## Sharh al Akhbar on the Virtues of the Pure Imams

By Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Maghribī, who died in 363 AH.

## Part Four: ʿAlī's Jihād against the Nāqithūn, the Qāsiṭūn, and the Māriqūn

In the name of God, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate. Through Him we seek assistance in all matters.

Al-Daghshī, through his chain of transmission, reported from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī that he said:

"We were sitting, waiting for the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family. He came out to us from one of the houses of his wives, and we stood and walked with him. The strap of his sandal broke, so ʿAlī, peace be upon him, picked it up and stayed behind to repair it. The Messenger of God remained standing, waiting, and we stood with him. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were among the people.

"The Messenger of God said:

'Among you is one who will fight on the interpretation of this Qur'an just as I fought over its revelation.'

Abū Bakr and ʿUmar eagerly anticipated that statement. He said:

'No. Rather, it is the one who repairs the sandal.'

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī said:

"So I came to him with it, wanting to give him the good news, but he did not raise his head toward it. I realized that this was something he had already heard from the Messenger of God before that.

"In another report, Abū Bakr said: 'I am he, O Messenger of God.' ʿUmar likewise said the same. He said: 'No. Rather, it is the one who repairs the sandal'—meaning ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

Ismāʿīl ibn Rajāʾ—and in the original: Ismāʿīl ibn Rajāʾ, from Jābir, from his father—reported from his father:

"A man said to ʿAlī, peace be upon him, while he was in al-Raḥbah: 'O Commander of the Believers, I adjure you by God: was there a statement concerning the sandal?'

He said:

'O God, yes. It was among the things that your Prophet used to confide to me.'

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Another report, from Ibn ʿAbbās:

"The Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, said to his wives:

‘I wish I knew which of you is the one upon the mangy camel, whom the dogs of al-Ḥawʾab will bark at, with many killed to her right and to her left.’

Then she would escape after having nearly been destroyed.

(Al-Ḥawʾab is a spring between Basra and Mecca. It was where ʿĀʾisha stopped when she proceeded toward Basra during the Battle of the Camel.)

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In another report:

“Many people would be killed to her right and to her left, and they would be in the Fire; then she would escape after having nearly been destroyed.

“Then he looked toward ʿĀʾisha and said to her:

‘Look, O Ḥumayrāʾ, lest you be the one meant by this.’

Then he turned toward ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and said:

‘O Abū al-Ḥasan, if you are placed in charge of any matter concerning her, treat her gently.’

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Another report from Khālid ibn al-Aʿṣarī, who said:

“I heard ʿAlī, peace be upon him, say:

‘The Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, commanded me to fight the Nāqithūn, the Qāsiṭūn, and the Māriqūn.’

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Another report from Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī:

“The Messenger of God passed by ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and said to him:

‘You will fight the Nāqithūn, the Qāsiṭūn, and the Māriqūn.’

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Another report from ʿAlī, peace be upon him:

‘I was commanded to fight the Nāqithūn, the Qāsiṭūn, and the Māriqūn.’

The Nāqithūn were the people of the Battle of the Camel; the Qāsiṭūn were the people of Syria; and the Māriqūn were the Kharijites.

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Another report from Abū Mikhnaf:

“I entered upon Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī while he was feeding horses that belonged to him. I said to him:

‘O Abū Ayyūb, you fought the polytheists with your sword alongside the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family. Then, when God established Islam, you came to fight the Muslims with it?’

“He said:

‘Yes. The Messenger of God commanded us to fight the Nāqithūn, the Qāsiṭūn, and the Māriqūn.’

“We fought the Nāqithūn, who were the people of the Camel, and the Qāsiṭūn, who were the people of Syria.

“And I am remaining until I fight the Māriqūn at Nahrawān and on the roads—and, by God, I do not know where they are.

‘But it is necessary that we fight them, God willing.’

[This addition is from *Tārīkh Dimashq*.]

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Another report from Abū Kaʿb al-Ḥārithī, who said:

“I went until I reached Medina, during the days of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān. I entered upon him and asked him about something concerning religion.

“I said:

‘O Commander of the Believers, I am a man from Yemen, from Banū al-Ḥārith, and I want to ask you about some matters. Therefore, instruct your gatekeeper not to prevent me from entering.’

“He said:

‘O Waththāb, when this al-Ḥārithī comes, let him in.’

“I would come, and he would ask, ‘Who is this?’

“I would say, ‘Al-Ḥārithī; I have permission.’

“One day I came and knocked on the door.

“He said, ‘Who is that?’

“I said, ‘Al-Ḥārithī.’

“He said, ‘Enter.’

“I entered and found ʿUthmān sitting with a group of the Companions of the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family. They were silent and did not speak, as though birds were perched upon their heads.

“I greeted them and sat down, but I did not ask him anything because of what I saw of their condition.

“While I was there, a group came and said:

‘He refuses to come.’

“‘ʿUthmān became angry and said:

‘He refuses to come? Go and bring him! If he refuses to come, drag him by force.’

“I remained for a short while. Then they departed and returned with a tall, dark-complexioned, bald man who had a few hairs at the front of his head and a few at the back.

“I asked:

‘Who is this?’

“They said:

‘‘ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir.’

“‘ʿUthmān said to him:

‘Are you the one to whom our messengers come, yet you refuse to come?’

“‘ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir said something to him that I do not know.

“Then ʿAmmār left. They continued dispersing from around ʿUthmān until no one remained with him except me.

“‘ʿUthmān stood, and I stood with him, until he came to the mosque. There I saw ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir sitting beside one of the mosque’s pillars, surrounded by a group of the Companions of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family. He was speaking to them, and they were crying.

“‘ʿUthmān said to his gatekeeper:

‘O Waththāb, bring the guards.’

“They came.

“He said:

‘Separate these people’—meaning ʿAmmār and those around him.

“So they separated them, and then the prayer was established.

“ʿUthmān stepped forward to lead the people in prayer. When he said the opening takbīr, a woman in her chamber stood.

“She said:

‘O people, listen!’

“Then she spoke, mentioning the Messenger of God and what God had sent him with. Then she said:

‘You have neglected God’s command and violated His covenant,’

and words to that effect.

“Then she became silent.

“Another woman then spoke in a similar manner. They were ʿĀʾisha and Ḥafṣa.

“When ʿUthmān finished the prayer and turned toward the people, he said:

‘These two are troublemakers, causing people to be led astray. By God, you must stop insulting me, or I shall punish you in a manner in which insulting you would be lawful for me, for I know your origins.’

“Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ said to him:

‘Do you say this to the beloved wives of the Messenger of God?’

“ʿUthmān said:

‘What concern is this of yours?’

“Then ʿUthmān turned toward Saʿd intending to strike him.

“Saʿd slipped away and left. ʿUthmān followed him, and at the door of the mosque he met ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

“ʿAlī said:

‘Where are you going?’

“He said:

‘I am going after this such-and-such man’—meaning Saʿd.

“ʿAlī said:

‘Man, leave this matter alone.’

“ʿUthmān then addressed him, and the exchange of words between them continued until ʿUthmān became angry.

“He said to ʿAlī:

‘Were you not the one who stayed behind from the Messenger of God on the day of Tabūk?’

“ʿAlī replied:

‘I did not stay behind from him. Rather, the Messenger of God appointed me as his deputy over his family, and you and those who were present know this.’

“ʿAlī then said:

‘But were you not the one who fled from the Messenger of God on the day of Uḥud?’

“Each of them intended to confront the other, but the people stood between them and separated them.

“He said:

“When I saw what had happened among the people, I left Medina.

“I went to Kūfa and found that disagreement had broken out among them. They had turned Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ back and would not allow him to enter.

“When I saw this, I returned to my family in Yemen.”

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Another report from Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon them all:

“Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān sent for me, so I went to him. He began asking me questions. I found him to be a man who had encountered and conversed with scholars, yet he possessed nothing concerning the affair of ʿUthmān except that he said:

‘ʿĀʾisha went out seeking vengeance for his blood.’

“I said to him:

‘What sort of man was Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam among you?’

“He said:

‘He was our master and the best of us.’

“I said:

‘And what do you think of ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him?’

“He said:

‘Truthful and approved.’

“I said:

‘I testify concerning ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, that he told me that he heard Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam say:

“I and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf went to ʿĀʾisha while she intended to perform pilgrimage and ʿUthmān was under siege.

“I said to her:

‘You can see that this man is under siege. If only you stayed and looked into his affair and put it right.’

“She said:

‘My travel provisions have already been prepared, my riding animals have been brought near, and I have obligated myself to perform the pilgrimage. I am not going to stay.’

“We pressed her, but she refused. I left her while reciting a line of poetry.”

“He said:

“She said:

‘O man who is reciting poetry, come back.’

“So I returned, and she said:

‘Perhaps you think that I said what I said because I had doubts about ʿUthmān. By God, I wish he were placed inside one of these travel bags of mine so that I could be the one to throw him into the sea.’

“Then she departed until she stopped at a place called al-Ṣalṣal.

“And the people appointed ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās to lead the pilgrimage while ʿUthmān was under siege. He proceeded until he reached that water.

“She was told:

‘This is Ibn ʿAbbās, whom the people have appointed to lead the pilgrimage.’

“So she sent for him.

“She said:

‘O Ibn ʿAbbās, God has given you a tongue and knowledge. I adjure you by God: do not discourage the people from killing this tyrant, ʿUthmān, tomorrow.’

“Then she proceeded to Mecca.

“When she had completed her pilgrimage and the pilgrimage affair had ended, news reached her that ʿUthmān had been killed and that Ṭalḥa ibn ʿUbayd Allāh had been given allegiance.

“She said:

‘O you with the finger!’

“Then, when news later reached her that ʿAlī had been given allegiance, she said:

‘Would that this’—and she pointed toward the sky—‘were to fall upon this’—and she pointed toward the earth.”

Abū Jaʿfar, peace be upon him, said:

“This is Marwān’s report, and I heard it from ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn.”

“He said:

“I had not yet left the house before Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik abandoned what he had held concerning ʿUthmān.”

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Another report from al-Zubayr:

“He was told that ʿUthmān was under siege and that water had been withheld from him.

“He said:

‘And a barrier was placed between them and what they desired, just as was done with their predecessors. Indeed, they were in profound doubt.’”

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ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā reported:

“I arrived in Medina during the days when ʿUthmān was under siege in his house. I saw Ṭalḥa ibn ʿUbayd Allāh surrounded by men and weapons like a black serpent around the house of ʿUthmān, until ʿUthmān was killed.”

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Another report from Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab, who said:

“I went with my father to the mosque. When we entered, I heard the clamour and voices of the people.

“My father said:

‘What is this, my son?’

“I said:

‘The people are surrounding the house of ʿUthmān.’

“He said:

‘Whom do you see among Quraysh?’

“I said:

‘Ṭalḥa ibn ʿUbayd Allāh.’

“He said:

‘Take me to him.’

“I took him until he came close to Ṭalḥa.

“He said to Ṭalḥa:

‘O Abū Muḥammad, will you not stop the people from killing this man?’

“Ṭalḥa said:

‘O Abū Saʿīd, you have a house, so go and sit in your house. For Naʿthal did not fail to recognize this day.’”

We have mentioned these reports briefly from among many reports because we intended to present them before the departure of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and ʿĀʾisha, who publicly claimed that they were seeking vengeance for the blood of ʿUthmān. This was their affair concerning him.

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Muḥammad ibn Sallām, through his chain of transmission, reported from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, that he mentioned the occasions on which he was tested after the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family.

“He said:

‘As for the trials through which I was tested after the Messenger of God—seven occasions—I found myself in them, through God’s grace and blessing, patient, though this is praise of myself.

‘The first of them was this: [this addition is found in al-Ṣadūq’s *Kitāb al-Khiṣāl*] I had no special intimate companion whom I could find comfort in, rely upon, draw near to God through obedience to, rejoice with in prosperity, or find relief with in adversity, other than the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family.

‘He raised me when I was young, cared for me when I grew older, relieved me of poverty, restored me from orphanhood, spared me the need to seek livelihood, and provided for me,

myself, my family, and my children. These were among the ranks and distinctions God, exalted be He, had specifically granted me, leading me to high favor with Him.

‘The death of the Messenger of God brought upon me something that mountains could not bear if they were made to carry it. I saw his family: some were overwhelmed by grief, unable to restrain themselves or control themselves, unable to bear the tremendous calamity that had descended upon me. Their grief destroyed their patience, bewildered their minds, and prevented them from understanding, communicating, speaking, listening, and the like.

‘All the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib were divided between those who consoled them and commanded them to be patient, those who assisted them in weeping, and those who grieved because of their grief.

‘I forced myself to remain patient at his death. I remained silent and occupied myself with what he had instructed me to do: preparing him, washing him, embalming him, shrouding him, praying over him, placing him in his resting place, and preserving God’s trust, His Book, and His covenant that we had carried to His creation and entrusted to them.

‘Nothing distracted me from that—not a sudden tear, an agitated sigh, a piercing anguish, or a tremendous calamity—until I had fulfilled the duty that God and His Messenger had placed upon me and completed what the Messenger of God had commanded me to do.

‘The Messenger of God had appointed me during his lifetime over his entire community and had taken the pledge of allegiance from those present to listen to me and obey my command. He instructed those present to convey this to those who were absent.

‘I was the one conveying his command to them from the Messenger of God. During the Messenger’s life and after his death, it never occurred to me that any of creation would dispute my authority over any matter.

‘Then the Messenger of God commanded them to send forth the army that he had dispatched under Usāma, when he was afflicted by the illness from which God took his life.

‘He did not leave behind any of the sons of Quraysh, nor of the Aws or Khazraj, nor any other Arabs whom he feared might break my allegiance or dispute with me, nor anyone who regarded me with hostility because I had killed his brother, father, or close relative, except that he sent him with Usāma’s army.

‘This included neither the Muhājirūn nor the Anṣār nor others whose hearts had been brought together, nor the hypocrites. He did this so that the hearts of those who remained with him would be clear toward me, and so that no one would say anything to me that I disliked or prevent me from assuming the authority and administering the affairs of his community after him.

‘The last thing the Prophet said concerning the affairs of his community was:

“Let Usāma’s army proceed, and let no one who has been appointed by me remain behind.”

‘He emphasized this command greatly, instructed them about it repeatedly, and stressed it with the strongest possible emphasis.

‘Yet no sooner had the Messenger of God died than men from Usāma’s expedition and the people of his camp abandoned their positions, left their places, and disobeyed the Messenger of God concerning what he had sent them to do.

‘He had ordered them to remain with their commander and march with him under his banner until he carried out the mission to which he had been sent.

‘Instead, they left their commander in his camp and hurried toward a covenant made by God and His Messenger, breaking it. They made an agreement among themselves, in which their voices rose and their opinions differed, without consultation or debate with any of us from Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, without participation in our counsel, and without asking to be released from the allegiance they owed me.

‘They did this while I was occupied with the Messenger of God and therefore unable to attend to anything else, because he was more important to me than anything and deserved my attention before everything else.

‘This was one of the calamities—indeed, one of the greatest calamities—to strike the heart, alongside the immense trial I was experiencing: the devastating loss of one for whom I had no replacement except God, exalted be He.

‘So I remained patient.

‘The one who assumed authority after the Messenger of God continued throughout his days to come to me apologizing, blaming others for what had been done concerning the taking of my right [and breaking my allegiance], and asking me to release him from it.

‘I would say:

“Let his days pass, and then my right, which God has given me freely [and easily], will return to me, without my creating an event in Islam—so recently emerged from the age of ignorance—by disputing over my right, whereby some might say yes and others no.

‘A number of the closest Companions of the Messenger of God, whom I knew to be the most sincere toward God and His Messenger and most knowledgeable concerning His religion and His Book, came to me repeatedly, publicly and privately. They urged me to take my right and offered themselves to support me, so that they could fulfill the allegiance they owed me.

‘I would say:

“Wait, and be patient a little. Perhaps God will bring this to me freely, without dispute or bloodshed.”

‘For many people fell into doubt after the Messenger of God, and those who were not worthy coveted authority after him. Eventually every group said: “From us, one leader, and from you, one leader.”

‘They only coveted this because someone other than me had assumed authority.

‘When the death of this first successor came and his days ended, he transferred authority after himself to his companion. This was another counterpart of the first, and it occupied a similar place in people’s hearts.

‘A number of the Companions of the Messenger of God gathered around me.

‘They said about her what they had said about her predecessor. But my second response was no different from my first: patience and seeking reward from God, out of fear that the group which the Messenger of God had united might be destroyed.

‘He had united them through gentleness at one time and severity at another, until, by the way he brought them together, people had obtained food, drink, adornment, clothing, bedding, and coverings.

‘We, the family of Muḥammad, had no roofs over our houses, no curtains, and no doors except palm branches and things resembling them. We had no bedding and no covering. Most of us spent days and nights hungry.

‘Sometimes something from what God had granted us through spoils would come to us, something He had specifically allotted to us rather than others, and the Messenger of God would give it instead to people of wealth and status in order to win their hearts.

‘I was the one most responsible for not dividing this group whom the Messenger of God had united and for not imposing upon them a course from which there would be no escape [before they reached it].

‘For if I had risen against them and called them to support me, they would have been divided into several groups: some would follow me and fight alongside me; some would refuse and fight against me; and some would abandon me and fall short in supporting me.

‘The one who fought me would be destroyed by his fighting, and the one who abandoned me would be destroyed by his failure and abandonment. They would thereby suffer because of their opposition to me what the people of Moses suffered when they opposed Aaron, even though they knew that my position with the Messenger of God was like Aaron’s position with Moses.

‘I therefore saw that swallowing bitterness and restraining my sighs was easier for me than that.

‘The command of God was a decree already determined.

‘Had I not feared this and had I demanded my right, those present would have known that I had greater numbers, a stronger clan, a more secure position, greater authority, clearer proof, and more distinctions and precedents in religion because of my precedence, my kinship, and my service, in addition to my entitlement through the testament from which God’s servants have no escape and the earlier allegiance that those who accepted it owed me.

‘The Messenger of God died while the authority over the community was in his hands and in his household—not in the hands of those who took it, nor among the members of his household generally, but specifically among his household from whom God removed impurity and whom He purified completely. They were the possessors of authority after him, distinguished from others in every respect.

‘Then the successor after his companion used to consult me regarding the beginnings and outcomes of affairs. He would act according to my opinion and command, and he scarcely gave this privilege to anyone besides me. He did not expect anyone other than me to assume authority after him.

‘When his death suddenly came upon him, without any illness preceding it and without any matter he had decided upon while in good health, people had no doubt that I would recover my right as a consequence of his death, through the position I had hoped for and the outcome I had sought.

‘They believed that God, exalted be He, would bring this to me in the best way I had hoped and the most favorable outcome I had desired.

‘Yet among the final acts he performed was to name five men, of whom I was the sixth, none of whom had ever equaled me in circumstances that would entitle him to authority—whether in kinship, virtue, or precedence. None possessed even one of the distinctions I possessed or any of my accomplishments.

‘He made it a matter of consultation among us, appointed his son as an authority over us, and ordered him to strike the necks of the six whom he had appointed if they refused to select one of themselves.

‘That alone was enough to require patience.

‘The group remained for several days, each one seeking the position for himself. I remained silent and said nothing about it.

‘When they asked me about my case, I compared my days and theirs, and my accomplishments and theirs. I explained to them what they did not understand concerning my entitlement to it rather than them. I reminded them of the Messenger of God’s covenant concerning me and his emphasis upon the allegiance he had taken from them for me.

‘When they heard this from me, their desire for authority and their desire to have their hands and tongues extended over matters of command and prohibition, their attachment to the world and its adornments, their imitation of those who had preceded them, and their desire to take what God had not assigned to them overcame them.

‘Whenever one of them was alone with me, and I reminded him of God’s days and what he was approaching and would ultimately face, he would seek from me a condition involving some portion of worldly benefit that I could give him.

‘When they found nothing with me except the clear path, adherence to the Book of God, mighty and exalted is His remembrance, and the Sunnah of the Messenger of God, peace and

blessings of God be upon him and his family, and giving each person what God had assigned to him—

‘the group was influenced by one who influenced them, and they transferred it to Ibn ʿAffān, hoping to share in what he possessed. Ibn ʿAffān was a man who did not equal me, nor anyone present, in any virtue or distinction.

‘Before the day had even ended, the people regretted what they had done. They turned back on their heels, each blaming himself and blaming his companions.

‘Then only a short time passed before the ambassador of Ibn ʿAffān came to him, and he condemned him. He went specifically to his companions, and to the Companions of Muḥammad generally, asking them to release him from their allegiance and repenting to God concerning the [strife] he had caused.

‘This was greater than the two preceding matters and more terrible, and another matter that could not be endured. I had no course available to me except patience.

‘The remaining members of the six came to me on the very day on which they had established the arrangement for Ibn ʿAffān. Each of them had already turned away from it and asked me to depose Ibn ʿAffān and stand up for my right. They gave me their hands in allegiance, pledging to die beneath my banner, or that God would return my right to me.

‘They came to me concerning this many more times, as did others.

‘By God, nothing prevented me from accepting except what had prevented me from accepting the two matters before it. I saw that preserving those who remained was more pleasing and more beloved to me.

‘Had I forced myself to ride toward death, I would have done so. Those present and those absent among the Companions of Muḥammad knew that death to me is like a cool drink of water to a thirsty person on a hot day.

‘I had made a covenant with God concerning this, together with my uncle Ḥamza, my brother Jaʿfar, and my cousin ʿUbayda: that we would fulfill it for God and His Messenger.

‘They went ahead of me, while I remained waiting for my appointed time.

‘Then God, exalted be He, revealed concerning us:

**“Among the believers are men who have been true to the covenant they made with God. Some of them have fulfilled their vow, and some are waiting, and they have not changed in the least.”** (Qur’an 33:23)

‘Nothing silenced me concerning Ibn ʿAffān except that I knew that, according to what had been reported to me, his character would not leave him until it brought his relatives—let alone those farther removed—to demand his removal and killing.

‘So I remained patient until that happened, and I did not utter a word concerning him, neither “yes” nor “no.”

‘Then the matter came to me—God knows—and I disliked it, because I knew the people and what they sought from me because of what they had become accustomed to, and that I would not give them what they wanted.

‘And so it happened.

‘Those who came to me concerning it found nothing from me, so they incited the woman against me, while I was her guardian and the one responsible for her.

‘They placed her upon a camel, fastened her to the saddle, and brought her across plains and deserts. The dogs of al-Ḥawʾab barked at her, and signs of regret appeared in her at every moment and in every circumstance.

‘They were a group who had given me allegiance a second time after their first allegiance to me during the lifetime of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family. They brought her to a town whose people possessed little understanding and unsound opinions.

‘I found myself faced with two possibilities in their affair, both of which were unpleasant: if I refrained, they would not turn back; and if I advanced against them, I would have undertaken the very course I had disliked.

‘So I first presented the proof, issued warnings and excuses, called the woman to return to her house, and called the people who had brought her to fulfill their allegiance and cease breaking the covenant of God.

‘I gave them everything I was capable of giving from myself. I debated with some of them, and one withdrew; I reminded another, and he remembered.

‘Then I addressed the remainder in the same manner, but they only increased in ignorance, persistence, and rebellion. They refused everything except the course they had chosen.

‘The defeat and reversal therefore came upon them, and humiliation and regret befell them, and destruction overtook them.

‘I forced myself to undertake the course from which I found no escape. Once I had assumed the responsibility, I could no longer exercise the same forbearance and restraint that had been possible for me at first.

‘I saw that if I continued to refrain, I would be assisting them in what they had undertaken: their intention to seize territories, shed blood, destroy the subjects, and place women whom they considered deficient in judgment over men, following the custom of the Byzantines, the kings of Sabaʾ, and the nations of old.

‘Thus, if I neglected the woman’s affair in the end, I would arrive at what I had initially disliked.

‘I did not enter into the matter until after I had advanced and withdrawn, reconsidered and resolved, traveled alongside them, corresponded with them, provided excuses and warnings, and given the people everything they requested that did not depart from religion.

‘When they refused everything except that course, I advanced against them, and God completed His decree concerning them. God, exalted be He, was witness against them.

‘Then came the arbitration of the two arbiters concerning me and Ibn the Eater of Livers, Muʿāwiya, the son of a freed captive, who had continued opposing God, His Messenger, and the believers ever since God sent Muḥammad, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, to us, until God granted us victory over Mecca.

‘On that day I took the allegiance of him and his father to me on three occasions. His father had previously been the first to extend his hand to me in submission, greeting me as Commander of the Believers and urging me to rise and claim my right from those who had preceded him.

‘In all of this he renewed his allegiance to me whenever he came to me.

‘Then he began consuming this from the wealth of the Muslims and exercising authority over me so that he might preserve what was perishing by sacrificing what would remain.

‘The most astonishing thing was that when he saw that God, exalted be He, had returned my right to me and restored it to its proper place with me, his hope of living freely within God’s religion and exercising authority over the trust I had been entrusted with was cut off.

‘He relied upon ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, enticing him through greed, and ʿAmr inclined toward him.

‘Then, after he had given him Egypt, although it was forbidden for him to take a single dirham from the spoils beyond his allotted share, and the administrator was forbidden to deliver an additional dirham to him beyond his due or overlook his rights, he began ravaging the lands with oppression, trampling them through tyranny.

‘Whoever followed him, he pleased; whoever opposed him, he opposed.

‘Then he headed toward me, breaking his pledge and ravaging the lands east and west, right and left, while reports came to me and news reached me.

‘Then the one-eyed man of Thaqīf came to me and advised me to appoint him over the region in which he was, so that I might appease him.

‘There was indeed an administrative argument in favor of what he proposed, had I been able to find before God an excuse for appointing him, and had I found an excuse for myself in doing so.

‘I considered the matter carefully and consulted those whose counsel I trusted—those who were sincere toward God, His Messenger, and the believers.

‘Their opinion concerning Ibn the Eater of Livers was the same as my father’s opinion concerning him: he advised me against appointing him and warned me against admitting him into the affairs of the Muslims.

‘God would not have it known that I took the misguided as supporters.

‘I therefore sent to him the brother of Bajīla and the brother of the Ashʿarites on separate occasions, but both inclined toward worldly interests and followed their desires.’

Since I saw no increase in him, in what he had violated of the sacred ordinances of God, except persistence and further excess, I consulted those of the Companions of Muhammad, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, who were with me—the veterans of Badr, whose standing God had approved for the Muslims. Each of them agreed with my opinion regarding fighting him, waging war against him, and preventing him from what he had reached out his hand to take.

I therefore rose against him with my Companions. From every place I sent him my letters, and from every direction I sent him my messengers, calling him to abandon what he was doing and to enter into what the people had entered into with me.

He continued to impose conditions upon me, make demands of me, and stipulate conditions that neither God, nor His Messenger, nor the Muslims would accept.

Among his conditions was that I hand over to him a number of the righteous and virtuous Companions of Muhammad, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, among them ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir. May God have mercy upon ʿAmmār! And where is there anyone like ʿAmmār? We saw him with the Messenger of God: whenever five of us advanced, ʿAmmār was the sixth, and whenever four of us advanced, he was the fifth. He stipulated that they be killed and crucified.

He claimed the blood of ʿUthmān as his justification. Yet, by my life, no one incited [rebellion] against ʿUthmān or drove the people to kill him except him and those like him from his family—the branches of the tree accursed in the Qurʾān.

When I did not agree to what he had stipulated, he turned against me with the whole world behind him, supported by a mob of fools without understanding or insight. He gave them worldly possessions with which he won them over. So, after presenting excuses and warnings, we referred the matter to God.

When this did nothing except increase his persistence, we met him with the customary aid of God by which He had accustomed us to victory over His enemy and our enemy. The banner of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, was with us.

We continued diminishing him and diminishing his party until death overtook him, while he was marked by the banners of his father—the same banners that I had continually fought alongside the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, in every battle.

When [he found] no escape from being killed except flight, he mounted his horse and turned his head about, not knowing what to do. He called upon ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, who advised him to display the Qurʾāns, raising them upon the standards, and to call people to what was contained in them.

He said to him:

“Ibn Abī Ṭālib and those with him possess insight and compassion. They called you to the Book of God at the beginning, and they will answer your call to it at the end.”

He followed the advice given to him when he saw that he had no refuge from death except flight. So he raised the Qurʾāns, calling, as he claimed, to what was contained in them.

The hearts of those of my Companions who remained after their best men had been exhausted by their strenuous fighting against their enemies according to their convictions became inclined toward the Qurʾāns. They assumed that Ibn Ākilat al-Akbād [“the son of the liver-eater”] would fulfill what he had called them to.

They listened to his call and all came to me asking that I accept it.

I informed them that this was a deception on his part and on the part of Ibn al-ʿĀṣ, and that the two of them were closer to breaking their pledges than to fulfilling them.

They did not accept what I said, nor did they obey my command. They refused everything except accepting the proposal. Some of them began saying to one another:

“If he does not do it, then attach him to Ibn ʿAffān, or hand him over to Muʿāwiya.”

I exerted myself—God knows how greatly I exerted myself—and I did not leave any argument within myself unspoken. I wanted them to leave me to my own judgment, but they did not.

I called them to this, but none responded to me except this old man alone and a small group of his family. He gestured toward Mālik al-Ashtar al-Nakhaʿī.

By God, nothing prevented me from proceeding according to my own insight except my fear that this one and this one”—and he gestured with his hand toward al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon them—“would be killed, causing the lineage and descendants of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, to be cut off; and that this one and this one”—and he gestured toward Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar—“would be killed. For had it not been for my presence, that would have happened.

That is why I was patient, and I submitted to what the people wanted, despite what had already been decreed in God's knowledge, mighty and exalted is He.

When we lowered our swords from the people, they began deciding the matter according to their desires, choosing their judgments and opinions. They abandoned the Qurʾāns and what they had called us to—the judgment of the Qurʾān—and instead called for arbitration.

I refused to appoint anyone as an arbiter in the religion of God, exalted is He, because I had no doubt that arbitration in this matter was an error.

When they refused anything except that, I wanted my Companions to appoint as arbiter a man from my family whose judgment and intellect I approved, whose religion, sincerity, and loyalty I trusted, and that the judgment be according to the Book of God to which they had called.

I knew that the entire Book of God testified against Muʿāwiya.

My Companions refused this.

I continued to name one man after another, but Ibn Hind [Muʿāwiya] opposed every one of them. Whenever I called them to something of the truth, he turned away from it, and whenever he imposed humiliation upon us, our Companions followed him in it.

When they refused anything except what he wanted, I disassociated myself from them before God, mighty and exalted is He.

They appointed as arbiter a man who had once been deeply learned, but had subsequently departed from that knowledge. I—and they—had already known of his inclination toward Ibn Hind and his taking from his worldly possessions.

I warned him, advised him, and instructed him beforehand not to judge except according to the Book of God to which the people had called.

Then Ibn al-ʿĀṣ deceived him with a deception whose story spread throughout the east and west of the earth, and the deceived man openly expressed regret over it.

The Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, had entrusted me with the knowledge that, at the end of my days, I would fight a group of my Companions who fast during the day, spend the night in prayer, and recite the Qurʾān. They would be known by their opposition to me and their fighting against me. They would leave the religion just as an arrow passes through its prey. Among them would be Dhū al-Thadiyya, and God would bring me the happiness of killing them.

When I returned from Ibn Hind after the affair of the two arbiters, some of my Companions began blaming one another for what they had done by appointing the two arbiters.

When they could find no way out of their situation except to say:

“Our commander should not have followed the error in our judgment. He should have proceeded according to the truth of his own judgment and killed those among us who opposed him. By following us and obeying us in our error, he wronged himself, and therefore his blood has become lawful for us.”

They agreed upon this position.

They went out with their heads bowed, calling at the top of their voices:

“There is no judgment except for God.”

Then they divided into groups: one group at al-Nukhayla, another at Ḥarūrāʾ, and another group that went about recklessly, striking across the land until it crossed the Tigris. It did not pass by a Muslim without testing him: whoever followed them, they spared; whoever opposed them, they killed.

I went out to the first two groups, one after the other, calling them to obedience to God, to follow the truth, and to return to it.

They refused anything except the sword; nothing else would satisfy them.

When every means of dealing with them had failed, I referred their matter to God. God killed this group and that group.

[Had they not done what they did,] they would have been a strong support for me and an impenetrable barrier. But God decreed that they should reach what they reached, and they had hastened to kill those Muslims who opposed them.

Then I wrote to the third group and sent successive messengers to them. They were among the most distinguished of my Companions and among those whom I trusted.

They refused anything except following their two sisters and imitating their example.

They hastened to kill the Muslims who opposed them, and reports of their actions continued to reach me.

So I went out until I crossed the Tigris to reach them.[1]

I sent ambassadors and advisers to them and sought their repentance and return with all my effort—this man at one time, another at another, another at another, and another at another”—and he gestured with his hand toward al-Ashtar, al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays, Saʿīd ibn Qays al-Arḥabī, and al-Ashʿath ibn Qays al-Kindī.

When they refused anything except that course, I fought them.

God, mighty and exalted is He, killed them to the last one—four thousand or more—until not one of them remained to report what had happened.

Then I had Dhū al-Thadiyya brought out from among their slain in the presence of those whom you see, and he was found to possess a breast like the breast of a woman.

These, then, are seven occasions in which I was tested after the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family. One remained, and it was close to occurring.

They said:

“O Commander of the Believers, what is this final one?”

He said:

“That this”—and he pointed to his beard—“will be dyed with the blood of this”—and he gestured toward his head.

At this, the voices of the people rose in weeping, and the mosque of Kūfa filled with such crying and commotion that there was not a house in Kūfa whose inhabitants did not come out in alarm at the noise.

## [Notice]

Perhaps someone of limited understanding and little intellect, upon hearing in this chapter of ʿAlī's desire for the matter of the imamate and his argument against those who prevented him from it, might imagine that this arose from a desire for worldly authority.

Yet the elite and the common people alike know, without disagreement among them, of his asceticism before he assumed authority and after he assumed it.

Rather, this was because the imamate had been conferred upon him by the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, by God's command, mighty and exalted is His remembrance, as we have mentioned elsewhere in this book.

It is a virtue from God, mighty and exalted is He, bestowed upon the one whom He establishes for it. Therefore, it is not appropriate for one whom God has preferred through it and singled out for its virtue to reject it, refuse it, or withdraw from it.

Likewise, it would not be appropriate for one whom God has preferred with the virtue of prophethood among His prophets to do such a thing. Rather, they undertook it gladly, desiring it, struggled for it, and sacrificed themselves for it.

His position in this matter is therefore not the position of one to whom the Messenger of God gave no appointment, issued no command, and did not establish for it.

The discussion of the proof for this matter, as well as the arbitration of the two arbiters and the fighting against those who fought him, exceeds the limits of this book. We have discussed it in another work.

## [Sources of Disagreement]

This is a brief account of those who fought him, peace be upon him, and of how circumstances unfolded for him after the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family.

Among the events he described concerning the people mentioned above occurred the disagreements within the community after the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family.

## [The Day of the Saqīfa]

The first disagreement that occurred within the community after the Messenger of God was what took place between the Emigrants and the Helpers on the Day of the Saqīfa, when the

Helpers wanted to appoint a leader from among themselves, but those of the Emigrants who came to them opposed them.

The Helpers said:

“Let there be one leader from us and one leader from you.”

They were countered with the argument that the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, had said:

“Leadership is among Quraysh.”

The Helpers accepted this position, except for Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda.

Thus the claim of the Helpers that the imamate was exclusively theirs came to an end, except for Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda and some men from the various Arab tribes whose origins were not known. A group followed his position and claimed that the imam could be from among the ordinary people.

The Shīʿa separated from the group that had gathered to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr and rejected the allegiance to Abū Bakr.

They said:

“The imam after the Messenger of God is ʿAlī, peace be upon him.”

The disagreement over this remained until the present day. The proof concerning the imamate of ʿAlī, peace be upon him, exceeds the scope of this book and would take us away from what we have intended here. I have discussed it at length in the *Book of the Imamate*.

## [The Killing of Ibn al-Nuwayra and His Companions]

Then Abū Bakr alone undertook fighting the people of apostasy after him—those who withheld the zakāt of their wealth.

The rest of the people disagreed with him concerning this. He persisted, saying:

“If they withhold from me even a rope that they used to give [in zakāt], I will fight them over it.”

Some people followed him, while a group remained opposed to him.

The disagreement over this remains to the present day. Some people believe that fighting and killing them was correct; others believe that it was an error and an injustice.

Then they disagreed concerning the affair of ʿUthmān.

Some believed he should be killed, and they killed him. Others supported him and did not believe he should be killed. Others refrained from supporting him as well as from opposing him.

This disagreement over his affair remains to the present day.

Some people believe that rising against him because of what he had done was justified and correct, and that killing him when he refused [to change his conduct] was likewise justified and correct.

Others rejected the uprising against him and considered him to have been killed unjustly.

Others believe that refraining from discussing the matter and leaving judgment concerning it alone is what is correct and true.

Then the general body of the Emigrants and Helpers pledged allegiance to ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and the people agreed upon him, except for a few who deviated and those who held back out of fear for themselves, such as Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān and those like him.

At that time the community was united in appointing him as successor, peace be upon him.

Then the Khārijites separated from him after the arbitration of the two arbiters. They claimed that his imamate had ceased from that point onward, and they have maintained this position to the present day.

The proof against them likewise exceeds the scope of this book. I have devoted a separate book to refuting them; whoever wishes to examine this matter will find it there.

As for the departure of ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa, and al-Zubayr and their opposition to ʿAlī, peace be upon him, that disagreement has come to an end, and I know of no one who has followed them in it.

As for Muʿāwiya's opposition to ʿAlī, peace be upon him, the Umayyads became attached to it—I mean those among them who seized the imamate and their followers. They continue upon that position to the present day, supporting him and claiming that he was correct in his opposition.

The proof against them is mentioned in the *Book of the Imamate* that I previously mentioned. Whoever wishes to know it will find it there.

Then these groups that we have mentioned branch out, and disagreements continue to arise among their members to the present day.

Their foundation consists of six groups:

## the Shīʿa, the General Body [ʿĀmma], the Khārijites, the Muʿtazila,[2] the Murjiʾa,[3] and the Ḥashwiyya.

## The Shīʿa

The Shīʿa are the followers of ʿAlī, peace be upon him, who affirm his imamate.

They are the oldest of the groups and the foundation from which the others branched. The Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, gave them this name.

He said:

“The followers of ʿAlī are the successful ones.”

And he said to ʿAlī, peace be upon him:

“You and your followers.”

There are many reports transmitted from him concerning this. We shall mention in this book whatever of this is appropriate, God willing.

The other groups are innovations that arose after the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family.

## [The People of the Sunna and the Community]

As for what the General Body [ʿĀmma] relies upon when they say that they are the **People of the Sunna and the Community**, and that the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, mentioned the Sunna and the Community and praised them:

The Sunna is the Sunna of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family. No one can claim that it is the Sunna of anyone else.

And the “Community” whom the Messenger of God praised are those who are united upon the Book of God, mighty and exalted is His remembrance, and the Sunna of His Messenger, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family.

As for whoever speaks concerning God's religion, the lawful and unlawful, cases and rulings according to his own opinion, analogy, preference, or anything else originating from himself, he is not among the People of the Sunna, nor among the Community praised by the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family.

The Prophet was asked, when he mentioned the Sunna and the Community:

“What are they?”

He said:

“That which I and my Companions are upon.”

This is because his Companions were united upon him, differing [among themselves], and they did not hold any position except what had come from God, exalted is He, and from His Messenger, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family.

Thus the People of the Sunna and the Community are those who are upon this same path, adhering religiously to the imamate of the imam of their time, peace be upon him, taking from him and obeying him as God, mighty and exalted is He, commanded.

The discussion of this matter and its proof would be lengthy and extensive.

Since, in the chapter we have designated for discussing ʿAlī's wars against those who separated from him, we have given a summary of his statements concerning his battles, we now consider it appropriate to mention some points transmitted in the reports and traditions concerning them, as we stipulated that we would do in every chapter.

## [ʿAlī's Sermon After His Allegiance]

[316] Among these is what was transmitted from ʿAlī, peace be upon him: that two days after the people pledged allegiance to him, he addressed them in a sermon in which he alluded to various examples.

He praised God, mighty and exalted is He, and praised Him as He deserves, and invoked blessings upon the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family. He mentioned his virtue and what God, mighty and exalted is He, had singled him out with. Then he said:

"O people, I advise you to fear God, for it is salvation for its people in this world and success for them in their return in the Hereafter. It is the best thing that servants can advise one another with, and the closest thing to God's pleasure, and the best of benefits with God.

"Through God-consciousness, the righteous attain goodness, obtain virtue, enter Paradise, and are honored by their Creator, mighty and exalted is He, because of their God-consciousness, which He commanded them to have.

"So beware of God, servants of God, with regard to that of which He has warned you concerning Himself. Act upon what God has commanded you to act upon, striving against yourselves in it, and abstain from that of which He has warned you and from which He has forbidden you.

"Whoever acts for other than God, He entrusts him to the one for whom he acted; but whoever acts for God through obedience, God Himself takes charge of his affair.

"God did not create you in vain, nor did He leave any part of your affairs neglected. He has appointed your lifespans and recorded your deeds. So do not let the life of this world deceive you, for it deceives its people, and whoever is deceived by it is himself deceived.

"And the abode of the Hereafter is indeed the true life, if only they knew." [Qurʾān 29:64]

"We ask God for the stations of the martyrs, the companionship of the prophets, and the life of the fortunate. For indeed, we are only through Him and for Him.

"As for what follows:

“When the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, died, the people appointed Abū Bakr as his successor. Abū Bakr appointed ʿUmar, and then ʿUmar made it a matter of consultation among six men of Quraysh, of whom I was one. The matter ultimately went to ʿUthmān.

“He did what you have known and objected to. The Emigrants and the Helpers besieged him. I am only one man among the Emigrants: I have what they have and bear what they bear.

“Beware: the door between you and the people of the qibla has now been opened. This matter can be carried and borne only by people of patience and insight into the places of truth.

“Know that I shall carry you upon the path of your Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, so long as you remain upright upon it and cling to it. I shall proceed with what I have been commanded, and God is the One whose assistance is sought.”

“O people, my position with the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, after his death is the same as my position with him during his life.

“Know that no people who entrust their affairs to the household of their Prophet—the people of knowledge and those chosen—will perish.

“Know that the inheritances of the prophets are gathered with me, so ask me.

“By Him who split the seed and created the living soul, if you ask me about hidden knowledge, about knowledge of what will happen, or about knowledge of what you do not know, I shall tell you of it from what the truthful Prophet taught me, through the Trustworthy Spirit, from the Lord of the worlds.”

“O people, proceed with what you are commanded to do and stop where you are forbidden to stop. Do not hasten into a matter you disapprove of until you ask us about it, for with us there is an answer for everything you love and an excuse concerning everything you dislike.

“O people, the first person who transgressed upon the earth and whom God killed because of her transgression was ʿAnāq, the daughter of Adam, peace be upon him.

“God created for her twenty fingers, each finger being two cubits long, and upon each finger were two pointed nails—long and curved.

“Her place of assembly upon the earth was a *jarīb*.[1] She transgressed upon the earth for eighty years.

“When she transgressed upon the earth, God created for her a lion like an elephant, a vulture like a camel, and a wolf like a donkey. He set them upon her, and they tore her apart and killed her.”

[This addition appears in *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya* by al-Masʿūdī:]

“They ate her, and God relieved the earth of her.”

[Then God killed the tyrants in her time.]

“God killed Pharaoh and Hāmān, and caused Qārūn to be swallowed by the earth. Then your affliction became like hers after God took your Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family.

“By God, you will certainly be sifted, then thoroughly shaken, and then thoroughly mixed, just as the contents of a cooking pot are mixed,[2] until your uppermost become your lowermost and your lowermost become your uppermost.

“A people will certainly overtake another people who had previously preceded them.

“By God, I have not claimed any false distinction, nor have I lied in a single statement.

“Know that sins are like untamed horses upon which their riders have mounted and whose reins they have thrown away, so they plunge with them into the Fire of Hell.

“Know that God-consciousness is like obedient mounts upon which their riders have mounted and whose reins they have taken firmly. They carry them gently until they reach a deep shade, where they converse and inquire of one another. The gates of Paradise are opened for them, its shade is spread over them, and they find its fragrance and pleasantness. They are told:

‘Enter it in peace, secure.’

“O people, there is truth and there is falsehood, and each has its people. If falsehood rises, it has done so many times before. And if truth rises, perhaps it will—and perhaps it will be so. How rarely does something that has turned away ever return!

“I fear that you may be in a period of darkness. My duty is only to strive.

“There were matters that passed in which you turned against me with a single deviation, although at that time you were, in my view, praiseworthy in judgment.

“But if I wished to speak, I could say: ‘May God forgive what has passed.’

“The two men preceded [me], and the third rose like a crow whose only concern was its belly. Woe to him! If only its feathers had been plucked and its wings cut off. He was distracted from Paradise, while the Fire is before him.

“Three and two—there is no sixth among them: one striving and exerting himself, one seeking while hoping, and one falling short and therefore in the Fire; an angel flying upon his two wings; and a prophet whom God took a covenant from.

“The one who claims falsely is destroyed, and the one who fabricates is disappointed.

“The right and the left are both misleading. The middle path and the straightest road are the proper way. Upon it is the interpretation of the Book [and the Sunna]—thus it appears in *al-Irshād* of al-Mufīd—and the traces of prophethood.

“O people, God, mighty and exalted is He, disciplines this community with the whip and the sword. The imam has no leniency for anyone concerning them.

“Remain concealed in your homes, reconcile your relationships with one another, for death is behind you and repentance is before you. Whoever exposes himself to the truth and turns his face toward it is destroyed.

“Know that every grant of land or wealth that ʿUthmān distributed, or money he gave from the wealth of God, shall be returned to the Muslims in their treasury.

“For truth is ancient; nothing can invalidate it.

“By Him who split the seed and created the living soul, even if I found that this wealth had been used as dowries for women, used to purchase slave women, and scattered throughout the lands, I would return it to its original state.

“For in truth and justice there is ample room for you. Whoever finds justice too constricting will find oppression even more constricting.

“I say what you hear, and I ask God to forgive me and you.”

This sermon was among the things that brought reassurance and tranquility to the sincere believers and the people of truth and insight.

But it caused the hypocrites and those whose hearts contained sickness to feel alienated. It also disturbed everyone who had become accustomed to preferential treatment, or who possessed any of it, because of ʿAlī's promise, peace be upon him, to reclaim such things from their hands and return them to the treasury of the Muslims.

As a result, hatred of him entered their hearts, and they resolved to rise against him if they found an opportunity to do so.

When Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr rose up, those in this situation joined them and became part of their group. This was the reason for their departure against him, peace be upon him.

[317]

In what Muḥammad ibn Sallām narrated through his chain of transmission from Abū Rāfiʿ:

When the matter came to ʿAlī, peace be upon him, he began with the treasury. He gathered everything that was in it and ordered that it be distributed equally among the Muslims, just as the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, used to distribute among them whatever of their spoils came to him and was subject to distribution.

Afterward, those who had governed had accustomed the people to preferential treatment and to favoring some over others.

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, therefore ordered the person whom he appointed to distribute it to treat the people equally, and to set aside for him [ʿAlī] a share equal to the share of any other person.

They did so.

He went out to his estate.[3] Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr came to him while he was standing in the sun beside a hired laborer who was working on his estate.

They greeted him and said:

“Would you like to come with us into the shade?”

He did so.

They said:

“We came to the people whom you appointed to distribute this wealth among the people. Each of us had his son with him, and they gave us the same amount they gave our sons and everyone else.

“Those who came before you used to favor us because of our precedence, our kinship, and our fighting [for Islam].

“If you think that you should order for us what those before you used to order for us, then do so.”

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, said to them:

“Were you earlier than I in accepting Islam?”

They said:

“Rather, you were.”

He said:

“Are you closer to the Messenger of God than I am?”

They said:

“Rather, you are.”

He said:

“Was your fighting greater than my fighting?”

They said:

“Your fighting was greater.”

He said:

“By God, I have not been commanded to set aside from this wealth for myself anything except what this hired laborer receives from it”—and he gestured with his hand toward the laborer

working before him—"according to what I witnessed and what you both witnessed from the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, when he distributed such wealth.

"His Sunna is more deserving of being followed than that of those who opposed it after him."

They remained silent for a while.

Then they said:

"We did not come for this. It was merely something we mentioned. Rather, we wanted to perform the ʿumra, and we came to ask your permission to go."

ʿĀʾisha had already left Mecca but had not yet reached Medina. They intended to meet her because of what had occurred between them.

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, said to them:

"Go. You did not intend the ʿumra. I have already been informed of your affair and of what will come from you."

They departed, met ʿĀʾisha, and what subsequently occurred occurred.

## [The Battle of the Camel]

[318] Al-Daghshī, through his chain of transmission, from Abū Bashīr al-ʿĀʾidī, who said:

I was in Medina when ʿUthmān was killed. The Emigrants and the Helpers gathered, among them Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. They came to ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and said:

"O Abū al-Ḥasan, come, let us pledge allegiance to you!"

He said:

"I have no need of your affair. I am with you; whoever you choose, appoint him."

They said:

"We choose no one but you!"

He refused them.

They repeatedly returned to him about this after ʿUthmān's death. Eventually they came to him again and said:

"The people cannot be set right except through leadership. This matter has gone on too long. We choose no one but you, and we have no one but you. If you do not accept, we fear that a breach will open in Islam. If the people remain without anyone overseeing them, we fear for them. By God, consider this matter!"

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, said:

“I shall tell you something. If you accept it, I shall accept [your allegiance].”

They said:

“Say whatever you wish. We accept it from you.”

He came forward and climbed the pulpit. He praised God, invoked blessings upon the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, and then said:

“As for what follows: You have repeatedly returned to me concerning what you want from me, while I disliked your proposal. Yet you refused anything except what you wanted from me.

“You know what preceded you concerning yourselves.

“If I assume responsibility for your affairs, it will be upon the basis of justice among you, equality between you, and that the keys to your treasury be with me. I shall have no more from it than what any one of you has, and no one else shall have more than that either. If you accept this, I shall assume your affairs.”

They said:

“Yes.”

He said:

“Are you satisfied with that?”

They said:

“We are satisfied.”

He said:

“O God, bear witness against them.”

Then he descended, peace be upon him, and they pledged allegiance to him on those terms.

Abū Bashīr said:

“At that time I was beside the pulpit of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, hearing what he said.”

[319]

Another report, from Zayd ibn Ṣūḥān:

He was traveling from Mecca toward Medina when news reached him on the road:

“ʿUthmān has been killed, and the people have pledged allegiance to ʿAlī, peace be upon him.”

He wept.

He was asked:

“O Abū Salmān, why are you crying over him? By God, you did not love him.”

He said:

“I am not crying over him. I am crying over what has happened to this community.”

Then he entered the mosque and prayed two units.

Afterward he went to the wives of the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, one by one, saying to each of them:

“This man has been pledged allegiance to”—meaning ʿAlī, peace be upon him—“What do you think of pledging allegiance to him?”

Each one would say:

“I have pledged allegiance.”

And he would say:

“O God, bear witness against her.”

He did this with all of them.

I think—and God knows best—that he had heard the Prophet's statement that one of his wives would fight against him while being unjust toward him, and he wanted to obtain their confirmation.

[320]

Another report: ʿAbla bint Ṭāriq said:

I was sitting with a woman who treated children in Ṣadāʾ when suddenly we saw a rider appear before us.

He came until he reached the door of the house and entered. He came to the woman with whom we had been sitting and bent over her. It was her son.

She said:

“O Nabī, what happened to the people?”

He said:

“I have no knowledge except that I was in Mecca, and Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr came to ʿĀʾisha and prepared to go to Basra.”

I said:

“The wife of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, and the disciple [ḥawārī] of the Messenger of God”—meaning al-Zubayr—“By God, I shall either die with these people or remain alive with them.”

I continued until I reached a body of water.

ʿĀʾisha said:

“What is this water?”

She was told:

“Al-Ḥufayr.”

She said:

“Take me back, for the Messenger of God forbade me from being among the caravan that comes to al-Ḥufayr.”

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Footnotes

[1] A *jarīb* is a unit of area equivalent to sixty square cubits.

[2] *Lituballabanna*: “you will certainly be mixed together.”
*Litugharrbalanna*: “you will certainly be sifted/separated.”
*Litusāṭanna*: from *sawṭ*, meaning to place two things in a vessel and beat/mix them with one's hands until they become intermixed. The “mixing of the pot” means the ingredients becoming mixed together as the pot boils.

[3] Ibn Diʾb said: There was a well at Yanbuʿ called the Well of the King, and his estate was there.

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The young man said to his mother: “So I said: ‘May my mother be bereaved of me! I do not see myself spending the night among the caravan heading to al-Ḥufayr, which the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, forbade ʿĀʾisha from entering.’”

He said: “So I made my camel kneel, removed my saddle, and the people came toward me, saying: ‘What is the matter with you, O ʿAbd Allāh?’

“I said: ‘I am staying with my camel,’ and I began tightening it at one moment and loosening it at another.

“When the people had gone away from me, I turned in the opposite direction from theirs. By God, I did not know where to go until a fire appeared to me. By God, I did not know whether it was the fire of human beings or the fire of the jinn. So I headed toward it, and there was an Arab with his family.

“He asked me about my situation, so I told him.

“The Bedouin said to me: ‘You have done well; it is neither for it nor against it.’

“I asked him about the road, and he directed me to it (in the original: ‘he directed me to her’). Then I continued on my way toward you.”

[321]

And in another account, from Zayd ibn Ṣūḥān: He came to ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and said:

“O Commander of the Believers, I saw as though a hand had reached out toward me from the sky, and I do not think that I shall be anything but killed. So give me permission to go to this woman”—meaning ʿĀʾisha. “This Zayd’s hand had been cut off on the day of Jalūlāʾ in the cause of jihad.”

He said: “Go, O Abū Salmān, rightly guided and bidding farewell.” So he departed with a group.

When those around ʿĀʾisha saw him, they said: “This is Zayd ibn Ṣūḥān.”

ʿĀʾisha said: “O Abū Salmān, are you marching against me and seeking to fight me?”

He said: “I have marched in accordance with what God commanded me, while you have marched in accordance with what God forbade you. God commanded me to strive and fight in His path, and He commanded you to remain in your house.”

[323]

And in another account, Umm Salama, may God be pleased with her, came to ʿĀʾisha when she intended to depart for al-Baṣra and said to her:

“O ʿĀʾisha, you are between the threshold of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, and his community, and your veil has been drawn over his sanctity. The Qurʾān has gathered up your train, so do not loosen it.

“Lower your voice and do not expose it. The Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, knew your position. Had he wished to entrust anything to you, he would have entrusted it to you. God, mighty and exalted is He, has commanded you—and commanded us—to remain in our homes. The pillar of religion is not erected through women, nor is a breach repaired through them. The women’s cloaks are to lower the eyes and draw in the hems.

“What would you say if the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, were to encounter you across the open expanses, urging your riding camel from

watering-place to watering-place? Indeed, before the eye of God, mighty and exalted is He, lies the direction of your journey, and to the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, you are returning.

“By God, if I were told, ‘Enter Paradise on the condition that you make the journey you are making,’ I would be ashamed to meet Muḥammad, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, having torn down a veil that he had placed over me. So do not tear down a veil that the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, has placed over you. For you are never more obedient to God than when you remain within it, and you are never more supportive of the religion than when you remain behind from it.”

ʿĀʾisha said to her:

“How receptive I am to your admonition, and how well I know your sincerity in advising me. But the matter is not as you suppose. I have merely seen two groups of Muslims fighting one another. If I remain behind and do not reconcile what is between them, there is a difficulty; and if I proceed, then it is toward something from which there is no dispensation to seek more of.”

[Explanation of obscure terms]

Her statement, “يرأب,” means: “to mend” or “to repair the breach.”

“العقيرة”: the voice.

“الإصحار”: exposing what is being driven along / bringing one’s riding animal into the open.

“القعود” among camels: the camel that the herdsman rides, carrying his provisions and belongings; likewise, the camel a man keeps for himself to carry such things.

“ناصة” means “raising [the animal]”; one says, “I raised my she-camel in its pace,” when I urged it to increase its speed. One also says, “I raised the report,” when I attributed it to the person from whom it originates.

[323]

And in another account, from Qurra ibn al-Ḥārith al-Tamīmī, he said:

“When ʿĀʾisha arrived at al-Baṣra, she sent to al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays asking him to come to her. He refused. Then she sent to him again, and he refused.

“When she despaired of him, she wrote to him:

‘O Aḥnaf, what excuse will you have before God for abandoning the fighting of the killers of the Commander of the Believers? Is it because of a lack of numbers, or because you are not obeyed among your tribe?’ (In the original, instead of ‘what excuse will you have’: ‘what do you have before God?’)

“He wrote back to her:

‘By God, it has not been long since then, nor have I forgotten my position in the first year, when you were urging us to fight him and saying that fighting him was superior to fighting the Persians and Romans.’

“She said:

‘Woe to you, O Aḥnaf! They washed him as one washes a vessel, then killed him.’”

[Explanation of obscure terms]

“ماصوه” means “they washed him.” One says of anything that one washes: “I have washed it,” meaning that they tested and examined him and he was free of it—that is, he emerged clean, just as a vessel does when it is washed.

Al-Aḥnaf said to her:

“If I follow your opinion while you are pleased with me, that is dearer to me than following it while you are angry with me.” (In the original: “better than my following it while you are angry.”)

[324]

And in another account, from ʿAlī, peace be upon him: When he set out toward Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and ʿĀʾisha, he headed for Kūfa with seven hundred men from the Emigrants and the Helpers. He ordered two large sacks to be placed one on top of the other, then climbed upon them.

He praised and glorified God, then said:

“O people, by God, I have examined this matter from its back, its belly, its head, and its eye, and I have found no alternative but to fight these people or to disbelieve in what God, mighty and exalted is He, revealed to Muḥammad, peace and blessings be upon him and his family.”

Al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him and his family, stood before him weeping and said:

“O Commander of the Believers, I fear that you will be killed in a desolate land where you will have no supporter.

“If you were to return to Medina and remain there among the Emigrants and the Helpers, then whoever came to you there, you could fight against him on its behalf. That would be better for you.”

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, said:

“Leave me! I see you doing nothing but wailing like a young girl. No, by God, I will not sit in Medina like a hyena while these people spread corruption throughout the land.”

Then he summoned him and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir and sent the two of them to Kūfa. He gave them a letter containing:

In the name of God, the Most Merciful, the Compassionate.

From the servant of God, ʿAlī, Commander of the Believers, to those in Kūfa among the believers and Muslims.

To proceed:

It is no less than that, in the eyes of whoever has doubts about my position, I must be one of two men: either a transgressor or one against whom transgression has been committed. So I adjure all the believers and Muslims by God: let them come to me. If I am the transgressor, let them turn me back; and if I am the one against whom transgression has been committed, let them support me.

Peace.

When the people of Kūfa learned that al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir had arrived, they consulted one another and unanimously decided to send Hind al-Jamalī[1] to meet them and ask ʿAmmār what he had heard from the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, concerning this matter—for it had reached them that he had heard something from the Messenger of God concerning it.

Hind went until he met al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him and his family, and ʿAmmār at a place called Qāʿ al-Bayḍa, where they had stopped. He withdrew with ʿAmmār and said to him:

“Give me the short of the long. I am the scout of the people, and the scout does not lie to his people. They have sent me to you so that you may tell me what you heard from the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, concerning this matter.”

ʿAmmār said:

“I bear witness by God that the Messenger of God commanded me to fight alongside ʿAlī, peace be upon him, against the oath-breakers, the apostates from the truth, and the unjust.”

Hind returned to Kūfa, informed them, and read to them ʿAlī’s letter.

Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī stood and said:

“I have indeed heard the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, say: ‘There will be a tribulation after me. The one who remains standing in it is better than the one who rushes into it, and the one who sits is better than the one who stands. So cut the strings of your bows, sheath your swords, and be confined to your homes.’”

ʿAmmār said:

“That is the one that you belong to. By God, I heard the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, curse you!”

Abū Mūsā said:

“What I said did occur, but he prayed for forgiveness for me.”

ʿAmmār said:

“As for the curse, I heard it. As for the prayer for forgiveness, I did not hear it!”

Abū Mūsā stood and departed, as though he were a rooster spreading its wings.

ʿAmmār’s statement—may God have mercy on him—to Abū Mūsā, when he mentioned the Prophet’s command, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, to refrain from the tribulation (“That is the one that you belong to”) means that the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, had forbidden taking part with the people of the tribulation—that is, those who had fallen into tribulation and gone out against the people of truth.

They had thereby become people of rebellion. Therefore, it is not appropriate for any Muslim to rise alongside them or enter into their tribulation.

As for fighting them alongside the people of justice, God, mighty and exalted is He, has made that obligatory upon the believers in His Book. He said, Glorified and Exalted is He:

“So fight the group that transgresses until it returns to the command of God.”[2]

And it was to this fighting of the rebellious that ʿAlī, peace be upon him, called them. Most of them answered him and paid no attention to the words of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, because the Book of God, Glorified and Exalted is He, was [their authority].

It was to an opinion like that of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī—this corrupt opinion—that ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ appealed when he wished to deceive him, for he knew that Abū Mūsā would accept such an argument when the two of them acted as arbiters.

He said:

“O Abū Mūsā, you are one of the elders of the Muslims and one of the people of virtue and religion. You have heard what you have heard from the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, concerning remaining apart from tribulation, and you can see that the people have fallen into it.

“If we debate from the Book of God, mighty and exalted is He, over which of the two is more entitled to the authority—ʿAlī or Muʿāwiya—that will take a long time. So decide the matter, since you have been appointed to judge. Remove ʿAlī, since you have been appointed as judge over him, and I will remove Muʿāwiya, since I have been appointed as judge over him. Then the affairs of the people will return to how they were after the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family: consultation among themselves, choosing for themselves whoever they wish to choose.

“By God, I do not think anyone would choose Muʿāwiya over ʿAlī, peace be upon him.”

By this he deceived him until he agreed with him. He showed him honor and reverence (in the original: “exalted him”) and put him before himself.

Abū Mūsā then stood and, according to his claim, removed ʿAlī because of his poor judgment and reasoning.

Then ʿAmr stood and, according to his claim, affirmed Muʿāwiya.

Abū Mūsā then stood objecting to this and recalling what the two of them had agreed upon.

ʿAmr denied this and said:

"The agreement was only to remove ʿAlī and affirm Muʿāwiya."

This contains the matter that we shall mention, together with its proof, in its proper place, God willing.

[325]

And in another account, from Ḥudhayfa al-Yamānī:

He arrived from al-Madāʾin while the Commander of the Believers, ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, had set out toward Kūfa to fight the people of the Camel. Ḥudhayfa reached Medina while he was ill—severely ill—and was unable to catch up with ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family.

The people of Medina gathered around Ḥudhayfa on a Friday. When he saw them gathered before him, he praised and glorified God and invoked blessings upon the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him and his family. Then he said:

"O people, whoever is pleased to join the Commander of the Believers in truth, truly, let him join ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family."

Many people followed him. After that, no Friday came upon Ḥudhayfa before he died.

[326]

And in another account, from Ḥabba al-ʿUranī, he said:

"When ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, and the Companions of the Camel met, ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, called one of his companions[3] and gave him a Qurʾān codex. He said to him:

'Go to these people, present this Qurʾān to them, and make known to them that I am calling them to what is in it.'

"He did so, but they showered him with arrows until they killed him."

[327]

And in another account, from ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, may God have mercy on him:

"On the day of the Camel, he looked at the companions of ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa, and al-Zubayr, who had formed their ranks for battle.

“He began swearing by God that this group would certainly be defeated and would turn their backs.

“A man from al-Nakhaʿ said to him:

‘O Abū al-Yaqẓān, what is this? You are swearing by God concerning something you do not know.’

“ʿAmmār said to him:

‘By God, I would be more wretched than a camel led by its nose-rope between Tihāma and Najd if I were saying something I did not know.’”

[328]

And in another account, from Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family:

“When the people came together on the day of the Camel, ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, came forth until he stood between the two ranks. Then he raised his hand toward the sky and said:

‘O Best of those to whom hearts pour themselves out and whose name is called upon by tongues; O You who test greatly and give abundantly, judge between us and our people with truth, and You are the best of judges.’”

[329]

And in another account, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā, he said:

“I heard ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, on the day of the Camel calling out to al-Zubayr. He came to him, and I saw the necks of their two horses facing one another.

“ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, said to him:

‘Do you remember the statement of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, to you—which you yourself had reminded me of—that you would fight him while you were wronging him?’

“He said:

‘Yes, by God. I did not remember that until now.’

“He turned back, withdrawing from the two groups. Ṭalḥa saw him and followed him. Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam shot him with an arrow, which pierced his thigh and lodged in the saddle. Ṭalḥa died from that wound.”

[330]

And in another account, from Salām, who said:

“I witnessed the day of the Camel. When we met, I saw ʿĀʾisha upon a red camel, elevated above the people.

“The companions of the Camel charged, until I said to Khiṭār:

‘This is fleeing from the battle.’

“He said:

‘Yes, by God, O son of my brother.’

“Then we turned toward one another. I looked at ʿĀʾisha’s howdah, and I could compare it to nothing but a hedgehog bristling with arrows that had struck it (in the original: ‘that had struck at it). It was swaying with her once this way and once that way until she was surrounded.

“When ʿĀʾisha was surrounded, al-Zubayr withdrew, Ṭalḥa was killed, and the people of al-Baṣra were defeated.

“Then a herald of ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, called out:

‘Do not pursue one who flees, do not pursue one who has thrown down his weapon, and do not finish off a wounded man, for these people have turned away and have no group to which they can flee for refuge.’

“Thus the practice was established among the Muslims in fighting the rebellious. Their jurists adopted this principle from him: when the rebellious are defeated and have no group to which they can flee for refuge, their wounded are not finished off and those who flee are not pursued. But if they have a group to which they can flee, their wounded are finished off, those who flee are pursued, and they are killed.

“‘ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, applied this same ruling to the companions of Muʿāwiya. The jurists of the general body took this from him and held that his party was the party of the people of justice, while fighting those who fought him was the party of the rebellious, and they agreed upon this.

“‘I finished off the wounded’ means: I completed his killing.

“It is also said: ‘A swift death’—that is, one that comes quickly.”

[331]

And in another account, from Mūsā ibn Ṭalḥa ibn ʿUbayd Allāh—who was among those captured on the day of the Camel and imprisoned with the other captives in al-Baṣra:

He said:

“I was in ʿAlī’s prison in al-Baṣra until I heard the herald calling:

‘Where is Mūsā ibn Ṭalḥa ibn ʿUbayd Allāh?’

“I said the formula of returning to God, and the people in the prison did likewise. They said:

‘He will kill you!’

“They brought me out to him.

“When I stood before him, he said to me:

‘O Mūsā.’

“I said:

‘At your service, O Commander of the Believers.’

“He said:

‘Say, “I seek God’s forgiveness and repent to Him,”’ three times.

“I said:

‘I seek God’s forgiveness and repent to Him,’ three times.

“He said to those of his messengers who were with me:

‘Release him!’

“And he said to me:

‘Go wherever you wish. Whatever weapons or mounts you find belonging to our army, take them. Fear God concerning what lies ahead of you, and remain in your house.’

“I thanked him and departed.

“ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, had allowed his companions to seize what the people of al-Baṣra had brought to fight him—the phrase ‘they brought it’ meaning that they brought it with their army—but he did not touch any of that (of their property), and he made everything else belonging to those who had been killed their heirs’ property. He also took one-fifth of what had been captured from what they had brought against him.

“Thus the practice was likewise established, and the jurists of the general body adopted it from him and made it the ruling concerning what is captured from the rebellious.”

[332]

And in another account, from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās:

“When the affairs of the people had settled after the Battle of the Camel, and ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, remained in al-Baṣra for several days with those who were with him, he sent me to ʿĀʾisha, ordering her to depart from al-Baṣra and return to her house.

“Ibn ʿAbbās said:

‘I entered upon her in the house in which she had been lodged. I found nothing on which to sit, and I saw a cushion in one corner of the house, so I took it and sat upon it.

“She said to me:

‘O Ibn ʿAbbās, what is this? You enter my house without my permission and sit upon my bedding without my permission? You have violated the Sunnah.’

“Ibn ʿAbbās said:

‘We taught you and others the Sunnah, and we have a greater right to it than you. Your house is only the house in which the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, left you. You left it having wronged yourself, rebelled against your Lord, and disobeyed your Prophet. When you return to it, I shall not enter it except with your permission, nor shall I sit upon anything in it except with your command.’

“He said:

‘She wept.

“I said to her:

‘The Commander of the Believers has sent me to you, ordering you to depart from al-Baṣra and return to your house.’

“She said:

‘And who is the Commander of the Believers? The Commander of the Believers was only ʿUmar!’

“I said to her:

‘ʿUmar used to call himself Commander of the Believers, but by God, this man is truly the Commander of the Believers, just as the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, called him. By God, he is closer in kinship to the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, earlier in embracing Islam, more knowledgeable, and more forbearing than your father and than ʿUmar.’

“She said:

‘Why do you say that?’

“I said to her:

‘By God, your father had a short tenure but great consequences, manifest ill fortune and evident adversity. It was no more than the milking of a sheep before you became one who neither takes nor gives. You were only as the brother of Banū Fihr said:

“Continually, the composing of poems among us,
insulting the truthful one and multiplying epithets,

until you left as though what I had said about them
at every gathering were the buzzing of flies."

"She shed her tears, expressed her lamentation, and her sobbing became apparent. Then she said:

'I shall depart from you, by God. By God, there is no house I hate more than a house in which you are.'

"I said:

'Why is that? By God, this is not because of what we have done to you, nor because of our influence over you and your father, when we made you Mother of the Believers—you being the daughter of Umm Rūmān—and made your father a truthful one, he being the son of Abū Quḥāfa.'

"She said:

'Do you hold the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, over us as a favor?'

"I said:

'And why should we not hold over you as a favor one of whom, if even a single hair of him were in you, you would regard it as a favor and boast of it? We are from him and toward him, his flesh and his blood. You are merely his inner garment[ i ] among nine inner garments he left behind. You are neither the most firmly rooted of them in lineage, nor the freshest in leaf, nor the one with the greatest shade. Rather, you are as the brother of Banū Asad said:

"You bestowed a favor upon a people,
and they displayed hostility;
so I said to them:
Cease your hostility and show gratitude.
For that contains satisfaction from those like you toward his friend,
and it is more fitting for you to display rebellion and disbelief."'

"He said:

'She fell silent' (in the original: 'she was silent') 'and I returned to ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, and told him what had transpired between her and me.'

"He, peace be upon him and his family, said:

'I knew what you were like when I sent you.'

"After that, ʿĀʾisha delayed leaving for her house. So ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, sent to her (in the original: 'sent to her'):

'By God, you will return to your house, or I shall utter words against you after which none of the believers will ever call you Mother.'

“When this reached her, she said:

‘Take me away, take me away! By God, he has reminded me of something that, had I remembered it before, I would not have made this journey.’

“Some of her close associates said to her:

‘What is it, O Mother of the Believers?’

“She said:

‘The Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, gave him authority over the divorce of his wives and severed their marital bonds with him, in life and in death. I fear that he will do that if I oppose him.’

“So she departed.”

[333]

And in another account, ʿAlī ibn Hāshim, through his chain of transmission, from Hishām ibn Misāḥiq, from his father, who said:

“I witnessed the day of the Camel with ʿĀʾisha.

“When the people were defeated, I gathered with a group of Quraysh, among whom was Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam.

“He said to some of those present:

‘By God, we wronged this man and broke our pledge of allegiance to him without cause. Then he overcame us, and we have never seen a man with conduct more noble or forgiveness more beautiful after the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, than him. Come, let us enter upon him and apologize to him for what we have done.’

“He said:

‘We entered upon him. When our spokesman was about to speak, he said:

“Be silent—I shall suffice you.

“I am merely a man among you. If I say something true, affirm it; and if I say something false, reject it.

“I adjure you by God: do you know that when the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, died, I was the person most entitled to him and to authority over the people after him?”

“We said:

“By God, yes.”

“He said:

“Then you pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr and turned away from me. Then Abū Bakr entrusted it to ʿUmar after him (and you knew that I was the person most entitled to the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, and to authority over the people after him).”

“We said:

“By God, yes.”

“He said:

“Then, when ʿUmar was killed, he made me one of six. Then you criticized ʿUthmān and killed him. Then you came to me while I was sitting in my house. You came to me willingly, not under compulsion, and pledged allegiance to me as you had pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān. Then you broke your pledge to me.”

“They said:

‘O Commander of the Believers, be like the righteous servant when he said: “No reproach against you today. May God forgive you, and He is the Most Merciful of the merciful.”’[4]

“He said:

‘Among you is one who, if he were to pledge allegiance to me with his hand, would break it with his buttocks.’

“He said:

‘We thought that he meant Marwān.’”

[334]

Ismāʿīl ibn Mūsā, through his chain of transmission, from Abū al-Bukhtarī, said:

“When ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, reached al-Baṣra, its people came out against him with Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and ʿĀʾisha. ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, arranged his companions in ranks.

“Then he took the Qurʾān codex and began with the first rank. He said:

‘Which of you will go forward to these people and call them to what is in it, knowing that he will be killed?’

“A young man called Muslim came forward and said:

‘I will, O Commander of the Believers.’

“He left him and moved to the second rank. He said:

‘Who among you will take this Qurʾān and go to these people and call them to what is in it, knowing that he will be killed?’

“No one answered him. Muslim came to him and said:

‘I will go out to them with it, O Commander of the Believers.’

“He turned away from him.

“He proceeded to the third rank and said the same thing to them.

“No one from them came forward. Muslim approached him and said:

‘I will, O Commander of the Believers!’

“When he saw that no one among all of them except Muslim had come forward, he handed him the Qurʾān. Muslim went toward the people.

“When they saw him, they showered him with arrows. He read the Qurʾān to them and called them to what was in it. Then one of them came toward him and struck him with a sword across the shoulder, from the side of his right hand—the hand holding the Qurʾān.

“Muslim took the Qurʾān in his left hand, and the man struck him until he killed him. They began shooting arrows at the companions of ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family.

“They said:

‘O Commander of the Believers, do you not see the arrows among us like rain? They have killed Muslim!’

“ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, said to them:

‘Fight them. Fighting them has now become lawful for you.’

“They fought them, overcame them, and sent them fleeing.

“ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, ordered a herald to call:

‘Do not stab one who is advancing; do not pursue one who flees; do not finish off a wounded man. Whoever throws down his weapon is safe, and whoever closes his door is safe. Whatever is in the army camp is spoils for you, while whatever is in the houses is inheritance, to be divided among them according to the ordinances of God, mighty and exalted is He.’

“A group of his companions came to him and said:

‘O Commander of the Believers, how have you permitted us their blood and their property while forbidding us their women?’

“He said:

‘Because the people remained upon the original natural disposition; they had a bond of allegiance before the division, and their marriages were valid.’

“That did not satisfy them concerning his words, peace be upon him and his family. So he said to them:

‘This is the leniency shown toward the people of the qibla, yet you objected to it. Then let me see which of you will take ʿĀʾisha as his share!’

“They accepted what he said, acknowledged its correctness, and submitted to his command.”

[335]

ʿAbbād, through his chain of transmission, from Abū Rāfiʿ:

The Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, said to ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family:

“There will be a war between you and ʿĀʾisha.”

He said:

“O Messenger of God, among your companions, am I the one involved?”

He said:

“Yes.”

He said:

“Then I shall be the most wretched of them.”

He said:

“No. Rather, you will be the best of them. But when that happens, return her to her place of safety.”

Abū Rāfiʿ said:

“The Commander of the Believers did this. He returned her with women from Iraq until she reached her place of safety.”

[336]

Abū Hāshim al-Rifāʿī, through his chain of transmission, from Umm Rāshid—the client of Umm Hāniʾ—who said:

“ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, entered upon his sister Umm Hāniʾ, daughter of Abū Ṭālib. She brought him some food and went to fetch him water.

“Then there were two men at the door of the chamber. They asked permission, and he gave them permission. She climbed the steps, and one of them said to his companion:

‘Our hands pledged allegiance to him, but our hearts did not pledge allegiance to him.’

“He recited:

‘Indeed, those who pledge allegiance to you are only pledging allegiance to God. The hand of God is above their hands.’[5]

“I said to Umm Hāniʾ:

‘Who are these two men?’

“She said:

‘Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr.’”

[337]

Sharīk ibn ʿAbd Allāh, through his chain of transmission, from Abū Bakr, who said:

“When ʿĀʾisha arrived, I intended to go out with her. Then I remembered a report that I had heard from the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, saying:

‘A people who entrust their affairs to a woman will never prosper.’”

[338]

ʿAbbād ibn Yaʿqūb, through his chain of transmission, from ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, who said on the day of the Camel:

“The people of knowledge from the family of Muḥammad, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, know, and ʿĀʾisha daughter of Abū Bakr knows—and here she is, so ask her.

“The companions of the Camel and the companions of the black man Dhū al-Thadiyya are cursed by the tongue of the Prophet (in the original: ‘Muḥammad’), peace and blessings be upon him and his family. Whoever fabricates [against God] has indeed failed.”

[339]

And in another account, from Umm Salama, may God be pleased with her:

“‘ʿĀʾisha met her after returning from al-Baṣra and said to her:

‘Peace be upon you, my sister.’

“Umm Salama replied:

‘Peace be upon you, O Ḥāniṭ. Did you not know that I advised you concerning your departure and reminded you of the statement of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon

him and his family, and what God, mighty and exalted is He, made obligatory upon you? But you refused. So I swore that I would not speak a single word to you from my own initiative until I meet the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family.'"

[340]

Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbbās, through his chain of transmission, from ʿAlqama:

"I said to al-Ashtar al-Nakhaʿī:

'You had been opposed to the Day of the House,[ii] so did you retract your position?'

"He said:

'Yes. By God, I was opposed to the Day of the House. But I came to Umm Ḥabīb, daughter of Abū Sufyān, in order to enter the house. I wanted to bring ʿUthmān out in her howdah, but they refused to let him go with me.

"They said: "What have we to do with you, O Ashtar?"

"However, I saw Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr pledge allegiance to ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, while the people had done so willingly and unwillingly, and then they broke their pledge to him.'

"I said:

'So it was Ibn al-Zubayr who said, meaning you: "Kill me and Mālik"?'

"He said:

'No, by God. I did not raise my sword against Ibn al-Zubayr while thinking that there was any life left in him, because he had treated the Mother of the Believers lightly and thereby caused her to leave. When I met him, I was not satisfied with merely using the strength of my forearm against him, so I stood in the stirrups and struck him on the head. I thought that I had split him open.

"But the one who said, "Kill me and Mālik," was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAttāb ibn Asīd. When I met him, I embraced him, and we both fell from our horses. He began saying:

"Kill me and Mālik!"

"His companions did not know whom he meant. Had al-Ashtar been the one he meant, they would have killed me.'"

[341]

ʿAbbād ibn Yaʿqūb, through his chain of transmission, from Abū ʿAriya, who said:

“We were sitting with ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, on the day of the Camel. The people of al-Baṣra had taken up positions and were showering us with arrows, but he had not yet given permission to fight. Some people came to him complaining of their wounds.

“He said:

‘Who will excuse me from these people?’ (In the original: ‘Who will hold me accountable regarding these people?’) ‘They order me to fight, yet the angels have not descended.’

“We remained seated in this state until a pleasant wind blew upon us from behind (in the original: ‘upon him from behind’). I felt its coolness between my shoulders beneath the armor.

“When it had passed, he said:

‘God is greatest.’

“Then he stood, put on his armor, and proceeded toward the people, ordering the people to fight.

“I have never seen a victory come more swiftly than that one.”

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## Footnotes

**[1]** He is Hind ibn ʿAmr al-Jamalī, named in relation to Jaml ibn Saʿd al-ʿAshīra, a clan of Madhḥij. He was martyred with the Commander of the Believers, peace be upon him and his family, at Ṣiffīn.

**[2]** Sūrat al-Ḥujurāt, verse 9.

**[3]** He was Muslim ibn ʿAbd Allāh.

**[4]** Sūrat Yūsuf, verse 92.

**[5]** Sūrat al-Fatḥ, verse 10.

## Endnotes

**[i]** “Al-ḥashiya”: like *manbaʿa*—that is, a stuffed mattress or bedding. The plural is *ḥashāyā*. It is a euphemism for women, and the expression “bedding” is commonly used in this sense.

**[ii]** This is the day when the house of ʿUthmān was besieged.

## [342]

Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥārith, through his chain of transmission:

ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, withdrew privately with al-Zubayr on the day of the Camel and said to him:

“I adjure you by God: did you not hear the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, say to you—and you were standing beside me at the Saqīfa of Banū Sāʿida—‘You will fight him while you are wronging him, and he will certainly prevail over you’?”

He said:

“Yes, by God, I remember that. Therefore, I shall not fight you.”

And he withdrew.

[343]

And in another account, concerning ʿĀʾisha:

When she was traveling toward al-Baṣra and reached one of the watering places of Banū ʿĀmir, dogs barked at her.

She said:

“What is this water?”

They said:

“Al-Ḥawʾab.”

She said:

“I do not think I shall do anything but turn back.”

Ibn al-Zubayr said:

“No. Rather, proceed. The people will see you, and God will reconcile what is between them through you.”

She said:

“I heard the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, say to a group of his wives: ‘How will it be with one of you when the dogs of al-Ḥawʾab bark at her?’”

[344]

Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd, through his chain of transmission:

ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, was asked concerning those killed at the Battle of the Camel:

“Are they polytheists?”

He said:

“No. Rather, they fled from polytheism.”

It was said:

“Are they hypocrites?”

He said:

“No, because the hypocrites remember God only a little.”

It was said:

“Then what are they?”

He said:

“They are our brothers who rebelled against us, so we prevailed over them.”

He, peace be upon him and his family, had informed [us] that they were among the people of rebellion whom God, mighty and exalted is He, commanded to be fought and killed until they return to the command of God, Glorified is He.[1] And he followed this ruling concerning them.

[345]

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Mūsā said:

“I heard Sufyān al-Thawrī say:

‘I have no doubt that Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr pledged allegiance to ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, and then broke their pledge. They had no grievance against him concerning injustice in judgment, nor concerning his taking exclusive possession of the spoils.’”

[346]

Wakīʿ, through his chain of transmission, from Ibn ʿAbbās:

He said:

“‘ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, sent me to Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr [on the day of the Camel].

“I said to them:

‘Your brother sends you greetings and says to you: Have you found in ʿAlī any taking of the spoils exclusively for himself (in the original: “my taking exclusively for myself”), or any injustice or unfairness in judgment?’

“They said:

‘No. Rather, it was fear and intense desire [for power].’”

[347]

Sulaymān ibn Ayyūb, through his chain of transmission, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī:

He said:

“The Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, told ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, what he would encounter from the people after him.

“ʿAlī wept and said:

‘O Messenger of God, pray to God that He take my life before yours.’

“He said:

‘How can I pray concerning something whose appointed time has already been decreed to occur in God’s knowledge?’

“He said:

‘O Messenger of God, then for what reason shall I fight them?’

“He said:

‘Because of what they introduce into the religion.’”

[348]

Abū ʿAlī al-Hamdānī, through his chain of transmission, from Ḥabba:

He said:

“I witnessed Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Yamān some time before ʿĀʾisha’s departure. He was saying:

‘By God, the red-haired woman will rise against you from a direction that will displease you.’”

(In the original: “from where she makes you witnesses.”)

Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh said to him:

“O Abū ʿAbd Allāh, we hear from you things that leave us unable either to sit or stand.”

He said:

“Woe to you! If God, Glorified is He, has decreed that, then what can you do? By God, it is as though I can see them lying slain around her, unable to do anything for her.”

This was among what Ḥudhayfa had heard from the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family.

[349]

And through his chain of transmission, from Muḥammad ibn Kaʿb al-Quraẓī:

“When the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, entered Medina after returning from Uḥud, he summoned ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, and said to him:

‘You supported me, struck with your sword alongside me, and defended me with your own life. How will you be when, after me, you fight the oath-breakers, the unjust, and those who depart from the truth?’

“He said:

‘O Messenger of God, will that really happen?’

“He said:

‘Yes, by Him in whose hand is my soul. Your party will be the victorious ones.

“As for the oath-breakers, they will pledge allegiance to you with their hands while their hearts refuse, and most of them are transgressors.

“As for the unjust, they are those who inclined toward this world, so they became fuel for Hell.

“As for those who depart from the truth, they will fight alongside you, then disbelieve. Their prayer will not pass beyond their heads, nor will their faith pass beyond their collarbones. Wherever they are encountered, they will be seized and killed thoroughly.

“Neither the supporter of your opponent, nor the one who hates you, nor the one who fights you will benefit from faith or good works.’”

[350]

Ḥayyān ibn al-Mugallis, through his chain of transmission, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā:

He said:

“Eighty veterans of Badr and one thousand five hundred of the Companions of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, witnessed the day of the Camel with ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family.”

[351]

Muḥammad ibn Faḍl, through his chain of transmission, from Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Jadalī:

He said:

“While we were in Mecca, and ʿUthmān had been killed in Dhū al-Ḥijja, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr arrived and went to ʿĀʾisha. They entered upon her, and then her herald came out and called:

‘Whoever wishes to travel with Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, let him travel, for the Mother of the Believers is departing.’

“Abū ʿAbd Allāh said:

‘I entered upon her, for I had been close to her, and I said:

“O Mother of the Believers, did the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, ever take you with him on an expedition”—or “into a battle”? “Did God, mighty and exalted is He, not command you to remain in your house?”

“I continued reminding and admonishing her until she abandoned what she had intended to do.

“She ordered her herald to announce:

‘Whoever wishes to travel with Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, let him travel, for the Mother of the Believers is remaining behind.’

“When Ṭalḥa heard this, he entered upon her and whispered into her ears. Her herald then came out and made an announcement like his first one.

“When what happened concerning her had happened, and she returned to Medina, I stood at her door and said:

‘Peace be upon you. May Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Jadalī enter?’

“She began sobbing until I felt pity for her. Then she gave me permission, so I entered and asked her about her condition. She began telling me what had happened to her.

“She said:

‘On the day of the Camel, three great cries arose from the people, and I heard a sound unlike anything I had ever heard.

“I said to a young servant who was with me:

“Woe to you! Go out and see what this is.”

“He went, then returned to me and said:

“The two groups are clashing.”

“I said:

“Is the fighting on our side or theirs?”

“He said:

“On yours.”

“I said:

“Is that good for us or bad for us?”

“He said:

“Rather, it is bad for you.”

“Then I heard the second [cry] and sent the servant.

“He said the same thing.

“Then I heard the third [cry] and went out to look. Suddenly I found myself in something like the depths of the sea. The camel knelt, and a man came and put his hand [inside].

“I said:

“Who are you, woe to you?”

“He said:

“The person most hateful to your family.”

“I said:

“Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr?”

“He said:

“Yes. Do not ask about blame.”

“Then al-Ashtar came and said:

“Do not ask about blame” (in the original: “Do not ask about an excuse”).

“He insulted me until he said:

“I wish the sword had struck you.”””

[Explanation of obscure terms]

“Al-ghalā” is the plural of *ghalwa*. A *ghalwa* is the distance reached by an arrow when shot. It is said that a complete *farsakh* is twenty-five *ghalwāt*, that is, twenty-five arrow-shots.

[352]

Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd, tracing his report back to Nāfiʿ, the client of Ibn ʿUmar:

He said:

“Someone who saw Ṭalḥa ibn ʿUbayd Allāh on the day of the Camel told me that, before the fighting, ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, called him, and he came out to him.

“ʿAlī said to him:

‘O Abū Muḥammad, I adjure you by God: did you not hear the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, say: “O God, befriend whoever befriends him and oppose whoever opposes him”?’

“Ṭalḥa said:

‘O God, yes.’

“ʿAlī said:

‘Then why have you come to fight me when you heard this from the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family?’

“So Ṭalḥa withdrew and said:

‘I shall not fight you after this.’

“When he withdrew, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam said:

‘I shall not seek revenge for ʿUthmān’s blood after this day.’

“He then shot Ṭalḥa with an arrow and killed him.”

[353]

Jaʿfar ibn Sulaymān, from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Mūsā ibn Qādim:

He said:

“I heard Sufyān al-Thawrī say, in a very loud voice:

‘By God, I have no doubt. Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr pledged allegiance to ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, and then broke their pledge to him. By God, they found nothing against him—neither any defect in religion nor any betrayal concerning property.’

“He said:

“And I heard Sufyān al-Thawrī swear a solemn oath that no one fought ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, except that ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, had greater right than him.”

[354]

Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Abān, tracing his report back to Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Yamān:

He said one day to a group around him:

“What will you do when the people of your religion become two factions, with some of you striking the faces of others with swords?”

They said:

“Will that really happen, O Abū ʿAbd Allāh?”

He said:

“Yes.”

They said:

“What should we do if we live to see that?”

He said:

“Look to the faction in which ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is, or to the one that he calls toward, wherever it may be, and adhere to it, for it is upon guidance.”

[355]

And in another account, from ʿAlī ibn Rabīʿa:

He said:

“I heard ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, say from your pulpit:

‘The Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, entrusted me with the knowledge that after him I would fight the oath-breakers, the unjust, and those who depart from the truth.’”

These are some observations and comprehensive reports concerning the breaking of the pledge by Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, their departure with ʿĀʾisha, and what took place on the day of the Camel.

I have mentioned previously that no one followed Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr in this matter, nor did anyone adopt what they had said. Nor, to this day, has anyone claimed as his own what they claimed, concerning what I have mentioned and shall mention regarding Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr’s withdrawal from that position, ʿĀʾisha’s regret over it, and the regret of those who had stayed away from ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, concerning it.

## The Battle of Ṣiffīn

As for what occurred between him and Muʿāwiya, I have already mentioned the general substance of ʿAlī’s statement concerning it. Among what I have not yet mentioned, but which I intend to establish and elaborate upon in this book, is the following:

When ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, had finished fighting the Companions of the Camel, he had intended to remove Muʿāwiya from Syria. Someone was secretly sent to Muʿāwiya to ask that he be allowed to remain in his governorship, but he refused to do so.

Some of those who advised ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, suggested this to him. It is said that ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-ʿAbbās was among those who advised him to write Muʿāwiya his appointment, then, once Muʿāwiya had prayed for him and taken the pledge of allegiance from the people, dismiss him.

ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, said:

"This is merely the immediate course of action. As for what lies between me and God, mighty and exalted is He, I find no excuse for myself in that.

'And I would never take the misleaders as supporters.'[2]"

So, after finishing with the Companions of the Camel, he wrote to Muʿāwiya, calling upon him to enter into what the people had entered into—pledging allegiance to him and coming to him.

Muʿāwiya refused.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ came to him, agreeing with his position, and Muʿāwiya promised to appoint him governor of Egypt and made him a partner in his affair, so that he would not depart from his counsel.

ʿAmr was one of the great strategists and schemers of the Arabs. He knew that he would not obtain from ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, what he wanted, so he joined Muʿāwiya. The two agreed to oppose ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, and followed the path of the Companions of the Camel in publicly claiming to avenge ʿUthmān.

They took a shirt, stained it heavily with blood, raised it upon a spear, and carried it around with a group whom they sent throughout the districts of Syria (in the original: "throughout the district), saying:

"This is the blood of your caliph who was killed unjustly. Rise up to avenge his blood!"

As a result, many people gathered around Muʿāwiya.

ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, proceeded to Kūfa, and the people of Iraq and the people of the Two Holy Sanctuaries gathered around him, together with the foremost Companions among the Emigrants and the Helpers who had witnessed the Battle of the Camel with him, as well as others who joined him afterward.

He continued making his case to Muʿāwiya and sending messages to him. Muʿāwiya imposed conditions, as ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, had related in what we previously mentioned in this book, demanding conditions that were neither lawful nor permissible.

Throughout all of this, Muʿāwiya claimed only that he was ʿUthmān's governor over Syria. He rejected the allegiance to ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, and said that he remained

under the authority that ʿUthmān had granted him. On this basis he continued to call himself "the commander," until the Commander of the Believers, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him and his family, was killed, at which point he called himself "Commander of the Believers."

As for his reliance upon ʿUthmān's appointment of him, that is impermissible, because the governorship that ʿUthmān granted him ended when ʿUthmān's authority ended and he died.

It is just as if he had appointed him as an agent over some of his property: if he died and what he had entrusted to the agent became an inheritance for his heirs, the agency would not remain in force. His heirs would have the right either to remove him from the agency or to retain him.

There is no disagreement concerning this among the Muslims.

## ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir

ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, may God be pleased with him, was among those who were with ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family. The Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, had said to him:

"O ʿAmmār, the rebellious faction will kill you."

This is well known in the transmitted reports, related by both the particular and general communities.

He was therefore killed, may God be pleased with him, alongside ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, in his war against Muʿāwiya. He was killed by the companions of Muʿāwiya.

## [356]

Abū Ghassān, through his chain of transmission, from the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family:

"What do they want from ʿAmmār? He calls them to Paradise while they call him to Hell."

## [357]

Saʿīd ibn Kathīra ibn ʿUfayr, from Abū Lahīʿa, tracing it back to the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him and his family:

He said to ʿAmmār:

"The rebellious faction will kill you."

## [358]

Abū Ghassān, through his chain of transmission, from Rabīʿa ibn Nājidh (in the original: Hājir):

He said:

ʿAmmār said on the day of Ṣiffīn:

“Paradise lies beneath the al-Abarīqa. The thirsty man comes to the water, and the water is a place of arrival. Today I shall meet my beloved ones: Muḥammad and his party.”

[359]

And in another account, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā, from his father:

ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, while traveling along the bank of the Euphrates, said:

“O God, You know that if I knew that Your pleasure with me lay in throwing myself from my mount so that I fell and broke my neck, I would do it.

“If I knew that Your pleasure with me lay in lighting a fire and throwing myself into it, I would do it. And if I knew that Your pleasure with me lay in throwing myself into this river and dying in it, I would do it.

“O God, I fight the people of Syria only while seeking Your countenance by doing so, and I hope that You will not disappoint me while I seek Your noble countenance.”

[360]

Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd al-Aṣbaʿī, through his chain of transmission, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī:

He said:

“‘ʿAmmār witnessed Ṣiffīn, and wherever he took a valley, the Companions of Muḥammad, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, followed him as though he were a standard for them. This was because they had heard from the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, that the rebellious faction would kill him.

“Muʿāwiya and his companions used to transmit this report and say:

‘ʿAmmār is with us, and he will be killed. He will eventually come over to us.’

“But when they killed him alongside ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, they were confounded. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ came forward and said:

‘We did not kill ʿAmmār. Rather, those who brought him here killed him.’

“This argument took hold in the minds of the people of Syria, and his statement reached ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family.

“He said:

‘May God curse ʿAmr! What minds they have! If we killed ʿAmmār, then we are the ones who brought him, and he was with us! By that reasoning, the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, and his Companions killed all the Muslims who were martyred alongside them.’

“Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said:

“On the day of Ṣiffīn, ʿAmmār came upon Hāshim ibn ʿUtba [al-Mirqāl], who was carrying ʿAlī’s banner, peace be upon him and his family. He had planted it in the ground and was standing. He was one-eyed.

“‘ʿAmmār said to him:

‘O Hāshim, one-eyed and cowardly! There is no good in a one-eyed man who does not charge the people.’

“Then ʿAmmār looked toward Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, who was between the two ranks, and said:

‘O Hāshim, by God, he will break his covenant, betray his trust, and flee with all his effort.’

“Then ʿAmmār and Hāshim charged the companions of Muʿāwiya, while [Hāshim] was saying:

‘O one-eyed man, seeking the abode of his people,
you have endured life until you have had your fill;
you must either break through or be broken.’

“And ʿAmmār was saying:

‘O Hāshim, death lies at the tips of the spears, and Paradise is beneath the al-Abarīqa. You will see Muḥammad and his party in the highest company.’

“Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said:

“I did not see the two of them return from that charge until they had both been killed.”

[Explanation of obscure terms]

“Al-asal”: the spearshaft. It was compared, because of its straightness, to a plant with many thin branches and no leaves. This is *al-asal*, singular *asala*. It is said that this was what Ayyūb, peace be upon him, struck his family with.

[361]

Abū Nuʿaym:

“When ʿAmmār was killed, Khuzayma ibn Thābit [al-Asadī] entered his tent. He sprinkled water over him, then put his armor upon him.

“Then he went out and charged with the companions of Muʿāwiya. He continued fighting until he too was killed, may God be pleased with him.”

[362]

And in another account, from ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir:

He said:

“By God, even if they were to strike us until they brought us to the peaks of Hijr, I would know that we are upon the truth and they are upon falsehood.”

“Al-shaʿāf”: the rounded tops of the stones used as hearths, and also the summits of mountains.

[Explanation of obscure terms]

[363]

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar, through his chain of transmission:

The Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, saw ʿAmmār while he was building the mosque of Medina. The people were carrying bricks and stones, one stone at a time, while ʿAmmār was carrying two stones at a time.

The Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, said to him:

“Are you carrying yourself to exhaustion for me, O ʿAmmār?”

He said:

“O Messenger of God, by God, despite that I am feverish.”

The Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, said:

“God has filled ʿAmmār’s heart, hearing, and sight with faith. No matter of truth is presented to him except that he accepts it, and no matter of falsehood except that he rejects it.

“The rebellious faction will kill him. His final provision from this world will be a drink of *ḍiyāḥ* milk, and his killers and those who strip him of his possessions will be in Hell.”

The term *ḍiyāḥ* has been explained earlier in this book as:

“Thick milk into which water is poured until it becomes abundant, thin, and pleasant.”

[364]

Abū Nuʿaym, through his chain of transmission, from Anas ibn Mālik:

The Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, said:

“Three people are longed for by Paradise: ʿAlī, ʿAmmār, and Salmān.”

[365]

Aḥmad ibn Thābit, through his chain of transmission, from Bashīr ibn Tamīm:

He said:

The following was revealed concerning Abū Jahl and ʿAmmār:

“Is the one who is cast into the Fire”—meaning Abū Jahl—“better, or the one who comes safely on the Day of Resurrection?”[3]

Meaning ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir.

[366]

Al-Layth ibn Saʿd, through his chain of transmission:

The first person to pledge allegiance to the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, on the occasion of the Tree was ʿAmmār.

[367]

Abū Ghassān, through his chain of transmission, from ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family:

ʿAmmār asked permission to enter upon the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family. The Prophet recognized his voice.

He said:

“Welcome to the good and purified one. [Let him enter.]”

[368]

And in another account, from al-Ashtar:

ʿAmmār disputed with Khālid ibn al-Walīd, who complained about him to the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family.

The Prophet said:

“O Khālid, do not insult ʿAmmār. Whoever insults ʿAmmār, God insults him, and whoever hates ʿAmmār, God hates him.”

Khālid said:

“Ask God to forgive me, O Messenger of God.”

[369]

Ismāʿīl ibn Abān, through his chain of transmission, from ʿĀʾisha:

She said:

“There was no one among the Companions of Muḥammad about whom, had I wished to speak, I could not have said something—except ʿAmmār. For he had been filled—from his heels to his neck—with faith.”

[370]

Sufyān al-Thawrī, through his chain of transmission, from ʿUmar:

He wrote to the people of Kūfa:

“I have sent to you ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd. They are among the distinguished ones of the Companions of Muḥammad, from among the veterans of Badr. Follow their example and listen to them, for I have preferred you with them over myself.”

[371]

Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad al-Aṣbahānī, through his chain of transmission, from Ziyād, the client of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ:

He said:

“ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ presented gifts to the Companions of the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, and gave ʿAmmār preference over them.”

He was asked about this.

He said:

“I heard the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, say:

‘The rebellious faction will kill him.’”

[372]

Abū Aḥmad, through his chain of transmission, from Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Yamān:

When he was near death, it was said to him (in the original: “When he was near death, it was said to him”):

“Give us your final instructions!”

He said:

“If you insist upon that, then sit me upright.”

So they supported him.

He said:

“I heard the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, say:

‘Abū al-Yaqẓān is upon the original natural disposition; he will never abandon it.’”

He repeated this three times.

“He will not abandon it until he dies.”

(This addition appears in *Biḥār al-Anwār*.)

[373]

And in another account, from the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family:

It was said to him:

“ʿAmmār was struck by a wall and died.”

He said:

“ʿAmmār will not die an ordinary death. Rather, the rebellious faction will kill him. He calls them to Paradise, while they call him to Hell.”

[374]

And in another account, from ʿAmmār:

A man said on the day of Ṣiffīn:

“O Abū al-Yaqẓān, will you not swear today as you swore on the day of the Camel?”

He said:

“I swear by God that we are upon the truth and these people are upon falsehood.”

[375]

And in another account, from ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith:

He said:

“I was traveling alongside Muʿāwiya, with ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and his son ʿAbd Allāh, when ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr said:

‘I heard the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, say concerning ʿAmmār: “The rebellious faction will kill you.”’

“ʿAmr said to Muʿāwiya:

‘Listen to what this young man says.’

“[He said:]

‘We did not kill him. Rather, the one who brought him here killed him.’”

[376]

Al-Aʿmash said:

“Sufyān al-Thawrī told us:

‘I was sitting with ʿAmmār, and Abū Masʿūd and Abū Mūsā were with him. They said to him:

“O ʿAmmār, there is nothing we have found fault with you over except your haste in this matter”—meaning his standing with ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, and his departure to al-Baṣra.

“‘ʿAmmār said to them:

“And we have found nothing against you except your staying behind from him.”’”

[377]

Abū Ghassān, through his chain of transmission, from Ḥudhayfa:

When ʿUthmān was killed, it was said to him:

“O Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the Commander of the Believers has been killed. Whom do you command us to pledge allegiance to after him?”

He said:

“Follow ʿAmmār. Whoever ʿAmmār follows, follow him.”

They said:

“‘ʿAmmār is with ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, and will never leave him.”

Ḥudhayfa said:

“Envy destroys the body. What brings you closer to ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, is your closeness to ʿAmmār. By God, ʿAlī is better than ʿAmmār by as great a distance as that between the earth and the clouds. ʿAmmār is nevertheless among the righteous.”

[378]

ʿUthmān ibn Abī Shayba, from his father, from Hishām ibn al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīra:

He said:

“I was nursing ʿAmmār during his illness when Muʿāwiya came to visit him.

“He said:

‘O God, do not make his death come at our hands, for I heard the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, say: “The rebellious faction will kill ʿAmmār.”’”

We have mentioned what we have mentioned concerning the merit of ʿAmmār, may God have mercy on him, and the statements of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, concerning him, because we wished to emphasize and clarify that Muʿāwiya and his companions among the people of Syria who fought ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, and those with him were among the people of rebellion, while ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, and those with him were the people of justice.

The general body of the community holds this position.

Based on ʿAlī's conduct toward them and toward the people of the Camel, and on his ruling concerning their killing, their property, and their descendants, a group among the general body who were regarded as authorities on legal rulings stated this and made the same ruling obligatory concerning the people of rebellion when the people of justice fight them.

God, mighty and exalted is He, commanded that the people of rebellion be fought and made this obligatory in His Book, permitting them to be killed just as He commanded the fighting of the polytheists and permitted them to be killed. He says, Glorified is the One who speaks:

"And if two groups of believers fight, then reconcile between them. But if one of them transgresses against the other, then fight the one that transgresses until it returns to the command of God."[1]

Thus Muʿāwiya and his companions were people of rebellion according to the judgment of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, and according to the consensus of the generality of Muslims, except for those among their followers who deviated from this position while claiming Islam.

Muʿāwiya did not return to obedience until he died.

Those among the Umayyads who subsequently seized the Imamate appealed to him as their precedent until the present day. They therefore remain, in this respect, people of rebellion, and it is obligatory upon the Muslims to fight them.

And whoever seized it from those hands through the same means by which they had seized it—I mean the Abbasids and those who followed them—fighting them is likewise obligatory, alongside the faction of the people of justice: those who upheld ʿAlī, peace be upon him and his family, as the one to appoint the Imams from his descendants, peace be upon them all, who after him took his place.

It is therefore obligatory upon all Muslims to strive against those who oppose them alongside them until they return to obedience to them, just as the foremost of the Companions and the Followers did with the Commander of the Believers, peace be upon him and his family.

We shall later mention, God willing, those among them who witnessed his battles and those of their group who were martyred alongside him, what they heard from the Book of God, mighty and exalted is He, and from the Prophet's instructions, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, concerning this matter—some of which we have already mentioned in this book, and the remainder of which we shall mention in what remains of it, God willing.

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The fourth part of the book *Sharḥ al-Akhbār fī Faḍāʾil al-Waṣī al-Karrār* has been completed.

And praise belongs to God alone, and His blessings upon our master Muḥammad and his purified family, with abundant peace.

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Footnotes

[1] Sūrat al-Ḥujurāt, verse 9.

[2] Sūrat al-Kahf, verse 51.

[3] Sūrat Fuṣṣilat, verse 40.

[Additional editorial notes]

[1] Ibn al-Athīr says in *al-Nihāya* 4/166 and *al-Kāmil* 3/80, under the entry *Naʿthal*: ʿĀʾisha called ʿUthmān "Naʿthal." This was either the name of a Jewish man, an old fool, or a long-bearded man in Egypt.

[1] The name of a river in Iraq.

[1] They were those who withdrew from ʿAlī and refused to fight him or fight alongside him after entering into allegiance to him and accepting him. They said: "It is not lawful to fight ʿAlī, nor is it lawful to fight alongside him."

[1] They were those who supported all of the opposing parties together—Muʿāwiya, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and ʿĀʾisha—and claimed that all the people of the qibla were believers on the basis of their outward profession of faith, and hoped that all of them would be forgiven.

They were four groups:

1. The Jahmiyya: followers of Jahm ibn Ṣafwān, the Murjiʾa of Khurāsān.
2. The Ghaylāniyya: followers of Ghaylān ibn Marwān, the Murjiʾa of Syria.
3. The Māṣiriyya: followers of ʿAmr ibn Qays al-Māṣir, the Murjiʾa of Iraq, among whom was Abū Ḥanīfa.
4. The Shukkāk and Butriyya: the traditionists among them, including Sufyān ibn Saʿīd al-Thawrī and Ibn Abī Laylā.

[1] They are the Ḥashwiyya. Among their positions is that people should exercise their own reasoning in appointing the Imam, and that all matters of religion and worldly affairs should be left to individual reasoning. Some of them rejected this.

[1] "Al-ḥashiya": like *manbaḍa*, meaning stuffed bedding; the plural is *ḥashāyā*. It is a euphemism for women, and the expression "bedding" is commonly used in this sense.

[1] This is the day when the house of ʿUthmān was besieged.