Explanation of the Reports on the Virtues of the Pure Imams
by al-Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Maghribī, died 363 AH
Volume Five
In the Name of God, the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful
The Remaining Reports about Ṣiffīn

379. Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, who said:
"I witnessed Ṣiffīn with ʿAlī, peace be upon him. We had appointed two men to guard him. Whenever they became distracted, he would charge into the enemy ranks until he mixed with them, and he would not return to us until he had stained his sword [with blood].
"On one such charge, he returned with his sword bent. He threw it down and said:
'I did not come back to you until my sword had become bent.'"

380. Abū Nuʿaym, through his chain of transmission, from Yaḥyā ibn Muṭarrif, who said:
"'ʿAlī passed by us on the day of Ṣiffīn while we were standing beneath our banners.
"He said: 'Whose banners are these?'
"We replied: 'The banners of Rabīʿah, O Commander of the Faithful.'
"He said:
'Rather, they are the banners of God.'
"[May God protect their people and make their feet firm.]"

381. Another report, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā, who said:
"On the day of Ṣiffīn, a man from Syria called out to us:
'Is Uways al-Qaranī among you?'
"We said: 'Yes. What do you want from him?'
"He said:
'I heard the Messenger of God say: "Uways al-Qaranī is among the best of the Followers."'
"Then he spurred his mount and entered among the companions of ʿAlī, peace be upon him."

382. Ismāʿīl ibn Abān, through his chain of transmission, from Qays ibn Abī Ḥāzim al-Tamīmī, who said:
"I heard ʿAlī, peace be upon him, urging the people to fight Muʿāwiyah. He was saying:
'March forth against the remnants of the Confederates and the allies of Satan. March forth against those who say, "God and His Messenger have lied," alongside those who say, "God and His Messenger have spoken the truth."'"

383. Another report, from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, who said:
"I saw the Messenger of God in a dream, and I began complaining to him about what I had suffered from his community because of their opposition and obstinacy, until I wept.
"He said to me:
'O ʿAlī, do not weep. Raise your head and look over here.'
"I raised my head and saw Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ with their feet stuck in the ground. I began throwing stones at their heads until they died, and then they returned [to life]."

384. al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAṭiyyah, from ʿAmr ibn Abī Jundub, who said:
"We were sitting with our master Saʿīd ibn Qays at Ṣiffīn when the Commander of the Faithful came, leaning upon a spear, while the two armies could barely be distinguished after darkness had fallen.
"Saʿīd said to him:
'O Commander of the Faithful.'
"He replied: 'Yes?'
"Saʿīd said:

‘Glory be to God! Do you not fear that someone might assassinate you while you are so close to your enemy?’
“He said:
‘No. There is no person except that he has guardians from God. They protect him from being struck by a stone, falling from a mountain, falling into a well, or being struck by an animal. When the appointed time arrives, they leave him and his fate.’
‘Indeed, the appointed time is a fortified shield.’”
385. Saʿīd ibn Kathīr, through his chain of transmission, from al-Layth ibn Saʿd, who said:
“When the people of Syria and the people of Iraq gathered at Ṣiffīn, they were rained upon by pure blood.
“This frightened the people of Syria. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said to them:
‘O people, this is merely one of the signs of God that He has shown you. Let every person set right what is between himself and his Lord. After that, he need not concern himself with these two mountains colliding.’
“Then they brought forward their shields and held back their helmets, saying:
‘Lend us your skulls for an hour of the day.’
“They fought at Ṣiffīn for forty days. The Syrians were being defeated, so ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ ordered them to raise the Qurʾāns on their spears.”
386. Abū Nuʿaym, through his chain of transmission, from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, who said to the two arbiters when they were appointed:
“You must judge according to the Book of God. If you do not judge according to the Book of God, then there is no authority for your judgment.”
387. Another report, from Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad, peace be upon him, who said:
“‘ʿAlī, peace be upon him, said to the two arbiters:
‘You must judge according to the Book of God. You must bring to life what the Qurʾān brings to life, and declare dead what the Qurʾān declares dead. Do not deviate from it.’”
388. Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Daghshī, through his chain of transmission, from the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, who said:
“When he returned from Ṣiffīn, the people began discussing the matter of the two arbiters.
“Some of them said:
‘What prevents the Commander of the Faithful from ordering one of his family to speak?’
“‘ʿAlī, peace be upon him, said to al-Ḥasan:
‘Stand, O Ḥasan, and speak regarding these two men—ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qays and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ.’
“Al-Ḥasan stood and said:
‘O people, you have spoken excessively about ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qays and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. They were appointed to judge according to the Book, but they judged according to personal desire against the Book. Whoever does this cannot be called a judge; rather, he is himself one who has been judged against.
‘‘ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qays was mistaken when he indicated ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar. He was mistaken in three respects:

1. His father did not approve of him for this position.
2. He was not consulted about it.
3. The Emigrants and the Helpers did not unanimously gather around him as they had gathered around the person before him.

‘Arbitration itself is a favor from God. The Messenger of God appointed Saʿd as judge concerning Banū Qurayẓah, and Saʿd judged according to God's ruling without doubt. The

Messenger of God implemented his judgment, and if he had contradicted it, it would not have been permissible for him to accept it.'"
"Then ʿAlī, peace be upon him, said to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās:
'Stand and speak.'
"Then he sat down.
"ʿAbd Allāh stood and said:
'O people, truth has people who attain it through divine guidance. People are divided between those who accept it and those who turn away from it.
'ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qays was sent with guidance, not misguidance, while ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was sent with misguidance, not guidance. When they met, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qays abandoned his guidance, while ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ remained upon his misguidance.
'By God, if the two of them judged according to the Book, then they judged against it. And if they judged according to something upon which they both agreed, then they did not agree upon anything. And if they judged according to what each of them followed, then ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qays followed ʿAlī, his imam, while ʿAmr followed Muʿāwiyah, his imam. After this, what further reproach remains to be considered?
'Rather, they had grown weary of the war. They wanted to remain alive, so they sought to ward off one calamity with another. Each group became satisfied with its own man.'
"Then he sat down.
"ʿAlī, peace be upon him, then said to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar:
'Stand and speak.'
"ʿAbd Allāh stood and said:
'O people, this matter was originally to be considered by ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and the decision was his. Yet you brought ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qays and said, "We will accept no one except this man." So accept him, for he is the one we have accepted.
'By God, we gained no knowledge from him, awaited no hidden information from him, hoped neither for his weakness nor for his opponent's repentance. What they did neither corrupted Iraq nor rectified Syria; neither did it extinguish ʿAlī's right nor bring Muʿāwiyah's falsehood to life.
'The truth cannot be removed by the incantation of an enchanter nor by the breath of Satan. Today we remain upon what we were upon yesterday.'
"Then he sat down."
389. Abū Nuʿaym, through his chain of transmission, from ʿAlī, peace be upon him:
"While he was giving a sermon one day, a woman from Banū ʿAbs stood before him.
"She said:
'O Commander of the Faithful, there are three things that have filled people's hearts against you.'
"He said:
'And what are they, woe to you?'
"She said:
'Your acceptance of the arbitration, your accepting humiliation, and your anxiety during calamity.'
"He said to her:
'What have you to do with this? You are merely a woman. Return to your house and sit upon your skirt.'
"She replied:
'No, by God! There is no sitting except beneath the shade of swords.'"

390. Muḥammad ibn Sallām, through his chain of transmission, from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfiʿ, who said:
“While the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī was giving a sermon in Kūfah after returning from Ṣiffīn, a man stood at the side of the mosque and said:
‘There is no judgment except God's.’
“ʿAlī remained silent, and the man sat down.
“ʿAlī returned to his sermon.
“Another man stood and said the same thing.
“ʿAlī remained silent, and the man sat down.
“ʿAlī returned to his sermon until a group of people stood up in the same manner.
“ʿAlī said:
‘A word of truth by which falsehood is intended.
‘You have three rights with us:
‘We will not prevent you from the mosques of God; you may pray with us there.
‘We will not withhold your share of the public treasury so long as your hands remain joined with ours.
‘We will not initiate war against you until you initiate it against us.
‘I swear that the truthful Prophet informed me, through the trustworthy Spirit, from the Lord of the worlds, that no faction from among you—whether small or large—will rise against us without God making its death come at our hands.’
“The remainder of the report is mentioned thereafter.”
391. Abū Ghassān, through his chain of transmission, from Ibn Abzā, who said:
“I witnessed Ṣiffīn with ʿAlī. There were eight hundred among those who had pledged the Pledge of Riḍwān with him. Sixty-three of them were killed with him, among them ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, may God be pleased with him.”
392. Another report, from al-Ḥakam, who said:
“Eighty people from the People of Badr and two hundred and fifty people from those who pledged beneath the tree witnessed Ṣiffīn with ʿAlī.”
393. Another report, from Saʿīd ibn Jubayr, who said:
“Eight hundred Helpers and nine hundred people who had pledged the Pledge of Riḍwān witnessed Ṣiffīn with ʿAlī.”
394. Another report, from al-Suddī, who said:
“One hundred and thirty people from the People of Badr witnessed Ṣiffīn with ʿAlī.”
395. Another report, attributed through a chain of transmission:
“The Messenger of God once traveled with his companions during one of his military expeditions at night. They heard him saying:
‘Jundub—and what is Jundub! And Zayd, the one who cuts off goodness!’
“He repeated this.
“They asked:
‘O Messenger of God, we heard you mention two men favorably. Who are they?’
“He said:
‘They will be in this community. One of them will strike a blow that separates truth from falsehood, while the other's hand will be cut off in the path of God. His hand will precede him to Paradise, and then the rest of his body will follow it.
‘As for Jundub, he will kill a sorcerer who has captivated the people with his influence. As for Zayd, his hand will be cut off on the day of Jalūlāʾ, and he will be killed with ʿAlī on the day of the Battle of the Camel.’”

396. Ismāʿīl ibn Abān, from Ṣilah ibn Zufar, who said:
“When Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān was dying and had been covered, I sat at his head. I put my head beneath the cloth with him and said:
‘O Abū ʿAbd Allāh, when tribulations occur, whom do you command me to flee to?’
“He said:
‘When that happens, tighten the saddle on your mount and join ʿAlī, peace be upon him, for he is upon the truth and never separates from it.’
“When Ḥudhayfah died, I tightened the saddle on my mount and joined ʿAlī.”
397. Saʿīd ibn Kathīr ibn ʿUfayr said:
“ʿAlī went out to Ṣiffīn while Khabbāb ibn al-Aratt was ill in Kūfah. ʿAlī returned, and Khabbāb had died.
“Among the Anṣār who had participated in Badr and were with ʿAlī were Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, Abū Masʿūd, Rifāʿah ibn Mālik al-ʿAjlānī, and Sahl ibn Ḥunayn.”
398. Abū Nuʿaym, through his chain of transmission, from Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī:
“He was asked: ‘Which was superior, al-Aswad or ʿAlqamah?’
“He said:
‘ʿAlqamah is superior. ʿAlqamah witnessed Ṣiffīn with ʿAlī.’
“They asked Ibrāhīm:
‘Did ʿAlqamah actually fight during the days of Ṣiffīn?’
“He said:
‘Yes. He fought until his sword was stained [with blood].’
“ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā also witnessed Ṣiffīn with ʿAlī.”
399. Sharīk ibn ʿAbd Allāh, from Yazīd ibn Abī Ziyād, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā:
“Uways al-Qaranī was killed at Ṣiffīn with ʿAlī, peace be upon him.”
400. From al-Aṣbagh ibn Nubātah, who said:
“ʿAlī said on the day of Ṣiffīn:
‘Where are the death-squad?’
“Ninety-nine men stood.
“ʿAlī said:
‘This is not yet the full number I was promised.’
“Then a man wearing a woolen cloak stood.
“ʿAlī said to him:
‘Who are you?’
“He said:
‘Uways al-Qaranī.’
“ʿAlī said:
‘God is greatest! Advance to the fighting.’
“Uways was the first to be killed.”

The Killing of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar

401. From al-Ḥasan:
“ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar was killed on the day of Ṣiffīn while fighting alongside Muʿāwiyah. The Muslims killed him and took his possessions, which were considerable.
“It is said that ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar recited these verses that day:
‘I am ʿUbayd Allāh, descended from ʿUmar,
The best of Quraysh, past and present,
Except the Messenger of God and the venerable elder.’

“ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar had gone over to Muʿāwiyah out of fear of ʿAlī, peace be upon him. This was because he had shed blood during the time of ʿUthmān.
“When ʿUmar was killed, ʿUbayd Allāh attacked a Persian man named al-Hurmuzān, who was a Muslim, and killed him. The people brought the matter before ʿUthmān.
“ʿUthmān said:
‘His father was killed yesterday, and he is to be killed today.’
“ʿAlī threatened to punish him, so he fled to Muʿāwiyah.
“It is also said that the Syrians boasted of him to the companions of ʿAlī, saying:
‘We have ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar with us!’
“The companions of ʿAlī replied:
‘Have you not looked at how many of the best Emigrants and Helpers are with us—people of Badr, people of the Pledge of Riḍwān, and people whom the Messenger of God testified would enter Paradise? Yet you boast of a young man who fled to save himself from a punishment that was due to him?’
“They said:
‘But he is the son of ʿUmar.’
“The companions of ʿAlī said:
‘Is ʿUmar superior or Abū Bakr?’
“They said:
‘Abū Bakr.’
“The companions of ʿAlī said:
‘Then here is Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr with us. He is a virtuous man who has committed no offense requiring a legal punishment and has not fled from its execution.’”

Those Who Participated in the Wars of the Commander of the Faithful

402. Ibn Abī Salamah, through his chain of transmission, from his father, who said:
“Twenty-five veterans of Badr were killed alongside ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn.”

403. Ibn al-Aʿrābī, through his chain of transmission, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā, who said:
“In Iraq, ʿAlī was called ‘Commander of the Faithful,’ while in Syria Muʿāwiyah was called ‘the Commander.’ When ʿAlī died, Muʿāwiyah was then called ‘Commander of the Faithful.’”

404. Ibn al-Aʿrābī, through his chain of transmission, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā:
“ʿAmmār called for a drink on the day of Ṣiffīn. He was brought a mixture of milk and water, and he drank it.
“Then he said:
‘Today I will meet the beloved ones—Muḥammad and his party.’
“I heard the Messenger of God say to me:
‘The rebellious faction will kill you, and your final provision from this world will be a drink of milk and water.’
“Then he advanced into battle and fought until he was killed. May God have mercy upon him.”

Explanation of an Uncommon Word

The expression **ḍiyāḥ of milk** refers to thick milk into which water is poured until it becomes thin and pleasant to drink.
Anything similar into which water is poured may be described with the verb *ḍayyaḥtuhu*, meaning that water was poured over it. However, the noun *ḍiyāḥ* is specifically used for milk. It has also been said that *taḍyīḥ* means cooling it.

405. Muḥammad ibn Rāshid, through his chain of transmission, from ʿAlī, peace be upon him:

“When he entered Kūfah after returning from Ṣiffīn, he heard the women crying over those who had been killed at Ṣiffīn.
“He said:
‘The women of Syria have cried out no less than this.’”

The Book of Ibn Abī Rāfiʿ

406. Muḥammad ibn Sallām, through his chain of transmission, from ʿAwn ibn ʿUbayd Allāh, from his father—who had been a secretary of ʿAlī—who was asked about the names of those who had participated with ʿAlī in his wars among the Emigrants and Helpers whom the Messenger of God had given glad tidings of Paradise, as well as the Followers and the distinguished Arabs.
“He was knowledgeable about this, and he said:
“Those who participated with him included:

Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib

- al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon them, concerning whom the Messenger of God said: **‘They are the leaders of the young men of Paradise.’**
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, concerning whom the Messenger of God said to ʿAlī: **‘A son will be born to you after me. Name him after me and give him my kunyah.’** Thus he was named Muḥammad and given the kunyah Abū al-Qāsim.
- ʿAqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib.
- ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās.
- Muḥammad and ʿAwn, the sons of Jaʿfar al-Ṭayyār, concerning whom it is said that they are in Paradise.
- ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar, to whom the Messenger of God said: **‘Your father most closely resembles me in physical appearance and character, and you resemble your father in appearance.’**
- ʿAbd Allāh, Kathīr, Qutham, and Tamām, the sons of al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.
- Muḥammad and Muslim, the sons of ʿUqayl ibn Abī Ṭālib.
- Nawfal ibn al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.
- Rabīʿah.
- Abū Rāfiʿ, the freedman of the Messenger of God.

“Regarding Abū Rāfiʿ, the Messenger of God had said to him:
‘How will you be, O Abū Rāfiʿ, when a people fight ʿAlī, while he is upon the truth and they are upon falsehood?’
“He replied:
‘Ask God for me, O Messenger of God, that if I live to see them, I will not be led astray and that He will strengthen me to fight them.’
“So the Messenger of God prayed for him.
“When people broke their allegiance to ʿAlī, Abū Rāfiʿ sold his property at Khaybar, Banū Qurayẓah, and his house. He used the proceeds to strengthen himself, his children, and his family, and he went out with them. He was then eighty-five years old and fought in all of ʿAlī's wars.”
“Also from Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib:

- al-Ḥuṣayn and al-Ḥārith, the sons of al-Ḥārith, both veterans of Badr who had accompanied the Prophet in all his military expeditions.

Banū ʿAbd Shams ibn ʿAbd Manāf

- Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah ibn Rabīʿah, who had been ʿUthmān's governor of Egypt. He later came to Madīnah, and ʿUthmān gave him one hundred thousand

dirhams. He took the money to the mosque and said:
'O community of believers, why does ʿUthmān give me this money instead of you?'

Banū Zuhrah

- Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, who was killed at Ṣiffīn. The standard of ʿAlī was in his hand at that time, and his son ʿAbd Allāh took it after him.
- ʿAbd Allāh ibn Khabbāb ibn al-Aratt, who was the first person killed by the Khārijites when they departed after Ṣiffīn. They asked him to renounce ʿAlī, but he refused, so they killed him at al-Madāʾin.

Banū Taym

- Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr.
- ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr.

Banū Makhzūm

- ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, may God have mercy upon him.
- Muḥammad ibn ʿAmmār.

"ʿAmmār was ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir ibn ʿĀmir ibn Mālik ibn ʿAnas. ʿAnas belonged to Madhḥij of Yemen.
"His father, Yāsir, had come to Mecca and entered into an alliance with Abū Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī. Abū Ḥudhayfah married Yāsir to a female slave of his named Sumayyah, who bore him ʿAmmār.
"Abū Ḥudhayfah freed ʿAmmār. His mother, Sumayyah, was the first person killed for Islam; Abū Jahl killed her in Mecca.
"Yāsir, ʿAmmār, and Sumayyah all accepted Islam.
"After Yāsir died, Sumayyah married al-Azraq, a Roman who was among the slaves of the people of al-Ṭāʾif whom the Messenger of God had freed. She bore him Salamah ibn al-Azraq.
"Salamah ibn al-Azraq was ʿAmmār's maternal half-brother.
"For this reason, ʿAmmār was affiliated with Banū Makhzūm.
"ʿAmmār was the man concerning whom the Messenger of God said:
'The rebellious faction will kill you.'
"And he warned that his killer would enter the Fire.
"ʿAmmār was killed at Ṣiffīn."
"Among those who were with ʿAlī were Salamah and Muḥammad, the sons of Abū Salamah, whose mother was Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet.
"She brought the two of them to ʿAlī and said:
'They are a gift from you; if it were appropriate for me to go out with you, I would do so.'"

Banū Jumāḥ

- Muḥammad ibn Ḥāṭib.
- ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥanbal, whom ʿUthmān had beaten and exiled to Khaybar. He was killed at Ṣiffīn.

Banū ʿĀmir ibn Luʾayy

- ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Sabrah ibn Abī Rahm.
- ʿAlī ibn Abī Rāfiʿ, who was responsible for ʿAlī's seal and treasury.
- ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfiʿ, who served as his secretary.

The Anṣār who had participated in Badr

"From Banū Mālik:

- Khuzaymah and ʿAdī, the sons of al-Najjār.

- Abū Ayyūb ibn Zayd, a veteran of Badr. He was the man in whose house the Messenger of God stayed when he first arrived in Madīnah. He was commander of ʿAlī's vanguard at Ṣiffīn and later debated the Khārijites at al-Nahrawān.

“He was also the one who said to Muʿāwiyah, when Muʿāwiyah began publicly insulting ʿAlī: ‘Stop insulting ʿAlī!’
“Muʿāwiyah replied:
‘I cannot do that.’
“Abū Ayyūb withdrew and said:
‘By God, I will not live in a land where I hear ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib being insulted.’
“He left Madīnah for the coast and remained there until he died, may God have mercy upon him.

- ʿAmr ibn Ḥarm, a veteran of Badr, who opened a door in his house to allow people to enter upon ʿUthmān. He was killed at that time.
- Ḥārithah ibn al-Nuʿmān, a veteran of Badr. He once passed by the Prophet while Gabriel was with him but did not greet him.

“Gabriel said:
‘Had he greeted him, I would have returned his greeting.’
“When Gabriel departed, the Prophet sent for Ḥārithah and asked:
‘What prevented you from greeting me and the one who was with me?’
“He replied:
‘O Messenger of God, I saw the two of you deeply engaged in conversation, so I disliked interrupting you with a greeting and distracting you.’
“The Prophet asked:
‘And who was with me?’
“He said:
‘I do not know.’
“The Prophet said:
‘Gabriel was with me. Had you greeted us, he would have returned your greeting.’

- Thaʿlabah ibn ʿUmayr, a veteran of Badr, who gave ʿAlī one hundred thousand dirhams on the day of the Battle of the Camel to support him. He was killed at Ṣiffīn.
- Rubayʿ ibn ʿAmr, a veteran of Badr.
- Khuzaymah ibn Aws, a veteran of Badr.
- Surāqah ibn Kaʿb, a veteran of Badr.

Banū Māzin

- Abū Dāwūd ibn ʿĀmir, a veteran of Badr.
- ʿAbd Allāh ibn Kaʿb, a veteran of Badr.
- Qays ibn Abī Ṣaʿṣaʿah, a veteran of Badr.

Banū Dīnār

- al-Nuʿmān ibn ʿAmr, a veteran of Badr.
- Sulaymān ibn al-Ḥārith, a veteran of Badr.
- Bishr ibn Qays, a veteran of Badr.
- Saʿīd ibn Suhayl, a veteran of Badr.

Banū al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj

- Simāk ibn Ḥarb, a veteran of Badr.
- ʿAbbās ibn Qays, a veteran of Badr.
- ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd, a veteran of Badr.

Banū Sāʿidah

- Usayd ibn Mālik, a veteran of Badr.
- Kaʿb ibn ʿĀmir, a veteran of Badr.
- ʿAyyāsh ibn Ḥayy, a veteran of Badr.

Banū ʿAwf ibn al-Khazraj

- ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit, one of the leaders on the night of al-ʿAqabah and one who pledged to the Prophet that he would not fear the blame of anyone. He was a veteran of Badr.
- ʿAmr ibn Anas, a veteran of Badr.
- ʿUqbah ibn Wahb, a veteran of Badr.
- Thābit ibn Hazāl, a veteran of Badr.

Banū Salamah

- Abū al-Yusr Kaʿb ibn ʿAmr, a veteran of Badr. He was the one who, when the verse was revealed:

'O you who believe, fear God and give up what remains of usury, if you are believers.'
(Qurʾān 2:278)
"said:
'We have given it up.'
"When the verse was revealed:
'And if you repent, then you may have your principal.'
"he said:
'We are satisfied.'
"When the verse was revealed:
'And if the debtor is in difficulty, then grant him respite until a time of ease.'
"he said:
'We have granted respite.'
"When the verse was revealed:
'And that you give charity is better for you.'
"he said:
'We have given it as charity.'

- ʿUqbah ibn ʿAmr al-Laythī, a veteran of Badr.
- ʿUmayr ibn Ḥārithah, a veteran of Badr.
- ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd Manāf, a veteran of Badr.
- Khulaydah ibn ʿAmr, a veteran of Badr. He was the one who said to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ubayy, while the latter was holding the bridle of the Prophet's mule:

'Take your hand away before it is cut off.'

- Thaʿlabah ibn Qayẓī ibn Ṣakhr, a veteran of Badr.

Banū Zurayq

- Masʿūd ibn Khālid, a veteran of Badr.
- Rifāʿah ibn Rāfiʿ, a veteran of Badr.
- Jabr ibn Anīs, a veteran of Badr.
- ʿAbbād ibn Qays, a veteran of Badr.

Banū Bayāḍah

- Murrah ibn ʿĀmir, a veteran of Badr.
- Jablah ibn Thaʿlabah, a veteran of Badr.
- Khalīfah ibn ʿAdī, a veteran of Badr.

Banū ʿAmr ibn ʿAwf

- al-Mundhir ibn Muḥammad, a veteran of Badr.

- Sahl ibn Ḥunayn, a veteran of Badr, whom ʿAlī left in charge of Madīnah when he departed for Kūfah.
- al-Ḥārith ibn al-Nuʿmān, a veteran of Badr.
- ʿUbayd ibn Umm ʿUbayd, a veteran of Badr.
- Abū ʿUbaydah ibn Rabīʿah, a veteran of Badr.

Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal

- Mālik ibn al-Tayyihān, a veteran of Badr and one of the leaders on the night of al-ʿAqabah.
- ʿUbayd ibn al-Tayyihān, also a veteran of Badr and one of the leaders on the night of al-ʿAqabah. Both were killed at Ṣiffīn while fighting before ʿAlī, peace be upon him.
- Saʿd ibn Zayd, a veteran of Badr.
- ʿAbbād ibn Bishr, a veteran of Badr.
- ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd, a veteran of Badr.
- Salamah ibn Thābit, a veteran of Badr.

“Among the Anṣār who accompanied the Prophet, possessed an established precedence, but did not participate in Badr were:

- Zayd ibn Arqam, the one associated with the hypocrites and who exposed their hypocrisy.
- Khuzaymah ibn Thābit, known as Dhū al-Shahādatayn (‘the possessor of the two testimonies’), because the Prophet accepted his testimony as equivalent to the testimony of two men.
- ʿUqbah ibn ʿĀmir, who was associated with the hypocrites at al-ʿAqabah and was appointed by ʿAlī as governor of Kūfah.
- Rāfiʿ ibn Khadīj.
- al-Nuʿmān ibn al-ʿAjlān, whom ʿAlī appointed as governor over al-Nahrawān.
- Qatādah ibn Ribʿī, whom ʿAlī appointed as governor of Mecca.
- Ḥanẓalah ibn al-Nuʿmān.
- Muḥammad ibn Thābit ibn Qays ibn Shammās.
- Abū al-Ward ibn Qays.
- al-ʿAlāʾ ibn ʿAmr.
- ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Ṭalḥah.

“ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Ṭalḥah was the one for whose father the Messenger of God prayed when his mother was pregnant with him, saying:
‘O God, bless them both in their night.’
“The story behind this is as follows:
“Abū Ṭalḥah had married the mother of Anas ibn Mālik after her husband, Mālik, had died. Anas's mother was among the finest women of the Anṣār.
“When the Messenger of God migrated to Madīnah, the Muslims gave him gifts according to their means. Anas's mother came to him with Anas and said:
‘O Messenger of God, people have given you gifts according to their means, but I have nothing with which to give you. So take this child of mine and let him serve you.’
“Anas consequently served the Prophet.
“Anas's mother had a son from Abū Ṭalḥah. Abū Ṭalḥah was among the finest of the Anṣār. He would fast during the day, pray during the night, and spend the rest of his day working on his property.
“The boy became ill. Whenever Abū Ṭalḥah came home at night, he would look at him and check on him.

“One day the boy died, but Abū Ṭalḥah did not know that he had died. His mother covered him and placed him in a corner of the house.
“Abū Ṭalḥah came home and went to look at him.
“She said to him:
‘Leave him. Do not disturb him. He has become calm and is resting.’
“She concealed the child's death from him.
“Abū Ṭalḥah was pleased by this and went to his bed. She went to bed with him, and he had intercourse with her.”

Footnotes:
[1] He was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā. His name was Yasār, though it is also said that it was Dāwūd al-Kūfī. He was the father of Muḥammad and ʿĪsā and died in 83 AH. He was the man whom al-Ḥajjāj beat until his shoulders became black because of his refusal to insult the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī, peace be upon him. He did not do so. (Ibn Khallikān, 1/269.)
[2] He was Saʿīd ibn Qays ibn Zayd, from Banū Zayd ibn Murayb of Hamdān. He was among the intelligent and generous men and descended from the kings of Hamdān. He died in 50 AH.
[3] He was Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.
[4] Abū ʿAmr Saʿd ibn Muʿādh ibn al-Nuʿmān ibn Imruʾ al-Qays al-Khazrajī.
[5] He was the secretary of the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī, peace be upon him.
[6] Zayd ibn Ṣūḥān, who was known as Zayd al-Khayr.
[7] Jundub ibn Kaʿb ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī.
[8] His kunyah was Abū Yaḥyā, or Abū ʿAbd Allāh. He was Khabbāb ibn al-Aratt ibn Jundalah ibn Saʿd al-Tamīmī, one of the earliest people to accept Islam. When he accepted Islam, the polytheists considered him weak and tortured him, but he remained patient. He migrated to Medina and settled in Kūfah, where he died at the age of 73. When the Commander of the Faithful returned from Ṣiffīn, he passed by his grave and said: “May God have mercy upon Khabbāb. He accepted Islam willingly, migrated obediently, and lived as a fighter.” He died in 37 AH.
[9] He was Khālid ibn Zayd ibn Kulayb.
[10] Uways ibn ʿĀmir ibn Juzʾ ibn Mālik al-Qaranī. He was originally from Yemen and was a Tābiʿī. He lived during the time of the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, but did not see him. He was martyred in 37 AH.
[11] He was the one who captured al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib on the day of Badr, as the author will mention in Volume 13. He was short while al-ʿAbbās was tall, so the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, said to him: “Indeed, a noble angel helped you against him.” He was also the one who took the banner of the polytheists from the hand of ʿAzīz ibn ʿUmayr on the day of Badr.
[12] al-Baqarah: 278.
[13] For the Battle of the Camel. He also witnessed Ṣiffīn with ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and ʿAlī appointed him over the Persian territories.

When morning came, she said to him, “O Abū Ṭalḥah, what do you think of people to whom one of their neighbors lends something for a while, and they enjoy its use for some time, then its owners reclaim it, and those who had it begin to weep because its owners have taken it back from them? What is their condition?”

He said, “They are insane.”
She said, “Then let us not be among the insane. Your son has died, so console yourself with the consolation of God, surrender him to Him, and begin preparing him for burial.”
Abū Ṭalḥah went to the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, and told him what had happened. The Prophet was amazed at her conduct and prayed for her, saying, “O God, bless them both in their night.” That very night, she conceived this ʿAbd Allāh from Abū Ṭalḥah.
When she gave birth to him, she wrapped him in a cloth and sent him with her son Anas to the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, saying, “O Messenger of God, this is the fruit of your supplication.” The Messenger of God took him, performed taḥnīk for him, and prayed for him.
He became one of the best of the sons of the Anṣār.
Among those who were with ʿAlī, peace be upon him, was Qays ibn Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah.
Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah was from Banū Sāʿidah of the Khazraj. His kunyah was Abū Thābit. He was one of their leaders and was called al-Kāmil because, during the pre-Islamic period, he was skilled at swimming and archery. He was one of the prominent men of his people. He accepted Islam but did not witness Badr because he had been ill at that time.
He then participated with the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, in all the campaigns. He was a virtuous and excellent man. On the day of the Saqīfah, he refused to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr.
It is said that this was because he already had from the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, a prior indication and that he had established the pledge of allegiance to ʿAlī, peace be upon him. Therefore, he refused to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr and left Medina out of fear for his life. He went to Ḥawrān in the land of Syria and remained there until Abū Bakr died and the matter passed to ʿUmar. He also refused to pledge allegiance to him and died in Ḥawrān two and a half years into ʿUmar’s rule.
It is also said that an attempt was made to assassinate him, and that he was killed.
They claimed that the jinn killed him and that they heard one of them say:
“We killed the leader of the Khazraj, Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah. We shot him with two arrows and did not miss his heart.”
This is among the impossible things that reason does not accept.
His son Qays was known by the kunyah Abū ʿAbd al-Malik and was a virtuous man among the Shīʿah of ʿAlī, peace be upon him.
Reports from the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, were narrated concerning him. He was at the forefront of al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, peace be upon them, at the Battle of al-Madāʾin.
Among those who were with ʿAlī, peace be upon him, were:
al-Ḥārith ibn Ziyād;
ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ziyād;
Jabalah ibn ʿAmr;
Bashīr ibn Abī Zayd;
ʿUmayr ibn Zayd ibn Aḥmar;
Thābit ibn Zayd ibn Wadīʿah;
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd Rabbih;
ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥirāsh ibn al-Ḥārith;
al-Barāʾ ibn ʿĀzib;

Thābit ibn Qays;
Qays ibn Aḥmad;
ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd;
ʿUbayd, the freedman of Zayd, who was killed on the day of al-Nahrawān;
al-Jaʿd ibn Rifāʿah ibn Saʿd;
ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf, one of the Companions of the Messenger of God, who was killed at Ṣiffīn;
Abū ʿAbbās al-Zuraqī, the horseman of the Messenger of God, whose name was ʿUbayd ibn Muʿāwiyah;
Abū Ḥasan, Tamīm ibn ʿAbd ʿAmr, who was ʿAlī's governor over Medina;
ʿĀʾidh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān;
ʿAmr ibn ʿUziyyah, a veteran of Badr, who was the one who hamstrung the Camel at the Battle of the Camel. His kunyah was Abū Ḥabbah.
He was killed in al-Jazīrah.
al-Ḥajjāj ibn ʿAmr, who used to say during battle, "O company of the Anṣār, support God twice!"
By this he meant: with the Prophet and with ʿAlī, peace be upon them. He would also say, "Do you want to say to our Lord: 'Our Lord, indeed we obeyed our leaders and our great ones, and they led us astray from the way'?"[1]
ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir;
Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh;
Muʿādh ibn al-Ṣimmah;
ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir ibn Marwān;
Jubayr ibn Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir;
Kaʿb ibn ʿUjrah;
Murrah ibn al-Nuʿmān;
Suhayl ibn Masʿūd;
Saʿīd ibn Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah;
Khālid ibn Abī Dujānah;
ʿUthmān ibn Saʿd;
ʿĀmir ibn Zayd;
Zayd ibn Jāriyah;[2]
ʿUbayd, the freedman of Zayd;
Bishr ibn Masʿūd;
Ṣayfī ibn ʿUbayd;
ʿĀmir ibn Aws;
Masʿūd ibn Qays;
Yazīd ibn Ṭuʿmah;
Jābir ibn Zayd;
Qays ibn Qays;
Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥarām ibn ʿAmr;
Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm;
Khālid ibn Abī Khālid, who was killed at Ṣiffīn;
Muḥammad ibn Hilāl ibn al-Muʿallā;
Abū Zayd ibn Qays;
ʿĀmir ibn Masʿūd;
ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir ibn al-Ḥuṣayn;

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Thābit;
ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muʿādh ibn al-Jumūḥ.
Among those who were with ʿAlī, peace be upon him, from the Companions of the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, including the Arab Emigrants and those Followers whom the Messenger of God had promised Paradise and designated as such, was ʿAmr ibn al-Ḥamq al-Khuzāʿī.
He survived ʿAlī, peace be upon him. Muʿāwiyah sought him, so he fled from him toward al-Jazīrah,[3] accompanied by a man among the companions of ʿAlī, peace be upon him, named Zāhir. When they reached a valley, a snake bit ʿAmr during the night. By morning, he was swollen.
He said, "O Zāhir, move away from me, for my beloved, the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, informed me that both jinn and humans would participate in shedding my blood, and I must be killed."
While they were in this state, they saw the tops of horses approaching in pursuit of him.
He said, "O Zāhir, hide yourself. When I am killed, they will take my head. When they leave, come out to my body and bury it."
Zāhir said, "No. Rather, I will scatter my arrows and shoot them. When I have used up my arrows, I will be killed alongside you."
He said, "No. Rather, do what I have asked you to do. God will make it beneficial for you."
Zāhir hid himself, and the men arrived. They killed ʿAmr and cut off his head. They carried it away, and it was the first head carried about in Islam and displayed publicly. When they had departed, Zāhir came out and buried his body.
Zāhir remained alive until he was killed alongside al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, at al-Ṭaff.
And [among them was] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Budayl al-Khuzāʿī, who had pledged the Pledge of Riḍwān beneath the tree. He was killed at Ṣiffīn among three thousand men who had separated themselves for death. They killed around twenty thousand of the people of Syria. One after another continued to be killed until they were all killed.
ʿAbd Allāh ibn Budayl used to recite poetry while fighting, saying:
"I kill you, and I do not see Muʿāwiyah.
May he fall into the Fire—or into Hawiyah."
ʿAbd Allāh ibn Budayl was among those whom God, Most High, described when He said: "Nor is there any blame upon those who came to you so that you might provide them with mounts, and you said, 'I cannot find anything upon which to mount you.' They turned away with their eyes overflowing with tears, grieving that they could not find anything to spend."[4]
He was killed at Ṣiffīn.
From Banū Aslam were Burayd, ʿAbd Allāh, Munqidh, and ʿUrwah, the sons of Mālik, whom ʿAlī, peace be upon him, addressed while reciting:
"May God reward well the Aslamī band,
handsome-faced men struck down around Hāshim.
Burayd and ʿAbd Allāh among them, and Munqidh,
and ʿUrwah, the sons of Mālik, in the foremost ranks."
And Ibn Ḥuṣayb al-Aslamī, one of the Emigrants;
and Jahjah [in the original: Ḥajlah] ibn Saʿd al-Ghifārī, who was the man who pulled the staff from ʿUthmān's hand and broke it, after which the people pelted him while he was on the pulpit;
and Abū Shurayḥ al-Khuzāʿī;
and Ṣāliḥ ibn Nāqid, a veteran of Badr;

and Abū Rāqid al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAwf al-Laythī, whom the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, sent to his people;
and ʿUmayr ibn Qurrah al-Laythī, concerning whom Muʿāwiyah swore that he would melt lead and pour it into his ears;
and Zayd ibn Khālid al-Juhanī;
and Masʿūd ibn Aslam;
and ʿĀmir ibn Dhuhl;
and Rabīʿah ibn Qays, both of whom were from ʿAdwān;
and ʿAbd al-Salām, one of the Emigrants.
Among the Followers whom the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, gave glad tidings of Paradise and for whom he guaranteed it was Zayd ibn Ṣūḥān, known as Zayd al-Khayr.
He was the one concerning whom the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, said: "Among those after me is a man whose limb will precede him to Paradise, and then the rest of his body will follow it."
His hand was cut off at Jalūlāʾ.[5] He went out with ʿAlī, peace be upon him, on the day of the Camel and said:
"O Commander of the Faithful, I see a hand signaling to me from heaven, saying, 'Come!' I see none other than my own hand, and I do not see myself as anything but one who will join it. When I am killed, O Commander of the Faithful, bury me in my clothes and with my blood, for I am disputing with these people."
He then advanced before ʿAlī, peace be upon him, until he was killed.
From Banū ʿAbd al-Qays, those killed alongside ʿAlī on the day of the Camel were Ṣayḥān ibn Ṣūḥān, Rāshid ibn Samurah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ruqbah, and Abū ʿUbaydah. Each of them took up the banner after the one before him.
Then Ṣaʿṣaʿah took it, held his position, and survived afterward.
Jundub al-Khayr[6] was killed on the day of Ṣiffīn. He was the one whom the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, mentioned in a battle chant one night while leading his companions, saying:
"Jundub—and what is Jundub!"
When morning came, they said, "O Messenger of God, we heard you mentioning Jundub."
He said, "Yes. A man named Jundub from my community will strike a blow that separates truth from falsehood. God will resurrect him on the Day of Resurrection as a nation unto himself."
Jundub saw a magician before al-Walīd ibn ʿUqbah, who was ʿUthmān's governor over Kūfah, and killed him.
Al-Walīd said to him, "Why did you kill him?"
He said, "I will bring you proof: the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, said, 'Whoever sees a magician should strike him with the sword.'"
Al-Walīd ordered that he be imprisoned.
There was a Muslim man named Dīnār in charge of the prison.
He released Jundub.
When al-Walīd learned of this, he ordered Dīnār to be brought out and had him beaten with whips until he died.
And Uways ibn ʿĀmir al-Qaranī, who was killed alongside ʿAlī, peace be upon him, at Ṣiffīn. He was the one concerning whom the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, said:

“Among those after me is a man named Uways who has a white mark. Whoever meets him should convey my greetings to him, for he will intercede on the Day of Resurrection for such-and-such number of people.”
And ʿAlqamah ibn Qays, one of the Followers, whose leg was injured at Ṣiffīn.
And Hind al-Jamalī,[7] who was killed on the day of the Camel.
And ʿAbd Allāh ibn Salamah.
And Ziyād ibn Abī Ḥafṣah al-Taymī.
And Muḥriz ibn al-Ṣaḥṣaḥ, who fought ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb at Ṣiffīn.
These are some accounts of Ṣiffīn and of the virtues of ʿAlī, the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him.

The Battle against the Khārijites

As for ʿAlī’s fighting against the Khārijites, what has already been mentioned includes the reports from him, peace be upon him, concerning the Prophet’s command to fight and kill them, his reports about them, what would come from them, what their affair would ultimately become, and what he, peace be upon him, did concerning them.
As we stipulated, we will now mention some accounts of them.
[407] Among these is what Muḥammad ibn Rāshid narrated through his chain of transmission from ʿAmr ibn ʿAlī, who said:
“When the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him, stopped at Ḥarūrāʾ on his return from Ṣiffīn, the Muḥakkimah were there, numbering thirty thousand.
ʿAlī, peace be upon him, approached them on the gray mule of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, until he stopped among them where they could hear him and he could hear them. He addressed them, saying:
‘Praise belongs to God, who is near in His exaltedness and thereby stands between hearts; who is near, yet eyes cannot perceive Him; the First and the Last, the Manifest and the Hidden; who knows the unseen, pardons sins, and overlooks them; He is obeyed by His permission and thus thanked, and He is disobeyed while knowing it, yet He forgives and conceals. Nothing that He seeks can escape Him, and no one whom He wills can resist Him. He decrees and is forbearing; He punishes but does not wrong; He tests those whom He loves and those whom He dislikes.’
Then he said, concerning what was revealed to His Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family:
‘So that God may test those who believe and destroy the disbelievers.’[8]
‘Then you, O people, know that I was opposed to arbitration until you compelled me to accept it. God is witness between you and me.
Then we wrote the document, as you know, and stipulated in it that the two arbiters should revive whatever the Qurʾān revives and kill whatever the Qurʾān kills. If they did not do that, then they had no authority to arbitrate, while you were witnesses to the Book.
And I know that we remain as we were before. So what do you say? And where are you going?’
Twenty-four thousand of them separated from the others and said:
‘O God, we know that this is the truth.’
They entered into his camp.
One thousand of them departed and encamped at al-Nukhaylah. They said, ‘This is our place until our Imam returns to fight the people of Syria.’
Five thousand of them departed until they reached al-Nahrawān, and they pledged allegiance to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Wahb al-Rāsibī unto death.”

Reports concerning the Khārijites

[408] Al-Daghshī narrated through his chain from the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him, that he said:
"The Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, commanded me to fight the oath-breakers, the unjust, and the apostates."

[409] Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī said:
"The Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, said:
'My community will split into two groups, and an apostate faction will emerge between them. The group that kills them will be the one closer to God and His Messenger.'"
Al-Khudrī was asked, "But ʿAlī killed them."
He said, "And what prevents him from being the one closest to God and His Messenger?"

[410] It is narrated from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, that he said in a sermon:
"I have torn out the eye of the tribulation. No one other than me could have torn it out. Had I not been among you, neither the people of the Camel, nor the people of Syria, nor the people of al-Nahrawān would have been fought.
By God, were it not that you might speak and thereby abandon action, I would tell you what your Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, said concerning those among you who fight them, while clearly recognizing their misguidance and knowing the guidance upon which we are.
Then he said:
'Ask me before you lose me, for you will never ask me about anything between you and the Hour, nor about any group that guides a hundred people or leads a hundred astray, without my telling you about its caller and its leader.'
A man stood and said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, tell us about tribulation.'
ʿAlī, peace be upon him, said:
'When a questioner asks, let him understand; and when one is questioned, let him remain firm.
Beware! Behind you are matters that have come upon you as great calamities and severe trials.
By Him who split the seed and created the soul, if you could see them and if you were to lose me, many of those who ask would become helpless, and many of those who are questioned would lower their heads.
That will be when your war bares its fangs and reveals its leg, and reports become a trial for those who bear them, until God brings relief through the remainder of the righteous.'
A man stood and said, 'Tell us, O Commander of the Faithful, about the tribulations.'
He said:
'When tribulations approach, they become confused and indistinguishable; when they depart, they become clear.
Tribulations circle about like winds: they strike one land and pass over another.
The tribulation I fear most for you is, in my view, the tribulation of the Umayyads. It is blind and dark. Its calamity is directed at some, while its affliction encompasses all. Those who see through it are struck by its trial, while those who are blind to it escape it.
Its people of falsehood will prevail over the people of truth until the earth is filled with aggression and injustice.
The first one to break its pillars, bring down its tyranny, and remove its ropes will be God, Lord of the worlds.

Beware: after me you will find among the Umayyads evil masters over you, like a vicious she-camel that bites with its mouth, kicks with its legs, strikes with its forelegs, and withholds its milk.
Their affliction will continue upon you until none remain on earth except one who benefits them or one who harms them, until the support of one of you becomes like the support of a slave for his master: when he sees him, he obeys him, and when he is out of his sight, he curses him.
By God, even if they scattered you beneath every star, God would gather you against them for their worst day.'
A man stood and said, 'Will there be a community after that, O Commander of the Faithful?'
He said:
'Yes, but it will be a divided community. Your direction of prayer will be one, your pilgrimage will be one, and your ʿumrah will be one, but your hearts will be different.'
He demonstrated this by interlocking his fingers.
The man said, 'Why will that be, O Commander of the Faithful?'
He said:
'This one will kill this one, one after another: tribulation and a break with the ways of the pre-Islamic period. There will be neither an Imam of guidance nor a righteous scholar. We, the People of the House, are the means of salvation, but we are not its callers.'
He said, 'What comes after that, O Commander of the Faithful?'
He said:
'God will relieve the tribulation through a man from us, the People of the House, just as leather is stretched and relieved of its wrinkles. He will be the son of the best of the community. He will subject them to humiliation and give them a bitter cup to drink.
Quraysh would wish, in exchange for the world and all that it contains, to have some of what they reject today accepted from them, but he will refuse anything except fighting.'
What is meant by the one through whom God will relieve the tribulation is the Mahdī, peace be upon him, and those of his descendants who rise after him, until the last of them, for whom God, Mighty and Glorious, will gather the entire community, and the whole religion will belong to God, just as He, Mighty and Glorious, stated in His Book. There will be no tribulation, as He, Glorious is He, promised.
This is attributed to the Mahdī, peace be upon him, because he is the first to undertake this mission and devote himself to it, just as this and other matters that occur in Islam through whoever among the Imams rises are attributed to him, and God, Mighty and Glorious, brings blessing through his hands. It is attributed to the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, because he was the first to rise with the call of Islam.
Among such statements is what he, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, said when the Mahdī, peace be upon him, was mentioned.
He was asked, 'From whom is he, O Messenger of God?'
He said:
'From us, the People of the House. Through us God will seal the religion just as He opened it through us, and through us God will save you from tribulation just as He saved you from polytheism through us.'
Thus, he, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, attributed this to himself because he was the first to undertake it. Likewise, what the Mahdī undertakes, and what those of his descendants who establish his authority after him undertake, is attributed to the Mahdī.

What makes this clear is what has explicitly been transmitted from the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family: that he mentioned the Mahdī, peace be upon him, and the good things and conquests that God, Mighty and Glorious, would bring about through his hands.
He was asked, 'O Messenger of God, will God gather all of this for him?'
He said, 'Yes.'
Whatever does not occur during his lifetime and his days will occur during the days of the Imams who come after him from his descendants.
We will discuss this fully in the chapter in this book in which we mention the reports concerning the Mahdī, peace be upon him, if God wills. I have only mentioned here what I have mentioned because something occurred to me that required its mention."
[411] Al-Mubārak ibn Faḍālah narrated from Abū Baṣīr al-ʿAbdī, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, who said:
"The Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, said: 'Two great factions of my community will fight, and an apostate faction will emerge between them. The faction that kills them will be the one closer to the truth.'"
ʿAlī ibn Zayd said:
"I informed ʿAdī ibn Bisr [in another manuscript: Bishr] ibn Arṭāh of this.
He sent to Abū Baṣīr asking him about this report. He said, 'I heard Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī say: I heard the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, say this.'
Then Abū Baṣīr struck his hand against his chest and said, 'Why are you asking about this? By God, they were killed by the companions of the Messenger of God and by ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and he was the one closest to the truth.'
ʿAdī ibn Bisr ibn Arṭāh became angry at this because he was one of the companions of Muʿāwiyah. Whoever becomes angry at the truth, may God, Mighty and Glorious, not be pleased with him."
[412] Ibn Lahīʿah narrated through his chain from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, who said:
"I heard the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, say: 'After me, there will emerge people who speak the truth with their tongues while their hearts reject it. They will recite the Qurʾān, but it will not pass beyond their throats. They will depart from the religion just as an arrow passes through its target. One looks at its blade and sees nothing; then he looks at its shaft and sees nothing; then he looks at its feathers and sees nothing; then he looks at its binding and sees nothing. Nothing of the religion will cling to them except as little as clings to that arrow.'"

Explanation of the Unusual Terms

The statement "they depart":
Muruq means to exit from something through the place by which one entered it. Likewise, the Khārijites entered Islam by affirming the two testimonies and exited it through hypocrisy toward their Imam, whose obedience God, Mighty and Glorious, commanded and joined to obedience to Him and to His Messenger, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family. Thus they exited the religion through the very place by which they entered it.
It is also said: "The arrow passed through the target," meaning that it passed completely through it.
An *arrow* (*sahm*) is the projectile that is shot.

A *target* (*ramiyyah*) is the game or other object at which the archer shoots. The word is in the form *faʿīl* while having the meaning of *mafʿūl*, just as *qatīl* means "killed." Thus, *ramiyyah* means "that which has been shot."
The passing of an arrow through its target means that it exits through the place where it entered. This occurs when an archer shoots at a wild animal being pursued by people or dogs, intending to hunt it. His arrow strikes it, penetrates it, and exits completely from the other side, causing it to fall to the ground from the force of the blow.
The *n* نصل is the metal blade of the arrow. The same term is used for the metal blade of a sword. *Anṣala al-sahm* means "he removed the arrowhead," while *naṣṣalah* means "he fitted it with an arrowhead." The *naṣl* of a knife is its blade. *Naṣl al-bahmā* refers to a plant with sharp, pointed heads that cling to sheep's skins and penetrate them; these are likewise called *naṣl* by analogy with the metal blade of an arrow.
The *qadaḥ* is the wooden shaft of an arrow; its plural is *qidāḥ*.
The *riṣāf* is a strip of sinew that is wrapped around the *nawq* of an arrow.[9]
In another version of this report, it says: "Then he looks at its *farq* and sees nothing."
The *farq* is the split at the end of the arrow where the bowstring is placed when someone wishes to shoot it from a bow.
Riṣāf is the plural of *riṣfah*. A *riṣfah*, as we have mentioned, is a strip of sinew that is wrapped around and secured with glue,[10] binding the lower part of the split so that it becomes stronger and does not split when the archer draws the arrow to shoot it from the bow.
A similar strip may also be wrapped around the part of the arrowhead that enters the shaft when the arrowhead has no socket,[11] but instead has only a projection that enters the shaft. They secure it with a strip and glue so that the arrow will be strengthened.
This is also called a *riṣfah*, whose plural is *riṣāf*. An arrow treated in this manner and secured with such a strip is called *marṣūfah*. Some arrows are not reinforced in this manner if their arrowheads have a socket into which the shaft enters. The upper split is likewise sometimes left without reinforcement when there is no fear of it breaking.
One of the Arab poets said:
"She shot at me and struck me
with a reinforced arrow."
This is because of the concern that arises with arrows whose heads are not reinforced, since the arrowhead might remain inside the body of the person it strikes when the arrow is pulled out.
The *feathers* are the feathers attached to the arrow beneath the split.
Thus the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, compared the Khārijites' departure from the religion, with none of it clinging to them, to an arrow shot through its target. It passes through it because of the force of the shot, and none of its blood clings to it.
This is the meaning of his statement: "He looks at its blade." That is, the archer, after the animal has gone on struggling and his arrow has struck the ground, thinks that he either hit it or missed it. He examines the blade and sees nothing on the metal—meaning no blood. Then he looks at the shaft and sees nothing on it either—meaning no blood on the wood. Then he looks at its feathers and sees nothing on them. Then he looks at its *riṣāf*, meaning the strip beneath the split, and sees no blood on it either.
In another report: "Then he looks at its *farq*"—the split, as we explained, at the end of the arrow—and sees no blood clinging to any part of it.

Likewise, no part of the religion clings to the Khārijites, just as the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, compared them to this and described them accordingly.

Ibn ʿAbbās and the Khārijites

[413] In another report from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, he said:

"The Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī, peace be upon him, sent me to the Khārijites of Ḥarūrāʾ to speak with them, so I spoke with them.

They said, 'There is no judgment except for God.'

I said, 'Certainly. But do you not read the Qurʾān and God's statement, "Let two just men among you judge concerning it"[12], and His statement, "And judge between them by what God has revealed,"[13] and His statement, "Send a judge from his family and a judge from hers"?[14]

And some of you witnessed the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, appoint Saʿd as judge concerning Banū Qurayẓah. When he judged among them with justice, he approved his judgment and said, "You have judged among them with the judgment of God from above seven heavens."

Do you say that the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, was mistaken in appointing Saʿd to judge concerning Banū Qurayẓah?

And which matter is more deserving of judgment: a dispute between a man and his wife, the compensation for game killed by a person in the state of iḥrām, or judgment concerning a community that has fallen into disagreement and whose members are killing one another, so that those who oppose the Book may be brought back to its judgment, the blood of the community may be spared, and its divisions repaired?'

Ibn al-Kawwāʾ said to them, 'Record what this man and his companions are saying, and turn instead to what you are upon, for God, Mighty and Glorious, has informed us that these are disputatious people.'

[414] Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī[15] narrated through his chain from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, who said:

"When the Ḥarūriyyah emerged, they withdrew to a house, and there were six thousand of them.

I said to ʿAlī, peace be upon him, 'O Commander of the Faithful, delay the noon prayer so that I may speak with these people, for I fear them for you.'

He prayed, and I prayed with him. Then I entered their house at midday, while they were eating.

They said, 'Welcome, Ibn ʿAbbās. What has brought you?'

I said, 'I have come to you from the Companions of the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, from the Emigrants and the Anṣār, and from Ibn ʿUmar, the son-in-law of the Prophet. The Qurʾān was revealed among them, and they have greater knowledge of its interpretation than you do. There is not one of them among you. I will convey to you what they say, and I will convey to them what you say.'

One group among them withdrew to one side, and I said, 'Tell me what you object to concerning the Companions of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, and concerning his cousin.'

They said, 'Three things.'

I said, 'What are they?'

They said, ‘The first is that he appointed men to judge in a matter belonging to God’—and they declared him a disbeliever—‘while God, Mighty and Glorious, said: “Judgment belongs only to God.”’[16]
I said, ‘That is one. What is the second?’
They said, ‘He permitted the spoils and prohibited the captives. If those whom he fought and killed were disbelievers, then taking their women and children captive would have been permitted. And if they were believers, then killing them, fighting them, and taking their spoils were not permitted.’
I said, ‘That makes two.’”

Footnotes:

[1] al-Aḥzāb: 67.

[2] Apparently this is Zayd ibn Jāriyah al-Anṣārī, whom the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family, considered too young to participate at Uḥud. He witnessed Ṣiffīn with ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

[3] Al-Jazīrah is known today as Mosul, in Nineveh Governorate, Iraq.

[4] al-Tawbah: 92.

[5] He was Jundub ibn Kaʿb al-Azdī.

[6] Hind ibn ʿAmr al-Jamalī, from Banū Jaml ibn Kinānah ibn Nāḥiyah al-Murādī. He was killed by ʿAmr ibn Yathribī al-Ḍabbī.

[7] Āl ʿImrān: 141.

[8] Al-ṭarīdah: the game that the people and dogs pursue in order to capture it.

[9] Al-nawq: the place on the arrow where the bowstring is positioned.

[10] Al-ghirāʾ: the substance used to attach the feathers.

[11] Al-jubbah of the spearhead: the socket into which the shaft of the spear enters.

[12] al-Māʾidah: 95.

[13] al-Māʾidah: 49.

[14] al-Nisāʾ: 35.

[15] al-Anʿām: 57.

[i] Al-Ḥamawī said in Muʿjam al-Buldān 2/156: “Jalūlāʾ, with a long vowel, is a district (ṭasūj) among the districts of al-Sawād, on the road to Khurasan. Between it and Khāniqīn are seven farsakhs.”

It is near the city of Baʿqūbah. The battle between the Muslims and the Zoroastrians took place there in 16 AH.

[ii] Sayyid Muḥammad ibn ʿAqīl al-ʿAlawī narrated in his book al-Naṣāʾiḥ al-Kāfiyah li-man Yatawallā Muʿāwiyah, p. 109:

“You know what happened to Imām al-Nasāʾī, may God have mercy upon him, when he compiled Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Imām ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, may God ennoble his face. He was asked at the Great Mosque of Damascus to write a similar work about Muʿāwiyah. He said, ‘I know of nothing concerning him except the statement of the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him and his family: “May God never fill his belly.”’ He was then beaten with sandals, and his testicles were crushed, after which he died as a martyr. May God have mercy upon him.”

They said: “Yes. As for the third, he erased the title ‘Commander of the Faithful.’ If he was not the Commander of the Faithful, then he was the commander of the unbelievers; and if he was the Commander of the Faithful, why did he erase his name from the title ‘Commander of the Faithful’?”
I said: “That makes three.”
They said: “Yes.”
I said: “Do you have anything else against him?”
They said: “No. That is enough for us.”
I said to them: “What do you think if I read to you from the Book of God, and tell you something from the Messenger of God that you cannot deny, showing that what you objected to was commanded by God Most High and by His Messenger? Will you reconsider?”
They said: “Yes.”
I said: “As for your statement that he appointed men to judge concerning the matter of God, I will read to you from the Book of God that He Himself entrusted judgment to men concerning a quarter-dirham, and commanded men to judge concerning it. This concerns a rabbit killed by a person in a state of consecration.
God Most High says: ‘O you who believe, do not kill game while you are in a state of consecration. Whoever among you kills it deliberately must offer a compensation equivalent to what he killed, as judged by two just men among you.’ [1]
Thus, part of God’s judgment was that He entrusted this matter to men to judge. I adjure you by God: is it better that men judge in order to reconcile a dispute between people and spare their blood, or that they judge concerning a rabbit?”
They said: “The former is better.”
I said: “And God Most High says concerning a woman and her husband: ‘If you fear a breach between the two, appoint one arbitrator from his family and one arbitrator from her family. If they desire reconciliation...’ [2] I adjure you by God: is it better that men judge in order to reconcile the two and spare their blood, or that they judge concerning a woman’s sexual relationship?”
They said: “The former is better.”

I said: “Do you not know that the Messenger of God appointed Saʿd to judge concerning Banū Qurayẓah?”
They said: “Yes.”
I said: “Then have you moved beyond this objection?”
They said: “Yes.”
I said: “As for your statement that he fought, killed, permitted the taking of booty, but did not take the women and children captive: he did this only because the Messenger of God had instructed him that this was the ruling concerning the people of the qiblah. He did not do it according to his own opinion. Those who objected to this at the time of the Battle of the Camel objected to it, and he told them about it. He said: ‘Which of you will strike ʿĀʾishah, take her, and claim her as his share, if shares are distributed?’ They said: ‘No one.’ They acknowledged that he was correct in what he had done.
If you say that you would take your mother ʿĀʾishah captive and regard her as permissible to you in the same way as any other woman, even though she is your mother, then you have committed unbelief. And if you say that she is not your mother, then you have lied.
Thus you are caught between two forms of error. Find a way out of this.”
They could give no answer except to say: “You have spoken the truth.”
I said: “Then have you moved beyond this objection?”
They said: “Yes.”
I said: “As for his erasing the title ‘Commander of the Faithful’ during the arbitration, when Muʿāwiyah and his companions said, ‘If we acknowledge that he is the Commander of the Faithful, then we have no right to exercise judgment against him’—do you not know that when the Messenger of God made the treaty with the polytheists at al-Ḥudaybiyyah,[i] he ordered ʿAlī to write: ‘This is what Muhammad, the Messenger of God, has agreed to’?
The polytheists said: ‘If we knew that you were the Messenger of God, we would not have opposed you. Rather, write: Muhammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh.’
The Messenger of God said to ʿAlī: ‘Erase it.’
ʿAlī refused, out of reverence for him.
The Messenger of God said to him: ‘Show it to me.’
He showed him the place where ‘Messenger of God’ was written. The Prophet erased it himself and left: ‘This is what Muhammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh has agreed to.’ He then said: ‘God knows that I am His Messenger.’
The Messenger of God is superior to ʿAlī, yet he erased the mention of his messengership. Did that erase his status as Messenger?”
They said: “No.”
I said: “Then how could erasing the title ‘Commander of the Faithful’ from ʿAlī erase his status as Commander of the Faithful?”
Two thousand of them returned, while the rest departed. ʿAlī went out against them and killed them in their error. The Emigrants, the Anṣār, and the Muslims possessing insight fought alongside him.

The Origin of the Rebellion

415. Yaḥyā ibn Ādam, through his chain of transmission, relates from Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit, who said:
I came to Abū Wāʾil while he was in the mosque of such-and-such a clan, and I sat apart with him in the mosque.

I said: “Tell me about these people whom ʿAlī killed. Why did they fight him? Why did they initially respond to him when he called them? Why did they separate from him, and why did he consider it permissible to fight those among them who fought?”
He said: “We were at Ṣiffīn, and the killing among the Syrians continued. ʿAmr said to Muʿāwiyah: ‘Send the Qurʾān to ʿAlī, for he will not refuse you.’
A man came on horseback carrying a copy of the Qurʾān and said: ‘We call you to the Book of God as the basis between us and you.’
ʿAlī said: ‘We have a greater right to the Book of God than you do.’
Most of the people inclined toward a truce.
Then the Khārijites came—we called them ‘the reciters’ at that time—with their swords hanging over their shoulders. They said: ‘Commander of the Faithful, will you prevent us from going with our swords against these people and killing them according to God’s judgment between us and them?’
Sahl ibn Ḥunayn[3] stood and said: ‘O people, be suspicious of your own judgment. We were with the Messenger of God at al-Ḥudaybiyyah. If we had seen that fighting was necessary, we would have fought.’
Then ʿUmar came and said: ‘Messenger of God, are we not upon the truth and they upon falsehood?’
He said: ‘Yes.’
ʿUmar said: ‘Are not those of us who are killed in Paradise and those of them who are killed in Hell?’
He said: ‘Yes.’
ʿUmar said: ‘Then why should we accept humiliation concerning our religion and return to the judgment of God between us and them?’
The Messenger of God said to him: ‘Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, I am the Messenger of God, and God will never abandon me.’
ʿUmar left while angry and went to Abū Bakr, saying the same thing to him. Abū Bakr said to him: ‘He is the Messenger of God, and God will never abandon him.’
Then Sūrat al-Fatḥ was revealed. The Messenger of God sent for ʿUmar and recited it to him from beginning to end.
ʿUmar said: ‘Is this a victory, O Messenger of God?’
He said: ‘Yes.’
Then Sahl said to the Khārijites: ‘This is a victory.’
Thus the fighting ceased according to the judgment of the two arbitrators. ʿAlī returned to Kufa, and the Khārijites separated from him.
They settled at Ḥarūrāʾ, numbering nineteen thousand. ʿAlī sent to them and adjured them by God: ‘What is it that you object to in me? Is it the distribution of the booty, or the matter of arbitration?’
Ṣaʿṣaʿah ibn Ṣūḥān al-ʿAbdī[4] also came to them and adjured them by God to return, but they refused.
He said to them: ‘What is it that you object to?’
They said: ‘We fear that we will fall into a period of tribulation.’
He said: ‘Do not hasten into error this year out of fear of a tribulation that may come next year.’
They said: ‘We will remain on our side. If he accepts the arbitration settlement, we will fight him on the same grounds on which we fought the people of Syria at Ṣiffīn. If he breaks it, we will fight alongside him.’

They continued until they crossed the Nahrawān. One group among them split off and began killing people.
Their companions said: ‘We did not separate from ʿAlī for this reason.’
When news of their actions reached ʿAlī, he stood and said: ‘Will you proceed against your enemy, or return to those whom you have left behind in your homes?’
They said: ‘Rather, we will return to them.’
ʿAlī said: ‘I will tell you something from the Messenger of God. He said: “A group will emerge from the east when people are divided. They will regard your striving as nothing compared with their striving, your prayer as nothing compared with their prayer, and your fasting as nothing compared with their fasting. They will pass out of religion just as an arrow passes through its prey. Their sign is that among them is a man whose upper arm resembles the breast of a woman. The faction that is closer to the truth will kill them.”’
ʿAlī proceeded against them, and they fought fiercely. ʿAlī’s cavalry was initially unable to stand against them.
ʿAlī said: ‘People, if you are fighting only for my sake, then by God, I have nothing with which to repay you. But if you are fighting for God, then let this not be your fighting.’
They then charged them and killed them all.
He said: ‘Look for the mutilated man.’
They searched for him but did not find him.
ʿAlī mounted his animal and came to a depression in the ground. There were corpses piled upon one another. He pulled him out from beneath them, dragging him by his legs, and the people saw him.
ʿAlī said: ‘I will not wage another campaign this year.’
He returned to Kufa.
He was killed.
He appointed al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī as his successor over the people. Al-Ḥasan sent Qays ibn Saʿd at the head of twelve thousand men, as ʿAlī had done.
Then al-Ḥasan gave allegiance to Muʿāwiyah and wrote informing Qays ibn Saʿd of this.
Qays stood among his companions and said: ‘People, two matters have come to you, and you must enter into one of them: entering into a period of tribulation, or fighting alongside an imam.’
They said: ‘What is that?’
He said: ‘Al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī has given allegiance to Muʿāwiyah.’
The people then returned and pledged allegiance to Muʿāwiyah.
Muʿāwiyah had no concern except for those whom he won over, who kept coming to him and pledging allegiance, until only a little over three hundred remained of them—and they were the people of al-Nukhaylah.

416

Yaḥyā ibn Ādam, through his chain of transmission, relates from al-Aʿmash, who said:
When the companions of ʿAlī saw the Khārijites, they said: “Let us make an excursion to Paradise.”
ʿAbd Allāh ibn Wahb al-Rāsibī[5] said: “Perhaps it is an excursion to Hell.”
They said: “Have you become doubtful?”
He said: “Are you making a claim concerning God?”
Furwah ibn Nawfal al-Ashjaʿī[6] separated from them with one thousand men. Their companions said to them: “Have you become doubtful? If a group remains behind us after we are gone, calling people to our cause, we will begin with you.”

Furwah ibn Nawfal proceeded toward al-Daylam, and they inflicted a battle there the like of which had never been seen. Then they returned to al-Nukhaylah.
When Muʿāwiyah came, they fought him. He sent word to Kufa: “I have left the people of Syria behind.”
Yaḥyā said: “So they went out against them”—meaning that they defeated them.

417

Abū Hāshim, through his chain of transmission, relates from Ḥumayd ibn Hilāl, who said:
A man entered the mosque and prayed, pecking with his head as a rooster pecks.
One of the men who prayed at the pillars said: “How excellent this prayer is!”
Ḥudhayfah said: “If I told you that those who pray at the pillars are the worst of you, would you believe me?”
A man stood and said: “Do not overlook those who pray at the pillars. Keep track of them.”
He found that there were twenty-five men who prayed facing the pillars, never stopping, neither by night nor by day.
That man said:
“When the day of al-Nahrawān came, I counted twenty-four of them among those who were killed. I thought the twenty-fifth was among them as well, but I could not identify him.”
He meant among those killed by ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

With Ibn ʿAbbās Also

418. ʿĀṣim ibn Kulayb, from his father, said:
I was leaving the mosque when Ibn ʿAbbās came from Muʿāwiyah. The two arbitrators had already judged. He entered the house of Sulaymān ibn Rabīʿah and sat down. People gathered around him, and men kept being brought to him one after another until they became so numerous that I feared for myself.
Ibn ʿAbbās said: “You have become too numerous. Choose one man among you to speak on your behalf.”
They chose a one-eyed man from Banū Taghlib named ʿAttāb.
He said: “God is greatest.”
He said: “God says such-and-such.”
And he said: “God says such-and-such,” extracting his arguments from the Qurʾān, all from a single sūrah.
Ibn ʿAbbās said: “I see that you are knowledgeable about what you have separated and what you have connected.”
He then adjured them by God: “What sort of man was Abū Bakr among you?”
They praised him.
He said: “I adjure you by God: what sort of man was ʿUmar among you?”
They praised him.
He said: “I adjure you by God: if a man, while in a state of consecration, killed a gazelle or some other game, and one of these two men judged the matter, would his judgment be valid?”
They said: “No, because God Most High says: ‘Let two just men among you judge concerning it.’”[7]
He said: “Then your blood is more important.”
Then he said: “I adjure you by God: do you know that the people of Syria requested arbitration, while we disliked it and rejected it? Then, when you were wounded, the war had worn you down, and you were prevented from accessing the Euphrates, you began requesting it. By God, Muʿāwiyah told me that he had brought a horse with a deep belly from

the land so that he could flee upon it, until someone from among you came to him and said: 'I have seen the people of Iraq like people on the night of departure for pilgrimage.' So he remained."

Returning to the Reports

419. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣāliḥ, through his chain of transmission, relates from Ibn Sīrīn, who said:

I heard ʿUbaydah mention the people of al-Nahrawān.

Among them, he said, was a man with a mutilated hand. He said: "Were it not that you might become arrogant, I would tell you what God promised through the tongue of His Messenger concerning those who fight them."

Ibn Sīrīn said: "I asked ʿUbaydah: 'Did you hear this yourself?'"

He said: "Yes, by the Lord of the Kaʿbah. Yes, by the Lord of the Kaʿbah. Yes, by the Lord of the Kaʿbah."

Meaning, he repeated it three times.

420

Sufyān al-Thawrī, through his chain of transmission, relates from ʿAlī that when he had killed the people of al-Nahrawān, he said:

"Look for the man with the breast-like appendage."

They searched for him but did not find him.

ʿAlī began to sweat on his forehead and said:

"By God, I have neither lied nor been lied to. He is a man with a mutilated hand. Search for him."

When they finally brought him out, ʿAlī saw him and prostrated.

421

Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd, through his chain of transmission, relates from Masrūq, who said:

ʿĀʾishah asked me: "Who killed the Khārijites?"

I said: "'ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."

She said: "I heard the Messenger of God say: 'They are the worst of creation and creatures; the best of creation and creatures will kill them, and he will be the closest of them to God in rank.'"

She also said: "I heard the Messenger of God say: ''ʿAlī is with the truth, and the truth is with ʿAlī.'"

He said:

"Then I mentioned to her that ʿAlī had recovered the man with the appendage from among the dead of al-Nahrawān whom he had killed.

She said: 'When you go to Kufa, write to me the names of those who witnessed this—among the people of the city whom you know.'

When I arrived in Kufa, I found the people divided into groups. I wrote down the names of seventeen people from each group who had witnessed it and whom we knew, and I brought their testimonies to her.

She said: 'May God curse ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, for he claimed that he had killed him on the Nile of Egypt.'"

422

ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith, through his chain of transmission, relates from ʿĀṣim ibn Kulayb, from his father, who said:

While ʿAlī was speaking to the people in Kufa, with a group gathered around him, a man stood before him and said:

“Commander of the Faithful, will you permit me to speak?”
He said: “Speak.”
The man said:
“I went out to perform the lesser pilgrimage and met ʿĀʾishah. She said to me: ‘Who are these people who have emerged in your land and are called the Ḥarūriyyah?’
I said: ‘They are people who emerged in a place called Ḥarūrāʾ, so they were named after it.’
She said: ‘By God, if ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib wished, he could tell you what the Messenger of God told him about them.’
So I have come to you, Commander of the Faithful, to ask you about this.”
ʿAlī pronounced the formula of God’s oneness and then said:
“Yes. I entered upon the Messenger of God when no one was with him except ʿĀʾishah.
He said: ‘ʿAlī, how will you deal with such-and-such a people?’
I said: ‘God and His Messenger know best.’
He said: ‘They are a people who will emerge from the east. They will recite the Qurʾān, but it will not pass beyond their throats. They will pass out of religion just as an arrow passes through its prey. Among them is a man with a mutilated hand, resembling a woman’s breast.’”
Then he looked at the people and said:
“I adjure you by God: did I tell you about them?”
They said: “Yes.”
He said:
“I adjure you by God: did I tell you that he would be among them, and you said: ‘He is not among them’?
I swore to you that he was among them, and that I had neither lied nor been lied to. Then you brought him to me, dragging him just as I had described.”
They said: “Yes.”
[“God and His Messenger have spoken the truth.”]

423

Yaḥyā ibn Aktham, through his chain of transmission, relates from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said:
When ʿAlī had killed the people of al-Nahrawān, he said:
“What is this river called?”
They said: “It is al-Nahrawān.”
He said:
“Search among the dead for a man whose one hand is mutilated, who has neither a palm nor a forearm, and at the place of his upper arm is something resembling a woman’s breast, with a nipple like that of a breast, upon which are seven long hairs.”
We searched for him but did not find him. I never saw anything distress ʿAlī more than this.
He said:
“Search for him. By God, I have neither lied nor been lied to. He is certainly among them.”
We returned and came to a trench in which some of the dead lay piled upon one another. We pulled him out from beneath them.
When ʿAlī saw him, he rejoiced with a joy the like of which we had never seen from him.

424

Ismāʿīl ibn Mūsā, through his chain of transmission, relates from ʿAlī that when the mutilated man was brought to him, he prostrated in thanksgiving.

425

Al-Ḥakam ibn Sulaymān, through his chain of transmission, relates from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, who said:

The Messenger of God mentioned the Khārijites and described them. Then he said:
“The best of creation, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, will kill them.”

426

Ismāʿīl, through his chain of transmission, relates from Ḥabbah al-ʿUranī, who said:
When ʿAlī had finished fighting the people of al-Nahrawān, a man stood before him and said:
“Praise be to God who killed them, disgraced them, and destroyed them.”
ʿAlī said to him:
“Some of them still remain in the loins of men and the wombs of women. The Khārijite faction will continue to emerge from them, one faction after another, until a group emerges from them against which no one will contend without their killing him—or, he said, overpowering him.
Then a man from me—or, he said, from my descendants—will emerge against them and kill them. After that, no Khārijite faction will ever emerge from them again.”
It is likely that the one who will emerge against them, according to the description given by ʿAlī, peace be upon him, is the Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, peace be upon him. For the Khārijites never had a faction harsher or more destructive toward the community than the faction of the accursed Makhlad, nor was there a tribulation greater than his. His tribulation spread across the earth, east and west, on land and sea, until al-Manṣūr, peace be upon him, came out against him from his royal residence.
He continued to weaken them, diminish their power and their forces, and kill them in every place. They fled before him, retreating backward in flight, plunging into deserts and sands and crossing the wilderness, climbing into the peaks of the mountains. Yet he did not turn back from pursuing them. Wherever they advanced, they found him engaging them in battle, enduring the scorching heat and burning wind, and facing the snow and severe cold, until God Most High enabled him to defeat them and, at his hands, destroy most of the people of their sect.
God willing, no Khārijite faction will emerge from them after that.
In this, God willing, lies good, and this is what has come from ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

ʿĀʾishah and the Khārijites

427. Al-Daghshī, through his chain of transmission, relates from Masrūq that ʿĀʾishah said to him:
“Do you consider ʿAlī’s statement, ‘By God, they did not cross the river and they will never cross it,’ to be true?”
I said: “Yes, by God, it is true.”
She said: “And do you consider his statement concerning the man with the breast-like appendage, ‘Search for him; by God, I have neither lied nor been lied to,’ to be true?”
I said: “Yes, by God.”
She said:
“By God, I know that the truth was with ʿAlī, but I was a woman among the foolish.”

428

Another chain relates from Ghālib al-Hamdānī, who said:
A man from Kindah informed me:
“I left Kufa intending to perform the pilgrimage and passed by ʿĀʾishah, so I entered upon her. She said to me: ‘Where is the man from?’
I said: ‘A man from Iraq.’

She said: ‘I want to ask you about something. Do not tell me “I was told” or “it was said to me,” because such reports can be mixed with lies. Tell me only what your eyes saw and your ears heard.’
I said: ‘Ask me whatever you wish, Mother of the Believers. I will tell you only what I saw and heard.’
She said: ‘Did you witness any of ʿAlī’s wars?’
I said: ‘I witnessed all of them. Ask me whatever you wish.’
She said: ‘Describe to me the place where the Khārijites were killed.’
I said: ‘Yes. They were killed beside a river whose lower part is called al-Nahrawān and whose upper part is called Tāmur. We fought them among ravines, valleys, and roads, near a building belonging to Būrān, daughter of Kisrā. That is where we fought them.’
She said: ‘Did you find among them the man with the breast-like appendage?’
I said: ‘Yes. We found him. He was a black man with a hand resembling a woman’s breast: when you stretched it, it extended, and when you left it, it contracted.’
She said: ‘May God deal with ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ as He wills. He claimed that he found him on the Nile of Egypt.’
I said: ‘Mother, why did you ask me about this?’
She said: ‘Because of a report.’
I said: ‘I adjure you by the Messenger of God to tell me about it.’
She said:
‘Glory be to God. I heard the Messenger of God say: “They are the worst of creation and creatures. The best of creation and creatures will kill them, and he will be the closest to God in rank on the Day of Resurrection.”’

Ibn ʿAbbās and Muʿāwiyah

429. Another chain relates from ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Kinānī, a man from Medina and an ally of Banū Umayyah, who said:
Muʿāwiyah performed the pilgrimage and came to Medina. He sat in a circle in the mosque in which there were companions of the Messenger of God, including ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās.
Muʿāwiyah said to him:
“I had more right to authority than your cousin.”
Ibn ʿAbbās said: “Why?”
He said: “Because I am the cousin of the caliph who was unjustly killed.”
Ibn ʿAbbās said:
“Then this man has more right to authority than you and your cousin”—and he pointed toward ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar—“because his father was killed unjustly before your cousin.”
Muʿāwiyah said:
“This man’s father was not like my cousin’s. His father was killed by a polytheist, whereas my cousin was killed by Muslims.”
Ibn ʿAbbās laughed and said:
“By God, that makes your argument even weaker, since Muslims killed him.”
Muʿāwiyah fell silent and had no answer.
Then he turned to Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and said:
“And you, Saʿd, who did not recognize our right as distinct from the falsehood of others, so that you might be either with us or against us.”
Saʿd said:
“By God, when I saw darkness covering the earth, I said to my camel: ‘Move on.’ When it became clear, I proceeded.”

Muʿāwiyah said to him:
“You have read what is between the two covers of the Qurʾān, yet I have not heard anything in it about ‘Move on.’”
Saʿd said:
“Since you refuse to accept this, I heard the Messenger of God say to ʿAlī: ‘You are with the truth, and the truth is with you.’”
Muʿāwiyah said:
“Bring me someone who heard that with you, or I will do such-and-such.”
Saʿd said:
“Between you and me is Umm Salamah. She heard it with me.”
Muʿāwiyah, along with a group of his companions and Saʿd, stood and went to her.
Muʿāwiyah called out to her and said:
“Mother of the Believers, lying about the Messenger of God has become widespread. People continue to say, ‘The Messenger of God said,’ when he did not say it. Saʿd claims that he heard the Messenger of God say something that we did not hear—that he said to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib that he was with the truth and the truth was with him. You heard that with him.”
She said:
“Saʿd has spoken the truth. The Messenger of God said that to ʿAlī in my house.”
Saʿd said: “God is greatest.”
Muʿāwiyah turned to him and said:
“Now, by God, you are more blameworthy in my eyes than anyone could be. By God, if I had heard this from the Messenger of God, I would have remained a servant of ʿAlī until I died.”
The author then says that Muʿāwiyah had heard from the Messenger of God more than this, including his statement:
“Whoever has me as his master, ʿAlī is his master. O God, befriend whoever befriends him and oppose whoever opposes him.”
Yet Muʿāwiyah neither took him as his ally nor supported him. Rather, he fought him and opposed him, and he did not turn away from what he had done even after Saʿd and Umm Salamah informed him of what they had heard from the Messenger of God. Rather, he persisted in his wrongdoing and remained committed to it.

ʿĀʾishah’s Regret

430. Another chain relates from ʿĀʾishah that she said:
“By God, I wish I had been a fresh branch and had never undertaken the journey”—meaning her journey to Baṣrah.
“Would that I had been a menstrual clot. Would that I had been a piece of charcoal.”
Explanation of the uncommon word: *Ḥummah* means a cold piece of charcoal, and its plural is *ḥumam*. A black woman is also called *ḥummah*, comparing her blackness to that of charcoal.

431
Another chain relates from Qays ibn Abī Ḥāzim, who said:
ʿĀʾishah said:
“Do not bury me with the wives of the Prophet, for I committed an act after him”—meaning her departure with Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr.

432
Another chain relates from Jamīʿ ibn ʿUmayr, who said:
I entered upon ʿĀʾishah when I was a boy, accompanied by my mother and my maternal aunt. They asked her about various things.

Then they said to her:
“What was ʿAlī’s position among you?”
She said:
“Glory be to God! How can you ask me about a man whom the Messenger of God held against his chest when he died, whose soul passed into his hand, with which he then wiped his face? The people did not know where to bury him. He said: ‘The most excellent place is the place in which he died, so bury him there.’”
They said to her:
“How then do you view your going out against him?”
She said:
“By God, I wish I could have ransomed myself from that with everything on earth.”

433

Another chain relates from Fāṭimah, daughter of al-Ḥusayn, that she accompanied ʿĀʾishah to Mecca.
One day she saw a piece of dung and said:
“By God, I wish I had been this and had not gone on the journey on which I departed.”
ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn said:
“She repented, so say nothing except good.”

434

ʿAmr ibn Umm Salamah relates that ʿĀʾishah said:
“By God, I wish I had been a tree. By God, I wish I had been a clod of earth. By God, I wish God had never created me as anything, and that I had never undertaken the journey I undertook.”

435

Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, peace be upon him, relates that ʿĪsā ibn Dīnār, the caller to prayer, said to him:
“Son of the Messenger of God, what do you say concerning ʿĀʾishah, who undertook the journey you know about against the Commander of the Faithful and introduced what she introduced into the religion?”
Abū Jaʿfar said:
“Has it not reached you that she regretted it and said: ‘Would that I had been a tree; would that I had been a stone’?”
ʿĪsā said:
“What does that constitute, son of the Messenger of God?”
He said:
“Repentance.”

436

Al-Layth ibn Saʿd traces back to ʿĀʾishah that she said:
“If I had remained behind on the Day of the Camel, it would be more beloved to me than having seventy—or she said forty—male children from the Messenger of God.”
It is also narrated from al-Ashnānī, from Aḥmad ibn Ḥāzim, from ʿĀṣim ibn ʿĀmir, from Jarīr, from al-Aʿmash, from ʿAmr ibn Murrah, from Abū al-Bukhtarī:
“When news reached ʿĀʾishah that ʿAlī had been killed, she prostrated.”
As for what is narrated about her weeping, she was weeping out of disappointment, not repentance.
One indication of this is what al-Wāqidī relates through his chain of transmission:

After the victory at Baṣrah, ʿAmmār sought permission to enter upon ʿĀʾishah. She granted him permission, and he entered.
He said:
“Mother, how did you see what God did when He brought truth and falsehood together? Did He not make the truth prevail over falsehood and cause falsehood to perish?”
She said:
“Wars alternate between victory and defeat. The Messenger of God himself suffered a reversal. But look, ʿAmmār, at how your affair will ultimately turn out.”
It is also related from Masrūq that he said:
“I entered upon ʿĀʾishah and sat talking with her. She called for a black servant of hers named ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He came and stood before her.
She said: ‘Masrūq, do you know why I named him ʿAbd al-Raḥmān?’
I said: ‘No.’
She said: ‘Out of my love for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam.’”
As for her story concerning the body of Imam al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, it is among the most important indications supporting what we have mentioned.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar’s Regret

437. Fāṭimah, daughter of ʿAlī, relates that:
“ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar did not die until he repented of his failure to support ʿAlī, peace be upon him.”

438

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar said:
“I regret nothing of the affairs of this world except that I did not fight alongside ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib against the rebellious faction.”

439

It is also related from him that he said:
“I regret nothing except the thirst of the midday heat, and that I did not fight alongside ʿAlī, peace be upon him, against the rebellious faction.”

Masrūq’s Regret

440. Fiṭr ibn Khalīfah, in the original *Qiṭr*, through his chain of transmission, relates from al-Shaʿbī that he said:
“Masrūq did not die until he repented to God Most High of his failure to support ʿAlī, peace be upon him.”

Encouragement to Fight

After killing the Khārijites, ʿAlī, peace be upon him, continued calling the people to go out and fight Muʿāwiyah and his companions, in order to fulfill the debt of the Messenger of God, who had commanded him and entrusted him with fighting the hypocrites, as God Most High commanded:
“O Prophet, strive against the unbelievers and the hypocrites.”[8]
Nothing distracted him from this, nor did he grow weary of it. The people, however, became reluctant, held back, and made excuses because of the prolonged fighting they had endured alongside him, until he was killed while remaining committed to this cause and never falling short in it.
Among his exhortations to fight is what has been transmitted:

441

Al-Daghshī, through his chain of transmission, relates from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, that he addressed the people of Kufa.

After praising and glorifying God and invoking blessings upon Muḥammad, peace and blessings of God be upon him, he said:
“O people whose bodies are united while your hearts and desires are divided! No call from one who calls you has ever gained strength, and no heart that contends with you has ever found rest.
Your words weaken even the deaf and solid, while your actions give your enemy hope against you.
When I tell you, ‘March against them,’ you say: ‘This and that,’ and ‘Whatever,’ and ‘We do not know.’ These are excuses and delusions, and the conduct of one who keeps postponing what is due.
Far be it! The humiliated cannot prevent oppression, and the truth cannot be attained except through sincerity and determination.
Which neighboring territory after your own will you defend? And which home after your own will you repel an enemy from? And alongside which imam after me will you fight?
By God, whoever you support is humiliated, and whoever wins you as his allies wins the most unfortunate share.
I have reached the point where I no longer hope for your support, nor do I desire your call. May God separate me from you and replace you for me with those who are better for me than you, and replace me for you with one who is worse for you than I am.”

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[1] Qur’an 5:95 — al-Mā’idah
Footnote: “Al-Mā’idah: 95.”
Context: This verse is cited in the discussion between Ibn ʿAbbās and the Khārijites concerning arbitration in a matter involving ʿĀ’ishah. The verse establishes that when a person in a state of iḥrām kills game, two just men among the believers are to judge the matter. Ibn ʿAbbās uses this as an analogy: if God permits human judges to arbitrate over the killing of game, then there is no basis for objecting to arbitration between Muslims over a matter involving human blood.

[2] Qur’an 4:35 — al-Nisā’
Footnote: “Al-Nisā’: 35.”
Context: This verse concerns arbitration between disputing parties. It instructs that when there is serious discord, an arbiter should be appointed from each side. The reference is relevant to the argument that appointing judges to settle a dispute is not itself contrary to the Qur’an. Ibn ʿAbbās uses this type of Qur’anic reasoning when responding to the Khārijites’ objection to arbitration.

[3] Sahl ibn Ḥunayn
Footnote: “Abū ʿAbd Allāh—or Abū Saʿd—Sahl ibn Ḥunayn ibn Wāhib ibn al-ʿUqaym ibn Thaʿlabah, the Companion who participated at Badr. At Badr he shot arrows in defense of the Messenger of God, saying, ‘Shoot at Sahl, for he is Sahl [easy].’ The Commander of the Faithful appointed him over Basra. He witnessed Ṣiffīn with him and died in 38 AH.”
Context: Sahl is mentioned during the account of the arbitration at Ṣiffīn. He reminds the people objecting to arbitration that the Prophet himself accepted the terms of the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyyah, even when some of the wording appeared unfavorable. His point is that

accepting arbitration or compromising over wording does not necessarily mean abandoning the truth.

[4] Ṣaʿṣaʿah ibn Ṣūḥān
Footnote: "Ṣaʿṣaʿah ibn Ṣūḥān ibn Ḥujr ibn al-Ḥārith al-ʿAbdī, one of the leaders of ʿAbd al-Qays from Kufa, an eloquent orator. He witnessed Ṣiffīn with ʿAlī. al-Mughīrah exiled him from Kufa to Awāl Island in Bahrain on the order of Muʿāwiyah. He died there in 60 AH, or in Kufa."
Context: Ṣaʿṣaʿah appears when the Khārijites separate from ʿAlī after the arbitration at Ṣiffīn and establish themselves at Ḥarūrāʾ. He attempts to persuade them to abandon their rebellion and return. His role illustrates that opposition to the Khārijites was not limited to ʿAlī himself; other prominent supporters of his also tried to reconcile with them before fighting became unavoidable.

[5] A leader from al-Azd
Footnote: "From al-Azd, one of the leaders of the Ibāḍiyyah [Khārijites]. He fought the Commander of the Faithful and was killed at Nahrawān, between Baghdad and Wāsiṭ, in 38 AH."
Context: This note concerns one of the Khārijite leaders involved in the events following the separation of the Khārijites from ʿAlī. The passage describes their movement from Ḥarūrāʾ toward Nahrawān and ultimately the battle in which ʿAlī defeated them.

[6] Farwah ibn Nawfal al-Ashjaʿī
Footnote: "Farwah ibn Nawfal ibn Shurayk al-Ashjaʿī, leader of the Shurāt. After his secession, he remained in Shahrizūr. Following the peace of al-Ḥasan, he advanced toward Kufa and was killed in Shahrizūr in 41 AH."
Context: Farwah is mentioned in the account of the continuing Khārijite movement after Nahrawān. He leaves with approximately one thousand men and later fights Muʿāwiyah's forces. The note identifies him as a leader of the Shurāt, a name used for Khārijites who "sold" themselves to God, based on the Qur'anic concept of sacrificing oneself for God.

[7] Qur'an 5:95 — al-Māʾidah
Footnote: "Al-Māʾidah: 95."
Context: This is the same Qur'anic verse referenced earlier regarding judgment by two just persons in the case of game killed while in iḥrām. It is relevant to the argument that the Qur'an itself recognizes situations in which human beings act as judges, undermining the Khārijite slogan that "judgment belongs only to God" as an objection to human arbitration.

[8] Qur'an 9:73 — al-Tawbah
Footnote: "Al-Tawbah: 73."
Context: This verse is cited in the section where ʿAlī continues urging the people of Kufa to fight Muʿāwiyah and his supporters after the battle against the Khārijites. The verse commands the Prophet to strive against the unbelievers and hypocrites and to be firm with them. The author presents ʿAlī's continued call to fight as fulfilling what he understood to be the Prophet's command concerning the hypocrites.

Endnote [i] — al-Ḥudaybiyyah
Note: "A valley near Mecca in the Hijaz."

Context: The passage refers to the **Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyyah**, when the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ and the Quraysh negotiated a peace agreement. During the writing of the treaty, the Quraysh objected to the wording "Muhammad, the Messenger of God." When ʿAlī was instructed to erase that designation, he hesitated out of reverence for the Prophet. The Prophet ﷺ then erased it himself and had the document written as **"Muhammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh."**
The incident is used by Ibn ʿAbbās as an analogy: just as removing the title **"Messenger of God"** from a treaty document did not mean that Muhammad ﷺ ceased to be the Messenger of God, removing **"Commander of the Faithful"** from the arbitration document did not mean that ʿAlī had ceased to hold that position.

When evening came, the people went to him, apologizing. He said to them:
"As for you, after me you will encounter an all-encompassing humiliation, a killing sword, and an ugly monopoly [of power and wealth] which the wrongdoers will use against you as an argument. It will make your eyes weep, and poverty will enter your homes. And God does not drive away except the one who has committed wrongdoing."
Whenever Kaʿb ibn Mālik ibn Jundub al-Azdī mentioned this report, he would weep and then say:
"By God, the Commander of the Faithful spoke the truth. After him we saw an all-encompassing humiliation, a killing sword, and an ugly monopoly."
[442]
Among these reports is what was narrated by Muḥammad ibn al-Junayd, from Abū Ṣādiq, who said:
Muʿāwiyah sent a cavalry force, and they raided al-Anbār,[i] killing ʿAlī's governor there and attacking some of its inhabitants. Then they withdrew.
This reached ʿAlī.
He immediately went out with whoever was able to accompany him until he reached al-Nukhaylah.[ii] The people caught up with him and said:
"Return, O Commander of the Faithful. We will suffice you against them."
He said:
"By God, you will not suffice me, nor will you suffice yourselves."
Then he ascended the pulpit. He praised and glorified God and invoked blessings upon the Prophet ﷺ. Then he said:
"O people! Jihad is one of the gates of Paradise. Whoever abandons it, God clothes him with humiliation, encompasses him with affliction, and strikes him with disgrace.
"This governor of Muʿāwiyah has raided al-Anbār. He killed there my governor, Ibn Ḥassān, and many men. The sanctity of women was violated there. I have been told that one of them would enter upon a Muslim woman or a protected non-Muslim woman, seize her anklets and earrings, and she could do nothing against him except plead for mercy and beg him to leave her alone. Then they withdrew without any of them being wounded.
"By God, if a man were to die from grief over this, I would not consider him blameworthy. Rather, in my view, he would deserve it.
"How astonishing! I am astonished at the sluggishness of hearts and the divergence of opinions, while these people are united upon their falsehood and you are failing to uphold your truth, until you have become a target at which arrows are shot while you do not shoot; you are attacked while you do not attack; raids are carried out against you while you do not raid; and God is disobeyed while you are content with it.

“When I tell you, ‘Attack them in the cold,’ you say, ‘These are days of intense cold.’
“And when I tell you, ‘Attack them in the heat,’ you say, ‘This is the height of the summer heat. Give us time until the heat passes.’
“You flee from both heat and cold, but, by God, you flee even more from the sword!
“O semblances of men, but not men! O shallow-minded rabble! O minds like those of women behind the veils! You have filled my heart with anger through your disobedience and abandonment, until Quraysh began saying: ‘ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is a brave man, but he has no knowledge of warfare.’
“Who among them has greater knowledge of warfare than I? I entered it before I had reached twenty years of age, and now I have passed sixty. Yet there is no judgment for one who is not obeyed.
“How many times have I commanded you to attack them before they attack you? I told you that no people have ever been attacked in the very heart of their own territory without being humiliated. Yet you did not accept my command and did not respond to me.
“May God replace you for me with those who are better than you, and replace me for you with one who is worse for you than I am.
“I have reached the point where I no longer hope for your support or believe your words. Indeed, whoever has been given you as his supporters has received the most worthless share.”
Jundub ibn ʿAbd Allāh then stood and said:
“O Commander of the Faithful! Here I am, together with my brother. I say as Moses, peace be upon him, said: ‘My Lord, I possess no power except over myself and my brother.’[1] Command us as you wish. By God, we shall strike on your behalf, even if blazing coals and the thorns of the qitād stand between us and what you seek.”
He praised the two of them and said:
“And where could the two of you possibly stand, may God have mercy upon you, in comparison with what I desire?”
Then he descended [from the pulpit].
He continued in this manner, calling the people and urging them to fight their enemy, until he was struck down, may blessings, mercy, and peace be upon him.

The Proof Against Those Who Fought ʿAlī

Some Points of Argument Against Those Who Fought ʿAlī and Those Who Abandoned Him

We have already mentioned that we did not expand this book except to mention the virtues of ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and the virtues of the Imams from his descendants, peace be upon them, together with matters related to these subjects.
If we were to mention all the evidence establishing his imamate and making it binding upon those who preceded him, and upon those who held that view, the discussion would exceed the limits of this book because of its length and breadth.
Likewise, the arguments against those who opposed him, rose against him, and abandoned him would also exceed the limits of the book if they were examined exhaustively.
However, since we have mentioned those who fought and opposed him, those who stood with and supported him, and those who stayed behind and abandoned him, we have thought it appropriate to mention some of the arguments concerning this matter, so that this book will not be devoid of anything relating to it, lest the matter become confused for those whose understanding is limited and whose knowledge is little.

We have already included in this book what has been transmitted by both the elite and the generality of people concerning the excellence of ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and what establishes his imamate and obedience to him, while prohibiting precedence over him, opposition to him, hostility toward him, and abandonment of him.
We have also mentioned how he, peace be upon him, patiently endured the precedence of those who preceded him after the Messenger of God ﷺ, and relinquished to them his right, which God, Mighty and Majestic, and His Messenger ﷺ had established for him, out of fear of the discord, dispute, and shedding of blood that could result from it, and out of fear of the turmoil and apostasy that might arise because Islam and its people were still close to the era of ignorance.
Many people had not yet embraced it with true conviction, while among those who called themselves Muslims were hypocrites and those whose hearts were diseased.
Therefore, he maintained peace with Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān throughout their lives, out of fear of this, and because of what the Messenger of God ﷺ had entrusted to him.
This continued until ʿUthmān did what he did, which was denounced by a group of Muslims—those who, according to their claim, had established him in his position and thereby gave him the authority that led him to what he did.
They gave him the choice either to repent from what he had done and retract it, or to step down. He refused both options.
If it was obligatory for him to remain in office because they had established him there, then it was likewise obligatory for him to step down when they removed him. They all united in this matter against him.
Among them there was no one except someone who either rose against him in this matter until they killed him, or someone who abandoned him in what they did to him and turned away from them.
ʿAlī, peace be upon him, was among those who turned away from this. He neither commanded it nor prohibited it, except that he forbade them from besieging ʿUthmān and sent him water and food. Thus, he was among those who benefited ʿUthmān most.
When they killed him, they all came to ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and pledged allegiance to him after he had initially rejected them. They did not accept his refusal and did not turn away from him.
He required from them a pledge of hearing and obedience in truth and justice, as has already been mentioned, and took their covenant and allegiance upon this, after the Messenger of God ﷺ had already taken their pledge of allegiance to him at a certain place, as previously discussed.
When most of them did not find in him what they had become accustomed to and what they wanted, some of them broke their allegiance to him and fought him. Others remained behind, refusing to support him and abandoning him. Most of them, however, stood with him, fought those who fought him, and opposed those who opposed him, as has already been related through the reports concerning them and concerning what ultimately happened to ʿAlī and to them.
The fact that ʿAlī, peace be upon him, did not rise against those who had usurped his position does not nullify what was rightfully his.
The Muslims unanimously agree that when the possessor of a right refrains from demanding his right from the one who possesses it, so long as he refrains from demanding it, this does not cause any part of his right to lapse. If he wishes, he may later demand it and take action concerning it.

Likewise, his refusal to pledge allegiance to them when they came to him seeking his allegiance does not remove what was rightfully his. Just as when a person who possesses a right is offered that right but refuses to take it at that particular time and postpones taking it until another time, this does not cause the right to lapse.
This is in addition to what the Prophet ﷺ intended by emphasizing the matter to them through the conditions he imposed upon them, in light of their previous breach of what was obligatory.
The first trial that afflicted him after allegiance had been given to him and authority had passed to him was that he had alienated the elite by cutting off the preferential treatment to which they had become accustomed, while the general populace was alienated by the justice he imposed upon them—except for those whom God protected, those whose hearts God had tested with faith and for whom this was easy, while others found it difficult.
Those who had sought to rise against him used the killing of ʿUthmān as a means to do so. Some of them had incited people against ʿUthmān, some had stood with his killers, and some had abandoned him and stayed away.
Thus ʿAlī, peace be upon him, was subjected to a trial from which there was no escape.
All the prominent figures and leading members among the Companions, the Muhājirūn, and the Anṣār had taken one of two positions concerning him: either someone openly rose against him and was eventually killed, or someone was pleased with what happened, abandoned him, and turned away from what had befallen him.
As for the general population who had been absent from those events, they regarded ʿUthmān's killing as an enormous and terrible matter, especially because those who went out with Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and ʿĀʾishah made the killing appear abhorrent to them, incited them against it, and claimed that they had risen only to seek vengeance for ʿUthmān's blood.
Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ followed their example in this matter and pursued the same course, until among the general population this came to be regarded as one of the greatest sins and most terrible offenses.
They did not consider who had killed ʿUthmān, who had assisted in his killing, or who had remained behind and abandoned him among the senior Companions who were their examples and from whom they took their religion.
Thus ʿAlī, peace be upon him, found himself confronted with two undesirable choices.
If he openly declared that ʿUthmān's killing had been justified, he would alienate the general population.
If he openly declared that he condemned it, he would alienate the elite.
Therefore, when he was asked about it, he generally employed indirect expressions and broad statements.
For example, he said:
"His killing did not please me, nor did it distress me."
The elite interpreted this as meaning that ʿUthmān deserved what happened to him.
The general population interpreted it as meaning that ʿAlī did not rejoice that he had been killed, but neither did he grieve over him because, when he was killed, he entered Paradise.
He also said:
"I did not kill him, nor did I order his killing."
This clarified what his own position had been.
He also said:
"God killed him, and I was with Him."
Those who killed ʿUthmān interpreted this as meaning that ʿAlī was with God in his killing.

The general population interpreted it as meaning that he had been with ʿUthmān, because of the reports transmitted from him that he had prohibited the siege against him and had sent him water while he was under siege, since he was among those who did not consider it permissible for him to be killed by thirst.
There are many statements of this kind that could be interpreted in different ways.
Even so, he was not safe from accusations, just as if a ruler imprisoned a captive or detained a notable man, and the captive or prisoner died in his custody, no one would refrain from saying that the ruler had killed him, given him poison, or contrived his death.
Even if they saw a lightning bolt strike him or a punishment descend upon him from heaven, that would not stop them from making such accusations against the ruler.
The turmoil that occurred, the members of the community who were killed in it, and the disagreement among people that continues to this day are well known.
Likewise, many of the Companions either united in killing ʿUthmān or abandoned him.
Because of this, what befell ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and the friends of God—the Imams from his descendants—at the hands of the lowly and the common people also befell them.
How much greater would the trial have been if ʿAlī, peace be upon him, had risen against Abū Bakr and killed him, or risen against ʿUmar and killed him, or had joined those who rose against ʿUthmān?
The friends of God must inevitably be tested, even if they protect themselves from the trial, so that God, Mighty and Majestic, may complete for them the virtue of imamate through it and raise them to the highest degrees of honor.
I do not think that his response, statement, and conduct could have been anything other than what they were when the caller of the people of Syria at Ṣiffīn called out to the supporters of ʿAlī, peace be upon him—and they were so numerous that their number could hardly be counted at the time:
“Hand over to us the killers of ʿUthmān!”
The supporters of ʿAlī, peace be upon him, all replied with one voice:
“We are all the killers of ʿUthmān.”
Could he have handed all of them over to the people of Syria so that they could kill them?
Or could he have told the people of Syria: “They are correct in killing him”?
Not everyone who says something for which he has no right is necessarily entitled to a response. If that were so, everyone who heard an absurd statement would be obligated to respond to it or argue with its speaker.

Who Has the Right to Demand the Blood?

The demand for rights is made by their rightful claimants before the Imam of the Muslims.
This is something on which they agreed, and they also agreed that ʿAlī, peace be upon him, was their Imam at that time.
There was no one among the people of Syria, nor among others, who had the right to pursue the blood of ʿUthmān. Nor did anyone who possessed such a right approach ʿAlī, peace be upon him, so that he could judge the matter in his favor according to what established his right.
Rather, those who rose against ʿAlī, broke their allegiance to him, and refused to obey him made this matter a pretext by which to summon ignorant people to rise alongside them, because they wanted to seize outward worldly authority and rise against the friends of God.
We shall mention all the arguments they presented and by which they made the weak-minded among the common people imagine that they were in the right because of them.
We shall refute these arguments and explain their invalidity, God willing.

Those Who Stayed Behind from the Commander of the Faithful

As for those who stayed behind from jihad with ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and from fighting those who broke their allegiance, fought him, and opposed him, among the known Companions who stayed behind were:

Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, who was one of the six whom ʿUmar designated for the consultation;

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb;

and Muḥammad ibn Maslamah.

The Murjiʾah

A group followed their example, remaining behind because they had remained behind. They did not participate in any of ʿAlī's battles, nor did they participate with those who fought against him.

This group was the origin of the **Murjiʾah**, and others followed their example. A number of people adopted their view and approved of them in this matter.

They said regarding both parties—ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and those who fought alongside him, as well as those who fought and opposed him—and regarding those who were killed from both sides:

"They may fear punishment for them, but they hope for their salvation and reward."

They did not declare with certainty anything beyond this, and they stayed away from both sides.

Irjāʾ, linguistically, means "postponement" or "delay."

They were therefore called **Murjiʾah** because they postponed judgment concerning them and held back from taking a position concerning them. They did not declare with certainty that either reward or punishment belonged to them.

They claimed that all of them were monotheists and that, in their view, there was no punishment for someone who said, "There is no god but God." Thus they gave precedence to verbal profession and deferred the significance of actions. This became the foundation of **irjāʾ**.

Its adherents subsequently divided into various factions, continuing to this day, some adding to this doctrine and others removing from it.

They transmitted regarding the abstention from taking sides by those previously mentioned, concerning ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and those who fought him, what we have already mentioned from Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, as narrated by the people of Kufa.

When al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, may God be pleased with him, came to them carrying a letter from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, calling them to mobilize, and when he had read his letter to the people, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī stood and said:

"I heard the Messenger of God ﷺ say:

'There will be a tribulation after me. The one who remains seated during it will be better than the one who walks toward it, and the one who sits will be better than the one who stands. Break the strings of your bows, sheathe your swords, and remain within your homes.'"

ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, may God be pleased with him, said:

"That is the tribulation of which you will be a part. By God, I heard the Messenger of God ﷺ curse you."

Abū Mūsā said:

"That did happen, 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."

ʿAmmār, may God's pleasure be upon him, also said:
"I testify that the Messenger of God ﷺ commanded me to fight alongside ʿAlī against the breakers of allegiance and the transgressors."
The Murjiʾah seized upon the report transmitted by Abū Mūsā. ʿAmmār, may God be pleased with him, had answered him by explaining it when he said:
"That is the tribulation of which you will be a part."
That is, you will be among the people of the tribulation whom the Messenger of God ﷺ forbade people from joining.
The people of tribulation are the people of rebellion and those who refrain from jihad.
God, Mighty and Majestic, made this clear in what He revealed concerning those who asked the Messenger of God ﷺ for permission to remain behind from jihad with him. He, exalted is He, said:
"Among them is he who says, 'Permit me, and do not put me to trial.' Surely, into the trial they have fallen. And indeed, Hell encompasses the unbelievers."[2]

Jihad Against the Rebels

Fighting the people of rebellion is jihad. God, Mighty and Majestic, commanded it in His Book and made it obligatory upon the believers among His servants, just as He made fighting the polytheists obligatory upon them.
He says:
"Then fight the one that transgresses until it returns to the command of God."[3]
Returning to His command means entering into obedience to the one whose obedience God, Mighty and Majestic, has made obligatory.
If abstaining from fighting were obligatory for everyone who was involved in a tribulation and rose in rebellion, then the obligation of fighting the rebels would disappear.
This is clearer and more evident than to require explanation, because of the explicit statement of the Qur'an.
Therefore, whoever stays behind from going out with ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and from fighting those who fought alongside him, without an excuse that makes doing so permissible, has opposed the command of God, Mighty and Majestic, and abandoned the obligation that He imposed upon His believing servants: jihad against the rebels.
This does not mean that everyone is required to go out for it, just as everyone is not required to go out to fight the polytheists when a group among them undertakes it, according to the saying of God, Mighty and Majestic:
"The believers should not all go forth. Why does not a group from every faction among them go forth…"[4]
As for His saying:
"Go forth, whether light or heavy…"[5]
and His saying:
"And fight the polytheists all together just as they fight you all together…"[6]
this applies when the Muslims are suddenly overwhelmed by an enemy in circumstances where their participation is required.
This is the position of the People of the House, peace be upon them, and the general position of those among the common people who are recognized for giving legal opinions.
Had this not been the case, everyone who did not fight in the path of God would have perished.
Likewise, whoever possesses an excuse and is incapable of participating in jihad bears no blame for remaining behind, provided that his intention is sincere.

Among the reports concerning this is what was narrated from the Messenger of God ﷺ.[443]
When he returned from a military expedition, he said to his Companions:
“There are people in Medina who did not cross any valley or witness any scene without being with you in it.”
They said:
“Who are they, O Messenger of God?”
He said:
“They are people whom an excuse prevented from going, but whose intentions were sincere.”
God, Mighty and Majestic, has explained this in His Book, saying:
“There is no blame upon the weak, nor upon the sick, nor upon those who do not find what they can spend, provided that they are sincere toward God and His Messenger. There is no cause of blame against those who do good. And God is Forgiving, Merciful. Nor upon those who, when they came to you for you to provide them with mounts, you said, ‘I do not find anything on which to mount you,’ and they turned away with their eyes overflowing with tears out of grief that they could not find anything to spend.”[7]
Thus, some of the Companions who remained behind from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and whom others followed in doing so, may have had an excuse for remaining behind that people did not know about.
Or perhaps they believed that ʿAlī, peace be upon him, had sufficient numbers among those Muslims who had gone out and stood with him, and therefore considered themselves permitted to remain behind, even though going out with him was preferable to remaining behind.
Among the evidence for this is what was previously mentioned concerning the regret of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar for failing to fight the rebellious faction with ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and for remaining behind from him. This is among the well-known reports transmitted from him.
It is reported from him through one chain and in one circumstance, and it is explained in his own words. He said:
“I regret nothing except that I did not fight alongside ʿAlī, peace be upon him, against the breakers of allegiance—the people of Basra; the transgressors—the people of Syria; and the seceders—the people of Nahrawān.”
Thus he mentioned them one group at a time and testified against them in a manner that established that fighting them was obligatory and that their blood could be lawfully shed.
This was narrated by al-Walīd ibn Ṣubayḥ, through his chain of transmission, from Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit, who heard ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb say it.
Others may likewise have regretted remaining behind from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, whether they had an excuse for remaining behind, or whether they stayed behind because they knew that ʿAlī, peace be upon him, had sufficient strength with those who were with him, without believing that remaining behind without an excuse was permissible.
A number of those who had remained behind from ʿAlī apologized to him, and he accepted the excuses of those who offered them.
Earlier in this book I have mentioned the regret of ʿĀʾishah for going out [against him], and the return of Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr when ʿAlī, peace be upon him, reminded them of what the Messenger of God ﷺ had said concerning them.
I have also mentioned Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ’s testimony to his virtue and that he was upon the truth.
As for whoever remained behind from him without an excuse, or fought him, he disobeyed God, Mighty and Majestic, and disobeyed the Messenger of God ﷺ.

I have already mentioned the well-known reports concerning this, including the Prophet's statement regarding ʿAlī:
"O God, befriend whoever befriends him, oppose whoever opposes him, support whoever supports him, and abandon whoever abandons him."
Whoever remained behind from him without an excuse abandoned him, and whoever abandoned him opposed him.
And his statement to him:
"Your peace is my peace, and your war is my war."
Therefore, whoever fought him fought the Messenger of God ﷺ, and whoever fought the Messenger of God ﷺ fought God, Glorified is He.
And his statement:
"Whoever harms ʿAlī has harmed me."
There is no harm more severe in this matter than fighting him, among the things we have mentioned and will mention in this book that carry the same meaning.
There are also the reports from the Messenger of God ﷺ explicitly identifying those who would fight ʿAlī after him, namely the breakers of allegiance, the transgressors, and the seceders, describing them by their characteristics, what they would do, and what would ultimately become of their affair, as transmitted from God, Mighty and Majestic.
The leaders of the breakers of allegiance—the people of the Camel—were Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and ʿĀʾishah.
They repented of their going out against him, returned from their position, and regretted what they had done.
After them, therefore, no one could find a basis for adopting their position, approving of their actions, or establishing a doctrine upon their example, since they themselves had abandoned it.
As for Muʿāwiyah and his followers, the Khārijites, and those who adopted their position, they persisted in their falsehood and did not retract it as those before them had done.
Muʿāwiyah and his companions merely followed the example of the people of the Camel in claiming to rise in pursuit of vengeance for ʿUthmān's blood.
The fact that those who had originated this claim later returned from it did not deter them from doing the same. Rather, they persisted in their error, and worldly interests supported them. Through these interests they attracted many people, who adopted their doctrine and repeated their claims.
Likewise, the Khārijites were followed in their position by everyone who hated ʿAlī, peace be upon him, or regarded him as deficient.
And everyone who wanted to consume the wealth of the community and shed its blood made this doctrine a means toward achieving what he wanted.
Among the circumstances that enabled Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān to strengthen himself in opposing ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and rebelling against him, and that provided him with supporters and helpers for what he sought, was that he had been with his brother Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān[8] and with Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ,[9] and had participated in the conquests of Syria.
Syria was the realm of the Romans and the location of their wealth, treasures, reserves, and resources.
Muʿāwiyah was among those whose hearts had been reconciled to Islam, as we mentioned previously, and this is established. The Messenger of God ﷺ gave him and his father, on the day of Ḥunayn, a portion of the spoils of Hawāzin along with the other people whose hearts

were being reconciled to Islam, because of the weakness of their Islam, in order to please them and bring them closer to Islam.
He was not among those who abstained from taking from the spoils or from taking for himself whatever he was able to obtain from the public revenues.
Then his brother Yazīd died, and ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb appointed Muʿāwiyah in his place.
He thereby gained control over the realm of Syria, the treasuries of the Roman kings, and the wealth of their nobles. He acquired immense wealth and precious treasures from this, and used them to satisfy those around him, attract them to what he wanted, and give to whoever came to him.
Those who desired worldly gain gravitated toward him, and they constituted the majority of the people.
It also happened that ʿAlī, peace be upon him, demanded the governors of ʿUthmān return what they possessed, including the grants of Muslim wealth that ʿUthmān had allotted to them and which they had taken for themselves.
Because of this, Muʿāwiyah feared losing what was in his possession, knowing that ʿAlī, peace be upon him, would not leave any of it with him.
Thus those whose circumstances were like this gravitated toward him, as did those who feared ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and were wary of him, or those who knew that they would not receive from him the worldly benefits they desired.
Among the things they used to criticize ʿAlī for and warn people about was an incident in which someone asked him to increase the stipends of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon them.
He deliberately did this without having them ask for it themselves or even know that he was making the request on their behalf. Rather, he intended to use the matter to criticize ʿAlī, knowing that he would not grant it.
When the man asked ʿAlī to increase their stipends by some additional dirhams, ʿAlī rebuked him for this and did not grant his request.
The man then spread the story about him and used it to criticize him, in order to make the sons of worldly ambition more comfortable with Muʿāwiyah.
Thus none remained with ʿAlī, peace be upon him, except those possessed of insight into religion, who fought alongside him with their wealth and their lives, just as God, Mighty and Majestic, had prescribed such jihad for all believers.
The sons of this world, people of worldly ambition, everyone weak in religion and devoid of piety, and everyone who found justice burdensome and found the establishment of truth difficult, joined Muʿāwiyah, knowing that with him they could obtain the things they loved and desired.
Only those possessed of religious insight and piety among the Muhājirūn and Anṣār, those who followed them in goodness, and the noble Arabs from Rabīʿah and Muḍar whose aspirations rose toward this and who disdained being with Muʿāwiyah and joining him, remained sincerely with ʿAlī, peace be upon him.
As a result, most of his army consisted of leaders, nobles, and prominent figures. Each leader had his own banner, and each notable man his own military camp.
Matters rarely remain orderly in such a situation. It has been said that sharing in leadership is sharing in kingship, and sharing in kingship is like sharing in a wife.
The prominent men among Muʿāwiyah's supporters obeyed and followed him because of what they hoped to receive from his worldly resources. The rest were rabble and followers, and affairs are held together through obedience.

Assessing the Positions

[444]

Among these reports is what has been narrated concerning ʿAlī, peace be upon him, testing the companions of Muʿāwiyah and his own companions before he went out against Muʿāwiyah.

He sent a man from Kufa to Ḥimṣ,[iii] where Muʿāwiyah was, and said to him:

"Mount your camel and travel. When you enter Ḥimṣ, do not stop anywhere and do not change your clothes. Go directly to the congregational mosque. Kneel your camel and tie it at its door, then enter the mosque in the condition in which you are.

"The people will ask you where you have come from. Say: 'From Kufa.'

"They will ask you about my situation. Say: 'I left him determined to attack you. He has completed most of what he needs for that, and I think he has already set out behind me.'

"Observe what they do and return to me with the news."

The man did this.

When the people in the mosque heard what he said, they began discussing the matter, and the people throughout the city began discussing it as well. The news reached Muʿāwiyah.

He came to the mosque, ascended the pulpit, praised and glorified God, invoked blessings upon the Prophet ﷺ, and then said:

"O people! It has reached me what has been spreading among you, and what has reached you concerning the arrival of ʿAlī with the people of Iraq to attack you.

"What do you say about this, and what will you do?"

They remained silent, as though birds were perched upon their heads.

Then a man from the nobles of Ḥimyar stood and said:

"O commander, you speak, and our task is to act."

*(The word **infiʿāl** is a Ḥimyarī expression in which they substitute **nūn** for **lām**.)*

He said:

"I think you should go out tomorrow, with the blessing of God."

Then he descended.

They prepared themselves to go out, and the man returned to ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and informed him of what had happened.

ʿAlī ordered that the call be made among the people:

"Prayer is gathering!"

He went out to the congregational mosque, where the people had assembled.

He ascended the pulpit, praised and glorified God, invoked blessings upon the Prophet ﷺ, and said:

"O people! It has reached me that Muʿāwiyah has gone out from Ḥimṣ with the people of Syria and those accompanying him, intending to fight you.

"What do you say about this, and what will you do?"

One man stood and said:

"The matter will be such-and-such."

Another said:

"Rather, the opinion should be such-and-such."

Another stood and said the same kind of thing.

Several of them stood, and the discussion became confused and heated.

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, descended from the pulpit, saying:

“We belong to God, and to Him we shall return. By God, the son of the eater of livers has prevailed.”
It is also said that at Ṣiffīn the people began fighting, and Muʿāwiyah’s supporters became mixed together, with most of them abandoning their positions.
He went out among them and stood between them. He gestured with his sleeve toward his right, and everyone on that side returned to his position. He gestured toward his left, and they did the same.
Someone who witnessed this said to him:
“This is obedience indeed.”
He replied:
“I have never failed them in either a promise or a threat.”
Because of this, and because of what we mentioned previously that is similar to it, Muʿāwiyah was able to prepare himself to oppose ʿAlī, peace be upon him.
As for ʿAlī, peace be upon him, his virtue and entitlement were such that no one could fail to recognize his position when comparing him with Muʿāwiyah in any quality of goodness.
Indeed, one of the people of discernment and knowledge once heard someone say:
“ʿAlī is better than Muʿāwiyah.”
He said:
“This is faulty speech. One does not say that honey is sweeter than colocynth, nor that colocynth is more bitter than sugar. Muʿāwiyah is far beneath the level at which he could even be compared with ʿAlī, peace be upon him.”
The fifth volume of *Sharḥ al-Akhbār fī Faḍā’il al-A’immah al-Aṭhār*, authored by our master, the eminent Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr, may God sanctify his spirit and grant us his intercession, has been completed.

Footnotes

[1] Qur’an 5:25 — al-Mā’idah
“My Lord, I have no power except over myself and my brother.”
Context: Jundub ibn ʿAbd Allāh quotes this statement of Moses, peace be upon him, when he tells ʿAlī that he and his brother are ready to obey his command and fight alongside him. The citation emphasizes that although Jundub cannot control the entire community, he and his brother can personally commit themselves to ʿAlī’s command.

[2] Qur’an 9:49 — al-Tawbah
“Among them is he who says, ‘Permit me and do not put me to trial.’ Surely, into the trial they have fallen, and indeed Hell encompasses the unbelievers.”
Context: The author uses this verse in the argument against those who claimed that remaining neutral during the conflict was the proper response to tribulation. He argues that remaining away from a conflict is not automatically virtuous; in some circumstances, refusing to fulfill an obligation can itself constitute falling into the very trial one claims to be avoiding.

[3] Qur’an 49:9 — al-Ḥujurāt
“Then fight the one that transgresses until it returns to the command of God.”
Context: This verse is the principal Qur’anic evidence the author gives for the obligation of fighting a rebellious faction. He argues that if one Muslim faction rebels against another, the believers are commanded to fight the transgressing party until it returns to obedience.

[4] Qur'an 9:122 — al-Tawbah
"The believers should not all go forth. Why does not a group from every faction among them go forth…"
Context: The author uses this verse to explain that jihad does not necessarily require every individual Muslim to participate. When a sufficient group undertakes the obligation, the remaining people are not necessarily sinful for staying behind, especially if they have a legitimate excuse.

[5] Qur'an 9:41 — al-Tawbah
"Go forth, whether light or heavy…"
Context: This verse is cited alongside other verses concerning mobilization for jihad. The author explains that such commands apply when the circumstances require broad mobilization against an enemy.

[6] Qur'an 9:36 — al-Tawbah
"And fight the polytheists all together just as they fight you all together…"
Context: The author uses this verse to distinguish between ordinary circumstances, in which a sufficient group can fulfill the obligation of jihad, and circumstances in which the Muslims are directly overwhelmed by an enemy and broader participation becomes necessary.

[7] Qur'an 9:91–92 — al-Tawbah
"There is no blame upon the weak, nor upon the sick, nor upon those who do not find what they can spend…"
Context: These verses establish that people who are physically incapable, ill, impoverished, or otherwise unable to participate in jihad are not blamed for remaining behind, provided their intentions toward God and His Messenger are sincere. The author uses this to allow that some of the Companions who did not join ʿAlī may have possessed legitimate excuses unknown to others.

[8] Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān
Footnote: "He accepted Islam on the day of the Conquest [of Mecca]. He died in Damascus during the plague in 18 AH."
Context: Yazīd was Muʿāwiyah's brother and was involved in the early Muslim conquests of Syria. After his death, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb appointed Muʿāwiyah in his place. The author is explaining how Muʿāwiyah came to acquire extensive authority and access to the wealth of Syria, which he later used to build political support.

[9] Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ
Footnote: "He was ʿĀmir ibn ʿAbd Allāh, the Qurashī al-Fihrī Companion. He died in the plague of ʿAmwās and was buried in the Ghawr of Bayt Ḥassān in 18 AH."
Context: Abū ʿUbaydah was a prominent Companion and commander associated with the conquest of Syria. His connection with Muʿāwiyah in the passage helps establish the circumstances through which Muʿāwiyah became involved in the administration and conquest of Syria.

Endnotes
[i] al-Anbār

Note: “A city in central Iraq.”
Context: Muʿāwiyah’s forces raid al-Anbār while ʿAlī is caliph. They kill his governor and attack the inhabitants. This raid becomes the immediate cause of ʿAlī’s angry sermon in which he condemns the failure of his supporters to respond to attacks and urges them to undertake jihad.

[ii] al-Nukhaylah
Note: “Al-Nukhaylah: two parasangs from Kufa.”
Context: After hearing about the raid on al-Anbār, ʿAlī immediately leaves Kufa and reaches al-Nukhaylah. His supporters catch up with him there and ask him to return, claiming that they will deal with the attackers themselves. He responds that they are not even capable of protecting themselves.

[iii] Ḥimṣ
Note: “A city between Damascus and Aleppo in the Syrian Arab Republic.”
Context: Ḥimṣ was one of the major cities of Syria under Muʿāwiyah. ʿAlī sends a man there disguised as an ordinary traveler to test the reactions of Muʿāwiyah’s supporters. The man claims that ʿAlī is preparing to invade Syria. Muʿāwiyah’s ability to immediately mobilize the people, contrasted with the hesitation of ʿAlī’s supporters when presented with the same supposed threat, is used by the author to explain one of the practical advantages Muʿāwiyah possessed in confronting ʿAlī.