom Hujr Ibn 'Adi, and deplored for he never took up arms against Mu'awiya. We will show the letter later concerning Imam Husayn's stance against Mu'awiya.

One of the other followers of Hujr martyred at the same juncture was 'Amr Ibn Hamiq Khuza'i who was among Prophet and 'Ali's disciples and later deemed as the pivot of the Shi'ite Muslims in Kufa.[199]

When Ziyad had ordered his guards to trace Hujr and his companions, 'Amr Ibn Hamiq along with Rufa'a Ibn Shaddad escaped to Ctesiphon and then to Musil. The governor of the district sent a mission to arrest them who were aliens. Rufa'a fled but 'Amr was taken to Musil governor, 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Uthman Thaqafi. Recognizing 'Amr, he wrote to Mu'awiya what the proper course was to pursue.

Mu'awiya wrote, ”'Amr himself had confessed he had given nine lashes to 'Uthman, thus whip him nine times.” And since 'Amr was sick, with the very first lash he achieved martyrdom. Then he was beheaded and sent to Damascus. It was the first head carried from one town to the other.[200]

Later it was repeated about the head of Imam Husayn and his disciples. That it has been written that he was found dead in a cave and they beheaded him[201] seems to be for acquitting Mu'awiya of the charge of Companions-cide Muhammad Ibn Habib has narrated that his head was showed around in Bazar.[202]

Conquests in Mu‘awiya’s time

With the five-year civil wars in 'Ali's term, conquests in east and west of the Islamic land ceased. Inasmuch as 'Ali's policy was improving the internal status quo and deposing seditious figures, the process of conquests was ceased. Mu'awiya who required great might to combat 'Ali(a), had to compromise the Romans.[203] Accordingly, war was ceased there as well. After victory of the Umayya, conquests leading to economic benefits for the government were resumed.

The areas ruled by the East Roman Empire were frequently under attack that lasted for almost all years of Mu'awiya's dominion. In 49 or 50 A.H., Mu'awiya deployed a massive army consisted of 'Abd Allah Ibn

'Abbas and Abu Ayyub Ansari together with another group of disciples and their descendants to that area. They could advance as near as the enclosures of Constantinople; Nevertheless, they could not conquer it. Abu Ayyub Ansari passed away there.[204]

Another war site was Africa thereon Muslims advanced ceaselessly in the course of conquering Egypt from the time of caliphII on. Sudan in Africa was conquered in this period. Observing the constant apostasy of the dwellers, the governor, 'Uqba Ibn Nafi', established a town called Qirawan in order to guarantee the stability of the region through Muslim residents there.[205] This town did play a crucial role in maintaining Muslims' conquests in that land.

Islamic East was also subject to conquering. For a while Said, 'Uthman's son, was involved in conquering Bukhara and the suburbs. He clashed with the Soghdids in Samarqand but later he compromised with them.

He had taken a number of hostages from the queen of Bukhara to set them free after return from conquering Samarqand. In spite of his pledge he took them to Medina and exploited them. Afterwards Sa'id was assassinated by them.[206] The war had been continuing during the following years.

India and Indus River were exposed to consecutive wars as well. These areas, between Kabul and Multan, were hit in 43 A.H. and onwards which preceded a great deal of loot.[207]

In farther areas like Ghawr, conquering had been also kept on. In 47, when the dwellers of the region violated their compromise, the attacks on them were recommenced.[208]

From this time on, no considerable contest can be found for Muslims and it is in view of the fact that the Romans had prepared themselves to battle more valiantly on the one hand and the remoteness of war sites particularly Islamic East inhibited the Muslims to adopt serious measures for conquering the land, on the other hand. The problems originated from such conquests as well as Arabs' tribal disputes in conquered lands such as Khurasan, gradually impeded more troops to be equipped for pursuing conquests.

The constant apostasy in conquered areas undermined the Muslim Arabs. Civil riots in the Islamic land such as Kharijites movements, Shi'ites oppositions and so forth can be considered as another facter in debilitating the central authority.

The Kharijites in Mu‘awiya’s time

Succeeding Imam's martyrdom, Kufa was composed of classes with various schools of thought, the mojority indifferent, those on Mu'awiya's side, those regarded as Kharijites or Imam 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims. As many people had lost their close kins in “Nahrawan” War, they naturally could not remain faithful to 'Ali's descendants.

However, due to their enmity towards Mu'awiya, they got ready to join the army organizied by Imam Hasan (a) against Mu'awiya. After appearing indifference and inclinations on the part of the Kufiyan nobles towards Mu'awiya specificly in the process of compromising, the Kharijites decided to assassinate Imam, although their attempt failed.

At the same time, Mu'awiya predominated all over the Islamic land especially Iraq. The Kharijites considered both enmity towards 'Ali (a) and practical disgust for Mu'awiya and his agents as their principal responsibilities. On account of their disbelief in Taqiyya (precautionary dissimulation), a few[209] were assembled in a 40 or 70-people small group to clash with an army.

Moreover, owing to their deep-rooted beliefs, even if deviated, they were never seeking after a means of escape. They, in light of their distinctive morale, in no way approved leniency.[210] If the Kharijites hesitated over combating 'Ali (a) formerly but later they even those who were not convinced to combat 'Ali (a) in Nahrawan[211], had no doubts about battling against Mu'awiya.

'Urwa Ibn Sakhr had stated, “Due to my long and close affinity with 'Ali (a) I did abstain from battling against him and now I shall definitely rise up against Mu'awiya.[212]

In the face of such remarkable deviation as the Umayya's sovereignty, tyranny and oppression that the people of distinct classes sustained, the existence of the Kharijites appeared evident. Since many of the oppressed regarded them as a group able to stand against the Umayya beside them, the continuity of their movement throughout this sovereignty was incontestable.

No sooner had Mu'awiya left Iraq than the Kharijites revolted. Nearly five hundred of them who had already gone to Shahrzur with Farwa Ibn Nawfal returned Kufa following the compromise. Mu'awiya himself had the people of Kufa combat them.[213]

Subsequenly, small groups of the Kharijites like Mu'in al-Khariji and Abu Maryam from among the Mawali of Banu al-Harith Ibn Ka'b and Sahm Ibn Ghalib revolted against Kufa governor, Mughira, so were all massacred.[214]

The leniency of Mughira toward the Kharijites culminated in their gathering from various regions in Kufa. Therefore, they could confer with one another.[215] Having fled with four hundred of the Kharijites to Riy, Mustawrid Ibn 'Ullafa after 'Ali's martyrdom returned Kufa and together with Hayyan Ibn Zabyan convened meetings with other the Kharijites.

Hayyan Ibn Zabyan who was a leader for the Kharijites in Riy proposed them, “Let's return our homelands, towards our brothers in order to enjoin them good, forbid them from evil and summon them to battle against the parties. We have no excuse not to rise up while our governor generals are all tyrants, the tradition of guiding is abandoned and all those slaying our brothers are alive. We ought to avenge”.[216]

When gathering in Kufa, the Kharijites negotiated about designating an emir. Three figures were nominated, Mustawrid Ibn 'Ullafa, Mu'adh Ibn Juwayn and Hayyan Ibn Zabyan. The report of negotiation is presented by Abu Mikhnaf. The aforesaid report is consisted of their opinions concerned with the eligibility of an emir.

Mustawrid said, “Elect anyone you like. It does make no difference for me whom from among you be my governor-general.”

“I have no request for it. I shall be gratified with and swear allegiance to any one designated”, said Hayyan. Mu'adh Ibn Juwayn also declared, “When you two, Muslims' Sayyid (chiefs) with renowned lineages, and as the high-qualified and pious ones say so, who shall then undertake Muslims' responsibility? If all are equal in virtues, the most well-informed in wars, the most intelligent in religion and the most liable of whom ought to be designated for Muslims' guardianship. Since both of you merit this position, thus one of you two should consent.”

In return they, two, suggested it to him.
“You are my senior”, he added.
The audience of the Kharijites announced, “We approve you all three. Elect one from among yourselve.”

Hayyan Ibn Zabyan told Mustawrid, “I do agree with Mu'adh. You are my senior too. Give your hand to swear allegiance to you”.

In this way Mustawrid was designated. The Kharijites swore allegiance to him all.[217] Mughira who had perceived the probability of revolt arrested Hayyan Ibn Zabyan. Mustawrid and his followers rose in revolt, although Mughira had warned the chiefs of all tribes earlier to banish them from themselves and not allow them to influence on their tribes.

Tabari's report and that of Mubarrid's varies concerning the Kharijites first clashes with Mu'awiya. Yet, all are unanimous that the Kharijites with a few numbers battled against Damascus army but were immediately defeated.[218]

Mubarrid and Baladhuri have recounted many adventures about the Kharijites in Mu'awiya's tenure that manifest the scope of their infiltration into diverse tribes.[219] At any war whether mini or massive, the Kharijites had commanders.

After the Kharijites' suppression, 'Ali (a) recommended his followers, **لا تقاتلوا الخوارج من بعدي** “ “Under no circumstances should you enter into confilict with the Kharijites after me.”[220]

This instruction was given by Imam to Shi'ite Muslims to bear their main enmity towards the Umayya in mind and not to waste their strength on combating the Kharijites who were among the Umayya foes. Regretfully, this instruction was not heeded on the part of the Shi'ite Muslims.

Addressing his tribe and reiterating that they were faithful to Shi'ism and the leadership of the Prophet's

household, Sa'sa'a Ibn Suhan, an eloquent chief of the Shi'ite Muslims said,

> لا قوم أعدى لله ولأهل بيت نبيّكم ولجماعة المسلمين من هذه المارقة الخاطئة الذين فارقوا امامنا واستحلوا دمائنا وشهدوا علينا بالكفر

“Not a single group like this group shows enmity towards Allah, the Holy Prophet's household and Muslims; the wrongdoing Mariqin (the deviators) who seceded from our Imam, declared shedding our blood lawful and considered us infidel.”221

This statement of Ibn Suhan foreboded that the Shi'ite Muslims' hatred of the Kharijites made them not only remain indifferent in the face of their revolt but conversely become set on suppressing them. And it was exactly beacause almost all Shi'ite Muslims knew them as the fundamental cause for the failure of the Shi'ites movement. 'Adi Ibn Hatim, another Shi'ites leader, had made the same remarks on aversion to the Kharijites.222

The command of war against the Kharijites was undertaken by Ma'qal Ibn Qays who was a commander in Imam 'Ali's army.

As soon as being informed of the Shi'ite Muslims' inclination for a battle with the Kharijites, Mughira as well as his advisors became pleased and it was emanated from this fact that, **وهم أشد استحلالاً لدماء هذه المارقة وأجرأ عليهم وغيرهم وقد قاتلوا قبل هذا بمرة** “since they had battled with them once before, they could have shed their blood more daringly and severely.”223

Whatever its outcome might be even the Shi'ite Muslims' failure could be for the Umayya benefit because both rivals, the Umayya adversaries, had enfeebled each other.

Not merely had Imam 'Ali (a) realized and warned about such perils224, but Imam Hasan (a) also had considered it wrong via his conduct practically. Subsequent to the compromise, when Imam (a) set out to Medina, a riot had been triggered by the Kharijites. Mu'awiya urged Imam to prepare for a battle against the Kharijites.

In his reaction he stated, **لو آثرت أن أقاتل أحداً من أهل القبلة بدأت بقتالك** “ “If I were supposed to combat anyone, I would start from you first.”

By the same token, in the course of Mustawrid Ibn 'Ullafa's revolt, along with three thousand from **نقاوة الشيعة** “ The most purified Shi'ite Muslims.”

Ma'qal Ibn Qays moved to him. While the Kharijites were in the vicinity of Basra, the Umayya governor of Basra, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir, did emulate Mughira and dispatched three thousand Shi'ite Muslims led by Sharik Ibn A'war who was a renowned Shi'ites of Basra towards them.225

Upon hearing the news of the strike by Kufa army, Mustawrid took “counsel” from people. Some

suggested battling and some other “retreating”.

The decision, however, was to keep away from the army and refrain from confronting provided that they were faced unexpectedly which would result in a conflict.226 The details of this conflict are delineated by Tabari that Mustawrid was killed on the one hand and Ma'qal Ibn Qays on the other hand. At this juncture, the Kharijites, who under no circumslances were eradicated, dispersed.

It is worth reminding that the Kharijites of this period of time had an extremely harsh treatment towards other Muslims. The only caliphates confirmed in their sight were those of Abu Bakr and 'Umar so that they had laid them both beside “Kitab” (Qur'an) and “Sunna” (Tradition). In his narration, one of the Kharijites has referred to a letter from Mustawrid to the governor of Ctesiphon whereas naming him Amir al-Mu'minin”.227 It denoted that he must have been regarded as a caliph by the Kharijites.

It has been cited that the first one who propounded in earnest the subject of blasphemy on the part of the members of the tribe was Sahm Ibn Ghalib Hujaymi who revolted against 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir in Basra in 44 A.H.228 This very issue could play a cardinal role in making the Kharijites secede from the Islamic community. Basra was among the areas accommodating a multitude of the Kharijites in those days.

Rising up in this region, accompanied by some seventy people, Qarib Azdi and Zahhaf Tayi were murdered in 50 A.H. following a clash. As recorded by Ibn Athir, Ziyad who was too rigorous and unyielding towards the Kharijites had prescribed his substitute in Basra, Samura Ibn Jundab, to treat them relentlessly. They clashed with a mass number of the Kharijites and flourished to decimate them.229 Their considerable number in Basra did account for such severe actions.

Once more rioting in 58 A.H. a group of the Kharijites were instantly suppressed near to Kufa. Ibn Ziyad's dealing towards the Kharijites was also such a tough one that he at times incited them to slay one another. Concurrently a throng of them who were imprisoned by him became slaughtered after a while.230

At this stage like the succeeding ones the firm defiance of the Kharijites against Umayya troops is utterly perceptible as once at the end of Mu'awiya's caliphate, a forty-member group caused Ibn Ziyad's two-thousand-soldier army to flee and make the commander of which be humiliated for a lengthy time.231

Mu‘awiya’s Endeavor for Hereditary Caliphate

Earlier it was quoted from Muhammad Rashid Ri a that Abu Bakr's action in delegating a successor paved the ground of making caliphate hereditary.232 As Marwan Ibn Hakam too reasoned Abu Bakr's measure in designating 'Umar while recommending succession to the throne.233

A hereditary authority bore two features one of which was designation of a successor by the former monarch and another was designation of a son or a member from monarch's lineage as a successor.

The latter was submitted from Mu'awiya's time on. Under the pretext of his kinship with 'Uthman, he not only addressed his heritance in order to justify his caliphate but also he proposed the subject of making caliphate hereditary by appointing his son, endowed with no religious, political or military trait.

Although this matter has always been unusual among Muslims, hereditary caliphate later became the most fundamental principle in a caliph's designation. Merely when the Umayya's administration was converting into that of the 'Abbasids and the 'Abbasids' administration into that of 'Uthmanids the theory of hereditary caliphate was declared null and void through transfer of caliphate from a lineage to another, yet replaced by violence and force.

Except the cases aforesaid the hereditary succession was treated as a radical principle for appointing a new caliph. Deviation from the traditional system, at least nominally claimed to be established on “consultation” and nation's vote, was intolerably disagreeable for believing Muslims. However, the status quo was in a way that all endorsed it and but a minority no one defied. The internal coherence of the Umayya reinforced by 'Uthman's charity in addition to conveyance of farmlands impelled the Umayya to adopt a measure for safeguarding their power.

If it were let to take its normal course, 'Uthman would beyond question designate Mu'awiya as his successor. And because it was delayed by his assassination, Mu'awiya did afterwards withstand obstinately. It stood to reason that when securing the power, he on no accounts would allow the monarchy to make an exit from his family.

Except the Shi'ite Muslims and the Kharijites, throughout the Islamic world, in the face of the official caliphate not only no Sunnites laid claim to the caliphate but also he did never credit that through power and wealth one could become a caliph. Such regions as Spain, North Africa and Egypt experienced further caliphs later.

In Mu'awiya's tenure, not simply did Damascus people never stood against approving of Yazid's succession but they also insisted on it because their entity before claimants emerging from Arabia Petrae or Iraq depended upon aiding the Umayya to remain in power. Persuading the people of Medina however who were, from among disciples' descendants, seemed thorny.

On one hand, Iraq was naturally opposed to Damascus and besides Kufa Shi'ite Muslims, Iraqi the Kharijites were thoroughly opposed to the Umayya on the other hand. Realizing the public opinions about governorship at that time shall appear convenient through a review of the reasoning on the part of Mu'awiya and his opponents in regard with a hereditary caliphate.

It was already discussed that Mu'awiya's rule had lost its nature of caliphate and transformed into monarchism of which nature necessitated the subsequent caliphate or designation to be hereditary. 'Umar himself had by that time likened Mu'awiya's rule in Damascus to those of Kasra and Caesar. When Mu'awiya secured the authority freelance, people named him “Heraclitus”.[234]

The matter of making caliphate hereditary as well as Mu'awiya's endeavor regarding it are set forth in detail in “Al-Futuh” and “Al-Imama wa as-Siyasa”. Others also have referred to it concisely. The ground for the notion of Yazid's succession to throne could be paved following Imam Hasan Mujtaba's martyrdom.235

Despite the fact that there existed no unanimity on who had for the first time suggested this notion, many a look was at Mughira Ibn Shu'ba. In late 40s A.H. Peeling that he might be deposed by Mu'awiya due to his oldness and inability in running Kufa, he set out to Damascus to stimulate Yazid to talk about his did so to his father and he succeeded after all. Mughira also on his part told Mu'awiya that he feared that the recent events, sedition and divergence, in the course of 'Uthman's caliphate might reoccur once again.

“You had better designate a successor and it would be far better if he were Yazid, your son”236, he added.

Admitting his proposal, Mu'awiya delegated Mughira to gradually prepare the ground in Kufa. He dispatched a number to Damascus for this reason.237

Beyond any doubt such a notion had been in Mu'awiya's mind for a long time, but Mughira's was a sparkle for making it public. After Ziyad Ibn Abih became the governor of Kufa, Mu'awiya propounded the issue of successorship. Totally negligent of Mu'awiya's intention, he did his utmost by a trick to change Mu'awiya's and even Yazid's mind in this respect.238

From 55 on the effort Mu'awiya made to stabilize Yazid's position multiplied. On a trip to Mecca and Medina, religious centers Mu'awiya exerted himself to engross the people through substantial open-handedness. It does surprisingly merit consideration that people seemed gratified, however.

The poets such as 'Uqayba al-Asadi and 'Abd Allah Ibn Hammam as-Saluli who hated Yazid composed some verses of poems for reproaching him although Mu'awiya could muzzle them with paying hush-up money.239

When he returned to Damascus to keep on his activities, he summoned groups of people from Kufa and Basra. Mu'awiya compelled Dhahhak Ibn Qays to address the congregation and advance the issue of successorship. Consequently, indicting Iraqi people for being hypocritical and schismatic, he denounced them.240 In the same meeting, Ahnaf Ibn Qays announced, “As long as Hasan Ibn 'Ali is alive, the people of Iraq and Hijaz will neverever swear allegiance.”

Accusing the Iraqi of hypocrisy, Qays Ibn Dhahhak said, “Hasan and ones like him have nothing to do with divine king whom He has appointed; caliphate is not inherited collaterally from a daughter.”

Ahnaf Ibn Qays, in his response, reminded Mu'awiya's commitments promised to Hasan Ibn 'Ali and referred warningly to Iraqis' loathing for Mu'awiya which might cause the swords to rise up from Iraq. After that, Mu'awiya kept silence about allegiance to Yazid until 50 (Imam Hasan was martyred in 49

A.H).[241]

Mu'awiya appointed Dhahhak Ibn Qays and 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Uthman, advocating Yazid strongly in that very meeting, as the governors of Kufa and Hijaz respectively to pave the way.[242]

Mu'awiya was of this opinion that from the standpoint of religion the main problem lies in Medina. Were it feasible to persuade Iraq by force, reasoning would definitely be required for Medina to get satisfied.

Already written to Mu'awiya by Sa'id Ibn 'As was, "...People follow these few individuals therefore as long as the latter have not sworn allegiance, the former would by no means do so."[243]

Ibn Qutayba had also written that but few, all did hesitate to swear allegiance. Typically they were the Hashimites neither of whom did so.[244] Before he came, Mu'awiya had sent various letters mingled with either menace or allure to all those opposing allegiance.[245]

In a session convened on this occasion following Mu'awiya's arrival in Medina, opposers voiced their diverse opinions.

'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far addressed Mu'awiya as saying, "If you have recourse to Qur'an, Ulu al-Arham (relatives) enjoy priority over one another; if you practice the Prophet's Sunna (tradition), they are the kins of Allah's Apostle (S) ; and if you practice the Sunna of Abu Bakr and 'Umar, who would ever be more deserved than the Prophet's household?

By Almighty Allah, if Wilayat (Islamic jurisprudential guardianship) were lain with them after the Prophet, 'Amr (authority) would have been properly conveyed to the rightful. Caliphate does belong to Quraysh. O Mu'awiya, fear from Allah! Here are 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas, Hasan and Husayn, 'Ali's sons, and it is me, Zubayr's son.[246] You are well aware of our positions!" Warned 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr.

'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar stated that caliphate was not those of Heraclitus or Kasra to be inherited from fathers.

"If it had been the case, I should have as a result secured the authority after my father. This caliphate not only belongs to Quraysh but also to those whom Muslims comply with and are more pious furthermore," he added.

Irrespective of securing allegiance for Yazid, in his response, Mu'awiya uttered, "This belongs to 'Abd Manaf's descendants since they are from among the Prophet's kins. People themselves aided Abu Bakr and 'Umar to secure the power. Although they were brought up by no monarch or caliph, they had extremely admirable lifestyles and conduct.

Monarchism was transferred to 'Abd Manaf after them and it will remain perpetually among them until the Day of Judgment. And you! O sons of Zubayr and 'Umar! Allah has deprived you from this authority." Afterwards he returned to Damascus.[247]

According to some sources, at the very same meeting, somewhere else in his intimidating speech, Mu'awiya had warned that if they did not swear allegiance, لأفعلن كذا وكذا " He would do so and so."[248]

Mu'awiya told Imam Husayn (a), "I procrastinated this city's allegiance owing to the fact that they are from among the kins of mine. If I could feel that there existed anyone else better than my son among Muhammad's Umma (nation), I would neverever let him be picked out."

Imam (a) who had been agitated for his remarks, accused Yazid of being debauchee and drinking wine.

Menacingly, Mu'awiya warned him as saying, "Be cautious lest someone from Damascus (accompanying Mu'awiya)[249] hear your voice."[250] Later he threatened others concerning the people of Damascus.[251] 'Ayisha was among the oppossers.

Regarding the lawfulness of Yazid's successorship Mu'awiya told her, "It is a Divine destiny about Yazid. No one has the option. The nation has considered swearing allegiance to him as its duty and has sworn to him. Do you think they must breach their allegiance?"[252]

Another reasoning on the part of Mu'awiya vis-a-vis the opponents was the Imamate permit for an inferior over a superior. Addressing Imam Husayn (a) and a number of disciples and contrasting them with Yazid and qualifying him to be well acquainted with Kitab and Sunna, he stated that in the war of Dhat as-Salasil, Allah's Apostle (S) had singled out 'Amr Ibn 'As as superior over Abu Bakr and 'Umar and appointed him as the commander.

Accordingly, if the Prophet (a) were a good model, such an action i.e the superiority permit of an inferior over a superior would certainly appear reasonable then. By the same token, they should concur with Yazid's caliphate.[253]

In return, Imam Husayn in his lengthy sermon alluded to the extorted right of his lineage after prophet's demise as well as Yazid's black records and added, "O Mu'awiya! How can you reason out by what is already abrogated."[254]

Dissenting 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar, Mu'awiya replied, "You have declared yourself that you can never go to bed while swearing allegiance is on your responsibility. This issue is divine destiny about Yazid and there is an option for noone. People have sworn allegiance to him."

'Abd Allah touching upon the predecessor's manners pointed out, "The caliphs preceding you had surely have offsprings. Although theirs must have been for better than your son, they at no time did what you do about yours."

'Abd al-Rahman, Abu Bakr's son, recommended this job be assigned to a council.[255] What else Mu'awiya in his public speeche to dwellers of Medina vocalized was that Allah's Messenger (S) did designate no successor to himself; howevere, Abu Bakr did and neither did 'Umar behave like him. He assigned it to a six-member council. Inasmuch as neither Abu Bakr did like the Prophet nor 'Umar like

Abu Bakr, I am, therefore, able to do what they had never done both, I do designate my successor.256

Another question Ibn Zubayr posed was whether it was credible to swear allegiance to him where as his father, Mu'awiya, was alive. He voiced to Mu'awiya that he would be ready to swear allegiance to his son provided that he abdicates himself. If he swore allegiance to his son while he himself is alive, whom should he abide by?257

This problem was solved after a while though it was the starting-point of the process at that time. It is quoted from Ibn Zubayr that on the strength of the hadith, **لا طاعة لمخلوق في معصية الخالق** " No one is entitled to be obeyed while the creator was disobeyed" he contradicted the allegiance to Yazid.258

In order Mu'awiya to allure a group of eminent opponents, he sent gifts, nevertheless, Husayn Ibn 'Ali declined.259

Being unable to flourish in Medina, he left it for Mecca. He guessed new schemes now. Mu'awiya made those coming from various spots for pilgrimage come together and he proclaimed later that a few swore allegiance to him for Yazid privately.

A number of people from Damascus with their swords sheathed out yelled out that have to do so openly, but Mu'awiya made them silent. Climbing down the pulpit, he distributed a many present among them and set out for Damascus. Although those individuals were present at the assembly, they dare not deny.

However, later they revealed that it has been naught but a trick and they had never sworn.260 Since Mu'awiya had not sent any present to the Hashimites, the 'Abbassids intimidated him. That he would go around Damascus and stimulate people against him. Mu'awiya had to concede and send 261 but Imam Husayn (a) declined them all once again.262

A few years later, not merely he himself re-secured allegiance for Yazid but he also wrote to the governor of Medina to do so from people. "People are all conforming to these few ones such as Husayn (a), 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Bakr, 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr as well as 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar and not a single one of them can be convinced to swear allegiance to me," wrote Sa'id Ibn 'As, the governor, to Mu'awiya.263 The dwellers of Damascus propounded the issue of inheritance and admitted it as a principle in caliphate. A poet had composed as follows,

فان تأتوا برملة أو بـــهند نبايعـها أميـرة مؤمنيـنا

أذا ما مات كسـرى قام كسرى نعـد ثـلاثـة متنـاسقينا

"Were Ramla or Hind introduced as the caliph, we would swear allegiance to her as Amira al-Mu'minin (the Commanderess of the Believers) and if a Kasra passed away and another Kasra replaced him, they

would be all three equal at our sight.”[264]

And also 'Abd Allah Ibn Hammam as-Saluli had composed for Yazid as,

تعزّوا يا بني حَرْب بِصَبْر فمن هذا الذي يرجو الخلُودا

تلقَّاها يزيدٌ عن أبيـه فخذها يا معـاوِي عن يزيدا

أديروها بني حرب عَلَيْكم ولاترموا بها الغرض البعيدا

“Soothe yourself with patience. Who does ever expect an eternal life in this world? Yazid inherited the caliphate from his father and you O Mu'awiya Ibn Yazid assume it from your own father, Yazid. O Harb's sons, do maintain the caliphate amongst yourselves and never relinguish it.”[265]

What has been observed within the poems belonging to Umayya poets was that they have treated Umayya caliphs as the successors of Allah's Messenger (S).

إن الوليد وليُّ عهد محمّد كلَّ المكارم بالمكارم يَشْتَري

“Walid being in the position of Muhammad's successor responds with good), had composed Farazdaq regarding Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik.”[266]

It has been ignored that this approach was perfectly unknown for the disciple's descendants and what 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar had asserted, “This caliphate is dissimilar to those of Heraclitus and Khusraw that anyone who departs a son of his replaces him”.

'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Abu Bakr also stated, “We desire to hear not a word about Roman's tradition according which any Heraclitus passed away, another Heraclitus substituted him.[267] Here, it has been endowed with the narrations from those following the Divine Books as well in order to forebode the indubitability of Mu'awiya's and Yazid's caliphate though it does not stand to reason whether such narrations have solely been manipulated at that time or the Umayya's adherents had fabricated them later. A typical narration of Ka'b al-Akhbar in light of Mu'awiya's caliphate has been subsequent to 'Uthman's assassination.[268]

'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'As famed for dealing with the books written by followers of the divine Books had conducted a survey of books in Christians' churches in Damascus before he informed Ibn Zubayr, “In conformity with my research on books, you will claim caliphate, yet you are not a caliph but Yazid Ibn Mu'awiya is. Also quoted from him is, **ملك الارض المقدسة معاوية وابنه** “ Mu'awiya and his son are the kings

of the holy earth”269

In course of such a process, counterfeited hadiths can be traced, as an instance, “The Holy Prophet had prophesied Mu'awiya's future caliphate.”270

All endeavors made on the part of Mu'awiya to stabilize Yazid's position fulfilled whilst large numbers of those at odds in Iraq and Hijaz still remained like fire under ashes.

It was mentioned that the dwellers of Damascus persisted on Yazid's successorship and it was in view of the fact that first, Umayya Islam was predominant and the Umayya was deemed as the manifestation of Islam and secondly their benefits in comparison with those of Iraq necessitated to advocate the Umayya. Ultimately, they pressured Mu'awiya, in his last days of life, into introducing his son. Making him wear the caliphate robe, Mu'awiya officially appointed him as his successor.271

In an account written to Yazid, appointing him as the next caliph after him, Mu'awiya wrote, “Bear in mind, the Umayya along with the family of 'Abd Shams must be granted priority over the Hashimites and so must the family of 'Uthman over the family of Abi Turab as well as the descendants”272 and in such a way the future policy for the Umayyads was specified by him.

While Mu'awiya was expressing his regret and sorrow for shedding the blood of Hujr Ibn 'Adi and 'Amr Ibn Hamiq under his breath, he resigned his shameful life after nineteen years and three months of rule in Rajab, 60 AH.

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1. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XX, pp 298-299; Nahj al-Balaghah, letter 454 of ‘Ali to Mu‘awiya; concerning Mu‘awiya’s ignoring insult of one Jew towards one Muslim; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 160
2. al-Aghani, vol. VI, p. 355; some time Abu Sufyan, at the Hamza’s grave, said, “God bless thee ”; You fought us over something that came under control; al-Amta‘ wal-Mu’anisa, vol. II, p. 75
3. Rasa’il al-Jahiz, al-Rasa’il As-Siyasiya, p. 344
4. Tathbit Dala’il al-Nubuwwa, p. 593 Hasan Basri has said,

لقد تصنّع معاويه للخلافة في ولاية عمر بن خطاب

Mu‘awiya had been preparing Himself for caliphate since ‘Umar’s tenure Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. 24

5. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, pp 17,18,20; Rasa’il al-Jahiz, al-Rasa’il As-Siyasiya, p. 344
6. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IX, p. 161
7. al-’Iqd al-Farid, vol. I, p. 15, vol. V, p. 114; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. 18; once Mu‘awiya was complained at the presence of ‘Umar ‘Umar said, “Leave us away from reproaching Quraysh’s young man and his son of the prophet’s descendant Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. 18 This is most likely to be attributed to ‘Umar
8. al-Ghadir, vol. IX, p. 35 From Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp 88,90 Jahiz said, “One of the most significant reasons of the Sufyanids for substantiating Mu‘awiya’s caliphate was his own statement He stated, “This is a position thereto ‘Umar has designated me Never did he depose me since he designated me whereas he designated no emir unless he deposed him or at least he was incensed by his actions and summoned him Neither did he depose me nor was incensed He did consign Damascus thoroughly to me and succeeding him ‘Uthman did reinforce me; Rasa’il al-Jahiz, al-Rasa’il As-Siyasiya, p. 385
9. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 550

10. al-Fakhri, p. 77, Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, Vol XXV, p. 30
11. Waq'at Siffin p. 32; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. 30
12. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. IV, p. 229; al-Ghadir, vol. VI, p. 304; vol. IX, p. 373
13. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 33; al-Niza' wal-Takhasum, p. 28
14. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XI, p. 87; It has been narrated that there were some in Damascus saying; "If Mu'awiya is not a prophet, he is at least half of a prophet"; See also Bahjat al-Majalis, vol. I, p. 550 And once one of his devotees met him, he, as a salutation, addressed him, "O Allah's Messenger!" See also al-Awa'íl, Tustari, p. 163; Regarding the person who cursed 'Ali in front of Mu'awiya, Ahnaf Ibn Qays asserted, "By Allah if he knew your gratification was in cursing all the prophets, he would certainly do so "; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV, p. 113
15. As an instance, it has been quoted from the Holy prophet as stating,

" والأمناء عندالله ثلاثة, جبرئيل وأنا ومعاويه

In sight of Allah the trustees are three, Jibri'il (Gabriel), Mu'awiya and me" Such narations have been discussed in detail by Ibn 'Asakir; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, pp 5-16

16. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV, p. 81
17. Risalat al-Jahi¨ fi Banu Umayya, p. 124 in al-Niza' wal-Takhasum
18. Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol II, pp 393-397; Waq'at Siffin, p. 118, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. III, p. 188; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 10; SamT Nujum al-'Awali, vol. II, p. 465
19. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 157 Mu'awiya definitely intended to prepare the ground for his succession through his coming to Damascus
20. Being requested for an aid by 'Uthman, Mu'awiya along with two others came to Medina and went to 'Uthman overnight "Have you brought any helper?", 'Uthman questioned
21. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. IV, p. 62; Balaghat al-Nisa', p. 139; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. VI, p. 90
22. al-Gharat, p. 70
23. Diwan Farazdaq, Vol I, p. 25
24. Ibid, vol. II, p. 210
25. Diwan farazdaq, vol. II, p. 210
26. Ibid, vol. I, p. 114
27. Diwan Farazdaq vol. I, p. 336; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, pp 13-15, other verser are mentioned besides the aforesaid poems
28. Rasa'il al-Jahiz, al-Rasa'il As-Siyasiyya, pp 345-346
29. Waq'at Siffin, p. 28
30. A'yan Ash-Shi'a, vol. III, Section 2, p. 12
31. Waq'at Siffin, p. 58
32. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 121
33. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 161 ; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. 27
34. Waq'at Siffin, p. 82
35. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, Vol I, p. 100
36. Waq'at Siffin, pp 78,80
37. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. III, p. 342; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. 25, p. 42
38. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 39
39. Waq'at Siffin, p. 63
40. Waq'at Siffin, p. 64
41. Nahj al-Balaghah, letter 28.
42. al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 237
43. Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol II, p. 216
44. al-Fitna wa waq'at al-Jamal, p. 109; from: Min dawlat 'Umar ila dawlat 'Abd al-Malik, p. 109

45. al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, Vol I, p. 300; Ash-Shura fil-'Asr al-Umawi, p. 34; Later on, when two Umayya ('Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz with Sulayman Ibn Hisham) performed their prayers led by one of Kharijites, an outsider composed,

الم تر انّ الله أظهر دينه وصلّت قريش خلف بكر بن وائل

Not you know Allah's religion won while Quraysh performed its prayer behind the tribe of Bakr Ibn Wa'il al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. I, p. 343, vol. II, p. 265; Shi'r al-kharijites, p. 208, from Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. VIII, p. 365, vol. III, p. 137; Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol II, p. 1913

46. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. III, p. 318, vol. VI, p95; al-Basa'ir wal-dhaka'ir, p. 35
47. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. VI, p. 148
48. al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. 67
49. al-Aghani, vol. XVI, pp 35-36; Ash-Shi'r wal-Shu'ara', p. 302; see: al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. I, p. 63
50. al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. 115
51. Tabaqat al-Mu'tazila, p. 6; Fa□l al-I'tizal wa Tabaqat al-Mu'tazila, p. 143, al-Awa'il, Abu Hilal Askari, vol. II, p. 125
52. Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. III, p. 529
53. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IX, p. 85 (هذه الخلافة أمر من أمرالله وقضاء من قضاء الله)
54. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 205, Aswad Ibn Yazid narrated, he enquired 'Ayisha "Is not it surprising that a man from Tulaqa (the released) is disputing with Muhammad's companions on caliphate?" "No need to surprise" 'Ayisha replied, It is سلطان الله " a Divine power" that Allah grants to both debauchees and the righteous; as Pharaoh ruled Egypt for four hundred years; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XV, p. 42
55. al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 180, al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. 49; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol.,V, p. 220; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 449; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Vol XVI, p. 202; Jamharat Khutab al-'Arab, vol. II, p. 273; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. 25
56. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 225; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 226; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 299, No 798
57. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 214
58. al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. 65 From Ash-Shi'r wal-Shu'ara', vol. I, p. 544; al-Aghani, vol. 20, p. 212; Khazanat al-Adab, vol. III, p. 59; Shi'r Miskin, p. 33
59. Ibid, vol. V, p. 344
60. Ibid, vol. V, p. 344
61. Musnad Ahmad, vol. IV, p. 273; vol. V, p. 44,50,404; al-Jami' As-Sahih (Sunan al-Tirmidhi) أنا اول الملوك وآخر خليفه " I am the first monarch and the last caliph;" Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. 55; Kitab al-Fitan, No 48
62. Sunan al-Darimi, vol. I, p. 6
63. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 237-238; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 463, 464
64. Ibid, vol. IV, p. 346
65. Musnad Ahmad, vol. IV, p. 185
66. al-Kamil fil-Lughat wal-Adab, vol. II, p. 191
67. Musnad Ahmad, vol. V, p. 220,221; Tirmidhi has narrated the aforegoing quotation from Sa'id Ibn Jamhan quoted from "Sufayna"; He quoted from Sa'id telling Sufayna, "The Umayya is of this opinion that caliphate belongs to them " "They are lying, they are the kings and from the worst kinds" he answered Al-Jami' As-Sahih, vol. IV, p. 503; al-Niza' wal-Takhasum, p. 70; Tirmidhi has added that the Umayya had claimed that caliphate was lain among them by the Holy Prophet (S)
68. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 429 It merits consideration that those fabricating Hadiths have been trying to be accurate in calculation
69. al-Jami' As-Sahih, Kitab al-Fitan, No 49
70. Musnad Ahmad, vol. IV, p. 273; Kitab Muslim, Kitab al-Zuhd, No 4
71. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 78
72. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. V, p. 39
73. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. 16,46; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, pp 43,45
74. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 47

75. Bahjat al-Majalis, vol. I, p. 99; al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. 105
76. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 201
77. Hayat As-Sahaba, vol. II, p. 441
78. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XVI, p. 48-49
79. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. VIII, p. 210; Tarikh Ya'qubi, vol. II, 217; al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. I, p. 291
80. Muntakhabat al-Tawarikh li-Dimashq, p. 81 quoted from Min dawlat 'Umar ila dawlat 'abd al-Malik, p. 146
81. Rasa'il al-Jahiz, Rasa'il al-Kalamiyya, p. 241
82. Tarikh Khulafa', pp 196,203
83. Tarikh Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 232
84. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VI, p. 20
85. Akhbar Isbahan, vol. II, p. 255
86. al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. VI, p. 6; Tarikh Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 232
87. Tarikh Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 233
88. al-Isaba, vol. III, p. 434
89. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 230-240
90. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VIII, p. 132
91. Khilafat wa Mulukiyyat, pp 118-207
92. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. IV, p. 63
93. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 184
94. Fajr al-Islam, p. 213
95. al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. 303
96. al-Musannaf, 'Abd al-Razzaq, vol. X, p. 267
97. al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. 61
98. Tarikh Khulafa', p. 247
99. Majma' al-Amthal, vol. I, p. 651
100. al-Gharat, vol. I, p. 251
101. al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. VI, pp 27-28
102. Tarikh Khulafa', p. 243
103. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. IV, p. 57; al-Nasa'ih al-Kafiya, p. 72
104. al-I□ah, pp 210-211; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. IV, p. 63 It is probable that this Hadith is attributed to Abu Hurayra and he Himself has not narrated it
105. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid,vol. I, p. 361 (the four-volume edition).
106. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid,vol. I, p. 63
107. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XI, p. 44
108. Ibid, vol. XI, p. 49
109. Ibid, vol. IV, pp 56-57
110. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. II, p. 298; Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, pp 66,101-102; Ma'rifat Sahaba, vol. II, p. 236
111. Turathuna, No 10, pp 143-144
112. Shadharat al-Dhahab, vol. I, p. 148
113. Concerning Mu'awiya Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far; Ansab al-Ashraf, section 4
114. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XI, p. 44; Bihar, vol. IV, p. 125
115. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol.I, p.184.
116. al-Majruhin, vol. I, p. 268
117. Tadhkirat al-Khawas, Ibn Sa'd, p. 212
118. Usd al-Ghaba, vol. II, p. 20
119. Usd al-Ghaba, vol.II, p.20.
120. Bahjat al-Majlis, vol.I, p.99; al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol.II, p.105.
121. Ibid, vol. I, p. 550

122. al–’Iqd al–Farid, vol. V, p. 115
123. Tarjamat al–Imam al–Hasan, p. 184
124. Tarjamat al–Imam al–Hasan, vol. V, p. 11
125. Muruj al–Dhahab, vol. III, p. 22 “Busr also was determined to slay anyone who might have had a hand ‘Uthman’s assassination” Tarikh at–Tabari has written Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. IV, p. 134
126. al–Aghani, vol. XVI, pp 266, 267
127. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. IV, p. 132
128. Muruj al–Dhahab, vol. II, p. 379
129. Tarikh al–Dhahab, vol. II, p. 379
130. Tarikh al–Dhahab, vol. IV, p. 144
131. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. IV, p. 188; Tarikh Ibn Khaldun, vol. III, pp 10,11
132. Rabi‘ al–Abrar, vol. III p. 559
133. al–Kamil fil–Tarikh, vol. III, p. 462
134. Tarikh Ibn Khaldun, vol. III, p. 8; al–Kamil fil–Tarikh, vol. III, p. 450
135. al–Futuh, vol. IV, p. 174; Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. IV, p. 167; Ibn Khaldun, vol. III, p. 18; al–Kamil fil–Tarikh, vol. III, p. 450
136. al–Muhabbar, p. 479, Muhammad Ibn Habib has written, “Ziyad Ibn Abih executed Muslimm Ibn Zaymur and ‘Abd Allah Ibn Nuja, both Shi‘ite Muslims, at the doors of their houses at Mu‘awiya’s behest
137. al–Futuh, vol. IV, p. 203; see also Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. XI, p. 44
138. al–Muhabbar, p. 479
139. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IX, p. 88
140. Ibid, p. 88
141. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IX, p. 86
142. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. IV, p. 176, Ibn Khaldun, vol. III, p. 10; see also Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. IV, p. 217; al–Kamil fil–Tarikh, vol. III, p. 462
143. al–Aghani, vol. XII, p. 312
144. Ibid, pp 317,336
145. al–Aghani, vol. XVI, pp 29,30
146. Bahj As–Sabagha, vol. III, pp 179,180; Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. IV, p. 57; this sentence has authentically come in Husayn Ibn ‘Ali’s letter which will be discussed later
147. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 150; Bahj As–Sabagha, vol. III, p. 180
148. Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. XI, p. 45; al–Ghadir, vol. XI, p. 29
149. Ibid, vol. XI, pp 44,46
150. al–Imamah wal–Siyasah, vol. I, pp 156,158; Bihar, vol. XXXXIV, p. 108
151. Bihar al–Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, p. 104
152. Manaqib Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. IV, p. 22; Bihar, vol. XXXXIV, p. 104
153. Risalat Jahiz fi Umayya published with al–Niza‘ wal–Takhasum, Miqrizi
154. Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. IV, p. 106
155. Mu‘jam Qaba’il al–’Arab, vol. IV, p. 999; Waq‘at Siffin, p. 104
156. Ibid
157. al–Gharat, vol. II, p. 481
158. A‘yan Ash–Shi‘a, vol. XX, pp 60,67
159. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. II, p. 45
160. Ibid, p. 47
161. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. IV, p. 175
162. Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq, vol. IV, p. 84
163. al–Kamil
164. Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al–Rijal, pp 69,101,102
165. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. IV, p. 189

166. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol., p. 218; al-Aghani, vol. XVII, p. 134, 135
167. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 190
168. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VI, p. 218
169. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 189; Ibn Khaldun, vol. IV, p. 11
170. al-Aghani, vol. 17, p. 135
171. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 191; al-Aghani, vol. XVII, p. 36
172. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV
173. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 190; Tarikh Ibn Khaldun, vol. IV, p. 14
174. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 199,200; al-Gharat, vol. II, p. 565; al-Kuna wal-Alqab, vol. I, p. 15; al-Aghani, vol. 17, p. 146; Tarikh Ibn Khaldun, vol. IV, pp 12,13 "Sal'a'" might refer to 'Ali (a) who was well-Known as Asla' or might mean "intensely"
175. Concerning Abu Barda has come in Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. I, p. 95 as follows انه النقيه احد الأعه الاثبات " He has been one of the eminent Islamic jurisprudent"
176. al-Aghani, vol. XVII, p. 146; Tarikh Ibn Khaldun, vol. IV, pp 12,13
177. Waq'at Siffin, p. 381
178. al-Aghani, vol. XII, p. 321
179. Tarikh Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 151
180. al-Irshad, p. 280
181. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 199
182. Tarikh at-Tabari, p. 204
183. Ibid, p. 203; al-Aghani, vol. XVII, p. 149
184. It is quoted that in conquering Damascus, Hujr Himself had conquered this area; al-Muhabbar, p. 292 ان حجراً اول من وحد الله عزوجل بمرج عذراء حين افتتحت on conquering Marj 'Adhra', the first one who glorified Allah by saying "Allah Akbar" was Hujr
185. al-Irshad, p. 169; Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. 101
186. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 205,206; al-Aghani, vol. XVII pp 151, 152, 153
187. al-Isaba, vol. I, p. 315, A'yan Ash-Shi'a, vol. 20, p. 61 (From Mustadrak and Tabaqat al-Kubra
188. Futuh al-Buldan, pp 400,401
189. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VI, p. 219; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 208; al-Aghani, vol. XVII, p. 154
190. al-Isaba, vol. I, p. 315
191. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 208; al-Aghani, vol. XVII, p. 154
192. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 208
193. Ibid
194. Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq, vol.IV, p.84
195. al-Mustadrak, vol. III, p. 469
196. A'yan Ash-Shi'a, vol. XX, p. 58
197. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VI, p. 220
198. al-Aghani, vol. XVII, p. 13
199. Tarikh Ibn Khaldun, vol. III, p. 10
200. al-Aghani, vol. XVII, pp 143-144; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 197; al-Darajat al-Rafi'a, p. 343; al-Muhabbar, p. 292
201. al-Darajat al-Rafi'a, p. 432
202. al-Munammaq, p. 490
203. al-Fa'iq fi Gharib al-Hadith, vol. I, p. 46; al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. 301
204. Fi l-Tarikh al-kamil, vol. IV, p. 461
205. Fi l-Tarikh al-Kamil, vol. III, p. 465
206. Fi l-Tarikh al-Kamil, vol. IV, pp 193-197; Futuh al-Buldan, pp 401,402
207. Ibid, vol. III, p. 446
208. Ibid, vol. III, p. 456

209. But one time some groups of the Kharijites believed in Taqiyya See also al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III pp 516, 518

210. They talked at availing themselves of “Taqiyya”; al-Kamil fil-Lughat wal-Adab, vol. II, p. 201; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 181

211. Because they had no proof for combating ‘Ali; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 210

212. al-Kamil fil-Adab, vol. III, p. 276

213. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 126 (The events in 41

214. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, pp 412,417

215. Ibid, vol. III, pp 409,420

216. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp 173-174

217. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 175

218. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp 165-166; al-Kamil fil-Lughat wal-Adab, vol. II, pp 195-196

219. al-Kamil fil-Lughat wal-Adab, vol. II, pp 198-212; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, pp 163-186

220. Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 61

221. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 142; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 427

222. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 143; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 429

223. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 144

224. From the view point of fiqh (jurisprudence) Imam had stated,

ان خرجوا على امام عادل او جماعة فقاتلوهم وان خرجوا على امام جائر فلا تقاتلوهم

Kill those who rise up against a just Imam and people, but never kill those rising up against an unjust ruler Wasa’il Ash-Shi‘a, vol. XI, unit 26, Hadith 3

225. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 431

226. Ibid, vol. V, p. 193

227. Ibid, vol. V, p. 191

228. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 172

229. Ansab al-Ashraf, p. 463; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 177

230. Ibid, vol. III, pp 515,517

231. Ibid, vol. III, p. 519

232. Andishih siyasi dar Islam mu‘asir, p. 150

233. Tarikh al-Khulafa’, pp 196,203

234. al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 233; vol. V, p. 101; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 506, such governorship was left as inheritance for Muslims’ future This approach was exercised not only for the ‘Abbasids and FaTimids in Egypt but also even from the Safawids on in Shi‘ites Iran

235. al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 209; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 175; what is narrated in al-Futuh is that ‘Amr Ibn ‘As had been the stimulater By the some token since ‘Amr Ibn ‘As had passed away in 43 A H, it cannot be correct

236. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 187

237. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 224; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 165; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 503

238. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 224,225

239. al-Futuh, vol. IV, pp 225,226; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 508

240. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 28; al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 231; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp 166-169

241. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp 187-194

242. Ibid, vol. I, p. 171; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. I, p. 182

243. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 182

244. Ibid, vol. I, p. 177

245. Ibid, vol. I, p. 178,179,180,181

246. Mentioning the name of Imam Hasan does not seem incorrect because this narration referes to the year after his martyrdom

247. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp 194-196
248. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 236
249. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 183; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 508
250. al-Futuh, vol. IV, pp 240,241
251. Ibid, vol. IV, pp 243,244; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, Vol I, p. 188
252. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 205
253. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 208; later on Sufyaniyya also in order to substantiate the legitimacy of Mu'awiya's caliphate and although there existed some having previous record in Islam, had narrated that 'Umar had preferred Abu 'Ubayd Ibn Mas'ud to forty participants of Badr; Rasa'il al-Jahiz, al-Rasa'il As-Siyasiyya, pp 391-392
254. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 209
255. Ibid, vol. I, p. 210; Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, pp 213-214
256. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 212
257. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 214
258. Tarikh Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 228
259. Ibid, vol. IV, p. 240
260. al-Futuh, vol. IV, pp 248,249
261. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 191; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. III, p. 511
262. al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 245
263. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 204
264. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 37; al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. VI, p. 8
265. al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. 73; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, part 2, p. 5; Tabaqat Futuh Ash-Shura, p. 626; Nasab Quraysh, p. 129
266. Diwan Farazdaq, vol. I, p. 336
267. Amali, Abu 'Ali al-Qali, p. 175; Tathbit Dala'il al-Nubuwwa, p. 575
268. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, pp 24-25
269. Tarikh Khalifat Ibn Khayyat, p. 218
270. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, pp 16-17
271. al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 255
272. al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 257

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SHARES

Karbala's Movement

Imam Husayn Before Karbala

Although far too many remarks have been constantly made in light of Imam Husayn's features as yet, purely for luck and good omen, Several of which shall be referred too.

This magnanimous Imam was born on Sha'ban 3,4 A.H. And having been intimately beside the Prophet, his forefather, he could never detach himself from him even at the prayer time. Allah's Messenger, who adored him and his brother exceedingly, could demonstrate a profile of their virtues through his

statements to his disciples. In hadith books many virtues describing Imam Husayn (a) can be detected. Mostly like the hadith of, **الحسن والحسين سيدا شباب أهل الجنّة** " Hasan and Husayn are both the masters of the youth of Paradise dwellers."

They are repeatedly narrated by successive generations and considered authentic. The Prophet's extreme affection for these two sons was entirely overt to all disciples. As hinted at concerning with Imam Hasan, the Prophet has been doing his utmost so hard to make the nation conscious of his true attachment to them both that he stated, **من أحبني فليحب هذين**[1] "O Allah, adore the one who adores these two" **من أحب الحسن والحسين فقد أحبني، ومن أبغضهما فقد أبغضني**[2] "The one feeling affectionate for Hasan and Husayn, feel so for me; nonetheless, the one making them wrathful, has made me too" **هما ريحاني من الدينا**[3] "These two are my fragrant flowers from universe."

Among the virtues exclusively narrated about Imam Husayn the most well-known of all is, **حسين منّي وأنا من حسين**[4] "Husayn is from me and I am from Husayn."

It has been narrated by Yahya Ibn Salim Mawsili, Imam Husayn's governor, as saying, "As we were walking accompanying Imam, he stopped to knock on a door and ask for water. A bondswoman came out holding a bowl of water. Prior to drinking, he took out a piece of silver and offered it to her and then said, "Give it to your family". He drank afterwards.[5]

Abu Bakr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hazm has recounted that when Imam Husayn had been passing by the platform whereon a group of the underpriviliged was having food, he was requested to have a share in.

"Under no circumstances does Allah love the arrogant", stated Imam and dismounted to eat. Later, Imam told them, "You invited me and I replied in the affirmative. Now I invite you and I expect you to comply with". Addressing his wife, Rubab, he demanded her to provide what she had prepared.[6]

It is quoted from Imam al-Baqir (a) that for pilgrimage, Imam Husayn inclined towards moving on foot whereas his horses were all going behind him.[7]

Attending the wars of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawan, Imam Husayn battled against those breaching their promise and exerting oppression with his father side by side. A sermon is narrated from him in Siffin whereby he persuaded people to struggle.[8]

From the very nitrating stages of Siffin, Imam Husayn had such a determining role in capturing the route of water from the soldiers of Damascus that after the victorious result Imam 'Ali asserted: **(هذا اول فتح ببركة الحسين (ع** "It was the ever-first conquest for the sake of Husayn's blessing."[9]

After Imam was called and told by 'Ubayd Ibn 'Umar that his father had done such and such to Quraysh, Imam accused him of abiding by Qasitin (the apostates) and added that these kinds of individuals have consented to Islam reluctantly but as a matter of fact they are in no way Muslims.[10]

The one who earnestly and thoroughly upholded Imam Hasan's policy during his tenure was Imam

Husayn (a). In spite of frequent demand by Iraq for Imam's travel to Kufa even after his brother's Matyrdom, His Excellency did never incline and warned that it shall look irrational taking an action as long as Mu'awiya is alive.

This utterance denoted that for a ten-year interlude Imam endured Mu'awiya compulsorily. This point can be regarded as of significance in Imam Husayn's political standings although rarely is it taken into account. And the reason might be due to the fact that we notice Imam Husayn merely from the standpoint of his revolutionary action in Karbala.

Both the relations between Imam and Mu'awiya and the conversation that they have had under various conditions profoundly manifest Imam's politically unyielding manner in acceding the legitimacy of Mu'awiya's rule. One of the most credible evidence is Imam's lengthy letter to Mu'awiya therein numerous facts about Mu'awiya's atrocity against 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims has been revealed. “Never do I intend to oppose you nor combat you”, Imam wrote.

Then he added:

> وأيم الله لقد تركت وأنا أخاف الله في تركه وما أظن الله راضياً مني بترك محاكمتك اليه ولا عاذري دون الاعتذار اليه فيك وفي اوليائك القاسطين الملحدين حزب الظالمين وأولياء الشياطين...أولست قاتل حجر بن عدي وأصحابه المصلين العابدين الذين ينكرون الظلم ويستعظمون البدع ولا يخافون لومة لائم، ظلماً وعدواناً بعد اعطائهم الأمان بالمواثيق والايمان المغلظة، أو لست قاتل عمرو بن الحمق الخزاعي، صاحب رسول الله الذي أبلته العبادة وصفرت لونه وانحلت جسمه،... أو لست المدعي زياد بن سمية المولود علي فراش عبيد عبد ثقيف وزعمت أنه ابن أبيك وقد قال رسول الله صلي الله عليه وآله وسلم, الولد للفراش وللعاهر الحجر، فتركت سنة رسول الله صلي الله عليه وآله وسلم وخالفت أمره متعمداً واتبعت هواك مكذباً بغير هدى من الله، ثم سلطه على العراقين فقطع أيدي المسلمين وسمل أعينهم وصلبهم علي جذوع النخل،

> أولست صاحب الحضرميين الذي كتب اليك ابن سميه أنهم على دين علي، فكتبت اليه، اقتل من كان على دين علي ورأيه، فقتلتهم ومثل بهم بأمرك؛ ودين علي، دين محمد صلي الله عليه وآله وسلم الذي كان يضرب عليه أباك والذي انتحالك اياه اجلسك مجلسك هذا ولولا هموا1981 كان أفضل شرفك تجشم الرحلتين في طلب الخمور...فلا أعلم لنفسي وديني أفضل من جهادك، فان أفعله فهو قربة الى ربي وان أتركه فذنب أستغفرالله منه في كثير من تقصيري... فابشر يا معاوية بالقصاص وأيقن بالحساب واعلم أنّ لله كتاب لايغادر صغيرة ولا كبيرة الا أحصاها وليس الله بناس لك أخذك بالظّنة وقتلك أوليائه علي الشبهة والتهمة للناس بالبيعة لابنك غلام سفه يشرب الشراب ويلعب بالكلاب ولا أعلمك الا قد خسرت نفسك وأوبقت دينك وأكلت أمانتك وغششت رعيتك وتبوأت مقعدك النار فبعداً لقوم الظالمين

“By Almighty Allah, I relinquished combating against you meanwhile I have fear of Him. I surmise not that Allah would be gratified with me unless I allow Him to ajudicate about you the atheist and ruthless party as well as the devils' supporters. Were you not the one who slayed Hujr Ibn 'Adi and his followers brutally, those who struggled in a bid to abolish oppression and oppose the heresy while dreading no

jeopardy? But then with recourse to swearing oaths, you gave them a quarter.

Were you not the assassin of 'Amr Ibn Hamiq Khuza'i, he who was among the Prophet's disciples and whose too much worshpping had emanciated and enfeebled his physique and transformed his expression...? Were you not the one who claimed brotherhood with Ziyad Ibn Sumayya, a newborn whose begetter was 'Ubayd 'Abd Thaqif where as you declared that he was your father's son? It was while the Holy Prophet had affirmed that the newborn belongs to the one who does beget it and it is requisite that the adulterer be stoned to death.

Deliberately, you ignored the Prophet's Sunna and disobeyed him and with no divine guidance you still sought after your carnal desire. Heedless of the fact that Ziyad cut out Muslims' hands, blinded them and hung them from the palm trees, you gave him predominance in Kufa and Basra. Did you not slay those two from Ha□ram, attributed to Ha□r Mawt, those about whom Ziyad wrote to you that the, two, believed in 'Ali's religion and you responded that anyone being of the same religion and belief as 'Ali ought to be slaughtered?

As a result, he did slay and mutilate them at your behest. It's the fact other than this that 'Ali's religion is in every respect Muhammad's, the one against whom our father battled? And this religion was what thereby you won this position and if it were not of existence, your only virtue would be merely the tolerance of difficulties during the summer and winter trips seeking for intoxicating drink...

I deem naught more momentous than Jihad against you for myself and my religion. I shall draw nearer to my Lord if I do accomplish it but I should ask Him for forgiveness for my neglect and error unless I did accomplish it ...

O Mu'awiya! I give you glad tidings of retaliation for Hujr's murder! Never doubt and be informed that there exists a book for Allah wherein any sin whether minor or major is accurately recorded.

Yes, never ever will Allah fail to remember you for all those whom you have cynically arrested and skeptically slayed; for all those whom you compelled to swear allegiance to your insane, wine drinker and dog–fancying son.

What I can say is that you let yourself sustain losses, rendered your religion futile, abused what has been left in your custody, deceived your peasant and consequently you fill you grave with fire to overflowing. May Allah keep the oppressors away from us!"[11]

Elsewhere, Baladhuri has brought the letter in brief having an additional sentence, **وما أعلم فتنة أعظم من ولايتك هذه الامة** " I know of no sedition being more dreadful than your rule over this nation."[12]

Later, no sooner had Mu'awiya faced Imam Husayn than he inquired, "Have you heard what we did for Hujr, his followers and your father's Shi'ite Muslims?
"What?" asked Imam.

We murdered them, Mu'awiya replied, wrapped them in shroud, performed prayers for them and interred them.

Imam stated in return, “Neither would we wrap them in shroud, perform prayers for them, nor bury them, if we killed your followers.”[13]

By the same token, Mu'awiya resorted to any means to suppress the opponents. He even put the holiest figures to the test through alluring. In this way, once he had strivde to silence Abu Dharr in Damascus. Here, we demonstrate an amazing example about Mu'awiya's policy toward Imam Husayn (a), the policy that Mu'awiya had adopted to relieve Imam's wrath about the Umayya by sending presents.

Narrated by Asma'i is that a gorgeous bondswoman was brought for Mu'awiya. When he questioned her price, he was told “100,000 dhms”. Mu'awiya purchased her. Taking a look at 'Amr Ibn 'As, he asked who deserved that woman.

'Amr and all those present said, ” Amir al-Mu'minin does”.

“No”, Mu'awiya contradicted, “She is solely appropriate for Husayn Ibn 'Ali.” “For his family dignity, he deserves her the most”, he added. “It can remove the indignation stemmed from the contention between his father and I.” He commanded that they dispatch her to Imam as a gift.

Making her ready for a journey after forty days, they sent her along with a great deal of goods, clothes and so forth. In a letter, Mu'awiya wrote to Imam that Amir al-Mu'minin purchashed a bondswoman and although he loved her, he granted her to him generously. After the bondswoman was brought in, upon seeing her, Imam who was astonished at her charm, inquired what her name was.

“Hawa (passion)”, she responded.
Imam stated, “How becoming is the name to you! Can you read anything?”
Yes, I can, she replied, both Qur'an and poem.
Imam demanded that she recite Qur'an. She prefaced,

وَعِنْدَهُ مَفَاتِحُ الْغَيْبِ لَا يَعْلَمُهَا إِلَّا هُوَ...

“All means for discovering the hidden things are with Allah and no one else knows them but He...”
Being requested by Imam to read poems if she knew, the bondwoman asked “Am I immune enough?”

“Certainly”, Imam answered.
The woman read,

أنت نعم المتاع لو كنت تبقي غير أن لا بقاء للانسان

“What a precious property you would be if you survived, what a pity no one will survive.”

In regard with the content of the poem, Imam burst into tears and said, “Not only are you liberated, but also all sent goods are yours.”
“Have you composed anything concerning Mu'awiya?” he asked.
“Sure, I have,” She responded,

رأيت الفتي يمضي ويجمع جهده رجاء الغني والوارثون قعود

و ما للفتي الا نصيب من التقي اذا فارق الدنيا عليه يعود

“I saw a youth passing by and dreaming about riches while his heirs were waiting in an ambush. There is no one higher for a youth but piety, for when passing away it would give him a hand.”
Imam, ordering to offer her 1000 dhms as well, stated that his father had also composed regarding it,

و من يطلب الدنيا لحال تسرّه فسوف لعمري عن قليل يلومها

اذا أدبرت كانت علي المرء فتنة وان اقبلت كانت قليلا دوامها

“Anyone, who seeks after this world to make him cheerful for a moment, by myself, he will regret presently; when he turns back on it, he faces problem and when he turns toward it, it will be transient.”

Afterwards, Imam wept and stood up to pray.[14]

Earlier when discussing the issue of making caliphate hereditary, we elucidated Imam's stance against Mu'awiya's measures. Imam was one of the most notable opponents at that juncture who spared no effort for expressing his opposition in this respect.

Throughout the years when Imam Husayn and his brother were in Medina, Marwan was the governor of the city whose abomination and abusiveness was proverbial and searched for an occasion to slander and insult Imam 'Ali (a).

Abu Yahya has recounted, “I was present while Marwan and Imam Husayn were wrangling. Imam Hasan (a) could cease his brother but Marwan kept on so courteously that he said “You, Ahl al-Bayt, are all cursed.” This utterance was the manifestation of Marwan's innate and deep-rooted malice. Upon hearing, Imam Hasan reacted that, **والله لقد لعن الله أباك علي لسان نبيه وأنت في صلبه** “ Allah had cursed your father with the tongue of His Messenger where as you were still in his loins.”[15]

Accordingly, in this way came Marwan's vengeance towards the Prophet (S).

Once Mu'awiya did his best to persuade the daughter of 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far Ibn Abi Talib to marry his son, Yazid. When 'Abd Allah consulted Imam Husayn (a), Imam advised, "أتزوجه وسيوفهم تقطر من دمائنا؟ Do you intend to offer your daughter to the one down whose swords our blood drips?"

"Convince her to marry your nephew, Qasim Ibn Muhammad".[16]

In compliance with another narration, Mu'awiya's intention for this action was creating reconciliation between the Umayya and the Hashimites in other words, making the Hashimites surrender to the Umayya.[17]

Imam Husayn's Opposition to Yazid's Caliphate

As preplanned, Yazid became the caliph subsequent to Mu'awiya's death in Rajab, 60 A.H. No sooner had this news spread through Medina than Yazid exerted himself to secure allegiance from all those opponents whose opposition might wage a revolt against him.[18]

Writing a letter to Walid Ibn 'Utba Ibn Abi Sufyan, governor of Medina, Yazid urged him to secure allegiance from 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr and Husayn Ibn 'Ali (a). Marwan also commanded that Walid dispatch the soldiers to them at that very night and if they defied, they should decapitate them all on the spot in view of the fact that night seemed an opportunity to suffice to revolt and summon people.[19]

Imam Husayn who was informed of Mu'awiya's death through the message-bearer of the governor of Medina, proceeded to the palace accompanied by a number of followers armed to guard Imam against any probable menace. Being asked by Walid to swear allegiance to Yazid, Imam stated that such a figure like him ought not to swear privately but openly in a mosque.

Walid concurred, but Marwan made an attempt threateningly to provoke him into arresting Imam. Imam, furious with Marwan, addressed Walid as saying,

> أيها الامير! انا اهل بيت النبوة ومعدن الرسالة ومختلف الملائكة ومحطّ الرحمة وبنا فتح الله وبنا ختم ويزيد رجل فاسق شارب خمر، قاتل النفس المحرمة معلن بالفسق ومثلي لا يبايع مثله "

O emir! We, Holy Prophet's household, are the mine of Prophetic mission, angels' companions and the fountain of mercy. Allah has commenced with us and so will He terminate with us. By no means will I swear allegiance to Yazid who is libertine, wine-drinker, murderer of the venerated and the one debauching in public."

It was at the same session where Imam affirmed in reaction to Marwan's insistence in securing allegiance, "The knell of Islam will be rung if Yazid is supposed to secure the power, وعلى الاسلام السلام.

Vindicating through the verse of Tathir (purification), he commented on Ahl al-Bayt's meritedness in obtaining the caliphate.[20] This vindication was what had been narrated by Imam 'Ali(a) and Imam Hasan (a) as well.

At the same night, Ibn Zubayr departed from Medina and was pursued by the governmental guards next day. Next night Imam Husayn did so[21] in a trip along with all Ahl al-Bayt and the only one remained in Medina was Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya.[22] It is told that the date of departure was Sha'ban 3, 60 A.H. concurrent with his birthday.

When Imam stepped into Mecca, the residents became quite delighted and even Ibn Zubayr who was a leader himself took part in Imam's congregational prayers and hadith sessions.[23] Since Mecca was assumed a religious base for Islam, it was naturally the center of attentions where Imam was in touch with various distinguished and ordinary individuals and interpreted the reasons of not swearing allegiance to Yazid.

Looking forward to experiencing such a day for quite a long, the Shi'ite Muslims of Kufa became elated by hearing Imam's resistance against Yazid and his arrival in Mecca. They had already condoled Imam Husayn on Imam Hasan's martyrdom in a letter and invited him; nevertheless, Imam had refused.

In the held meeting, such Shi'ites leaders as Sulayman Ibn Surad, and the others made speeches and propounded Imam's invitation to Iraq. Despite the agreement all announced, Sulayman stressed all to undertake and not to violate; they renounced their commitment.[24] And then a joint letter was written by a few regarded as Shi'ites leaders such as Sulayman, Musayyib Ibn Najba, Habib Ibn Mazahir, Rufa'a Ibn Shaddad as well as 'Abd Allah Ibn Wal inviting Imam to come to Kufa.[25]

Their letter remained unanswered on Imam's part. After a while, other letters were consecutively sent and above all Qays Ibn Musahhar Saydawi, 'Abd Allah Ibn Wal and several others personally travelled to Mecca.

On account of the additional letters received by Imam one after another the status quo modified in such a way that it was something beyond the bounds of possibility for Imam to pay no heed to the inviters.[26] When Hani Ibn Hani went to Mecca, he reported people's presence in general and the distinguished's readiness in particular and it managed to be a confirmation and emphasis on letter's contents.

Dispatching Muslim to Kufa

The first action Imam took was dispatching Muslim to Kufa. Imam addressed him as saying,

وان رأيت الناس مجتمعين على بيعتي فالعجل لي بالخبر حتى أعمل علي حسب ذلك

“Notify me swiftly to adopt a measure in case you perceived that the people are totally willing to swear

allegiance to me."[27] "

Muslim, around 40, was singled out from among Ahl al-Bayt for this vital mission. As stated by historians, en route to Medina and then to Iraq from Mecca, Muslim lost his way and one of or both couriers conducting him breathed their last. He, in a letter, asked permission to return but Imam's response was to accomplish his mission.[28]

Muslim entered Kufa and resided in Mukhtar's house, being renowned among Shi'ite Muslims. He commenced to secure allegiance. Summoning to Divine Book, Prophet's Sunna, Jihad against the oppressors, defending the oppressed, aiding the needy, fair distribution of Bayt al-Mal (public treasury) among Muslims, backing prophet's household, compromising the one whom they compromise, battling the one against whom they battle, abiding by Ahl al-Bayt's word and action and not practicing the contrary, were all among the stipulated conditions of allegiance.[29]

In an interval of thirty five days after Muslim's arrival, Shawwal 5, 60, nearly 18.000 people swore allegiance to him. In addition to Shi'ite Muslims, ordinary people were among them too, as an example Muhammad Ibn Bashir said, "I'd like Allah to assist my friends although I do never like to be killed, nor do I like to lie". The gap formed succeeding Mu'awiya's death among the Umayya opponents in Iraq was filled by Muslim's arrival. All surrounded Muslim. While the might of government had mitigated, Muslim could openly visit people more easily than before.

The Umayya's spies who were discontented with the status of Nu'man Ibn Bashir, in a letter wrote to Yazid that the more he required Kufa, the sooner he should adopt a measure.[30] Muslim also was engaged in recruiting forces and preparing military weapons. About Abu Thumama Sa'idi it is narrated, **يشتري لهم السلاح وكان به بصيرا** " As far as his full acquaintance with weapons was concerned, he was delegated to purchase them."[31]

Later on, Ibn Ziyad had accused Hani, "Your house has been a refuge for Muslim's followers and a cache for the weapons".[32]

Yazid appointed Ibn Ziyad as the governor of Kufa while he was the governor in Basra as well. According to historians, in a will given to his servant to transfer to Yazid later, Mu'awiya had appointed Ibn Ziyad to confront any probable riot in Iraq.[33]

Having executed Husayn Ibn 'Ali's message-carrier in Basra, Ibn Ziyad set out for Kufa to suppress the insurgents through harshness he had inherited from his father.

The most practical and efficient tool resorted by Ibn Ziyad for suppression of the Iraqi was nothing save threat. Since the inception, he summoned the distinguished of the city and ordered that they are duty-bound to introduce the aliens and those whose arrest is pleasant for Yazid, Kharijites and all those willing to create disunion and conflict and also register their names. And if one did not carry out his own responsibility, any mischief done by aforgoing persons would be upon his conscience and the ruler

would on no accounts protect him. In that sense, shedding his blood and confiscating his possessions would be presumed lawful.[34]

The pressures from the side of Ibn Ziyad propelled Muslim to change his residence and act in secrecy. The new place was Hani Ibn 'Urwa's house, one of the chiefs of the tribe of Madhhij and it seemed to be more secure. Ibn Ziyad was searching for him confusedly. Appointing a spy to claim amity with Ahl al-Bayt, he could locate his whereabouts. Ibn Ziyad apprehended Hani first and urged him to hand over Muslim. At the same time, those belonging to the tribe of Madhhij rose up. But Shurayh Qa□i treacherously assured them that Hani was alive and Ibn Ziyad's guest; therefore, he could dispel them.[35]

Muslim took an action and demanded a few numbers that they summon their friends by chanting the slogan of "O the helper of nation" which was one of the slogans of the Prophet at the time of wars. While making a sermon in the mosque, Ibn Ziyad heard the voices.

He who crawled into the palace, concealed himself behind all the locked portals. Muslim's army besieged the edifice but by reason of something indefinite the back portal remained unbesieged through which the distinguished of Kufa were regularly in touch with Ibn Ziyad. That door was known as "Bab al-Rumiyyin". The throng accompanying Muslim was such a countless number at first that it could terrify Ibn Ziyad and his people and confine them in the palace.[36]

Incited by Ibn Ziyad, the distinguished of Kufa began menacing. "Tomorrow, an army will arrive from Damascus and will do such and such," they warned people.[37] Another group made the members of their own tribes secede from among Muslim's followers, Going after their husbands and children, the women said preventively, **والناس يكفونك** " Others are present."[38] "They will fill the gap of your absence." After a couple of hours many dispersed,[39] **وصلي المغرب وما معه الا ثلاثون رجلاً** " Only did thirty people participate in his congregational evening prayer." Afterwards they also dispelled!

Ibn Ziyad, daring not to exit from terror, commanded to check inside the mosque which was joined to the edifice from the roof to see whether someone was there or not. With throwing down a torch, they made sure that no one was there; therefore, they commenced searching for Muslim in the city. Ibn Ziyad had commanded to inspect all the houses in Kufa door to door and arrest Muslim.[40]

Ultimately he was traced and after a short clash he was taken to Ibn Ziyad. **يا شاق! خرجت علي امامك وشققت عصا المسلمين** " Have you come from your Imam's side," inquired Ibn Ziyad, to remove Muslims' union?

Muslim replied that he in no way recognized not only Mu'awiya's caliphate but also beyond any question his son's as legitimate because he oppressively usurped the caliphate from Prophet's successor.[41]

"The inhabitants of this city are all of this belief that your father has shed the blood of their kins and misbehaved like Caesar and Kasra", he added, "we have come to establish justice and summon people to Allah's and the Prophet's decrees."[42]

In order to mar Muslim's reputation among people and to put his deception in practice, Ibn Ziyad said, “In Medina, you have been drinking!”

Sedately, Muslim asserted, “Someone like you for whom slaying innocent people is insignificant will be superior to me if I drink”.43

Muslim whose whole perturbation was for the sake of Imam Husayn (a), called 'Umar Ibn Sa'd being from Quraysh and claiming to be Muslim's relative to make his will. What he recommended him was, first, to dispatch one to Husayn and hinder him from coming to Kufa; secondly, to wrap his corpse in a shroud and bury him and thirdly, by selling his sword and other belongings, to pay for his debts. Then Muslim was martyred.

Although beyond any doubt Muslim was a chaste and pious man, Imam Husayn's confidence in him, on one hand, and his debt in Kufa, on the other hand, proves the point. He did never ask someone for a loan44 and all this time with 700 dhms he had already loaned could make ends meet. At the threshold of his martyrdom he was determined to sell his belongings for clearing his debt.

Another point in his characteristic was that once the ground was prepared for Muslim to kill Ibn Ziyad but he did not. After Ibn Ziyad had gone to Kufa with Sharik Ibn A'war, a Shi'ites in Basra, Sharik became sick and had to rest in Hani Ibn 'Urwa's house who was one of the Shi'ite Muslims as well. Ibn Ziyad was set to visit Sharik while Muslim was concealed there.

Prior to his arrival, Sharik proposed Muslim to take this golden opportunity and attack Ibn Ziyad after a special cue, which was reading verses of poem. Never did Muslim do so however. Being reproved by Sharik after Ibn Ziyad left, Muslim stated that Hani did not feel like Ibn Ziyad to be murdered in his house. Also, he referred to a hadith from the Prophet that, **الايمان قيد الفتك** “ Such a murder is not confirmed in Islam at all.”45

The firstly abovementioned point can not be that acceptable about Hani unless presumably he might have been dreading that with arrival of the dwellers of Damascus later his life might be wholly lost. And about the second one, even though Muslim had reasoned through that hadith, now it merits consideration due to the fact that killing Ibn Ziyad who was a corrupt and criminal man at that moment could change the future of Iraq and Karbala effectively.

The Holy Prophet (S) himself in Medina had delegated a group to go to Mecca and kill Ka'b Ibn Ashraf and Abu 'Afak were both killed in the same manner. Killing not Ibn Ziyad had a political motivation, some pointed out. And people would have gone from Damascus to Kufa, afterwards, for taking vengeance and plundering it.46

It should not remain untold that they would go there whether Imam Husayn was victorious or not and it had no relevance to Ibn Ziyad's assassination. And later in the process of besieging his palace, why people left Muslim alone simply was never disclosed. Should this accident be blamed on the people of

Kufa only or was it because the leader of the movement could not persuade the people to remain?

How Muslim's whereabouts was located is very interesting. In order to locate Muslim's hiding place, Ibn Ziyad had paid one of his servants. The servant who went to the mosque was looking for him according to the criteria he had heard about the Shi'ite Muslims. A person, performing prayers continuously, drew his attention. ان هولاء الشيعة يكثرون الصلاة وأحسب هذا منهم " Since the Shi'ite Muslims pray innumerably I guess that man is a Shi'ites"[47] he said to himself.

The man was Muslim Ibn 'Awsaja. After several testings, he could not detect his dastardly plot and while deceived took him to Muslim. The utterance evidently manifests that Shi'ite Muslims have been famed for asceticism and worship.

Imam's Movement Towards Iraq

As Imam's official representative had verified the readiness of Kufa, there was no longer enough time for a moment's hesitation. With regard to the letters received as well as Muslim's letter the scene was beyond question set for rising against the Umayya; therefore, Imam hastened in such a way that on 8th Dhil-Hajja and exactly in thick of Hajj (pilgrimage) he changed "'Umra Tamattu'" (a kind of Hajj) into "'Umra Mufrada" (another kind of Hajj) and then set out to Iraq.

Wasting a moment could influence the status quo in Iraq. Furthermore, in view of the fact that Imam's assassination was probable in Mecca, his stay looked by no means proper. Reportedly, Imam's fellow-travelers were 80 people; nonetheless, they are to be more suggested by some other narrations. The number might denote only those accompanying Imam as far as Karbala.

En route, Imam's first encounter was with a caravan moving from Yemen to Damascus. What it was transporting were presents for Yazid's court. Intercepting the caravan, Imam appealed to them for joining him if willing; otherwise, they ought to return.[48] Imam from Na'im, the area where he encountered the caravan, proceeded to as-Safah and it was where he met Farazdaq, a young poet at that time. After Imam asked him about the conditions in Kufa, he responded, قلوب الناس معك وسيوفهم عليك " The people's hearts are with you whereas their swords are drawn at you too."

When he arrived at Batn al-Ramma in a letter while touching upon Muslim's letter informed the people of Kufa to prepare for his entry.[49] Qays Ibn Musahhar who had become responsible for taking the letter on his way to Kufa encountered Husayn Ibn Numayr's army and was arrested. Eating the letter on the spot, Qay was then martyred by Ibn Ziayd.

In another area, called Zadud, Imam saw Zuhayr Ibn Qayn. As soon as he heard of Imam's invitation and with his wife's persuasion he became one of Imam's close followers though he was an 'Uthmanid. He later asked his friends if they had enthusiasm for martyrdom they could join him; otherwise, they could take their way to Mecca.[50]

It was Dhat 'Irq where Imam Husayn (a) informed of both Hani's and Muslim's martyrdom in a message given by a man from Banu Asad.[51] As quoted, Imam came to a decision to return but Muslim's brothers impeded. Never does it seem that Muslim's brothers either intended or were capable of compelling Imam to go on to Kufa if he were reluctant. Owing to the fact that in order to stimulate Imam to go, some had said, **والله ما أنت مثل مسلم بن عقيل ولو قدمت الكوفة لكان الناس اليك أسرع** "You are not Muslim, upon stepping into Kufa all will unite behind you at speed."[52]

Imam was still decisive. The message Muslim had left to 'Umar Ibn Sa'd prior to his martyrdom and had pleaded to him for transferring it to Imam was received in Zabala.[53] No sooner had the time elapsed than the martyrdom news of Qays Ibn Musahhar[54] and 'Abd Allah Ibn Yaqtur, Imam's foster-brother spread.

What these reports could indicate was that everything has changed in Kufa and the present status was utterly distinct from that of the past reported by Muslim. At this very moment, Imam brought together all accompanying him and addressed them, **أيها الناس قد خذلتنا شيعتنا فمن أراد منكم الانصراف فلينصرف** " O people, our Shi'ite Muslims left us alone. Anyone willing to return can return."[55]

A number of people who had joined Imam halfway went back and the only ones remained were Imam's special friends.[56] They were those who not only were with Imam from Mecca,231 but also before that from Medina.[57] Nevertheless, those detaching from him were Arabs who had imagined that they would enter a town with Imam therein all were his followers.231 When the reality was revealed, they returned without hesitation.

After this stage, Imam kept on moving again. Here, it had become fully explicit for Imam that going to Kufa was under no circumstaces rational according to political evaluations; however, there existed an issue that, beyond politics, should differently be taken into account. Imam proceeded to Sharat where he made an overnight stay. He was moving next day that Ibn Ziyad's army led by Hurr Ibn Yazid Riyahi appeared from the distance and blocked Imam's way.

The People of Kufa and Karbala Event

Here, it would seem convenient if we analyze the position taken by the people of Kufa towards the event of Karbala.

Among the historical sources as well as common people, the dwellers of Kufa have been introduced infamous and treacherous. What has been described concerning them was that being faithful to promises was invisible amongst them. While enumerating a few features of the people of Kufa, we referred to their rashness and it could invariably be to the detriment of them and their rulers at the time of decision-making. To be easily resented and easily persuaded, from one hand, and simply surrendering and disobeying, from the other hand, were all a profile of their split personalities.[58] Here, let's consider their standing.

The population in Kufa included those from various tribes each of which enjoyed different arrangements during the different rulers' terms. The expediency the rulers regarded accounted for the variety in the classifications of tribes. Yet, the rulers mostly made allowances for the chiefs or the distinguished of the tribes bearing the fact in mind that in some situations their might was far more than that of governors'.

Merely a part of the population was formed by Shi'ite Muslims. Although a number of tribes were famous for Shi'ism, hardly ever could they be deemed to be first class Shi'ites tribes. They who were dispersed among the tribes had no unity. Since in addition to tribal morale they had a certain kind of Kufiyan morale; as a result, no discrepancy was conspicuous between them and others.

The count of Shi'ite Muslims was not considerable at all then. Reportedly, when in the mosque, Hujr Ibn 'Adi dissented Ziyad's remarks only a half or a third was concordant. With reference to Shi'istic morale of the town and assuring that the beliefs of a number of people were based on a kind of political Shi'ism according to which they only assented to join 'Ali's descendants relatively in political issues, the Shi'ites process of the town consisted of at least a fourth of the total population.

No one doubts that Kufa had invited Imam Husayn but did not assist him and later conducted his murder. Notwithstanding, it ought to be perceived who they have been, who had written the letters and how many from Kufa participated in the battle against Imam. It is also worth mentioning that, later on, Kufa turned into a hub for 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims and even reacted against Banu 'Abbas who usurped the sovereignty of 'Ali's descendants.

Aside from the historians and hadith-narrators affiliated to the Umayya who loathed the people of Kufa, those of Banu 'Abbas had the same feeling. The oppressedness of the Shi'ite Muslims was not only political but also cultural. With the cultural sovereignty of Banu 'Abbas such a thing appeared thoroughly natural. Accordingly, much attention should be paid to the fact that the trend of narrating the events is observed through a pair of spectacles the color of which is as dark as disgusting Kufa for the sake of its Shi'ism.

Taking the aforesaid point into consideration, it should also be noted that such historians are all doing their utmost to prove that Shi'ite Muslims are unfaithful to the promises; in other words, Shi'ism foes are determined to attribute the advocating not of Kufa to Shi'ite Muslims.

On the contrary, the elaboration below will somewhat indicate that, at that time, only a minority of people remained Shi'ites and they were in a position that they could not defend Imam Husayn (a) although they would if they sacrificed devotedly. This utterance is what we present proofs for, in brief.

Visualizing the status quo of Kufa, it could be as to say that Yazid was a man who seemed, although tolerable for Damascus, he was extremely intolerable for Iraq. As soon as he secured the power, Shi'ite Muslims in Kufa began protesting. Since many in Kufa found no appropriate substitute for Yazid and while affected by the public atmosphere, they elected Husayn Ibn 'Ali (a). Besides, Iraq was normally unwilling to concede the domination of Damascus.

When the invitation was made on the part of Shi'ite Muslims, not simply did the common people, having special morale, expressed their advocacy, but also those who either assumed their positions in peril or were influenced by others, announced their support behind Husayn Ibn 'Ali (a).[59] It resulted in an artificial but public atmosphere of support for him. The Umayya was also incapable of filling the political gap created subsequent to Mu'awiya's demise for a while. This atmosphere was continuously expanding and particularly, as a result of Nu'man Ibn Bashir's governorship, who was no strict at all, prevailed as long as Ibn Ziayd entered Kufa.

By taking a glance at a hadith by Imam Husayn, a further likelihood about the invitation on the part of the distinguished may be regarded that they intentionally added fuel to the flames to take Imam to Iraq and martyr him. The hadith was as follows, **وما كانت كتب الي الا مكيدة لي وتقرباً الى ابن معاوية** " They wrote nothing but for trickery and keeping closer to Ibn Mu'awiya."[60]

Anyhow, the atmosphere was prepared so positively that upon realizing it, Muslim felt that Imam should set out to Kufa as soon as possible.

Kufa Under the Pressure of Ibn Ziyad

Scarcely ever can a person be at variance or rebel while the ruling system is of domineering and audacious dictatorship. When Nu'man Ibn Bashir, compassionate somehow, was the governor of Kufa, people dared reveal their Shi'ism without constraint and when Muslim entered the town, they warmly welcomed him with the Ibn Ziyad's substitution for Ibn Bashir, the tide turned against all at once. Ibn Ziyad's great savagery had terrorized many a person. Those who were oversensitive and made decision impetuously no only were they menaced by Ibn Ziyad, but also they were terrified by the present propaganda about pending arrival of an army from Damascus.

No sooner had few days passed than the withdrawal on the part of Muslim's supporters expedited. The nobles of the town who were now certain about the dominion in Kufa and had no doubt about the Umayyads's stability, stood up for them overtly. They have kept all silence as yet. Many others also looked not it expedient to be at odds with the chiefs of their tribes. These nobles were the ones who minimized Muslim's allies through alluring and threatening when Muslim attacked Ibn Ziyad's palace and they intended to manifest their power in controlling the people.[61]

The status in Kufa had taken such a new shape that before Ibn Ziyad's despotism even if a chief had defied, the members of the tribe would have never dared to be on his side. As recounted by historians, when Hani Ibn 'Urwa, chief of Banu Murad, was arrested "four thousand cavalrymen and eight thousand infantrymen" were his supporters. If the allies of Banu Murad joined them from Kinda, the total would be thirty thousand people. Despite the fact when he was dragged along in Bazar with his hands tied and while he was imploring one to help, no single helper appeared.[62]

After a short time, he was martyred whereas no one dissented at all.

During Imam Husayn's sojourning in Karbala, in his remarks Ibn Ziyad ordered the people to left Kufa for Karbala. He threateningly warned that, **فأيّما رجل وجدناه بعد يومنا هذا متخلّفا عن العسكر برئت منه الذمّة** " "From today on whoever disobeys the army, he shall no longer be protected by us."[63]

It denoted that his punishment would be murder. In order to search in the town for anyone not complying with the army, Ibn Ziyad delegated Qa'qa' Ibn Suwayd. Qa'qa' while inspecting traced a man from the tribe of Hamdan who had come there to secure his father's inheritance. After he had been taken to Ibn Ziyad, he issued the verdict of his assassination. Later, **فلم يبق محتلم بكوفه إلا خرج الى العسكر بالنخيلة** Not a matured one could be seen in Kufa unless he had joined the army, Nukhayla."[64]

It was now when all swords were pulled against Imam Husayn (a). Assuredly, if people were free in their actions, by no means would they do so, since a great number were in the same condition.[65]

And now what Farazdaq had composed can be perceived concerning Kufa,
قلوبهم معك وسيوفهم عليك "Their hearts are with you while their swords are drawn against you"[66] or **أنت أحب الناس إلي الناس والقضاء في السماء والسيوف مع بني أمية** " "You are the dearest of all, amongst people, but divine decree is in the sky and swords are beside the Umayya."[67]

For delineating the sense of this utterance, we can reason to Mujamma' Ibn 'Abd Allah al-'A'idhi quotation, that joined Imam from Kufa as saying "The nobles are all in opposition to you and though the hearts of the rest are with you, tomorrow they will pull the swords against you".[68]

Under those existing circumstances, people could not help going to Karbala owing to the fact that their stay coincided with their slay. The Shi'ite Muslims or those being reluctant to do so had two alternatives, one, to ally themselves with Imam, two, to flee from Kufa and Karbala.

It can be well detected from varying reports that the group of people, who were coercively sent to Karbala for a battle against Imam Husayn, either fled halfway, or did not appear in Karbala at all. The total number of soldiers recruited for Ibn Ziyad's army and announced in Karbala was the census, which was taken while dispatching them to Karbala; nonetheless, a throng of them had fled halfway.

There must have been some ten thousand people or less in Karbala whereas compared with the population of Kufa it was considerably few. It is said that Kufa mosque had been accommodating forty thousand people.[69] What this fact does disclose is that many had either concealed themselves in Kufa or fled halfway.

Baladhuri has written, **وكان الرجل يُبعث في ألف فلا يصل إلاّ في ثلاثماة أو أربعمأة وأقل من ذلك كراهة منهم لهذا الوجه** " "A commander was sent with a thousand troops but when entering Karbala the troops were reduced to as few as three hundred, four hundred or even less. And it stood for the disgust people bore for moving there."[70]

"When a commander along with a great many was sent to Karbala by Ibn Ziyad", wrote Dinwari, **يصلون**

إلي كربلاء ولم يبق منهم إلا القليل كانوا يكرهون قتال الحسين فيرتدعون فيتخلّفون “ “A great few arrived in Karbala and it was due to the aversion they had to battle against Husayn, hence they preferred to return and secede from the army.”[71]

In addition to fleeing, a number's endeavor was to join Imam Husayn for his support. When Imam entered Karbala, it could be eight days before his martyrdom. No one could ever dream about occurrence of a war and Imam's martyrdom. It was 'Ashura morning when Hurr Ibn Yazid perceived how serious the situation was and allied himself with Imam. Many people might have had the same idea as Hurr. He told Imam:

> بابي أنت وأمي! ما ظننت الأمر فينتهي بهؤلاء القوم إلى ما أرى وظننت أنهم سيقبلون منك إحدى الخصال التي عرضتها عليهم فقلتُ في نفسي لا أبالي أن أطيع القوم في بعض أمورهم

“May my parents be sacrificed for you! I could never imagine that people's conditions might be culminated in such a phase I observe. I presumed that they might consent to one of the several alternatives you proposed. I said to myself that I would not mind if I abide by them in a few affairs, but now...”[72]

It was merely Hurr who joined Imam together with a few numbers. Although some might have it in mind, they could not make their decision. Even if Shi'ite Muslims intended to defend, they did not hasten and only did special ones draw decisively a conclusion and could join Imam at the very beginning. Among those who joined Imam were Nafi' Ibn Hilal Muradi, 'Umar Ibn Khalid Saydawi, Sa'd, one of 'Umar Ibn Khalid's governors and Mujamma' Ibn 'Abd Allah al-'A'idhi from the tribe of Madhhij.[73]

By the day of 'Ashura, Muslim Ibn 'Awsaja and Habib Ibn Mazahir could reach there. As written by Ibn Sa'd, in 'Ashura morning, some twenty men joined Imam.[74] Ibn Qutayba has reported the number as many as thirty.[75] Further names are referred to by historians.[76]

Noticing such escaping and joining, Ibn Ziyad had to prevent them; consequently, he took an action. Ibn Sa'd who was one of the first narrators has written, **وجعل الرجل والرجلان والثلاثة يتسللون إلى حسين من الكوفة** “ When Ibn Ziyad was notified that people were joining Husayn individually or in two people or three-people groups.”

Commanding to prepare the barracks, he appointed 'Amr Ibn Hurayth to drive the people into Nukhayla. His order was also keeping watch on the bridge not to allow one to flee.[77] Husayn Ibn Numayr was duty-bound to patrol the area between Qadisiyya and Qutqutana to identify anyone proceeding to Hijaz inasmuch as under this pretext they might join Imam.[78]

Ibn Ziyad wrote to his governor in Basra to send a signal man to control the routes and if anyone traversed, he should arrest him.[79] It is absolutely obvious that whom they meant were those who might come to aid Imam. Similarly, Ibn Ziyad had commanded that the routes between Waqisa and Damascus

up to the route of Basra be tightly restricted, **ولا يدعون أحد يلج ولا يخرج** " and not to allow anyone to move and exit through it."[80]

Once Habib Ibn Mazahir prompted the tribe of Banu Asad, being in the viciniinty, to help but 'Ubayd Allah's army alienated seventy of them from Imam's army and did not permit them to join Imam.[81] At this juncture, many were in prison. Among the prisoners was Mukhtar Ibn Abi 'Ubayda who was apprehended and whipped by Ibn Ziyad. Whipping caused Mukhtar's one eye be blinded for ever.[82] This tight control could play an influential role in hindering the people of Kufa to support Imam.

Alluring was also applied by Ibn Ziyad in addition to threatening. Prior to people's departure, Ibn Ziyad told them, "in order to persuade you to prepare for battling against his foe, Yazid has sent four thousand Dinars and two hundred thousand dhms to give you".[83]

People's reliance on financial generosity provoked a group of them to stand against Imam in Karbala. When Imam conceived that people were in true intent on assassinating him, he affirmed, **يا هؤلاء! إسمعوا يرحمكم الله، مالنا ولكم، ما هذا بكم يا أهل الكوفة؟ قالوا خفنا العطاء** "Lo! What has occurred between you and us? O people of Kufa! What has happened to you? They responded, "We fear the generosity." Imam added, **ما عند الله من العطاء خير لكم** "Whatsoever is from Allah is the best for you."[84]

But no one heeded what Imam said

The evidence so far is wholly to confirm this fact that a group of people including the distinguished and their adherents were all criminals who merited the abusiveness and harshness on the part of those reproaching them. Yet, concerning the specific despotism that predominated, there existed a large number who intended to join Imam but were not able to.

What Baladhuri has written appears appealing that Sa'd Ibn 'Ubayda was quoted as saying, "Standing on the hills, many a clergyman in Kufa were praying, **أللهم أنزل عليه نصرك** " O Allah reveals your aid to Husayn."

Sa'd added that he told them,**يا أعداء الله ألا تنزلون فتنصرونه** " O Allah's foes! Why don't you climb down to aid him?"[85]

Anyway, there is no doubt that Imam was martyred by the people of Kufa while there was only one from Damascus among them.[86] Notwithstanding, the people of Kufa should not be deemed as a single group.

Assessing the Travel to Iraq

Now, we ought to consider whether Imam's travel to Iraq was expedient or not in that situation. Regardless of the aspect of indivisibility of Karbala event, here we are to assess Imam Husayn's travel to Iraq politically in a few words. The first question raised is whether there was any other measure to be adopted for Imam other than travelling to Iraq and whether it could be anticipated that conducting such a

revolution against Yazid was feasible.

A deep glance at the existing historical sources will indicate the frequent objections voiced denoting that by no means had a travel to Iraq been expedient. The objections were from the very beginning. When people of Kufa, subsequent to Imam Hasan's martyrdom, invited Imam Husayn to that town, Imam replied that he would never consent to any revolution as long as Mu'awiya was alive.87

His justification might have been Iraq's inability to resist Mu'awiya's tricks because they have already been tested in 'Ali's and Hasan's terms. Following Imam's opposition to the issue of allegiance and when Imam set out for Mecca, a travel to Iraq was probable. Quotedly, 'Abd Allah Ibn Muti' forewarned Imam against his travel to Kufa on the way from Medina to Mecca.88

When Imam entered Mecca, the objectors were innumerable. 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas suggested Imam to waive proceeding to Iraq and go to Yemen's mountains for preference due to various reasons as it is a mountainous area and more secure therein and that his fathers Shi'ite Muslims are abundant.89 It was quoted by Ibn A'tham from Ibn Hanafiyya.90

“People are partial to Dinar and Dirham which are both in the ruler's hands. Lest you might go to Iraq”, said 'Amr Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Hisham.91 The objection raised by 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar was on account of his extreme fear of bloodshedding.92 Touching upon his martyrdom in Iraq, 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja’far had written,

“ إني أخاف أن يطفيء نور الارض روح الهدى وأمير المؤمنين، فلا تعجل الى العراق فاني آخذ لك الامان من يزيد

I have a foreboding that the light of the earth will be extinguished as a result of your murder. The spirit of guidance and Amir al-Mu'minin is no one but you. Hasten not toward Iraq, I can seek quarter for you from Yazid.”93

Abu Sa'id Khudri is also quoted as saying, **“ لا تخرج على امامك** “Never revolt against your Imam.”94

Miswar Ibn Makhrama who was among the protesters as well wrote to Imam, “Be not deluded by Iraqi people”.95 What Abu Waqid Laythi had stated was like that of above.96 Moving from Iraq to Hijaz, Farazdaq opposed the travel.97

All of these objections plus some more are recorded in historical sources and many spiteful narrators might have been endeavoring to multiply them to substantiate that Imam had been truly deceived and traveled to Iraq with not a least rational reason. Prior to reflecting Imam's justification of why going to Iraq was requisite, it is worth presenting an introduction.

Political history shows that it rarely happened when a revolutionary man rose up politically he, in all probability, could foresee a definite triumph or an achievement of the goal with no peril. Those who

struggle to assume a power either benevolently or malevolently always deal with a probability.

In politics, even the most tiumphant and popular ones are invariably subjected to various probabilities of hardness and defeat. In no way should it be assumed that a movement be conducted with a high certainty. Such a notion is not only inconsistent with the historical realities, but also it is emanated from the simple-mindedness regarding the nature of political activities.

And now we ought not to presuppose that Imam should have inevitably had a high certainty to win in the travel. On the one hand, those who deemed Imam's travel inexpedient never must they notice the proof which demonstrate the probable defeat; as an instance, the people of Kufa had already been tested once.

On the other hand, those who deemed it expedient neither should they suppose that there had been no probability of defeat. Taking them all into consideration, Imam Husayn's position should be gauged in that situation first and then the travel to Iraq be evaluated considering both historical evidence and Imam's remarks.98

Imam by no means assented to Yazid and his sovereignty no matter if it might have preceded his martyrdom. Nevertheless, he was seeking for an opportunity to rise up against Yazid and secure the sovereignty. From the framework being made in Imam's mind one probability should have been preferably singled out and he should have naturally reacted to any suggestion or objection voiced. Since the plan was not flexible at all, any suggestion that could spoil it in any way was condemned on the part of Imam.

In such a situation, there existed particular specifications for the Islamic world politically. Imam had to adopt measures in such a way that he could under those circumstances achieve his goal successfully in a bid to defend the religion and establish a just government. In diverse levels were Imam's objectives.

Procuring the rule could have been treated as a considerable victory for him having been thought of it. As the one enjoying the good and prohibiting the evil, he could have accomplished his mission even though his goal had become unattainable. Given that if he were not able to reach such an achievement he had no doubt that with his blood streamed he was able to irrigate the lofty tree of Islam and enlighten the nation as to the tough environment they live in.

The reality was that Yazid never allowed anyone like Imam Husayn who abstained from swearing allegiance to him to live at ease. Owing to the fact that Imam was not a man who lives calmly, Yazid's only resort was to take his life in case he was not convinced to swear.

Moreover, Damascus, Medina and Mecca in particular and Hijaz in general were not the ones which could resist Yazid having such an intention. Imam must have turned his attention to elsewhere. Although proceeding to Mecca seemed rational for the time being thanks to its sacred nature wherein his safeti was warranted for a short while, it could certainly not be a permanent refuge for him.

Above all, Mecca was not on Imam's side and even in the course of allegiance to Amir al-Mu'minin, it swore with hesitation. At this juncture, the only place as a focal point of attention could be Iraq that was a center for Imam's Shi'ites Muslims. In different respects, it was a foe to Damascus as well. The demand made by Kufa for Imam's travel reinforced the probability of victory. The more the invitation was stressed, the more the percentage of the probable victory was augmented.

Never does it mean that there was no jeopardy in Iraq. However, the question posed is that if Imam was set to settle in somewhere, where could he select? Was Imam Husayn ever a man to swear allegiance? Or was Yazid a man who permits him to survive without allegiance? If Imam had not gone to Iraq, would not the historians have written that if he had gone, he would have gained a victory?

Would not they have inquired why he had not given a positive answer to the letters? How could he allow Yazid's agents to martyr him in Hijaz whereas he could take an action? These questions together with some more are the ones that would be raised by any wise individual were a travel to Kufa not taken place.

What merits consideration is that the consequence of objector's demands for Imam's not going was approving Yazid's sovereignty even if temporarily and never ever could it be practical for Imam. Accordingly, since seeking quarter from Yazid that had been recommended by 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far was on the condition that Imam swears allegiance to him it was on no accounts tolerable for Imam. Now let's take a glance at Imam's own response and how history has reflected it.

Among the points Imam (a) had been regularly hinting at was that Yazid with his agents would in no way allow him to remain alive in Mecca and definitely they would murder him. In an answer to Ibn 'Abbas's objection, Imam stated, **ان أقتل خارجاً منها بشبرين أحب الي من أقتل خارجاً منه بشبر** " I would rather be killed two inches farther from Mecca than one inch farther."[99]

It highlights not only the reverence of Mecca had to be observed but also Imam's life was at risk and he should have taken an action. In reacting to Ibn 'Umar, Imam had asserted:

> انّ القوم لايتركوني ... فلا يزالون حتي أبايع واني كاره فيقتلونني "

"This group will never stop insisting on swearing allegiance on my part. As I will never do so, they will kill me."[100]

The situation wherein Imam was, is well-described in above utterance. Elsewhere Imam had made it clear, **ولو كنت في جُحر هامة من هوام الأرض استخرجوني ويقتلونني** " "Even though I hide in the hole of a desert animal, they will trace and murder me." [101]

When Imam was questioned why he hastened, he answered, **لو لم أعجل لاخذت** " "I will be arrested, unless I hasten."[102]

Somewhere else he stated, **إنّ بنى أميّة أخذوا مالي فصبرت، وشتموا عرضي فصبرت وطلبوا دمي فهربت** " The Umayya confiscated my properties. I had to tolerate, marred my reputation but I tolerated, when they decided to shed my blood, I had to flee."[103]

All these narrations confirm that they were determined to take Imam's life and there was no hope of survival left provided that he contented to swear allegiance. The other side of the coin was traveling to Iraq. What spot should have been chosen by Imam?

In an interval between Sha'ban and Dhil-Hajja when Imam lived in Mecca, he received many letters from Iraq. These letters were the ones which later turned into Imam's main reason for a travel to Iraq. Any time any objection to going was raised, Imam referred to the letters.[104] When Imam faced Hurr and when he was asked by 'Umar Ibn Sa'd why he came to Iraq, he reasoned those very letters.

Once Bujayr Ibn Shaddad asked Imam for the reason of going, he replied, **هذه كتب وجوه أهل المصر**[105] "These letters are all from the distinguished of this city."

'Ashura morning, he again referred to the letters.[106] He showed the letters to 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar too.[107] His response to any objection was, **خلفي مملوءة بالكتب** " "The sack on my horse is overflown with their letters."[108]

This wide-ranging invitation was seemingly serious particularly because in addition to the mass ordinary people, the distinguished of Kufa had written the greater number of letters, those whom people follow. This crowd included many other distinguished figures as well as the Shi'ite Muslims. Were it only formed by the Shi'ite Muslims, it would take little notice in light of the fact that the number of them was truly inconsiderable. It was solely its broadness that gave a serious shape to invitation.

Beyond the invitation were the results of two tests Kufa had taken in the times of Imam 'Ali and Imam Hasan, in both of which they had failed. Which one should have been attended by Imam, their black record or their present state? Regarding our previous remarks, if we assume that the probability of Imam's victory was less than fifty percent, there was no other altentive for him?

It does appear that in normally political conditions there was no other way the probability of victory of which to be as equal as that in Kufa, neither was there in Yemen if proceeding there. It was thanks to the fact that not only the Shi'ite Muslims in Yemen were never as many as those in Kufa, but it was within the realm of Mu'awiya as well. Even when Imam 'Ali's governor was there, an army invaded Yemen from Damascus and massacred the Shi'ite Muslims.

The fundamental reason of probable victory was the letters showing that not only a great number would guard him but also they would battle against his foe. Furthermore, nowhereelse did invite him. Those who wrote letters first were such Shi'ite Muslims as Sulayman Ibn Surad, Musayyib Ibn Najba, Habib Ibn Mazahir, Rufa'a Ibn Shaddad and others.

With a short opportunity available to Imam, he selected a way reasonably. At this stage, he let the letters unanswered inasmuch as Mecca was flooded with frequent letters. Besides, the representatives of the writers went to Mecca and offered their invitations personally. Any letter received in Mecca had many a name and signature at the bottom. According to a few narrations, the number of the letters had been one hundred and fifty. Notwithstanding, Imam gave no answer to them up to the end[109] but he only contented himself with dispatching Muslim.

To assess public support better, Imam dispatched an envoy, Muslim Ibn 'Aqil who was trustworthy to Kufa. In a letter he wrote to Kufa,

> اني بعثت أخي وابن عمي وثقتي من أهل بيتي مسلم بن عقيل وقد أمرته أن يكتب الي بحالكم ورأيكم فقدموا مع ابن عمّي وبايعوه وانصروه " "

I have sent my brother, my cousin and the most truthful in my family, Muslim Ibn 'Aqil to you. I have demanded that he write about the conditions there to me. Help him and, swear allegiance to him."[110]

After Muslim had entered the town, people swore allegiance to him group by group. Recording their names, he had them make a pledge to back Imam and not be treacherous. The recorded number was twenty thousand and more.[111] Muslim who found the situation well wrote to Imam Husayn, **فاني أخبرك أنه قد بايعك من الكوفة نيف وعشرون ألفا فاذا بلغك كتابي هذا فالعجل** " "As soon as you have received my letter, hurry for more than twenty thousand people who swore allegiance to you."[112]

When Imam departed, he had received a letter informing that eighteen thousands in Kufa have sworn allegiance to Muslim.[113]

What was Imam able to do upon receiving such a letter? In advance of dispatching Muslim, by no means was he certain. But now it was the letter his envoy had written and could be the evidence of people's to him. At the last stage reacting to Ibn 'Abbas's objection, Imam said, I know that your intention is naught except advising but,

> ولكن مسلم بن عقيل كتب الي باجتماع أهل المصر على بيعتي ونصرتي وقد أجمعت على المسير اليه "

Since Muslim has written to me that all have congregated to aid me and swear allegiance to me, I am decisive to travel."[114]

In another narration, Muslim had written to Imam, **والناس كلهم معك ليس لهم في آل معاوية رأي ولا هوى**[115] "Everyone is with you and no one is attentive to Mu'awiya's family."

It was exactly what Muslim had witnessed and reported. Although he had assuredly noticed public ignorance towards Mu'awiya and their inclination to 'Ali's family, with Ibn Ziyad's arrival and black shade

of his despotism the tables were turned. Threatening Kufa was a serious affair for the Umayya. In a letter to Yazid, spies wrote, [116] قد بايع مسلم الترابية "Turabiyya– a label given to Shi'ite Muslims after naming 'Ali as Abu Turab– have all sworn allegiance to Muslim and entreated him to come to their rescue in Kufa."

Dispatching 'Ubayd Allah accounted for it. It had become totally overt that they would be deprived of Kufa unless they make haste. Notably, when according to a narration Nu'man Ibn Bashir, in addition to his indifference, had stated, [117]لابن بنت رسول الله أحب الينا من ابن بجدل "Allah's Messenger's descendant is more popular with us than Ibn Bajdal's[118] son."

As quoted by Ibn A'tham, in the course of Muslim's coming to Kufa, Nu'man was on his own in the palace. No one attended Friday prayers andP no one paid tax to him. Anyone whom he summoned did never care and anyone whom he commanded did not comply with.

Imam Versus Iraqi Army

The ever–first army Imam encountered was a one–thousand– soldier army the head of which was Hurr Ibn Yazid Riyahi; Then, Hurr was a subordinate commander at Ibn Ziyad's service and did not interfere in political affairs. By the same token on account the belief he enjoyed he along with his army performed his prayer led by Imam Husayn. Hurr's accountability was to escort Imam to Kufa and never allow him to return.

In a sermon delivered Imam addressed the worshippers as saying, "I had in no way intended to come here until your letters and message–carriers came to me. I will step into your town if you guarantee that no breach of promise will be made; otherwise, I return to where I came from".[119]

As already mentioned, as soon as Imam received Muslim's Letter, he left Mecca with all possible haste for Kufa. Moving ahead was kept on until the news of Muslim's martyrdom spread. No sooner had the caravan learned it[120] than it slackened its pace and consequently exchange of views began among Imam, his household and the followers.

It is alleged that Imam changed his mind about going onwards. Nonetheless, Muslim's brothers were not convinced but decisive to retaliate.[121] If presumably they had such an intention, they must have been definitely hopeful about the victory. And it might have influenced Imam to become apparently persuaded to proceed. It is hardly rational to assume that they sought revenge for their brother's murder while being certain of their defeat.

There existed another matter apart from political victory and it was the fact that Imam Husayn should have taken a stance on Mu'awiya after all even though it cost his martyrdom and to his eye this kind of martyrdom was equated with condemning Yazid. To confirm the probability of victory, many might have made some remarks.

Quotedly a number said, “You and Muslim Ibn 'Aqil are not alike. Upon seeing you, the people of Kufa will warmly welcome you”.[122]

They meant that perhaps Muslim could not accomplish to prompt people for whatever reason but his personality will unequivocally captivate them. In view of all letters and ten-year requests on the part of Kufa, never did it seem unlikely. Accordingly Imam consented to keep on.

In consistent with a narration in al-Futuh, the letter sent by Imam through Qays Ibn Musahhar for urging Kufa to observe their commitment[123] had been possibly after being informed of Muslim's martyrdom though doubt about Kufa had been remarkably prevailed in Imam's army its impact on returning was uncovered only when it encountered Hurr's army.

The coming of Hurr together with his army, hearing that enemy's four-thousand- soldier army being enroute to Qadisiyya as well as the previous news from Kufa given by Ibn Sa'd's envoy about Muslim's recommendation all propelled Imam to disregard going to Kufa. Being arrested and noticing how people left him alone, Muslim tried to dissuade him from coming at all costs with a message as he had already tried to persuade him. He had appealed to 'Umar Ibn Sa'd for leaving his message to Imam.

A while after receiving the message in early Muharram, Imam's caravan encountered Hurr's army in Iraq. Although Imam was set to return, Hurr impeded him, for his duty was to escort Imam to Kufa. Imam who had become aware of the real status in Kufa, rejected his request. In order to refrain from any clash for which he had no mandate, he decided to lead the army towards Karbala, an arid land, in lieu of Hijaz or Kufa.[124]

Heedless of what was adopted practically, Imam propounded the matter of returning when meeting Hurr and demanded him to allow them to return.[125] Once more he repeated the same proposal to Ibn Sa'd later,[126] and frequently he stated,

يا أيها الناس إذا كرهمتموني فدعوني أنصرف عنكم إلى مأمني الأرض

“

O people! If you are reluctant to support me, at least let me return to the secure land, Mecca.”[127]

As narrated by a number of historians, Imam's suggestions were three, Returning to Hijaz, Damascus or to oriental land of Islam, on the outskirts of the Islamic land. The tradition just mentioned in addition to others all manifest that Imam requested to only return to Hijaz, either Mecca or Medina, not to Damascus. Baladhuri has stipulated that his insistence was only on returning to Medina when seeing 'Umar Ibn Sa'd.[128]

It has been also quoted from 'Uqba Ibn Sam'an supportedly as saying, “Contrary to popular belief under no circumstances did Imam ask permission to visit Yazid and swear allegiance to him though I was beside him at all times. What he urged was,

دعوني أرجع إلي مكان الذي أقبلت منه، أو دعوني أذهب في هذه الأرض العريضة حتى تنظر الى ما يصير اليه أمر الناس

“Let me either return where I came from or live in this extensive land to find out what the destiny of such people would be.”[129]

According to Baladhuri Imam appealed to Hurr for permitting him to go to Damascus and swear allegiance to Yazid. [130] It is as plain as day that Imam endured such sufferings as the homelessness for the sake of not swearing allegiance to Yazid, and were this narration genuine supposedly, it could never be interpreted as corroborating Yazid's caliphate, but in all probability as keeping away from Ibn Ziyad's realm who was a libertine and bold man. Imam was certain that his not swearing allegiance would prompt Yazid to assassinate him; therefore, it seemed irrational to go to Damascus intentionally.

Yazid personally had written to Walid, **وليكن جوابك إليّ رأس الحسين** “ Your response to me has to be Husayn Ibn 'Ali's head.”[131]

Walid detested to murder him in person and later on he expressed regret on Imam's martyrdom.[132] It is by no means admissible that even if Imam had made such a remark, his aim could have been swearing allegiance or proceeding to Damascus at all.

When Imam for the purpose of enlightening Hurr refereed to the pile of letters from Kufa as the motivation of his travel, Hurr was totally unaware of the letters. After the letters were all displayed, he again pointed out that he was duty-bound to take them to Kufa. Imam who was never ever convinced to go to Kufa took the route of Hijaz.[133] Hurr's army blocked his way then. They compromised to take a midway neither to Hijaz nor to Kufa but to the area of al-'Udhayb.[134]

It was this point where Tirimmah Ibn 'Adi proposed Imam to go towards Tayy mountains but on account of the presence of Hurr's army and the agreement they had reached, Imam refused it[135].

On his way Imam made an attempt to switch to way to the desert and keep as far away from Kufa as possible. Hurr was regularly the one who prevented him until they arrived at Banu Muqatil's palace and then Naynawa.[136] Exactly it was here where the command of ceasing was received by Hurr from Ibn Ziyad, **و لا تحلّه إلا بالعراء على غير خضر ولا ماء** “ Keep him awaiting solely in an arid desert.”[137]

Here a number of the Shi'ite Muslims of Kufa could join Imam and despite Hurr's opposition remained beside him.[138]

While Hurr was with Imam, Zubayr Ibn Qayn suggested Imam to attack them who were few then. Declining Imam affirmed, **إني اكره أن أبدئهم بالقتال** “I loathe to be the one who wages war.”[139]

Arriving in Karbala coincided with the second of Muharram, Wednesday or Thursday. According to Dinwari, Muharram 1st was the day of arriving in Karbala.[140]

As written by Mas'udi, when Imam arrived in Karbala, five hundred cavalrymen and one hundred infantrymen were accompanying him.[141] During the eight-day period and above all on the eve of 'Ashura, the day after which war would undoubtedly break out, these men turned their back on Imam. Although the number of whom at that night might have been fewer than that reported by Mas'udi, beyond any question a number left Imam an his own at this interval.

The day after Imam's arrival in Karbala, Ibn Ziyad's troops were gradually deployed to this land. All tribes were group by group dispatched to the spot due to the fact that Ibn Ziyad insisted that each one of Kufa participate in the process.

Such a policy was to hinder a few tribes to be accused later and to try to make all have a hand in Imam's murder and it could be a hindrance to the people of Kufa to engage in any movement in 'Alawites' favor. Those having been dispatched were some twenty two thousand according to Ibn A'tham[142] although Baladhuri,[143] Dinwari[144] as well as Ibn Sa'd have described that some had fled halfway.

In view of the fact that Ibn Ziyad had announced, **أيّما رجل وجدناه بعد يومنا هذا متخلفاً عن العسكر برئت منه الذّمة** " Anyone who abstains from joining the army, from today onwards, will in no way be protected by me."[145]
And this menace was what made the crowd set out to Karbala.

'Umar Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas was due to proceed to Riy and do battle with Daylaman, a polytheist; however, it was resolved to move to Riy after finalizing the plan in Karbala. As the commander of Kufiyan troops in spite of his and Banu Zuhra's[146] reluctance, he eventually opted the governorship of Riy in return for streaming Imam's blood and then went to Karbala.[147]

At first Ibn Sa'd sent an envoy to Imam to ask for the ground of his coming. Imam who refereed to the letters received from Kufa stated that if they had retracted, he would return where he had come from. Seeking refuge, 'Umar Ibn Sa'd reported the suggestion to Ibn Ziyad, "Husayn has made a pledge to either return or go to one of the extremities of Islamic land and live a quiet life and it is satisfactory for you and is for the good of the nation, [148] **هذا لك رضا وللأمة صلاح** "Nevertheless, Shimr tried to dissuade Ibn Ziyad willing to accept the suggestion and told him that if he let Husayn go, under no conditions could he be found any more."

Ibn Ziyad in a letter to Ibn Sa'd wrote, "I have not sent you to condescend but to secure allegiance for Yazid presently. If he refrained, take his life".[149]
As soon as receiving the message, Imam stressed, **لا أُجيب ابن زياد، لا ذلك ابداً، فهل هو إلا الموت فمرحباً به** "Never ever will I reply Ibn Ziyad's proposal in affirmative. Will there be any other consequence save demise? Demise is very welcomed, however."[150]

A couple of days to 'Ashura, Ibn Ziyad commanded emphatically to keep water beyond Imam Husayn's reach, **حل بين الحسين والماء فلا يذوقوا منه قطرة كما منع بالتّقي الزّكي عثمان** " "Keep him far away from water so that he cannot take a drop as they did so to 'Uthman."[151]

He also had written to Ibn Sa'd, "I have learned that Husayn with his companions have sunk wells and water is within reach. Upon receiving the letter, stop their digging as far as possible and by no means allow them to consume the water of the Euphrates."[152]

During the last days Imam had some clandestine meetings with Ibn Sa'd attempting to dissuade him. Yet as demonstrated by historical narration's he could in no way disregard the governorship of Riy.

Shimr due to consanguinity he had with 'Abbas Ibn 'Ali's mother, made Ibn Ziyad to write guarantee of clemency to him as well as his brothers. Under no circumstances were they able to be prevailed upon to leave Imam Husayn alone.[153]In another case a guarantee of clemency is reported for 'Ali Akbar and it was also for the sake of his mother. 'Ali Akbar had asserted, **أما والله لقرابة رسول الله (ص) أولى أن ترعى من قرابة أبي سفيان** " Deferring to consanguinity with the Prophet (S) is more superior than that with Abu Sufyan."[154]

Ibn Ziyad who was determined to attack in the evening of Tasu'a (the ninth day of the month of Muharram) admitted to procrastinate it till tomorrow at the request of Imam. At night Imam made some remarks to his companions. He declared that he ignored their allegiance, they are free to leave and they can take a few members of his family with them as well. However, companions did announce their steadfastness.[155]

On the eve of 'Ashura, Imam commanded to dig out trenches all around the tents but one side to avert the enemy's attacks from all sides. From early morning of 'Ashura, both armies arrayed against one another. No imperfection could be noticed in Imam's army.

Without consideration of facts, divine predestination or the political privileges of which subsequent to Imam Husayn's martyrdom, taking the household with him exposes to view the intention Imam had for procuring Yazid the sovereignty.

Even their transferring from Mecca to Kufa had seemingly originated from political certainty and it was the submission of Kufa to Imam. Accordingly their staying in Hijaz was never politically expedient in view of the fact that it could be envisioned how the Umayya would behave towards them following securing Arabia Pertae if the victory were supposedly gained in Iraq.

On the eve of 'Ashura Imam addressed his companions as saying, "Tomorrow there shall be naught but martyrdom,

> فأنتم في حل مني وهذا الليل قد غشيكم، فمن كانت له منم قوة فليضم رجلاً من أهل بيتي اليه وتفرقوا في سوادكم، فعسى الله أن يأتي بالفتح أو أمر من عنده فيصبحوا على ما اسرّوا في انفسهم نادمين "

You are all at liberty and it is the night at which you feel secure. Any of you who is more courageous can take one from my household with him and abandon so that Allah can either grant us the triumph or adopt another measure to deter them from materializing their plan."[156]

It is alluded here that it was probable for them to gain victory or for the foes to change their minds although such a probability did never appear politically strong. Under such circumstances, there existed no other alternative other than martyrdom. Hurr's as well as thirty individuals' joining to Imam[157] in addition to political broad-mindedness on the part of Imam in 'Ashura morning both implied that such a development was not beyond the bounds of possibility.

Not withstanding 'Umar Ibn Sa'd's villainous nature whose father was among the Qa'idin[158], the malice fo such Kharijites-featured individuals as Shimr Ibn Dhi l-Jawshan[159] along with the pressure exerted by Ibn Ziyad altogether engendered one of the most gruesome felony in the Islamic world.

Imam's army as narrated by Ibn Sa'd, included fifty men but later twenty others joined him.[160]

Prior to the clashes, Imam delivered a speech to the opposite army, "Thanks to the request of you and others I came here. You had written that the Prophet's Sunna (tradition) was being neglected and discord was being sown. My coming here was at your demand to guide my forefather's Umma (nation). If now you feel disinclined, allow me return at least.

Think twice! Do you ever consider shedding the blood of the Holy Prophet's son legitimate? The son of Prophet's cousin who was the ever first believer? The one whose uncles were Hamza, 'Abbas and Ja'far? Have you ever not heard how the Prophet (S) had characterized my brother and me as, **سيدا شباب أهل الجنّة** " They both are the masters of the youth in Heaven."

Question Jabir Ansari, Abu Sa'id Khudri and Zayd Ibn Arqam if you do not believe me".[161]
The reasoning Ibn Hu□ayr had refereed to are like those mentioned.[162] Zuhayr Ibn Qayn, a renowned figure, pronounced an ultimatum as well.[163]

So for presuming that it might never be culminated in blood letting not least streaming the blood of Allah's Messenger's son, Hurr Ibn Yazid perceived the reality all at once.
He went to Ibn Sa'd asking, "Was none of his remarks convincing for you?"

"I would never murder him if I could," 'Umar Ibn Sa'd responded, "now there is no other alternative."

Upon hearing such comments, Hurr without delay went to Imam, begged for forgiveness, stood to defend him and ultimately after killing two people achieved martyrdom.[164] Among the ones who allied themselves with Imam and became martyred was Yazid Ibn Abi Ziyad, too.[165]

Since it was by no means Imam 'Ali's approach to be the beginner of the war, Imam also was not the one who commenced it in Karbala. It was 'Umar Ibn Sa'd who put on arrow in his bow and shot at Imam's army first. And afterwards he announced that they should wear witness to Ibn Ziyad that he was the first

shooter.[166]

When the battle started, the members of Imam's army went to the battlefield one by one. After a while the enemy's death toll had risen to more than the martyrs. Therefore, touching upon the fact that they were combating Arab heroes, 'Amr Ibn Hajjaj forewarned, “You will all be slaughtered unless you put them under a rain of arrows”.[167]

Under a heavy barrage of arrows and in the course of several clashes, Imam's adherents and the members of his household were martyred respectively. The details of the conflict have been inscribed by a number as inscribed by Ibn Sa'd in Tabaqat. Eventually the event of Karbala, resulting in martyring Imam and more than seventy of his followers and killing some eighty eight people of the opposite army, came to an end.[168]

The Element of Invisibility in Karbala

Among the factors that have played pivotal roles in the historical dimension of ideological epic in Karbala is the element of “invisibility”. This very element is what not merely has created friction in analyzing this historical event but has contrasted a subject in scholastic theology with a historical one. There are many narrations in this regard in most of which Allah's Messenger has foretold Imam Husayn's martyrdom. 'Allama Amini has compiled a number of such narrations in Siratana wa Sunnatana. Moreover, they can be found innumerably in Sunnites books.

In addition to[169] these narrations which are historical by themselves, there are other ones having explicitly or implicitly predicted the incident in Karbala. Below we present some adapted from the historical books.

As recounted, a night before emigrating from Medina to Mecca, when Imam went to pay a visit to the Prophet's tomb, he fell asleep. He dreamed about the Holy Prophet together with a group of angels. Hugging him, the Prophet stated,

> يا حسين! كأنك عن قريب أراك مقتولاً مذبوحاً بأرض كرب وبلا من عصابة من أمتي وأنت في ذلك عطشان لا تسقى... يا حسين إن أباك وأمك قد قدموا عليَّ وهم اليك مشتاقون وأن لك في الجنة درجات لن تنالها الا بالشهادة “

O Husayn! I foresee that in a near future you will be killed by a group from my Umma in Karbala while thirsty.... O Husayn! Your parents who are both with me are looking forward to meeting you. A rank is determined for you in Paradise to which you can reach merely through martyrdom.”

According to another narration, Imam Husayn (a) had stated in Mecca, **انّي رأيت جدي (ص) في منامي وقد أمروني بأمر وأنا ماض لأمره** “ I had a dream about my forefather. He commanded something for

implementing which I am going."[170]

On the strength of this very dream Imam wrote a letter to Sa'id Ibn 'As saying, **وأعلمك أنّي رأيت جدي في منامي مخبرني بأمر وأنا ماض له** "I inform you that I had a dream about my forefather. Since he notified me of something I am seeking for."[171] "

In Khuzaymiyya, Zaynab (S) came to Imam and said, "At midnight I heard a yell, What was it?" Imam inquired. She replied "An invisible speaker was yelling out,

ألا يا عين فاحتفلي بجهد ومن يبكي علي الشهداء بعدي

على قوم تسوقهم المنايا بمقدار الي انجاز وعدي

"O eye! Rejoice as much as you can. Who shall shed tears for the martyrs after me? Death is approaching this tribe in order to make my vow unconditional."

"Whatsoever Allah has foreordained will assuredly materialize", Imam stressed.[172]

Others are when Imam arrived in Karbala. After he asked what the area was called, he stated,

لقد مرّ أبي بهذا المكان عند مسيره الى صفين وأنا معه فوقف فسأل عنه فأخبر باسمه؛ فقال ها هنا محطّ ركابهم وها هنا مهراق دمائهم، فسئل عن ذلك، فقال: ثقل لآل بيت محمد ينزلون هاهنا "

Once my father on his way to Siffin asked the name of this area. When he was answered and while I was with him, he expressed that here would be where they would dismount and their blood would be shed. Being asked, he replied that a group from the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt would dismount here."[173]

It was in the afternoon when Imam in Tha'labiyya lay down and fell asleep. As soon as he woke up he began sobbing. After 'Ali Akbar asked the reason, he said,

انّي رأيت فارساً على فرس حتى وقف عليّ فقال: يا حسين! انّكم تسرعون المسير والمنايا لكم تسرع الي الجنّة. فعلمت أن أنفسنا قد نعيت الينا "

There was a man on horseback who came nearer and stopped before us saying, "O Husayn! The fast you are proceeding on this way, the fast your death is moving towards Paradise," I realized that our souls are bidding farewell to us."[174]

In 'Ashura morning, Imam told his sister,

يا أختاهّ اني رأيت جدي في المنام وأبي علياً وفاطمة أمي وأخي الحسن عليهم السلام فقالوا: انّك رائح الينا عن قريب وقد والله يا أختاه دنا الامر في ذلك لا شك

“O sister! Last night my forefather, my father 'Ali, my mother Fatima and my brother, Hasan, were all in my dream saying that I will join them soon. O sister! By Almighty Allah and beyond any doubt the time is ripe.”175

Concerning the eve of 'Ashura, it is quoted from Imam as stating that he had a dream about the Holy Prophet along with a number of his companions who had said, **يا بني! أنت شهيد آل محمد وقد استبشرت بك السماوات وأهل الصفح الاعلى فليكن افطارك عندي الليلة تعجل ولا تؤخر** “ O my son! A martyr of Muhammad's family is you. The heavens and the dwellers of the lofty heavens have given you glad tidings. Tonight you are supposed to break your fast beside me, so hasten.”176

Elsewhere Mujahid has narrated from Amir al-Mu'minin delivering a sermon in Kufa, **كيف أنتم اذا أتاكم أهل بيت نبيكم يحمل قويهم ضعيفهم** “ “What will you do if you see your Prophet's household while the stronger one carries the weaker one.”
“We will do so and so”, the audience responded.

Shaking his head, Imam added, **توردن ثم تعرّدون ثم تطيعون البراءة ولابراءة لكم** “ You accept and then change your mind. You prefer to disgust whereas you are not disgusted.”177

These examples all imply Imam's knowledge about the event in Karbala previous to his martyrdom. Notwithstanding, it is by all means natural that neither Imam Husayn, nor the Prophet manipulated the factor of invisibility in their political lives. Except the time of substantiating the fact of Prophethood and Imamat, the Prophet's and the twelve Imams' conduct was compatible with the existing political evaluation.

This kind of Divine knowledge was what they have been informed by Allah through distinct ways either by Gabriel, in a dream or alike owing to the fact that the principle of invisibility is beyond all's power but Allah's. Deeming the Prophet (S) as well as Imams' role models and vanguards is founded on the existing state and ostensible evaluation not the unseen.

It has been the policy of all the prophets and Imams in their natural lives. In this respect many historical and scholastic analyses are done but they are beyond the capacity of this concise book and require an independent study.

The Role of Religious Deviations in Karbala Event

The Islamic community in the year the event of Karbala took place, had greatly differed from that in the last year of Prophet's life. The trend of deviation has been however gradual, according to many of researchers, the basis thereof was established from the first years after the Prophet's departure.

The foregoing deviations were in such a way that the politicians could avail themselves of them to not only delude the people but also justify their despotism. The ones who played a crucial role in the origination and the development of such deviations were the Umayyads. The power notably secured by Yazid revealed the fact that neverever had the Umayya believed in a genuine Islam and their belief was merely a covering people had spread in order to justify and concede their sovereignty.

Having accused the Umayya of oppression and enmity,178 Imam Husayn (a) had described them as those who “obey Satan, disobey Allah, propagate misdeeds, disregard Allah's specified rules and also encrouch upon Bayt al-Mal (public treasury)”.179 In addition to creating corruption and ignoring divine limits, they had distorted a large number of religious concepts and misused them. Here let's discuss a few of them which had impacts in the course of Karbala according to historical evidence.

“Obedience to Imams, the necessity of Community and unlawfulness of breach of allegiance was three common political terms used by caliphs. It may be claimed that the above-mentioned terms could have guaranteed the base and the persistence of the caliphate.

Anyhow, these three terms were right principles among the religious, political and Islamic concepts of which observing for the sake of the community was reasonably incumbent. Obeying an Imam denotes obeying the ruling system. The question raised is that to what extent the ruler should be complied with. Is it imperative that a just Imam be followed or an unjust monarch ought to be obeyed too? Earlier we discussed it in detail while considering 'Uthman's caliphate.

Upholding Community implies avoiding disturbance or taking no action to undermine the unity or pave the ground for the emergence of a shaky Islamic community. The considerable question is whether silence should be kept before despotic monarchism or a libertine ruler under any circumstances in other words, should any objection be suppressed relying on the fact that it spoils “Community” and causes “disunion”?

Unlawfulness of breach of allegiance, namely fulfilling a pledge is heavily underlined in Islam. Since breaking a pledge or an allegiance is prohibited seriously, it stands to reason how much the role of which in political affairs can be positive.

But if the allegiance were not sworn to caliphs like Yazid or it were breached and consequently Community was spoiled, would it again follow the principle of unlawfulness of breach of allegiance or would it basically be an exception to the rule? As already alluded to the Umayya caliphs and later those of Banu 'Abbas by manipulating such concepts, however distorted and unconditional, compelled the people to acquiesce their sovereignty.

After Mu'awiya had secured allegiance for his son, Yazid, he went to Medina to coerce the opponents to swear. 'Ayisha was among in view of the fact that his brother, Muhammad Ibn Abu Bakr, had been martyred by Mu'awiya.

When the issue of allegiance was propounded, Mu'awiya told her, “I have secured allegiance for Yazid from all Muslims, if you will, **اني لا أري ذلك ولكن عليك بالرفق والتأني** “ Never do I pronounce it lawful but act moderately toward people instead.”[180]

This case in point demonstrates how 'Ayisha was ever convinced. Let's consider one other instance. As stated by Ibn Ishaq, they were doing prayers (perhaps in al-Haram mosque) they noticed that Shimr Ibn Dhi l-Jawshan, being with them, had raised his hands saying “O Allah! You are well-aware of my nobleness, so forgive me.”

“I told him, added Ibn Ishaq, how could you ever be forgiven whereas you have aided and abetted in murdering the Prophet's son?”
“What have we preformed?” Shimr reacted.

“It was the mandates of our commanders and we could in no way defy them”. If disobeyed, **كنا شراً من هذه الحمر السقا** “We would be far more inferior to water carrier beasts.”[181]

Apprehending him, Ibn Ziyad told Muslim Ibn 'Aqil, **يا شاق! خرجت علي امامك وشققت عصا المسلمين** “ O outlaw! You have seceded from your Imam and have sowed the seeds of discord among Muslims.”[182]

Muslim who never yielded to such a digression, riposted that Mu'awiya not only did not procure the caliphate through the consensus of opinions of the nation at all, but he overcame the Holy Prophet's successor through deception and usurped his caliphate.

When Imam Husayn was about to leave Mecca, the deputies of 'Amr Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'As, the governor, said, **الا تتقي الله تخرج عن الجماعة بين هذه الامّه** “ ”Do you not fear from Allah for seceding from the Muslim congregation and for causing disunion among the nation?”[183]

“We have neverever ignored disobeying Imam, nor have we seceded from Community” affirmed 'Amr Ibn Hajjaj, a commander of Ibn Ziyad's.[184]

Advising Ibn Ziyad's army, he added, **ألزموا طاعتكم وجماعتكم ولاترتابوا في قتل من مرق عن الدين وخالف الامام**
“Not ever fail to remember obedience and union and at no time do you doubt about killing the one seceding from the religion and being at variance with Imam (ruler).”[185]

Figures like 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar who was among the Sunnites religious jurisprudents and hadith-narrators, had imagined that if entire people acquiesced to swear the oath of allegiance to Yazid, they would consent too.

He had given his assurance to Mu'awiya, [186] **فاذا اجتمع النّاس على ابنك يزيد لم أخالف** “I shall oppose you unless people all swear allegiance to your son, Yazid. He also had addressed Imam as saying, “Do cause not disunion among Muslims!”[187]

Such individuals as 'Umar and 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf's daughter had written to Imam to regard

obedience with reverence and treat Community and its upholding as urgent.[188]

Another religious deviation in the Islamic community was “belief in fatalism”. Previous to the event of Karbala this belief has been misused. In Early Islamic Era, however, Mu'awiya had been the reviver of which or according to Abu Hilal 'Askari he was the initiator of which.[189]

Referring to the fact that Mu'awiya is the founder of “fatalism”, Qa□i 'Abd al-Jabbar has quoted Mu'awiya making as remarkable remarks[190] as follows, [191] **ان أمر يزيد قضاء من القضاء وليس للقضاء الخيرة من أمرهم**
“This matter concerning Yazid is a destiny from among Divine destinies and no one has any volition in this regard.”

'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad asked Iman as-Sajjad (a), **أو لم يقتل الله علياً؟** “ Was Allah not the One who killed 'Ali Akbar?”
Imam's response was, **كان لي أخ يقال له علي، اكبر مني قتله الناس** “ I had an elder brother whom people killed.”[192]

Once 'Umar Ibn Sa'd was objected why he killed Imam Husayn solely for the sake of Riy governorship, he replied that such an affair had been predestined.[193]

When alive, Ka'b al-Ahbar had been foretelling that under no conditions would authority be secured by the Hashimites, (although later both the 'Abbasids and 'Alawites could secure it as an instance in Tabaristan). It has been quoted from 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar as well, as saying, **فاذا رأيت الهاشمي قد ملك الزمان فقد هلك الزمان** “ “Any time you realized that one from the Hashimites has secured the authority, conclude that it is that end of the world.”[194]

The consequences of these kinds of deviations for the future generations were that Imam Husayn's movement has never been considered as an uprising against immorality in Sunnism but an illegal insurgency.[195]

Political Impacts of the Event of Karbala on Shi‘ism

The event of Karbala is among the determining incidents in the process of Shi'ites genesis in history. It was ealier mentioned that Shi'ism theories in general and its most elementary principle namely Imamat in particular can thoroughly be traced in the Holy Qur'an and Sunna both. Notwithstanding, the historical separation of Shi'ite Muslims from the other existing parties occurred quite gradually.

Both lifestyle and the ideas left as memorials from Imam 'Ali's caliphate could to much extent cohere Shi'ism intellectually. The Umayya advocating their self-fabricated Islam the nature and the discrepancy of which from the authentic Islam never revealed by Mu'awiya's policies could evidently be unveiled in the course of Yazid's caliphate.

Throughout the vent of Karbala, the historical separation of Shi'ite Muslims from others affected by the

Islam backed by the Umayya finalized. From then onwards, distinguishing Shi'ite Muslims as the followers of Sunna, 'Ali and his successors seemed truly a simple task.

Amongst the Shi'ite Muslims there, existed a number who were from all standpoint followers of Imam and regarded them as the Prophet's successors elected by him. The limit of Shi'ism, on the other hand, on the part of other groups from Iraq, etc was only the superiority they believed for 'Alawites over Umayyads.[196]

Those who achieved martyrdom beside Imam Husayn in Karbala were among the Shi'ite Muslims describing Imamate as the only prerogative of 'Ali and his descendants. Imam himself on various occasions had frequently recommended people to leave the right to the rightful and contribute to him as well. The Umayyads were in truth the usurpers this very right.[197] Somewhere he had stated, **أيها الناس أنا ابن بنت رسول الله ونحن أولى بولاية هذه الامور عليكم من هولاء المدعين ما ليس لهم229** "O people! This is I, a son of Prophet's daughter'. We are superior in your guardianship to the false claimants."[198]

Elsewhere, [199]أنا أحقّ من غير لقرابتي من رسول اللّه"And I deserve it more than any one else for my kinship with Allah's Messenger."

Furthermore, Imam's disciples had appreciated different opportunities by presenting such a belief either in verses of poem or prose. Said by Muslim Ibn Ziyad was that by Almighty Allah on no accounts was it Mu'awiya's right to be a caliph. He overcame the Prophet's successor by deception and usurped his caliphate.[200] 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Abd Allah Yazani, one of Imam's companions in Karbala, had composed,

أنا بن عبدالله من آل يزن ديني على دين حسين وحسن

"I am 'Abd Allah's son from Yazan family. My religion is the same as those of Husayn and Hasan." [201] Addressing Imam Husayn (a), Hajjaj Ibn Masruq had composed,

ثم أباك ذا الندى عليّا ذاك الذي نعرفه الوصيّآ

"You father, 'Ali, is sportsman like. He is the one whom we consider as the Prophet's successor."[202]

It was composed by Hilal Ibn Nafi' Bajali,

أنا الغلام التممي البجلي ديني على دين حسين وعلي2174

"This is from Banu Tamim and Bajali and I believe in the religion Husayn and his father, 'Ali believe.

In some verses 'Uthman Ibn 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib had composed,

اني أنا عثمان ذو المناخر شيخي علي ذو الفعال الطاهر

و ابن عـم النبي الطاهر أخو حسيـن خيـرة الاخائـر

و سيد الكبار والاصاغر بعد الرسول والوصي الناصر2175

“The possessor of honor is no one but me. My master, 'Ali, is the actor of all purely good deeds. The causin of the immaculate Prophet is me. I am the brother of Husayn, the most chosen of the chosen and the master of the youngest and the eldest after the Prophet and his successor.”

After Nafi' Ibn Hilal had said, **أنا الجملي أنا على دين علي** “ My religion is the religion of 'Ali.”

A person from the rival army said, 203 **أنا على دين عثمان** “My religion is that of 'Uthman.”

What can be easily discerned from these verses and others quoted from 'Abbas Ibn 'Ali and others is the Shi'ites belief of Imam's followers not only in political arena but also in ideological one.

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1. Ibn Sa‘d, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 135
2. Ibid p. 136
3. Ibid p. 131
4. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 137; see Fara’id As-Simtayn, a precious reference, for more information concerning these two Imams Among the recently published books in “Fa□a’il al-khamsa fi Sihah As-Sitta”, Ahl Bayt’s virtues are compiled from Sunnites’ famous books
5. Ibid Ibn Sa‘d, p. 146
6. Ibid p. 149
7. Ibn Sa‘d, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 145
8. Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXII, p. 405
9. Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXIV, p. 266
10. al-Futuh, vol. III, p. 35
11. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp 154-155, footnote; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 224; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 180-181; al-Ihtijaj, vol. II, p. 20; pp 48,49; al-Darajat l-rafi‘a, p. 434; Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, vol. II, p. 121; a part of the letter in al-Muhabbar, p. 479 therein the names of the two from Ha□ram whose martyrdom was mentioned by Imam are referred to as Muslim Ibn Zaymur and ‘Abd Allah Ibn Nuja
12. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, Ibn ‘Asakir, p. 198
13. al-Darajat al-Rafi‘a, p. 429; Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. II, pp 231-232
14. Tarikh Madinat Dimashq, Tarajim al-Nisa’, pp 469-470
15. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, Ibn Sa‘d, pp 145-146
16. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, Ibn Sa‘d, p. 149
17. Ibid p. 150

18. Akhbar al-Tiwal,p. 227
19. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 11
20. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 17
21. Dinwari, p. 228
22. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 16; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 15
23. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 37
24. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 260-261; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 46 This emphasis was because they were infamous for not supporting ‘Ali and his son, Hasan
25. The letter is fullyread in al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 20
26. al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 49,50
27. Ibid vol. V, p. 53
28. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 263-264 Some researchers deny such events Mab‘uth al-Husayn, p. 90
29. Ash-Shahid Muslim, p. 104; these sentences are not in historical books but Muqarram by availing Himself of narrations related to allegiance of ‘Aqaba and Yawm al-fath has referred approximately to them
30. al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 59,60
31. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 271
32. Ibid vol. IV, p. 273; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 28
33. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 265; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 21
34. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 267; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, pp 24, 25
35. Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p. 242 Later on Shurayh had said, “As Ibn Ziyad had appointed an agent to watch me, I scared to give Hani’s message to the members of the tribe that he was under duress ”
36. al-Kmail fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 31
37. al-Irshad, p. 210, Around 4000 people is reported
38. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 277; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 87; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 31
39. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 227
40. al-Irshad, p. 212
41. Al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 98
42. Ibid vol. IV, p. 35
43. al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 98,99; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 283
44. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 57; Maqtal al-Husayn, vol. I, p. 197; Mab‘uth al-Husayn, p. 123
45. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 27
46. Mab‘uth al-Husayn, pp 152, 153
47. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 249
48. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 164; Akhbar al-Tiwal, 245; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 289-290
49. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 245
50. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 247
51. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 120
52. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 300
53. The message was that Imam Husayn should return to Hijaz as soon as possible
54. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 247, 248
55. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 169
56. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 248
57. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 300, 301
58. See, Acquaintance with the people of Kufa at the beginning of discussion about Imam Hasan’s Caliphate
59. Men such as ‘Amr Ibn Hajjaj and Shabath Ibn Rib‘i who were commanders of Ibn Ziyad’s army in Karbala were among those writing letters to Imam Husayn See al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 50-51
60. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 185; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 169
61. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 277, Ibn A‘tham, writing the letter was a trick against me and for becoming nearer to Yazid

62. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 59
63. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 178; Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp 245, 255
64. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 179
65. It was noticed, in Iraqi war against Iran, how it compelled Iraqi people to combat Iranian Muslims By the same token, such people are culprit and we do never intend to acquit the people of Kufa this way, But there is a vast difference between the one who goes freely and the one going under duress However, many chiefs and nobles and those affiliated with the Umayya whom later Zaynab and Umm Kuthum blamed went to Karbala willingly.
66. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 290; al-Futuh vol. V, pp 120,124; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 245; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 165
67. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn of Ibn Sa'd, p. 171; Tarjamat al-Husayn, Ibn 'Asakir, p. 206
68. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 48
69. Tashayyu' dar masir Tarikh, p. 160
70. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 179
71. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 254
72. Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, p. 70
73. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 172
74. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn of Ibn Sa'd, p. 178
75. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. 7
76. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 73
77. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn of Ibn Sa'd, pp 178-179
78. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 243
79. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 263; Imam had already asked some of the Shi'ites distinguished in Basra for help in a letter, vol. IV, p. 23
80. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp 173,179; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 295
81. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 180; al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 159,160
82. al-Muhabbar, p. 303
83. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 157
84. Tarjamat al-Imam Husayn of Ibn Sa'd, p.178.
85. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 226
86. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 28; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 61 (Even this one is not mentioned either)
87. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, Ibn 'Asakir, p. 197; Akhbar al-Tiwal pp 222-224
88. al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 36,37; Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp 228,246; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 19 on p. 41 Imam's meeting with Ibn MuTi' eroute from Mecca to Kufa is referred
89. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 224; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 113; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 287; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 161; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 39
90. Ibn A'tham, vol. V, p. 32
91. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 161; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 110; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 287
92. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 163; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 39; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn of Ibn Sa'd, p. 166
93. Ibn A'tham, vol. V, p. 116; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 291; Ibn Athir, vol. IV, p. 40
94. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn of Ibn Sa'd, p. 167
95. Ibid p. 167
96. Ibid p. 166
97. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 165
98. As mentioned earlier, this matter is beyond the scholastic aspect of Imamate
99. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 164; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 289; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 113; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, the first Ibn 'Asakir, p. 190; al-Ma'rifat wal-Tarikh, vol. I, p. 541; Majma' al-Zawa'id, vol. I, p. 192; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 55; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 38
100. loc cit
101. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 116; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 38

102. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 290
103. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 124
104. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp 163-165
105. Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 173
106. Ibid p. 181
107. Ibn 'Asakir,Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 192
108. Ibid pp 209, 210
109. See, al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 46, 49, 50, 51; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 262
110. See, al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 52; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 262
111. See, al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 68, see also Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 259; Ibn 'Asakir, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, 207; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p54, (The number recorded was 12000); see also, al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. 5 (The recorded number was 30000
112. Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 174; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 281; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 77
113. Ibid p. 174
114. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, pp 54, 55
115. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 281
116. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 281
117. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. 5
118. Ibn Bajdal refers to Yazid
119. Akhbar al-Tiwal, see also Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 170; Al Futuh, vol. V, p. 135
120. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 247 it is narrated that two people belonging to Banu Asad who were coming from Kufa informed them That the one giving the news of Muslim's martyrdom was either Farazdaq or Hurr is not true See Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 61; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 125
121. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 168; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 292;Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 176; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. 6
122. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 300; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 42
123. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 304
124. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 170; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 139; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, pp 47, 48
125. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 170; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 135; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 250
126. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 311; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 155
127. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 323
128. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. II, p. 182
129. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 54
130. Ibid p. 173; in footnote, this tradition is declared untrue by Editor
131. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 26
132. Ibn Sa'd,Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 192
133. Ibid p. 250
134. Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 250; al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 130, 141; vol. II, p. 170
135. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 307; Baladhuri, vol. II, p. 173 the tribe of Banu Tayy was the tribe of Hatam Tayi whose son, Adi, was from among the Prophet's and later 'Ali's companions and now his son, Tirimmah, made such a suggestion for his Shi'ism
136. Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp 250, 251
137. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 176;Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 251
138. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 172.
139. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 252
140. Ibid p. 253
141. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 61
142. Hurr with one thousand, Husayn Ibn Numayr with tour thousand, Shabath Ibn Rib'i with one thousand, Shimr Ibn Dhi l-

Jawshan with four thousand, ... ; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 159

143. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 179.

144. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 254.

145. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 178

146. Sharaf al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 178

147. Imam sent an envoy to dissuade Ibn Sa'd but the response given to him was رفي ابن سعد أن يقتلك بملك اسري Ibn Sa'd to battle against you in return Riy Al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 173

148. al-Irshad, p. 229

149. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 166; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III,, p. 183 فانظر فإن نزل الحسين واصحابه على الحكم فابعث بهم اليّ سلماً وإن أبوا فازحف إليهم حتى تقتلهم وتمثل بهم فانهم مستحقون لدنك

150. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p.254.

151. This order was given three days after Imam's arrival See also, Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 255; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 180, what Ibn Ziyad has stated about 'Uthman was on no accounts true because when 'Uthman was under opponents' pressure, it was Imam 'Ali (a) who provide water for him Earlier, we have discussed this in this regard

152. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 162; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 311 Reaction to some objections as saying because with digging two or three metersof water could be found in Karbala and there was no need for the water of the Euphrates; there fore, no one suffered from thirst It is absolutely evident that Ibn Ziyad's army was so ruthless that it did not allow them to sink wells Nevertheless, Imam's army could take water from the Euphrates several times until a couple of days prior to Ashura

153. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 184; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 168

154. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 182

155. Ibn Sa'd,Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn,, p. 178; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, pp 58,59

156. Ibn Sa'd,Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, pp 179, 180

157. Ibid pp 178, 181; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. 7

158. Those who had been described well by Imam 'Ali (a) as خذلوا الحق ولم ينصروا الباطل They have not only forgotten the gospel truth but also they never back the credal error

159. Notorious of being Kharijites

160. Ibn Sa'd,Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 178

161. Ibn Sa'd,Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 181 see also al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, pp 60, 61

162. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 182

163. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 63

164. Ibid vol. IV, pp 64-65

165. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 73

166. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 326; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 183

167. Tarkih Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 331; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 67

168. Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 184; see also Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 63 It has been the true historical narration and consistent with the status quo at that time and the mutual manners

169. See Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, pp 154-161 and the footnotes of the pages

170. Ibid vol. V, p. 51

171. Ibid vol. V, p. 116; see also Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 291, he had written the same to 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far as well See also Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 202

172. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 122

173. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 253

174. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 177; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 123

175. al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 175-176

176. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 181

177. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 82

178. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 137

179. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 171; al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 144-15; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 304; elsewhere, Imam had

stated, الا ترون أن الحق لا يعمل به وأن الباطل لا يتناهي عنه Not you see how the gospel is not practiced but the credal error is endlessly practiced? Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 305; Ibn 'Asakir, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn,p. 214 Also Imam had said, فان السنة قد أميتت وان البدعة قد أحييت The Prophet's Sunnah is dissolved while heresies are revived Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 266

180. al-Futuh, vol. IV, p. 237; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 183

181. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 197; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, Lisan al-Mizan, vol. III, p. 151 (Al-Humayr As-Saqqa'at

182. al-Futuh, bol 5, p. 98

183. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 289; such adverse publicity had made, the majority of people specially those from Damascus to consider Imam Husayn as an outsider (the one seceding) and to accuse him of heresy

184. Tarikh at-Tabari, p. 275

185. Ibid p. 331

186. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 167, as described by Mu'awiya, Ibn 'Umar was a coward (Ibn A'tham, vol. IV, p. 260) He advised Imam Husayn saying "Do not rise up, be patient, compromise as others did See also al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 39; Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 166

187. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 17

188. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 167

189. al-Awa'íl, Askari, vol. II, p. 125

190. Fa□l al-I'tizal wa Tabaqat al-Mu'tazila, p. 143

191. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp 183, 187

192. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 188

193. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. 148

194. Ibn 'Asakir,Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, p. 193

195. Tarikh Islam, Cambridge University, vol. I, p. 81 (English text); See also al-Ikhtilaf fil-laf¨, pp 47-49

196. In "Tarikh tashayyu' dar Iran" we have discussed in detail

197. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 170; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 135

198. al-Futuh, vol.V, p. 137

199. al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 144-145

200. Ibid vol. V, p. 98

201. Ibid vol. V, p. 194

202. Ibid vol. V, p. 199

203. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 331, 336

[1] [1]

SHARES

Transfer of Caliphate to the Marwanids

Dispute Between Hijaz and Damascus

Seemingly subsequent to Imam Husayn's martyrdom, there existed no hurdle facing the Umayya. It was Yazid's impudence that had one of the Muhajirun's descendant, 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr, muster up courage and cause turbulence in Hijaz. Although one of the instigators of the war of Jamal was he,

during Imam Husayn's several-month presence in Mecca, despite his own mind and due to his political harmony with Imam, he established a good rapport with him. (Stipulated by all historians, however, is that he wished Imam had gone to Kufa and Hijaz had been prepared for him. Every thing went on favorably).

Imam Husayn was martyred. There remained no competitor for 'Abd Allah in Hijaz. Nevertheless, not only he did by no means intend to battle against Yazid overtly, but also had claimed that he wanted the caliphate not for himself and he proposed that the sequence and designation of the caliphs be in accordance with the “council”.1 He, however, began securing allegiance from the people of Hijaz covertly.

Being extremely concerned about the probable aftermath of Karbala movement, Yazid exerted himself to invoke trickery like his father. Accordingly, he sent presents to Ibn Zubayr. In no way did he accept. As soon as he aggravated his conflict, a group from Mecca and Medina joined him.2[2178]

Once more Yazid dispatched a number of the distinguished of Damascus to silence him through alluring and menacing. As well as indicting Yazid for corruption, he announced that revolting was not his intention and he had chosen the shrine to be secure from Yazid and others. He described himself as a pigeon among the pigeons of the shrine.3[2179]

Yazid was set to suppress Ibn Ziyad's movement as soon as possible. He commanded Medina governor, 'Amr Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'As, as a result, to delegate a group to kill Ibn Zubayr in Mecca.4 'Amr Ibn Sa'id also sent 'Amr Ibn Zubayr, who was 'Abd Allah's brother and Umayya on his mother's side, to accompany the army going for a battle.

A clash between he and his brother in the vicinity of Mecca ended to 'Amr's defeat and capture. All the excruciating tortures he sustained under the name of Islamic punishment limits for his atrocities caused him so enervated that he lost his life in 'Abd Allah's prison with no doctor.5[2181]

This incident had prompted the followers of Zubayr to feel more powerful and absorb people in both Medina and Ta'if. Since Ibn Zubayr considered Walid Ibn 'Uqba who had replaced 'Amr Ibn Sa'id perilous in Medina, he urged Yazid in a letter to substitute a sedate one for him if he wanted the state to improve. No sooner was 'Uthman Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Sufyan appointed6 than their pressure exerted on the Umayyads being in Mecca and Ta'if multiplied.7

There, two towns at a regular pace were seized by 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr. Now Damascus was assured that in order to pacify Hijaz, its forces never suffice and it was obliged to seek help from the dwellers of Damascus.

The Battle of Harra Waqim

Among the most detestable atrocities committed by the Umayya following Imam Husayn's martyrdom was one notorious for the event of Harra in Islamic history. This event is connected to the revolt of Medina in 26th or 27th Dhil-Hajja, 63 A.H.[8], not 62[9] nor 64[10] A.H. which culminated in bloodletting by Damascus army. Three versions as alluded to by historians elucidating the motivations behind the revolt:

First: According to Baladhuri when 'Abd Allah murdered his brother, 'Amr, he summoned people to balk at obeying Yazid and to combat against him. Later than Medina which was called upon. Hijaz bowed to be dutiful to him. 'Abd Allah Ibn Muti' secured allegiance from Medina on behalf of Ibn Zubayr. Upon hearing the news, Yazid appealed to the governor for dispatching the distinguished of Medina to him for affability....[11]

> As indicated through this version, Medina stood against Yazid as a result of swearing allegiance to Ibn Zubayr, due to the fact that subsequent to the event of Harra, Ibn Zubayr had proclaimed to his adherents, "Your friends were all massacred in the event".2188Abul-Faraj has also presented interpretation concerning how Medina deposed Yazid from caliphate and swore allegiance to Ibn Zubayr in the process of its revolt.2189

> Second: Written by Ya'qubi is that once 'Uthman Ibn Muhammad was appointed as the governor of Medina, in order Ibn Mina as usual to take Sawafi -the picked-out objects from Bayt al-Mal exclusively for the caliph- he went to Medina. Deeming them their own properties, a number of people inhibited him from taking. The insurrection and dismissal of the Umayya from the town stemmed from the verbal dispute occurred between people and the governor.2190 Like this narration Ibn Qutayba has also narrated.2191

> Third: Tabari's version is that after 'Uthman Ibn Muhammad's appointment, he sent a group from among the distinguished of Medina to Yazid to be endowed with his affability and generosity. While returning from Damascus, they commenced slandering Yazid, ليس له دين، يشرب الخمر، يغرف بالطنابير ويضرب عنده القيان ويلعب بالكلاب " Being irreligious, he drinks, he plays lute, plays with the dogs and his slaves play music for him."

In lieu of admiring him, they, consequently, declared that they would neither comply with him nor approve his sovereignty.[12]

It seems that all the three points were taken into account. Immediately after proposing the first matter, Baladhuri propounded the third one. Zubayr-orientedness has certainly been considered as a

fundamental element in Hijaz. The second matter was then what could pave the ground for nation's disgust from the Umayya.

In historical sources Hijaz is famed for being Abu Bakr- and 'Umar-oriented whereas Damascus famed for being Umayyads-oriented and such places as Iraq for Shi'ism and alike. Such a feature attributed to the people of Hijaz particularly people of Medina who had been accomplices in 'Uthman's assassination, impeded them to be approved by the Umayya and vice versa.

Moreover, Medina which had observed 'Umar's open-handedness including both Muhajirun and Ansar, now could in no way tolerate the Umayya when noticing how Mu'awiya and his son treated for taking the properties.

Ibn Zubayr's emergence in political scene as well as the Umayya's fragility in Hijaz laid the foundations for the riot of Medina. Yazid's attempt for pacifying them through 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far remained abortive.[13]

Nu'man Ibn Bashir, a pro-Umayyads Ansar, (converting to a pro-Zubayr one and killed later) went to Medina to summon the people to "obedience to Imam" and "observing community" on behalf of Yazid,[14] people declined, nevertheless. Tabari has quoted 'Amr Ibn Sa'id as saying, "Both Mecca and Medina incline towards Ibn Zubayr."[15]

The insurgents besieged the Umayya together with their followers and governors being as many as one thousand assembled in Marwan Ibn Hakam's house and then expelled them disdainfully while children were hurling stones.[16]

They bet that if the expelled swore not to return along with the Damascus army, they would be allowed to leave the city. They assented although atrocious individuals like Marwan[17] breached their promise. As this expulsion is introduced by Waqidi to be done by Ibn Zubayr, he has added that the total number of those expelled from Mecca, Medina and other areas had been some four thousand people.[18] In accordance with Ibn A'tham the insurgents were led by 'Abd Allah Ibn Hanzala Ghasil al-Mala'ika at Ibn Zubayr's behest, the governor of Medina.[19]

Wearied of his political strategies for silencing Ibn Zubayr as well as Medina, Yazid sent an army to Medina. The commander of the army was Muslim Ibn 'Uqba who slaughtered so many people that he was named "Musraf" (prodigal killer). Apparently, his five-thousand-soldier[20] army was sufficient for suppressing Mecca and Medina through the number might have been higher.

The people of Damascus were allowed to loot the town and take the possession of other's properties after gaining victory.[21] When being dispatched, they received their proportion from Bayt al-Mal thoroughly in addition to surplus a hundred Dinars.[22]

The residents of Medina dug trenches at the entrance to the town (exactly where the Prophet had dug

on the course connecting the western Harra to the eastern in Northern Medina) for the purpose of protecting the town. They were led 'Abd Allah Ibn Muti', Ma'qal Ibn Sanan together with 'Abd Allah Ibn Hanzala at the top who was killed with his son during the clash.

Instantly after the Damascus armies arrived in Medina, they settled in the district of Harra in consultation with 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan expelled along with other members of the Umayya. They could also flourish to take in a number of Banu Haritha with the help of Marwan by financial promises[23] and penetrate into the town.

Their invasion and clashes lasted less than twenty four hours, they could besiege the town, however.[24] As already pledged by Yazid entire possessions of the town belonged to the armies for a three-day period, hence they spared no crime in this respect. At this juncture, not only many were slayed but also a large number of women were raped.[25]

Muslim Ibn 'Uqba murdered a multitude of the captives including a few from Quraysh.[26] Among the victims were a group from the Prophet's companions who were beheaded later.[27]

Reported by Ibn Qutayba the death toll included one thousand and seven hundred Ansar, Muhajir and their offspring plus ten thousand ordinary people.[28] He has added that as many as eighty people form companions were also killed.[29] Haytham Ibn 'Adi has recorded six thousand and five hundred casualties.[30] Reported by Mas'udi is ninety and so from Quraysh, the mentioned number from Ansar and four thousand others identified.[31]

What has been narrated by Ibn A'tham is that Muhajirun's offspring had been one thousand and three hundred while those of Ansar had been one thousand and seven hundred.[32] This figure is except the common victims. These pieces of data depict how many citizens were decimated and how many houses were looted in the course of the incident.

'Awana Ibn Hakam has stated that when they invaded the town from the side of Banu Haritha, the only house which remained immune was Usama Ibn Zayd's and the only woman was one from Himyar. They combated the people of Medina while calling them Jews.[33] Within the event of Harra it was not simply Ansar who were borne a grudge by the Umayya but there also existed many a family from Muhajirun among the victims. Here we should make allowance for two points:

1. It can be claimed politically that although the scene was set for the invasion in early 60s, amongst the most crucial points meriting consideration is the participation of Medina in 'Uthman's assassination in 36 AH. Having counted hopefully on 'Uthman and specifically considering Medina as a principal accomplice of the assassination, the Umayya called the event of Harra as a retaliatory reaction. It was the notion of Yazid.[34]

Another evidence is that this man namely, Muslim Ibn 'Uqba was captured in the Holy Prophet's term in Ghatafan. A woman from Ansar purchased and then liberated him. When he was appealed in the course

of the event for having regard to them for the sake of his past, he responded, **لكنكم قتلتم عثمان** " "You are 'Uthman's assassins."[35]

As soon as the news of the event spread, Yazid recited the poem Ibn Zib'ara had composed in Uhud i.e, **ليت أشياخي ببدر شهدوا** "I wish my forefathers had been present in Badr observing."[36]

Alluding to taking revenge of Ansar for slaying Quraysh in Badr. While the Damascus army was invading Medina, it yelled out, **يا لثارات عثمان** " "O revengers for 'Uthman's blood."[37]

Subsequent to the event of Harra, Muslim announced, "Now I am extremely thrilled to kill 'Uthman's assassins".[38]

Later on 'Abd al-Malik addressed Medina as saying, **انكم لا تحبوننا وأنتم تذكرون يوم الحرة ونحن لانحبكم أبداً ونحن نذكر مقتل عثمان** "You do dislike us due to the event of Harra and we do so due to 'Uthman's murder."[39]

2. Another matter was the staunch belief in "obedience to the caliph" and "observing community" prevailing among the people in Damascus and it was the Umayya who had made them firmly cleave to these principles. Such a belief was the main means for provoking and deploying them to Medina.[40]

Deep-rootedly faithful to the principles, Muslim Ibn 'Uqba consented to attacking Medina and trespassing its sacred limits. After the massacre he said, "O my God, Thou art all aware that under no conditions have I disobeyed a caliph neither publicly nor privately. I consider the annihilation of the residents of Harra my worthiest deed after the avowal of, **لااله الا الله** " There is no God but Allah."[41]

"Nothing has so far been more adorable for me than turning cleansed. Now after wiping off these corrupt people I feel entirely cleansed", added he.[42]

Husayn Ibn Numayr, Muslim's successor, quoted him while breathing his last enroute to Mecca subsequent to the event as saying, **أللّهم انك تعلم أني لم أشاق خليفة ولم أفارق جماعة قط فاغفرلي** " "O Allah! You are well conscious that I have never ever stood against a caliph nor have I dared to secede from Community, so forgive me."[43]

The impacts of such religious deviations were discussed in the chapter concerning Karbala uprising. The principles of observing Community and obedience to Imam yet admissible, the main condition of obeying an Imam is venerating the religious limits and stipulations on his part.

The Damascus army after accomplishing their operations in Medina set out to Mecca to repeat the same crimes against Ibn Zubayr and his followers. Muslim passed away on the way and then Husayn Ibn Numayr replaced him at Yazid's behest. He proceeded and for a several-month period settled on the outskirts of Mecca and threw stones and balls of fire to the divine shrine from the pinnacles of the mountains through catapults.[44]

Becoming informed of Yazid's death in Rabi' al–Awwal 64 A.H., he ultimately called a truce. Husayn, who had entered Mecca for the pupose of pilgrimage following a concord, proposed Ibn Zubayr to accompany him to Damascus and lay the groundwork for his caliphate. He declined, however.[45] In order to take part in the activities prevalent in Damascus regarding the caliphate, he returned. The way was wholly paved for Ibn Zubayr in Iraq since 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad had rushed to Damascus upon hearing Yazid's demise.

At this stage, there was no obstacle facing Ibn Zubayr in Hijaz. The vital troubles were in Iraq in view of the fact that his plans for domination were thwarted by the Shi'ite Muslims who were extricated from the Umayya's domination and had gained a profound influence on the city.

The Penitents' Movement in 65 A.H.

Tawwabin's Movement occurred in 65 against the Umayya's sovereignty and for the purpose of eradicating Husayn Ibn 'Ali's assassins although the start of which had sparkled emotionally with in the hearts of a huge number of the Shi'ite Muslims after the even of Karbala. The Kufiyan Shi'ite Muslims, who had become conscience– stricken at leaving Imam Husayn helpless in Karbala, were determined to make amends at all costs. Not supporting Imam Husayn had become an unforgivable sin in their sight the compensation thereof would be feasible provided that they be killed or kill his assassins.

The Umayya and their agents had Kufa under their thumbs for a while following the event in Karbala. Despite the suppression of the Shi'ite Muslims and the existing restlessness created by Ibn Zubayr in the easternmost part of the Islamic land, the Shi'ite Muslims were still deemed perilous. Here recounting an example of the Shi'ite Muslims' valour against 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad looks appropriate.

Some day after the event of Karbala 'Ubayd Allah on the pulpit in a mosque proclaimed. "Exaltation does solely belong to Allah who made the truth prevail and aided Amir al–Mu'minin Yazid Ibn Mu'awiya and his party".

As soon as he heard, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Afif Azdi who had lost the use of one of his eyes in Jamal and the other in Siffin stood up and dissented, "O liar! O liar's son! By Almighty Allah you, your father with the one designating you and his father murder the Prophet's descendants, and now talk like the truthful!"

"O Allah's foe! What are you saying about 'Uthman?" 'Ubayd Allah asked.

"He was a man who did both good and bad, both reformed and corrupted. It is Allah's Providence to treat justly. Why do you not inquire about yourself, your father, Yazid and his father?" 'Abd Allah retorted.

'Ubayd Allah said furiously, "Never shall I inquire so that I can take your life. I have constantly beseeched Him to bestow martyrdom on me. Before you were born I lost the use of my eye hence I relinquished my hope." "But now I offer my gratitude to Him who is accepting my prayer," calmly uttered 'Abd Allah.[46]

When the turmoil caused by Ibn Zubayr flared up in Mecca and the appearance of a revolt in Kufa was probable, Ibn Ziyad summoned 'Amr Ibn Hurayth, Kufa's governor, to delineate to what extent the news is reliable.

He stated, “Ibn Zubayr is never threatening for Amir al-Mu'minin Yazid.” **إني أخاف عليه من الترابية شيعة أبي تراب علي بن ابي طالب (ع)** “What perturbs me is 'Ali's Shi'ite Muslims. Is there anyone in Kufa nowadays ho feels affection for him?”

“Definitely no one adores him but abhores him,” answered 'Amr Ibn Hurayth.
Ibn Ziyad named Mukhtar as an instance. Later, Ibn Hurayth apprehended Mukhtar[47] until 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar went to his assistance.

Next adventures proved that 'Ali's and his descendant's faithful followers were myriad in Kufa who were secretly in contact with one another those days. The dilemma facing the Shi'ite Muslims was double-sided.

One was from the Umayya's side and the other from the side of the nobles and a large number of Kufiyans who had been in the opposite front against Imam Husayn in Karbala; There fore, the stance taken was anti-Shi'ism. A group of the Shi'ite Muslims set to take a revenge for Imam Husayn's martyrdom were necessarily hostile to Kufiyans as well who had martyred Imam.[48]

Succeeding Yazid's death in 64, Shi'ite Muslims were called upon by Sulayman Ibn Surad Khuza'i. Many replied him in affirmative.[49] But since the Umayya's sovereignty had not become unstable yet, there was no strong probability for their emergence. First of all they began dissemination and assembling the propagandists, they trained and spread them around.[50]

Little by little, the Umayya's state deteriorated. The second Mu'awiya, Yazid's son, either abdicated or was curbed by others. The status quo in Damascus was the scene of unrest. The clashes were arisen among 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr's adherents on the one hand and among Marwan Ibn Hakam's on the other hand. The consequence of such riots was nothing except the stabilization of The Umayya's sovereignty in Iraq and the abolition of which gradually notwithstanding, 'Abd al-Malik could take Iraq under the Umayya's rule once again in early 70 A.H.

The Shi'ite Muslims appreciated the convenient opportunity and maintaining their endeavors commenced from 61 onwards to instruct forces and store weapons[51] they began recruiting troops. Four eminent Shi'ite Muslims who were chosen as responsible for organizing with Sulayman were Musayyib Ibn Najba, 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Nawfal, Rufa'a Ibn Shaddad as well as 'Abd Allah Ibn Wal. A great number of the renowned Shi'ite Muslims in Kufa took part in the session convened.[52]

Delivering lectures in this convention, the Shi'ites leaders laid stress upon making amends for their oppressive behavior towards the right of the prophet's infallible household and leaving him all alone. They were intent on repenting and being killed to make up for their misdeed.[53] By relying on the

Qur'anic verse:

يا قوم إنكُم ظَلمتمْ أنفُسَكمْ باتّخاذِكُمْ العِجْل فَتُوبُوا إلي بارئِكُمْ فَاقْتُلُوا أنفسكُمْ

“O my people! Thou have surely been unjust to thyselves by taking the calf (for a god), therefore turn to thy Creator (penitently), so kill thy people.”54

In the meeting all reached an agreement to cooperate. Those who appealed for fiscal help to the movement were supposed to refer to 'Abd Allah Ibn Wal.55

The elderly man elected as the leader of the movement was Sulayman, from among Prophet's companions and Imam 'Ali's adherents. In his first action, he wrote to Sa'd Ibn Hudhayfa Ibn al-Yaman who was one of the special Shi'ite Muslims residing in Ctesiphon, a Shi'ites Muslim-populated area, to join them together with other Shi'ite Muslims if willing. He declared the predetermined date and place of departure. It was Rabi' al-Awwal, 1st. 65 in Nukhayla, well-known barracks in Kufa.56

The words attributed to the penitents (Tawwabin) to have uttered in a sermon clearly manifest the content of the movement. Enumerating the greatness of the Prophet's descendants, 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Abd Allah hinted at how they were affronted in Karbala and while addressing the audience being Tawwabin, he affirmed how to repent,

أما أدعوكم إلى كتاب الله وسنة نبيّه والطلب بدماء أهل بيته وإلى جهاد المحلين والمارقين فَإن قتِلنا فما عند الله خير للأبرار وإن ظهرنا، رددنا هذا الأمر إلى أهل بيت نبيَنا

“I do call you towards the divine Book, the Prophet's Sunna, a revenge for Ahl al-Bayt's blood and Jihad against the deniers of the religion as well as Mariqin. Were we killed, whatsoever exclusively assigned to the benevolent would be the best. But if we could succeed, the authority would be belonged to Ahl al-Bayt.”57

Concurrent with launching the movement of Tawwabin, both Kufa and Basra were ruled by 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr's agents. As no one had replaced 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad in Iraq who had already fled to Damascus, 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr, the ruler of Mecca from 61 on, dispatched his agents to Iraq and accordingly the pro-Zubayr elements took the thorough power of oriental Islamic land. A man called 'Abd Allah Yazid Ansari was appointed as governor and Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Talha as treasurer.

Kufiyan noblemen who were every time in favor of the Umayya inwardly and outwardly, straightly invoked 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr on learning that a Shi'ites movement was expected. On the other hand, Shi'ite Muslims and those having a tendency went towards Sulayman or Mukhtar as it will be noticed later.

Vital for the Shi'ite Muslims was a reaction against both the nobles and the ruling system in Kufa. They were by no means two separate issues inasmuch as the governor of the town was a Zubayr–designated one and the nobles were also for the governorship. Hardly ever could Shi'ite Muslims clash them.

'Abd Allah Ibn Yazid, the governor, adopted initially a misleading stance to turn Shi'ite Muslims' attention to Damascus and goad them into confronting 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad's army departing from Damascus. He believed that they would be naturally supported if they searched for Husayn Ibn 'Ali's assassins.

Since it was not vague that his assassin was no one but Ibn Ziyad, never would Tawwabin trigger off a wave of carnage inside the town[58]. This taken stance not merely could contribute to the intratown security to be well safeguarded but could propel Zubayr's opponents to come into conflict with one another. And consequently pro–Zubayr men would simply get rid of their threats.

Although the position was propounded a reconcilable one by such persons as Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Talha, and even if 'Abd Allah Ibn Yazid's real intention were not deceitful, it compelled Tawwabin to leave Kufa and encounter the major army of Damascus with their minor one.

At all events it forced the Shi'ite Muslims to act openly and get fully equipped to proceed to Damascus.[59]

Sulayman who was also gratified with military expedition to Damascus in a response to those advising that Imam's assassins live in Kufa said that the foremost cause of the event was Ibn Ziyad.[60]

By the same token no one defied. Sulayman had added that a battle inside Kufa would culminate in fratricide and automatically multiply the adversaries and figures like 'Umar Ibn Sa'd were not as powerful as Ibn Ziyad.[61] Sulayman might have implied that he would meet his doom later.

In the throes of the activities, Mukhtar, a prominent Shi'ites Muslim, arrived in Kufa. As elicited from the reports, he had preplanned to mobilize the Shi'ite Muslims for an uprising but he was faced with Tawwabin's movement in Kufa. As far as he was concerned such a movement was on no accounts a fundamental stride for achieving the goal and the only aftermath thereof would be Shi'ites's genocide. The propaganda made a number of Shi'ite Muslims to incline towards him.[62] Approximately a quarter of those swearing allegiance to Sulayman began advocating Mukhtar.[63]

Some four thousand people out of sixteen or twelve thousand men who had sworn allegiance to Sulayman prepared themselves for setting out to Damascus and with Sulayman's persuasion one thousand more joined them.[64] After Sulayman and the rest of Tawwabin left Kufa, Husayn's assassins (such as Shabath Ibn Rib'i and others) breathed a sigh of relief.

The only serious misgiving they had was about the presence of Mukhtar. In a collusion they pressurized the governor of Kufa to incarcerate him.[65] It was after the event of Tawwabin that once more he was set free while mediated by his sister's husband, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar.

The atmosphere predominant on penintents's army was purely mingled with determination of

repentance. 66فتنادي الناس من كل جانب: انا لا نطلب الدنيا وليس لها خرجنا “The voice heard from the four corners of the army was, neither do we seek for this worldly life, nor do we revolt for its sake.”

At this time, Marwan who had overcome Dhahhak Ibn Qays in Damascus dispatched troops to Iraq. Quite evident that Tawwabin could in no way resist against them. Changing his former position, the governor of Kufa sent a message to Sulayman to wait for his army to battle together against 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad.67

His later position was on account of the critical menace Damascus had for Hijaz and with Tawwabin's defeat, the invasion to Iraq was incontrovertible. It was not admitted by Sulayman. After leaving Kufa in the middle of the way they received a letter from the governor repeating the same proposal. Sulayman declined again.

He had said that if acquiescing to collaboration, troops would disperse. According to him it would additionally result in Zubayr's sovereignty and subsequent to the victory, they would be obliged to battle for 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr and it was a deviation in a real sense of word. Not once did defeat obsess Sulayman and his followers. They would embrace martyrdom. They had pledged if they won they would transfer the rule to those entitled.68 With this way of reasoning, allying with Ibn Zubayr was not rational at all.

Tawwabin first set out to Kufa but en route a number of fellow-travellers seceded from the group.69 They paid tribute to Imam Husayn's tomb and while sedding tears they entreated Allah to forgive them. Later, they farewelled the martyred Imam one by one70 and went to Jasasa and then to Anbar and the district of Sudur. Since their destination was Damascus, they went to Hit and then to Qirqisiya".

It was where Zufar Ibn Harith, among Marwan's opponents succeeding the internal disputes in Damascus, welcomed Tawwabin with open arms. Equipping them, he provided them with adequate information about the combat Zone. Then they moved to Damascus. Re-highlighting repentence, Sulayman Ibn Surad made speeches once more and reiterated that their behavior towards the wounded and captives in Damascus should be like that of Imam 'Ali (a).

While it was not too distant to the enemy's position, Musayyib Ibn Nujba along with a few Tawwabins as the vanguards launched an ambush which put the opposite vanguard to flight and supplied them with loot. Afterwards, the two armies were pit against each other. The Umayya rival recommended that they bow to 'Abd al-Malik, Marwan's son, at the present time that he was dead.

In return, Tawwabin's recommendation as Shi'ite Muslims was that they hand over 'Abd al-Malik due to the slaughter he had made. And later they could both take an action against 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr, oust him and then, 71**نُرد الأمر ألي أهل بيت نبيَنا الذين أتانا الله من قبلهم بالنعمَة والكرامة** “They leave the authority in the custody of prophet's Household, the ones through whom Allah bestows His mercy and blessings.”

Naturally neither of them acceded to, however.

The clashes were triggered off. First day was a mischance for the foe, but since fresh troops were regularly being dispatched next days, the pressure exerted on Tawwabin was gradually being intensified. On the second day eight thousand soldiers commanded by Shurahbil Ibn Dhi l-Kila' joined Husayn Ibn Numayr's twelve- thousand-soldier army.72

The third day battle led to Sulayman's and then Musayyib's martyrdom. After a short time 'Abd Allah Ibn Wal who was supposed to command succeeding them achieved martyrdom as well. Later on describing whom he had killed, his murderer stated that he was said to be one of the Iraqi religious jurisprudents who, "كانوا يكثرون الصوم والصلاة ويفتون الناس performed so many prayers, observed so many fasts and issued Islamic verdicts among people."

The other commander of Tawwabin, 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd, was also martyred. Only when it was Rufa'a Ibn Shaddad's turn, did he retreat overnight to Iraq.

Though the Shi'ite Muslims of Ctesiphon and Basra were assumed to join them, they could not reach in time. While nearly a hundred and seventy Shi'ite Muslims from Ctesiphon and three hundred from Basra led by Makhraba Ibn Muthanna had been moving towards Tawwabin, they encountered the few-survived of them withdrawing and then returned with them.73

Corresponding to what Baladhuri has reported, the Shi'ite Muslims of Basra had joined Tawwabin nearby Imam Husayn's tomb74 It appears not to be true. As a consequence, their movement bore no tangibly fruitful results.

Here Some Points Merit Attention as Regards to the penitents

A. In the light of the foregoing proofs, Tawwabin's religious ideology can be easily measured. Their beliefs were based on a ideological Shi'ism the most central pillar of which was belief in Imamate. Devolving the leadership of the community upon Ahl al-Bayt was what had been time after time flashing among their remarks. Conforming to Imam 'Ali's lifestyle additionally confirms such ideology-based Shi'ism.

B. Another point was the psychological manner Tawwabin had found. They were amongst the ones who did not participate in Karbala event for whatever reason but when they came to their senses it was too late, for the Prophet's descendant had been tragically martyred and his captive family had been forced to traverse in Kufa. The Kufiyans were severely reproached by Zaynab.

Umm Kulthum and Iman as-Sajjad (a). The outcome of the event as well as Ahl al-Bayt's such reactions generated feeling of sin for the Kufiyans and then it was their guilty conscience which distressed them the most and it was in view of the fact that they were those who had invited Imam to Kufa.

The one and the only dose being able to soothe their agony was obliterating the psychological side-effects of sin. One of the ways for cleansing themselves was wiping off Imam's assassins; however, it was never as sweet as martyrdom. They felt that in order to tranquilize themselves even with killing his assassins, their misstep of default could not be compensated.

Totally conscious of the greatest number of the army leaving Damascus accompanied by Ibn Ziyad, scarcely ever did they hesitate about the struggle. Tawwabin's assessment of the current status quoin Kufa was by no means politically precise. Less determining was planning on conquering Kufa, murdering Husayn's murderers and equipping Iraq against Damascus in their opinion. These are all what were pursued by Mukhtar later.

The only precious thing was repentance for them. A kind of repentance which could solely be accomplished through nothing but martyrdom. At the last moments of war when Rufa'a said, **اني لا أريد، أريد لقاء ربي واللحاق باخواني والخروج من الدنيا الى الاخرة** " What we yearn for is not what you seek. Meeting our Lord, reunifying our brethren and farewelling this world are our wishes."

In an attack, he was murdered later. 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Aziz Kindi who had left his child in the custody of those from Kind in Damascus launched an attack from the other side and then achieved martyrdom.[75] Kurayb Ibn Zayd Himyari together with a hundred people heedless of Rufa'a's order did not retreat.

He had said, "I have learned that a group is set to return, but **لا أولي هذا العدّو ظهري حتى أرد موارد اخواني** " I never ever turn my back to the foe so that I can reunify my brothers."

Dhil-Kila', a Damascus commander, gave him guarantee of clemency since they were both from Himyar originally.

Nevertheless Kurayb responded, **انا قد كنّا آمنين من الدنيا، انّما خرجنا نطلب أمان الاخرة** " We have been in peace and quiet in this world, we have come for we search for a peacefuand quiet life in the world hereafter."[76]

The utterances and verses of poems narrated from Tawwabin in the course of attacks against Damascus army entirely denote the concept of repentance and the manifestation thereof in departing this world and attaining martyrdom. From the incipient stage of the battle, Sulayman Ibn Surad yelled out,

> يا شيعة آل محمد! فوالله ما بينكم وبين الشهادة ودخول الجّنة والراحة من هذا الدنيا الا فراق الانفس والتوبة والوفاء بالعهد

"O Shi'ite Muslims of Muhammad's family! Not a short distance is there between you and martyrdom, your entrance to the Heaven and being released from this worldly life except sublimating your souls, repenting and fulfilling your pledge."

In a poem he had said:

اليك ربي تبت عن ذنوبي وقد علاني في الوري شيبي

فارحم عبيداً غير ما تكذيب واغفرذنوبي سيدي وحوبي

“O My Lord, I beg for forgiveness for my sins whereas where as my old age has made me conspicuous. While not denying me, pardon your servant and have mercy on him, the sinner.”

'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd has composed,

ارحم الـهي عبدك التوابا ولا تواخـذه فقـد أنابـا

لا كوفة يبقي ولا عـراقا لا بل يريـد الموت والعتاقـا

“O my God! Have mercy on your penitent servant. Take not him to task for he has repented. No longer is he after Kufa or Iraq. He is merely after death and freedom.”77

Rufa'a Ibn Shaddad also has composed,

يارب اني تائب اليكا قد اتكلت شدتي عليكا

“My Lord! Not only have I repent but also I have trusted in you.”78

While Sakhr Ibn Hudhayfa was in battle with thirty of his cousins, he said:

الى الله من الذنب أفرّ أنوي ثواب الله فيما قد اسر

“I run away from sins to Allah my only intention is nothing but Allah's reward.”79

Mukhtar’s Uprising (66, 67 A.H.)

Mukhtar has been Abu 'Ubayd Thaqafi whose fame thanks to his valor in Muslim Arab's first attacks against the Iranians as Muslim's commander. He was martyred in the event of Jisr while at the helm.

The ever-first Mukhtar's bad record inscribed in Islamic history had been his non-Shi'ites behavior

towards Imam Hasan (a). When Imam was wounded in Sabat of Ctesiphon, he resided in the governor's house, Mukhtar's uncle, Mukhtar suggested that he be handed over to Mu'awiya in order to prove his good will to Mu'awiya. As soon as his uncle became incensed, Mukhtar became mute.[80]

It is said that for this reason Mukhtar had been deemed as 'Uthmanids (pro-'Uthman) in Shi'ites Muslim's view[81] until he allied himself to the Shi'ite Muslims later. Since there were abundant motivations among the Umayya narrators to introduce Mukhtar a hypocrite, a liar and a man with capricious personality, such a conduct ascribed to Mukhtar must be forged.

Undeniable is the fact that prior to the event of Karbala he was among the renowned Shi'ite Muslims of Kufa and when Muslim Ibn 'Aqil came Kufa, he sojourned in his house.[82] As no definite time had been determined for the start of uprising, Mukhtar could not manage to assist Muslim when invading Ibn Ziyad's palace and after clashes was arrested and martyred.

Out of Kufa was Mukhtar[83] and when returned, he found that Ibn Ziyad had dominated, declared martial law and had put a great number under lock and key in the mosque.

Mukhtar who was unaware of the happenings was apprehended by 'Amr Ibn Hurayth. Regarding his old amicable relationship with 'Amr Ibn Hurayth, he did his utmost to persuade him to intercede for him with Ibn Ziyad and say that he had surrendered.

Nonetheless, Mukhtar was imprisoned and throughout the event of Karbala he was in jail but later 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar acted as an intermediary and released him. Ibn Ziyad offered him a three-day respite to leave Kufa as soon as possible.[84] Normally Mukhtar's activities at odds with the Umayya accounted for Ibn Ziyad's extreme fright. According to narrated accounts, whipping at Ibn Ziyad's behest had led to loss of the use of Mukhtar's one eye.[85]

Travelling to Mecca, Mukhtar had to live in Ta'if for one year where his tribe, Banu Thaqif, lived. After going back to Mecca, Mukhtar was asked by Ibn Zubayr, the present governor of Mecca, for cooperation. He bet to swear allegiance to him rovided that he took counsel from him in all affairs. At that time, Mecca was under siege by Damascus.

Mukhtar also defended the Divine Shrine with the other Muslims side by side so that the rival army could no more resist and returned. Even a group of Kharijites were among the participants.[86] Their actions were as a counter to profanity of Damascus army about Ka'ba.

After the siege was raised and the Zubayr-supported ones seized the control of Kufa, Mukhtar went back to Kufa. Ibn Zubayr who had suspected him, ignored him and never allowed him to take up a post. The majority of historians have reported that what had been frequently stressed by Mukhtar succeeding the event of Karbala was taking revenge on Husayn Ibn 'Ali's assassins and his likely uprising.[87]

His arrival in Kufa was concurrent with Tawwabin's preparation for leaving the town. As far as

Sulayman's long record of service was concerned, Mukhtar could never absorb naturally as much Shi'ite Muslims as he could. However he discredited Sulayman's action in a way that he explicitly had announced that, **لا علم له بالحروب والسياسة** "By no mean is Sulayman acquainted with war and politics."[88]

Mukhtar's propagation retarded Tawwabin's activity. The majority was with Sulayman whereas only a minority had joined Mukhtar. No alternative existed for Mukhtar except awaiting patiently until Tawwabin decide.[89]

Upon Sulayman's departure from the town, Imam Husayn's assassins, fearful of Mukhtar, compelled the governor, pro-Zubayr, to put him in prison. This measure was adopted irrespective of all pressures the Shi'ite Muslims exerted on the governor to consider his past being with Mukhtar and liberate him.

Later on, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar interceded for Mukhtar with Ibn Zubayr and after Shi'ite Muslims' undertaking Mukhtar was set free,[90] Mukhtar was in prison when the news of Tawwabin's defeat and return to Kufa spread through.

In a message he offered his condolences to Rufa'a Ibn Shaddad and in addition to wishing blessing for Sulayman's soul and complementing his character, he urged the survived to prepare for an uprising. He invited them towards the divine Book, the Prophet's Sunna, revenge for Ahl al-Bayt's blood, defense of the oppressed and Jihad against Muhillin, those going beyond the sacred limits of Islam and converting Haram (unlawful) into Halal (lawful).[91]

In 66, Kufa governor was ousted by 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr and 'Abd Allah Ibn Muti' was appointed in place. Since the inception, the new governor announced that he would follow the policies of the second and the third caliphs in economic arena but Sa'ib Ibn Malik Ash'ari Stimulated by Mukhtar objected to him as insisting "Except 'Ali's policy nothing ought to be followed".[92]

Mukhtar secretly had been keeping on his activities. Holding clandestine meetings, he gathered the Shi'ite Muslims together to absorb while introducing himself as Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya's representative.

Although it had drawn the Shi'ite Muslims' attention to him, it had also evoked their doubt whether Mukhtar was truthful calling himself Muhammad's representative! In order to make certain, they reached a decision to go to Medina and meet him.

Leaving the town for Medina, 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Shurayh accompanying a group met Ibn Hanafiyya privately and asked him about his position concerning Mukhtar. Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya supported Mukhtar implicitly and ambiguously and said:

أما ما ذكرتم من دعاء من دعاكم الي الطلب بدمائنا فواللّه لوددت أنّ اللّه انتصر لنا من عدوّنا بمن شاء من خلقه

“About what you mentioned that someone has summoned you to rise up in revenge for Ahl al-Bayt's blood, by Almighty Allah I desire that Allah get our revenge by anyone of His servants He wills.”[93]

Nothing more did Ibn Hanafiyya add; therefore, they returned. Other Shi'ite Muslims came up to them questioning about his content or discontent. Ibn Shurayh replied that they asked his opinion and he, **فأمرنا بمظاهرته**[94] “commanded us to back him” and **وأذن لنا في نصرتك**[95] “allowed us to back him.”

Such approval impelled those skeptical about banding together with Mukhtar by then to join him.

Mukhtar determined to consolidate his social bases via the advocacy of a number of chiefs of tribes endeavored to trace authoritative figures. Among them was Ibrahim Ibn Ashtar, Malik Ashtar's son, who was esteemed both for his father's reputation in Shi'ism and his intrepidity and influence on the Nakha'ites of Kufa. Following the negotiations he had with Ibrahim, Mukhtar succeeded in attracting his attention and fortifying his position in Kufa through him though Ibrahim detached himself from him later.

Wednesday night on Rabi' al-Awwal, 14th, 66, it was prearranged, was the promised day for triggering off the attack and rescuing the town from the yoke of Zubayr followers. 'Abd Allah Ibn Muti' who had learned Mukhtar's possible insurrectoin had previously commanded to keep the town under tight security and impose a curfew. Keeping such news unrevealed was something beyond any possibility. From the very beginning he had been told that a large number of Turabiyya have sworn allegiance to Mukhtar.[96]

It could be two days to duedate when a group headed by Ibrahim encountered and then came into clashes with troops sent by Kufa governor. Decapitating Iyas Ibn Mu□arib, police chief, Ibrahim flourished to disperse them.

They had to, it was evident, take the action prematurely. By chanting the slogans of, **يا منصور أمت** “O Mansur, kill the enemy!” (rehearsed by Muslims during the wars in Early Islamic Era) and **يا لثارات حسين** “O revengers for Husayn's blood!” In line with which had ever been Mukhtar's movement, Shi'ite Muslims joined him. As narrated by Ibn A'tham, **وجعل يخرج الناس من كل ناحية علي صعب وذلول** “Despite all complications, Muslims were joining him from everywhere.”[97]

Ibrahim's parties marched through the town to prompt the Shi'ite Muslims to join them. Mukhtar who considered commencing the war not allowable abiding by Imam 'Ali's conduct had forewarned Ibrahim not to be the beginner.[98] Conquering the town by Mukhtar's forces led to various clashes.[99] In the face of 'Abd Allah Ibn Muti's' crowded army (some twenty thousand soldiers)[100], Mukhtar could assume control of Kufa as a governor with his small army, a fifth as many as the rival's.

Throughout the battle the leaders in Mukhtar's army ceaselessly inspirited the Shi'ite Muslims to combat as mightily as possible. What Yazid Ibn Anas or Malik Ibn Sa'ib Ash'ari had been saying was, “O Shi'ite Muslims! Prior to this you were massacred, your limbs were cut up, you were blinded and hung from the branches of palms.

All of these tortures were due to your affinity for the prophet's infallible household. They were occurring while you had stayed at homes and complied with your foes. What do you say now? If they overpower you, in the twinkling of an eye no one of you will remain alive at least."[101]

With Rashid Ibn Iyas Ibn Mu□arib's murder and the dispersion of the troops commanded by Shabath Ibn Rib'i, the palace was eventually besieged by Mukhtar's adherents. 'Abd Allah Ibn Muti' after spending three days left the palace in secret and others also raised the white flag seeking a guarantee of clemency.

The noblemen, the most influential class in Kufa, had compromised with the Umayya prior to Zubayr-appointed person's coming but later afraid of Shi'ite Muslims as well as their rule, joined forces with Ibn Zubayr's followers.[102]

Such a class was also followed by many in its turn. Unlike Tawwabin, whose troops were wholly Arabs, Mukhtar's were often Iranian and non-Iranian masters. A throng of Arabs later joined him, furthermore. The aforesaid masters were those who on the one hand had memorably and pleasantly experienced Imam 'Ali's Islamic and human conduct and on the other hand had endured the Umayya and the affiliated noblemen's pressure from 40 A.H.

It was why they were after a golden opportunity to modify their unbearable situation in the society and extricate themselves from the abjectness. Mukhtar's emergence was reciprocally beneficial to both the masters to attain influence through him and Mukhtar to remove the enemy through their aid.

In the morning of the day thereon the battle was due to start, Shabath Ibn Rib'i recited the short Sura (Qur'anic chapters).

Being objected, he responded, "You see how Daylamites are standing before you and now you expect me to recite "the cow" and "'Imran's family" Sura (the longest of all)".[103]

When all were fleeing, Shabath addressed them as saying, أأنتم من عبيدكم تهربون[104] "Are you escaping from your own slaves?" "So acutely did the noble detested the masters that they murdered anyone captured but set the Arab ones free."[105] It is recorded by Dinwari that almost all members of Mukhtar's army in the battle with Damascus were Iranian masters.[106]

Describing Mukhtar's soldiers, the commander of the Damascus army stated, "O dwellers of Damascus! You do battle with slaves, those who had abandoned Islam and seceded from it, have no piety and speak not Arabic".[107]

Muhammad Ibn Ash'ath, a nobleman, who had fled to Basra told Mus'ab, "Turks and Daylamites are all behind me".[108] A year later when the noble and Ibn Zubayr's supporters came into power in the town, Mus'ab issued the decree to wipe out the masters, for their blasphemousness was made public, their conceit had heightened and their humility before the Arabs had reduced.[109]

Earlier it was quoted from Mughira that if non-Arabs had been summoned towards Muhammad's family and to a revenge for their blood, all would have congregated.[110] The victor was Mukhtar. A number of noblemen ran away to Basra and some others secluded themselves at homes awaiting for divine predestination which came forth after a while.

The people of Kufa swore allegiance to Mukhtar as an emir. Based on his Shi'ites belief he said, "Subsequent to swearing allegiance to 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib (a) and his family worthier than this one, I have sworn allegiance to no one else."[111]

He enumerated what based on which their allegiance should be as, the divine Book, the Prophet's Sunna, revenge for Ahl al-Bayt's assassinations, Jihad against those transgressing the sacred limits, defense of the oppressed, a battle against the one battling them and a compromise with the one compromising with them.[112]

Mukhtar who had taken the power first of all made an attempt to establish national security. Then he eliminated all the elements playing negative roles in Karbala. To absorb the nobles, he initially was so merciful to them that was suspected by the masters.[113]

Nevertheless, referring to the point that his position-taking is in line with that of theirs, Mukhtar enlightened the masters declaring that such a behavior is transient.[114] Kufa was deemed as a center for all cities in oriental Islamic lands and Northern Iraq. Such areas as Musil, Hulwan (ajacent to Sar Pul Dhahab), Ctesiphon as well as Armenian lands, Adharbayjan, Arran, Hawran, Mahiyan, Riy and Isfahan were ruled by Iraq.

Mukhtar's endeavor for keeping Kufa secure did not last long as he learned that an army led by 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad had left Damascus to Kufa. The army succeeding to defeating Tawwabin and after a short break for clashing with Qays Ibn 'Aylan's tribe set out to Musil.[115]

During the armed conflict between the three-thousand-soldier army dispatched by Mukhtar and 'Ubayd Allah's six-thousand-soldier army, Rabi'a Ibn Mukhariq, a commander, was killed and three hundred people were captured by Mukhtar's army. It was obvious however that these few numbers could never resist against the rival army. Accordingly Mukhtar sent another group with seven thousand people headed by Ibrahim Ibn Ashtar as a relief group.

Under no circumstances were the noble gratified with Mukhtar's governorship. It was firstly owing to Mukhtar's intention had been avenging Husayn Ibn 'Ali's assassins among whom were the noble as central elements. Secondly, regarding his limited Shi'ites forces in Kufa, Mukhtar had begun inviting the masters for cooperation and it as a matter of fact was equal to belittling the noblemen. When determined to reprove Mukhtar, there was nothing to be more intolerable than the booties he had devoted to Mawali (freed slaves).[116]

Such objections were all made in Shabath Ibn Rib'i's house.The deduction drawn was Shabath's visit

with Mukhtar.

Meeting Mukhtar, he said, ... **وأعظم الأشياء عليك أنكّ عمدت إلى عبيدنا وهم فيئنا الذين أفاء الله بهم فأخذتهم إليك ثم لم ترض بأخذهم حتى جعلتهم شركاء في فيئنا ولايحل لك في هذا دينك ولا يحمل بك في شرفك** [117] "Your biggest shortcoming is that you rely upon our slaves, those whose looties belong to us. And you deprived us of what Allah had bestowed us. It did not suffice you however, you also let them share in Bayt al-Mal. What you did was thoroughly contrary to both your religion and dignity."

The nobles' ultimatum was that they would never stop protesting unless Mukhtar committed to return Mawali to them.

In return for their request, Mukhtar requested something about declining of which by the noblemen he was certain, it was whether they would declare their readiness to battle beside him against the Umayya and Ibn Zubayr or not.[118] Shabath who went to bring their answer never came back and it denoted that the noble were set to revolt.

The other reproof was about Mukhtar's and his followers' Shi'ism, that they all loathe **اسلافنا الصالحين** " Our competent forefathers."[119]

What they implied might had been that the Shi'ite Muslims reproached many of the Prophet's companions (for the deviations caused by them).

For consultation, the nobles went to 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Mikhnaf, warning them not to combat Mukhtar, he added, "All the valorous of the tribes are with him and moreover Mawali who are as lion-hearted as Arabs and as revengeful as non-Arabs are with him".

He urged them to await pending the arrival of troops from Basra (Ibn Zubayr) or Damascus. They balked at his proposal in view of the fact that at that time the majority of Mukhtar's adherents in particular Ibrahim Ibn Ashtar had left the town for Musil. They imagined that it was a favorable occasion to win a victory over Mukhtar.

No sooner had the army commanded by Ibrahim arrived in Ctesiphon than a wave of rioting was triggered off. As soon as Mukhtar noticed that the situation was critical, he sent for Ibrahim to return Kufa. In order to keep them occupied, he himself began futile negotiations with the insurgents.[120]

One day to Ibrahim's entry, the clasnes flared up. Both Ibrahim's haste to return and Mukhtar's withstanding led to Mukhtar's triumph and the nobles' debacle. In this war, Mukhtar's army sustained 135 casualties whereas it was 640 for the foe.

The nobles' insurrection made Mukhtar, who had taken no action in revenge for Ahl al-Bayt's blood hopeful about absorbing the nobles, adopt a measure. His first action was the killing of 284 captives seized in the war with the nobles. Reported by eye-witnesses, they had been among the participants in Karbala.

Mukhtar announced then, (إنه من أغلق با به فهو آمن الا رجلا شرك في دم آل محمد ص) “Anyone staying at his home is secure unless he has aided and abetted the ones streaming the prophet's descendants' blood.”

The noblemen, who were confident that Mukhtar would beyond the shadow of a doubt apprehend and slaughter them this time, fled to Basra and another group concealed themselves in Kufa. Mukhtar had promulgated, ما من ديننا ترك قوم قتلوا الحسين يعيشون أحياء في الارض “ Permitting Husayn's assassins to go on living freely on the earth is never ever passable in our religion.”

Its implication was their murder. Recollecting those collaborating in Karbala, Mukhtar's supporters brought them to him one after another. He also cut the arms of some and the legs of some others in order to kill them.[121]

It is estimated that the men charged with participating in the event of Karbala were approximately three thousand.[122] Among the figures targeted was Shimr Ibn Dhi l–Jawshan who was murdered by Mukhtar's envoys while escaping to Basra. As a rule of thumb, 'Umar Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas, the commander, pleaded guilty as the main culprit.

From the outset of his responsibility– when busy with absorbing the nobles–Mukhtar had given a guarantee of clemency to him stipulating that he were secure provided that he should under no conditions attend an incident against him, الا أذا أحد ث حاد ث. In the throes of recent adventures when he was arrested too, he showed his guarantee of clemency. He was said,nevertheless, that the stipulated condition could include any incident even flight of a pigeon or entry and exit from house!

Not only 'Umar Ibn Sa'd's doom was death but also his son was killed as well. The heads of both were sent to Medina. The former one was in revenge for Imam Husayn's blood and the latter for 'Ali Akbar's, the eldest son.[123] Narratedly, it was the one and the only day Iman as–Sajjad (a) was seen smiling,[124] since he had always been with a sorrowful expression weeping up to that very time. Both Tabari and Ibn A'tham have recounted the murders of various individuals in detail.

The latest phenomena drew certain boundaries. Shi'ite Muslims seceded from other parties completely. For the time being, Mukhtar's support was merely the Shi'ite Muslims although he had been striving to absorb from al parties. In the opposite front were the Umayya adherents in addition to Ibn Zubayr's devotees. Their number was not low. Many traveled to Basra and many others stayed looking forward to a golden opportunity. At the same time, Mukhtar intended to intensify his efforts to engross the attention.

Giving a description of Mukhtar's conduct, the historians stated, وكان مختار أوّل من ظَهَر أحسن شيءٍ سيرة ... تالفاً للناس[125] “He was the first one behaving in the best way. He invariably prompted people to befriend one another.”

According to Ibn A'tham, وأحبّه الناس حُباً شديداً[126] “People were attached to him.”

Baladhuri narrated, وأحسن المختار مجاورة أهل الكوفة والسيرة فيهم [127] “Mukhtar was the best for the Kufiyans

with his best conducts."

It definitively was concerned with the Shi'ite Muslims not those with whom Mukhtar was wrathful. In regard to this reason it is said, **"كان عبد الله بن جعدة أكرم خلق الله علي المختار لقرابته من عليٍّ (ع)** 'Abd Allah Ibn Ju'da was held dear by Mukhtar on account of his kinship with 'Ali (a)."[128]

Having resolved the internal points at issue through suppression of the noble and the ones affiliated to the Umayya and Ibn Zubayr, Mukhtar anticipated how to broaden the realm of his governorship.

Basra known as a haven for the fugitives from Kufa and a stronghold for the pro-Ibn Zubayr persons in Iraq had drawn Mukhtar's attention but it could naturally be a focal point of potential peril. His action might have been in a bid to absorb the Shi'ite Muslims there although few.

The leader of such Shi'ite Muslims was Makhraba Ibn Muthanna who had assisted the penitents but could not arrive at the battle in time. Swearing allegiance to Mukhtar, he was commissioned to proceed and incite the people in Basra to a riot against Ibn Zubayr. In Basra, Muthanna gathered a group from his tribe along with other residents. In a clash, nearly forty soldiers from Muthanna's army were dead. Later on, with Ahnaf Ibn Qays's intercession, Muthanna could return Kufa with his a few-remained people.[129]

Another spot which had become center of Mukhtar's attention was Hijaz, namely Ibn Zubayr's main base. At that time an attack by Damascus from Wasidi al-Qura was imminent. Mukhtar plotted to send an army to exercise control over Medina under the pretext of obviating the threat of Damascus. Ibn Zubayr consented.

A three-thousand-member army of which seven hundred were only Arabs[130] set out to Hijaz. Ibn Zubayr, by no means over confident about Mukhtar, dispatched an army to Medina recommending that they should get along with them on the condition that they were convinced to be supervised; otherwise, it was imperative that they be suppressed immediately. On the other hand, Mukhtar, reluctant to unvail his real scheme, recommended the commander that a message dash carrier take his mandates to them when convenient.

Prior to the communication of Mukhtar's mandates, Ibn Zubayr's army clashed with Mukhtar's. By virtue of the fact that they did not yield to Ibn Zubayr's army as the commander they were assaulted. Many were killed and many had to flee. Mukhtar's genuine intention which wPas revealed, later in his letter to Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya was, **فإني بعثت إليك جنداً ليذلّوا لك الأعداء وليحوزوا لك البلاد** "I sent my army for the purpose of overthrowing your opponents and conquer the land."

The letter did manifest that his aim had been eliminating Ahl al-Bayt's foes and liberating Hijaz for the Shi'ite Muslims'sovereignty. Responding the letter for asking his permission to deploy a large army to Medina, in addition to lauding him and his intent, Ibn Hanafiyya wrote, "If I were bent on combating, there would be many a person ready to join me but I have secluded myself."[131]

Afterwards when Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya and a group from the Hashimites were in Mecca, Ibn Zubayr aimed to secure allegiance from them menacingly. Demurring, they were threatened to be imprisoned and burned to death. How dauntless! Ibn Zubayr had realized that without their allegiance consolidation of his sovereignty over other lands would be beyond the realm of possibility. The other side of the coin was that their allegiance might unstablize Mukhtar's position as Muhammad Hanafiyya's representative in Kufa.

Once 'Urwa Ibn Zubayr, the pretender to religious jurisprudence, was objected in this regard, he reacted as stating, “My brother's intention is to establish unity and to avert discord among Muslims”. It was exactly as 'Umar Ibn Khattab secured allegiance from the Hashimites for Abu Bakr by laying logs on their doorsteps.[132]

Ibn Hanafiyya who felt the status insecure wrote to Mukhtar to help them out.[133] Mukhtar dispatched nearly one hundred and fifty people group by group, in order not to be identified, to Mecca to emancipate the Hashimites with no clash with the slogan of, [134]يا لثارات حسين

They moved to Zamzam wherein the prison was located and released them after all. Both Ibn Zubayr and the sent group by Mukhtar refrained from any conflict which would certainly culminate in bloodshedding in Divine Shrine. Since this group had entered Mecca with sticks (not swords) had been named “Khashabiyya”.[135]

Mukhtar's the most remarkable action was his confrontation with the army of Damascus. It occurred between Mukhtar's dispatched army led by Ibrahim Ibn Ashtar and an army commanded by 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad. A great number of prominent leaders of Damascus taken part in various battles against Iraq so far were killed during the fight among whom were 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad, Husayn Ibn Numayr Sukuni and Shurahbil Ibn Dhil-Kila'. The remaining of the army while limping and running away wandered through Musil.

The Kufiyan fugitives were the main elements causing Mus'ab Ibn Zubayr's invasion to Kufa. Through incitement, they could flourish to impel Mus'ab Ibn Zubayr to suppress Mukhtar and the Kufa into control too. Such individuals as Muhammad Ibn Ash'ath Ibn Qays, one of Imam Husayn's assassins, were among the commanders of Ibn Zubayr's troops while attacking Kufa. Excluding them there were a number delegated to propagate against Mukhtar amongst people.[136]

Ibrahim Ibn Ashtar, governing Musil, did never declare his readiness to return to Kufa and back Mukhtar, furthermore. Reassuring how the fugitive noblemen had prompted other sinners to uproot the right and let the wrong replace it, Mukhtar attempted to mobilize the Kufiyan.[137]

When both rivals met one another face to face, those on Ibn Zubayr's side proposed that Mukhtar's forces relinguish fighting by swearing allegiance to 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr as “Amir al-Mu'minin”. Those on Mukhtar's side also urged them to swear allegiance to Mukhtar and entrust “the Messenger's family” with the caliphate.[138]

At this juncture, the commander of pro-Ibn Zubayr soldiers was Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra and Mukhtar's was Ahmar Ibn Shumayt. Muhammad Ibn Ash'ath was the commander of the fugitives from Kufa to Basra. The clashes terminated in Ibn Zubayr's favor which preceded Mukhtar's and his follower's martyrdom.

Earlier we provided you with plentiful evidence averring Mukhtar's and his adherents' belief in Shi'ism as well as their indescribable devotion to Ahl al-Bayt in a way that it is by all means beyond any doubt historically. Moreover there are available proofs indicating Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya's support which thoroughly substantiates Mukhtar's uprising, relative, however. Mukhtar's personal standing taken in revenge for the Umayya and the noble elucidates how he jeopardized his position with apprehension and murder of Imam Husayn's assassins.

In as much as he struck the Umayya hard for several times and also called the legitimacy of Ibn Zubayr's governorship into question, they exerted themselves to make him the target of any kind of charges at all costs.

The accusations were his claim of “Prophethood” for himself, “Mahdavitism” for Ibn Hanafiyya, founding the sect of the Kissanids and the most common one was the label of “liar” (Kadhdhab) which has been referred to in all sources.[139] Almost all of these accusations, in accordance with a researcher, were ascribed to Mukhtar after his martyrdom[140].

Assuming that Mukhtar had committed some errors but it ought to be borne in mind that the pivotal factor in his indictment had been thanks to the strokes the Umayya and Ibn Zubayr had experienced on the part of him.

As soon as the news of Mukhtar's martyrdom was heard, Ibn 'Abbas, **ألم يبلغك قتل الكذاب** “ Have you heard not the news of the liar's death?”“The liar?” asked Ibn 'Abbas.

“Mukhtar, I mean”, Ibn Zubayr replied. “It seems that you do not feel like calling him the liar”.
Ibn 'Abbas said, [141] **ذلك رجل قتل قتلتنا وطلب بدمائنا وشفى صدورنا وليس جزاءه منا الشتم والشماتة** “He is the one who had killed our assassins, has taken revenge for our blood and has soothed our pains. The reward of such a person in our sight is not insulation.”

Elsewhere when once more the name of Mukhtar was mentioned before Ibn 'Abbas, he said, **صلى عليه كرام الكاتبون**[142] “The two illustrious writers send their regards to him.”

It is reported that Ibn 'Abbas, Ibn Hanafiyya and even Ibn 'Umar never returned Mukhtar's sent presents.[143]

Once 'Ubayd Allah's head was carried to 'Ali Ibn Husayn (a) in Medina, he stated, **لم يبق من بني هاشم أحد إلا قام بخطبة في الثناء علي المختار والدعاء له وجميل القول فيه** “ There was no one from the Hashimites who did not make a sermon complimenting Mukhtar and praying for him.”

Kashshi has quoted Imam al-Baqir (a) as saying, **لا تسبّوا المختار فانّه قتل قتلتنا وطلب ثارنا وزوّج ارامنا وقسّم فينا المال علي العسرة** [144] "Insult not Mukhtar owing to the fact that he has killed our assassins, has taken revenge on them, has had our orphans marry and contributed us financially when in trouble."

As commented by himself, Ibn Zubayr who had borne Ahl al-Bayt's grudge for forty years[145] could on no accounts stand Mukhtar's presence whose endeavor was in line with Ahl al-Bayt's governorship. And the Umayya enmity was truly overt how he agitated the leaders of Damascus to battle with Mukhtar.

Sufficient would be if we quote Tabari and others regarding Mukhtar's devotedness. Succeeding his martyrdom, his two wives, one of whom Nu'man Ibn Bashir Ansari's daughter and the other was Samura Ibn Jundab's daughter, were interrogated. They latter confessed that her ideas about him were like those of theirs! However, the former said, **انّه كان عبداً من عباد الله الصالحين** "He was a servant from Allah's pious servants."

Confining her, Mus'ab wrote to Ibn Zubayr, "This woman is of the opinion that her husband, Mukhtar, has been a prophet!"

In the answer, 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr commanded him to slay her.[146]

The worst accusation Mukhtar was leveled was his claim to be a prophet. Such a charge is totally baseless. Its roots can be located in an utterance the historians have quoted from Mukhtar mostly in rhymed prose (most of which have been narrated by Tabari and others).[147] Another accusation was that he had introduced himself a diviner and had carried out what the prophets had done.[148] We believe that these remarks do him an injustice although it never implies that he had been infallible.

Socially, the novelty of Mukhtar's uprising was due to Mawali's presence and except one case which was limited compared with Kharijites, it was an absolutely new phenomenon. Previous to his uprising, hardly ever did Mawali have roles in the Arabic society of Iraq though they had been promoted scientifically in the late first century A.H.

It was Mukhtar's uprising which cleared the way for the appearance of Mawali as an applicable and considerable force in Iraq. By reason of their participation in Mukhtar's movement, they were severely suppressed, however, they could play an effective role within the community. What many had suggested Mus'ab Ibn Zubayr was, [149]**أقتل هولاء الموالي فانهم قد بدء كفرهم وعظم كبرهم وقلّ شكرهم** "Massacre all Mawali for they have revealed their disbelief, have heightened their conceit and lessened their gratitude."

Reportedly, six thousands of them were slaughtered by Mus'ab!

The Next events pending the extinction of the Umayya dynasty proved that the Iranian Mawalis' development had been originated from the time of Mukhtar onwards and their role in the Islamic community reached the pinnacle by coming into power by Banu 'Abbas. Deeming them minacious, 'Abd al-Malik planned to avert their likely insurrection through paying much more heed to them. By the same

token be enlarged their proportion of Bayt al-Mal more than what allotted by Mu'awiya.[150]

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1. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV pp 16, 17
2. Ibid p. 17
3. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 285; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, pp 19, 20, 21
4. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 23
5. al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 285, 286; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV p. 28
6. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 30
7. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 277
8. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 220; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 374, 380; Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 41
9. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 251; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 42
10. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 374 mentioned as untrue
11. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 31
12. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 368; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 31
13. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp 206, 207
14. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 367
15. Ibid vol. IV, p. 369; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 32
16. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 208
17. Ibid vol. I, p. 210
18. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, pp 37, 38
19. al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 292-293
20. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 250
21. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 209; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. III, p. 372
22. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 23; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 371
23. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 211
24. Some had already predicted the inefficiency of the people of Medina (Al-Imama wa'l-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 210) and some others and amazed at their submission (Al-Imama wal-Siyasah, vol. I, pp 216, 217)
25. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 37; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 250; al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 295
26. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 378
27. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. I, p. 213
28. Ibid vol. I, p. 215
29. Ibid vol. I, pp 216, 220
30. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 42
31. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 70
32. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 295
33. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 37 As it can be perceived, Muslim Ibn 'Uqba's atrocities have been to the extent that Tabari, Ibn Qutayba, Baladhuri, etc have explicitly enumerated them But can it be justified why Wellhausen defended him and starved to acquit him, (Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. 156) Afterwards, he tried to introduce the discord between Damascus and Medina as purely political; nonetheless, it is clear that such an outlook was solely for exonerating both Damascus and the Umayya We do never intend to totally define the people of Medina but it ought to be borne in mind that religious motivations could have by no means be ineffective, (Ibid p. 161) Under other circumstances, also his defen of Damascus is noticeable, (p. 162) Supporting Hajjaj as well as denying the charges laid on him are among the cases (pp 247, 248) He had also described sensual Sulayman as a pious man (p. 256)
34. Abul-Faraj al-Aghani, vol. I, p. 14
35. Abul-Faraj, al-Aghani, vol. I, p. 14
36. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 267; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 42

37. al-Imama wal-Siyasa, vol.I, p. 208
38. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 41
39. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 122
40. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 373, 375
41. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 40; Ibn A'tham, vol. V, p. 301
42. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 41
43. Ibid vol. IV, p. 42; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 382; previously, we discussed it entitled "Religious Deviation in Karbala"
44. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 301; Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 268
45. al-Futuh, vol. V, p. 306
46. al-Muhabbar, pp 480-481
47. al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 268, 269
48. Ibid vol. VI, p. 47
49. Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, pp 97, 98
50. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 432; See also Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, p. 97
51. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 432; See also Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, p. 97
52. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 428
53. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 206; Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, p. 96; al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. 50
54. Al-Baqarah, 54
55. Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, p. 96
56. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 430, 431; See also Ansab al-Ashraf vol. V, p. 206; Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, p. 97; al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. 52, a similar letter was also written to Basrian Shi'ite Muslims led by Muthanna Ibn Makhraba
57. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 433
58. See Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 438; Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, p. 99; vol. IV, p. 207
59. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 208; Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, p. 99
60. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 353-354
61. al-Futuh, vol. VI, pp 65-66
62. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 499 See also Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 207; Tajarib al-Uman, vol. II, p. 98
63. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 208
64. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, pp 452-453; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 208
65. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 450
66. Ibid vol. IV, p. 453
67. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol III, p. 455
68. Ibid Vol III, p. 459; See Tajarib al-Umam, Vol II, p. 103
69. Some one thousand went back; See Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol V, p. 209, as narrated by Ibn A'tham, they were 3300 when encountering, Vol VI, p. 8
70. al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. 89
71. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. 464; Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol V, p. 210; Tajarib al-Umam, Vol II, p. 109 and Ibn A'tham has said, هلم الي طاعة اهل بيت النبوة " Hasten to obey the Prophet's Household" Al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. 82
72. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. 460
73. Tajarib al-Umam, vol. II, pp 111, 112; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 470
74. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 211
75. Ibid vol. IV, p. 469
76. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 469.
77. al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. 83
78. Ibid vol. VI, p. 84
79. Ibid vol. 5I6, p. 85
80. Ibn Sa'd,'Asakir Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, p. 154; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 441
81. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 214

82. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 440; Mab'uth al-Husayn, p. 98; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, Vol IV, p. 22; Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol V, p. 215

83. Ibn Sa'd, Tarjamat al-Imam al-Hasan, p. 154; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 441

84. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 441-442 Ya'qubi has written, وكان مختار أقبل في جماعة يريدون نصر حسين بن علي (ع) فاخذه عبيد الله بن زياد فحسبه " Since Mukhtar was the vanguard of those desiring to help Husayn Ibn 'Ali; 'Ubayd Allah imprisoned him" Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 58

85. al-Muhabbar, p. 303

86. Tarikh at-Tabari,vol. IV, p. 446

87. Ibid vol. IV, p. 443

88. Ibid vol. IV, pp 434 -449

89. al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. 56

90. al-Futuh, Vol V, p. 74; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 488

91. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 471, 478; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 212

92. al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. 88; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp 220-221

93. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 399; al-Futuh, vol. V, pp 91, 92, 93

94. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 221

95. See al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. 95; describing his father, he had said, (وهو سيد الناس في محبة اهل البيت ع) "His affection for the Household was the strongest among people"

96. al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. 99 the Umayya and later pro-Zubayr people's intention of calling the Shi'ite Muslims "Turabiya" was usually disparaging them

97. al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. 105

98. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. 498

99. al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. 103

100. al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. 106; Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol VI, pp 108, 109

101. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. 503; al-Futuh, Vol VI, pp 108,109

102. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. 507

103. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. 501; al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. 107; "Daylamites" was a title for Iranian non-Muslims though the masters were Muslims mostly This term was used by Muslim Arabs describing them as disbelievers in order to disdain them

104. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 502; al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. 108

105. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 502

106. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 293, see also p. 306

107. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 516

108. al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. 138

109. Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol V, p. 294; Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. 577

110. Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol V, p. 223

111. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. 508

112. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. 508; Ibn A'tham, Vol VI, p. 115

113. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. 508.

114. Ibid Vol IV, p. 509

115. Narrated by Ibn A'tham, Vol VI, p. 139; following its clash with Mukhtar, the army of Damascus returned and again in order to conquer Iraq, it set out to Jazira and then to Musil

116. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. 518

117. Ibid Vol VI, p. 146

118. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol VI, p. 146.

119. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol VI, p. 146.

120. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol VI, p. 149

121. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. 343 ('Izz al-din publication)

أمّا أمان المختار لعمر بن سعد الا أن بحدث حدثاً فأنّه كان يريد به أذا دخل الخلاء واحدث ...

122. Ibid Vol VI, p. 139
123. al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. 123
124. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, Vol II, p. 259
125. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. 53
126. al-Futuh, Vol VI, p. 120
127. Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol V, pp 228-229; Maqidasi narrated that Mukhtar had done his best to absorb as many people as possible See also, al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, Vol VI, p. 22
128. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. 531
129. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, pp 536, 537
130. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. 542
131. Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol III, p. 282
132. Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol III, p. 282
133. Ibid Vol II, p. 283; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 250
134. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 282
135. Tarikh at-Tabari, Vol IV, p. 455; Muruj al-Dhahab, Vol III, p. 99; Ansab al-Ashraf, Vol III, p. 285; Vol V, p. 231, it has been said that they had taken the logs being repaired for burning Ibn Hanafiyya and others from the Hashimites by Ibn Zubayr
136. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 559
137. Tarikh at-Tabari vol. IV, p. 559
138. Ibid vol. IV, p. 560
139. See 'Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. V, p. 300
140. Hadgson, How did the early shia become sectarian?, p. 3
141. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 287; Vol V, p. 265
142. Ibid Vol V, p. 267
143. Ibid Vol V, p. 270
144. Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. 125; for other hadiths in this regard, refer to Bahjat al-amal, vol. VII, p.
145. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 291
146. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 574; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 264; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 99
147. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp 233, 235, 236
148. An example was a narration about "throne" Mukhtar has been quoted as telling his followers a lie, "Bring 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib's throne" Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp 241,242
149. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV p. 577
150. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. IV, p. 148

[1] [1]
SHARES

Iman as-Sajjad (a)

'Ali Ibn Husayn Ibn 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, known as Sajjad, the fourth Shi'ites Imam, was as maintained in one narration born in 38A.H. and poisoned by Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik in 94 A.H.1

If the narrated date of birth be true, Imam should have evidently perceived both Imam 'Ali and Imam

Mujtaba as well as Imam Husayn (a) and realized how Mu'awiya had been exercising pressure on the Shi'ite Muslims living in Iraq and other lands. In the light of the reports narrated from the event of Taff (Karbala) a number of writers concluded that Imam's age must have been less than what reported ands his year of birth had been 48. Such reports forebode that following Imam Husayn's martyrdom some were determined to assassinate Iman as-Sajjad (a) also, but they were impeded due to his immaturity.

Humayd Ibn Muslim, present in Karbala, said, “When Shimr came to kill Iman as-Sajjad, I dissuaded him saying he was a little boy”.2

Found in another version when 'Ubayd Allah decided to murder Iman as-Sajjad (a), he commanded to examine the signs of his maturity. After they attested to it, he issued the verdict of his murder. Notwithstanding, Imam managed to change his mind by saying him “If you claim that you are from among the Prophte's kins (as Abu Sufyan's grandson), you are obliged to let a man accompany these women to Medina”.3

It is also quoted that Zaynab (a) averted Iman as-Sajjad's murder saying “kill me first if you want to kill him”.4 Enumerating the Umayya atrocities, Jahiz has alluded to their irreverence about Iman as-Sajjad (a) by checking the signs of his maturity after the event of Karbala.5 Supposing the narration true6, Imam should have been younger since the maximum age of maturity was fifteen necessitated by the current situation.

Although such kinds of reports are recorded in various sources, there exists many a proof of hand which denies them. First, the renowned historians have recorded Imam's birth in 38, based on which Imam had been twenty-three years of age in the course of Karbala event. Secondly, it had by not means been ignored by the expert historians, from the very beginning they contradicted the common narration the genuineness of which had been confirmed and come into question however.

Muhammad Ibn 'Umar Waqidi, a distinguished narrator of the Sunnis, subsequent to a quotation from Imam as-Sadiq (a) as saying ”'Ali Ibn Husayn (a) departed in 58” added that this utterance vindicated that while 23 or 24, Iman as-Sajjad (a) had been with his father in Karbala and those describing him under age are wrong. Imam was seriously ill in Karbala; therefore, he was not able to participate in the war. How could he ever be immature whereas his son, Abu Ja’far Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Baqir, had met Jabir Ibn 'Abd Allah Ansari and quoted hadiths from him. Jabir had passed away in 78 A.H.7

Thirdly, the way of Iman as-Sajjad's behaving towards 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad and even Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan corroborates that he had been old enough and to discuss his maturity or immaturity in Karbala looked in vain. The scene set for his delivering sermons on the pulpit, in its turn, stemmed from his age as well. Such a ground could have never been prepared by Yazid for an individual whose maturity was open to question.

Fourthly, with a glance at numerous narrations about Imam al-Baqir's birth in historical books, it can be observed that he had been present in Karbala as a four-year old boy. No one has declared it untrue. If

assenting these reports, there is no alternative but admitting the common narration with a two-year-or-so discrepancy.

Three versions that certain figures like Biyhaqi have recorded telling Imam's date of birth (33, 36 and 38) are not unconnected to that mentioned above. The former was reported by Ibn 'Asakir.[8] Zuhri also has confirmed that 'Ali Ibn Husayn was beside his father in Karbala at the age of twenty-three.[9]

Another controversial issue the analysis where of would bear fruitful results is the accurate name and pedigree of Iman as-Sajjad's mother. Regretfully, after all extensive studies that a number of writers have done in this respect, it is not still definite.

The notion that his mother had been one of Sassanids princesses was recently denied lest the anti-Shi'ite Muslims as a consequence judge that the spread of Shi'ism in Iran had been due to the association of Imam's lineage with the Sassanids through Yazdgard III's daughter who has been alleged to be Iman as-Sajjad's mother. Professor Shahidi, in his foregoing book, has cited and criticized most of these narrations.

Further, there are few quotations suggesting that she be “Umm Walad” (a bondswoman whose husband was not a bondsman). In spite of all controversies about the reports or their incompatibility with the reports of the contests and so forth, the genuine narration is definitively worthy and is mentioned in the Shi'ites books belonging to the ancient times such as Waq'a Siffin, Tarikh Ya'qubi and Basa'ir al-Darajat, all written in the third century.

A hadith also has been quoted from Imam as-Sadiq(a) in Kafi[10]as reported by Qa□i Nu'man in the fourth century as well.[11] Acknowledging that there does exist skepticism, we shall examine the illusory link between this issue and the spread of Shi'ism properly later.[12]

Consistent with what the Shi'ites hadith-narrators have narrated, Iman as-Sajjad (a) is the successor of his father, Husayn Ibn 'Ali (a). These are narrated by Sheikh Kulayni in Kafi and Sheikh Hurr 'Amili in Ithbat al-Hudat, etc. It can also be detected from the Prophet's hadiths naming the Shi'ites Imams. Heedless of it, approving Iman as-Sajjad (a) in Shi'ites community as well as his Imama throughout history is an original proof itself.

The one and the only mistrust at that critical point prevailing a small number of Ahl al-Bayt's supporters was Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya's Imamate which will be discussed in berries later. As specified by Shi'ites hadiths, the Prophet's sword, armor and so on should be with Imams and their being with Iman as-Sajjad was validated even in Sunnites books.[13]

The time at which Iman as-Sajjad lived was a special period that all religious values were exposed to the Umayya distortin and Medina residents, one of the religious centers, were all compelled to swear allegiance to Yazid like his slaves. Islamic commandments had turned into a plaything for people such as Ibn Ziyad, Hajjaj and 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan. In Hajjaj's view, 'Abd al-Malik was superior to Allah's

Messenger (S)!

Unlike Islamic narrations, he extorted “Jizya” (poll-tax) from Muslims and with a slight calumny he handed over them to the executioners.

In the shadow of such rule it was inevitable that the less people's religious training was elevated, the more disvalues were revived. Under those circumstances, Iman as-Sajjad (a) was only a worshipper and his most socially penetrating impact on establishing a link between people and Allah was solely through Du'a (prayer).

So influential a characteristic had he that people were enamored of him. A large number of knowledge-seekers were the narrators of his hadiths and availed themselves of his overflowing spring emanated from the Prophet and 'Ali's boundless body of knowledge. Describing Imam's personality, Muhammad Ibn Sa'd, Sunnites historian and scholar, had said, [14] **كان علي بن الحسين ثقة مأمونا كثير الحديث عالياً رفيعاً ورعاً** "'Ali Ibn Husayn, trustworthy, said many hadiths. He was magnanimous, superior and pious.”

In his thesis about the reliability of this unique narration, Shafi'i had written, **وجدت علي بن الحسين ـ وهو أفقه أهل المدينة ـ يعوّل علي خبر الواحد** [15] "'Ali Ibn Husayn who was the only outstanding religious jurisprudent in Medina relied upon this unique narration.”

Although Ibn Shahab Zuhri was from the Umayya kins and regardless of the dispute existing between the Umayya and Shi'ite Muslims, he was among the scholars at Iman as-Sajjad's time. Getting zealously the most out of Imam's presence, he had praised him in many sentences. In a letter written by Imam, Zuhri was advised to reconsider his position as an instrument for the Umayya sovereignty. [16]

Once he was reproached by Iman as-Sajjad for his insultation to 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib (S) [17]; however, he was his narrator and his narrations have been recorded in various books. [18] Additionally he was enamored with Iman as-Sajjad's worshipping and purity. As reported, **كان الزهري إذا ذكر علي بن الحسين يبكي ويقول: زين العابدين** [19] “As soon as Zuhri heard the name of 'Ali Ibn Husayn, he wept and said, Zayn al-’Abidin the worshippers' beauty.”

He was quoted as saying, **علي بن الحسين أعظم الناس منّة عليّ** [20] "'Ali Ibn Husayn was the most generous of all people.” **ما رأيت أحداً أفقه من علي بن الحسين** [21] “I have seen no one being more erudite than 'Ali Ibn Husayn.”

His commendation for Iman as-Sajjad (a) was to the extent that some of the Marwanids told him, يا زهري! مافعل نبيّك يعني علي بن الحسين [22] “O Zuhri! What has your Prophet ('Ali Ibn Husayn) done for you?”

Abu Hazim, another hadith-narrator, had said, **ما رأيت هاشمياً أفضل من علي بن الحسين ولا أفقه منه** [23] “I have seen no one from the Hashimites whose Knowledge and jurisprudence be higher than those of 'Ali Ibn Husayn.”

It is quoted from Jahiz as stating, “Concerning 'Ali Ibn Husayn's characteristic, the Shi'ite Muslims,

schismatics, the Kharijites were all unanimous and not a single one of those was sceptical about his superiority over others".[24]

As it will be discerned later, the most decisive reason for Imam's popularity with the people was his eloquent sentences within the framework of supplication engrossing people.
Sa'id Ibn Musayyib, an eminent hadith-narrator, described Iman as-Sajjad (a), **ما رأيت أورع من علي بن الحسين** "I have never seen one more pious than 'Ali Ibn Husayn so far."[25]

During his lifetime, Imam was called "'Ali al-Khayr" (example of goodness), "'Ali al-Aqharr (outstanding 'Ali) and "'Ali al-'Abid" (Worshipper).[26] At that time Malik Ibn Anas was of this belief that there existed no one like Iman as-Sajjad in the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt.[27]
Ibn Abi al-Hadid had said, [28] **كان علي بن الحسين غاية في العبادة** "'Ali Ibn Husayn was the highest in worshipping."

On account of Imam's too many prostrations as well as of which mark on his forehead he was called "Dhi l-Thafanat" (the Owner of Calluses).[29] Also, Ibn Hibban had described Imam as follows, **وكان من أفاضل بني هاشم من فقهاء المدينة وعبادهم ... يقال علي بن الحسين سيد العابدين في ذلك الزمان** [30] "He was one of the most learned of the Hashimites, one of the jurisprudents and worshippers of Medina ... it is said that he was the master of worshippers at that time."

Abu Zuhra also said, [31] **فعليّ زين العابدين كان إمام المدينة نبلاً وعلمًا** "'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin was Imam of Medina from the viewpoint of rank and knowledge."

Reportedly, when Imam made ablution before prayer, he was noticed with a pale complexion. After being inquired for the reason, he replied, [32] **أتدرون بين يدي من أريداً أن أقوم** "Do you know before whom I am going to stand?"

It is recounted that at prayer time Imam began shivering while turning pale. In his answer to the question for its ground, he stated, [33] **اني أريد الوقوف بين يدي ملك عظيم** "I want to stand in front of the Great King."

Heeded to nothing while he was engaged in performing prayers. Once his child broke his arm. He was crying severely. An orthopedist was called to set the bone. Later, after finding the child with his arm hung from his neck, Imam realized the happening after all.[34]

Zamakhshari has narrated that when 'Ali Ibn Husayn immersed his arm to make ablution, **ثم رفع رأسه الى السماء والقمر والكواكب، ثم جعل يفكّر في خلقها حتي أصبح وأذن المؤذن ويده في الماء** " He raised his head staring at the sky, the moon and stars and pondering over as long as morning appeared and the Mu'adhdhin started calling to prayer while his arm was still in water."[35]

When his servant was questioned about him, she said, "Never ever did I take him food during the day nor did I prepare bed for him at nights."[36] It is narrated that while he was busy with his prayers, a snake approached him. The snake crept along through Imam's two feet but not a slight move or change of

complexion was noticed.[37]

In giving alms and aiding the underprivileged he was proverbial. It was after his martyrdom when it revealed that a hundred families had been living on his alms and charity.[38] Imam al-Baqir (a) has been quoted as saying that his father, Iman as-Sajjad (a), had been carrying food on his back at dead of night for the destitute stressing that charity at night-time mitigates Allah's wrath.[39] People's affection for him beggared description. Narratedly, the Qur'an reciters under on conditions set out to Mecca unless Iman as-Sajjad came and one thousand people on horseback followed him.[40]

Sumptuously dressed, he left home but promptly returned and asked to bring his previous robe pointing out, “As though I am not 'Ali Ibn Husayn.”[41] While he was passing the streets in Medina on horseback, not once did he ever warn “let me through” in view of the fact that he believed that the route was communal and he was never entitled to outrun.[42]

His son, Imam al-Baqir, was cited as saying, “My father sacrificed his properties entirely for Allah's sake twice”.[43]

At the moment of breathing his last, Muhammad Ibn Usama Ibn Zayd was beside him. Muhammad was shedding tears when Imam asked the why.
“I am 15000 dhms in debt”, responded Muhammad.
“Do not agitate yourself, I pay it”, Imam stated.[44])
All of these mentioned points look a drop from the ocean of Iman as-Sajjad's virtues.

Iman as-Sajjad (a) and Shi‘ite Muslims

On the last day of the event of Karbala the Shi'ites's political and ideological position was in a tragic situation both qualitatively and quantitatively. Kufa which had always been considered the center of Shi'ites tendencies had turned into a base for suppressing them. All the vertical Shi'ite Muslims of Imam Husayn having been either in Medina, or in Mecca or those from Kufa who could flourish to join Imam were martyred in Karbala.

Although there were some living in Kufa, they could in no way express themselves under the appalling circumstances exercised by Ibn Ziyad. Karbala was as a matter of fact a debacle for the Shi'ite Muslims psychologically. What was seemingly publicized was that the Shi'ite Muslims could no longer raise their heads aloft.

A group of Ahl al-Bayt headed by Imam Husayn had achieved martyrdom and the only remainng son from Imam Husayn and Fatima's issue was no one but Iman as-Sajjad who was not famed at that time. Imam Husayn's eldest son, 'Ali Akbar, haf also been martyred in particular. Iman as-Sajjad's life in Medina and being distant from Iraq did never allow opportunities to be provided for him to lead the Shi'ite Muslims in Kufa.

In such a status which Shi'ites basis was determinedly targeted. Iman as-Sajjad had to resume from Zero and absorb people towards Ahl al-Bayt, Imam could successfully reach many achievements, however.45

The achievements have been verified in history. Iman as-Sajjad could not only breath new life into the Shi'ite Muslims but also lay the foundations for both Imam al-Baqir's and Imam as-Sadiq's future activities. It has been evidenced by history that he, during his thirty-four-year activity, extricated the Shi'ite Muslims from the thorniest periods of their lives, the period which had nothing save Shi'ite Muslims' suppression by the Umayya and Ibn Zubayr.

Hajjaj's twenty-year sovereignty in Iraq together with 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan's dominance of the thorough Islamic realm had concentrated on suppressing the Shi'ite Muslims and somewhere else suppressing other Umayyads opponents including Kharijites and such insurgents as 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ash'ath. Hearing the term of Shi'ites was far more irritating than the term of disbeliever for Hajjaj.46

During these years, two Shi'ites movements were waged in Iraq either of which-despite the temporary victory of one-was defeated. Subsequently the Shi'ite Muslims were with all might put under the threat of murder, torture and imprisonment by the Umayya. The penitents one of the movements was that of Tawwabin led by Sulayman Ibn Surad Khuza'i with a small number of the renowned Shi'ite Muslims of Kufa that we already discussed. It is alleged that Tawwabin had yielded to 'Ali Ibn Husayn's Imama.47

We could find no proof for the allegation in primary sources. What is worth consideration is that as a rule Tawwabin had been set to entrust Imama to Ahl al-Bayt if succeeded and naturally there existed no one from Fatima's issue but 'Ali Ibn Husayn (a). Not a report has been traced in history whether they were precisely of this opinion or not. It appears that no specific political relation between Iman as-Sajjad and Tawwabin had been established.

Nevertheless, whatever had given Shi'ites spirit to the movement was the active participation of the notable Shi'ite Muslims of Kufa as well as its sentimental nature, that is, repenting for not defending Husayn Ibn 'Ali and getting martyred as the only way for the acceptance of their repentance. Nowhere of the movement was the name of Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya mentioned.

Their poletical blunder was assessing not the status quo, abandoning Kufa and leaving himself to the accidents. Believing that the leader of the movement was incapable of estimating military and political issues, not only Mukhtar did by no means collaborate but he also hindered a number of Shi'ite Muslims to back the movement.

Iman as-Sajjad's association with the second movement, namely Mukhtar's movement was as vague as the former one. Such a connection bore numerous troubles both form the viewpoints of politics and ideology. It was said that after attaining support from the Shi'ite Muslims in Kufa, Mukhtar pleaded to 'Ali Ibn Husayn (a) for cooperation but Imam showed no delight.48

By taking Imam's abiding policy into account, the standing adopted looked reasonable. Later than the event in Karbala, Imam had well perceived that reviving such a dead community through securing the leadership was beyond the bounds of practicability.

Besides, implicating in another political movement with the presence of external powers might have preceded many a peril which was not worth risking at all. By this reason, the entity of Imam's movement throughout his Imamate elucidated that his was never merely a political one though in many cases secession from politics exactly denoted a certain political activity.

And the ideological aspect of the adventure commenced when Mukhtar asked for Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya's assistance and advocacy. He consented but not officially. From then on, it was rumored that Ibn Hanafiyya's Imamate was accepted amongst the Iraqi Shi'ite Muslims. Although this notion was not corroborated, later when a sect named the Kissanids was founded, the story began from the time of Mukhtar.

With the infiltration of the Exaggerators' theories into the Shi'ites nation in Kufa, Mukhtar also was subject to accusation later. It was rumored that Mukhtar had played an influential role in emerging the Exaggerators.

Based on noncount justifications, referring to which does not seem convenient here and have been discussed elsewhere, all of these issues even that a sect named the Kissanids believed in Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya's Imamate and Mahdavitism are open to doubt.

Notwithstanding, regarding Iman as-Sajjad's position-taking against the Exaggerators there is evidence available. It was the predominant deviation among Iraqi Shi'ite Muslims which compelled Imam to refrain from taking a transparent stance and setting up a direct link with them.

Iman as-Sajjad (a) addressed a group of Iraqis saying, 49 **أحبونا حبّ الاسلام ولا ترفعونا فوق حدِّنا** "Adore us for the sake of Islam but never promote us higher than we deserve."

Somewhere else, 50**أحبونا حبَّ الإسلام ولا تحبُّونا حبَّ الأصنام** "Adore us for the sake of Islam but never idolatize us."

Abu Khalid Kabuli had recounted that he had heard Iman as-Sajjad (a) saying,

> إن قوماً من شيعتنا سيُحبّونا حتى يقولوا فينا ما قالت اليهود في عزير وما قالتِ النصاري في عيسى بن مريم، فلا هم منّا ولا نحن منهم

" "Some of our Shi'ite Muslims go to extremes in adoring us to the extent that they repeat what the Jews and the Christians had declared about Ezra and Jesus Christ saying, "Neither are we from them nor are they from us"51

In accordance with Shi'ites sources, Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya was on no accounts a misled one and had assented Iman as-Sajjad's Imama. In order as a consequence to verify that Ibn Hanafiyya had indeed introduced himself as an Imam a few questions would be posed and solutions would be presumed that he had taken this action with the aid of Imam to keep Imam away although no historical proof supports such an assumption.

What merits to be borne in mind is that it beggars belief that Iman as-Sajjad (a) had uttered such words about Mukhtar, [52] **يكذب على الله وعلى رسوله** "He attributes false things to Allah and the Prophet."

Especially, when Mukhtar had sent 'Ubayd Allah's head to him, he had averred, [53] **جزى الله المختار خيراً** "May Allah award Mukhtar the best!" Narratedly at that time, **لم يبق من بني هاشم أحد الا قام بخطبة فيالثناء على المختار وجميل القول فيه**[54] "There was no one from the Hashimites who did not rise and admire Mukhtar." Quoted from Imam al-Baqir was, **لا تسبّوا المختار فأنه قتل قتلتنا وطلب ثأرنا وزوج أراملنا وقسم فينا المال على العسرة**[55]

"Insult not Mukhtar for he has killed our assassins, has had our orphans marry and has allotted properties to us when in trouble."
And in an answer to the question of Mukhtar's son, he described his position about Mukhtar as positive.[56]

As discussed before, Mukhtar's movement did not politically last long and was suppressed by Ibn Zubayr followers in 67 AH. However, it had an impact on stimulating and perpetuating Shi'ites emotions in Kufa and on motivating Mawali to take part in political activities.

Due to the aforesaid deviation and even unlike Ibn Hanafiyya's possible wish, some were ambivalent whom to choose as an Imam. Qasim Ibn 'Awf, one of Iman as-Sajjad's disciples, who had initially been hesitant whether to choose 'Ali Ibn Husayn or Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya ultimately joined Iman as-Sajjad as confessed by himeslf.[57]

According to Kashshi, Abu Hamza Thumali and Farat Ibn Ahnaf had been among his disciples.[58]

Although Sa'id Ibn Musayyib was controversial to be among them, he had apparently been ruling in accordance with the Sunnism. In Rijal, Kashshi has treated Sa'id's position as disentanglement from Hajjaj.[59] His veneration for Imam, at all events, is without a shadow of a doubt and availing himself of Imam's presence scientifically and ethically is confirmed. But he did not attend Imam's funeral ceremony and as a result was objected to.[60]

Aside from these individuals, there had been a number deemed steadfast Shi'ite Muslims on the report of Shi'ites sources. At the starting-point there had been only few with Imam such as Sa'id Ibn Jubayr, Sa'id Ibn Musayyib, Muhammad Ibn Jubayr Ibn Mut'im, Yahya Ibn Umm al-Tawil and Abu Khalid al-Kabuli.[61] The number of Iman as-Sajjad's disciples was said 173 by Sheikh al-Ta'ifa.[62]

Anyhow Imam could vastly contribute to Shi'ism eternity and its dissemination. His style in Islamic jurisprudence domain was narrating the Holy Prophet's hadiths through 'Ali (a). Only were these hadiths authentic in Shi'ite Muslims' sight. By the same token, Shi'ites managed to take his first strides in Islamic jurisprudence averse to the existing deviations; nontheless, the main phase thereof procrastinated.

While calling for prayer (Adhan), Iman as-Sajjad inserted the sentence of, **حيّ علي خيرالعمل** "Hasten to practice good deeds."

When objections raised, he stated that Adhan had been that form since the inception.[63] Seceding from Iraqi deviations culminated in maintaining the doctrinal bases of Shi'ism against deviations.

In spite of Imam's serious endeavor, which, of course, led to the perpetual Shi'ism, Medina could never ever be disposed to Shi'ites growth in the light of its deviations created from the Early Islamic Era as well as its incitement against Shites. Iman as-Sajjad himself had asserted that their vertical devotees both in Mecca and Medina had not exceeded twenty people.[64] Many lived in Iraq who were their enthusiasts, however.

Imam's Encounter with the Umayyads

Imam's ever-first encounter with the Umayya rulers after Karbala event was with 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad. Ibn Ziyad asked his name.
Imam replied, "This is 'Ali".

"Did Allah kill not 'Ali Ibn Husayn?" Ibn Ziyad asked surprisingly.
"I had a brother whom people killed", responded Imam.
"But Allah did kill him", Ibn Ziyad added.
Iman as-Sajjad stated, **اللَّهُ يَتَوَفَّى الْأَنْفُسَ حِينَ مَوْتِهَا.**
Concluding to murder Imam, Ibn Ziyad was heroicly stopped by Zaynab (a).[65]

Yazid also met him in Damascus[66] and reproached him. In an excellent sermon, Imam introduced himself and his family addressing the audience in the mosque. People who had for a long time been ignorantly influenced by the Umayya propagation and were not in the slightest acquainted with the Prophet's household became awakened somewhat by his sermon.

Yazid had to interrupt Imam, demagogically imputed the wickedness to Ibn Ziyad and respectfully saw off 'Ali Ibn Husayn along with other captives of Karbala to Medina. Among the noteworthy points in Imam's sermon was that he introduced his father, his family and himself as the Prophet's descendants whereas both Mu'awiya and the Umayya have been constantly striving to inroduce them 'Ali's descendants not the Holy Prophet's.

A while after the event in Karbala, revolting against the Umayya, the people of Medina organized the riot of Harra, moreover. The leadership of the riot lay with 'Abd Allah Ibn Hanzala, Aliyas Ghasil al-Mala'ika

whose character was anti-Umayyads and anti-Yazid and whose life style was non-Islamic.

Iman as-Sajjad's as well as others' position from the Hashimites was not positive; consequently, they abandoned the town with a number of their families. In Imam's view, the aforementioned movement had not merely a Shi'ites nature but was absolutely in line with Ibn Zubayr's intent, someone who had been among those occasioning the war of Jamal. Since Imam's any standing as a Shi'ites leader could precede the riskiest consequence for the Shi'ite Muslims, he did not involve himself.

Besides, when people had expelled the Umayyads, Imam's manliness entailed to give asylum to Marwan Ibn Hakam's wife at his request. Tabari has written that Imam's old friendship with Marwan accounted for Imam's action.67

It is in actual fact a barefaced lie. At that age and under those circumstances that his father and forefather had been in conflict with this reign, Imam's intimacy with Marwan as the most wretched element among the Umayyads was out of the question in a real sense of word. Marwan was the one who from the outset of securing allegiance in Medina had coerced the governor to either force Imam Husayn to swear allegiance or take his life. Imam's reaction was a sportsmanlike answer to the Umayyads' foulness so that history could compare the conducts.

After Muslim Ibn 'Uqba, Aliyas Musraf suppressed the movement of Medina people and committed the greatest atrocities during the Umayya age, he acted moderately towards 'Ali Ibn Husayn due to his absence in the movement. Muslim secured allegiance from people in a way that they know themselves Yazid's slaves; not withstanding, securing allegiance from 'Ali Ibn Husayn was quite normal.68 Prior to Imam's entry, Muslim was cursing Imam and his forebear. But on Imam's arrival, he behaved calmly.

When Muslim was asked for his change subsequent to Imam's departure, he responded, **ما كان ذلك لرأي منّي لقد ملىء قلبي منه رعباً** 69 "My second conduct was not my wish. Fear had fully permeated into my heart."

Heedless of the fact that Imam's position-taking ought to be interpreted by considering the political state, military oppositions and the establishment of organizations, it had been the current situation which necessitated any Imam's responsibility70 at any juncture. Every politically rational man is cognizant that the approaches adopted vary in various situations. As examined history evidences how Iman as-Sajjad (a) reserved and proliferated Shi'ism for the future activites.

As far as the relations between the 'Alawites and the Umayya were concerned, Imam was vehemently suspected by them and as Imam's slight movement could bare negative outcomes, he naturally believed that action-taking was not worth. One of the most significant religious-political principles by using which Imam spent his political life was Taqiyya (precautionary dissimulation).

It shielded the Shi'ite Muslims' lives throughout history as pointed out by Imam over and over. Yet, in order to undermine the Shi'ite Muslims, a group, not in need of manipulating it, denied it strongly

although it had been straightforwardly stipulated in Holy Qur'an. The Sunnis on account of being in power required not Taqiyya and only for accusing the Shi'ite Muslims did they delete it from among the incontrovertible Islamic and Fiqhi commandments.

In a hadith, Iman as-Sajjad has stated that anyone not enjoining good and forbidding evil is like one who has set the divine Book aside and turned his back on it unless he follows Taqiyya. He was asked what Taqiyya was. He answered, 71**يخاف جباراً عنيداً يخاف أن يفرط عليه أو أن يطغى** "To fear from a cruel ruler to kill him or oppress him."

Believing in Taqiyya as a Qur'anic principle was in terms of Islamic jurisprudence accentuated more by Imams who had to practice it. Iman as-Sajjad who lived an exceedingly difficult life had no other alternative but Taqiyya. It was fundamentally Taqiyya which safeguarded Shi'ism at that time, what of which Kharijites, the extremists, did not avail themselves and as a result were struck hard. Narratedly, meeting Imam, someone asked him how he spent his life.

Imam responded, "We pass the time among our people as Israelites were among the Pharaoh's people. They kill our children and take our women as bondwomen. People get nearer to our foes by insulting our lord. If Quraysh prides itself on having Muhammad before other Arabs and if Arabs consider themselves superior to non-Arabs for having Muhammad (S) and they have approved such a virtue for Arabs and Quraysh, we, Ahl al-Bayt, should be proud of ourselves before Quraysh because Muhammad has been from among us. Yet, they usurped our rights and this is the way our time goes by".

The narrator added that Imam was speaking in a way that only those nearby be able to hear him.

Overall, Imam's lenience with the Umayya provided a free life in Medina for Imam and less was he center of attention on the part of the opponents. Furthermore it manifested Imam's scientific dimention in reserving the religion. The great admiration made by a Sunnites scholar about him is a proof. Were Imam involved in politics, no one could describe this aspect of Imam's character.

Iman as-Sajjad's profiting from Du'a (Prayer)

When the community was deviated, the spirit of comfort-loving and worldliness prevailed, it was confined by political, ethical and social corruption and when there was no opening to breathe politically, Iman as-Sajjad could partially express his beliefs throgh prayer and reactivate the nation to pay heed to insight and worship. Although, seemingly, the main aim within the prayers had been insight and worship, in regard with the phrases it can be claimed that people could have perceived the political concepts between the lines.

Al-Sahifa as-Sajjadiyya including more than fifty prayers is only a part of Iman as-Sajjad's compiled prayers. The number of the collections inclusive of his prayers is six with the above mentioned one. The prayers inside some of them exceed 180.72 These prayers had been used by the Sunnis in addition to

the Shi'ite Muslims,73 so it can be inferred how influential they had been at that time. Among all Shi'ites Imams, Iman as-Sajjad (a) is more famous for his prayers.

Within the prayers there is a phrase repeatedly used and rarely can a prayer be found excluding it. It is, **صلوات بر محمد وآل محمد** " Peace be to Muhammad and his progeny."

Basically it is an indication of genuine prayers. Once naming a baby 'Ali was decried and the Umayya could execute nothing without insulting 'Ali (a),74 observing such a phrase appeared virtuous.

Such phrases as, 75 **محمد وآله الطيبين الطاهرين الاخيار الانجبين** "Muhammad and his decent, clean, chosen and honored descendants."

Imam's insistence on uniting Muhammad and his descendants was what Allah had emphasized and it is of utmost importance for expressing Shi'ites beliefs. Previous to narrating contents of some of his prayers it looks proper to refer to a hadith on consolidating the link between Muhammad and his Household.

Iman as-Sajjad has stated, "It is incumbent upon a learned to say Salawat to Allah's Prophet. Allah has joined us to him as well. If anyone say Salawat for the Prophet but excludes us, not only does he make it imperfect but also he disobeys Allah.76" The union of Muhammad and his Household can substantially affect people's stance on the Holy Prophet's household.

The issue of Imamate is one of the central religious-political contents of as-Sahifa. The concept of Imama as a Shi'ites concept depicts the divine aspects of infallibility along with profiting from the prophets' body of knowledge in general and that of the holy Prophet in particular in addition to its superiority over caliphate and leadership.We show some examples.

ربّ صلّ على أطائب اهل بيته الذين اخترتهم لأمرك وجعلتم خزنة علمك وحفظة دينك وخلفائك في أرضك وحججك على عبادك وطهرّتهم من الرجس والدّنس تطهيراً بارادتك وجعلتهم الوسيلة اليك والمسلك الى جنّتك

O Lord! Bless those pure from Muhammad's progeny, those whom Thou have chosen for ruling and those whom Thou have designated as Thy depositaries of science and guards of Thy religion. Thou created tem as Thy caliphs and proof for Thy servants on the earth. Thou not only cleansed them from any impurity of Thy own volition, but also determined them as a vehicle for reaching Thee and the abiding Heaven."77 "

اللّهم انّ هذا المقام لخلفائك وأصفيائك وموضع أمنائك في الدّرجة الّتي اختصصتهم بها قد ابتزوها... حتى عاد صفوتك وخلفائك مغلوبين، مقهورين مبتزّين ... أللهم العن أعدائهم من الاوّلين والاخرين ومن رضي بفعالهم وأشياعهم وأتباعهم

“O Allah! Caliphate does solely belong to Thy caliphs, the chosen from creatures. The position Thou had assigned for Thy Trustee in sublime ranks was usurped by others... until Thy caliphs and chosen ones were vanquished by the oppressors and their rights were disregarded. O my Lord! Thy malediction be upon their enemies from the beginning to the end, upon those gratified with this oppression and upon their followers.”78

وصلّ على خيرتك اللّهم من خلقك محمّد وعترته الصّفوةّ من بريّتك الطّاهرين واجعلنا لهم سامعين ومطيعين كما أمرت اللهّم اجعلنى من أهل التّوحيد والايمان بك والتّصديق برسولک والائمة الّذين حتمت طاعتهم.

“O Lord! Bless the best creature of all, Muhammad, and his chosen kinfolks. Make us obedient to them as Thou have commanded. O Lord! Make me one of the believers of the Prophet and Imams, those whose obedience Thou have ordered.”79

اللّهم انّك ايّدت دينك في كلّ أوان بامام أقمته علماَ لعبادك ومناراً في بلادك بعد ان وصلت حبله بحبلك وجعلته الذّريعة الي رضوانك وافترضت طاعته وحذرت معصيته وأمرت بامتثال أوامره والانتهاء الي نهيه وأن لا يتقدّمه متقدّم ولا يتأخّر عنه متأخّر فهو عصمة للائذين وكهف المؤمنين وعروة المتمسكين وبهاء العالمين ....2410 وأقم به كتابك وحدودك وشرائعك وسنن رسولك صلواتك اللّه عليه واله وأحي به ما أماته الظّالمون من معالم دينك وأجل به صداء الجور عن طريقتك وابن به الضّراء من سبيلك وأزل به النّاكبين عن صراطك وأمحق به بغاة قصدك عوجاَ ... واجعلنا له سامعين مطيعين.2411

“O Lord! At any time Thou have appointed an Imam as a flag and a guidance lamp for Thy servants on the earth. Through establishing a direct link between Thyself and him, choosing him a way far drawing Thy gratification, enjoining all to obey his commands and prohibiting all from disobeying him, Thou did approve Thy religion. He is an Imam over whom no one has priority and from whom no one has the right to separate.

An Imam for whom Thou have arranged a secure place for approaching Thee is he. Thou have bestowed firm faith on him who resorts Thy leading and favor and bestowed a highest honor in the world as he is a refuge for the believers... O Lord! Safeguard Thy book, Islamic limits, religious laws and Thy Prophet's Sunna by him, revive any of Thy religious tenets which the oppressor dissolved by him and obliterate any corruption or deviation in Thy straight path by him. Obviate the dangers in Thy way by him, make us obedient to him and successful in satisfying him.”

It can be evidently inferred from the sentences above that Imam's determination had been disseminating Shi'ites beliefs through the concept of Imama as the most crucial in Shi'ism. Similar contents admiring Ahl al-Bayt from Nahj al-Balagha had been presented in the discussion about Imam 'Ali's caliphate.

As referred to the domain of the prayers is incredredibly vast and contains other aims such as devotional, intellectual and political. Brining an intellectual example would be appropriate here. Irbili

recounted that while Iman as-Sajjad was in the Prophet's mosque in Medina he noticed that a group having a doctrinal discussion likened Allah to his creature. Imam who was incensed, stood up, went to the Prophet's grave and began praying from which the content of negating comparison could be deduced. Shedding tears he was praying,

الهي قد بدت قدرتك ولم تبد هيئتك فجهلوك وقدّروك بالتقدير على غير ما انت به فشبّهوك وأنا بريء يا الهي من الذّين بالتّشبيه طلبوك ...

“O my Allah! Thy might is revealed. They do not appreciate Thee. They ordain despite what Thou have foreordained. They compare Thee with mankind while I loathe it. O my Allah! Who are those who seek Thee with comparison?”80

One of the Imam's actions at different times was to make people acquainted with the Prophet's Household about whom all the rights and virtues were specified in Qur'an and Sunna. In Damascus the Umayya introduced themselves the Holy Prophet's Household as in Hijaz some of the Prophet's wives did so.

Since his wives died one after another and left no child, the existence of Ahl al-Bayt was rendered null and void. And now no one but Fatima's offspring was remained. Making them known was requisite especially in as much as the incidents after the Prophet's departure had them keep silent in political scenes. Iman as-Sajjad introduced the household when he was taken to Damascus and it was in his famous sermon as confirmed by a number of historical records.

In this regard, we present a narration:

و أتي بحرم رسول اللّه صلى الله عليه وآله حتي دخلوا مدينة دمشق من باب يقال له «توماء»، ثم أتي بهم حتى وقفوا علي درج باب المسجد حيث يقام السبي واذا الشيخ قد أقبل حتى دنا منهم وقال, الحمد لله الذي قتلكم وأهلككم وأراح الرجال من سطوتكم وأمكن أميرالمؤمنين منكم. فقال له علي بن الحسين, يا شيخ! هل قرأت القرآن؟ قال: نعم قد قرأته، قال: فعرفت هذه الاية: قل لاأسئلكم اجراً الا المودّة في القربى؟ قال الشيخ: نعم. فقال علي بن الحسين: فنحن القربى يا شيخ، قال: هل قرأت في سورة بني اسرائيل: وآت ذا القربي حقه؟ قال الشيخ: قد قرأت ذلك، فقال علي: نحن القربى يا شيخ. وهل قرأت هذه الاية «واعلموا أنما غنمتم من شيء فان لله خمسه وللرسول ولذي القربى، قال الشيخ: قد قرأت ذلك، فقال علي: فنحن ذو القربى يا شيخ. ولكن هل قرأت هذه الايه: انما يريد الله ليذهب عنكم الرجس أهل البيت ويطهركم تطهيراً، قال الشيخ: قد قرأت ذلك. قال علي: فنحن اهل البيت الذي خصنا بآية الطهارة. فبقي الشيخ ساعة ساكتاً نادماً علي ما تكلّمه؛ ثم رفع رأسه الي السماء وقال: اللهم اني تائب اليك في ما تكلمته ومن بعض هولاء القوم، اللهم اني أبرء اليك من عدّو محمد وآل محمد.

The Prophet's Household were brought. 81They were entered Damascus through a door called “Tuma"” They stood by the mosque door with other captives.
An old man approached them and said, “I offer my appreciation to Allah who killed you and let people

relieve and Amir al-Mu'minin Yazid overcame you".
'Ali Ibn Husayn asked him, "Man, have you ever recited Qur'an?" "Sure, I have" the old man answered.

"Have you ever seen the verse of Say, I do not ask of you any reward for it (my mission) but love for my near relatives", Imam asked.
"Yes, I have", said he.

'Ali Ibn Husayn added, "Those near relatives are we, man". Imam asked again. "How about the verse in Bani-Isra'il Sura "Give the rights of the relatives?"
"Yes", he answered.

"We are those relatives", stated Imam. "Have you ever read the verse of 'And know that whatever thing you gain, a fifth of it is for Allah and for the Apostle and for the near of the kin' ", asked 'Ali Ibn Husayn. The man answered, "Yes".

"How about this verse, man? Allah only desires to keep away the uncleanness from you, O people of the House! And to purify you a (thorough) purifying", asked Imam.
"Yes, I have read it", he said.

"These people of the house are we". 'Ali Ibn Husayn added.
The man ashamed of whatever he had produced kept silent for a while. Then he rose his head up to the sky and said, "O My Allah! I repent of what I have said and of the grudge I have born them. I loathe the enemies of Muhammad and his progeny".

Iman as-Sajjad's lamentation as well as his real worship within the frame of these prayers was an instructive lesson for the present corrupted community wherein Islam was disdained by the Umayya. His lamentation was also for the harrowing event of Karbala.

Imam had stated, "Although doubtful about his death, Jacob wept for Joseph so hard that his eyes turned blind. How can I not help weeping while sixteen people from the Prophet's Household were martyred in front of my very eyes."82 His lamentation did automatically make people conscious of the event in Karbala though he himself recounted the details of the event, moreover.83

Iman as-Sajjad (a) and Slaves

One of Imam's activities, both religious and political, was his heed to a class who had been under socially vehement pressure from the caliph II's tenure onward particularly during the Umayyads' term and had been the most underprivileged group in the Islamic community in early centuries. The bondsmen and bondswomen whether Iranian, Roman, Egyptian or Sudanese suffering the most laborious tasks were humiliated by their masters.

Like Amir al-Mu'minin (a), Iman as-Sajjad (a) absorbed a number of Iraqi Mawali (freed slaves) through

his Islamic conduct and attempted to upgrade the social reputation of this class. Once Imam freed a bondswoman and married her, in order to censure her, 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan reproached him for this marriage, Imam referred to the verse:

لَقَدْ كَانَ لَكُمْ فِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ.

“Allah's Messenger is a good model for you.”

Concerning the Prophet's approach about Safiyya. He also pointed out the marriage of the Prophet's cousin with Zayd Ibn Haritha.84 Accordingly, he breathed new life into Prophet's dead tradition afresh.

Sayyid al-Ahl has written that although Imam never needed slaves, he purchased them regularly only for the purpose of their releasing. Reportedly, some one hundred thousand slaves were freed by Imam. Discerning Imam's intention, the slaves exposed themselves to him to be purchased. Since Iman as-Sajjad had been purchasing them day in and day out, a large group was formed in Medina like an army including male and female slaves being all Imam's Mawali.85

Narrated by 'Allama Amini, at the end of each fasting month of Rama□an, Iman as-Sajjad freed twenty slaves. He has added that never did he keep a slave more than a year and even after setting free he granted some properties to them.86

During that period they personally got well acquainted with Iman as-Sajjad's extensive knowledge, ethics and piety and their affection for him was as a consequence natural. Some time a bondwoman with a bowl of water was pouring water on Imam's hands.

All of a sudden it dropped down, knocked Imam on the face and injured him. As soon as Imam took a look at her, she said, **والكاظمين الغيظ** “ Those restraining their anger.” Imam said, “I restrained my anger”. **والعافين عن الناس** “ Those forgiving people.”,added she. “I forgave you”, Imam stated. 87**والله يحب المحسنين** “Allah loves the benevolent,” she recited. Imam said, “For Allah's sake, I released you”.88

On stepping out of the mosque, Iman as-Sajjad (a) was insulted by someone. When Imam's Mawali invaded him, Imam hindered them and stated, “What has remained unrevealed about us is more than what he expresses”. The man became ashamed after all and was pardoned by Imam generously.89

Now once again Imam's magnanimity is mentioned. It is worth recounting a story.

'Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Umar had narrated, “Hisham Ibn Isma'il, an Umayya governor in Medina had ignored the neighbors' rights and had begun annoying us specifically 'Ali Ibn Husayn. When he was deposed, Walid commanded to expose him to the public so that any one willing could take revenge on him.

Hisham confessed that he scared no one that much but 'Ali Ibn Husayn. While being hung from the

Marwan bulwark, he requested his friends not to utter an insulting word when Iman as-Sajjad passed by. As soon as noticing Imam going, Hisham yelled out, **الله اعلم حيث يجعل رسالته** " "Allah truly knows with whom to lay His mission."[90]

The Hashimites after the Event of Karbala'

Aside from Iman as-Sajjad there existed two 'Abbasids and 'Alawites figures who cooperated in political and collective activities. One was Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya, 'Ali's son, and the other was 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib whose fame was thanks to the narrations quoted from the Prophet notably dealing with interpretation.[91]

Not Fatima's son however, he was deemed high-ranking by the Shi'ite Muslims due to his elderliness among the other 'Alawites as the leader of political Shi'ite Muslims, propounding Ahl al-Bayt's leadership politically.

Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya had been eminent and focus of Imam 'Ali's attention in the course of wars at that Imam's term. The flag of Imam's army in the war of Jamal was held aloft by Ibn Hanafiyya.[92] His own analysis was that both Imam Hasan and Imam Husayn were Imam 'Ali's eyes and he was his hand and it was hand which ought to protect the eyes.[93]

Indicating the positions of these three brothers, Imam 'Ali had state, **أين النجم من الشمس والقمر**[94] "Where is the star of the sun and the moon."

Imam enlightened them why the flag was given to Ibn Hanafiyya. It had been for the protection of the Prophet's descendants.[95] That he had not been from the Fatimids was an excuse for Ibn Zubayr to humiliate him later[96] although never did it affect the Shi'ite Muslims.

No one doubts that he had been one of the most steadfast Shi'ite Muslims as his actions had verified the fact; nevertheless, no evidence could ever be located from the historical sources about his claim for leadership, though others might take advantage of him, even found a sect and believe his Mahdavitism. Many individuals including a few Shi'ites Imams had the same affliction too. Ibn Hanafiyya was the narrator of the hadiths which could lead people more towards the Holy Prophet's Household.

He has been quoted as saying, **من أحبنا لله نفعه الله بحبنا ولو كان اسيراً بالدّيلم**[97] "Any one who loves us, he will be benefited by Allah even if he is imprisoned in Diylam."

The devotees of the Household were many whereas the loyal to the verse of, قُلْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُحِبُّونَ اللَّهَ فَاتَّبِعُونِي. "Say, If you love Allah, then follow me" were few.

Owing to this fact Iman as-Sajjad had stated, **ما بمكة والمدينة عشرون رجلا يحبنا** " "Our Faithful Shi'ite Muslims do not exceed twenty both in Mecca and Medina."[98]

The number of the political enthusiasts was great, however.

When addressing him, Ibn Hanafiyya's followers usually said, **يابن خيرالاخيار وابن ابرّ الابرار ما خلا النبيين والمرسلين** [99] "O son of the best of the best, son of the benevolent of the benevolent after the prophets and the Apostles."

More threatening of Ibn Zubayr's two adversaries namely, Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya and Mukhtar was Ibn Hanafiyya. The whys and the wherefores were one, Mukhtar had risen up in Kufa under his banner and the other was that the leadership of some part f Shi'ites movement apparently had been undertaken by him. Ibn Zubayr who had determinedly bent his efforts to smear their reputation banned reciting blessing to the Holy Prophet (S) for 40 weeks.

Being asked for its reason, he said, **ان له أهيل سوء فان ذكر مدّوا أعناقهم لذكره** [100] "His family is small. Whenever he is commemorated, all members of this family will say we are in this family."

He had made more offensive remarks in this respect as well[101] like, **بيت سوء لا أول لهم ولا أخر** " The sinister house for which there is neither beginning nor end."

It aroused Ibn 'Abbas's anger acutely banished by Ibn Zubayr to Ta'if.[102] Ibn Zubayr himself had made a confession that it had been 40 years he bore this family a grudge.[103] He was the one who incited his father to betray Ahl al-Bayt and stand against Imam 'Ali (a) in Jamal.

Concerning him Imam 'Ali had stated, **ما زال الزبير منا اهل البيت حتي نشأ ابنه المشؤوم عبد الله** [104] "Zubayr always belonged to us, Ahl al-Bayt until his inauspicious son, 'Abd Allah, emerged."

As narrated by Ibn Abi al-Hadid, the only stimulater of 'Ayisha had also been 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr according to Ibn 'Umar.[105] It was not unreasonable why she felt affection for him after his father and the Prophet.[106]

These was a testimony that how great was the grudge Ibn Zubayr bore the 'Alawites, Although his archenemy was the Umayyads, neverever did he leave the Hashimites relieved. Since the Hashimites naturally swore no allegiance to him, he emancipated Ibn Hanafiyya, Ibn 'Abbas together with 24 people from among the Hashimites in the entrance to the well of Zamzam. Mukhtar's envoys succeeded to release them in an ambush attack with their bare hands.[107]

Ibn Zubayr's determination had been to burn them to death. When 'Urwa Ibn Zubayr, famous for narrating the Prophet's hadiths, was objected in this regard, he reacted as saying that it had been done for the purpose of maintaining Muslim solidarity and it had been what the caliph II had adopted against those who opposed to swearing allegiance to Abu Bakr. Even he had accumulated logs to set fire to their houses.[108]

Nevertheless, Ibn Zubayr had not the audacity to do so in view of the fact that a majority of his followers had turned to him merely due to the Umayyads oppression and as a matter of fact they would rather be

with a corrupt man than be with a more corrupt one and on no accounts would they allow him.[109]

Time after time in his sermons, Ibn Zubayr cavilled Imam 'Ali (a) and made Ibn Hanafiyya raise an objection. Consequently, verbal dispute flared up between them.[110] It resulted in Ibn Hanafiyya's expulsion which was followed by Ibn 'Abbas's protest.[111]

Seeking advantage by exploiting this dispute, 'Abd al-Malik wrote to Ibn Hanafiyya inviting him to Damascus. Ibn 'Abbas admiring Ibn Hanafiyya's character requested 'Abd al-Malik to make allowances for him. He accepted his demand, hence Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya betook himself to Damascus.

Anyone who passed by him on the way talked about his uprising. His features had become proverbial. 'Abd al-Malik who predicted his menace informed Ibn Hanafiyya while en route that he should swear allegiance to him if coming to Damascus. Declining his proposal, he switched his way to Mecca again and resided in Abu Talib mountain-pass with a group of his Kufiyan friends.

The conflicts between him and Ibn Zubayr reignited and sparked off his expulsion to Ta'if. Meanwhile Ibn 'Abbas was expelled from Mecca to Ta'if too; therefore, both began propagating against Ibn Zubayr together. It was where Ibn 'Abbas passed away in 68 and Ibn Hanafiyya said prayer for him.[112]

The final phases of Ibn Hanafiyya's life remained vague. Some people known as followers of the Kissanids claimed that he had been alive and living on Ra□wa mount. In accordance with Ibn A'tham, he left Ta'if with 40 Shi'ite Muslims to Ra□wa mount and disappeared without trace.[113]

His going to Ra□wa mount was mentioned by Ya'qubi as well.336 From Sayyid Himyari's poems, once a believer of the Kissanids, a belief in Ibn Hanafiyya's Mahdavitism and his disappearance from sight can be inferred.

Alluding to the Prophet's hadith on Mahdavitism, “His name is like that of mine and his nickname also resembles that of mine”, he had composed,[114]

يفوز بكنيتي واسمي لاني نحلتماه والمهدي من بعدي

يغيّب عنهم حتى يقولوا تضمنه بطيبة بطن لحد

سنين وأشهر برضوى بشعب بين أنمار وأسد

“He will be in a grace that I have bestowed him with my name and nickname. He will be the leader after me. He will disappear while people say he has gone to his last resting-place. For years and months he will be invisible in the valley among the lions and leopards and on Ra□wa mount.”

The lines below belong to Kuthayyir 'Azza about Kissanids tenets,[115]

ألا ان الائمة مـن قريش ولاة الحق أربعـة سـواء

علي والثلاثه مـن بنيـه هم الاسباط ليس بهم خفاء

فسبط، سبط ايمـان وبر وسبط غيّبتـه كربـلاء

وسبط لا يذوق الموت حتى يقود الخيل يقدمه اللـواء

تغيب لا يري فيهم زمانـا برضـوي عنده عسل وماء

“Be informed that Imams from Quraysh and the owners of rights are four, 'Ali and his three sons. These are his sons not anyone else. A son of his was the example of faith and goodness while his another son was removed in Karbala. The other one who has not yet tasted death in order to lead cavalrymen having a standard at the front is disappeared from view on Ra wa mount with honey and water.”

Some considered Mukhtar as the founder of the Kissanids which might have been named after one of Imam 'Ali's slaves called Kissanids.[116] Other reasons have been presented for its denomination in various books related to different sects and religions. No scientific research has ever been done yet, but some are of this belief that the Kissanids have been wholly fabricated by narrators.[117]

As a number believed that Ibn Hanafiyya had shared in foundation of such a sect, the 'Abbasids tried from the outset to secure power through 'Ali's succession, thus they declared a proportion for Ibn Hanafiyya. In order to justify their caliphate, they announced that the Prophet's authority transferred to 'Ali then to Imam Hasan and Husayn and entrusted to Ibn Hanafiyya by Imam Husayn (a). After being transferred to Ibn Hanafiyya's son, Abu Hashim, it was devolved to Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas subsequent to Abu Hashim's death.[118]

Connecting these two issues reveals that the Kissanids sect had been beneficial to the 'Abbasids so that it could transfer the caliphate this way to their lineage. Later on, that way went disadvantageous to the 'Abbasids. Accordingly, they decided to legitimize their caliphate with recourse to 'Abbas and proving his inheritance from the Prophet.[119]

'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas, another distinguished member of the Hashimites, was among Ibn Zubayr's unyielding opponents in Mecca. Yazid, when alive, had held him in high esteem for his opposition

against Ibn Zubayr owing to the fact that he had imagined he could use this opportunity in favor of himself.

In response to his letter, touching upon Imam Husayn's and 'Abd al-Muttalib's offspring's murders, Ibn 'Abbas reproved him as saying,

> لا أبالك ! أنسيت قتلك الحسين وفتيان عبدالمطلب، مصابيح الدجي الذين غادرهم جنودك مصرعين في صعيد واحد مرملين بالدماء مسلوبين بالعراء غيرمكفنين ... "

O fatherless! Have I forgotten Husyan's murder and 'Abd al-Muttalib's youths who were lights in darkness, those whom your troops left while shrouded in their blood and stripped off they had been fallen on the ground?"

And about his father he added, 120 **وقد أمات ابوك السنّة جهلاً وأحيا البدع والاحداث المضلّة عمداً** "Your father did ignorantly dissolve the Prophet's Sunna and did expressly revive the misleading heresies."

Yazid in his answer accused Ibn 'Abbas of being an accomplice of 'Uthman's assassins. In return, Ibn 'Abbas said that the main culprit had been his father, Mu'awiya, because he had delayed his assistance until 'Uthman was dead.121

Like Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya122, in Ibn 'Abbas's opinion caliphate had been changed terribly from Prophethood and caliphate into monarchism. He advised people to keep as far away from both Ibn Zubayr and the Umayyads as possible, for they both drive them toward Hell.123

Quite compatible was the position adopted by Ibn 'Abbas about the events in Mecca during Ibn Zubayr's time with that of Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya. Ibn 'Abbas mainly backed Ibn Hanafiyya and every now and then they both got into argument with Ibn Zubayr over diverse issues.124

One of their most considerable arguments was when Ibn Zubayr set Ibn 'Abbas against the people abiding by caliph II in the issue of "temporary marriage ban" by accusing him on the pulpit of believing in "temporary marriage". Ibn 'Abbas stood up all at once and declared that his belief in temporary marriage was based on what the Holy Prophet had prescribed and if he (Ibn Zubayr) had doubted, he could have asked his mother.125

Ibn 'Abbas's oposition culminated in his expulsion from Mecca. Banished to Ta'if, under no circumstances did he relinquish his struggle.

About Ibn Zubayr he told people, **... بقي أقوام يطلبون الدنيا بعمل الاخرة ويلبسون جلود الضأن تحتها قلوب الذئاب ليظن الناس أنهم من الزاهدين** " Those who are remained are seeking worldly life and are wolves in sheep's clothing to pretend they are ascetic people."

It caused Ibn Zubayr to write to him taking him to task. Notwithstanding, Ibn 'Abbas, an eminent figure,

never abstained from answering him reproachfully.[126]

Ibn Hanafiyya said prayer for 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas who passed away in 68 in Ta'if and announced, **اليوم مات رباني هذه الامة رحمه الله تعالي** " Today a divine person from among this nation died. May Allah bless him."

Up to that time and even after a long while, there was no strife amongst the Hashimites. As observed afterwards, conflict between the 'Abbasids and the Talibites triggered off and developed so gradually that the Talibites were deemed the 'Abbasids' archenemies at Mansur's time and were under their heaviest pressure.

Whatsoever had been narrated regarding the Hashimites after 'Abd al-Malik's sovereignty shows that he had adopted the policy of condescension and had written to Hajjaj to avoid streaming the blood of 'Abd al-Muttalib's descendants. Since Abu Sufyan's family had lost their power this way.[127]

In the meantime, until Zayd Ibn 'Ali's uprising in 122 there had been no openly political activity on the part of the Hashimites except what had been said vaguely about the 'Abbassid's.

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1. al-Ithaf bi hubb al-Ashraf, p. 143; the date of martyrdom reported by Mas'udi is 95; see also Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 160
2. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 229 'Izz al-din publication
3. Ibid vol. V, p. 231
4. Ibid vol. V p. 231
5. Ibn Abi al-Hadid,Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XV, p. 236
6. 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn, Sayyid Ja'far Shahidi, pp 32, 33
7. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. 222; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XVII, p. 256; Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. II, p. 191 Not only can Jabir's demise be a cogent reason for Imam al-Baqir's birth before the event of Karbala, although it weakens the probability of his birth after Karbala Waqidi's reasoning has been the report of Imam al-Baqir's birth not his visit with Jabir
8. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XVII, p. 230
9. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq p. 231
10. al-Kafi, vol. II, p. 369
11. Sharh al-Akhbar, vol. III, p. 266
12. See a concise paper about the relation between Shi'ism and Iran, Isfahan, 1365
13. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. I, pp 486, 488
14. Ibn Abi al-Hadid,Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XV, p. 274
15. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. 222
16. Tuhaf al-'Uqul, p. 200
17. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. IV, p. 102
18. For instance see Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VIII, p. 172; Hilyat al-Awliya', Vol III, p. 86; Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. II, p. 103
19. Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. III, p. 135
20. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. 214
21. Zayn al-Abidin, Sayyid al-Ahl, p. 43
22. Sharh al-Akhbar, vol. III, p. 258
23. Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p. 186; Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. II, p. 80

24. ‘Umdat al-Talib, p. 193
25. Hilyat al-Awliya’, vol. III, p. 141; Kashf al-Ghumma, Vol II, p. 80; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XVII, p. 236; Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vol. VII, p. 305; Siyar a‘lam al-Nubala’, vol. IV, p. 391
26. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XV, p. 273
27. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vol. VII, p. 305
28. Ibid Vol I, p. 27
29. Mu‘jam al-Udaba’,, vol. XI, p. 103
30. al-Thiqat, vol. V, p. 160
31. al-Imam as-Sadiq, p. 22
32. Sifat As-Safwa, vol. II, p. 55; Nur al-Absar , p. 127; Tabaqat al-Kubra, Vol V, p. 216; al-Ithaf, p. 136; al-Fusul al-Muhimma, p. 201, al-’Iqd al-Farid, Vol III, p. 114
33. Sharh al-Akhbar, vol. III, p. 258
34. Ibid vol. III, p. 263
35. Rabi‘ al-Abrar, vol. III, pp 160, 163
36. A’immatuna, vol. I, p. 263, Manaqib Ibn Shahr Ashub, vol. II, p. 255
37. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. X, p. 159
38. Hilyat al-Awliya’, Vol III, p. 136; Kashf al-Ghumma, Vol II, pp 78; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, Vol XVII, p. 238
39. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XVII, p. 238
40. Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, p. 117
41. Makarim al-Akhlaq, p. 58; Wasa’il Ash-Shi‘a, vol. II, p. 364; It is also narrated that he occasionally wore impressive dress lest people might assume that he acted contrary to what Allah had ordered, قُلْ مَنْ حَرَّمَ زِينَةَ اللَّهِ الَّتِي أَخْرَجَ لِعِبَادِهِ وَالطَّيِّبَاتِ مِنْ الرِّزْقِ “Say, who has prohibited the embellishment of Allah which he has brought forth for these servants?” See Tafsir al-Ayyashi, vol. II, p. 15, the second hadith; Mustadrak al-Wasa’il, vol. III, p. 203
42. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XVII, p. 246
43. Ibid vol. XVII, p. 238
44. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XVII, p. 239; Sharh al-Akhbar, vol. III, pp 261-262 (His name is mentioned Zayd Ibn Usama Ibn Zayd in the second one
45. Dirasat wa Buhuth fil-Tarikh wal-Islam, Vol I, p. 61 (lst edition) the paper of al-Imam Sajjad Ba‘ith al-Islam min jadid
46. See Imam al-Baqir’s remarks in Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Vol XI, p. 44; al-Imam As-as-Sadiq of Abu Zuhra, pp 111-112
47. Tashayyu‘ dar masir Tarikh, p. 286
48. Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, p. 126
49. Hilyat al-Awliya’, Vol III, p. 136
50. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, Vol XVII, p. 242
51. Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, p. 102; Tabaqat al-Kubra, Vol V, p. 214; Nasab Quraysh, Mus‘ab Zubayri, p. 58
52. Tabaqat al-Kubra, Vol V, p. 213
53. Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, p. 127
54. Tabaqat al-Kubra, Vol V, p. 285
55. Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, Ibid p. 128
56. Ibid p. 126
57. Ibid p. 124
58. Ibid. p. 124.
59. Ibid. p. 124.
60. Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal p. 116
61. Ibid p. 115; In another narration, they are ntroduced three, ارتد الناس بعد قتل الحسين ثلاثة, يحيى بن ام الطويل، ابو خالد الكابلي، جبير بن مطعم، ثم ان الناس لحقوا وكثروا... “After Husayn’s murder all people apostatized but three, Yahya Ibn Umm al-Tawil, Abu Khalid al-Kabuli and Jubayr Ibn MuT‘im People joined them then...” see also Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, p. 123
62. Rijal al-Tusi, pp 81-102

63. al–Musannaf, Ibn Abi Shayba, vol. I, p. 215 (published in India)
64. Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah of Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. IV, p. 104; Bihar, vol. XXXXVI, p. 143; al–Gharat, p. 573
65. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. V, p. 231 (published by ‘Izz al–din); Nasab Quraysh of Mus‘ab Zubayri, p. 58
66. al–’Iqd al–Farid, vol. V, p. 131
67. Tarikh at–Tabari, Vol V, p. 245; al–Imamah wal–Siyasah, vol. I, p. 208
68. Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah of Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. III, p. 259; Tabaqat al–Kubra, vol. V, p. 215; Kashf al–Ghumma, vol. II, p. 107; Tarikh al–Ya’qubi, Vol II, p. 25
69. Muruj al–Dhahab, vol. III, pp 70, 71
70. The unseen knowledge is consistent with the duty mentioned not separated from it
71. Tabaqat al–Kubra, vol. V, p. 214; Hilyat al–Awliya’, vol. III, p. 140
72. al–Dhari‘a, vol. XV, pp 18–21
73. Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah of Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. XI, p. 192; vol. VI, pp 178–186; vol. V, p. 113
74. Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah of Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. XIII, p. 220; Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. I, p. 184
75. As–Sahifat As–Sajjadiyya, prayer 6, item 24
76. Tarikh Jurjan, p. 188
77. Tarikh Jurjan, prayer 47, item 56
78. Ibid prayer 48, items 9–10
79. Tarikh Jurjan prayer 34
80. Kashf al–Ghumma, vol. II, p. 89
81. al–Futuh, vol. V, pp 242–243
82. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XVII, p. 239
83. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. V, pp 196, 212, (published by ‘Izz al–din)
84. Tabaqat al–Kubra, vol. V, p. 24; al–’Iqd al–Farid, vol. V, p. 140
85. Zayn al–Abidin, Sayyid al–Ahl, pp 7, 47
86. A‘yan Ash–Shi‘a, vol. IV, p. 468 (First Edition)
87. Ale Imran, 134
88. Sharh al–Akhbar, vol. III, p. 260
89. Kashf al–Ghumma, vol. II, p. 101; al–Ithaf, pp 137, 138; Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XVII, p. 243
90. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. VI, p. 526; Sharh al–Akhbar, vol. III, p. 260
91. Hujjati, Muhammad al–Baqir, Si Maqalih dar Tarikh tafsir wa nahw (three papers n history of Interpretation and Syntax), from p. 27 on (Tehran, 1360
92. Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, vol. I, p. 243
93. Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, vol. XI, p. 28 He had been one of the bravest in the Hashimites; Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah of Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. XV, p. 285
94. Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, p. 245
95. Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. IX, p. 111
96. Ibid vol. IV, p. 63
97. Ibid vol. IV, p. 105
98. Ibid vol. IV, p. 105
99. al–Futuh, vol. VI, pp 239, 240
100. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 29
101. Ibn Abi al–Hadid, Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, vol. IV, p. 62; pp 127, 129; al–’Iqd al–Farid, vol. V, p. 161
102. Ibn Abi al–Hadid, Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, vol. XX, p. 128
103. Ibid, vol. IV, p. 62; vol. XX, p. 148
104. Ibid, vol. XX, p. 102
105. Ibid, vol. XX, p. 107
106. Ibn Abi al–Hadid, Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, vol. XX, p. 110
107. Tarikh al–Ya’qubi, vol. II, p. 261; They were 17 in another narration; Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol.

XX, pp 123, 124

108. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XX, p. 147; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 86

109. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XX, p. 128

110. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 262

111. al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. 252

112. al-Futuh, vol. VI, pp 240-253

113. Ibid, vol. VI, p. 253

114. al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. 234, It is reported that later Sayyid Himyari changed his beliefs and became Imam as-Sadiq's disciple and composed, تجعفرت باسم الله والله اكبر وأيقنت بالله يعفو ويغفر "In the name of Allah, the Great, I became Ja'far's follower while certain of Allah's forgiveness" Although some expressed doubt about his conversion from the Kissanids, al-Aghani, vol. VII, pp 231, 235, 241-242

115. al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, pp 133, 134; Sharh al-Akhbar, vol. III p. 297

116. al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. 131

117. Madhahib Ibtada'atha As-Siyasia fil-Tarikh, 'Abd al-Wahid al-Ansari, published in Beirut 1973; Qamus al-Rijal, p. 452

118. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. VII, pp 149, 150

119. al-Hayat As-Siyasiyya li l-Imam al-Ri□a, from p. 37 on

120. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp 248, 250; the letter is fully in al-Ma'rifat wal-Tarikh, by Fasawi, vol. I, pp 531-533

121. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 18

122. al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. 238

123. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 196

124. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XX, pp 134, 148

125. See al-Ziwaj al-Muwaqqat fil-Islam "Al-Mut'a", pp 99, 103 by Kitab Muslim, vol. IV, p. 133; Nasb al-Raya, vol. III, p. 180; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XX, p. 130

126. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XX, pp 125, 126

127. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. 149

[1] [1]
SHARES

The Marwanids' Government

Al Marwan's Rule

Yazid's demise (in Safar 64 A.H) was the origin of instability in the Sufyanids's sovereignty. Such instability could be felt not only in the lands distant from the capital but also inside Damascus, the center of the Umayyads's caliphate. The instability was expanded when Mu'awiya II after forty days or four months abdicated.

He announced,

> الا وان جدّي معاوية بن ابي سفيان نازع الامر من كان أولى به منه في القرابة برسول الله وأحق في الاسلام، سابق المسلمين، اول المؤمنين وابن عم رسول رب العالمين وأبا بقيّة خاتم المرسلين "

My forefather, Mu'awiya did battle with the one who was the closest to the Prophet in kinship and had long record in Islam. The ever–first Muslim, the ever–first believer, the Prophet's cousin and the father of the Seal of the Prophet's Household was no one save he."

Enumerating some of his father's and forefather's negative conducts, he added, "They martyred the Prophet's kinfolks, profaned the sacred sanctuary and set fire on Ka'ba. Neverever will I undertake your responsibility."[1]

Marwan Ibn Hakam suggested that he organize a council like 'Umar. He recoiled from the responsibility, however.[2]

It was astonishing that he was Yazid's son especially when he described his brother,'Abd al–Rahman Ibn Yazid as, [3] كان ناسكاً متألّها "He is a divine man and a worshipper."

The principal threat to the Umayyads was in the oriental Islamic lands. It was due to the emergence of a rather powerful substitute from 61 A.H. in Mecca who bid his time to take advantage of the existing instability and dethrone the Umayyads in that area. After Yazid's death, 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad, the governor, tried to keep still Basra and Kufa under his power but the riot of Basra people had him escape to Damascus.[4]

From then on after Mukhtar until 72 A.H., Iraq was ruled by Ibn Zubayr and the Umayyads contented themselves with only Damascus and Egypt.

With the prevailing instability in Damascus, some allied themselves with Ibn Zubayr to eradicate the Umayyads. Nu'man Ibn Bashir Ansari governing Hims turned to Ibn Zubayr. Dhahhak Ibn Qays, one of the most influential Umayyads commanders, took control of Damascus.

In Palestine, Natil Ibn Qays Judhami joined Ibn Zubayr. 'Abd al–Rahman Ibn Jahdam Fihri as Ibn Zubayr's agent began his activities in Egypt. The one and the only land remained for the Umayyads was Jordan ruled by Hassan Ibn Buhdal Kalbi.[5]

And about the tribes, the Qaysids were on Ibn Zubayr's side and the Kalbids on 'Amr Ibn Sa'id's and Marwan Ibn Hakam Ibn Abi l–'As's side.[6] The Qaysids included the tribes of Sulaym, Hawazin and Ghatfan whereas the tribes backing Marwan were Kalb, Ghassan, Sakun, Saksak, Tanukh, Tayy (from Damascus) and Qayn.[7]

The conflict between these two wings occurred in 64. Marwan Ibn Hakam as a leader from Quraysh and the Umayyads secured allegiance from his followers as a caliph and together with the followers of 'Amr Ibn Sa'id went to a war with Dhahhak Ibn Qays.

The violent battle done in Marj Rahit led to the Qaysids' defeat and Dhahhak's murder, on one hand, and to Marwan's penetration into Damascus and new sovereignty of the Umayyads under the name of the Marwanids, on the other hand. It has been said that 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad had been the main element

who incited Marwan.[8]

Anyhow, Marwan became the founder of the Marwanids dynasty. From different standpoints, his rule as well as the way of his assuming power gained a novelty. Although Mu'awiya had come into power by compulsion and dissimulation, Marwan could secure it thoroughly by sword. According to Mas'udi, he was the first one who procured the power by sword with satisfying no group of people at least.[9]

Marwan was in dilemma. One was from the side of 'Amr Ibn Sa'id who had played a leading role in the course of this development and was of course nominated as a successor after his son.[10]

Nonetheless, he was later slayed by 'Abd al-Malik mercilessly. Another problem was Khalid Ibn Yazid Ibn Mu'awiya who had secured allegiance from a number of Jordanians in the turmoil of clashes. For the purpose of disparaging him, Marwan married his mother. His affront was followed by Khalid's objection to his mother and Marwan's assassination by his new wife in 65.[11]

Probably Marwan had staged a coup to conquer Hijaz although some sources have ascribed it to 'Abd al-Malik. Overpowering Ibn Zubayr's army in Medina, Hubaysh Ibn Dulaja entered the town and began eating dates on the Prophet's pulpit. Afterwards, he set out to Raba□a, where he battled with the army dispatched by 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr. The majority of Damascus came to be killed and captured.[12] It is alleged that Hajjaj had been in Hubaysh's army as well.

Marwan's background bears no luminous point. His first political emergence was that as 'Uthman's son-in-law in the throes of 'Uthman's conflict with people, he wrote a letter to the ruler of Egypt on behalf of 'Uthman and without his awareness to decimate Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr and his friends. Later on, he was the governor of Medina for years during which he constantly insulted Imam 'Ali (a).[13]

When Yazid after his father's death urged Medinans governor to secure allegiance from Husayn Ibn 'Ali (a), Marwan suggested that he be killed if balking at.

Morally, he was described, [14] **كان مروان فاحشاً سباباً** "Marwan was extremely foul mouthed."

Marwan's rule lasted for nine months. After his assassination in 65 A.H his son, 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan, assumed the caliphate. Before that 'Abd al-Malik was well known for his worship and Qur'an recitation in Medina.[15] No sooner had he heard about his caliphate than he shut Qur'an and bid farewell to it forever.[16]

His main internal problem was the existence of 'Amr Ibn Sa'id who was supposed to succeed him at his father's behest. When 'Abd al-Malik went to conquer Iraq in 68, 'Amr Ibn Sa'id revolted in Damascus and besieged it. Returning halfway, 'Abd al-Malik introduced him as his successor deceitfully and after a while killed him.[17]

This action did divulge 'Abd al-Malik's profound deceitfulness in history and such person as Ibn 'Abbas applied it to their propagation against him.[18]

Before Mukhtar rose up, 'Abd al-Malik had endeavored to conquer Iraq by making use of 'Uthman-oriented individuals in Basra. He sent Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah to Basra carrying a message for the nobles. Later, an army headed by Malik Ibn Misma' was dispatched too, but both unable to conquer Basra fled to Damascus. This event was recorded in history as, [19] يوم الجفرة بالبصرة "Yawm al-Jafra Bil-Basra"

This very event had likely been recorded by Ibn A'tham as being led by Zahr Ibn Qays. He had written that 'Abd al-Malik had pleaded with the Marwanids to adopt a measure and uproot Ibn Zubayr's dominion. He had sent Zahr Ibn Qays accompanied by a one-thousand-soldier army to Basra; however, the battle resulted in the Marwanids's serious defeat.

Mus'ab, Iraqi governor, compelled Basran Marwanids to divorce their wives, he confiscated their properties and demolished their houses.[20] Yet, it indicated that he could not materialize his aim easily. To solve his problems and reinforce his forces, he compromised the Romans[21] -as Mu'awiya had done so when at war with Imam 'Ali (a)- and could suppress troubled areas of Greater Syria like Palestine ruled by Natil Ibn Qays Judhami. After years in 72,he reached a decision to conquer Iraq. Noticing how Natil Ibn Qays was vanquished, Mus'ab Zubayi with an intent to conquer Damascus had to dispense with it.[22]

While the Kharijites had been making so many obstacles for the Zubayrids from the late 60s and early 70s, 'Abd al-Malik, determined to conquer Iraq, was busy mobilizing troops. The Zubayrids's dominion in oriental Islamic lands and Hijaz lasted nine years (eight years in Iraq).

Although 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr himself was far more popular than the Umayyads, some of his specifications made all those able to be helpful for him disperse.[23] His miserliness[24] and accusing others of being worldly were what had all leave him on his own. It is said about his jealousy,

عدمت قريشا رضوا بك سيدا و أنت بخيل الكف غيرجواد

"You killed the Quraysh who approved you. The miser is you."

In spite of the pressure exerted by Mus'ab Ibn Zubayr, the Zubayrids had not a firm foundation in Basra in the light of the fact that Basra belonged to both Jamal participants and the Marwanids as well as the 'Uthmanids.

In Kufa, on the other hand, due to its relative Shi'ism, they had no stronghold. The suppression of Mukhtar's uprising had bitterly agitated the Shi'ite Muslims. 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr's enmity with the Hashimites not least with Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya had doubled the Shi'ite Muslims' disgust. It is said about Mus'ab Ibn Zubayr that he had been invariably seeking after the Shi'ite Muslims' murder.[25]

Consecutive wars with the Kharijites caused many other people to rebel. A grudge which 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr bore his enemies ended in his disreputation among people. Bearing the Hashimites a grudge

(according to himself from 40 years ago)[26], he even was reluctant to recite Muhammad (S) blessing in his sermons and said if so, his household would show off that they were the prophet's progeny![27]

These factors accounted for Ibn Zubayr's weakness in both Iraq and Hijaz; nevertheless, his influence on Hijaz was more than Iraq. Although his debacle might be blamed on Iraq's not support, 'Abd al-Malik's might, his dependence on Damascus army, proverbial for their obedience to the caliphs,[28] and especially Hajjaj's coercion on Damascus people to move to Iraq[29] were considered as the reasons for Ibn Zubayr's defeat and 'Abd al-Malik's victory.

Inasmuch as Ibn Zubayr's base was shakier in Iraq, 'Abd al-Malik moved to Basra in 72. **لم يبق شريف الا كاتبه** " There was no nobleman who had not written to him."

As all of the distinguished people had written to him but Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra,[30]upon waging the war, a great number left Mus'ab's army joining to that of Damascus.[31] He resisted to the bitter end and while breathing his last, he asked 'Urwa Ibn Mughira what Husayn Ibn 'Ali did when martyred. He responded that neverever was Husayn Ibn 'Ali convinced to do Ibn Ziyad's bidding.

Mus'ab then said,

إنّ الألي بالطف من آل هاشم تأسّوا فسنّوا للكرام التواسيا2491

"Those pearls in Karbala were from the Hashimites who chose the best as their model."

One ground for Mus'ab's fragility was Ibrahim Ibn Malik Ashtar's murder.[32] He defied however, until he was removed. As long as the Zubayrids held sway in Iraq, he was the most important Zubayrids element ruling there except a short while. He had Arabic racial prejudice particularly he was more pessimistic about the Iranians who had accompanied Mukhtar.[33]

Following the clashes, Iraqi residents swore allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik; therefore, the Marwanids became dominant entirely in oriental Islamic lands. The only remaining land was Hijaz ruling by 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr, 'Abd al-Malik, who had already perceived the sensitivity of Hijaz due to the rite of Hajj (pilgrimage) and even had banned it, contemplated how to seize that land, especially with Ibn Zubayr's involvement in political scenes punctuation there existed some people who had not yet deemed his caliphate legitimate.[34]

Among them was 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar who neither had likely sworn allegiance to 'Ali nor had he participated in his wars but immediately after Ibn Zubayr's assassination, he nightly went to Hajjaj and swore allegiance to him.[35])

'Abd al-Malik sent Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf Thaqafi to Hijaz for conquering Mecca. He stopped in Ta'if, center of Thaqif tribe, temporarily and then betook himself to Mecca. It was the second military expedition that the

Umayyads made against Mecca for the purpose of overwhelming Ibn Zubayr.

The first time in 64 Husayn Ibn Numayr, the commander of Damascus army, returned upon learning Yazid's death, but this time Hajjaj was engaged in besieging Mecca with his troops as many as 12000 for eight months.[36]

During this period, catapults were installed around the town on the heights targetting Ibn Zubayr and al-Haram Mosque under a rain of fire and stones.[37] It was carried on until Ka'ba caught fire. So insolent was he that he even did not avoid throwing garbage on al-Haram Mosque.[38]

On Jumadi al-Thani 10th, 73 A.H Mecca was eventually blockaded by the Umayyads. Subseqently, Hajjaj moved to Medina and narratedly he affronted the remaining from the Prophet's disciples such as Jabir Ibn 'Abd Allah, Malik Ibn Anas, Sahl Ibn Sa'd, etc.[39]

From then onwards, the Marwanids governed in all Muslim- populated areas. A barbaric man, 'Abd al-Malik together with some other brutal rulers including Hajjaj, Yazid Ibn Muhallab as well as Hisham Ibn Isma'il[40] made people feel sword. He believed that sword was the only panacea for people.[41]

He abominated "enjoining the lawful acts" and said, **والله لا يأمرني أحد بتقوى الله بعد مقامي هذا الا ضربت عنقه** "If anyone enjoins me fearing Allah, I will break his neck."[42]

Like any other person on the very last days of his lifetime, he wished he had been born porter.[43]

Hajjaj in Iraq

The main element that laid the foundation of caliphate was no one but Hajjaj. Regarding him, 'Abd al-Malik told his sons later, "It was Hajjaj who aided us to come to the throne".[44] Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim, Hajjaj's scribe had said that he had bent his thoughts and efforts to serve the Umayyads.[45]

To reason the superiority of a caliph over the Holy Prophet (S), he himself had affirmed, **أخليفة أحدكم في أهله أكرم أم رسوله في حاجته** [46] "In your sight, is the one as your substitute in the family dearer or the one sent to do something?"

According to Jahiz, he had been annoyed when people paid homage to the Prophet's tomb and said as a consequence, **هلا طافوا بقصر أمير المؤمنين عبد الملك، الا يعلمون أن خليفة المرء خير من رسوله** [47] "Why did you not pay homage to the palace of Amir al-Mu'minin 'Abd al-Malik? Do you not know the caliph is the best one after the Apostle."

Hajjaj's this reasoning was repeated by many others too for ingratiating.[48]

Hajjaj had been so devoted to 'Abd al-Malik that he had said, "If I learn that demolishing Ka'ba did never draw 'Abd al-Malik's gratification, I shall break it into stones".[49]

Realizing his devotion, when 'Abd al-Malik designated Hajjaj as the governor of Iraq, he told his scribe, **اكتب عهده علي العراقين واطلق يده علي الرجال والسلاح والاموال** " Write the permission of his governorship in both Basra and Kufa and make him fully authorized about people, properties and weapons"[50]

With Hajjaj's arrival in Iraq that had never had a taste of the 60s-peace could be returned for twenty years with Hajjaj's sword. Since his roughness was extraordinary no one dared oppose him. However, it would be seen how such a pressure sparked off riots at last. On arrival in Kufa, he announced, "The caliph had given me two swords of mercy and requital. On my way here, I lost the sword of mercy and the only sword remained is of requital!"[51]

In the same sermon, he indicted Iraqi people of schism, hypocrisy and moral corruption[52]; accordingly, he belittled the Kufiyans who were, **ذو هيئة وعزة** " The respectful people."

As stated by Ibn A'tham and took them under his yoke.[53] His emergence in Iraq had previously foretold by Imam 'Ali (a) when pronouncing the malediction of [54] **أللهم عجل عليهم بالغلام الثقفي** "O Allah! Hasten the appearance of the man from the tribe of Thaqif."

Yet, it had been later attributed to 'Umar.[55]

Hajjaj's delight in homicide created a myth that when a baby, he was notbreastfed but fed with blood and it had been Satan's suggestion under the guise of a human.[56] Ibn Khallakan has written, **و كان للحجاج في القتل وسفك الدماء والعقوبات غرائب لم يسمع مثلها** [57] "Many a story has been recounted about massacre and torture done by Hajjaj that were unparalleled at all."[58]

The aftermath of his great savagery in Iraq was the slaughter of more than 120000 people.[59] Nearly 50000 men and 30000 women, half of whom unmarried, were confined in his mixed jails.[60]

Characterizing him, Suyuti has written,

" و قد قتل من الصحابة والتابعين ما لا يحصي، فضلاً عن غيرهم وختم في عنق انس وغيره من الصحابة ختماً

He massacred countless Prophet's disciples and followers let alone others. He made some gashes on Anas Ibn Malik's neck and other's."[61]

From 75 to 95 AH, Hajjaj was the absolute ruler in Iraq and oriental Islamic lands including Khurasan, Sistan and all other Iranian areas. Despite the existing hindrances, he had been so preoccupied with suppressing the Kharijites, Shi'ite Muslims and any rebel Sunnites that no conquest, except during the last years, was made. What ought to be borne in mind is that Hajjaj had numerous rivals in Iraq but he removed them all barbarically.

His first enemy was the Kharijites. Only Qatari Ibn Fuja'a, a Kharijites leader, engaged him for years. After their defeat in Kirman and the Kharijites' split, it was Shabib who occupied Kufa twice for hours.

Ultimately after a long clash, Hajjaj could accomplish to suppress them with recourse to Damascus.62 The Kharijites were scattered in various districts of Iraq as well. More than half of Hajjaj's prisoners were either Kharijites or being accused of it.

Another group was the Shi'ite Muslims opposing Hajjaj in Iraq. As a consequence of the penitents and Mukhtar's defeat in 65 and 67 respectively, Shi'ite Muslims were scattered losing their solidarity. 'Abd al-Malik who had no apparent fight with 'Abd al-Muttalib's progeny, had advised Hajjaj in a letter to adopt the same strategy. As written by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih not a single objection did Hajjaj raised to the Talibites.63

It never implied that he was not at odds with the Shi'ite Muslims but it was on account of the fact that no Talibites lived in Iraq. Nontheless, the Shi'ite Muslims residing in Kufa and other spots of the country were under the worst pressure. As stated by Imam al-Baqir (a) hearing the word "'Ali's Shi'ites Muslim" was far less tolerable for Hajjaj than the word dualism or "atheist".64

Whatever made him pleased was to hear a person from a tribe saying, "No one in our tribe has ever cursed 'Uthman; in Siffin, seventy people from our tribe had been with Mu'awiya while only one with Abu Turab; no woman from women has ever felt in affection for Abu Turab; there has been found no one in our tribe whom we urged to curse Abu Turab in addition to Hasan, Husayn and Fatima and he disobeyed.65

In order to pressurize them to curse 'Ali (a), Hajjaj whipped such individuals as 'Atiyya Ibn Sa'd 'Awfi four hundred lashes for their amity with 'Ali (a), 'Atiyya defied, however.66 Those intending to wheedle Hajjaj, manipulated such values.

'Ali Ibn Asma' came up to Hajjaj and said, **انّ أبويّ عقّاني فسمَّياني عليّاً فسمِّني أنت** " My parents have not only disowned me but also named me 'Ali. Change my name. Changing his name, Hajjaj offered him presents."67

Even the simplest Shi'ites idea was followed by Hajjaj perturbation. He, for instance, summoned Yahya Ibn Ya'mur from Khurasan to Iraq due to announcing that both Hasan (a) and Husayn(a) were the Prophet's descendants.

He merely contented himself with his banishment once Yahya could validate his notion through authenticating that Jesus Christ had been Ibrahim's descendant too on the strength of Qur'an.68 As Hajjaj laid stress on affection for 'Uthman, he, in his turn, murdered any one suspected of participating in riots against 'Uthman before.69

'Abd al-Malik and his agents had been persistently attempting to boost the fights between the 'Alawites and the Zubayrids for the purpose of keeping them engaged. It was in one of these certain meetings that Iman as-Sajjad did not attend feigning illness.70 'Ali's lineage was coerced by 'Abd al-Malik to curse 'Ali while the Zubayrids were so to curse 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr.71 His son, Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik,

perpetuated this policy pressurizing people to curse Imam 'Ali (a) under threat of murder.[72]

In such a financially tough situation did the Prophet's Household live under the Umayyads pressure that later the Iraqi ruler had said concerning them, **أن أهل هذا البيت من بني هاشم [بني علي] قد كانوا هلكوا جوعاً حتى كانت همة أحدهم قوت يومه** " This family from the Hashimites was under threat of starvation to the extent that they only bent their efforts to earn their daily bread."[73]

Besides the Shi'ite Muslims and the Kharijites, Hajjaj encountered other adversaries who had risen up against the Umayyads's oppression or for whatever reason. The first year Hajjaj came in power in Iraq, he cut out the surplus proportion from Bayt al-Mal (public treasury) to Basra people. This action culminated in Basra revolt in 75 led by 'Abd Allah Ibn Jarud although it was immediately stifled.[74]

Another movement was led by Mutarraf Ibn Mughira who himself and whose father had been from the kins of the Umayyads and the governors of Kufa and Ctesiphon but was affected by the Kharijites. When the representatives of Kharijites Shabib met with Mutarraf, he proposed that after gaining victory the caliph be determined by a council and be from the Quraysh. Neither of his conditions was approved by the Kharijites, however.[75]

The motivations he himself had enumerated for his insurrection against Hajjaj were, **الاستئثار بالفيء وتعطيل الحدود والتسلط بالجبريّة** " Misappropriation of public treasury, transgression of divine limits and despotism."[76]

He along with his followers left Ctesiphon to Qasr Shirin and after a stop-over on the outskirts of Isfahan to Saman district and then to Qum and Kashan.[77] Gradually some people from Riy and Isfahan, naturally many Arabs and likely a few Iranians, joined him.

In a letter, Isfahan governor wrote to Hajjaj if he wanted the city, he should hasten. The Arab governor of Hamadan for his part asked for Hajjaj's permission to suppress Mutarraf, since the scattering of Arabs in the lands paying tax had appalled him, he declined his proposal.[78] By the same token, an army composed of Damascus and Riy people could finally manage to chuckle down Mutarraf's movement in 77 AH.

Afterwards, 'Abd al-Malik entrusted all eastern lands up to Khurasan and Sistan borders to Hajjaj. Hajjaj who had conquered nowhere as yet – even halted from Yazid's time before him–decided to take an action in this respect and bring further booties for the Umayyads. His determination to dispatch an army for the conquests faced a hurdle for surmounting which behooved him to devote one or two years.[79]

'Abd al- Rahman Ibn Ash'ath's Riot

'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ash'ath Ibn Qays was selected as the commander of a massive Iraqi army to launch his conquests while neither he nor his household was good enough towards Ahl al-Bayt. As it was mentioned by Imam as-Sadiq (a), Ash'ath was an accomplice in 'Ali's martyrdom his

daughter, Ju'da, was the murderer of Imam Hasan and his son, Muhammad, was an agent in Imam Husayn's martyrdom.[80]

'Abd al-Rahman was once appointed by the Zubayrids to amass alms in Medina.[81] Heading for Sistan in 80 A.H. along with his army, he made up his mind to bring the fight to a standstill until the next year after being somehow victorious. Proposing this to Hajjaj, he refused it; consequently, neither 'Abd al-Rahman nor his army accepted to approve Hajjaj's demand while knowing the laborious task encumbered upon them. Later, this came to be an excuse for them the to be at odds both with Hajjaj and the Umayyads.

Iraqi rebellious army, instead of conquering new lands, returned to Iraq while being fully equipped to rebel against that country but since the Arabs were not in Sistan, it would have been much easier for them to gain victory if this riot had happened in Khurasan.[82]

'Abd al-Rahman called upon people to adhere both to Qur'an and the Prophet's Sunna, depose misleading leaders and combat the unbelievers.[83] His army entered Basra in 81 A.H. The residents of Basra, both those who knew Qur'an by heart and the readers thereof as well as the doyen altogether gave a helping hand in overthrowing 'Abd al-Malik.

People in Kufa also joined him utterly.[84] From among the rioters, the followers of Ibn Ash'ath, there were huge numbers of Qur'an readers and scores of Iraqi jurisprudents[85] such as Ibn Abi Layla, someone who was battered and pushed by Hajjaj to insult 'Ali (a).[86] The majority of those adoring 'Ali played a significant role in this uprising. Kumayl Ibn Ziyad was a commander of a group of Qur'an readers.[87]

Being embarrassed, 'Abd al-Malik, put forward the idea of unsenting Hajjaj in order to maintain peace; however, owing to the fact that both 'Abd al-Rahman and his supporters who on one hand, had a taste of being triumphant and, on the other hand, did not feel confident enough whether he would carry out his undertaking or not, failed to accept his suggestion.[88] Moreover, they were not in opposition to Hajjaj but basically to the Umayyads and it was reasonably evident from their remarks in deposing 'Abd al-Malik.

To prompt people to revolt against the Umayyads, some vocalized 'Ali's remarks. This was an indication of the presence of those tending to Shi'ism.[89]

Such a trend of this riot, in comparison to that of Tawwabin's and Mukhtar's was not so noticeable.

Above all, someone was leading the riot who behaved not well towards Ahl al-Bayt. The only reason for various parties to join hands was not more than enmity to the Umayyads and to overthrow Hajjaj. From among the notions they repeatedly were taking advantage in their campaign against the Umayyads, one can name their brutality, disregarding the weak and attempting to leave no trace of prayers.

قاتلوهم على جورهم في الحكم وتجبرهم في الدين واستذلالهم الضعفاء وإماتتهم الصلاة

“Fight them to get rid of their cruelty in ruling their bullyism in religion, their violation of the rights of the weak and their attempt of disregarding prayers.”90

One of the prime reasons that brought about this riot was Hajjaj's compulsion on the villagers who recently had embraced Islam and moved into cities. Tax deduction, consequence of that migration, impelled Hajjaj to drive them out of those cities and re-settle them where they had been. Being under hard pressure, they cried out, “O, Muhammad!”91 This caused them to tilt towards 'Abd al-Rahman to kill Hajjaj.

Besides, sending the Iraqis to the most remote areas to fight simply for the booties which were handed to Hajjaj ultimately was another reason for their rebellion.92 The impact of taking capitation from newlly converted Mawali should also be taken into account. It was told that the majority of the rioters were jurisprudent, Basra's soldiers as well as Mawali.93

'Abd al-Rahman's riot continued until 83 A.H. when Dayr al-Jamajim event, one of the foremost strike, took place. Due to his defeat and the captivity of extensive numbers of his supporters, 'Abd al-Rahman was not able to withstand in the subsequent clashes. Eventually, he returned to Sistan and on his way to Khurasan. Most of his supporters separated from him. Then he took refuge by one of the kings in Harat. Ratbil, the king of that land, concluded a treaty with Hajjaj in 85 A.H. in which he had promised to send 'Abd al-Rahman's head to Hajjaj.

Massacring a large number of Dayr al-Jamajim's captives, Hajjaj set free only those confessing that they were infidel. There, among them, were a handful of Iraqi jurisprudents.94 Sha'bi was one of the jurisprudents, who surrendered himself to Hajjaj after being defeated.

Another one was Sa'id Ibn Jubayr who was apprehended by the governor of Medina, Khalid Ibn'Abd Allah Qasri. Inquiring about his viewpoint with respect to the previous caliphs, which was an indication of being skeptical of trusting them, Hajjaj put an end to his life. From then on, Hajjaj was suffering from a severe psychical disorder because of Sa'id's murder.95 They kept on killing the captives to such an extent that 'Abd al-Rahman himself complained about it to Hajjaj.96

Ibn Ash'ath's clash with Hajjaj was the fourth one out of the strings of clashes between Iraq and Damascus. The three previous ones were once with 'Ali (a) and with the penitents and Mukhtar, another time with Mus'ab and finally with Ibn Ash'ath. This time again the dispersed Iraqi people failed to succeed and the people of Damascus, due to their solidarity as well as unsparing contribution to the Umayyads Caliphs, came to be triumphant.

'Abd al-Malik died in 86 A.H. while he had managed, with assistance of Hajjaj, to eliminate monstrous problems facing the Umayyads and pave the ground for the Marwanids. It is said that he was the initiator of some event in the Islamic history. Being the first one ever to carve name of Allah and His prophet on coins, the first and foremost jealous, cunning and treacherous caliph, the first to proscribe speaking in the presence of caliphs, to enjoin the good and to change the records of public treasury tribunal account

from Arabic to Persian.

He was also the first to include prayer call prior to performing the prayers of two Festivals namely the Fast breaking and Sacrifice. [97] After him, his son, Walid Ibn 'Abd al–Malik came to power. Regarding Walid and his agents 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz stated, "Walid in Damascus, Hajjaj in Iraq, 'Uthman Ibn Hayyan in Hijaz and Qurra Ibn Sharik in Egypt are all individuals prevailing oppression throughout the Earth. [98] امتلاء الارض والله جوراً "While there is much cruelty on the Earth."

It has been told about Walid that, [99] اول من تجبّر من الخلفاء "He was the first ever cruel caliph."

The Umawi mosque in Damascus is one of the most significant monuments built in his term. The apparent tranquility of the period from Shawwal, 86 A.H. to Jumadi al–Thani, 96 A.H. all over the Islamic lands once again led to conquering new lands to such an extent that, according to Dhahabi, "The conquests of his term regained the same splendor as that of 'Umar Ibn Khattab's term". [100] The most important assault was, on one hand, against Constantinople and, on the other hand, against Andalusia.

Walid, just the same as his father, was indebted to Hajjaj, one of his best counselors. Once a crowd of Iraqi people went to Medina to meet 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz, the governor, and he wrote a letter of complaint to Walid. Thereafter, Walid in consultation with Hajjaj deposed him from Medina's governorship. Then he singled out 'Uthman Ibn Hayyan Marri instead of him. He sent Iraqi refugees kept in fetters to Hajjaj. [101]

The subsequent governor of the Islamic lands from Jumadi al–Thani, 96 to Safar, 99 A.H., Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al–Malik, selected 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz his successor. As it was touched upon formerly, this period should be labelled as a peaceful one following constant attacks of 'Abd al–Malik in stabilizing his position in the shadow of which the Umayyads caliphs could not only expand their conquests but strengthen their economy as well.

In addition, the internal political disputes, a severe strike on the economy of the society, were eliminated too. That was why Walid was widely known as the best caliph for Damascus. [102] Annoying and chasing the companions of Hajjaj were some of the actions of Sulayman, the main reason of which was a dispute between Hajjaj and him when he was their apparent. [103]

Hajjaj was killed in 95 A.H.. To speak about him what Shurayh had said will suffice. According to him, he was an unbeliever. [104] Upon hearing the news of his death, Hasan Basri prostrated to show his gratitude to Allah. [105]

'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz's Administration

For the historians dealing with the Umayyads caliphs, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz, ruling from 99 to 101 A.H. is an eminent figure. For in comparison with them not others, he was a man of outstanding features. In his studies about the approaches of kings, Ibn Athir stated that he could not find anyone better than him

in conduct succeeding to Orthodox Caliphs.[106]

He is usually regarded as the fifth member of them.[107] This statement of Imam al-Baqir (a) is probably right that he was the Umayyads's nobleman.[108] Being Medina's governor, as it was said, he was in touch with traditionalists as well as jurisprudents, so he was also an specialist in this regard.[109]

However, he himself said that he could remember what he had learnt just during the period he was in Medina and he forgot it no later than he entered Damascus (assuming caliphate).[110] Raja' Ibn Haywa, one of the linked learned to the Umayyads' caliphs, did make great endeavor bringing him to power.[111] We had already spoken about him.

To know both him and his policy in ruling the Islamic society, no matter Whether he had a political or religious aim in has term, a point of great importance should be taken into account. He had made great endeavor to bring justice to that society and not to be a cruel rule. He also had directed his attention towards the accepted merits of a typical Islamic society, observing religious tenets and respecting at least some of the popular individuals.

He had tried to show a religious image of his caliphate too. Most likely, he had understood that the situation of the society would lead soon to overthrowing of the Umayyads. What was required then was a radical change for the stabilization of them. It is worthwhile to review his reactions towards different groups from various aspects.

Encountering the Shi'ite Muslims

Speaking about the Shi'ite Muslims, at first, does not imply that 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz wanted to be good towards them. Some of the sources inclined to the Shi'ite Muslims had tried to show that he was adherent of Imam 'Ali (a). They may have done so to say that no one from among the Umayyads's caliphs had paid attention to Ahl al-Bayt as him. Reviling 'Ali (a) in sermons formally and publicly prevailed at that time.[112]

He said that from then on, noone was permitted to do so. He himself, as it was said, was doing so before, but later on, he came to know about his bad habit and always recalled 'Ali as a good man.[113] Upon coming to power not only did he himself abandon this habit but also he had his agents give it up.[114] There is no doubt, based on historical sources, that he had done so.[115] Kuthayyir 'Azza, a Shi'ites poet, composed some verses in praising 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz before him,

وليت فلم تشتم عليّاً ولم تخِف بريئاً ولم تتبعْ مقالة مجرم

تكلمت بالحق المبين وإنما تبين آيات الهدي بالتكلم

“Thou came to power and did not revile 'Ali (a), thou did listen to no culpable instead thou told the true word. Others came to know about Allah's signs by listening to thy word.”116

It was said that he gradually enlarged his understanding of Imam 'Ali (a) specifically when he found 'Ali's letter in the Damascus public treasury. Then he informed all about it.117
He had been quoted as saying, 118 أزهد الناس في الدنيا علي "'Ali is the most pious person in the world.”

However, it is doubtful whether he was courageous enough to be so on that occasion or not even if one disregards all of those quotations what was said about him is most likely true.

Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, on the other hand, while on the pulpit quoted Allah's Prophet, regarding 'Ali (a) and rank tradition, as saying, “Your status in comparison with me is like that of Qur'an in comparison with Moses.”119

It was also said that he was respecting Imam al-Baqir (a).120

Another issue was returning Fadak to Fatima (a). It was a booty that was given to Fatima (a), with no war, by his father Muhammad (S). This land was taken from Fatima, thereafter, without any apparent reason. Returning it to the 'Alawites was an indication of nullifying the order of both caliphs I and II.

On the other hand, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, the upholder of a jurisdiction that was mostly based on the conduct of the second caliph. Such action by him, as it was said by some of the researchers, shows that he was not following the second caliph but was somehow independent.121

Ibn Athir by giving false account of the ownership of Fadak during the time of Orthodox Caliphs had tried to show that such deviation goes back to the time of Mu'awiya in which he donated it to Marwan Ibn Hakam. It was also said that 'Uthman had done this not Marwan. Since from the very beginning of the first caliph's term, it was not under the ownership of Ahl al-Bayt.

Ibn Athir said, “When 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz came to power, he returned it to Fatima's descendants. Later on, it was taken from them once again. Ma'mun, this time, gave it back to them.122

There are other narrations regarding his attention to Fatima's children. For instance, once he asked his governor in Medina to distribute 10000 diners among 'Ali's children. He wrote back saying that 'Ali has children among various tribes. The caliph told him to share it out among the children of Fatima.123

Abul-Faraj Isfahani had mentioned some instances of his attention to 'Abd Allah Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a).124

When the caliph was criticized for his action, he said, “I heard Allah's Prophet said, إنما فاطمة بضعة مني يسرّني من يسرها “ Fatima is part of my body. Whoever makes her happy, he shall make me happy.”
The he added, 125 ليس أحد من بني هاشم الا وله شفاعة “There is no one from among the Hashimites who can intercede him before Allah except her.”

When a Mawali of Imam 'Ali came to him, the caliph sat down on the ground and said, **انا والله مولى علي** " Both Allah and I are 'Ali's friends."

Then he quoted this tradition from Allah's Prophet, **من كنت مولاه فهذا علي مولاه** [126] Taking the position of the caliph into account, one doubts about the validity of those narrations. Some poets admired him for what he had done. Sayyid Razi, for example composed:

يا بن عبدالعزيز لو بكت العيـ ن فتيً مـن أميّة لَبَكيتـُك

غيـر أني أقول أنـك قد طبـ ت وإن لم يطب ولم يذك بيتك

أنت نزهتنا عن السب والقذ ف فلو أمكن الجزاء جزيُتِك

"O, son of 'Abd al-Aziz, if eyes are to weep for one of the Umayyads's youths, they will surely do this for thee. Thou have been purified but not thy household. Thou had prevented us from hurling abuse at Ahl al-Bayt. I would reward thee if I could."[127]

Since the 'Alawites were the Umayyads's successors, heading them and subsiding their long-lived rage and hatred could be constructive in the process of 'Umar II's reform movement targetting at the Umayyads's stabilization.

At the same time, the Hashimites's call, the way paved by the 'Abbasids, started. 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz tried hard to suppress them and by justifying what they were doing guaranteed the survival of the Umayyads.

Encountering the Kharijites

Another group threatening Umayyads was the Kharijites. With their constant revolts, they were almost always irritating Umayyads's rulers and they could not stop them rising up against Iraqi governor and the Kharijites could defeat them. After a while, another army was sent to the battle.

This time, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, following his usual policy, wrote a letter to their leader, Bastam from Banu Yashkur tribe, saying, "I was informed that you had revolted just for the sake of Allah and His Prophet. Bear in mind that I am superior to you in this regard but let's debate. If we were right, you should follow us like others and if you were right, we would take your advice."

Bastam accepted what he said and sent a person to talk to him.

In this regard, Tabari stopped short of saying anything but touching upon the fact that the Kharijites

deemed it improper to pay allegiance to Yazid Ibn 'Abd al–Malik. Pretending not to know anything about this, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz said that he should think about it more. He also went on to say that he was poisoned to death by the Marwanids for what he had said.[128]

In contrast, Mas'udi gave an extended account thereof stating, "Admitting the caliph's approach as a fair and square one, the Kharijites declared (at least as a debate) that if he were so, he would be at adds with his tribe and as a result a cruel one.

So he should not only curse them but also turn away from them in disgust. Attempting to reprove them, by setting an example, 'Umar asked them whether they trusted Abu Bakr and him or not. They said that they did.

Then he said, "Abu Bakr had fought against the infidels and held captives, but once 'Umar came to power, he set them all free."
As a result, he nullified what Abu Bakr had done.
Then he said, "Did he abhor him then?"
"No he did not", the Kharijites replied.

Taking into account the Kharijites' reaction in just the same situation, he asked them if they despised one another or not. He said that for the very same reason he should not curse his dynasty. Out of those who were sent to debate, one did join the Kharijites but the second one did not.

Mas'udi further says that there are other narrations about the relationships between 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz and the Kharijites. Besides, he has mentioned the debates and exchange of letters in his book titled Akhbar al–Zaman and in other books.[129]

Obviously, these actions have been taken during two years or so of government according to a certain policy. This made the Kharijites lose their agitation and not bother the community.

Standing Against Cruelty and Public Extortion

Diminishing the pressure of the governors on individuals was another performance of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz. People were pessimist about the governors. Since most of the time they were taking the biggest part of the booties themselves, they also were the owners of vast lands.

These could give rise to an outburst of violence and provoke both the Kharijites and Shi'ite Muslims to support such uprising as that of 'Abd al–Rahman Ibn Ash'ath's. The caliph so gave back whatsoever the Umayyads had taken from people to their real owners.[130]

However, he was cautious not to take the possession of their lands. He even ordered the residents of Damascus to pay more gifts to the Umayyads but he refrained from doing the same to the residents of Iraq.[131]

What is obvious is that he neither intended nor could do this since it would disperse the Umayyads, on one hand, and remove pressure from some individuals, on the other hand. Iraqis were from among those bearing the brunt. Not only were the Mawali residing in Iran, oppressed all the time leaving out 'Ali's term, but Arabs residing in Iraq as well were pressurized by the Umayyads rulers, in particular, Hajjaj.

Tabari quoted a letter in which 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz had described the situation of the residents of Damascus to their governor.

He said, "They were subject to ruthlessness, compulsion and malicious conducts of inept governors while religion was in need of justice. Then he ordered the governor of Kufa not to collect tax from those converted to Islam and the destitute beyond their means. He also ordered them not to take anything from the affluent but tax and not to ask people to pay the salaries of tax–collectors and finally not to accept new year and Mihrgan's gifts as well as the money that was taken under the name of Darahum al–Nikah or fee for writing the books or wages for the family. Also those who are converted Muslims shall not be received tributes.[132]

The above–mentioned letter shows that the Umayyads governors were ransacking public properties. They were also taking unfair advantages of Zoroastrian's customs namely, The New Year and Ancient Autumnal Festivals by demanding presents from them on those occasions. This was just what Mansur 'Abbasi was doing with the same intention. According to Imam Kazim (a) what they were doing was reviving Zoroastrian's customs.[133]

One further point of prime significance was collecting tax and tribute even form those who had embraced Islam. This action was prevailed by Hajjaj to compensate for the public treasury's losses. The conversion of many people to Islam and its consequence, tax reduction, he had faced many financial problems.

'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz, on the other hand, by exempting those converted to Islam from paying tax, a chief reason for most of Mawali to join 'Abd al–Rahman Ibn Ash'ath, could prevent the re–occurrence of such riots. Seemingly, it was feasible and resulted in expansion of Islam.

In 77, when Bukayr Ibn Wishah revolted against the governor of Khurasan, Umayya Ibn 'Abd Allah who had gone to Bukhara for another war, he was terrified that perhaps the number of his soldiers would not be sufficient to withstand them.

However, he was told that it would suffice for him to have his town herald announce among people that whosoever embraces Islam, he shall be discharged from paying tax. In that case, he will see fifty thousand people who are the best in obedience joining him.[134]

How Islam's growth was brought to a standstill due to the severity of this kind in Hajjaj's term is quite apparent. 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz has followed the same policy.

Once an Arab and one of Mawali came to him. The second one told him, "O caliph, twenty thousand of

Mawalis are fighting side by side with Arabs against unbelievers while they are not given anything of the spoils. An identical number of protected people (Proteges in accordance with an agreement) have embraced Islam but they are still paying tax."

'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz commanded Khurasan's governor, Jarrah Ibn 'Abd Allah to exempt whosoever accepts Islam from paying tax and soon many people embraced Islam.[135] The west barbars had confronted just the same treatment as it quoted by Baladhuri.[136]

From among sermons as well letters quoted by him, many cases can be seen which depict the great importance attached to religion and piety. Even if they were exaggerated to a great extent to justify the Umayyads at least, on the whole, one can not deny them all.[137]

It had been observed that he has been promoted to such an extent as Allah's favorites but, as a matter of fact, it was only in comparison with the other Umayyads governors that he could attract attention. Anyhow, he was ruling while being among an Umayyads family, so his attempt was directed towards consolidating such system.

Khalid Ibn Rib'i was quoted as saying, "I have read in Torah that both the heaven and the earth will be weeping for forty days in 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz's mourning.[138] It is quite obvious that following this way, they were attempting to increase his virtues.

One of the scientific activities of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz was the issue of inscribing traditions proposed by him for the first time in spite of the fact that others did not heed it later. He ordered his commanders to commit the knowledge of their scholars on the paper for him.[139] Zuhri, a scholar linked to Umayyads and contemporary with him was the first ever one embarking on it.[140]

He himself had said that he was asked not only to write down traditions but also dispatch some copies thereof to other cities.[141] As it was stated in another quotation, he wrote a letter to Abu Bakr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hazm Ansari, a hadith–narrator and Medina's ruller on behalf of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz saying to collect every single tradition he had heard from prophet (S) as well as whatsoever being quoted by 'Umar and send them all to him for fear that they may be forgotten.[142] He has written the same letter to the residents of Medina.[143]

In spite of the fact that it was a positive movement, even up to the midst of the third century A.H. most of the traditionalists were not still interested in writing traditions and it was considered as a great blow on prophet's biography among to the Sunnites.[144]

In 101 A.H., 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz passed away. Then Yazid Ibn 'Abd al–Malik who was adherent to the consistent policy of cruelty, extortion and pressure came to power. There is a quotation indicating that he was poisoned by the Umayyads, despite the probability of its occurrence, it is nothing but a quotation which is based on assumptions.

Yazid Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik’s Succession

Even if we accept that 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-’Aziz had carried out some reforms and improved people's attitude towards Umayyads. Thereafter, Arab caliphate of the Umayyads was rehabilitated again and extortion, cruelty towards people and inattentiveness to religion all re-appeared. As it was stated by 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Yazid Ibn Aslami once, in 101 A.H., Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik took the place of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-’Aziz. He ordered all to follow the same direction of 'Abd al-’Aziz.

On the other hand, 145 **فأتي اربعين شيخاً فشهدوا له ما علي الخلفاء حساب ولاعذاب** “Forty of the elderly men approached him and bore witness before him that there would be neither chastisement nor accounts for caliphs.”

Mas'udi has described him as,”Being a selfish man, he was after libidinous pleasure and did not permit people to visit him. He was neither conversant with the right work to do nor was he cognizant of wrongdoing to refrain from.”146

Before Yazid, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-’Aziz had undertaken some fiscal reforms inspite of the damages incurred on the public treasury. He not only did not ask for tribute from Muslims, something which both after and before him was prevailing, but also exempted those from paying tax to some extent. Once he was asked why prices were higher in his term while they were not so before.

In a reply he said, “Those before me were demanding the protected people to pay tax beyond their men means; consequently they were compelled to pant with whatever they had and therefore became destitute. But I do not do this, so they can sell at whatever price they want to.”147

He was also called upon to collect tribute from Jews and Christians newly converted to Islam but he did not consent to it.148 He also ordered that the tax payers residing by the coast of the Euphrates be authorized to wear golden rings as well as Taylusan (mantle) 149 and also be allowed to ride on horses while they were asked to pay the surplus thereof.150

It is visible that these undertakings were appeared to be rectifying ones in comparison with prior severity which had driven the protected people to their own native lands, then the names of those regions were sealed either on their hands or their foreheads to prevent them from going out of there. Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, on the contrary, put an end to such reforms.

He in 105 A.H., commanded 'Umar Ibn Hubayra, Iraq's governor, to survey once again all of the farming lands thereof something which was ignored from the second caliph's term on, so previous statistics was utilized in this regard. His agents were levying tax even on palm trees and this incurred lots of damages on the people who were paying tax while looking down on them.

He also was taking both their offerings and whatever they gave him on such occasions as “New year as well as Mihrgan festivals and land tax was paid based on the latest area being measured by Ibn

Hubayra.[151]

In Yemen, despite 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz's command to eliminate former severety being exerted by Hajjaj's brother, once 'Umar came to power, everything went back to its former states and he declared that they would not be forgiven as long as they were alive.[152]

The outcomes of such severety in Yazid's term were worse in Khurasan in the eastern parts of which there were many governors as well as kings who each had embraced Islam on their domains and agreed to pay tax. Among them, Sughdiyan who were numerous were held to be a great supporter for Muslim Arabs who were residing there and fighting with Turks settling in Transoxania.

Re-imposing prior fiscal pressure in Yazid's term was the major cause of their inclination to Turks with assistance of whom they managed to stand against Muslims in 102 A.H.. In clashes between "Sa'id Khuzayna", Khurasan governor, and Turks, on one hand, and a group of Sughdiyan, on the other hand, taking place concurrently, both Turks and Sughdiyan were defeated.

At Sa'id's behest, Muslim forces stopped chasing them inasmuch as **فان السغد بستان امير المومنين** "Sughd is flower garden of Amir al-Mu'minin."

Then he added, "We do not intend to force them to leave this area." Even subsequent to a minor skirmish Sa'id's herald once again put emphasis on what he had said.[153] Following Sa'id's displacement, "Sa'id Ibn 'Amr al-Harathi" became Khurasan's governor. Feeling insecure due to Arab's presence there, Sughdiyan migrated to "Farghana" and were settled there by the king of that land.

Sughdiyan were so important to Arabs that Iraq's governor, Ibn Hubayra, called upon them to go back to their former residence. Then he would single out whosoever they want as their ruler but they avoided doing so. From then on, clashes between Arabs and Turks, on one hand, and Sughdiyan, on the other hand, escalated [154]; as a result, the east of Khurasan was no longer secure for Arabs. Later on, once Nasr Ibn Sayyar was designated as Khurasan's governor, he received hard conditions on the part of Sughdiyan and reconciled with them.[155]

It can be inferred from what Mas'udi had mentioned that Yazid, considering his personality, was a man after libidinous pleasures and womanizing. Being in love with a woman, he kept her corpse several days after her death.[156] Suppressing Yazid's revolt, Maslama Ibn 'Abd al-Malik came to power but after a while he was dismissed owing to the fact that he had avoided paying tax. Subsequently, 'Umar Ibn Hubayra, one of the rigid governors of Umayyads in Iraq took his place.

Yazid Ibn Muhallab's Uprising

During the last thirty years of Umayyads caliphate several uprisings came about each of which had originated from various regions with various objectives. From among those individuals and groups taking advantage of the outcomes of such riots were opportunists such as Yazid Ibn Muhallab, justice-seekers

such as Harith Ibn Surayj, Kharijites, the 'Abbasids as well as Zayd Ibn 'Ali and his son, Yahya, from among 'Alawites.

In 102, Yazid Ibn Muhallab, the son of Muhallab Ibn Abi Safra and a member of Azd tribe whose fame was thanks to his battles against Kharijites during 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr and 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan's term, was nominated as Khurasan's governor. He had some conquests not only there but also in Gurgan. Owing to the fact that he had refused to hand over war spoils in his possession, once 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz took office, he was imprisoned.[157]

He was still there when Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik came to power and was apprehensive of being killed accordingly, so he escaped to Iraq. The governor of Basra, 'Adi Ibn Artat at Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik's behest, put his family under lock and key. Resorting to a proper policy, Yazid Ibn Muhallab managed to attract not only some tribes to himself but three thousand people as well by displaying his generosity to them.[158]

In a clash between 'Adi Ibn Artat and some of the people of Basra and Damascus residing there, on one hand, and Yazid Ibn Muhallab on the other hand, the Umayyads's army was defeated and Basra went under Yazid's domination.[159] Subsequently, the same happened to some other eastern cities such as Ahwaz, Kirman, Makran, Sind and Hind as well.

He designated a governor for each; nevertheless, in the west the army of Damascus termed as "Allah's soldiers"[160] by the Umayyads was threatening Iraqi rebels and prior experiences also endorsed it since they had been defeated by them and this time, the same happened.

The residents of Basra being free form Umayyads's mischief paid allegiance to Yazid, who had promised to follow Qur'an and the prophets Sunna, and stipulated that he should not bring back conduct of Hajjaj, the wrong-doer.[161] Yazid told the people that fighting against the Umayyads was worthier than waging war against unbelievers and a courageous army.[162]

It was obvious to some of the residents of Basra that Yazid Ibn Muhallab was still attached to the Umayyads. Being ruthless toward people just the same as them, he pretended that he was adherent to Qur'an as well as the prophet's Sunna once he recognized his interests were at risk. From among those individuals Hasan Basri was the one stimulating others to leave off bolstering him saying that it was Yazid who was joining hands with the Umayyads in public oppression.[163]

In response people said, "He is calling us for following 'Umarayn tradition."

They asked Hasan Basri why he was supporting the wrongdoers of Damascus who had destroyed sacred House of God and his prophet in addition to liquidating the residents of Medina during three days.[164]

Keeping silent as long as Yazid Ibn Muhallab was in Basra, Hasan Basri launched his propagation once

again upon Yazid's departure from Basra to confront a dispatched army from Damascus. His position in Basra forced some of his supporters to give up backing Yazid.

Marwan Ibn Muhallab, Yazid's brother and his successor said of him that he could only attract some of ignoble residents of Uballa and 'Alwaj in Basra who were most likely referred to non–Arabs. Upon hearing this, people made up their minds to war with the alm of supporting Hasan Basri but he prevented them form doing so.[165]

Considering this threat a serious one, Yazid Ibn 'Abd al–Malik sent Maslama Ibn 'Abd al–Malik, who was leading the commander of confrontations between Muslim Arabs and Romans, along with a corps to Iraq. Being undecided how to fight with him, Ibn Muhallab sought advice from his backers. Some were of the opinion that they advance eastward and settle on the course connecting Fars with Khurasan's mountains.

Doing so, they would be secured and some will join them too. Another suggestion was that they go to Musil[166], but Yazid did not accept it. The army of Damascus nearly consisted of fifty thousand soldiers but for Yazid Ibn Muhallab it was insignificant.

Describing them, he told, “Most of them were from Jarajima, Saqaliba, Anbat, Jaramiqa and other tribes being all either farmers or ruffians.[167] Considering the point being quoted from his brother about 'Alwaj in Basra, this shows that Yazid's measure was of Arabic aspect and even aristocratic and he took no effort to use Mawali.

At the early stages of the war, compromise was proposed to Yazid but he preferred to fight. This war terminated while it left three thousand killed. From among them were Yazid and four brothers of him as well.[168]

The majority of captives of Basra, who themselves uncovered that by being remiss in that war they had paved the ground for the victory of the army of Damascus, were also slaughtered.[169] This came about in Safar, 102 A.H. in 'Aqr nearby Kufa which later came to be known as Yawm al–'Aqr, “Day of 'Aqr”.

The remainder of Ibn Muhallab's family ran away from Basra. Going eastward, they confronted with the army of Damascus, then they were massacred all in Qandabil in India. In that clash Iraqis such as Nu'man Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Ashtar as well as Muhammad Ibn Ishaq Ibn Ash'ath were also killed.[170]

One further point which should be taken into consideration is that almost all of the Umayyads's rulers were doomed either to be at the head of the government or in jail, the latter of whom were slaughtered most of the time. Once Yazid Ibn Muhallab was asked why he did not build a house for himself.

What he said in reply was that, “My domicile is either a royal palace or prison.”[171] In all likelihood, he could not imagine that the grave was his third choice.

From among the poets supporting him indirectly was “Thabit Qutna”, celebrated poet who was among

the Murji'ites. He also had a hand in some conquests in the east where he incited people to back up Yazid Ibn Muhallab. Abul-Faraj Isfahani considered him a Murji'ites in his brief biography. In a poem, he has praised and has induced him to war with the Umayyads.[172] Later on, when Yazid was defeated, in a poem he reproached those leaving him alone.[173]

On the whole what can be said about Yazid Ibn Muhallab and his riot is that he was an opportunist going on the rampage after years of oppressing people merely because he was disfavored by the Umayyads. People who were tired of the Umayyads's cruelties and contemptuous attitude of the residents of Damascus toward Iraqis in particular were supporting him for a while despite the fact that they were not serious enough in that. That was why they could not be victorious.

In describing Yazid Ibn Muhallab's riot, it is importuned to refer to another uprising in Africa. Tabari was quoted as saying that Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim wanted to adopt the style of Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf Thaqafi in Iraq in collecting tribute form the newly converted ones who were paying it prior to embracing Islam.

Preventing him from following such policy, people put him to death. At the same time, they did not overlook the Umayyads domination and singled out Muhammad Ibn Yazid al-Ansari, their former governor, as their ruler and wrote a letter to Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik saying that they did not disobey him. In response, he mentioned that he was not gratified with what Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim had done but he was pleased with Muhammad Ibn Yazid.[174]

It is worth saying that Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim was Hajjaj's scribe formerly. Emulating him, he desired to put his policy into practice.[175]

Hisham Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik’s Succession

In Shawwal, 105 A.H., Hisham took the place of his brother and until the year 125, he was in the some position for about nineteen years and seven months. It was he who presided over one of the splendid and durable administrations of the Umayyads's dynasty.

Mas'udi described some specifications of him in particular his interest in horses.[176] As Ya'qubi mentioned, he was renowned by such attributes as prudence, intelligence, stinginess, jealousy, harshness and so forth.[177]

Dhahabi also described him by stating, [178] فيه ظلم مع عدل “He was both cruel and just.”
He also had quoted some others as saying that he strongly disliked bloodshed.[179] It is probable that for the very same reason he had ordered to suppress “Zayd Ibn 'Ali's” riot.

'Abd Allah Ibn 'Ali, someone who had chased the remainder of the Umayyads's corps and killed Marwan Ibn Muhammad, was quoted as saying, “I collected the chanceries of the Marwanids but none was as systematic as that of Hisham's.”[180]

He was preventing the Marwanids from taking bounty out of public treasury excluding the time when they could either participate in war themselves or send someone else on their behalf.[181]

There is a quotation from Tabari stating that how Hisham was rebuking his son for his non-attendance in Friday prayers.[182] Just in the same way Sa'id dismissed his son, the governor of Hims because of adultery.[183]

On the other hand, Isfahani had touched on the ways Hisham treated Walid Ibn Yazid, his lewd successor, and vice versa – the account of ewhich will be given at a later time. These are all definite indications that Hisham was a wine drinker too as well as being trapped by lewd companions[184] promoting people to bolster Yazid.

Some other quotations indicate that Hisham was following the same route as Zuhri, an eminent traditionalist and linked to the Umayyads, or possibly others were lending a helping hand in assassinating those who were after bullyism.

As a case in point, Jahm Ibn Safwan's murder can be mentioned. In a letter found later in Hisham's records, it is read that he had called upon Nasr Ibn Sayyar, Khurasan's governor, to search for someone coming from Dahris to that area and kill him.[185] Somewhere else we will comment on Jahm as well as "Ghaylan Dimashqi" both being murdered by 'Abd al-Malik in 119 A.H.

Apart from Zuhri who was much adored by Hisham, other traditionists such as Mansur Ibn Mu'tamir were attracted by him.[186] Abul-Zanad was also an scribe of the Umayyads.[187] Zayd Ibn 'Ali's riot was a momentous incident in Hisham's term which will be discussed in more detail later.

Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri, an outstanding governor of Hisham in Iraq, reigned there from the very early stages of his caliphate for almost twenty years. To some, he was similar to a bunch of governors as Ziyad Ibn Abih and Hajjaj.[188]

This was not an extremist view. Just as Hajjaj, Khalid was trustworthy and utterly loyal to the Umayyads. Being furious at him, Hisham refrained from endorsing what his predecessor had stated so that to accuse him of assisting the prophet's Household as well as being an stimulating element in Yazid's movement.

In response, Hisham said to Yusuf Ibn 'Umar, "You are not more than a lier and by no means do we accuse him of disobedience."[189] His resemblance to Hajjaj will be quite apparent once the same utterance of him was said by Khalid. That statement was, "The caliph is superior to prophet."[190]

However later on Khalid bitterly said that some of the supporters of Hisham had said this sentence. Khalid was quoted as saying, "If, the commander of the believers – Hisham – instructs me to knock down Ka'ba and dispatch every stone thereof to Damascus, I will assuredly do the same".[191]

This was another feature bearing comparison with that of Hajjaj Khalid presided over Iraq, just about the

eastern part of the Islamic lands, for almost fifty years at peace. It was Khalid who prevented Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik from ousting his brother and substituting his son, Walid.

That was why Hisham had trusted[192], adored and abided by him for fifty years. In as much as his mother was a Christian, he had built a synagogue for her, accordingly he was charged with propagating "Christianity" and in consequence he was despised severely by some poets. He was held to be responsible for "demolishing mosques, establishing synagogues, having Muslims under Magian's domination and having daughters of Muslims marrying the protected people".[193]

Isfahani declared, "He was a heretic and his mother a Christian one. He had Muslims under Magians and Christians thumb and let them bother Muslims. The protected people were paying for slave girls and had sexual intercourse with them and yet Khalid did not show any objection.[194]
Being imprisoned by him, Farazdaq wrote these verses in his reproach:

أبلغ أميرالمؤمنين رسالة فعجّل هداك الله نزعك خالد

بني بيعة فيها الصليب لأمّه وهدم من بغض الإله مساجد

"Hisham! Hasten to transfer this message to the commander of the believers, May God guide you in Khalid's removal, he who dismantled mosques out of his grudge against Allah and established a synagogue instead. He put a cross therein too."[195]
Referring to the way of his ruling, he vocalized,

وكيف يؤم المسلمين وأمّه تدين بأنّ الله ليس بواحد

How he leads Muslims while on no account is his mother a believer.[196]

Isfahani accused him of having association with heretics.[197] Thinking about his mother as well as his accusations, one should not be surprised upon hearing that he was handling non-Muslims fittingly and in all likelihood he was inclined towards them.

Dealing with the Shi'ite Muslims as well as the Commander of the Believers in a harsh way, Khalid affronted Imam 'Ali (a) so openly and bitterly that it is deplorable to be reiterated. He said that Imam was in the midst of the hell. He was also paying money to people to curse him. Isfahani has a number of quotations in this regard[198] and after mentioning each, he had damned Khalid by stating, **لعن الله خالدا ومن والاه قبحهم صلوات الله علي اميرالمؤمنين** " May God curse Khalid and his puppet rulers woe betide them."

Khalid was ousted in 120 A.H., the reason of which is hardly relevant to our discussion but as mentioned primarily it was owing to the fact that Hisham was emulating Khalid in cereal production whose increase

was a threat to his profits.[199]

Being dismissed, he headed for Damascus while he was tortured by Yusuf Ibn 'Umar for a while just in the same way he had treated 'Umar Ibn Hubayra once he came to power. In Damascus too, he was subject to Hisham's persecution. When Walid Ibn Yazid took office, he handed him over to Yusuf Ibn 'Umar By taking considerable amount of money, then, he killed Khalid. Later on, one of his offsprings took the life of his father's murderer in Yazid Ibn Walid's jail.[200]

The prime reason that enabled Khalid to be the governor of Iraq as well as the eastern parts of Islamic lands for over fifty tears was a special privilege devoted to him in return for his total adherence to the Umayyads's demands. From among them, one was absolute savagery, an one of his outstanding attributes, accordingly he was labeled as “anti-truth tyrant”.[201]

Another one was hostility towards ”'Ali's lineage” which was notable in him as well. He was so strongly loyal to the Umayyads that individuals such as Yazid Ibn Muhallab were not comparable to him because once they became powerful, they thought that they were independent.

Kharijites’ Rebellion in time of the Marwanids

An interval between 60s and up to late 70s, known as “Ash-Shurat” by the narrators thereof, was considered to be a crucial period of Kharijites' activities, although they did remain in power and fought against the 'Alawites and the Umayyads thereafter. The leading centers for their activities were Basra and Kufa's suburbs.

Being driven out from there, they settled down in Fars, Kirman, Khuzistan and Sistan. What is more is that their settlement in each region was a transient one so they were almost always relocating. They managed to fortify themselves remarkably in a period between Yazid's death in 64 A.H. and subsequent ineffectuality of the Umayyads in Iraq up to the time it was conquered by 'Abd al-Malik. Kharijites's advancement was mainly due to the Zubayrids's leniency for some years to such an extent that in 68 A.H. they could freely pay for pilgrimage in Mecca.[202]

Subsequent to Mu'awiya's death and Karbala's event while 'Ubayd Allah was reigning over Iraq, Mirdas Ibn Udayya from Kharijites ran wild and was at a later time murdered by 'Ubayd Allah.[203] Confronting a great number of Kharijites in Iraq, 'Ubayd Allah started demonstrating harsh treatment. He himself divulged that the worthiest action of him after believing in Allah's Unity was assassinating the Kharijites.[204]

Prior to deciding on a caliph for Damascus, he was shouldering this task subsequent to Yazid's death during which he was capturing those under suspicion. He termed that action, later on, as one of his significant undertakings.[205]

The relatives of those who were seized implored him to set them free and he, due to his unsatisfactory

situation, admitted it; as a result, Kharijites were given more freedom. When he escaped to Damascus, there was no longer any obstacle before them. During Ibn Ziyad's ruling over Iraq, as it was quoted by Ibn Qutayba, he was searching for Kharijites under suspicion and after their apprehension he took their lives.206

What has been disclosed considering Ziyad and his son, 'Ubayd Allah, is that they shed the blood of at least 13000 of them.207 Exerting such pressure obliged some of the Kharijites to run away to Mecca that was under 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr's control who not only had cordial relationship with them but struggled diligently to take advantage of them in the Umayyads's confrontation as well.

Thus, Kharijites who felt secure enough, then joined Ibn Zubayr. To justify what they had done, they proposed the idea of "defending the Sacred Territory of Allah".208 Being adherent to 'Uthman, Ibn Zubayr provoked his father strongly in Jamal war that started in revenge for 'Uthman's murder who was severely despised by Kharijites. The sole reason for Kharijites to join Ibn Zubayr was their common interests.

Ibn Zubayr was quated as saying, 209 **لو أعانني الشيطان علي أهل الشام لقبلته** "Even if Satan protects me against the residents of Damascus, I would accept his help."

Once Yazid's corps left Mecca upon hearing the news of his death, Kharijites went to Ibn Zubayr to inquire about his opinion regarding 'Uthman. Recognizing that he was loyal to 'Uthman left him alone.

Apart from those Kharijites being conducted by Nafi' Ibn Azraq, the founder of Azariqa, another group also shaped up in Yamama, Bahrayn, 'Umman and Hajar under the leadership of Najda Ibn 'Amir Hanafi subsequent to Imam Husayn's martyrdom. In 68 A.H., it was Najda who supervised the pilgrimage service for Kharijites but for one reason or another, he did not cooperate with Nafi' so he was dismissed by them. Then, Abu Fudayk substituted him and was killed after a while.210

The Zubayrids's leniency in Iraq was a justification for Kharijites under the leadership of Nafi' Ibn Azraq (killed in 65 A.H.) to put the residents of Basra in a great inconvenience so as to block the way to commercial caravans in the east and northeast thereof.

Going out of patience, Basra's occupants considered Kharijites's threat a serious one and prepared to fight them. After a slight clash which was not a victorious one for them eventually, they, along with Muhallab Ibn Abi Safra, whose reputation was due to his continual assaults on Kharijites for extensive periods, launched an attack on them. Fiscal support of Basra's merchants211 for Muhallab who was singled out as governor by 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr could suppress them for a while. In spite of the fact that they were not abundant in number in contrast with Iraqis, Kharijites managed to resist them.

Muhallab in this regard said, **سبحان الله العظيم ما رأيت ولاسمعت بمثل هولاء القوم ساعة قط كلما ينقص منهم أن يزيد فيهم** 212 "On no account had I seen or heard of such a tribe; the more they decrease in number, it seems the more they increase."

In clashes of this kind, they repeatedly retreated while they left too many forces dead each time. Once they were chased up to Isfahan then they entered Fars and camped in Arrajan while they were over thirty two thousand.213

Apparently, the majority of those joining them were Iranians opposing the Umayyads. These clashed extended to Ahwaz and Nubandjan of Fars as well. After a while, Ibn Ma'mar substituted commander of Iraqis army but his continual defeats214 verified that no one can make this war a victorious one but Muhallab.

Accordingly, once again he was designated as commander by Ibn Zubayr. The Zubayrids were over thrown while the Umayyads still needed Muhallab and he had been fighting the Kharijites for nearly three years or so subsequent to Iraq's conquest. Then, they were divided into branches not because of military failure but due to serious discrepancies among themselves. As a result, they were defeated.

Qatari Ibn Fuja'a became their commander once Nafi' Ibn Azraq was killed in a clash in Ahwaz. Opposing some of the Kharijites in Kirman, he departed to Tabaristan and was murdered there.215 Two other groups, one under the leadership of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, the senior and the other Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, the junior fought separately and both were beaten. Prior to this, Muhallab had informed Hajjaj that one and the only way to overcome the Kharijites was creating tension among them.216

The Azariqa were still there, that Shabib Khariji, a valorous one from the Kharijites, started combating Hajjaj. From 76 A.H. on, he defeated the army of Iraq several times and conquered Kufa twice while in both cases, Hajjaj concealed himself in his palace. He made some linked individuals to the Umayyads such as Abu Burda, the son of Abu Musa Ash'ari pay allegiance to him.217 At that time, only the army of Damascus contributed to him.

Hajjaj himself made it known to 'Abd al–Malik,

> وقد عجز أهل الكوفه عن قتال شبيب في مواطن كثيرة في كلٍّ يقتل أمراءهم

“Kufiyans were incapable of fighting Shabib in verious instances, in each of which their leaders were killed.”218

This was in contrast with what Hajjaj had done to Iraqis, that is pressurizing and mobilizing them against the Kharijites by force.219 Once he gave them three days to attack the Kharijites led by Muhallab. To prevent others from disobeying him, he killed an aged man regardless of his acceptable reasons for not going to war.220

Despite frequent vanquishments as well as losses that were imposed on them during several years, the Kharijites managed to save themselves from annihilation; nevertheless, considering their achievements of their aims, one should say they were not triumphant since they were fighting to overpower the

Umayyads and by no means could they accomplish it.

Whenever they were united, soon they dispersed due to their enemy's assault. Therefore, it can be inferred that they were both victorious in that they protected themselves and defeated in achieving their objectives. The reasons of both cases should be determined.

From among factors contributing to their survival, possible repelling of their enemy's invasion as well as suppressing their opponents which enabled them to exercise influence on people [221] was their partisan wars in which they were routing their enemies swiftly before they could prepare themselves. They not only shocked their enemy but destroyed them as well.[222]

They uprooted their adversaries by taking advantage of internal elements and those selected as the Kharijites's executioners by governors were not secure from their revenge. To give an example, once they could not kill the murderer, they killed his camel instead.[223] Sometimes, they succeeded in taking their lives.[224]

Ibn Ziyad disclosed that, [225] **ما أدري كيف اصنع ما أقتل رجلا من هذه المارقة الا قتل قاتله** "I know not what to do, I kill none of the Kharijites save they also killed the spies giving information about the Kharijites to governors."[226]

Fighting against Hajjaj who was infamous, the Kharijites could somehow achieve fame. Being a dictator who was distinguished for his corruption, Hajjaj did not refrain from oppressing people and it was a typical feature of all Umayyads that the Kharijites were taking advantage of in provoking people both against them and themselves[227] and even obliging some pious people to follow them. From among them, one can name Salih Ibn Masrah who, due to existing oppression, told his followers:

> متي انتم مقيمون هذا الجور قد فشا وهذا العدل قد عفي ولاتزداد هذه الولاة علي الناس الا علواً وعتواً وتباعداً عن الحق وجرأةً علي الرب

"As long as you stay in power, cruelty runs, the justice disappears and the rulers foment bullying and domination as well as they are abstentious against the truth" and that was why the Kharijites did ask him to join them. He ran wild in 76 A.H. and was killed later. Then Shabib who was from Kharijites replaced him.[228]

Another one leading man of Kharijites was 'Abd Allah Ibn Yahya who was told as saying, **فرآى باليمن جوراً ظاهراً وعسفاً شديداً وسيرة في الناس قبيحة** " There, I did observe apparent injustice an unpleasant behavior towards people."

Accordingly, for the very same reason he assembled his supporters and by saying, **لا يحل لنا المقام علي مانري ولا الصبر عليه** " Beholding these things, hesitation shall fly away he went on a rampage."[229]

Abu Hamza Khariji in his speech in 12 A.H. also touched upon governor's cruelty as a stimulus factor [230] and it is quite obvious that the idea of combating cruelty could attract attention considerably.

In as much as Iran was the major center for their operations, a great number of Mawali joined them in spite of the fact that it was not the case for all Kharijites' parties. This was a crucial advantage for them since Iranians were valorous enough to battle.

As it was told, [231] الموالي أشجع الخوارج وأشدهم جسارة "Kharijites, as Muhallab was informed, were mainly blacksmiths, dyers, butchers, etc."[232] These people from the middle social strata, were naturally acceding to style of the Kharijites since they were under hard pressure. Additionally, Kharijites' fame for their piety[233] was an outstanding factor for them to absorb people. Some of them even were considered ascetics.[234]

People's apprehension of them was another element assisting them in particular as regards to those tribes as well as the residents of some cities who were doing so to protect their children and themselves since they were not secure from their attack. Here, one should point out that the very element was also one of the major hurdles in the way of their progress.

Although people were contributing to the Kharijites fearing their lives, they gradually turned to the Umayyads and assisted them to get rid of the Kharijites who were hard-hearted in their views. The merchants of Basra and probably other areas who deemed the Kharijites as a great threat to their interests backed them openly.

The Kharijites frankness always made them lose their heads. Banning precaution dissimulation by the Azariqa forced Khariji Azraqi to disobey them in any form and under any circumstances. Then, he, along with fifty or a hundred soldiers, set off untimely and irregular riots which led to their defeat. In contrast, the Shi'ite Muslims succeeded in setting themselves free from the Umayyads' mischief by observing the very precautionary dissimulation.

Prevailing Islam in Iraq especially in Kufa was an obstacle to Kharijites's domination. It has been said that the Shi'ite Muslims whose Imam was martyred by Kharijites had strong spite towards them and the Umayyads did take advantage of such feeling greatly and that was why the Kharijites residing in Kufa were not as many as those in Basra.[235]

The Foundation of the Kharijites Principles

In formation of various sects most of the time the main controversial issue would later on become the central belief of that sect.

At times, even the name of that sect would be derived thereof in spite of the fact that occasionally the names of the leaders of sects would go back to them. In Kharijites' case, the name of their sect originated from their effort to revolt against the Commander of the Believers and their endeavor in

excommunicating both 'Ali (a) and 'Uthman was the leading belief of their sect.

In fact, discussion about faith versus disbelief was an important point over which different parties debated and became somehow problematic for early sects. With reference to this, 'Uthman and the companions of Jamal were measured, then, it was turn of the residents of Damascus. Once Iraqis fought against Damascus people, knowing that they were infidels but confronting Arbitration, they hesitated about continuing the war.

To eliminate this, they would rather believe in what the opponents had accepted to such an extent that they described Imam 'Ali (a) as infidel since he had endorsed Arbitration. One further point was that if someone were disbeliever due to advocating Arbitration which was considered as a cardinal sin, then what would happen to others committing cardinal sins?

Based on the same extremist view which was the main reason of their defeat, they labeled them as unbelievers. It is known that Mu'tazila had termed those committing cardinal sins neither as a Muslim wrongdoer nor pious or infidel but purely as a wrongdoer. In contrast, in Imamiyya whoever testifies that there is no God besides Allah and Muhammad is the Allah's Prophet is Muslim and is entitled to enjoy the same rights as Muslims accordingly. Considering the doer of cardinal sin one should apply the term Muslim wrongdoer (not wrong–doer alone).

In this regard, Shahristani stated that, “All of them are of the opinion that despising 'Ali (a) as well as 'Uthman is a must. Considering this issue of prime importance they did hold their marriages to be true merely when they were based on this belief.”236

The dispute over belief versus disbelief regarding Imam 'Ali (a) and 'Uthman from then on turned out to be the main principle for Kharijites and the other one was showing resistance to rulers whenever they disregard Sunna.237

The Azariqa who was active during that time was one the most extremist groups of Kharijites who considered those men, women and even children not being a member of the group as infidel and doomed to death.238
They referred to this verses:

وَقَالَ نُوحٌ رَبِّ لَا تَذَرْ عَلَى الْأَرْضِ مِنْ الْكَافِرِينَ دَيَّارًا. إِنَّكَ إِنْ تَذَرْهُمْ يُضِلُّوا عِبَادَكَ وَلَا يَلِدُوا إِلَّا فَاجِرًا كَفَّارًا.

“And Noah said, “My Lord! Leave me not one of the disbelievers in the land. If you leave them, they will mislead the slaves and will beget none save lewd ingrates”239

Moderate followers of the Azariqa such as Sufriyya sect were obtaining from killing children. Banning “Taqiyya” was one of the fundamental principles of the Azariqa over which they had discrepancy with the Kharijites form Yamama and ultimately, it led them to be separated form Najda Haruri.240

Moreover, books concerning sects as well as scholastic theology and jurisprudence compiled by their opponents were attributed to them. The Kharijites who were dispersed due to continual wars and were secluded from Muslims' scientific centers, as a result, less commented on this.

Other than the Aba□iyya that still has some followers in 'Umman and North of Africa, all other sects have swept out and it is very difficult to confirm the credibility of the principles attributed to them. In addition, another feature of them was altering their principles. It seems as if the Aba□iyya were dubious whether to renounce 'Ali (a) or not and in the latest scripts of some of them they expressed their devotion to 'Ali (a).

Since some books of various sects were at odds with principles of Kharijites, there has been exaggeration about basic principles of them. Inasmuch as Kharijites were mainly composed of Mawali, they made up a new theory overlooking a condition for Imamate e namely being a member of Quraysh, a principle which the Sunnites strongly upheld over six hundred years later.241

Some Arab tribes bolstering Kharijites probably had endorsed this principle either because they did not value caliphate, which was independent from tribal power or they did this to compete with Quraysh.

Yazidiyya, one of the Kharijites sects that, according to a few fragmented Jarudites, had extremist Kharijites beliefs about non-Arabism thought, **سيبعث الله رسولاً من العجم وينزل عليه كتاباً قد كتبت في السماء ويترك شريعة محمداً المصطفي** 242 It should be mentioned that Qur'an was revealed in the second century A.H. as a result, the Kharijites must have been following other sects in this regard. Anyway, some ideas of Mu'tazilites can be traced back in the Kharijites' ideologies.

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1. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 254
2. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 254
3. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 72
4. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 85; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 387
5. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 255
6. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. 16; the seed of discord between these two groups was sown when Mu'awiya married a woman from Kalb The tribe of Qays not least ®ahhak Ibn Qays felt that their social reputation was blackened The Kalbids turned to the Umayyads and the Qaysids took position against them; Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. 177
7. Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. 177
8. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp 138, 141
9. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 86
10. Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 218
11. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, pp 144, 145; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 257; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. 146
12. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 153; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. 181; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. 151
13. Tarjamat al-Imam al-Husayn, Ibn Sa'd, p. 143 عن عمير بن اسحاق، كان مروان اميراً علينا ستّ سنين فكان يسبّ عليا في كل جمعة علي المنبر... ثم اعيد مروان فكان يسب عليا "' Umayr Ibn Ishaq narrated, "Marwan who was our ruler for six years insulted 'Ali every Friday on the pulpit... »
14. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. 17
15. 'Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 372; Tarikh al-Khulafa' of Ibn Sa'd, p. 216

16. Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 217
17. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 599; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, pp 137, 138; vol. V, p. 150
18. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 144
19. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 155, 157
20. al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. 256
21. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 98; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 300
22. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 269; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 98
23. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 29
24. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 197
25. 'Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 197
26. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XX, p. 147
27. Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 261; al-Aghani, vol. II, p. 277
28. Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. I, p. 252
29. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. 158
30. 'Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. V, p. 333
31. Loc cit
32. al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. 266
33. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 5; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, pp 161, 162-163
34. Suyuti had said that since he secured allegiance as his father's successor during Ibn Zubayr's caliphate, his caliphate was not rightful Once in power in Damascus and Egypt, later he seized power in Iraq until Ibn Zubayr was killed in 73 From then on his caliphate was right; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 215
35. al-I□ah, p. 34; al-Mustarshid fil-Imama, p. 16; concerning his political votes we have discussed in detail in "the History of Caliphate from Islam's Emergence to the Sufyanids' fall" (Tarikh tahawwul dawla wa khilafat
36. Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. III, p. 73
37. al-Futuh, vol. VI, p. 276
38. Ibid, vol. II, p. 486; 'Uqala' al-Majanin, p. 178 cited form As-Sahih Min Sirat al-Nabi (S), vol. I, p. 23
39. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 35; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 215
40. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 90 وكان له اقدام علي الدماء وكان عمّاله على مثل مذهبه " He was bloodthirsty and so were his agents
41. Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 218.
42. Ibid, pp 218, 219
43. Ibid, p. 220
44. Ibid, p. 220; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. 58
45. Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. II, p. 425
46. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 147 The same narration has been asscribed to Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri, Mecca governor in 89 Comparing Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik with Prophet Ibrahim (a) on the pulpit, he introduced Walid as the superior one He said that when Ibrahim asked for water, Allah offered him salty water while He offered fresh water to Walid Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 225
47. al-Nasayih al-Kafiya li-man Yatawalla Mu'awiya, p. 81; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. IX, p. 136
48. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 228
49. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. 52
50. al-Futuh, vol. VII, p. 3
51. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. 32
52. al-Futuh, vol. VII, p. 8; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 43; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 132; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 273
53. al-Futuh, vol. VII, p. 4
54. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 142
55. Shadharat al-Dhahab fi Akhbar min Dhahab, vol. I, p. 107
56. Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. II, p. 30; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 132

57. Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. II, p. 31
58. Ibid, p. 30
59. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 183; Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. V, p. 349
60. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 166
61. Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 221
62. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp 274, 275
63. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. 149
64. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. II, p. 44
65. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 144; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. IV, p. 61
66. Shadharat al-Dhahab, vol. I, p. 144
67. Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. III, p. 175
68. Ibid, vol. VI, p. 147
69. al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. 99
70. Nasab Quraysh, Mus'ab Zubayr, pp 47, 48
71. Nasab Quraysh, Zubayr Ibn Bakkar, p. 83
72. Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. II, p. 426
73. Ibid, vol. VII, p. 106
74. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 46
75. Ibid, vol. V, pp 108, 109
76. Ibid, vol. V, p. 108
77. Ibid, vol. V, p. 113
78. Ibid, vol. V, p. 115
79. In recent years, (1405 A H) a book entitled "al-Hajjaj Rajul al-Dawlat al-Muftara 'Alayh" was published in Iraq for defending Hajjaj
80. Raw□a al-Kafi, p. 245
81. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 60
82. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 149
83. Ibid vol. v, p. 149
84. Ibid vol. v, p. 155
85. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. 6, p. 293
86. Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. 1, p. 58
87. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 158
88. Ibid vol. v, p. 157
89. Ibid vol. v, p. 163; It has been told in a quotation in 'Umdat al-Talib, he had paid allegiance to one of the 'Alawites
90. Ibid vol. v, p. 163
91. Tarikh at-Tabari vol. v, p. 182
92. Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. 225
93. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. 3, p. 364
94. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. v, p. 169; al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. 2, p. 47
95. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. 2, p. 54; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. 3, p. 156
96. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. 3, p. 133; Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq, vol. 4, p. 67; Wafayat al-A'yan vol. 2, p. 35
97. Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 218, It is uncertain whether he had mint coins or not
98. Ibid p. 223
99. Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. 216; Ansab al-Ashraf, p. 243
100. Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 225
101. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. 2, pp 1285,1261; quoted from Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya p. 247
102. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. v, p. 173
103. Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, vol. v, p. 250

104. Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. 2, p. 463
105. Ibid vol. 2, (the footnote), al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. v, p. 49
106. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. 1, p. 403
107. Ibid vol. v, p. 65
108. Ibid vol. v, p. 62; Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', No 7, p. 589, vol. v, p. 117
109. al-Aghani, vol. 9, p. 273
110. Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. v, p. 121
111. Ibid vol. v, p. 123
112. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. 4, p. 56
113. Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. 5, p. 117
114. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. v, p. 42; It was written in one of the footnotes of the book entitled "Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya that Wellhausen who was a researcher was doubtful about it but he had no reason for being so, see, p. 299
115. See, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. 4, p. 56; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. 2, p. 305; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. 3, p. 184
116. Dhahabi, Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. 4, p. 147; al-Aghani, vol. 9, pp 258,259; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. 2, p. 305; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. v, p. 42; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. 4, p. 59
117. Shrah Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid vol. 6, p. 72
118. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. 3, p. 401
119. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. VI, p. 278
120. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XIII, pp 77-78
121. Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. 287 (و معني هذا انه لم يكن يتبعهما اتباعاً تاما)
122. al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. 2, pp 224, 225; See, also vol. 3, p. 63
123. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. 3, p. 184
124. al-Aghani, vol. 9, pp 262-264
125. Ibid vol. 9, p. 263
126. Ibid vol. 9, p. 264
127. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. 4, p. 60
128. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, pp 310, 311
129. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. 3, pp 193-191; Ibn Athir also quoted the same statement in addition to some other remarks, see al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. v, pp 46-48
130. Akhbar al-Tiwal, p. 331; Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vo 5, p. 129; al-Aghani, vol. 9, p. 255
131. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. 2, p. 306
132. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 102
133. Musnad al-Imam al-Kazim (a), vol. I, pp 51-52
134. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 129
135. Ibid vol. v, p. 314
136. See Wellhausen, Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. 285; Futuh al-Buldan, p. 233
137. See, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, pp 315, 316, 320, 322; al-Aghani, vol. 9, pp 266, 269
138. Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. v, p. 142
139. 'Abd al-Razzaq, al-Musannaf, vol. 9, p. 337
140. Jami' Bayan al-'Ilm, vol. 1, pp,88, 91
141. Jami' Bayan al-'Ilm, vol.,1 P.,92
142. Sunan al-Darimi, vol. 1, p. 126; Taqyid al-'Ilm, pp 105,106
143. Sunan al-Darimi, vol. 1, p. 126; Akhbar Isfahan, vol. I, p. 312; Tadrib al-Rawi, vol. I, p. 312
144. Muqadami'i bar Tarikh tadwin hadith (An introduction to History of Hadith Compilation), Qum
145. Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 246
146. al-Tanbih wal-Ishraf, p. 277
147. al-Kharaj, p. 132

148. al-Kharaj, p. 131
149. An Iranian woolen garment that was used by the learned and nobles
150. ‘Uyun al-Akhbar, vol.,1, p. 53
151. Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. 2, p. 313
152. al-Nujum al-Zahira, vol. 1, p. 239
153. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. 5, p. 355
154. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. 5, pp 362-366
155. Ibid vol. v, p. 508
156. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. 3, pp 198-199; Tarikh Gudhidih, p. 283; Tarikh Mukhtasar al-duwal, pp 115-116
157. Al-Tanbih wal-Ishraf, p. 277
158. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 3
159. Ibid vol. 8, p. 5
160. Ibid vol. 8, pp 7, 21
161. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 335; See, al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 8
162. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 335
163. Ibid vol.,5, p. 336
164. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 9
165. Ibid vol. 8, p. 14; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 341
166. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 337; al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 13
167. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 14
168. Ibid vol. 8, p. 19
169. Ibid vol. 8, pp 20-22
170. Ibid vol. 8, p. 24
171. ‘Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. 1, pp 233, 312
172. al-Aghani, vol. 14, pp 277-278
173. al-Aghani, vol. 14, p. 279
174. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 359; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. v, p. 101
175. See, Nujum al-Zahira, vol. 1, p. 245
176. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. 3, p. 205, See, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, pp 515-520; al-’Iqd al-Farid, vol. v, p. 192, about his interest in wearing clothes
177. Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. 2, p. 328
178. Siyar a‘lam al-Nubala’, vol. v, p. 352
179. Ibid
180. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 516
181. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 515
182. Ibid vol. v, p. 516
183. al-’Iqd al-Farid, vol. v, p. 195
184. al-Aghani, vol. 7, pp 5-6
185. Tarikh al-Jahmiyya wal-Mu‘tazila, p. 17
186. al-I□ah, p. 91
187. Siyar a‘lam al-Nubala’, vol. v, p. 449
188. Tarikh al-Dawlat al-’Arabiyya, p. 116
189. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 558
190. al-Aghani, vol. 22, p. 18
191. Ibid vol. 22, pp 16-17
192. Tarikh al-Ya’qubi, vol. 2, p. 314
193. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 458
194. al-Aghani, vol. 22, p. 16

195. Ibid vol. 22, p. 21
196. al–Aghani, vol. 22, p. 21
197. Ibid vol. 22, p. 24
198. Ibid vol. 22, pp 15–18
199. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. v, p. 468
200. See, Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. v, pp 541,543, 559–561
201. See, Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. v, pp 463–464
202. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. 4, p. 515; Tarikh al–Ya'qubi, vol. 2, p. 263
203. al–'Araq fil–'asr al–Umawi, p. 230
204. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. 4, p. 109
205. Ibid vol. 4, p. 116
206. al–Imamah wal–Siyasah
207. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. 4, p. 403
208. Ibid vol. 4, p. 436; Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. 4, p. 58
209. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. 4, p. 94; Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. v, p. 131
210. See, Tarikh al–Ya'qubi, vol. 2, p. 273; Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. 4, p. 267
211. al–Kamil fil–Adab, vol. 3, p. 312; Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. 4, pp 146,181
212. al–Futuh, vol. 7, p. 44
213. Ibid vol. 6, p. 19
214. Ibid vol. 6, p. 31–46
215. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. v, pp 125–126
216. Ibid vol. v, pp 121–122; Tarikh al–Ya'qubi, vol. 2, p. 276
217. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. v, p. 77
218. Ibid vol. v, p. 85
219. Muruj al–Dhahab, vol. 3, p. 130
220. al–Kamil fil–Adab, vol. 2, p. 212l; al–Aghani, vol. l4, p. 244
221. Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. v, p. 83
222. al–Hayawan, vol. I, from page 41onwards
223. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. 4, p. 19
224. Ibid pp 91–92
225. Ibid p. 91
226. Ibid p. 94
227. Ansab al–Ashraf, vol.4, p.19.
228. Tarikh at–Tabari, vol. v, p. 56
229. al–Aghani, vol. 20, p. 97, vol. 6, p. 149; Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. v, p. 106
230. Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. v, p. 114, See, also pp 117,118,119
231. Tarikh al–Ya'qubi, vol. 2, p. 262; al–Kamil fil–Tarikh, vol. 3, p. 373
232. al–Kamil fil–Adab, vol. 3, p. 314; Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. 4, p. 147
233. The credibility of this statement is subject to debate since, for instance, there is a quotation about Shabib regarding his intention of joing the Kharijites indicating that he was a financial motive 'Allama Ja'far Murta□a also remained dubious about their asceticism In his book which has not published yet, there is a chapter under the title of "al–Kharijites Tami'un am Zuhhad" in which he touched upon this despite the fact that some of which are not quite valid In addition, there have been several quotations indicating their piety in their personal lives which were not written in that book Undoubtedly, regarding those things what the writer has said seemed quite true
234. al–Kamil fil–Adab, vol. II, p. 149; al–'Araq fil–'asr al–Umawi, pp 227,230; Ansab al–Ashraf, vol. 4, p. 89; Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah, Ibn Abi al–Hadid, vol. v, p. 106
235. al–'Araq fil–'asr al–Umawi, p. 242
236. al–Milal wal–Nihal, vol. 1, p. 106; Tabsirat al–'Awam, p. 46

237. al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. 1, p. 106
238. Ibid vol. 1, pp 109,140; al-Aghani, vol. 6, p. 142
239. Nuh, 71:26,27
240. al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. 1, p. 112
241. Ibid vol. 1, p. 107
242. Tabsirat al-'Awam, p. 41; al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. 122

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SHARES

Shi'ite Muslims In The Last Decades Of The Umayyad State

The Shi'ite Muslims Under the Pressure of the Umayyads

As previously mentioned, Umayyads had three obstinate foes, namely Kharijites who were of great trouble to them during various periods. Shi'ite Muslims who were in opposition to Mu'awiya from 'Ali's term on and thereafter Imam Husayn (a), the penitents, Mukhtar, Zayd Ibn 'Ali and Yahya Ibn Yazid ran wild against them.

Moreover, Shi'ites's ideology especially its political aspect based on which the 'Alawites authority was a lawful one operated as an effective trend in the society producing a great threat to the Umayyads.

In reality, subsequent to their eradication, Shi'ite Muslims were the Umayyads's successor and ultimately the third group was Iraqi people who regardless of their religion, went on the rampage against them since the treatment of Damascus towards them which probably stemmed from tribal or regional prejudice was a contemptuous one.

In spite of the fact that such movements someTimes had leaders or some supporters who had good will, most of the time they covering their objectives as well as reviving the Prophet's Sunna as well as social justice.

Although all of those groups were threatening the Umayyads, the two first groups were more threatening. It is known that the Kharijites at last could subjugate them in Iraq, then some of those so-called Shi'ite Muslims opportunistically overthrew the and came to power themselves. The Umayyads was striving hard to confine Shi'ite Muslims by any means to prevent them from increasing their influence.

Formerly, we touched upon how the Umayyads bothered the 'Alawites. Now, by bringing some

examples, matter is elucidated. During the Umayyads' rule excluding a short time during 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz,1 they insulted Imam 'Ali (a). From among them one can name Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri who did the same while being on the pulpit2 as well as describing him in the most biting way.3

And as one would expect to justify what he had done, he urged some traditionalists to vilify him. For the very same reason, Hisham Ibn 'Abd al–Malik wrote a letter to A'mash, a so–colled Shi'ites in Kufa and called upon him to compile a book about 'Uthman's virtues and Imam 'Ali's wrongdoings but he refrained from doing so4 while such individuals as Zuhri did never hesitated to do this.

Since he had heard 'Ali (a) was using henna for dying his beard, he quoted from Torah, "Whosoever dyes his beard black is cursed". 5[2707]

The Umayyads' agents used abusive words towards 'Ali's family throughout the Islamic land 6 to taint their reputation and eliminate them from political as well as intellectual scene by rendering the worst accusations against them. That was why harsh treatment in damning 'Ali was quite justified for them.

Once Hajjaj asked his governor in Fars to make 'Atiyya Ibn Sa'd damn 'Ali (a) and if avoided doing so, he should be whipped four hundred times and be shaved as punishment. They did this as Hajjaj had ordered.7 Some individuals as Ibn Abi Layla, an Iraqi jurisprudent, was made to curse 'Ali (a) in public.8[2710]

It was quite common for Mu'awiya, Abu Bakr as well as 'Umar to fabricate Hadith to crush Shi'ite Muslims who were referred Rafi□i extremist and now most of those forged traditions compiled by the Sunnites are at hand.9[2711]

When Hisham in 106 A.H., the second year of his caliphate, entered Hijaz for Hajj, Medina's governor, one of 'Uthman's grand children, by alluding to 'Uthman's virtues told caliph, "In this region, it is quite common to curse Abu Turab, now you can follow this custom too".
Hisham in reply said, "Now I am here for Hajj and do not intend to curse anyone."10[2712]

This does not mean that Hisham was not a man of cursing others. In contrast all of his deeds revealed his hostility towards the Prophet's Household and their followers. He himself was the murderer of Zayd Ibn 'Ali and any Shi'ite Muslims and under those circumstances, he probably gave such reply to Sa'id Ibn 'Abd Allah for a specific reason.

When Zayd Ibn 'Ali (a) was in Damascus, Hisham shamelessly inquired him about his brother, Imam as–Sadiq (a) and said, مافعل اخوك البقرة In this way, he demonstrated his malice towards him in his insulting question. In response, Zayd said, 11 سماه رسول الله باقراً وتسميّة البقرة! لقد اختلفتما اذاً "The Messenger of Allah had called him al–Baqir and now you are addressing him in this way."

Then he went on to say Jabir's quotation in which Allah's Messenger had told him, "Give Imam al–Baqir my best regards."

Shi'ite Muslims such as Kumayt Ibn Zayd Asadi, an outstanding Arab poet, were pressurized in various forms. He was imprisoned for his beliefs and, in particular, having Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri satirizing the Umayyads. Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik demanded Khalid to pull his tongue out of his mouth and hang him from the door of his house.[12][2714]

Filled with terror, Kumayt wore his wife's clothes who had gone to see him in prison, then he tried to escape. Having no way to do so, he took refuge in Maslama Ibn 'Abd al-Malik and finally he could satisfy Hisham and save his life.[13] It was quite obvious that he was a Shi'ites since he was with Imam al-Baqir (a) and other Muhammad's descendants.[14] Also, his Hashimites followers are the best proof in this regard.

Apart from suppressing Yazid Ibn 'Ali's uprising, Yusuf Ibn 'Umar, Iraq's governor from 120-126 A.H. martyred many of Shi'ite Muslims.

According to Ibn A'tham, [15] **فقتل يوسف بن عمر من شيعة آل محمد خلقاً كثيراً رحمة الله عليهم** "Yusuf Ibn 'Umar murdered large numbers of Shi'ite Muslims of Muhammad (S) 's progeny."
In a letter addressing Hisham, Yusuf divulged the misery of this household arising from ruler's pressure.[16][2718]

Umayyads negative propagation against Shi'ite Muslims, their politico-ideological opponent, forced Sunnis to adopt a bitter stance on them and despite the fact that the Umayyads themselves were affected by Jewish culture, they made Shi'ite Muslims be known like the Jews.[17] Such accusations were in fact reflections of the Umayyads's propagation. His mention of a detailed quotation, Imam al-Baqir (a) displays Shi'ite Muslims stance plainly.

"No one knows what sufferings we, Ahl al-Bayt, experienced from Quraysh's oppression and stance-taking, so did the Shi'ite Muslims. When Allah's prophet was about to depart this life told us that we were superior to people while the Quraysh who were collaborating with each other divorced this issue and did take advantage of our superiority to come to power.

Then, the post of ruling rotated among them up to the time that once again Ahl al-Bayt restored it, but people who had paid allegiance to us disregarded it and launched an attack against us and 'Ali (a) experienced great hardness prior to his martyrdom.

Then it was his son's turn and just the same happened to him. Thereafter, we were constantly irritated, deprived of our rights, threatened, murdered and driven out of our homelands to such an extent that neither us nor were our followers secure any longer. Then the liars and deniers of the truth paved the ground for themselves and approached the originators of injustice as well as their agents throughout the Islamic land.

After that, they started forging and spreading traditions. They did quote us as saying things which were neither mentioned nor performed by us. They merely intended to sow the seed of hatred in the hearts of

individuals. This was a policy being followed subsequent to Imam Hasan's martyrdom during Mu'awiya's term.

Limbs were cut off and those eminent were plundered and their houses were destroyed. This situation worsened during 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad's term. Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf came to power in Kufa after him and he did the same to the Shi'ite Muslims. They were so hard pressed that they would rather be called Zindiq or infidels instead of Shi'ite Muslims.

In consequence, the so-called pious people fabricated some traditions touching upon the superiority of the previous rulers something which was by no means true in practice. The succeeding traditionalists verified what had been forged by them inasmuch as they were not quoted by a bunch of unfaithful and lying people."[18] [2720]

This was what Imam as-Sadiq (a) had stated regarding injustice imposed on Shi'ite Muslims.[19]

Internal Events of Shi'ite Muslims

Possibly, there would be no other issue as important as pondering upon the socio-ideological attitude of the Shi'ite Muslims during that time, something which should make clear the stance of some groups surviving under the shadow of "Shi'a". Earlier, discussing about 'Ali's Imamate, it had been stated that Imamate was considered as a "Divine Decree" among the companions and the Commander of the Faithful himself had made great attempt to clarify it.

Looking into Iman as-Sajjad's viewpoint regarding Imamate, evidence suggested that he considered Imamate as a divine decree and Imam as a person whose obedience is obligatory on behalf of God. Here, it is worth stating internal problems the Shi'ite Muslims were tackling with.

It was quite obvious that Shi'ite Muslims were misled mainly due to their detachment from their Imams and it was an apparent consequence since neither Imams nor the Shi'ite Muslims could contact each other directly. In spite of great endeavors being exerted by Imams, they did not have enough influence on the Shi'ite Muslims in particular those residing in Iraq far from them, let alone those in Khurasan, to guide them ideologically.

It is requisite to refer to the book entitled "the History of Shi'ism in Iran" overtured by "various forms of Shi'ism" to discern completely what had been mentioned formerly. Here, some points would be referred to either dropped thoroughly or not discussed in detail.

Exaggeration and the Exaggerators

An incident later came to be known as "Exaggeration" in Islamic history, a rooted deviation in Shi'ites internal affairs, did play a major role in distorting their image. This has been discussed in more detail in "History of Shi'ism" but we will touch upon it here too.

This occurrence goes back to 'Ali's time during which there had been two opposite views regarding him, namely the extremist one based on which he was dealt with as if he were an infidel and the opposite one according to which he was exaggerated to such an extent that he was characterized with divine features.

In spite of the fact that there are serious discrepancies concerning peculiarities of views which are too complex to be clarified; however, taking historical events in toaccount, one can make certain that these incidents did take place during Imam 'Ali's time. According to some researchers and as said before, 'Abd Allah Ibn Saba', the initiator of “Exaggeration”, was an imaginary person singled out to stain the Shi'ite Muslims' reputation. Denying him, however one should not equate it with disregarding such exaggerations among the Shi'ite Muslims at that time.

What does Exaggeration imply? Its origin goes back to what had been attributed to Imam 'Ali (a) as well as his descendants that is blasphemy according to the Shi'ites doctrine and abundant traditions from Imams.

To elaborate the meaning, it deems appropriate to suggest a piece of poem from Sayyid Himyari, a Shi'ite Muslims poet:

قـوم غلوا في علّيٍ لا أباً لهم وأجشــموا أنفساً في حبّه تعبا

قالوا هو الله جل الله خالقَنـا من أن يكون له ابن او يكون أبا

“Exaggerating about 'Ali (a), some people whose parents may be damned put great pressure on people to adore him saying that he was God and Almighty God was either his father or his son.”[20]
A group of those people were expelled to Mada'in by Imam. Being informed about 'Ali's martyrdom, they nullified it.[21] There are diverse quotations concerning Imam's severity on them in history books manipulated based on various inclinations. From among them, we can have the false account of burning as well as regarding them as dualists.[22]

Such ideas were also approved by some so-called Shi'ite Muslims during Imam Hasan's time. **قيل للحسن بن علي أنَّ أُناساً من الشيعة يزعمون أنَّ علياً دابة الارض... فقال, كذبوا، أولئك ليس بشيعة، اولئك اعداؤه**[23] “Hasan Ibn 'Ali was told, “A few Shi'ite Muslims hold the view that 'Ali is a creature on the earth...” He said, “They tell a lie, these people are not Shi'ite Muslims, they are 'Ali's adversaries.”
Forgers of tradition probably had quoted wrong traditions from Imams repeatedly to subjugate and defame them.

Subsequent to Karbala event when “the penitents” as well as Mukhtar's uprising took place, the viewpoints of the Exaggerators were still prevailing in Iraq. One point needs consideration, as mentioned before Mukhtar was accused of several wrongdoings one of which was Exaggeration.

In the same books, various sects in particular “Kisaniyya”, one of the Exaggerators from among Shi'ite Muslims, was given emphasis while being characterized by having so many divisions and principles. Most of them are still widespread among upcoming Exaggerators and attributed to others to defame Shi'ite Muslims as well as their Imams.

Regardless of veracity of Kisannids's exaggerated principles, what can be inferred from Iman as-Sajjad's statements is that some statements identical to those of Jews and Christians about 'Aziz and Jesus Christ were expressed about Ahl al-Bayt.

Iman as-Sajjad (a) stated, [24] **احبّونا حب الاسلام ولاترفعونا فوق حدنا** “Love us as well as you do Islam and keep us as high as we are.” Somewhere else he told,

> إنَّ قوماً من شيعتنا سيحبونا حتى يقولوا فينا ما قالت اليهود في عزير وما قالت النصارى في عيسى بن مريم فلا هم منا ولا نحن منهم “

Some of our Shi'ite Muslims are so kind- hearted toward us that ascribe what Jews told about 'Aziz and Christians about Christ to us. By no means are we from among them nor do they.”[25]

It is worthwhile mentioning that the Exaggerators vocalized Imam Husayn is still alive just the same as Jesus Christ, and As'ad Ibn Hanzala Shami was killed instead of him.[26]

Tabari quoted Abi Mikhnaf as saying that there had been some Exaggerators in Kufa. According to what Hasira Ibn 'Abd Allah had told Abu Mikhnaf in this quotation, from among Shi'ites Exaggerators were “Hind Bint al-Mutakallifa al-Na'itiyya whose house was center of all Shi'ites Exaggerators.

The other one was “Layla Bint Qumama al-Muzayna who was not loved by his brother Rufa'a, a moderate Shi'ites. Once Ibn Hanifa was informed about their presence in Kufa, he wrote a letter to Shi'ite Muslims in there urging them to go to mosques and praise Allah and not to choose their friends from among those who are not pious.

If they actually are worried about themselves, they should be pious, cautious of liars, perform prayers while keeping in mind that it is at Allah's behest for all living beings to be either loser or winner. **و كل نفس بما كسبت رهينة، ولاتزر وازرة وزر أخرى والله قائم علي كلّ نفس بما كسبت فاعملوا صالحاً وقدّموا لأنفسكم حسناً ولا تكونوا من الغافلين** “Everyone falls responsible for his practice and no one bears sin of others, God beholds one's deeds, so practice righteously, proceed onto virtues and avoid being among the negligent.”[27] “

As it was touched on before, some historians made every endeavor to define Exaggeration as having some principles much the same as that of the Twelfth Imam Shi'ism to attribute those principles to them but paying just a little attention, one can easily understand that they are forged. In Shi'ites sources as well, some people's stance such as Ibn Hanafiyya and Imam's speeches expressed without caution removes any doubt completely.

Confrontation of Imams with the Exaggerators

Shi'ites Imams openly took a stand against movements of exaggerators, instances of which could be seen during Imam as-Sadiq and al-Baqir's time, presenting true beliefs and religious principles. During Imam al-Baqir, such distortion manifested itself clearly and some corrupted individuals from among them came to be leaders of their movement.

Mughira Ibn Sa'id was one of them whose lifetime was mostly spent during Imam al-Baqir's time and was burned to death in 119 A.H. by Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri, Iraqi governor, calling him a magician, Tabari quoted that he along with seven others ran wild against the administration outside Kufa. Being on mosque pulpit, Khalid was told about this and requested water! It is good to mention that Mughira was one of Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah's Mawali.[28]

Later on, Khalid burned both his companions and him to death for they had not relinquished their beliefs. There are several quotations from Kashshi revealing Imam al-Baqir's abhorence towards him.[29] Some actions of him were manipulating Imam al-Baqir's traditions and teaching magic as well as juggling.[30]

Regarding the Exaggerators' conduct towards Imam al-Baqir (a), Abu Hurayra 'Ijli wrote these verses,

ابـا جعفر أنت الولي أحبّه وأرضـى بمـا ترضي به وأتابع

أتتنا رجال يحمـلون عليكم أحاديث قد ضافت بهن الاضالع

أحاديث افشاها المغيرة فيهـم وشر الامور المحدثات البدائع

“O, Abu Ja’far, you are master and beloved one to me. I am satisfied with whatsoever you are satisfied with and I do follow you. There are some individuals attributing some traditions to you. This is something which downhearts us. Mughira had forged some traditions which is the worst heresy.”[31]

Bayan Ibn Sam'an[32] was another one supporting Mughira. He was also burned to death along with Mughira by Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah.[33]

In Shi'ite Muslims sources, Bayan Ibn Sam'an was bitterly reproached since he was said to have quoted false traditions.[34] Hamza Ibn 'Amara al-Barbari just the same as Abul-Khattab Ghali, Bazi' and Mughira Ibn Sa'id were all cursed by Imams.[35]

There are detailed descriptions of the Exaggerators and their beliefs in Sa'd Ibn 'Abd Allah and Nuwbakhti books. Despite the fact that both the Exaggerators and their leaders were corrupted, one should be heedful enough while dealing with what had been written concerning them in sectarian and

religious books in particular those which had been compiled by Sunnis with great pessimism.

It deems appropriate to take Imam as-Sadiq's reactions towards the Exaggerators during his life throughout the Umayyads's time when both in this time and during the 'Abbasids they were very active.

It should be noted that the Exaggerator's deviation was to such an extent that the religious principles were at risk. What they had in minds was not to leave a single principle of religion, either fundamental or practical one untainted. Anyhow, it appears that they had mystical inclinations according to which some people were deceived after being fascinated by their attractions.

The Exaggerators were more active in Hijaz than anywhere else since Iraq was a place where various cultures such as Iranian, Russian, Syriac and Jewish and so forth met and it had the capacity to put an impression on Muslims' attitudes. These interactions confused most religious beliefs.

The notion of Exaggeration threatened Shi'ism since it not only had falsified their principles from within and secluded them but also distorted public images towards them in such a way that it seemed they were indifferent to the practical laws of Islam.36

Taking a glance at sectarian books, it can be perceived in spite of the fact that, considering sectarian divisions, Exaggeration is said to be a distinct one, not only the leaders of various sects but Sunnites scholars as well do not differentiate between various divisions of Shi'ism and prevent from endorsing their traditions.

One of the reasons of such pessimism is influence of the ideas of Exaggerators on Shi'ite Muslims. Despite all efforts being made firstly by Imams and secondly their scholars, the effects are still more and less obvious. To bring an example, one can refer to some quotations from the Exaggerators regarding Qur'an's distortion in some of the Shi'ites hadith books.37

Imam as-Sadiq (a) and subsequent Imams opposed strongly that falsification. Previously, endeavors being made in an interval from 'Ali (a) to Imam al-Baqir had brought about Ahl al-Bayt's popularity as well as expansion of Shi'ism. Accordingly, the Exaggerators were trying hard to penetrate deep into Shi'ite Muslims with the intention of damaging it both internally and externally.

From among crucial undertakings of Imam as-Sadiq (a) to preserve noble Islamic culture bestowed to Shi'ite Muslims were purification of Shi'ism, struggle to negate the Exaggerators as well as remove them from approaching Shi'ite Muslims' instances of which are to be divulged here.

One of the central activities of Imam was preventing Shi'ite Muslims from having relationship with the Exaggerators since it could magnetize some of the Shi'ite Muslims to them with all their possible attractions. Besides, they claimed that they were tied to Imams and upon denying them, they expressed what they had done was simply out of dissimulation.

Mufa□□al quoted Imam as-Sadiq (a) as referred to Abul-Khattab as well as other Exaggerators, as

saying, **يا مفضّل! لا تقاعدوهم ولا تؤاكلوهم ولاتشاربوهم ولا تصافحوهم** " O, Mufa□□al, do avoid the Exaggerators, neither eat or drink with them and do not shake hands with them."[38]

In another quotation once again Imam (a) accentuated the statement, **و أما ابوالخطاب محمد ابي زينب الأجدع ملعون وأصحابه ملعونون، فلا تجالس اهل مقالتهم فاني منهم برئ وآبائي عليهم السلام منهم براء** " Both Abul-Khattab and his followers are cursed. Do not have association with their supporters. My forefathers had abhored him, so do I."[39]

Imam (a) was in particular heedful to the Shi'ites youth stating, **احذروا على شبابكم الغلاة لا يفسدوهم، الغلاة شرّ خلق الله، يصغّرون عظمة الله ويدّعون الربوبيّة لعباد الله** " Remain watchful not to let the Exaggerators deviate your young men. They are the Allah's archfoes. Reducing His Majesty, they profess to His servants that they are God."[40]

Imam as-Sadiq (a) had warned individuals against having association with not only the Exaggerators, but all the innovators as well stating, **واحْذر مجالسة اهل البدع فأنها تنبت في القلب كفراً وضلالاً مبيناً** " Do not keep company with innovators inasmuch as it sows the seeds of blasphemy in your heart as well as misleading you overtly."[41]

To exclude them from membership of a Shi'ites society, Imam as-Sadiq (a) found fault with their beliefs and urged people not to accept them by referring to Allah's Book for his evaluation.

Shahristani quoted that Sudayr Sayrafi had gone to Imam and said, "May I be your sacrifice! Your followers have diverse opinions; some are of the beliefe that some one whispers in your ears; some say that Allah reveals secret to you; some think that you are inspired; some others assume that you see in your dreams or give decree based on your forefathers' command. Which one is true?

In response, Imam said, **لا تأخذ بشيء مما يقولون نحن حجة الله وأُمناءه على خلقه، حلالنا من كتاب الله وحرامنا منه** " Do not accept whatsoever they tell you. We are Allah's witness and faithful ones for His servants and we do consider something either lawful or unlawful while having reference to His Book."[42]

Quotations of this kind indicate that due to the wrong beliefs of the Exaggerators some were doubtful whether Imams introduced new religions or there would be new revelations. Underlining the fact that whatsoever they say comes from Allah's Book, Imam as-Sadiq (a) demanded people not to endorse those wrong beliefs.

In another quotation, Shahristani stated that Fay□ Ibn Mukhtar went to Imam as-Sadiq (a) and said, "May I be your sacrifice! What is this divergence among our Shi'ite Muslims? At times, I attend their meeting and I feel apprehensive about what they say. Then I refer to Mufa□□al and find out what makes me calm there."

In response Imam (a) said, **اجل! انّ الناس اغروا بالكذب علينا حتى كأنَّ الله فرضه عليهم لايريد منهم غيره، واني لأُحدِّث أحدهم الحديث، فلا يخرج مني حتى تتأوله على غير تأويله** " "See individuals are fond of laying the blame on

us as if Allah made them do so and not anything else. When I say something to someone, he alters it soon before leaving me."[43]

Sahmi quoted 'Isa al-Hujrani as saying, "I went to Ja'far Ibn Muhammad as-as-Sadiq and said,"Shall I retell what I heard from this tribe?"
Imam replied, "Say it."

I said, **فانَّ طائفة منهم عبدوك واَتّخذوك الهاً من دون الله وطائفة أُخري والوا لك النبوة و...** " "Some of these people do worship you and consider you a God quite different from Allah and another group do regard you as a prophet."

Imam wepet bitter tears, then said, **ان أمكنني الله من هولاء فلم اسفك دمائهم سفك الله دم ولدي علي يدي** " "If I dominate them at Allah's behest, I will surely shed their blood; otherwise, Allah will do the same to my son."[44]

Occasionally, the narrators of quotations manipulate what Imams had said according to their tests with the intention of nullifying basic principles of Shi'ite Muslims. Thereafter, some of them will be mentioned.

Mahdavitism was the central belief of the Exaggerators which was rejected by Imam as-Sadiq (a).[45]
They also believe in prophecy of some Imams.
Imam as-Sadiq (a) told them, **من قال انّا انبياء فعليه لعنة الله ومن شك في ذلك فعليه لعنة الله** [46] "God may curse whosoever regards us as His Prophet and whosoever remains skeptical of it."

From among the Exaggerators, some had equated God with Imam saying, **هو الذي في السماء اله وفي الارض اله قالوا هو الامام** He is the one who exists in the heavens and earth, they said, "He is Imam."
That was why Imam as-Sadiq (a) told that they were even worse than Magians, Jews, Christians and the unbelievers.[47]

Imam was at odds with the Exaggerators in particular with those beliefs based on which they attributed Godliness to Imams.

The he went on to say, **لعن الله من قال فينا ما لا نقوله في انفسنا ولعن الله من أزالنا عن العبودية لله والذي خلقنا واليه ما بنا ومعادنا وبيده نواصينا** " May Allah curse those who quote us as saying what not told by us. May Allah curse those refraining us from worshiping Him, He who has created us and we all will to Him while He determines our fate."[48]

As maintained by Islamic jurisprudence, it deems right to excommunicate individuals denying basic principles of Islam. This is done to prevent violations provided that it do develop through its normal course. Imam as-Sadiq (a) endeavored to excommunicate the Exaggerators from Islamic society to frostrate them from distorting the Shi'ites fundamental principles.

One of the undertakings of the Exaggerators was symbolizing religious notions in such a way that they lose their basic significations. Imam as-Sadiq (a) in a letter addressing Abul-Khattab, one of the

Exaggerator's leaders, stated, **بلغني انك تزعم انّ الزنا رجل وأنّ الخمر رجل وأنّ الصلاة رجل وأنّ الصيام رجل وأن الفواحش رجل وليس هو كما تقول، انا اصل الحق، وفروع الحق طاعة الله، وعدونا أصل الشر وفروعهم الفواحش** " You are said to be of the opinion that adultery, intoxication, prayer, fasting and mischief are all men with these names. What you said is not true. I am the supreme truth and in comparison worshiping Allah is subordinate one. Our enemies are the major evil while their mischief is a minor thing in comparison."[49]

In another quotation, Imam stated, **" على أبي الخطاب لعنة الله والملائكة والناس اجمعين فاشهد أنّه كافر فاسق مشرك** May Allah, His angels as well as His servants put a curse on Abul-Khattab. I do confess that he is infidel, lewd and polytheist."[50]

Somewhere else, by referring to the Exaggerators, Imam (a) stated, **" توبوا الى الله فانكم فساق كفار مشركون** Do repent your sins. You are undoubtedly lewd, infidel and polytheist."[51]
Imam as-Sadiq excommunicated them so openly that, on one hand, they themselves perceived there was no longer any dissimulation and, on the other hand, Shi'ite Muslims stopped having communication with the Exaggerators completely.

The Exaggerators could publicize their beliefs primarily due to the fact that they called on their followers not to observe either jurisprudic legals or inhibitions.
They quoted Imam as-Sadiq (a) as saying, "Whomsoever knows Imam, he shall be permitted to do whatsoever he wants to."

To remove all doubts Imam said, **" انَّما قلتُ: ان عرفت، فاعمل ماشئت من قليل الخير وكثيره، فإنه يقبل منك** I said if you knew your Imam, you would surely do good either less or more. Such cognition is the key to the acceptance of your practices."[52]

Imam alluded to the fact that ordinances are subordinate to sainthood (Wilayat) or without which observing such rules is worthless. The Exaggerators did not take the primary meaning of that statement into account based on their non-observance of the jurisprudic rules. They were quite distinguishable from those who were adherent to them.[53]

One influential factor in the emergence of the Exaggerators was public stupidity.[54] At the same time, ambition as well as yearning to attract individuals, especially with regard to those who claimed succession of Imams and upgraded them to Godliness with the intention of introducing themselves as prophets were other leading factors.

Imam as-Sadiq (a) asserted, **إنَّ الناس اولعوا الكذب علينا... وإنّي أُحدّث أحدهم بحديث فلا يخرج من عندي حتى يتأوَّله على غير تأويله وذلك أنّهم لا يطلبون بحديثنا وبحبنا ما عند الله وإنما يطلبون الدنيا** " Individuals are eager to falsify our accounts. Even before we end our speech, they reiterate it to others regardless of its exact meaning. Neither in learning traditions nor seeking our friendship do they desire what Allah wants rather they are after mammonism."[55]

To discriminate the forged traditions of the Exaggerators from the authentic ones motioned by Ahl al-

Bayt, Imam as-Sadiq (a) referred to Qur'an as a criterion. Regarding this he stated,

لا تقبلوا علينا حديثاً الا ما وافق القرآن والسنة او تجدون معه شاهداً من احاديثنا المتقدمه فان المغيرة بن سعيد لعنه الله دسّ في كتب ابي احاديث لم يحدث بها ابي، فاتقوا الله ولا تقبلوا علينا ما خالف قول ربنا تعالي وسنة نبيّنا صلى الله علي واله، فإنا إذا حدثنا قلنا قال الله عز وجل وقال رسول الله "

Do not accept whatsoever they quote from us on condition that they are in accordance with either Qur'an or Sunna or our previous traditions. May Allah curse Mughira Ibn Sa'id, the one who quoted traditions from my father not told by him. Be pious and do not endorse whatsoever is at odds with Qur'an and Sunna since whatsoever we quote is based on these two sources."[56]

There are some other quotations indicating the same action of the Exaggerators.

For instance, Imam as-Sadiq (a) said, "Mughira took home the books being written by Imam al-Baqir's companions then, **ويدسُّ فيها الكفر والزندقة ويسندها الى ابي ثم يدفعها الى اصحابه** " He quoted hadiths from the dualists and attributed them to my father after that, he returned those to their owners."
Imam also stated, [57] **فكلما كان في كتب اصحاب ابي من الغلّو، فذاك ما دسّه مغيرة بن سعيد في كتبهم** "Whatsoever can be found in the books of my father's companions regarding the Exaggerators are nothing but what Mughira registered there."

Such action of Imam as-Sadiq (a), on one hand, could differentiate the Shi'ite Muslims from the Exaggerators but, on the other hand, it had a negative effect on Shi'ite Muslims' expansion. Just because of the Exaggerators, Abu Hanifa told his followers not to reiterate Ghadir hadith.[58] Not withstanding the fact that it was quite unacceptable, it could divulge the impact of the Exaggerators' action on quoting the most accurate accounts of 'Ali's virtues.

This was discussed in detail since it was supposed to reveal not only the Exaggerators' deviation in the History of Shi'ism but also the reaction of Imams in protecting Shi'ism from threat of the Exaggerators inasmuch as they roused public hatred towards Ahl al-Bayt.[59] And they had to defend themselves.

Shi'ism when Giving Superiority to 'Ali (a)

Speaking about the internal affairs of Shi'ism, there still is another form of Shi'ism which merely appreciates the 'Alawites and considers them as the true ones for caliphate while according to its principle neither Imamate is a divine leadership nor Imam is someone whose obedience is mandatory. In the realm of policy and leadership, taking the distinct features of them in comparison with other influential tribes into account, one can observe that 'Ali (a) was superior that 'Uthman as well as other caliphs.[60]

In view of such definition of Shi'ism, not only majority of the Sunnis traditionalists but Iraqi ones as well are Shi'ites. Reviewing Mizan al-I'tidal from Dhahabi, one can see that a great number of religious scholars later come to be known as Sunnites were believed to be Shi'ites at that time. From among them, there were some people as Muhammad Ibn Jarir Tabari[61] and Hukaym Niyshaburi, the greatest Sunnites scholars in the 3rd and 4th centuries, who severely criticized Mu'awiya.

These people were not few in Iraq in 1A.H. most of whom were irritated by Hajjaj and other Umayyads's rulers just due to their devotion to Imam 'Ali (a) as well as to the Prophet's progeny.

What should not be left out of consideration regarding this group is that they were by no means Shi'ites based on its principles. The expansion of Shi'ism in Kufa due to the presence of both Imam 'Ali (a) and his son there for over five years was the basic cause of the formation of that group there. Embracing Shi'ism, some individuals at that time spread it in that region.

On the other hand, there were also some traditionalists of Kufa affected by this morale. They refrained from quoting Imam 'Ali's virtues just the same as others since they were influenced by 'Uthman. He as well as his supporters criticized Kufiyan hadith-narrators since they did not observe the limitations being imposed by them on not only quoting Ahl al-Bayt's virtues but the evils of companions for the very reason, such individuals as A'mash the so-called Shi'ites Muslim, was accused of forging hadiths narrated by the residents of Kufa.[62]

Once Iraqis were said to be Shi'ites but by taking all limitations into account, one can understand what kind of Shi'ism it is, despite the fact that there were many Shi'ite Muslims who considered Ahl al-Bayt merely as their Imams and leaders.

A real Shi'ites follower is someone who only believes in the Imamate of 'Ali's descendants and regards them as the successor of the successors[63] whose obedience is obligatory regardless of his political power. Belief in this principle was a criterian to distinguish ideological Shi'ism from others and those who were skeptical in this regard were not from Shi'ite Muslims.

Aban Ibn Taghlib in this regard mentioned, **الشيعة، الذين اذا اختلف الناس عن رسول الله صلي الله وعليه واله، اخذوا بقول علي عليه السلام، واذا اختلف الناس عن علي اخذوا بقول جعفر بن محمد عليه السلام** " A Shi'ite Muslim is someone who endorses whatsoever Imam 'Ali (a) said, once people were at variance concerning what Allah's Messenger has said and when soever the same happened concerning 'Ali's utterances, he should accept whatever Ja'far Ibn Muhammad mentioned."[64]

This meaning of Imamate was based on "Ghadir hadith" and those who did not believe in this were called the Disavowers. Imams probably turned their back on them merely to keep face.[65] Ahl al-Bayt's quotations, on the other hand, presented a clear definition of sainthood which was the cornerstone of Shi'ites beliefs. There are numerous quotations which equate sainthood with prayer, fasting, Hajj and tax alms and at times, it is even more emphasized.[66]

In practice, the Imams who were Shi'ites leadership asked people for paying their financial dues to them. They not only considered the rulers as oppressors and manifestation of tyranny but also said they are legitimate and divine Imams. Accordingly, they did carry out financial as well as political responsibilities upon them.

Once Imam al-Baqir (a) was asked about his father's inheritance, he said, **ما ما كان لأبي بسبب الإمامة فهو لي وما كان غير ذلك فهو ميراث على كتاب الله وسنّة نبيه** [67] "I am heir to my father's position and other things, except this, which are my father's personal features are to be divided in accordance with Qur'an as well as Prophet's Sunna."

There are some quotations regarding booties, in which the Imams made it quite clear that they have been the right owners of them.[68] Unfortunately, some of the ignorant writers of Sunnis as well as the orientalists, regardless of so many quotations in various aspects of our Islamic jurisprudence, presented our Imams in such a way as if they did claim they were Imams and were attributed by others; however, there are numerous quotations from Shi'ite Muslims, as said before, which remove all historical doubts.

There were a great number of people in Iraq who were of the opinion that the Ahl al-Bayt were selected by Allah's Prophet and obeying from them was mandatory. However, they might be misled regarding some facts. Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik who was apprehensive of the 'Alawites' rebellion wrote a letter to Yusuf Ibn 'Umar expressing the opinion of Kufiyans, **اما بعد, فقد عرفت حال اهل الكوفة في حبّهم اهل البيت ووضعهم ايّاهم في غير مواضعهم لافتراضهم علي انفسهم طاعتهم (و وظّفوا عليهم شرائع دينهم) ونحلتهم ايّاهم عظيم ما هو كائن مما استأثر الله بعلمه دونهم** " You know quite well how Kufiyans adore Ahl al-Bayt. They exaggerate about them. They believe that they should obey them in their religious activities because they believe they have some kind of wisdom granted to no one but them."[69]

The content of this letter indicates that there has been a kind of ideological Shi'ism whose milestone was Imam, someone who defined the Islamic law for them and his obedience was incumbent. As referred before, this issue was subject to debate. Since Iraqi Shi'ite Muslims, on one hand, were for from Medina, the main residence of Imams as well as other 'Alawites, and, on the other hand, they were pressurized by the Umayyads and later on, by the 'Abbasids rulers they, could not understand who the veritable Imam was; nevertheless, from the very beginning, it was believed that only 'Ali's descendants were given the right to rule.

To verify this, refer to what had been mentioned regarding political views of the Penitents. A matter of prime importance was Shi'ism in Qum originated from Kufa. The strong belief of the people of this city in Shi'ism indicated that the Ash'arites in this city had learnt the basic principles of Shi'ism in Kufa.

As it was previously mentioned, since Shi'ites Imams were far away from Medina, deviations in Shi'ism came about, one of which was the Imamate of Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya who was supposed to be veritable Imam subsequent to 'Ali (a), Imam Hasan and Imam Husayn (a). Despite the fact that this belief was not widespread, it did undoubtedly exist.

“Kuthayyir 'Azza” died in 105 A.H. was among poets who had Shi'ites beliefs.[70] He was actually from the Kissanids who believed that Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya was an Imam.
He wrote these verses:

ألا إن الائـمـة من قريش ولاة الحـق اربعة سواء

علي والثلاثـة مـن بنـيه هم الاسـباط ليس بهم خفاء

فسبط سبط ايمـان وبـرّ وسـبط غـيبته كـربـلاء

وسبط لاتـراه العـين حتي يقـود الخيـل يقـدمها اللـواء

تغيّب لايري عنـهم زمانا برضوي عنده عسـل وماء

“Take it into account that our Imams are four people from the Quraysh tribe. 'Ali and three children of him, one of them, Hasan Ibn 'Ali is the epitome of piety and kindness. The other one is the one being embraced by Karbala and the third is the one who can not be seen by eyes until an army appears with a flag in its forefront. For a while he would be on Ra□awi mountain, out of sight with honey and water at hand.”[71]

Ra□awi is one of the sacred mountains around Medina.
Other poems from the very same author hint at his belief in Mahdavitism of Ibn Hanafiyya,

فهديت يا مهدينا ابن المتهدي انت الذي نرقّي به ونرتجي

انت ابن خيرالناس من بعد النبي انت إمام الحق لنسا نمتري

يابن علي سر ومن مثل علي

“O our leader! May He raise thy blessings, thou art the one whose light of guidance we seek to our sublimity and we stay fully hopeful of him. Thou art descendant of the best man after the Prophet (S), no doubt our truthful Imam. O son of 'Ali! Thou art like 'Ali among us.”[72]

Regardless of his misinterpretation of the true Shi'ism, Kuthayyir 'Azza basically believed in the cornerstone of Shi'ism, that is divine sainthood. Accordingly, he did not accept caliphate subsequent to prophet.
In a poem, he wrote,

برئت إلي الإله من ابن اروى ومن دين الخوارج اجمعينا

و من عمر برئت ومن عتيق غداة دعي امير المؤمنينا

“I invoke by God to resent 'Uthman and the Kharijites as well as 'Umar and Abu Bakr, once called Amir al-Mu'minin.”73

One of the principles of ideological Shi'ism in rejecting the legitimacy of the first caliphs since based on it Imamate is at Allah's behest. Khandaq al-Asadi was a friend of Kuthayyir who once was in Hajj along with him. Suddenly he shouted, “You had relinquished both the truth and your Prophet's Household consisting of four people and they are right”.

Revolting against him, people beat him to death.74 Isfahani has a quotation in Aghani revealing that Imam al-Baqir (a) had taken part in Kuthayyir's funeral ceremony and asked others to let him go under his coffin.75 It was probable that Kuthayyir just the same as Sayyid Himyari in the course of time either had given up he Kissanids or due to his friendship with Ahl al-Bayt supported them.

Sayyid Himyari, one of the Shi'ites poets, was a member of the Kissanids too. Addressing Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya who was believed to be alive on Ra□awi mount, he wrote these verses,

ألا قل للوصي فدتك نفسي اطلت بذلك الجبل المقاما

“Tell the successor, May my life be sacrificed to you, you overstayed in that mountain.”76

There are many poems about his religion. At the same time, there are some quotations indicating his change of religion, which are all declared untrue by Isfahani based on his reference to some narrators. Based on some poems attributed to him, it was said that he believed in Imamate of Ja’far Ibn Muhammad Ibn as-Sadiq (a).

It is not obvious why much effort was made to declare these verses untrue. Anyhow, it can have several reasons. For example, it had been proposed to say that he obeyed the Exaggerators not Imam as-Sadiq (a). In a poem regarding his conversion, he was quoted as saying, **تجعفرت باسم الله والله اكبر** “ In the name of Lord, the Exalted, I am turned to Ja’fari religion.”77

This verse is called in question, lthough not so strongly, since Sayyid because of his enough eloquence in speech could not have said, **تجعفرت باسم الله** In another poem, he went on to say,

أيا راكباً نحو المدينة جسرة عذا فرة تهوي بها كلّ سبسب

إذا ما هداك الله لاقيت جعفراً فقل, يا امين الله وابن المهذّب

“O thou who art on sturdy camelback trotting through deserts
O noble! Once thou meet Ja’far, tell him he is trustee of God and the pure one.”[78]

Kashshi also has a quotation[79] indicating his conversion to Twelve-Imam Shi'ism. He had done so probably due to his argument with Mu'min al-Taq, one of the companions of Imam as-Sadiq (a) and a man of debate, in which he was defeated.[80]

Since he died in Mansur's time, it was impossible for him to be still a Kissanids. On the other hand, the number of followers of this sect is not obvious or it is better to say that apart from some quotations mentioned previously, there is no other proof affirming the existence of other followers of this sect. Additionally, a number of followers were decreased since they came to obey either 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya or the 'Abbasids.

There also are some verses from Sayyid Himyari indicating his hatred towards the early caliphs.[81] When Mahdi 'Abbasi was heir apparent, he asked him to cut off gifts been given to Banu Taym and Banu 'Adi inasmuch as they had deprived Ahl al-Bayt of their rights after Prophet's departure.[82] Aghani quoted that Imam as-Sadiq invoked God's blessing for him.[83]

The role of poets such as Kuthayyir 'Azza Sayyid Himyari, Kumayt Ibn Zayd Asadi was of a prime significance in depicting the characteristics of Ahl al-Bayt particularly 'Ali (a). They used the most delicate expressions in this regard. It was said that he never wrote a poem without mentioning this very verse,

أجد بآل فاطمة البكور فدمع العين منهمر غزير

Family of Fatima had a hard time,that is why tears roll down stormily[84]

or in another poem he said,

أقسم بالله وآلائه والمرء عما قال مسئول

أن عليّ بن ابي طالب على التُّقى والبّر مجبول

“I do swear by Allah and hisblessings, individuals shall be asked about what they say, Surely 'Ali is created a pure one.”

He vocalized, من أتاني بفضيلة لعلي بن ابي طالب ما قلت فيها شعراً فله ألف دينار [85] “Whosoever tells me even one of the 'Ali's virtues about which I had not written a poem, I will give him one thousand Dinars.” Demonstrating the role of the Shi'ites poet is a matter of great significance but can not be discussed here.[86]

True belief in Shi'ism, something which prevailed among all the Shi'ite Muslims had emanated from instructions being disseminated by Imams. During the above-mentioned time, Imam al-Baqir and as-Sadiq (a) played the same role. There were a great number of hadith narrators among the followers of Imam al-Baqir (a) with their names mentioned in the Shi'ites scholastic books such as Rijal by Tusi.[87]

Verifying merely those traditions being narrated by the Imams regarding either the Islamic Jurisprudence or Shari'a was one of the basic requirements in accepting the divine leadership of Imams. In other words, Imams made every effort to introduce Ahl al-Bayt as the politico-religious pillar. Here, the issue of full-scale obedience is a central principle which requires all to refer to Ahl al-Bayt on different things, something reiterated in the speeches of the Infallible Imams from 'Ali's time onwards. Previously, we touched upon 'Ali's remarks concerning Ahl al-Bayt and their stances.

During the late 1st and 2nd centuries when Imam al-Baqir and Imam as-Sadiq (a), led the Shi'ite Muslims, various sects appeared each of which claimed the leadership of Muslims. Accepting the political leadership of caliphs, the majority of them struggled to have the religious leadership in their own hands. On the other hand, the Shi'ites Imams, as it was mentioned in “Thaqalayn hadith”, underlined that the sole reliable sources are Qur'an and Ahl al-Bayt.

Imam al-Baqir (a) in his speeches most of the time called on people to take advantage of the knowledge of Ahl al-Bayt and just accept what they say as true traditions. In his speed, Imam Said to Salama Ibn Kuhayl and Hakam Ibn 'Uyayna, شرّقاً او غرّباً فلا تجدان علماً صحيحاً الا شيئاً خرج من عندنا [88] “Traverse both the East and the West of the world, then you will know no science is the accurate one save that of us.”

In another quotation referring to Hasan Basri, one of the renowned scholars of that time, he said, فليذهب الحسن ـ يعني البصري ـ يميناً وشمالاً فوالله ما يوجد العلم الا هيهنا [89] “Hasan Basri can go wherever he wants, but I swear by Allah he can acquire knowledge nowhere but from us.”

In another quotation, Imam said, فليذهب الناس حيث شاء وا، فوالله ليس الأمر الا من هيهنا ـ وأشار إلى بيته [90] “Individuals can go wherever they want, but I swear by Allah they can find it nowhere but here, then he referred to his house.”

Such utterances invite people to refer to Ahl al-Bayt to receive Islamic instructions. The acceptance was

equal to embracing Shi'ism.

Somewhere else, Imam al-Baqir (a) said, [91] **آل محمد ابواب الله والدعاة إلي الجنة والقادة اليها** "Muhammad's descendants are the gates of divine knowledge through which people can attract Allah's satisfaction. They call people to the Heaven and drive them towards it."
Imam also said, [92] **كلّ شي لم يخرج من هذا البيت فهو وبال** "Whatsoever comes out of any house other than this would be harmful."

Our insistence in mentioning these statements be due to their notable effect on the formatain of Shi'ism.

Imam al-Baqir (a) also said, [93] **ايها الناس! أين تذهبون واين يراد بكم؟ بنا هدي الله اوَّلكم وبنا ختم آخركم** "O people! Where are you going? And where have you been gone? From the very beginning, you have been guided by Ahl al-Bayt and at last, all of you will return to them."

When Hisham came to Medina, Imam said, **الحمد لله الذي بعث محمد بالحق نبياً وأكرمنا به، فنحن صفوة الله على خلقه وخيرته على عباده وخلفاءه، فالسعيد من أَتبعنا والشَّقي من عادانا وخالفنا** [94] "Praise be to Allah, He who selected Muhammad as our prophet. We were respected just because of him. Accordingly, we are selected caliphs from among his creatures. Only those who follow us are fortunate not those who consider us as their enemy and disobey us."

Because of such utterances, Imam al-Baqir (a) was summoned to Damascus by Hisham. In Imam as-Sadiq's statements, it has been stressed that all other ways lead to their deviation. Imam (a) said, **ايتها العصابة! عليكم بآثار رسول الله (ص) وسنّته وآثار الائمة الهداة من اهل بيت رسول الله** [95] "O Shi'ite Muslims! It is upon you to take Prophet's Sunna as well as the traditions of Imam from Ahl al-Bayt."

Somewhere else, he told Yunus Ibn Dhubyan, **يا يونس! إن أردت العلم الصحيح فعندنا اهل البيت فانا ورثنا واوتينا شرع الحكمة وفصل الخطاب** " O Yunus! We have the true knowledge inasmuch as we have inherited the paths of wisdom and ways of distinguishing the credal error from the gospel truth from Allah's Prophet."[96]

Imam as-Sadiq (a) said, **ان عندنا مالانحتاج معه إلي الناس، وإنّ الناس ليحتاجون إلينا وإنّ عندنا كتاباً باملاء رسول الله وخطّ علي، صحيفة فيها كل حلال وحرام** [97] "We have something with which we are not in need of anyone while all are in need of us. We have a book which was dictated to 'Ali (a) by Allah's Prophet. This book contains all ordinances of the lawful or unlawful."

This atterance was actually the repetition of what Imam 'Ali (a) had said to the residents of Kufa several times, [98] **أهل الكوفة! سلونا عما قال الله ورسوله، فانا أهل البيت أعلم بما قال الله ورسوله** "O the residents of Kufa! Ask us of what Allah and his prophet has said. Ask us since Ahl al-Bayt are the most informed source of what they have said."

The evidence indicates that there has been a unanimous cultural movement on the part of Ahl al-Bayt and the Shi'ites Imams to introduce Ahl al-Bayt as the center of religion of the Muslims.

One point should be taken into account is that the Shi'ite Muslims confronted some problems ideologically, as said before in discussing about the Exaggerators, due to dissimulation during the life of Imam al-Baqir and as-Sadiq (a) regarding both the corrupt administrations and public uproar. In addition, Imams themselves also faced some political problems not dealt with here.

Regarding Ahl al-Bayt, as the authority was a justification for some linked to them as well as the Hashimites to be claimant and raise some difficulties for them. The 'Alawites internal diisions had paved the ground for such deviations, and on one hand, led to the formation of fragmentation in Shi'ism and deprived Imams of their rights of divine Imamate, on the other hand. Some of these divitions are to be discussed here.

Zayd Ibn ‘Ali’s Uprising and the Zaydids in Shi‘ism

Zaydism is one of the sects of Shi'ism and an internal inclination. The practical and principle laws are similar to those of Sunnis. It is also somehow based on the Mu'tazilites and Hanafites principles. But regarding political factors, it is mostly based on Shi'ism and all nations believe that this sect is actually a branch of Shi'ism.

It is generally believed that this has emanated from Zayd Ibn 'Ali's approach and its basic principles have been effected by his rebellion and all other movements are subordinate to it. Now this is discussed historically.

Zayd, the son of 'Ali Ibn Husayn (a), was born from an Umm Walad (a slave who had been freed) mother. It is supposed that Mukhtar had bestowed him to Iman as-Sajjad.[99]

He is one of the 'Alawites who organized the first uprising of them subsequent to Karbala's event. His action acctually was the beginning of other rebellions of this kind initiated by the Zaydids thereafter throughout the Islamic land. They, most of the time, withstood the Umayyads and 'Abbasids' army while they were few.

According to Dinwari, the date of his rebellion goes back to 118 A.H. which is unreal.[100] On the other hand, Muhammad Ibn Ishaq said it was in the year 120 A.H..[101] While, based on other sources, it was most likely to be in 121 or 122 A.H. and it was surely in Safar.

While Ibn Kathir mentioned that it was in 122 A.H.[102] other people such as Ibn Abi al-Hadid[103], Zubayr Ibn Bakkar415, Mas'udi [104], as well as some others were of the opinion that it was in 121 A.H.[105]

A researcher referring to some evidence tried to say it occurred in 122 A.H..[106] Based on the evidence, in all probability, it happened in Safar, 122 A.H.. It is said that since Safar was the second month of the year and some of the preparatory steps of the rebellion have been taken in the previous year so it happened in 122 A.H..

Based on another evidence, Khalid was deposed in Jumadi al-Awwal, 120 and by referring to the events taking place thereafter during the specific period mentioned by the historians in which Zayd was in Kufa, it is improbable to say that it took place at the beginning of the year 121 A.H..

The first happening of this rebellion is about the time when Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri or, as mentioned in some quotations, Tariq, Khalid's male slave[107] or his son Yazid confessed under torture when Yusuf Ibn 'Umar came to Iraq, individuals such as Zayd Ibn 'Ali, Dawud Ibn 'Ali and some others all owed them.

Yusuf Ibn 'Umar informed Hisham about it. Then, he called upon Yazid and others to go to Damascus. They all said that such confession was not true. Accordingly, Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik sent them to Kufa to solve that problem before Khalid and Yusuf Ibn 'Umar. Zayd and others who were afraid of Yusuf Ibn 'Umar wrote a guarantee of clemency and even took someone to Kufa along with themselves to judge Hisham's treatment towards them.

Later on, it came to be known that Khalid or his son or Tariq had done it since he was under torture and wanted to be released for a while.[108] This happening might have occured either after 120 A.H. or when Khalid was deposed. Again, at that time, Zayd was either in Medina, then was sent to Damascus at Hisham's behest once he was informed about what Khalid had done.[109] Or he himself was in Damascus or in its outskirts, based on some evidence, to solve his problems with the Hasanites concerning 'Ali's charity in there.

What some other quotations reveal is that Zayd had already travelled to Damascus. Based on them, Zayd who was at odd with 'Abd Allah Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan(a) over 'Ali's charity headed for Damascus so that Hisham personally might find the solution to this problem since it could not be settled in Medina but he refrained from visiting him and whenever Zayd wrote a letter to caliph, he wanted him to return to his home. Eventually, at Zayd's insistence, Hisham accepted to call upon him but he said that he could not admit what he has said and, after a shout while, made him to leave Damascus. Setting out for Medina at first, Zayd then shifted his way to Iraq.[110]

Apparently what this narration is to convey is different from why Zayd disapproved the Umayyads. It seems that Zayd went there before the time Khalid said. He was also troublesome to Zayd. Regarding Zayd's meeting with Hisham, the historians hinted at what made Zayd be angry with the Umayyads. Later on, Zayd himself told Jabir Ju'fi that he could not keep silent before Hisham while he was a tyrant and he was against Qur'an.

Zayd said, “I saw myself how a Christian insulted the Holy Prophet in his presence. I said to him, “If I could, I would kill you”.
But Hisham said, “Leave alone our friend.”[111]

In another encounter, Hisham addressed Zayd and told him, “You are told to be entitled for caliphate while you are no one but the son of a slave woman not being competent for this task”.

In response Zayd said, “Isma'il was also the same as me, on the other hand, Ishaq like you was not born from a slave woman but before Allah he was superior to Ishaq and his descendants were the best among people”.[112] Such an encounter implies that Zayd already thought of caliphate. It is said that he set forth his rebellion with his brother Imam al-Baqir (a), but it is known that Imam al-Baqir (a) had departed his life at least six years prior to that.

Somewhere else, Hisham to insult Imam al-Baqir (a) asked Zayd, **ما فعل أخوك البقرة** “ What is your brother, Baqara (the cow) doing?”

In response Zayd said, **سماه رسول الله باقراً وتسميه البقرة لقد اختلفتما اذاً** “ Our holy prophet called him al-Baqir, why are you calling him Baqara? You are at variance with him in this regard.”[113]

Anyhow, Hisham sent Zayd to Iraq to call on Yusuf, but since he was apprehensive of him, he wrote a letter to Khalid saying that to let him not stay there even for an hour owing to the fact that he had a great power to attract the residents thereof to himself.[114]

It is worth saying that once Zayd departed Damascus, Hisham said, “I swear by Allah that he will run wild”.[115] Resolving the problems arousing from Khalid's confession, Zayd remained in Kufa and others who were wrongfully arrested went back to Medina.

Zayd Ibn ‘Ali in Kufa

Kufa, the city center of Iraq, was once also the center of caliphate in which many tribes resided. Among the Islamic cities, it was Kufa that was of great threat to the Umayyads accordingly. It was under tightened security and military measures.

When Zayd left Hisham, he said to him, **يا زيد اخرج حيث شئت ولاتدخل الكوفه** “ O Zayd! go anywhere you want but do not enter Kufa.”[116]

He also had said the same to Yusuf.[117] As said before, Zayd stayed in Kufa for a while after he put an end to his dispute with Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah. Every day Yusuf Ibn 'Umar encouraged him to leave Kufa as soon as possible but each time he refrained from doing so under various pretexts.

Once he said he was about to leave or he wanted to buy something but finally he was forced to leave there.[118] According to Ya'qubi, Zayd who was expelled from Kufa came there once again for he was not under strict control.[119] In a quotation from Ibn A'tham, it is read that the soldiers of Ibn 'Umar accompanied him up to “Mantiqa al-Ghudayb” and went back to Kufa.[120] Following them, Zayd stayed there for four months.[121]

Another quotation indicates that the Shi'ite Muslims were in touch with him. His friends who were irritated by the Kufiyans' unfaithfulness[122] wanted to leave Medina so the rebellion has not been taken seriously. According to Zayd who was, on one hand, pressurized by Yusuf Ibn 'Umar and, on the other hand, not

so deeply concerned about the rebellion set out for Medina.

Feeling that they lost golden opportunities, the Shi'ite Muslims of Kufa chased him and intercepted him in Qadisiyya. They asked him to return to Kufa to overthrow the Umayyads with their collaboration.

They said, “O Zayd, the son of Allah's Prophet, why are you leaving Kufa while you will have hundreds of thousand of swordsmen prepared to fight with the Umayyads?”123

They went on to say, “The number of the soldiers of Damascus in Kufa would not suffice and it was only Hamdan or Midhhaj tribe that could conquer them.”124 Then Zayd accepted to return to Kufa once the Shi'ite Muslims gave an undertaking to support him.125

Zayd entered Kufa secretly in such a way that Yusuf Ibn 'Umar was not informed about it for a long period. Thereafter, he came to know about it since Hisham who was told about his arrival told him about it too.126

Zayd stayed in Kufa for over ten months and spent two months out in Basra.127 During this period, Zayd who hid in different houses128 asked many to join him and he could not be found by the Umayyads for either they were not able to find his hiding place or they were totally unaware of his arrival there. It is said that Yusuf Ibn 'Umar could not believe at first that he had returned to Kufa in spite of all warnings on the part of Hisham about Zayd's riot. He said, “Zayd is a man of wisdom who will never get himself into hot water”.129

Being informed both about Kufiyans' readiness for uprising and the support of Iraqi Ahl Sawad, the farmers of the cultivated lands surrounding Kufa and Iraq, Yusuf Ibn 'Umar commanded to check the way saying that all individuals should be frisked lest any letter of Zayd might be sent somewhere else.130

Nasr Ibn Khuzayma was one of the pre-eminent supporters of Zayd. He lived in his house for a while during which the Shi'ite Muslims from different places came there to visit him.131 Another hiding place of him was the house of a woman from Azd tribe who, later on, married him.132 Other happenings subsequent to his death divulge the fact that he had another wife as well as three children in that city.

Those points over which people had paid allegiance to Zayd, later on, turned to be the basis of the subsequent riots of this kind such as that of the penitents and Mukhtar's.

إنا ندعوكم إلى كتاب الله وسنة نبيّه (ص) وجهاد الظالمين والدفع عن المستضعفين وإعطاء المحرومين وقسم هذا الفيء بين اهله بالسواء وردّ الظالمين وإقفال المجمر ونصرنا اهل البيت علي من نصب لنا وجهل حقنا

“We enjoin you to follow both Qur'an and the Sunna of the Prophet, fight against the oppressor, defend the oppressed, divide booties among its real owners equally, and finally support Ahl al-Bayt against their foes.”133

The same statements were quoted by Ibn A'tham.[134] He also referred to one of the letters found in a way by the soldiers of Yusuf Ibn 'Umar in which he had addressed individuals saying, “You are not aware of what had happened to you. There surely is a sedition in your religion and volatility in your livelihood. Bloodshed and plunder your share from the state treasury. I enjoin you to follow Qur'an and Sunna, defend the oppressed, fight against the oppressed who had usurped the rights of Ahl al-Bayt.”[135]

In his bidding, Zayd underlined points some of which were religious and financial ones. He also accentuated cruelties that Ahl al-Bayt had endured. Since the residents of Kufa were still dubious about what they had undertaken, Zayd paid allegiance to them not so easily.[136]

During this period of his life, Zayd wrote letters to those fascinated to Ahl al-Bayt expressing the cruelties they endured to stimulate them to fight. In one of those letters he wrote, “Do not say we rebelled غضباً لكم “ rather say you ran wild.”[137] غضباً لله ولرسوله To secure allegiance from individuals, Zayd dispatched his agents to other cities.

For instance, he sent Yazid Ibn Abi Ziyad to Raqqa [138], Mada'in as well as Wasit. Some of the residents of those cities joined him and that was why Yusuf Ibn 'Umar had the gates as well as the roads thereof checked strictly.[139] Zayd also sent Ubdat Ibn Kuthayyir and Hasan Ibn Sa'd to Khurasan.[140]

From among scholars and jurisprudents taking part in Zayd's riot either directly or indirectly, one can name Abu Hanifa, one of the eminent jurisprudents and experts in religion in Iraq. Politically speaking, during 'Abbasids and Umayyads's, he opposed them. During the former time, he assisted Nafs Zakiyya and in the latter time, he aided Zayd.

He was from among the Murji'ites and could not stop supporting riots of this kind. Although this sect was somehow against Shi'ism, it basically was a revolutionary movement. It has been proven in many sources that he was from among the Murji'ites.[141] Due to the same participation,in anti-government clashes, he has also been charged with Jahmites.[142]

Murji'ites are said to have been unwilling to equal anybody to Zayd.[143] As previously mentioned, the Jahmites originated from Jahm Ibn Safwan who himself is one of the major companions of Harith Ibn Surayj, a revolutionary figure of Khurasan. Of couse, Abu Hanifa was once forced by Mansur to take care of some business.[144] Muhammad Ibn Ja’far Ibn Muhammad (a) indirectly acknowledged the report about his role in Zayd's uprising.[145]

Zamakhshari is quoted as saying that Abu Hanifa incited people to take part in Zayd's uprising.[146]

Baladhuri has witten, “When Zayd sent for Abu Hanifa, he was shocked and said that who among jurisprudents had accepted his call. He was told, Salama Ibn Kuhayl, Yazid Ibn Abi Ziyad, Hisham Barid, Abu Hashim Rammani and a number of others.” Abu Hanifa said, “I have no authority of rebellion.”; however, he sent some money for Zayd to be spent for strengthening his troops.[147]

Isfahani also quoted in the same way from Abu Hanifa saying that, “I have some money, you can use it for yourself and your companions for buying armour and weapons.” He then gave some money to one of Zayd's slaves to be taken to him.[148]

Mansur Ibn al-Mu'tamir is among the jurisprudents who provoked the people to help Zayd.[149]
It is said about him, **فيه تشيع قليل** He holds in himself a bit of Shi'ism.”[150] “

Some have introduced him among the Khashabids, a title given to Mukhtar's companions.[151]
Interestingly, Zayd was even attached to Zuhri who was a learned man affiliated with the Umayyads and asked him to rebel with Zayd.

Zuhri said that he would not do so as long as Hisham was alive, but adding that once Walid was in power, he would be ready to do so.[152]

Zuhri was one of the closest people to Hisham, still somewhere it is narrated that when Zayd' head was sent to Hisham, Zuhri said, “This family had been engulfed due to their haste.”
Then the narrator says, “I questioned him whether they could come to power or not.”

Zuhri replied, “Yes, I heard 'Ali Ibn Husayn(a) quoting Fatima from the Prophet who said, **المهدي من ولدك**[153] “Mahdi is from my descendants.”

Another one paying allgiance to Zayd was Hilal Ibn Habab, Mada'in's judge.[154] It is uncertain whether Salama Ibn Kuhayl participated in Zayd's riot or not.[155]

A'mash was one of the Iraqi jurisprudents who had Shi'istic inclinations.

'Uthman Ibn 'Umayr said, “Zayd sent me to A'mash to ask him for help.”

In response, he said, “I am cognizant of Zayd's virtues better than you. Give him my best regards and say that I am not sure whether people will help you or not, but I would join you if I had three hundred people accompanying me.”[156]

Apart from those paying allegiance to Zayd in Mada'in, Basra, Wasit, Riy, Musil, Khurasan, Jurjan and Jazira,[157] fifteen thousand others have been mentioned too.

There were many prominent figures among those paying allegiance to Zayd.

Mas'udi said, “Zayd ran riot in Kufa while the noblemen and Qur'an readers allied with him[158] although it is not obvious how many joined him once the war was launched.

There were also some of the Kharijites from among those paying allegiance. Accordingly, it is necessary to explain that Zayd in essence intended to absorb different groups by acting openly. Afterwards, this will be discussed in detail. Evidence of some kind indicates that the Kharijites, too, like other groups wanted to take advantage of Zayd's position and of course how many groups there were is not clear.

Baladhuri says, “When Zayd came to Kufa, the Shi'ite Muslims surrounded him and the Kharijites came up to him as well insofar as the whole people from Mada'in, Basra and … who paid allegiance to him numbered 15000.[159] Ibn 'Inba, originally a Zaydids, quoted the same thing.[160]

Himyari, one of the Zaydids historians, in his book “Al-Di'ama”, quoted Sayyid Abu Talib as saying that different groups of people joined together in paying allegiance to Zayd in spite of their ideological differences in such a way that all, no matter whether they were from among the Zaydids, the Mu'tazilites or the Murji'ites, were equally interested in doing so.[161]

The very same author had touched upon the presence of various sects in that riot. This implies that the residents of Kufa left him while if the Kharijites were there they would surely support him.

أأبا حسين لو شراة عصابة علقتك كان لوردهم اصدار

“O 'Ali! The Kharijites who challenge you are not those who can survive when facing you.”[162]

So it implicitly indicates that the Kharijites did not participate in that rebellion; nevertheless, they emotionally supported it.

Zayd Ibn ‘Ali’s Clash with the Umayyads’ Forces

In an extensive search to locate the hiding place of Zayd, Yusuf paid one of his servants some money to go within the Shi'ite Muslims and introduce himself as one of the Ahl al-Bayt's devotees coming from Khurasan. He had decided to find Zayd's whereabouts in this way.[163] He also at Hisham's command gathered all people together in the mosque and made them one by one to take an oath to disclose Zayd's hiding place if they knew it.[164]

Measures of this kind made Zayd revolt at least one week sooner than the expected time. At a Tuesday evening, once the riot was started at Yusuf's command all those suspected of backing Zayd as well as the nobles and renowned figures of the city were summoned to a mosque then his agents said that they would kill whosoever stayed out of mosque no matter whether they were Arabs or not.

Accordingly, all were forced to go there.[165] Such an action prevented people from joining Zayd.[166] Then at Wednesday night that was very cold, Zayd along with seventeen others left the house of Mu'awiya Ibn Ishaq Ibn Zayd Ibn Haritha and lit a huge fire. The door of the mosque was still locked and the government agents let no one out, they were all crying”, “Allah Akbar (God is Great) and those able to join Zayd did so.[167]

The number of those who joined him that night and the day after is not distinct. Based on some sources, they were 400 [168] or 220 [169] people and based on some others, they were 300.[170] According to 'Awana, they were 250 people.[171] What another quotation reveals is that there were 400 accompanying Zayd but

the number of them reduced to 300 or less.[172] Sa'id Ibn Khaytham who was on the side of Zayd said that they had been 500.[173]

Since Abul-Faraj Isfahani et al had a lengthy discussion regarding events of a two-day clash, it is not necessary to mention them once again, so just those of prime importance are to be touched upon.

"Ya Mansur, Amit, Amit" was a slogan being chosen by Zayd in his riot which was the same slogan in the war of Badr being chosen by the Holy Prophet. It was Zayd himself who said this was the very same slogan being chanted by the Holy Prophet there.[174]

By the very same reason, he selected the same in his riot [175] and it, later on, came to be used in other riots. Observing that the Kufiyans again repeated what they had done to Husayn (a); seizing to support him, Zayd said, [176] **فعلوها حسينيه** "They treated me just in the same way they had treated Husayn (a)"

As referred before, the Kufiyans were hasty; on one hand, they made a decision very soon and, on the other hand, they regretted what they had done even sooner. This time in contrast it was not the matter of treachery since they were all besieged in mosque not being able to join him. Being severely in need of help in that predicament, Zayd could not justify their absence and said, [177] **لا والله ، ما هذا لمن بايعنا بعذر** "This is not a justification for those paying allegiance to us."

From the very beginning steps of their riot, Zayd had repeatedly reminded Nasr Ibn Khuzayma, one of his devotees, of what had happened to Husayn in Karbala by stating, **فعلوها حسينيه** " But Nasr said, "People are surrounded in the mosque and are not able to leave there."

Then, they resolved to launch an attack on the mosque to set the people free.[178] The Umayyads troops on the roof of the mosque did not let them open the door of the mosque by throwing stones on both the people inside and Zayd's forces outside.[179] Striving to reach the door of the mosque, Zayd's forces shouted, [180] **يا أهل المسجد اخرجوا من الذل إلي العز ومن الضلالة إلي الهدي** "O people of mosque! Turn to exaltation guidance from humiliation and deviation."

At that time, it was probable that even individuals being able to help, refrained to doing so. As said before, those who were surrounded in the mosque at least could have an excuse but the rest who had concealed themselves in their housees due to a fear of the government's agents were to blame for such treachery. In Kunasa where Zayd was extremely in need of help other than two or so no one else helped him.[181]

Accepting the majority of the people being surrounded in the mosque, Zayd said, **أين الباقون لا يخرجون إلينا** "Where art survivors to rush to us."[182]

Ibn A'tham referred in his speeche to those staying in their houses while they heard his cry of help.[183]

In contrast to Karbala's event, the main opponents of Zayd in this riot were the forces of Damascus sent to Kufa in such critical situations. Zayd managed to kill most of them in his two-day clash but it did not

suffice him since the Damascus army was composed of 12000 soldiers.[184]

It was such a great army that the soldiers standing in lines could not move easily.[185] Being informed about what Zayd had done, Hisham dispatched 8000 soldiers to Iraq to fight along with Yusuf Ibn 'Umar.[186]

It is said that the women in Kufa asked Zayd to let them go to war. In reply, he said that he was disappointed of the men much less the women.[187] Once someone, who was from Damascus, said abusive words to Fatima (a). Weeping bitter tears, Zayd said, [188] أما أحد يغضب لفاطمة بنت رسول الله "Is there not anyone who may share wrath of Fatima's, daughter of the Messenger (S) !"

Zayd's problems were doubled when Yusuf Ibn 'Umar 1300 of his skilled archers, known as "Al-Qiqaniyya" who were apparently from Sind. They killed the remainders of Zayd's army.[189] Yusuf Ibn 'Umar had paid someone 1000 Dinars to behead Zayd Ibn 'Ali.[190]

Ibn A'tham said, "Zayd fought bravely just the same as his grandfather, Husayn (a) when all of a sudden an arrow pierced his forehead.[191] Then he was sent to the house of someone from Hamdan tribe, one of the Shi'ites tribes in Iraq. Pulling the arrow out of his forehead, he passed away.[192] When Zayd was martyred, he was 42 years old [193] and it was only after his martyrdom when the doors of the mosque were opened to public.[194]

After Zayd's martyrdom, Yusuf Ibn 'Umar searched for his body to send his head for Hisham. Based on some different evidence, Zayd's servant who was from Sind or another servant or Hajjam was brought to him and he was someone who pulled the arrow out of his head, making known Zayd's burial place, to Yusuf.[195] When they found his body, they sent his head for Hisham, then hung him in Kunasa. Nasr Ibn Khuzayma, Mu'awiya Ibn Ishaq Ibn Zayd Ibn Haritha and Ziyad Ibn 'Abd Allah Fihri, Zayd's devotee, were all hanged too.[196]

Being furious at the Kufiyans, Yusuf Ibn 'Umar threatened them when they were in the mosque and hurled abusive words at Ahl al-Bayt. He also ordered all the houses to be searched. After that, they either killed or burnt to death all the captives and the injured.[197]

They also apprehended Zayd's wife, and after making her naked, they whipped her to death.[198] 'Abd Allah Ibn Ya'qub whose daughter had married Yahya Ibn Zayd was also killed.[199] Yusuf Ibn 'Umar also whipped a woman 500 lashes that had told her mother to harbor Zayd's daughter. He also ruined many houses.[200]

He ordered to cut the limbs of another woman who had helped Zayd and her husband was also killed.[201] Yusuf Ibn 'Umar had ordered four hundreds of his soldiers to watch Zayd's dead body and at night 100 soldiers did so.[202]

Upon hearing about Zayd's martyrdom after four years, Walid Ibn Zayd ordered to burn his body then

either to spatter its ashes around or throw to the Euphrates.[203] He had a handmaid and three children of hers in Kufa. They were all given to Fa□l Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman who was one of the sons of 'Abd al-Muttalib.[204]

Although Hisham was angry because of Zayd's riot, he ordered not to cut Kufiyans' grants[205] while regarding the Medinans and Meecans he forbidenned it for one year.[206]

He also ordered his governor in Basra, Qasim Ibn Muhammad Thaqafi to send those who were from among the Hashimites in Iraq back to Medina. He ordered the governor of Medina not to let some specific individuals go out of the city. These individuals who were released on bail were asked to report once a week they were inside the city.

In this regard Fa□l Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman wrote these verses,

كلّما حدثوا بأرض نعيقا ضمنوناً السجون أو سيرونا

اشخصونا إلى المدينة أسرى لا كفاهم ربي الذين يحذرونا

“Whensoever a cry is heard on Earth, we are either in prison or about to move. We were captured and sent to Medina. May Allah not satisfy the demands of those scare us.”[207]

Ibn Abi l-Zanad, someone affiliated with the Umayyads, who was known as “Faqih al-Madina” stated that in comparison to the Umayyads' caliphs no one hated bloodshed like Hisham, but Zayd's uprising caused him heay losses, so he could not keep calm until Zayd was decapitated.[208]

Under no circumstances, as it was said, were people completely at ease but during Hisham's time in which only Zayd's uprising in some parts of Kufa had turned there in a state of chaos until he was killed.[209] Quite obvious, it was untrue since during that period, the Kharijites revolted several times. At the same time, the people of Khurasan who were furious at the Umayyads ran wild under the leadership of Harith Ibn Surayj, so how is it possible to say that it was a peaceful age?

Zayd's action, as it was told by Ya'qubi, made the Shi'ite Muslims in Khurasan openly disagree the Umayyads by stating their hideous cruelties and revile to all what they had done to Ahl al-Bayt. Accordingly, they could attract lots of supporters.[210]

Zaydism, Shi‘ism and Zayd Ibn ‘Ali (a)

Previously, it was said that Zaydism, a deviation in Shi'ism, initiated a gap between the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims and the Zaydids to such an extent that during the last years of Imam as-Sadiq's time, they both accused each other of hideous things.

Accepting not that Zayd was the real founder of Zaydism, one can say that he played a significant role in its formation and this is the most important thing to be discussed. One of the basic principles Zaydism depending on and was expressed in various ways, was that despite the superiority of Ahl al-Bayt over others and only 'Ali (a) and Hasanayn, Imam Hasan and Imam Husayn (a) have been selected by Allah for Imamate, they were of the opinion that whosoever from among Ahl al-Bayt rises up against the cruel, he shall deserve to be Imam.

Such attitude indicates that Zaydism did not consider Imamate the same as the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims an important matter and even they were lenient with Sheikhs that is Abu Bakr and 'Umar. They were of the opinion that it was true that they never let 'Ali (a) become a caliph and this was just a problem.

Such leniency that had its own theological and juridical impacts led to the expansion of ties between the Zaydids and the Sunnites scholars having Shi'ism inclinations. For instance, the Zaydids were completely affected by Mu'tazilites theologically.

They also came to endorse Abu Hanifa's school of thought which was influential in Iraq. Since they were indifferent towards Imamate, they could have a good relationship with the Sunnis. As a result, there remained not more than a handful of juridical decrees intact. It would be a simplistic attitude to assume that the Zaydids followed the Sunnis completely, they instead struggled hard for centuries to maintain their Shi'ites identities.

Whether such attitude regarding Imamate has emanated from Zayd's ideas as well as his conducts or not, discussion goes far in detail. The latest books concerning Zayd's life, the main of which are “Zayd ash-Shahid” from 'Allama Muqarram and “Sirah wa Qiyam Zayd Ibn 'Ali” from Mr. Kariman, all are written in such a way to show that Zayd did believe in the Imamate of 'Ali (a) and his sons.

In the above-mentioned books, there is no trace of criticizm regarding Zayd, instead there are abundant quotations all praising him and reflecting his strong belief in twelve Imams. Although this was true based on some evidence, more attention should be paid if it were supposed to say that it was quite true since some other evidence, on the other hand, contradict the previous ones and this should not be overlooked so simply, rather it is intended to overlook them as a precaution or, **اذكرو موتاكم بالخير** Recollect a good memory of thy dead ones.”[211]

Something written in many sources was an argument between Zayd and the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims during the very beginning steps of his riot about his attitude towards the Sheikhs. The Sunnites sources had tried hard to quote it in line with their religious tendencies, but this should not make us disregard it completely.

When a group of eminent figures from among those paying allegiance to him asked of his opinion towards the Sheikhs, he said, “May Allah bless them, never have I heard Ahl al-Bayt disgust them. Accordingly, I would not do this either”.

“So why do you want to take Ahl al-Bayt's revenge of them who had violated your rights?”, they asked.

Zayd said, “The only thing I can say is that they did violate our right, but this could not make me be an unbeliever. Although they usurped the throne and did not follow either Qur'an or Sunna, they were fair to people”.

They asked, “Why they are not cruel to you like the previous rulers. Why do you intend to wage a war against them?”

In reply he said, “Those rulers were not the same as them. They were cruel not only to me and you but to themselves as well. I enjoin you to adhere to Qur'an and the prophet's Sunna as well as eliminate the heresies. If you accept me, you would be prosperous. If not, you should await the consequence”.

This reply made them not pay allegiance to Zayd. Taking into account the fact that at that time Imam Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-al-Baqir (a) was not alive, the narrator quoted them as saying, “Now Ja’far (a) should take the place of his father and we do not follow Zayd”.

It is said that Zayd called them “Rafi□a” (the Disavowers) but they themselves are of the opinion that it was Mughira Ibn Sa'id who had done this rather than Zayd.212

The same event was quoted by Himyari as well but because of his extremist Zaydids's stance he stated that the Prophet himself had called them the Disavowers. This would be discussed later.

Himyari went on to say that the Disavowers adrressed Zayd saying, “The Umayyads, in restoring your rights, were just the same as the Sheikhs.213 In al-Futuh, also there is the same statement from them adding that the Disavowers thereafter went to Ja’far Ibn Muhammad and told him what had happened to them but he asked them to go back to Zayd.214

Baladhuri stated the same point of what the opponents had said, “Subsequent to Muhammad Ibn 'Ali (a) our Imam is al-Baqir, his son.”

Zayd send someone to Imam al-Baqir (a) to ask him whether he wanted to run a riot or not.

They said, “He might practice dissimulation414 and as a result, they would not join him.”

It is worth stating that it was a false quotation since Imam al-Baqir (a) at that time was not alive. It is probable that in the very same utterance, the word Ja’far had been used instead of Abu Ja’far.

One may not doubt about such an argument, on the other hand, it is quite obvious that the historians attempted to demonstrate Zayd as having non-Shi'ites inclinations to overcome the Disavowers who were from among the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims.

They altered the very same happening to such an extend that another writer went on to say, “The Disavowers shot his forehead, then they hung him and compelled him to cut the hands of his wife. They

did the same to 'Ali, to Hasan, to Husayn and his children.215

Some others quoted Zayd as saying, البراءة من خلفاء الثلاثة البراءة من علي وعكسه ايضاً " Dissociation from three caliphs equals that from 'Ali and vice versa."216

Despite the fact that Zayd did not accept caliph III, anyhow, there are some quotations in other sources that all indicate that Zayd called the opponents the Disavowers.217

Two further points in this regard should be taken into account. At first, it should be known whether Zayd did make that statement only for attracting others and because of dissimulation or it was really his own attitude. The second point is that whether the Shi'ite Muslims were called the Disavowers merely because of the above-mentioned reasons or there might be some other reasons as well.

At first, Zayd's dissimulation should be discussed. Even if we suppose that Zayd did not believe in the Imamate of other Imams after Husayn (a), it seems impossible that Zayd had been praising the first or second caliph in spite of the efforts on the part of the Sunnites narrators, in this respect, made to show Zayd did praise them.

There are many statements that indicate the Shi'ite Muslims disapproved of them. Another point is that, as it was mentioned by Zayd's opponents too, the illegality of those two caliphs was the basis of Shi'ism. They were of the opinion that their caliphate was a pure injustice.

This opinion, later on, became the source of other political mistakes such as the formation of the Umayyads. As mentioned before, by Zayd's opponents, Zayd could not have said so. If he did not really accept their legitimacy, so there might be a specific reason for him to approve them. Just for a while, Zayd who had ran wild in Kufa thought whether it was true or not about mobilizing all to oppose the Umayyads.

In that situation, he attempted not to disperse a large number of people who are able to help him by taking position against 'Umar and 'Uthman. He even expected the Kharijites's support and it was quite obvious that if he had really divulged his stance, he would have dispersed all the opponents of the Umayyads who were not the Shi'ite Muslims. On the other hand, he might have mistaken counting on those forces for coming to power, but he surely could not rise up without their help.

In spite of what had been mentioned above, it can not be said for sure that Zayd did not believe in what he had said but it is probable that the Shi'ite Muslims who left him could not perceive that dissimulation. On the other hand, there are some evidence in this regard one of which is the cautious measures taken by the 'Abbasids who just the same as the 'Alawites were Shi'ite Muslims.

After coming to power, they still had the same position towards the caliphs and it was reflected in the utterances of Saffah from the very beginning of their caliphates.218 Attempting to hold the Banu 'Adi and Banu Taym (the Sheikhs' tribes) in high esteem in spite of what the 'Alawites had desired219, Mansur

sowed the seed of hatred between the 'Alawites and the 'Abbasids.

But once Sayyid Himyari asked him to cut the grants of those tribes, when Mahdi 'Abbasi was heir apparent, he did so. This alone is an indication of heresy among the 'Abbasids let alone Zayd and the 'Alawites.

Another evidence regarding Zayd's dissimulation is an utterance of someone syaing, “Being injured, Zayd siad, **أين سائلي عن ابي بكر وعمر، هما أقاماني هذا المقام** “Thou ask me of Abu Bakr and 'Umar, beware that they let me hold this position.”220

If this statement is true, it will verify Zayd's dissimulation political outcome of which was quite obvious for him. For the very same reason, the Kharijites, the Murji'ites and the Zaydids all participated in his uprising.221

Taking the above mentioned points into account, it can be said that Zayd's dissimulation, later on, turned to be the corner-stone of the Zaydids.

One further point worthy of stating is that Zayd was said to call the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims, the Disavowers since they left him as soon as they became aware of what he had said about the Sheikhs.

It should also be mentioned that Raf□ means “relinquishing the limitations”. It also refers to an army that has left their leader. Each division of this army is then called “Rafi□a”, the Disavowers. It also refers to someone who has set his cattle free to go whereever they want to. “Ibl al-Rafi□a” is also referred to the camels that go to pasture without shepherd.222

This term is referred to the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims who did not accept the first and second caliphs, but were approved by those who had accepted their caliphate.

Ash'ari, in this regard, had said, “The Shi'ite Muslims are called the Disavowers since they rejected the caliphate of both 'Umar and Abu Bakr.”223

Relinquishing themselves from all restrictions, in contrast to them, the literalists, followed different rulers. In history, the distinctive feature of the Disavowers is that they did not accept the caliphate of the Sheikhs and criticized them repeatedly since they had violated the rights of Imams.224

The writer of Tabsara al-’Awam in this regard had stated, “Once the enemy was asked about Raf□ and Rafi□i, he should answer, “It means giving up, throwing and in common usage, the Disavower is someone who believes in the Imamate of 'Ali not Abu Bakr. Since this word means giving up, so they can be called the Disavowers.

They relinquished the credal error and followed what was gospel truth. And if you want “Raf□” as an expression, it implies that they never tilted towards Imamate of Abu Bakr and this is just praise rather than reproach.225

Sayyid Himyari in front of Qa□i Bawar who had rejected his witness and called him a Disavower said, **و نحن على رغمك رافض لاهل الضلالة والمنكر** [226] "In spite of what you want, I am a Disavower, someone who rejects aberation as well as unlawful."

Some points should be taken into account regarding why Zayd called the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims Disavowers.

The first point is that in contrast to what was mentioned before, in al-Maqalat wa al-Firaq from Ash'ari, one of the first scripts about various sects in Shi'ism, this term denotes something else. This is the story, Once Mughira Ibn Sa'id who was from exaggerators said that he opposed Nafs Zakiyya in front of the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims and they excommunicated him. **فزعم أنهم رافضة وأنه هوالذي سماهم بهذا الاسم** " He thought that they were the Disavowers and it was him who called them the Disavowers."[227]

In a quotation from Tabari mentioned previously, the Shi'ite Muslims themselves had accepted this.

The second point is that in an argument between Farazdaq and Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik about Imma Sajjad (a), Farazdaq wrote his popular poem regarding Imam, the caliph asked him, **أورافضي أنت** "Are you a Disavower?"

He replied, [228] **إن كان حب أهل البيت رفضاً فنعم** "If loving Ahl al-Bayt is equal to being a Disavower, so yes, I am a Disavower too."

Thereafter, he was sent to prison. Since this had taken place during the life of Iman as-Sajjad (a) who passed away in 95 A.H., it can he understood that this meaning of Disavower had nothing to do with what was mentioned earlier in Zayd's time. It is probable that this term was used about the Shi'ite Muslims because of its literal usage at first and then to reject the legitimacy of the two caliphs.

The third point is that this term had been used in various manners being quoted by Sha'bi regarding the Shi'ite Muslims. Since he had died years before Zayd's uprising, it can be inferred that at that time, too, the Shi'ite Muslims were called the Disavowers.

There are several quotations in this regard [229] one of which is what Sha'bi had said, **أحبب آل محمد ولا تكن رافضياً** " Adore Ahl al-Bayt, but do not be a Disavower."[230]

The fourth point is that as it was stated by the same scholars, individuals such as Isfahani in Maqatil al-Talibin and Ibn Sa'd in Tabaqat had not this quotation. So it is an indication that shows they, especially Isfahani failed to accept it.

The fifth point is that Fa□l Ibn Shadhan quoted the Sunnites narrators as saying, "Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn 'Ali (a) had said, [231] **مرقت علينا الرافضة كما مرقت الخوراج على علي** Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan had died before Zayd.

It is probable that Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn 'Ali was the brothre of Nafs Zakiyya who had died

after him. Anyhow he, as a Zaydids, had told this. An important point is that Fa□l in his reply had considered the literal meaning of this term, in the least referring not to Zayd.

He also said, “Raf□ 232 هم الذين لا يرون قتال احد الا مع امام عدل عالم بما يأتي ويذر “They art those who deem permissible fighting anyone joining no one but 'Ali who is well informed about all affairs.”

It is anyhow certain that probably from the late 1st century onwards, this term based on its literal meaning was used to refer to the Shi'ite Muslims.

There also is a forged tradition in which the Holy Prophet had said, “At the end of time, there will appear a tribe that is called the Disavowers. They are disbelievers and you have to kill them.”233

This statement was surely an insult. Later on, when the Zaydids cut their relationship with the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims, they used this statement when they spoke ironically about the Shi'ite Muslims. Zayd himself most likely, due to the terrible condition of that time, had used this term. For any reason this term was used and basically its literal meaning had been taken into account.

The above-mentioned tradition was prevalent during Imam as-Sadiq's time as a justification for the rulers to sacrifice the Shi'ite Muslims. Accordingly, this might show that the emergence of this word dates back to the time before Zayd's uprising. It was also said that some of the Shi'ite Muslims asked Imam as-Sadiq why their enemies called them the Disavowers.

In reply, Imam said, “They did not name you so but based on what was in the Torah and Gospel, you are called the Disavowers since seventy people of Pharaoh's servants left him and embraced the religion of Moses and they were called the Disavowers by Allah … just the same as them, you had joined Ahl al-Bayt and obeyed Allah's command too.”234

By referring to the previous quotations, it can be undearstood that Imam had stressed the literal meaning of this word while calling those who had not accepted the ruling of the criminals. 'Ammar Duhni quoted one of the companions of Imam as-Sadiq as saying the same statements before the judge of Kufa that had called him a Disavower.235

Criticizing the aforesaid tradition, Fa□l Ibn Shadhan proved that it was a forged one. Since it is nonesensical to say that someone who believes in both Allah and His Prophet to be called an unbeliever and deserves to be killed.

He went on to say that in our view the Shi'ite Muslims- whom you call the Disavowers - disapprove Abu Bakr and 'Umar about 'Ali's excellences but they never said that both were vice-incarnated. They said 'Ali was superior to them in different ways.236

The Twelve- Imam Shi'ite Muslims and Zayd

The Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims, being of the opinion that Imams have been selected by Allah and their obedience is requisite and had various stances regarding Zayd and his uprising. As the title implies, two points are to be discussed. Namely, the outlook of both Imams and their companions are to be mentioned.

There are many narrations about Zayd which are difficult to be enumerated. Zayd has been approved in some. Some others had a skeptical view about him, but if we look positively at them, it can be seen that the Shi'ites Imams were optimist towards him. Justifying his uprising, the Shi'ite Imams were of the opinion that he could restore the rights of the oppressed if he would have been obeyed.

It could not be understood from these quotations that either Zayd was triumphant in his uprising or he did so at Imam as-Sadiq's behest at all. Knowing that the uprisings of that kind were not likely to be victorious and even they were so at first, it was not clear what would happen at the end the Shi'ites Imams did not approve those uprisings. On the other hand, martyrdom of he who adores it in an attempt to fight with the oppressor is desirable.

Sheykh Saduq in this regard by narrating about Imam Ri□a (a) to praise Zayd had stated, "I will bring more traditions from other Imams about Zayd to make the ideas of the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims regarding Zayd perceptible to all.237 It is worth saying that none of his quotations implies that Zayd rose up at Imam's behest to bring them to power. One of those quotations which brightens Zayd's intention is to be mentioned here.

Imam Ri□a (a) quoted his father and he had quoted Imam as-Sadiq (a) as saying, **رحم الله عمي زيداً ، انه دعا الي الرضا من آل محمد ولو ظفر لوفي بما دعا اليه** 238 "May Allah forgive my uncle, he who called on others to obey "Al-Ri□a Men Al Muhammad". If he had been victorious, he would surely have not broken his promise."

This phrase "Al-Ri□a Men Al Muhammad" implies that he did not ask people to obey him. There are other quotations some of which are about Zayd's martyrdom in Kunasa and about Imam as-Sadiq's sorrow accordingly and some others are on his approval.239

An important point mentioned previously was Zayd's martyrdom or his defeat. Zayd's mother was said to have accused Imam of feeling envious upon hearing the news of Zayd's martyrdom from Imam some time before it.240

Most likely the term (**لوفي به**) implies that Zayd had not been determined first to transfer the power to the Imams, on the other hand, to trust Zayd very much, Imam as-Sadiq (a) was of the opinion that he would surely let Imam Ri□a come to power if only he could be victorious.

Some of Imam al-Baqir's hadiths regarding Zayd's virtues in available sources have been compiled by

Abul-Jarud Mundhir, one of the leaders of the Zaydids. Accordingly, they could not be trusted completely. For example, he had quoted Imam al-Baqir as saying, 241 **أما زيد فلساني الذي انطلق به** "But Zayd is as my tongue by which I speak."242

'Amr Ibn Khalid who was also one of the leaders of the Zaydids said that Imam al-Baqir (a) by pointing to Zayd had said, 243 **هذا سيد اهل بيتي والطالب بأوتارهم** "He is the master of Ahl al-Bayt and someone who will take their revenge."

Since the narrators of such quotations were people from the Zaydids, obviously, they might not be relied.

Kashshi also had quoted Abu Ya'qub Muqri as saying, **وكان من كبار الزيدية** He also had quoted 'Amr Ibn Khalid as saying, **وكان من كبار الزيدية** Thereafter, Imam al-Baqir's utterance previously mentioned was once again reiterated.244

What these narrations are to depict is that Zayd was the most important figure of Ahl al-Bayt. For instance, Imam al-Baqir as said regarded Zayd's superiority to others among Ahl al-Bayt.

Himyari, one of the Zaydids scholars also in his book had quoted Imam as saying, "There is no one among us comparable to Zayd."245 And 246 **هذا سيد بني هاشم، اذا دعاكم فاجيبوه واذا استنصروكم فانصروه** "He is the master of the Hashimites, you are to obey him once he calls on you and help him when he asks for help."

In spite of the fact that these statements are not inconsistent with Imam as-Sadiq's view about Zayd, since Imam did not consider him as an opportunist but a purified man just the same as his honorable forefathers, so he was sorrowful about his martyrdom, they could barely be valid. Ibn A'tham said that upon hearing the news of his martyrdom, Imam had recited this verse of Qur'an,

> من المومنين رجال صدقوا ما عاهدوا الله عليه "

Among the faithful, there are men who abide by their pledge to God"

and equated him with individuals such as 'Ali (a) and Imam Husayn (a) and ended his speech by saying, 247 **ويل لقاتلهم من جبّار الارض والسماء** "Woe unto their murderers from revenge of Almighty God."

Abul-Jarud also in the Sunnites books had said that he was a confederate of Qur'an.248 In the scholastic books, he was said to be not reliable.249 Fu□ayl al-Rassan had a narration on Zayd's virtues. He was also one of the followers of Abul-Jarud250 and Ibn Nadim considered him among the Jarudites.251

There also is another narration in the Sunnites references indicating that some of the Disavowers had asked Imam as-Sadiq (a) about paying allegiance to Zayd. Imam said, **بايعوه والله افضلنا وسيدنا وخيرنا**

It was also said that the Disavowers did not let others know what Imam had said.252 What was said in the narration shows clearly that it was not more than a fabricated one said only to beat the Shi'ite Muslims. It is a question whether the narrator was informed about it while the Disavowers had concealed it.

Similar to this, 'Amr Ibn Qasim had said, “I went to Ja’far Ibn Muhammad and saw a group of the Disavowers.”

Then I said, “They hate your uncle.”
Imam said, “My uncle, Zayd?”
I said, “yes.”

He said, “Their action is disliking Allah.” 253 **والله اقرؤنا لكتاب الله وأفقهنا في دين الله و...** What was said above was much the same as the narration being mentioned previously. Knowing that Zayd was a pious man seeking Allah's satisfaction, Imam as-Sadiq by no means abhored him. Mas'udi, on the other hand, said that Imam al-Baqir (a) had asked his brother, Zayd, not to trust the Kufiyans since they were well known for being treacherous, so how it is possible that Imam had asked the Shi'ite Muslims to pay allegiance to him. Imam also added out there, “Your grandfather, 'Ali (a), your uncle, Hasan Ibn 'Ali, and your father, Husayn, have been martyred and the Kufiyans hurled abusive words at Ahl al-Bayt.”

Then Imam informed him about what he knew regarding the Marwanids as well as the news of the 'Abbasids ruling. But Zayd still insisted on what he wanted to do, Imam said to him, **إني أخاف عليك يا أخ أن تكون غداالمصلوب بكناسة الكوفة، وودعه ابوجعفر** “ I am afraid of finding you hung in Kunasa of Kufa, so Imam said farewell to him.”254

As it was mentioned in the aforesaid statement, Imam did not order him not to go there but advised him. Even if we do not doubt about its validity, we can understand that Imam was not optimistic about it. In quotations about Imam al-Baqir's view regarding Zayd, something which should be taken into account is that Zayd had wanted to rise up before. The number of these narrations on the other hand, may reveal that the narrator had wrongly written the name of Imam as-Sadiq instead of al-Baqir or Ja’far instead of Abu Ja’far.

It was also said, just the same as what Mas'udi had said, “Upon showing the letters that the Kufiyans had sent to Zayd asking him to rise up, Imam said, “Lest they might humiliate you, so do not hasten.”

Zayd who got angry said, “Imam is not someone who stays at home, but he is someone who defends his territory and ....” 255

These narrations that accuse Zayd of bringing people around himself are not compatible with what was repeatedly said by Imam as-Sadiq about, **لوظفر لوفي به** “ In case he wins, he keeps his word” and all other approvals, an example of which is quotation from Husayn Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, who lived in time of Sheikh Tusi, in ”'Uyun al-Mu'jizat” which Afandi stated in his book too.

Imam al-Baqir by referring to Zayd said, **ترون أخي هذا والله يدعي ما ليس له ويدعو الناس الي نفسه فيجتمع عليه خلق فيؤخذ ويقتل ويُصْلب في كناسة الكوفة** "You will see my brother claiming something which does not belong to him. He will call on people to gather around him. Some will do so, but after a while, he would be killed and hung in Kanasa of Kufa."256 "

As a conclusion, what should be noted is that Imams had praised Zayd while they had also informed him about the consequences of his action. So it can be understood that in this regard he was not after them or at least he had not asked them for a permission to rise up. Accordingly, Imams had praised him because he was a prominent figure who wanted to overthrow the Umayyads and called on others to obey, **الرضا من آل محمد ' Abd** al-Rahman Ibn Sayyaba was quoted as saying, "Ja'far Ibn Muhammad gave me 1000 Dinars to give to the families of those being killed in his uprising. Each of them was given 4 Dinars. (it was also said that the family of 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr Rassan was given 4 Dinars).257

Regarding Zayd, Imam Ri□a was quoted as saying, **فإنه كان من علماء آل محمد وغضِبَ لله عز وجل فجاهد أعداءه حتى قتل في سبيله** 258 "He was one of the scholars of Ahl al-Bayt. Getting angry for Allah's sake, he was martyred in his fight against His enemies."

Somewhere else, Imam as-Sadiq was said to be angry upon heating that his companions backbited Zayd.259 He also had considered those reproaching him as being equal to those having hand in his martyrdom.260

The conversation between Zayd and the companions of both Imam al-Baqir and as-Sadiq (a) shows another dimension of the Twelve-Imam Shi'ites view regarding him. In this regard, there are many narrations pursuit of which are documented. Prior to mentioning them, it should be noted that some of the companions of Imam as-Sadiq in Kufa when Zayd rose up gave up supporting him once they talked to him about his uprising. This action unfolds the stance of the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims, if it could not show that of Imams.

An interesting point is that the only one participating in Zayd's uprising from among the companions of Imam al-Baqir was Sulayman Ibn Khalid. Najashi had said about him,

> كان قارئا فقيها وجهاً روي عن أبي عبد الله وأبي جعفر عليهما السلام، خرج مع زيد ولم يخرج معه في اصحاب ابي جعفر عليه السلام غيره، فقطعت يده وكان الذي قطعها يوسف بن عمر بنفسه

"Being a Qur'an reader, jurisprudent and an eminent figure among Imam al-Baqir and as-Sadiq's companions, he narrated what they had been saying. He joined Zayd while there was no one from Imam al-Baqir's companions to do so but him. His hands were cut by Yusuf Ibn 'Umar."261

Sheykh Tusi also had stressed that no one from the companions of Imam al-Baqir (a) had participated in Zayd's uprising but him.262

By referring to Imam al-Baqir's companions, he had meant those prominent figures, not all of them. The emphasis of Najashi and Tusi, the most important scholars of the Shi'ite Muslims, is a strong evidence indicating that Imam al-Baqir's companions were not present in Zayd's uprising. They did not do this since they had no reason for doing so. Otherwise, it should be said that either they were afraid of doing so or they did it independently without consulting Imam. Anyhow, none of these reasons are acceptable.

Another narration regarding absence of Imam al-Baqir's companions in Zayd's uprising is worth mentioning. At that time, Husayn Ibn Ziyad entered Medina and went to Imam as-Sadiq (a) to speak about his beliefs. Imam said that his beliefs were the true ones. He spoke about his anxiety. Imam asked him the reason.He replied, **إن ظفر زيد وأصحابه فليس أحد اسوأ حالاً عندهم منا وإن ظفر بني امية، فنحن عندهم بتلك المنزلة، قال: فقال لي: ليس عليك بأس من أولي ومن أولي** Our condition would be worst of all no matter whether Zayd oercomes the Umayyads or otherwise. 263 "

Imam said, "Do not worry, neither of them can harm you." This conversation reveals the fact that the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims, on one hand, were appeasing the Zaydids and, on the other hand, the Umayyads.

There had been considerable discussion between Zayd and some of the companions of Imam as-Sadiq narrated by Kashshi. Some of the main points are to be discussed. A matter of great importance was that whether there was Imam whose obedience had been necessary or not and if so who was him?

Zurara Ibn A'yun is substantially quoted as saying, "Zayd, being before Imam as-Sadiq (a), said to me, **ما تقول يا فتى في رجل من آل محمد استنصرك** " What do you say to someone from Ahl al-Bayt who asks your help."

Zurara said, **إن كان مفروض الطاعة نصرته وإن كان غير مفروض الطاعة فلي أن لا أفعل** " If he were supposed to be obeyed, I would help him. If not, I can avoid helping him."

"When Zayd went out, Imam was satisfied with my answer since he was not able to say anything else", Zurara said.264

The very last part of this narration indicates that Imam disliked Zayd's uprising. The answer of Zurara also shows his respect toward Zayd not anything else.

The late Kulayni had also quoted a discussion between Mu'min al-Taq and Zayd from some of the companions of Imam, Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Isa, 'Ali Ibn Hakam, Aban Ibn Taghlib and Mu'min al-Taq himself.

He said, "Hiding himself from the public, Zayd asked me whether I could see him. When I went to see him, he said, "O Abu Ja'far it seems that your way is different from ours. Don't you like to join us?"

"If your brother or your father were instead of you, I would do so", I replied.
Zayd said, "I want to rise up and fight with these people. I also want you to join me".

“May I be sacrificed to you! I can not do this,” I said.
“Are you withholding your life from me”, Zayd said.

I said, “I will die only once. If there is another proof for Allah on earth other than you, whosoever joins you instead of him, shall be subjugated and if there is no proof for him, it will make no difference to him whether he joins you or not.”

Zayd said, “O, Abu Ja’far, When my father and I were eating food with each other, my father made it cool for me to eat. While I was treated so kindly, you tell me now that the hellfire will not have mercy on me. How is it possible for my father to tell you about (the proof) while I am not aware of it at all?”

I said to him, “He did not tell you anything about it since he was afraid that you might not approve of it and meet the hell fire. But your father told me that if I accepted him, I would behave him well. May I be sacrificed to you, are you superior to the prophets?”

“The prophets”, he said.
I said, “Jacob told Josef,

قَالَ يَا بُنَيَّ لَا تَقْصُصْ رُؤْيَاكَ عَلَى إِخْوَتِكَ فَيَكِيدُوا لَكَ كَيْدًا إِنَّ الشَّيْطَانَ لِلْإِنسَانِ عَدُوٌّ مُبِينٌ.

“Alas! O son, he said, reveal not your dream to brothers for they fall in envy of you.”
Your father also hid the truth from you since he was afraid of you”.

Zayd said, “Your master, he referred to Imam as-Sadiq (a), had told me that I would be killed in Medina and hung in Kunasa. He has a book in which there is the news of my martyrdom”.

Mu'min al-Taq said, “Thereafter, I went to Medina and informed Imam about what had happened between us, praising me for what I had done, Imam said that I had closed all ways of reasoning to him.265

This narration is evidentially true and quite logical. These points mentioned by Mu'min al-Taq were also taken into account by the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite Muslims. It is not intended, based on this narration, to conclude that Zayd claimed Imam rather it is stated to show that Zayd did not believe that Imam as-Sadiq (a) was to be obeyed obligatorily. The very same story was also said somewhere else. Based on this, Mu'min al-Taq had reiterated his conversation with Zayd to Imam as-Sadiq (a).266

Quoting Zayd, Sawra Ibn Kulayb of Sadiqayn said, “How did you figure out that your master of the thing you say (i.e. his obedience is obligatory from God).
Sawra said, “I told him, you asked a learned person.”
He said, “Tell me.”

And I said, “We came to Muhammad Ibn 'Ali, your brother, and questioned him and he gave us the

answer through, قال رسول الله وقال الله عز وجل في كتابه “ The prophet and God in His Book said”

When he passed away, we came to you of the Muhammad's progeny. Some of our questioned were answered while some others remained unanswered, until we came to Ja’far, your brother's offspring, and he told us the same thing as your father, قال رسول الله وقال الله تعالى
Zayd smiled and said, “Its reason is availability of 'Ali's books to him.”267

The same discussion happened between Abu Bakr Ha□rami, 'Alqama of Imam al–Baqir's companions and Zayd.

They heard Zayd as saying, ليس الامام منا من ارخى ستره انما من شهر سيفه “ Imam among us isn't the one who covers himself, but he is the one who pulls his sword.”

Abu Bakr Ha□rami, a not–tempted person, said to Zayd, “O father of Husayn! Tell me weather 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib was Imam in the time of his isolation or his pulling sword?”

Being reticent, Zayd didn't give any answers.

Abu Bakr went on, “In the case of him to be Imam; therefore, for everyone after him it's permissible to be Imam not having any sword in his hand. If not, 268 فانت ماجاء بك ما هيهنا “What caused thee to come here.”

Fa□l Ibn Shadhan of Imam's companions and Shi'ites scholars exists in the way of the afore said quotation. This narration has additionally been narrated in two different ways. As quoted in other narrations, Zayd confirmed that just three Imams exist and the forth is Qa'im 269, the one who pulls sword. This content, in essence, confirmed the idea about Imamate narrated by Zayd. Apparently there shouldn't be any rooms for doubt three Imams whose obedience is obligatory from God and the forth on condition of being Qa'im were considered by Zayd and this Qa'im can only be of Fatima's dynasty.

Zayd, in Furat Kufi's interpretation, was asked about an Imam who necessarily should be obeyed, and he said, “The Messenger was the prophetic Messenger and nobody can challenge him … and after him 'Ali in legal and illegal considered the Muslim's Imam … and everyone rejecting him is unbeliever … and after him Hasan and Husayn are Muslim's Imams … and then we, the Messenger's descendants, are of Hasan and Husayn.

None of us possessed their dignity to the Messenger and claimed the Prophet's remarks concerning Hasanayn for ourselves but our cordiality, friendship and help, as the Prophet's descendants, is every Muslim's duty …

But among us, the offspring of Hasan and Husayn, no one neither my father nor my brother claimed to be Imam whose obedience is mandatory…, O father of Hashim! Among us, Imam whose obedience is the one revolting with sword invites to Qur'an and practice of the prophet … we, among ourselves, don't know any Imam who necessarily should be obeyed, busy on his own, pinning hopes for his being

truthful, his being locked up and waiting for the tyrants' rules to be executed."[270]

The mentioned interpretations whose content existed in the aforesaid narrations are very clear. Quoting Zayd in other narrations of the same book, it's said that the Immaculates among us are five, the Messenger, 'Ali, Hasan, Husayn and Fatima and the rest like ordinary people do sins. Then Zayd refers to the high status of the household and their role in keeping Qur'an and tradition.[271] Zayd's interpretation concerning Imamate is available in Kafi Kulayni's book.[272] Quoting Zayd, Himyari in al-Hur al-'Ayn mentioned such a remark.[273]

On the contrary to all these narrations, quoting Zayd, Sulayman Ibn Khalid - Imam al-Baqir's only companion who took part in Zayd's uprising - said, **جعفر امامنا في الحلال والحرام** " Ja'far is our Imam in legal and illegal."[274]

Zayd, in this remark, confesses to Imam al-Baqir's scientific Imamate. From this, it isn't inferred that Zayd considered his brother as Imam whose obedience is obligatory. Zayd, in the content of another quotation, confined that Imam 'Ali's books are available to him. Also Zayd in the other narration said, **من اراد الجهاد فالي ومن اراد العلم فجعفر بن محمد** [275] "Whosoever wants to Jihad, he shall come to me and one who is after knowledge, he shall meet Ja'far Ibn Muhammad."

This indicates scientific Imamate and doesn't basically accept Imam as-Sadiq's political Imamate. The transfer of these narrations, especially what happened between Zurara and Zayd or Mu'min al-Taq and Zayd on precautionary dissimulation isn't right and lacks evidence.[276]

However these narrations indicate Zayd's lack of belief in Imam who should be necessarily obeyed, some quotations in Kifayat al-Athar conformed Zayd's belief in Twelve Imam's Imamate and through a brief study, it was cleared up that the majority of these narrations were baseless and the authorities mentioned in their predication were mostly unknown.

Narration of these hadith, four or five, by Wasiti and Fu□ayl al-Rassan who were of Abul-Jarud's companions of Zaydids's directors is the interesting point. In this case, how is it possible for two of Zaydids's directors to narrate hadiths in which their Imam i.e. Zayd believed in Twelve Imams? Abul-Jarud is of founders of Zaydids ideology, the one who doesn't basically accept any Imam whose obedience is obligatory after Imam Husayn (a).

With all these, it should be cleared up that Imams praised Zayd's personality for having good attributes and pure intentions, in these cases, this matter shouldn't be continued anymore. But different aspects of the issue should be considered.

The owner of Ria□ al-'Ulama inferring the point that his uprising happened without Imam al-Baqir's permission according to the narrations that there existed no banned prohibition of the uprising and Zayd was free to choose either self-sacrifice or worldly life.[277] It is obvious that he not only couldn't completely reject the slanderous narrations but also made it clear that his uprising was done without

permission.

The late Majlisi quoting interfering narrations said, “It's better both to have a favorable opinion about Zayd and for him not to be reproached and not to object Imam's descendants like him unless the rule based on the aversion to people like Ja’far Ibn Kadhdhab shall be proved.278 It's clear that such an interpretation was said through precaution not reasoning.

Although it should be accepted that of old, Shi'ites scholars were optimistic about Zayd, the slanderous narrations about him are all written.279 We formerly observed that Sheikh Saduq made Shi'ite Muslims' opinion clear concerning favorable opinion about Zayd, as Ibn Kharraz Qumi, of forth A.H. concerning scholars, expressing the same opinion wrote that Zayd rebelled to enjoin the good and forbid the evil not to oppose Ja’far Ibn Muhammad, his brother's son.

Of course the case was raised in a way that duality was basically denied and the emergence of this problem was merely resulted from Imam as-Sadiq's lack of uprising. Not relying on the discrepancy, we can insist on the lack of allegiance. Ya'qubi, as a Shi'ites historian just had a brief reference to Zayd's uprising. Such a stand was considered due to that of the Shi'ite Muslims in being heedless of Zayd's uprising.280

Based on what mentioned in “Irshad” and “I'lam al-Wara”, the view points of Sheykh Mufid and Tabarsi is that Zayd was very honorable and called to, الرضا من آل محمد “ Satisfaction of Prophet's family.” People erroneously thought that he called people to himself while he was aware of his brother's merit, Imam al-Baqir as well as his will for Imam as-Sadiq.281 According to what was said, accepting such an opinion to this extent is difficult. Having a favorable opinion about Zayd, al-’Amri, the Shi'ites genealogist of the 5th century, considers the Zaydids as liars in their laying claim to Zayd.282

This action, at the same time, includes both defense of Zayd and denial of Zaydids. The late Muhaddith Nuri confirming Zayd rejected the slanderous narrations about him.283 As it has been stated, among the recent thinkers exist some like Husayn Kariman and Ayat Allah Muntaziri who tenaciously support Zayd.284

This issue was briefly brought to an end; however, other quotations whose significance is lesser than aforesaid ones exist, they demand a detailed and investigative study to get a more realistic viewpoint and its fulfillment is impossible in this brief general history.

Yahya Ibn Zayd’s Uprising

Yahya, son of Zayd was among those who participated in his father's uprising. He after father's martyrdom and his burial accompanied by father's Shi'ite Muslims, went to Niynawa and Mada'in. He stayed there with a farmer for some time and then went to Riy and Khurasan.285

Thinking Yahya was in Kufa, Yusuf Ibn 'Umar on top of pulpit reproached people that Yahya hid himself

in the women's bridal chamber.286 He left Riy for Qumis and stayed there with Ziyad Ibn Abi–Ziyad Qushayri for fairly a long time,287 then he went to Niyshabur.

It was there where he was asked to stay but he rejected and said, "'Ali's flag will not be raised over this city."288 Maybe in that time, the situation in Niyshabur wasn't ready for a Shi'ites uprising.

Yahya left Niyshabur for Sarakhs. He stayed there with a person named Yazid Ibn 'Umar Tamimi for six months.289 "Kharijites" went to him in Sarakhs and wanted to swear allegiance to him on the base of the war against the Umayyads. Yahya was pleased with their request but Yazid Ibn 'Umar prohibited him from doing that and said, **كيف تقاتل بقوم يتبرؤن من علي واهل بيته** " How did he want to help those expressed disgust for 'Ali and his household."

Afterwards, rejecting their request, Yahya through good remarks kept them at the distance.290 Staying in Sarakhs for six months, Yahya left there for Balkh and lived there with a person called Harish. He probably stayed there longer than others up to the end of Hisham time and about the time of his death.291

Being in pursuance of Yahya, Yusuf Ibn 'Umar heard of his going to Khurasan so he asked Nasr Ibn Sayyar to find him, with Yahya's entrance to Balkh or fairly a long time after that Khurasan government found out about his settlement there and based on Ibn A'tham's letter gathered all the people in A'zam mosque and investigated their houses one by one. Everyone famous for his affection of the Household was brought and whipped to betray Yahya's place.292

These investigations resulted in Harish's detention. Although he under torture didn't betray Yahya's place, his son did so.293 'Aqil Ibn Ma'qal, the ruler of Balkh, sent someone to bring Yahya who was considered, according to Ibn A'tham's letter, to be in Yunus Ibn Salim's house. Then he was chained and sent to Nasr Ibn Sayyar who inspired him.294 During this time, Khurasan heard about Hisham's death and Walid Ibn Yazid in response to Nasr's letter in which he asked about Yahya wrote to set him free and let him go wherever he wished.295

When Yahya was set free, a group of people of Khurasan went to the blacksmith who made Yahya get rid of the chains and wanted to buy the chains. Some raised the price to twenty thousands dhms. The blacksmith being afraid of news disclosure said to them to put some money together. Then he cut the chain into piece and gave everyone a piece for making rings or for Tabarruk that is a gift considered as bringing good luck.296

Yahya went to Sarakhs, writing a letter to its ruler, Nasr wanted him to send Yahya to Tus. He also wrote to the ruler of Tus to send Yahya to Abarshahr and leave him to 'Amr Ibn Zurara and Yahya was brought to Biyhaq.297 In there, Yahya asserted that he was afraid of going to Iraq for Yusuf Ibn 'Umar was still in power and will probably kill him.298 It was there where Yahya and his companions clashed with 'Amr Ibn Zurara. Although it's said that the number of Yahya's companions touched one hundred, that of 'Amr reached ten thousands or even more, the winner was Yahya.299

الم تر اهل نيشابور لما لقو الابطال لم يغنوا قليلا

لقوا مئة وهم عشرون ألفاً فما صبروا ولامنعوا قليلا

“Didn't you see the people of Niyshabur who confronted the champions when they were a few but when their number and that of Niyshabur was a hundred and twenty thousands respectively, they lacked resistance and were defeated.”300

Some more details concerning the time before and about the battle were written in some narrations.301 Leaving there, Yahya went to Juzjan and there, he was joined by a group of regional people as well as inhabitants of Taliqan and Fariyab. Number of these people, according to the narrations, differed from one hundred and twenty,302 one hundred and fifty303 or five hundred.304 And there arrived Nasr Ibn Sayyar's army led by Muslim Ibn Ahwaz.

Yahya after three days of battle was hit on the forehead with an arrow. He martyred305 and so did all his companions.306 This probably happened at the beginning of the year 126 A.H. in a place called “Arghuna or Arghuni”.307

Although being beheaded and buried, he was exhumed and hung up the vault of one of the Juzjan's corridors due to Nasr Ibn Sayyar's order. Being hung to the Abu Muslim's time, his corpse was brought down, prayed on and buried.308 Yahya's uprising caused Walid Ibn Yazid to write to the ruler of Iraq. He wanted him to bring Zayd's corpse down, set it on fire and expose his ashes to the wind.

Yahya's uprising, at any rate, made Khurasan more and more ready for a public uprising against the Umayyads. Every child born in that year, according to what Mas'udi said was named Yahya or Zayd.309

As some mentioned, Yahya was the first for whom people clad in black and eulogized.310

After the victory, anyone of the Yahya's combatants whose names were mentioned in the registry book was found and killed by Abu Muslim.311 The emotion flared up by martyrdom of Zayd and his son, Yahya, along with the public emotions to the benefit of the Household were considered the main reasons for 'Abd Allah's victory who at the price of the Household benefited from these emotions.312

Abd Allah Ibn Mu‘awiya’s Uprising

'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja’far's movement from 127 to 131 can be considered as a Shi'ites movement due to the presence of some Hashimites and the 'Alawites. No one but his father named Mu'awiya at whose insistence, this infant was named Mu'awiya as well.313

Searching for poetry and literature, 'Abd Allah, Mu'awiya's offspring, before his military and political

movement had companionship with people whose concern was poetry and literature as well. In the last years of the Umayyads rule, when there existed a battle between Marwan Ibn Muhammad who claimed caliphate and Ibrahim Ibn Walid Ibn Yazid, the Umayyads were strongly wanted especially the disputes created by tribal battles between northern and southern Arabs in Kufa made 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz some difficulties.

In a narration, Tabari mentioned, observing the incapability of Iraq's ruler, Shi'ite Muslims called 'Abd Allah to swear allegiance whose responsibility was taken by a person called Hilal Ibn Abi l–Ward. 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar's presence in Hira gave 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya the opportunity to occupy Kufa and even made of Damascus in there swear allegiance to him. Some from Mada'in and Fam al–Nil swore allegiance to him.

Having an inventive hostility with the Umayyads and considering their successors of the Hashimites, people of Kufa paid allegiance to him at once. Rabi'a tribe having a Shi'ites precedence backed 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya up. In the battle between 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz, companions of 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya didn't seriously resist and left him alone with the head of Rabi'a tribe, 'Umar Ibn Ghaban.

After that Rabi'a sought quarter for himself, 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya as well as his companions and sent him to Medina from Kufa.[314] He, in Medina, reinforced and went to Jibal while accompanied by people of Kufa and its representative[315] and for fairly a long time, ruled over around Isfahan, Qumis, Hulwan, Istakhr and Riy.[316]

The battle against him was postponed due to the Umayyads' difficulties in their combats against Kharijites and other rebels. Having started his rebel in 127, now he in 128 weakly ruled over Isfahan and Istakhr. His brothers were sent to Fars, Jibal as well as Abu Ja'far Mansur ruled over Ahwaz (Idhaj) for some time then facing some difficulties, he could do nothing.[317]

After some time, at least in 129, he combated in Istakhr 'Amir Ibn Dhabbara who was dispatched to him by the Umayyads in Iraq. Being defeated in the aforesaid battle, 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya went to Harat and there he was arrested by Abu Muslim's agent and sent to him. Abu Muslim of 'Abbasids' agents felt at risk on his side, so imprisoned him and ordered to treat hard on him.

Baladhuri stated that while in prison, 'Abd Allah called people of Khurasan fools for their obedience to Abu Muslim.[318] Hearing of this news, Abu Muslim put more pressure on him. The 'Alawites and the Talibites would be suppressed by Abu Muslim, for he was of the 'Abbasids' agents.

According to a fully explained letter, written by 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya, he was put in chains.[319] Baladhuri through a narration stated that he, being in Abu Muslim's prison, passed away but in another quotation by Hisham Kalbi, it is mentioned that he was murdered by Abu Muslim.[320]

An abstraction of all reports about him from different sources is prepared by Abul–Faraj in just a few

pages. Some contradictions exist among them.

According to one quotation, he called people to, الرضا من آل محمد " Satisfaction of the Household" but in another one he invited them to his own allegiance.

Also in news, it's mentioned that he dressed like "Sufis" and the majority of people of Kufa swore allegiance to him some others did not so and said, "No one is left for us and most of us were killed with the people of this house!"

He also mentioned in details that although 'Abd Allah sent his brothers named Hasan, Yazid, 'Ali and Salih to Istakhr, Shiraz, Kirman and Qum, he went to Khurasan due to being unable to resist against the Umayyads.

On his way, he was seen and asked, "Are you of the Messenger (S) 's progeny? Are you Ibrahim, the Imam?" But these questions were given a negative answer.
The questioner asked, "So I'm free from your help."

Abul-Faraj also stated, "Being greedy for Abu Muslim's help, 'Abd Allah went to him and was imprisoned. There, 'Abd Allah wrote his famous treatise to him but Abu Muslim being afraid of corruptions of the people's opinion murdered him."321

His murder is narrated by others as well.322 This happened in 131 A.H.323 Abul-Faraj in "Maqatil al-Talibin" mentioned the brief of this news.324 For 'Abd Allah was killed by the 'Abbasids' agent, there existed some forged news against him. An example of it was raised by 'Amir Ibn Dhabbara who accused 'Abd Allah and his companions of assaulting against women.325

Here two points are of great significance his personality before the uprising and his stand after that. The news about him is reported by Abul-Faraj Isfahani Daraghani. In the portrait given by him, 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya was considered as a poet and a learned person with all the needed possibilities of that time. In addition, he was accompanied by some poets and some accused of dualism – although its purpose isn't clear but can't be mere irreligiousity – and Isfahani named three dualists.326

In other narrations, he was explicitly accused of dualism.327 Its correctness isn't exactly specified; however, on the whole it can't be judged. Undeniably in the tumult of Kufa, he was accepted by people of there as a meritorious person for the battle against the Umayyads. In the case of his accusation of dualism, how such a thing is conceivable?

The writer of al-Mujdi, the fifth A.H. century Shi'a genealogist praised him as, كان سيدا كريما was a generous master and sad that his father made him as his successor for328 لما يعرف فيه من كرم الاخلاق He found in him nobility of characters and his call to the satisfaction of the Household is doubted.329

At first, this motto basically indicates this faith that caliphate belongs to Muhammad's progeny especially who is "Al-Ri□a". Secondly, it, for fairly a long time, was utilized by the 'Abbasids' summoners to evade

and gradually recognize its applicability in the 'Abbasids. Thirdly, it was regularly used by Zaydids.

In fact, popularity belonged to one who called to the satisfaction of the Household not to himself. It isn't cleared up whether such an issue was posed in the time of 'Abd Allah's uprising or later on. In a narration by Tabari, what is worthy of attention is Zaydids's presence about 'Abd Allah's uprising.

In one quotation, he stated, **وحمل اهل القلب من اهل الشام علي الزيديه** Zaydids were attacked by the middle faction of enemy troops from Damascus.330

Sometimes else referring to the clash between Zaydiyya and people of Damascus, he said, “Rabi'a sought quarter for himself, 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya and Zaydids.”331

This aspect of the issue has not been indicated in other sources. It demands reminding that to Zaydids, Imam should be from the 'Alawites; however, 'Abd Allah was a Talibites and naturally these beliefs were constantly formed later on. Perhaps Zaydids for defeating the Umayyads in that time helped him not for their belief in him.

And every 'Alawites uprising, to historians, was probably considered as Zaydi in one way or another. In a narration, Tabari indicates that 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya was surrounded by Kharijites.332 And this can be considered as a good device to defame others.

'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya has got a portrait in Firaq books. A party called Jinahiyya and led by 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya was considered of Shi'ites extremists.333 In the above-mentioned portrait, naturally there is no relation between 'Abd Allah's issue and that of Zaydids.

Sa'd Ibn 'Abd Allah Ash'ari mentioned a party linked to him of the Kissanids who believed in Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya's Imamate and considered his son, Abu Hashim, as his successor. In continuation, they believed that he left will for 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya.334 Shahristani mentioned a party named Harithiyya who believed that 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya as Ishaq Ibn Zayd incarnated.335

We learned that Mada'in – where Ibn Ishaq was from – possessed a lot of Shi'ites extremists. It is likely to say that all these problems, after the murder of 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya, were probably raised by others while he didn't have anything to do with them. The same issue is true about Shi'ites Imams (a) whose spirits were claimed to incarnate in some people.

Anyway, this point is to be reminded that the Umayyads, the 'Abbasids and the majority of historians couldn't be pleased by a person like 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya for having rebelled against them as well as being of 'Alawites' swords holders. Therefore, he is at all sides surrounded. Naturally, he doesn't have anything to do with what happened after him and of course, such judgment doesn't mean the confirmation of all his behaviors and companionship with various people.

Most of the Hashimites attended the 'Abd Allah's movement and Abu Ja’far Mansur is a typical of that. We know that in that time, 'Abbasids worked independently and why presence of Abu Ja’far alongside

'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya is of great importance.

Maybe the reason is that victory attainment wasn't seriously taken into account by the 'Abbasids. In that time, the concern of their efforts was to come to terms with 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya and 'Abd Allah Ibn Hasan known as Nafs Zakiyya at times to get their share in the future.

The Shi‘ite Muslims and the ‘Alawites’ Last Position in the Umayyads’s time

A great deal of evidence is available showing that to Iraq only 'Alawites were considered as Umayyads's successors and when 'Abbasids through the force of Abu Muslim Khurasani and Abu Salama Khallal ruled, in that time the imagination of 'Abbasids' coming to power was raised. The whole situational climate was naturally to the benefit of 'Alawites and their political status was thoroughly clear.

The ambiguous but meaningful interpretation of الرضا من آل محمد Satisfaction to the Household were applicable to 'Alawites. The imagination of those familiar with this term was the same but the disagreements among 'Alawites were problematic. This disagreement was mostly like that of Hasanids and Husaynids.

On one side, Husaynids whose outstanding figures were Imam al-Baqir and Imam as-Sadiq distinguished among Shi'ite Muslims and other religious scholars due to the scientific and ethical position in Iraq community. Husaynids, having a great deal of Shi'ite Muslims believed in their Imamate and considered them as persons whose obedience is necessary.

On the other side, Hasanids among whom 'Abd Allah Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan make effort to introduce his son, Muhammad, as the only 'Alawites candidate for the Umayyads's rule and succession had their own heritage of 'Alawites.

It cannot exactly be cleared up whose influence was more than the other but 'Abd Allah Ibn Hasan possessing a better status among 'Alawites and Hashimites could to some extent strengthen his son's position336; however, in Iraq a letter based on the acceptance of government was written to Imam as-Sadiq by Abu Salama, the 'Abbasids' great summoner and regardless of its being serious or not, it indicates Imam's political status.

Imam as-Sadiq's Shi'ite Muslims and the kind of their beliefs were discussed in advance and now here is a brief look at efforts made by Nafs Zakiyya his father for attainment of leadership.

Baladhuri, through a narration, indicated that one day, Hasan Muthanna, son of Imam Mujtaba, who were superior to his brothers went to 'Abd al-Malik who asked him about the reason for a premature aging.

Yahya Ibn Hakam being present there said, “Iraqis wished who every year invite him for caliphate has

done such a thing to him".337

Such a remark indicates that 'Alawites were gladly received by Iraqis; however, it lacked a clear direction. Even 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far's descendants had the same background. Some issues concerning 'Abd Allah Ibn Mu'awiya Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far were set forth in advance.

Even before that, when Hajjaj decided to marry 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'far's daughter, 'Abd Allah Ibn Marwan who was warned due the fact that this marriage along with the situation in Iraq to the benefit of this family may lead to the Umayyads' overthrow interfered in it and Hajjaj divorced her.338

In any case, 'Abd Allah doing a great deal of measures for his son, Muhammad known as Nafs Zakiyya and calling him "Mahdi", made him an important status among the Umayyads and others. As indicated in some historical news, some meetings were held in this regard and the Hashimites were called to swear some the 'Abbasids among them Mansur and Saffah swore allegiance to him.

Through a narration by Abul-Faraj, it is obvious that Hashimites going together in Abwa' made up their minds to select and pay allegiance to someone among themselves. 'Abd Allah stating that his son, Muhammad, is Mahdi wanted them to swear allegiance to him. Mansur being present there confirmed his allegiance to him. 'Abd Allah Ibn Hasan stated not to let Ja'far Ibn Muhammad (S) know since he will spoil everything.

Hearing of this, Imam denied Mahdawism of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah and said, "I'm willing to give him a hand if his uprising is to enjoin good and forbid evil", but 'Abd Allah Ibn Hasan accused him of jealousy.339

According to Baladhuri, after allegiance, Nafs Zakiyya went to Badiya and stayed there for some time and attended in public at times up to the time of allegiance to Abul-'Abbas Saffah. When Nafs Zakiyya was in Ghatfan region alongside Al Artat Ibn Shabiha, he was sent to Badiya and called Mahdi.340

When the 'Abbasids came to power, he hid himself until his revolution in 145 in Medina and he was killed. Mansur having paid allegiance to him was terribly afraid of him and just after his murder and his brother, Ibrahim Ibn 'Abd Allah found comfort.

What is worthy of attention here is that the Abassids were independently doing some activities and Ibrahim, the Imam, sent some representatives to different regions. They took advantage of 'Ali's and his descendants' names to draw people's attention341 and ruled one after the other.

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1. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. v, p. 393-394
2. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 487
3. al-Aghani, vol. 22, from p. 15 on
4. Shajarat al-dhahab, vol. 1, p. 221
5. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. I, p. 441

6. al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. 3, p. 221
7. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. 6, p. 306
8. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 2, p. 181
9. al-Mawu'at, vol. 2, p. 15, vol. 1, p. 304
10. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, pp 484- 485
11. 'Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. 1, p. 212
12. al-Futuh, vol. 8, pp 82-83
13. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 84
14. Ibid vol. 8, p. 95
15. Ibid vol. 8, p. 124
16. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 588
17. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. 2, p. 410
18. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. 11, p. 44; al-Imam as-Sadiq, Abu Zuhra, pp 111-112
19. Somewhere else, cruelties imposed on Ahl Bayt as well as the Shi'ite Muslims have been mentioned See, Tarikh Tashayyu' dar Iran, pp 38-44
20. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. 2, p. 245
21. See, Maqtal 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib (a) (Turathuna Magazine, No 12), p. 121
22. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 2, pp 166,181
23. Ibid vol. 2, p. 142; Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXXVIII, p. 112 (In footnote of "Ansab" for the meaning of "Dabbat al-Ar", See, Lisan al-'Arab, vol. 1, p. 370, There this term was said to be a sign of the arrival of the Day of Judgement.
24. Hilyat al-Awliya', vol. III, p. 136
25. Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. 102
26. 'Ilal Ash-Sharayi', pp 225-227; Bihar al-Anwar, v XXXXIV, pp 269-271
27. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. 4, p. 566, 567; I'lam al-Nisa', vol. V, p. 252
28. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, pp 566,567; al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. 157; he has mentioned his ideas as to analogy
29. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. 321
30. Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. 223 on
31. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. 151
32. In some books it is mentioned "Banan" while in some others such as Tabari, it is "Bayan" which the latter one is apparently true
33. al-Maqalat wal-Firaq, p. 33
34. Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. 302
35. Ibid p. 305
36. Once he said, one of the Kharijites had blamed the Shi'ite Muslims for thinking that they were needless of taking righteous actions and that they were spared from pain because of their evil deeds, See, al-Aghani, vol. XX, p. 107, quoted from al-'Aqidat wal-shari'a fil-Islam, p. 203
37. See, Ukdhubat Tahrif al-Qur'an Bayn Ash-Shi'a wal-Sunna, p. 66
38. Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, hadith,525; Mustadrak al-Wasa'il, vol. 12, p. 315
39. al-Ghayba, p. 177; Mustadrak al-Wasa'il, vol. 12, p. 315
40. al-Amali, Sheikh Tusi, vol. 2, p. 246
41. Mustadrak al-Wasa'il, vol. 12, p. 315; Misbah Ash-Shari'a, p. 389
42. Turathuna Magazine No 12, pp 17-18, article, "Ahl Bayt fi ra'y sahib al-Milal wal-Nihal" quoted from Masabih al-Asrar
43. Masabih al-Asrar, Ibid p. 26, Turathuna Magazine, No 12, p. 18
44. Tarikh Jurjan, pp 322, 323
45. Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. 300
46. Ibid p. 301
47. Ibid p. 300
48. Ibid p. 302

49. Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal p. 219
50. Ibid p. 297
51. Ibid., p. 297.
52. al-Kafi, vol. 4, p. 464
53. Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, p. 530
54. Ibid p. 295
55. Ibid p. 136
56. Ibid p. 224
57. Ibid p. 225
58. Sheykh Mufid, al-Amali, p. 27
59. al-’Aqidat wal-shari‘a fil-Islam, p. 207
60. This was scrutinized under the title of “Political Shi‘ism” in Tarikh Tashayyu‘
61. Regarding his religion, we have an article in the book entitled “Jughrafiyay Insani shi‘a”
62. Shajarat al-Dhahab, vol. 1, p. 221
63. This title “The successor of the successors (Wasi al-awsiya’) was referred to Imams by ideological Shi‘ism when Jabir Ibn Yazid Ju‘fi quoted from Imam al-Baqir (a) he said, حدثني وصي الاوصياء O, the successor of the successors tell traditions for us This was what dispersed the Sunnites narrators of hadith from him As Sufyan al-Thawri said he had disparaged them by his work See, al-Ma‘rifat wal-Tarikh, vol. 2, p. 716; Mizan al-i‘tidal, vol. 1, p. 383; Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vol. 2, p. 49
64. Rijal al-Najashi, p. 12, under the biography of Aban Ibn Taghlib
65. Regarding Imam’s behavior towards Zurara Ibn A‘yan, one of the Sunnites, see, al-Ma‘rifat wal-Tarikh, vol. 2, p. 672; Mizan al-i‘tidal, vol. 2, p. 69
66. See, Wasa’il Ash-Shi‘a, vol. 1, pp 7,10,11,12,17,18
67. Wasa’il Ash-Shi‘a, vol. 6, p. 374
68. See, al-Hukumat al-Islamiyya fi Ahadith Ash-Shi‘at al-Imamiyya, pp 84-88
69. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 238; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 489
70. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. 292; al-Aghani, vol. IX, p. 3
71. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 202; al-Aghani, vol. IX, p. 14; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 78; Sayyid Himyari has composed similar piece of poem; al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. 245
72. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 289
73. al-’Iqd al-Farid, vol. II, p. 246; Ash-Shi‘r wal-Shu‘ara’’, p. 316; Tarikh al-Adab al-’Arabi, al-’Asr al-Islami, p. 323; This poem is quoted from Sayyid Himyari in Aghani, vol. VII, p. 276,277
74. al-Aghani, vol. 12, p. 174
75. Ibid vol. 9, p. 37
76. Ibid vol. 9, p. 14; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 202; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 79
77. al-Aghani, vol. 7, p. 213; see, Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. 3, p. 79
78. al-Aghani, vol.7, p.213; see, Muruj adh-Dhahab, vol.3, p.79
79. Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, p. 288
80. Ibid p. 245
81. al-Aghani, vol. 7, pp 273-274
82. Ibid vol. VII, pp 243-244
83. Ibid vol. 7, pp 242,277
84. Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat ar-Rijal, p.288
85. Ibid p. 257
86. Our knowledgable friend, Mr as-Sadiq A’iniwand talks in detail about biography of the Shi‘ites poets and the men of letters and the role in preserving values revol.utionary Shi‘ism, in his book titled Adabiyat Inqilab dar shi‘a (Literature of Revol.ution in Shi‘ism
87. Rijal al-Tusi, p. 102-142
88. Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, pp 209-210; al-Kafi, vol. 1, p. 399; Basa’ir al-Darajat, p. 9

89. al-Kafi, vol. I, p. 51; Wasa'il Ash-Shi'a, vol. 18, p. 42
90. al-Kafi, vol. 1, p. 399; Basa'ir al-Darajat, p. 12
91. Tafsir al-Ayyashi, vol. 1, p. 86; Wasa'il Ash-Shi'a, vol. 18, p. 9
92. al-Mizan, vol. 3, p. 176 from Kafi
93. al-Kafi, vol. 1, p. 478
94. Dala'il al-Imamah, p. 104; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 46, p. 306
95. Wasa'il Ash-Shi'a, vol. 18, pp 23,61; Raw□at al-Kafi, p. 5
96. Wasa'il Ash-Shi'a, vol. 18, p. 48
97. al-Kafi, vol. 1, p. 241
98. al-Ma'rifat wal-Tarikh, vol. 2, p. 759
99. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 86
100. Akhbar al-Tiwal p. 328
101. 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 258
102. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. 9, p. 328
103. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. 7, p. 165
104. al-Tanbih wal-Ishraf, p. 279
105. 'Umdat al-Talib (quoted by Waqidi) p. 121; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. 2, p. 326; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 482; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. 3, p. 206, (he has mentioned narration 122)
106. See, Sirih wa qiyam Zayd Ibn 'Ali, p. 24
107. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 231
108. See, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, pp 482,483,487; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp 90-91; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 231; al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 110; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. 2, p. 325
109. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 472
110. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. 3, p. 286-287; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 486; Riya□ al-'Ulama', vol. 2, pp 319-323
111. Taysir al-Matalib, p. 109
112. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 286; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. v, p. 225, vol. 7, p. 139, vol. 4, p. 117; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. 3, p. 287; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. 3, p. 206; 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 255; al-Hur al-'Ayn, p. 189; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. 2, p. 325
113. 'Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. 1, p. 212; Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. 7, p. 132 vol. 3, p. 286; 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 194
114. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. 2, p. 325
115. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. XV, p. 275
116. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 236
117. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 488
118. Ibid vol. v, p. 487; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 91
119. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. 2, p. 326
120. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 111
121. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 488.
122. Ibid vol. v, pp 488,489; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 2, p. 233
123. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 11; al-Fakhri, p. 132; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 91
124. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 287
125. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 91
126. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 504
127. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 92; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 273; 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 256
128. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 237; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 492
129. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3 , p.231.
130. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 114

131. Ibid vol. 8, p. 112
132. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 492; al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 113
133. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 292; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, pp 237,238; Baladhuri instead of saying "Iqfal al-Mujammar" had said "If□al al-Muhammara" Mahmudi, a researcher, in a footnote wrote, "If this word is right, it signifies the restortion of the Non-Arabs' rights, since "Muhmara refers to Hamra'" whose rights had been violated See, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 238
134. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 113
135. Ibid vol. 8, p. 116
136. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 238
137. Ibid vol. II, p. 238
138. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 99
139. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 240
140. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 100
141. Jami' Bayan al-'Ilm, vol. 2, p. 182; Tarikh Jurjan, p. 111; al-Majruhin, vol. 3, p. 63; al-Ma'arif, p. 268 There is a detailed discussion in this regard in the book entitled "Murji'a, Tarikh wa Andishih"
142. Tarikh Baghdad, vol. II, p. 179; Tarikh Jurjan, p. 225
143. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 87
144. Nur al-Qabas, p. 308
145. Nur al-Qabas, p.308.
146. al-Kashshaf, p. 232
147. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 239
148. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp 99-100
149. loc cit
150. Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. I, p. 143
151. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VI, p. 337
152. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3 , p.239.
153. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp 97-98
154. Ibid p. 99
155. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 239
156. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 100; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 239
157. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 491; al-Fakhri, pp 132-133; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin p. 92
158. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 207
159. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 237
160. 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 256
161. al-Hur al-'Ayn, pp 185,186
162. Ibid p. 187
163. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 244; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 505
164. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 232
165. Ibid vol. 2, p. 243; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 92; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 499
166. Maqatil at-Tabiyyin, p.100.
167. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 117; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 243; see, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 499
168. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 243
169. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 118; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 500; they are numbered 218 in this source, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 2, p. 244
170. 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 257
171. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 249
172. loc cit
173. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 95

174. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. 14, p. 133

175. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 92; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 246; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 499; Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. 2, p. 106

176. Tarikh Mukhtasar al-duwal, p. 161

177. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 93

178. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 94; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 247; al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 119; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, pp 500 -501

179. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 120; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 94

180. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 247

181. Ibid vol. 2, p. 246

182. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 119

183. Ibid vol. 8, p. 119

184. Maqatil at-Tabiyyin, p.95.

185. Umdat at-Talib, p. 257.

186. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 248

187. Ibid vol. 2, p. 247

188. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 96

189. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 246; Isfahani in his book "Maqatil" called them "Najjariyya"

190. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 248

191. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 121

192. Ibid Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 250

193. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 88

194. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 251

195. 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 257; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 207; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 503; al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. 122; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 97; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, pp 250-252

196. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 122

197. Ibid vol. 8, p. 123; see, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 504

198. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 123; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 255

199. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 255

200. Ibid vol. II, p. 255

201. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3 , p.255.

202. Ibid vol. II, p. 256

203. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 207; 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 258; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 257; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 538

204. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 258

205. al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. 124; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 259

206. al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. 22

207. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. VII, p. 165

208. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. v, p. 326

209. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. 125

210. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. 2 p. 326

211. According to Ash'ari, وجميع فرق الزيدية مذاهبهم في الاحكام ووالفرائض والمواريث مذاهب العامة "Religions of all Zaydyids sects in rules are obligations and inherited religion of all people" al-Maqalat wal-Firaq, p. 19

212. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 498

213. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. v, p. 498; al-Hur al-'Ayn p. 185

214. al-Futuh, vol. 8, pp 116-117

215. 'Abd al-Jalil Razi Qazwini (al-Naq, p. 375) this quotation is from "Ba' Fa'ih al-rawafi" The very same statements being uttered out of prejudice is also in "Minhaj As-Sunna", vol. II, p. 126

216. Tarikh Baghdad, vol. 2, p. 89
217. ‘Umdat al-Talib, p. 257; Nasab Quraysh, p. 61; Tarikh Mukhtasar al-duwal, p. 116; al-Muhabbar, p. 483; Lisan al-’Arab, vol. 7, p. 158; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 246
218. Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. 7, pp 161,162
219. al-’Uyun wal-Hada’iq, p. 197
220. Tabsirat al-’Awam, pp 34,35 from the book “al-Alfa¨” by ‘Abd al-Rahman Hamadani
221. al-Hur al-’Ayn, p. 185
222. Lisan al-’Arab, vol. VII, p. 157
223. Maqalat al-Islamiyyin, vol. 1, p. 89; al-’Iqd al-Farid, vol. 2, p. 245; al-Khitat al-Miqriziyya, vol. 4, p. 73
224. Mizan al-i‘tidal, vol. 3, pp 249,268,324,325; Ash-Shi‘r wal-Shu‘ara’, p. 316
225. Tabsirat al-’Awam, p. 32
226. al-Fusul al-Mukhtara, pp 61-63
227. al-Maqalat al-firaq, pp 76,77; al-Firaq Ash-Shi‘a, p. 63
228. al-Mahasin wal-Masawi, p. 213 In this quotation, ‘Abd al-Malik was used instead of Hisham
229. al-’Iqd al-Farid, vol. 2, p. 250; see, Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. 7, p. 186
230. Rabi‘ al-Abrar, vol. 1, p. 60
231. See, Sirih wa qiyam Zayd Ibn ‘Ali, p. 216; al-I□ah, p. 473 (printed in Tehran University) and see, Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. v, p. 320
232. al-I□ah, p. 475
233. Mizan al-i‘tidal, vol. 3, p. 237 It is said that its validity because of Hajjaj Ibn Tamim is subject to debate; see al-Ilmam, vol. 1, p. 33; As-Sawa‘iq al-Muhriqa, the first preface
234. Tafsir Furat Kufi, p. 139 (Najaf); Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXXXVIII, p. 97-98
235. Bihar al-Anwar, vol. XXXXXXVIII, pp 156,157
236. al-I□ah, p. 303 (Tehran University), for looking into this matter, refer to, Ta‘liqat (suspensions) of the late Urmawi in al-I□ah and also in the book of Naq□
237. ‘Uyun Akhbar al-Ri□a, vol. 1, p. 195
238. Ibid See, Kifayat al-athar, p. 327; Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, p. 285; as it was mentioned by Ibn Zuhra in Ghayat al-Ikhtisar, فهذا الخبر هو الذي سلم زيداً منهم وجعلهم يترحّمون عليه “ It was the same report that kept Zayd immune from all harnms and caused him to be pitied by them” This news had made the Twelve-Imam Shi‘ite Muslims praise him; as a result, Zayd was secured from their harm See, Ghayat al-Ikhtisar, p. 128
239. ‘Uyun Akhbar al-Ri□a, vol. 1, pp 194-197; Kifayat al-athar, p. 328
240. Saduq, al-Amali, section,10, p. 40
241. Qamus al-Rijal, vol. 4, p. 261
242. About the non-credibility of Abul-Jarud; see, Qamus al-Rijal, vol. 4, pp 228,230
243. Ikhtiyar Ma‘rifat al-Rijal, pp 231,232
244. Ibid p. 231; Qamus al-Rijal, vol. 4, p. 266; Tanqih al-Maqal, vol. 1, p. 468
245. al-Hur al-’Ayn, pp 188-189
246. Ibid p. 189
247. al-Futuh, vol. 8, p. 125
248. Tanqih al-Maqal, vol. 1, p. 467
249. Ibid vol. 1, pp 460-461, Ibn Nadim quoted Imam as-Sadiq as saying, لعنه الله، فانه أعمى القلب، أعمى البصر Muhammad Ibn Sanan said about him, ابو الجارود لم يمت حتى شرب المسكر وتولى الكافرين al-Fihrist, pp 226-227
250. al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. 149; al-Maqalat wal-Firaq, p. 74, No 144
251. al-Fihrist, p. 227
252. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. 5, p. 499; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. 3, p. 240
253. Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq, vol. 6, p. 18; Fawat al-Wafayat, vol. 1, p. 210; al-Khitat al-Miqriziyya, vol. 4, p. 307
254. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. 3, p. 206
255. al-Kafi, vol. 1, p. 357

256. Riya□ al-'Ulama', vol. 2, p. 337
257. 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 258; Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. 338
258. 'Uyun Akhbar al-Ri□a, vol. 1, pp 194-195
259. Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. 152
260. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. 1, p. 353
261. Rijal al-Najashi, p. 130; see, Tanqih al-Maqal, vol. II, p. 57
262. Rijal al-Tusi, p. 207; Rijal al-'Allama Hilli, p. 77, 'Allama Hilli brought a quotation form Sa'd's book saying, "He had joined Zayd, but was saved" فمن الله عليه وتاب ورجع عن ذلك " When God faored him, he repented and avoided doing that" so in the view of some of the Shi'ites scholars, his participation in that uprising was not right because of the word "repentance" in this quotation
263. al-Amali, Sheykh Mufid, p. 33
264. Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. 153 فلما خرج، قال ابو عبدالله (ع), اخذته من بين يديه ومن خلفه وما تركت له مخرجاً
265. al-Kafi, vol. I, p. 174
266. Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. 186
267. Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. 376 Qamus al-Rijal, vol. IV, p. 267
268. Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. 416
269. Ibid, p. 351
270. Tafsir Furat, p. 182
271. Ibid, p. 152
272. al-Kafi, vol. I, p. 357
273. al-Hur al-'Ayn, p. 188
274. Ikhtiyar Ma'rifat al-Rijal, p. 361; Qamus al-Rijal, vol. IV, p. 267
275. Tanqih al-Maqal, vol. I, p. 469
276. Tanqih al-Maqal, vol. I, p. 468
277. Riya□ al-'Ulama', vol. II, pp 352-353
278. Mirat al-'Uqul, vol. IV, p. 120
279. Perhaps it's said that Saduq's opinion indicates that Shi'ites scholars rejected all the slanderous narrations In this regard, it demands mentioning that what Saduq said, can't be ascribed to all Shi'ite Muslims while most of his opinions are rejected by Sheykh Mufid in Tashih al-I'tiqad
280. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 326; see, Bahth fi nash'at 'ilm al-Tarikh 'ind al-'Arab, p. 53
281. al-Irshad, p. 268; A'lam al-Wara, p. 257
282. al-Mujdi, pp 156-157; see, Ghayat al-Ikhtisar, pp 128-129
283. Mustadrak al-Wasa'il, vol. III, p. 599
284. Dirasat fi wilayat al-Faqih, vol. I, p. 208 and the rest
285. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 104; see, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 326
286. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 259; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 506
287. al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. 127
288. Umdat at-Talib, p. 256.
289. al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. 127; 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 259; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 104
290. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 260; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 104
291. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 261
292. al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. 128
293. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 105; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 356; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 261
294. al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. 129
295. Ibid, vol. VIII, p. 131, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 261; Tarikh Gudhidih, p. 186
296. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 105
297. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 537
298. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 261; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 106

299. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 537; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp 230-231
300. al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. 133
301. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 262; al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. 132
302. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, pp 230-231
303. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 262
304. 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 260
305. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 262; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 107
306. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 231
307. 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 266; Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 212; al-Hur al-'Ayn, p. 189
308. al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. 136; Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 263
309. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 213
310. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 264
311. al-Muhabbar, p. 484; Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 102
312. See, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn Abi al-Hadid,, vol. VII, p. 143
313. al-Aghani, vol. XII, p. 223
314. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. XII, p. 223
315. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp 601-604
316. See, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. I, p. 63; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. 38; al-Aghani, vol. XII, p. 229
317. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 63; Tarikh Isbahan, Abu Nu'aym,, vol. II, p. 42; 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 38
318. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 66
319. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. 428; al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, pp 85-86
320. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 66.
321. al-Aghani, vol. XII, p. 230
322. Nathr ad-Durr, vol. I, p. 427; al-Maqalat wal-Firaq, p. 39; Firaq Ash-Shi'a, p. 33
323. Ibn 'Inaba mentioned it to be happened in 133 quoting in Harat, he said that his tomb was people's shrine ... in the year 976; 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 38
324. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp 144-116
325. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, pp 40-41
326. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 112; al-Aghani, vol. XII, p. 251
327. al-Aghani, vol. XII, p. 233; see: Lisan al-Mizan, vol. III, p. 364
328. al-Mujdi, p. 297
329. Some said that he called to satisfaction of the Household (Nathr ad-Durr; vol. I, p. 427} and the other stated that he invited to Himself, 'Umdat al-Talib, p. 39
330. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 603
331. Ibid, vol. V, p. 604
332. Ibid, vol. VI, p. 40
333. al-Wafi bil-Wafayat, vol. XVII, p. 63; Farhang Firaq Islami, p. 142
334. al-Maqalat wal-Firaq, p. 38
335. See, Farhang Firag Islami, pp 147-149
336. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 76
337. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. II, p. 74
338. al-Kamil fil-Adab, vol. I, p. 349; Nathr ad-Durr, vol. IV, p. 56; Balaghat al-Nisa', p. 111
339. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp 40-41; al-Irshad, p. 277; Kashf al-Ghumma, vol. II, pp 172,173
340. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. III, p. 79
341. Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 233; see, Tarikh Tashayyu' dar Iran, p. 139-143

SHARES

Decline of the Marwanid

Harith Ibn Surayj in Khurasan

Khurasan was the major troubled spot for the Umayyads since it was not only far from the capital but also it had its own problems such as tribal wars between the Arab immigrants, cruelties of the Umayyads prevalent there and relative political and economic independence which had made there an important center among the eastern provinces.

The formation of the crucial revolutions out there during the final years of the Umayyads ruling was not something which could be easily overlooked by them. And finally from the very same spot appeared a massive army that overthrew the Umayyads. Now the riot of Harith Ibn Surayj, one of the important riots, from 166 to 127 (A.H.) is to be discussed.

One of the riots against the Umayyads in Khurasan was Harith's that paved the ground for the 'Abbasids to do so and gain victory. Harith was an Arab from Tamim tribe who opposied the Umayyads rulers from 116 to 128 (A.H).

Khurasan not only was far from the capital, as a crucial center, but it was suffering from tribal discords as well. In addition the wrong treatment of the Arab caliphate of the Umayyads towards Mawali (freed slaves) was another problem. The cruelties of the Umayyads rulers, which were increasing day by day except the brief period in which 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz ruled, had resulted in some extended riots.

Zayd's riot which happened after the riot of Yazid Ibn Muhallab was a more significant one.[1] His main intention was supporting religion and bringing justice to the society. Being at odds with the Umayyads rulers, Harith had repeatedly proposed the idea of counseling for appointing the ruler.[2]

The events regarding Harith's riot were described in Tabari and in other sources they were disregarded either completely or partially.

When Junayd 'Abd al–Rahman died in 116, Harith appreciated this opportunity and gave start to his uprising. Within a short period of time he managed to seize some cities such as Balkh, Juzjan, Fariyab, Taliqan, Marw al–Rudh.[3]

Since the people of various cities hated the Umayyads rulers, they surrendered to Ibn Surayj, as later on 'Asim Ibn 'Abd Allah who was Khurasan governor said, easily at their own will.[4] Accordingly, 'Asim wanted to ask for help from Damascus army. This was a threat for most of the Iraqi rulers as well as the rulers of other areas.

After some clashes between 'Asim Ibn 'Abd Allah and Harith, Harith was defeated and escaped towards Iraq. Those farmers who helped him upon hearing about his defeat went back to their own lands.[5] Harith once again equipped his army. When 'Asim became aware that he had been deposed, he compromised with Harith.

He also suggested that they ask Hisham to follow Qur'an and Prophet's Sunna and if he did not accept them, they would revolt against him. At the end, those supporting 'Asim could not compromise after a clash with 'Asim, Harith retreated.

Knowing about Harith's riots, Hisham asked Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri, the governor of Iraq, to send his brother Asad Ibn 'Abd Allah, the former governor of Khurasan, to suppress his riot. He along with the armies of Damascus and Iraq headed for Khurasan. After some clashes between Harith and him and a war between the residents of Tirmidh and again Harith, Harith was defeated and escaped eastwards to take refuge by the Turkish kings who were called Khaqan.[6]

One of the well-known Turkish kings helping him later on came to be known as Abu Muzahim for he was a trouble-maker for Arabs.[7] Asad Ibn 'Abd Allah by no means could disregard the behavior of the Turkish kings in spite of the fact that in his clashes with them most of the time he could defeat them.

There were still clashes with the Turks when Nasr Ibn Sayyar was chosen as Khurasan's governor in 121. He had led some of these clashes in Balkh. In those clashes Harith Ibn Surayj, along with the Turks, fought with Nasr Ibn Sayyar[8]. After his defeat in Balkh, Harith and his supporters all settled in Takharistan. Yusuf Ibn 'Umar, the governor of Iraq, asked then Nasr Ibn Sayyar to attack the city of Shash, that had harbored Harith, and beat it to the ground.[9]

Provoking people to help him, Nasr reached Shash after a minor clash. Then he ordered the king of that city who had compromised with him to expel Harith from there. He accordingly sent him to Fariyab.

Harith and his supporters stayed there up to the time that Yazid Ibn Walid by killing Walid Ibn Yazid in 126 came to rule the Umayyads. He wanted to reform the Umayyads affairs. Harith was one of the opponents of the Umayyads whose motto just the same as Yazid was resorting to Qur'an and Prophet's Sunna. Nasr who was fighting with Juday' Ibn 'Ali Kirmani thought that Harith was a greater threat to him, so he intended to compromise with him.

Accordingly, on behalf of Yazid Ibn Walid, he sent him a guarantee of clemency so he could return to Khurasan. Yazid by stating that he had revolted for Allah's sake and since Allah's orders were overlooked and people were under constant oppression, then he could return to Khurasan again. He also ordered the governor of Iraq to release his children and return his properties confiscated[10] up to that. time he had been residing in the Turkish lands for 12 years.

In 127, Yazid Ibn Walid was killed. After him Ibrahim Ibn Walid also could not stay in power for a long time. Marwan Ibn Muhammad was the last Umayyads caliph who came to power after him. Knowing that

Marwan would not continue the same policy as Yazid, Harith clashed with Nasr along with Kirmani. After a while, he had a clash with Juday' Ibn 'Ali Kirmani and Harith and the Mudrids fought against the residents of Yemen who joined the residents of Kirman. Harith was killed in that clash in 128. Some points regarding Harith's riot should be taken into account.

There have been, at least, two major reasons for Harith's riot, even if he himself was not aware of them, they could attract public attention in addition to some other minor ones which led to his revolt against the Umayyads one of which was obeying both Qur'an and Prophet's Sunna and the other one was putting an end to the Umayyads's oppression.

A brief look at Harith's utterances and behaviors will show clearly that in his riot from the start two things were important namely obeying Qur'an and Sunna and paying allegiance to someone who does so.[11] He did so to divulge that the Umayyads rulers were by no means religious. Since the Umayyads for most of the Muslims were widely known irreligious, at that time referring to Qur'an and Sunna in most of the riots was useful.

Once Harith in 126 went to Nasr Ibn Sayyar, Nasr gave him some gifts but he said, " I am neither after the pleasures of this worldly life nor do I intend to marry an Arab rather". **انما أسأل كتاب الله والعمل بالسنّه واستعمال أهل الخير والفضل** I want to obey Qur'an and Sunna and the pious and learned people."[12]

He also said that he had left Khurasan for thirteen years just for putting an end to cruelties.414 Many people joined him since he had written the main objectives of his riot and ordered his agents to read them for the public on the way to Marw and in mosques too.[13]

When he joined Kirmani, some of his supporters who observed how they were killed and their properties were plundered under the leadership of Bishr Ibn Jurmuz, once one of the closest companions of Harith, separated from him saying. **نحن الفئة العادلة ولا نقاتل الا من يقاتلنا** " We are just people and we do fight with no one expect him who wages war against us."[14]

What has been said shows that Harith's mottos in his riot were adhering to Qur'an and Prophet's Sunna and putting an end to the Umayyads's cruelties by which he could attract some people to himself.

Other than the Arabs, some of the farmers who were under the pressure of the Umayyads rulers also joined him to get rid of their cruelties.[15] Actually he, as an Arab, accepted to defend non-Arabs who were in difficult condition, against the Umayyads.

What he had done was of great significance both to non-Arabs and Mawali especially when the Sughdiyan were pressurized to leave their homeland and take refuge by Turks in spite of the fact that they had embraced Islam. For a long period, Harith was among Turks.

The majority of them, as it seems, were the Muslims who had not accepted the ruling of Arabs and wanted to get rid of the Umayyads who were taking tribute even from the Muslims. On the other hand,

some others did not give up their previous beliefs.

They also fought against the Arabs. Gerlof Van Vloten by referring to a Muslim judge among the supporters of Harith in the Turkish land, as it had been stated by Tabari, concluded that there were some Muslims among them.[16] This is a significant point for removing the doubt of some individuals as Nasr Ibn Sayyar who had accused Harith of fighting along with the unbelievers against the Muslims.[17]

The Murji'ites and the Jahmites in Harith's Uprising

The second point worthy of stating in Harith's riot is his relationship with Jahm Ibn Safwan and his attitude towards the Murji'ites. He was accused of being linked to both of them. Jahm who was from Mawali[18] after studying in Kufa for a while returned to Balkh. For some time, he joined Muqatil Ibn Sulayman, an expert commentator. Disagreeing him, he was exiled to Tirmidh. There he joined Harith and took part in his riot.

Jahm's participation in Harith's riot is a significant point not because of his beliefs regarding Allah's attributes but because of the fact that by his participation both of them were accused of being Murji'ites. Politically, there are two opposite attitudes regarding the Murji'ites one of which is that they were accused of being linked to the cruel rulers since in their views, faith was an inner state and different from good deed, accordingly he who commits a sin is still faithful. This was a belief that the caliphs and other Mammonists after the wordly pleasure took advantage of.

Another point which is opposite to what was said is that the Murji'ites participated in many uprisings such as that of Yazid Ibn Muhallab's. Abu Ru'ba, one of the leaders of the Murji'ites had taken part in Yazid Ibn Muhallab's uprising against the Umayyads at the very beginning of the second century.[19]

The participation of some of the Murji'ites in Zayd's uprising and accusation of Harith of being linked to them both reveal that the Murji'ites were at odds with the Umayyads. So how can these two opposite points be judged?

Despite the Kharijites who regarded the cardinal sinners as unbelievers and also the Mu'tazilites who regarded them as the unbelievers, the Murji'ites were of the opinion that they would be still assumed believers if they believe in two principles of Islam namely unity of Allah and Prophethood when they commit sins. This is a jurisprudic principle which is accepted by all of the Islamic sects.

They had no distinct political stance regarding those who were unbelievers in the Kharijites' view. According to them, they should be left to Allah and be hopeful for His Mercy. This also was a controversial point among Muslims regarding 'Uthman in Jamal and Siffin wars.

During Hajjaj's tenure in Iraq (also in Africa) in which most of the local residents of Iran embraced Islam, the Umayyads's agents could no longer take tributes from them and increase their revenues. As a result, Hajjaj in consultation with the Umayyads's caliphs declared that only saying diploma is not enough for

someone to be a believer.

Instead, someone is Muslim who is able to read Qur'an. In addition, there might have been some other conditions, for example it must be clear whether he had been circumcised or not. Based on what was said, Hajjaj went on to collect tributes from those who had newly embraced Islam. There once again the same belief of the Murji'ites was beneficial.

The Murji'ites in contrast with them were of the opinion that saying diploma was enough for being a Muslim and they declared the conditions that Hajjaj had set was unvalued in this regard. Accordingly, the Murji'ites started to support the Iranians who had recently embraced Islam and the revolutionists took advantage of them.

Penetration of scholastic and jurisprudic theology of Abu Hanifa in the East and the existence of the Murji'ites beliefs in Khurasan and even a village which was called Murji Abad in suburb of Balkh, all are the evidence regarding this matter. Being one of the leaders of the Murji'ites, Abu Hanifa not only participated in Zayd's uprising but during the 'Abbasids's term helped the 'Alawites who had joined him as well.[20]

Wellhausen by referring to the above-mentioned point regarding the Murji'ites added, “They attempted to create a common ground among all tribes and that was opposing tyranny and defining the gospel truth”.[21]

Van Vloten in his research about the Murji'ites by referring to their role in solving this difficult problem among various tribes of Muslims and also their emphasis on observing the rights of all Muslims both Arabs and non-Arabs, said that he refrained from judging the caliphs. He also had spoken about the Murji'ites taking part in Zayd's uprising who had helped him.[22] Anyway, Harith was among the Murji'ites according to Tabari.

This verse from Nasr Ibn Sayyar, Khurasan's governor, is an evidence indicating that he was from the Murji'ites,

وارجاءكم لزّكم والشرك في قرن فأنتم أهل اشراك ومرجونا

“You are Murji'ites and are the same as atheists.”[23]

Tabari's narrations regarding Harith and his relationship with the Murji'ites are mostly about the events taking place during this period. It was said that Harith had asked Jahm to read a book in which Harith way of conduct was described.[24]

It was also said that once he came back from Takharistan he had a clash with Nasr. Two people have been appointed as judge. One of them was Jahm himself and the other one was Muqatil Ibn Hayyan.

They said finally that Nasr should not interfere so that they might themselves be able to consult with each other.[25] There also is another narration regarding Jahm's participation in that uprising. Based on that he was captured and killed then by Salm Ibn Ahwaz.[26]

A positive point in Harith's movement was regarding its mental aspect and this shows that although these movements shaped mostly in Transoxonia, somewhere far from the scientific centers, they were not merely political ones but they had their own mental principles.

At last, it should be said that the term Jahmi, based on the reaction of its opponents, and in a lesser degree, accusation of being Murji'ites are two curses that the traditionists had in their minds against their opponents. Some of the Jahm's beliefs were against incarnation and the subject narrations on simile, so the traditionists opposed him. Gradually, this term as a scientific curse was used while referring to most of the people with quite different beliefs. Khalid al–'Ali's book which was previously referred to can make this point clearer.

Walid Ibn Yazid's Caliphate and Extreme Corruption of the Umayyads

Without doubt, one of the main reasons of the overthrowing of Umayyads, being considered mostly by the rioters, was that their rulers were irreligious. In other words, since they were indifferent towards both religious beliefs of the people and those of themselves, those religious people were made rise up against them. Walid Ibn Yazid was among those rulers. Being the worst of all, he was one of the last caliphs of the Umayyads who came to power after Hisham in Rabi' al–Thani, 125 and was killed one year and two months later.

There are some poems descriptive stories and almost all historical sources indicating that he was a corrupted man.

Tabari, for example said, "There are many narration's regarding Walid's insult to religion".

He had not mentioned most of them to avoid circumlocution.[27] Mas'udi, on the other hand, had quoted some of them. He was very interested in drinking wine and passing nights among different singers and debauchees was his every day action.[28] One of the worst actions, as it was told, was after reciting this verse,

وَاسْتَفْتَحُوا وَخَابَ كُلُّ جَبَّارٍ عَنِيدٍ.

"And (Allah's Prophets) asked for solutions and at last each obstinate tyrant became disappointed."

He said that he disliked it. Then he put Qur'an somewhere and shot toward it saying,

اتوعد كلّ جبـار عنيد فها انا ذاك جبـار عنيد

اذا ما جئت ربك يوم حشر فقل يارب حرقني الوليد

Are you threatening Jabbar, the fighter. I am Jabbar the challenger. On the Day of Judgement, say to Allah to set fire on me[29]

Somewhere else, Walid himself by denying Prophethood had openly said that he was an infidel.

تلعب بالخلافة هاشمي بلا وحي أتاه ولا كتاب

“A man of the Hashimites played with succession without being revealed a Book.”[30]

Mustuwfi regarding his wrongdoing, had said, “It was said that on one Friday he had drunk wine with one of his bondmaids then he had sexual intercourse with her. Then she had forced the defiled drunken bondmaid to put turban on her head to cover her ringlet once she heard Iqama, then she preached sermon[31].

Being a remiss, one who could not supervise the affairs of various cities, Walid, according to Ya'qubi, did many wrong things. For instance, he had in his mind to build a room upon the roof of Ka'ba for his debauchery so he ordered someone to do so.[32]

It seems that his relatives prevented him from doing so for they were afraid of its consequences. Another time, he asked Nasr Ibn Sayyar to send him musical instruments.[33] His brother, and accomplice in the murder of Yazid Ibn Walid, also endorsed that he was after sin and iniquity.[34] It is worth saying that this sentence, **يا وليد احذر الموت** “ O Walid, be afraid of death” Had been engraved on his ring.[35]

The Umayyads degraded day by day simply because of what Walid did. **وظهر للناس منه تهاون بالدين واستحفاف به**[36] “He was the cause of public negligence in religion.”

Abul-Faraj regarding him had said, “There has been written many poems about his wrongdoing.”[37] In spite of the fact that nearly all of the Umayyads rulers were sinful and people were aware of this matter more or less, no one among them was comparable to Walid in this regard.

His remissness in state affairs raised discord among the Umayyads and paved the ground for the opportunists among them to exert themselves more to prevent that dynasty from being fallen. Because of his actions, Walid was disgusted by others and they were ready to kill him.

Abul-Faraj Isfahani, at the beginning of the seventh volume of Aghani had described him in detail. All of his life was past while he occupied himself with wine, women and music. He was also accused of being

heretic. In Aghani there are some verses indicating that he had believed that “Mani” was the first and the last prophet.[38]

According to Mada'ini, he was disliked by people because of his aspirations, drinking and annoying the children of Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik.[39] Once his palace was surrounded by troops loyal toYazid Ibn Walid, he asked people while he was there, “Why do you attack me while I was open-handed among you?”

They answered, **انتهاك ما حرّم الله وشرب الخمور ونكاح أمهات اولاد أبيك واستخفافك بامرالله** “ Because you have disregarded what Allah has regarded as being unlawful, you also married your father's bondwomen who had children from him.”

He said, “You are wrong.” Then he added, [40] **وان فيما احل الله لسعة عما ذكرت** “What Allah has declared as being lawful are more than what you are speaking about.”

When he was killed by a group of rioters, Yazid Ibn Walid who was also called Yazid III came to power.

Ayyub Sukhtiyani, who knew Qur'an by heart said, “I wish our caliph were alive”.
The narrator said, “He said this because he was afraid of being killed”.[41]

Later on, Rashid and his son Mahdi 'Abbasi, recalled Walid a good man and cursed his murderer, Yazid.[42]

Yazid Ibn Walid's Riot

It was said that Yazid Ibn Walid, Yazid III, was similar to 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-’Aziz in behavior. He, along with some of the Umayyads and renowned figures of Damascus managed to resist Walid and finally killed him in Jumadi al-Thani, 126 (A.H.). He was the first Umayyads caliph who was killed in such a way that all people knew about it.

What distinguished him from other Umayyads caliphs was that he was among the Qadarites.[43] This term, according to the traditionists, is referred to the Mu'tazilites. They were of the opinion that human beings have free will.

The Mu'tazilites were at odds with the traditionists since they were rationalists while the traditionists were superficial. Because of their influence on the Umayyads, the traditionists provoked them to suppress the Mu'tazilites, the Murji'ites and the Jahmites.

The formation of the Qadarites in Damascus goes back to the time of Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. Ghaylan Dimashqi, the founder of this sect in Damascus,[44] was killed in 119 by Hisham 'Abd al-Malik.[45] Ghaylan was linked to the Murji'ites too.[46]

There were others among the Murji'ites in Damascus too. Tabari had quoted 'Amr Ibn Sharahil, who was

himself among them, as saying, “In 126 some individuals interceded them with Walid but he praised Hisham's actions in killing or exiling the Qadarites.[47] In contrast with Hisham and Walid, Yazid Ibn Walid was more inclined towards the Qadarites.

According to Shafi'i, he had gathered some of them around himself. The companions of Ghaylan Dimashqi were also among them.[48] Abu Bakr Khawrazmi in one of his letters had written that he backed the companions of Ghaylan.[49] Mas'udi also said that he was a Mu'tazilites and like them believed in the five principles of them.[50]

At that time, however, some of the Mu'tazilites believed in those five principles completely. They, according to Mas'udi, resided in other areas of Damascus namely “Dariyya and al–Mizza”. He also said that they helped Yazid once they saw that Walid was a sinner.[51] Since Yazid Ibn Walid was inclined toward the Mu'tazilites, his status in comparison with that of 'Umar Ibn Abd al–’Aziz was very high in their esteem.[52]

It should be noted that the traditionists during the second and third centuries were not rationalists at all. They only took into account the surface meaning of both Qur'an verses and traditions which were mostly fabricated ones. They believed in anthropomorphism. To oppose them, the Mu'tazilites emphasized the role of intellect.

The first trend prevailed among the traditionists such as Zuhri, Abul–Zanad, Raja' Ibn Haywa who were linked to the Umayyads. The other one as a result opposed the Umayyads. Accordingly, they were attentive to the role of intellect in contrast with those who were attentive to the traditions that were written long ago and were mostly forged ones.

These groups were also experts in political affairs so they were opposing the Umayyads both because of their religious and political approaches. As it was touched upon before, Ghaylan Dimashqi, who was killed in 119 A.H by Hisham, and Ja'd Ibn Dirham, who was sent to Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri by Hisham, were also among them. The latter was killed by Khalid in the feast of sacrifice.[53]

Since Ja'd Ibn Dirham was one of the scholars of Marwan Ibn Muhammad, the last caliph of the Umayyads, he was also called Marwan Ja'di.[54]

He was later on killed because he was at odds with the traditionists. He opposed anthropomorphism, which was prevailed among the Muslims by Jews. According to Shahristani, this was a belief of a Jewish sect called the Readers. In Torah, also there were some words about anthropomorphism.[55]

The same statement was also said by Ibn Khaldun.[56] Ja'd Ibn Dirham could stand individuals such as Wahb Ibn Munabba and others who were Jewish. Wahb said to him, “Allah Himself said that He has hands and eyes, so we believe what he had said”.[57] Ibn Kuthayyir said, “His beliefs were identical to those of Lubayd Ibn al–A'tham.[58] This statement according to some researchers was not true. He was said to have such beliefs since he opposed the Jews.[59]

Jahm Ibn Safwan who was said to have, the same beliefs as Ja'd Ibn Dirham had also taken the same stance as him. He stood up to Muqatil Ibn Sulayman, who believed in anthropomorphism.60 These people were killed not merely because of religious reseasons but because they opposed the Umayyads.

To bring an example, we can refer to the companions of Ghaylan Dimashqi who cooperated with Yazid Ibn Walid. As it was said Jahm Ibn Safwan had joined Harith Ibn Surayj and was killed in his uprising. According to Qasimi, Jahm was killed not because of his religious beliefs, as it was said by some,61 but because of political reasons.62 It is quite obvious that the traditionists were dominant during the Umayyads's time. Based on legal decision, the name of those being killed by the Umayyads should not be divulged.

Yazid Ibn Walid in his revolt against Walid Ibn Yazid wanted to carry out some reforms. In his first sermon he said, “We did not rise up for this worldly life to assert dominance over others rather for Allah's sake. We ask all to obey both Qur'an and Prophet's Sunna since the religious edicts have become outmoded, piety has been disregarded and the unlawful turned to be lawful. He also said, “The Sunna has changed and there are obvious innovations”.

Referring to social justice, he said that he wanted to carry out some financial reform to, **حتى تستقيم المعيشة بين المسلمين وتكونوا فيه سواء** “ When Muslims live in parity enable all to take advantage of equal rights.” He also added, “You can pay allegiance to me based on what I told you.

If I break my promise, you can do whatever you want to and if you could find someone more effective than I am, I myself will be the first one to pay allegiance to him.63 When he nominated Mansur Ibn Jumhur as the governor of Iraq, he ordered him not to be as Walid since he was killed because of his cruelties towards people.64

Yazid's intention, as he himself said, was not just ruling. He had this sentence written and hung from a post, **انا ندعوكم الى كتاب الله وسنّه نبيه صلي الله عليه وآله وسلم وأن يصير الأمر شورى** “ I ask you to obey Qur'an and Prophet's Sunna. I also want to solve the problem of ruling by counseling 65

He also asked the residents of Hims who wanted to rise up against him in revenge for Walid's death. **ولكنّه يدعوهم الى شورى** 66 I want you to take advantage of counseling.

It should also be mentioned that even before Walid's death, the residents of Damascus had paid allegiance to him.67

Yazid III was called “Imperfect” since he had cut the share of those who had greater share in public treasury during Walid's time.68 For the reason, he ruled just for six months. It seems that he could not put his plan into practice.

However, he was somehow successful based on what he was saying and doing in this regard. From among his financial reforms, the issue of taking tribute from those who had recently embraced Islam

during 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz's time can be taken into account.

He also had taken into account problems of those who were to send to exile merely because they were asked to pay tribute beyond their means. In this regard, he said, **ولا أحمل على جزيتكم ما اجليهم به عن بلادهم واقطع به نسلهم** " I will not ask people to pay tribute beyond their means so that I prevent them from leaving their home and become extinct."[69]

He also ordered Harith Ibn Surayj to return from the Turkish land to his home. He had risen up against the Umayyads for the same reasons that Yazid had so he accepted to return home. However, when Yazid was killed, everything returned to its former state. He was killed too.[70]

After six months of his ruling, Yazid died in 126. According to Tabari, before his death, the Qadarites were repeatedly asking him to select a successor for himself. He asked others to pay allegiance to his brother, Ibrahim, and 'Abd al–'Aziz Ibn Hajjaj Ibn 'Abd al–Malik.[71]

The Impacts of Walid's Death on the Umayyads and Their Fall

From 41(A.H.) up to the time when Yazid Ibn Walid came to power, the Umayyads have been weakened twice. The first time was in 64 after the death of Mu'awiya II when it was intended to transfer power from the Sufyanids branch of the Umayyads to Marwanids having some clashes in Iraq and Damascus, the Umayyads managed to stay in power.

Thereafter, the caliphs came to power one by one without any problem. It means that the caliphs who ruled never dismissed their heir apparents who were most of the time their brothers. Even if the caliphs sometimes bothered them. It was believed that they would never dismiss them since they had paid allegiance to them.

When, for example, Yazid Ibn 'Abd al–Malik who had chosen his brother Hisham as his successor, became regretful from doing so, then other people such as Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah disapproved of what he wanted to do. He said to Yazid, "What you want to do will sow the seed of discord between you. So people will criticize you." Yazid accepted what he said[72].

Some of the caliphs such as 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz, however, did not choose either their brothers or their sons as their successors. One of the main reasons for the Umayyads to stay in power was that they respected those principles regarding paying allegiance. As long as they themselves were loyal to those principles, there was no problem and people obeyidg them too.

That was why the Umayyads could suppress even the most serious riots. When Walid Ibn Yazid was killed and Yazid III came to power, most of the Umayyads wanted to take his position without considering the issue of allegiance. Upon hearing that Yazid Ibn Walid wanted to breach allegiance before Walid's death, Marwan Ibn Muhammad wrote a letter to Sa'id Ibn 'Abd al–Malik, who was probably a renowned figure of the Umayyads dynasty, saying, "Do not let them breach allegiance".

He also added, “I have heard that some stupid men among the Umayyads want to breach allegiance. By their actions, there will be opened a gate which would not be closed even by Allah unless much blood be shed.[73]

Marwan knew if he breached allegiance, he would sow the seed of discord. Previously, Yazid Ibn Walid had consulted with 'Abbas Ibn Walid who, according to Isfahani, was honest just the same as 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–’Aziz. He then prevented him from doing so too.[74] After securing allegiance, he said, **هلك والله بنو مروان**[75] “By God, the Marwanids came to be murdered.”

Once Yazid came to power, according to Ya'qubi, the country was in a state of turbulence. 'Abbas Ibn Walid in Hims, Bishr Ibn Walid in Qinnasrin, 'Umar Ibn Walid in Jordan and Yazid Ibn Sulayman in Palestine revolted against him.

Ya'qubi went on to say, “During a five–month–caliphate of him nearly all countries of the world were in a state of turbulence. The Egyptians killed their ruler, Hafs Ibn Walid. The residents of Humas killed 'Abd Allah Ibn Shajara and the people of Medina removed their governor, 'Abd al–’Aziz Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–’Aziz, from office.[76]

That was why the issue of succession, allegiance and absolute obedience all lost their significance among Arabs. They revolted against one another, as a result, respecting caliphate, something which was very important before was no longer important. This matter was so significant for them that Walid Ibn Yazid in his letter, had reminded people to select the successors of his sons Hakam 'Uthman.[77]

In Armenia, Marwan Ibn Muhammad rose up against Yazid III to avenge for Walid's murder. He headed for Iraq to remove Yazid from office, but on his way to Harran he compromised with him on condition that he surrender Armenia, Musil, Jazira and Adharbayjan to him.[78]

Ibrahim Ibn Walid came to power after Yazid. The Umayyads caliphate was so weakened that he was called “Amir”(commander) not caliph.[79] This term was used for the independent governors who were ruling only during the time of transfering power. They wee neither caliphs nor were chosen by a caliph.

Marwan Ibn Muhammad who understood that it was the right moment to improve the situation, headed for Damascus. He could defeat their army in Safar, 127. He asked others to pay allegiance to Hakam and 'Uthman, Walid's successors. Knowing that both of them were killed in prison, then people paid allegiance to Marwan Ibn Muhammad.

To justify their action then, people said that both Hakam and 'Uthman had selected him as their successor and this was alluded in their poems that was composed in prison. So the last caliph of the Umayyads came to power.

Marwan Ibn Muhammad and the Decline of the Umayyads

Marwan Ibn Muhammad was the last caliph of the Umayyads. He left Armenia and went to Damascus to prevent the Umayyads from overthrowing. He came to power by deposing Ibrahim. He had many problems one of which was a riot in Hims. Dhahhak Ibn Qays, one of the leaders of the Kharijites, was a troublemaker for him.

Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Hisham in Iraq and Thabit Ibn Na'im Judhami in Jordan revolted aginst him. Marwan could suppress those riots then he nominated 'Amr Ibn Hubayra Fazari as Iraq's governor. He killed Dhahhak Ibn Qays so he had everything under his control. The Kharijites who were from Yemen were so powerful that they could participate in Hajj pilgrimage openly.

Abu Hamza Mukhtar Ibn 'Awf was one of them who managed to have Medina in his control in Safar, 130 (A.H.) He was among the Abaḍiyya. 'Abd Allah Ibn Yahya Kindi who had called himself Talib al-Haqq (the seeker of the truth). He said that he was the Commander of the Faithful.

He was among the Abaḍiyya. In Medina Abu Hamza preached a sermon in a literary style that is very famous. The residents of Medina, as Ya'qubi said, said their prayer under the leadership of him. They were so proud of themselves that they decided to attack Damascus. But the Umayyads army defeated them. When they returned to Medina their residents rose up against them. So they escaped to Yemen.

The city of Khurasan was in a state of chaos too. Kirmani advanced but, according to Ya'qubi, Abu Muslim was more successful than him.

He quoted Abu Muslim as saying, “O, Allah, I help both Nasr and I Kirmani, not to defeat each other”.[80] Abu Muslim defeated Nasr and died when he wanted to escape to Sawi. Abu Muslim then entered Niyshabur in Ramaḍan, 130. He selected some governors for various districts of Khurasan.

The army of Khurasan under the leadership of Quhtaba and his son turned toward west and could defeat those armies that were behind the Umayyads. In Muharram, 132, this army defeated Ibn Hubayra in Iraq. The he escaped to West. Quhtaba once again defeated him and he was drowned in the Euphrates. So the Umayyads were doomed to decline. When Marwan Ibn Muhammad heard the army of Khurasan had defeated the army of Iraq without having commander, he said, “I swear by Allah that everything is over. Who has ever heard that a dead body be able to defeat someone who is alive?”

Abu Salama Khallal in Iraq, asked people to pay allegiance to the 'Abbasids, once the Umayyads were dethroned, he sent Abul-'Abbas to Kufa and after a while, asked people to pay allegiance to him. Later on, he was told to bring the 'Alawites to power so he was killed at Abu Muslim's behest.

Saffah sent his uncle, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Ali to Damascus to fight against the Umayyads and kill Marwan. In Dhi al-Hajja, 132 Marwan was killed in a battlefront. It caused the downfall the Umayyads all over the east except Andalusia. According to Mas'udi, they ruled for nearly ninety years and eleven months and

thirteen days that is nearly about a thousand months.[81]

Different aspects of the Umayyads's decline were taken into account previously.[82] To elaborate them in detail philosophical discussions about history are needed. Historians do not discuss about them. In philosophical and ideological discussion, individuals can not overlook their personal attitudes so they might manipulate the historical accounts. It should be mentioned that prior to the overthrowing of the Umayyads, no one had spoken about their decline since it was not obvious whether they could solve their problems or not. But after it, the issue of their decline came to be discussed.

Some points regarding the Umayyads should be taken into account one of which is their party demorality over which the Umayyads laid the foundation of their political power. This was closely related to the superiority of a specific tribe of Quraysh, which was called the Umayyads. They were supported by the residents of Damascus in the northern part of the Hijaz.

The skirmish between the tribes of northern and southern was almost always troublesome. During the very last years of their ruling, their hostility peaked such that it was not possible for them to improve the condition of some cities especially Khurasan.

There were also some other clashes throughout Arabic land mainly in Iraq and Iran, the residing places of most of the immigrant Arabs. In Iraq, the northern tribe and southern one were at odds with each other. During Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri's time, Arabs residing in the north that were called the Mu□rites were not satisfied with him since he was living in the south.

When Yusuf Ibn 'Umar came to power, the opposite thing happened. He killed Khalid and the condition was worse. Yusuf Ibn 'Umar then was sent to prison and killed by Yazid Ibn Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah.[83]

Tribal clashes, according to Mas'udi, were the main reason of the Umayyads's overthrowing, he also said that Marwan Ibn Muhammad protected the Nazarites against the residents of Yemen. His action then made the residents of Yemen support his opponents from the Hashimites.[84]

There were more problems in Khurasan. This city was an escape route years before the Umayyads's overthrowing for Iraqi rebels. Harith Ibn Surayj doubled the problem of that city. Constant clashes between Arabs and the residents of Transoxania had weakened Arabs there.

This city also tackled a problem for decades that was Hajjaj's cruelties to the newly embraced Muslims and taking tribute from them. In that condition, the skirmish between the northern and southern Arabs threatened the Umayyads. Nasr Ibn Sayyar backed the Nazarites and Juday' Ibn 'Ali Kirmani supported northern Arabs and the residents of Yemen.

Their skirmish was advantageous to the opponents of the Umayyads. Abu Muslim Khurasani could take advantage of the positive attitude of the residents of Khurasan towards Shi'ism while he had asked the 'Abbasids for their support. He was also a good commander.

The above-mentioned points altogether had paved the ground for a radical change in Khurasan. Khurasan was far from the capital so the Umayyads could not easily reach there. It also should be mentioned that the army of Damascus could not help Nasr Ibn Sayyar since it was, fighting against the Kharijites in Iraq. The Kharijites took advantage of the clashes happening from 126 to 127.

Dhahhak Ibn Qays was among them who was at odds with Marwan Ibn Muhammad for a long time. He was killed in 127. The Kharijites who were in Iraq and south of Iran were great threat to the Umayyads too. The victory of the 'Abbasids in Khurasan was the main reason of the Umayyads's decline. It was not obvious why the 'Abbasids not others could take the place of the Umayyads.

This has its own reasons related to their approaches not to the decline of the Umayyads, since the Hashimites were far better than the Umayyads in ruling, they could easily depose them. If they have not had this power, no one could ever imagine that they would be able to remove Quraysh from the scene. This tribe was so powerful that could survive even after the overthrowing of the 'Abbasids by Mongols.

The Umayyads's fall was somehow because of their internal clashes too. The internal clashes, as it said earlier, had paved the ground for both the caliphs and their heirs apparent who were almost more than two persons from the time of 'Abd al-Malik onward and they were plotting against each other. The riot of Yazid III also a threat to their influence. Killing those who were supposed to come to power from 126 to 127 reminds us of the Sassanids's kings during the very last years of their rules.

The Umayyads was not held in high esteem by people because of their lack of attention to religion in spite of the efforts being made by 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz and Hisham. Walid Ibn Yazid, on the other hand, made the condition worse with his corruption and cruelties in ruling. In historical sources, there is more information in this regard.

Some of these historical accounts, however, have been manipulated, for the writers of them were either inclined toward the 'Abbasids or other sects.

Another reason for the residents of Iraq and Khurasan to revolt against the Umayyads was that they were under their domination both politically and economically. The Umayyads were accused of being prejudiced toward the Mawalis. Non-Arabs, as it was said, had some influence on the Umayyads but it was not such that to let them progress.

Political Views of the Marwanids

It is certain that some issues such as people's right to decide on a way a caliph should be chosen, to reject or accept him as well as some other matters were the bases of political system of the Sunnis. In addition, the political stance of both Sahaba (The Companions of the Prophet) and Tabi'in (The followers of Sahaba) during the first century should be taken into account in this regard.

However, other events taking place thereafter during other centuries were also important in the formation

of their policy. But those principles which were written by Mawardi (450 AD) and Abu Ya'la (458 AD) under the title of al-Ahkam as-Sultaniyya during the fifth century were mostly emanating from the political developments of the 1st century.

To emphasize some of the ordinances, some of political developments of the second century were also mentioned there. For instance, whatsoever both Sahaba and Tabi'in did or what the others were doing in their presence without their objection were regarded as a "Divine Decree" which should be obeyed by others too.

Mawardi said, "If what Sulayman had done is not proof endorsing both the scholars from Tabi'in contemporary with him and those who do not fear for Allah's sake will be proof".85

This attitude had emanated from the above-mentioned principle of the Sunnis regarding "Divine Decree."

The formation of the political system of the Sunnis and some other sects was discussed in detail formerly. Now what had happened in this regard during the period of the Marwanids is to be discussed.

There has been a significant change in the concept of caliphate particularly during the Marwanids. The more the caliphs were separated from the religion, the more the concept of caliphate was held in high regard with the intention of deceiving people.

At first, the meaning of caliphate in its political sense was equal to the succession of the Holy Prophet. Abu Bakr was not pleased to call such a person "Allah's Viceroy".86 But later on, gradually this term came to be used both in poems and sermons.

Accordingly, caliphs were honored more and some sort of fatalism prevailed regarding caliphate. The ground has been paved much more during the Marwanids than in time of 'Uthman and Mu'awiya.

The poets of that time used some terms in reference to the Marwanids's caliphs such as,

> خليفة الله من الارض، الامين المأمون، امام المسلمين، امين الله، امام الاسلام، جنه الدين، الخليفه المبارك، راعي الله في الارض، الامام المصطفي، وليّ الحق، الامام العادل، ولي عهدالله ،امام الهدي، الامام المبارك ، امام العدل، الامام المنصور، خيارالله للناس، الحكم المصفي، امام الوري، ربّ الجنود، خليفه الحق، الخليفه الافضل، الملك المبارك

Allah's Viceroy, trustee and trusted, Muslims' leader, religion's shield, auspicious caliph, public leader on behalf of God, selected Imam, guardian of the Truth, just Imam, Allah's heir apparent, Imam of guidance, auspicious Imam, leader led by God, selected ruler,supreme chief of council, forerunner of troops, truthful caliph, superior caliph and auspicious ruler, ...87

The poets played a significant role in making these terms known to the public. Taking into account the

fact that their poets were important to Arabs, one can understand the impact of using such terms by them.[88] One of the Umayyads peoms, Akhtal by referring to 'Abd al-Malik said:

وقد جعل الله الخلافة فيكم بابيض لا عاري الخوان ولا جدب

ولكن رآه الله موضع حقهّا على رغم اعداء وصدّادة كذب

Thou art Allah's successor, someone who is merciful and has a shining face. Despite what your enemies desired Allah saw thee as the mere truth[89]

By referring to Bishr Ibn Marwan, he said,

اعطاكم الله ما انتم أحق به اذا الملوك على امثاله اقترعوا

Allah has bestowed thee something that Thou deserve while all other kings have something (which they do not deserve)[90]

By referring to 'Abd al-Malik, Jarir said,

الله طوّقك الخلافة والهدي والله ليس لما قضي تبديل

وليّ الخلافة والكرامة أهلها فالملك أفيح والعطاء جزيل

Thou have been appointed as Allah's vicegerent. What He had decided upon could not be changed. Allah has given caliphate and greatness to someone who deserves it. That is why thy kingdom is so vast and Thou art so generous[91]

Somewhere else to stress the caliphate of 'Abd al-Rahman as a “Divine Decree” he said,

انت الامين امين الله لاسرف فيما وليت ولا هيّابه ورع

انت المبارك يهدي الله شيعته اذا تفرقّت الاهواء والشيّع

يا آل مروان ان الله فضلكم فضلاً عظيماً على من دينه البدع

Thou art Allah's trustee, someone who does not waste what has been given, someone who is fearless. Thou art the source of blessings. Whenever different parties go astray, Allah will guide His followers. O the Marwanids! Allah has regarded Thee.92

He also composed,

والله قدّر ان تكون خليفة خير البرّية وارتضاك المرتضى

Allah had chosen thee as His viceroy. Thou are the right man for this93

Farazdaq said about 'Abd al-Malik,

فالارض لله ولاها خليفته وصاحب الله فيها غير مغلوب

The owner of this land is Allah and thou art as His vicegerent. The owner of Allah's land would not be defeated there94

By referring to Walid Farazdaq said,

امّا وليد فانّ الله اورثه بعلمه فيه ملكاً ثابت الدّعم

As for Walid, with the knowledge of God, he was granted a firm monarchy95
By referring to Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, he said,

به أمّن الله البلاد، فساكن بكلّ طريد ليلها ونهارها

Allah selected thee as a peacemaker so a traveller can go whenever he wants to no matter whether it is day or night
'Adi Ibn Riqa' regarding Walid said,

انّ الوليد اميرالمومنين له ملك عليه اعان الله فارتفعا

Walid, the Commander of the Faithful, is a king. Allah assists him in his ruling, so he has been dignified by Allah96
Ahwas composed this verse about Walid,

تخيّره ربّ العباد لخلقه وليّاً وكان الله بالنّاس اعلما

The Lord of the world had nominated him as His guardian. Taking into account that Allah is wiser than people[97]

He said about Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik,

سليمان اذ ولاك ربّك حكمنا وسلطاناً فاحكم اذا قلت واعدل

O Sulayman! Since thou have been chosen by Allah as our king, tell the truth and be just whenever thou want to judge[98]

Farazdaq composed this verse about Sulayman,

فقال الله انّك انت اعلي من المتلمسين لك الخبالا

فأعطاك الخلافه غيرغصب ولم تركب لتغصبها قبالا

Then Allah said, “Thou art far better than those who want to enervate thee-so thou deserve to be appointed as His viceroy. Thou did not roll thy sleeves to usurp it”[99]

Jarir composed these verses about Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik:

اما يزيد فانّ الله فهّمه حكماً واعطاه ملكاً واضح النور

يكفي الخليفه انّ الله فضّله عزم وثيق وعند غير تقرير

Allah has given Yazid wisdom. Thou art as the source of light. Allah has given thee priority over others in will and it suffices thee[100]

Jarir Ibn Ayyub, Sulayman 'Abd al-Malik's son said,

الله اعطاكم من علمه بكم حكماً وما بعد حكم الله تعقيب

Since Allah knew thee, He had appointed thee as the ruler, no one is permitted to disobey Allah's decree[101]

He also said to 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-’Aziz,

انّ الذي بعث النّبي محمدا جعل الخلافه في الامام العادل

The One Who sent Muhammad as the Prophet,
Appointed the just Imam to the Khilafat.[102]

Farazdaq said to Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik,

اعطي بن عاتكة الذي ما فوقه غيرالنبوه والجلال الاجلل

سلطانه وعصا النبي وخاتما القي اله بجرانه والكلكل

Allah bestowed something to son of 'Atika. Nothing is greater than it except the Prophethood and monotheism. Allah had given him both the stick and the ring.[103]

These verses quoted by 'Atwan were composed by Farazdaq and Jarir and others. There are many verses in this regard in Diwan[104] Farazdaq.

The residents of Damascus also honored caliphate from the time of Mu'awiya onward.[105] During Ayyam al-Muwadi'a the years that the resid ents of Damascus were going to Mecca for pilgrimage while they were under the domination of Ibn Zubayr, 'Ubayd Ibn 'Umayr, the story-teller, backbited their caliph. They said to him,"O the pious man! Retract what you said and do not backbite Allah's Viceroy since he should be honored even more than Ka'ba.[106]

Hajjaj himself followed the same policy in Iraq. He told Hasan Muthanna, "O Hasan! You have to remind him as a good man. He is Allah's vicegerent on earth.[107] In his first speech in Kufa he said, ان اميرالمؤمنين عبدالملك بن مروان استخلفه الله عزوجل في بلاده وارتضاه اماماً علي عباده " Almighty God placed Amir al-Mu'minin, 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan, His Viceroy as well as His servants' leader."[108]

Hajjaj in his letter to 'Abd al-Malik by referring to him said, "You are the Commander of the Faithful and Allah's Viceroy. You are infallible both in speech and in practice. You have been nominated as his guardian.[109] Fatima, the daughter of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz said, after coming to power my father has not washed his body when sever he was defiled.[110]

The residents of Damascus were of the opinion that obeying him was equal to obeying Allah. They did not believe that he should obey Allah.

Then they got angry and said,"You are disobeying the Commander of the Faithful. He could get rid of him very hard.[111] Hajjaj wanted to treat the residents of Iraq in the same way.

He was told to say, "Do you believe that Allah does not reveal to me. O people of Iraq! I do swear by him that he still does so".[112]

He was also told to say, "Which one is superior a Messenger or a vicegerent?" Probably he wanted to

say that he as Allah's viceroy was superior to Allah's Prophet.[113] It should be mentioned that it is not certain whether these narrations are true or not. Mas'udi attributed the very same statement to Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri, the governor of Mecca in 89 AH.

According to him, he compared Walid with Ibrahim (a). He said, “When Ibrahim asked Allah for water, he sent him salty water while upon Walid's request, he sent fresh water to him.[114] 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-’Aziz was of the opinion that not only Sulayman was nominated by Allah but he himself was as Allah's Viceroy too.[115]

'Amr Ibn Hubayra Fazari, Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik's agent in Iran and Khurasan, regarding Yazid told Hasan Basri and others,”Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik is Allah's Viceroy among people.”[116]

Accordingly, they tried to say that Allah had helped them to defeat all of their enemies such as the Zaydids and the Shi'ite Muslims, the Kharijites as well as individuals such as 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Ash'ath and Yazid Ibn Muhallab. For these reasons, he wanted to prove that the Umayyads were not only legitimate but also invincible.[117]

The holiness of the Umayyads strengthened by attributing Mahdawism to their caliphs. This term was first likely to be used by Allah's prophet in his speeches. It was also said that Mukhtar Ibn Abi 'Ubayd had used this word in his letter to Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya. He had written, **للمهدي محمد بن علي من المختار بن ابي عبيد؛ سلام عليك يا ايها المهدي** “ From Mukhtar Ibn Abi 'Ubayd to Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn Mukhtar. Peace be upon you. O Mahdi!”[118]

Probably, they wanted to emphasize on their role in leading by using this word, but overemphasizing it would decrease its probability. Mujahid was quoted as saying, (probably these narration's were attributed to them), “You would call Mu'awiya Mahdi if you could see him.[119] Farazdaq by referring to Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik used this term for some of the Umayyads's caliphs.

ومن عبد شمس انت سادس ستة خلائف كانوا منهم العمُّ والاب

هداة ومهديين عثمان منهم ومروان وابن الابطحين المطيب

Thou art the sixth caliph among the children of 'Abd ash-Shams. Some of thy forefathers such as 'Uthman, Marwan and Mu'awiya were guided by Allah and they guided others too[120]
Farazdaq composed this verse about Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik,

فان امامك المهديُّ يهدي به الرحمن من خشي الضَّلالا

Mahdi is standing before thee. He is someone who at Allah's behest can guide whosoever does not want

to be led astray[121]

He also said,

فاجاب دعوتنا وانقَذَنا بخلافة المهديّ من ضُرّ

Allah accepted our prayers and protected us by His viceroy, Mahdi when we were in trouble[122]
Jarir composed this verse about Sulayman,

سليمانُ المبارك قد علِمْتُم هُوَ المهديُّ قد وضح السبيل

Thou know that Sulayman is Mahdi, someone who guides thee[123]
The word was attributed to 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al–'Aziz in some other sources as well.[124] Jarir composed this verse about him,

انت المبارك والمهديُّ سيرته تعصي الهوى وتقوم الليل بالسور

Thou are ominous and thy conduct is just the same as that of Mahdi. Thou art not after carnal desire. Thou spend nights by saying prayer[125]
He also composed this verse about Hisham Ibn 'Abd al–Malik,

فقلت لها الخليفه غير شك هو المهديُّ والحكَمُ الرشيد

Then I said thou art Mahdi without doubt. Thou art a ruler who had been guided[126]
Farazdaq said about him,

هو المالك المهديُّ والسابق الذي له اول المجد التليد وآخره

He is Mahdi and superior to others. Praise does solely belong to thee[127]

Referring to these verses, one can say for sure that in addition to these verses there have been some other forged traditions in this regard which all indicate that this word was deeply rooted in Mahdawism and it did not come to common usage simply.

One of the main features of the Umayyads ruling that was mostly based on the holiness of their caliphs was that their rulers were dictators. During the times of the first caliphs, counseling was apparently important in their ruling. But later on people interfered in their ruling and by exerting influence on them

they enervated rulers.

Once they managed to come to power by force, they became dictators so they could suppress their opponents under the pretext of religion and policy.

Ibn Tiqtaqa described 'Abd al-Malik Marwan by saying, “He was someone who for the first time did not let peasants speak in front of caliphs while previously they could do this.”128

Suyuti said,”He was the first ever one forebode enjoining the good and prohibiting the evil.”129

In his first sermon 'Abd al-Malik said, “You are asking others to be pious while you forget yourself. I swear by Allah that I will behead him who tells me to be pious”.130

By referring to those who wanted him to be the same as Muhajirun, he said, “Do not ask me to be the same as them since you are not following them yourself”131.

'Abd al-Malik supported Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf Thaqafi who was a dictator in Iraq. What he was doing could uncover his despotic policy in ruling.Entering Kufa, Hajjaj told people, “The caliph had given me both a lash and a sword to come to you but on my way here I missed the lash so what remained was a sword.”132

'Abd al-Malik said,”He will not do either what the weak caliph ('Uthman) or what the flattering caliph (Mu'awiya) did. He will just use his sword when handling people.133Before his death, 'Abd al-Malik told his son, Walid, to kill those who had not paid allegiance to him.134

Later on, Mansur who himself was also a dictator described 'Abd al-Malik as being a dictator.135

When Mu'awiya Ibn Farra and Hajjaj went to see 'Abd al-Malik, he asked Mu'awiya,”What is Hajjaj doing”?

He replied,”If I tell you the truth, you will kill me. If not, God will punish me”.
Then 'Abd al-Malik told Hajjaj, “Do not torture him instead exile him to Sind.”136

The Marwanids were well-known for being tyrannical but some of them were somehow better in this regard.

People of the Book including the Jewsh and the Christians have strong cultural influence on the credulous Muslims. This should be discussed in detail somewhere else. What is relevant to our discussion is their roles in the political developments and particularly regarding the issue of caliphate.

The credulous Muslims believed that in their Books there are many predictions about them, about their caliphs, even about their names, some events of their lives as well as the sequence of them. What is to be mentioned here is just a brief account of what was happening at that time.

The Umayyads caliphs tried, by making use of either what the people of the Book told to the Muslims or words they themselves put into their mouths or any other means, to pretend that their names had been written in the divine Books.

This matter was of great importance concerning the legitimacy of their ruling. In addition, they could claim that such and such caliph had been chosen at Allah's behest. It is said that Mu'awiya had coveted caliphate once 'Uthman consulted with him and others about how to cope with his opponents. During Hajj rite someone read this verse,

انّ الامير بعده عليٌّ و في الزبير خلف رضيٌّ

Verily 'Ali is Amir after him and Zubayr, too, is a good successor
Ka'b al-Ahbar told him,"You are telling lie. Mu'awiya will succeed 'Uthman". Then Mu'awiya was informed about what he had said.
He said to Mu'awiya,"You will come to power after 'Uthman".

He was very pleased with what he said to him.[137] Someone whose name was Yusuf and had embraced Judism prophesied that 'Abd al-Malik would be caliph.[138] Wahb Ibn Munabba on the other hand, called 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz the guilder of the nation.[139] He, just the same as Ka'b al-Ahbar, quoted some statements from the Books of the Jews and Christians for the Muslims.

Suyuti quoted 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz who had encountered a monk in Jazira, as saying, "The monk sat down just next to me while he had never sitten next to anyone else."

He told me, "Do you know why I came to meet you?"
He said, "No".
The monk said, "Because of your father since (based on what was written in our books) he is one of the just Imams."

He is like Rajab among other Haram months are Dhi l-Qa'da, Dhil-Hajja and Muharram they stand for Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman. Rajab is the other one that is not after Muharram. It denotes 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz.[140]

Accordingly, the name of those four caliphs-not the name of 'Ali-had been mentioned in the Jewish books. It was also said that 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz had told a Christian,"Who would be the next caliph, based on your books, after Sulayman"?

"You", he said.[141] Hajjaj asked him about his successor.
He said,"Someone whose name is Yazid will be your successor."
Hajjaj thought that he might be Yazid Ibn Muhallab so he deposed him.[142]

Khalid Ibn Rib'i said,"We have founded in Torah that both the earth and the heaven will weep on 'Umar Ibn Abd al-'Aziz's death for forty days."[143] Muhammad Ibn Ka'b Qura□i also by bringing an example from the Israelis wanted to warn all of the consequences of disobeying caliphs.[144]

It was said that 'Abd al-Malik coined dhms and Dinars since Khalid had told him,"O caliph! the Jewish and Christian scholars told me that according to their books whosoever among caliphs carves the name of Allah on coins, he shall be long-lived." Thereafter, he, for the first time, minted Islamic coins.[145]

Observing these cases, the common people among the Muslims who were mostly affected by the predictions of the people of the Book justified the legitimacy of the Umayyads rulers. Referring to Ayyub, the son of Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, Jarir who was an eminent poet of the Umayyads composed these verses,

انت الخليفه للرّحمن يعرفه اهلُ الزَّبور وفي التوراة مكتوب

الله فضَّلـه والله وفَّقـَهُ توفيق يوسف اذا وصاه يعقوب

Thou art Allah's Viceroy. The Zoroastrians know thee and thy name had been written in Torah. Allah had favored thee.Thou art just the same as Yusuf who became triumphant after his father's will, would be triumphant too[146]

It was also said that the Umayyads caliphs were of the opinion that their names had been written in Torah. Those who were familiar with the divine Books of both the Jewish and Christians had the same opinion.

At the end, it seems appropriate to go over the treaty signed by Walid Ibn Yazid for the heir apparentship of his sons Hakam and 'Uthman. This treaty is a minute text which can reflect some of the formal beliefs of the government. At the outset, he elucidated prophets' mission up to the time when Allah appointed Muhammad (S) as a prophet.

It was after him, when his caliphs pursued his course of action. Allah's caliphs came one after the other on the basis of what Allah bestowed from the prophets' heritage and offered that caliphate.

Allah destroyed everyone who took a stand against their right, and exterminated everyone who was separated from their company, and made the caliphs dominate everyone who disparage their sainthood and considered Allah's Judgment concerning them of a different kind, and made them a lesson for others. Allah treated those being out of the obedience ordered by him like this. Up to this point, the conquest of all anti-Umayyads rebellions is deemed to be a reason for the Umayyads' rightfulness.

Thereupon, for the purpose of setting forth the place of caliphate he noted the verse of human being

succession and angels' objection and correlated it with caliphate by stating, “Thus, through caliphate Allah preserves whatever is on the earth and via obedience makes humans prosperous. And Allah knows that nothing is stable and strong unless

Allah keeps His truth through an obedient servant, resettles His work, and hinders (the people) from disobedience, keep from unlawful matters and defends His limits. And everyone who profits by this obedience, is Allah's friend, and the obedient of His orders, and the one guided by Allah.”

Afterwards, with further elaboration he points out the significance of obedience stating, “It is through obedience that the prosperous attain their position, and via disobedience, Allah destroy the misled, rebellious and blind ones.”

He intermingled Allah's obedience together with that of caliphs. Afterwards he spoke of “treaty” by which he meant that very heir apparent ship. A treaty whose consolidation was inspired to caliphs by Allah, so that there would remain a hope and means of unity and intimacy amongst the people and the Satan would give up the hope of demolishing religion.

This treaty is indicative of Islam integrity and is amongst Allah's great grace the bondman has made indispensable for the servants. A matter through which Allah hampered the people from disunity, destroyed hypocrisy and kept them from any disparity. Further, there has been more explanations on the significance of “treaty”.

Then he said, Amir al-Mu'minin, Commander of the Faithful, (Walid) regarded nothing of much more importance than his treaty since Allah has granted caliphate, inasmuch as he knew its position in Muslims' work and at present asks Allah to make him succeed in this work. Amir al-Mu'minin is of the belief that he ought to have two treaty in succession. Afterwards, he made reference to his two sons Hakam and 'Uthman and appointed them to heir apparentship one after the other.[147]

The most salient point of this treaty is that attending to heir apparentship has been deemed a momentous matter and a God-given gift maintaining the security and reverence of the believers' community. This importance is to the extent that he regarded it as a taken of Islam integrity.[148]

Belief in predestination and sanctifying caliphate has been repeatedly mentioned in the treaty. As it's been pointed out, Allah's obedience has been considered the same as caliph's obedience, on the grounds that it was Allah who appointed caliphs as His Viceroys on the earth and who inspired them with the idea of heir apparentship.

Scholars Serve al-Marwan

At Umayyads's era, science was confined to al-Hadith, tradition, knowledge incorporating juristic, ethical, historical and interpretative narrations. After the death of the Prophet's companions, just a few people showed some interest in science. In as much as the time was not prone for such a matter; besides,

Umayyads didn't show an interest in that.

After a long time, it comes to the mind of some people that they collect religious narrations and accounts so that it may be safeguarded against deviation and defilement. The order to this action was issued by 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz at the beginning of the second century A.H.[149]

And this very fact indicates the strong neglect of the leaders to the religious science. In Mu'awiya times and after him, various types of heresy and deviation in religion didn't trigger any opposition. The reason behind this was that the people were not that acquainted with the religious science to resist this matter.

Mu'awiya and Hajjaj[150] went on with their efforts to revive the wrong religious traditions founded by 'Uthman and the others. In the meantime, on account of lack of attention to science in this era, even the people took no notice of the religious rules of which they were in the utmost need.[151]

A number of traditions were in scholars' hands; however, afterwards this number reached to one million.[152] This very fact showed how the forgotten tradition of the Prophet (S) was compensated by hadith making in the next one or two centuries.

Umayyads were to be blamed for this, under the auspices of whose government no attention was paid to science, and they tried to lead the people to whatever path they wish through the policy of keeping them ignorant.[153]

In the meantime, most if those having acquaintance with the Islamic science get to serve al-Marwan. Although a large number of those having Shi'ites tendencies and being, for the most part, among Iraqi scholars, fought against Umayyads.

Amongst the assenters, Muhammad Ibn Muslim Ibn Shahab Zuhri (124 A.C.) who was taken thoroughly in the service of Umayyads ought to be mentioned.

At the time when he went along with one of Umayyads rulers to Abu Hazim, one of the last companions of the Prophet, Abu Hazim told him sarcastically, "At times Banu Isra'il went along the right path and the rulers were in need of the scholars ... however, as the rascals acquiring knowledge went to the rulers, the rulers got needless of them."

Zuhri standing aside Sulayman, the son of 'Abd al-Malik said, "It seems that you mean me in my action." "That's what you've heard!" Replied Abu Hazim.[154]

For the most part, he dealt with Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. Hisham paid his heavy loans,[155] and sent his sons to him for education in return for this service of Zuhri. Furthermore, before him, his brothers as well as 'Abd al-Malik have given him financial assistance.

The sister of this very Zuhri told the people not to believe in Zuhri speech. For, he has exchanged his religion for this worldly life and is working for the Umayyads.[156] Afterwards in the future, those admitting

the Umayyads's Islam, lauded Zuhri tremendously. Ibn Taymiyya said that Zuhri safeguarded Islam for 70 years.[157]

And it was undoubtedly obvious that this Islam was the one liked y the Umayyads. Before him a lot of people were in the service if the Umayyads, making hadith for them, such as Samura Ibn Jundab and Abu Hurayra.[158] At any rate, Zuhri was among those interested in Hisham and other Umayyads,[159] and was trying to propagate deviating beliefs. It has been said that Zuhri and 'Awana Ibn Hakam who was follow of 'Uthman as well, relied upon predestination religion specifically.[160]

It's interesting that Ibn Hibban said, “I knew no tradition narrated by Zuhri concerning the virtues of Imam 'Ali by heart.”[161]
Among other narrators being in the service of the family of Marwan, one can refer to Ibrahim Nakha'i.

It's been narrated from Ibn 'Awn that, كان ابراهيم ياتي الأمراء ويسألهم الجوائز “ Ibrahim always came to the rulers calling them for awards.”

According to what another one has written about him, Ibrahim himself offered some gifts to the rulers![162] Abul-Zanad, Medina jurist, was among the narrators and Qur'an reciters who had some relationships with Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik.[163] Mughira Ibn Muqsam is among other Qur'an-reciters who was the follower of 'Uthman and treated Imam 'Ali (a) aggressively as well.[164]

Amongst the renowned Qur'an reciters and narrators in the service of the Umayyads, Sha'bi ought to be pointed. He took part in 'Abd al-Rahman revolt; however, later on was pardoned through surrendering himself to Hajjaj and spent the rest of his life alongside him and 'Abd al-Malik,[165] making up untrue stories with regard to marring the face of some of Shi'ite Muslims, such as Mukhtar, which Tabari has collected in his book.

Also 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar who lived up to Hajjaj times was more or less confirmed, particularly as 'Abd al-Malik wrote to Hajjaj that he might obey him.[166] Raja' Ibn Haywa, another narrator has been referred to as “Sheikh Ahl ash-Sham”, Sheikh of Damascus people, and “Kabir al-Dawla al-Umawiyya”[167], the great of the Umayyads government.

He was one of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan's relatives and it's been said that he was in charge of the financial affairs when the rocks of Bayt al-Muqaddas, Jerusalem, were being built.[168] Wellhausen brought forth a description of his impression on 'Abd al-Malik government and his sons Walid and Sulayman and has pointed out how he instigated Sulayman to appoint 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz as his successor.[169]

The only service these people were in a position to give was the forgery of those hadiths, traditions, which could be of benefit for the adherents of this family regarding dispraising the Umayyads's foes and narrating their own dignity.

Hadith-narration with regard to obeying the caliphs under any circumstances,[170] and being much efficient practically were among the rights of which they won't be put on trial by Allah,[171] on account of their being caliphs. When Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik wanted to act in accordance with 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz's conduct after him, forty old men confirmed that, **ما على الخلفاء حساب ولا كتاب** "Caliphs won't be questioned of their deeds."[172]

The son of Abu Musa Ash'ari, i.e. Abu Burda was among the other scholars dependent upon the Umayyads; who became a judge after the death of Kufa judge, Shurayh.[173] Among the dominant duties of such hadith-reciters, were to consolidate the position of Quraysh among the Arabs, and to make some hadith aimed at justifying the unjust discrimination considered lawful by the Umayyads, regarding the superiority of Arabs over non-Arabs.

A hadith such as,**قدموا قريشاً ولا تقدموها** " Precede the Quraysh and never let it precede you"[174] was the continuation of a policy exerted by Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik who ordered those addressing Quraysh abusively to be whipped.[175]

Refuting the traditions narrated by Iraqi scholars and calling them hadith forgers was on the agenda of the Umayyads court.[176] The reason behind this perhaps is that Imam 'Ali (a)'s hadiths were usually circulated in Iraq and this was not satisfying for the Umayyads.

In contrast with those scholars serving the Umayyads in Hijaz or Damascus and sometimes even Iraq, a mass of Kufiyan scholars, both those being pure Shi'ite Muslims or Mutashayyi', a newly converted Shi'ite Muslims, on no account did they deal with the Umayyads, and instead they put their efforts into preserving the correct traditions.

Amongst these traditions typically is, those with respect to the Prophet's Household's virtues which have been preserved, for the most part, by Iraqi traditionalists. It is noteworthy that the Iraqi were not generically the followers of 'Uthmani religion, and were interested in Imam 'Ali (a) and the household of the Prophet; even so they cannot be deemed Shi'ite Muslims, although they were called so traditionally.

Anyhow, amongst these scholars so many were not compatible with the Umayyads and took part in the riots at every opportunity. The participation of a large number of Iraq scholars in Ibn Ash'ath as well as Zayd Ibn 'Ali revolution demonstrates the power of such a position among Iraqi scholars.

Circulation of Israelites and the Prevalence of Story-telling

Among the momentous difficulties of the Islamic culture during the first century A.H., is the penetration of Israelites which have left deep marks at extensive dimensions in both cultural and political areas, to the extent that during 14 centuries its impacts have constantly remained in the thoughts and various interpretive, historical, theological and juristic writings.

The first person being tremendously active in this path was 'Abd Allah Ibn Sallam, one of the Jewish

scribes who embraces Islam at the Prophet's (S) time. Sources as well as compilers of traditions have got so many of his narrations concerning the circulation of Jew culture among Muslims.

Ka'b al-Ahbar was more prominent than him, and given the influence he had on the second caliph[177], impressed so many companions of the Prophet (S) who narrated traditions, and was able to induce more pernicious damages to the Islamic culture and defile the world of tradition by his baseless narrations from the Jewish books. He was even highly praised by Mu'awiya.[178]

'Akrama, one of the Mawalis of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas, a prominent traditionist has called him "Rabbani Hadhi al-Umma", "The Devine of this nation".[179] Among the companions of the Prophet (S), Abu Hurayra and 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amr respected him more than the others, to the extent that in some cases Abu Hurayra ascribed his narrations to the Prophet (S) aiming to make them common. In our discussion of the caliphate of the second caliph, we will speak of Ka'b al-Ahbar in detail.

Ka'b al-Ahbar's actual inheritor was Wahb Ibn Munabba in the late first century and the beginning if the second century. According to what Zuhri has written about him, he has got tremendous knowledge of the people of the book, and extremely favored in this regard.[180]

Wahb traditions have been compiled in Sahih Muslim and Bukhari through Wahb's brother, Hammam, who himself was the narrator of traditions of Abu Hurayra being himself under the influence of Ka'b al-Ahbar.[181]

Taking into account the multi-dimensional relationship of Abu Hurayra, Ka'b al-Ahbar, Wahb Ibn Munabba, and Hammam Ibn Munabba demonstrates their contribution to the circulation of He was the Ka'b al-Ahbar of his time, and Ka'b al-Ahbar is the most knowledgeable of the people of his time. And now, what sort of a person is Wahb himself, having access to both sciences?!", said Dhahabi about Wahb.[182] **كان كثيرا ينقل من كتب الاسرائيات** " He frequently narrated from Israelites books."[183]

Wrote Dhahabi elsewhere about him. It's been narrated, by Wahb himself, that he first believed in predestination; however, having read seventy or so heavenly books, he recanted these beliefs.414

Elsewhere it's been noted that he has studied 92 heavenly books.[184] Ibn 'Imad Hanbali has written about him, **كان شديد الاعتناء بكتب الاولين واخبار الملاحم وقصصهم بحيث كان يشبه بكعب الاحبار في زمانه** " He took great heed of the books of the primacy people and accounts of the bloody fights as well as their stories, to the extent that he resembled Ka'b al-Ahbar in his time."[185]

After some years, Wahb gained such a high position in Sunnites culture that they narrated from the Prophet (S), [186] **يكون في أمتي رجل يقال له وهب يهب الله له الحكمة** "There will be a man among my nation called Wahb, to whom Allah will grant sagacity."

He was definitely not heedless of the Umayyads, and he regarded 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz as Mahdi al-Maw'ud.[187]

The Umayyads policy not only didn't hinder the publication of Israelian articles and writings, but it did confine it as well. The Umayyads rulers derived many benefits from their knowledge for the popularization and application of their political thoughts in the society.

Mu'awiya himself had a Christian counselor namely Sirjawn Ibn Mansur. He was that very person whom Yazid once made his doorkeeper and showed him a treaty – whether true or lie – from Mu'awiya, so that if the people in Kufa revolt, he would commission 'Ubayd Ibn Ziyad to go to Kufa. Afterwards, Sirjawn Ibn Mansur became the counselor of Marwan Ibn Hakam as well.[188]
It seems likely that, his son was responsible for the crucial duty of writing about the army and the tribute.[189] According to some other records, Mu'awiya has reconstructed a ruined church.[190] If need be, the caliphs referred to the narrations amongst whose narrators was Zuhri, with regard to the virtue of Bayt al-Muqaddas, Jerusalem.

When Mecca was in 'Ubayd Ibn Ziyad's hand, Damascus people were faced with difficulty during their pilgrimage to Mecca. According to Ya'qubi, 'Abd al-Malik prevented them from going on pilgrimage to Mecca, in as much as Ibn Zubayr compelled them to pledge allegiance to him as the Muslims' caliph. When opposed to, 'Abd al-Malik told the people that Ibn Shahab Zuhri quoted from your Prophet to you, **لا تشد الرحال الا الي ثلاثه مساجد, المسجد الحرام ومسجدي ومسجد بيت المقدس وهو يقوم لكم مقام الكعبه** " Pack not off but towards the mosque: al-Haram mosque, al-Nabi mosque and al-Aqsa mosque."

It is the roach thereon the Holy Prophet allegedly stood during his ascension. Take it in lieu of Ka'ba. Having built a dome for and hung curtains around it, 'Abd al-Malik compelled the people to go around it as they do around Ka'ba. Such a rite had been performed during the Umayyads time.[191]
According to Ibn Khallakan people had congregated there on the day of 'Arafa (the 9th day of Dhil-Hajja when the pilgrims perform specified actions in 'Arafat).[192]

It might not have been explicitly mentioned in Arabic sources that performing Hajj in Bayt al-Muqaddas (Jerusalem) had been 'Abd al-Malik's initiation but the only pieces of information reported had been circumambulating around the rock as well as its holiness.

Nevertheless, in non-Arabic sources, Europeans, it is precisely stressed that it had been 'Abd al-Malik's order. Utikhyus, one of the first historians in Europe had written it in his book called Annales.[193] This action manifests how the Israelites had been made use of with the Umayyads's policies side by side.

To hold Bayt al-Muqaddas in esteem, both 'Abd al-Malik and Hajjaj had committed themselves to building two portals for it. The one built by 'Abd al-Malik was burnt to a crisp by a thunderbolt later. Hajjaj wrote to him that the following Qur'anic verse was about them

واتْلُ عَلَيْهِم بنا بني آدم بالحقّ اِذْ قَرّبا قُرْباناً فَتَقَبَّل مِنْ أحَدِهما وَلَمْ يتَقَبَّلْ من الآخر

"And relate to them the story of the two sons of Adam with truth when they both offered an offering, but it

was accepted from one of them and was not accepted from the other."[194]

Any other cases concerning the impacts on 'Abd al-Malik through people of the Book are reported.[195] During his long (twenty-year) rule over the oriental Islamic lands, Hajjaj was not secure from the scientific dignity of people of the Book therefore, he reinforced their influence on the community through being impressed with them.

One of them dates back to the year 84 when he founded the town of Wasit motivated by a Christian monk's prophecy as stated by Tabari. While he had stopped there, accompanied by his troops, he noticed a monk crossing the Tigris and urinating towards his mule at the same time. Dismounting from his mule, the monk removed the polluted soil and threw it in out the river. Hajjaj called him and asked about the reason.

He responded that he had read in their books that in this very place a mosque would be built and Allah would be worshipped as long as there were monotheists on that earth. Accordingly, Hajjaj laid the foundations for the town of Wasit there and founded the principal mosque of the town in....[196]

The phrase "we have read in our books that ..." was common while narrating the Israelites statements. Some day when Hajjaj was on his way to Damascus to meet 'Abd al-Malik, he asked a monk whether he had read anything regarding the present status in their books.
He answered, "Yes".

He asked again, "By name or description?"
"Sometimes by name without description and sometimes vice versa," replied the monk. After a series of questions, Hajjaj asked about his successor. The answer was that a man called Yazid would succeed him.

"While I am dead or alive"? he asked.
"I do not know", he answered.
Hajjaj asked, "Give a description of him!"
"He would be treacherous to you," said the monk, "I know nothing more".

Remembering Yazid Ibn Muhallab, Khurasan governor, who was also ousted later.[197] There is a strong probability that some merely with the aim of deposing Yazid had conspired to incite the monk to utter such absurd talks.

The Christian's penetration into the Umayyads's administration under the name of amanuenses and so on and so forth cleared the way for the Israelites expansion. Mothers of some rulers were Christian bondwomen, in their turns, influential in disseminating Christian culture in Muslim community.

Since Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Qasri's mother was a Christian, Khalid was accused of his religion while being an Umayyads governor in Mecca and Iraq for years. He had built a synagogue for his mother to

worship. Concerning him, Farazdaq had composed,

وكيف يؤم الناس من كانت أمّه تدين بـان الله ليس بواحـد

بني بيعة فيها الصليب لامّـه ويهدم من بغض منارالمساجد

How can he ever be a leader for a nation while his mother is unbeliever in monotheism? The man who had built a synagogue having a cross for her and has ruined the minarets of the mosques spitefully198

According to Isfahani, Khalid had been accused on his father's side as well, one of whose forefathers had been a Jew joining the tribe of Bujayla.199 Even Hisham had accused him of heeding more to Christians and Zoroastrians and apportioning properties among them.200
Khalid Rib'i, well-acquainted with the Israelites, had said,"We found in Torah that sky and the earth had shed tears for forty days after 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz".201

Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik also paid much attention to the Qur'an recites of Bayt al-Muqaddas. As stated by Ibn Abi 'Ulba, Walid had given many pieces of jewelry to him to distribute among them.202 A study of Islamic history can reveal hundreds of impacts that Christian and Jewish culture have had on Sunnites culture.

It has been also said why 'Abd al-Malik had for the first time coined was that he had been told that based on their books, the followers of the divine Books had been of this opinion that the caliphs who sanctified Allah on the coins would outlive.203

Imams took a position against such beliefs. Imam 'Ali (a) had stated,
"Anyone who has got a book from the early nations should dispose it as soon as he can."204 It was while these kinds of books had been spread among Muslims. Imam as-Sadiq also in his turn reproached those scholars after the Israelites.205

Earlier, we noticed how Iman as-Sajjad prohibited Hasan Basri from recounting stories. It was exactly the continuation of the Prophet's policy that had emphasized,

لا تسألوا أهل كتاب عن شيء

Never ever ask the followers of the divine Books any question206

These people made efforts to recount the stories respecting the former prophets which had been distorted in Jewish books and usually contained many insults at them as well as false narrations in terms of scholastic theology and jurisprudence. It was already addressed that story-telling became prevalent

from caliph II onward.

Later, during 'Uthman's time, telling the Prophet's stories based on Jewish books while interpreting the Qur'anic verses prevailed more than before. Once Mu'awiya urged a story-teller to stand up after the prayer and curse Imam 'Ali.[207]

The policy of cursing 'Ali (a) was carried on during the Umayyads's tenure by the story-tellers too. When the caliphs realized that the story-tellers needed to be under control, they fabricated some hadiths according to which story-tellers should have worked under the caliph's supervision and personally appointed them in order to pursue their own political and cultural aims.

It was the story-tellers who spread false hadiths among people and had even more influence on people than hadith-narrators. Surprisingly, regardless of their influence on Sunnites's religious culture, hadith-narrators rejected them saying that it they are told one hadith they will multiply it.[208]

The caliphs were mainly proponents of the story-tellers and as mentioned above they themselves appointed and dismissed them. Almost all stories dealt with the narrations made by the followers of the divine Books and were all discussed in detail elsewhere.[209]

Conquests by the Marwanids Until Late First Century

Although conquests had been somewhat resumed during the time of Yazid Ibn Mu'awiya, in this 60s and until even 73 when Ibn Zubayr was overthrown, they were halted. However, the ground was repaved for them subsequent to establishment of 'Abd al-Malik's broad-based government and Ibn Zubayr's fall.

The conquests were limited to several areas, One was in theast including both transoxania and Sistan and the other in the western lands of Islam including Northern Africa and Northern Iraq and Syria called Armenia. Bearing this fact in mind that no consensus is reached on the date of conquests and the quality of their report which have been mingled with irrelevant epics, we present a concise report respecting these conquests.

Oriental Conquests

When 'Umar was caliph, the conquests in oriental lands of Islam peaked following the overthrow of the Sassanids Empire. Arabs who considered the conquests as a mission for expanding Islam and wiping off non-Muslims did not content themselves with the Sassind's overthrow and advanced towards the vast Khurasan, half of which is now in Iran and the rest in Afghanistan and Middle Asian republics, so fast that they reached Transoxania.

After years of clashes with the local dynasties in such lands, Arabs could after all spread the religion deeply as near as China. It is worth saying that aside from the motivation of both caliphs and rulers of the aforesaid areas as well as the people to battle against non-Muslims, a desire for gaining spoils was

of central importance in Muslim's resistance too.

Khurasan was under the Sassanids's power then. Nevertheless, the more it was advanced towards the east, the less their influence grew and the stronger the local rulers became. The residents of that land were like Turks in Iranians' view. As soon as the conquests crossed the border of Khurasan, Iranians became motivated to cooperate. By the same token, the Iranian's all-out presence beside Arabs in the conquests was eye-catching in the last quarter of the first century.

Although the impediments facing Arabs in such lands were by no means few, their strength in defeating the Sassanids as a superpower together with Islamic attraction and Muslims's treatment could undermine the residents. Professor Gip commented, “Since Arabs' dominance often followed neither murder nor plunder and they contented themselves with the paid Jizya after the capture, the town was evacuated immediately with no serious resistance.”210

The existing disputes among the local rulers were another reason for the fragility of these lands and consequently facilitative for Muslim Arabs. Muslims's attack to Transoxania had in essence begun during Mu'awiya's time by Ziyad, Iraqi governor, in the early 50s.

In 51 A.H. he was set to send 50000 Arab families residing in Basra and Kufa out to Khurasan211 in order to materialize his aim which was stabilization of conquests. The urgency of these Arabs' presence for developing and stabilizing the conquered area was crystal clear. Furthermore, such a movement could precede a number of lateral problems for Muslims one of which was the protracted dispute among the Arab tribes in Khurasan, the origin of most clashes.

The strife between the Mudrids and Rabi'a in Khurasan had ended in many deep-rooted conflicts. While Ibn Zubayr in power, 'Abd Allah Ibn Khazim, from among the Qaysids, was the governor. Succeeding Ibn Zubayr's suppression by 'Abd al-Malik, 'Abd Allah was asked to stay there at 'Abd al-Malik's demand.

He declined however. 'Abd al-Malik as a consequence invoked Bukayr Ibn Wishah, an agent of 'Abd Allah's in Marw who accepted the request. In a battle between him and 'Abd Allah Ibn Khazim, Ibn Khazim was killed and 'Abd al-Malik could succeed in dominating that land as well.212

No sooner had 'Abd Allah Ibn Khazim been appointed by Ibn Zubayr as Khurasan governor than the clashes among Arabs in Khurasan had Turks dare advance as near as Niyshabur.213 The clashes among the Arab residents of Khurasan were so prolonged even after Ibn Khazim's death that both Sistan and Khurasan were also entrusted to Hajjaj. Proficient enough during the war with the Kharijites, Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra was appointed by him in 78 to govern Khurasan.

The governorship of Muhallab's family father and two sons, Yazid and Mufa□□al) in that land lasted about nine years. Nevertheless, following the grudge Hajjaj bore this family, he ousted them and substituted Qutayba Ibn Muslim for them. In 80, concurrent with the attack Muhallab had launched on Kashsh, he stayed there for two years and combated non-Muslims. According to Tabari, since there had

been no probability of conquest for him, his one and the only desire was to return the army safe and sound to Marw.214

Muhallab who passed away in 82 on his way back from Kashsh was replaced by his son, Yazid. In 84, an influential Turk in a fort in Badaghays to whom Yazid had laid siege had to hand over the entire treasure of the fort in a compromise to him and leave with his family.215

Hajjaj affected by an eminent follower of the divine Books suspected Yazid Ibn Muhallab in 85 and designated his brother, Mufa□□al, in place.216 As Yazid himself had perceived, such a measure was merely for impairing this family's influence and eventually wiping them off the political face of Khurasan and even oriental lands.

During his nine-month ruler, Mufa□□al invaded Badaghays and besides conquering it, he brought spoils. Such conquests of Muhallab's family appeared petty compared with those of Qutayba Ibn Muslim who stepped in Khurasan in 86. At the same time 'Abd al-Malik died and his son, Walid, succeeded him.

He was the one throughout whose age the greatest conquests were made reminiscent of the primary stages of conquests. Qutayba carried on conquering for nearly ten years during which he endeavored to capture the lands in Transoxania whether south or north of Amudarya (Jiyhun). Both Tabari and Baladhuri have addressed these conquests in their books but the analysis of them is beyond the scope of this chapter.217

The reports respecting such issues are evaluated by professor Gibbwithin four units, Restitution of Takharistan (86), Conquest of Bukhara (87), Growth of influence (91) and Military Expedition to the provinces218 with Qutayba's death, conquests were halted for a long time although Arabs were still dominant.

Embracing Islam had gradually become so prevalent that the conversion of a number of monarchs to Islam by 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz's219 invitation set the scene for the caliphs' absolute dominance.

Qutayba's conquests in the Orient reached China the most noticeable areas of which were Shash and Farghana; however, Arab dominance in that land was exposed to change. They all occurred during the last years of his life, 94 and 95. As soon as he learned Hajjaj's death, he relinquished conquering, upset, and returned to Marw220.

As reported by Narshakhi the principal mosque of Balkh was founded in 94221 indicative of Islam's widespread in the cities of Islamic land. Southern transoxania from Kabul to the south and from Kirman province in Iran to the east was called Sijistan.

Two abortive attacks of Arabs one by 'Abd Allah Ibn Umayya and the other by 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Abi Bakra have been reported by Baladhuri. As far as the mountainous position of the area was concerned, the monarch named Ratbil or Zanbil could each time force Muslim Arabs to withdraw.222

When Hajjaj dispatched an army headed by 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ash'ath to Sijistan in 80, Zanbil asked for a compromise but 'Abd al-Rahman declined. Arabs could conquer a large part of Sijistan and gain spoils subsequent to Zanbil's withdrawal.223

Contenting himself with these numbers, 'Abd al-Rahman informed Hajjaj of his decision. Hajjaj urged him, nevertheless, to keep on conquering. 'Abd al-Rahman as well as the Iraqis who had a potential dissatisfaction with Hajjaj revolted discussed elsewhere in detail.

After being defeated, 'Abd al-Rahman sought refuge by Zanbil but in an agreement and under Hajjaj's threat 'Abd al-Rahman's head was sent to him under the conditions of a seven-year or nine-year truce and indemnity. As this period passed by Ashhab Ibn Bishr traveled there on Hajjaj's behalf but his harsh behavior toward Zanbil made him send him back.

Dominant in Khurasan and Sijistan, Qutayba Ibn Muslim sent his brother, 'Amr, to Sijistan. Muslims' former defeats in that land which had cast a spell over it according to 'Amr resulted in a compromise. When Zanbil felt that Muslims had no longer the ability to attack there, he discontinued paying to the rulers succeeding Hajjaj.224

In 94, Muslims could advance toward India by the Sea of 'Umman and conquer a part of it in addition to Sijistan, under Zanbil's rule.225 Among the Indian key cities conquered first by Muslims in 95 was Multan. Until then modern western Pakistan had entirely been governed by Muslims.226

Occidental Conquests

The conquering of Egypt was the start of Muslim conquests in Africa and their penetration into Spain. Egypt was conquered late during 'Umar's caliphate in 20 and 21 A.H. Two years later Tripoli was conquered but not staying there, Muslims came back to Barqa. After a while, the civil wars waged among Muslims had them miss the chance of more conquests in Africa.

Muslim disputes in that land were mostly with the rulers designated by East Roman Emperor for Egypt, Ifriqiya (modern Tunasia) and littoral areas of the Mediterranean. Although the local tribes called Barbars were among the greatest obstacles to conquests, they gradually embraced Islam as conquests multiplied.

As already discussed, while Mu'awiya in power, 'Uqba Ibn Nafi', resumed conquering and established the town of Qirawan in 50 as a base for Muslims' next conquests. Nonetheless, in an ambush among the Barbarians, he was killed in 64. With successive attacks, he could penetrate into modern Morocco as near as Fas but he was killed en route back.

Once 'Abd al-Malik had suppressed various riots and dominated the whole Islamic lands, conquests in Africa were resumed in 76. At the same time, Hasan Ibn Nu'man launched his conquests by conquering Qartajanna and advanced towards Morocco. Meanwhile, Romans occupied Qartajanna but Hasan who

could take it back in 79 razed it to the ground not to allow them to infiltrate into it again. This time, the Barbarians united behind a woman, named Kahina, later, against Muslim Arabs and could succeed to get them to retreat as far as the primary conquests. The only place where Kahina and the Barbarians were overpowered was Tabarja in 83.

To pursue Hasan Ibn Nu'man's conquests, Musa Ibn Nusayr resumed them in Africa in 86 and consequently conquered modern Morocco wholly. At the same time, as the Barbarians have been gradually embracing Islam the ground was getting fully prepared for Arabs' through dominance in northern littoral lands of Africa.227

'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan was the caliph until then who was succeeded by his son Walid whose endeavors in conquests were the most considerable among the former caliphs according to Suyuti.

One of the commanders of Musa Ibn Nusayr's army was Tariq Ibn Ziyad who has been allegedly a Barbarian although what his father's name indicated was that he might have converted to Islam long time ago. Due to his excellent competence as a commander, Tariq overstepped the bounds of North Africa and took Muslims to Spain for the first time in 93.

A year later Musa Ibn Nusayr set out to Spain as well and maintained the act of conquering there. Among the conquered lands were Tulaytala, Marida, etc. Most areas with no war surrendered to Muslims and as a result Spain became entirely Muslim Arabs'.

Walid's death in 97 and his succession by Sulayman made Musa Ibn Nusayr return to Damascus and be blacklisted by the Umayyads. He wished he had pursued conquests in Italy and France through Spain and then in Greece and constantinople. Walid's death as well as his deposal, however, caused Arabs to remain in Spain and even entrust the land to the Europeans after a couple of centuries.

Armenia was among the lands the conquests of which had been begun from 'Umar's time and had been under heavy clashes in the late first century. A vast land was called Armenia by Muslims. Baladhuri has divided it into four parts including such cities as Shimshat, Qaliqala, Busfurjan, Dubayl, Jurzan and Sijistan.228

When 'Uthman in power, Habib Ibn Maslama Fihri attacked Qaliqala and not only he conquered it but also based on a treaty the residents were duty-bound to pay Jizya(tributes).229 Tiflis, Eastern Armenia, was also surrounded by Habib.

While 'Abd al-Malik and Ibn Zubayr were in clashes, the residents of such areas appreciated the opportunity and revolted, but they were suppressed after some time and ruled by the Umayyads.230 During Walid's and Sulayman's age many attacks were made on the Roman central territory. Although in their attacks they even reached as near as the gates of Constantinople, Muslims could never succeed in conquering it.

In a nutshell, it can be said that Muslims lost their primary magnificence from the late first century but in return Romans resumed their attacks and were still superior in the second century. Nevertheless, they could by no means conquer Eastern Rome entirely. It was done by 'Uthmanids later in the 10th century after Hijra.

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1. Yazid Ibn Muhallab's riot, as it was touched on before, was a political one, emanating from his opportunism
2. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, pp 2-3
3. al-Futuh, vol. VIII, p. 106; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 429
4. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 429
5. Ibid vol. V, p. 430; The word "farmers" here refers to the owner of big farms who had great power locally
6. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 438
7. Ibid vol. V, p. 443
8. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 493
9. Ibid vol. V, pp 494-495
10. Ibid vol. V, pp 591-592
11. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 428; Van Vloten in "As-Siyadat al-'Arabiyya" (p. 62) said that he was inclined towards the Prophet's Sunna He also referred to an article in Majallat al-asiwiyyat al-Firansiyya (october, 1835, p. 327) in which the same matter had been pointed out But in "Tabari", the main source for Harith's riot, this matter was told by no means This was told probably because of the condition of Khurasan at that time A piece of poem being quoted from Kumayt Ibn Zayd Asadi in Harith's praise in "Tabari" also can be an evidence in this regard Although in this poem it was not told that Harith was a Shi'ite, but the phrase Rayat Sud (The black Flags) was used and based on some narrations "Malahim wa Fitan" regarding a riot in Khurasan and using black flags there was used The use of the phrase "Black Flags" indicates that Kumayt wanted to liken the uprising of Harith to a shi'i uprising It is mentioned in a report that Harith considered himself as "the man of the black flags " (Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 3) However, thereis no evidence that Harith was a Shi'i.
12. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 606
13. Ibid vol. VI p. IV
14. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. X
15. Ibid vol. V, pp 429-430 He especially had taken into account the farmers of Juzjan
16. As-Siyadat al-'Arabiyya, p. 66
17. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. 6
18. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. 2
19. Ibid vol. V, p. 340
20. To know about the beliefs as well as scholastic theology of the Murji'ites, refer to a book entitled "The Murji'ites, Tarikh wa Andishih" from the writer of the very same lines
21. Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya pp 441, 442
22. As-Siyadat al-'Arabiyya, pp 64, 65
23. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 433
24. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. 2
25. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. 3
26. Ibid vol. VI, p. 6; al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. 79
27. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 538
28. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 213; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. 197; See, Tarikh Mukhtasar al-duwal, p. 118; al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. 46
29. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 216; Tarikh Gudhidih, p. 286; al-Hur al-'Ayn, p. 190; Bahj As-Sabaqa, vol. V, p. 339; al-Aghani, vol. V, p. 49; Nujum al-Zuhra, vol. I, p. 299
30. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 216; al-Hur al-'Ayn, p. 190; Bahj As-Sabaqa, vol. V, p. 239

31. Tarikh Gudhidih, p. 286; al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. 47
32. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 335; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 521 He wanted to take wine to that room Bahj As-Sabaqa, vol. V, p. 340
33. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 533
34. Ibid vol. V, p. 555
35. Ma'athir al-Inafa fi Ma'alim al-Khilafa, vol. I, p. 156
36. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 521; al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. 206
37. al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. 2
38. al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. 72, see, 74
39. Ibid p. 73
40. al-Aghani vol. VII, 80
41. Ibid p. 82
42. al-Aghani, p. 83
43. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 336; Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 581; Tarikh Gudhidih, p. 287
44. al-Firaq Bayn al-Firaq, p. 117; al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. 51
45. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 516
46. al-Firaq Bayn al-Firaq, p. 205
47. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 539
48. Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 253; Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. V, p. 376
49. See, Tarikh al-Jahmiyya wal-Mu'tazila, p. 70 from Abu Bakr Kharazmi
50. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 221
51. Ibid vol. III, p. 226 Because the residents of Mizza had paid allegiance to Walid before his death; al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. 75
52. Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. V, p. 376
53. Ibid vol. V, p. 433
54. Ma'athir al-Inafa, vol. I, p. 163; Nujum al-Zahira, vol. I, p. 322
55. al-Milal wal-Nihal, vol. I, p. 93; see also, p. 106
56. Maqdamat Ibn Khaldun, p. 415; see Buhuth ma'a Ahl As-Sunna wal-Sulafiyya, pp 76-91
57. Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. V, p. 433
58. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. X, p. 19
59. See, Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', vol. V, p. 432 (footnote)
60. Ibid vol. VI, p. 27
61. Ibid vol. VI, p. 27.
62. Tarikh al-Jahmiyya wal-Mu'tazila, p. 16
63. al-Akhbar, vol. II, p. 249; al-Bayan wal-Tabyin, vol. II, p. 70
64. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 576
65. Ibid vol. V, p. 553
66. Ibid vol. V, p. 565
67. Ibid vol. V, p. 545
68. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 335
69. 'Uyun al-Akhbar, vol. II, p. 249
70. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 592, 591
71. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 593
72. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 314
73. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 455; see also p. 581
74. al-Aghani, vol. VII, p. 73
75. Ibid vol. VII, p. 79
76. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 35

77. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 529-532
78. Ibid vol. V, p. 595
79. Ibid vol. V, p. 596; Siyar a'lam al-Nubala', p. 377; Ma'athir al-Inafa, vol. I, p. 161
80. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 341
81. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 234
82. Muhammad Kazim Khajawiyan has listed different attitudes of this kind in an article of the magazine of Mashhad's Faculty of Literature year, 19 pp 503-530
83. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 338
84. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 232
85. Mawardi, al-Ahkam As-Sultaniyya, p. 13 (Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik is regarded here)
86. Musnad Ahmad, vol. I, pp 10-11
87. al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, pp 19-21
88. Farazdaq was among those poets Despite his well-known poem in praising Iman as-Sajjad, he had composed many verses in praising both the Umayyads's rulers and their relatives By taking a glance at his poems, one can understand his great rule in the Umayyads stabilization There are many verses in sanctifying the Umayyads caliphs in his Diwan See, Diwan Farazdaq, vol. I, pp 261-268 There are some verses in praising Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Some of his poems regarding the stabilization of the Umayyads were mentioned before
89. Diwan Akhtal pp 21-24; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. 30
90. Diwan Akhtal p. 37; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. 30
91. Diwan Jarir, vol. I, p. 95; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa
92. Diwan Jarir, vol. I, p. 295
93. Ibid vol. II, p. 620
94. Diwan Farazdaq, vol. I, p. 24
95. Ibid vol. II, p. 210
96. al-Aghani, vol. I, p. 299
97. Shi'r al-Ahwas, p. 193
98. Ibid p. 173
99. Diwan Farazdaq, vol. II, p. 100
100. Diwan Jarir, vol. I, p. 145; Regarding the poets of these verses, see al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. 31-35
101. Diwan Jarir, vol. I, p. 349
102. Diwan Jarir, vol. II, p. 737
103. Diwan Farazdaq, vol. II, p. 125; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. 36 The second line is about camels They put their bellies and necks on the ground as a sign of obedience
104. Quoted from Dawlat wa hukumat dar Islam "Government and Ruling in Islam" written by Lambton, p. 110, vol. III Montigomeri Watt also had quoted some verses regarding the meaning of the time, Allah's Viceroy during the Umayyads's time See Watt, God's caliph, Qur'anic Interpretations and Umayyads claims in Iran and Islam, Edinburgh, 1971, pp 571-572, see also Watt Islamic Political Thought, Edinburgh, pp 33, 137, No 5, see also, Khalifa wa Sultan, pp 16-17
105. Prior to this Hassan Ibn Thabit had used the term "Allah's viceroy" in his poem written in 36 about 'Uthman Diwan Hassan Ibn Thabit, p. 96, quoted from Government and Ruling in Islam, p. 110 the third part of the footnote No 7
106. Ansab al-Ashraf, vol. IV, p. 345
107. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. VI, p. 222
108. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, p. 40
109. al-'Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. 25; Ash-Shura fil-'Asr al-Umawi, p. 35
110. Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 235
111. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. VI, p. 76
112. Ibid vol. VI, p. 214
113. Ibid vol. VI, p. 214; See al-Niza' wal-Takhasum, p. 69; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya vol. IX, p. 136; al-Nasa'ih al-Kafiya li man Yatawalla Mu'awiya, p. 31; Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. I2, p. 228

114. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 147
115. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. 567; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 60; Ash-Shura fil-'Asr al-Umawi, p. 35
116. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. III, p. 212; Ash-Shura fil-'asr al-Umawi, p. 35
117. Farazdaq in praising Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik said (Diwan, vol. I, pp 89- 88)

ابي الله الا نصركم بجنوده وليس بمغلوب من الله صاحبه فما قام بعد الدار قواد فتنه ليشعلها الا ومروان ضاربه ابى الله الا ان ملككم الذى به نيت الدين الشديد نصابه

Somewhere else he composed (Diwan, vol. I, p. 215) غلبتم الناس بالحق اذا ضربوا عليهم وبضرب غير تعذير

118. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, p. 62
119. Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq, vol. XXV, p. 53
120. Diwan Farazdaq, vol. I, p. 80; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa p. 22
121. Ibid vol. II, p. 99
122. Ibid vol. I, p. 262
123. Diwan Jarir, vol. II, p. 771
124. See, Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. V, p. 333; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. IX, pp 196, 192; Shadharat al-Dhahab, vol. I, p. 119; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. 23; Tarikh al-Khulafa', pp 235, 234, 233
125. Diwan Jarir, vol. I, p. 416
126. Diwan Jarir vol. I, p. 228
127. Diwan Farazdaq, vol. I, p. 281; al-Umawiyyun wal al-Khilafa, p. 24
128. al-Fakhri, p. 122
129. Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 219
130. Ansab al-Ashraf(manuscript) vol. I, p. 1164 quoted from al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, pp 120, 122; al-Kamil fil-Tarikh, vol. IV, p. 522; Fawat al-Wafayat, vol.,II p. 404
131. Amali Qali, vol. I, p. 11; See also al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VIII, p. 316; al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. 122
132. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 273
133. Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 218
134. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, vol. II, p. 280-281; Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 220
135. Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, vol. XV, p. 243; and see al-Umawiyyun wal-Khilafa, p. 128
136. al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. IX, p. 139
137. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. IV, p. 343; al-Niza' wal-Takhasum, p. 78; Ansab al-Ashraf al-Juz' al-rabi', al-Qism al-Awwal, p. 495, No, 1278; al-Bad' wal-Tarikh, vol. V, p. 208 (There, the word "Mar□iyy" was used instead of "Ra□iyy") al-Kamil fil-Tarikh vol. III, p. 123, Ka'b al-Ahbar was one of the advisors and companions of 'Uthman; see Ansab ul Ashraf, al-Ajuz' al-Rabi', al-Qism al-Awwal, p. 542
138. Tarikh al-Khulafa', pp 216-217
139. Ibid p. 233
140. Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 233
141. al-Muwaffaqiyyat, p. 352
142. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VI, pp 393-94
143. Tarikh al-Khulafa', p. 245
144. Rabi' al-Abrar, vol. II, p. 843-844, see also About Muhammad Ibn Ka'b to, Qissikhanan dar Tarikh Islam, (Story-tellers in the History of Islam), pp 69-68
145. al-Nuqud al-Islamiyya, p. 11, there is much to say in this regard, see al-'Iqd al-Munir fi ma yata'alluq bi l-dirham wal-dananir
146. Diwan al-Jarir, vol 1, p. 349.
147. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. VII, pp 219-224 (a report like translation
148. Compare with the verse, اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم " This day have I perfected for you, your religion" According to some traditionists and in the view of Shi'ites Imams and Imamiyya scholars, refers to Imam 'Ali (a) Imamate Perhaps that's

because of a sort of apposition, that they have put aside the stipulated Imamate which is indicative of religion integrity and replaced it with heirapparentship

149. al-Musannaf, ‘Abd al-Razzaq, vol. IX, p. 221

150. Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 146; al-I□ah, p. 182

151. See, al-Ahkam fi Usul al-Ahkam, vol. II, p. 131; Na□rat ‘Amma fi Tarikh al-fiqh al-Islami, p. 10; al-Imam al-al-Baqir (a), vol. I, pp 215-216; Dirasat wa buhuth fil-Tarikh wal-Islam, vol. I, p. 56-57

152. See, Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, whenever confronted by a reciter, Dhahabi counted the number of his traditions, and in this way the number increased.

153. See, Dirasat wa buhuth fil-Tarikh wal-Islam, vol. I, p. 56

154. al-Imamah wal-Siyasah, vol. II, pp 108-109

155. Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. I, p. 109;al-Majruhin, vol. I, p. 40; Shadharat al-Dhahab, vol. II, p. 162

156. Ansab al-Ashraf (footnote), vol. I, p. 26

157. Shadharat al-Dhahab, vol. I, p. 163

158. See, al-I□ah, p. 210; Abu Hurayra; Sayyid Sharaf al-Din, pp 42-45

159. In this regard and other information concerning Zuhri see, Tarikh Abi Zar‘at al-Dimashqi, vol. II, p. 538, Turathuna magazine, No 23, pp 9-27

160. al-Tarikh al-’Arabi wal-Mu’arrikhun, vol. I, p. 173

161. al-Majruhin, vol. I, p. 258

162. Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. I, p. 72

163. Ibid, vol. I, p. 135

164. Ibid, vol. I, p. 145

165. Ibid, vol. I, p. 78

166. Jami‘ Bayan al-’Ilm, vol. I, p. 146

167. Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. I, p. 118

168. Ansab al-Ashraf, p. 209; qtd in, Tarikh al-Dawlat al-’Arabiyya, Wellhausen, p. 209

169. Tarikh al-Dawlat al-’Arabiyya, pp 256-257

170. Tarikh al-Dawlat al-’Arabiyya, al-Musannaf, vol. I, pp 229-230

171. Tarikh al-Khulafa’, p. 223

172. Ibid p. 246

173. Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. I, p. 95

174. Tarikh Baghdad, vol. II, p. 61

175. al-Fa’iq fi Gharib al-Hadith, vol. I, p. 135

176. Tabaqat al-Kubra, vol. VI, p. 342

177. Previously we’ve discussed this in noting the mental life of the second caliph

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179. Ibid, vol. II, p. 370

180. Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, vol. I, p. 101

181. loc cit

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183. Mizan al-i‘tidal, vol. IV, p. 353, Mu‘jam al-Udaba’, vol. XIX, p. 259

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186. al-Majruhin, vol. I, p. 176

187. Tarikh al-Khulafa’, pp 233-235

188. al-’Iqd al-Farid, vol. V, p. 141

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190. See, Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. I, pp 205-228 (Leiden); al-Tanbih wal-Ishraf, pp 302-307 (Leiden) quoted in Tarikh al-Dawlat al-’Arabiyya

191. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. II, p. 261; al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya, vol. VIII, pp 280, 281; Hayat al-Hayawan, vol. I, p. 66
192. Wafayat al-A'yan, vol. III p. 72
193. Tarikh al-Dawlat al-'Arabiyya, p. 206
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195. Ibid vol. VII, pp,681-781
196. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp 184,185
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208. Ibid pp. 86-96
209. Ibid pp. 65-72
210. Futuhat a'rab dar asiyay markazi, p. 41
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218. Futuhat a'rab dar asiyay markazi, from p. 52 on
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220. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, p. 263
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222. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 390, 391
223. Tarikh at-Tabari, vol. V, pp 141-142; Futuh al-Buldan, p. 391
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226. ImpiraTuriyyat al-'Arab, p. 260
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